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THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF WISCONSIN

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

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SIN. JOSEPH SCHAFFER,
Superintendent and Editor

CONTENTS OF VOLUME VIII

LEADING ARTICLES:	PAGE
JOSEPH SCHAFFER—Know-Nothingism in Wisconsin	3
SAMUEL M. PEDRICK—Early History of Ripon College.	22
MABEL V. HANSEN—The Swedish Settlement on Pine Lake.	38
W. A. TITUS—Historic Spots in Wisconsin.	52, 186
JOHN B. VLIET—The Story of a Wisconsin Surveyor	57
MRS. MARY J. ATWOOD—John Wilson, a Sauk County Pioneer.	67
MRS. CHESTER A. SMITH—Sawmilling Days in Winneconne.	71
WILLIAM H. PEARSON—James Gates Percival.	131
LOUISE PHELPS KELLOGG—Copper Mining in the Early Northwest.	146
N. S. FISH—The History of the Silo in Wisconsin	160
JOHN G. GREGORY—Early Wisconsin Editors: Philo White.	171
CHARLES O. PAULLIN—Wisconsin Troops at the Defense of Washington in 1861.	181
JOSEPH SCHAFFER—Letitia Wall, A Wisconsin Pioneer Type	193
FREDERICK JACKSON TURNER—The Significance of the Section in American History.	255
JOSEPH SCHAFFER—Prohibition in Early Wisconsin.	281
FLORENCE BASCOM—The University in 1874-1887.	300
WILLARD N. PARKER—Warren Downes Parker.	309
MRS. T. O. BENNETT—Mail Transportation in the Early Days: A Trip Overland from the Cliff Mine to Appleton	317
OSCAR H. BAUER—Annals of a Country Tradesman.	321
JOSEPH SCHAFFER—A Yankee Land Speculator in Wisconsin.	377
FERDINAND F. DOUBRAVA—Experiences of a Bohemian Emigrant Family.	393
DAVID McLAIN—The Story of Old Abe.	407
ELIZABETH MOORE WALLACE—Early Farms in Exeter.	415

DOCUMENTS:

On the Presentation of the Mack Portrait to the State
Historical Society; An Account of the Norwegian
Settlers in North America..... 74
Recollections of Life in Early Wisconsin, by Amherst
Willoughby Kellogg..... 88, 221
Journal of a World War Veteran..... 199, 328
A Trip through Wisconsin in 1838..... 423
Autobiography of Charles M. Baker..... 445

EDITORIAL COMMENT:

"Roger and James"..... 111
Memorials of John H. Tweedy..... 349
A File of Old Newspapers..... 454

COMMUNICATIONS:

Erratum; A Request..... 361
Woodrow Wilson's First Visit to Madison; John
Bascom's Signature; A Freshman Volunteers..... 459

THE SOCIETY AND THE STATE..... 117, 244, 362, 463

BOOK REVIEWS..... 373, 476

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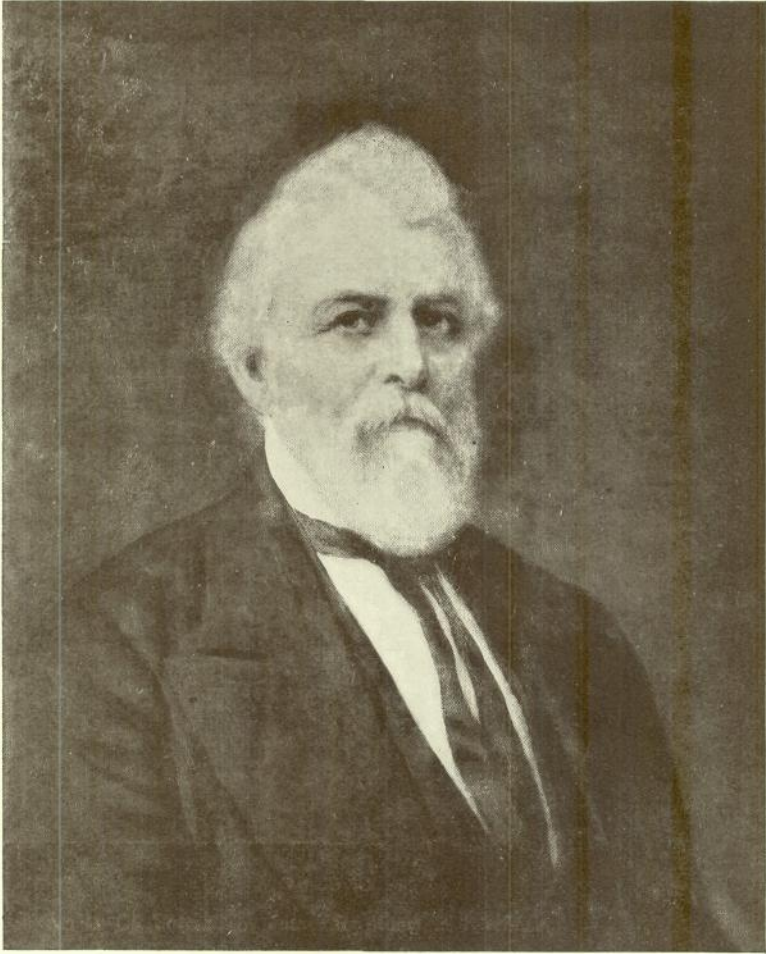
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SOCIETY OF WISCON-
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CONTENTS

A YANKEE LAND SPECULATOR IN WISCONSIN	<i>Joseph Schafer</i>	377
EXPERIENCES OF A BOHEMIAN EMIGRANT FAMILY	<i>Ferdinand F. Doubrava</i>	393
THE STORY OF OLD ABE.....	<i>David McLain</i>	407
EARLY FARMERS IN EXETER... ..	<i>Elizabeth Moore Wallace</i>	415
DOCUMENTS:		
A Trip Through Wisconsin in 1838.....		423
Autobiography of Charles M. Baker.....		445
EDITORIAL COMMENT:		
A File of Old Newspapers.....		454
COMMUNICATIONS.....		459
THE SOCIETY AND THE STATE.....		463
BOOK REVIEWS.....		476

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MOSES M. STRONG

From an Oil Portrait by James R. Stuart in Wisconsin Historical Library

A YANKEE LAND SPECULATOR IN WISCONSIN

JOSEPH SCHAFER

The *Milwaukee Advertiser* for June 15, 1839, contained the following personal item: "Hon. Henry Hubbard, Senator in Congress from New Hampshire, left here on Wednesday morning having traveled over a considerable portion of our territory within the last two months. Mr. Hubbard is a warm friend of Wisconsin and her interests, and we may confidently count upon his assistance in obtaining appropriations for harbors, roads &c in the Territory."

Henry Hubbard lived in Charlestown, New Hampshire, where he was born in 1784 and where he was to die in 1857. He was a graduate of Dartmouth, a lawyer by training and a politician by choice. From 1812 to 1827 he was a member of the state legislature, and during the whole of the Jackson-Van Buren régime, twelve years, was in Congress, first as Representative, then as Senator. From 1842 to 1844 he was governor of his state and finally, under appointment from President Polk, was in charge of the United States sub-treasury in Boston from 1846 to 1849. He thus held political office almost continuously for a period of thirty-seven years, spending only the last eight years of his life in retirement. His political affiliations, during the active period indicated, were consistently with the Democratic party.

It is thus seen that Hubbard was a man of importance at the East, and his career would doubtless repay study for the light it might throw on the political history of his period. However, in this paper it is our purpose to ignore all but a single one of his activities, namely, that of land speculator. And since our sources are restricted to Wisconsin speculations with which he was associated, and those again to transactions in which he was represented by a single one of several agents he is known to have employed, it will be necessary to

limit the scope of the paper far more sharply than we would wish to do were all sources available. Still, it is believed the story which can be written about Hubbard as a land speculator in Wisconsin during the decade 1836-46 ought to prove both interesting and instructive.

Mr. Hubbard operated in part through the agency of Moses M. Strong, and it is through the Strong papers that we are enabled to see something of the course and issue of his speculations.¹ In 1836 Strong was living at Rutland, Vermont, where for some years he had been engaged in the practice of law. His father, Moses Strong, a distinguished Vermont lawyer and judge, was at this period in Washington, associated intimately with Hubbard and other eastern politicians. Accordingly, when Moses M. Strong decided to make a tour of inspection in the West, it was a relatively simple matter for him to interest capitalists in a plan he had to invest money in government lands.

Mr. Hubbard eagerly took advantage of Strong's proposition, agreeing (with two partners, Horace Hall and George Olcott—both Charlestown men, like himself) to supply Strong with money for investment purposes. Moreover, the business was to be a continuing one; lands which were entered today at Strong's discretion might be offered for sale tomorrow and the proceeds reinvested. By thus turning over investments from time to time it would have been possible to accomplish a very large business on an original capital of \$30,000—the sum agreed upon—and both Strong and Hubbard faced the future with the confident expectation of getting rich. "I intend," wrote Hubbard shortly after his agent started west, "that you shall make me a fortune and at the same time secure to yourself a

¹ A small addition to the Strong papers has recently come to the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, in which are several documents bearing directly and in an important manner upon Hubbard's speculations. The papers of Moses M. Strong were presented to the Society by his granddaughter, Anna Strong Parkinson, a number of years ago. They are very voluminous and constitute a significant and valuable source for the study of Wisconsin history.

fortune. I can on a very short notice, give you all the means that any reasonable man could desire. Be faithful and continue in my employ and my belief is that we can both within three years make \$100,000."²

In his original instructions Hubbard advised Strong to select lands near large navigable rivers, mentioning especially the Mississippi and the Wisconsin in Iowa County.³ Lands well timbered with either pine or oak, and lying near those streams, he thought would sell promptly. Locations near points which would probably become county-seat towns were also desirable, and the agent was given a large measure of discretion with reference to other types of locations. Mr. Hubbard also wrote new suggestions from time to time—for example, calling attention to the Four Lakes region and the area north of Milwaukee near the shore of Lake Michigan.

We do not know precisely how much land Mr. Strong entered for Hubbard in the early part of 1836, the record being incomplete. But according to Strong's second account, submitted December 2, 1837, he entered a total of eleven hundred and fifty acres between August 13, 1836, and the close of that year. Inasmuch as Hubbard supplied him at the outset with a large credit at the Bank of Detroit, and sent him within a few weeks Virginia land scrip worth eight thousand acres, or \$10,000, the presumption is that he had entered a good many thousand acres. The partners had advanced to Strong for all purposes, prior to October 15, 1836, the sum of \$24,000, the bulk of which had doubtless been invested. Hubbard himself declared, at a later time, that Strong and two other agents invested for him (meaning probably himself personally) more than \$33,000; and it is fairly certain that nearly all of that sum was invested in the year 1836, for early in the next year the panic caused

² Letter to Strong dated Washington, May 30, 1836.

³ At that time Iowa County included the later Grant and Lafayette counties as well as the present Iowa County.

him to draw back in alarm and to stop the flow of funds to his agents.

The lands bought for Hubbard by Strong were not all farm lands, to be sold to agricultural immigrants. Among the items Strong listed in his second account was one showing the payment of \$200 for forty lots in Madison, bought of J. D. Doty, and there were two entries for land in "St. Lawrence." The former was, of course, Doty's town site between Third and Fourth lakes, where the Territorial Council in 1836 located the future capital of Wisconsin; the latter was a paper town located on the Wisconsin River near the Columbia County line in Dane County (township 11, range 8 east). Strong was much interested in St. Lawrence, as he was in various other town sites, including Arena. Since he was a surveyor, it was a simple matter for him to enter a tract believed to cover a hopeful location, survey and plat it, and place it on the market. He held the Arena property as his own exclusive possession for a number of years. At one time during the stringency, when a brother in Vermont pressed him for help to raise between six and seven hundred dollars, he forwarded a deed showing an absolutely clear title to the town site of Arena and including some six hundred acres of land, with the suggestion that it might be used as security for a loan. But by that time eastern capitalists and bankers were very wary in regard to security based on western lands, and the brother wrote that the town site property was worth, for collateral, precisely as much as the same amount of blank paper.

Mr. Strong was instrumental in interesting Hubbard in an exceedingly ambitious speculation of his own. He found on reaching Mineral Point that the lead-bearing lands of southwestern Wisconsin had not been placed on the market. Those lands, under earlier laws, were open to lease from the government but not to purchase, the theory being that they should constitute a source of income for many years. How-

ever, the law for the establishment of the Mineral Point land office and for the marketing of the lands in the Wisconsin land district did not, in terms, exclude the mineral lands from sale; in fact, it was the opinion of leading lawyers, including Daniel Webster, that they were intended to be included among the lands opened to entry in 1834-36. President Jackson, however, in proclaiming the Wisconsin district lands for sale, instructed the receiver and register of the Mineral Point land office to reserve from sale all lands which they had reason to believe were mineral bearing.

Mr. Strong was deeply concerned over the presidential order, which he regarded as arbitrary and illegal. He saw in the situation alluring possibilities. If it should be possible, on the accession of Van Buren, to secure a reversal of the order, and if in the meantime mineral lands could be tied up by applications to purchase accompanied by a tender of the price at \$1.25 per acre, millions could be made out of them. He proceeded to take the preliminary steps by associating with himself at Mineral Point John Catlin. He caused the mineral lands to be inspected by a supposed expert, Hugh R. Hunter, and after the inspection he selected and prepared careful descriptions of tracts aggregating about seventy-two thousand acres which he and his partners applied for at the land office. They claimed afterwards that a tender was made for this land, but the register and receiver failed to remember the fact of tender, and there was some testimony to show that the same identical \$200 in specie was offered for each quarter-section of the seventy-two thousand acres, fractions thereof being tendered for forty- and eighty-acre tracts. Strong's sole point was to make a record of tender, and since the land office heads refused the tender and declined to record the transaction in any way, the partners did so by the affidavit method.

Mr. Strong now proceeded to arrange with Hubbard for the money to handle the mineral lands if and when those

lands should be opened to entry, and he also gained from Hubbard the promise of his influence toward securing from the General Land Office a reversal of the policy under which the mineral lands had been (wrongly, as he believed) withheld from sale. The terms of the agreement were such that, after the lands should be secured and paid for out of moneys to be furnished by Hubbard, the proceeds of their sale would have as a first charge against them the money so advanced with interest. The balance would be divided equally between Strong and Hubbard, with their respective associates.⁴

This contract was entered into October 15, 1836, when Strong visited Charlestown to confer with Hubbard, Hall, and Olcott. At that time the future still looked rosy, and they agreed to furnish him, for the regular business entered into in spring, \$6,000 in addition to \$24,000 supplied theretofore. To show the spirit of optimism with reference to the general land business in which the New Hampshire men had embarked with Strong, this agreement permitted him to make sales and to reinvest the returns, but stipulated that no lands should be sold for a price less than \$3.00 per acre.

Strong returned to Wisconsin to prosecute the company's affairs, while Hubbard was soon back in Washington. From there, on December 28, he wrote that the commissioner of the General Land Office had been seen, but that he preferred to defer for a few weeks taking up the mineral lands question. Mr. Webster was to make an argument in the case when it should come up. Thereafter frequent references to this matter occur in Hubbard's letters to Strong, but always the final decision was put off. The fact is, the panic was playing havoc with all Hubbard's financial operations. March 13, 1837, he wrote from Philadelphia: "Money is extremely scarce in this city—and in the other commercial cities of the east. . . . I shall write you immediately on my return to

⁴ Strong's letter to James Duane Doty, dated Cincinnati, Ohio, Nov. 20, 1837, in which he suggests that Doty take over Hubbard's interest in the mineral land speculation gives a succinct history of the transaction up to that time.

Charlestown and advise you about continuing investments. . . . I have not of course been able to effect a sale of any of our property." Mr. Hubbard was then planning to visit Wisconsin, intending to stop at Green Bay and Mineral Point and to pass down the Illinois and Mississippi rivers on his return.⁵ But by May 12 (1837) the prospect was very black. "The times," he writes, "are truly awful. And there seems no prospect for a favorable change. The failures which have taken place in Boston have materially affected my pecuniary means. . . . There is a general and fearful panic abroad in the land. God only knows what will be the final result. At all events, we do not hesitate to say to you that you must not draw for money under any pretense whatever until one of us shall see you. I hope that will be soon. I have not been able to make any sales. . . . Since my return it has required our united efforts to sustain our Bank—as every dollar we issued ran right to Boston and there we were obliged to redeem it."

It was doubtless this order to cease making investments which was the basis of Strong's formal complaint at the date of the 1837 accounting. For his statement, dated December 2, 1837, bears the following item, which however is not reduced to money terms: "Damages sustained by reason of your failure to advance money to the amount of \$30,000, according to agreement of Oct. 15, 1836." It was likewise the growing financial conservatism of Hubbard and his consequent willingness to let the mineral lands question remain suspended in the General Land Office, that explains Strong's second formal complaint, in these words: "Damages sustained by reason of H. Hubbard's neglect in not procuring decision upon Mineral Lands question, and consequent failure to advance funds to make the purchases of mineral lands."

Strong was convinced, as he wrote Doty from Cincinnati

⁵ Letter of March 28, 1837.

while on his way east November 20, 1837, that Hubbard was really unable to advance the money for the purchase of those lands in case a decision on the question should be reached, and that was why the decision had not been reported out. He was still sanguine that, under the law, favorable action would be taken which would enable him to "monopolize the mineral lands of the district" provided money was in hand to pay for the lands when released. Strong estimated that the profits on the mineral lands would range between one hundred per cent and one thousand per cent—figures which were calculated to interest Doty; and since Hubbard had agreed to sell his entire interest in the mineral lands contract for \$500 cash, it is probable that Strong was right in his estimate of Hubbard's financial helplessness.

On the other hand, Hubbard's willingness to abandon his interest in the mineral lands speculation may have originated in a doubt as to the prospective value of that interest. The mineral lands question had been considered by Solicitor M. Birchard, of the General Land Office, and a copy of his opinion, dated June 12, 1837, is in the collection of Strong papers in the Wisconsin Historical Library. Hubbard unquestionably was in possession of its import. Birchard held that, while the act of June 26, 1834 (section 4) authorized the President to sell the mineral lands if he should see reason to do so, it did not repeal provisions of the earlier acts authorizing him to lease such lands. There were many outstanding leases, and certainly leased lands could not have been sold without bad faith toward the lessees, which the law could not have required the President to exercise. Strong held that since, by his interpretation, the President was bound to offer these lands, with others, at the public sale, they must now be regarded as having been thus offered and, remaining unsold, be now open to private entry. But Birchard contended that they could not now be sold privately, even admitting that they had been wrongfully

withheld from private sale after a public sale at which they were offered, without previous notice given that they would be open to entry after a future date specified in the notice. Any other course, he believed, would not be "a faithful execution of the law, inasmuch as it will provide a means of giving advantages to one person over another . . . and thus operate unequally; those living near the office would first obtain information of the withdrawal of suspension and would take advantage of it; the course would soon subject the department to the charge of favoritism and destroy public confidence in the correctness of its administration. . . . The applications are bad for this reason."

Birchard's brief was of course merely an opinion designed to aid the commissioner of the General Land Office in reaching a decision as to his duty in the matter. It contained an intimation, nevertheless, that the decision would probably be unfavorable, and Hubbard might therefore have concluded that \$500 cash in hand would be a fair exchange for his prospects under the contract with Strong in regard to mineral lands.⁶ We do not positively know that Doty acquired Hubbard's interest and assumed his liabilities. But that he was afterwards more or less interested in the mineral lands may be inferred from a letter he wrote to Strong dated at Washington January 21, 1839.⁷

Hubbard's financial affairs were at a low ebb. "I have had," he writes January 14, 1838, "so much ill fortune for the last year that I do not feel able to keep my interest. . . . My whole confidence is in you and I would not part with a dollar[']s worth] until we have better times . . . if

⁶ The mineral lands were finally opened to sale, after due notice, and were sold under the preemption principle to settlers and miners. *U. S. Statutes at Large*, ix, 37. July 11, 1846. The minimum price fixed was \$2.50 per acre.

⁷ He had, he says, got a resolution through the House "requesting the Secretary of the Treasury to instruct you [Strong was U. S. attorney for Wisconsin] to examine the facts and report the evidence in relation to the entries of mineral lands and other grievances, complained of by the citizens of the mineral district. This will enable you to present this question in a tangible shape and expose the frauds which it is alleged have been committed by the land officers at the Point."

I could with convenience manage. . . . But I have now in that western country with you and Kerchners and Kinney over \$33,000 . . . and not getting any returns plagues me." He authorizes Strong to sell his (Hubbard's) interest in their partnership lands to Horace Hall, who would be amply able to carry the load. Two years later, January 13, 1840, his spirit still shows no abatement of its post panic gloom. "The fact is, friend Strong," he writes, "I feel not only poor but mortified and disappointed at my unfortunate investments in the west. It was my necessities which induced myself to assent to a proposition by Hall, Olcott and myself to you to purchase the property you had invested for us at the price given and charges paid and I need not say that I felt a deeper mortification when I read your answer that you could not purchase on the terms proposed . . . but would surrender your interest on certain conditions. This proposition struck me with surprise, that before receiving back the first dollar and after the expenses and charges had been so much . . . that we should be called upon to pay more money . . . when we cannot find a purchaser to return to us our present capital for all our property on a whereas credit. . . . For one I cannot under any circumstances consent to pay out any more money. The fact is I am wholly unable to do it." He wants Strong to mail back to him a certain treasury certificate, saying: "I am in debt in this city [Washington] and if I can get my treasury certificate by the 15th February I can sell it for \$750."

From the date of the last letter mentioned exchanges between Hubbard and Strong apparently occurred only at rare intervals. In August, 1842, Strong wrote Hubbard from Southport (Kenosha) saying that an Englishman of his acquaintance had made certain interesting suggestions in regard to the proper way to sell farm lands to English laborers. Many such men would come to Wisconsin, he said,

provided they could be supplied with small tracts, from twenty to thirty acres, of land on a credit of five or six years. Strong thinks the idea may interest Hubbard, whom he describes as a large holder in wild lands in Wisconsin. If Hubbard replied to this communication, as he probably did, the Strong papers do not contain his letter. Nor is there in the file an answer to another plan which, in February, 1844, Strong seems to have submitted to a selected list of capitalists which doubtless included Hubbard. That document, because of the light it throws on the history of settlement in Wisconsin, as well as on the history of land speculation, is deserving of publication. The draft, in Strong's hand, is dated February 23, 1844, and is evidently designed as a circular letter to moneyed men, especially such as had earlier speculated in Wisconsin lands. Strong begins with the flat assertion that no one, probably, who had bought government lands during the years 1835, 1836, and 1837 in the western part of Wisconsin had had a profitable return on his money. "The reason is," he says, "that the most of the lands that were then in market, at any rate the most valuable portion, were bought up on speculation and for several years held so high that immigrants would not buy but preferred squatting on the government lands not then in market. The consequence was that the entire country between Rock River and Lake Michigan and south of about the middle of Sheboygan County, not having been brought into market, was settled upon in 1836-38 by immigrants who came to the country during those years to the almost entire exclusion of every other part of the territory; and by March 1839 when those lands came into market that tract of country had become generally settled, and for the reason that it was settled, unsettled lands in that vicinity have ever since been and still are in greater demand than in other parts of the territory."⁸

⁸ The chief reason for settlers' preferring lands east of Rock River to those west was, of course, their accessibility to the lake ports for marketing produce. They were doubtless,

Strong proceeds to submit to his speculator correspondents a plan for "making money by an additional investment which I think will strike you favorably. It is based on the fact that there are continually a large number of persons emigrating to the territory anxious to procure a farm, with no capital but their industry, who would be very glad to pay double the government price for such a piece of land as they should select and interest on that double price, provided they could get a long credit." He works out a schedule of payments covering ten years, the first payment to be deferred to the end of the fourth year and then to be very small. Thereafter the amount, principal and interest, to be paid each year would rise progressively, until at the end of a decade the immigrant would have his land clear of incumbrance while the capitalist would have made a profit of "nearly 300 per cent." The investment would be entirely safe "as the payment would be secured by mortgage and the land all the while undergoing improvement."

Though this plan obviously had much to recommend it to capitalists, it is doubtful if any were found to take it up. I do not find that Hubbard gave it any attention. Simon Cameron, of Middletown, Pennsylvania, was probably replying to Strong's circular when he wrote, August 1, 1844: "I find it impossible to do anything for you. Our people are afraid of investments so far from home, and have a bad opinion of the west generally. Several persons whom I called on actually fancied me crazy for urging them as strongly as I did. The truth is that men here have been so much deceived and defrauded by the operations of the last few years, that they have become over-cautious."

It would be strange if Hubbard had remained indifferent to Strong's proposal, but if he made any response we do not

in many cases, glad to buy good, well located lands near the lake at prices fully as high as those at which western lands were held. But, by good fortune, the eastern lands were surveyed and open to settlement, though not to entry, at the time the rush to Wisconsin began and before speculators had much chance to engross them.

know what it was. There is, however, another letter from Hubbard, dated February 1, 1846, two years after the date of Strong's circular. In that letter Hubbard speaks of a proposition from Strong to exchange Vermont property for the Hubbard locations in Dodge County. He would make the exchange only on condition of being able at once to sell the Vermont properties for the sum to be paid for them.⁹ He wants to get rid of lands, not acquire more. He is glad to hear good reports of their property at the "Diggings." He has not been in Wisconsin since 1841, knows nothing about the political relations of men in the territory, and therefore cannot comply with Strong's request for his influence with Mr. Polk in regard to the United States attorneyship. The fact is, he says, that he had long since made it a rule not to interfere in political matters outside of New Hampshire; so that, while he wishes his friend Strong every success, he must be excused from making an appeal to the President. With the latter, indeed, Hubbard professed to have no influence. He adds the following interesting touch: "I aided in Mr. Polk's nomination and it would have been agreeable to me to have been appointed Governor of Wisconsin. I asked it at his hands, but he very properly concluded that the office ought to be conferred on a citizen of the Territory and for such good reasons the President concluded to confer the office on Governor Dodge who was a citizen of the Territory."

Thus, in spite of his ill success as a dealer in Wisconsin lands, Mr. Hubbard apparently felt no resentment toward the territory or its people. Perhaps in this he merely gives us a special interpretation of the biblical aphorism: "Where your treasure is, there will your heart be also."

The final disposition which Mr. Hubbard made of his Wisconsin lands as a whole cannot be determined from the

⁹ March 20, 1837, Strong valued his Vermont property as follows: 1316 acres wild land four to seven miles from Rutland, at \$2.00 per acre; 2000 acres ten to twenty miles distant, \$1.00 per acre.

sources now available at the Historical Library. Some of them he turned over to his son, who was also Henry Hubbard, and tracts owned by the latter are known to have passed into settlers' hands as late as the Civil War period and at prices only slightly above the government price. Since Mr. Hubbard was prepared in 1840 to dispose of all those acquired through Strong's agency at their actual cost to him, there is little doubt that these early Wisconsin land investments netted him a considerable loss; for the lands were taxed from the date of entry, and the interest charges compounded would soon multiply their original cost.

One inevitably gets the impression, from the correspondence between Hubbard and Strong, that the panic of 1837-39 was the cause of the former's financial ills. It is not unlikely, however, that from a longer view, the panic had an exactly opposite effect. For it stopped the process, so energetically and so ominously begun in 1836, of tying up his money in western Wisconsin lands for which, normally, no market could be expected until the southeastern portion of the state had been fairly well settled, which was not until about 1850. When, during the decade following 1850, railways were built from the lake to the Mississippi River, lands in southwestern Wisconsin began to sell freely. Then it was that Mr. Strong sold many tracts of his own lands. Then, and not till then, did he become what in those days was deemed wealthy.¹⁰ From the year 1855 numerous parcels of land described in his annual inventories, kept with scrupulous exactness, were pencil-marked "sold to ——."

The Strong papers prove that Mr. Strong in 1836 inspected the Milwaukee land district in the hope of making investments for Hubbard near the lake. But the govern-

¹⁰ Strong's Wisconsin real estate in 1842 was appraised at \$14,984; in 1845, at \$15,384. In 1849 the aggregate was \$37,953, of which \$19,338 was accounted for by a new item described as Portage County property. In 1858 his properties were listed at the tidy sum of \$93,756. About \$44,000 of this was located in Wood and Portage counties and consisted in town lots in Stevens Point, and lands embracing the Nekoosa water power in Wood County.

ment's policy, inaugurated by Jackson, of holding those lands out of market until they were wanted by settlers, coupled with the operation of preëmption laws and the settlers' associations, effectually prevented speculators from entering lands there in competition with actual settlers. There still remained one way by which Hubbard could have acquired an interest in lake-shore lands, as some other moneyed men demonstrably did. Such a plan was clearly outlined by John Catlin in a letter to Strong dated August 2, 1838. Catlin was looking forward to the prospective land sales in the Milwaukee land district. He pointed out that about the same time that these sales were scheduled to take place, other land sales would be going forward in Iowa, Illinois, and Missouri. Such vast transactions spread over so extended a territory would result in greatly depleting the supplies of specie, which it would thus be very difficult for settlers to secure. This was the background; now for the positive proposal: "Opportunities will be afforded to those who have money, of entering one half of a preëmptor's farm which is improved by paying for his half, that is the preëmptors will be willing to allow you to bid off their lands at the sales and deed one-half to them. My opinion is that as much money can be made at the land sales to take place this fall as at any former period, by purchasing only such lands as have been improved, with the settlers' consent."

A study of the land entries in Milwaukee County, and a comparison of the names of entrymen with the names of claimants as recorded in the book of the Milwaukee County Claims Association, proves that during the sale itself large numbers of formal transfers were effected, the lands technically becoming the property of certain well-known capitalists. There can hardly be a doubt that those transactions were in the nature of fiscal operations arising from the necessities of settlers anxious to purchase their farms, or

that a portion of the lands entered in the capitalists' names ultimately became the property of claimant settlers. There are numerous instances of settlers' entering one-half the claim they would have been entitled to purchase as pre-emptors, the balance of the quarter-section going to a capitalist. In these cases the eighty-acre tract relinquished by the settler probably gained for him the money to pay for his own entry. But, so far as the lands of Milwaukee County are concerned, none of the entries were made in the name of Henry Hubbard. It is probable that he acquired no interests in that land district. To do so it would have been necessary for him to advance money at the time of the land sale, and our knowledge of his pecuniary difficulties precludes the possibility of his being in position to do that. His presence in the territory near the time of the land sale, as indicated in the opening paragraph, was doubtless occasioned by his anxiety to sell some of his western Wisconsin lands rather than to buy lands near the lake shore.

EXPERIENCES OF A BOHEMIAN EMIGRANT FAMILY

FERDINAND F. DOUBRAVA

Wisconsin was and is yet liberally sprinkled with settlements of Bohemian nationality. The question arises, why did these people originally select the United States, and particularly the Badger State, for their home? While there is a Slovak and Bohemian colony located principally in Austin County, Texas, far the largest proportion of Bohemian immigrants is found in the northern states.

The first modern exodus from Bohemia and Moravia took place after the rise of the Hussite propaganda. John Huss's preaching and lecturing against popish arrogance in state affairs and the loose character of the clergy—many of whom were living in opulent debauchery and instead of aiding were merely oppressing the people—created a tremendous agitation. Huss was finally tried by a church council at Constance, was declared a heretic and condemned to be burned at the stake. His ashes were cast into the River Rhine and his followers persecuted—almost exterminated. A few remnants of them, however, driven into northern Moravia and south Saxony, congregated under the name Morawsky Bratri (Moravian Brethren) and lived under the protection of the Saxon Count Zinzendorf. Generations passed till eventually, America looming on the horizon like a new land of Canaan, a group of Moravian Brethren led by a man named Koch emigrated in company with some Saxon Germans to the United States. Descendants of these Moravian Brethren still remain, many of them in Pennsylvania.

When the Mexican War came, one of the members of the Koch family enlisted in the United States army, and so valuable were his services estimated to be, that after the

close of the war he was granted a square league of land in Austin County, Texas. The Kochs had never broken off relations with their kinsmen in the old world; and in course of time correspondence spread in Moravia among the Slovakian Protestants, when a large number were induced to seek homes in Texas, locating in the vicinity of Mr. Koch's grant. These people prospered abundantly in material ways, but they were very meagerly supplied with schools and not at all with houses of worship or ministers of their faith. A Slovak merchant named Reimershoffer,¹ who was living in Allentown, Texas, had a brother-in-law who was pastor of a Calvinistic church at Miroslav, Moravia. My father was a member of that congregation. Reimershoffer, strongly urged by the Slovak community, implored his reverend brother-in-law to come to Texas and establish among the Slovaks such a church as they desired, promising him liberal rewards. The pastor went. He and my father were very intimate friends, hence correspondence resulted; but my father was not then ready to leave Moravia.

There were influences at work which nevertheless determined his final decision. The Bohemians and Moravians within the Austrian Empire were always marked for oppression and suppression. Whether Catholic or Protestant, they were suspected of rebellious dispositions, especially after the Revolution of 1848. Both Bohemia and Moravia were beautiful in their physical conformation; they were rich in agricultural products, fruits, forests, minerals, and had industrious and thrifty populations of generally fine character. But these people were genuinely liberty loving. Is it necessary to seek further for an explanation of their restlessness and desire to find new homes in the new world? Heavy,

¹ A Bohemian newspaper, *Slavie*, was started in 1860. Southerners seeing it after secession thought the name had originated from "slave." When, upon having some of the articles translated, they discovered an abolitionist tone, they threatened subscribers with mobbing. Reimershoffer, to prove that he was not opposed to slavery, bought as a slave a nine-year-old girl, paying nine hundred dollars for her. Letter from Henry H. Doubrava, received July 28, 1924.

almost crushing, taxation, compulsory military service, religious intolerance, constant reminders of the lack of freedom in official suggestions of what they might do or how they might speak in order not to wound the sensibilities of the imperial government or the clergy—these were some of the ways in which the desire for change was borne in on the people.

Between 1850 and 1855 numbers of young men liable for military service slipped out of Moravia by way of Bavaria or Saxony, and so to the land of promise. These became enthusiastic over American conditions, and their glowing letters written to the old home scattered the seeds of desire more widely. A certain wag among them composed a bit of doggerel which he sent to his home friends. In this it was said that gold in California grew on the sides of the hills like the antlers of deer; that the fences generally were made of bologna sausages, and pigs ran about ready roasted with carving knife and fork sticking in their backs, inviting all to slice off the juicy sirloin.

Bohemians who objected to an aristocratic rule emigrated to America, while those in Russia who were similarly minded were deported to Siberia. The causes of Bohemian immigration, in short, were mainly similar to those recited above as influencing Moravians. Many Bohemian immigrants left from Humpolec and its environs, and these located at Racine, Milwaukee, Manitowoc, and in the Blue River valley, Wisconsin. In time, of course, they became very widely scattered over the middle northern and north-eastern states.

My father was a miller by trade and belonged to the millers' guild. Two of his guild brethren, Kolman and Wopalensky, left for America and located in the Blue River valley in Wisconsin. There was some correspondence with these friends, but it did not at once produce in my father a desire to follow them. He, having leased a portion of a

baronial estate (Kaspar Mills), was in very good circumstances. The property consisted of a flouring mill with three run of stones, a pearl barley mill, a flaxseed oil mill, and a sawmill; there were also grain acreage, hay land, and an orchard. In addition the lease covered the Hospoda (hostelry), a place where refreshments were served, both solid and liquid—especially liquid. This was located on a commercial highway bearing a large freighting traffic. The hostelry was rather an alluring place, well situated; so that the baron himself, the Catholic bishop, the forester, and the captain of gendarmes (the armed rural police) were in the habit of making dates at that place for a good time together. I can certify they never failed to have it right up to the limit. Under these circumstances my father, the baron, and the bishop became firm friends; a real comradeship developed among them despite my father's rank Protestantism, and indeed it must be said that this friendship stood my father in good stead. As indicated, he was financially well conditioned with no special need for economic betterment, but he possessed a spirit in which the love of freedom burned brightly; and having unfortunately a more or less unruly tongue, he would unquestionably at one period have been obliged to languish in prison but for the influence which the bishop and the baron exerted in his behalf.

Experiences which came to me personally will help to reveal the situation in which Protestant Moravians found themselves under the Austrian general and local government. I was baptized by a Catholic priest; the reason is found in a law compelling parents to have their children baptized within two days after birth. No Protestant pastor being accessible, the rite had to be performed by the nearby priest. I attended for six years the rural school, which was under the control of Catholics. While in general we lived on very good terms and without friction among the Catholic families of the community, schoolboys will "scrap."

On such occasions whenever I was involved the nickname hurled at me was either "Helvit," meaning Helvetian or Swiss Protestant, a follower of the reformer Zwingli; "Hussit," a follower of the Huss propaganda; or "Beran," meaning the male of the sheep family, a "butter-in." I am confident that the character whom Americans are pleased to call "Buttinsky" originated from this source, the "sky" indicating the derivation.

Having completed my country schooling, father, who was anxious to have me absorb the German language and acquire a better education, sent me away to an advanced school. There I had four and one-half years of study carried on in the German language, and I was enjoying it tremendously when presto, an order came for me to pack and come home; we were off for America. I was stupified, I was disappointed, I was pleased; I have no word properly to describe my mixed feelings.

Several conditions were responsible for father's sudden resolution to go to America. The war between Austria and Sardinia (in which France assisted the latter) added to the tax burden; letters from the ministerial friend in Texas urged him to come; his antipathy to compulsory military service was strong. I, his eldest son, was approaching the age of sixteen and there were three other boys following at short intervals; this last consideration, I believe, decided him. The baron pleaded and begged him to stay, and the bishop at parting said: "John, you are like the fat ass who bolted out of the stable, got onto the glistening ice and broke his leg." Later events proved him nearly right.

However, we were off for Bremen, where we secured transportation on a two-masted "tub," a freighter, for Galveston, Texas. Three days later the ship set sail for the North Sea. On reaching the sea a sudden fierce gale struck us and the captain turned tail for the harbor. The gale subsiding, a new start was made for the North Sea, but

another more terrific storm nearly wrecked the craft. It splintered one of the masts, an anchor broke loose from its fastenings and stove a hole in the old tub; but the captain succeeded in getting it back into the harbor for refitting. Our thoughts meantime can be better imagined than described. The repairs being completed, another start was made, and the weather being favorable we passed through the English Channel and were out upon the broad Atlantic fourteen days later. Continuing under fair breezes, especially after encountering the trade winds, we reached the Caribbean islands, where for two days we were becalmed off the southern shore of Cuba. Finally, when we were within sight of Galveston, a northwester sent the ship prancing back over the storm-tossed gulf. All's well that ends well, and we landed at the then village of Galveston after fourteen weeks and two days of rocking on the deep.

The railroad bridge across the channel between Galveston and the mainland was out of repair, so we took boat up Buffalo Bayou, boarded the train at Harrisburg, and eventually reached Allentown—our destination. Parenthetically I might say that this railway was about one hundred miles long, in a dilapidated condition, it being the only one in the state of Texas at that time. We were hospitably received and cheerfully greeted by Reimershoffer and were sheltered for a while in order to rest after our very trying voyage of three and one-half months. Then father and I started to find the good Pastor Opocrnsky, who lived about twenty miles distant. There was no stage or other conveyance. We had the alternative of going on horseback or on foot. Lacking the ambition to straddle a Texas broncho, we hoofed it. On our way a four-yoke ox team hitched to a ponderous wagon came in from the side road and gave us a lift to the end of our journey. The pastor, bless his heart, hugged and kissed us in real good old-country style.

Now we began to be cognizant of the trouble which was

brewing over the slavery question. Father was much disturbed about appearances; he grew more and more dubious about settling in Texas, and finally decided to return to Moravia. The pastor pleaded with him to remain, and remain we did. We had to, for the struggle between the North and South now broke loose. Galveston, the only point of exit, was blockaded; we were "stuck." Oh! the lamentations in Israel. Nevertheless, realizing that we must remain until the war was over, father rented twenty-five acres of land fit to produce cotton and corn. What we did not know about raising cotton and corn would fill a volume. Never before had I held a plow handle in my hands. I had never driven a yoke of oxen. I knew less about plowing than did the oxen themselves. Still, being of a stubborn disposition, we stuck to the work and had fair success.

But the four years we spent in Texas brought harrowing experiences. We were unaccustomed to the climate and became afflicted with typhoid and malaria. Doctors were scarce and their fees, twenty-five dollars a visit, extortionate. Medicines were worth a small fortune; quinine sold at eighty-five dollars an ounce in Uncle Sam's actual coin. Flour was a dollar a pound and scarce at that. Sugar, tea, and coffee were not attainable at any price. Even salt was precious.

If the difficulties named in the last paragraph had been the sum of our ills we might have endured them. There were others, however, much more terrible. The danger to life and property was very great and almost continuous. For example, I myself had the experience of being rounded up with bloodhounds unleashed by a troop of guerrillas. I was taken before a captain with the object of being forced into the Confederate army. After considerable excited discussion in which I was obliged to employ an interpreter, and after producing our passport showing that we were subjects of the Austrian Empire, I was liberated. The Con-

federate government was always trying to curry favor with European powers, and this is probably the circumstance that saved me. Nevertheless, while the investigation was going on, some of these men confiscated all our smoked meat, sweet potatoes, peaches, lard, every chicken they could run down; they even tried to take our clothing, but mother interposed. To their credit be it said they still had as Southerners some fragments of chivalry which prevented them from robbing a mother.

There is an end to all things except the universe and eternity. It is hard to realize the hardships human creatures can endure when forced to it. One can be Spartan if necessary. After we had endured the violence just described, and much more which would be too wearisome to narrate, the conflict ended, and we found ourselves shattered in health and finances, but still alive—to what fate we knew not. We had suffered, but not more than others. A large number of the youthful Slovak Moravians and Bohemians had been forced into the Confederate army. Most of those who had been engaged at the siege of Vicksburg, after the fall of that city were paroled and came home. They were deplorable-looking specimens of what war makes out of men. I could enumerate many cases verging upon the gruesome.

But I am wandering away from my theme. By carefully concealing (camouflaging) our four years' cotton crop father was able, fortunately, to dispose of it to a northern concern for \$6,400 in good United States gold. The jolt which this stroke of fortune gave us brought tears to my dear mother's eyes. Wisconsin now became the beacon of father's hopes, and the rest of the family cordially agreed with him. As soon as travel was reasonably safe we began our new migration toward the north by way of Houston, on a tug to New Orleans, up the Mississippi to St. Louis, and by rail to Chicago. In transferring from one depot to the other in Chicago my brother John became lost in the crowd. The

train being ready to leave for Milwaukee, the rest of the family went on, leaving me to hunt him up. My father promised to wait for us at Madison. I found the lad but had to wait until the next day for a train. Arriving at Janesville we encountered a washout, but were transferred to another train by means of a scow, and finally brought safely to Madison, where we found father at the station anxiously awaiting our appearance. The way he hugged and kissed his missing boys was a sight for the natives. After resting there two days we terminated our journey at Muscoda, Wisconsin, in a thoroughly disorganized condition.² Father had not notified his friends of our prospective arrival, so we hired a conveyance and in a short time arrived unannounced at the Kolmans', who though utterly surprised gave us a hearty and friendly welcome.

My father bought a farm, horses, cows, agricultural implements, and behold us enlisted in the army of Wisconsin agriculturists! Among our neighbors in the Blue River valley were a number of Bohemian families who proved exceedingly friendly and helpful, initiating us into the mysteries of northern farming. Among these good friends were Amen, Kolman, Karasek, Wopalensky, and many others.

After five years of experience in America our tongues had still failed to master the English speech; so after getting things reasonably started on the farm, father sent me to Milwaukee, thinking that a good place for me to learn English. But there, as in Austin County, Texas, I found too many Bohemians and Germans. Birds of a feather will flock together. I found work of a suitable character, but socially I was so constantly surrounded by Germans and Bohemians that I again failed of an opportunity to learn English. I became acquainted with a Bohemian Jew engaged in the clothing business. For him I clerked five months.

² "We came to Wisconsin from Texas after the Civil War, on April 4, 1866." Letter from Henry H. Doubrava, received July 28, 1924.

He was a very fine, fatherly man and a good advisor. Still, since I was not getting what I had gone to Milwaukee to find, I was ready to respond to the call for harvest help at home, and thither I went. Harvest over and the grain ready for the market, it fell to me to haul it to the Boscobel warehouses. One day after disposing of my load and purchasing some nails of a German hardware concern with which father traded, I was suddenly accosted by one of the partners with Bismarckian bluntness: "Say, would you like to work for us?" Somewhat surprised and thinking that he might be joking I replied, "Sure I would if I could talk English." Laughingly he said, "Oh das macht nichts aus. Just come and take care of our books." I could do that, English or no English. My parents—especially mother—agreed that I was unfit for farming, so my next trip to town established me as bookkeeper in the Ruka Brothers' hardware store.

The people of Boscobel being almost entirely English speaking, my ignorance of their language proved very embarrassing to me, particularly as I was of a rather sensitive nature. Still, I was determined to acquire a knowledge of it, so I gathered books of instruction and an English-German dictionary. I attended church services regularly, listening intently to the pronunciation, making notes of words and phrases, getting the meaning of them as indicated in my dictionary. I furnished some quiet sport to my American lady friends by the way I managed to "put the cart before the horse." Finally I made a very good beginning in speaking English. I persisted in reading, wasting no time in frivolities.

The Bohemians in Grant County, as well as those in other localities of the state, were well pleased with their surroundings, grew prosperous, and were respected in their communities. The influx of new emigrants caused land values gradually to rise with the growing scarcity of land. After the building of the Union Pacific Railroad rumors

were heard about the fertile rolling prairies, about the endless quantity of government land to be obtained for a mere trifle under the Homestead and Preëmption acts. These ideas had a widespread influence. The Bohemian population of Wisconsin, especially in the Blue River country, became restless. A few young men venturing into Nebraska reported its wonderful possibilities. The result was a virtual exodus. Similar reports reached Moravia and Bohemia, resulting in a flood of new immigrants. Many came from Humpolec in Bohemia—all Protestants of the Lutheran denomination. The Catholic people of Bohemia were also affected by the immigration fever, and swelled the movement, going to America and settling alongside of their Protestant fellow countrymen.

Here let me remark that the Catholics of Bohemia and Moravia are not of the dyed-in-the-wool sort. They do not behave in a bitter or harsh manner toward their Protestant neighbors; on the contrary, they are usually very kind-hearted and remarkably liberal in their attitude. In fact, so many of them were more or less affected by religious heterodoxy in the old country, where the observance of the Catholic rites was compulsory, that they quickly threw off subservience to the clergy on reaching the new world, and many of them became freethinkers.³

In addition to the public lands which could be secured with ease, there was a great body of railroad lands resulting from government grants to the roads of alternate sections along the railroad lines, which could be bought on very favorable terms. This was an additional incentive and lure to those wishing to go west for the purpose of establishing prosperous homes. Lands could be had, for example, at three dollars, four dollars, or five dollars per acre, payable in

³ "Catholics and Protestants are intermingled throughout Bohemia. About fifty years ago it was claimed by statisticians that five-sevenths of the people in Bohemia were Catholics and two-sevenths Protestants. But it is not so now. Protestantism is constantly receiving converts, and the freethinkers are also reducing Catholic numbers." Letter from Henry H. Doubrava, received July 28, 1924.

ten installments covering ten years. This was one of the influences drawing large numbers of Slovak immigrants to Nebraska. Dakota also, which was as yet without any signs of a railroad but endowed with endless homestead allotments, absorbed hundreds of these people.

Grant County, Wisconsin (particularly certain neighborhoods in that county), was seriously affected by the Bohemian emigration to the West. Almost every one of my close chums went to some part of the West, and I was finally induced to follow. Under the protests of my family and the firm for which I was working, I hied me to Nebraska with one hundred and twenty-five dollars in my purse. On reaching Fremont, I was practically bankrupt, but I hesitated not to introduce myself as candidate for a clerkship and the second day I secured a place in a dry-goods store. However, work was not to begin at once and I would have to wait six weeks before taking up this new job. In the meantime, in conversation with a gentleman at the hotel, who happened to be salesman for a reaping and mowing machine, we exchanged experiences and he induced me to go with him to help sell machines in Saunders and Butler counties. Being a Bohemian and Saunders County being thickly settled with my countrymen, I found myself in green pastures. In twenty days I had amassed one hundred and eighty dollars with all expenses paid, aside from the real value of the acquaintanceship established among my countrymen, which in the near future was to prove of great use to me.

Wisconsin has been a principal source of numerous Bohemian and Slavic settlements in Nebraska. In Saunders, Dodge, Colfax, Butler, and Salina counties these people are strongly represented. Omaha has large numbers of them. Victor Rosewater, the founder and editor of the *Omaha Bee*, is a Bohemian. His name originally was Rozwaril; it was changed ostensibly to accommodate the English tongue. The

Bee ranks high in newspaperdom. John Rosicky, with the assistance of Rosewater, founded the *Pokrok Zapadu* (*Western Progress*); Brandeis, a Bohemian Jew, established a permanent dry-goods store in Omaha. North Bend, Schuyler, Wahoo, Dodge, Prague, Bruno, and many other towns are largely Bohemian. Lawyers and political mixers are much in evidence. I believe Nebraska has the largest proportion of people of Slavic nationality of any state in the Union.

But times and conditions are changing rapidly both here and in the old world. Masaryk and Benes, the two prominent heads of the Czecho-Slovakian republic, are working diligently to make their little country prosperous and contented. Their people are profoundly desirous of good relations with the United States and real reciprocity in business affairs. On the other hand, conditions in the new world are no longer so alluring as they were in the 1870's, and with restrictive immigration laws there will hereafter be comparatively few emigrants to seek homes among us. It will require but a short time for the Slavic people domiciled here to become thoroughly assimilated, when the story of their origin will remain only a tradition, like that of the Moravian Brethren who came to America five generations ago.

The power of the Slavs to absorb a new civilization is extraordinary. My own family may serve to illustrate the point. For many years we were a distinctly clannish people. Today we have representatives in Texas, Missouri, Nebraska, Colorado, Idaho, Oregon, and California. There have been numerous intermarriages with non-Slavic stock. Our language is the language of America. For myself, while still understanding Bohemian and reading it fluently, I have largely lost the power to express myself in my mother tongue. Still, it has never occurred to me to deny my nationality. The Bohemian people are not criminally inclined; they are

home loving, and in this country have ever been stanch and patriotic citizens.

During the active part of my career, which covered many years in Nebraska, I held the office of emigrant agent for the Hamburg-American Steamship Company. Through that connection I learned the facts concerning the way in which immigration from Bohemia was promoted. Bohemian farmers in this country as soon as their circumstances permitted financed the transportation to America of their needy relatives in the home country. These new people usually began as laborers, but they have developed into well-to-do farmers.

It is many years since I last traversed the charming bluff-bordered valley of Blue River in Wisconsin. I am informed, however, that Bohemians now own most of the good lands in that and neighboring valleys, and that some of the finest, most up-to-date farms and farm homes are the properties of children of Bohemian immigrants. These people are themselves taking advantage of available means of intellectual and vocational improvement, such as farmers' institutes, farmers' week at the State College of Agriculture, reports, bulletins, and magazines. Their children are graduating from town high schools, and in many cases from college and university as well. These facts reinforce what is said above about the rapidity with which Bohemians assimilate—the ease with which they become, like their neighbors of Yankee or southern origin, devoted, patriotic Americans.

THE STORY OF OLD ABE¹

DAVID McLAIN

The War Eagle of Company C, Eighth Wisconsin Volunteers, was captured in the spring of 1861 by a young Indian—called Chief Sky, in English—on the headwaters of the Flambeau River in Chippewa County. I saw Chief Sky in the summer of 1867 while up in the pinery building a dam for log driving, and had a long talk with him. He said that there were two eagles in the nest, but one got hurt so that it died later on. The nest was about as large as a bushel basket.

About the latter part of August, 1861, the Indian came down in his canoe to Chippewa Falls bringing furs and other things to sell—among them, the young eagle. When he reached Jim Falls, Daniel McCann, a citizen of the place, offered him a bushel of corn for the bird; this was accepted, and the eagle changed owners. A few days afterwards Mr. McCann brought him down to Eau Claire, where Company C of the Eighth Wisconsin was organizing for the War of the Rebellion, and offered to sell him for two and a half dollars. We got together—I was a member of the company, having enlisted on August 26, a few days before—and chipped in ten cents apiece and bought him. About that time a citizen of the city, S. M. Jeffers, came along to find out what we were doing, and told Mr. McCann to return the money and he would pay for the eagle and present him to the boys, which he did. We made up our minds to take him as far as Madison if some of the company would volunteer to care for him. James Maginnis said he would do it, and his offer was accepted.

¹ See also "The Story of Old Abe," by Frederick Merk, in this magazine, volume 2, page 82-84 (September, 1918). A photograph of Old Abe appears in connection with that article.—EDITOR.

Eau Claire made a handsome perch for the eagle, and on the third of September, 1861, we steamed down the Chippewa for Madison on the steamer *Stella Whipple*, arrived there on the sixth, and were mustered into the United States service that afternoon for three years or during the war. The Seventh Wisconsin was already organized and about ready to start for the front when we reached there, but they got very excited over our eagle, lined up on each side of the entrance gate to Camp Randall, and cheered him with a will. Governor Alexander Randall was very much interested in him too. There were very few days while we were at Camp Randall when the governor and some of his friends were not seen examining and admiring our eagle, and it was this that made us make up our minds to take him south.

The eagle was carried the same way that the flag was. The bearer wore a belt with a socket attached to receive the end of the staff, which was about five feet long. Holding the staff firmly in hand, the bearer could raise the eagle about three feet above his head, which made him quite conspicuous. The bird had a leather ring around one leg to which was attached a strong cord about twenty feet long. When marching or engaged with the enemy, the bearer wound the cord up on the shield, giving the eagle about three feet of slack.

On the morning of October 12, 1861, we left Madison for St. Louis, Missouri, where we arrived on the fourteenth. In marching up through the city of Benton Barracks, in some manner the eagle got loose and flew up over the tops of the high buildings out of sight. We thought we had lost him, but in a short time a policeman returned him to us; so we were all happy again. The policeman said that when the eagle got over the buildings he lit on the next street.

We stayed in St. Louis only one night, when we were ordered to Pilot Knob and from there to Frederickson,

Missouri, where we had our first engagement with the Confederate general Jeff Thompson. We gave him a good whipping which kept him quiet for some time. About the middle of January, 1862, the Eighth and its eagle were ordered to Cairo, Illinois, where we stayed until March 4, when we were ordered south to take part in the siege and capture of Island No. 10 and New Madrid, Missouri, which surrendered on the eighth of April, 1862, with seven thousand prisoners and a large amount of heavy guns and stores. During all this time our eagle was growing to be a very beautiful bird, admired by everybody. The officers of the gunboats and their men would come ashore and hunt up our regiment to see our eagle and admire him, and question us about how he behaved in battle, what we fed him, etc.

About the twentieth of April we were ordered up the Tennessee River to Hamburg Landing to take part in the siege of Corinth, Mississippi. May 9 we had a hard battle at Farmington, Mississippi, where our eagle showed his grit by spreading his wings and screaming through the smoke and roar of battle. He was borne safely through by James Maginnis. After the rebels evacuated Corinth, May 29, 1862, we marched in and took possession on the morning of the thirtieth. The same day Maginnis was taken sick and sent to the hospital, where he died September 19, 1862. Thomas J. Hill was detailed bearer on May 30, 1862, and served until August 18 of the same year, when he was appointed to a position in the wagon train, and the writer of this article was detailed bearer, serving until December 28, 1862.

We called the eagle "Old Abe" at that time. Then we followed the retreating enemy as far as Booneville, Mississippi, where we were ordered back to Corinth and went into camp at Clear Creek, Mississippi. There the eagle had the best time of his life for about two months. He was given complete liberty. He would go all through the brigade

but would come home to Company C in the evening and fly onto his perch. Tom Hill would take him down to the creek two or three times a week and let him bathe in the water, much to Old Abe's delight. After we left that camp we allowed him no more liberty, as we were never long enough in one place for him to get acquainted with his surroundings.

We started August 22, 1862, on a campaign through Alabama, marched as far as Courtland, stayed there a few days; then marched to Iuka, Mississippi, where we had a hard skirmish with rebel cavalry. That was on September 13, 1862. Another skirmish took place there on September 16 and a very severe battle on the nineteenth in which we routed the enemy in good shape.

Our next move was to Corinth, as it had been reported that the rebels under Generals Price and Van Dorn were organizing a force of about twenty-five thousand men at Holly Springs to retake that place. Now as there have been many exaggerated stories told about the eagle's behavior in that battle, I am going to give the straight facts. Of course, all of the members of Generals Price and Van Dorn's army knew that there was a Wisconsin regiment opposed to them which carried a live eagle, and the officers had cautioned their men the morning of the third of October to take that eagle dead or alive. I got my information from prisoners of war whom we captured there. That was one of the battles in which I carried him, so I know the facts. The eagle was borne beside the flag and made quite a conspicuous mark. About 3 P.M. we reached the battle field. The troops in front of us were running out of ammunition and were slowly falling back for want of cartridges. General D. S. Stanley, commanding our division, ordered us to lie down and let the enemy get up closer. When we got up, our eagle and flag were in plain sight of the enemy, and then they gave a rebel yell and came for the eagle and

the flag. About three thousand muskets fired into them in one volley by Stanley's division made them hesitate, but they rallied and came on again, bound to take that eagle. Our boys were ready for them and were reinforced by the Second Iowa Battery, who commenced firing canister into them. They fell back, badly broken up, with their appetite all gone for young eagles; in fact, they did not want any Wisconsin eagle. When they made the first charge, a bullet cut the cord that held the eagle to his perch, when he flew off about fifty feet from the flag and I think about ten feet high. I was right after him, caught him, tied the cord, and set him on his perch again. About the time that the cord was shot he was shot through one wing, three of his quill feathers being cut out. At the same time the bearer was shot through the left shoulder of his blouse and right leg of his pants. In both cases, happily, no blood was drawn. This only goes to show how dangerous a place the eagle bearer had.

The cutting of the cord and the eagle's flying about fifty feet down the line must have been what caused the newspapers to come out the next week with great headlines telling about the eagle of the Eighth Wisconsin getting away after a rebel bullet had cut his cord and soaring over the lines of both armies and back to his own perch, which was not so. He was always excited in battle and would spread his wings and scream, but he never flew over the lines of either army. I was told at our reunion at Eau Claire last week by Jesse Cole, a member of Company B of my regiment, who is now chaplain of the Iowa Soldiers' Home, that he heard a man there tell that the eagle got loose at the battle of Corinth and flew and lit on a stone fence and rose again away up in the air with a large stone in each talon, flew over the rebels, and dropped the stones on their heads—and he said that the man believed it.

The battle of Corinth was one of the hardest fought

battles of the war considering the number engaged. Company C lost fifty per cent of its members. It was finished on October 4, 1862. We were not engaged the second day, but the rebs went back the second day with a badly demoralized army. Our next campaign was down through central Mississippi to try to get in the rear of Vicksburg to capture that position, which proved to be a failure. Then we fell back to La Grange, Tennessee, where I resigned my position as eagle bearer about December 28, 1862. While I was his bearer I taught him to drink water out of a canteen, thus saving him much suffering on long, hot marches in a dry country. There was not a soldier in the regiment but would have divided his last drop of water to quench Old Abe's thirst.

Ed. Homeston was now detailed in my place as eagle bearer. By this time Old Abe was getting rather heavy. I think he weighed about twelve or fourteen pounds, and on hot days was very troublesome. When he got tired on his perch he would want to fly to the ground to rest. But we got along with him fairly well.

In the spring of 1863 we went down the Mississippi to take part in the Vicksburg campaign. Old Abe at this time was carried by Homeston. The Eighth Wisconsin and their eagle took part in all the fighting to get in position in rear of Vicksburg and in the assault on the fortifications on the twenty-second of May, 1863, also in the siege and capture of that place July 4, 1863. In the assault on May 22 Homeston in hurrying to the charge fell over a log. It was thought at first that he had been hit by the enemy, but it was found out later that no harm had been done to either eagle or bearer. The bearer was merely stunned by the fall.

Sometime in September, 1863, Homeston resigned his position as eagle bearer, and John Burkhardt of Eau Claire took his place and carried the bird until their three years were up and the nonveterans were discharged. Burkhardt

carried the eagle through the Red River (Louisiana) campaign in the following battles and skirmishes: Fort Drussa, La., March 16, 1864; Henderson Hill, La., March 18, 1864; Pleasant Hill, La., April 8-9, 1864; Moore's Plantation, La., May 8 and 12, 1864; Bayou de Glaise, La., May 18, 1864; Hurricane Creek, Miss., August 13, 1864. Hurricane Creek was the last skirmish in which Old Abe was engaged. He had served his three years faithfully and well.

The regiment marched down to the landing at Memphis, Tennessee, where we bade the eagle and the boys who had not reënlisted good-bye, they taking the steamer going up the river to home and friends. We who had reënlisted took a steamer down the river to start on a new campaign—but such is war.

When the nonveterans arrived at Madison in September, 1864, they marched to the capitol with their eagle, and Captain Victor Wolf of Company C, the Eagle Company, presented him to Governor Lewis, who made a speech of acceptance on behalf of the state, saying that the state would take care and provide for him as long as he lived, which it certainly did.

Now I shall pass over the regiment's final years of service. We did our last fighting at the capture of Mobile, Alabama, when we assaulted and took Fort Blakely on April 9, 1865, the very day on which General Lee surrendered to General U. S. Grant at Appomatox, Virginia. We were discharged at Demopolis, Alabama, September 10, 1865.

In conclusion I shall tell you the duties of the eagle bearers. They had no guard or fatigue duty to do, but they had full charge of the eagle, to see that he was fed properly. This was a difficult task on a march, as he would not eat grain of any kind. We fed him principally fresh beef when we could get it. Sometimes some of the boys would catch a rabbit or a squirrel, and if one was caught

in the division, the boys would be sure to bring it to the eagle and watch him eat it. Sometimes we would get a chicken or a duck for him. He was very fond of minnows; quite often we could get some in the creeks, and then he would have a feast. He was very particular about what he ate. He would not touch meat that was the least tainted. We always did the best we could to get rations for him, as we were very proud of him.

I have frequently seen Generals Grant, Sherman, McPherson, Rosecrans, Blair, Logan, and others, when they were passing our regiment, raise their hats as they passed Old Abe; this always brought a cheer from the regiment, and then the eagle would spread his wings as he always did when the regiment cheered; and he did look magnificent at such times.

Old Abe died March 21, 1881, at Madison, Wisconsin.

EARLY FARMERS IN EXETER

ELIZABETH MOORE WALLACE

I was born in Knockahollet, County Antrim, Ireland, on May 13, 1843. We were a village of weavers and small farmers—the Lynns, Moors, Hughys, Wallaces, and Cains. All of these families except the Cains finally became related by marriage.

Ireland was just emerging from that distressing period known as the potato famine. While I do not recall any shortage of rations in our little village during my childhood, I have no doubt the restlessness and discontent of the young people, which I distinctly remember, was due to the hard times. They were keen to be off over the sea to either America or Australia, while the conservative older heads of the families were against such a change. There were many heated arguments of the question, but it was not until my mother's oldest brother, John Lynn, returned after stealing away surreptitiously and roving about the world for seven years that the young people won and the exodus began. So completely was Knockahollet depopulated that not so much as one stone of the many stone houses now remains. Two families of Hughys clung to the old site until about twelve years ago; but at last the buildings have all been razed and the land turned back into the commons.

It was in the fall of 1848 that Uncle John returned to Knockahollet with a deed to three hundred and twenty acres of Wisconsin land in his pocket and a glowing description of its hills and valleys on the tip of his tongue. He had been a soldier in the Mexican War, and bearing his own land grant, and another purchased from a comrade, he had wandered west in search of a farm. Jeremiah Avery with his large family was already located on a farm on the banks of Little Sugar River in Exeter, Green County, Wisconsin. It was due largely to his kindness that Uncle John decided to locate in that section.

By March, 1849, John was back in Wisconsin with his cousin-bride, Elizabeth Gambel, to help him grub a home out of the

wilderness. On the same ship with them came many other young people from Knockahollet. All of them, except Uncle Elison Lynn, remained in New York State, where the good wages offered by the railroads and mills enabled them to lay by the price of a farm. Elison accompanied his brother to Wisconsin, where he found work on a farm near Mineral Point.

These Scotch-Irish were industrious and thrifty and it was not long as time was reckoned in those days—perhaps a year or two—before many of them had saved the fifty dollars necessary to pay for forty acres of Wisconsin government land.

My parents, Joseph and Mary Lynn Moor (or “Moore,” as our name was written in the new world) arrived in Wisconsin early in the spring of 1851. I was then eight years old and my sister Nancy (Mrs. Thomas B. Richards, of Belleville, Wisconsin) was two. My mother’s parents, James and Nancy Ellis Lynn, and my father’s only brother, William, accompanied us to Exeter.

Before we left York State Uncle Robert Lynn, who was unmarried and working in a paper mill, told mother to write him if she needed money and he would help her out; but she never had to call on him for help. With fifty dollars out of their scant store my parents purchased forty acres southeast of John’s farm. That, with other forties added from time to time, has been the home of the Moores ever since. My youngest brother, Joseph Leslie, still lives in the old house which Uncle Elison started to build in the early fifties.

The Swiss settlement of New Glarus lay five miles beyond the wooded hills to the northwest. The old mining town of Exeter, three miles to the southeast, was the most pretentious village, but it was beginning to run down at the heels, since the mining industry had practically ceased and the clearing of the ground for farms had only just begun. There was no post office at Exeter, but mail reached us through Joe Brayton, the hotel keeper, or —Witter, the proprietor of the only general store.

James Hare was living on his forty-acre farm about half a mile southwest of us, and Jeremiah Avery was his neighbor about a half-mile farther on. Across the river, half a mile from the Hare cabin, lived —Kesler. The Matthew Edgar farm lay off to the south, with the “Jimmy” Gaines farm joining it on the east.

Speculators were fast buying up the unoccupied land. In 1859, when Samuel Patterson and his wife Sally Wallace with their eight children arrived, they had to buy from Ira Baxter. The price of land had advanced from three dollars to six dollars per acre. The Pattersons were the last of that early group of relatives to come from the old country. Samuel Wallace became the eponym of the school district. Of his large family, six boys and two of their sisters owned farms in "Irish Hollow," as that section of Exeter was called. Of Grandfather Lynn's family, five boys and their two sisters were established there. All of these except Samuel Wallace, Jr., who returned to New York, and Elison Lynn made permanent homes on their farms.

Alexander Wallace and his wife Nancy Lynn, my mother's only sister, with their two little girls, Mary and Anna, came from New York in 1852 and settled just east of us. His father soon followed. "Grandpa," as everybody called the old gentleman, was a Covenanter in belief. Duty was the first law of his household. He was a zealous reader, the Bible and a Covenanter magazine being his favorite volumes. Blessed with a retentive memory, he had committed much of the Bible. His wife, Ann Bailey, was counted by those who knew her best a spoiled, pretty little woman. With them lived their youngest daughter, Ann Jane, who soon married Matthew Edgar, and William, their youngest child, who later became my husband.

"Grandpa" bought the old Sabin Morley place, between the Hare and Avery farms; but being a Covenanter, he could not take an oath and so could not become a citizen of the United States. In some way he had conceived the idea that a foreigner could not legally hold property in this country. He proposed to take no chances with the title to his farm, so he had the deed executed in the names of his sons James and John. John never came from New York to live in Wisconsin, although he furnished money and joined with James in the purchase of the farm just south of their father's place.

William bought the eighty acres lying across the marsh south of us. When in 1864 he enlisted in the army, James and his wife, Eliza Annett, came out from York State and took over the management of the three farms and the care of the old folks. William

had been paying the taxes on all of them; this expense with the continuance of the war became quite a burden, especially since there was so little of the land yet cleared for cultivation.

Eliza Annett Wallace was one of four orphan children who had been left to the care of their relatives in Ireland. She and her brother Willie had been brought across the ocean when very young, while the two other brothers had been left in Ireland. Willie was several years younger than his sister, and after her marriage made his home with her. They entirely lost track of the brothers; in fact, they could not remember that they had any near relatives, and it was long after Eliza's death that Willie bethought himself and wrote to the clerk of the parish in Ireland where he remembered he had been baptized. In this way he was able to locate one of his brothers, an old lake captain then living in Michigan.

Robert Wallace and his wife, Margaret Stinson, bought a farm joining the "Jimmy" Gaines place. Margaret was a woman of fine sensibilities and a beautiful singer. My father had known her father in Ireland and she used to enjoy visiting in our home. She would sometimes bring Robert over there, where he would be free from temptation while he was sobering up from a "spree." Robert was the only man in the "clan" who let the liquor habit get the better of him.

Thomas Wallace at first bought eighty acres up in the hills to the east. It is now part of the farm of his grandson, Roy Staley. Thomas, like many others, found difficulty in getting water on that eighty, so he soon bought and moved down between William and his father. There was something strange about the underground veins of water in those limestone hills. Some of the farmers struck water without any difficulty, while others, on a lower level, would dig many wells and finally give up and carry water from the springs or go to some place where there was a well. In some places there seemed to be underground reservoirs of water instead of running streams. Springs might gush forth in any ditch or mineral hole; and again a man might dig several wells on a farm and get no water. Perhaps it was the lack of money to pay for a drilling machine that made them dig all wells by hand. I do not know about that, but I do know

that money was very scarce and hard to get in those antebellum days.

Uncle James Lynn and his wife, Nancy Moore (no relative of my father) bought the Kesler farm. One day in late summer I went with Aunt Nancy to gather cranberries in the marsh not far from their house. I pulled up some of the plants which I carried home and reset in our marsh. They took root but did not thrive in the higher, more sandy soil as they did in the black muck of the river bottom.

Aunt Nancy was counted a capable woman with a strong character. She certainly had a will of her own and a great deal of pride, which served her well when she was left a widow in 1866 with five little boys and two girls, on a heavily mortgaged farm out there in those woods. Uncle James had driven to Monroe, fifteen miles distant, to get oak planks from which he and William were to make the beams for a long sleigh the next day. They had arranged it all the day before, when Uncle stopped at our house on his way home from Exeter, where he had bought the long oak runners. A Swiss farmer found his lifeless body lying in the "Monticello woods." His team and wagon, on which were the oak planks, were standing in the brush some distance off. There was a small hole in his forehead from which the blood oozed. He had been a quiet, sober man. His purse remained untouched in his pocket, and although the citizens investigated as best they could, no solution of the accident was ever arrived at. Aunt Nancy remained on the farm, educated her children, and laid by a competence for her old age. George is a prominent lawyer in Lynnton, South Dakota; John is at the head of the accounting department of the city light and water plant of Tacoma, Washington; Leslie owns a large ranch in the Northwest; James lives in Kansas. The other members of the family have passed on after living useful Christian lives.

Uncle Robert Lynn and his wife, Catherine Lyons, bought the "Jimmy" Gaines farm. Uncle Elison Lynn bought the forty acres just west of us and brought his bride, Rosa Scott, from Charles City, Iowa, to live in the house he was building about 1854. He soon sold out to father and took his family back to Charles City, where he was killed in less than a year by a drag

falling on him when he was unloading it from a wagon. He left two little boys—Josiah and Elison. Father borrowed \$200 from Ottis Ross of Dayton at twenty per cent interest to help pay Elison for the farm. In two years father had cleared off the debt.

William and I built our house on his eighty acres and began housekeeping in 1865 after he had returned from the war.

Mr. and Mrs. Hare were especially good neighbors, and having no family of their own—their two children having died in infancy—they could easily “pick up and go visitin’” of an afternoon or evening. I recall one winter evening when they walked in on mother, carrying a carefully wrapped bundle. I thought at first that it was a baby and wondered where they had got it. It proved to be two small loaves of bread in a tin pan, which were put to bake in mother’s oven while they visited.

That was the evening father asked Mr. Hare the meaning of the term “Yankee.”

“Who are the Yankees?” asked father.

“Well,” answered Mr. Hare, “when you see a fellow who is always playing jokes and telling lies, he is a Yankee.”

Then they both laughed, but it was several years before I understood what they meant.

Mrs. Hare, like many another pioneer woman, had formed the habit of smoking before her first child was born. Chewing or smoking tobacco was frequently recommended in those days as a cure for indigestion, irrespective of the cause. She considered it an unladylike habit and said she often prayed for strength to overcome it. Her prayer was answered by a long siege of sickness. For weeks and weeks she lay in a delirium of fever. When she recovered, the appetite for tobacco was gone and she never again took to the pipe.

After they had disposed of their farm and moved to Dayton, the Hares frequently came back to visit in the Hollow. I recall that Mrs. Hare was at my house for dinner the day in June, 1876, when William returned from Monticello with a weekly paper that contained an account of the Custer Indian massacre. Mr. Hare died and was buried at Charles City, Iowa, while there visiting a daughter by his first wife. After his death Mrs. Hare lived at

the Fess Hotel in Madison. Her body lies in the Fess lot in that city.

I had attended school in Ireland, but of course there was no school in Irish Hollow for me to attend in 1851. My father had bought new schoolbooks for me before we left Ireland, and for some time he taught me at home as best he could. The first schoolhouse in the Hollow was a little log building on the west side of the river not far from the Kesler cabin. A collection was taken up among the settlers to defray the expenses of the school. Frances Dutcher was our first teacher for a short time. Then her cousin, Frances Corey, taught the school. There were seventeen pupils representing six different families. It seems to me but yesterday they sat there on those rude benches: Henry Wesley and Hazard Zwingli Roby; Watson, Daniel, Malvina, Violet, Eliza Jane, and Milton Avery; Emma, Myranda, and Irene Kesler; Lavantia and Abigail Corey; Samantha Morley and her two little sisters whose names I have forgotten.

I spoke and read with a broad Scotch brogue, and my spelling greatly amused the other children, much to my embarrassment. My "a's" were "ä's," my "e's" were "ä's," and my "j's" were "gaw's." You can imagine the teacher's surprise when she asked me to spell "Jane" and I promptly—for I was a good speller—replied: "Gaw-ä-n-ä." But since I did not like to be laughed at, I soon learned to pronounce both words and letters in the accepted English of the time and place.

It was not long before the log building was razed and the logs were used in constructing another schoolhouse on the east bank of the river near the Morley cabin. Because my memory of school days in that location is so very hazy, I think they must have been few. Sanford Scott was using the building as a cooper shop when it burned down.

All of this must have happened before 1854, when the state legislature by special act created Joint School District Number 4 of Exeter and New Glarus towns, and the Wallace school came into existence. Most of those early pioneers had large families of keen-witted children. It was not long before the Wallace school demanded teachers of exceptional ability. In its spelling schools, singing schools, and literary society this army of young

people was given training far above the average in district schools in those days. I can count sixty-five teachers who were trained in District Number 4 before the Swiss finally bought out most of the Scotch-Irish farmers.

But let us get back to 1854 and the school building itself. A little ten by ten frame structure was at first set up at the foot of the hill across the road from the present schoolhouse. In this, that first summer, school was in session long enough to entitle the district to a share in the public school fund. In the meantime the permanent building was under construction a short distance to the east. I think the men hauled the lumber from Janesville. When completed it housed the school until the present building was erected. The little temporary room was sold to Uncle Elison and became the nucleus of the Moore house on the old homestead. The sand from the hills washed down and filled in around the building in that location; so in 1870 it was decided to move it to the opposite side of the road. That has been the schoolhouse site ever since.

Sarah Thayer, the first teacher in the new building, came from New York City to visit her uncle, — Lee, in Exeter village, but remained to teach our school. She brought us many eastern ideas: she made leather flowers into bouquets covered with dome-shaped glass receptacles; she wore short sleeves and low necks in her dresses. I recall her introductory speech the first morning and how stylish we big girls thought she looked.

Abigail Corey, Malvina and Violet Avery, and I were the "big girls," and we made life miserable for the next teacher. He was a mere boy, Earl Richmond, of Dayton, and such a bashful boy! We were cruel and heartless, but we may have done him a good turn, as he gave up the unremunerative work of teaching and became a successful merchant in company with his brother Ransom.

Some of the other very early teachers were Mahala Woodruff, Hiram Heistand, Mary Hitchcock, Melissa Ellis, Minnie Ray, Anna Broderick, and Emma Thomas.

DOCUMENTS

A TRIP THROUGH WISCONSIN IN 1838

BISHOP JACKSON KEMPER¹

[July] 18 [1838]. . . We started [from Dubuque] at 5½ [A. M.] crossed the river in a row boat. For a time we were among small islands between which the water was sluggish and no air was stirring. These islands may make Dubuque unhealthy. Mas-sachelli the R. C. priest has had built here a handsome stone chapel and is now building one at Galena—he officiates at both places.² At Dubuque a presbyterian is partly finished but there is no clergyman there now—and the minister of the Methodist Church is going away. When we got into the middle of the stream there was a fine breeze. We breakfasted at a house whose keeper was tavern keeper and stage agent. The place is called on the map Riprow—by the people Menominee³—but it has I believe only one house. Started at 7 in an open wagon—distance 18 miles—undulating prairies with occasional groves—on the table land fine breezes from the south—and with our umbrellas we were quite comfortable. Stopt at Mr. Jones, member of Congress for Wisconsin⁴—his house on S[insinawa] Mound, a natural elevation—he has not yet returned but expected soon—the house halfway up—the view from it beautiful and extensive. His sister Miss Jones from Whales [Wales] belongs to the Church—Mrs J. a R. C. born at St. Genevieve [Missouri]. A drink of raspberry shrub—Mrs J. with us to Galena. Met the Prairie du C[hien] stage. Arrived here [Galena] soon after 11. Bought some medicines and flannels. Dined with Capt G[ear] and took tea with him.

¹ Bishop Kemper's first visit to Wisconsin occurred in 1834; his journal of that visit was published in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xiv, 394-449, under the title: "Journal of an Episcopalian Missionary's Tour to Green Bay, 1834," and is accompanied by a sketch and a portrait of the author. Upon his visit four years later Kemper approached the territory from the southwest, coming up the Mississippi from St. Louis. We publish this interesting document by permission of Bishop W. W. Webb, of Milwaukee.

² For Father Samuel Mazzuchelli, an Italian missionary to Wisconsin, see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xiv, 155-157.

³ In Menominee Town, Jo Daviess County, Illinois.

⁴ Gen. George Wallace Jones was first territorial delegate from Wisconsin to Congress. See account of his career in *Wis. Mag. of Hist.*, iii, 365-366.

Went with Rev. Mr [Henry] G[ear] and family to a wedding—many present—very warm—when they began to dance Mr and Mrs G. and I came away

19 July—thursday The most oppressive morning I have yet felt. Many preparations as to carriage &c. We started at 8½. The kicking of the Major—driving of Capt Gear—tin cups—crackers—&c. A little Englishman by name of Morgan our driver. The carriage handsome and easy. A high hill back of the town—diggings—extensive and beautiful prairies—12 miles stopt at Curtis's where we found Col: Stephenson and his wife dg [daughter] of Mrs. Kyle. The Col consumptive from a wound received in the Black Hawk war.⁵ The horse Major under Morgan's driving goes on well. Passed Sinsinawa Mound on our left. Afterwards saw the 3 Platte Mounds on our right—they are natural hills, with rocks on their sides and do not even appear like tumuli. We crossed the Platte river—and 14 miles brot us to Platteville. Mr. [Henry] G[ear] carries his gun—shot 2 birds, which we had for supper tonight. Crossed another Platte river, little and big— went for seven miles thro timber—rode 18 miles after dinner and stayed for the night at Lancaster, county town of Grant Co[un]ty—new—a few houses—handsome court house. Fine breezes on the Prairies—the weather is changing and becoming cool. A shower during the evening

20 July. My own dear boy Sam was 11 yesterday.⁶ May he be preserved thro' divine grace in purity. I slept well in a dirty bed. We started at 5½—before starting and after I had entered the carriage the gun went off near my head and made a hole in the top of the carriage. God's holy name be blessed for my preservation. We rode 12 miles, lost our way, stopt at a small house on the prairie where we got breakfast—Episcopalians—Mr Dodge⁷ one of the Church wardens of Cassville—made an appointment with them for next week at Cassville—would take no pay. Met with a delicious spring from which Mr. G. helped me 4 times. Stopt at [Page] Blakes from New Hampshire—a fine spring. We dined on our crackers. Entered a ravine which brot us to the

⁵ For the services of Col. James Stephenson in the Black Hawk War, see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, x, 192.

⁶ See note on Samuel Kemper in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xiv, 396.

⁷ J. E. Dodge of western Grant County, not Col. Henry Dodge, for whom see *post*.

Wisconsin—the banks of which were overflowed. Now 14 miles from Dodge—a tedious time before we were ferried over. Soon after we met Cadle⁸ and Lt McKissen⁹ coming out in a carriage to meet us. 6 miles from the river to the Prairie. We passed thro' another ravine called colée by the french and descended into a pretty and long Prairie—drove to fort Crawford—and were very kindly rec'd by Dr. Elwes¹⁰ the surgeon of the garrison and by his wife, formerly a Miss Thomas of Elizabeth-town, N. J. and a communicant of the church. The fort or cantonment is a square of buildings, one story with a basement—north and south for the officers, the others for the soldiers—the officers apartments equal to the accommodation of 20 families. There are here now not more than 50 soldiers with Gen. Brooke,¹¹ whose regiment the 5th is scattered over this country at St. Peters, here, Green Bay, Winnebago &c. Gen B, Mr Hooe,¹² Mr McKissan, Mr and Mrs Lockwood,¹³ Miss Hooe &c called

21 July. A comfortable room, nice bed &c to myself. We are all, horses &c entertained by the Dr. Family prayers and grace. A riding party up the Prairie to Rouletts mill¹⁴ Called at Mr. Lockwoods—his wife from Wilkesbarre, her mother with her, aged, Mrs Wright a com[municant], mother of Dr W at St. Peters and of the husband of Mrs W. of St Louis, the dg [daughter] of Mrs Christy. Called at Gen Street's agent for the Winnebagoes¹⁵—met there Rev. Mr. Lowrie who has a mission of the Cumberland Presbyterians 10 miles up the river among the W[innebagoes] supported by Government.¹⁶ He preaches here about every third sunday and has organized a congregation of which Gen: Street is elder. He gives way to me this afternoon

⁸ For Rev. Richard Cadle, at this time a resident of Prairie du Chien, see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, ii, 147; xiv, 401; his portrait is in *ibid.*, xiv, 412.

⁹ Lieut. William M. D. McKissack, a graduate of West Point (1831), lieutenant in 1835 of Fifth Infantry, stationed at Fort Crawford.

¹⁰ Dr. Alfred W. Elwes, assistant surgeon in the army in 1825, was appointed surgeon in 1836, and died in 1842.

¹¹ Gen. George M. Brooke, commander of the Fifth Infantry, was at Fort Howard, Green Bay, when Kemper was there in 1834. See *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xiv, 417.

¹² Lieut. Alexander S. Hooe, for whom see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, vii, 350; his wife was Emilie Rolette, of Prairie du Chien.

¹³ For James H. Lockwood and wife, see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, ii, 98-196; v, 325.

¹⁴ See description of the building of Rolette's mill, in Keyes's journal, *Wis. Mag. of Hist.*, iii, 355-360. For sketch of Joseph Rolette, see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xix, 140.

¹⁵ Joseph M. Street is noted in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xi, 356.

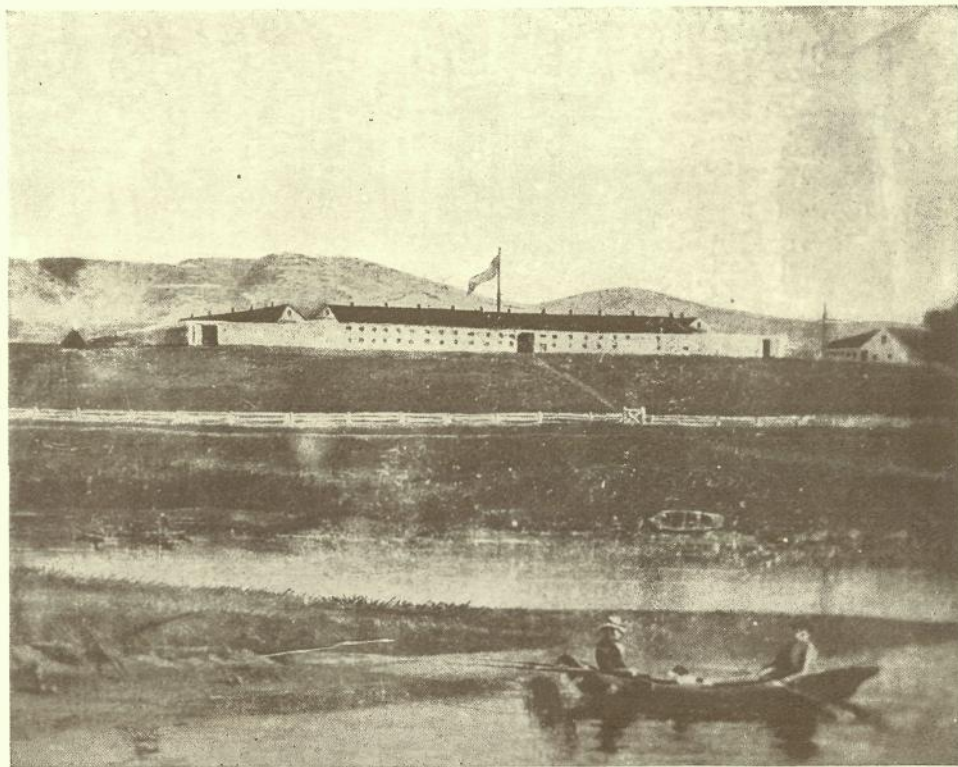
¹⁶ Rev. David Lowry, for whom see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xii, 405.

but is to ad[minister] the com[munion] by appointment tomorrow morning. After dinner went to the old village where the American Fur Company has its establishment and saw Mr Dousman who was polite.¹⁷ This is a little french village on a sand bar, separated by a slough from the main land which at times is passable, but not now. In this village Mr Cadle boards. The village is $\frac{1}{2}$ a mile above the fort—between them, on the main land is what may be called the American village where there is the court House, post office &c.—and a new town has been commenced a mile below the fort. We had a service at 5 which was well attended Mr G[ear] read prayers and I pr[eached] on JX the savior &c We took tea at Judge Lockwoods where we met a brother of his, Gen Street &c. Gen S. is to be the agent of the Sauks and Foxes and will remove to the upper Des Moines. He has just returned from that country and speaks very highly of it. These people will have nothing done for their education or conversion to Xty. The W[innebagoes] consented to a school merely to please him, and at it the children receive $\frac{3}{4}$ lbs of pork and a lb of bread at the close of every day. The Rev Mr Lowrie has produced no effect upon the people as yet, he cannot speak their language—but some of the mothers are around the Mission and begin to plant potatoes as well as corn. The W[innebagoes] a few years ago raised corn enough for themselves and to sell to the forts &c but since the whites have got among them they have become degenerated and lazy—they drink and are often in a starving condition. Gen S in his late tour saw in Keokuk's village¹⁸ a pole ten feet long on the upper part of which was a dog that had been killed as a sacrifice to secure rain &c his nose and feet were painted red. He had been there about 10 days. Again, he says, when he went last winter with Keokuk Black Hawk¹⁹ &c to Washington—at the mouth of the Mo. Black Hawk acting as a priest took a little dog to the bow of the boat, and after singing &c by some of the oldest men, dropt him into the water as a sacrifice to secure their safe return. After leaving Mr. Lockwoods

¹⁷ Hercules L. Dousman, whose sketch and portrait are in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xx, 304.

¹⁸ For an account of this village, see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xv, 116-118; see portrait of chief in xx, 206.

¹⁹ The Sauk chief who went on the war path in 1832.



FORT CRAWFORD, WISCONSIN TERRITORY

Built in 1828-32

we called at Lt Sibleys who is warden of the vestry but whose wife is a Presbyterian²⁰—and at Lt. Hooe's who with his sister belong to the Church but whose wife Roulett's dg [daughter] is a R. C.

22 July. 6 S[unday] after T[rinity] Prairie du Chien. We had a service to ourselves at the Hospital—the congregation small as we did not give public notice. I began with the Litany—pr[eached] on the centurion & ad[ministered] the com[munion] to the 2 clergymen, Mrs Wright and Mrs Elwes. At 5 held a service at the Court House—I all of it, and pr[eached] on Be ye reconciled to God &c. Quite, almost uncomfortably cool. Called with Mr. Cadle upon Mr Pine of N. York²¹ who helpt D. V. M. Johnson to build his church at Brooklyn intends settling here, has had the bilious fever—is now better—is one of the church wardens. Called at Mr McKissan's who is with Mrs Green whose dg [daughter] was his wife, who died lately. Lt Col G is now in Florida—these are Presbyterians. Spent some time with Gen Brooke. The Rev. Mr Presstman of Delaware was his Lt. in the late war when he was Capt—speaks of him in the highest terms—w'd have made a most distinguished officer. Some talk of building a church here—600 dollars have I believe been subscribed—the subject must be encouraged. I take letters of introduction from Gen B to Major Cobbs, [Fort] Winnebago²²—to Gov Dodge and Dr Beatty, Mineral Point, from the Dr—to the Messrs Dousmans, Milwaky,²³ from their brother who is here.

23 July. Promised to call upon Mrs E's father in New York. After an early breakfast the Dr. and the Gen. saw us start. 30 miles to Cassville. The morning cool—rode some time in my surtout. Found the Wisconsin so high that the boat took us to the house over the bottom. Stop't at Blake's where there is the fine spring and had dinner on cold peas, pork, corn bread and milk—Mrs B. sick and the house and children very dirty. A schoolmaster there who was once a Lt. in the British Army—evidently reduced by dissipation. We passed thro' a long gorge,

²⁰ Lieut. C. C. Sibley, formerly stationed at Fort Howard.

²¹ See mention of this pioneer in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, v, 272.

²² For sketch of Maj. Waddy V. Cobbs, see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, vii, 404.

²³ George D. and Talbot C. Dousman, for whom see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, iv, 260; ix, 432.

the only entrance into Cassville where we arrived before sunset. The town is small—prettily situated on a high bottom—the landing good—but little cultivation and few inhabitants as yet behind it. It may become important as there are not many good landings on the river. Gen [Garret V.] Dennison has erected a large tavern of brick, said to be the best house in the Territory, in expectation of C. being made the capital. Mr Cadle has been here sometimes and has organized a congregation. No clergyman of any denomination here at present—must endeavour to have one. We made an appointment for the night when Mr G. officiated and preached—attendance good in a schoolhouse.

24th July. A separate room to each—and I had a good bed and slept well—but yesterday was so cool I felt rheumatic and last night put my surtout coat on the bed and this morning (having taken too last night some paragoric) I am, thank God, quite well. We, after a late breakfast, (where our birds were badly cooked—a grouse, partridge, quail and curlew which Mr G. shot yesterday) visited Mr [P. R.] Farnsworth, an E[piscopalian] at the post office where he is deputy—Mr [G. M.] Price, son of I. M. Price of Phila & br[other] of Lowry. He thinks he can get aid from Phila to build a church—his aunt Mrs. [blank in manuscript] and Messrs Walsh and [blank in manuscript]. I must remember this when there. We had a service at 11. I [read] anti[ante] C[ommunion]—sermon on reconciliation—com[munion] to two. Miss Bronson from Vermont who teaches school here and Mrs Dodge who with her husband and some neighbours arrived late but in time for the sermon. The audience was small—yet the service was gratifying—and I hope edifying. We called on Mr Street who resides here son of Gen S of the Prairie—took dinner—and started at 2. Mr F. talked of having his children baptized but did not. There are Epis[copals] here who were absent &c. We soon overtook the Dodge party when Mrs D. exchanged with Mr Cadle— and we arrived at D's house by 5 oc, where we finally determined to spend the night. We sat in an apartment where there were no doors, chinks or glass—some books, J. E. D evidently aiming at political life—kind, intelligent, self-taught, conceited. A late supper—very late

prayers. Mrs D. kind, simple-hearted, pious, delicate—no help. C and I in a little bed in a very small room. G and M on the floor in the kitchen.

25th July. Mr G. determined we would wait for br[eakfast] and take some oats with us—nothing like being free and at home. I feel today a little indisposed. It is warm, and I am very sleepy. At Lancaster about 10 Then started off towards Mineral Point having the Platte Mounds nearly all day in sight on our right. For 16 miles without seeing any house or cultivation—over extensive prairies—no spring or creek in sight. Happily it clouded up and rained a while which must have refreshed the horses. After travelling 22 miles from Lancaster—frequently doubtful of our way and sometimes wrong—and having stopt at 2 to feed our horses on the oats and ourselves on the crackers—we arrived at Parish's about 6 o'clock.²⁴ Saw his air furnace moved by water for smelting lead. A fine spring. A good supper. Met Pierpont a carpenter now residing at M. P. an Epis[copalian] from North Haven—knew Mr. Ives &c.

26th July thursday Had a bed to myself and slept well. This is a mining country. Parish been here 10 yrs. from Ky—a black woman with him. Here are two long log houses, one apparently designed for guests. We wait for breakfast. No religious privileges here. English Prairie on the Wisconsin where Col Hamilton &c reside is 15 miles from here,²⁵ so is Mineral Point. A Metho' minister was here but has behaved badly. We started at 7½ and notwithstanding minute directions soon went wrong, making our way to Blue river and the English Prairie by which we lost nearly two hours. Other roads met us afterwards and puzzled us and again we went 2 miles out of the way. The way was hilly tho prairie, the heat was very great, the horses had had nothing but grass, we therefore walked a great deal, and it was quite one when we arrived at Lathrop's tavern at Mineral Point—17 miles but which we had made much longer. Met by Mr Messerschmidt²⁶

²⁴ For Thomas J. Parrish, see *Wis. Mag. of Hist.*, iv, 37-38.

²⁵ For this settlement and Col. William S. Hamilton, with portrait, see *Wis. Mag. of Hist.*, iv, 31-39.

²⁶ John Messersmith, of Pennsylvania German stock, emigrated from Ohio to the Wisconsin lead mines in 1827. He served in the Black Hawk War, and his place not far from Mineral Point, near the military road, was noted for its hospitality. He died Oct. 1, 1855, in his sixty-seventh year.

very kindly and were soon refreshed and had dinner. The place in a ravine, surrounded by diggings, and said to contain 1000 inhabitants. A log court house where a school likewise is kept was neatly prepared for us and where we held service about 3 o'clock. Here are several Episcopalsians—there is no settled clergyman of any description—we ought to send one immediately—Mrs Ridgley wife of Dr R—Mr and Mrs Salter and Mrs Garrison her sister,²⁷ Mr Ainsley now in England, Mr Milton from Boston, Mr [blank in manuscript] from Va &c. I had a letter to Dr Beatty. Gov. Dodge and some of his family were present—he was very polite and called upon me afterwards at the tavern. He lives 4 miles back of Dodgeville which is eight miles from here. There were not many present, but those who were united pretty generally in the service. Mr and Mrs Salter invited me to their house now or at any future time. We started about 5, Morgan a little the worse for drink and drove rapidly—passed copper and lead diggings some of them nearly 200 feet deep—clouds, wind and rain—passed thro Dodgeville and arrived about 7 at Mr Messerschmidt's who with his 2 daughters had been at church. The establishment consisting of 3 log houses—10 children—a son a judge. Treated with great hospitality. Mr M's history—from Penna at Alton—very poor—came up to Galena with Capt Gear—their two families together—then a log hut for each—his 2 boys crossed the Fever river the first day and found lead to the value of 18 dollars—the commencement of his fortune. A good but late supper. A shower. The cabin into which we were first taken was given up to us—visited by a toad, a dog howling beneath—G and C on the floor.

27 friday a clear, pleasant morning, but a very hot day. After a late breakfast we started. Shooting grouse. Splendid country. Mr Messerschmidt a Lutheran and anxious for the establishment of our church at Mineral Point. His story of sending away 6 indians who he thot intended to injure his family at the beginning of the late war. 15 miles without seeing a house. A beautiful country—approaching the blue mound which we gradually ascended— first [John C.] Kellogg's house, an old

²⁷ Dr. Richard G. Ridgley, Benjamin Salter, and James and William Garrison were among the noted pioneers of Mineral Point.

presbyterian where C once staid— then Brigham's an old bachelor who has 4000 acres.²⁸ B with Capt Gear and MS[Messersmith] among the successful pioneers of this country, about the same time 11 years ago. B from Massachusetts and has now with him his brother's family. He says Featherstonhaugh has made false statements and has an impure mind.²⁹ Had a nice, frugal, yankee dinner—walked to the top of the mound where there is a fine level and where he cultivates 40 acres. Here our horse Tom was sick and likewise Morgan. We waited till near 5 and then started for Haney's tavern 14 miles³⁰ Half way in a valley found a fine spring and a deserted house and plenty of mosquitoes. Were benighted but finely [sic] arrived—insects plenty—very sultry—smoke to drive away the mosquitoes. Reports so unfavourable about our getting to the fort 36 miles from here in consequence of the sudden rising of the waters and the destruction of some bridges, that after some hesitation we determined to spend sunday at Madison. All 3 of us in one room—G on the floor and C and I in the same bed. I wrote to Major Cobbs and requested an answer by return of mail.

28th July saturday, a fine rain last night—the atmosphere clear—and the country around looks beautiful. Both G and C have written to the fort—we had rather a late breakfast—and to our surprise nothing to pay—this has been the case since we left Cassville. Morgan and the horse quite well. We started up a valley—travelled slow on account of the warmth and the grass in the road and arrived at Madison 14 miles about 1 oc. A very new place—only one house here a year ago—now perhaps two dozen. The tavern half finished and apparently full—no fresh meat at dinner or supper. The capitol is building and is to be finished sufficiently to accommodate the Legislature on 4th Monday of Nov. It is of stone—104 by 54—2 stories with a dome. Mr Cadle started with a man in a light wagon for the City of the 4 Lakes on the 4th Lake a distance of 7 miles and did not return

²⁸ For Ebenezer Brigham, the first settler of Dane County, see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, v, 319.

²⁹ George W. Featherstonhaugh, an English geologist, visited Wisconsin in 1837. His account of Madison is in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, iv, 88-93. This description was much resented by Dane County pioneers. *Ibid.*, vi, 343-346.

³⁰ Berry Haney had a tavern on the military road near the present village of Cross Plains.

until near 9. Mr. Schlater's is the only house in the City³¹—he and his wife were absent. Judge Doty is spoken of as the ablest man in this Territory—deeply speculating in land and banks. Went to bathe in the Lake No 3 on which the town is situated—it was pleasant—but while dressing was sadly bitten by mosquitoes. On the return of G and myself to the tavern we stoped at a house near the banks of the Lake and near to which there were several fires to keep off the insects and mentioned there would be service tomorrow, when we were invited to go in which we accordingly did and found an Episcopalian in a Mrs Hier whose husband I presume keeps a boarding house.³² She is from the State of New York and thinks the Rev Messrs Liberty A. Barrows and John Bayley would be willing to come to this country.

29th July sunday 7th after Trinity The Legislature passed an act last winter to establish an University here to which Congress has given 2 townships 72 sections, to be selected in any part of the Territory. Some of the Episcopalsians are Trustees—and we must look into this subject as it is decidedly important. We had a room to ourselves altho only lathing separated the rooms. All was done for us evidently that could be—two rooms—and Mr G. as usual on the floor—had my [mosquito] bars up. G. constantly attentive and kind. Mr [Augustus A.] Bird one of the commissioners to build the statehouse, Mr [Isaac H.] Palmer, Mr [Simeon] Mills called upon us. A store partly built was comfortably prepared for us, and we had two services, at 9 and 2—in the morning a full attendance and a goodly number all day united in the service. I pr[eached] on “Go thy way for this time”—and on “the sons of God who shall see X” The day was warm. We went at Mr Mills request to his house between services—his wife, Miss Smith, Judge Hier &c. Judge Hier owns the city of Aztalan, which is 30 miles from here on the road to Milwaukee on the Crawfish which is a branch of the Rock River. He gave me a plan of it in which it is called a citidel. It contains 20 acres. It has on it trees 500 years old. It is probably an ancient fortification—the earth embankments are not more than 4 feet high.

³¹ Col. William B. Slaughter, territorial secretary, platted the City of the Four Lakes on the northwest shore of Lake Mendota. See *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, ix, 437.

³² Mrs. David Hyer, whose husband built in 1838 a frame house on Fairchild Street.

Hier gave the name from Humboldt who mentions a report of an ancient city near 43° North Latitude. At several places, perhaps at the gate ways, there are appearances of brick, which had been burnt in straw. I saw small pieces—it is said a whole one has not been taken up.³³ Between the services we saw at the tavern 18 young men from Mineral Point under a son of Gov Dodge in pursuit of some Winnebagoes who had stolen horses from the neighborhood—and [John] Milton and [William H.] Banks were among them. We called to see Mrs Hier and gave her some newspapers. We started immediately after evening service and passed over the 15 miles quite rapidly and were at Haney's by sunset. No letters, no mail—Haney absent. We were treated politely and at the request of Mrs. H. I read the Scriptures and had prayers. The bars were of service to me. I commented to-night on St. John I, 1-5.

30th July. We were up early but knew not what to do—but after a while determined to wait for breakfast and gave some newspapers &c We learned from Morgan that when he was cleaning the gun on saturday at Madison, it went off and shot away the ramrod. We went thro' a beautiful country without the slightest sign of civilization for 23 miles when we got to the very dirty hut of a frenchman where we got some pork, tea & bread but no sugar. Here at [blank in manuscript] we met the postman. From his statement he was returning on sunday from the fort when he met Smith a contractor who persuaded him to take him back in his wagon which he accordingly did! He bro't a kind letter from Mr Merrill³⁴ to Mr G and said there was a gentleman coming on who had letters for the rest of us. The waters at the portage are falling—two footmen came over sunday night and the stage has now 2 or 3 teams. We still had 13 miles to go and we pressed on when we finally came to the swamp of Duck Creek across which the Military road led. The whole was nearly covered with water and at the further end we saw 3 gentlemen busily occupied in arranging the logs. We pressed on towards them over the causeway on each side of which the swamp was

³³ Nathaniel F. Hyer, discoverer of the archeological remains at Aztalan. See *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, ix, 99-104; *Wisconsin Archeologist*, xix, 7-19.

³⁴ For Henry Merrell, of Portage, see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, vii, 366.

deep. Mr G got out to walk on the side log—I followed and one of my feet soon slipt into the swamp above my knee. Mr Merrill who keeps a store at the fort, and an old friend of Mr G—Mr [John V.] Suydam formerly of the Mission and now a surveyor—and Mr Daniel Whitney³⁵ on his way to Cassville and intending to go tonight to Hayney's now about 6 oc—met us. Mr W. had already slipt between the logs up to his middle. There was a place where the logs had been removed and which these three were endeavouring to replace. The horses were taken out and then the carriage was pulled over by hand. All of us were now wet. G mounted an extra horse and C and I reëntered the carriage drying ourselves in the sun. We crossed Duck Creek by a bridge and then continued thro' the water, sometimes over the front wheels. We drew near the end of our journey when another very bad place occurred, in attempting to get over which both our horses fell. G was up to his middle in the water—he and Merrill and Morgan were busy—and finally both men got up with injury. Dr. Foot came off in a boat and took us ashore—and M. drove the carriage in safety over the bridge at Fox river. Mr Lyndes³⁶ met us—and Major Cobbs—plain in his manner and dress—he had given Mr Whitney a letter to me but W. forgot to hand it. He gave orders about our horses &c and took me to his quarters—G went with Merrill and C with Dr. Foot.³⁷

This morning immediately after we started one of our horses fell crossing a swampy place. The poor fellows had hard work today. The Major has 5 children—2 absent at school—Mrs C kind and plump—Miss Haight a teacher in the house. Changed my clothes after tea—when Lt. Ruggles³⁸ and all the gentlemen I had seen and G and C called. Scriptures and prayers.

31 July tuesday. There is here now but a company of soldiers—saw them on guard &c. Last night there was a blow and this morning it is cool. We had service at the Hospital—everything

³⁵ A sketch of Daniel Whitney, with portrait, is in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xx, 221.

³⁶ Lieut. Isaac Lynde, of Vermont, a graduate of West Point, became lieutenant in the Fifth Infantry in 1827; twelve years later he obtained a captaincy; retired in 1861, and died in 1886. He was stationed at Fort Howard when Kemper was at Green Bay in 1834.

³⁷ See history of Fort Winnebago in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xiv, 65-102; Dr. Lyman Foot is noted 77-78.

³⁸ For Lieut. Daniel Ruggles, see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, vii, 403.

was snugly prepared. G. read the service—C bap[tized] Dr Foots child. I pr[eached] on the centurion & conf[irmed] Dr Foot. Most of the soldiers in full dress, the ladies, officers &c were there. This cantonment is smaller than that at the Prairie and the houses poorer—only intended for 6 companies. Palisades the principal defence—2 blockhouses—and a cannon opposite each of the two gates. The portage was here between the 2 rivers not more than a mile apart. The old trading establishment of the french was on a bluff on the other side of the Wisconsin, but there was no good water at the place; the fort therefore was placed here. The waters had been falling, but last night it rose again 3 inches—there is a large stream from the Wisconsin rushing into the Fox. We called to see Mr Merrill who was out at his store—Lt Ruggles where we saw the N. Y. Review—Mrs Low whose husband Capt L is at fort Gratiot³⁹—she has 2 dgs[daughters] grown up who talk of being baptized—at Lt. Lyndes who has 3 children to be baptd &c. Dined with the Dr.—5 ducks and a large dish of turtle—the Major there. He has seen much service—was with Gen Jackson in the south—his sleeping on a log in a swamp, the rest of the party standing. He lately came here from the Sault St. Marie where he has been five yrs—and where ice may be seen floating in May. The death of a child has led him to reflection—he has given up swearing, reads the Bible with A. Clarke's notes and writes down his own views—is frugal in order to educate his children, and keeps money in advance in a bank in the town where his son is educating by one of the Abbots—he is inclined to the ministry, but is going to West Point in Sepr. Dr Foot became a communicant 10 yrs ago—this is the first time since then he has seen a B[ishop] or had an opportunity of being confirmed. He is now married to a niece of J. F. Cooper who has one child. The Majors story of rattlesnakes in Va. when young he saw a valley ½ mile long filled with them assembling to go in their dens—there were millions of them—his party fired upon them, but they had to run for the effluvia made them puke. Mrs C's story when coming up the Wisconsin—Capt Spencer enticing 18 from under a rock by a cooing, hissing noise and depriving them

³⁹ For Capt. Gideon Low, see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, vi, 406; his picture and that of Mrs. Low are in *ibid.*, xiv, 76, 88.

of their fangs &c—all 7 feet long. Saw some Winnebagoes selling mats at the Drs—very little clothing on the men. Dr. F. once brot his two children here from the Prairie when there was no stopping places on the road, he slept 5 nights on the march with the youngest only 8 months old—his wife had lately died. We started at 4 supplied with many comfortables—green veils for the hats of all three of us—my barrs greatly improved and another lent us—2 roast ducks, crackers, smoke beef, cakes, wine, salt &c a good road—12 miles to Roy's—french an[d] indian—everything looked dirty and comfortless—but we got a supper better than I expected—tea, molasses to sweeten it, pork and bread. Here is a most splendid spring.⁴⁰

1st Aug. Wednesday. Today we travelled 42 miles to Fond du Lac. The road was good. Morgan got some shot in his neck and face and arms while following G who started after Prairie hens—great alarm—but not much injury. G. drove the rest of the day. Suydam started with us and is an excellent guide. We stopt at an house where an indian is married to a mulatto and got some tea &c. We were 23 miles without seeing a house or clearing of any kind. At F. du L. a town is laid out—there[are] as yet but two houses in it. The tavern was neat—the meals however were scanty and slim.

2d August thursday. We now entered a thickly wooded country, through which there is a military road that is truly bad. This country belongs to the Brothertown Indians, who have lost the Indian language. They are the fragments of 7 nations who once occupied the New England States. There is no pure Indian blood among them—and they cannot trace their descent. They are partly Baptists and partly Quakers—and are at present without any place of worship or ministry, except that a Mr [blank in manuscript] a Methodist minister has lately moved among them.⁴¹ We were all day going 22 miles. At noon we stopd and had a feast in the shade—ducks, cheese supplied by Mr Suydam &c. Morgan is getting better but does not yet drive. Mr S. gave his horse to Mr C. and greatly assisted us by walking &c. We

⁴⁰ Called Bellefontaine farm; see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xii, 402. A sketch of François Roy is in *ibid.*, xiv, 165.

⁴¹ For an account of these Indians by one of their own number, see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, iv, 291-298.

had been aiming for and towards night we came to the residence of Mr Marsh,⁴² Missionary to the Stockbridges who have a reservation aside of the Brothertowns. He has a comfortable wood (board) house—he received us with great kindness—and likewise his wife once in the Mission at Macanaw and a Miss [blank in manuscript] teacher of the school. A plain wooden church which is likewise used as a schoolhouse is near Mr M's house—and some indian houses are near to him. We had a comfortable nice tea—I prayed—and we went to bed by night. I and G in a little room—he as usual on the floor. I having begged for him a buffalo skin and a blanket. Altho annoyed very much by misqs[mosquitoes] down stairs, there were none up. Yesterday being clouded we were exceedingly annoyed by misqs[mosquitoes] and particularly by gnats. Last night our bars were of great service to G and I—we slept well in good beds. Even at Roys we slept better than I expected, I had a room to myself. The S[tockbridge]s are professing Xany—60 of them are full members—30 attend the school in summer (children) 40 in winter. Today at one time we found ourselves on a high bluff at least 100 feet above the Lake from whence we had a most splendid view across the Lake &c. The Lake continued in sight all day.

3d Aug. friday. Rose at 4 after a good sleep. Had an early comfortable breakfast—and invited to call on our return. The road worse than yesterday—all day going 22 miles to Wrights on the Fox river at the mouth of the Plumb, 6 miles below the Grand Kaukalin.⁴³ Much swamp—deep holes—steep hills, descending which G and S held the carriage back by ropes. C went off on the pony. No good water on the road. We had wine, crackers and smoak beef still to dine on. Arrived by 6 oc p. m. G I presume walked 20 out of the 22 miles today. Mr A. G. Ellis has been appointed surveyor of Iowa and W and is to remove to Dubuque.⁴⁴ Here I find the father and brother of Rev. L. B. Wright of Alabama.

4. 12 miles remained to the Mission which we accomplished by noon. The road still bad—and the carriage still to be held

⁴² For Rev. Cutting Marsh and his mission, see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xv, 25-28, and his portrait as frontispiece of that volume.

⁴³ The site of the present Wrightstown, where Dr. Hoel S. Wright had settled.

⁴⁴ For a sketch of this pioneer and his portrait, see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xx, 317.

back at some places. Mr C. went ahead on S's horse. 3 miles before the termination of our journey we came to Depere a village that has sprung up since I was here at the Rapids de Pere, where a Jesuit established himself as a missionary many years ago. A dam has been carried across the river by which water power has been secured—some mills and some fine houses have been erected. Kindly received at the Mission by Mr [Rev. Daniel E.] Brown &c. His wife and her children with the 2 oldest girls of the Mission have gone on a visit to Litchfield. Mr Carder has been here for a few days—here is Susan C[rawford] with her sister Miss [Sarah] Crawford. The [S. B.] Sherwood I sent out is now teacher of the boys at Duck Creek—his youngest brother [Edson] is the farmer of the Mission. Here is Miss Williams sister in law of Mr. [L. W.] Davis who has just arrived to take charge of the female school at Duck Creek—she is yet a Presbyterian. Tom the horse fell as the carriage was descending a steep hill near Depere and had it not been for the hold G and S had upon it by ropes from behind the horse would have been killed. They are both completely fagged out. We learn we cannot get by land to Milwaukie—and it will be almost impossible for us to return the way we came we shall therefore take a boat even if it starts before the meeting of the Trustees, which is not to take place we regret to find until thursday next. Rev. Mr Davis and the elder Sherwood (who is now a communicant of the church) arrived from Duck Creek in the afternoon. Mr. D. has but lately returned from Washington where he was with a deputation of Oneidas for several months during the winter. His voice has been gradually failing him and it is now entirely gone without cold or pain. He unfortunately has no confidence in the physicians about him.

5th august sunday 8th Trinity. The village of Astor was established near Navirino soon after I left here⁴⁶—Episcopalians lived in both places, and unable to decide where to build a church they have delayed it to this day while the M[ethodists] have a good one & the P[resbyterian]s nearly one finished. Two lots in N could be obtained as a gift—one in A w'd cost \$500.

⁴⁶ For the plans and history of Astor and Navarino, now parts of Green Bay, see *Green Bay Historical Bulletin*, published by the Green Bay Historical Society, February, 1925.

The vestry finally decided therefore to build in N altho the M and P chs were in A. and had begun the foundation when Mr Suydam left. On his return he found every thing suspended—but will endeavour he says to have the corner stone laid while I am here.⁴⁶ Mr Brown's plan has been to preach at the Bay in the Mornng—Depere in the aft—and hold a Bible class &c with his pupils at the Mission at night. A and N are now united into a town called Green Bay, but the old distinction is kept up in the wards. The same schoolhouse is used as when I was here; but on this occasion the M Church was offered. Mr B. takes most of the children with him to both his services, as they are now reduced to a few and he has 2 waggons and 3 horses. Carder read the service, G the Litany, I anti-c., confirmed 6 of whom one was an oneida young man and another a Menominie young woman both members of the school— pr[eached] on Joshua—and ad [ministered] the com[munion] assisted by Mr Brown—all the candidates for conf[irmation] communed. The church was full. In the aff[ternoon] went to Depere with Mr. B and officiated in the Court House. Mr Cadle read the service—Mr B bapt[ized] 3 children—I conf[irmed] one person and pr[eached] on Be ye reconciled to God. At the Bay Mr G pr[eached] in the aft and rivited the attention Dr [Edward] Worrell of the fort said for 2 hours—and Mr. Carder at night on Prayer, whom I heard.

We remained the rest of the week at the Bay variously engaged. It was our intention if possible to have taken a steam boat to Milwaukie, where we hoped to spend sunday the 12 and then to have reached Galena the night of the 15. A boat came in on Monday the 6 and departed in the course of a few hours—but this was too soon for us. I spent part of my time at the mission house and the rest at Mr. Whitney's. Mrs W's sister wife of Rev Prof. Fitch was with her—an unsophisticated, interesting woman, with twins about 8 months old. Mrs. W. has a great boy of the same age, one of the best tempered fellows I ever saw. Mr W. is building a splendid house on what appears to be a marsh⁴⁷—and in fact N. appears to be on one and A on a sand bar. As

⁴⁶ Christ Episcopal Church was built in Navarino, corner of Madison and Cherry streets.

⁴⁷ See picture of this house in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xv, 220.

yet there is very little to make this a large town, for there is scarcely any cultivation of the land between it and fort Winnebago except by the civilized Indians, and the access by water thro' Green Bay is long and difficult. I dined at Judge Arndts, who is a man of influence and a member of the Legislature⁴⁸—at Mr Elliss—at Mr Knapps who has been a candidate in N Y and wished to become one again in order to devote himself to the Indians, whose language he says in such a case he will acquire⁴⁹ I must consult with B[isho]p B. T. O[nderdonk] concerning him, between whom there has been some misunderstanding. I took tea at Mr [Alexander J.] Irwins. We called at Mr [John S.] Horner's now living with his family at the tavern. He was appointed by Jackson Gov of Michigan—then Secy of Wisconsin — and then very contrary to his wish to the land office here where his income is small. He professes to belong to the church—his wife is intelligent, conversable—a presbyterian—and for her it is said his first appointment was conferred. Called at Judge Dotys whose wife was absent. He appears to be concerned in all the banks, towns and cities of the Territory. At Mrs Merrill's wife of Capt. [M. E.] M. now commanding at fort Howard. She is sister to Slaughter and a Va church woman. We likewise called at a sister of Mrs Foots⁵⁰ &c—and at one place at the request of Mr Brown I baptised a child whose mother was born at Macinaw and understands and speaks fluently the Chippewa and Ottawa. She can converse with the Menominies, who ask her, Where did you get yr Chippewa from? (M. being a dialect of C.) Mr Suydam wished us to dine with him but we could not fix upon the time. . . .

On tuesday the 7 we started at an early hour on horseback, crossed the ferry at Arndts and proceeded to Duck Creek. Half way we were met by Mr. Davis and the leading men of his congregation, including most of the chiefs, perhaps there were 50—they escorted us to the church—all on horseback. During Mr D's absence last winter his dwellings, books &c were burnt

⁴⁸ For John P. Arndt, see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xx, 381.

⁴⁹ J. Gillett Knapp later removed to Madison; his reminiscences are in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, vi, 366-387.

⁵⁰ Mrs. Samuel W. Beall, for whom see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, x, 474.

by fire. He and his wife now occupy the school house—one room—Sherwood who lives with them sleeping in the vestry of the church. Mrs D. quite an interesting woman—he has one child a girl perhaps 8 yrs old, by a former wife. I recognized Bread and some others.⁵¹ The attendance was good tho not crowded. A lay reader read the service in Mohawk—the singing likewise in Mohawk.⁵² I anti com—then pr[eached] a little from the pulpit the interpretation sentence by sentence by Duxtater⁵³ dressed, as Bread likewise was, as a gentleman. I confirmed Mrs Davis who until now has been a Presbyterian Then I ad[ministered] the com[munion] to a goodly no—the manners and appearance of the women reverential. We then walked in procession to the ground, just back of the old church, where assisted by the oldest chiefs, I laid the corner stone⁵⁴—Mr Cadle delivered an address in which he alluded to my jurisdiction—Gloria in Excelsis and Jesus shall reign were sung in Mohawk, Mr G. joining most heartily in the singing. After refreshments at Mr D's we started to return, the Oneidas accompanying us some miles. A halt being made Bread spoke, I answering, Duxtater interpreting—all on horseback. On thursday 9, after an ineffectual attempt the day before, the rain preventing, I laid the corner stone of Grace Church, Green Bay. Mr Brown delivered the address which was a very good one.

In order that it may go on to completion Mr Suydam stays here awhile instead of returning to the portage.

The meeting of the Trustees was held that evening at 2 [sic] oc. All in neighborhood were present—and all appeared to expect the property would be handed over at once to the trustees—this Mr Carder intimated was only to be done by compensation. There was an attempt made which nearly carried to prevent proxies voting unless the trustee had taken the oath. Fundamental principles were adopted to make it a Ch institution—only Mr Childs opposing.⁵⁵ A Com[mittee] appointed to ascertain

⁵¹ For Daniel Bread, the Oneida chief, see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, iii, 56-58.

⁵² The Mohawk and Oneida dialects were similar; the prayer and hymn book had been translated into Mohawk in the eighteenth century.

⁵³ One of the Duxtator family, for whom see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, x, 489.

⁵⁴ See contract for building of this church, later called Hobart Church, in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xiv, 505-507; a picture of the church as finished appears in Bloomfield, *The Oneidas* (New York, 1907), 220. The church has been replaced by a larger and finer building, for the Episcopal mission for the Oneida Indians at Duck Creek still persists.

⁵⁵ Col. Ebenezer Childs, for whose recollections see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, iv, 153-195.

how the property can be secured both from the Socty and the Government—another to obtain land from Government. The trustees to meet again in Sep. I dont see that much more than a good school can be established here for years to come. I preached one night on the sacrifice of Abraham. The vestry here did promise Mr Babbitt 500 per ann[um] and an house. They met this week to make the same offer to Mr Whipple but were persuaded or overruled perhaps by Mr Whitney to call Mr Brown without promising him however any salary—and it was afterwards said out of doors that they could not give a salary while building their church and under the present difficulties of the money market. We looked in vain day after day for the flags that are hoisted when a vessel is in sight. Friday night's mail bro't intelligence that neither of the 2 boats expected would come here and none need not be looked for for a week to come. We have therefore nothing to do but retrace our steps on Monday morning.

12 Aug. sunday Rain, thunder &c last night. The Methodist Minister being absent we again occupied his house. I preached on the ten coms [commandments] Mr Carder went with Mr Davis yesterday to preach at Duck Creek. Mr G. had made up his mind that we sh'd retrace part of our steps today—great anxiety in all our friends that we sh'd not. G was obstinate insisting it was the only way to get to Galena this week. He started Morgan off after dinner with the Major and one of the Mission horses for Wright's and I finally determined that we would all sleep at the Mission and make an early start in the morning. I pr[eached] at Depere in the afternoon to a small congregation from if the righteous scarcely be saved and G. pr[eached] at the Bay. The other Mission horse upon which we depended Mr Carder had taken with him to Duck Creek from which he did not return until dark. So we all staid contentedly at the Mission⁶⁶ and went to bed early with the promise of an early breakfast. I have given Carder to buy a P[rayer] Book or Bible for each of the 2 Indian children I confirmed and to spend the rest for Miss Crawford in H. More's work or anything of the kind. The Lake is remarkably high. Mr Whitney has been here 18 years, and it had risen

⁶⁶ A picture of the mission buildings is shown in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xiv, 476.

every yr except in 30 and 31 during both of which it fell a little. It is now encroaching upon Green Bay, the highest point of which is not more than 4 feet above the water. Roulet recollects when it covered the site of G. B. over which he has travelled in a canoe.

13 Aug Monday We were up at day break and after an early breakfast started. Mrs Davis is yet here and has a fine spirit, and wishes to go to the Senecas in Mo. Mr B promises to write to me to Phila. There are reports of B[isho]p McC coming out—such a decided Calvinist that a new congregation has been formed at Detroit. I was on Tom—G on the Mission horse—Cadle on the little gray of the Mission. It rained last night and was clouded this morning, but it soon cleared and was quite cool. We were on our horses by sunset[sic] Mr Irwin kindly lent me his soft saddle, and the horse has an easy gait. At Wright's 12 miles by 9—road very wet, and river higher than ever. Morgan had started but an hour before. We rested a little while and were then off. Last night I wrote to Lilly—to Lea asking him to apologize for my absence from the Ind. Convention—and to Rev Mr Noble of Milwaukie⁵⁷ stating the reason why I could not visit him. My absence from Madison I shall deeply regret—but how could I have helped it! Yesterday a Mr J. W. Conroe who formerly resided at Green Bay but now at Manitoowoc gave me 2 dollars for Missions. The Oneidas call me in relation to my office A-ri-wa-wa'-gon chief Gospel Messenger. The road became exceedingly bad—as Mr G. was anxious to come up with Morgan he started ahead—I followed—& Mr C bro't up the rear. We were soon out of sight of each other. After riding alone for many miles I at last saw G standing on a hill looking out for me—came up about 2—Morgan had 7 irishmen in company on their way to dig the Portage canal at 16⁰⁰ per mo. & found. He carried their packs—and they helped him in difficulties—and talked to him. M. had already for himself broached the wine Mr Whitney had put up for us in bottles, thus showing himself unworthy of confidence. M and the Irish had started together from Wrights. While refreshing ourselves the frenchman came up who started from

⁵⁷ Rev. John Noble received a call to Milwaukee early in 1838; his first service was held on Ash Wednesday in a small building on the northeast corner of East Water and Wisconsin streets. His pastorate lasted about a year.

near the Mission this morning on foot to bring back our horses. He had waded deeply thro mud and was much fatigued. C. was not in sight when we made a fresh start—we left for him a note and a cup of wine. G. mounted the Major and both the Mission horses were put in the carriage. G and I trotted on at great rate. We passed the Mission Church and house 22 miles from Wrights and hoped to reach Calumet village⁵⁸ by night—but we were convinced the carriage could not get there—5 miles further therefore we stopt at Fowlers⁵⁹ a Stockbridge's—having travelled 39 miles today. By sunset the carriage came on with C. in it, wrapt in his cloak and the frenchman on his horse. C is completely fagged out. It is so cool that a fire is very comfortable. The young woman of the house is modest intelligent and talks well She has books, ink, a work-stand &c. We had good beds and a good supper, which closed with a fine slice of pompcin pie. The irish came in and had beds in the loft.

14. Tuesday. Early breakfast—fine, cool morning. G. and I started at 6 and found our horses had all the mud of yesterday on. 16 miles to Fond du Lac but we made it 20 by leaving the Military road. We came up pretty soon. Here we paid the frenchman 5.50 and he took back the 3 Mission horses. As usual a neat but very poor expensive meal. We started in the carriage about one—the road was yet bad—the horses soon began to flag—and presently night overtook us. We walked ahead and pushed on the horses—and finally to the great mortification of Mr G. stopt us suddenly to camp where there was no water, no wood and plenty of mosquitoes. The horses were unharnessed and fed with oats and then turned on the prairie. We drank port wine and ate bread and smoked beef. Then C and I in carriage with my bar over the front. I buttoned on my surtout, put on my veil and leather gloves and after some fidgetting, slept well, sitting up. M. rolled in his cloak lay under the carriage. G placed the baggage on the ground—his bar on bushes and lay under it. Mosquitoes tormented us all—the chewing of the horses in the silence of the night kept us awake—once or twice they came too close to G. Before

⁵⁸ For this location, see *Wis. Mag. of Hist.*, vii, 445-458.

⁵⁹ William Fowler, a Brothertown Indian, kept a tavern on the military road northeast of Fond du Lac. He was later a member of the territorial legislature.

day break G was driven into the carriage by rain and on the front seat fo[u]nd a more comfortable place than he had met with on the ground, and where he could sleep.

25 August Wednesday. We made an early start and after travelling 8 miles the rain pouring down all the time, arrived at the Indians who is married to a mulatto—We had to knock them up Yesterday we travelled 20 miles from Fond du Lac making for the days journey [diary ends here]

AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF CHARLES M. BAKER¹

I was born on the 18th of October 1804 in the city of New York. When I was about a year old my parents removed to Addison County, Vermont. I lived with them on a farm till I was sixteen. I then commenced studies preparatory to entering college, teaching school winters, and entering Middlebury college in my twentieth year. My health failing, I left college before the expiration of the first year. The same season I went to Montreal and spent the summer, tending bar for a livelihood. This was before the era of temperance organizations. In the fall I visited Quebec and then returned home and taught school during the winter. The next spring, being in my twenty first year, I went to New York in search of employment. Not succeeding as soon as I wished, I came very near going to sea, but instead, started on foot for Philadelphia and arrived there destitute of money. I hired to a farmer in the vicinity two weeks for three dollars and my board. At the end of that time, he offered to double my wages if I would stay, but I left and engaged as private tutor in the family of Capt. Johnson, commandant of Fort Mifflin, seven miles below the city. Here I remained during the summer, and had in the meantime a severe attack of fever, which confined me to my bed some weeks, and from which I did not fully recover under a year. In the fall I went to Philadelphia and engaged as assistant teacher in a school for young ladies, kept in Chestnut Street by the Rev. Mr. Ashton. Here I remained nearly two

¹ This autobiography was written at the request of S. A. Dwinell, who was preparing a history of Walworth County, the manuscript of which is in the library of our Society. Mr. Baker later returned to Walworth County and there died February 5, 1872. His papers were presented to the Society by his grandson. See an account in this magazine, September, 1920, 116-122.

years and then returned to Vermont. The fall following, being then nearly twenty-three years of age, I went to Troy, N. Y. and commenced the study of law with Judge Huntington, and continued it under Recorder Gardner for about three years, when I was admitted to practice in August 1830. I immediately formed a copartnership with Henry W. Strong Esq., elder brother of the late Marshall M. Strong of Racine, and was married in September following to Martha W. Larrabee, daughter of Judge Larrabee of Shoreham, Vermont.

My health being much impaired by close application and confinement in city practice, in the spring of 1831 I removed to Seneca Falls, N. Y. Here I worked hard and with fair success, both in my profession and as an active politician of the Democratic faith. But my health failed and I became so physically prostrated that in the summer of 1835 I abandoned my profession, sold off my library and returned to my relatives in Vermont, not expecting to live a year.

In the winter following, I purchased of a merchant his stock of goods, and commenced keeping store in Rutland county, Vermont. My capital was very small, and I struggled on with bad times and worse health through the crash of 1836, until I found unless I sold out I should also go by the board. So in the winter of 1837 and 38 I negotiated a sale of my entire stock of goods and applied the avails toward the payment of my debts having made up my mind to seek my fortune in the great West, for which I had been longing. I resolved on going so far West I never should wish to remove any further, and after much inquiry fixed upon Janesville, Wisconsin as my destination. I spent the following spring and summer in settling my affairs and preparing for the journey.

On the 10th of September 1838 with my family, consisting of wife, a daughter and two sons, comfortably nestled in a light covered wagon, with only such articles as were necessary in travelling, we bid adieu to friends and the Green mountains and started for the prairies of the West. My furniture and goods I had shipped by canal to go through by water, directed to Doct. Carey of Racine, but did not receive them till the following

year in June. I was still owing about seven hundred dollars to my creditors in New York and Troy, but wrote them where I was going and promised, if I lived, to pay them, which I had the pleasure of doing within three years after. I took with me only one hundred and sixty four dollars in money to pay expenses of the journey and purchase a farm for which I was longing. At Buffalo we took steam boat for Detroit, encountering the equinoctial gale which broke down our wagon top. From Detroit we passed through Ann Arbor, Marshall, Jackson, Kalamazoo and Constantine, and so on *via* South Bend to Michigan city, and thence over that dreary sandy, corduroy and almost uninhabited Lake Shore road to Chicago. It was here on a dark and stormy night, on a stretch of 22 miles between habitations we got benighted, and did not arrive at a house till towards midnight. Chicago was then a low muddy town of cheap wooden buildings, and about 4,000 inhabitants, suffering under the disasters of over speculation.²

From here we passed through Elgin, Belvidere, Roscoe and Beloit to Janesville, arriving there near the middle of October. Our journey had been on the whole, very pleasant, and one of much enjoyment, and of less fatigue than we had expected. All of the last named places were just starting and consisted of only a few log houses. At Janesville I became acquainted with Mr. Janes the first settler and from whom the place was named, the late E. V. Whiton and other well known citizens of that place. As all the desirable land in that vicinity was either bought or claimed and held at high prices, I concluded to look elsewhere for a farm. So I started on horseback a viewing, and went first to Jefferson county, as far as the county seat, but not liking it or the country, I returned through what is now Fort Atkinson, and from thence went through Whitewater into Walworth County. This latter place was then a beautiful burr oak opening, as it came from the hand of nature. I passed on through Heart and Sugar Creek prairies, and stopped for the night with an old gentleman by the name of Miller, living on the bank of Silver Lake, near the then residences of Col. Jeduthan Spooner and Asa

² See diary of this journey in this magazine, June, 1922, 391-401.

Blood. I was charmed with the land and scenery and determined on settling in Walworth County, and made arrangements with Mr. Miller to bring my family to his house till I could get a home elsewhere. The next day I visited what is now the village of Elkhorn, then untouched by the hand of man. I found living near there Hollis Latham, Le Grand Rockwell, Sheldon Walling, Milo E. Bradley, and the Ogdens. From here I passed by trail to Delavan, inquiring the way at Mr. Hollingshead's on the North border of Delavan prairie. At the latter place I found a small log house and a log store owned by Mr. Henry Phoenix. Here I crossed the Turtle and obtained dinner at Mr. Salmon Thomas' on or near the prairie North of Delavan. I guessed my way, by keeping the wind on my left cheek, through the openings to Rock prairie, striking it at a Mr. Moore's and at the North line of township two. From here I struck for Janesville following the section stakes and mounds till I passed the Emerald [sic] Grove when night set in very dark, but I pressed on at a venture and came out onto the Beloit road about two miles below Janesville.

A few days after I took my family to Mr. Miller's in Sugar Creek, and remained there till late in December, when we removed to Geneva, into a log house which is still standing, the last of its kind in that region, and belongs to the estate of the late D. O. Marsh. This house had then been but recently built, was "pointed up" but half way and was without a single light of glass. One of the two outer doors was broken down, it had no chamber floor and the roof was covered with warped, rough edged boards, through which the sun and stars looked down, to say nothing of the rain. The only furniture it contained was an old chair, though it had a good, capacious fire place, and all the furniture, cooking utensils and crockery we had to commence housekeeping, I could have carried in my arms at one load. This, our to be, winter home we reached just at night of a cold December day and immediately took possession. No one welcomed us, or was present at our coming, and we were separated from the village settlement by woods. Of our labors and contrivances and expedients, of our privations and hardships, our hopes and fears that winter, destitute as we were of all our furniture, beds, bedding and winter

clothing, it would be wearisome to tell and much more so to hear. But by the kindness of neighbors, whose names shall ever remain fresh in my memory, we suffered less than we expected.

Previous to removing to Geneva, Doct. McNish and myself made claim to a tract of land on the South bank of Geneva Lake, jointly, it being in part the present farm of General J. W. Boyd in Linn, and at the land sale in February following, we purchased it. That fall the Doctor put up and moved into a small house on his portion of this land, I intending to build and move onto my part in a year or two, but this purpose I never accomplished.

Change of climate and the labors incident to my journey and new mode of life, had restored in a considerable measure my health, so that I was enabled to some extent to resume the practice of my profession, which I found necessary to the support of my family.

I was, as I believe, the first lawyer who moved into the county and I venture to say that for at least six months, and perhaps a year, after my arrival, there was not a law book in the county except an old Michigan Statute book owned by Esq. McKaig. At least to my knowledge there was not. During this time, without any law books or jail, law and justice were administered under some disadvantages, and not as was laid down in Blackstone or Kent. As illustrative of this, I will briefly mention the first lawsuit, as I think ever tried in Walworth county. It was a criminal prosecution against two men by the name of Huff from near Bullen's Bridge, Fox River, who had been to Geneva to mill. On their return they stole an ox from P. K. VanVelzer, slaughtered him on their way home and hid the meat under their flour bags. It was tried before Justices Israel Williams Jr. and Thos. McKaig, I being employed by the citizens as attorney for the Territory & Genl. John Bullen for the defendants. After a tedious trial, they were convicted by a long train of circumstantial but very satisfactory evidence, and were sentenced to pay a fine of *eighty dollars and to work it out on the highway*. They gave bond to comply with the sentence of the court and were discharged, but the bond was lost and the sentence never performed.

That winter, without application and much to my surprise, I

received the appointment of District attorney for Walworth county for the term of two years, it being the first appointment of the kind in the county. As the Senator, or rather Member of the Council from our district, Col. James Maxwell, who controlled the appointment, was a Whig and I was a Democrat, I was not re-appointed, but was succeeded by Robert Holley Esq. who was a Whig. But I did most of the business during his term, acting under him, as I did also that of Judge of Probate, acting for and under Joseph Griffin Esq., the first Probate Judge.

In 1842 I was elected a member of the Council of State from the District composed of Rock and Walworth, being a colleague with the Hon. E. V. Whiton, and served four years. In 1847 I was chosen a Delegate to the First Constitutional Convention, was appointed chairman of the Judiciary Committee, and as such, drafted the Article on the Judiciary, which with but two or three slight verbal and a single material alteration was adopted verbatim by the Second Convention, and with these exceptions, stands as in the original draft, of which I have the manuscript.

In the summer of 1848, I was appointed by Governor Dewey, one of the Revisers of the Statutes under the new constitution, and having aided in this work, was subsequently appointed by the Legislature to arrange and index them, to make marginal notes and superintend their publication. These duties, the most severe and exhausting I ever undertook, I performed at Albany N. Y. during the Summer and Fall of 1859 [1849].

In 1855 I was appointed judge of the First Judicial Circuit of Wisconsin to fill the short vacancy occasioned by the election of Judge Doolittle to the U. S. Senate. In May 1864 I was appointed commissioner of enrollment for the first Congressional District of Wisconsin and served one year, until after the close of the war in the Provost Marshal's office at Milwaukee.

In the summer of 1865 with my wife I visited New York and New England, and whilst at New London, Conn. was offered a position in the service of the Star Iron and Coal Companies, which I accepted for one year, with the understanding I should continue in their employment two or three years, if they should so desire. I immediately returned home, arranged my business, rented my homestead &c. for two years with the privilege of

another, and the latter part of October returned to New London and entered upon the duties of my new position. In January 1867 I was elected President of the Star Iron Company, and in April following removed to Pottsville, Schuylkill County, Penn. where I have ever since been and now reside, conducting the business of the company in the manufacture and sale of Pig Iron. Within a year, should I live, I expect and hope to return to my home in Wisconsin and take up my final residence with the good people of old Walworth.

In June 1843 my first wife died, aged thirty seven years. She was a noble, Christian woman, and after enduring her last sickness without a murmur, died with complete resignation. To me it was a crushing blow and the horizon of my earthly prospects shut down in darkness. She left me five children.

I was married to Eliza Holt, my present wife, at Madison Wisconsin, in July, 1844. She has been a good mother to my children though she has had none of her own. She was daughter of David Holt, printer and editor of a newspaper published at Herkimer and one of the side judges of the county court of that county. He died at Janesville, Wisconsin, in 1853, being then the oldest printer in the state.

My father, originally a Presbyterian, became a strong and devoted Baptist and was for many years a deacon in that church. "He was a good man and full of faith and of the Holy Ghost." He died at Geneva in 1851. My mother, also a member of the Baptist church and a woman of strong mind & constitution, is still living at Geneva and in good health, being in the eighty eighth year of her age.

As to my religious history, it is in brief this. When I was thirteen years of age I obtained a hope I had experienced religion, or met with a change of heart. I felt a manifest change in my disposition and affections towards God, Christ and his people, which continues to the present time.

When I was sixteen I united with the Baptist church and continued in this connexion until after my second marriage, when for various reasons we both united with the Presbyterian church of Geneva, of which we are still members.

When I commenced, I intended to make only a brief jotting of some of the chief incidents in my life. But it has so swelled under my hand that it has become tiresome. I will not therefore enlarge it by narrating what we encountered the first winter in our log house, of our disappointment in not receiving our goods after I had made a cold and tedious trip to Racine late in December after them and of even not hearing of them till late the next Spring, of my journey on foot to the first land sale in November 1838 driving a yoke of oxen to be slaughtered for a friend and getting benighted alone of a dark night in Milwaukee woods on my return. Of my second trip to the Land Sale, when it came off in Feby. 1839, wading through slush and swollen streams in going and returning with the thermometer at zero, hiring an Indian pony of some squaws to ford Root river. Of my seven days trip from Geneva to Milwaukee in June 1839, through a deluge of rain with three ox teams and two lumber wagons after my goods, in which we did battle with the stumps and log bridges of Milwaukee woods, got "sloughed" on the prairies, pried out wagons numerous times, forded streams, broke wagon tongues and extemporized new ones from hickory trees &c. &c. Of my being carried down the torrent in an outburst of Geneva Lake in 1845 when attempting to cross the outlet on horseback, and being saved just before reaching the surging rapids by laying hold of the tail of my horse who brought me safe to land. Of various adventures and mishaps, and of perils on water and land, through all which the good hand of the Lord hath preserved me until now.

I have four children living, a daughter and three sons, and lost three in their infancy,—all by my first wife. The four living are

Mary Louisa, my first born, who was born Sept 2nd 1831 at Seneca Falls N. Y., was married in Augt. 1851 to James Lidge-wood of the city of N. Y., who died in June 1857. She was married again in Sept. 1864 to Geo. H. Browne of Providence, R. I., a lawyer, and late Member of Congress and Col. of the 12th Regt. of R. I. infantry in the late war for the Union. She now lives there.

Charles H. my eldest son, was born in Seneca Falls N. Y. May 16th 1834. He married in 1858 De Lisca J. daughter of

Doct. Weld of Jamestown N. Y., and is now living in Chicago and is one of the mercantile firm of Chapin, Baker and Co. of that place.

Edward L. my second son, was born Sept. 8th 1836 at Hubbardton Rutland Co. Vt. He married Rosa, daughter of Harrison Rich of Geneva Wis. in 1859. He was Capt. in the 3d Regt. Minnesota Volunteers in the late war and served nearly three years. He is a hardware merchant at Redwing Minnesota.

Robert H., my youngest son, was born at Geneva, Wis. Terr. June 27 1839. He married Emily, daughter of Mr. Carswell of Racine, Wis. in 1860, where he now resides and is one of the firm of J. I. Case and Co., threshing machine manufacturers.

POTTSVILLE, PA. January 11th 1868.

EDITORIAL COMMENT

A FILE OF OLD NEWSPAPERS

The contemners of the newspaper as a recorder of social facts cut themselves off from a source of historical information which is nearly always important and often of unique value. It is, indeed, an assemblage of sources covering, for the period of its publication, the manifold activities which the particular paper regards as its field. It is not necessary to consider every statement contained in a newspaper as gospel truth. One who would so view the gossip of the street, the shop, or the drawing-room, or even the formal written assertions of a valued correspondent, would find the factual basis of his conclusions often nothing better than thin air.

For the purposes of the historian old newspapers compare in documentary character with letters, diaries, and account books of the same place and period. One difference is that the newspaper, which focalizes the observations and activities of many individuals, is sure to afford many more details than the private record. Another is that, its constituency being an entire community, the number of subjects it touches upon is likely to be very much greater than those mentioned by a diarist or letter writer. Then, too, if newspapers are preserved at all they are likely to be preserved, as in the case about to be mentioned, by volumes or extended series of volumes, while letters and diaries are almost certain to represent only fragments of the period involved in any serious historical inquiry.

Recently the State Historical Society secured a notable addition to its splendid collection of state newspapers, in the gift of fifty-eight volumes of papers published in Kenosha (and Southport, as the place was originally called). One file, the *Southport Telegraph*, is practically continuous from

the first number, published June 16, 1840, to May 20, 1875. From 1849 it was called the *Kenosha Telegraph*. There is likewise a file of the *Southport American* extending over the period September 7, 1843, to October 10, 1849; a continuous file of the *Kenosha Times*, May 13, 1859, to May 1, 1863; a file of the *Kenosha Union* complete from January 28, 1866, to June 7, 1877; the *Kenosha Tribune*, two volumes, July 8, 1852, to December 28, 1854; and a broken file of the *Kenosha Democrat*. This is continuous from April 23, 1850, to July 8, 1853. Other volumes of the *Democrat* cover the following periods: May 18, 1855, to November 25, 1856; September 9, 1859, to August 31, 1860; September 7, 1860, to August 30, 1861.

This valuable gift comes to the Society from Emily E. Bond and Charlotte W. Bond, of Kenosha, daughters of Kenosha's pioneer Josiah Bond. It was Josiah Bond who assembled these files, bound them, and preserved them in his home on Prairie Avenue, the brick house which to the Misses Bond is still "home." The gift is a memorial to Josiah Bond.

The *Southport Telegraph* was the first paper published in what is now Kenosha. It was started early enough to catch the beginnings of formal harbor improvements in the place, and contains a very complete record of Kenosha's rise as a wheat shipping port for southeastern Wisconsin and several of the northern counties of Illinois. The development of the town and surrounding rural community can be traced with much confidence by means of the successive volumes.

One advantage over many other early country papers which the *Telegraph* enjoyed was its having a thoroughly able, vital, and indefatigable editor. The paper was started by Christopher Latham Sholes, founder of the *Green Bay Democrat*, to which it was the successor. Mr. Sholes today is best known as the inventor of the typewriter, but readers of this file will conclude that as an editor he was a power in the

affairs of the territory and the state for many years. He was a keen student of public questions, was versatile in an extraordinary degree even for that period of editorial omniscience, and he wielded a pen whose vigor and incisiveness lost nothing by being under the control of a mind which knew the value of flexibility, variety, and subtlety in statement.

Mr. Sholes in politics was a convinced Jeffersonian Democrat, but during the Free-Soil campaign of 1848 he bolted Cass and entered wholeheartedly into that propaganda, helping powerfully toward securing for Van Buren the surprising Racine and Walworth County majority of five hundred and twenty-two votes over both his rivals. Sholes, too, while sufficiently hard-headed to escape everything fantastic or fanatical, was a natural social reformer. He sympathized with the "Wisconsin Phalanx," which originated in Southport and established itself at Ceresco, and he published a large amount of information about it; he was interested in the subject of land reform which had for its aim to limit the amount of land an individual might own; he entered without hesitation or reserve into the temperance crusade of the 1840's and the 1850's; he broke a lance for the principle of "married women's rights" as enunciated in the first constitution, and he was an uncompromising opponent of slavery. He was the consistent unfeeling advocate of the poor, the downtrodden, and those whose lives were rendered sordid or narrow by excessive toil—socially a genuine "democrat." As editor Sholes manifested a much deeper and more catholic interest in his home town than did the average newspaper man of that day. All local causes and interests were discussed in his columns. He maintained usually an entire page devoted to local and other editorial matter. On one occasion he drew upon himself the bitter opposition of many Kenosha merchants and manufacturers by denouncing in his columns their attitude toward the laboring class, the

farmers, and the wholesalers and importers of the eastern cities from whom their supplies were procured. He charged the merchants with giving the town an evil reputation abroad and at home.

At the beginning of his activities in Southport and at various times thereafter Sholes, while managing editor of the paper, was associated on the business side of his enterprise with Colonel Michael Frank, the well-known Kenosha lawyer, legislator, and publicist, whose connection with the beginnings of Wisconsin's free school system has properly been a theme of eulogy on the part of many writers. The actual history of the free school movement, in which Kenosha (Southport) was a leader, partly through Colonel Frank's influence, can at last be definitely worked out with the aid of the *Southport Telegraph* file. When that history shall be written it will appear in several respects different from the report of it based, as this has always been, upon unverified tradition and upon the record of a legislative proceeding with which Colonel Frank's name is intimately associated. It has been assumed that when Colonel Frank, in the early months of 1845, obtained from the legislature favorable action on his bill authorizing district number one in Southport to tax itself for the support of a free school (provided the people by referendum vote should accept the act), and then persuaded the people of the village to adopt the law by majority vote, the free school was established forthwith. On the contrary, this file proves that a long, tedious, and depressing campaign had to be waged by the friends of free schools in Kenosha before it was possible to obtain a vote which actually touched the pocket nerve of the community; and it was not until more than four years after the adoption of the law that a free school came into existence. That still left Kenosha in the lead, but by a much narrower margin than has been supposed. Also it contradicts the assumption that Kenosha's free public school influenced the consti-

tutional convention to provide for an absolutely free system of common schools.

The above is merely an illustration of the way this file of old papers will aid toward the writing of Wisconsin's social history, in which there is so vital an interest because of the light that history sheds upon the social problems of today. Taxation, good roads, labor problems, agricultural improvement, the liquor question, "progressiveness" and "conservatism"—all these things and many others of familiar sound were problems to the pioneers of Wisconsin just as they are problems to us; and the mode of dealing with them which they adopted is not without its lessons to this later and presumably wiser generation.

JOSEPH SCHAFFER

COMMUNICATIONS

WOODROW WILSON'S FIRST VISIT TO MADISON

The June, 1924, issue of the *Wisconsin Magazine of History*, page 505, contains a statement to the effect that Woodrow Wilson's first visit to Wisconsin occurred in 1910. As a matter of fact, he had spent three days in Madison nearly twenty years before that time.

In 1892 the National Education Association's famous "Committee of Ten" was appointed to consider programs of study as then offered in high schools and academies, and to make recommendations for some measure of standardization. This committee divided the secondary school subjects into nine groups and assigned the responsibility for each group to a subcommittee, or "conference." The conference on history, civil government, and political economy was composed of Charles K. Adams, then president of Wisconsin University; William A. Scott, also of Wisconsin; A. B. Hart, J. H. Robinson, Edward G. Bourne, Abram Brown, R. G. Huling, Jesse Macy, H. P. Warren, and Woodrow Wilson, at that time professor of jurisprudence and political economy at Princeton. This conference met in Madison December 28-30, 1892, the meetings being held in the Fuller Opera House. The dates are rather interesting because Woodrow Wilson's birthday fell on the twenty-eighth. In the *Report of the Committee of Ten*, page 10, is the statement that "although the Conference was made up of very diverse elements, every member of the Conference was heartily in favor of every vote adopted."

The members of the conference found time for a number of social engagements in addition to their work as a group of educators. According to accounts in the Madison daily papers, they were entertained by Professors Ely and Turner, and concluded their visit by attending a banquet given by Madison business men in honor of the University faculty. At this banquet Wilson,

representing the conference, made a short impromptu speech. The coming leader of Democracy and his colleagues also attended a reception at the governor's mansion, which was then occupied by the last Democratic governor of Wisconsin, George W. Peck.

Another interesting coincidence was that not quite a month later, on January 24, 1893, Theodore Roosevelt was the Wisconsin State Historical Society's orator before the legislature, and that during his stay Roosevelt was tendered a reception by Robert M. La Follette.

The matter of Woodrow Wilson's first visit to Madison was of enough interest to me to send me to old files of Madison papers and to cause me to prepare an article which appeared in the *Milwaukee Journal* on February 22, 1925.

WILSON A. MORAN, *Madison.*

JOHN BASCOM'S SIGNATURE

My attention has been directed to the fact that in the article appearing in the March issue of the *Wisconsin Magazine of History* on "The University in 1874-1887" the value of the president's signature was overstated, the correct number being 203.¹ This number was very familiar to the student body, and it was said that some irreverent students even alluded to the president as "Old 203." The students supposed that he had never heard of this nickname, but in a farewell speech made to them he touched their hearts by closing with the statement that "Old 203" would always hold them in affectionate remembrance.

FLORENCE BASCOM, *Bryn Mawr, Pa.*

A FRESHMAN VOLUNTEERS

Mrs. Willet S. Main, of Madison, has called our attention to the omission in the diary of Harvey Reid, published in this magazine in September, 1917, of any reference to her brother, Henry D. Smith. Probably Reid, who had just come to the University, was not acquainted with young Smith; but the

¹ See the *Badger* issued by the class of 1890, page 219. [President Bascom's initialed signature, "J. B.," was so illegible as to resemble the figures "203," which makes the point of the ancient campus joke about "Old 203."—EDITOR.]

evidence that the latter was one of the first Wisconsin boys to respond to the call of the President for men is indubitable. A brief account of the life of this young patriot is not out of place in this historical record.

Henry Dickinson Smith was born January 11, 1839, in Windsor, Vermont. The last birthday of his life, when he was twenty-three years old, and camped in the low, malarial lands of Missouri, he wrote in his diary, "This is my birthday," and recorded his desire to make his life of benefit to his friends and comrades. Reared in Vermont, he was a lad of sixteen when his father, lured by the accounts of fertile wheat lands in Wisconsin and high prices for the grain, removed to the West and bought a farm not far from Middleton. Mr. Smith, the father, took care to give his children the benefit of the educational opportunities of the University, and in the autumn of 1860 young Henry entered the freshman class. Somewhat shy and diffident, he was, nevertheless, very popular with his comrades, a good student, and an upright, Christian character.

The excitements of the winter of 1860-61 were reflected in the life of the University students; and when news reached Madison that Fort Sumter had been fired upon by Confederate forces, patriotic fervor flamed high, and when the governor called for men to respond to the President's proclamation the youth of the University felt the appeal. April 17, six of the freshman class enlisted in what was then called the Governor's Guard, and speedily became a part of the First Regiment of Wisconsin Volunteers. Henry Smith and most of the other Varsity boys were in the company of Captain Lucius Fairchild; they drilled for a few days in Madison, then early in May were transported to Milwaukee to complete their training. The remainder of the class held a farewell meeting on the evening of April 20. All were to come back from the war, and become valuable citizens of the restored Union, but young Smith. He alone of the freshman volunteers was called upon to make the supreme sacrifice, and to give his life for the national healing.

At the expiration of his first, or three months', term, he re-enlisted, this time in the Eleventh Regiment, in which his brother

William joined him. They were sent to the western army, and through the winter of 1861-62 did scout and skirmish duty in Missouri. The diary of this young patriot is most interesting reading, narrating in simple but well-chosen words the vicissitudes of army life, the temptation to wild living (which was stoutly resisted), and the sad sights and scenes constantly before his eyes. In one passage he says, "I did not think that I should become so familiar with death." Alas! the familiarity was to continue and increase. In the early summer the regiment moved down into Arkansas; there the water was scanty and poor, and many fell ill. William died on June 27 at Jacksonport; two weeks later Henry fell victim to the lack of sanitary necessities when the regiment was at Clarendon, near the White River. He was tenderly cared for in his illness by his former University classmates. Otis Remick made the last entries in his diary, after he was too weak to write.

It was not until the twenty-first of July that the family in Wisconsin heard of the passing of their two sons and brothers. Others shared their grief, and the bright, manly faces were missed from the farm and classroom. As has appeared, members of the family yet cherish the diary, letters, and official papers of the youthful soldier. Henry's first discharge was signed by Governor Randall. In March, 1862, he was commissioned second lieutenant of the Eleventh Regiment, in Company B. News of this promotion had but just reached him when he was taken ill.

The record of this Wisconsin soldier is not different from that of hundreds of others whose patriotism was pure and whose unselfish characters set an example to their time. It is fitting that their names and achievements be recounted, in these later days—"Lest we forget! Lest we forget!"

THE SOCIETY AND THE STATE

During the quarter ending April 10, 1925, there were forty-one additions to the membership of the State Historical Society. Twelve persons enrolled as life members: President Edward A. Birge, Madison; Harry H. Bliss, Janesville; Dr. John K. Chorlog, Madison; Llewellyn Cole, Milwaukee; Walter L. Haight, Racine; Marshall W. Hanks, Madison; Richard G. Harvey, Racine; Rev. Peter L. Johnson, St. Francis; Gustave A. Klindt, Cassville; Frederick J. Mayer, Wauwatosa; George J. Schneider, Appleton; Frederick J. Strong, Waukesha.

Twenty-eight persons became annual members, as follows: Levina Dietrichson, Jefferson; Dr. John M. Dodd, Ashland; Julia Dross, Racine; Martha L. Edwards, Madison; Robert J. Evans, Racine; Stoughton W. Faville, Lake Mills; Chester A. Fowler, Fond du Lac; Mabel M. Fox, Racine; Sidney C. Goff, Elkhorn; Dr. Frederick W. Hammond, Manitowoc; Jeanette M. Hays, Columbia, S. C.; J. G. Heddle, Racine; Mrs. E. G. Higgins, Melrose; Mrs. Charles J. Hogg, Melrose; Nina Huie, Racine; E. W. Huntley, Racine; Miss E. J. Jensen, Racine; Charles F. Krenzke, Racine; W. Kuemmerlein, Racine; P. S. Nelson, Racine; V. S. Pease, Baraboo; Napoleon Rocque, Racine; Charles D. Rohr, Burlington; Dr. Floyd E. Smart, Waukesha; Oscar J. Swennes, La Crosse; Ione Weber, New York City; Glenn H. Williams, Ladysmith; C. E. Yates, Racine.

St. Francis Seminary, St. Francis, joined as an institutional member.

Plans for the cooperative field meeting of the Wisconsin and Minnesota Historical societies at Winona and La Crosse on June 15 and 16 are taking definite shape as this number of the magazine goes to press. A full report will appear in the next issue.

ACQUISITIONS

The largest donation the Society has received during the last quarter has been the papers of General William G. Haan, presented by his widow, now living at Milwaukee. These papers consist of correspondence (1898-1923), addresses, historical articles, official orders, and other War Department documents; they also include histories and reports of several divisions of the army in France during the late war, particularly those of the Thirty-second, or Red Arrow, Division, of which General Haan was the famous commander during the heaviest fighting on the French front. Other items in the collection are a letterpress book containing orders issued at Ilo Ilo, P. I., in February and March, 1900; a diary of an official visit to the Panama Canal district in 1904; and an official correspondence book of army matters during 1903 and 1904, when Captain Haan was on the General Staff. With this material Mrs. Haan has placed on deposit some of the general's private

diaries, his photographs of the West Point class of 1889, and a portfolio of her husband's diplomas and testimonials.

Just before going to press with this number, the Historical Society received, through Mrs. Theodore G. Lewis, of Madison, the private papers of the late Governor James O. Davidson, who was Mrs. Lewis' father.

The valuable gift of Kenosha (and Southport) newspaper files presented to the Society by Emily E. Bond and Charlotte W. Bond, of Kenosha, is described at length in the section of this magazine devoted to editorial comment.

NECROLOGY

Former Governor Edward Scofield died February 2, 1925, after a long and painful illness. The governor was born at Clearfield, Pennsylvania, in 1842 and was the last of the series of Wisconsin governors who had distinguished themselves during the Civil War. Scofield enlisted as a private in 1861, was commissioned lieutenant two years later, and became captain after the battle of South Mountain; he was brevetted major in 1864, after having been for ten months a prisoner within the Confederate lines. He removed to Wisconsin soon after the close of the war, and began lumbering on the Oconto River. His entry into Wisconsin politics occurred in 1886, when he was chosen state senator. Ten years later he ran for governor on the Republican ticket, and received the largest plurality until then cast for any candidate. In 1898 he was reelected and served as war governor during the Spanish-American War. From 1901 until his death he lived in retirement at Marinette, devoting himself to business and family affairs. During his term as governor he was ex-officio curator of this Society, and it was in his term of office that the present building of the Society was erected.

Honorable William King Coffin, whose death at the age of nearly seventy-five years occurred at Eau Claire on March 26, 1925, had been curator of the State Historical Society for twenty-two years. For a term of three years, from 1916 to 1919, he was president of the Society. Mr. Coffin always manifested a deep and intelligent interest in the work which the Society was doing for the state and, though a man of multiplied duties connected with private business affairs, he was generous in the bestowal of his time and energies in the Society's service.

In January there was held at Plymouth, Wisconsin, the funeral of George O. Standish, who died in the state of Oregon in his eighty-sixth year. He was the eighth in direct descent from Captain Miles Standish, who three centuries ago adventured to the then frontier at Plymouth, Massachusetts. His descendants have followed the West into New York, where George O. was born, and whence he journeyed first to Wisconsin, then to the Dakotas, and lastly to Oregon. His body was brought for interment to the cemetery where his father lies, in the western "Ply-

mouth" named for the Massachusetts home of the original Miles Standish.

Judge H. A. Anderson in an article entitled "The End of a Long Trail," published in the *Whitehall Times-Banner*, relates the career of James Dwight Olds, the first settler in Trempealeau County save for the French hunters and trappers of an elder day. Mr. Olds died at the home of his daughter in Florida on December 17 last, and his body was brought to Whitehall for interment. He was a native of Chenango County, New York, and in 1851, when nineteen years of age, set forth westward and landed at Trempealeau, where he located land, built a log cabin, and opened a farm.

LOCAL HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

The Green Bay Historical Society, the oldest and one of the most active of our local organizations, has undertaken a new venture in the *Green Bay Historical Bulletin*, to appear bimonthly. Number one of volume one came out February 15, with the stated object "to disseminate a knowledge of the history of Green Bay, De Pere, and the surrounding country, by the publication of original manuscripts and documents not heretofore printed, and of the valuable papers read before the Green Bay Historical Society since its organization." As the history of Green Bay is of importance to every student of Wisconsin history, we highly commend this periodical to the attention of our readers. The first number contains two valuable monographs: "Navarino," by Deborah B. Martin, curator of this Society; and "The First Church and Cemetery in Green Bay," by Arthur C. Neville, director of the Green Bay Historical Museum. These papers are accompanied by plats of Navarino and Astor showing the locations of the early buildings, and by an idealized sketch of the first church, built in 1823. We shall anticipate the appearance of later issues of the *Bulletin*. The historical museum has acquired the oldest fire-engine in the Middle West, a pumper used at Fort Howard in 1817. A cut of this engine appeared recently in the *Milwaukee Journal*.

In the March number of this magazine we confused the Eau Claire Old Settlers' Society with the Eau Claire Historical Society, noting the midwinter meeting of the former as a joint meeting of the two societies. Attention has been called to this mistake by President W. W. Bartlett of the historical society. The latter society held its annual meeting January 20 in the Community House of the Congregational Church. The name was changed to the Chippewa Valley Historical Society, thus indicating the broadening of the local interest. One feature of the January meeting was a talk by Annie Ermatinger, of Chippewa Falls, granddaughter of the well-known fur trader James Ermatinger, for whom Jim Falls was named. President Bartlett writes that Miss Ermatinger left with him an interesting collection of fur trade letters and documents. The earliest history of interior northern

Wisconsin will be illuminated by these papers and reminiscences. The Chippewa Valley Historical Society has a fertile field for discovery and recovery.

The Winnebago County Historical and Archeological Society continues to interest the people of its vicinity in things historical. March 10 the members and friends of the society listened to an address by Curator J. H. A. Lacher, of Waukesha. In April the society was host for the Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts, and Letters, together with other participating organizations as is related *post* in this magazine. The Sawyer Foundation is of never-failing interest to Oshkosh's visitors. Reginald Oshkosh, chief of the Menominee tribesmen and direct descendant of the old chief for whom the city is named, was a guest in March of Nile J. Behneke, curator of the foundation. He was much pleased with the Indian department of the museum and promised to add to its specimens. Chief Oshkosh is a graduate of Carlisle, and has attended other educational institutions. He makes his home on the tribal reservation in Shawano County.

The *Sheboygan Pioneer*, a monthly supplement of the *Sheboygan Press*, devoted particularly to the interest of Sheboygan County pioneerdom, chronicles each month the activities of the Sheboygan County Historical Society and the growth of its museum, housed in the city library. One suggestion is worthy of the attention of all local societies, namely, a proposal for an exhibit at the county fair, following the example of the Sauk County Society. The *Pioneer* began its fourth volume with the March issue.

The Beloit Historical Society held its annual meeting March 24, with the mayor as presiding officer. Death has been active in removing some of the staunchest supporters of this local society, notably Mrs. W. H. Chesbrough, the treasurer, who was one of the chief promoters of the historical museum in the public library. It is hoped that new members may be added and enthusiastic support received for this important local organization.

The Manitowoc County Historical Society held a "railroad session" in January, which proved to be a great success, interesting reminiscences being given by early railroad men and engineers. In March one of the most delightful sessions of the society was held for the presentation of the flag made in June, 1861, by the ladies of Manitowoc for Company A of the Fifth Wisconsin Volunteers. This ancient ensign has had a remarkable history. It was captured by a Louisiana regiment and thought to have been burned. In 1876 Judge W. W. Waldo, of Manitowoc County, was surprised to see among the exhibits at the Centennial Exposition a beautiful silk flag marked "Manitowoc County Volunteers." He learned that a Pennsylvania officer had recovered it from a Confederate soldier and had restored the flag to Wisconsin. So it came home. Recently George Schuette has had the old flag gone over by experts and its original fabric preserved. It was on this second home-

coming that the presentation took place, Judge J. S. Anderson, one of the seven survivors of the original company for whom the flag was made, recounting to a spellbound audience the experiences of the company and the loss and recovery of the flag. Secretary Harry Kelley accepted the emblem for the historical society, and promised it would be a sacred trust. The Manitowoc County Historical Society prospers under the presidency of Ralph G. Plumb.

The Washington County Old Settlers' Club met in February at West Bend for its fiftieth anniversary. The first meeting for organization was held January 16, 1875, and the first celebration occurred on Washington's Birthday of the same year. The same holiday was the occasion this year of an all-day meeting at the Masonic Temple. Any twenty-five-year resident of good moral standing is eligible for membership.

ANNIVERSARIES

March 20 Waupun was eighty-six years old, for upon that date in 1839 Seymour Wilcox and his family arrived at that site, and were soon at home in the log cabin which the head of the house had built earlier in the year. Descendants of this first family yet reside in Waupun—grandchildren and great-grandchildren. The local D. A. R. chapter is planning to erect a marked boulder as near as possible to the site of the city's first log cabin.

The Citizens Bank of Delavan reviewed its early history when on March 8 it discovered it was half a century old. The deposits of three thousand dollars have grown to over a million. Edward F. Williams, who died in 1923, was connected with the institution for forty-three of its fifty years.

The fortieth anniversary jubilee of the La Crosse Frohsinn Singing Society occurred January 12 at Pioneer Hall in that city. The program was largely musical. Mr. J. L. Utermoehl, however, reviewed the history of the society since its founding in 1885.

The year 1925 is a significant one for our citizens of Norwegian descent. It marks the centenary of the birth of Ole Bull, probably the best known Norwegian who ever lived in America. It will be remembered that an account of his connection with Wisconsin was published in this magazine in June, 1924. It was in 1825 also that the first important immigration from Norway to America occurred, a group from Stavanger setting sail in the sloop *Restorationen* (*Restoration*), frequently spoken of as the "Mayflower of the North." These first immigrants settled in Orleans County, New York, whence they and their countrymen who followed have spread throughout the Northwest, contributing largely to the development of Wisconsin, Minnesota, and the Dakotas. The centennial of Norse expansion will be celebrated at Minneapolis in June.

One of the most important conservation movements in the state is that to preserve and restore in so far as is possible the ruins of Fort Crawford at Prairie du Chien. The fort, which has been unoccupied since the Civil War, has fallen into decay. At first it was used as a quarry by the neighborhood, and many a stone from the old post is to be found in near-by fence or wall. Even the portion of the officers' quarters that remains is rapidly disintegrating and will, if nothing is done, in a few years entirely disappear. We are glad, therefore, to learn that the local D. A. R. chapter is planning to appeal to the citizens for a fund of five thousand dollars to restore the fort. We heartily hope that local patriotism will lift the project soon into the class of things accomplished.

At Fond du Lac the Kiwanis Club has provided a marker for the site of the old fur trade post at the forks of the Fond du Lac River. This was the earliest known post in that vicinity, and its history is accurately and interestingly described in Senator W. A. Titus' article in our magazine, iii, 327-331 (March, 1920). Fond du Lac is to be congratulated on the marking of this notable post of the fur trade régime. The unveiling will occur in the early summer.

June 14, Flag Day, the tablet marking the site of the homestead of General Henry Dodge will be unveiled with appropriate exercises. The Woman's Club of Dodgeville has sponsored this enterprise, and with its completion the place where stood one of the earliest homesteads in southwestern Wisconsin will be made known to the public. In two more years it will be a century since Henry Dodge left his home in Missouri and migrated to the lead mines of Wisconsin. He called around him his slaves and offered them freedom and a plot of land in free territory if they would accompany him on his quest and aid him in his mining venture. Several of them accepted his offer, and some of the descendants of these freedmen still live near the old homestead. The Dodge house has disappeared and only depressions mark the site of the cellar, the well, and the outbuildings. Much of the first history of our preterritorial period clustered around this now abandoned place. Its marking is a permanent achievement.

In our last number we spoke of the probable commemoration and marking of the home of the Salomon family at Manitowoc. It is now announced that the Milwaukee Muhlenberg unit of the Steuben Society has inaugurated a campaign for funds for the purpose of erecting a monument to the Salomon brothers, probably in Milwaukee. (See "Book Reviews" section *post* page 478.)

The bronze monument for Colonel Hans C. Heg, which it was hoped to have unveiled at Madison July 4, will not arrive from Norway, where it is being cast, in time to be erected at that date. It is now

expected that the statue will be placed and the exercises will occur on September 18, the date of the battle of Chickamauga, where Colonel Heg was killed.

Interest in the marking of historic sites on Chequamegon Bay grows apace. Markers will be erected this summer on Madeline Island at the site of Treaty Hall and on the south shore near the old posts of Le Sueur and La Ronde of the French régime, and the fur trading post of the Cadottes of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The Old Settlers' Club of Ashland is also arranging to mark the probable site of Radisson's hut—the first white man's building within the limits of the present state. A committee of the club has been appointed to locate the burial place of Martin Beaser, one of the city's pioneers, and to plan for a monument there.

A monument for General W. G. Haan is being considered by the Red Arrow Division, to be erected at his grave in the Arlington National Memorial Cemetery.

HISTORICAL NOTES

The annual spring meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association was held April 30 to May 2 inclusive, at Detroit and Ann Arbor. The chairman of the program committee was Dr. George N. Fuller, secretary of the Michigan Historical Commission. The presiding officer was Professor Frank H. Hodder, of Kansas University, whose presidential address was delivered at the complimentary dinner tendered the Association by the Detroit Historical Society. Friday, May 1, the Association moved *en masse* to Ann Arbor, where a session was held in the beautiful Clements Library. In addition to the papers and the opportunity for fellowship, the occasion was memorable for the historical associations of Detroit, founded in 1701, the oldest city in the Northwest, boasting two hundred and twenty-four years of progress. James A. Woodburn, of Indiana University, was elected president for the succeeding year. The new members of the Council are Joseph Schafer and John D. Hicks, while Dr. Otto L. Schmidt succeeds himself.

We congratulate our sister society in Minnesota on the appearance of its new magazine, *Minnesota History*, which takes the place of the *Minnesota History Bulletin*, published in five volumes by the State Historical Society. The cover of the new quarterly shows the Minnesota state seal, and the March number is classified as number one of volume six—thus indicating its paternity. The editor of *Minnesota History* is Theodore C. Blegen, formerly of Wisconsin, now assistant secretary of the institution at St. Paul. We anticipate that this new quarterly will continue to present Minnesota history in the same excellent manner as was done by the former *Bulletin*.

Another new periodical that comes to our hands is the *Badger Highways*, a monthly whose first number made its appearance in Jan-

uary, with E. W. Chapleau as editor. This is the official organ of the Wisconsin Highway Commission; and while it will be devoted largely to technical matters, it will also contain from time to time articles on the points of historic interest passed by the state roads.

Apropos of our comments in the last number on the opening of Highway Number 17 from Milwaukee to Sheboygan, we note that the *Green Bay Intelligencer*, the first newspaper in Wisconsin, printed April 13, 1836, an article called "Progress," from which we cite the following significant paragraph: "There has been for some months a good wagon road as far north from Chicago as the Milwaukee [river]; and thence west 50 miles toward the Rock river. We are informed also that a pass is made from Milwaukee down the lake (north) as far as Sac Creek (thirty miles) and that few obstructions exist from there to Sheboygan: so that in a short time we may expect to see teams passing the whole distance from Chicago to Sheboygan. The northern part of the route (from Green Bay to Sheboygan) being through a more densely timbered country has been despaired of. We are now able to say however that this part of the route will be opened this spring." Whether this optimistic prophecy was wholly fulfilled or not we may be permitted to question.

Marquette celebrations have continued to interest those who care for our earliest history. December 4 last Chicago commemorated the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the missionary's second visit to the site of the city, and the erection thereon of the first hut. The mayor issued a proclamation for Marquette Day, and President Coolidge, then visiting in Chicago, sent his tribute. The Chicago Historical Society, the Association of Commerce, and many civic bodies joined in the celebration when at the link bridge of Michigan Boulevard a replica of the mission hut was erected. Another celebration occurred in April, sponsored by the Catholic church, commemorating the founding of the first church in Illinois.

The origins of the National Soldiers' Home at Milwaukee are well recounted by Tom L. Johnson in the *Milwaukee Journal* for March 1. The first home was a local affair on West Water Street, supported by the Ladies' Soldiers' Aid Society. When it became evident that this small building would be inadequate for the purpose, an appeal was made to the legislature, which chartered the association and appropriated five thousand dollars for the maintenance of the home. At the same time the women of Milwaukee planned a great fair, the governor issued a proclamation recommending it, and the doors were opened June 28, 1865, in a building on Main Street (now Broadway) erected for the purpose. This was no doubt the largest and most bountifully patronized of any such enterprise ever held in Wisconsin. One of the exhibits was the war eagle "Old Abe," and the sale of his picture netted many dollars. At the close of the fair it was found that over one hundred thousand dollars had been cleared. Just at this time it was learned

that the federal government proposed to establish three national homes, and that if a site was given Milwaukee would be chosen for the northwestern institution. It was wisely determined to invest the proceeds of the fair in land and present it to the nation. May 1, 1867, the transfer was made and the Milwaukee home, which had existed three years and had cared for 31,650 returning veterans, was turned over to the nation and the beginnings of the federal institution were made.

The Wisconsin-Minnesota gold rush of 1867-68 has almost been forgotten, save for the recollections of a few pioneers who took part in it. One of these gave recently his reminiscences of this interesting stampede. In the summer of 1867 gold was reported to have been found on Pike River of northeastern Minnesota, near Vermillion Lake. The best route thither led up the St. Louis River, and outfitting was done at the then new town of Superior. A considerable rush occurred that autumn, and the only method of reaching the gold field seventy-five and more miles distant was by canoe or along an Indian trail. George R. Stuntz, then United States surveyor for the region at the head of Lake Superior, laid out a route and with the aid of a crew of men, part of whom were Chippewa Indians, completed in two months' time a passable road for ox carts. One group of gold seekers, calling themselves "The Mutuals," was organized by St. Paul and Eau Claire enthusiasts. Their chief mechanic was Lars Lenroot, father of the junior senator from Wisconsin. Before leaving for the north the Mutuals held a ball at a Superior hotel, and the next morning set out in high spirits, with oxen and Indian ponies drawing their equipments, while the men themselves walked. Disappointment awaited them at their destination. The deposit of gold, which was very small, was quickly exhausted, and the bonanza promoters stole home one by one as the boom collapsed.

The Chippewa of Wisconsin and Minnesota have recently formed a protective society, officered by educated natives and half-breeds, for the purpose of promoting the general welfare of the tribe, preserving its ancient history, caring for the needy, furnishing legal aid, and informing the United States of conditions among the aborigines. Duluth and Superior are the headquarters of the new organization.

The government's Indian policy is proceeding along the same lines as those of the association above mentioned. Agencies are being closed and the Indians, having now become citizens by a law of the last Congress, are rapidly becoming self-reliant and self-supporting. In the Chequamegon Bay region the Red Cliff subagency was abolished March 31, and two of the federal agents at Odanah have been eliminated. The Ashland office will probably be maintained while the trust funds are being administered. All of the Odanah Indians are now voters, and the first Indian League of Women Voters was organized there last year and is in a flourishing condition.

In the testimony now being taken in the suit between Michigan and Wisconsin the Chippewa Indians are being called as witnesses. The origin of this controversy was explained in this magazine, i, 304-307 (March, 1918). In March last Chief Neganigezig was brought to Madison to testify to the location of the Indian trail along Montreal River.

One of the earliest teachers in Brown County was an educated Stockbridge Indian girl, Electa Quinney, who in 1829 opened a school near Kaukauna. One of her white pupils, son of a missionary to the Stockbridges, is living at Necedah. He describes the school as modeled after the best New England schools of the time. Each session was opened with a religious service and prayer; the pupils, most of whom were Indians, were taught entirely in English, Webster's spelling-book, the *Columbian Orator*, and Woodbridge's geography being among the text-books. Miss Quinney governed her pupils chiefly by moral suasion, rarely using the rod. She was approached by the sheriff, who desired her hand in marriage; but pride of race was a distinguishing mark, and she married a Mohawk missionary, the Reverend Daniel Adams. She lived to a good old age.

The passing of the Chicago, Milwaukee, and St. Paul Railway into the hands of a receiver recalls the early history of the road and its first officials. It has always been known locally as the "Milwaukee Railroad," and this designation indicates its origin. Organized first in 1849 as the Milwaukee and Mississippi, it was the first railroad in the state, and Byron Kilbourn, one of Milwaukee's founders, was its first president. John Catlin, of Madison (who removed to Milwaukee upon his election), was the second president; and the later history of the road is interwoven with the names of Edward H. Brodhead, Alexander Mitchell, and Sherburn S. Merrill. It was under the presidency of Mitchell and the management of Merrill that the Milwaukee road during the eighties and nineties of the last century pushed out toward the Farther West and attempted to control the grain trade of Iowa and the Dakotas. Its last western push has proved its undoing, the long line to the Pacific and the electrification of its mountain portion not having proved remunerative.

The demolition of ancient landmarks continues before the needs of progress. The old Saratoga mill at Waukesha, erected in 1839 when that place was called Prairieville, and one of the oldest mill buildings in the state, is to be wrecked this summer. At Oak Grove between Milwaukee and Waukesha the old tavern is to be entirely remodeled. Major Thomas Pratt was the first settler on this site and in 1846 or 1847 erected the tavern of planed boards and slab shingles. In 1852 Major Pratt sold the inn to the Miller brothers, who two years later turned it over to Landlord Drake, who was host at this site for fourteen years. Henry Griffin in 1866 purchased the tavern and was its landlord for nearly forty years. During his ownership the stables were notable, for Griffin

was a lover of fine stock. The "livery" is passing everywhere before the encroaching garage. At Baraboo in February the last livery stable was transformed, and no more can a "span" be rented for a spin about town or a ride into the near-by country.

The following interesting articles have appeared during the last quarter in the state press: Dr. W. E. Butt has been writing for the *Viroqua Censor* "Recollections of the Early Eighties"; "Early Days in Richland County," by J. T. Barto, has appeared in the *Richland Center Observer*; "Appleton Business Men Thirty-five Years Ago," by Edward P. Humphrey, was printed in the *Crescent* of that city. The *Milwaukee Journal* ran a series of reminiscences of the local theatre by Richard S. Davis in its January issues. The "Early History of Humbird Village," Clark County, came out in the *Neillsville Press* on February 27. C. E. Gale, father of Wisconsin's well-known authoress, Zona Gale, wrote on "Portage Six Decades Ago" for the *Register-Democrat* of March 27. The *Neillsville Press* was sponsor in January for a "Resumé of the Early Churches," taken from the *Sketch Book* of 1875. The *New London Press* on February 25 published an article on "County Men" who were in the war of 1861-65. In the *Whitewater Register* of February 19 appeared a portion of the "Trials of Walworth County Pioneers," written by a Delavan woman. Alphonse Bonneville, the oldest settler of Rib Lake, tells of old times in that village, in the *Mauston Star* of February 12. The early history of Oregon in Dane County by Henry E. Shuldt appeared in the *Madison Wisconsin State Journal* of March 15.

MUSEUM NOTES

The Wisconsin Archeological Society held its annual meeting in the trustee hall of the Milwaukee Public Museum on Monday evening, February 15. The meeting was well attended, a number of members coming from Madison, Oconomowoc, Oshkosh, Ripon, and other places. Dr. E. J. W. Notz was reelected president of the state society. The vice-presidents elected were W. H. Vogel, C. G. Schoewe, G. A. West, Mrs. E. H. Van Ostrand, A. T. Newman, H. H. Smith, and W. W. Gilman. The directors chosen were Vetal Winn, A. P. Kannenberg, L. R. Whitney, S. A. Barrett, Dr. H. L. Tilsner, and Mrs. H. E. Koerner. G. M. Thorne was elected treasurer, and Charles E. Brown secretary. W. C. McKern, assistant curator of anthropology at the Milwaukee Museum, delivered an illustrated lecture on the archeology and ethnology of Tonga, South Sea Isles. Edward F. Richter made a fine exhibit of Wisconsin flint and copper implements. The annual report of the secretary showed that field work had been conducted in a number of counties during the past year. A committee was appointed to make arrangements for the celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the society.

The program for the annual meeting of the American Anthropological Association, Central Section, which is to be held at the State

Museum, Springfield, Illinois, on April 23 and 24, comes to hand as we go to press. This meeting will bring together the archeologists and ethnologists of a dozen states in the Middle West. George R. Fox, director of the Warren Foundation, Three Oaks, Michigan, is the present secretary-treasurer of the association.

A group of eight girl students of the department of industrial education and applied arts at the University of Wisconsin have selected as their graduation thesis subjects the aboriginal decorative arts, ancient and recent, of eight different American Indian culture areas in the United States and Central America. Much of the work in the preparation of these theses is being done among the collections of Indian stone and metal implements, bead and quill work, carvings, basketry, and earthenware in the extensive collections of the State Historical Museum, under the personal direction of Charles E. Brown, chief of the museum, and Professor W. H. Varnum.

A joint meeting of the Wisconsin Archeological Society, the Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts, and Letters, the Winnebago County Archeological and Historical Society, and the Wisconsin Museums Conference was held at the State Normal School, Oshkosh, on Friday and Saturday, April 10 and 11. Papers were read and illustrated lectures given by representatives of all of the societies. Among those who participated in the program were Professor L. J. Cole and Charles E. Brown, Madison; Dr. S. A. Barrett, Huron; H. Smith, and Ira Edwards, Milwaukee; H. E. Cole, Baraboo; A. J. Pond, Janesville; A. E. Neville and Deborah B. Martin, Green Bay; and George Overton, Oshkosh. On the last afternoon of the meeting an automobile pilgrimage of those in attendance was made to the Calumet County shore of Lake Winnebago, where several groups of Indian mounds and other remains of archeological and historical interest were viewed. The Wisconsin Archeological Society and the Academy of Sciences have been holding an annual joint meeting for the past twelve years.

An important gift to the collections of the State Historical Museum comprises the medals and decorations, uniforms, and other military equipment owned by the late Major General William G. Haan, commander of the famous Thirty-second Division in the World War. These were presented by his widow. Among the principal decorations received by General Haan are the French Cross of a Commander of the Legion of Honor, the Italian cross, a Croix de Guerre medal with palm, and distinguished service medals. All of these mementos of this great American soldier will be exhibited in a case in the World War history room of the museum. A fine life-size oil portrait of the general by the artist R. S. Meryman hangs in an adjoining corridor. For an account of the unveiling of this painting, see this magazine, vii, 506-507 (June, 1924). In a wall case near the portrait are the battle flags of the regiments of General Haan's division. The general visited the museum on several occasions during the last years of his life, and gave expression to his

appreciation of the great historical value of its collection. Another gift, made to the museum by Colonel Frederick C. Best of Milwaukee, who was a member of General Haan's military staff, includes a service uniform and other equipment in use by him during the recent international conflict.

OUR CONTRIBUTORS

Superintendent Joseph Schafer ("A Yankee Land Speculator in Wisconsin") presents one phase of the very active career of Henry Hubbard, as revealed in the Society's collection of the papers of Moses M. Strong.

Ferdinand F. Doubrava ("Experiences of a Bohemian Emigrant Family") is a retired merchant who for many years conducted an extensive business at Wahoo, Nebraska. He now resides at Sheridan, Oregon.

David McLain ("The Story of Old Abe") prepared this article at the request of Henry E. Knapp, Menomonie, Wisconsin, for presentation at a meeting of the Dunn County Old Settlers' Society in October, 1917.

Elizabeth Moore Wallace ("Early Farmers in Exeter"), one of our members, spent the greater part of her life in the portion of southern Wisconsin of which she writes. Her present residence is at Hawarden, Iowa.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Colonial Background of the American Revolution. By Charles M. Andrews. (Yale University Press, 1924). 218p.

While this remarkable study of American colonial history is not directly concerned with Wisconsin, we wish to recommend it to our readers as one of the most far-reaching and thorough studies that has yet appeared of the causes that led to our becoming a nation. Teachers of history, who have found it hard to maintain their equipoise under the impact of several brands of propaganda all of which exploit the Revolution for their own purposes, will welcome this discriminating study by one of our greatest authorities on that period. Professor Andrews, one of the most eminent of our historians, and now president of the American Historical Association, has devoted years of research to the colonial period of our history. He ranks the American Revolution as one of the greatest historical events of the last three hundred years, even surpassing in importance the French Revolution of a few years later. He contends that no one can understand the American Revolution without a study of its background in colonial history; and also that it must be studied as a part of English history, in relation, especially, to British colonial administration. In the four chapters, or divisions of his subject, he considers first the colonies—how they came to be, their growth and change in the face of free land and commercial opportunity, and particularly the changes in temper and in relations to the organs of control and government in England. He shows how the colonies outran the home country in self-reliance and political theory, and became impatient of the attitude of the mother country in regarding the colonies as fields for exploitation, and the colonists as inferiors. He then turns to the English administration, observing the growth of mercantilism, and after 1763 of British imperialism. The third chapter deals with the interplay of the forces in the mother country and the colonies, the differences in habits of mind, and the work of the radicals in the colonies, who converted a minority disaffection into a national revolt.

In all this there is nothing new or startling to the historian or to the attentive reader of our history as it has been written in recent years. It is in the last chapter, on "General Reflections," and in the ripe maturity of thought and knowledge that characterizes the whole discussion, that the excellence of this little volume lies. The author examines the popular misconceptions of the origin of our nation with so deft a hand and so gentle a touch as not to offend the most sensitive hero worshiper, while showing at the same time that our Revolutionary fathers were men of like passions and prejudices as ourselves, and that their actions and theories were the product of "a silent revolution," often to be met with, difficult to recognize, in the views, habits of life, and conditions which produce a great social and economic transformation. Such were the origins of the American Revolution, and only such knowledge of their background is adequate to an understanding of that movement. "Its causes must be sought deep down in the hearts and

minds of a people, and not of one people only, but of two, for there are always two sides to a revolution." In the study of the governing group in England, the author shows the same perspicacity and comprehension that characterize his presentation of the American leaders. Out of such studies of so wise and gracious a scholar come understanding and tolerance. We recommend this volume to every thoughtful American, and especially to every teacher of American history.

The Life and Letters of John Muir. By William Frederic Badé. (Boston and New York, 1923). Two volumes. 398, 453p.

This latest biography of the great naturalist continues the record he himself wrote for the world in *The Story of My Boyhood and Youth*, supplementing it also in many portions of the Wisconsin narrative. It embodies an unpublished second volume of the autobiography and in many ways enlightens us as to what manner of man the traveler was, showing the human and lovable side of his character. Nothing, perhaps, is added, or could be added, to the story of the boyhood on Fountain Lake and Hickory Hill farms; but the record of Muir's university life is made more exact and complete by the account given in this new book. The youth's first venture from home took place in the autumn of 1860, and September 25 of that year the *Wisconsin State Journal* contained an article entitled "An Ingenious Whittler." At the state fair, then being held near Madison, were exhibited "ingenious specimens of mechanisms in the form of clocks made by Mr. John Muir of Buffalo, Marquette County, without cases, whittled out of pine wood. The wheels moved with beautiful evenness. One registered not only hours but minutes, seconds, and days of the month. One is in the form of a scythe. We will venture to predict that few articles will attract as much attention as these products of Mr. Muir's ingenuity."

Contrary to the previously conceived idea, Muir did not at once enter the University. He went home with an exhibitor from Prairie du Chien and made his home with the Pelton family in a hotel at that place. In January, 1861, his mother wrote that she was surprised to hear that he was again in Madison, and his strangely pious father sent him ten dollars with the admonition not to forget the "destitute heathen." It was not until the following winter that Muir felt the necessity of eking out his scanty funds by teaching school; and it is in a letter from that school, herein first printed, that we can identify positively the region where he taught. In his *Boyhood and Youth* Muir says that his school was ten miles north of Madison. Professor W. D. Frost, of the State University, proved some months ago that that statement must be a typographical error, and that Muir's school lay ten miles south of Madison, in Oregon Town—School No. 2, now called the Harriet Lake School. Professor Frost found in the course of his investigations an elderly man who had been a pupil of Muir and remembered the clock that lit the schoolhouse fire every morning. The letter published in this new *Life* corroborates Professor Frost's researches at every point. Muir writes February 9, 1862, from McKeeley's District (this

should be McKeeby's), Oak Hall, and tells his sister and brother-in-law that if they come to see him they should ask for Oak Hall, which is ten miles from Madison, south. One of his similes in this same letter is worth quoting: "The Monday morning that I commenced I did not know where to look, nor what to say nor what to do, and I'm sure I looked bashful as any maid. A mud-turtle upside down on a velvet sofa was as much at home."

Muir's school teaching was of short duration; by April he was again at work at the University, and it was early the next autumn that he wrote home: "Our University has reached a crisis in its history, and if not passed successfully, the doors will be closed, when of course I should have to leave Madison for some institution not wounded to the death by our war-demon." Fortunately the crisis was passed, and this devoted son of the University finished his studies and prepared himself for the scientific work that was to bring honor to the institution and power of service to himself.

While yet in college he began his geological and botanical excursions, and this new volume contains some delightful letters from his camps on the Mississippi bluffs opposite Prairie du Chien and along the lower course of the Wisconsin River. July 8, 1863, he wrote: "The river [Mississippi] flowed on, smooth as a woodland lake, reflecting the full beams of the dreamy light, while not on all the dark foliage which feathered its mountain wall moved a single breeze. We stood harnessed and half asleep with the settled calm, looking wistfully upon the cool waters, when suddenly the thought struck us, 'How fine it would be to purchase a boat and sail merrily up the Wisconsin to Portage.'" Acting on this suggestion Muir and his companion made the attempt, only to find the trip a more difficult one than they had imagined. "At each pull of the oars our little fairy [boat] almost leaps from the water, but we are now in the very midst of the boiling waters. We shoot now to this side, now to that, making very acute angles, and almost capsizing several times. . . . The combat is prolonged amid splashing and boiling, now drifting back, now gaining a few rods, now fast on a sand-bar on this side, now aground on the other, till the victory was again wrenched from us." They drew up the boat and abandoned the voyage, once more shouldering their packs and proceeding on foot.

Throughout his life Muir had a happy recollection of Wisconsin scenery, and even in the midst of the glories of the Yosemite and the high Sierras his letters contain frequent and tender allusions to the beauties of Wisconsin, where he first met Nature face to face, in the exuberance of boyhood and youth. Moreover, the friends that he made at Madison were the cherished friends of his later life, and his letters to Mrs. Ezra S. Carr, wife of one of his professors at the University, are among the most intimate and delightful of any he ever wrote.

We should like to quote at great length from this beautiful compilation, and allow the reader to enter into communion with the rare spirit of the man who inspired it; but we have indicated the pleasure that awaits the reader, and the share that Wisconsin may claim in the making of the man and the book. The editing has been judiciously

done, the index is adequate, and the pages are a credit to the publishers. We recommend this *Life and Letters* to every one of our readers.

The Steuben Society of Milwaukee has published, in brochure form, a study of *The German Element in Wisconsin*, by J. H. A. Lacher, of Waukesha, a curator and vice-president of the State Historical Society. In this study Mr. Lacher has escaped the usual pitfall of the racial historian, a blurring of the historical perspective, and has given us a careful, dispassionate account of the major divisions among the German immigrants based on religious and political grouping. He has also brought together a large number of specific facts about the achievements of Germans which will prove serviceable to future historians.

One object of the publication is to raise a fund from its sale for the creation of a memorial to the four Salomon brothers, who rendered such distinguished services to the country and the state during the Civil War. It will be recalled that Edward Salomon, elected lieutenant-governor in 1861, became governor on the death of Louis P. Harvey on April 19, 1862, and filled that important office during perhaps the most critical period of the war, 1862-63. His brothers served in the military department, one of them, Frederick, attaining the rank of major general. Descendants of the youngest brother, Herman Salomon, still live in Wisconsin, at Manitowoc, where it is planned to erect a tablet, while Milwaukee is to have a memorial fountain.

INDEX

- ABBOTT**, Letitia. See Wall, Letitia.
Abbott brothers, at Detroit, 435.
Adams, Charles K., at conference, 459.
Adams, John Quincy, writings of, 279.
Adams, Luthera H., at Ripon College, 36.
Adams, Martha J., Ripon College teacher, 31, 34.
Aikens, A. J., editor, 13.
Ainsley, ———, from Mineral Point, 430.
Ajax, tug, 71.
Akron (O.), Vliet at, 65.
Alabama, in Civil War, 410.
Alexandria (Va.), in Civil War, 184.
Algonquian Indians, manufacture copper articles, 148.
Allen, Prof. William F., at University of Wisconsin, 302-303.
Allentown (Tex.), Bohemians in, 394, 398.
Allouez, Father Claude, in Wisconsin, 53; visits Lake Superior, 151.
Amen family, in Wisconsin, 401.
American Bible Society, secretary, 106.
American Fur Company, at Prairie du Chien, 426.
American Mining Company, geologist for, 143-144.
Ames, Bishop E. R., Methodist preacher, 242.
Anderson, Judge H. A., article, 465.
Anderson, Prof. Rasmus B., at University of Wisconsin, 304.
Anderson, Will, at University of Wisconsin, 306.
Andrews, Charles M., *The Colonial Background of the American Revolution*, reviewed, 476.
Andrews, Edward G., Methodist bishop, 237.
Ann Arbor (Mich.), on emigrant route, 447.
"Annals of a Country Tradesman," by Oscar H. Bauer, 321-327.
Annett, ———, lake captain, 418.
Annett, Eliza. See Wallace.
Annett, Willie, Exeter pioneer, 413.
Antigo, pageant at, 119.
Antrim County (Ireland), emigration from, 415.
Apostle Islands, named, 56, 157.
Appleton, pageant at, 119; hotel keeper, 226; favors prohibition, 297; on mail route, 318.
Appomattox (Va.), Lee's surrender at, 413.
Arena, platted, 380.
Arkansas, Wisconsin regiments in, 462.
Arlington Heights, in Civil War, 184-185.
Army of the Potomac, in Civil War, 183, 185.
Arndt, Judge J. P., at Green Bay, 440.
Arnold, J. E., correspondent, 350; quoted, 354.
Aron, Mormon order, 77.
Ashbrook, ———, in World War, 216.
Ashby, ———, janitor at University of Wisconsin, 305.
Ashippun, settled, 79.
Ashland, college at, 119.
Ashton, Rev. ———, owns school, 445.
Astor, part of Green Bay, 438-439, 465.
Athens, literary society, 307.
Atkins, Chauncey, aids Vliet, 59.
Atlantic Monthly, cited, 56.
Atwell, A. A., at Ripon College, 31.
Atwood, David, editor, 17.
Atwood, Mrs. Mary J., "John Wilson, a Sauk County Pioneer," 67-70; sketch, 127.
Austin, George F., pioneer Methodist, 235.
Austin County (Tex.), Bohemians in, 393-394, 401.
Aralanche, river steamboat, 63.
Avery, Daniel, pupil, 421.
Avery, Eliza Jane, pupil, 421.
Avery, Jeremiah, Wisconsin pioneer, 415-416.
Avery, Malvina, pupil, 421-422.
Avery, Milton, pupil, 421.
Avery, Violet, pupil, 421-422.
Avery, Watson, pupil, 421.
Ayer, Frederick, Congregational missionary, 55.
"Aztalan, A Monument to Aboriginal Effort," by W. A. Titus, 186-192; Kemper describes, 432-433.
Aztecs, tradition, 186, 433.
BABBITT, Rev. ———, offer to, 442.
Babbitt, E. D., at Ripon College, 31.
Badé, William Frederick, *Life and Letters of John Muir*, reviewed, 477-478.
Badger, tug, 71.
Bailey, Anna, married, 417.
Bailey, John M., builds silo, 161-162.
Bailey's Cross Roads, in Civil War, 184-185.
Baird, Henry S., Green Bay resident, 351; makes request, 360.
Baker, Charles H., sketch, 452-453.
Baker, Charles M., "Autobiography," 445-453.
Baker, Edward L., sketch, 453.

Index

- Baker, G. H., justice of peace, 22.
Baker, Mary Louisa. See Lidgewood, and Browne.
Baker, Robert H., sketch, 453.
Baker, William D., orator, 3.
Baker papers, given to Historical Society, 445.
Baldwin, John B., *Our Dardanelles*, cited, 272.
Banks, William H., of Mineral Point, 433.
Baptists, among Indians, 436; in Wisconsin, 120, 247, 451.
Baraboo, prohibition in, 297.
Baraga, Frederick, Catholic missionary, 55-56.
Barber, J. Allen, lawyer, 351.
Barker, Sergt. George, in World War, 216, 344.
Barrows, Rev. Liberty A., of New York, 432.
Barry, A. Constantine, candidate, 20; editor, 284, 287; offers solution, 288; cited, 289.
Barstow, William A., governor of Wisconsin, 12; vetoes bill, 298; in election of 1855, 15-20, 298; portrait, frontispiece.
Bascom, Florence, "The University in 1874-1887," 300-308; communication, 460; sketch, 372.
Bascom, John, president of University of Wisconsin, 300-308; confers degree, 310; signature, 460.
Bashford, Coles, elected governor, 12, 19-20, 298.
"Battle Hymn of the Republic," origin, 185.
Bauer, Oscar H., "Annals of a Country Tradesman," 321-327; sketch, 372.
Baxter, ———, British trader, 159.
Baxter, Ira, in Green County, 417.
Bay Boom, in logging days, 71.
Bayley, C. C., Ripon College teacher, 34.
Bayley, Rev. John, of New York, 432.
Bayou de Glaise (La.), skirmish at, 413.
Beall, Mrs. Samuel W., visited, 440.
Beardsley, Alexander B., Ripon College trustee, 26-37.
Beatty, Dr. ———, at Mineral Point, 427, 430.
Beaubassin, Pierre Joseph Hertel Sieur de, at La Pointe, 55.
Beaver Creek (Ind.), Norwegians at, 77.
Beaver Dam, resident, 34.
Beaver Lake, in Waukesha County, 40.
Beers, Prof. Henry A., critic, 138.
Bellefontaine, Kemper at, 436.
Bellerica (Mass.), resident, 161-162.
Belleville, resident, 416.
Belleville (town), surveyed, 61.
Belmont, capitol at, 121-122.
Beloit, founded, 78; anniversary, 120; resident, 351; on emigrant route, 447-448.
Beloit College, president, 33; museum, 365.
Beloit Historical Society, activities, 466.
Belvidere (Ill.), on emigrant route, 447.
Benedict, Miss ———, World War nurse, 346.
Benes, Dr. Edward, statesman, 405.
Bennett, John R., judge, 11.
Bennett, Rev. P. S., pioneer Methodist, 235.
Bennett, Mrs. T. O., "Mail Transportation in the Early Days: A Trip Overland from the Cliff Mine to Appleton," 317-320; sketch, 372.
Benton, Thomas, opposes Calhoun, 263.
Bergus family, at Pine Lake, 40.
Bergwall, George, at Pine Lake, 40, 44, 49.
Berlin, early name for, 120; G. A. R. post, 367.
Beta Theta Pi fraternity, branch of, 237.
Beveridge, James, attends seminary, 89.
Beveridge, John L., governor of Illinois, 89.
Beynon, Griffith, founds Ripon College, 25.
B. F. Carter, passenger boat, 72.
Bible, in public schools, 3, 6, 10-11, 14.
Bieffeld, A. Henry, cited, 287.
Big Bull Falls. See Wausau.
Birchard, M., solicitor of land office, 384-385.
Bird, Augustus A., capitol commissioner, 432.
Birge, Edward A., at University of Wisconsin, 304.
Biron, ———, lumberman, 232.
Black Hawk, visits Washington, 426.
Black River, in copper region, 156.
Black Rock Dam (N. Y.), settled, 67.
Blair, F. J. See Blair and Persons.
Blair, Gen. Frank P., salutes Old Abe, 414.
Blair and Persons, Milwaukee merchants, 223.
Blake, Page, Grant County pioneer, 424, 427.
Blanxious, ———, at Pine Lake, 40.
Bleyer, Henry, quoted, 241.
Blood, Asa, in Walworth County, 447-448.
Blood, Henry L., hotel keeper, 226.
Bloomfield, J. K., *The Oneidas*, cited, 441.
Blue Island (Ill.), Vliet at, 59.
Blue Mounds, settled, 80; Vliet at, 62; Kemper, 430-431.
Blue River valley, settled, 193; Bohemians in, 395, 401-402, 406; emigration from, 403-405; Kemper visits, 429.
Bohemians, emigrate to America, 393-400; to Wisconsin, 400-406; in election of 1876, 21.

Index

- Bois Brule River, navigation, 54.
Bokman, Peter, at Pine Lake, 40.
Bond, Charlotte W., donor, 455, 464.
Bond, Emily E., donor, 455, 464.
Bond, Josiah, memorial for, 455.
Book Reviews, 373-374, 476-479.
Booneville (Mo.), in Civil War, 409.
Booth, Sherman, editor, 13, 15, 19-20.
Boscobel, Bohemians at, 402.
Boston (Mass.), La Ronde at, 153; Percival, 132.
Boston University, founded, 106; president, 237.
Bostwick, Henry, British trader, 159.
Boucher, Pierre, *History of Canada*, cited, 150.
Bourne, Edward G., at conference, 459.
Bovay, Alvan E., founds Ripon College, 22-37.
Bovington, ———, in World War, 347.
Bowen, Jane A., at Ripon College, 31.
Bowen, Jehdeiah, founds Ripon College, 22-37.
Bowen, John S., at Ripon College, 31.
Boyd, Gen. J. W., at Geneva, 449.
Bracken, Charles, at Mineral Point, 351.
Bradley, Milo E., Walworth County pioneer, 448.
Brandeis, ———, at Omaha, 405.
Brandeker, Charles A., cited, 287.
Bray and Choate, mill owners, 72.
Brayton, Rev. Daniel, Milwaukee clergyman, 229.
Brayton, Fred, merchant, 229.
Brayton, Joe, inn keeper, 416.
Brazelton family, Wisconsin pioneers, 63.
Bread, Daniel, Oneida chief, 441.
Bremen (Germany), port, 397.
Bremer, Frederika, Swedish novelist, 43-50; *Letters of*, 373.
Bressani, Father Francisco G., cited, 150.
Brewer, David J., college student, 239; United States justice, 240.
Brigham, ———, at Blue Mounds, 431.
Brigham, Ebenezer, at Blue Mounds, 431; request, 360.
Bristol, Sherlock, Ripon College trustee, 32.
British Register, cited, 143.
Brockway, William S., gives name to college, 26-37.
Brockway College. See Ripon College.
Broderick, Anna, Exeter teacher, 422.
Brodhead, Edward H., railroad builder, 235.
Bronson, Miss ———, Cassville teacher, 428.
Brooke, Gen. George M., at Fort Crawford, 425, 427.
Brookfield (town), surveyed, 59.
Brooks, Samuel M., portrait painter, 240.
Brothertown Indians, described, 436.
Brown, Abram, at conference, 459.
Brown, Charles C., banker, 104.
Brown, Rev. Daniel E., Green Bay missionary, 438-443.
Brown, E. K., at Ripon College, 31.
Brown, Edward, clergyman, 33.
Brown, Harriet H., at Ripon College, 36.
Brown, J. B., translator, 161.
Brown, Rev. Olympia, honored, 369.
Brown, Sarah E., at Ripon College, 31.
Browne, Mrs. George H., married, 452.
Brownsville, settlers at, 321-327; name changed, 324; incorporated, 325.
Bruno (Neb.), Bohemians in, 405.
Bryant, William Cullen, poet and critic, 138, 140.
Buchan [Buchanan?], A., merchant, 61.
Buchanan, President James, and Dred Scott decision, 111-116.
Buck, Corp. ———, in World War, 211.
Buck, Norman, federal judge, 226.
Buckstaff and Edwards, mill owners, 72.
Buffalo (N. Y.), emigrant port, 447.
Buffalo Bayou, in Texas, 398.
Bull, Ole, in Chicago, 42.
Bull, Storm, at University of Wisconsin, 304.
Bull Run (Va.), battle, 132.
Bullen, Gen. John, in Walworth County, 449.
Bullen's Bridge, on Fox River, 449.
Burgess, Charles F., speaks at unveiling of Mack portrait, 74.
Burgess, John William, cited, 112-113.
Burkhardt, John, eagle bearer, 412-413.
Burlington (town), surveyed, 61.
Burmeister papers, described, 363.
Burnett, Ellsworth, murdered, 57.
Burroughs, John, honored, 313.
Burt, Alvin, surveyor, 59; at Potosi, 351.
Burt, D. R., makes request, 360.
Burton, Rev. ———, a Methodist, 237.
Bushnell, Dr. Horace, preacher, 106.
Butler County (Neb.), Bohemians in, 404.
Butte des Morts Lake, logging on, 71.
Butterfield, Elijah, insurance man, 241.
CADLE, Rev. Richard, at Prairie du Chien, 425-426; at Cassville, 428; accompanies Kemper, 423-445; at Duck Creek, 441.
Cain family, in Ireland, 415.
Cairns, Prof. W. B., critic, 143.
Cairo (Ill.), Vliet at, 63; in Civil War, 409.
Calhoun, John, public domain policy, 263; writings, 279.
California, Bohemians in, 405.
Calumet, Indian village, 444.
Camden (N. J.), Native Americans in, 4.

Index

- Cameron, Simon, letter, 388.
Camp, Augusta, Ripon College teacher, 55.
Camp, Charles H., Ripon College trustee, 32.
Camp Randall, in Civil War, 408.
Campbell, ———, agent, 326-327.
Campbell, ———, in World War, 214-215.
Campbell, Justice John A., cited, 262.
Cannon, George, buys land, 61.
Cape Horn, rounded, 173.
Capitol. See Belmont, and Madison.
Carder, ———, of Episcopal board, 438; at Green Bay, 439, 441-442.
Carey, Dr. ———, at Racine, 446.
Carpenter, Prof. Stephen H., at University of Wisconsin, 309.
Carpet weaving, in Wisconsin, 195-196.
Carr, Miss R. R., teacher, 89.
Carswell, ———, Racine resident, 453.
Carswell, Emily, married, 453.
Carter and Davis, Milwaukee law firm, 224.
Cartier, Jacques, enters St. Lawrence River, 149.
Cary, Joseph, tailor, 90.
Case, J. L., and Company, at Racine, 453.
Casey, Dominic, Wisconsin politician, 15, 17.
Cass, Lewis, in election of 1848, 8, 456.
Cassoday, John B., justice, 11.
Cassville, in 1838, 424, 427-428, 431, 434; described, 428.
Castalia, literary society, 307.
Caster, T. W., at Ripon College, 31.
Catholics, riots, 6; anniversaries, 120; missionary, 423.
Catlin, Prof. ———, teacher, 89.
Catlin, John, visits Aztalan, 187; land purchases, 381; letter, 391.
Catlin, Richard, Ripon College trustee, 32.
Catron, Justice John, of United States Supreme Court, 113-114.
Cedarburg, senator from, 284.
Census of 1850, 8-9.
Ceresco, residents of, 22, 456.
Chain Bridge, in Civil War, 183-184.
Chambellan, ———, mining expert, 155.
Champaign (Ill.), silo experiments at, 161.
Champlain, Samuel de, visits Canada, 149.
Channith, ———, in World War, 342.
Chapin, E. H., Universalist preacher, 106.
Chapin, H. W., president of Beloit College, 33.
Chapin, Baker and Company, at Chicago, 453.
Charles City (Ia.), pioneers, 419-420.
Chase, Warren, founds Ripon College, 22-37; public service, 24; correspondent, 350; cited, 360.
Cheevers, ———, in World War, 203.
Chequamegon Bay, French visit, 52; post on, 153; La Ronde on, 157; historic sites, 469; cable laid in, 369.
Chesbrough, Mrs. W. H., death, 466.
Chicago (Ill.), Norwegians in, 80; Bohemians, 400; Vliet at, 59; board of trade member, 89; convention at, 264; road to, 447.
Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul Railway, history, 472.
Chief Sky, Chippewa Indian, 407.
Childs, Col. Ebenezer, at Green Bay, 441.
Childs' Inn, on western route, 59.
Chippewa County, eagle captured in, 407.
Chippewa Falls, Old Abe at, 407.
Chippewa Indians, on warpath, 157-158; missionary, 118; pageant, 247; language, 440; recent conditions, 471.
Chippewa River, steamboat on, 408.
Chippewa Valley Historical Society, activities, 465-466.
Christ Episcopal Church, at Green Bay, 439; corner stone laid, 441.
Christensen farm, location, 40.
Christy, Mrs. ———, of St. Louis, 425.
Churchill, Winston Spencer, genealogy, 43.
Cincinnati (O.), Vliet at, 57, 60.
City of the Four Lakes, visited, 431-432.
Civil War, Wisconsin troops in, 181-185; women, 194-195; Henry Smith, 460-462; Texas during, 399-400.
Clarendon (Ark.), in Civil War, 462.
Clark, J. L., mill owner, 72.
Clark University for Freedmen, site purchased, 106.
Clausen, C. L., clergyman, 81-82.
Clay, ———, in World War, 345.
Clay, Henry, in election of 1848, 352.
Clear Creek (Miss.), in Civil War, 409.
Cleveland (O.), Vliet at, 65.
Cliff Mine, on mail route, 318.
Clinton, Katie, at Ripon College, 31.
Clyman, James, wounded by Indians, 57.
Cobb, Col. Amasa, in Civil War, 183-184.
Cobbs, Maj. Waddy V., at Fort Winnebago, 427, 431, 434-435.
Cody, Linus R., Watertown resident, 351.
Coe, Mrs. ———, visited, 104.
Coffin, Hon. William K., obituary, 464.
Cole, H. E., president of Society, 362.
Cole, Jesse, Civil War veteran, 411.
Coleman, Capt. ———, in World War, 346.
Colfax County (Neb.), Bohemians in, 404.
Collins, A. L., Madison resident, 351; letter, 353.
Collins, Dewitt Clinton, Civil War veteran, 323-324.
Collins, Eliza, Boston resident, 105.
Collins, Frances, Boston resident, 105; married, 106.

Index

- Collins, Gertrude, Boston resident, 105.
Collins, John, Boston resident, 105.
Collins' Diggings, Vliet at, 62.
Colman, Elishu, at Lawrence Institute, 226.
Colman, Henry, at Lawrence Institute, 226.
Colman, Spier, at Lawrence Institute, 226.
Colorado, Bohemians in, 405.
Columbia County, boundary, 380.
Columbian Gazette, member of staff, 172.
Colvin, S. C., Milwaukee resident, 102.
Communications, 361, 459-462.
Compromise of 1850, debate over, 263.
Comstock, G. C., at University of Wisconsin, 305.
Confederate Army, conscripts for, 399-400.
Congregational church, mission, 55; at Lake Mills, 293.
Connecticut, state geologist, 134-135.
Connersville (Ind.), Vliet at, 62.
Conover, Allen, at University of Wisconsin, 305.
Conroe, J. W., gives to missions, 443.
Conservation Congress, purpose of, 265-266.
Constance, Council of, 393.
Constantine (Mich.), on emigrant route, 447.
Constitutional Convention, of 1787, member, 258; of Wisconsin, 450.
Cooley, G. B., Ripon College teacher, 34.
Coolidge, President Calvin M., cited, 266-267.
Coon, Col. S. Park, in Civil War, 181-182.
Cooper, J. Fenimore, befriends Percival, 134; relatives, 435.
Copper, mined by French, 55, 146-159.
"Copper Mining in the Early Northwest," by Louise Phelps Kellogg, 146-159.
Corbin, ———, miner, 155.
Corey, Abigail, pupil, 421-422.
Corey, Frances, Exeter teacher, 421.
Corey, Lavantia, pupil, 421.
Corinth (Miss.), in Civil War, 409; battle at, 410-412.
Corwith brothers, bankers, 232.
Court Oreilles Lake, Chippewa Indians at, 158.
Courtland (Ala.), in Civil War, 410.
Crandall, Charles H., cited, 139.
Crawfish River, Aztalan on, 432; mounds along, 186.
Crawford, ———, founds Ripon College, 27.
Crawford, Sarah, missionary, 438.
Crawford, Susan, missionary, 438, 442.
Crawfordsville (Ind.), Vliet at, 62.
Crews, Hooper, preacher, 91.
Crocker, Emilie M., at Lawrence Institute, 225.
Crocker, Hans, lawyer, 349-350; cited, 360.
Cross, J. B., Milwaukee resident, 240.
Cudaby, Patrick, home of, 40.
Cumberland Presbyterians, missionary, 425.
Cummings, Philo, residence, 105.
Curley, James M., Boston mayor, 273.
Curtis, ———, Illinois pioneer, 424.
Curtis, George R., wife, 309.
Curtis, Marion, death, 309.
Curtiss Studio, at Madison, 308.
Custer Massacre, views of, 420.
Cutler, Col. Lysander, in Civil War, 185.
Cutler, Dr. Manasseh, *Description of Ohio*, 262-263.
Czecho-Slovakia, rulers, 405.
DABLON, Father Claude, cited, 189.
Daguerre, Jean Jacques Claude, inventor, 42.
Daguerreotype process, discovered, 42.
Dairying, influenced by silo, 160-170.
Dakota, Bohemians in, 404.
Dale, John, a Methodist, 242.
Dale, Samuel, a Methodist, 242; studie law, 224.
Dana, Prof. James H., naturalist, 133, 145.
Danbury (Conn.), native of, 349.
Dane, Nathan, prepares statistics, 261.
Dane County, origin of name, 261; silos in, 170; town sites, 380; first settler, 431.
Daniels, Prof. William W., at University of Wisconsin, 303.
Danville (Ill.), Vliet at, 62.
Darling, Lucinda, married, 226.
Dartford, resident, 25.
Davidson, James O., papers received, 464.
Davies, Prof. John E., at University of Wisconsin, 304.
Davis, ———, agent, 325-326.
Davis, Rev. ———, Methodist preacher, 230.
Davis, Harry, in World War, 329.
Davis, L. W., sister-in-law, 438; missionary, 440-442; wife, 443.
Daves, Capt. Rufus R., in Civil War, 184; *Service with the Sixth Wisconsin Volunteers*, cited, 184-185.
Dayton, residents, 420, 422.
Dean, Clara Howe, visited, 105.
De Bow's Review, cited, 264.
Decker and Seville, Milwaukee manufacturers, 100.
De Filippo, Sergt. ———, in World War, 344-345.
Delafield (town), surveyed, 59.
Delaplaine, George P., surveyor, 58.
Delavan, first church, 247; high school, 309; superintendent, 310; early settlement, 448; Citizens Bank, 467.

Index

- Delta Gamma sorority, at University of Wisconsin, 307.
- Democrats, in Wisconsin, 7-8, 450, 456, 460; in North Carolina, 173; election of 1855, 14-15; in New York, 446.
- Demopolis (Ala.), in Civil War, 413.
- Denis. See La Ronde.
- Dennison, Gen. Garret V., builds Cassville tavern, 428.
- De Pere, in 1838, 428; services at, 439, 442.
- Des Moines River, Indian agency on, 426.
- Dessert and Cate, lumber firm, 228, 230.
- Detroit, bank of, 379; Episcopalians at, 443; emigrants at, 447.
- Dew, John, early Methodist, 120.
- Dewey, Nelson, friend, 171-172; home, 249, 302; elected governor, 349; appointment, 450.
- Dietrichson, Rev. J. C., clergyman, 81.
- "Diggings." See Lead-mining Region.
- Divorce, opinion of White on, 179-180.
- Dixon's Ferry (Ill.), Vliet at, 62.
- Documents, 74-110, 199-243, 328-348, 423-453.
- Dodge, Augustus, pursues Indians, 433.
- Dodge, Gen. Henry, in Wisconsin politics, 7; governor, 389, 427; meets Kemper, 430; migration to Wisconsin, 468.
- Dodge, J. E., Grant County pioneer, 424-425; wife, 428-429; characterized, 428.
- Dodge (Neb.), Bohemians in, 405.
- Dodge County (Neb.), Bohemians in, 404.
- Dodge County (Wis.), silos in, 170; lands, 389.
- Dodgeville, Norwegians at, 80; Kemper, 430; marker placed near, 468.
- Doolittle, James R., senator, 450.
- Doty, James Duane, Wisconsin politician, 7; promotes Madison, 380; letter, 385; letter to, 383-384; speculator, 432; at Green Bay, 440.
- Doubrava, Ferdinand F., "Experiences of a Bohemian Emigrant Family," 393-406; sketch, 475.
- Doubrava, Henry H., letter, 394, 401, 403.
- Doubrava, John, in Bohemia, 396-397; emigrates, 397-401.
- Doubrava, John Jr., lost, 400-401.
- Douglas, Stephen A., cited, 263.
- Dousman, George D., Milwaukee pioneer, 427.
- Dousman, Hercules L., at Prairie du Chien, 426-427.
- Dousman, Talbot C., Milwaukee pioneer, 427.
- Doxtator, ———, interpreter, 441.
- Draper Fellowship, awarded, 245.
- Dred Scott decision, effect, 111-116.
- Dubuque (Ia.), Vliet at, 62; Kemper leaves, 423; surveyor's office, 437.
- Dubuque (town), surveyed, 61.
- Duck Creek, near Green Bay, 438; Indian mission on, 440-442.
- Duck Creek, near Portage, 433; bridged, 434.
- Duluth, Daniel Greysolon Sieur, explorer, 152; subdues Indians, 157.
- Dunn, Charles, in constitutional convention, 352.
- Dunn County, historical relics, 246.
- Dutch, in La Crosse County, 369.
- Dutcher, Frances, Exeter teacher, 421.
- Dwelle, Elisha, surveyor, 58.
- Dwinnell, S. A., historian, 445.
- EAGLE Regiment. See Eighth Wisconsin.
- Eagle River (Mich.), postmaster at, 317.
- Earling, ———, in World War, 217, 219.
- "Early Farmers in Exeter," by Elizabeth Moore Wallace, 415-422.
- "Early Wisconsin Editors: Philo White," by John G. Gregory, 171-180.
- East (The), influence of, 256-257.
- Eaton (O.), Vliet at, 60.
- Eau Claire, in Civil War, 407-408; reunion at, 411.
- Eau Claire Historical Society, meeting, 365; changes name, 465.
- Eau Claire Old Settlers' Society, meeting, 365, 465.
- Eckedahl, Ernest, at Pine Lake, 40.
- Ecuador, chargé d'affaires to, 178.
- Eddy, Dr. T. M., Methodist preacher, 242.
- Edgar, Matthew, Exeter pioneer, 416-417.
- Edgerton, Florence, student, 226.
- Edgerton, Bible case, 11.
- Editorial Comment, 111-116, 349-360, 454-458.
- Eielson, Eling, clergyman, 82.
- Eighth Wisconsin Volunteers, Eagle Regiment, 407-414.
- Eldred, Elisha, Milwaukee resident, 104, 222.
- Election of 1848, in Wisconsin, 7-8; of 1855, 14-20.
- Eleventh Wisconsin Infantry, in Civil War, 461-462.
- Elgin (Ill.), on emigrant route, 447.
- Elkhorn, site, 448; residents, 351.
- Ellis, A. G., surveyor, 437; at Green Bay, 440.
- Ellis, Melissa, Exeter teacher, 422.
- Elmer, ———, college student, 239.
- Elmore, R. P., Milwaukee resident, 222.
- Elmore, S. L., Milwaukee resident, 222.
- Elwes, Dr. Alfred W., army surgeon, 425; wife, 427.
- Ely, Richard T., at Madison, 459.
- Emerald Grove, visited, 448.
- Emery, Mary, married, 222.

Index

- Emmons, Norman J., Milwaukee lawyer, 100.
Engelbreton, ———, in World War, 215.
English, invest in Wisconsin lands, 386-387; in World War, 345, 347.
English Prairie. See Muscoda.
Ensilage. See Silo.
Ephraim, tablet unveiled, 246-247.
Episcopalians, in pioneer Wisconsin, 50, 81, 423-445.
Erin (town), surveyed, 60.
Ermatinger, James, fur trader, 465.
Erratum, 252.
Esplande, ———, in World War, 345, 347.
European War. See World War.
Evans, J. H., "Reminiscences of Early Grant County," cited, 144-145.
Evansville Seminary, teacher, 238.
Everett, Edward, petition concerning Aztalan, 190.
Exeter (town), history, 415-422.
"Experiences of a Bohemian Emigrant Family," by Ferdinand F. Doubrava, 393-406.

FAIRCHILD, Lucius, captain, 461.
Fairfax Court House (Va.), in Civil War, 131.
Fall River, merchants at, 228, 230.
Farmington (Miss.), in Civil War, 409.
Farnsworth, P. R., at Cassville, 428.
Farwell, Andrew Jackson, attends seminary, 89-90.
Farwell, Charles B., Chicago merchant, 89.
Farwell, John V., Chicago merchant, 89.
Farwell and Cary, Milwaukee merchants, 96.
Featherstonhaugh, George W., traveler, 431.
Fellows, Prof. S. N., teacher, 92.
Fellows, Prof. Samuel M., teacher, 89, 92.
Fennimore Creek valley, settled, 193.
Fess family, in Madison, 421.
Fetrow, ———, in World War, 215.
Feuling, Prof. John B., at University of Wisconsin, 303-304.
Fever River, mining on, 430.
Field, Cyrus, sister, 239.
Field, David Dudley, sister, 239.
Field, Julius, at Kellogg's Corners, 92, 94; in New York City, 104, 237.
Field, Stephen J., sister, 239.
Field, Susan, attends seminary, 92.
Fifth Wisconsin Infantry, in Civil War, 183-184.
"File (A) of Old Newspapers," editorial, 454-458.
Finch, Asahel, Milwaukee lawyer, 223.
Finch, Matt, pioneer Milwaukeean, 222-223.
Finch and Lynde, Milwaukee law firm, 224.
Finley, ———, Milwaukee land owner, 356.
First Wisconsin Cavalry, at Ripon College, 94.
First Wisconsin Infantry, in Civil War, 181-185, 461.
Fisk, N. S., "The History of the Silo in Wisconsin," 160-170; sketch, 251.
Fisher, L. G., Beloit resident, 351; quoted, 353.
Fisk, Clinton B., at St. Louis, 230.
Fitch, Rev. Prof. ———, wife, 439.
Flambeau Lake, Chippewa Indians at, 158.
Flambeau River, Old Abe captured on, 407.
Florence County, origin of name, 244-245.
Follansbee, Alanson, Milwaukee baker, 101.
Follansbee, Mrs. Calista, Milwaukee resident, 100-101.
Fond du Lac, on railroad, 321; in 1838, 436, 444; marker for fort, 123, 468.
Fond du Lac, Amboy and Peoria Railroad, built, 321.
Fond du Lac County, senator from, 24; mounds in, 139; pageant, 119.
Fond du Lac County Historical Society, activities, 121, 364-365.
Foot, Dr. Lyman, at Fort Winnebago, 434; confirmed, 435; voyage up the Wisconsin, 436; sister-in-law, 440.
Forster, John Adam (father and son), mining experts, 155-156.
Fort Atkinson, school anniversary, 120; silo at, 162; visited, 447.
Fort Blakeley, in Civil War, 413.
Fort Corcoran, in Civil War, 181, 183.
Fort Crawford, officers, 425-427; described, 425; ruins preserved, 468; picture, 426.
Fort Drussa (La.), skirmish at, 413.
Fort Gratiot, officer, 435.
Fort Howard, commandant, 425, 440; officers, 427, 434; fire engine, 465.
Fort Madison (Ia. town), surveyed, 61.
Fort Mifflin, commandant, 445.
Fort Sumter, fired upon, 461.
Fort Winnebago, garrison, 425; commandant, 427; officers, 434; surroundings flooded, 431, 433-434; described, 435; commemorative tablets, 122.
Foster, ———, Milwaukee land owner, 356.
Foster, R. S., college president, 242.
Four Lakes region, lands in, 379.
Fourier, Charles, disciples of, 23.
Fourth Lake. See Mendota.
Fowler, William, Brothertown Indian, 444.
Fox, ———, tavern keeper, 319.
Fox Indians, on warpath, 54, 153; in palisaded village, 189.
Fox River, visited, 57, 437.

Index

- Fox River (of Illinois), Norwegians at, 77; bridge over, 449.
Fox River and Green Bay Canal Company, member, 107.
Fox-Wisconsin route, closed, 54; portage described, 435.
Frank, Col. Michael, editor, 457.
Frankenburger, David B., at University of Wisconsin, 305.
Franklin Mine, road to, 318.
Frazey, Samuel, surveyor, 58, 60.
Frederickson (Mo.), in Civil War, 408-409.
Free-Soil party, in election of 1848, 8, 456; in Massachusetts, 13; gubernatorial candidate, 24.
Freeman, ———, in World War, 217, 219.
Fremont (Neb.), Bohemians in, 404.
Fremont (Wis.), in logging days, 72.
French, in Wisconsin, 52-56.
Fritzler, ———, in World War, 343.
Frontier, influence of, 255-256.
- GAINES, "Jimmy," Exeter pioneer, 416, 418; sells farm, 419.
Gale, George, Elkhorn resident, 351.
Galena (Ill.), Vliet at, 62; Kemper visits, 423-424; return to, 442.
Gallenbeck, Sergt. George, in World War, 204.
Galveston (Tex.), port of entry, 397-398; blockaded, 399.
Gambel, Elizabeth, married, 415.
Ganguit, ———, in World War, 341.
Gardiner, Elizabeth, at Milwaukee, 108.
Gardiner, Ezra L. H., Milwaukee resident, 104.
Gardiner, John D., Milwaukee merchant, 103-104, 108; buys sawmill, 227.
Gardiner, Mrs. John D., Milwaukee resident, 108.
Gardiner, Mary L., daughter, 108.
Gardner, ———, recorder, 446.
Garrison, James, Mineral Point pioneer, 430.
Garrison, William, Mineral Point pioneer, 430.
Gausdal (Norway), settlers from, 80.
Gear, Capt. ———, Galena pioneer, 423-424, 430-431.
Gear, Rev. Henry, Episcopal missionary, 424-445.
Gedalge, Arthur, in World War, 344, 346-347.
Geelan, Patrick, at Brownsville, 323.
Geman, ———, in World War, 207.
Geneva, first settlers, 448-449, 452.
Geneva Lake, outburst, 452; school superintendent at, 311.
George, Henry, a Methodist, 242.
Georgetown (Md.), bridge at, 181, 184.
Georgia, Indian mounds in, 146, 148.
German, ———, in World War, 217.
Germans, in Wisconsin, 401-402; attitude toward prohibition, 285-287, 290, 292; oppose Maine law, 295; favor licensing policy, 298-299; in election of 1855, 16-21; of 1876, 21.
Germantown (Pa.), Nativists in, 4-5.
Germantown (Wis. town), surveyed, 59.
Gibson, Mark, home of, 39.
Gilbert, Levi P., builds silo, 162.
Gilbert brothers, at Stevens Point, 232.
Gill, Andrew, contractor, 25, 27.
Gillies, David A., editor, 13.
Gill's Landing, in logging days, 72.
Gihman, D. C., president of Johns Hopkins University, 145.
Ginrich, Harry, in World War, 339.
Gjerpen (Norway), Wisconsin settlers from, 79.
Gjerset, Knut, translates document, 77.
Gladie, ———, in World War, 347.
Gleerup, George, at Pine Lake, 40.
Goffart, M., publishes book on ensilage, 161.
Goodrich, ———, in World War, 219.
Gothenburg (Sweden), revenue collector, 40.
Gould, James, mill owner, 72.
Governor's Guard, enlists, 461.
Graham, Corp. William, in World War, 213, 216, 332.
Grand Kaukalin, mentioned, 437. See also Kaukauna.
Grant, Harvey, Ripon College trustee, 32.
Grant, Gen. U. S., in Civil War, 413-414.
Grant County, part of Iowa County, 379; Bohemians in, 402; emigrate from, 404; governor from, 349; county seat, 424.
Granville (town), residents, 63.
Grayson, William, cited, 259.
Great Lakes, shipping on, 363.
Great Lakes-St. Lawrence deep waterway, arguments for, 271-273.
Green, Col. ———, in Florida, 427.
Green Bay (water), navigation difficult, 440; rising, 442-443.
Green Bay, Kilbourn at, 57; temperance society at, 282; residents, 351; Presbyterian church at, 35; in territorial times, 383; Kemper visits, 438-443.
Green Bay Democrat, founder, 455.
Green Bay Historical Bulletin, cited, 438, 465.
Green Bay Historical Society, activities, 465.
Green County, early settlement, 415-422.
Greenwood, C. F., builds silo, 169.
Greenwood, T. T., Methodist preacher, 221.

Index

- Gregory, John G., "Early Wisconsin Editors: Philo White," 171-180; sketch, 251.
- Grenhagen, Merton, paints Mack portrait, 77.
- Grier, Robert C., judge of United States Supreme Court, 118.
- Griffin, Cornelius S., assemblyman, 284.
- Griffin, Joseph, probate judge, 450.
- Grodovant, ———, in World War, 334.
- Groseilliers, Medart Chouart Sieur de, French explorer, 52.
- Gudbrandsdal (Norway), Wisconsin settlers from, 80.
- Guild, ———, in World War, 214-215.
- Gullory, ———, trader, 155.
- Gustaveson, Earl, in World War, 343.
- HAAN**, Maj. Gen. William G., death, 363; papers donated, 463; relics, 474; monument for, 469; portrait, 474.
- Haan, Mrs. William G., donor, 463, 474.
- Hahn, Harold, in World War, 220.
- Haight, Miss ———, Fort Winnebago teacher, 434.
- Hall, Horace, investor, 378, 382, 386.
- Hall, Sherman, Congregational missionary, 55.
- Hallingdal (Norway), Wisconsin settlers from, 78.
- Hamburg-American Steamship Company, agent, 406.
- Hamburg Landing, on the Tennessee, 409.
- Hamilton, Alexander, son, 350-351.
- Hamilton, Henry E., collects artifacts, 146.
- Hamilton, William S., Wisconsin pioneer, 350, 429; letters, 352; goes to California, 360.
- Hamilton (O.), Vliet at, 60, 62.
- Hamilton (Wis.). See Wiota.
- Hammond, ———, in World War, 215.
- Hammond, E., lumber dealer, 230-231.
- Hampton, William, daughter, 172.
- Hance, G. D., at Ripon College, 31.
- Hancock, Gen. Winfield Scott, in Civil War, 183-184.
- Haney, Berry, tavern keeper, 431, 433-434.
- Hanseatic Republic of Hamburg, United States consul to, 178.
- Hansen, Mabel V., "Swedish Settlement on Pine Lake," 38-51; sketch, 127.
- Hanson (Hansen), ———, in World War, 217, 342.
- Hanson, Rev. A., pioneer Methodist, 95, 236.
- Hare, James, Exeter pioneer, 416, 420.
- Harris, Margaret, at Ripon College, 31.
- Harrisburg (Tex.), emigrants at, 398.
- Harrison, G. W., surveyor, 61; at Peru, 62.
- Harroun, Maria, at Ripon College, 31.
- Hart, A. B., at conference, 459.
- Hart, Shorty, in World War, 332.
- Hart, Wellington, editor, 13.
- Hartford Convention, proposal, 261.
- Harvey, L. D., state superintendent of public instruction, 311.
- Haskins, Winfield, death, 218.
- Hassing, ———, in World War, 214.
- Hatfield, A. W., college student, 240.
- Hatfield, Robert M., preacher, 240.
- Haugaas, Andre Gudmund, Norwegian immigrant, 77.
- Haven, Gilbert, editor, 105.
- Hawley, Silas, Ripon College trustee, 32.
- Hayes, Rutherford B., in election of 1876, 21.
- Haynes, George H., "A Know-Nothing Legislature," cited, 13.
- Hazel Green, Percival at, 131-132, 135, 145; temperance society formed, 282.
- Heart Prairie, settled, 80; passed, 447.
- Heg, Col. Hans C., monument for, 247, 463-469.
- Heistand, Hiram, Exeter teacher, 422.
- Helena, shot tower at, 68.
- Henderson Hill (La.), skirmish at, 413.
- Hendrix, Eugene R., Methodist bishop, 237.
- Henry, Alexander, British trader, 53, 159.
- Henry, Dean W. A., letter to, 163; builds silo, 164-166.
- Hesperia, literary society, 307.
- Hewes, Justine Bernice, married, 309.
- Highy, ———, tavern keeper, 229.
- Hill, Thomas J., eagle bearer, 409-410.
- "Historic Spots in Wisconsin," by W. A. Titus, 52-56, 186-192.
- "History (The) of the Silo in Wisconsin," by N. S. Fish, 160-170.
- Hitchcock, Mary, Exeter teacher, 422.
- Hitt, Andrew M., attends seminary, 89, 91.
- Hitt, Robert R., Illinois Congressman, 89.
- Hitt, Thomas, preacher, 90.
- Hoard, W. D., edits *Jefferson County Union*, 162.
- Hobart, Chauncey, pioneer Methodist, 235.
- Hobart Church, corner stone laid, 441.
- Hogan, John, political orator, 93.
- Hoke, ———, in World War, 219.
- Holcombe, Prof. Arthur N., cited, 278-279.
- Holden, Edward S., at University of Wisconsin, 304.
- Holden (Norway), Wisconsin settlers from, 80.
- Holley, Robert, district attorney, 450.
- Hollingshead, William, Walworth County pioneer, 448.
- Holly Springs (Miss.), in Civil War, 410.
- Holmes, William H., archeologist, 147.

Index

- Holt, David, printer, 451.
Holt, Eliza, married, 451.
Homestead Act, advantages of, 403.
Homeston, Ed., eagle bearer, 412.
Honey Creek, settler on, 62.
Hooe, Miss ———, at Prairie du Chien, 425, 427.
Hooe, Lieut. Alexander S., at Fort Crawford, 425, 427.
Horicon Lake, visited, 57.
Horn, Fred W., state senator, 264; on prohibition, 285.
Horner, A. W., at Ripon College, 31.
Horner, John S., Wisconsin governor, 23, 440; in Michigan Territory, 24.
Hosford, Julia R., Ripon College teacher, 35.
Hoskins, L. M., at University of Wisconsin, 305.
Houghton (Mich.), on mail route, 318-319; mining school at, 310.
Houghton County (Mich.), mining in, 147.
Houston (Tex.), route via, 400.
Howe, Birdsey, residence, 105.
Howe, Julia Ward, writes "Battle Hymn of the Republic," 185.
Howe, Philo, residence, 105.
Hubbard, Hon. Henry, speculates in Wisconsin lands, 377-392; letters, 382-385; sketch, 377.
Hubbard, Henry Jr., investments, 390.
Huebschmann, Dr. Franz, state senator, 290; opposes prohibition, 291.
Huff, ———, visits Geneva, 449.
Hughes, Sergt. ———, in World War, 215.
Hughy family, in Ireland, 415.
Huginin, Daniel, inventor, 359.
Huling, R. G., at conference, 459.
Humboldt, Friedrich, naturalist, 186, 433.
Humes, Marion F., in Civil War, 182.
Humphrey, S. D., inventor, 42.
Humpolec (Bohemia), emigrants from, 395.
Hunter, Mrs. ———, St. Louis resident, 230.
Hunter, E. M., opposes prohibition, 296.
Hunter, Hugh R., mining expert, 381.
Huntington, ———, New York judge, 446.
Huntington, Elida, at Ripon College, 31.
Huron Indians, wear copper ornaments, 149.
Hurricane Creek (Miss.), Old Abe's last skirmish, 413.
Huss, John, Bohemian protestant, 393, 397.
Hvideso (Norway), Wisconsin settler from, 82.
Hyer (Hier), David, Madison resident, 432; wife, 432-433.
Hyer, Nathaniel F., names Aztalan, 186; Kemper meets, 432-433.
IBERVILLE, Pierre le Moyne Sieur d', French colonizer, 153.
Idaho, Bohemians in, 405.
Illinois, governor, 89; favors prohibition, 290.
Illinois Masonic Home, inmate, 198.
Illinois River, route via, 383.
Illustrations:
William A. Barstow, frontispiece.
Original East Building, Ripon College, 32.
Original Shot Tower Building, 68.
James Gates Percival, 131.
Distribution of Silos in Wisconsin, 160.
Letitia Wall, 194.
Frederick Jackson Turner, 255.
Views of Oshkosh Public Museum, Sawyer Foundation, 364.
Moses M. Strong, 377.
Fort Crawford, 426.
Hsley, Charles F., Milwaukee banker, 241.
Indian Joe, tavern keeper, 318, 320.
Indiana, Norwegians in, 80.
Indianapolis (Ind.), Vliet at, 60, 62.
Indians, earthworks of, 186-192; as miners, 146-159; numbers in Wisconsin, 368; dog feast, 426; recent policy, 471.
Ingraham, Mary, married, 105.
Interlaken Hotel, location, 38.
Iowa, favors prohibition, 290; value of farm lands in, 205.
Iowa County, lands in, 379; limits, 379.
Iowa Soldiers' Home, chaplain, 411.
Iowa University, teacher at, 92.
Irish emigration, reasons for, 415.
Irish Hollow, in Green County, 417; first school in, 421.
"Iron Brigade," leader, 183.
Iron Ridge, on railroad, 321.
Iroquois Indians, on warpath, 152.
Iroquois River, crossed, 59.
Irvin (Irwin), David, territorial judge, 187.
Irving, Prof. Roland D., at University of Wisconsin, 303.
Irwin, Alexander J., at Green Bay, 440, 443.
Irwin, Judge David. See Irvin.
Island No. 10, in Civil War, 409.
Isle Royale, mines on, 147, 151; search on, 317.
Iuka (Miss.), in Civil War, 410.
Iverson, Rev. A. M., Moravian pastor, 246.
Ives, ———, at North Haven (Conn.), 429.
JACKS, R. C., Milwaukee resident, 104.
Jackson, Andrew, at Cincinnati, 64; land policy, 381, 391; in Indian war, 435; appointments, 440.

Index

- Jackson, Joseph, Ripon College trustee, 82.
 Jackson (Mich.), on emigrant route, 447.
 Jacksonport (Ark.), in Civil War, 462.
 Jacobs, Al, in World War, 205.
 Jacobson, Froecken ———, husband, 41.
James Madison, lakes steamboat, 86.
 Jamieson, Junius, in World War, 205, 220.
 Janes, Henry F., founder, 447.
 Janesville, school for blind, 124; soldier from, 182; Parker at, 309, 311; Baker, 446-448; washout, 401; lumber hauled from, 422.
 Janssen, Edward, state treasurer, 15.
 Jeffers, S. M., buys eagle, 407.
 Jefferson, Thomas, cited, 274.
 Jefferson County, mounds in, 186; purchases Aztalan site, 189; lands, 447.
 Jefferson Prairie, Norwegians at, 77.
 Jenckes, Dr. J. L., physician, 135.
 Jenkins, James, lumberman, 72.
 Jerome, Leonard, son, 43.
 Jesuit missionaries, at De Pere, 438.
Jesuit Relations, cited, 190.
 Jewett, Charles, *Speeches, Poems*, etc., cited, 284.
 Jews, from Bohemia, 401-402, 405.
 Jim Falls, resident, 407; named, 465.
 Jipson, Dr. Norton W., obituary, 246.
 Jo Daviess County (Ill.), visited, 423.
 Johns Hopkins University, president, 145.
 Johnson, ———, Appleton hotel keeper, 226.
 Johnson, Capt. ———, at Fort Mifflin, 445.
 Johnson, D. V. M., at Brooklyn, 427.
 Johnson, John, at Pine Lake, 40.
 Johnson, Sir William, superintendent of Indians, 158-159.
 Johnston, John, college professor, 107, 237.
 Jolliet, Louis, explorer, 152.
 Jones, Miss ———, at Sinsinawa, 423.
 Jones, Gen. George Wallace, territorial delegate, 423.
 Jones, Milo, letters from, 360.
 Jones and Wellington, sawmill, 71.
 Jordan, ———, in World War, 203.
 "Journal of a World War Veteran," by Ira Lee Peterson, 199-220, 328-348.
 Joyce, John, agent, 324.
 Judd, J. M., at Ripon College, 31.
 Judson, Helen, married, 89.
 Judson, Rev. Philo, promotes Northwestern University, 89.
Julia Palmer, on Lake Michigan, 60.
 Jumel case, lawyer in, 107.
 Juneau, Solomon, sells land, 174; White's partner, 175; at Theresa, 369; portrait mentioned, 240.
 Juneau Bank, in Milwaukee, 240.
 KALAMAZOO (Mich.), on emigrant route, 447.
 Kankakee River, crossed, 59.
 Kansas, supreme court judge, 239-240.
 Kappa Kappa Gamma sorority, at University of Wisconsin, 307.
 Karasek family, in Wisconsin, 401.
 Kaukauna, pageant at, 120, 247. See also Grand Kaukalin.
 Kellogg, Amherst Willoughby, "Recollections of Life in Early Wisconsin," 88-110, 221-243.
 Kellogg, Dora, married, 226.
 Kellogg, Fanny, experience of, 223.
 Kellogg, Fred F., home, 229.
 Kellogg, Helmont S., forms partnership, 227-231; at Galena, 232; at Muscatine, Ia., 233; at Keokuk, Ill., 238.
 Kellogg, John C., at Blue Mounds, 430-431.
 Kellogg, Leverett S., in Leahy riot, 109; death, 235-236.
 Kellogg, Louise Phelps, "Copper Mining in the Early Northwest," 146-159; sketch, 251.
 Kellogg, Luman, son, 227.
 Kellogg, Romulus O., attends seminary, 90; Lawrence Institute, 225; married, 237; at Keokuk, Ill., 238.
 Kellogg, Thaddeus, at Milwaukee, 236.
 Kellogg's Corners, teacher at, 92.
 Kemper, Bishop Jackson, "A Trip through Wisconsin in 1838," 423-445; Oneida name for, 443; receives gift, 180.
 Kemper, Lilly, letter for, 443.
 Kemper, Samuel, mentioned, 424.
 Kennon; Corp. ———, in World War, 342, 345.
 Kenosha, clergyman at, 95; resident, 359; old newspapers from, 454-458; free schools in, 457-458. See also Southport.
 Kenosha County Old Settlers' Society, annual meeting, 246.
Kenosha Democrat, file, 455.
Kenosha Telegraph, file, 455.
Kenosha Times, file, 455.
Kenosha Tribune, file, 455.
Kenosha Union, file, 455.
 Kent, Samuel, in World War, 214, 218-220.
 Keokuk, Sauk chief, village, 426.
 Kerchners, ———, land agent, 386.
 Kerr, Prof. Alexander, at University of Wisconsin, 304.
 Keshena, visited, 320.
 Kesler, ———, Exeter pioneer, 416, 419, 421.
 Kesler, Emma, pupil, 421.
 Kesler, Irene, pupil, 421.

Index

- Kesler, Myranda, pupil, 421.
Keweenaw County, mining in, 147.
Kilbourn, Byron, land titles, 57; at Milwaukee, 175; in constitutional convention, 352.
Kildow, Arthur, in World War, 340.
Kimball, Luke, Chicago lawyer, 89.
Kimberley, Mrs. Ada Pratt, communication from, 361.
King, Capt. Charles, at University of Wisconsin, 304.
King, Prof. F. H., experiments with silo, 167-169.
King, Rufus, editor, 13, 17, 19-20, 350-352; in Civil War, 183; cited, 260.
Kinney, ———, land agent, 386.
Kinney, Asa, founds Ripon College, 22; in constitutional convention, 24.
Kirk, James A., Chicago resident, 39.
Kleinschmidt, ———, in World War, 334, 337-338.
Kluge, ———, in World War, 215.
Knapp, J. Gillett, at Green Bay, 440.
Knockahollet (Ireland), emigration from, 415-416.
"Know-Nothingism in Wisconsin," by Joseph Schafer, 3-21; reference to movement, 231; party supports Bashford, 293.
Koch family, emigrates to America, 393-394.
Kolman, ———, Bohemian immigrant, 395, 401.
Konkhe, Walter, in World War, 205.
Kosciusko Guard, history, 367.
Koser, Ezekiel, in World War, 220.
Koshkonong Lake, lands near, 360.
Koshkonong Prairie, Norwegians at, 77-78.
Kuehn, Charles, in election of 1855, 15, 20.
Kyle, Mrs. ———, daughter, 424.
- LACHER, J. H. A., *The German Element in Wisconsin*, reviewed, 479.
La Crosse, anniversary, 467.
Lafayette County, part of Iowa County, 379; court house, 124.
La Follette, Robert M., entertains Roosevelt, 460.
La Grange (Tenn.), in Civil War, 412.
Lahontan, Louis Armand de Lom d'Arce Baron de, explorer, 152.
Lake, Dr. W. W., Milwaukee physician, 109.
Lake Mills, Congregational church at, 293; resident, 169.
Lakin and Steever, law firm, 224.
Lamb, Dana, Ripon College trustee, 32, 34.
Lancaster, resident, 351; county town, 424; Kemper at, 429.
- Land (Norway), Wisconsin settlers from, 78.
Lands, speculation in, 377-392; scrip for, 379; warrants, 172-173, 358-359; mineral, 380-382, 384-385; offices for sale of, 381, 385, 440; general office, 382-385; policy in regard to, 391; grants, 403.
Lane, ———, college professor, 237.
Lane, L. H., at Milwaukee, 96.
Lange, ———, at Pine Lake, 46, 50.
Langlade County, pageant, 119.
Lansing (Mich.), resident, 161.
Lapham, Henry, builds pit silo, 169.
Lapham, Increase A., surveys Aztalan, 187-189; *Wisconsin*, cited, 187; "Antiquities of Wisconsin," cited, 187.
La Pointe, sketch of, 52-56; commandant at, 153, 158; miners at, 156.
La Ronde, Louis Denis Sieur de, French officer, 55, 153-158; descendant, 153.
La Ronde, Philippe Denis Sieur de, at La Pointe, 158.
Larrabee, Martha W., married, 446.
Latham, Hollis, Walworth County pioneer, 448.
Lathrop, ———, Mineral Point tavern keeper, 429.
La Tourette, Claude Greysolon Sieur de, explorer, 152.
Lauffen, Johannes, schoolmaster, 82.
Laurea, literary society, 307.
Lavender, ———, in World War, 214, 216.
Lawrence Institute, teacher, 107-108; students, 224-226.
Lead mining, account of, 430.
Lead-mining region, lands in, 380-385, 389.
Leahy, ———, at Milwaukee, 109-110.
Leander Choate, passenger boat, 72-73.
Lee, ———, Exeter pioneer, 422.
Lee, Jesse, preacher, 105.
Lee, John Hancock, *Origin and Progress of American Party in Politics*, cited, 4.
Lee, Gen. Robert E., surrenders, 413.
Lee, William, in Leahy riot, 109.
Le Fevre, ———, steamboat captain, 72.
Leihy, Isaac M., clergyman, 110, 221.
Leroy (Dodge County), shoemaker at, 321.
Lescarbot, Marc, cited, 150.
Le Sueur, Pierre Charles, trader, 54, 152; subdues Indians, 157.
Lewis, Gov. J. T., accepts Old Abe, 413.
Lewis, Mrs. Theodore G., donor, 464.
Libbey, D. L., lumberman, 72.
Liberia, minister to, 95.
Liberty (Ind.), Vliet at, 62.
Lidgewood, Mrs. James, married, 452.
Lima (Peru), United States navy agent at, 173.

Index

- Lincoln, Abraham, calls for volunteers, 181; reviews troops, 184; cited, 118.
Lind, Jenny, daguerreotype of, 42.
Lindbaum, Rolland, in World War, 215, 330.
Lindsay, J. W., college professor, 237.
Linn (town), settler, 449.
Lisbon (town), surveyed, 60.
Little Bull Falls. See Mosinee.
Little Platte River, crossed, 424.
Little Suamico River, sawmill on, 227.
Little Sugar River, settlers on, 415.
Lockport (Ill.), resident, 89.
Lockwood, ———, at Prairie du Chien, 426.
Lockwood, Edwin, founds Ripon College, 22-37.
Lockwood, James H., at Prairie du Chien, 425-426.
Logan, Gen. John A., salutes Old Abe, 414.
Logansport (Ind.), Vliet at, 80.
Logging, on Wolf River, 71.
Long Prairie (Ill.), settled, 80.
Longstreet, ———, college student, 239.
Longstreet, W. R., correspondent, 350.
Lorah, Mary, in World War, 346-347.
Louisville (Ky.), falls at, 63.
Love, W. D., *Wisconsin in the War of the Rebellion*, cited, 181.
Lovenskjold, Adam, consul general, 77.
Low, Capt. Gideon, at Fort Gratiot, 435.
Low, Mrs. Gideon, at Fort Winnebago, 435.
Lowell, James Russell, critic, 184, 136.
Lowry, Rev. David, missionary, 425-426.
Ludington, Harrison, Milwaukee business man, 227.
Ludington, James, Milwaukee resident, 240-243.
Ludington, Nelson, Milwaukee business man, 227.
Ludington, Wells, and Van Schaick, Milwaukee business firm, 227.
Ludington (Mich.), lumber interests near, 240.
Luethstrom, Dr. Charles A., at Pine Lake, 40.
Lumbering, at Little Suamico, 227; at Mosinee, 228. See also Sawmilling.
Luther Valley, settled, 78.
Lutherans, in pioneer Wisconsin, 81, 430; anniversaries, 120, 248, 367-368.
Lynch, George F., founds Ripon College, 25-37.
Lynde, Lieut. Isaac, at Fort Winnebago, 434-435.
Lynde, William Pitt, Congressman, 223.
Lynn, Catherine Lyons, Exeter pioneer, 419.
Lynn, Elison, Wisconsin pioneer, 416-417, 419, 422.
Lynn, Elison Jr., in Iowa, 420.
Lynn, George, in South Dakota, 419.
Lynn, James, Exeter pioneer, 416; death, 419.
Lynn, James Jr., in Kansas, 419.
Lynn, John, Wisconsin pioneer, 415.
Lynn, John Jr., in Tacoma, 419.
Lynn, Josiah, in Iowa, 420.
Lynn, Leslie, in Northwest, 419.
Lynn, Nancy. See Wallace.
Lynn, Nancy Ellis, Exeter pioneer, 416.
Lynn, Nancy Moore, Exeter pioneer, 419.
Lynn, Robert, in New York, 416; removes to Wisconsin, 419.
Lynn, Rosa Scott, married, 419.
Lynn family, in Wisconsin, 415, 417.
Lynnton (S. D.), resident, 419.
Lyon, William P., justice, 11.
Lyons, Catherine. See Lynn.
Lytle, E. H., land contract, 61, 63.
Lytle, Robert T., surveyor general, 18, 63; entertains Jackson, 64.
McCANN, Daniel, buys eagle, 407.
McCargo's Cave, excavations, 151.
McClellan, Gen. George B., in Civil War, 184.
MacDonald, Prof. William, cited, 113.
McDowell, Gen. Irvin, in Civil War, 182, 185.
McFayden, Capt. ———, on Great Lakes, 66.
McGeoch, Arthur, builds silo, 169.
MacIndoe, W., Congressman, 232.
McIvers, Corp. ———, in World War, 216.
Mack, John Given Davis, portrait, 74; sketch, 74-77.
McKaig, Thomas, Geneva pioneer, 449.
McKendree College, president, 250.
McKibbons, ———, home, 59.
Mackinac (Mich.), described, 104; La Ronde at, 158; mission, 437; native, 440.
McKissack, Lieut. William M. D., at Fort Crawford, 425, 427.
McLain, David, "The Story of Old Abe," 407-414; sketch, 475.
McMillen, Robert, mill owner, 72.
McMullen, Joseph F., Milwaukee resident, 222-223.
McNish, Dr. James, Geneva pioneer, 449.
McNutt, E., sawmill, 71.
McPherson, Gen. James B., salutes Old Abe, 414.
McPherson, Robert, St. Louis pioneer, 68.
McPhoeters, Sergt. ———, in World War, 205, 332, 344.
McPotters, Sergt. ———, in World War, 207.
Macy, Jesse, at conference, 459.
Madeline Island, in Indian lore, 52; fort on, 54, 157. See also Chequamegon Bay.

Index

- Madison, in 1838, 431-433; first capitol described, 432; town lots, 380; in Civil War, 407-408, 413, 461; in 1874, 300; Old Abe dies at, 414; conference at, 459-460; temperance meeting, 283-284; residents, 351; hotel at, 421; Bohemians visit, 401.
- Madison *Democrat*, cited, 9; in election of 1855, 18.
- Madison *State Journal*, editor, 17.
- Madison *Wisconsin Express*, cited, 284, 286.
- Maginnis, James, in Eagle Regiment, 407; death, 409.
- "Mail Transportation in the Early Days: A Trip Overland from the Cliff Mine to Appleton," by Mrs. T. O. Bennett, 317-320.
- Main, Mrs. Willet S., communication, 460-462.
- Maine law, in Wisconsin, 18, 288, 295.
- Manitowoc, newspaper in, 16; Bohemians, 395; early resident, 443.
- Manitowoc County, court house, 121.
- Manitowoc County Historical Society, activities, 466.
- Manlius (N. Y.), White at, 172.
- Manly, ———, in World War, 214-215.
- Mansfield, George, college student, 237, 239.
- Mansfield, John, college student, 237, 239.
- Mapes, A. P., founds Ripon College, 25.
- Mapes, Charlotte M., at Ripon College, 31.
- Mapes, David P., founds Ripon College, 22-37; steamboat captain, 23-24.
- Marathon County, anniversary, 367.
- "Marion City," paper town, 64.
- Marquette, Father Jacques, French missionary, 53.
- Marquette County, judge in, 24.
- Marsh, Rev. Cutting, Stockbridge missionary, 247, 437; church, 444.
- Marsh, D. O., Geneva resident, 448.
- Marshall (Mich.), on emigrant route, 447.
- Marshall College, graduate, 100.
- Martin, M. W., Ripon College teacher, 31.
- Martin, Morgan L., in constitutional convention, 352.
- Martin, Pete, tavern keeper, 318-319.
- Masaryk, Prof. T. G., statesman, 405.
- Mascouten Indians, village, 189.
- Masonic Lodge, member, 315.
- Massachusetts, Know-Nothingism in, 12-13.
- Masten, Charlotte, at Ripon College, 31.
- Masten, F., at Ripon College, 31.
- Mather, Rev. Cotton, cited, 287.
- Mathew, Father Theobald, temperance lecturer, 293.
- Maxwell, Col. James, in legislature, 450.
- Mayer brothers, country seat, 39.
- Mayville, anniversary, 366.
- Mazzuchelli, Father Samuel, missionary, 423.
- M. D. Moore, tug, 71.
- Mears, Helen F., sculptor, 124.
- Meeker, ———, on Honey Creek, 62.
- Melchizedek, Mormon order, 77.
- Mellon, Charles, tavern keeper, 318.
- "Memorials of John H. Tweedy," editorial, 349.
- Memphis (Tenn.), convention at, 264; in Civil War, 413.
- Menasha, Congregational church at, 29; resident, 32.
- Mendota Lake, town on, 380, 431.
- Menominee (Ill.), visited, 423.
- Menominee Indians, in pageant, 119; at mission school, 439.
- Menomonee (Waukesha Co. town), surveyed, 59.
- Menomonee River, in Milwaukee County, 57.
- Meridian Hill (D. C.), in Civil War, 183.
- Merom (Ind.), Vliet at, 58.
- Merrell, Edward H., Ripon College historian, 23-37; wife, 35.
- Merrell, Henry, of Portage, 433-435.
- Merrill, Capt. M. E., commands Fort Howard, 440.
- Merriman, William E., president of Ripon College, 35.
- Merton (Waukesha Co. town), surveyed, 60.
- Messersmith (Messerschmidt), John, lead mines pioneer, 429, 431; story of, 430.
- Methodist church, on slavery question, 94-95; early ministers, 91-93, 120, 230, 423; misconduct of, 429; missionaries, 436; at Green Bay, 438-439, 442.
- Mexico, war with, 393, 415.
- Michigan, early mining prospecting, 147; territorial governor, 24, 440; statutes, 449.
- Michigan City (Ind.), on stage route, 60, 447.
- Michigan College of Mines, student at, 310.
- Michigan Lake, lands near, 379, 387; railways from, 390.
- Middletown (Conn.), college at, 96, 237.
- Middletown (Ind.), on western route, 59.
- Milburn, Dr. William H., congressional chaplain, 238.
- Miles, Dr. Manly, builds silos, 161.
- Military Road, mentioned, 429; near Portage, 433; eastern portion, 436, 444; marked, 247.
- Miller, ———, Walworth County pioneer, 447-448.
- Miller, Miss ———, World War nurse, 346.

Index

- Miller, Ben Kurtz, Milwaukee lawyer, 223.
 Miller, Henry, Milwaukee merchant, 223.
 Miller, Kurtz, son, 223.
 Miller, Nellie, married, 223.
 Miller, Rev. Wesson G., clergyman, 108-110, 221.
 Miller, William, aids Vliet, 59.
 Miller brothers, sawmill, 71.
 Mills, D. O., and Company, San Francisco banking firm, 224.
 Mills, Francis M., clergyman, 100.
 Mills, Simeon, state senator, 232; entertains Kemper, 432.
 Milton, ———, at Mineral Point, 430.
 Milton, John, of Mineral Point, 433.
 Milton Academy, student at, 182.
 Milwaukee, road to, 432; temperance society, 282; opposes prohibition, 297; guard, 367; orphan asylum, 367; soldiers' home, 470; attitude toward constitution, 102; residents, 169, 349; lawyers, 223-224, 230; land sale at, 452; lands near, 379, 390; in Civil War, 450, 461; Bohemians in, 395, 401; Vliet at, 57-58, 61, 65-66; White, 174-176; Frederika Bremer, 43; Kemper cannot visit, 438-439, 443.
 Milwaukee *Advertiser*, first issue, 175; article, 186; cited, 377.
 Milwaukee *American*, founded, 13; cited, 14, 19; in election of 1855, 13-20.
 Milwaukee and Mississippi Railroad Company, chartered, 78; bridge for, 235.
 Milwaukee and Rock River Canal, projected, 78; lands involved, 355-356.
 Milwaukee County, land entries, 391-392.
 Milwaukee County Claims Association, documents, 391-392.
 Milwaukee *Journal*, article, 400.
 Milwaukee *News*, in election of 1855, 17.
 Milwaukee Railroad. See Milwaukee and Mississippi Railroad.
 Milwaukee River, lands along, 57.
 Milwaukee *Sentinel*, founded, 171; editors, 13, 17, 175, 350-351; cited, 14, 18.
 Milwaukee *Sentinel and Gazette*, cited, 286-287.
 Mineral Point (city), Norwegians at, 80; celebration at, 120; residents, 349, 416, 433; mining center, 380, 383; land office at, 381, 385; Kemper at, 429-430.
 Mineral Point (town), surveyed, 61-62.
 Minnesota *Historical Collections*, cited, 158.
 Minnesota Historical Society, cooperative meeting with, 362, 463; issues magazine, 469.
 Minnesota Mining Company, prospecting, 147.
 Minnesota River, garrison at, 425.
 Minong Island. See Isle Royale.
 Miroslav (Moravia), emigrants from, 394.
 Missions, in Wisconsin, 53-56, 423-445.
 Mississippi River, explored, 53; value of lands on, 379; route via, 383, 400, 423; railways to, 390; in Civil War, 412.
 Missouri, Bohemians in, 405; during Civil War, 461-462.
 Mitchell, Alexander, Milwaukee banker, 241.
 Mitchell, Frank, preacher, 92.
 Mitchell, James, preacher, 91-92; at Milwaukee, 93-94.
 Mitchell, John T., preacher, 90-91.
 Mitchell, Samuel, Wisconsin pioneer, 92.
 Miter, J. J., clergyman, 34.
 Mjaeva, Torstein Olsen, Wisconsin pioneer, 77.
 Mobile (Ala.), in Civil War, 413.
 Modum (Norway), Wisconsin settlers from, 80.
 Mohawk Indians, language, 441.
 Monona Lake, bridge across, 235; town on, 380; bathing in, 432.
 Monroe, school superintendent at, 311; visited, 419.
 Monroe County, pageant, 247.
 Montgomery, ———, Illinois pioneer, 59.
 Monticello, in Green County, 419-420.
 Montreal College, student at, 172.
 Moor (Moore) family, in Wisconsin, 415-416, 422.
 Moore, ———, Rock County pioneer, 448.
 Moore, Elizabeth. See Wallace.
 Moore, John Bassett, internationalist, 113.
 Moore, Joseph, Exeter pioneer, 416.
 Moore, Joseph Leslie, farm, 416.
 Moore, Mary Lynn, Exeter pioneer, 416.
 Moore, Nancy. See Lynn.
 Moore, Nancy. See Richards.
 Moore, William, Exeter pioneer, 416.
 Moore's Plantation (La.), skirmish at, 413.
 Moran, Wilson A., communication, 459-460.
 Moravians, in America, 393, 405; in Door County, 246.
 Morgan, ———, Kemper's driver, 424, 430, 433-434, 442-443; ill, 431; injured, 436.
 Morley, Sabin, Exeter pioneer, 417, 421.
 Morley, Samantha, pupil, 421.
 Mormons, orders among, 77.
 Morris, Francis, builds silo, 161.
 Morris, Gouverneur, statesman, 258-259, 268.
 Morse, Jedidiah, *American Gazetteer*, cited, 176.
 Morse, Samuel F. B., inventor, 42.
 Moser, Corp. Edward, in World War, 332; killed, 341.
 Moses, Corp. ———, in World War, 332.
 Mosinee, lumber mill at, 228.

Index

- Mount Morris (Ill.), seminary at, 88-93.
Mount Vernon (O.), residents, 318.
Muir, John, honored, 813; *Life and Letters*, reviewed, 477-478.
Mullen, Emma G., commemorated, 369.
Muscodia, Bohemians at, 401; Kemper, 429.
Museum Notes, 125-127, 250-251, 370-372, 473-475.
Muskego, settled, 79.
Mutual Benefit Insurance Company, solicitor, 241.
- NASHOTAH House, graduate, 50.
National Education Association, officer of, 312; Committee of Ten, 459-460.
National Temperance Almanac, cited, 281.
Native American Republican Association. See Nativism.
Nativism, history of, 3-21.
Naturalization law, opposed, 5-6.
Navarino, part of Green Bay, 438-439, 465.
Nebraska, Bohemians in, 403-406.
Neimi, ———, in World War, 216.
Nekoosa, water power at, 390.
Nelson, ———, in World War, 202.
Nelson, Arthur, in World War, 220.
Neopit, Menominee Indian, 119.
New Amsterdam, sketch of, 369.
New Glarus, Swiss settlement, 416; school district, 421.
New Hampshire, residents, 377, 382; emigrants, 424.
New Haven (Conn.), Percival at, 134.
New London (Conn.), Baker at, 450-451.
New London (Wis.), in logging days, 72; on mail route, 318.
New Madrid (Mo.), in Civil War, 409.
New Orleans (La.), emigrants at, 400.
New Upsala, in Waukesha County, 38-51.
New York (state), silos in, 170.
New York Plow Company, member of, 161.
Newport (Ind.), on western route, 59.
Newspapers, file of, 454-456.
Niagara, lake steamer, 104.
Nicaragua, mining engineer in, 310.
Nicholson, ———, in World War, 332.
Nicodemus, Prof. William J. L., at University of Wisconsin, 303.
Nicolet, Jean, descendant, 55.
Ninde, William X., Methodist bishop, 237.
Noble, Rev. John, at Milwaukee, 443.
Nord, Lieut. ———, in World War, 342.
Nordberg family, at Pine Lake, 40.
North Bend (Neb.), Bohemians in, 405.
North Carolina, politics in, 173; militia officer, 173.
North Lake (village), in Waukesha County, 40.
North Sea, emigrant vessel in, 397-398.
- Northrup, Ezra L., founds Ripon College, 22-37.
Northwestern University, promoter, 89.
Norton, L. D., mill owner, 89.
Norwegians, settle in Wisconsin, 77-88; celebration, 247, 467.
Numedal (Norway), Wisconsin settlers from, 78-79.
- O. B. Reed*, passenger boat, 71-72.
Oconomowoc, silo at, 162.
Oconto River, lumbering on, 464.
Oertel, Catherine, mother, 70.
Ogden, Thomas L., Milwaukee resident, 350.
Ogden, William B., Chicago mayor, 42-43.
Ogden family, Walworth County pioneers, 443.
Ohio, surveyor, 57; Indian mounds in, 146, 148.
Ohio Company of Associates, promoter, 262.
Ohio Life and Trust Company, fails, 241.
Ohio River, steamboat on, 53.
Olcott, George, investor, 378, 382, 386.
Old Abe, story of, 407-414; portraits mentioned, 470.
"Old Central," copper mine, 317.
Old Oaken Bucket, founded, 284; cited, 282, 284, 287, 289.
"Old 203." See Bascom, John.
Olds, James Dwight, obituary, 465.
Olin, John M., at University of Wisconsin, 304.
Olin, Dr. Stephen, president of Wesleyan University, 106-107.
Olson (Oleson), ———, in World War, 202, 220.
Olson, Julius E., at University of Wisconsin, 305.
Omaha (Neb.), Bohemians in, 404-405.
Omaha Bee, editor, 404.
Omro, in logging days, 73; resident, 36.
Onderdonk, B. T., bishop, 440.
One Hundred and Twenty-eighth United States Infantry, service of, 200.
Oneida Indians, visit Washington, 438; join church, 439; mission for, 441-443; name for Kemper, 443.
Ontonagon County (Mich.), mining in, 55, 147.
Ontonagon River, in copper region, 154, 156; settlement on, 159.
Opocnsky, Rev. ———, in Texas, 398.
Order of the Star Spangled Banner. See United Sons of America.
Ordway, David S., lawyer, 230.
Oregon, Bohemians in, 405; annexation, 262.
Oriskany (N. Y.), battle anniversary, 180.

Index

- O'Rourke, John, editor, 175.
Orton, Harlow S., justice, 11.
Osborn, Almon, founds Ripon College, 22-37.
Oshkosh, Reginald, at pageant, 119; at museum, 466.
Oshkosh, in logging days, 71; resident, 35; public museum, 364, 466; pictures of, 364.
Ostrum, ———, in World War, 214-215.
Otland, Mons Knutson, Norwegian immigrant, 77.
Ottawa (Ill.), Vliet at, 62.
Ottawa Indians, language, 363, 440.
Owen, Edward T., at University of Wisconsin, 304.
- PABST, Fred, farm, 162.
Padgett, Arthur, in World War, 344.
Paine, Byron, Wisconsin politician, 16.
Paine, Mrs. George M., Ripon College teacher, 35.
Palmer, Isaac H., Madison pioneer, 432.
Palmer, Mrs. Phoebe, holds religious meetings, 107.
Palmyra, senator from, 290.
Pangborne, ———, in World War, 347.
Panic of 1837, foreshadowed, 63; cause, 174; effect on speculation, 382-386, 388, 390.
Panic of 1857, course of, 241.
Parish, Thomas J., miner, 429.
Parish's Grove, on western route, 59.
Park, Dr. Roswell, founds Racine College, 171.
Parker, J. W. D., son, 309.
Parker, Levi, founds Ripon College, 25-37.
Parker, Marion Amine, married, 309.
Parker, Theodore, preacher, 106.
"Parker, Warren Downes," by Willard N. Parker, 309-316.
Parker, Warren Downes Jr., career, 310.
Parker, Willard N., "Warren Downes Parker," 309-316; sketch, 372.
Parkinson, Anna Strong, donor, 378.
Parkinson, Prof. John B., at University of Wisconsin, 303-304.
Parks, Rufus, letter, 356.
Patterson, Sally Wallace, in Exeter, 417.
Patterson, Samuel, Exeter pioneer, 417.
Pauley, ———, in World War, 203, 207.
Paullin, Charles O., "Wisconsin Troops at the Defense of Washington in 1861," 181-185; sketch, 251.
Paulson and Pierson, boat builders, 71.
Faxon, Frederic L., *The History of the American Frontier, 1763-1893*, reviewed, 373; donor, 363.
Faxon, Dr. Joseph A., diaries, 363.
Payne, Thomas J., sells land, 61.
Pearson, William H., "James Gates Percival," 131-145; sketch, 251.
Pecatonica River, settlement on, 78.
Peck, George W., governor, 460.
Peck, Lieut. Col. Harry W., in Civil War, 182.
Pedrick, Marcellus, founds Ripon College, 25.
Pedrick, Mary J., at Ripon College, 31.
Pedrick, Samuel M., "Early History of Ripon College, 1850-1864," 22-37; mentioned, 229; sketch, 127.
Pedrick, Mrs. Samuel M., at Columbus, 229.
Pedrick, Z. A., at Ripon College, 31.
Pennsylvania, Moravians in, 393.
Pensions, after War of 1812, 173.
Peoria (Ill.), Vliet at, 61.
"Percival, James Gates," by William H. Pearson, 131-145; portrait, 131.
Peré, Jean, explorer, 151-152.
Pere-Marquette (Mich.), lumber interests at, 240-241.
Pershing, Gen. John J., visits camp, 216.
Person, U. H., Milwaukee grocer, 96.
Persons, E. R. See Blair and Persons.
Peru (Dubuque Co., Ia., town), surveyed, 61; Vliet at, 62.
Peterson, Almon, son, 199.
Peterson, Andrew, in World War, 216.
Peterson, Ira Lee, "Journal of a World War Veteran," 199-220, 328-348.
Peterson, Knut, at Pine Lake, 47.
Peterson, Knut Bengt., at Pine Lake, 38-50; daughter, 43.
Peterson, Laura, son, 199.
Peterson, Peter, in World War, 216, 218-219.
Peterson, Sten, at Pine Lake, 47.
Pewaukee (Waukesha Co. town), surveyed, 59.
Phair, Ernest, in World War, 202-204, 218, 334.
Phelps, Belle M., Brooklyn teacher, 237-238.
Phi Beta Kappa, member, 243.
Philadelphia (Pa.), celebration at, 3; riots, 6.
Philadelphia, river steamboat, 61.
Philippine Islands, papers on, 463.
Phillips, John, saloon keeper, 318.
Phinney, James M., at Lawrence Institute, 225.
Phinney, Mollie. See Stansbury, Mrs.
Phoenix, Henry, Delavan pioneer, 448.
Pian, ———, in World War, 345, 347.
Pierce, President Franklin, appointment, 178.
Pierpont, ———, Mineral Point pioneer, 429.

Index

- Pilot Knob (Mo.), in Civil War, 408.
Pinckney, Prof. D. J., teacher, 88-90, 92.
Pine, ———, at Prairie du Chien, 427.
Pine Lake, Swedes on, 88-61; Norwegians on, 79.
Pinery. See Stevens Point.
Pinkney, Bertine, Ripon College trustee, 32.
Plantz, Dr. Samuel, obituary, 363-364.
Platte Mounds, described, 424; passed, 429.
Platte River, crossed, 424.
Platteville, Percival at, 144; Kemper, 424.
Pleasant Hill (La.), skirmish at, 413.
Plum Creek, tributary of Fox, 437.
Pokrok Zapadu. See *Western Progress*.
Polar, Hiram, tavern keeper, 318, 320.
Political parties, in Wisconsin, 3-21.
Polk, James Knox, writes letter to White, 179; appointments, 377, 389.
Ponte, Sergt. Charles, in World War, 329; killed, 331.
Port Washington *Star*, anniversary, 367.
Portage, canal at, 443. See also Fort Winnebago.
Portage County, lands in, 390.
Portage Lake, tug on, 317.
Porter, Jeremiah, Ripon College trustee, 32.
Portrait making. See Daguerreotype.
Portsmouth (O.), Vliet at, 65.
Potosi, resident of, 351; harbor for, 360.
Pottsville (Pa.), Baker at, 451, 453.
Prague (Neb.), Bohemians in, 405.
Prairie du Chien, terminus of route, 423; in 1838, 425-427.
Prairie Village. See Waukesha.
Pratt, Amine C., son, 309.
Presbyterians, in the West, 423, 427, 438, 440; in Wisconsin, 120, 451.
Prestman, Rev. ———, army officer, 427.
Preston, A. B., Ripon College trustee, 32.
Prewitt, ———, in World War, 344-345.
Price, G. M., at Cassville, 428.
Price, I. M., of Philadelphia, 428.
Price, Sterling, Confederate general, 410.
Prickett, George W., realtor, 89.
"Prohibition in Early Wisconsin," by Joseph Schafer, 281-299.
Provost marshal, at Milwaukee, 450.
Public lands. See Lands.
Pyre, Prof. J. F. A., cited, 324-325.
- QUAKERS**, among Indians, 436.
Quarrying, in early Wisconsin, 79.
Quebec (Canada), La Ronde at, 158.
Quinney, Austin, Stockbridge Indian, 359.
Quinney, Electa, teacher, 472.
Quinney, John W., Stockbridge Indian, 359-360.
- RACINE, temperance society, 282; White at, 174; Baker, 446-447, 452-453; Bohemians, 395.
Racine *Advocate*, editor, 171, 176; cited, 10.
Racine College, founded, 171; commencement at, 180.
Racine County, favors Maine law, 295; in election of 1848, 456.
Radin, Paul, historian, 148.
Radisson, Pierre-Esprit, on Lake Superior, 52, 148.
Railroads, early, 370, 390.
Raleigh *North Carolina Standard*, established, 173.
Randall, Alexander, Wisconsin governor, 181, 408, 462.
Randall, Francis, correspondent, 350.
Randolph, John, cited, 256.
Rattlesnakes, stories of, 435-436.
Ray, Minnie, Exeter teacher, 422.
Rechabites, secret order, 102.
"Recollections of Life in Early Wisconsin," by Amherst Willoughby Kellogg, 88-110, 221-243.
Red River (La.), in Civil War, 413.
Red Wing (Minn.), resident, 453.
Reed, Duncan C., opposes prohibition, 286.
Reedsburg, prohibition in, 297.
Reid, Harvey, diary, 460.
Reihlen, A., German farmer, 161.
Reimersshofer, ———, Texas resident, 394, 398.
Remick, Otis, in Civil War, 462.
Report of Committee of Ten, formed, 459.
Republican party, origin of name, 24; principles, 293-299; in election of 1855, 12, 15-20.
Rew, R. A., at Ripon College, 31.
Reynolds, ———, college student, 243.
Rhodes, James Ford, cited, 112, 116.
Rich, Harrison, Geneva pioneer, 453.
Rich, Rosa, married, 453.
Richards, Dr. Charles H., Congregational clergyman, 308.
Richards, Mrs. Thomas B., married, 416.
Richfield (Washington Co. town), surveyed, 59.
Richman, D. C., poet, 233.
Richman, G. W., Congressman, 233.
Richmond, Earl, Exeter teacher, 422.
Richmond (Ind.), Vliet at, 60.
Rickard, Lola R., cited, 198.
Ridgley, Dr. Richard G., Mineral Point pioneer, 430.
Rienzi, river steamboat, 61.
"Ripon College, Early History of, 1850-1864," by Samuel M. Pedrick, 22-37; photograph, 32.
Riprow. See Menominee (Ill.).

Index

- River Falls, resident, 309; normal school at, 119, 311; president of, 314-315.
- Roads, in early Wisconsin, 72, 99; Michigan-Chicago, 447; marked, 123, 247; history of, 369-370.
- Robinson, J. H., at conference, 459.
- Robinson, W. W., Ripon resident, 22.
- Roby, Hazard Z., pupil, 421.
- Rock County, teacher, 311.
- Rock Island Rapids, wreck boat, 64.
- Rock Prairie, passed, 448. See also Luther Valley.
- Rock River (village), settled, 80.
- Rock River, village on, 62; as a boundary, 387; branch, 432.
- Rockford (Ill.), Illinois Masonic Home at, 198.
- Rockland (Mich.), on mail route, 318.
- Rockwell, Le Grand, Walworth County pioneer, 448.
- Rodolf, Charles G., Wisconsin politician, 14.
- Roeser, Charles, in election of 1855, 16, 20.
- "Roger and James," by Robert Wild, 111-116.
- Rogers, ———, in World War, 203.
- Rogers, Charles W., college student, 239.
- Rogers, James H., builds hotel, 176.
- Rolette, Joseph, mill, 425; daughter, 427; recollections, 443.
- Rood and Whittemore, booksellers, 222.
- Roosevelt, Theodore, addresses Historical Society, 460.
- Root River, forded, 452.
- Roscoe (Ill.), on emigrant route, 447.
- Rosecrans, Gen. William S., salutes Old Abe, 414.
- Rosewater, Victor, editor, 404-405.
- Rosticky, John, editor, 405.
- Ross, Laura. See Wolcott, Mrs. E. B.
- Ross, Ottis, lends money, 420.
- Rountree, Maj. John H., entertains Per-cival, 144.
- Roy, François, visited, 436-437.
- Rudberg, J. O., surveyor, 39.
- Ruggles, Lieut. Daniel, at Fort Winnebago, 434-435.
- Ruggles, Julia, married, 224.
- Ruka brothers, at Boscobel, 402.
- Rundle, Miss ———, Brooklyn school teacher, 238.
- Runnals, Edward L., Ripon College trustee, 26-37.
- Rushville (Ind.), Vliet at, 62.
- Russell, Miss ———, teacher, 92.
- Russell, Josephine E., at Ripon College, 81.
- Rutland County (Vt.), resident, 446, 453.
- Rutledge, William, in World War, 217.
- Ryan, Samuel, Green Bay resident, 351.
- Ryan, W. M. D., clergyman, 98; at Milwaukee, 99.
- Rynning, Ole, Norwegian immigrant, 77.
- SACKETT'S Harbor, in War of 1812, 172.
- Saetisdal (Norway), Wisconsin settlers from, 80.
- Sag Harbor (N. Y.), merchant at, 103.
- Sagard, Gabriel Théodat, French historian, 150.
- Saguenay River, copper from, 149.
- Ste. Anne River, in copper region, 156.
- St. Croix River, navigation, 54.
- St. Genevieve (Mo.), native, 423.
- St. Ignace, founded, 54.
- St. John, Samuel, Rock County pioneer, 62.
- "St. Lawrence," a paper town, 380.
- St. Louis (Mo.), Vliet at, 61; world's fair, 312; emigrants at, 400; Old Abe, 406; port, 423; residents, 230, 425.
- St. Louis *Western Journal*, cited, 264.
- St. Michel. See Madeline Island.
- St. Peters River. See Minnesota.
- St. Pierre, Jacques le Gardeur de, French officer, 55, 154.
- St. Sure, Lieut. ———, at Pine Lake, 40-41.
- Salina County (Neb.), Bohemians in, 404.
- Salisbury, Susan A., at Ripon College, 36.
- Salisbury (N. C.), newspaper at, 172; mayor, 173.
- Salisbury *Western Carolinian*, founded, 172.
- Salomon brothers, commemorated, 366, 468, 479.
- Salter, Benjamin, Mineral Point pioneer, 430.
- Sampson, Rev. William H., at Lawrence Institute, 225.
- Sampson brothers, at Brownsville, 323.
- Sand Prairie, settled, 80.
- Sauk and Fox Indians, agent, 426.
- Sauk County, pioneer, 67-70; pageant, 119-120.
- Sault Ste. Marie, ship yard at, 154; La Ronde, 156; fort, 435.
- Saunders County (Neb.), Bohemians in, 404.
- Savage, F. A., clergyman, 94.
- Savee, Corp. Phayne (Pat), in World War, 207, 209, 219, 336.
- "Sawmilling Days in Winneconne," by Mrs. Chester A. Smith, 71-73.
- Sawyer, Philetus, lumberman, 72.
- Sayre, George A., pioneer lumberman, 227.
- Schafer, Joseph, "A File of Old Newspapers," 445-453; "A Yankee Land Speculator in Wisconsin," 377-392; "Know-Nothingism in Wisconsin," 3-21; "Letitia Wall, A Wisconsin Pioneer Type," 193-198; "Memorials of John H. Tweedy," 349-360; "Prohibition in Early Wisconsin," 281-299; sketch, 127, 251, 372, 475.

Index

- Schneidau, Capt. Pallycarpus von, at Pine Lake, 39, 41; daguerreotypist, 42-43.
Schneidau, Pauline von, adopted, 42; married, 43.
Schools, in Green County, 421-422; in Brown County, 472; free system, 457-458; officials, 309-316.
Schouler, James, cited, 112-113.
Schu, Peter, at Brownsville, 324.
Schultz, Sergt. George, in World War, 336-338, 342.
Schuyler (Neb.), Bohemians in, 405.
Scofield, Gov. Edward, obituary, 464.
Scotch, in New York State, 67; in Wisconsin, 67-70.
Scotch-Irish, in Wisconsin, 415-422.
Scott, Miss ———, World War nurse, 344.
Scott, Augustz R., at Ripon College, 31.
Scott, H. D., Ripon resident, 22.
Scott, Jane H., at Ripon College, 31.
Scott, M. S., bank cashier, 240.
Scott, Rosa. See Lynn.
Scott, Sanford, cooper, 421.
Scott, Prof. W. A., at University of Wisconsin, 321; in conference, 469.
Scribner, ———, in World War, 323.
Second Iowa Battery, at Corinth, 411.
Second Wisconsin Infantry, in Civil War, 181-184.
Section, significance in American history, 255-280.
Seigman, Sergt. Louis, in World War, 204, 219-220.
Seiler, Henry, Milwaukee resident, 100-101.
Seneca Falls (N. Y.), resident, 446, 452.
Seneca Indians, in Missouri, 443.
Senten, Corp. ———, in World War, 212-214.
Sercomb, Mrs. Emma, Milwaukee resident, 100.
Settler, Floyd, in World War, 217.
Seventh Wisconsin Infantry, in Civil War, 183-184; at Madison, 408.
Seville, James, Milwaukee resident, 100-101.
Seward, William H., speech, 111-112.
Shaffer, Chauncey, New York lawyer, 107.
Shawano, on mail route, 318; visited, 320.
Sheboygan County, historical pageant, 119; lands south of, 387.
Sheboygan County Historical Society, activities, 246, 466.
Shellor, Floyd, in World War, 216.
Shepard, Dana F., Ripon College trustee, 26-37.
Shepard, H. P., college student, 243.
Shepard, Imogene, at Ripon College, 31.
Shepard, L. S., at Ripon College, 31.
Shepherd, Prof. ———, geologist, 144.
Sherman, Col. William T., in Civil War, 182, 414; *Memoirs*, cited, 182.
Sherrill, F. G., clergyman, 27-37.
Sherwood, Edson, missionary farmer, 438.
Sherwood, S. R., teacher at Green Bay, 438; at Duck Creek, 440.
Sholes, Christopher Latham, memorial, 118; editor of Southport *Telegraph*, 455-456.
Short, Richard, surveyor, 58.
Sibley, Lieut. C. C., at Fort Crawford, 427.
Sibley, H. H., letter from, 354.
Sickles and Stark, sawmill, 71.
Siebold William, lost, 317.
"Significance (The) of the Section in American History," by Frederick Jackson Turner, 255-280.
Silo, in Wisconsin, 160-170.
Silver Lake, residence on, 447.
Simonds, Hiram, farm of, 40.
Sinsinawa Mound, resident, 423; passed, 424.
Sioux Indians, visited by French, 53; on warpath, 54, 157-158; lands taken, 158.
Sixth Wisconsin Infantry, in Civil War, 183-185.
Skaponong, settled, 80.
Skeels, A. M., Ripon College trustee, 32.
Slaughter (Schlater), Col. William B., at Madison, 432; sister, 440.
Slavery, attitude of Methodist church, 94-95; debated, 263; foe of, 456.
Slavis, Bohemian newspaper, 394.
Slovakians. See Bohemians.
Slowhower, J., at Stevens Point, 232.
Smith, ———, contractor, 433.
Smith, ———, in World War, 328.
Smith, Miss ———, at Madison, 432.
Smith, Miss ———. See Pedrick, Mrs. Samuel.
Smith, Miss A., college professor, 107.
Smith, Augustus L., Appleton resident, 107.
Smith, Buster, in World War, 341.
Smith, Mrs. Chester A., "Sawmilling Days in Winneconne," 71-73; sketch, 127.
Smith, Elisha D., memorial, 32.
Smith, George, renders aid, 241.
Smith, Henry Dickinson, in Civil War, 460-462.
Smith, Hiram, quoted, 166.
Smith, John B., temperance leader, 282, 286; successor in senate, 290.
Smith, Lester, in World War, 211.
Smith, "Long," Milwaukee resident, 103.
Smith, Perry B., construction engineer, 107.
Smith, Rev. Reeder, at Lawrence Institute, 225.
Smith, Theodore Clark, cited, 8.
Smith, William, in Civil War, 462.
Smith, Maj. William, in World War, 336.

Index

- Smith, William Augustus, university professor, 107; college president, 237.
Smithsonian Institution, copper specimen at, 155.
"Society (The) and the State," 117-127, 244-251, 362-372, 463-475.
Sogn (Norway), Wisconsin settlers from, 79; Illinois settlers from, 80.
Solm, Lieut. ———, in World War, 212, 214.
Sons of Temperance, founded, 232; growth, 283-284; disintegration, 293.
South Bend (Ind.), Vliet at, 60; on emigrant route, 447.
South Carolina Exposition, cause, 268.
Southern Minnesota Railroad, construction of, 240.
Southport, letter from, 386; old newspapers, 454-458; Phalanx originates at, 456. See also Kenosha.
Southport *American*, file, 455.
Southport *Telegraph*, file, 454-458.
Spalding, Luther, at Ripon College, 31.
Sparta, library, 367.
Speculation, in the West, 174; in Green County, 417; in land warrants, 358; in public lands, 377-392.
Spencer, Capt. ———, story, 435.
Spencer, Mary F., at Ripon College, 36.
Spillman, Mrs. Hilda, reminiscences, 43.
Spivey, Samuel, surveyor, 58, 60.
Spofford, A. R., editor, 138.
Spooner, Col. Jeduthan, in Walworth County, 447.
Spooner, Wyman, Elkhorn resident, 351; cited, 357.
Spring Prairie. See Sand Prairie.
Springdale (O.), Vliet at, 62.
Springer, Rev. Elihu, clergyman, 108, 110.
Springer, Isaac, preacher, 110.
Springer, John M., preacher, 110.
Springer, John M. Jr., missionary in Africa, 110.
Stage routes, in southwest Wisconsin, 423. See also Roads.
Staley, Roy, Exeter farmer, 418.
Standish, George O., obituary, 464.
Standish, Capt. Miles, descendants, 364, 464.
Stanley, Gen. D. S., in Civil War, 410-411.
Stansbury, Mrs. Mollie P., poet, 226.
Star Iron and Coal Company, in Pennsylvania, 450-451.
Stark, Joshua, Milwaukee lawyer, 222.
Stärke brothers, pile drivers, 236.
Starks, G. S. Lord, Milwaukee lawyer, 222.
Starr, William, Ripon College trustee, 26.
Stavanger (Norway), emigrants from, 77.
Stearns, John William, at University of Wisconsin, 304.
Steele, John, builds silo, 163-164; member of Wisconsin assembly, 164.
Stella Whipple, steamboat, 408.
Stephenson, Col. James, in Black Hawk War, 424.
Sterling, Prof. John W., at University of Wisconsin, 303.
Sterling, William T., visits Aztalan, 187.
Stevens, George A., commemorated, 123, 366.
Stevens Point, founder, 123, 366; bank at, 241; town lots, 390.
Stevens Point *Wisconsin Pinery*, in election of 1855, 17.
Stinson, Margaret. See Wallace.
Stockbridge Indians, visit Washington, 359; visited, 437; teacher, 472.
"Story (The) of a Wisconsin Surveyor," by John B. Vliet, 57-66.
"Story (The) of Old Abe," by David McLain, 407-414.
Street, ———, at Cassville, 428.
Street, Joseph M., at Prairie du Chien, 425; to remove, 426.
Streight, Aldridge C., surveyor, 61-62.
Strong, Henry M., partner, 446.
Strong, L., at Ripon College, 31.
Strong, Marshall M., Racine resident, 350; brother, 446.
Strong, Moses, of Vermont, 378.
Strong, Moses M., defeated candidate, 349, 359; land agent, 378-392; surveyor, 380; district attorney, 385; letters, 382-384, 386-388; portrait, 377.
Strong papers, citations from, 378-379, 382-384, 386-387, 390, 475; described, 378.
Studley, William S., Methodist preacher, 106, 237.
Suffrage, in Wisconsin, 9.
Sugar Creek prairie, in Walworth County, 447-448.
Summit, resident, 356.
Sun Prairie, shoemaker at, 321.
Superior Lake, mission on, 55; mining region, 146-159.
Surveying, in Wisconsin, 58-66.
Suydam, John V., at Portage, 434; acts as guide, 436-439; at Green Bay, 440-441.
Swedes, in Wisconsin, 38-51, 79.
"Swedish (The) Settlement on Pine Lake," by Mabel V. Hansen, 38-51.
Sweet, Alanson, Milwaukee grain dealer, 95-96.
Sweet, Richard M., Milwaukee grain dealer, 96.
Sweno, Glen, in World War, 330.
S. W. Hollister, tug, 71.
Swift, Moses, at Ripon College, 31.
Swiss, in Wisconsin, 416, 419, 422.

Index

- TAFT**, Delos, mentioned, 356.
Talon, Jean, intendant of Canada, 151-152.
Taney, Roger A., United States chief justice, 112.
Tank, Rev. Otto, at Green Bay, 246.
Taxation, in territorial Wisconsin, 85; of church property, 179.
Taycheedah, earthworks at, 189.
Taylor, "Father" ———, sailor preacher, 106.
Taylor, Edward S., Milwaukee lawyer, 224.
Taylor, Janette, at Ripon College, 31.
Taylor, Senator John, of Virginia, 274.
Taylor, Gov. William R., daughter, 107.
Taylor, Gen. Zachary, in election of 1848, 8, 352.
Telemarken (Norway), Wisconsin settlers from, 78-80.
Teller, Edgar E., collections, 124.
Temperance. See Prohibition.
Temperance Alliance, enforces law, 297.
Temperance League, cited, 296-297.
Tennessee River, in Civil War, 409.
Terre Haute (Ind.), Vliet at, 59.
Texas, Bohemians in, 393-394, 397-400, 405.
Thayer, Jesse B., state superintendent of schools, 311.
Thayer, Sarah, Exeter teacher, 422.
Thetis. See Brownville.
Third Lake. See Monona Lake.
Third Minnesota Infantry, officer, 453.
Thirkield, Wilbur F., Methodist bishop, 106.
Thirty-second Division, member, 199; Polish battalion, 367; commander, 463.
Thomas, Miss ———, married, 425.
Thomas, Emma, Exeter teacher, 422.
Thomas, Rev. S. C., Methodist preacher, 221; successor, 235.
Thomas, Salmon, Delavan pioneer, 448.
Thompson, ———, in World War, 340.
Thompson, Jeff., Confederate general, 409.
Thott, Baron ———, at Pine Lake, 39.
Three Months' Troops. See First Wisconsin Infantry.
Thwing, Charles F., cited, 257.
Tiffany, George A., Milwaukee resident, 98.
Tiffany, Otis, son, 98.
Tilden, Samuel, in election of 1876, 21.
Tilton, Rev. Hezekiah C., Methodist preacher, 242.
Titus, W. A., "Historic Spots in Wisconsin: The Venerable La Pointe Region," 52-56; "Aztalan, A Monument to Aboriginal Effort," 186-192; sketch, 127, 251.
Tom Wall, passenger boat, 72.
Tomah, Menominee chief, honored, 247.
Townsend, Charles E., Michigan senator, 272-273.
Tracy, Mrs. Clarissa T., Ripon College teacher, 34.
Trautman, Lieut. Philip, in World War, 215.
Treat, J. R., Milwaukee resident, 103.
Trelease, William, at University of Wisconsin, 304.
Trempealeau County, first settler, 465.
"Trip (A) through Wisconsin in 1838," by Bishop Jackson Kemper, 423-445.
Trombly, ———, in World War, 341.
Trowbridge, Alvah, banker, 240.
Troy (N. Y.), resident, 446-447.
True, Rev. C. K., college professor, 237.
Turner, Frederick Jackson, at University of Wisconsin, 305, 459; returns to Madison, 245; delivers address, 362; "The Significance of the Section in American History," 255-280; sketch, 372; portrait, 255.
Turner, Lyman, founds Ripon College, 25-37.
Turner, Peter H., state senator, 290.
Turtle Creek, crossed, 448.
Turton and **Sercomb**, Milwaukee manufacturers, 100.
Tustin, in logging days, 72.
Tweedy, John H., papers, 349-360, 363.
Tweedy, Mariette, donor, 349.
Tyler, Brig.-Gen. Daniel, in Civil War, 182.
Typewriter, inventor of, 455.
Union Church, progenitor, 230.
Union Pacific Railroad, built, 402.
United Sons of America, founded, 6.
United States, Norwegians in, 80; sectional influences in, 255-280; productions, 268.
United States Department of Agriculture, report of, 167.
United States Senate, chaplain, 238.
United States Supreme Court, decisions, 111-116, 273; justices, 240, 262.
United States Sharpshooters, in Civil War, 188.
"University (The) in 1874-1887," by Florence Bascom, 300-308.
Unonius, Gustaf, mentioned, 79; sketch, 38-51.
Updegraff, ———, at Houghton, Mich., 318; death, 320.
Updegraff, Charles, makes overland trip, 318.
Updegraff, Milton, at University of Wisconsin, 305.
Updegraff, Percival, mine agent, 318-320.
Upham, Don A. J., Milwaukee mayor, 287.

Index

- Upham, Samuel F., college student, 237, 239.
Upham, William Henry, death, 118.
Upsala University (Sweden), graduate, 38.
Utica Seminary, student at, 172.
- VALPARAISO (Chile), United States navy agent at, 173.
- Van Buren, Martin, presidential candidate, 8, 173, 456; petitioned, 190; policy, 279; issues order, 357; accession, 381.
- Van Cleve, Rev. William, college president, 230.
- Van Dor, Col. Joseph, in Civil War, 183.
- Van Dorn, Earl, Confederate general, 410.
- Van Dyke, John H., Milwaukee lawyer, 100; land owner, 236.
- Van Hise, Charles R., at University of Wisconsin, 305.
- Van Velzer, P. K., Geneva pioneer, 449.
- Van Vleck, J. M., college professor, 237.
- Van Schaick, A. W., Milwaukee business man, 227.
- Vance, Ed., in World War, 216.
- Veley, Pansy, in World War, 219.
- "Venerable (The) La Pointe Region," by W. A. Titus, 52-56.
- Vermont, favors prohibition, 290; residents, 309, 378, 380; property in, 389; teacher from, 428; natives, 445, 481.
- Vicksburg (Miss.), siege of, 400, 412.
- Vieux Desert Lake, on mail route, 318.
- Vliet, Garret, sketch, 57-66.
- Vliet, John B., "The Story of a Wisconsin Surveyor," 57-66; sketch, 127.
- Vliet, Rebecca, biographical data, 65.
- Vohlne, ———, Swedish pioneer, 40.
- Voss (Norway), immigrants from, 788.
- WABASH River, steamboat on, 58.
- Wadsworth, James S., Buffalo resident, 104.
- Wakefield, Cyrus, at Ripon College, 31.
- Walcott, Jeremiah W., Ripon College trustee, 29-37.
- Wall, Alpheus, Wisconsin pioneer, 193; wife, 194-198.
- "Wall, Letitia, A Wisconsin Pioneer Type," by Joseph Schafer, 193-198; portrait, 194.
- Wall, Tillman, Wisconsin pioneer, 193.
- Wall, William, lumberman, 72.
- Wallace, Alexander, Exeter pioneer, 417.
- Wallace, Ann Jane, married, 417.
- Wallace, Anna, in Exeter, 417.
- Wallace, Eliza Annett, sketch, 417-418.
- Wallace, Elizabeth Moore, "Early Farmers in Exeter," 415-422.
- Wallace, James, Exeter pioneer, 417.
- Wallace, John, in New York, 417.
- Wallace, Margaret Stinson, Exeter pioneer, 417.
- Wallace, Mary, in Exeter, 417.
- Wallace, Nancy Lynn, Exeter pioneer, 417.
- Wallace, Robert, Exeter pioneer, 418.
- Wallace, Sally. See Patterson.
- Wallace, Samuel, Exeter pioneer, 417.
- Wallace, Samuel Jr., in New York, 417.
- Wallace, Thomas, Exeter pioneer, 418.
- Wallace, William, Exeter pioneer, 417-419; builds home, 420.
- Wallace family, in Wisconsin, 415, 417.
- Wallace school, in Exeter, 421-422.
- Walling, Sheldon, Walworth County pioneer, 448.
- Walsh, Messrs. ———, aid from, 428.
- Walsh, Patrick, janitor at University of Wisconsin, 305.
- Walworth County, history, 445; settlers, 447-448; first lawsuit, 449; district attorney, 450; in election of 1848, 456.
- Ward, J. H., Percival's biographer, 134.
- Wardner, Charles, Milwaukee resident, 99.
- Wardner, Frank, Milwaukee resident, 99.
- Wardner, Fred, Milwaukee merchant, 96-99, 103.
- Ware, Henry, cited, 138.
- Warner, Alice, Brooklyn school teacher, 238.
- Warren, H. P., at conference, 459.
- Warren, Henry W., Methodist bishop, 237.
- Warren, Stephen, at Pine Lake, 59.
- Warren, William F., college president, 237.
- Washburn, C. C., at Helena, 68; at Mineral Point, 351.
- Washburn, Ebenezer, clergyman, 95.
- Washburn, Woolsey, in Civil War, 94-95.
- Washington (D. C.), in Civil War, 181-185; copper specimen at, 154.
- Washington County, Norwegians in, 80.
- Washington County Old Settlers' Club, meeting, 467.
- Washingtonian Society, founded, 282.
- Watertown, resident, 351; convention at, 312.
- Watson, Prof. James C., astronomer, 302.
- Watt, Janet, husband, 67.
- Waugh, Bishop Beverly, visits Milwaukee, 221.
- Waukesha, Vliet at, 62.
- Waukesha County, Swedes in, 38-51.
- Waukesha County Historical Society, activities, 121, 246.
- Waupun, anniversary, 467.
- Wausau, lumberman at, 232; portraits of pioneers, 365.
- Wauwatosa (town), surveyed, 59.

Index

- Wayne, James M., United States Supreme Court justice, 113.
- Webb, John, at Milwaukee, 96.
- Webb, W. W., Episcopal bishop, 423.
- Webster, Daniel, legal opinion, 331-332.
- Wedge, A. C., at Ripon College, 31.
- Wedge, A. G., at Ripon College, 31.
- Wedge, D. J., at Ripon College, 31.
- Weeks, Dr. L. W., builds silo, 162.
- Wegner, Ewald, in World War, 343.
- Weiss et al. vs. School Board of Edgerton, decision, 11.
- Weld, Dr. ———, of Jamestown, 453.
- Weld, De Lisca J., married, 452.
- Wells, Daniel, mentioned, 356.
- Wells, Daniel Jr., Milwaukee business man, 227.
- Wells College, professor at, 107.
- Welsh, in Wisconsin, 423.
- Wentworth, Augusta, at Ripon College, 31.
- Wesley, Henry, pupil, 421.
- Wesleyan University, Middletown (Conn.), students at, 96, 237; president, 237.
- West, Lady Cornwallis, mother, 43.
- West, George A., cited, 190-191.
- West, Mary M., at Ripon College, 31.
- West (The), influence of, 255-257.
- West Point Military Academy, professor at, 132; graduate, 182; candidate, 435; class of 1839, 464.
- Western Progress*, Bohemian newspaper, 405.
- Western Reserve University, president, 257.
- Whaley, William, drum major, 184-185.
- Wheeler, Harriet M., obituary, 118.
- Wheeler, Martha. See Paine, Mrs. George M.
- Whig party, candidate of, 349; in Wisconsin, 7-8, 353, 450; in North Carolina, 173.
- Whipple, Rev. ———, offer to, 442.
- White, Esther, biographical data, 180.
- White, Mary, biographical data, 180.
- White, Philo, sketch, 171-180.
- White Lake (Wis.), on mail route, 318; visited, 320.
- White River, of Arkansas, 462.
- Whitehead, John M., obituary, 245-246.
- Whitesboro (N. Y.), White at, 172.
- Whitestown (N. Y.), native of, 172; described, 176.
- Whitewater (Wis.), visited, 447.
- Whitney, Daniel, Green Bay resident, 351, 434; wife, 439; first advent, 442; cited, 360.
- Whiton, E. V., at Janesville, 447; in legislature, 450.
- Whittelsey Creek, village on, 53.
- Wild, Robert, "Roger and James," 111-116.
- Wilear, Lynn, in World War, 205.
- Williams, Miss ———, missionary, 438.
- Williams, Sergt. ———, in World War, 219-220.
- Williams, Israel Jr., justice, 449.
- Wilmington (Del.), Nativists in, 3.
- Wilson, George S., makes overland trip, 318-320.
- Wilson, James E., clergyman, 101.
- "Wilson, John, A Sauk County Pioneer," by Mrs. Mary J. Atwood, 67-70.
- Wilson, William Duane, Iowa resident, 101.
- Wilson, Woodrow, visits Wisconsin, 459-460.
- Wilson's Creek, named, 70.
- Winchell, Ezra, college student, 239.
- Wing, Miss ———, World War nurse, 335.
- Winnebago County Historical and Archeological Society, activities, 121, 364, 466.
- Winnebago Indians, sign treaty, 68; missionary for, 425; school, 426; steal horses, 433; at Fort Winnebago, 436.
- Winnebago Lake, visited, 57, 437.
- Winnebago Trail, location, 189.
- Winneconne, sawmilling at, 71-73.
- Wiota, settled, 79; resident, 350.
- Wisconsin, missions, 52-56; early mining, 146-169; politics, 3-21; territorial officials, 171-177, 349, 480; surveying in, 57-66; trip through in 1838, 423-445; judiciary, 45; militia officer, 172; editors, 171-180; prohibition, 281-299; free schools, 457-458; troops in Civil War, 181-185; silos, 160-170; Bohemians, 393, 400-406.
- Wisconsin Agricultural Experiment Station, bulletin, 168.
- Wisconsin Archeological Society, receives park, 189.
- Wisconsin Archeologist*, articles, 189-190.
- Wisconsin Dairymen's Association, meets at Elkhorn, 162; semi-centennial, 160.
- Wisconsin Guard, member, 199.
- Wisconsin Marine and Fire Insurance Company, and Panic of 1837, 241.
- Wisconsin Phalanx, established, 23, 456; leader, 24.
- Wisconsin River, value of lands on, 379; town on, 380; ferried, 425; high water in, 427.
- Wisconsin State Agricultural Society *Proceedings*, paper in, 177.
- Wisconsin State Teachers' Association, officer of, 312.
- Wisconsin Territory, internal improvements for, 377; governor, 389; secretary, 440.

Index

- "Wisconsin Troops at the Defense of Washington in 1861," by Charles O. Paullin, 181-185.
- Wisconsin University, in 1874-1887, 300-308; student at, 310; land grant for, 432; president, 459-460; students in Civil War, 460-462; faculty member, 75.
- Wisner, Anthony D., surveyor, 61-62.
- Witter, ———, Exeter storekeeper, 416.
- Wolcott, Alexander S., inventor, 42.
- Wolcott, Mrs. E. B., physician, 229.
- Wolf River, logging on, 71; on mail route, 318; visited, 319.
- Wolff, Capt. Victor, in Civil War, 413.
- Woll, Prof. F. W., at University of Wisconsin, 166.
- Wood, A. M., Wisconsin politician, 16.
- Wood County, lands in, 390.
- Woodle, Isaac, quoted, 178.
- Woodman, Cyrus, at Mineral Point, 69.
- Woodruff, Mahala, Exeter teacher, 422.
- Woodside, John T., founds Ripon College, 25.
- Wopalensky, ———, Bohemian immigrant, 395, 401.
- World War, diary of, 199-220.
- Worrell, Dr. Edward, at Fort Howard, 439.
- Wright, ———, St. Louis resident, 425.
- Wright, Dr. ———, at Fort Snelling, 425.
- Wright, Mrs. ———, at Prairie du Chien, 425, 427.
- Wright, Hoel S., on Fox River, 437, 442-444.
- Wright, Rev. L. B., relatives, 437.
- Wrightstown, site, 437.
- Wurtz, Jacob, German immigrant, 324.
- YALE University, graduate, 131-145.
- "Yankee (A) Land Speculator in Wisconsin," by Joseph Schafer, 377-392.
- Yankees, in election of 1848, 8; attitude toward prohibition, 237, 290; favor Maine law, 295.
- York, H. D., Hazel Green resident, 145.
- ZINZENDORF, Count, Moravian leader, 393.
- Zion's Herald, editor, 105.
- Zwingli, Ulrich, Swiss reformer, 397.

