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## THE COMPETITION OF THE NORTHWEST-ERN STATES FOR IMMIGRANTS

THEODORE C. BLEGEN

Students of the American westward movement have devoted much attention to the geographical factors therein involved, to free land, routes of travel, methods of transportation, the motives of immigrants, and to similar phases of the subject. In studying the distribution of the immigrant tide, especially in the period after 1850, one must attempt to evaluate a factor of a somewhat different nature, namely, advertising. Descriptive letters from immigrants played a vital part in inducing others to make similar ventures. The force of such letters was powerfully supplemented by the efforts of the steamboat lines, land corporations, and railroad companies, alert to the commercial profit to be derived from immigrants. Railway competition for immigrant trade resulted in the development of comprehensive schemes for securing such patronage.<sup>1</sup> The purpose of this paper is to describe official state competition of a somewhat like nature.

To the railroad the capture of immigrant trade meant profitable traffic, the sale of railroad lands, the settlement of adjacent government land, and a labor supply, all of which spelled success for the company. What did immigrants mean to the new states of the Northwest? Dr. K. C. Babcock has pointed out that the real problem of the northwestern frontier after 1850 was "how to put more and ever more men of capacity, endurance, strength, and adaptability into the upper Mississippi and Red River valleys, men who first break up the prairie sod, clear the brush off the slopes, drain the marshes, build the railroads, and do the thousand and one

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Richmond Mayo-Smith, *Emigration and Immigration*, 45-52 (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1908).

hard jobs incident to pioneer life, and then turn to the building of factories and towns and cities." <sup>2</sup> To the states of the Northwest the achievement of such ends meant greater wealth, exploitation of resources, larger assessments, the erection of public buildings, the establishment of public institutions, greater expenditures for state improvements,—in brief, prosperity and growth.

For any one of a half dozen or more states of the Middle West the difficult problem was how to attract the immigrants to settle within its particular boundaries. The whole Northwest is in fact really one great, rich province, no considerable section of which has preponderant advantages over the rest of the area. Aggressive and well-planned efforts seemed reasonably certain to draw the immigrant groups to the desired places of settlement. Most of the northwestern states, particularly after the Civil War, carried on comprehensive and ingenious campaigns in this direction, in the course of which they naturally came into competition with each other. Their efforts did more than to bring to their own state limits immigrants who would in any event have come west. They brought to America large numbers of immigrants who otherwise would probably not have left Europe. In fact these state activities constituted one cause, though perhaps a minor one, for the great swelling of the volume of immigration in the seventies and eighties, especially from Germany, Norway, and Sweden. The present study deals particularly with the activity of the state of Wisconsin, with some account of the work of neighboring states. Wisconsin took the lead and in most respects is typical of the whole group of northwestern states.

Wisconsin officially began the movement by establishing in 1852 the office of Commissioner of Emigration. The law

<sup>2</sup>*The Scandinavian Element in the United States*, 80 (University of Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences, vol. III, no. 3, September, 1914).



provided that the commissioner was to reside in New York.<sup>2</sup> Gysbert Van Steenwyck received the appointment and took up his duties in New York on May 18, 1852. He at once opened an office and soon placed himself in touch with the various immigrant protective agencies, consuls, shipping houses, and the like. In his subsequent work he employed as assistants first a Norwegian, and later two Germans and an Englishman. Authorized to expend \$1,250 for publications he had a large supply of pamphlets printed, which described the resources and opportunities offered the settler by Wisconsin. Twenty thousand of these pamphlets were printed in the German, five thousand in the Norwegian, and four thousand in the Dutch language. About five thousand were sent to Europe, and more than twenty thousand were distributed in New York, the latter being placed on vessels, in taverns and hotels, and given to immigrants personally. Advertisements were placed in English, German, and Dutch papers published in New York.

The Commissioner soon discovered that many agencies were engaged in exploiting the immigrant trade to the full. Competition was particularly spirited among the railroad agents. The New York and Erie, for example, tried to make the immigrants start for the interior immediately after their arrival, for fear of having them stop over and secure tickets elsewhere. When a ship docked, a hundred or more agents, runners, and pedlers were at hand to make prey of the immigrants. Van Steenwyck found that the forwarding agents favored Wisconsin because of the opportunity for high profits in overcharging for passengers and luggage to a region so far west.

The Commissioner wisely concluded that the pamphlets would be of more value distributed in Europe than in New York, for the immigrants after arrival were too busy to read.

<sup>2</sup> *Acts and Resolves Passed by the Legislature of Wisconsin, 1852*, chapter 432. The act carried with it an appropriation of \$1,500 for the salary of the commissioner, \$1,250 for the publication of pamphlets, \$250 for office rent, \$100 for maps, and \$700 for assistance to the commissioner.

In his report he therefore urged that an agent of the state be sent to visit the chief points of departure in England, Scotland, Ireland, Germany, Holland, Belgium, France, Sweden, Norway, and Switzerland. He himself put advertisements in at least eight foreign newspapers, including the *Dorfzeitung*, *Schwaebische Merkur*, *Bremer Auswanderungszeitung*, *Koellnische Zeitung*, *Manheimer Journal*, and the Amsterdam *Handelsblad*. He reported that 7,389 persons left New York for Wisconsin during the summer and fall by way of the New York and Erie, the Hudson River Railroad, and the steamboat route. Four hundred thirty-six persons called at his office, most of whom were Germans, with a scattering of other nationalities.<sup>4</sup>

The office was continued for the year 1853, Herman Haertel, a German land agent of Milwaukee, being appointed to succeed Van Steenwyck.<sup>5</sup> During his year of service the work was carried on more ambitiously and with better results, partly because of the beginnings made the year before. Newspaper space was again bought in both foreign and New York papers; among the foreign are to be noted especially the London *Times*, *Tipperary Free Press*, *Baseler Zeitung*, and *Leipziger Allgemeine Zeitung*. Mr. Haertel contributed a series of articles to the New York *Tribune* on the railroads of Wisconsin. Thirty thousand pamphlets were distributed during the year, one-half of these being sent to Europe.<sup>6</sup> Over three hundred letters of inquiry from Europe and America were answered. The Commissioner's office was visited by about three thousand persons, two thousand of whom had just arrived from Europe. Of all who called for information, two-thirds were Germans, the rest being mainly Norwegians, Swedes, Irish, English,

<sup>4</sup>This account is based upon *First Annual Report of the Commissioner of Emigration*, for 1852, 1-16.

<sup>5</sup>*General Acts of Wisconsin*, 1853, chapter 53.

<sup>6</sup>The United States consul at Bremen at this time was a Wisconsin man, Dr. Hildebrandt of Mineral Point. He gave Haertel considerable assistance in the matter of circulating information.

Scotch, and Hollanders. That people in Wisconsin took cognizance of the existence of a state commissioner in New York is evidenced by the fact that during the year Mr. Haertel received in sums ranging from five to twenty dollars about three thousand dollars from residents of the state to be given to relatives to help them to complete the journey. Many of the immigrants, however, and particularly the Germans possessed ample means. In one ship, for example, a party of one hundred twenty Germans had in all nearly sixty thousand dollars in their possession, an average of five hundred dollars each. Mr. Haertel estimated that during the year 1853 the emigration to Wisconsin was approximately as follows:

From Germany . . . . .	16,000 to 18,000
From Ireland . . . . .	4,000 to 5,000
From Norway . . . . .	3,000 to 4,000
Other countries . . . . .	2,000 to 3,000

He made the claim in his report that while the entire immigration to the United States increased little, if any, Wisconsin during 1853 received fifteen per cent more than in the previous year.<sup>7</sup>

The agent of the state encountered considerable opposition and maintains in his report that as a result of jealousy he was being attacked both officially and personally. The situation in New York was such as to breed jealousy; it is thus described in the Commissioner's report, "For years past, emigrants, especially those landing in New York, have been systematically plundered, for which shameless wrong not only the hireling sub-agents, runners, etc., are responsible,

<sup>7</sup>The total immigration to the United States in 1853 was in fact less than the total for 1852. The exact numbers are: 1852—371,603; 1853—363,645. The total German immigration in 1852 was 145,918; in 1853, 141,946. See the chart on immigration to the United States accompanying Jenks, J. W. and W. Jett Lauck, *The Immigration Problem* (New York and London: Funk and Wagnalls Company, 1917, fourth edition).

but especially those who retain these unprincipled subjects in their employ.”<sup>8</sup>

The attention of the state legislature was not confined to inducing only foreigners to come west. In 1853 a law was passed in Wisconsin authorizing the governor to appoint an agent “whose duty it shall be to travel constantly between this state and the city of New York, from the first day of May next to the first day of December next, and see that correct representations be made in eastern papers of our great natural resources, advantages, and privileges, and brilliant prospects for the future; and to use every honorable means in his power to induce emigrants to come to this state.”<sup>9</sup> Thomas J. Townsend, appointed to this position at a salary of \$1,500, took his instructions literally. During 1853 he traveled forty-two thousand miles and visited every important city in the northern states and in eastern Canada and nearly every village in New York and New England.<sup>10</sup> He inserted Wisconsin notices in over nine hundred newspapers. In a brief report of his activities he asserts that when he began his work he found a prejudice against Wisconsin throughout all the East. He complacently sums up the results of his efforts by saying, “While no western state

<sup>8</sup>This account of the activity of Commissioner Haertel is based mainly upon *Annual Report of the Emigration Commissioner of the State of Wisconsin for the year 1853*, 1-15. A letter from Haertel to Governor Farwell, dated New York, June 30, 1853, gives an account of his work during May and June. This letter is to be found in manuscript in box 123, vault of the Governor's office, state capitol. In the same file is an interesting undated report from Haertel which describes the various kinds of impositions practiced upon immigrants in New York by unscrupulous agents. Cf. Mayo-Smith, *Emigration and Immigration*, 219-226. After describing the mistreatment accorded arriving immigrants, Mr. Mayo-Smith says, “These evils continued until 1855, when Castle Garden was made the landing-place for all immigrants, and they could there be protected against sharpers.” (p. 219) The Board of Emigration Commissioners of the State of New York, established in 1847, was concerned primarily with the problems connected with the arrival of immigrants at New York City.

<sup>9</sup>*General Acts of Wisconsin, 1853*, chapter 56.

<sup>10</sup>*Report of the Traveling Emigrant Agent of the State of Wisconsin for the year 1853*, 3-4.

had a worse reputation than ours last spring, no one had a better reputation last fall." <sup>11</sup>

Mr. Haertel very properly criticized in his annual report for 1853 the plan of a yearly reelection of the commissioner of emigration by a joint ballot of the two houses of the legislature. <sup>12</sup> But he also served only one season, being replaced by Frederick W. Horn of Ozaukee County. During 1854 Mr. Horn established a branch office at Quebec. Elias Stangeland was appointed agent at Quebec for six months beginning May 1, 1854. The majority of the immigrants who came by way of Quebec were English, Irish, and Norwegian. In the spring of 1854 up to June 20 about two thousand Norwegians arrived at Quebec, most of them destined for Wisconsin. Though Commissioner Horn regarded the Quebec agency successful, lack of funds caused its discontinuance at the end of the six months. The chief efforts were naturally confined to New York. Mr. Horn estimated that in May, June, and July, 1854, not less than sixteen thousand Germans left New York for Wisconsin and he was of the opinion that the immigration for the fall months would be correspondingly high. <sup>13</sup>

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 4. He adds the significant statement, however, that Wisconsin had a good crop that fall, and its railroad building projects were being carried forward vigorously. One is inclined to take his assertions with a grain of salt.

<sup>12</sup> *Annual Report of the Emigration Commissioner . . . for 1853*, 13. See *General Acts of Wisconsin*, 1853, chapter 84.

<sup>13</sup> The report of the third commissioner was never printed. It is to be found in manuscript in the Governor's vault, state capitol, box 123, and bears the date August 1, 1854. See also the commission issued to Mr. Horn, dated April 5, 1854 (Governor's vault, box 123). The report of August 1 gives an account of the various services rendered to immigrants by the commissioner, and states that a considerable amount of money was received from Wisconsin to be given to immigrants. Mr. Horn estimated that of those who left New York for Wisconsin about one-half remained in or near Chicago. The work of Commissioner Horn is discussed in K. A. Everest, "How Wisconsin Came by Its Large German Element," 301, 320 (*Wisconsin Historical Collections*, vol. XII); and Albert B. Faust, *The German Element in the United States*, I, 477 (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1909). The earlier German immigration reached its highest point in 1854, with a total of 215,009. With the exception of 1882, this was the largest figure German immigration ever reached in one year. The total in 1882 was 260,630. Jenks and Lauck, *op. cit.*, supplement.

Some political opposition had developed toward the office of the commissioner and despite the favorable report of a select committee of the legislature, which in 1854 strongly urged the continuation of the office,<sup>14</sup> the acts of 1855 provided for the repeal of every preceding measure relating to emigrant agencies.<sup>15</sup> Though political influences account in part for the repeal, domestic problems naturally diverted interest from the subject of immigration very considerably in the later fifties and during the Civil War. Furthermore, the year 1855 marks an abrupt decline in the total volume of immigration to the United States, considerably less than one-half as many immigrants arriving in 1855 as in 1854. The German immigration in 1855 was only one-third as great as that of the year before, dropping from 215,009 to 71,918. Not until 1866 did the figures for the annual arrivals of Germans mount over a hundred thousand again.<sup>16</sup> Wisconsin did not resume its immigration activities until 1867.

Other states of the Northwest had not been ignorant of what Wisconsin was doing to promote immigration in 1852, 1853, and 1854. The report of the first Wisconsin commissioner states that Iowa was planning to follow Wisconsin's example.<sup>17</sup> Iowa did in fact establish a commissioner in

<sup>14</sup> *Report of the Select Committee, to whom had been referred so much of the Message of His Excellency the Governor as relates to the Subject of the Commissioner of Emigration.* (Appendix to Senate Journal, 1854.)

<sup>15</sup> *General Acts of Wisconsin, 1855*, chapter 3. The New York office was closed on April 20, 1855. See Horn to Governor Barstow, May, 1855 (Governor's vault, box 123).

<sup>16</sup> Jenks and Lauck, *The Immigration Problem*, supplement. In the immigration papers in the governor's vault (box 123) is a letter from L. B. Brainerd to Governor Salomon, June 16, 1862. This is accompanied by a paper by Rasmus Sorenson of Waupaca County, entitled "What Individual Enterprise has done in the Way of Emigrant Agency in Denmark." Sorenson went to Denmark in August, 1861. He lectured extensively on America, the war, and Wisconsin. He received so many letters of inquiry that he decided to print a small pamphlet on Wisconsin. He asserts that a minister of the Danish Government proposed to him that the Government of Denmark purchase tracts of land in Wisconsin to be parceled out to Danish emigrants in tracts of eighty acres, the emigrants to pay for the land later. Nothing came of this, but at any rate one hundred fifty Danes accompanied Sorenson when he returned to Wisconsin.

<sup>17</sup> *First Annual Report of the Commissioner of Emigration for 1852*, 11.

New York in 1860, but the office was abolished two years later, and the work was then dropped until 1870 when it was renewed upon a much larger scale.<sup>18</sup> Minnesota did not establish an office of Commissioner of Immigration until 1864,<sup>19</sup> and did not begin the work ambitiously until three years later,<sup>20</sup> but it is interesting to note that the first state legislature of Minnesota appropriated a sum of money for the purpose of advertising the state by means of a descriptive pamphlet.<sup>21</sup> It was not until after the Civil War, however, that these northwestern states entered into active competition with each other in the matter of securing the immigrant settlers.

In 1867 Wisconsin established a Board of Immigration, composed of the governor, secretary of state, and six others.<sup>22</sup> These members served without compensation, and the board was given an appropriation of \$2,000 to meet expenses. The governor was authorized also to appoint a committee of three in each county of the state to assist the board. These county committees were to secure lists of friends and relatives of residents of their respective counties, and the names thus received constituted a mailing list for the board.<sup>23</sup> As a result of this arrangement many pamphlets were sent directly to individuals in the East and in Europe. The chief work of the board during the period 1867-70 related to the publication and distribution of pamphlets. These were prepared in the English, German, French, Welsh, Dutch, Norwegian, and Swedish languages. In 1868 the membership of the board was expanded to eight, and the appropriation increased

<sup>18</sup> *Laws of Iowa*, 1860, chapter 81; 1862, chapter 11.

<sup>19</sup> *General Laws of Minnesota*, 1864, chapter XIX. The office was held by the secretary of state. A prize contest was held for the best essay on Minnesota. Pamphlets were printed in English and German and their distribution attended to by district committees in the state. *Executive Documents of the State of Minnesota*, 1864, pp. 81-85.

<sup>20</sup> See below, p. 20.

<sup>21</sup> *General Laws of Minnesota*, 1858, 102-103.

<sup>22</sup> *General Laws of Wisconsin*, 1867, chapter 126.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*

to \$3,000.<sup>24</sup> In the following year an immigrant agent for the state was appointed to direct the work of the board. Two local agents, one in Milwaukee and the other in Chicago, were employed for four months in the year to assist immigrants.<sup>25</sup> How far the state was willing to go in the matter of assistance to immigrants is given an interesting illustration by the following words of the act of 1869: "The board of immigration shall have power to aid with such sums as it may think proper, either through the local agents or otherwise, such immigrants as are determined to make Wisconsin their future home, for the purpose of assisting them in reaching their place of destination, and the board shall be authorized, if possible, to arrange with railroad companies for transportation of immigrants at half fare."<sup>26</sup> In 1870 the governor was authorized to appoint an agent in New York, but as no compensation was offered, nothing came of it.<sup>27</sup>

In the competition for immigrant settlement railroad companies, land concerns, states, counties, and other agencies printed and distributed hundreds of thousands of pamphlets. Many of these overdrew the picture, describing a veritable El Dorado for the benefit of prospective settlers who in responding to the lure of America were perhaps naturally too sanguine. Often their hopes went unrealized, especially in the beginning. On the other hand, the states of the Northwest did fairly offer golden opportunities to settlers, and the great majority of the immigrants after a few years of effort achieved a success and a measure of prosperity which fully justified their faith. The states were on the whole honorable in their methods and probably presented more accurate pictures of their advantages than did the private agencies.

That Wisconsin stood particularly high with respect to the character of its publications is due largely to Dr. Increase

<sup>24</sup> *General Laws of Wisconsin*, 1868, chapters 120, 171.

<sup>25</sup> *General Laws of Wisconsin*, 1869, chapter 118.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>27</sup> *General Laws of Wisconsin*, 1870, chapter 50.



Allen Lapham, the eminent Wisconsin scientist, who fortunately was able to base what he wrote upon a scholarly understanding of the natural resources of the state.<sup>28</sup> As early as 1844 Dr. Lapham published a valuable little book called *A Geographical and Topographical Description of Wisconsin*, a second edition of which appeared in 1846. In his report for 1852 the first Wisconsin Commissioner of Emigration urged the state to secure the services of Dr. Lapham in preparing the official pamphlet.<sup>29</sup> This advice was heeded, with the happy result that scores of thousands of booklets translated into numerous foreign languages came from the pen of the most scientific writer in Wisconsin. In the later history of the immigration agencies of the state new pamphlets appeared from time to time, but practically all of them show the direct influence of Dr. Lapham's work. Not the least of Dr. Lapham's public services to Wisconsin was his admirable work in thus giving the state an excellent book designed for prospective settlers. The pamphlet of 1867 is typical of the Wisconsin publications and may profitably be examined in some detail. It bears the title *Statistics, Exhibiting the History, Climate and Productions of the State of Wisconsin*.<sup>30</sup> A map of the state, drawn with the nicety of workmanship characteristic of Dr. Lapham, serves as the frontispiece. Into the thirty-two pages of the pamphlet is compressed a fund of serviceable information on such topics as the following: location, topographical features, water power, rivers, small lakes, climate, health, geology, lead mines, zinc, iron ores, clays, peat and marl, native animals, fishes, forests, pine region, agriculture, chief crops of 1866 (the total value of which is placed at \$69,213,544), live stock, farm products, implements, wages, manufactures, occupations, railroads,

<sup>28</sup> See Milo M. Quaife, "Increase Allen Lapham, First Scholar of Wisconsin," *THE WISCONSIN MAGAZINE OF HISTORY*, vol. 1, no. 1 (September, 1917).

<sup>29</sup> *First Annual Report of the Commissioner of Emigration*, 15-16.

<sup>30</sup> Published by order of the legislature, Madison, Wis.: Atwood and Rublee, state printers, *Journal office*, 1867.

markets, population, newspapers, churches, principal cities, lands, surveys, the Homestead Law, land tenure, value of property, government, rights, office-holding, rights of married women, revenues of the state, schools, libraries, state institutions, postoffices, and routes from the seaboard. If Dr. Lapham omitted any important matter, the present writer is unable to name it. The book teems with the very kind of information immigrants most desired. To illustrate, definite information is given as to average wages for farm laborers. If hired for the year, the average monthly wage, without board, was \$30.84; with board, \$19.87; if hired for the season, without board, \$35.65; with board, \$24.60; if hired by the day in harvest, without board, \$2.68; with board, \$2.15; at other times, without board, \$1.78; with board, \$1.28.<sup>21</sup> Here was indeed information of value to the prospective settler without means. If in his conclusion Dr. Lapham seems to soar somewhat, the reader quickly discovers that every generalization there made is based upon a previous section of the booklet. He writes:

It will be seen by the preceding statement of facts and statistics, based upon correct, usually official, evidence that Wisconsin

Is a healthy state.

A fertile state.

A well watered state.

A well wooded state.

A rapidly growing state.

A state where the rights of man are respected.

Where intelligence and education are permanently secured for all future time.

Where all the necessities and most of the comforts and luxuries of life are easily accessible.

Where the climate is congenial to the health, vigor, and happiness of the people and where the rains are duly distributed over the different seasons of the year.

Where agriculture, one of the chief sources of wealth to any nation, is conducted with profit and success.

Where the division of the products of labor between the laborer and the capitalist is equitably made.

<sup>21</sup> *Statistics, Exhibiting the History, Climate and Productions of the State of Wisconsin*, 15.

Where the farmers are the owners of the land they cultivate.  
Where honest labor always secures a competence for a man and his family.

Where land can be obtained almost without price.

Where property is constantly increasing in value.

Where every man has a voice in deciding the policy of the government under which he lives.

Where ample and proper provisions are made for the unfortunate.

Where every citizen is eligible to any office in the government.

Where there is a great variety of occupations open to all.

Where there is a due proportion between the city and country population, each affording mutual benefits and promoting the general welfare.

Where postal facilities enable us to communicate readily and cheaply with distant friends.

A state from whence markets are easily reached by water navigation, and by railroads.

A state well supplied with water power to aid in doing the work of the people.

A state affording many natural resources. And

A state that can be reached from the seaboard by a cheap, comfortable and speedy transit.<sup>32</sup>

That most of this could be said with equal truth in regard to the other states of the Northwest did not detract from its force as an argument for settlement in Wisconsin. Perhaps the most powerful inducement offered to settlers in Wisconsin was the land policy of the state. This policy was shaped especially to attract immigrants and to give Wisconsin an advantage over its neighbor states. Lands granted to the state for school purposes were offered for sale at extremely low prices. In fact, most of the four million acres received for university and school purposes has been disposed of in this way. As late as 1871, 56,000 acres of desirable land in Adams County were offered at fifty cents an acre; 20,000 acres in Marathon County and 100,000 in Wood County at from fifty cents to \$1.25; and 94,000 in Shawano County at from \$1.25 to \$2.25 an acre.<sup>33</sup> The commissioners used the

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, 31-32. The edition of 1899 has an addition of brief statistics on each of the counties of the state, including a careful statement of the foreign elements settled in each.

<sup>33</sup> K. A. Everest, "How Wisconsin Came by Its Large German Element," 321 and fn. (*Wisconsin Historical Collections*, XII). See also *Laws of Wisconsin*, 1872, p. 114.

state land policy as a very effective argument for settlement. As early as 1853 Commissioner Haertel presented it as a special reason why immigrants should go to Wisconsin. He wrote in his report for that year: "In my daily intercourse with the emigrant, I directed the attention of those intending to purchase land to the school lands of our state, showing to those of limited means that they could at once plant themselves in an entirely independent situation, as it could not be difficult for them, with patience and industry, and the long term allowed for payment, to meet their obligations. Upon inquiry, I have had the satisfaction to learn that during the past year large quantities of these lands, largely exceeding the sales of the previous year, have been sold, and chiefly to actual settlers." In 1869 the board published and distributed widely a list of school, university, and agricultural college lands subject to sale in Wisconsin counties. These lands were sold on time, twenty-five per cent in cash, with seven per cent interest on the balance due. The prices indicated in this list ranged mainly from \$1.00 to \$1.50.

The board was succeeded in 1871 by a commissioner of immigration. The act creating this office provided a temporary appointment by the governor, to hold until the popular election of a commissioner in November, 1871, for a two-year term. The office thus became a political one, the candidate running for it in the usual way.<sup>24</sup> The law of 1871 specified that an office was to be kept in Milwaukee; a pamphlet issued each year; English, French, German, Welsh, and Norwegian editions were to be put out; county committees were to be appointed to cooperate with the commissioner; a local agent was to be placed at Chicago four months of the year, while the commissioner himself was to act as local agent at Milwaukee. The act particularly authorized the commissioner to try to get reduced fares for immigrants from the railroad companies, and instructed him

<sup>24</sup> *General Laws of Wisconsin, 1871, chapter 155.*

also to coöperate with the United States Bureau of Immigration.<sup>86</sup>

This new office was held for three years by Ole C. Johnson, and by M. J. Argard for the years 1874 and 1875. It was abolished at the end of 1875, and immigration activity was then suspended until 1879. Ole C. Johnson was probably the most efficient commissioner of immigration that the state ever had. He was of Norwegian birth and had gained distinction in the Civil War, having risen to the rank of colonel, succeeding Hans C. Heg as the leader of the Fifteenth Wisconsin Infantry. It is to be noted in this connection that in the other states of the Northwest as well as in Wisconsin the commissioners chosen were usually men of foreign birth, particularly German or Scandinavian.

Johnson's first annual report for 1871 is an elaborate and valuable document. In addition to a survey of his own activity, he devoted about eighty pages to reports from the county committees and over fifty pages to tables of statistics and figures exhibiting the resources and progress of Wisconsin. His publication policy is stated at the outset of the report. "One principle I have laid down for my guidance," he says, "viz.: to give the facts just as they exist, unvarnished and uncolored. I have noticed the pernicious practice indulged in by many railroad and land companies, and even those who represent states, of giving glowing accounts of their lands or states, that do not exist even in the imagination of the writers. This has become so common that many put little or no faith in documents gotten up for the purpose of inducing immigration. Consequently the practice is poor policy, as well as wrong in principle, and I have made special efforts that all information sent forth from my office shall be of the most reliable and trustworthy character."<sup>86</sup>

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>86</sup> *First Annual Report of the Commissioner of Immigration of the State of Wisconsin, for the year 1871, 8-9.*

A new practice was introduced by having the pamphlets published in foreign countries. In 1871 five thousand were published in Belgium in the French language, and ten thousand German pamphlets were published in Germany.<sup>37</sup> The following year ten thousand English pamphlets were published in England, and a like number in Norway in the Norwegian language for distribution in Denmark and Norway.<sup>38</sup> The advantages of this plan were obvious; the pamphlets were printed and distributed where they were certain to exert the most direct influence; the directness of the scheme gave Wisconsin a distinct advantage over the other states, for the state which first influenced the mind of an emigrant was usually made his objective point, especially if it turned out that many others of his nationality had already settled there. Commissioner Johnson believed that Minnesota, Iowa, Kansas, and Nebraska were much better known than Wisconsin, and that more extensive advertising was needed if the state were to compete on equal terms with its rivals. He notes that from May 1 to December 1, 1871 a total of 11,483 foreigners arrived at the port of Milwaukee, of whom 5,097 settled in Wisconsin.<sup>39</sup> Coöperation with the railroads is illustrated by the following statement of the Commissioner: "No old or infirm person, or women and children have been left in Milwaukee for want of means to get further, the company (Milwaukee and St. Paul Railroad Company) always passing such over their roads free of charge."<sup>40</sup> In his report for 1872 the Commissioner points to the coming completion of new railroads as certain to be of great influence in the settlement of the state. He refers particularly to the Wisconsin Central, the Milwaukee and Northern (to Shawano

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, 10. J. A. Becher of Milwaukee, who was in Germany at this time, coöperated with Colonel Johnson and aided particularly in securing consuls and steamship agents to distribute Wisconsin literature.

<sup>38</sup> *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Immigration . . . for 1872*, 17.

<sup>39</sup> *First Annual Report . . . for 1871*, 11.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, 14.

and thence to Lake Superior), and to the Green Bay and Lake Pepin, and hopes for a road from the Mississippi to Lake Superior in the northwestern part of the state as a means of opening up what would otherwise be a wilderness.<sup>41</sup> In 1872 four thousand pamphlets were printed in Welsh, with a view to attracting Welshmen from the coal and iron mines of Pennsylvania.<sup>42</sup>

Colonel Johnson was replaced at the beginning of 1874 by M. J. Argard of Eau Claire. In the same year the legislature passed a law abolishing the office of commissioner, to take effect in January, 1876.<sup>43</sup> Mr. Argard used the following language in his report for 1875 with reference to the repeal: "It was conceived in vindictiveness and brought about by third-rate politicians and followed my refusal to appoint to place in my office, at the commencement of the year 1874, and to place my manhood and self-respect in the keeping of men, who grasp with the avidity of cormorants and the voracity of sharks, after positions they are in no wise competent to fill."<sup>44</sup> The political meddling which temporarily halted the state immigration activity occurred at the time of a temporary slackening in immigration. Between 1873 and 1880 immigration to the United States was comparatively slight.<sup>45</sup> In explaining the great decrease Commissioner Argard does not mention the commercial depression in the United States in 1873,<sup>46</sup> but he does present the following five reasons: First, the rich harvest in Norway and Sweden in 1873; second, a considerable increase in the fishing

<sup>41</sup> *Annual Report . . . for 1872*, 12. The Lake Superior and Mississippi Railroad had been opened in 1871. See Lester B. Shippee, "The First Railroad Between the Mississippi and Lake Superior," in *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, vol. 5, no. 2 (September, 1918), pp. 121-42. The article brings out the nature of the rivalry between Wisconsin and Minnesota for the road.

<sup>42</sup> *Annual Report . . . for 1872*, 17.

<sup>43</sup> *Laws of Wisconsin, 1874*, chapters 238, 333.

<sup>44</sup> *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Immigration . . . for 1875*, 2.

<sup>45</sup> Jenks and Lauck, *The Immigration Problem*, supplement.

<sup>46</sup> But see Mayo-Smith, *Emigration and Immigration*, 42-43.

industry of the Scandinavian countries; third, the wider exploitation of the natural resources of the countries of northern Europe; fourth, the discouraging effects of the reports of great grasshopper plagues in western Minnesota and in Iowa; and finally, fifth, the bad treatment given arriving immigrants in the city of Chicago.<sup>47</sup>

The official immigration activity was discontinued this time until 1879, when the work was again renewed for a six-year period. In 1879 a Board of Immigration was created, consisting of the governor, secretary of state, and three other members. Authorized to encourage immigration from the East, Canada, and Europe, the board was given an appropriation of \$2,500 for the first year. A salaried secretary was appointed by the board, Henry Baetz first occupying the position.<sup>48</sup> The local organization in the counties was revived in order to assist the board. The board came into existence just before the great influx of immigrants from northern Europe in the eighties. The first annual report points out that while in 1879 there arrived at Milwaukee 18,382 immigrants of whom 4,781 settled in Wisconsin and 6,985 in Minnesota, in 1880 a total of 38,838 immigrants arrived at the same port, 15,643 of whom went to Minnesota and 15,681 remained in Wisconsin.<sup>49</sup> During the years of the activity of this board records were kept of the immigrants arriving at Milwaukee, particularly as to numbers, nationality, and destination. Summaries were published in each annual report. The figures apply of course only to the immigration by way of Milwaukee, being in no sense general figures for the state. Most of the immigrants were Germans, Norwegians, and Swedes, with a scattering

<sup>47</sup> *Annual Report . . . for 1876*, 2-3.

<sup>48</sup> *Laws of Wisconsin*, 1879, chapter 176.

<sup>49</sup> *Annual Report of the Board of Immigration for the year ending December 31, 1880*, 1-2.



of Danes, English, Irish, Scotch, French, Dutch, Bohemians, Poles, and others. Upon the basis of the recorded figures an interesting study can be made in regard to the numbers of Germans, Norwegians, and Swedes who settled in Wisconsin and Minnesota. For example, during the six years from 1879 to 1884 inclusive, 75,551 of the Germans who arrived at Milwaukee settled in Wisconsin, while 25,328 went to Minnesota; during the same period 35,943 of the Norwegians arriving at Milwaukee went to Minnesota, while only 16,962 remained in Wisconsin; 25,679 Swedes went to Minnesota, while 7,481 settled in Wisconsin.<sup>50</sup> In earlier years Wisconsin had been the Mecca for the Scandinavian settlers, but it is clear from these figures that Minnesota had taken the lead and was drawing the great majority of the Norwegian and Swedish immigrants.<sup>51</sup> In the matter of the Germans Minnesota was also securing a large number, even though only about one-third as many as Wisconsin.

Among the publications put out by the board in 1880 were 10,000 pocket maps of Wisconsin, in English, German, and Norwegian.<sup>52</sup> In 1881, 5,000 maps were sent to England and an equal number to Germany. About 25,000 pamphlets were printed in 1881,<sup>53</sup> and in the following year close to 30,000 were distributed.<sup>54</sup> In 1883, 19,884 maps and pamphlets were sent out; in 1884, 17,016;<sup>55</sup> and in 1885-86,

<sup>50</sup> These totals are based upon tables printed in the annual reports for 1880, 1881, and 1882, and the biennial reports for 1883-84 and 1885-86. It should be pointed out that the records kept at Milwaukee were imperfect, particularly in respect to destination. Many immigrants failed to go where they intended to go, but the agent at Milwaukee could not of course verify his figures in this respect.

<sup>51</sup> Most of the Danes settled in Wisconsin.

<sup>52</sup> *Annual Report of the Board of Immigration of the State of Wisconsin for the year ending December 31, 1880*, 6.

<sup>53</sup> *Annual Report of the Board of Immigration . . . for 1881*, 11.

<sup>54</sup> *Annual Report . . . for 1882*, 10.

<sup>55</sup> *Biennial Report . . . for the term ending December 31, 1884*, 11-12.

23,032.<sup>56</sup> During the six years more than one hundred thousand pamphlets on Wisconsin were distributed. Considerable advertising was carried in foreign newspapers in these years also. For example, in 1881 advertisements were placed in newspapers in London and Frome, England; in Orebro, Sweden; in Hanover, Rostock, Gotha, Berlin, Stuttgart, Kaiserlautern, Regen, and other cities of Germany; in Vienna, Austria; and in Berne, Switzerland.<sup>57</sup> In 1882 forty-one German and Austrian newspapers were utilized for advertising purposes by the board.<sup>58</sup>

In 1880, at the request of the president of the Wisconsin Central Railroad, a land agent of that company, K. K. Kennan, was appointed European agent of the board without expense to the state. He was a very active worker, who desired the additional prestige which the state appointment would give him. He went to Europe in June, 1880, and directed his efforts chiefly toward securing Scandinavian and German immigrants. He distributed great numbers of documents (in 1881 at least 75,000, of which 7,570 were official state publications), and advertised extensively in the newspapers. He asserts that at one time he had advertisements in two thousand papers.<sup>59</sup> In the course of his work he received and answered twenty thousand letters.<sup>60</sup> On account of German laws against advertising emigration schemes, he located his headquarters at Basel, Switzerland.<sup>61</sup> It appears that complaints were made against his activities. In the cantonal archives of Basel is to be found a police memorandum on the subject of whether Kennan's methods were in violation of the law. This memorandum is accompanied by a clipping from *Der Volksfreund aus Schwaben*, of Tübingen.

<sup>56</sup> *Biennial Report . . . for the term ending December 31, 1886*, 11.

<sup>57</sup> *Annual Report . . . for 1881*, 11-12.

<sup>58</sup> *Annual Report . . . for 1882*, 12-13.

<sup>59</sup> *Annual Report . . . for 1881*, 13.

<sup>60</sup> Wisconsin Historical Society *Proceedings*, 1907, p. 270, n. 14.

<sup>61</sup> He also established an office at Copenhagen, Denmark, as a center for his activities in the Scandinavian countries.

gen, February 13, 1883, containing the following advertisement:

AUSWANDERER! Die fünfte gemeinschaftliche Reise nach dem Staate WISCONSIN (Nordamerika), findet von Bremen aus, am 4. April, mit dem neuen Expressdampfer *Elbe* statt. Überfahrt von Bremen nach New York nur neun Tage. Auskunft betreffs Reisekosten ertheilt die *Direktion des Norddeutschen Lloyd in Bremen*. Werthvolle Karten und Broschüren über Wisconsin sendet auf Verlangen gratis und portofrei der Commissär der Einwanderungsbehörde genannten Staates: K. K. KENNAN in Basel, Schweiz.<sup>62</sup>

Concerning the influence of Kennan, Dr. Albert B. Faust writes, "Through his efforts and those of the board about five thousand immigrants were secured, mainly from the forest lands of Bavaria, and were distributed along the line of the Wisconsin Central Railroad from Stevens Point to Ashland. The inducement held out to them was good wages in the lumber camps, where they might in a short time earn enough to buy land and build homes."<sup>63</sup> Kennan soon found that competition for immigrant settlement was not confined to agencies operating in America alone. In 1882 he wrote from Europe, "Other states have numerous active, aggressive, well-paid agents in the field, who do not scruple to misrepresent Wisconsin and decry the superior inducements which she offers to emigrants. Unless some systematic effort is made to counteract these representations and to keep the people supplied with reliable information about Wisconsin, we must expect to see the great stream of immigration pass by us, and be turned to account in developing the prairies west of us."<sup>64</sup>

Minnesota established a Board of Immigration in 1867. It had one important advantage over the Wisconsin board,

<sup>62</sup> Albert B. Faust, *Guide to the Materials for American History in Swiss and Austrian Archives*, 118-19 (Washington, D. C., Carnegie Institution, 1916). The papers are listed under "Polizeidepartement Basel-Stadt." Dr. Faust gives the entire clipping.

<sup>63</sup> *The German Element in the United States*, I, 478-79.

<sup>64</sup> *Annual Report . . . for 1882*, 11. The board established in 1879 was abolished by an act of 1887. *Laws of Wisconsin*, 1887, chapter 21. The board was headed during the period from 1879 on by J. A. Becher of Milwaukee.

namely in its liberal appropriation, which was usually \$10,000 a year.<sup>65</sup> Its activities in respect to publishing and distributing pamphlets and maps and advertising the state by other means were very much like those of Wisconsin. Some of its schemes, made possible by its larger appropriation, improved upon the Wisconsin ideas. Swedish, Norwegian, and German agents were sent to meet immigrants in New York, Montreal, and Quebec, to accompany them westward as guides and interpreters.<sup>66</sup> Upon reaching Minnesota—the guides were careful to see that they did reach Minnesota—settlers were not infrequently furnished temporary homes. That the Minnesota board of immigration attempted chiefly to attract Scandinavians is due to a prominent and able Swedish-American, Hans Mattson, who was made its secretary. Like Colonel Johnson, he had made a reputation for himself in the Civil War. He was especially influential in inducing Swedes to come to Minnesota and in this connection made several trips to Sweden. On one of these, in 1869, he organized and led to America a party of eight hundred Swedish immigrants.<sup>67</sup> In 1873 he returned from a second voyage with a large shipload of immigrants.<sup>68</sup> While acting as secretary of the board Mattson was also a land agent for a railroad running through Wright, Meeker, Kandiyohi, Swift, and Stevens counties, Minnesota. Of the results of this agency he wrote in his reminiscences, published in 1891: "In the above-named localities there were only a few scattered families when I went there in 1867, while it is now one continuous Scandinavian settlement, extending over a territory more than a hundred miles long and dotted over with cities and towns, largely the result of the board of

<sup>65</sup> Hans Mattson, *Reminiscences, The Story of an Emigrant*, 97 (Saint Paul: D. D. Merrill Company, 1891). See also, for example, *General Laws of Minnesota*, 1871, chapter L, pp. 104-105.

<sup>66</sup> Mattson, *Reminiscences, The Story of an Emigrant*, 99.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, 111.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, 131.

emigration during the years 1867, 1868, and 1869.”<sup>69</sup> Like Wisconsin, Minnesota encountered some opposition and ill will in its immigration work. Mattson asserts that a prominent newspaper writer in Kansas accused him of selling his countrymen “to a life not much better than slavery in a land of ice, snow, and perpetual winter, where, if the poor emigrant did not soon starve to death, he would surely perish with cold.”<sup>70</sup>

The report of the Minnesota board for 1871 shows that Minnesota had an aggressive agent at New York, named E. Page Davis. His office on Broadway was a bureau of general information. He made an arrangement with the Erie Railway Company whereby immigrants to Minnesota were to receive a reduction in fare of one-third and were likewise to be permitted fifty pounds of extra free baggage. During his term of service a collection of Minnesota products was sent to the annual fair of the American Institute at New York. At the conclusion of the fair Mr. Davis had the exhibit placed in his office, where it was used as a concrete illustration of what Minnesota could produce. In addition to the usual kinds of advertising Minnesota had reprinted during the year 1871 the entire pamphlet on the state in the columns of the *Free West*, an emigration paper published in London.<sup>71</sup>

In 1850 the Territory of Minnesota according to the United States census had twelve Scandinavians. Wisconsin had 8,885—of whom 8,651 were Norwegians. In 1870 Wisconsin counted in its foreign-born population 5,212 Danes,

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, 100. There is no intimation that it was thought other than proper thus to serve both state and railroad.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, 101.

<sup>71</sup> *Report of the Board of Immigration of Minnesota, 1871, 62-67.* The report states that in 1871 more than 34,000 pamphlets were printed and most of them distributed. As an illustration of the attitude of the western railroads, the St. Paul and Pacific, and the Lake Superior and Mississippi railroads erected “immigrant houses” along their lines. For information on later Minnesota immigration activities see, for example, *Third Biennial Report of the State Board of Immigration, for the years 1885-1886.*

40,046 Norwegians, and 2,799 Swedes—a total of 48,057 Scandinavians. Minnesota the same year had 1,910 Danes, 35,940 Norwegians, and 20,987 Swedes—in all, 58,837 Scandinavians. Thus Minnesota had in 1870 about seven and one-half times as many Swedes as Wisconsin and 10,780 more Scandinavians than Wisconsin. This surprising fact is due to a number of causes, but it may safely be asserted, and especially with reference to the figures for the Swedish element, that Hans Mattson and the Minnesota Board of Immigration constituted one important reason. By 1890 Minnesota had 99,913 Swedes, 101,169 Norwegians, and 14,133 Danes; and Wisconsin had 13,885 Danes, 65,696 Norwegians, and 20,157 Swedes.<sup>72</sup>

Iowa established a Board of Immigration in 1870.<sup>73</sup> It, too, copied the methods of Wisconsin. Supported by annual appropriations of \$10,000,<sup>74</sup> it was able to carry out extensive plans. In addition to the usual campaign of advertising and pamphlet publication, it undertook to send agents to Europe where by means of paid advertisements, the distribution of pamphlets and maps, and their own personal influence, they aided considerably in turning a fair portion of the immigrant total to the state of Iowa.<sup>75</sup> Even the Territory of Dakota,

<sup>72</sup> The figures given refer to foreign-born only. See Appendix I, tables II, III, and IV, in Babcock, *The Scandinavian Element in the United States*. Chapter VII of the same work describes the expansion and distribution of the Scandinavians in the period from 1850 to 1900. "The Dakotas, as one territory, received their first Norse settler in 1858, but when the census of 1880 was taken there were 17,869, and in 1890, when the territory was divided into two states, the Scandinavian contingent was more than 65,000 strong." *Ibid.*, 72.

<sup>73</sup> *Laws of Iowa*, 1870, chapter 34.

<sup>74</sup> *Laws of Iowa*, 1872, chapter 23; 1880, chapter 168.

<sup>75</sup> *First Biennial Report of the Board of Immigration* (Iowa), January 1, 1872. In the first year fourteen agents were commissioned by the board as European representatives. Most of these served for little or no compensation and some of them were at the same time railroad agents. The first biennial report includes short reports from a number of these agents. One of these, by Henry Hospers, is of great interest. Hospers opened an office at Hoog Blokland in Zuid, Holland. His advertisements brought out so many letters of inquiry that he wrote and distributed a little eight-page pamphlet called *Iowa. Shall I Emigrate to America? Practically answered by a Hollander who resided 24 years in one of the best States in the Union*.

as early as March, 1885, created an office of Commissioner of Immigration, and during the next two years put out maps and pamphlets describing the great advantages of Dakota. The Commissioner was in fact so enterprising as to print regular monthly bulletins, seventeen of which were issued in all.<sup>76</sup> *Resources of Dakota*, printed at Pierre in 1887, is a typical Dakota pamphlet. Both South and North Dakota continued the work as separate states, the South Dakota commission having as late as 1916 an annual appropriation of \$12,500. A typical Montana publication is *The Treasure State: Montana and Its Magnificent Resources*, published by the Bureau of Agriculture, Helena, 1899. *Pacific Northwest: Information for Settlers and Others* (New York, 1883) is the title of a pamphlet many editions of which were printed by the Oregon Board of Immigration.

It remains to touch briefly upon the last period of Wisconsin's activity in respect to immigration. In 1895 the Board of Immigration was renewed for two years, with an appropriation of \$10,000 for the period.<sup>77</sup> The next legislature continued it two years longer, with an appropriation of \$8,000. The board was at this time made up of the governor and the secretary of state and administered by a secretary who received \$1,800 a year.<sup>78</sup> In 1899 the board was given another two-year lease and at the end of this time it went out of existence.<sup>79</sup> A law of 1905 authorized boards of supervisors in the counties to appropriate money to assist county associations in inducing settlers to come to Wisconsin.<sup>80</sup> In 1907 the Board of Immigration was once more revived<sup>81</sup> and continued its activities until 1915. The work is at present handled by the Immigrant Division of the Department of

<sup>76</sup> See the *First Biennial Report of the Dakota Commission for 1885-1886*.

<sup>77</sup> *Laws of Wisconsin, 1895*, chapter 285.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, 1897, chapter 327.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*, 1899, chapter 279.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*, 1905, chapter 458.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, 1907, chapter 407.

Agriculture. The significant and characteristic thing with respect to this last period is that the state has been forced to direct its attention more and more to the problem of keeping its own citizens. The second biennial report for 1910, to illustrate, states that in fifteen Wisconsin counties during the preceding ten-year period 8,375 people had been "exploited away" to other states.<sup>82</sup> An advertising and educational campaign with use of posters, leaflets, pamphlets, lectures, and various forms of "extension" work has been carried on to cope with this situation. Another recent problem in Wisconsin, to which considerable attention has been given by the various boards of immigration, has been the settlement of the northern area of the state. On the whole, the situation of Wisconsin in this last period has resembled that of the eastern states in the earlier years of the westward movement.

To evaluate accurately the activities of the various boards and commissioners of immigration in Wisconsin and its neighboring states is a difficult matter. These official state efforts must naturally be studied in conjunction with the activities of railroads, land companies, and other private concerns which sought actively to attract European immigrants. They must be considered in connection with European and American conditions which influenced the history of immigration.<sup>83</sup> The operations of the state governments were managed efficiently and on the whole honorably. The printed documents sent out were sometimes too glowing and optimistic, but there was probably no deliberate misrepresentation; exaggeration was a fault of the private companies to a far greater degree than in the case of the states; competition resulted in some instances perhaps in unscrupulous methods; the state immigrant officials were too often hampered by politicians who looked upon the office as legitimate political spoils. From the broad standpoint of advantage to

<sup>82</sup> *Second Biennial Report of the State Board of Immigration* (1910), 6-7.

<sup>83</sup> Cf. Mayo-Smith, *Emigration and Immigration*, chapter III.



the states and to the immigrants themselves these immigration agencies were of genuine benefit and clearly deserve historical appreciation.

Into the northwestern states came hundreds of thousands of immigrants to settle the vacant lands and help develop the economic resources of the young commonwealths. The competition for immigrant settlement added to the strength of the West in respect to population, wealth, and social progress. Nor should the benefit to the immigrant himself be forgotten. The best proof of the value of the advertising campaigns described in the foregoing is to be found in the census figures for the four decades after 1860. Had the matter of immigrant settlement been left to chance and to the natural factors influencing westward migration, it is likely that Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, and the Dakotas would still have received a large share of the immigrants from northern Europe. But it is certain that the deliberate and carefully planned campaigns of these states added greatly to the movement. They resulted in greater emigration from Europe, and they increased the percentage of the total immigration which came into the Northwest. They help in considerable measure to explain the tremendous influx of Germans, Norwegians, and Swedes into Wisconsin, Minnesota, and Iowa. Incidentally it may be remarked that the foreign elements in these states did not come here uninvited. They came in fact at the especial invitation of the state.

Finally, in studying the history of the immigration movement and the official actions of the northwestern states in connection with it one glimpses something of the vigor, the buoyant optimism, and the clear vision of the future that have characterized these states in their formative periods. The energetic, forward-looking spirit of the American West finds a vivid illustration in these conscious efforts to draw westward to the golden opportunities of the New World the masses of people grown restless with the restraints, economic and otherwise, of the Old.

## THE STORY OF WISCONSIN, 1634-1848

LOUISE PHELPS KELLOGG

### CHAPTER III—THE DAYS OF THE LEAD MINERS

#### THE DRIFTLESS AREA

The surface of Wisconsin is a glaciated region, with the exception of thirteen thousand square miles in the south and west which comprise the well-known driftless area. This was not covered by the glaciers that during the recent geological period carved the major portion of Wisconsin's surface. In the southern portion of the driftless area, comprising all of Wisconsin south of the Wisconsin and west of the Sugar rivers and also small neighboring portions of Iowa and Illinois, lead ore is deposited in large quantities. The existence of these deposits was known to the French soon after the discovery of the Mississippi River. Lumps of lead among the Indians' belongings attracted the attention of the first explorers. Nicolas Perrot by 1684 visited the Wisconsin mines and operated them in a small way. Mention of lead mines below Wisconsin River appears on Delisle's map of 1703. During the latter part of the French régime the lead mines of Missouri attracted more attention than those of Illinois and Wisconsin; but with the coming of the English fresh interest was aroused by Jonathan Carver's description of the mines seen in 1766 from the Wisconsin River. By the time of the American Revolution extensive operations were being conducted at the lead mines on the Mississippi, where in 1780 Spanish and American prisoners were captured by an invading force from Mackinac, and fifty tons of lead ore were taken.<sup>7</sup> During the fur trade period bars of lead were

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, XI, 151.

accepted in lieu of currency and in 1765 had an established value of five bars for a buckskin or a "middleing Bever."<sup>8</sup> The operator best known during the latter years of the eighteenth century was Julien Dubuque, a French-Canadian, who in 1788 secured a land grant from the Sauk and Fox Indians and in 1796 one from the Spanish government. Dubuque's headquarters were near the Iowa city which now bears his name, but his prospectors ranged over the Illinois and Wisconsin side of the river and made superficial diggings in many places. He stated in 1805 that he mined annually from twenty thousand to forty thousand pounds, and he so encouraged the Indians to turn their attention to extracting lead that in 1811 their agent reported that the Sauk and Foxes had almost abandoned hunting for mining.<sup>9</sup>

During all this period, however, lead mining was accessory to the fur trade. Dubuque was a trader; so were the earliest American operators of whom we hear, George Davenport, Jesse Shull, Dr. Samuel C. Muir, Amos Farrar, and Russell Farnham. They purchased lead of the Indians, either to secure their debts or to furnish ammunition for future hunting. Lead was a by-product of the fur trade. Only as the American frontier approached the mining region did the production of lead become a factor in the development of the state.

#### THE LEASING SYSTEM

The progress of the frontier along the Mississippi River was retarded by the hostile attitude of the Indians of that region. The lead mines were the home of the united Sauk and Fox tribe, while throughout the eastern portion of the region lived the Rock River Winnebago, the fiercest and most hostile of all the central western tribes. After the War of 1812 the Winnebago refused to make peace with the United States and were kept in order only by fear of the troops stationed at Wisconsin posts.

<sup>8</sup> *Illinois Historical Collections*, X, 403.

<sup>9</sup> *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, XI, 252.

The Sauk and Fox tribe jealously guarded their lead mines and quickly drove out any unwary miner who ventured into the region of their diggings. In 1804 a few chiefs of this tribe made a treaty at St. Louis by which on certain conditions all their lands east of the Mississippi were ceded to the United States. The tribe as a whole refused either to ratify this treaty or to observe its conditions, and the friction thereby engendered finally led to open hostilities. Disregarding the protest of the Sauk and Foxes, the government in 1816 regranted the territory north of a line through the southern end of Lake Michigan to the combined tribes of Chippewa, Ottawa, and Potawatomi Indians, who claimed but never occupied the lead mines. Within this cession the president was privileged to reserve five square leagues for mineral purposes. Still more to complicate the situation Congress on March 3, 1807 passed an act reserving to the government all mineral lands in Indiana Territory, of which Wisconsin was then a part, and authorizing leases of such lands for periods not to exceed five years. Because of the danger from Indian hostilities, no leases were taken in the northwestern lead region until 1822. Then in response to advertisements of the government several lessees secured permits. In April of that year Col. James Johnson of Kentucky formed a company for immediate operations. The War Department ordered an escort of troops from Fort Armstrong at Rock River, and from Fort Crawford at Prairie du Chien. Guarded by these forces, the Indian agent met the Sauk and Fox Indians at Fever River in June and wrung from them reluctant consent to Johnson's mining operations.<sup>10</sup>

In 1823 Dr. Moses Meeker of Cincinnati brought to the lead mines a colony, several of whom had government leases. During that summer there were seventy-four residents at the Iowa-Illinois mines.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Draper Manuscripts, 4T126-29.

<sup>11</sup> *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, VI, 276-96.

THE WISCONSIN MINES

The first mines within the area now included in Wisconsin were found in 1824 at New Diggings in Lafayette County. The same year John Bonner took out 1,700 pounds of ore in one day at Hazel Green in Grant County. The Indians, however, were so menacing that isolated prospecting was given up, and it was not until 1826 that plans for a permanent mining settlement were made. In the autumn of that year Henry and Jean Pierre Bugnion Gratiot, through the favor of a half-breed Winnebago woman, made a purchase from her tribe of the privilege of mining in its territory and removed their homes and smelting works to the site near Shullsburg, thereafter known as Gratiot's Grove. The next summer the Gratiots were obliged to leave temporarily because of the hostilities known as the Winnebago War.<sup>12</sup>

This outbreak was occasioned by a false rumor of the ill treatment of some members of the tribe at Fort Snelling on the upper Mississippi. Its true cause was the restlessness of the Winnebago at the encroachments upon their lands and the removal of the restraining military forces from Fort Crawford. Actual hostilities were few, consisting of the murder of two French families near Prairie du Chien and an attack upon a Mississippi keel boat. The entire frontier, however, was alarmed. Henry Dodge at Galena enlisted a troop of mounted rangers. The regulars from Fort Howard at Green Bay and from Jefferson Barracks at St. Louis were set in motion towards Prairie du Chien. The Winnebago tribe yielded to the show of force and at the Wisconsin portage delivered to the military officers three of the offending chiefs.

The surrender of Chief Red Bird on this occasion is one of the dramatic incidents of Wisconsin history. The Winnebago warriors, playing slow music, and giving the death

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, X, 269-70.

halloo, crossed the river to the army camp, preceded by Red Bird magnificently clothed in a full suit of white buckskin, and bearing himself with all the dignity of conscious tribal honor. Stepping forward to Colonel Whistler he lowered his proud head as if in expectation of immediate decapitation. Then stooping he gathered a pinch of dust and flung it away saying, "I have given away my life like that. I would not take it back. It is gone." Conveyed to prison at Prairie du Chien, this magnificent savage pined and died from the effects of confinement. Truly in Indian fashion he gave his life for his friends.

This episode of the surrender ended the Winnebago War. The government next year built Fort Winnebago at the Fox-Wisconsin portage. The close of hostilities was the signal for a great rush to the Wisconsin mines. Captain Henry Dodge arrived at Dodgeville October 3, 1827, and bought from the humbled Winnebago the privilege of building a smelter. John Rountree, George Wallace Jones, and the Parkinson brothers came the same autumn. The sites of Beetown, Darlington, Dodgeville, Platteville, Sinsinawa Mounds, and White Oak Springs were staked out. The next spring brought a greater rush of prospectors and speculators, so that by the close of 1828 there were from eight to ten thousand people at the lead mines.

The mining process was not a difficult one; it was no more laborious than digging a well. Dodge, for example, had taken from his diggings by March, 1828, from three to four thousand dollars' worth of ore. Many a miner made \$100 a week. The first smelter was that set up in 1826 by the Gratiots. In 1828 a furnace was built at Mineral Point, then popularly known as "Shake Rag under the Hill." So eager were the prospectors for ore that no time was taken to provide for necessities. During the summer many of the operators lived in tents; with the coming of cold weather they removed

to abandoned shafts in the side of the hill. The residents of Wisconsin because of their burrowing habits were called "badgers." The Illinois teamsters, who disappeared with cold weather, were known as "suckers" from a migratory fish of western streams. Thus these historical sobriquets arose. All classes and conditions of men drifted to the mining region during this early rush. Men came who had known the luxuries of life, like William Schuyler Hamilton, son of Alexander Hamilton of New York. Most of the newcomers had seen something of pioneer life elsewhere on the frontier. Among the foreign-born several groups of Swiss removed from the Selkirk settlement on Red River. Cornish miners from England began coming in large numbers after 1832.

Conditions of living were similar to those of other mining regions. Credit was easy; life was full of excitement and change. The rumor of a new "lead" caused a fresh rush to the new locality. The vices and virtues of such a frontier were in evidence. Drinking and gambling, quarrels and duels were common. By 1828 the Methodist circuit riders appeared at Mineral Point. Among the persons from the more cultivated classes the free and easy hospitality of the frontier prevailed. The visit of Mrs. Hamilton to her son at Wiotia was an occasion when all the settled inhabitants vied with one another in attentions to this distinguished lady.<sup>13</sup> A considerable degree of culture was current in southwest Wisconsin during this period. Ladies from the social circles of Paris and London lived here in familiar intercourse. Many private libraries were in possession of the mining operators. As early as 1830 a classical school was started at Mineral Point. To find the beginnings of Wisconsin culture the historian must study the early days in the mining community.

#### DEVELOPMENT OF THE DISTRICT

The Indian title of all the land west of Pecatonica River was extinguished by the Treaty of 1829 at Prairie du

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, 274-75.

Chien. Both the Winnebago and the united tribes of Chippewa, Ottawa, and Potawatomi ceded their claims to the government. The latter opened a land office in 1834 at Mineral Point. Mining lands were not, however, open to entry and continued to be held under leases. Until 1830 ten per cent of the product was the rental price; after that date six per cent. The provision exempting mineral lands from entry led to many frauds and evasions. Men led blindfold over the lands swore before the land office register that they had seen no mining operations. The fraudulent entry system was so notorious that in 1840 an investigation was ordered. In 1846 the leasing system was abandoned, and all lands were alike opened to entry.

Lead was shipped out of Wisconsin by the river routes or hauled by teams to some convenient shipping point. In 1830 Daniel Whitney, an enterprising Green Bay merchant, attempted lead manufacture near the mines. He formed a company to build a shot tower on the Wisconsin River, which in 1831 began operations. The tower was completed in 1833, and although it changed owners repeatedly, the manufacture of shot was continued until 1861. This enterprise aided in upbuilding the lead region and diverted from Illinois and Missouri much lead that had formerly gone thither.<sup>14</sup>

The population in the mining region fluctuated with the price of lead. In 1829 this dropped from \$5.00 per hundred to less than one-quarter that amount, while general prices appreciated. It required four thousand pounds of ore to purchase a barrel of flour.<sup>15</sup> Hard times checked the inrush of adventurers and sent hundreds of the floating population to other regions. Gradually prosperity and population returned; and by 1832 there was permanent occupation of southwestern Wisconsin—villages were incorporated, roads

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, XIII, 335-74.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 834-85.



were begun, and farms were opened. In 1830 Lucius Lyon, government surveyor, began to run the section lines.

The center of the region was Mineral Point, which in 1829 became the seat of the new county of Iowa. There in 1830 a session of the United States court was held. Mineral Point was candidate for the capital of a proposed territory west of Lake Michigan, suggested by Judge James D. Doty as early as 1824. In 1827-28 a bill to erect Chippewau Territory passed the House of Representatives, but failed in the Senate. In 1830 a bill for Huron Territory was introduced providing for the territorial capital at Doty's town of Menominee on Fox River. The opposition of the lead-mining region to this latter provision defeated the consideration of the bill. Mineral Point remained for some years the largest and most important town in Wisconsin. Meanwhile Dodgeville, Platteville, Shullsburg, and Lancaster grew and improved, and Cassville was begun as a Mississippi port.

When Wisconsin Territory was organized in 1836 the mining region had a larger share of its population and a more settled mode of living than any other section. It strongly inclined to the type of life in Missouri and southern Illinois, whence many of its prominent members had migrated. A few slaves were kept for domestic purposes, a generous hospitality prevailed, schools and churches were being built, and the foundations were laid for a genuine American community.

#### A FRONTIER WAR

With the exception of the mineral region and the old Franco-American posts of Green Bay, Prairie du Chien, and Portage, Wisconsin in 1832 was a wilderness given over to wild animals and Indians. Much of its southern portion was considered uninhabitable, a land of swamps and morasses. The outside world became acquainted with Wisconsin as the result of a frontier war.

For more than a decade before 1832 the United States had not experienced a genuine Indian panic. A generation had grown up since the battle of Tippecanoe, and the frontier had been pushed to the outskirts of Illinois. The new generation, likewise, was thrilling with the Indian romances of James Fennimore Cooper. The *Spy* was published in 1821, and the *Last of the Mohicans* in 1826. Both the qualities and powers of the aborigines were regarded through the mists of romance. For these and similar reasons the Black Hawk War was a genuine epoch in the history of Wisconsin.

Black Hawk, himself not a chief, was the leader of a band of the Sauk tribe, whose major portion took no part in the hostilities of 1832. Black Hawk's was known as the British band, because of long relationship with the officers of that nation at Malden. The warrior deluded himself into thinking he should have the support of the British authorities in his defiance of the Americans. He likewise expected aid and comfort from the Potawatomi and Winnebago, who were secretly sympathetic, but in wholesome fear of the United States troops. Black Hawk considered himself and his followers the victims of deep wrongs at the hands of the frontiersmen, who had driven him from his ancestral village and maltreated many of his tribe. He decided to ignore the prohibitions of the American authorities and to return to his ancestral home, intending to maintain his position by force if necessary.

Early in April Black Hawk's band crossed the Mississippi below Rock Island. So little was a hostile attempt anticipated that the Indian agent at the lead mines, Col. Henry Gratiot, was at St. Louis, leaving a defenseless family at Gratiot's Grove. Black Hawk's action was interpreted by the bordermen as an act of hostility, notwithstanding he had with him all the women and children of his band, who never accompany a true war party. Governor John Reynolds of Illinois yielded to panic and summoned the state's militia to repel the in-

vaders. Wisconsin's lead-mine region was peculiarly endangered. If the Illinois troops attacked they would drive the infuriated tribesmen directly into the mining settlements. The Winnebago on their eastern border were notoriously untrustworthy. The inhabitants at once adopted the frontier method of "forting." Log posts were built at Dodge's, Parkinson's, Hamilton's, Gratiot's, Brigham's at Blue Mounds, and many other places. Colonel Dodge, acting as a militia officer, enlisted a large force of roughriders; mines were abandoned and the women and children conveyed to the rude log forts.

In May, Dodge determined to hold a council with the Winnebago, and accompanied by Gratiot, who had narrowly reached home alive after an attempted interview with Black Hawk in person, set out with an escort of fifty troopers for the country at the head of Fourth Lake. Opposite the site of Madison a council was held at which the Winnebago promised fidelity to the whites. In token of this agreement they soon delivered over to the commandant at Blue Mounds two captive girls taken by the Sauk after a massacre in northern Illinois.

The prompt action of Dodge and Gratiot saved the lead mines. Black Hawk, infuriated by the Illinois militia, ravaged the frontier of that state. Only isolated murders occurred in Wisconsin; one skirmish was fought on the sixteenth of June at Pecatonica River. By the end of June danger to the mining settlements was over. Black Hawk and his warriors had been driven into the Lake Koshkonong region, then an unsettled wilderness, and were being pursued by a force of regulars and militia ten times their number.

In the final rout Dodge's men took a conspicuous part. The Indians, driven from their retreat, were pursued northwest through the Four Lakes to Wisconsin River, where a stand was made to permit the women and children to escape.

The Indians' line of defense was broken through and hundreds of red men were ruthlessly cut down. The remnant fled to the Mississippi where the final tragedy occurred on August 2. The poor starving fugitives seeking to escape across the river were mowed down by fire from the pursuing troops and by that from the steamboat *Warrior*. The ruthless massacre was a disgrace to the American people. Black Hawk, taken alive, was carried as a prisoner through the eastern states and paraded as a curiosity. The last Indian war in Wisconsin was over. The forts in the mining regions soon fell into decay; the next year the Indian title to all territory south of the Fox-Wisconsin waterway was extinguished. Wisconsin was moreover placed upon the map of the United States. Returning troopers praised her soil and fertility. Eastern newspapers exploited her inviting opportunities for emigrants. Pamphlet literature furnished travelers' guides. After two hundred years of seclusion Wisconsin was opened for colonization by the surplus population of the older states.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>19</sup> The best brief account of the Black Hawk War is that of R. G. Thwaites in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, XII, 217-67; revised and improved in his volume of essays entitled, *How George Rogers Clark Won the Northwest* (Chicago, 1903), 118-98. *Black Hawk's Autobiography*, edited by M. M. Quaife, was published by the Lakeside Press of Donnelly and Company, Chicago, in December, 1916.

(To be continued)

## THEODORE ROOSEVELT

In the March issue of this MAGAZINE was given some account of the connection of Theodore Roosevelt with the State Historical Society during the last third of a century. The striking portrait of our late leader of Americanism which we are privileged to present has an interesting albeit pathetic history. Our engraving is from a photostatic print made in the Wisconsin Historical Library of a simple pen and ink drawing of the late ex-President made by Robert Elliott, an inmate of Waupun. Elliott is a man of university training and, it hardly need be added, an expert penman. This skill combined with a weakness for alcohol has proved his undoing. Under the influence of liquor he twice forged checks for sums of money, an offense he has never been tempted to commit when sober. Although the total amount thus secured was less than forty dollars, he has passed half a dozen years in prison; and when pardoned from Waupun in March, 1919, a deputy was in waiting to lead him to prison in a distant state. The original drawing of Mr. Roosevelt was given by Elliott to Hon. John L. Grindell of Platteville, a member of the visiting committee of the legislature to inspect the several state institutions. To Mr. Grindell acknowledgment is due both for the information here set forth and for the privilege of reproducing the portrait.

## A TRAGEDY OF THE WISCONSIN PINERY

Rude are the methods of administering justice in the wilderness or on the frontier. The refinements of legal procedure as practiced in older-established society are likely to be disregarded in favor of resort to a rough-and-ready adjustment of accounts between the parties concerned. Particularly is this likely to be the case when to the other factors ordinarily present on the frontier is added the clash of different races, the one superior and masterful, the other inferior and submissive.

In the pioneer period of Wisconsin's development occurred numerous clashes between representatives of the red race and the white, not always due, it is sad to confess, to wrongdoing on the part of the former. Commonly these events pass into oblivion with no record being made concerning them for the enlightenment of other times. Jointly to John Bracklin, one of the participants, and to Henry E. Knapp are we indebted for the preservation of the narrative which follows. In itself an excellent story of adventure, simply yet forcefully told, it possesses also a real historical significance in that many of the aspects which the tale presents are typical of similar clashes between red man and white in the age-long period of association and struggle they have undergone since the first coming of the whites to America.

The narrator, James Bracklin, was the father of John L. Bracklin whose remarkable description of a Wisconsin forest fire was published in the issue of this magazine for September, 1917. James Bracklin was for over thirty years superintendent of logging and log driving for the Knapp-Stout Lumber Company of Menomonie. Barker, his associate in

the adventure, was Bracklin's predecessor in this position, holding it for a period of several years. Concerning the recording of the narrative Mr. Knapp writes: "I took this down in shorthand as he [Bracklin] related it to the directors of our company, at one of their annual meetings, at their request. We had all heard it before, and the older members who were living here at the time remembered the circumstances and said it was all true—only that Mr. Bracklin minimized his part in it."

JAMES BRACKLIN'S ACCOUNT OF AN OCCURRENCE  
IN 1864

Two men had gone out from Stillwater to look over a site for a logging camp. They were up in St. Croix County, and from what was afterwards learned this is what occurred to them:

The men were walking through a strip of brush land half to three quarters of a mile wide along the river; they were apparently making their way to the river. Two Indians were coming up the river in a canoe and heard the men talking, and the Indian that shot himself, a man about twenty-one years of age and a very hard looking citizen, said that the other Indian proposed that they land and kill the white men. This he claimed he did not want to do, as he was a good Indian, but that they did land, and the other Indian shot one of the men. The Indian that did not want to do the shooting claimed to me afterwards that he was horror stricken; that he was a good Indian, but that the other Indian kept urging him to shoot, shoot, shoot, and finally on the impulse of the moment he shot and badly wounded the second man. The first man who was shot was wounded and ran away and wandered around with the other Indians after him and finally he came back to where his partner was lying, and the Indians caught the man and killed both of them. The Indians then went to work and cut them all up into small pieces and sunk them in the lake. They claimed that by cutting into small pieces and puncturing frequently with holes there would be no air form, and pieces would not rise to the surface.

When the men did not return home their friends were uneasy and finally began to search for them and did search for three months. In June, 1864, about three hundred were said to be out in the woods in parties searching for them. The search ran along until August or early September. There were several bands of Chippewa encamped at Rice Lake and Chetek. The old Chetek Chief learned that troops were on the way from Menomonie and he became very uneasy. There was no foundation for the fact that troops were coming, but he heard it so, and he thought better to "squeal." The Indians at Rice Lake had been complaining about the dam that we had built there raising the water so that it pulled the rice out by the roots and spoiled their rice beds, and we had consulted with the old Chief several times and tried to settle matters with him, but without coming to any understanding that was satisfactory to him. The first head of water we drew from Rice Lake after the dam was built, the logs jammed about Cranberry Creek. This was August, 1864.

I went down to Menomonie, and Captain Wilson told me of the disappearance of these men in St. Croix County, and I said they must have been murdered by the Indians or they would have been found. We were out in the woods a good deal and knew that if they killed some and were not found out, they would likely kill others, and that this should be looked into, and the murderers found if possible. Captain Wilson said that was right, and that if we should find them and needed any help, to send word to him and he would send us help. So when the old Chief at Chetek sent a messenger to us at Louseburg, Barron County, Wisconsin, where I was hauling logs with four or five ox teams and seven or eight men, we thought that, as he wanted us to come down and see him at Chetek it was on account of the rice beds again, and we did not want to go, as we were busy, but the messenger said that the old Chief had something to tell us, so Mr. Barker and I walked down there. (Samuel B. Barker at that time had a small trading post at Louseburg). A crew of men were at work finishing the Chetek dam. It was late in the evening, so we went to bed in a tent, and the next morning the cook said the Indians had come from the rice beds and were camping along the Pokegama Narrows, and that there was a great deal of commotion that morning, and that some were coming down the lake in a canoe, with a flag flying.



They finally landed and camped right in front of the shanty and put up a flag, the Stars and Stripes. The cook said that war was about to begin sure. S. P. Barker knew this old Chief, and the Chief thought a great deal of Barker, and word came in to Barker that the Chief wanted to interview Barker and Bracklin out in the jack pines in a secluded place; that he had a very important communication to make. We did not want to go so far, but finally went out fifty rods, and then a little farther, and a little farther, and finally in an open space the old Chief sat down, and we sat down also. The Chief was a very ceremonious old fellow. He opened the ball by inquiring whether the man that had been lost over in St. Croix County had been found. I did not know, but I did not let him know it, but I said: "Oh, yes, they were killed by the Indians." The Chief smoked a minute and said, "That is true," and then went on and told us all about it.

The Chief understood that troops were coming, and as his band did not have anything to do with this murder he wanted us to protect his band and tell the commander of the troops that they were good Indians. He told us all about the murder and who the men were. I knew one of the men and so did Barker. He said that the men got quite a lot of money from the clothes of one of the murdered men, and we learned that it was probably about \$1,500, as one of these men was a kind of a miser, who carried his money with him wherever he went. We knew that there were no troops coming, and that there was no danger in that direction to the old Chief, but told him that we would look after his interests, and decided that we would keep an eye out for the gentleman Indian that did the murder, and so we went back to camp.

Barker went on to Louseburg. Joe Queen was one of the ox teamsters, and we used to let the cattle run in the woods at night, and Joe went out to look for them in the morning and walked as far as Louseburg, not finding them. Barker sent word to me to come to Louseburg at once, and I got there at seven in the morning, and Barker told me that one of those Indians had showed up, and that there were quite a lot of Indians there, and we decided to try and catch him, but did not know how we were to proceed. Barker pro-

posed that we send for the seven men that were at Chetek, but I said no, that we had better take him ourselves.

The Indians were camped just a little way above Louseburg. I was not on particularly good terms with the Indians myself just then. They were feeling good and had plenty to eat and were gambling. They had lots of devices for gambling. One game was to lay a blanket out on the ground, and the leader had two moccasins and a bullet, and he moved them around over the blanket, and then betting would commence as to where the bullet had been left, under which moccasin. After all the bets were in the fellow picks up a rod and strikes the moccasin that had or that he thought had the bullet under it. These Indians bet anything, from their moccasins even to their souls. We saw them gambling and of course looked around and we saw the Indian we wanted sitting on a log, looking on. There were seventy-five to one hundred Indians there. The gamesters paid no attention to us. I noticed a vacant seat on the log beside the Indian, and I thought I would just go over and sit down beside him, so I walked over quietly, not looking at him, just looking at the place where I was going to sit down, but just before I got to it the Indian got up and stepped over the log away a step or two, and I sat down. He went off and sat down somewhere else, and Barker followed my tactics and tried to sit down by the Indian where he was then, and then he moved again, and I tried to get near him again, and we kept up that kind of tactics for perhaps an hour and a half.

Finally one player got broke, and he was not satisfied to stop playing, and he went to a tent and got two mink skins. This was in the summer time, and mink skins were pretty poor then, but he brought them out and wanted to sell them to Barker. Barker kept some calico and things of that kind to trade with the Indians in a little house that he had there, keeping them locked up in a chest. Barker told him that they were not much good, but he wanted a little calico to go on with the game, and Barker finally told him that he would give him 25 cents each in goods for them, and they started down to the store to get them. All the Indians came down. They wanted to do a little trading, too, and they all came into the store, but this one Indian stayed outside.

Barker went into the little building which we called a store and noticing that this Indian did not come in he thought he would try to get him in by some strategy and so he began feeling around in his pocket for his keys to open the chest, and while he had the keys there he made an excuse that he would have to go down to his camp a few rods away after the keys, and so he stepped out, but the Indian stepped right away from the door, and then Barker went on down, but looking back saw that the Indian had stepped into the door again, and Barker turned around and came back, thinking that the Indian would then walk into the store ahead of him, but he did not do that, but stepped back out again. Barker went in and made an excuse to pick up something that he had apparently forgotten to take down to the camp and then went out again and down to the camp, and the Indian again stood in the door, but when Barker came back, instead of going in, he stepped off to one side again, so Barker came in and got his goods out on the little counter, and of course kept his eye on the Indian as much as possible, and I did, too, though of course neither pretending to do so.

There was a fiddle on the wall, and I took it down and began to saw away, and the Indian stood in the door, and after a while he forgot himself and came inside. Of course Barker saw this, and he worked his way down behind the counter quietly, all the time talking to the Indians and showing the goods, and when he got pretty near down to the door and saw that the Indian was off his guard, Barker jumped over the counter towards the door. The Indian saw it and rushed for the door. Barker grabbed him, and the first grab tore his shirt off slick and clean, and the next grab he got him by the wrist, and the Indian was all outside except the wrist that Barker held.

In the meantime, I rushed to the rescue and I grabbed the Indian by the hair and jerked him back inside of the room and closed the door. The Indians, in the meantime, before I closed the door, had all rushed out. As soon as I closed the door and put in the pin, the door came in broken off of its hinges, and all the Indians came in with it. We had pulled the Indian to the back part of the store, and he had of course fought like a good fellow, and to keep him we had pounded him and kicked him, in the mêlée, and when these Indians came in they grabbed hold of him to pull him out of the door, and they pulled him

one way and we pulled the other, and he was dragged back and forth in that store from one end to the other a great many times, and he was so bruised up that he was practically useless himself. He could not help himself, or, if he could, he would have got away. We kept this thing up for about an hour, and they could not get him, and they saw it, so they sent to Rice Lake and the Forks of Yellow River for a band of Indians that were encamped there to come and help them.

There was an old Indian called "Krokodokwa," and he came and asked what the trouble was. This old Indian was friendly, and Barker, after telling the old Indian what we were trying to do said, "I think I can get this old Krokodokwa to take a note down to Chetek to Henry Sawyer to come up and bring his gang, and so I wrote a note and Barker talked with Krokodokwa and he said he would take the note down. The Indians outside got wind of it in some way or other and they told the old Indian that they would kill him if he did. He took the note and ran for the bank of the river, and then along under the bank down the river quite a number of rods. The Indians got out on the bank and began shooting at him, but fortunately for him they did not hit him, and he finally got across the river and got away, but they kept chasing and shooting at him, and for half an hour we could hear shots. He delivered the note, and Sawyer quietly said to the men, "Barker and Bracklin want all hands at Louseburg. Did not say what for." And they started along slowly, the old Indian and Sawyer bringing up the rear.

The old Indian said to Sawyer, "You better hurry up. Barker and Bracklin are in trouble up there; the Indians are making trouble with them." Sawyer then told the men, and they deliberated as to whether they would go up and get murdered or what they would do. They did not have any arms, except perhaps one old gun, but they finally came along until they got near enough to Louseburg so they could see the camp, but they could not see anything of Barker or me, and while stopping there the band of Indians from Yellow River came up behind them and drove them into Louseburg. The Indians crowded around and demanded that we deliver the Indian we had to them. We said, "You can't have him." The Indians had come down from Rice Lake too. We explained to them several times why we were

holding this Indian and that we were not going to do him any harm, but would send him to Stillwater where he would have trial. We told them several times that he had killed two men. They tried several times to get him away, but failed.

We had one old horse there, and I said to Barker that we better send word right away to Captain Wilson, so I wrote a note, and Joe Queen got the horse out and took the note, and I told him to get to Menomonie just as quick as he possibly could. The Indians fired at him as he went away but did not hit him. The Indians all the rest of that day were very uneasy and they yelled and caroused, and finally it came dark, and we did not have any candles or oil or any lamps. The only thing that there was there was some deer tallow and candle wicking and the moulds, and Barker went down to the shanty to make some candles.

The mother and sister of the Indian we had, came in to see him, and we let them in, and the parting between the mother and the son was really very touching. She evidently knew that he had been advised by the other Indians to kill himself rather than be taken away. There was one young Indian came to the door and asked to be allowed to go in and see this other Indian, and the Indian himself said yes he would like to see him, and so we let him in, and he sat down on the floor near him and talked away for half an hour, and then he got up and went out. We never thought of his bringing in any arms to the Indian, but he had brought and delivered to the Indian an old two-barrel pistol. Our Indian went over close to the wall, and with his face to the wall at a crack where the chinking was out, he sang a song, and the Indians on the outside kept passing along on the outside and speaking a word to this Indian now and then, and about nine o'clock a cap snapped. I knew that it was inside the building, because I could see the flash, and while the Indians had been shooting a good deal outside and some of the bullets had come through the walls during that afternoon and evening, this was different from any of those shots, and I did not know what he intended to do, whether he intended to fire among us and create a commotion and in the dark escape, but at any rate I think he placed the pistol over his shoulder and pulled the trigger. I saw the light of the flash and jumped for the Indian, but our men jumped, too, and rushed for the door, and as it was

dark they shoved me along towards the door, and one man in the rush got out of the door, but I braced myself in the door and held on and kept the others from getting out. I kept the door barricaded.

In the meantime, the Indian had placed the pistol against his breast low down and pulled the trigger. Of course he made a big hole in himself and finally he fell over. I did not know whether he was playing possum or not. By this time Barker came with the candles and I said to Barker, "I am afraid that fellow is playing possum. We better be pretty careful." So we closed the door and guarded it, and then went and examined the Indian, and he was a good Indian fast enough, that is, dead. The Indians outside were very much excited and they came right away and accused me to Barker of having killed the Indian. I told Barker it didn't matter whether I did or not; the Indian was dead. They wanted the Indian's body, and we said we would not give it to them, and finally, after keeping him until about three o'clock in the afternoon we buried him.

Joe Queen had reached Menomonie early in the morning and went right to Captain Wilson's house and told the Captain how the situation was and gave him my note, and the Captain at once sent out to get a number of men, and he sent seventeen of them up in wagons by way of Twenty-two Mile Ford. As soon as Joe Queen started out some of the Indians started out and followed down after him, and during the day the Indians around the cabin at Louseburg would hear every five minutes as to how the help that was coming from Menomonie were proceeding. We could tell every five minutes just where they were and what progress they were making. Of course they made a mistake in the number that was coming; they sometimes got it as high as twenty-five wagon loads of help, but that help was coming they knew. Of course they must have got their information by signals.

When we buried the Indian three old Indians came and looked on, and Barker told them what this Indian had done and how he had cut up these men, etc., and he did not tell it all, for one of them spoke up and said, "Yes, he cut off his ears too." The men from Menomonie came along as far as my camp, and there they heard that the Indian was dead and buried, so they stopped and got some supper and then came on. The Indians there wanted protection from the army, but

the army came and there were only seventeen men, and so we sat around and visited and talked the matter over that night and they went back.

The next morning there was not a spot on my body that was not as sore as a boil. I tell you that after we got started in that scrape we had to stay in it, or else there would have been no living in that part of the country. If they had got that Indian away from us, we could not have stayed there. We would have been glad to have got out of it within two minutes after we were in it, if we could have done so, but, as we could not, we made the best of it. Of course, those of you who know Barker know that he was a six-footer, a giant in strength, and as brave as a lion. He didn't know what fear was, but he was of a very quiet disposition; he never swore—was educated for a minister—but during that fight he hit every Indian within reach and was a terror.

## DOCUMENTS

### LETTERS OF A FIFTH WISCONSIN VOLUNTEER

EDITED BY R. G. PLUMB

From time to time side lights upon the real life of the soldier boys of '61 are afforded by the finding of letters written by them during their years of service. Such a series recently came to light in the correspondence of James H. Leonard,<sup>1</sup> Company A of the Fifth Wisconsin Infantry. This young patriot before the breaking out of the civil strife was a school-teacher at Branch, Manitowoc County. His letters show a thoughtfulness and power of expression often lacking in the missives of less educated boys. These letters were addressed to Mary Sheldon, later Mrs. P. J. Pierce of Manitowoc.

Company A left Manitowoc June 23, 1861 on the Goodrich steamer, *Comet*. Upon arrival at Madison its members were inducted into the United States service at Camp Randall. The *Madison State Journal* of the time noted that "They are strong, hardy men from the lumbering districts,

<sup>1</sup> James H. Leonard was born in 1843 in Brooklyn, N. Y., whither his father Stephen and his mother Mary Howard Leonard had removed from England. Stephen Leonard was a sea captain and died when his son was sixteen years of age. The same year young Leonard migrated to Wisconsin, where he made his home at Manitowoc. In the winter of 1860-61 he studied for a time at Madison. When he enlisted May 4, 1861 in the Manitowoc Company A of the Fifth Wisconsin Volunteers he was scarcely eighteen years of age, but had already taught school in Manitowoc County. His war history is related in the following letters. He received a gunshot wound in his arm at Rappahannock Station. When his term of enlistment expired he was offered a first lieutenant's commission, but declined it, and was mustered out July 27, 1864. Thereafter he returned to Manitowoc and continued teaching. In 1868 he was one of two survivors of the ill-fated steamship *Seabird* that was burned off Kenosha. The previous year Mr. Leonard had married Martha Gould of Kenosha, and in July, 1874 the Leonards removed to Green Bay. There Mr. Leonard was city superintendent of schools from 1878 to 1885. In 1889 he was appointed collector of internal revenue. After the expiration of his term in 1893 he entered the life insurance business. Mr. Leonard was a member of Green Bay Methodist Church and for several years superintendent of the Sunday school. He was also connected with the Knights of Pythias and other societies. He died in 1901. His only daughter, Mrs. Pay Jones, a graduate of Lawrence College, now resides in Aurora, Illinois.





JAMES H. LEONARD  
From a war-time daguerreotype



who have been well drilled in machinery but have not been exercised in the manual of arms." The captain of Company A was popular with his men. In front of his tent at the camp white pebbles were utilized to make this inscription: "Captain Clark, God Bless Him." During the war the record of the Fifth Wisconsin was a noble one. After the first battle of Bull Run the regiment was hurried to the front where the first of these letters was written.

CAMP COBB NEAR WASHINGTON  
August 15th 1861

FRIEND MARY

I was much pleased to receive your kind letter in connection with Lucretia's last Saturday I had just wrote a letter to Jerry, and Sunday I wrote to Keed knowing that if I did not write Sunday I should not have an opportunity again for a few days, having to go out on picket duty, on which I started early Monday morning and was stationed about six miles from our camp up the Potomac Our pickets from this division (Gen McClellans) extend all along up the Potomac until they meet those thrown out from Harpers Ferry by Gen Banks, and thus the whole line is continually guarded. I returned from such duty this (Thursday) morning This is my first and greatest excuse for not answering your note before though according to the mail facilities I should not be surprised if this arrived at the Branch as quick as Keed's and Jerry's, and now I have got at it I find it a very difficult task, for it is a new thing for me to write to ladies, in addition to all this The acquaintance between us being my term of service in the war But there is a commencement to everything they say and so there must be a commencement of writing to ladies, in addition to all this The acquaintance between us being of a very limited nature makes it difficult to write anything that will interest you But when I do the best I can I trust you will bear with the dullness thereof Your note as well as Lucretia's was as surprising to me as it was cheering and welcome and as I believe I mentioned to Jerry once, every such manifestation of friendship on the part of those that we left behind us helps to increase our courage and remove to a great extent the lonesomeness and troubles which crosses our pathway with such backers and companions as we have in the

army with us and knowing that we have the sympathy of nearly all in the North and a number in the South, it would be almost impossible for the greatest coward to be anything but a brave man here, and then believing that God is on our side and feeling that we have such prayers as you prayed in your letter that God would prosper us and bring us off victoriously and restore peace to our country once more, we are enabled to have stronger hopes that we shall succeed, and the war be closed sooner than though we only were dependent on our own strength and though some of us may come to our end on the field, it is good to feel that we die in a glorious cause, a cause on which not only depends to a great extent in the success thereof the happiness not only of us that live at present, but the future generations throughout the world but I forbear on saying anymore on this subject for I know that it is deeds that are expected of us soldiers and not words, and I have been talking all my life for the cause of liberty but now the time is nigh at hand when I shall have a chance to aid by deed this cause and I shrink not from doing my duty. We have in our regiment seven ladies, namely the wife of the Colonel, the wives of four of the Captains, the daughter of the Surgeon and Miss Eliza T Wilson who is styled the daughter of the regiment Miss Wilson is the daughter of a wealthy mill owner at Menomonee There is one company in our regiment (the pinery rifles) which is composed almost wholly of men who have been a long time in her fathers employ and she accompanied them to camp and has been with the regiment ever since I understand she is engaged to the orderly sargeant of the company She goes in bloomer costume acts as hospital assistant and is a noble hearted girl Some of the boys have raised one hundred and fifty dollars for the purpose of purchasing a gold watch to present her, There is continual movement of troops in this vicinity Three months volunteers going home, and three years volunteers coming out We feel somewhat disheartened over the news of the death of Gen Lyon and the partial defeat of our troops in Missouri, but we do not despair of success there finally, though the western division of the army is separated by a distance from us it has in the person of Gen Fremont a leader than whom we believe there is no better commander lives at the present day I would wish that this could be as interesting to you as yours was to me but I have no such

hope I close by repeating the request that I made to Keed that I may hear from you and her often

I remain your friend

JAMES H LEONARD<sup>2</sup>

HEADQUARTERS FIFTH REGT., WIS VOL CAMP ADVANCE CO. A  
FAIRFAX Co VIRGINIA Sept 12th 1861

MISS M E SHELDON

I now find myself seated for the purpose of once more writing to you With my knapsack as a chair and my bayonet for a candlestick I proceed to work, We still lie in the same place as at the date of my letter to Lucretia, We had an engagement yesterday at Falls Church vicinity There was a couple of rebel batteries erected there, and they were supported by a number of infantry and cavalry, Our forces or rather a detachment of them were sent out for the purpose of capturing them, The rebels retreated at their first appearance, but rallied again and made a desperate effort to flank our troops but did not succeed, The Commanding General of our forces, General Smith, then invited them to come out of the woods and give battle on the open field, To this they would not consent but immediately opened fire on the union forces which was returned in good earnest from our side and their batteries were soon silenced, they retreated through the woods and could not again be found and We were left in quiet possession of the field, and where the flag of treason waved in the morning We planted the Star Spangled Banner in the afternoon, I say *We*, but in this case I am like a great many folks in the world who can always spell *We* without an *I* in it \* \* \* By *We* I mean the whole Union Force and not our regiment, for we had no part in the battle which lasted but a short time, We were marched out in a hurry as were several other regiments, but the artillery which went ahead of us had finished the work and our regiment arrived on the ground just in time to be too late We were a little sore after walking so far in such a hurry and then not do any good, but it was well enough as it was, and we marched back to our quarters again The loss of the U S troops were Seven killed Six wounded and Three

<sup>2</sup>The above letter was enclosed in a small envelope bearing the picture of a globe with a draped figure, representing the United States, wrapped in the flag and surmounted by an eagle, beneath which is the inscription "Wrapt in its folds the WHOLE COUNTRY shines resplendent through its Stars."

missing The loss of the Secesh is estimated at over one hundred but is not known for certain Those who have charge of the matter here did not intend to have another Bull Run affair, for want of reinforcements, as in two hours from the firing of the first gun, there were no less than Seventy Thousand Soldiers on the march for the scene of action by various routes, This, the first opportunity that has been had of testing the judgment and ability of Gen McClellan as commander in chief of the forces here, though small as it was, goes to show that the confidence which is had in him has not been misplaced With such men in supreme command as McClellan, Wool, and Fremont, and such a man, at the head of the government, to guide the whole, as Abraham Lincoln, I think that none have any reason to doubt as to the result, that is if the people of the North will only leave the work in their hands, and quit finding fault and growling, and complaining about their doings as are a large portion of the Northern press continually, when at the same time they thus find fault, they know not what they are finding fault with, All the good that this growling at the movements of those who have charge of the matter, does, is to remove the courage from the hearts of thousands of the brave soldiers, who are on the tented field, and also to keep back others from enlisting, who otherwise would, And it is evident that everything that those in power at Washington have undertaken, and which has been ramsacked to pieces and the intentions of the administration misplaced, and thus caused to be murmured at, everything I say that they have undertaken has come out successfully in the end and then it is invariably that those who have been loudest in denunciation of their measures have come out strongest in their praise I have strained on this matter, while I suppose I might perhaps have found something more interesting for a letter, but I had just set down after reading an article in the Manitowoc Pilot in this same complaining style which somewhat disgusted me, and I had to give vent to my feelings a little, besides I want to let my friends know that I have a confidence in Lincoln, Scott, Cameron, & Fremont & McClellan and I hope they have also I also see in the same paper an article, that the Administration disapproved of the recent proclamation of Gen Fremont declaring martial law throughout Missouri and giving freedom to the slaves of rebel masters, while it is well known here that it meets the approbation of the administration fully, To

day we arrested a spy inside our lines. This we did have a hand in for the arrest was made by Lieutenant Walker, myself and one other private of the Manitowoc Co Guards. He had about him a pass from L. P. Walker the Secretary of War of the Confederate States allowing him to pass their posts everywhere also several other papers of importance. We took him to the headquarters of General Smith where he was recognized as one who had taken the oath of allegiance to the U S government twice already. This shows what regard these fellows have for an oath. The President and Lady were out here to view our work day before yesterday. I with a dozen others of our boys had the honor of shaking hands, and holding a short conversation with him. He was as free with us poor soldier boys as though he was one of us. I have made such poor composition and so many mistakes in this, that I should go to work and write a new one had I the time but I have not, to night and I shall not have time to morrow, as Co A [h]as to go out as escort to the engineers, it is kind of good to have a great name and I like to belong to a company that has a great name, but the Manitowoc Guards have too good a name for their own good for they have such a great name that they have to do about everything that is to be done. Whenever the General wants an escort, or the surveyors want a guard or almost anything else, it is pretty certain that Co A of Fifth Wisconsin will be called on and thus we are kept going about all the time while other companies have lots of time to rest

\* \* \*

CAMP GRIFFIN Nov 5th 1861

MISS M E SHELDON

I received yours of October 27th and was happy to hear from you as I am at all times to hear from home and as it is sometime since any correspondence has passed between us I reply to your letter at once though I know I have nothing that will interest you as nothing new has taken place here lately. Through the mercies of our Heavenly Father I am still enjoying good health and the other Branch boys also except Aaron who has suffered from a severe cold during the past few days but is recovering now. He is promoted to Corporal now, not a very important office to be sure, but still his getting the appointment shows that he performs his duty well and that his services are appreciated. The Branch boys are all in one

tent now I and Aaron have been together in tenting and everything else ever since we left Manitowoc and last week I worked it so as to get Jim Whealan in with us, and by thus getting all in one tent it seems more like home to us. The other members of our tent are Frank Greenman George Croissant and R Dukelow. Our tents are getting rather worse for wear they leak very bad now when it rains which is very often, I dont know what we will do if we have to stay in them through the winter but of this it is useless to trouble ourselves, for sufficient unto, the day is the evil thereof, and it becomes us not to borrow trouble from the future when we know not whether the trouble will ever come upon us or not. We live middling well here for the present. We have hard crackers for breakfast, hard crackers for dinner and for supper we have hard crackers. This however is only about half the time, The other half we have soft bread from the government bakery at Washington, which goes very good though a loaf of home made bread would taste far better. We have also a middling share of meat, beans, rice, hominy, coffee and sugar furnished us by government. In our tent we have a treasury into which each one in the tent puts in about two dollars per month and with this fund we keep ourselves liberally supplied with, butter, Molasses potatoes tea, milk, when we are near farmers where we can buy it, and other luxuries and thus we make it go very well and have no reason to complain as far as eating is concerned at all.

There has no change taken place in our army here of late except the retirement of Lieutenant General Scott from the supreme command of the army and the assuming of the supreme command by Gen McClellan and while we regret the loss of the services and the advantage of the experience of Scott we can but rejoice that we have a man to take his place who promises so well by his services and deeds in the past as does Gen McClellan and it is to be hoped that the Lord will guide and prosper him and the army under him and that the people will not be disappointed in their expectations from him. But they must not judge of him too hastily or accuse him of being slow before they understand matters fully. They must know that there is great preparations to be made and I am sure no one wants him to march his army on when they are only partly ready. We have not ignorant men to contend with but men educated in the same school and in the same course of life with our own Generals. There



was never a war of the same magnitude as this that progressed any faster in the beginning,

I see Manitowoc County is doing tip top in turning out Soldiers for the war I was afraid at one time that Waldo would not get his company filled, but I am glad both for his sake and the credit of the county that it is filled and from a long, familiar, confidential acquaintance with him I am satisfied that he will make a good officer, and Likewise his Second Lieut D A Shove with whom I was probably more intimately acquainted than any other person in Manitowoc.

\* \* \*

CAMP GRIFFIN Dec 5th 1861

RESPECTED FRIEND

I received your welcome letter last Sunday evening, and at that time I proposed to answer it the next morning but when morning came with it came an order for Co A to go out on a scouting expedition which occupied all that day, the next day we had to go out again and today I with thirteen others were designated to chop wood for the use of the General and the members of his staff and for fear I may again [be] deprived of the opportunity of answering your letter to morrow I have determined to set down and do so this evening I am always too happy to receive letters from my friends, to delay very long in writing back to them, the more especially as I know the longer I delay in writing, the longer it will be before I hear from them again, and when I have an unanswered letter on my hands I feel as though part of my duty was undone I have often thought, as regards writing to you, the same as you expressed in your last letter, but I have consoled myself with the idea that I would do the best I could and trusted to your good nature to bear with it and it always gives me fresh courage to hear from my friends As I think of the friends that are at home which I do every day, how much more cheering it is to know that those friends are unanimous in their opinions on the questions which now are at issue and to know that I have the well wishes of them all not only for myself but for the cause of my country I say how much *more* cheering is it to k[n]ow this than though they were divided in their opinions and we had the sympathies of only half of them Well now for the news from this neighborhood which there is not much to tell of however Things are as yet comparatively quiet, and for aught I know they will remain so for a

time The scouting expeditions which I mentioned at the commencement of these lines were the first duty aside from drilling and picket and the other regular camp duties, that we have done for some time The one of Monday was for the purpose of foraging, this consisted of five companies from our regiment and three from the 6th Maine and one from the 3d Vermont under the command of Lieut Col Brisband, We were in the vicinity of Fairfax Court House, We see no signs of any secesh, anywhere, We got considerable hay &c for Uncle Sam, besides some chickens, ducks, geese, and other luxuries for ourselves some of the boys paid for what they got and some did not, Tuesday the expedition from this division consisted of some twenty five hundred men under the command of Capt Mott of Motts Battery This was for the purpose of acting jointly with similar expeditions from the divisions of General McCall and General Porter for the purpose of surrounding and capturing a body of rebel cavalry supposed to number about fifteen hundred which had been seen several times of late in the vicinity of Hunters Mills about eight miles from our lines in the direction of Leesburgh, We got around on all sides of the place and closed in upon it, but they were not there We scouted the woods in the vicinity but could discover no signs of them, so we returned to our camp pretty well tired out and without having captured any secessionists, but in the room thereof the most of us caught bad colds and pretty severe sore throats Disease seems to increase among us of late There is a much larger number of our regiment on the sick list at present than was ever before The Small Pox is raging in some regiments on the left of the line it has not yet found its way into any of the regiments in our immediate neighborhood Occasionally we receive in our midst one of those warnings which remind us that death is liable to come upon us as well *off* as *on* the battle field, But we have not had near so many cases of death in our regiment as in some others Thus far we have had only six deaths I had no idea there were so many dying around me as there is Last Sunday I took a stroll over to the place where the dead of our division have been buried since we came to Camp Griffin which is not quite two months and I was a little surprised to find on counting the graves, that out of our division numbering fourteen regiments there had been some one hundred and eighty four deaths There graves are almost as nice as they are in our public

burying grounds and each one has a board at the head with the name, age, and native place of the party on also the regiment to which he belonged, and this together with the place of their burial is also registered on a book in the Secretary of War's office in Washington, so that if their friends should wish to obtain their bodies, they can readily find out there whereabouts. Last Thursday being Thanksgiving Day in our state we kept it here in our camp, that is we done no duty for that day, We, that is a few of us, held a prayer meeting in the afternoon, but the most of the boys spent the day as they do the most of their leisure time in gambling. Gov Randall was with us in the evening and tarried with us till the following afternoon. Judge A Scott Sloan was with us Sunday evening and made a brief but pointed address to the regiment on the questions involved in the war, Congress has got to work now in the city and we may probably expect some lively debates on the differences of opinion held by them on various questions. The Presidents message is liked very much here. It is not stretched out as have been the messages of late Presidents into a long string of political harangues, and arguments, but is filled wholly with sound and wise recommendations. It all reads as coming from a man who is wholly a statesman and who is governed wholly by the desire to serve his country and to do good. The capture of Messrs Mason and Slidell, so our prisoners say is the severest blow that has yet come upon the rebels, This with the capture of Port Royal, the effectually blockading of Charleston, Savannah, and other Southern ports by sinking stone boats in their mouths the other expeditions fitting out to go on the Southern coast, and the large expedition which is now nearly ready to start down the Mississippi should satisfy us all that the government is really in earnest and teach all to wait patiently

\* \* \*

CAMP GRIFFIN Jan 11th 1862

MISS SHELDON

I received your interesting letter of the 29th of Dec and was very glad to hear from you again and to learn that you and all of your folks were well. How true is the old verse

Time fast slips away  
First by moments, then the day  
Short the time appears  
But it soon amounts to years

To look back it seems but a very short time since the commencement of the year 1861, and as I passed away the hours of January of last year pleasantly in the old log school house at Spring Creek, little did I think that the following New Year would find me on a tented field in Virginia or that such a war would be upon our country as now is. To be sure Secession had commenced and was strutting [a]broad in the land at that time, and we had an old simpleton in the presidential chair, who seemed to care but little what became of the country or its interests, but rather on the contrary seemed all along to sympathize with, and give aid to those that were endeavoring to overthrow our government, but still we hoped that the difficulties would be settled in peace. We waited anxiously for the inauguration of the new President and after Mr Lincoln had taken his seat, we still hoped for peace and we did not relinquish this hope until the rebels opened their guns on the small half starved garrison in Fort Sumpter and when the war commenced then nor for a long time afterward did we think that it would ever reach such an altitude as it has come to, \* \* \*

The weather is more like May than it is like January. We had one cold night, the night of the 7th inst, it froze severely, but commenced to thaw again the next day, and in the evening it commenced to rain and kept it up until this morning, making out an old fashioned, down east, three days storm. The news here is still the same, viz nothing done. I think we had better take the old cry of the Crimean war, Sebastapol aint taken yet, and alter it so as to have it read *Manassas* aint taken yet, to suit *us*, and to suit the rebels it should read *Washington* ain't taken yet.

I am off duty again having caught another severe cold on the one I already had by going on a foraging expedition on the 7th. I am not sorry I went however for I learnt considerable. I see preparation for a great battle all laid out and everything put in position for a big fight. There was some thirty two regiments numbering about twenty three thousand men, comprising the divisions of Gens Smith, McCall, and part of the division of Gen Porter and two regts of Cavalry and five batteries of artillery belonging to those divisions, the whole was under the command of Gen Smith. There was along

with the troops about three hundred, four horse teams and wagon and they all returned home loaded with oats, corn, wheat in the sheaf hay &c We were out to within three miles of the enemys encampments at Centreville, which we could see quite plainly, The regiments were scattered all over to the right and left so as to prevent the enemy from flanking the advance column, but no sight was seen of any enemy, We were out with the farthest, Gen Smith or Gen Hancock would not think of going toward the enemys lines without having Co A of the 5th Wisconsin along with them

Co B & Co G were also out on the advance the rest of our regiment took the part of flankers back some ways. We had to march pretty lively going out and got in a perspiration and after getting to our journeys end we had to stand still for about three hours and thus many of us caught cold, I wish that the Secesh would come as near to our lines with such an expedition for the purpose of stealing our hay &c I am strongly inclined to the idea that they would go back minus a few men and teams There are two German members of our Co in the hospital here and one member, Albert Payne, has been some time in the union hospital in the city of Georgetown We have not heard from him since he went there. \* \* \* I scarcely know what to think concerning our affairs with England She seems determined to pick a quarrel with us, I hope to see it avoided if it can be done honorably, but the mind of nearly everyone in the army here, is to go to war with her in preference to dishonoring ourselves to please her; We had the pleasure during the past week, of eating some cake, preserves, &c that came from Manitowoc, I had a good share in the lot, a present from Mrs Goodenow, We have a regular school in our tent almost every evening There are fourteen of us in it Once in a while we have a spelling school in which all of the Americans in our company take a part, I have to act as teacher, I am more competent for a scholar, but the rest of the boys insisted on my taking the position and for the sake of getting the thing started I accepted it, We have lots of time, and can benefit ourselves greatly and at the same time keep ourselves out of mischief The school is not very orderly, there is considerable laughing and talking and I cannot punish them because I do about as much of it as any of them, The branches that we exercise in are Spelling, Reading, & Ciphering I would get a sett of books all through and study, but we know not how

soon we will have to move nor how often and we have enough clothes to carry to make a good heavy load and consequently could not carry the books Christmas and New Years is past and we still remain here, We now begin to speculate as to whether we will be home by the 4th of July

\* \* \*

CAMP GRIFFIN March 9th 1862

MISS SHELDON

I received your letter of Feb 23d and now proceed to return the compliment as far as I am able There is but little to write about as is usual here and in addition to this fact I do not feel in a very lively mood I have come in off picket this morning having had a three days job of it Thursday morning I went on in place of another man whom I knew was not really able to go on, The next day was my own turn and so I remained on and the next morning the brigade went out on a reconaissance and when the time came that we should have been relieved an aid of the Generals came out and informed us that we would have to remain on gaurd until the troops returned and so we settled down for another twenty four hours

I and the rest of the Manitowoc Co boys are well, there is not one of them in the hospital at present I guess Spring has commenced here now To day is as fine a day as I ever have seen, it seems too nice a day almost, to spend in camp The last few days have also been very pleasant, it would be first rate sugar weather, were it in Wisconsin I should like very much to be home for a few days during sugar season and share in the pleasures of the same, I sometimes feel satisfied that the war will be ended and the volunteers return home by next harvest time while at other times it looks gloomy and I think if we get home by next Spring we will be doing well, We are in continual excitement and have expectations of moving towards Manassas all the while, We have orders about two or three times every week to pack up and get ready to move but still we do not move, There has no very important movement taken place on the Potomac of late except the crossing of Gen Banks division into Virginia week before last and the taking of the rebel stronghold Leesburg last Friday You will see the account of the latter in the papers which I will send you at the same time that I mail this The rebels seem to be well drilled in

running, The signs of the times at present seem to indicate that this army here is to fight sooner or later the battle that is to decide the war, but in time of war all signs fail and nothing is certain that is not fully in the grasp, a man can scarcely believe his own eyes here I never was in a place before where a man could not depend on anything, I should not be at all surprised if some morning should find Manassas evacuated and the Jeff Davis Government on its way from Richmond to some more Southern point \* \* \* I understand one of our company wrote to Jane Eatough that I was the only one in our company who did not drink liquor This is a libel on the company for there is full one half of the company that I am positive have not tasted a drop of liquor since they have been in camp, my two companions from the Branch included in this number and it is only once in a great while that any of them get any for Gen McClellan does not allow the soldiers to have it,

\* \* \*

CAMP No 20 IN THE FIELD

NEAR CHICKAHOMINY RIVER June 15th [1862]

FRIEND MARY

YOUR last letter was duly received a few days since I had almost given up all ideas of ever hearing from you again except by way of others, but you are perfectly excusable for the delay, I have no important news to communicate and therefore despair of any hope of interesting you in these lines however I will do the best I can under the circumstances

I am enjoying good health as yet There is considerable sickness though in our army which appears to be increasing Those of us who are blessed with good health have great reason to feel grateful to God for sickness in the army is above all sad events the least desirable When one is sick, his own companions have so much duty devolving on them that they have scarcely any time to help him and the Surgeons care but little for him and very often his own mates sneer at and make *light* of him I have known of cases in our regiment where boys have been lingering under sickness and finally died whilst Surgeons and the officers and members of their own companies have kept

up the cry that they were playing sick for the purpose of getting rid of duty but I am happy to say that no such occurrence has ever transpired in *Co A*. We still lie in the same place as when I last wrote to Jerry with the exception that we have moved back a few rods, The rebels got a little saucy and commenced throwing over shells occasionally, they killed one man and wounded another, both cavalryman, which is a small loss considering the number of shots they have fired, Gen Hancock deemed it advisable to move back from the open field in which we were encamped into the woods where we would have protection, Last Friday Gen Smith sent word to Gen McClellan in regard to this rebel battery an dasked permission to go over with his division and capture it but McClellan refused, as *that* would be apt to bring on a general engagement, which he did not wish for yet, The rebels show every sign of making a determined resistance here, but as they done the same at Yorktown laboring on new fortifications up to almost the very night on which they evacuated, it would not surprise us in the least to find them leaving here yet without a fight, Yesterday being Sunday and having nothing else to do I took a stroll over the recent battle ground at Fair Oaks, it was a fearful sight Trees, Fences, Bushes, and every thing around is literally torn to pieces with Bullets and Shell, The signs of the terrible slaughter were yet to be seen on the ground and the fields were filled with the graves of both Union and Secesh Soldiers Our men being buried on *one* side and the Southerners on the *other*. As I looked upon the graves of the Union men I thought of the many mothers, sisters, brothers, wives, and children, that were probably at that time weeping for them, and whose only comfort was the assurance that they had died in a good cause, and the hopes of meeting them in happiness in the world, to come, and as in turn I gazed upon the graves of the poor Southerners who had fallen in this fight, I could but think that *they* as well as others had left those at home who esteemed and loved them and whose hearts were now saddened, and the sorrow of their friends must be all the sadder, because that posterity shall write over them, *Sincere, and self-sacrificing, but misguided victims to a causeless and therefore wicked rebellion*. The graves of every soldier here seemed to cry out for punishment on those who instigated this war. The leaders of this rebellion must receive that punishment which is justly



*theirs, Mercy to them would be Cruelty to Civilization* We have got our fortifications at this point finished, and are now to work at building roads, and bridges, We had two distinguished visitors to our camp last week—viz—Gen Prim the commander of the Spanish forces recently sent to Mexico, and Gen Burnside who commands our forces in North Carolina They were both received with the accustomed military salutes and with the cheers of the Soldiers, which latter, especially were heartily given for the Gallant Burnside for whom this army has more respect than any other General excepting of course our *own McClellan* General Prim reviewed the army and complimented the appearance and discipline of the Soldiers very highly He said he thought that our army was all composed of green men but on the contrary he found it equal to any of the best trained armies of Europe He also complimented the strategy of Gen McClellan at Yorktown very highly, Reinforcements are arriving here every day. I know not how much our army here numbers now Deserters from the rebels, report their army as in very poor condition, living on half rations &c Gen Lee, who now commands them, in the absence of Gen Johnston, who was wounded in the late battle, made a speech to his army a few days ago in which he told them that they had made their last retreat and henceforth their watchword must be victory or death.

\* \* \*

CAMP NEAR AQUIA CREEK

VIRGINIA Dec 1st 1862

FRIEND MARY

I received a letter from Keed last week, and as I had written a letter to her a few days before, I concluded to answer her letter by writing to you judging it a good opportunity of reopening correspondence with you, Perhaps you will think it a curious way of doing business, but it will pass in war There is so little transpiring here of any importance, that it becomes exceedingly difficult to write a letter that will prove interesting, I trust you will pardon the dullness of this one, I seldom have to stop and study for something to write but I am compelled to do so this time, We lay perfectly quiet here as much so as though we had no enemy to contend

with. We are in the Left Grand Wing or Division which is in the rear at present I have not seen a rebel or loaded my gun since I have been here, the right of our army rests on the Rappahannock opposite the city of Fredericksburg, Gen Sumner demanded the surrender of that city ten days ago, giving them sixteen hours to remove the women, children, sick, and aged, at the expiration of which time he was to shell the town unless it was surrendered as demanded, It was not surrendered and still stands without being bombarded There are various reasons given for this delay but nobody except our leaders know for certain what causes it, some think it is on account of supplies, some think that we are waiting for some other force (the Banks Expedition perhaps) that is going to cooperate with us, while others think that this is merely a feint to attract their attention this way and that Gen Burnside intends to suddenly transfer his forces by means of transports to the other side of Richmond in the vicinity of Suffolk &c This last idea seems to be the opinion of the Richmond papers also, Yesterday and To day there has been a rumor circulated through camp to the effect that there was an Armistice for forty days between the two armies, Also another one that our division was going into Winter quarters here and guard the Railroad I as yet do not believe either report, but I would wish that the *latter*, might prove true The weather here is very changeable just now; about half and half; The inhabitants in this neighborhood are awful hard up, I am satisfied that they will suffer dreadfully this winter Last Friday I was on picket I had the charge of four posts, one of them was at a house in which lived a man with his wife a[nd] five small children and if there ever was destitution in a house, there was in that one He had nothing but about six bushels of corn on which to live Our forces under Gen Pope took part of his produce last fall and after Pope retreated the rebels took pretty much all that remained He told me that he knew of some 9 families around the heads of which were in the rebel army and the folks had nothing Virginians will be all used up if the war lasts another year,

\* \* \*

CAMP NEAR WHITE'S CHURCH,  
VIRGINIA, Dec 28th 1862

DEAR FRIEND

\* \* \* We are laying in our old camp yet where we have been since the recent defeat at Fredericksburg It seems to be the general opinion that this army will do nothing more this winter, however we cannot tell Some of us have prepared comfortable winter quarters for ourselves, Sergeant Goodwin, Sergeant Ennert and Myself have built us a log cabin of which many a poor family in Wisconsin might be proud of, If we do not have to move or change camp, we three are all right until spring, There is quite a change in our opinions and wishes since this time last year, then we laid in Winter quarters on the Potomac and were all the time grumbling because we were not put in the field in active service, now all hands are anxious to be ordered into Winter quarters, this change of ideas has been purchased at a dear rate, and the army cannot be blamed for it Since the late battle at this point everything has looked dark to *me* and I have almost given up the last hope, I trust you had as good a time on Christmas as you expected, it was rather a dull time here, it was a real pleasant day though, Our Christmas meals consisted of the following (that is our tent and the rest were about the same) Crackers, Coffee, & Pork for Breakfast, Pork, coffee & crackers for dinner, and Coffee, crackers & pork for supper, In the afternoon I received a visit from some of my old schoolmates who are in the 1st Long Island regiment, this took off part of the lonesomeness of the day, I have received an invitation to spend New Years with some acquaintances in the 31st N Y and expect to have something of a good time, unless some unforeseen event should prevent it Not quite as good as though I were at home But I have no cause of complaint after having been permitted to enjoy so long a visit at home as *I was* allowed last fall, while so many of my companions were enduring the fatigues of long marches and battles God Grant that in his providence this may be the last New Years that we shall have to spend in the army, Those of us who are here, have great reason to praise God for his goodness to us in preserving our lives and permitting us to enjoy as good health as we do while others equally as good and some better are suffering from wounds received in battle,

and thousands of others have offered their lives on the altar of their country, or I should say *Our Country* I perceive by the papers that the Congressional Committee has concluded their investigation as to the cause of the late disaster at Fredericksburg The result is that all of the officers clear themselves and nobody is held to blame for it Well that is the way all these things come out in the end I think that if they had left us our old General (Little Mac) we should not now be mourning over a bad defeat, Not but I consider Gen Burnside a true man and a man of great ability, but do not consider him capable of handling so large a body of men as the Army of the Potomac, Our Colonel who has been with us since the regiment was first formed has resigned and taken his leave of us It seemed hard to us to have him go, We have none of our original field officers left now, Our Second Lieutenant James Macomber has also resigned and leaves us in a couple of days He was my tent mate all last spring and summer and it seems like losing a brother to have him go, There are so many of the old hands leaving and new recruits come in that it scarcely seems like the same regiment,

\* \* \*

CAMP NEAR BELLE PLAINS VA

April 1st 1863

MISS SHELDON

Your interesting letter of March 14th reached me yesterday and was read with much satisfaction Your excuse for the delay in answering my former letter is a good one and is accepted I know the duties of a school marm require about all of her attention and then she can hardly do justice, and if she has a contrary set of scholars to deal with, it is so much the worse for her, it is almost as bad as having to act as Sergeant of the Gaurd around camp here, The Sergeant has the whole gaurd numbering thirty six men under his command, they are divided into three reliefs of twelve men each, one of these reliefs is on post at a time, and the Sergeant is required to keep the rest at the gaurd station, not allowing more than two to be gone at any one time and should the Officer of the day, the General or the Colonel or any of the field officers happen around and find more than two men absent, the Sergeant is liable to be punished,

The men all know this but still they will be contrary and you have to keep your eye on them all the while or they are bound to steal away from you and go to their quarters. The Sergeant hates to come down on them for he is thus liable to gain their ill will and he will be talked of all through the camp by them, as big of his feelings putting on style &c, still they all know that he is obliged to thus retain them in order to save his own head, I have been on sometimes this winter when I believe that it would have tried the patience of Job to be Sergeant of the Guard, at any rate it has used mine all up and a long ways beyond sometimes, I always dread being detailed for camp guard on brigade and division guards it is easier because there is a Lieutenant over you on *them*, and he must stand all responsibilities. We still remain in our old place as when I wrote you before, The weather has been very, very, severe of late, There is four inches of snow on the ground at the present time and the weather out doors is freezing cold, talk about your winters in the sunny south, but I never see it any worse at this time of year anywhere that I have ever been. We expected to march about ten days ago and our officers made us pack up our overcoats and all the extra blankets which we did not need for summer, to be sent to Washington to be stored until next fall. We all wish now that we had them back again, at any rate I am mighty glad that we did not march for it would be rather tough to lay in line of battle some of these nights. Yesterday was kept in Solemnity through this army in honor to the memory of Maj Gen Sumner. He was very much respected by this army, of which he has been one of the chief officers from the time of its organization to a very short time previous to his death. Though we shall never again witness his old grey head as he rides along our lines, we have his example left us, and his name will be remembered as long as the American army has a place in history. You speak of your fear of the negroes that are freed coming up north. I think that there is but very little danger of that, Southern climate is better suited to them and if they can live there as free people and get paid for their labor they will stay there in preference to going up North. For my part I want to see the whole of them out of the country altogether, The idea is preached by the copperheads up north that we are now fighting to free the slaves, the exact reverse is true, We free the

slaves to stop the fighting I was over to the 6th Wis last week [to] see Dr. Preston, he is Brigade Surgeon now, his health has improved very much of late, he looks much better than when he was home last fall he told me that he had sent for Frank and expected him out here in a few days

Henry Baetz the Captain of the German company that left Manitowoc last fall, is now Major of the 26th Wisconsin We have considerable sports in our camp in the way of jumping playing ball &c and once in a while we have a lively game at snowballing with three or four hundred in the game at once Occasionally they get up a dance in the evenings at which lots of the boys enjoy themselves There are about forty of my old schoolmates in the 15th N Y and I have made many a good visit with them this winter, it is very pleasant to set down and chat about our old play times and laugh over the quarrels we had then

As regards war news there is none here We are eagerly watching the papers in hopes to hear of the fall of Vicksburg, if Gen Grant succeeds in capturing that point and opening the Mississippi it will be a hard blow to rebeldom and will go a great ways towards ending the war, This is the first day of April and the boys have practiced much of the April fool on each other, My health is good and also all in our company with whom you are acquainted Aaron Gibson is now 2nd Lieutenant of our company,

\* \* \*

CAMP NEAR WHITE OAK CHURCH  
May 14th 1863

DEAR FRIEND

Having to day to myself I will endeavor to pen a few lines to you in answer to your last, which I read with much pleasure,

We are once more safely stowed away in camp in almost the same place that we were encamped last winter when Burnside was in command Everything is agreeable and pleasant except that it seems lonesome at times, We miss very much the familiar voices and jovialness of many old comrades who were killed and wounded in the late battle, in the squad over which I have charge, there were eighteen previous to the crossing of the river and now there is only

seven, Every American in it was either killed or wounded, I can hardly make myself believe that our boys were killed, it seems more like a dream than a reality, with the exception of this sorrow for our fallen comrades those of us that are left are in good health and good spirits, and just as ready to meet the enemy now as ever we were I never knew the boys to come out of a fight so little discouraged as at the present, excepting after the battle of Williamsburg The fact of the case is, though we did come back to this side of the river We do not consider ourselves as whipped by a considerable, The enemy got punished far worse than we did on every occasion save one, that was when the Germans of the 11th Corps played the part of cowards and ran at the first volley Those that were engaged in the fight on the right at Chancellorsville say that they had to retire on account of the rapid rise in the river and creeks which impeded their progress, Where we of the 6th Corps were, on the left I know, it was desperate enough, especially on the occasion of the storming of St Mareye's Heights on Sunday the 3d inst and the battle in the Wilderness on the 4th, The rebel papers claim the latter as a victory but admit that it was the dearest bought victory to them of the whole war They had us surrounded with all of our communications cut off in short they had us penned up in a twenty acre lot, the force opposed to us was heavily reinforced and largely outnumbered us, they were sure that they were going to get our whole force as prisoners, but they had got hold of the wrong bird this time, they pitched in first at one point, then at another but they never drove us back a foot anywhere, Our batterys made fearful havoc among them mowing them down by hundreds, After repulsing them at every point through the day we cut our way through them at night and recrossed the river, after driving them from their strong intrenchments in the rear of Fredericksburg and losing so many men I felt as though I would just about as live died as to withdraw again without having accomplished our object, but once on this side and learning all particulars I was well satisfied that it was the best that could have been done They have not used our regiment very well though, they have broken up the Light Brigade and have assigned us to a strange division This is the second time they have done this, We were first, in the famous old Hancock Brigade which gained a great reputation and was

known all over the army East and West Last winter we were put into the Light Brigade, commonly called the Flying Division, and just as this institution had gained a great name it was broken up, One consolation however we have, they let our old hand to hand comrades of the 6th Maine go along with us, We could not enjoy war without them, nor they without us. Richmond Papers of Monday convey the intelligence of the death of Stonewall Jackson from wounds received in the late battles Over this news I must admit that I have both feelings of joy and feelings of sorrow, Joy at the fact that the rebellion is ridden of one of its ablest leaders, and sorrow in the loss to the world of so brave and virtuous a man, Rebel though he was, he was gallant and manly, and was admired, by every one that ever had anything to do with him, for his noble qualities, He was one of those many instances recorded in the worlds history, of a good man, being deceived, into lending himself to a bad cause, Now that he no longer can harm us, we can but say, peace to his ashes, Last Sunday General Lee sent over to Gen Hooker requesting him to send over and take care of the wounded that were left behind, as he, Lee, had not Surgeons and medicine enough for his own men scarcely, and the cause of humanity demanded that the wounded should be taken care of at once, By this it would appear that the rebels were getting a little more civilized than they were, A year ago they would kill our wounded on the field, The weather of the last few days has been rather warmer than was necessary for comfort The trees are just leaved out and every thing looks green and nice, the inhabitants here, what few are left, say that it is the latest spring they ever see in this state We are encamped in a nice grove at present, There is not enough of the regiment left to make a respectable appearance on drill, so all the duty that we have is a recitation school of the commissioned officers in the forenoon and of the Sergeants in the afternoon We generally do not have our lessons very well, I never could content myself to set down and study the tactics yet, it is the only study that I ever undertook, that I could not get interested in and nearly all the sergeants say they are in the same fix The only reason I can assign for this is that we all calculate to get out of military life as soon as possible and after our time is out, the knowledge of the tactics will be of no benefit to us \* \* \*



Let me state a simple instance as regards myself and the late election that took place in Co. A for Chief Justice of Wisconsin. The morning of election day the Captain and Lieutenants asked me and the Orderly our opinion in regard to holding an election. The Captain was rather against it, fearing that very few of the boys would vote as was the case last fall, I almost sided with him but I and the Orderly both advised to open a poll, and take what votes could be got. He finally consented to commence on the condition that I would act as runner and speak to, or rather electioneer the boys in the company, I declined at first, advising the selection of some one who as I thought had more influence than myself. Finally however I consented just to satisfy the Captain and Lieutenant but satisfied in my own mind that I could accomplish but little. I went to work and first brought up all those whom I knew to be sure and then I set at those who were a little wavering or careless and by some talking got them up, then I went at those who are true Union men but still cling to party, all that was needed with them, was to satisfy them that Mr Cothren was a Copperhead and we had the papers to do that. The result was that 53 votes were polled every man in the company voting who was old enough, save one. Before the polls were opened I would not have believed that 30 votes could be obtained unless he set some one to work who had more influence than me, I wish though that I could have more influence in the temperance cause here. Whiskey rations are occasionally dealt out now and I am the only one in our Co who does not use his ration, it is rather embarrassing to thus be an odd member of a family with the rest joking you on the matter, but I have withstood these temptations thus far and I hope by the sustaining grace of God to hold out firm to the end.

\* \* \*

NEW YORK August 8th 1863

MUCH RESPECTED FRIEND

Yours of July 26th was received yesterday, and was glad to hear that you and all friends were well, and I have the pleasure of informing you that I also am still in the enjoyment of this great blessing of the Almighty, good health. Since I last wrote you we have changed our base somewhat. The 5th Wis is no longer part and parcel of

the Army of the Potomac We were sent to New York a week ago, we were informed at that time that it was for the purpose of tending to the rioters here and enforcing the draft It is now believed by our officers that we will remain here all the rest of our term, should it be so, I assure you none of us will be very sorry, two years in the front with such campaigning as we have had is enough to satisfy the ambition of almost any soldier, They have put us to drilling at heavy artillery, on Governors Island, there are two forts on the Island, Fort Columbus and Castle Williams, they mount guns of all sizes from thirty two pounders to two hundred pounders, I have charge of a sixty four pounder, we have named it the Lady Washington there are eight men and a sergeant to each piece, The 1st Massachusetts is here with us, They are first rate fellows, but I would rather have our old comrades of the 6th Maine with us, they have been our right hand men in every battle, we were always as brothers together and it comes hard for us to be seperated The other two regiments that came with us, the 20th Indiana and the 37th Massachusetts have been sent to Fort Hamilton some five miles from here there is great preparations going on here; building new defences, strengthening and enlarging the old ones mounting heavier guns &c &c &c, it looks very much as though our Government had strong suspicions of a foreign war, a couple of months more and Mr Johnny Bull and Mr Louis Napoleon will find a very nice time of it if they endeavor to approach N Y with any of their men of war I think they had better let American affairs alone and hope that they will so do Everything goes brisk and lively here I should judge so at least, by the boat loads of excursionists of both sexes that go down the bay here every day The war is not felt here at all you may say, I am not of a very jealous disposition, I like to see everybody enjoy themselves, but I must say that it is a little provoking to see how these thousands of young men hereabouts *are*, and *have been* enjoying themselves while we have been marching lying in swamps and having a tough time of it in general and now when some of them are wanted to go to the assistance of those that have been fighting for them for over two years, they get up a row and resist the governmental authorities, We have had a couple of very hot days since we have been here, Last Tuesday the thermometer stood ninety six in the shade and

181 in the sun, there were a number of cases of sun stroke in the cities, Generally though there is a cool breeze comes off the bay which makes it tolerable pleasant, We have got rid of our little shelter tents and are provided with good tents and sleeping apparatuses, it seems good to have a tent that we can stand up in &c instead of having to lie down all the time as in the shelter tents

We also are provided with better food than we have been used to receiving and likewise we can get the soldiers extras, butter, milk, &c at reasonable prices, There is however considerable disease among the boys caused partly by change of water and climate but mostly I think from a too free use of liquor and beer on the road here and since they have been on the Island, I have been unable to get over to N Y yet, but day before yesterday I got a pass to Brooklyn and went out on a visit to my brothers widow, I could only stay about three hours as I had to be back in twelve hours from the time of leaving, so that it was not much of a visit, it does not seem so much like home here as I thought it would though it is delightful to get among among old acquaintances, schoolmates & companions of our childhood, but having been away so long Wisconsin seems the most like home to me, and it is there that I long to get back to, I have traveled considerable at Uncle Sams expense but I never expected that he would send me to these parts, he has however and I hope he will let us remain at this post until he sees fit to send us to Wisconsin, None of us are very anxious for service in Virginia again

\* \* \*

GOSHEN N Y Oct 8th 1863

MARY

\* \* \* As you will perceive by the heading of this letter we are now in Goshen Orange County N Y; We came to this point day before yesterday, the purpose is to enforce the draft which is now taking place and preserve order &c Goshen is a place of about six thousand inhabitants and famous for the largest dairies in the U S We are now having a good time drinking the Orange Co milk and eating some of the famous Goshen butter The latter is excellent I tell you and comes in double good play as compared with the third class butter that we have been in the habit of getting, in the army and at N Y

and at Albany also it was about impossible for us to buy any good butter, here it is given to us, have the best living here that we have had any place since leaving Wisconsin. The Union people here were very glad to see us come, some of them had got prepared to move away the same evening we came. Everything is quiet now but there is little doubt that had there been no soldiers sent to this point, there would have been a serious disturbance. The Copperheads are largely in the majority in the City and in addition to these, there is a large number of Irish employed on the Erie Rail Road which runs through here and they would all have joined in the affair, especially if they once got a little whiskey in them.

I do not think we will stay here any longer than this week, where we will then go it is impossible for me to tell at present, perhaps to Virginia but I hope not, I am willing to go anywheres that I am ordered but still I have a choice of service and would rather stay in N Y City. I was never so tired of any place out of Virginia before the war or since it commenced as I was of Albany. A meaner people in general I never came across. There were of course some honorable exceptions but they were few,

Time flies pretty swiftly with us here but I have seen the time that it dragged very slow, it seemed as though a week was long enough for two months, it still however looks quite a while ahead to the end of our term especially if they keep us until July instead of May next as the talk now is that they will so do, however if the Lord preserves our health it will not be long in passing and then it will fill our hearts with joy to greet our friends once more. I wish I could say as you do that scarcely an hour passes but I accomplish something, there is day after day passes that I accomplish scarcely anything, do but very little good to myself or any one else, it is hard to spend such a valuable part of my life in such a way but it is the will of the Lord that it should be so and I feel that I am doing my duty and nothing more. You wish to know if I have any hope of the war being ended soon, I have a hope that nine months will see the fighting over and that one year from now will see peace fully restored and the stars and stripes waving in triumph over all of our broad country and proclaiming protection and liberty to all, who come under its folds \* \* \*

I think there is but little danger of any foreign nations pitching in now, The defeat of Gen Rosecrans (if defeat it can be called) only checked us for a few days, and Bragg was defeated in his object, as much as Rosecrans was in his, and according to all accounts his loss was heavier. In Albany when the news first came that our forces had been driven back you would hear rejoicing and laughing over it all over the city. Some of the 5th got into rows with some of them and gave them a good threshing, and as much as we may be opposed to fighting in general we cannot blame our boys, to hear the slaughter and defeat of our comrades in the field chuckled over and made sport of is more than our natures can endure and furthermore I do not think it is our duty to endure such conduct and conversation in our presence. The disaster that I and most of the soldiers fear the most is that these copperhead party may succeed in carrying the elections in two or three of the large states through lies and misrepresentations and thus assist in prolonging the war by working against the Authorities at Washington. But I pray the Lord for the best.

\* \* \*

HAVENWOOD HOSPITAL

WASHINGTON Dec 13th 1863

RESPECTED FRIEND

Your letter of Nov 2nd after a long delay which neither you or I could prevent reached me some four days ago and I now proceed to scribble off a few lines in return. I hardly think I will be able to make out a letter, As I wrote in my letter to Keed I am getting along very well though not as fast as I expected. It has rained all day yesterday and so far today which makes it very gloomy and the damp air doesnt agree with our wounds, it makes them pain far worse than usual, it fairly makes me ache all over just as I have heard some old folks complain of the rheumatism, my arm aches so that it is difficult for me to write, but I determined that I would not put off writing to you beyond to day, for I know the sooner I write, the sooner I will stand a chance to get a letter from you again; I wish you success in your new school, though I suppose it is rather hard for Louisa to lose your company up in that lonesome region; For her sake I would wish that you had again got the Kossuth school,

I have not heard from my company for some time but guess that what is left of them are getting along well, Those of them that are wounded are in other hospitals than this and I have not learned how they are getting along, there are some of our regiment here but none of our company, Two wounded rebels are in the same ward with me. they receive just the same treatment as our own men, they are both very associable fellows, live in New Orleans, One of them named Adams was formerly from Philadelphia, he is a very smart intelligent young man and thus is quite a contrast to the most of the Southern soldiers; His father is a Commodore in our navy and his brother is a Captain in the same service, they have both been here to see him, He is a secessionist of the most extreme kind, he says he thinks we will conquer them but he will never live under our government again, he will go to England or South America; The papers state that the Army of the Potomac are now going into winter quarters, it is also rumored that Gen Meade is to be removed from the command and that his successor will be either Gen Hooker or Gen Thomas, I do not think Gen Meade has yet done anything for which he should be removed, but if he is to be I think that the army would be well satisfied to get Hooker back, The victories in the west give great joy here; To the Army of the Potomac it is highly satisfactory as it has given a fair chance for a comparison of the fighting qualities of the Eastern and Western armies To us, especially those of us from the Western states it has been extremely mortifying as we have from time to time read extracts from home papers reflecting on this army and bragging on the armies of Grant and Rosecrans as superior to us, It is true they have been more successful in what they have undertaken than we have been but they have not fought under the disadvantages that we have, and it is a source of pride to us that in the last battle in Tennessee, the soldiers of the 11th & 12th Corps which are a part of this army proved themselves as brave and competent as did the soldiers of the other armies, neither are we ashamed of the gallant conduct of the 9th Corps which went west with Gen Burnside; I have seen letters from the 3d Wis in the 12th Corps in which they say that they find a vast difference between the *unwilling conscripts* of Braggs army and the willing volunteers of Lees Army in Virginia We have just received the message

of President Lincoln and also the message of the so called President Davis, I notice considerable difference in their tone, the former is wrote in the language of a Gentleman and is full of cheerfulness and encouragement; the latter is a strain of sorrow intermingled with anger and continual complaint,

You inquire if I rejoice over the result of the recent elections, most certainly I do, they have greatly increased our faith of ultimate success, Last year when the elections in New York Penn & other states went against the Union party, it caused a cloud of gloom to come over the whole army and many of them were ready to give up in despair, and when followed by the disastrous defeat at Fredericksburg which took place just one year ago today, the boys lost nearly all confidence, but a great change has been wrought since, it is but another proof of the old adage

The mills of God grind slow  
But they grind exceeding sure.

I repeat the following language of Rev Henry Ward Beecher

We find transcendent mercies intermingled with our afflictions Our night has been long, its hours dark, its dreams troubled and its watchings most weary, but it has had its stars too, and they have led on the morning whose twilight is already on the hills Our day is at hand, The nation is to live, it has gone through severe trial, it has been tested in fire and has come out safe

Not the strength of our hand but the strength of our heart is the sign that God means to save us, Not only the increasing military successes, but also the growth of popular determination as manifested in the late elections, that victory shall represent political liberty these are the signs of the future and in these signs we shall conquer May God hasten on the day

\* \* \*

NEAR PETERSBURG VA  
June 26th 1864

MISS SHELDON .

I now commence to write you a letter according to promise, but I must admit that after having delayed so long I feel ashamed to write

at all, An arduous, long, and overburdening campaign together with declining health, have kept me so that I have not felt much like writing or doing anything else, except what I was obliged for to do; had I remained on duty at the front I should probably ere this been sick in hospital, but I happened to be fortunate enough to get the chance of going to the rear and making out the discharge papers of the regiment prior to its being mustered out of the service on the twelfth of next month. So I have a pretty quiet time of it, and manage to keep up though. I feel about threefourths sick all the while, The weather is *exceedingly* and *Tremendously* hot and fearfully dry, the ground is fairly baked to a crust, We have had no rain since—well I cannot remember when, I learn that you are suffering in Wisconsin the same way; Notwithstanding the hot weather and drouth, the battle rages here all the while, While I write the roar of artillery from the battlefield around Petersburg is continually sounding in my ear, Fearful have been the losses thus far in the contest, and thousands more must probably be added to the list before the object of the campaign is attained but the end must come in due time, The Capture of Richmond may not take place for the next three months, it may not take place this season, but fall it eventually must before Grant and Meade get through with it This has been a hard campaign, The wonder is that so many have stood it through so far, Never has the history of any war contained an account of such a steady perseverance on one part or such a stubborn resistance on the other part as has been manifested by the Union and Rebel armies in this campaign, Aaron Gibson is back again, having recovered from his wound which was a slight one on the top of the head. There are now eighteen men for duty in Co A I hope and trust they may all come out safe and sound, it seems awful hard for the boys to have to risk their lives now when their time is so near up We have twenty eight of the old men all told, sick, well, wounded, & detached, to go home to Manitowoc, providing no more get killed,

\* \* \*

#### MISS MARY

As my time is so near out and this is probably the last letter that will ever pass between us I cannot seal it up without enclosing to you



my heartfelt thanks for the favor you have done me by corresponding with me during my period of service in the army, Many a time have your letters helped to drive away the lonesomeness of camp life and mak[e] bright and joyful, hours which otherwise would have been dark and weary; For this favor I shall always feel grateful, and hereafter in whatever part of the world I may be whenever I think of my soldiers life, those will be remembered who aided and cheered my spirits during that life, foremost among which I may mention yourself Keed, Sarah Gibson &c—

Yours Truly

J H Leonard

## HISTORICAL FRAGMENTS

### GENERAL GRANT AND EARLY GALENA<sup>1</sup>

I was born near Philadelphia, in 1830, a descendant of the Welsh who settled in that region more than two hundred years ago. In 1846 I accompanied my parents, sister, and three brothers to the territory of Wisconsin, settling near Platteville. My good parents have long since been gathered to their fathers, but their five children, who came west with them, survive, a remarkable record. I question whether this can be equalled by any other Wisconsin family. My sister, Mrs. Sarah Westrop of Madison, is the eldest and past ninety; I am in my eighty-ninth year; brother T. Elwood Evans of Cumberland, Iowa, is eighty-seven; brother George T. Evans of Belmont, Wisconsin, is eighty-five; while the youngest, Henry Clay Evans of Chattanooga, Tennessee, is seventy-six. The last-named went south after seeing service in the Civil War and has since made a national reputation as congressman, commissioner of pensions, and manufacturer. We all keep in touch with one another, and though H. C. is farthest away, he writes me regularly no matter whether he may be in Europe or America. We are proud of one another and think we have a right to be.

When I arrived in southwestern Wisconsin, Galena was the great trading and shipping center of this section. It had large wholesale and retail establishments, and its now deserted levee was then crowded with large steamboats, which brought merchandise and passengers from St. Louis and other down-river towns and carried back lead and other products of early Wisconsin. Indeed in 1836 to 1846, when Chicago was a mud flat covered with flimsy wooden buildings, Galena was a substantial place with large stone and brick warehouses and elegant stone churches, a number of which are still in service, although constructed more than eighty years ago. But the railroads and new towns springing up caused the decline of Galena which, in 1856,

<sup>1</sup>This article, the recollections of Mr. J. H. Evans of Platteville, was written out by J. H. A. Lacher of Waukesha, after an interview with Mr. Evans in February, 1919.



GALENA IN 1856

From a photograph in the Wisconsin Historical Library



boasted fifteen thousand people, three times the present population. Platteville according to the last school census has now passed her ancient metropolis.

Still I like to think of the past glories of Galena, for when I was engaged in business at Platteville sixty years ago I had close business relations with its leading merchants. And there were some big men there in those times. One of the most famous Americans the country has ever produced used to call on me just before the Civil War. I well remember my first introduction to him. Together with another county official I had been at Madison fruitlessly lobbying for the election to the United States Senate of C. C. Washburn; while returning by team to Lancaster we were accosted at midnight by two men in a buggy, who inquired the way. My companion recognized the voice of the speaker as that of Brown, a Galena salesman, who then introduced us in the dark to his partner, Captain U. S. Grant. It was too dark to distinguish his features, but some time afterward Mr. L. S. Felt, one of the leading merchants of Galena, brought Grant into my store at Platteville and again introduced me to him. I offered them a cigar, but Grant did not smoke his, simply chewing it and throwing it away. I met Captain Grant frequently thereafter, for he sold leather and bought hides in our section for his father's branch tannery at Galena.

Although Grant was paid but a small salary by the firm of Grant and Perkins, and lived in a modest brick house for which he paid \$15 a month rent, he had strong friends among the leading men of Galena, who evidently recognized the latent worth in the unassuming, quiet captain. Foremost among these were Congressman E. B. Washburne; A. L. Chetlain, dealer in queensware; L. S. Felt, dry goods merchant; B. H. Campbell, grocer; J. Russell Jones, a partner of Campbell; John A. Rawlins, a young lawyer; W. R. Rowley, clerk of court; John E. Smith, jeweler; J. A. Maltby, gunsmith, and Colonel Porter, a West Point man, then superintending the erection of the postoffice at Galena. These were Grant's intimate friends, whom he met almost daily when in town; and he made nearly all of them officers in the army or in civil life. John Aaron Rawlins, who at the outbreak of the war made a great Union address at Galena at which Grant presided, was later his chief of staff, when the bonds of friendship were still more closely cemented. He was deserving of all the

honors showered upon him, including a membership in Grant's cabinet as secretary of war. Chetlain became a major general. Felt, one of Grant's most intimate friends, was offered the position of collector of the port of New York, but declined the honor. Campbell was appointed United States marshal of Illinois; while Jones was made minister to Belgium. Rowley and Maltby became brigadier generals; as did John E. Smith, who made a pretty good one too. Porter, who was partly of Oneida Indian blood, served on General Grant's staff and he surely was a good one. Washburne, who represented the Galena district in Congress from 1852 to 1869, was for a short time secretary of state under Grant, but later distinguished himself as minister to France.

Grant was loyal to his friends even though these did not always measure up to the positions conferred upon them. Withal, his Galena chums were a credit to him, as history testifies. Washburne and Rawlins ranked well above the average among the men in public life in those stirring days.

Shortly after the battle of Corinth I saw General Grant coming out of a photograph gallery at Memphis, Tennessee; I immediately entered and ordered a copy of the picture just taken. I have treasured this picture all these years, but now I turn it over to the Historical Society. I met Grant at Vicksburg, Memphis, and at other points during the Civil War, but the last time I saw him was right here in Platteville, in 1868. He surely created a bigger sensation than when he used to come to our little city as a traveling salesman less than ten years before. Some who had known him as a modest, reserved man never could believe in his greatness, notwithstanding his achievements. But I knew and admired him and I am proud of the Mississippi Valley which produced him and most of the great leaders of the Civil War.

I like to think of old Platteville and the stirring times before and during the Civil War. I saw many notable men of those early days at Major Rountree's home. His wife was a cousin of my mother. Among these I recall the poet Percival, who died in 1856 and was buried at Hazel Green. He was a frail, quiet, uncommunicative man of sixty, then geologist of the state. Really, I could name by the score the prominent men whom I met in early Wisconsin. General Grant, however, stands uppermost in my mind.

EARLY ADVERTISING POLICY OF THE RACINE  
ADVOCATE

In connection with the movement in recent years against patent medicine advertising, it is interesting to note that two of our early editors in Wisconsin were far in advance of their time in this respect.

Marshall M. Strong was editor of the *Racine Advocate* from October, 1843 until June, 1845. In the issue of February 27, 1844 he writes that it is "difficult to sustain the paper in the course which we at first marked out; we excluded at once a large and profitable class of advertisements." That Mr. Strong meant patent medicine advertising is evident from an examination of the files of the *Advocate*. Previous to his control we find two full columns advertising "German Eye Water" and "Bilious Pills," both of which entirely disappeared after he became editor. Later, finding no doubt that it was "difficult to sustain the paper," he apparently yielded to necessity and admitted one column of advertisements including a corn cure, cough medicines, and the ubiquitous German eyewater much curtailed.

When he ceased his immediate connection with the paper and Philo White became editor there was a marked change of policy, for four columns of this "profitable" advertising occupied important places in the paper and continued to do so until another change in the editorship in March, 1846 brought Mr. J. C. Bunner into the chair. Mr. Bunner seems to have adopted very much the same policy as Mr. Strong, refusing after a few issues to accept any more yearly advertisements by either the column or the half column. Again all patent medicine advertisements entirely disappeared from the *Advocate*.

Neither of these editors stated his reasons for excluding any particular class of advertisements; but it is reasonable to suppose that both of them at least felt that long columns of such advertisements did not add to the dignity nor worth of the paper. Mr. Strong had a very clear idea of the value of good advertising. "What gives one a higher idea of the business of a place than a busy-looking advertising sheet, and what a poorer idea than a dull, black looking sheet with large old type, containing a few stale advertisements and

the rest occupied with prospectuses of newspapers, magazines and Lady's books." Feb. 20, 1844.

Mr. Bunner, in the issue of May 12, 1846, objected to the practice of some book publishers of using the free mailing privileges extended to newspapers for sending books with lists of testimonials to be advertised. This he considers an abuse of privilege as well as an insult to editors and adds that "the puffing system has of late years been carried to so great an extreme that we believe it is beginning to react. Books are rarely produced except under a cloud of puffs \* \* \* We trust that in this part of the country, the press will join us in trying to put an end to it, otherwise readers will pass over our opinions \* \* \* with supreme contempt."

These precursors of the "swat the lie" campaign deserve special credit, since every newspaper in their day had a serious struggle for existence; paying subscribers were few, and it was necessary to rely largely on what little advertising they could secure for support.

KATE E. LEVI

#### CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION LETTERS

In June, 1919 the Society mailed to its members and exchanges the first volume of the documentary history of Wisconsin's constitution which is now in course of publication. Volume II has been in the hands of the state printer for several months, and the remaining volumes in the series will follow in due order. The publication, therefore, of the following letters, recently uncovered among the manuscripts of the Historical Library, seems timely and appropriate.

Henry S. Baird, author of the first, was one of Wisconsin's leading men throughout the first generation of American occupation of the state. The reminiscences of his wife, Mrs. Elizabeth Baird, published in volumes XIV and XV of the *Wisconsin Historical Collections* bid fair to become a classic in the literature of the Old Northwest. The present letter of Mr. Baird is a familiar one to his daughter Louise, written from Madison at the close of the second week of the first constitutional convention.

Our second letter was written by Chauncey Kellogg, who had been a member of the first convention, to Andrew B. Jackson, a member of the second convention. Other matters aside, its principal



interest at the present time lies in the discussion of the subject of Americanization of alien elements in our population. It serves to call attention anew to the fact, which most people are prone to ignore, that this subject has been of perennial interest in Wisconsin, its discussion antedating even the birth of the state. Had the sound views of Mr. Kellogg and of others who thought with him prevailed in the forties the state would have been spared the Bennett Law upheaval of the late eighties and much discord and travail since that time.

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MADISON October 18, 1846.

MY DEAR LOUISE,

I was much gratified to receive yours of the 7th, I hope you will continue to favor me with a weekly bulletin, and that hereafter you will not be so hard run for news to fill your sheet—I have to-day written two long letters, to your Ma & Lizzy; besides two business letters, wherefore you must not expect a very long epistle this time. Indeed you must not expect *me* to be as punctual in our correspondence as I shall require you to be; for altho' your household cares may be considerable, yet as you have the aid of Mrs Polly, you must be a good deal relieved & your burthens much lightened—On the other hand I am constantly engaged in public duties each day from 9 O'clock until dark, and can find no leisure but on sundays for letter writing—You will see by the papers which I send, how we are progressing; I take it for granted, you see, that you *read* the papers, —& should not be surprised to find when I return that you have kept pace with the action of our Honorable Body, & will have the provisions of the Constitution at your *finger*; no I mean your *tongue's end*. I received your letter & your ma's of the 11th at the same time, last evening; I also recd. a paper from Sammy; I will send him documents from time to time for publication—Eliza writes that your Aunt is still at Milwaukee, having returned from the country, after a visit of 2 or 3 days in a fit of the *Blues*; she expects Mr. D—soon when they will return to the Prairie<sup>1</sup>—& as they will pass this way I will see them I hope—

<sup>1</sup> Prairie du Chien.

The notorious *Vineyard*, who you know is a member of the Convention, did not make his appearance until 3 or 4 days since; he looks depressed & guilty—and receives no attention from any one. Altho well acquainted with him in former times, I have not met him face to face or spoken to him since his arrival; our seats are but a few feet apart, & he has several times passed me in going to his seat, but I have not noticed him—What a heart must that man have, my Dear Louise, who could ever think of meeting in a deliberative assembly *in that room*; for it is in the same council Hall, where that horrid tragedy was enacted, that we sit—! Yes! and the *assasin sits within ten feet of the spot where fell his victim!!* and he has doubtless more than once, since his arrival, trodden on the stain upon the plank (which would be visible, but for the carpet that hides it from view) caused by the blood of poor Arndt—!! But we will leave him to his *conscience*, & this I have no doubt is his accuser; altho he has to outward appearance escaped *human* punishment, yet I doubt not but the canker-worm of remorse, weighs heavy on his heart, if it be not made of stone.<sup>2</sup>

Our mess, which I before told you consisted of seven persons, is a very agreeable set of gentlemen; we all agree remarkably well & have a good deal of amusement and joviality — Our days are occupied solely at the Capitol, but we spend our evenings sociably, either in conversation or playing whist or Ucre,— We are most comfortably situated, and are well taken care of by our kind & good hostess—Mrs Shackelford is a general favorite with us all & is entitled to our esteem & admiration—If you could prepare & send over, before I leave, some little presents for her little Collins & Amelia, they would doubtless be much pleased—The latter is quite a favorite with me; Poor little girl, she cannot realize her loss! I deeply feel

<sup>2</sup>James R. Vineyard of Grant County and Charles C. P. Arndt of Green Bay were members of the Territorial Council. In the winter of 1842 during an altercation on the floor of the chamber Vineyard shot and killed Arndt, although the two men had previously been friends. The vest through which the fatal bullet sped to the breast of Arndt may now be seen in the Wisconsin Historical Museum. Vineyard offered his resignation to the Council which declined to receive it and proceeded to expel him. On criminal trial for the killing of Arndt, however, he was acquitted. Evidently he retained the esteem of his neighbors, for a few years later he was elected to the constitutional convention of 1846, and still later to the legislature of 1849. The letter of Mr. Baird shows in what light his presence there was viewed by at least some members of the body. Vineyard removed to California in 1850 and died there thirteen years later.

for them both. This afternoon Mr. Agry & myself took a long walk of about 3 miles, & I feel quite refreshed from it, after two weeks close confinement in a room possessing no very great attractions—Today has been most beautiful fall weather; the air pure & bracing, & its very appearance enough to banish sickness—Indeed the health of the place & country is much improved—Several of our members have not yet appeared, owing to sickness of themselves or families—Our largest number yet assembled is 106—this makes quite a formidable show, & the general appearance of the Body respectable—But few are over 50 years of age, & from that age to 30—Mrs Shackelford told me last evening that a lady of her acquaintance had paid *us* (I mean Mrs. S-s boarders) quite a compliment, saying that she had got the *cream of the convention*; but this is mere talk you know Louise, & does not in the least raise our vanity, but it is well enough to tell it, for fear it *would otherwise never be known*. To-morrow morning we will again have up the old exciting subject of Banks, & we hope it will be then finally disposed of, when we can go at something else — I met Thomas Daily here soon after I arrived; he lives about 4 miles out of town — He has been quite sick, as well as his family — I have not seen James Lemon or Margaret, as the[y] live about 12 miles from here — Mr. Irwin has I suppose again gone to St. Louis; I expected he would have come this way — Why has not Capt. Cotton come on as he expected to do? I wish you to give my love to all the girls, Marie J., Libb, &c. &c. Mrs. Irwin, Mary Ann—in short to all of the ladies of my acquaintance both young & old, *who enquire about me*, as well as respects to all friends — In your letters you say nothing about the general health of the Bay; I hope it has improved — It is now nearly 10 O'clock at night & I will close for the present, & perhaps add a line before I mail this — Love to Ma, Grandpa & Grandma & Holmes & lots of kisses for yourself — and believe me Dear Louise, most affectionately your,  
 Father.

Tuesday—

You have not mentioned in your letter anything about “Batty” or “prince”, I hope they are both well; present my compliments—The weather here has become quite winter like; yesterday we had a flurry of snow, which if it had lain would have whitened the ground—

This morning is clear & cold; & ice has made its appearance; this we all hail as a harbinger of health—and we already feel its genial influence—Affectionately your &c —

[Endorsed] Henry S. Baird to his daughter.

19th Jany [1848]

DEAR SIR

Yours of Jany 8 came to hand by yesterdays mail with 2 papers—the first thing you notice is that Dr Judd talks as much as Ever<sup>3</sup>

I would suggest that you raise a special Committee to enquire how much he has cost the Territory in the 2 conventions more than the majority of members and that the Excess be charged over to Dodge County You say that the boundery line will probably be fixed some 40 miles North of the congressional line this I verry much regret I would prefer by far that it should be from a hundred to a hundred and 40 South — Your action on the Malitia Article meets my approval it is just where I sought to put it last year — but the adoption of Mr. Shoeflers<sup>4</sup> motion on the subject of common Schools permitting schools in certain cases to be taught in other than the English language is to me and Every one with whom I have spoken on the subject very obnoxious we ought to Americanise all Foreigners and nothing will tend more to this End than to have them taught the prevailing language I hope you will sec it consistant with your views to do your endavours to prevent such a principal from being fixed in the Constitution

I would write more but I fear I shall be to late for the mail—written in the utmost haste for the above reason

Your friend

CHAUNCEY KELLOGG

<sup>3</sup> Stoddard Judd of Fox Lake, Dodge County, was one of the few men who sat in both of Wisconsin's constitutional conventions. He was much interested in railroad development and was president for a time of the Milwaukee and La Crosse Railroad, the second to cross the state.

<sup>4</sup> Moritz Schoeffler of Milwaukee, who was a native of Germany, came to America in 1842 and to Milwaukee two years later. He established there in 1844 the *Banner*, Wisconsin's first German newspaper, and for thirty years continued one of the prominent German-American journalists of the country. Mr. Schoeffler was an ardent advocate of statehood for Wisconsin and a prominent leader of German-American opinion in the state.

P S if there is any of the Journals of last convention to be had please get me a Copy

I should like also one of this if so it Mought be

My respects to the Racine Deligation also if convenient to Mrs Brigham and family

[Addressed to] Hon A. B. Jackson Member Constitutional Convention Madison

[Postmarked] Sylvania W. T. Jany 19

## EDITORIAL

### A CRITIC AND A CERTIFICATE OF CHARACTER

In the June issue of the *MAGAZINE* was noted the joint legislative investigation of the conduct of the Historical Society, comment thereon being reserved until the committee should have completed its hearings and made its report. That report was made to the legislature on June 12, and the time is ripe to afford the members of the Society an account of the committee's findings and of the circumstances responsible for the investigation. Any public institution is a fair mark for criticism and, particularly if it be of a constructive character, such criticism may be of much good to the institution at which it is aimed. Whether the criticism to which the Historical Society has recently been subject has been of a constructive character we leave to the discrimination of our readers to determine. In so far as practicable we present the story through the medium of original documents, but to the understanding of these a short introduction is essential.

In the autumn of 1916 Mr. Publius V. Lawson of Menasha, a member of the Society and long a patron of the Historical Library, requested the loan of certain volumes which the rules of the library prohibited sending away from the building. Displeased with this, Mr. Lawson indicated his intention of carrying the matter to the state legislature. Thus began a persistent campaign of criticism of the Society which has now continued for two and a half years. Repeated hearings have been had before legislative committees, a widespread solicitation of state officials and private citizens has been conducted, the matter of Mr. Lawson's complaints has been before the curators of the Society on numerous occasions, and widespread publicity has been accorded them by

the press of the state. The failure to convince any of the many committees which passed upon his complaints that they possessed validity or merit, however, has not operated in any way to decrease Mr. Lawson's zeal in prosecuting them. Meanwhile, a mass of misinformation was gradually being disseminated over the state, which in the long run must prove harmful to the Society. At the recent session of the legislature two bills were introduced, fathered by Mr. Lawson, which those responsible for the administration of the Society believed would affect injuriously its interests. Accordingly the legislature was invited to make a thorough investigation of the Society's affairs, with a view to determining authoritatively the matters at issue. The invitation was acceded to, and in May and June a committee composed of Senators Roethe and Pullen and Representatives S. R. Webster, Hineman, and Roethel conducted exhaustive hearings, taking several hundred pages of testimony. Mr. Lawson appeared before the committee in the capacity of complainant and was afforded unlimited opportunity to present his case and to adduce evidence in support of it. He stated that the only complaint "which I have ever made is that certain books in the library which are now withheld from loaning over the state of Wisconsin should be loaned, and the other complaint is the anti-Wisconsin attitude of the Society in its publications."<sup>1</sup>

In actual practice, however, the investigation took a wide range, embracing almost every aspect of the many-sided activities of the Society. The findings of the joint committee not only completely reject the contentions of Mr. Lawson but they constitute a striking testimonial to the character of the work of the Society and its usefulness to the commonwealth. The complaints of Mr. Lawson are declared to have been inspired by "misguided zeal," and to be "entirely unwarranted and unjustified." In the matter of publications

<sup>1</sup> Stenographic record of joint committee hearing, 7.

the committee testifies its belief that the Society should possess "broad discretionary powers"; it recognizes the fact that the history of Wisconsin cannot be made separate and distinct from other history; to limit the Society's publications to events that transpired within the present state boundaries would be, the committee declares, "illogical and undesirable"; and it finds that no publications have been issued which were not "entirely warranted."

The finding with respect to the loan of books from the library is, if possible, even more sweeping. Quite contrary to the complaint that the Society has not pursued a sufficiently liberal loaning policy, "it has, if anything, pursued a policy the committee would characterize as too liberal." The library "from its very nature is not, was not intended to be, and cannot be construed to be a circulating library." Accordingly a bill was recommended (and subsequently passed by the legislature) defining the loaning policy of the library and expressly prohibiting in future the loan of works on genealogy, newspaper files, and all rare or expensive books, maps, charts, or other material which in case of loss could not readily be replaced.

The concluding testimonial of the report, standing as the voluntary tribute of a group of impartial judges, should afford genuine gratification to every friend of the Society and should increase the satisfaction of every member over his connection with it: "The committee finds the affairs of the Society, financially and in every other respect, most excellently managed, with a staff, members of which have been with the Society for a score of years or more and whose work to them has become more a labor of love for the institution and its success than for the pecuniary remuneration they receive \* \* \* The committee does not hesitate to say that every member thereof was not only profoundly impressed but actually amazed to find it such a big, comprehensive, serviceable, and helpful institution in which the state may



take intense pride, and the committee hopes that every citizen of the state may find opportunity to visit the library and see from a personal inspection what a wonderful institution Wisconsin possesses in its State Historical Society."

Notwithstanding this sweeping approval of the management of the Society Mr. Lawson finds in the report a complete vindication of his criticisms. In a letter supplied to many leading papers of the state he assures the public that "the only two contentions made in the complaint of the conduct of the Historical Society were sustained by the legislative investigating committee." Members of the Society who take the trouble to compare this letter of Mr. Lawson with the committee report upon which it is based will thereby forewarn themselves against undue disturbance over future criticisms of the Society which may emanate from the same source. We subjoin the documents which are most pertinent to an understanding of the entire subject.

#### DOCUMENTS

##### NO. 1: PETITION TO THE LEGISLATURE OF 1917<sup>2</sup>

MENASHA, Wis., Jan. 27, 1917.

MY DEAR MR. HART:

I am writing you about a subject we are interested in as long time citizens of Wisconsin, that is its historical records.

The Historical Society of Wisconsin has singularly failed of its purpose. It has been appropriated millions of dollars by the state, and while it never has done much in writing up the history of the state, it has in the last three years given up state history entirely and published numerous works on the history of Virginia, the Ohio river region, and Lewis and Clark expedition up the Missouri River. It has in preparation other works on the same subject, and in addition proposes to add books on the Gold Seekers of California and numerous works on Kentucky, Virginia, and Pittsburg.

<sup>2</sup>This was sent as a letter to Assemblyman Hart, who offered it as a petition to the Assembly. The copy given here is taken from the *Madison Democrat* of January 30, 1917.

The publication of its foreign material has cost in labor of preparation, proof reading, printing and binding about \$20,000 annually, and in meantime Wisconsin history is sidetracked and abandoned. The legislature never intended this use of its money and this foreign matter publication is all illegal and not wanted by anyone.

Names of some of these books of foreign matter that in no way concerns our state history are:

Preston and Virginia, dated 1916

Frontier Along Ohio, dated 1916

Lewis and Ordway (up Missouri) 1915

Also as to uses of the library of the State Historical Library. The building cost the state \$770,000 and the library about \$5,000,000. Heretofore the books have been loaned to people all over the state, the borrower paying the expenses of course. That was the purpose of the library and the reason of the support given by the legislature.

Now by an order just passed by the advisory committee, the loaning of books outside of the building is discontinued. Hereafter books will not be loaned. That order reduces the library to a mere city library of Madison and cuts out all use of the library unless upstate people can take the time to visit the building at Madison, as books cannot be taken from the building. The Superintendent (who is not a Wisconsin man and not acquainted with the purpose of the Society) declares he proposes to make the library purely a reference library, same as the library of Congress.

As it may be difficult and possibly unwise to defeat any appropriation for the State Historical Society it could be cut down.

Also, there should be a proviso attached to its appropriation reading like this:

“Provided the said Society shall loan in any part of the state at the expense of the borrower for transportation, any of its volumes for a reasonable time, not to exceed two weeks.

Also said Society shall not use any of said funds in the preparation or editing or publication of any works, either bound or unbound, except such as pertain to the history of Wisconsin.

Also no such funds shall be used for the expenses of the annual address unless the same concerns the history of Wisconsin.

Also no part of said funds may be expended to promote historical enterprise other than such as concern the history of Wisconsin."

Yours truly,

PUBLIUS V. LAWSON

[TO ASSEMBLYMAN HART]

NO. 2: REJOINDER TO MR. LAWSON'S PETITION

HON. CHARLES F. HART,  
State Capitol,  
City.

MY DEAR SIR:

For your information and that of other members of the legislature I beg leave to direct your attention to a highly erroneous statement concerning the State Historical Society which was offered by you to the Assembly in the form of a petition on January 29. If deemed proper, I respectfully request that this communication may be placed before the legislature in the same way as the petition referred to.

In general your petitioner asserts that during the last three years (which happens to be the period of my administration of the Society) a marked change in the ideals and policies of the Society has taken place, as a result of which its interests have become entirely divorced from the subject of state history and its funds are being spent illegally on "foreign" projects; furthermore, that from being a library whose collections are loaned freely all over the state the executive board of the Society has recently prohibited the loan of all books, thus reducing it to the status of a Madison city library. In particular, numerous detailed statements are made designed to illustrate these general propositions.

With respect to this petition I regret to say that while not every one of your petitioner's detailed assertions is erroneous, most of them are, and that the net effect of the petition is totally misleading. In venturing to call your attention to these errors my purpose will be merely to show you that the Society's policy today (in the points complained of) is identical with that pursued under the administrations of my two predecessors, Draper and Thwaites.

With respect to the Society's publications it has never been the practice to confine their contents wholly within the geographical boundary of the state. The first volume ever published by the Society (in 1855) contains at least one article on the Revolution in the West. From this first volume down to the latest issue more or less material has been published pertaining to things outside the geographical boundary of the state. It will probably be conceded by any sane man that the Society could hardly do otherwise if it publishes at all. For example, how can we deal with the history of the Swiss settlement without saying something about Switzerland? Or how can we deal with the history of the Civil War without noticing some of the things which happened to Wisconsin's soldiers after they crossed the state boundary? Evidently it becomes a matter of judgment to what extent the publications of the Society shall be exclusively local and to what extent they shall take a wider range. In my own judgment (and the best scholarly opinion of the country can be cited to support me) discussions of such themes as the Revolution in the West, the Lewis and Clark expedition, and of proper indexes of the Society's own collection of manuscripts are unquestionably proper subjects to which to devote the Society's activities.

Turning to the question of the supposed illegality of the work complained of, I desire to call your attention to the fact that the Society's charter granted by the legislature in 1853 authorizes it to "ordain and enforce a constitution, by-laws, rules, and regulations," not inconsistent with the constitutions and statutes of the United States and the state of Wisconsin: and that article 1, section 1, of the Society's own constitution adopted in 1897 in pursuance of this authorization sets forth as the object of the Society "the collection, preservation, exhibition, and publication of materials for the study of history, especially the history of this state and of the Middle West; to this end, \* \* \* publishing and otherwise diffusing information relative to the history of the region, and in general encouraging and developing within this state the study of history." Without being a lawyer I am under the impression that the foregoing is conclusive with respect to the question of legality. Whether conclusive or not it is clear that the practice which you have been informed is illegal is of over sixty years' duration and that the three secretaries of the

Society, Draper, Thwaites, and myself, as well as the numerous state officials who have in the past disbursed state funds in this connection are alike responsible for the practice.

Turning to the matter of the loan of books from the library the practice today stands on the same basis as it has always stood so far as the sources of information at my command disclose. The library has always been regarded as primarily a reference library. Along with this books have been circulated to such an extent as might be possible, having in view the general character of the library and the extension of the greatest service to the greatest number of users. There are certain classes of books which are not loaned away from the building either because of their rarity or value, or because of the consideration that the greater interest of the public is served by retaining them for use within it. There is nothing new about this policy. It is true that changing conditions and demands from time to time must be met by corresponding changes in the application of the general policy laid down. The executive committee has passed no order to my knowledge prohibiting the loan of books from the library, and there has not been a day since my administration began that books have not been out on loan. On January 29, the day you introduced your petitioner's communication, some fifty of our volumes were scattered over the state and about one hundred thirty more were in the hands of teachers and students of the University, state officials, and others here at the capital.

The reasonable limits to which this communication may extend will not permit me to note and refute all of the errors of detail contained in your petitioner's communication. I request, therefore, that my omission to note any given assertion shall not be construed as acquiescing in its accuracy.

You have been informed that in the last three years the Society has given up state history entirely. I merely note by way of comment that at the present time the state printer has in course of publication two volumes, one devoted wholly to state history (*An Economic History of Wisconsin during the Civil War Decade*) and the other chiefly to the history of the state; and further that there has not been a single instant during the three years of my administration during which one or more works on the history of the state has not been under preparation.

You have been told that the cost of this "foreign" work is about \$20,000 annually. For the reason that the work is inextricably bound up in the general administration of the Society it is not possible for me to give a precise statement of the sums spent annually on that portion complained of. It is perfectly safe to say, however, that it does not exceed one-fifth the amount you have been informed. The detailed information upon which this estimate is based will cheerfully be placed at your disposal if you care to take the time to go into it.

You are informed that the library building cost the state \$770,000 and the library itself about \$5,000,000. I do not perceive that this information is at all germane to the subject under discussion, yet I advert to it by way of illustrating the carelessness of your petitioner's statements. The cost of the library building, it is true, was \$770,000. There is no way of ascertaining at the present day the cost of the library through the sixty years of its existence. Since 1901, however, the appropriation for the purchase of books and similar material has totalled about \$97,000. During the Civil War period nothing whatever was being spent. For the whole period from 1854-1901 it seems probable that the average expenditure did not equal or exceed one-third the amount appropriated since 1901. Assuming, however, an annual average expenditure of \$6,000 for the entire sixty-three year period the total amount would be something less than \$400,000 instead of the \$5,000,000 you have been informed.

With respect to the advice which your petitioner gives the legislature as to the conditions which it should attach to the Society's appropriation, it may be said that in part matters of judgment only are involved. Of the wisdom of the petitioner's judgment I submit this single illustration: It is complained that the annual address in the last three years has not concerned the history of Wisconsin. The titles of the three addresses in question (the last two of which only am I personally responsible for) have been: *The Treaty of Ghent—and After*; *The President of the United States*; and *Abraham Lincoln as War Statesman*. Concerning the first it may be noted that both British and American armies operated in Wisconsin during the War of 1812 and that the very address complained of recounts the strenuous efforts of the British negotiators of the treaty to make

Wisconsin along with the Northwest a great Indian barrier state. With respect to the second and third I venture to observe that the president of the United States is also the president of the citizens of Wisconsin and that Abraham Lincoln was war statesman for Wisconsin as well as for the rest of the country; in short, that all three of these subjects were eminently proper for the State Historical Society of Wisconsin to listen to; and that whether proper or improper they differ in no material respect from the addresses of preceding years when the administration of the Society was in other hands than my own.

In conclusion, permit me to remind you that in the Historical Library the state possesses one of the great reference libraries of the country, recognized as such far and wide by scholars. It is not questioned that the legislature has the right either to destroy it or to revolutionize it at its option. The measures aimed at by your petitioner amount not to a reform, but to a revolution. On every proper occasion I have urged members of the legislature to visit the library and acquaint themselves with its operation. I desire to improve the present opportunity to extend this invitation to you personally and through you to every member of the present state legislature. Until you shall thus acquaint yourself with our work I respectfully suggest that it would be inadvisable on the strength of mere unfounded assertions either to revolutionize or to ruin the state's greatest library.

Very truly yours,

[Signed] M. M. QUAIFFÉ

February 1, 1917.

NO. 3: FORWARD WISCONSIN<sup>3</sup>

By Publius V. LAWSON, LL. B.

In reports of the Superintendent of the State Historical Society he says:

"It may readily be conceded that established society in Wisconsin is still too *immature*."

<sup>3</sup> This document, thus entitled by the author, was sent in broadcast fashion to public officials and private citizens of the state during the autumn and winter of 1918-19.

"That the citizens of Wisconsin have never individually come to the support of their historical society."

"A large portion of the citizens of Wisconsin are uninformed concerning its work, and even unaware of its existence."

The entire state has just passed through a period of reply to slander of our good name from outside, and the author of that quoted above expects a reply. Wisconsin leads the world in art, literature, education, political science, welfare laws, statesmanship, invention, mechanics, manufacture, agriculture, dairying, bred cattle, bred seeds, and medical science. In seventy years of statehood it has advanced the world most in comfort, progress and human rights of any similar commonwealth. Nothing immature about that.

As to the support of the Society: The state has built for it a beautiful marble building costing \$770,000, donated something over a million dollars for its library, and much more than a million for maintenance of the Society. During the five years past the state has donated about \$350,000 for maintenance, out of which the one who wrote the above libel on our people has taken about \$20,000. In bequests the Society have received \$114,000 during its existence. The above is a complete answer to nonsupport by our state individually and collectively.

As to the admission that the Society has not met with its expected success, and therefore the people of the state are "not aware of its existence," is unfortunately too true. The reason is obvious. The reason is its one man factor, whose work is scattered, schemeless, with no logical or natural order or design to promote the history of Wisconsin, but ranges over a rummage field, from an insult to the Pope of Rome to a "reprint" on "ginseng plant," two centuries out of date. It may interest loyal admirers of our state to look over the slack scattered and useless efforts of the Society and therein will be found the reason why the Society gets nowhere. It is to be found in its kind of publications. An annotated list of the motley disassociated subjects with a territorial range of the whole union is given below.

The purpose of founding the Society was to promote the history of Wisconsin and not to exploit the gold diggers of California, or reprint a two century old French work on ginseng, or exploit a news



article making insulting reference to the Pope. Draper in numerous addresses told how the Society was to glorify the state. Judge Baensch, its president, said four years ago, "the plan of the Society contemplates it be the people's society."

The charter of the Society limits its right to publish in these words, "to diffuse and publish information relating to the description and history of the state"—Chapter 17, Laws 1853. This right has never been changed or modified and stands the governing law of the Society today. The Society has not now and never had any right to employ its staff in editing foreign works not pertaining to the history of our state, or to publish them at expense of its taxpayers. To do so is a criminal misuse of the funds of the Society. The legislature has made the Society generous donations assuming it would conform to its foundation law and exploit the marvelous story of our state. No one ever expected it to waste its time and rich inheritance as promised by the Superintendent, "to include every important aspect of the historical field," for which "no single lifetime will suffice." To include this world history the name of its published works is changed from the well-known "collections" to "publications," and error of law, morals, and judgment that has been vigorously practiced, while work on Wisconsin history he reports as "indefinite and remote." Thus our state on the waiting list is forgotten.

The Society should have at its head one who is for our state, who loves its story and traditions. The reputation, glory, and wonderful achievements of the great pioneers of art, letters, science, and mechanics who have made our state the grandest of all commonwealths should not be left to *uninformed* strangers to record their glorious works.

*A list of illegal miscellany and misfit literature produced by the Society:*

"*Removing the Papacy to Chicago*"—a ribald jest, uncalled for, and exposing the entire schemeless fritter of present activities of the Society. Moreover the article is copied from the Chicago press without credit. It should be repudiated.

Proposed volume on *Ginseng*—a reprint of a French work of 1716, on ginseng, two centuries old. Fortunately this work of translation has been held back by the war.

*Captain Pryor*—8 pages—an officer in Lewis and Clark Expedition.

*"Dream of Northwest Conspiracy"*—40 pages—relates to the Civil War conspiracy of Vallandigham.

Journal of Journey Detroit to *Miamitown*, Indiana in 1790. 52 pages proceedings.

Proposed to publish "one or more volumes on California *Gold Seekers*" having procured several diaries for this purpose and advertises for more.

Journal of *Lewis and Ordway* up the Missouri River to the Pacific—a volume of 444 pages, which critics say contained nothing new as all had been published before. Cost state about \$5,000. Five members of the staff labored on it for six months.

Proposed work on *Kentucky History* has employed the time of the staff for four years. Recently the Superintendent exults in getting \$2,000 from Kentucky to help pay for assistance on the work. Thus calmly making of Wisconsin a print shop to edit, print, publish, and bind the history of Kentucky.

*"Chicago's First Lawsuit"*—a slave case tried in Louisiana—15 pages.

*"McKay's Journal"*—of journey on upper Missouri River, 24 pages, of which the Superintendent says, "It is not expected that it will prove interesting."

Reproduction of all files of *Missouri Newspapers* down to 1825.

*"The Frontier a World Problem"* in which the name of our state does not occur.

*"A Constitutional Series"* "will run to several volumes." This is the special travail of the Superintendent, "unmature" in state history and unlearned in the law—unsuspecting that "brevity is the soul of wit."

*Magazine of History*, should be of "Wisconsin History."

"Frontier advance on *Upper Ohio*" contains old letters of the Revolutionary war near Pittsburgh, of which four volumes have been issued costing the state about \$20,000, and employed the best talent in the Society who could work wonders for our state history if permitted to do so. Two volumes more of the work is promised at the expense of Wisconsin and its history.

The *Farmer Bottomley* papers in a volume costing several thousand dollars, which was an "enterprise to which the personal attention of the Superintendent" was given, best exhibits his conception of the glorious achievements of the people of this state and why he regards them as "immature."

The *Preston Virginia* papers—a volume calendar, which the Superintendent says "is as interesting as a tax list," cost the state about \$5,000. The report says: "It is expected before its termination this series will include a considerable number of volumes."

The *Annual Address* for the last five years has been made by an outsider on a subject not connected with the state.

The superintendent and staff are employed most of the time on *six periodicals* not connected with the Society, but edited, proof read and carried on at its expense and in its offices. These are:

(1) The proof reading and work due to editing the volumes brought out by the *Lakeside Press* of Chicago. State does not print the work as yet.

(2) "*The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*"—a quarterly edited, and all work done by the staff. The state has not as yet been asked to print it, but the Society pays \$200 to aid the work.

(3) "In like fashion it assists in making possible the publication of "*Writings on American History*."

(4) "It has donated the labor, by no means light, of editing the "*Proceedings of the Mississippi Valley Historical Society*."

(5) *Development of Chicago*—a volume edited and proof read by the staff, but state not yet asked to print.

All the information of this paper is found in reports of the Society for 1914-15-16-17.

The publication of this inappropriate material has been justified by the Superintendent by reference to the work of his predecessor, Dr. Thwaites. But the reference is an injustice. The Sons of the American Revolution paid for the three volumes of the events of the Revolution on the Upper Ohio, and Dr. Thwaites never supposed the Society was authorized to carry on publication of foreign history.

NO. 4: REPORT OF THE SPECIAL JOINT COMMITTEE OF THE LEGISLATURE TO INVESTIGATE THE AFFAIRS AND MANAGEMENT OF THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY<sup>4</sup>

The special joint committee of the legislature appointed under joint resolution No. 48, S. to make an investigation of the management and affairs of the State Historical Society and report to the legislature, submit the following report:

The committee had exhaustive hearings on the affairs of the State Historical Society, especially as relating to complaints made by Honorable P. V. Lawson, and while admitting Mr. Lawson's deep devotion to the Society and as having only its best interests at heart, in the judgment of the committee a misguided zeal led him to make complaints that the committee finds were entirely unwarranted and unjustified.

In the opinion of the committee the Society should have broad discretionary powers in the matter of publications that it issues, and while these publications should relate primarily, of course, to the history of our own state, the committee recognizes the fact that this history cannot be made separate and distinct from other history, especially the history of the great West, of which Wisconsin was originally an integral part; and to limit historical publications to events that transpired within the present state boundaries appears illogical and undesirable. This matter should, the committee believes, be left entirely to the discretion and good judgment of the Society. The committee finds that the Society has issued no publications that were not entirely warranted.

In regard to loaning books from the library the committee believes that the Society, quite contrary to the complaint made that it has not been responsive enough in complying with requests for the loan of books and other material from the library, has if anything pursued a policy the committee would characterize as too liberal. The State Historical Library from its very nature is not, was not intended to be, and cannot be construed to be a circulating library. Many of its books are rare volumes that could not be replaced at all or only at great expense and it would seem preposterous to allow

<sup>4</sup> Reprinted from the Senate Journal for June 12, 1919.

these to be sent broadcast over the state. The committee is of the firm opinion that the State Historical Library was intended to be a reference library and all acts of the legislature and the wording of the charter, constitution, and by-laws of the Society seem to bear out that assertion. The rooms of the Society are open at all times to the public to secure any desired information and the committee finds that it is not even necessary for persons living outside of the capital city to come to Madison to secure the information they want but that it will be furnished on written application by the Society, the staff of which the committee finds is ready at all times to make the most thorough research of its collections to obtain and supply the information desired. The courtesy and accommodation of the staff in such inquiries for information could not be more commendable. To find books and volumes necessary for research work by parties who come to the reference library missing therefrom because they have been sent out to other points in the state would be in the opinion of the committee an ill-advised state of affairs. The practice of loaning out books has been it seems merely one established by custom. The committee recognizes the fact that there may be books, pamphlets, and other material not of intrinsic value and not of a rare nature that can with propriety be loaned out on request without detriment to the interests of the Society as an accommodation to the public, and the authority to make such loans might wisely be possessed by the Society to be exercised in its discretion and judgment subject to such rules and restrictions as may be adopted by the Society.

In the absence of statutory provisions on this subject the committee introduces and recommends for passage the following bill in order that there may be no more controversy over the loaning of books by the Society.

A BILL

To create subsection (8) of section 44.02 of the statutes, relating to the State Historical Society.

The people of the state of Wisconsin, represented in senate and assembly, do enact as follows:

**SECTION 1.** A new subsection is added to section 44.02 of the statutes to read: (44.02) (8). To loan, in its discretion, for such periods and under such rules and restrictions as it may adopt, to libraries, educational institutions, and other organizations, or to private individuals in good standing, such books, pamphlets, or other materials that if lost or destroyed could easily and without much expense be replaced; but no work on genealogy, newspaper file, or book, map, chart, document, manuscript, pamphlet, or other material whatsoever of a rare nature shall be permitted to be sent out from the library under any circumstances.

**SECTION 2.** This act shall take effect upon passage and publication.

The committee also recommends for indefinite postponement bill No. 51, S., re-referred to this committee from the committee on state affairs.

The committee finds the affairs of the Society financially and in every other respect most excellently managed, with a staff, members of which have been with the Society for a score of years or more, and whose work to them has become more a labor of love for the institution and its success than for the pecuniary remuneration they receive. This is highly gratifying in view of the high standing and reputation the Society, which was founded in 1853, has obtained all over the nation. Housed in one of the finest buildings of the state, with a floor space of three acres, in which are deposited over 200,000 invaluable historical volumes and documents, constituting the third and perhaps second largest historical library in the United States and one of the largest in the world, it has become a repository of reference material that is consulted for important information not only by every class of activity in our own state but often in the nation. The committee does not hesitate to say that every member thereof was not only profoundly impressed but actually amazed to find it such a big, comprehensive, serviceable, and helpful institution in which the state may take intense pride and the committee hopes that every citizen of the state may find opportunity to visit the library and see from a personal inspection what a wonderful institution Wisconsin possesses in its State Historical Society.

A complete record of the proceedings at the hearings held by the committee is attached herewith to be filed as a part of this report.

SENATOR H. E. ROETHE, (Chairman)

SENATOR A. J. PULLEN

ASSEMBLYMAN S. R. WEBSTER

ASSEMBLYMAN M. L. HINEMAN

ASSEMBLYMAN HERMAN ROETHEL

No. 5: MR. LAWSON'S COMMENT ON THE REPORT OF THE JOINT  
LEGISLATIVE COMMITTEE<sup>5</sup>

"The press notice sent out from Madison entitled 'Historical Society Given Clean Slate,' was incorrect, not true, and misleading. The Historical Society is housed by the state in a granite and marble building costing \$770,000. The state has appropriated some \$6,000,000 for equipment and maintenance in the last seventy years, and this year \$63,500. For five years past most of the publications have been books on Kentucky, Virginia, Pennsylvania, and Lewis and Ordway up the Missouri River, all of it thirty to seventy-five years before Wisconsin was a territory. Promised works were several volumes on the gold diggers of California, and translation of a work on ginseng from Paris, 200 years old. Because of such gross neglect of Wisconsin history the legislature investigated the Society.

"In its findings the committee was careful to refer to the great collections of the Society and administer rebuke without injuring the Society, in which it was wise. Of its publications the report says: 'The publications should relate primarily, of course, to the history of our state, the committee recognizes the fact that this history cannot be made separate and distinct from other history, especially the history of the West of which Wisconsin was originally an integral part.' This finding was exactly in accordance with the complaint made in which it was shown the anti-Wisconsin attitude of the Society had in late years almost entirely ignored state history.

"Another complaint was the refusal of the Society in last four years to loan genealogies outside of the building, for the sole reason someone may call at the library to consult the book while it is loaned up state. It was maintained by complainant that the people up state

<sup>5</sup> Reprinted from *Milwaukee Journal*, July 2, 1919.

who paid for the books by taxation have as much right to the loan of the books as the one who called at the library. And the expense of going to Madison to consult the books was prohibitive. The investigating committee entirely agreed with this view, and proposed a bill compelling the loan of all books except those 'of a rare nature.'

"Thus the only two contentions made in the complaint of the conduct of the Historical Society were sustained by the legislative investigating committee."



## SURVEY OF HISTORICAL ACTIVITIES

### THE SOCIETY AND THE STATE

From the date of the last report (in the June "Survey of Historical Activities") to July 8, 1919, thirty-eight persons became members of the State Historical Society. Six of these were life members, as follows: Rev. Harry W. Blackman, Algoma; Dr. G. R. Egeland, Sturgeon Bay; William O. Goodrich, Milwaukee; Asher B. Nichols, Jr., Milwaukee; Miss Louise Schlegelmilch, Eau Claire; W. E. Wagener, Sturgeon Bay.

The following thirty-two persons joined the Society in the capacity of annual members: Miss Olive M. Anderson, Ephraim; Miss Grace L. Blackford, Albany; Mrs. James J. Blaine, Madison; Rev. Realf O. Brandt, McFarland; C. E. Broughton, Sheboygan; Francis A. Cannon, Madison; H. L. Cooper, Jamaica Plain, Mass.; William N. Clark, Radisson; Rev. F. S. Dayton, New London; Mrs. H. P. Greeley, Madison; H. A. Hartman, Milwaukee; E. Helgeson, Ephraim; Miss Agnes L. Holdahl, Ellsworth; Rev. Joseph Jameson, Jacksonport; Paul G. W. Keller, Appleton; B. P. Larkin, Benton; Rev. Henry A. Link, Marshfield; Rev. James C. Morris, Madison; Erwin P. Nemmers, Milwaukee; O. M. Olson, Ephraim; William A. Oppel, Madison; H. L. Peterson, Sturgeon Bay; Dr. Thomas C. Proctor, Sturgeon Bay; Dr. A. J. Pullen, Fond du Lac; Rev. F. P. O. Reed, Chippewa Falls; Rev. D. A. Richardson, Madison; Hon. H. E. Roethe, Fennimore; C. S. Smith, Ephraim; Harrison A. Smith, Madison; H. E. Stedman, Sturgeon Bay; Everett M. Valentine, Ephraim; Rt. Rev. W. W. Webb, Milwaukee.

Dr. A. J. Pullen and Hon. H. E. Roethe were the two representatives from the senate on the joint legislative committee which during the spring conducted the investigation of the affairs of the Society. A gratifying indication of the nature of the impression which the investigation made upon them is afforded by the fact that immediately upon its conclusion both Dr. Pullen and Mr. Roethe indicated their desire to become members of the Society.

In the death of Frederic K. Conover of Madison, May 7, 1919, the Society lost one of its oldest and most devoted curators. Mr. Conover was born on the University campus in 1857, the son of Professor Obadiah Conover, and spent his entire life in Madison. For nearly thirty-six years he had been the reporter of the Supreme

Court of Wisconsin, his father having held this office for the twenty years preceding Mr. Conover's term. Quiet and retiring in disposition he discharged his duties with unusual care and ability, making the Wisconsin reports a model for accuracy and clarity. Mr. Conover became a curator of the Historical Society in 1893 and served continuously until his death, a period of more than a quarter of a century. With W. A. P. Morris and Senator William F. Vilas he was chiefly instrumental in drafting in 1897 the Society's present constitution and by-laws.

Orlando E. Clark of Appleton, long a member of the State Historical Society and likewise for long years a regent of the University of Wisconsin, died at his home May 22, 1919. The death of Mr. Clark is a distinct loss to his home community, to the University, and to the Historical Society. Elsewhere we note the gift by the family of certain of his papers to the Society.

Philo A. Orton died at his Darlington home June 17, 1919 at the age of eighty-two. Mr. Orton was a native of New York who came to Wisconsin in 1850. His father, Justice Harlow Orton, was one of Wisconsin's leading jurists. He was also one of the founders of the State Historical Society, having sponsored in the legislature the bill which still stands of the charter of the Society, and thereafter until his death as member and officer manifested an active interest in the Society's work and welfare. The son, Philo Orton, was likewise a member of long standing in the Society. He was prominent in the affairs of his home community, serving as judge, district attorney, legislator, and for twenty-nine years as president of the board of education.

Chauncey H. Cooke of Mondovi was born at Columbus, Ohio, in 1846. He spent his youth in pioneer Wisconsin and at the age of sixteen enlisted in the Twenty-fifth Wisconsin Infantry. In May, 1865, on his nineteenth birthday, he was mustered out at Madison, a veteran of nearly three years' campaigning. Mr. Cooke went into the service with his father's dictum that this was "a war for human rights and human liberty" ringing in his ears. His diary and war time letters, published in booklet form some years since, give evidence that he afforded a good example of the type of citizen soldiery of which America is justly proud. He so conducted himself in after life that the business houses of his home city closed for two hours on the day of his funeral, May 14, 1919. Boy though he was, Mr. Cooke's soldier letters were charmingly written. We look forward to a suitable opportunity for laying some of them before our readers by printing them in a future issue of this MAGAZINE.

On May 3, 1919 died David F. Sayre of the town of Porter, Rock County, aged ninety-seven years. Mr. Sayre's interesting career was noted in our survey for June, 1919. A graduate from college in 1844, he came to Wisconsin five years later, practicing law in Fulton for a time and then removing to the farm where he passed the remainder of his long life. Not long before his death Mr. Sayre turned over to the Historical Library two reminiscent articles on life in early Wisconsin which we hope eventually to lay before our readers.

Lucien B. Caswell, "grand old man" of Fort Atkinson died at his home at the age of ninety-one, April 26, 1919. Born in Vermont in 1827, at the age of nine years he was brought by his parents to Wisconsin. Chicago was then a small town of three years' antiquity, while Milwaukee had seen its first growth of any consequence that same season. The family spent the winter of 1837 at Juneau's trading house, Milwaukee, and in the spring removed to a farm in Rock County near Lake Koshkonong. Here young Caswell grew to manhood. He read law at Beloit in the office of one Matt. Carpenter, and in 1852 opened a law office at Fort Atkinson. Thereafter for sixty-seven years Mr. Caswell practiced law in this community. For sixty-five years he was a member of the school board of the place. He organized the First National Bank of Fort Atkinson during the Civil War and was serving as its president at the time of his death. He was actively connected with other industrial enterprises of his home community and bore a prominent share in its public and social life. In 1862 Mr. Caswell accompanied Governor Harvey's party to Tennessee bearing supplies to Wisconsin's sick and wounded soldiers, this being the journey which ended in the death of Governor Harvey by drowning in the Tennessee River. Mr. Caswell represented his district in Congress for fourteen years beginning in 1874, and had a part in much important legislation. In recent years he devoted much of his time to preparing a history of his life; and this narrative it is said will be published at some future date.

It may perhaps be a matter of news to many friends of the State Historical Society that its library contains one of the principal collections of works on Mormonism in existence. Some additions of unusual interest have recently been made to the periodical section of this collection. From a very early date in its history the Mormon Church exhibited great proselyting zeal, missionaries being sent forth in true apostolic fashion to the ends of the earth. In particular did the mission to England flourish; and almost from the time of its establishment a constant stream of recruits journeyed across the ocean in search of their promised land. The proselyters had much faith in the power of the press, and Mormon periodicals

were established wherever the faith gained a real footing. The recent additions to the Historical Library are Vol. 1 of *Le Reflecteur*, established at Geneva in January, 1853; Vol. 1 of *Etoile Du Déseret*, begun at Paris in May, 1851; and Vols. I, II, III, and VI of *Ugdorn Seion neu Seren Y Saint*, established at Merthyr-Tydfil, Wales, in January, 1849.

We take pleasure in reporting to our members an act of graceful generosity on the part of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Two or three years ago its editor, Mr. Worthington Ford, was engaged in reproducing by photostatic process the early file of the *Boston Gazette*, one of America's earliest newspapers. The paper was established in 1719; and it chanced that the only file for several of its early years which has escaped destruction is preserved in the Wisconsin Historical Library. Accordingly Mr. Ford sought and obtained the opportunity of photostating these volumes. Late in June there came to the library a shipment of eleven bound newspaper volumes, photostatically reproduced, and simultaneously therewith a letter from Mr. Ford explaining that they were being sent as a gift from the Massachusetts society in recognition of the courtesy we had accorded them. The volumes include every known issue of the *Gazette* from its establishment in 1719 to the end of the year 1736. "It is presented," Mr. Ford writes, "to the State Historical Society of Wisconsin by the Massachusetts Historical Society, in recognition of its generosity in permitting it to use the Wisconsin file. I would add that only two sets were printed, one for your library and one for this Society." The gift is one of much intrinsic value, but we prize it the more for the evidence it affords of the good will felt for us by the oldest American historical society.

Over one hundred bound volumes of eighteenth and early nineteenth century newspapers, the most important single acquisition of newspaper files in many years, came to the Society in June. Excluding from consideration portions of files which duplicate papers already found in our newspaper collection and also numerous short or scattering runs, the more important items thus acquired are listed below. They constitute a gratifying addition to the Society's great and ever growing collection of newspaper files. The dates given are inclusive in all cases:

Philadelphia *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 1766-69.

Georgetown *Federal Republican* and *Commercial Gazette*, August, 1812-August, 1813.

Baltimore *Federal Republican* and *Baltimore Telegraph*, 1817-May, 1821.

- Washington *Republican*, 1823.  
Washington *National Journal*, 1826-30.  
Washington *United States Telegraph*, April, 1827-April, 1829;  
July, 1833-February 1837.  
Cincinnati *Liberty Hall* and *Cincinnati Gazette*, September, 1829-  
June, 1830.  
Boston *Courier*, August, 1829-August, 1830; 1831-32; July,  
1833-34.  
Columbus *Ohio State Journal* and *Columbus Gazette*, January-  
June, 1831.  
Baltimore *Commercial Chronicle* and *Daily Marylander*, August-  
December, 1834.  
Charleston *Mercury*, 1835-36; 1841-April, 1842.  
Lexington (Ky.) *Intelligencer*, July-December, 1835; July,  
1837-39.  
Washington *Globe*, July-December, 1835.  
Milledgeville (Ga.) *Journal*, January-June, 1836.  
Detroit *Daily Advertiser*, July, 1840-April, 1842.  
Vicksburg *Daily Whig*, 1840-41; November, 1860-March, 1861.  
Washington *Union*, November, 1843-50; 1853-54; July, 1855-  
April, 1858.  
New Orleans *Price Current*, 1845-August, 1846; September,  
1853-August, 1857.  
St. Louis *Price Current*, May, 1856-April, 1857.

Through the kindness of Richard Lloyd Jones, editor of the *Wisconsin State Journal*, the Society has come into possession of a gift of unusual historical interest, one intimately associated with the death of President Lincoln. We tell the story of it in the words of Mr. Jones in his letter transmitting the gift to the Society:

"In the summer of 1907 I received a letter from a lady whose name I have unfortunately forgotten, stating that her sister and she possessed the counterpane under which Abraham Lincoln died and would like to turn that counterpane over to me to dispose of as I saw fit. Would I please advise her if I were willing to accept it either as a gift or as a trust. On the evening of that day I called upon her. She and her sister were living on one of the eighty's on the west side of New York City, in a very fine house, though unpretentious in the New York sense. They were obviously people of affluence and culture.

"They showed me the counterpane and told me that it was in their aunt's house that Mr. Lincoln died. That house is now occupied by the Oldroyd Lincoln Collection. When their aunt gave up that house some years after Lincoln's death, she gave this historic coun-

terpane to her two nieces. They had kept it in their New York home, but were planning to move to Italy to spend the remainder of their lives, and did not wish to take such a valuable relic.

"Knowing my interest in Lincoln matters, they decided to turn it over to me and in doing so they made it a gift to me personally, stating that they would be satisfied with any disposition I might make of it. At that time the ladies wrote out a full statement of the facts, giving their names, address, and the date of the transfer, which paper, I am sorry to say, was mislaid when I moved from New York to Madison. Should it ever come to light I will, of course, turn it over to the Wisconsin Historical Society. This counterpane, it may be stated, was the best spread of the household and when Mr. Lincoln was carried from the Ford theater directly across the street the best the house could provide was of course his. The counterpane was not used by the family after Mr. Lincoln's death.

"Very truly yours,

RICHARD LLOYD JONES."

Madison, April 15, 1919.

The thirteenth annual meeting of the Waukesha County Historical Society was held in the Congregational Church at Waukesha, May 3, 1919. Aside from business reports, election of officers, and musical offerings two historical papers were given. Dan Camp discussed "The Old Fashioned Family Doctor," and Mrs. Elmer Harris told of "Early Days at North Lake and Vicinity."

Reports from Prairie du Chien convey the information that in April last one of the city's old landmarks was destroyed to make way for a modern improvement. The building in question was erected in 1817 by Frances La Pointe and for nearly forty years was used as a store in conducting the fur trade with the Indians. It stood on a lot which had been claimed and occupied by one Jean Marie Quere in 1786. From him the title passed to La Pointe in 1817.

To Captain David G. James of Richland Center, Civil War and Andersonville Prison veteran and long an advocate of woman suffrage, came in June a peculiar and gratifying distinction. Illinois and Wisconsin ratified the suffrage amendment to the federal constitution the same day and thus became the first two states to ratify. There ensued a race for the honor of being first to place the official notification in the hands of the Secretary of State at Washington. Illinois entrusted her certificate to the mails, while Wisconsin with greater shrewdness pinned its hopes upon Captain James. Entrusted with the certificate, he beat the mail service of Uncle Sam in the race

to Washington and gained for Wisconsin the honor of being the first state officially to record its ratification of the suffrage amendment.

At the opening of June the city of Ripon celebrated with impressive ceremony the seventy-fifth anniversary of its birth. The opening program was staged in Ceresco Park, opposite the Phalanx building where the original document of incorporation for the village was drawn. S. M. Pedrick, curator of the State Historical Society, delivered an address on "The Wisconsin Phalanx."

On July 5, 1869 the Old Settlers' Club of Milwaukee County was formally organized. During the half century that has since passed the Club has been a definite and active factor in the life of the community; and its history has afforded much material for the emulation of similar organizations. Two meetings are regularly held yearly, a banquet on Washington's birthday and a summer outing usually held at Soldiers' Home. At the time of writing this notice plans were under way for the appropriate observance by the Club, late in July, of its semicentennial anniversary.

On June 19, 1919 an Indian festival was held at Reserve on the Lac Courte Oreilles reservation in Sawyer County, in celebration of the homecoming of some eighty soldier boys which the local Chippewa band furnished to the United States army in the World War. In honor of the occasion Governor E. L. Philipp and a party which included Dr. W. C. Deemer of the United States Forestry department and Mr. C. E. Brown of the State Historical Society made the journey from Madison to Stone Lake and from there to Reserve to be present.

The ceremonies of the day began at 10 A.M. with the celebration of high mass in the Indian church; this impressive service was followed by a Corpus Christi procession through the streets of the village led by the visiting Catholic priests, soldiers, and the congregation. After the return to the church, a sumptuous banquet was served by the ladies of the reservation to the state officers, priests, and soldiers.

The ceremonies of the afternoon were held on a tract of land fronting on the principal village street and overlooking charming Little Lac Courte Oreilles. These were introduced by several musical numbers rendered in a bowery booth by the band of the Indian school at Hayward. Addresses of welcome to the Governor and his party were here delivered by several prominent Indians and by the sheriff of Sawyer County, to which the Chief Executive of the state responded in a fitting manner. The widely advertised Victory dance

followed these addresses, about one hundred Indians, both men and women, in picturesque native costumes taking part to the music of several war drums. This dance continued for more than an hour, there being, because of the unusual heat of the day, several intermissions to permit the dancers to rest. During one of these intermissions Governor Philipp was led into the dance circle and honored by being formally declared a member of the Lac Courte Oreilles Chippewa band; he was given the very appropriate Indian name of Bugonakeshig II (Hole-in-the-Day), this having been the name of a former war chief of the northwest Wisconsin Chippewa. Later in the afternoon an equally interesting and energetic squaw dance was given, this and musical numbers by the Indian band closing the program of the festival.

A concourse of several thousand whites and Indians attended the festival, among the latter being native chiefs and families from the reservations at Odanah, Lac du Flambeau, and Red Cliff and from the St. Croix River band. A number of Dakota chiefs and their wives, clad in the characteristic buckskin, war bonnets, and beadwork ornaments, attended from South Dakota, special favor being shown to these. Every Indian home in Reserve entertained to its capacity numerous visiting relatives and friends. Dr. Deemer and Mr. Brown remained on the reservation during a part of the following day to obtain moving picture film, about one thousand five hundred feet of which was secured. A copy of this Indian festival film is to be presented to the State Historical Society.

The period of the World War has been the most interesting in the history of postage stamp collecting. It is stated that of a total of 3,157 stamps issued by the countries concerned in the war the United States and allies have been responsible for the appearance of 2,274 varieties, whereas the Central Powers have issued 689 new stamps. The neutral countries have not been idle. At least ten of these have been forced by the war to issue new stamps.

The postage stamps issued during the war include charity and Red Cross; military, for use of the troops; occupation, for use of peoples of invaded lands; war tax; commemorative; revenue, and provisional issues made necessary because of shortage of customary paper or dyes, or increase of postal rates. It is to be expected that during the next year hundreds of new stamps will be issued by all of the countries taking part in the war and by the many new countries which have come into existence because of it.

For several years past the State Historical Museum has been engaged in assembling a representative collection of American and foreign postage stamps and it now requests its numerous friends



throughout the state to present to it all specimens of war stamps and any others of interest which may fall into their hands. Foreign postcards and envelopes and wrappers with interesting specimens of stamps upon them are also very much desired for the state collection. The Museum also wants United States precancelled stamps. The more duplicates the better since they can be used in making exchanges.

Special exhibits of postage stamps are made by the Museum throughout the year and these serve to interest hundreds of boys as well as numerous adult collectors who visit its halls. It will, therefore, be grateful for any help which citizens of the state can give in perfecting its collection. In many homes are old stamp collections, large and small, made by some former member of the family; for such collections the Museum will be very grateful. Letters may be addressed to Mr. C. E. Brown, chief of the Historical Museum, Madison.

#### THE CARTER CIVIL WAR LETTERS

An interesting addition to the great collection of Civil War letters now in the possession of the Historical Society was the acquisition in May of about one hundred twenty-five letters written during the war by the late Captain Richard E. Carter of Dodgeville to his brother, William E. Carter of Lancaster, Grant County, and other members of the Carter family. Three Carter brothers, Richard E., William E., and George B., served in the Union army and all rose to distinction at the bar afterwards. The Carter letters follow in the main the movements and the fortunes of the Army of the Potomac, and being written by a young man of some academic training their observations and estimates are interesting. The writer occasionally observes, for instance, that McClellan is not a Napoleon or he would have followed up his advantages at times, and he early discerned the rising star of Grant. After the Union repulse at Fredericksburg in December, 1862, Captain Carter writes that he wishes the two armies of Virginia might stand and watch each other from opposite banks of the Rappahannock "for three years, or during the period of the war, unless sooner discharged," and let the army of the West do the fighting, "as they have always done." "Would," he continues, "that they could transfer our six or seven regiments to the West where we belong," etc. He is frequently in great depression over the war's outlook and censorious of the military policies, except that of the West, "where," he says ironically, "success, as usual, crowns our arms."

That the State Historical Society was not overlooking the possibilities of such material as these letters contain is indicated in the following passage from one of them:

"I this day got a letter from the State Historical Society of Wisconsin in which I am informed that I have been elected a corresponding member of the Society asking me to keep a diary, etc., for them. Would you do it? May it not be a benefit?"

Whether or not Captain Carter kept a diary, he wrought admirably toward the same general end in these letters, which reflect much of the inner life, practices, and politics of the army.

#### THE ORLANDO E. CLARK PAPERS

The family of the late Orlando E. Clark, a regent of the University recently deceased at Appleton, has presented a few papers to the Society. Among them are some notes on the genealogy of the Clark Family of Saybrook, Connecticut, and some eighteenth century sermons of the Reverend Peter Stair of Warren, in the same state. The most important papers are those relating to the Democratic national convention at Charleston in April, 1860, adjourned after the secession of the Southern members to Baltimore. James Ford Rhodes says, "Never before or since has there been such a mingling of curiosity, interest, and concern as now prevailed concerning the action that would be taken by the national Democratic convention [of 1860]." The Clark papers contain the official proceedings of the Wisconsin convention that in February elected delegates to the national convention. Some material on the Illinois state and Cook County Democratic conventions foreshadows the secession at Charleston. For the national convention there are the manuscript lists of all the state delegations, and other papers concerning contested seats, especially those from Maryland and Georgia—these apparently are part of the documents of the committee on credentials. Manuscript copies of the proceedings and resolutions of the rump convention at Baltimore complete the collection. Throughout his busy life Mr. Clark methodically arranged and carefully preserved his private papers. The prospect is held out by the family that when time shall have been afforded to examine these papers the Historical Society may expect to receive all whose character is such as to make this disposition of them appropriate.

#### THE MERRELL PAPERS

The papers of the Reverend Edward Huntington Merrell, D.D., former president of Ripon College, have been presented to the Society by his widow, Mrs. Ada Clark Merrell. Dr. Merrell came from Oberlin College to Wisconsin in 1862 and devoted the remainder of his life to forwarding the educational interests of our state. At the time of his migration to Wisconsin the college at Ripon was in its infancy. With the election in 1863 of President William H. Merriam, the college took a fresh start. Professor Merrell assumed the chair of

ancient languages and upon the resignation of President Merriam in 1876 was elected his successor. For sixteen years President Merrell struggled to establish the college on a firm foundation, and he so far succeeded that to his régime Ripon owes much of its present prosperity. In 1891 President Merrell retired and accepted the chair of philosophy, which he held until 1907, when he was elected professor emeritus. He died in February, 1910.

The papers which Mrs. Merrell has presented to the Society cover the period from 1870 to 1910; but the bulk of them relate to the era of Mr. Merrell's presidency and include his correspondence with well-known benefactors of western colleges both in the East and in the central West. A few political letters concern the national situation in General Grant's administration and the situation during the Bennett Law agitation in Wisconsin. For the most part, however, the letters relate to educational and religious matters, the affairs of the college, the administration of missions, the question of the orthodoxy of prominent divines. Altogether, although small in bulk, these papers are unusually interesting for the study of religious history in Wisconsin. For Ripon College students the collection is enriched by the letters and testimonials gathered by Mrs. Merrell when preparing a memorial of Mrs. Clarissa Tucker Tracy, one of the earliest members of Ripon's faculty, who "mothered" the students as well as taught and inspired them.

#### THE UPDIKE PAPERS

Eugene Grover Updike, born in 1850 in New York State, removed as a boy to Wisconsin and was thereafter identified during his entire life with the state and its institutions. Sturdy both physically and mentally, a strong, independent thinker, and a moral leader of absolute fearlessness, he contributed as much as any man of his generation to the spiritual upbuilding of Wisconsin. He was educated at Lawrence College and entered the ministry of the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1876. He held pastorates at Montello, Delavan, Lake Mills, Racine, and Milwaukee. From the latter place he went in 1889 to a church in Englewood, Illinois, whence the next year he came to Madison and entered upon his life work as pastor of the First Congregational Church. Here he had the privilege of preaching to thousands of the youth of the state in attendance at the University, as well as of upbuilding the strongest church of that denomination in the state. After a pastorate of twenty-seven years, Dr. Updike died December 24, 1917. Mrs. Updike, who was one of the Favill family of Lake Mills, followed her husband in less than a year. Through the kindness of her executors such of Dr. Updike's papers as have historical value have been placed in the State Histori-

cal Library. They are rich in autographs of both political and religious leaders of the last generation. Among them we note letters from Judge Cassoday, John C. Spooner, Amos P. Wilder, Lyman Abbott, Charles Kendall Adams, Bishop James Bashford, Rev. John and Rev. Henry Favill, Washington Gladden, Judson Titsworth, Bishop John H. Vincent. These papers are useful for the religious history of the state, particularly for conditions in Wisconsin Methodism, when Dr. Updike about thirty years ago went over into Congregationalism. Although few in number they bear witness to the noble character of the man and the high esteem in which he was held by all moral progressives of his day. From such papers as these, historians of the future can reconstruct the struggle against the liquor traffic, and the fight for pure government, as well as the moral and spiritual uplift of our people during the generation that is now passing away.

#### THE HENRY P. HAMILTON COLLECTION

Through the interest and generosity of the late Henry P. Hamilton of Two Rivers the State Historical Society has become the owner of his remarkable collection of archeological materials. This great collection comprises the most notable gift of its kind, perhaps, which has come to the Society since its founding seventy years ago. For years it has been one of the best known private collections of its character in the country and has been visited and viewed at Mr. Hamilton's home by many of the leading American archeologists and ethnologists, as well as by hundreds of collectors and students. Descriptions of it or of some of its contents have been printed in various books and pamphlets on American archeological history. In the reports of the Wisconsin Archeological Society, especially, many of its interesting classes of specimens have been described and illustrated. Some years ago a valuation of \$30,000 was placed upon it by a leading American dealer in antiquities since which time numerous valuable additions to it have been made. Several large eastern museums have at different times opened negotiations with its owner with a view to obtaining it.

This collection has the special interest for students of local archeology of having been made almost wholly from old Indian village sites, mounds, and graves in this state. According to a recent statement of its owner the majority of its specimens were obtained from the Lake Michigan shore line between Two Rivers and Two Creeks and from the immediately surrounding regions in Manitowoc County. A catalogue is not yet available, but the contents include among numerous other specimens the largest number of native copper implements and ornaments in any collection, public or private, in the

United States. Many of these are of the largest size, of the finest ancient aboriginal workmanship, and of rare forms. Their collection and preservation has been for years Mr. Hamilton's specialty. They are said to number fourteen thousand pieces. The collection also contains numerous fine examples of Wisconsin flint implements as well as of stone axes, celts, hammers, gouges, adzes, and chisels. The series of fluted or ornamented stone axes is equalled only by that in the Ellsworth collection in the Logan Museum at Beloit College. Of the highly prized ornamental and ceremonial Indian art forms such as bird stones, banner stones, gorgets, boat stones, plummets, cones, hemispheres, pendants, beads, and tubes there are many specimens. The assortment of pipes is an exceptional one. There are also many choice implements and ornaments made of antler, bone, hematite, shell, and of other materials and pottery vessels of a number of shapes and sizes. Mr. Hamilton was one of the first collectors in the United States to recognize the great beauty and value of the exquisite so-called "jewel points" made of agate, jasper, and other semiprecious stones. His specimens, which number over two thousand, were selected from among the eighteen thousand which he once possessed; they were found on the banks of the Columbia and other rivers in Oregon and Washington.

Mr. Hamilton began the collection of Indian implements and ornaments in 1884, his interest in these being inspired by the noted pioneer Wisconsin collector, Frederick S. Perkins of Burlington. Although a man of large business interests in his native city and elsewhere his enthusiastic interest in aboriginal stone and metal artifacts continued up to the very last moments of his life as shown in his letters to the chief of the Historical Museum. He was recognized as a leading student of American archeology and carried on a large correspondence with other collectors and experts in this field. He was one of the organizers and for many years an officer and active participant in the work of the Wisconsin Archeological Society, being at the time of his death one of its vice presidents. He was also for years a member of the State Historical Society.

Mr. Hamilton died at the Presbyterian hospital at Chicago on June 15, after a short illness, his death being greatly regretted by a wide circle of friends.

CHARLES E. BROWN

#### THE COUNTY WAR HISTORY WORK

The most notable historical drive ever made in Wisconsin, probably, has been that conducted under the inspiration of the Wisconsin War History Committee appointed by the State Council of Defense early in 1918; its function was the securing for permanent preserva-

tion of the current records of Wisconsin's part in the Great War. Although authorized by the State Council and enjoying its active sympathy the committee was composed of active members of the State Historical Society and its work was supported and directed by that organization. Its immediate direction was placed in the hands of a member of the Society's working staff (first Dr. John W. Oliver; after his enlistment Mr. A. O. Barton) who was detailed by the Superintendent for this purpose and given the title of Director of the War History Committee. Due to the enthusiastic labors of these two men, war history committees were organized in every county of Wisconsin and in all hundreds of workers were enrolled in the service of saving the records of the Badger State's participation in the Great War. The work of the county committees is still going on, but that of the state committee has concluded. We print below a portion of the final report upon the work, made by Mr. Barton, director of the state committee and chairman also of the Dane County committee. Its perusal should afford gratification to every friend of the cause of patriotism and local history in Wisconsin.

"The war history work may be said to be in a satisfactory condition in the great majority of counties. While a number of counties have reported that they have nearly completed their records, none has entirely ceased work and the greater number are still some distance from their goal. This is due largely to the fact that many of the state's troops have but recently returned or are still abroad.

"It is gratifying to note that in most of the counties having the larger cities, such as Superior, Racine, Sheboygan, Fond du Lac, Kenosha, Green Bay, La Crosse, Janesville, Appleton, Eau Claire, Manitowoc, and Stevens Point, the work fell into capable and interested hands. In all these counties excellent results have been obtained. Perhaps the larger counties with the best records are Sheboygan, Fond du Lac, Eau Claire, Outagamie, Racine, Kenosha, and Brown, and among the smaller Adams, Clark, Waukesha, Taylor, Dunn, Crawford, Waushara, and Green Lake. In the two largest counties, Milwaukee and Winnebago, the progress has been less, but in both these counties the War Mothers have come forward with substantial aid of much promise. A half dozen counties have little to show as yet. Among these are Juneau, Dodge, Iowa, Oconto, and Waupaca. Juneau and Iowa will probably receive good attention soon. Some county councils of defense made appropriations for the history work; others gave neither funds nor encouragement. The correspondence files will give further light on the status of the individual counties.

"In a number of counties war histories and albums are in course of publication, chiefly by outside concerns. Among such counties may be mentioned Brown, Columbia, Burnett, Dunn, Door, Iowa, Crawford, Polk, Rusk, St. Croix, Oneida, Marquette, Waushara, and

Green Lake. It is also probable that histories will be written by local historians in the counties of Kenosha, Green, Racine, Lafayette, Trempealeau, and Ozaukee. The historians, acting or prospective, are: Brown—Chicago publishers; Door—H. R. Holand, Ephraim; Columbia—J. E. Jones, former editor, Portage; Marquette—C. H. Barry, editor, Montello; Waushara and Green Lake—R. S. Starks, editor, Berlin; Crawford—Lyman Howe, editor, Prairie du Chien; Polk—Editor, *Luck Enterprise*; Rusk—D. W. Maloney, editor, Ladysmith; Burnett—E. Huth, editor, Grantsburg; Iowa—Granville Trace, editor, Dodgeville; St. Croix—F. A. R. VanMeter, editor, New Richmond; Dunn—M. C. Douglas, editor, Menomonie; Kenosha—Miss Cathie McNamara, Kenosha; Racine—R. W. Haight, Racine; Green—C. H. Dietz, teacher, Monroc; Lafayette—P. H. Conley, Darlington; Trempealeau—Judge H. A. Anderson, Whitehall; Ozaukee—Rev. T. A. Boerner, Port Washington; Oneida—W. P. Colburn, principal, Rhineland; Outagamie—W. H. Kreiss, Appleton; Richland—W. G. Barry, editor, Richland Center.

“Your retiring director visited fifty of the seventy-one counties and met the chairmen of a number of others. The counties not visited were chiefly those in the far northern part of the state or such as seemed so well organized as to need less attention.

“Several hundred pictures have been received from a number of counties, including Washington, Sauk, Dane, Trempealeau, Milwaukee, Jefferson, Dunn, Eau Claire, and Green; more are promised from other counties. Final reports from several state activities have been received, including the council of defense, fuel and food administrations, county agents, physicians, naval enlistments for the state, etc.

“In a number of counties the War Mothers have been enlisted to collect the military biographies, letters, and pictures and are now at work in Dane, Milwaukee, Winnebago, Langlade, Jefferson, Polk, and perhaps other counties.

“War History chairmen or those having the work in hand in the various counties, follow: \* \* \*

The Dane County History Committee, of which your director is chairman, has turned all its soldier cards, letters, and pictures over to the War Mothers, Mrs. J. R. Commons, chairman, who will complete this work for the county. Among other things the committee has also received files of practically all county newspapers for the period of the war, a voluminous report from the County Council of Defense, and hundreds of reports from minor activities and organizations in Madison and throughout the county.

Respectfully submitted,

A. O. BARTON,  
Director, Wisconsin War History Committee and Chairman, Dane County War History Committee.”

## OUR CONTRIBUTORS

Theodore C. Blegen ("The Competition of the Northwestern States for Immigrants") has been for several years teacher of history in the Riverside High School of Milwaukee. Two years ago Mr. Blegen spent the summer in the employ of the Wisconsin Historical Society, the fruit of his effort being the exhaustive *Report on the Public Archives* which has recently been distributed to our members.

Louise P. Kellogg ("The Story of Wisconsin, 1634-1848") is senior research member of the staff of the State Historical Society and a frequent contributor to its publications.

James Bracklin ("A Tragedy of the Wisconsin Pinery") was for over thirty years superintendent of logging and driving for the Knapp-Stout Lumber Company of Menomonie. His narrative lays no claim to literary polish, yet we think it possesses in ample degree the two chief attributes of literature, simplicity and sincerity.

R. G. Plumb, who contributes the Leonard Civil War letters, is a business man of Manitowoc. Mr. Plumb is an enthusiastic member of the Wisconsin Archeological Society and is considered the leading authority on the subject of Wisconsin lake harbors. He has written a number of articles and pamphlets on archeological subjects and is an old-time member and friend of the State Historical Society.

## SOME WISCONSIN PUBLIC DOCUMENTS

*A Little Flag Book* compiled by Hosea W. Rood, patriotic instructor for the Wisconsin G. A. R., has for its object to promote patriotism, which the author defines as "love of country in action," and to give information concerning flag customs and flag etiquette. The laws relating to the flag are compiled by Arthur F. Belitz, assistant revisor of the statutes. About half of this pamphlet is devoted to the history of the two hundred battle flags of the Civil War. They were first placed in the capitol according to a law passed in 1870, which in 1875 was revised to provide cases wherein to exhibit these trophies. In 1895 the battle flags were given into the custody of the Historical Society and removed with its effects in 1900 to the new building on the lower campus. The next year by order of the governor these flags were returned to the capitol, whence they were rescued during the fire of 1904 and again returned to the Historical Society's custody. There they remained until 1914, when during a Grand Encampment of the G. A. R. they were once more carried back to the capitol. With the opening in June, 1918 of Memorial Hall



in the capitol's north wing permanent cases were provided, and the old flags arranged in regimental order with proper indications of their history. The remainder of the pamphlet comprises the official uses and customs for the United States flag, its symbolism, and the proper modes of showing it respect, the times and methods for salutes, the days for its display, and the state laws passed to prevent its desecration. The book also describes the first state flag, adopted by the legislature in 1863; it was of dark blue silk with the arms of the state "painted or embroidered" upon the obverse and those of the United States with the regimental name upon the reverse. In 1913 the specifications were modified so that the state coat of arms must be "embroidered on each side with silk." The expense involved in embroidering the flag in this manner has rendered its use rare. The pamphlet closes with a plea for a more constant employment of the national flag in the homes, churches, civic buildings, and in the private room of each citizen of the commonwealth.

In our March number we mentioned a pamphlet upon Americanization published by the State Council of Defense. The University of Wisconsin is the first university in the United States to establish a chair of Americanization. This was filled last fall by the appointment of Don D. Lescohier, associate professor. Under the auspices of the Extension Division Professor Lescohier has issued a *Preliminary Bulletin* outlining the plans of the department and the tentatives for action. He discusses the meaning of "Americanization" and disclaims such aims and methods as have been employed by Germany and other nations which have attempted forcibly to assimilate alien elements of their population. Our aim is not to require the foreigner to meet any rigid obligations of language or customs, but to produce a mutual understanding on the part of the alien, of what is best in American life; on the part of our own people, of the alien's peculiar difficulties and the opportunities that should be afforded him. This requires the older Americans to lay aside their prejudices and indifference and to assist the newcomers to share the privileges and fit themselves for the responsibilities of American life. Americanization thus becomes a process of education in mutual understanding. The leaders in this movement aim to utilize agencies already established, such as the public schools, the Y. M. C. A., the Y. W. C. A., community centers, social settlements, women's clubs, churches, etc. The function of the University is not to supplant other agencies but to supply for them advice, research, and the training of leaders. For this purpose a training course for teachers of Americanization was held in Milwaukee February 25 to May 8. In Racine a naturalization course was undertaken by four hundred eighty-two candidates for citizenship, concluded with a banquet and

a civic pageant. The University summer session offered special courses in Americanization. A state-wide movement is being undertaken in coöperation with the United States bureau of naturalization to work with the judges and the communities in making naturalization an honorable and impressive ceremony, recognized by the entire community. The Extension Division of the University furnishes lectures, an information bureau, and correspondence courses in English and citizenship. May the movement so auspiciously begun in Wisconsin receive the recognition and support of the entire state.

The League of Nations is at present probably the foremost subject in the thoughts of the American people. The Wisconsin Library *Bulletin* for January furnishes a selected bibliography on this subject prepared by Graham H. Stuart, executive secretary of the Wisconsin branch of the League to Enforce Peace. For 1915 Mr. Stuart cites five books, for 1916 and 1917 eight each, and for 1918 twelve that discuss the fundamentals of such a league. If but one book may be chosen, he would select H. N. Brailsford's *A League of Nations*, which "treats the entire subject in a sane, broad, logical manner, shows a thorough knowledge of world politics, and covers practically all the problems which will face the diplomats at Versailles." For the department of debating and public instruction of University Extension Mr. Stuart has prepared a schedule for debates upon the question: "Resolved, that a league of nations is practicable." He gives in brief form the arguments pro and con and references by which these positions may be supported.

The report of the Wisconsin special legislative committee on reconstruction is an able document and has been prepared at the expense of much labor and research. The committee, consisting of Roy P. Wilcox, A. Kuckuk, and J. C. Hanson, filed their report with the state legislature, February 5, 1919. It is issued in a separate pamphlet. It begins with the words: "Bolshevism is a present menace," and defines the movement as essentially revolutionary, "an intense expression of the desire for reconstruction tied up to revolutionary formulae, and permeated with the spirit of protest." It is in America an alien thing and has back of it a great emotional force, which only sane and fair-minded reconstruction can check. Reconstruction must be based on the doctrine that men are brothers and it must apply Christian ethics to social and economic policy. The report then discusses coöperation in agriculture, improved methods of marketing, and suggests a Marketing Commission responsible to the people. On the subject of labor it emphasizes the right to organization and collective bargaining, the needs of housing, of stimulating

public works, of a road-building program, of a minimum wage law for all workers, of a dismissal wage, and of increased educational opportunity for the children of wage earners. It also recommends representation of labor on educational boards and on boards of directors of corporations, the study of social insurance, the rehabilitation of victims of industrial accidents, a basic eight hour day, one day's rest in seven, and additional provisions for workmen's compensation. Advanced provisions for education are recommended, a State Land Settlement Commission, and colonization in colonies under the care of such a commission, and a state land bank. With regard to taxation, suggestions are made to the Tax Commission concerning income and inheritance taxes. The final recommendations of this report concern development and control of state commissions, suffrage for women, arbitration of legal disputes, and direct methods of amending the constitution. This report furnishes a working program for years to come and justifies Wisconsin's reputation as a progressive, forward-looking commonwealth.

Three years ago the State Conservation Commission was created by the union of the Fish and Game, Forestry, and State Park departments. The second biennial report of this commission furnishes much interesting information on the wild life and out-of-door possessions of our people. It states that 24,712 trappers' licenses were sold; and the value of the pelts taken is estimated at \$700,000—probably as much as was ever realized in the palmiest days of the fur trade régime. Muskrats are almost trapped out and need a protective law. In 1903 an air-tight beaver law was passed and then there were but three colonies in the state; now they have become plentiful enough to be almost a nuisance. Since the protection afforded to bears in 1917 they have become very boisterous, and it is recommended that the law protecting them be repealed. Deer will soon be exterminated unless a one-buck law is passed. Several wild-life refuges have been provided in Rusk, Douglas, Barron, Washburn, Jackson, and Eau Claire counties. July 3, 1918 a migratory bird treaty was passed with Canada. In the state parks new drives have been made, several miles of trails laid out, and many trees set out. In the Peninsular Park of Door County 20,000 log feet have been cut by scientific selection. The forestry division maintains nurseries from which trees for beautifying school grounds are furnished at low rates.

The commission began in March the publication of a small journal called *The Wisconsin Conservationist*, whose purpose "is to promote within the state a friendly coöperation on the part of the people in the carrying out of the duties which the legislature has laid upon the State Conservation Commission."

"Are American farms passing into the hands of tenants?" is a question seriously discussed by sociologists. In 1917 a committee of the American Sociological Society presented a plan for standardization of research in country life. Under this plan Professor C. J. Galpin and Emily F. Hoag made a survey of a typical Wisconsin community, the results of which are published under the title of *Farm Tenancy, an Analysis of the Occupancy of 500 Farms*. Within a ten-year period 246 farms were occupied by their owners, 42 were constantly leased, and 212 oscillated between owners and tenants. Other phases of the relations of tenants and owners are discussed by the authors of this valuable and unusual pamphlet.

The issuance of the biennial report of the Department of Agriculture gives an occasion for just pride in the achievements of our people in this fundamental industry. Wisconsin leads the United States in organization, the department being placed on the same plane and in the same relation to the United States Department of Agriculture as the agricultural college and experiment station. Thus the distinct functions of education, experimentation, and control are coördinated and interrelated. One of the most valuable of the department's activities concerns the protection and aid furnished to new settlers. Fifteen thousand seven hundred eighty-four homeseekers applied to the department, of whom from ten to fourteen per cent became residents of Wisconsin. These actual settlers were aided in land clearing and in securing supplies at low rates. One of the chief functions of the department is inspection by which means diseases of both plants and animals are corrected, cattle and hogs are tested, and weeds and seeds controlled. In connection with the United States Bureau of Crop Statistics the department issued in May *Joint Bulletin* No. 21, on agricultural statistics for 1918. From this we learn the gratifying effect of the stimulus applied to agriculture by war agencies. One hundred thousand acres have been added to the crop area; and notwithstanding the shortage of labor, the crops have been the largest in the history of the state. More bushels of grain have been grown than ever before, and the estimated total value is \$377,000,000 as compared with \$227,000,000 in 1916. For specific details concerning the several crops the reader should refer to the pamphlet.

Turning from the products of the land to the human product, the eighteenth biennial report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction furnishes interesting reading. War has emphasized the value of industrial and vocational training, in which Wisconsin is a leader. Educational reconstruction demands that the elementary schools shall serve the largest number, that health progress and needs shall be considered, that rural schools shall be improved and county schools of agriculture and domestic science established, that high schools shall be liberalized, and that continuation schools shall be organized for every industrial community. The report recognizes the need for scientific management and calls especial attention to the danger of a teacher famine since salaries have not kept pace with the increased cost of living. This means not only a dearth in the supply, but a lowering of the caliber of the candidates for teacher training. Wisconsin cannot afford to curtail in any way its educational agencies.

In this connection should be read and pondered the report of the special visiting committee to our charitable and penal institutions. Most of these are overcrowded and need repairs and enlargement. While the schools are considering the problem of the exceptional child, the state makes very inadequate provision for its feeble-minded, whose numbers are increasing with discouraging rapidity. Out of the estimated thirteen thousand that require special care, there are facilities for but twelve hundred. Wisconsin falls behind her sister states in handling this difficult problem, the ultimate cause of so much crime, poverty, and suffering.

The State Board of Health issues a pamphlet for general distribution entitled *Keeping Fit*. This demands muscular strength, endurance, energy, will power, courage, and self-control. The army records revealed four great handicaps: defective eyesight, teeth, and feet, and venereal disease. This pamphlet proposes corrective measures. With regard to eyesight certain original structural defects cannot be cured but may be corrected by properly fitted glasses; other defects can be aided by glasses that train the eye back to the normal, or by a slight operation performed by a competent specialist. Teeth are harborers of disease germs and the gateway to digestive processes. Much care should be given to brushing and cleaning them, with frequent recourse to the dentist for examination. Fallen arch or flat-foot may be prevented; directions are given for the care of shoes. In former wars venereal disease killed more than bullets. With increased knowledge of the laws of health, this danger to American youth may be eliminated. The pamphlet closes with practical advice on exercise, sleep, fresh air, food, and cleanliness, which will insure keeping fit.

The aftermath of the Great War brings a bulletin from the extension service of the College of Agriculture entitled *Wisconsin Wins*. Teamwork was responsible for the state's remarkable record, increasing its supply of bread cereals sixty per cent, sugar beets thirty per cent, and meat twenty per cent. In view of the shortage of labor this is an enviable record and is due to the cordial coöperation of federal, state, and county agencies under the council of defense organization. The aims of the campaign were to produce more essential vegetable foodstuff, to increase the supply of fats and animal food by two means. First, by making each acre produce more; second, by bringing more acres under cultivation. The first was accomplished by better seeds, soil management, and weed eradication; the second by drainage, clearing, and the control of weeds and pests. Pig and poultry clubs were organized, war gardens promoted, the potato problem solved, the sweets shortage relieved. A silo drive was inaugurated which resulted in ten thousand additional silos in war time. Threshers by care saved two hundred thousand bushels of bread grains. Publicity methods increased production. Boys' and girls' clubs with 40,000 members are estimated to have saved nearly \$750,000 worth of food products. The conservation of the women in both food and clothing deserves the highest commendation and had a great share in putting Wisconsin "over the top" and making food win the war.

The State Council of Defense publishes a *Report* of its organization and activities from the date of its creation (the first in the Union) April 12, 1917 to the date of its dissolution June 30, 1919. The authors of this report disclaim any attempt to present either a history of the war at home or a complete record of their organization. They simply enumerate some of the lines along which the council guided the enthusiasm of the people in their desire for humble service and willing sacrifice and preserve for future history an outline of the council's work. The various and varied activities of this especial war agency for the "home army" are so fresh in the minds of our people that an enumeration here is unnecessary. A consultation of the report will convince the most skeptical of the necessity of this organization for practical service.

The University of Wisconsin celebrated a post-war Commencement, and on June 24, the afternoon of Alumni day, dedicated the newly completed Lincoln Terrace; at this service a fitting tribute was also paid to the men in service from the University who had returned to share in the exercises. For this occasion a considerable booklet was prepared containing much material concerning Lincoln and an honor roll of the "gold star" University men, who gave their lives during the Great War for the sake of liberty. During

the exercises an impressive pageant was formed by young women students, each bearing a gold star surrounded by a wreath; these they heaped at the foot of the Lincoln statue as the Dean of the college of liberal arts called a name for each star so placed. At the same time the great service flag with its four thousand stars, one hundred twenty-five of which are gold, slowly unrolled across the façade of University Hall. The booklet containing this program also presents the "Lincoln Ode," by Professor Leonard of the University; an article on "Lincoln in Wisconsin"; the history of the Lincoln monument on the campus; and other relevant material.

### THE WIDER FIELD

The twelfth annual meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association was held at St. Louis, May 8-10, 1919. Among the papers scheduled of more particular interest to Wisconsin readers were: "Henry Hastings Sibley and the Minnesota Frontier," by W. P. Shortridge of St. Louis; "Steamboating on the Upper Mississippi after the Civil War," by L. B. Shippee of Minneapolis; "Jefferson Davis and Wisconsin," by M. M. Quaife of Madison; and "The Jesuit in the Mississippi Valley," by Laurence Kenny, S. J. of St. Louis. At the business session of the association M. M. Quaife was elected president for the coming year and Greencastle, Indiana, was chosen for the annual meeting place of 1920.

Several interesting articles are found in the March *Indiana Magazine of History*. Elmore Barce supplies a valuable account of "The Old Chicago Trail and the Old Chicago Road." The concluding section of Ernest Stewart's history of the Populist party in Indiana is given in this number. Another article worthy of mention is an account of the militia of the United States from 1846 to 1860, by Paul T. Smith.

A ninety-page article on "The Coming of the English to Indiana in 1817 and their Neighbors" comprises the greater portion of the June issue of this journal. A second but much shorter paper tells of the work of the American Marines on the battle-fields of France.

The March *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* contains a detailed narrative of the efforts of Asa Whitney to procure the building of a railway from Lake Michigan to the Pacific in the years 1845-50, which should prove of particular interest to Wisconsin readers. Two other articles having direct application to this section are Martha Edwards' "Religious Forces in the United States, 1815-1880," and E. M. Coulter's "Commercial Intercourse with the Confederacy in the Mississippi Valley, 1861-65."

The April issue of the *Michigan History Magazine* contains several interesting articles. The longest is a biographical account of Dan H. Ball, Marquette's pioneer lawyer. The story of "The Council Pine: A Legend," is told by Charles E. Belknap. William L. Jenks writes of "Legislation by Governor and Judges" in the territorial period; while Professor Larzelere gives the history of Mt. Pleasant State Normal School.

The *Washington Historical Quarterly* for April brings news of the acquisition by the University of Washington of the Bagley Collection of Pacific Northwest History. Mr. Bagley, a native of Illinois, removed in boyhood to Oregon in 1852, and in 1860 to Seattle. A printer by trade, he early began collecting Pacific Northwest newspaper files; and these constitute perhaps the chief portion of his collection. So extensive are they that they cover the entire history of Washington Territory and State, and exceed in volume and importance the combined newspaper resources of all the public libraries of Washington. Books, pamphlets, and manuscripts make up the remainder of the collection. The prospect now assured of its permanent preservation in so appropriate a place as the University of Washington library should afford gratification to all who are interested in the historical records of the great Northwest.

The issue of the *Minnesota History Bulletin* for November, 1918 appeared in April, 1919. Its contents are principally given over to the reprinting from the *St. Peter Minnesota Free Press* of 1858 of a series of sketches of Dakota Indians written by Stephen R. Riggs, who was long a missionary among them.





