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THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF WISCONSIN

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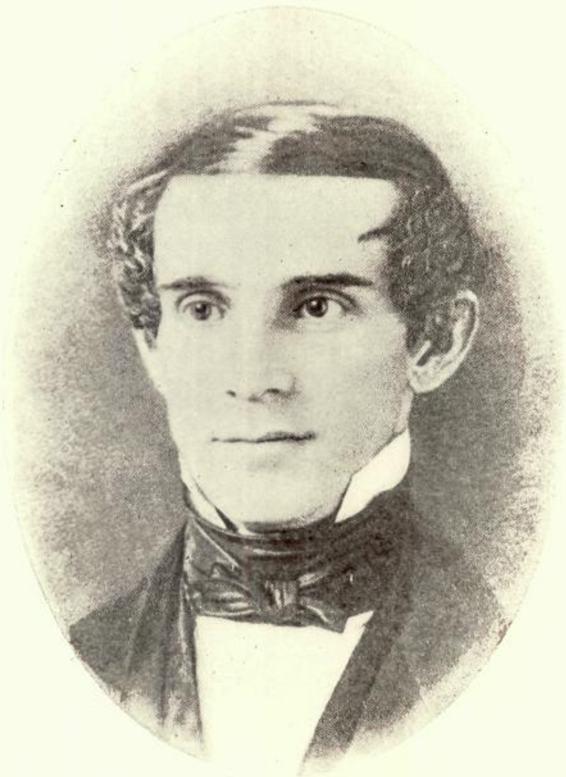

MARSHALL MASON STRONG

VOL. V 1921-1922

THE WISCONSIN MAGAZINE OF HISTORY

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MARSHALL MASON STRONG, RACINE PIONEER

Eugene Walter Leach

In presenting this sketch of Marshall M. Strong, it seems proper to state, by way of prelude, that I was but a lad when Mr. Strong died, in 1864, and do not remember ever to have seen him. I have talked, however, with many discerning people who knew him well, all of whom have spoken of him in terms of unqualified praise and almost reverential respect and regard. In city and county and court records I have encountered his name and his work repeatedly. In every authentic history of Racine County and of the state of Wisconsin he is given a definite place in the beginnings of things. What I have learned of Mr. Strong has awakened in me an ardent admiration for him, and a conviction that the people of this generation in his home city and state should know something of the life and work of one of the real founders of this commonwealth of ours—a man who was fitted for the task, and who left the impress of his genius and high character on its political, educational, professional, and civic institutions, and an example of probity in his public and private life well worthy of emulation.

Marshall Mason Strong was a prominent figure in that notable group of sterling men and women who migrated from New England and New York to southeastern Wisconsin in the decade beginning with 1834. They were people with a background of inheritance and training that fitted them for pioneer work—for foundation laying—and they gave the communities where they settled a tone and character that have survived the lapse of three-fourths of a century of time, and the influence of that other flood of alien peoples that has poured into the same section in the last sixty years.

Mr. Strong was exceptionally well equipped for the task that confronted those pioneers. The founder of the Strong family in this country—Elder John Strong—came from England to Dorchester, Massachusetts, in 1630, and with one exception the succeeding five generations, leading in line to the subject of this sketch, continued to live in that state, the exception being the father of our subject, Hezekiah Wright Strong, a lawyer of marked distinction, who moved to Troy, New York, in 1832, where he died October 7, 1848, aged seventy-nine. His paternal grandfather, Simeon Strong, a graduate of Yale College, attained eminence both as a preacher and as a lawyer; he was a justice of the supreme court of Massachusetts from 1800 until his death on December 14, 1805, aged sixty-nine.

It will be worth while to note here that Elder John Strong was the paternal ancestor also of Moses M. Strong, another pioneer lawyer of Wisconsin who achieved eminence. Being a contemporary with a similar name, he has sometimes been confused with Marshall M. Strong, though he was not a near relative. He came to Wisconsin in 1836 from Vermont, representing capitalists interested in the lead mines, and settled at Mineral Point, where he continued to reside, except for a brief interval when he lived in Milwaukee, until his death July 20, 1894.

Mr. Strong was born at Amherst, Massachusetts, September 3, 1813. I have made considerable effort to learn something of his childhood and youth, but with little success. It is now more than ninety-five years since he celebrated his thirteenth birthday, and there are none living now who knew him then; while no written account of his early life has been found, further than the bare record of his years in college. His collegiate education was begun at Amherst, where he spent two years, from 1830 to 1832. In September of the latter year he entered Union College, Schenectady, New York, his father having removed from

Amherst to Troy, New York during that year. He did not graduate from Union, however, and there is no record of the time he left there. He subsequently engaged in the study of law at Troy, where he was admitted to the bar. He must have come West very soon thereafter, for on June 2, 1836, before he was twenty-three years old, he arrived at Racine—then called Root River—by the Great Lakes route, on the steamboat *Pennsylvania*. From this day forth to the day of his death he was closely and continuously identified with the interests of the community and commonwealth which he had chosen as the field of his life work.

Although Gilbert Knapp, the founder of Racine, staked out his claim comprising the original plat of the city in November, 1834, settlement did not begin thereon until the spring of 1835. During this year half a dozen frame buildings and a few log houses were erected. The arrivals during the spring of 1836 did not add greatly to the population of the village, and it was therefore an undeveloped, pioneer settlement to which young Strong came, and to whose fortunes he joined his own on that June day in the second year of Racine's history. There was nothing that invited to ease or pleasure in the immediate prospect, and only the man with vision and a will to work—only the true pioneer—could be attracted by what it held in prospect.

Mr. Strong was the first lawyer who settled in Racine County, and there were few in the state who preceded him. Soon after his arrival he formed a partnership with Stephen N. Ives, and a general store was opened under the name of Strong and Ives, from which it may be inferred that there was little or no demand for the services of a lawyer at that stage of the settlement's growth. Charles E. Dyer, in his historical address, states that Judge Frazer, territorial justice, was the first judge who presided in April, 1837 over a court of record in Racine County, and that only eight days were occupied by the court in the three terms held there in the first eighteen months of its existence.

In the absence of positive record it seems probable that Mr. Strong continued as senior partner of the village store until the increasing demands of his profession required all of his time. This change must have come about comparatively early, for the troubled years from 1837 to 1839 brought many disputes between the settlers over the boundaries of their respective claims. It is a matter of record that Strong's legal ability was often invoked in the composition of these disputes. In June, 1837 a wide-reaching organization of the settlers of southeastern Wisconsin was formed, the object of which was the mutual protection of the settlers in their claims, and in fixing the boundary lines between them. All were trespassers in the eyes of the law, and it required wise counsel, as well as firm purpose and concerted action, to enforce fair dealing by those who were otherwise disposed. Gilbert Knapp was the president of this organization, and Marshall M. Strong was a member of the committee which drafted its constitution. It included a judicial committee, or court, before which all cases were heard and all disputes definitely and finally settled. It was government by the people without the sanction of written law, but with the force of a practically unanimous public opinion, and as a temporary expedient it worked well.

Mr. Strong married Amanda Hawks of Troy, New York, on May 27, 1840, and brought her to his home in Wisconsin, where he was rapidly making a place and name for himself. Three children were born to them, one of whom—Robert—died in infancy. Before six years of their married life had passed, a devastating shadow fell across the path of Mr. Strong. On January 27, 1846, while he was at Madison attending a session of the territorial council, of which he was a member, his home in Racine was destroyed by fire and his entire family, consisting of wife and two children, perished in the flames. The children were Henry, aged four years and ten months, and Juliet, aged nine months.

The appalling tragedy shocked the community and the Territory as perhaps no similar occurrence had ever done, and the profound sympathy of all citizens went out to the stricken husband and father.

The next day Albert G. Knight, a friend of Mr. Strong, undertook to convey to him at Madison the news of his bereavement and bring him home; there being no railroad he made the trip with his own horses and sleigh. On arrival at the capitol he found Mr. Strong addressing the Council. At the conclusion of his argument he was given the distressing news, when without a word he put aside his business, secured his wraps and effects, and accompanied Mr. Knight on the return trip, sitting with bowed head and speaking scarcely at all during the two full days that it consumed. Both houses of the legislature passed appropriate resolutions and adjourned.[1]

During the last dozen years I have talked with a number of people, all now dead, who lived in Racine in 1846 and were witnesses of the fire and its tragic ending. One of these was Mrs. Margaret Lewis, mother of ex-Alderman John H. Lewis, who died very recently. In 1846 she was a maid in the home of lawyer Edward G. Ryan, later chief justice of the supreme court of Wisconsin, who lived in the house at the northeast corner of Seventh and Chippewa streets, which is still standing and in fairly good condition. Marshall M. Strong was his next-door neighbor on the north, the buildings being not more than thirty feet apart. Mrs. Lewis, who at the time was sixteen years of age, witnessed all of the terrifying incidents connected with the burning of Mr. Strong's house and the death of his wife and children on that winter night, and they made a very deep impression

[1] The information contained in this paragraph was secured a few years ago from Mrs. Albert G. Knight, who is now dead. She stated that it was the supreme court where her husband found Mr. Strong engaged, but reference to contemporary Madison papers shows that it was the Council, to which Mr. Strong belonged. Mrs. Knight told me that her husband had a great admiration for Mr. Strong, and spoke of him often in terms of affection and high praise.—Author.

on her mind, the recollection of them being vivid until the day of her death in 1913.

Bereft of his entire family at the age of thirty-three, Mr. Strong was deeply afflicted, and for a time bore the distressing burden silently and alone. The passing weeks, however, mitigated the poignancy of his sorrow, and he returned with something of his usual cheerfulness and vigor to his professional and political duties. The new and very important work connected with the deliberations of the first constitutional convention, of which he was a member, and into which, in the fall of 1846, he threw himself wholeheartedly, was no doubt a beneficent factor in the healing of his stricken life.

On September 19, 1850, he married Emilie M. Ullmann of Racine, daughter of Isaac J. Ullmann, a banker. There were born of this union two sons and one daughter. Ullmann Strong was born June 30, 1851; was educated at Yale, where he graduated in 1873; practised law in Chicago until 1900, when he retired, and now lives at Summit, New Jersey. Henry Strong was born September 22, 1853, and died October 23, 1912. He was engaged in the lumber business at Kansas City, Missouri. Fannie A. Strong was born April 17, 1860, and died February 24, 1911. Emilie Ullmann Strong, the wife and mother, survived her husband forty-seven years, and died April 19, 1911. Ullmann Strong is the only member of the family now living. His generous response to my request for information for the purposes of this sketch is hereby gratefully acknowledged.

Mr. Strong was a consistent and constant friend of education during all of his life. He was one of the incorporators of the Racine Seminary, with whose subsequent history I am not familiar. On April 5, 1842, he was elected, with Lyman K. Smith and Eldad Smith, father of Mrs. John G. Meachem, member of the first board of school commissioners of the town of Racine. This board, and its

successors until 1853, had entire charge of school management and the collection and disbursement of school funds, the sources of which were in the management and disposition of the school section lands. In 1893 Col. John G. McMynn, in a letter to H. G. Winslow, then city superintendent of schools, paid a high compliment to Marshall M. Strong, A. C. Barry, and others for their capable and wise management of the public schools of Racine previous to 1852.

Mr. Strong was one of the incorporators and a member of the first board of trustees of Racine College in 1852, and continued an enthusiastic supporter of the institution all of his life thereafter. He and Dr. Elias Smith were influential in securing from Charles S. Wright and Isaac Taylor the gift of the original ten acres of land on which the college buildings are located. In 1853 he was a member of the faculty as a lecturer on political science. In an historical sketch of Racine College by Horace Wheeler, A.M., an alumnus, a high tribute is paid to its Racine friends and patrons, a number of whom he listed, adding, "and Marshall M. Strong, Esq., who was not only a large contributor, but whose counsel and personal efforts down to the day of his death were of inestimable value."

Mr. Strong was not only the first lawyer in Racine, but he tried and won the first lawsuit in Racine County, which grew out of a competitive squirrel hunt in which he was leader of one side and Norman Clark of the other. It had been agreed that all kinds of game should be hunted; a squirrel to count a certain number of points, a muskrat another, a deer's head 300, and a live wolf 1000; trophies to be obtained by fair means or foul. Two of the party heard of a deer hunter at Pleasant Prairie who had a good collection of heads, and they stealthily set out for them and got them. Meanwhile Mr. Strong's party heard of a live wolf in Chicago. It was sent for, but while being brought to

Racine it was killed by a Captain Smith of a party of drunken sailors at Willis's tavern, west of Kenosha on the Chicago stage road, the weapon used being a bottle of gin. In the meantime Mr. Strong went to Milwaukee and got a sleigh-load of muskrat noses, which out-counted everything. The squirrel hunt was broken up; Mr. Clark had ruined Schuyler Mattison's horse and had to pay $75 damages. Mr. Strong brought suit against Captain Smith for killing the wolf, and the jury, before Justice-of-the-Peace Mars, brought in a verdict of "guilty," assessing damages at six cents, Norman Clark being on the jury.

Mr. Strong was the first city attorney for Racine, having been elected for the first city council in 1848. In 1856–57 he was city railroad commissioner, whose duty it was to look after the city's interests, and to vote its $300,000 stock in the stockholders' meetings of the Racine and Mississippi Railroad. In 1859 the city had a bonded indebtedness of $400,000—railroad, harbor, plank-road, school, and bridge bonds—a burdensome load, on which even the interest remained unpaid, and there was serious talk of repudiation. Mr. Strong opposed this, and warned the people that they were "riding on a stolen railway; using a stolen harbor; traveling over stolen roads and bridges; and sending their children to stolen schools." The city narrowly escaped bankruptcy, but did not repudiate its debts.

In the forties and fifties two-thirds of the people hereabouts were Democrats, and Mr. Strong was a Democrat in politics, though temperamentally an aristocrat. His political career may be said to have been limited to the decade between 1841 and 1851; at any rate he held no public office after the latter date. On the organization of the village of Racine in the spring of 1841, he was elected a member of the first board of trustees. It does not appear from the records of the meetings of that first board that the business before them was such as would tax very

severely the business or professional capacity of men of the quality of Mr. Strong, and it is surmised that he may have had some such feeling, for he never again appeared as a candidate for an elective village or city office. He was, however, chosen a member of the upper house—the territorial council—of the legislative assemblies of 1838–39 and 1843–47 inclusive, and as member of the lower house in 1849. Before the close of the session of 1838–39 he resigned, and Lorenzo Janes was appointed to serve his unexpired term.

Although Mr. Strong maintained a patriotic and lively interest in all political movements during his lifetime, he was indifferent to the appeal of public office, except as it meant opportunity and power to promote the public good; this sounds trite, but is true nevertheless. Strife for his own political preferment was extremely distasteful to him, for he was above the small hypocrisies sometimes practised —often with success—in personal political contests, and his experience had bred in him early a detestation of those methods of courting success, and of the men who practised them. In a Fourth of July address in 1846 he gave utterance to sentiments betokening more than a tinge of cynicism also in his political views, when he said: "Are not the electors all over the Union influenced more or less by personal or local considerations; by unfounded prejudice; by falsehood, asserted and reiterated with the pertinacity of truth; by political intrigue and management, until it has come to be regarded in the minds of many worthy men, almost a disgrace to be chosen to office? They seem to ask, in the language of the poet,

> How seldom, friend, a good great man inherits
> Honor or wealth with all his worth and pains!
> It seems like stories from the land of spirits,
> If any man obtain that which he merits,
> Or any merit that which he obtains.

"It is certainly unfortunate that our system of government should in any manner offer a bounty for fraud,

intrigue, and hypocrisy, and that that bounty should be some of its highest offices."

In the course of an address before the Lawyers' Club of Racine County on May 7, 1901, Charles E. Dyer[2] gave an estimate and appreciation of Mr. Strong, from which I think it worth while to quote the following paragraphs:

"As senior at the bar in age and residence, stood Marshall M. Strong. I wish you could have known him. He was an ideal lawyer, and none excelled him in the state of Wisconsin. He was tall, though somewhat stooping; slender, and as clear-cut as a model in marble. His head and face were as purely intellectual as any I ever saw. His great eyes shining out of his face looked you through, and told you that his mind was as clear and bright as a burnished scimitar. When he made manifest his intellectual power in argument or conversation, he made one think of the inscription on the old Spanish sword,—'never draw me without reason—never sheathe me without honor.'

"No matter what demonstration of opposing intellect he encountered, he was as cool and impassive as a statue. In the law and in every department of knowledge he was a philosopher. He was quiet, urbane, earnest, unimpassioned, and his logic was inexorable. I do not think I ever heard him laugh aloud, but his argument was so persuasive, and his smile and gesture so gentle and winning, that when once the listener yielded his premises, there was no escape from his conclusion.

"Discomfiture was unknown to him. He never exhibited depression in defeat nor exultation in success—a true rule of conduct for every lawyer. Once I saw him in a great case, when Matthew H. Carpenter swept the courtroom with a tornado of eloquence. He sat unaffected, self-controlled, betraying not an emotion, not a fear—only a cheerful smile

[2] On the death of Mr. Strong, Mr. Dyer became the junior partner of Henry T. Fuller, who had himself been junior partner in the firm of Strong and Fuller.—Author.

of derision. Then he arose to reply, as confident as if he were presenting an ex parte motion, and before he finished Carpenter had not a leg to stand on.

"A natural logician, Mr. Strong stated his propositions in such manner that you had to beware lest they should lead you captive, although your relation to the case made it necessary to controvert them. There was no noise in his utterances—no oratory—not the slightest demonstration for effect. He carried one along by processes of pure reasoning. Yet on suitable occasion he was eloquent. He was somewhat like Wendell Phillips, who held his audiences spellbound, yet never made a gesture. His arguments were in the nature of quiet conversations with the court—sometimes refined and perhaps fallacious, generally invincible. Intellect reigned supreme, and he was as pure a man as ever looked upon the sunlight. When Timothy O. Howe, of the marble face, lay in his last sleep, Robert Collyer bending over him at the funeral exercises in Kenosha, taking no Bible text, waved his hand over the bier and said, 'This is clean dust.' So was Marshall M. Strong 'clean dust,' living or dead.

"I can think of no higher tribute to character than that paid to Mr. Strong, long after his death, by the Supreme Court, in delivering its judgment in the case of Cornell vs. Barnes, reported in 26th Wisconsin. It was a suit for collection of a debt by foreclosure of mortgage security, and involved a considerable amount. The defense was usury, and if there was a usurious contract, it was made by Mr. Strong as the attorney of the mortgagee. In fact he had made the loan for his client and represented him in every stage of the transaction. The usury alleged connected itself with the breach of a secondary contract by Mr. Strong, if there was any breach, and this was the vital point. The lips of Mr. Strong were sealed in death, and our evidence to repel the charge was largely circumstantial. Said the

Supreme Court, in its opinion written by Justice Byron Paine: 'The high character of Mr. Strong, who was well known to the people of this state and to the members of this court, seems also to speak for him when he is unable to speak for himself and repels the assertion that he would thus violate a plain agreement, as unfounded and improbable.' "

Mr. Charles H. Lee, a bright Racine lawyer and something of a scholar and litterateur himself, who as a young man was a student in the office of Fuller and Dyer, knew Mr. Strong quite well during the years just preceding his death. He also became very familiar with Mr. Fuller's estimate of the man who for many years was his senior partner. Mr. Lee, a few years ago, wrote for me a brief appreciation of Mr. Strong, in which he said: "He had an exceedingly high conception of the duties and dignity of his chosen profession, was liberal and kindly to his juniors at the bar, and always ready to counsel and assist them. He disliked noise or bombast, and while no one in his day was more successful with juries, his arguments were always addressed to their reason, their common sense, their spirit of fairness, never to their passions or their prejudices."

Mr. Lee told me also that Mr. Strong was a friend of Ralph Waldo Emerson, who always stopped at Racine to visit him when he came West. At the dedication of the memorial tablet erected in the high school for its alumni who lost their lives in the War of the Rebellion, Mr. Emerson made an address. He lectured here also at another time at Titus Hall. Charles E. Dyer has written of his pleasure in meeting Mr. Emerson for a half-hour after this lecture, on invitation of Mr. Strong, of whom he wrote: "On another occasion he had Wendell Phillips as a guest; thus he was a patron of literature and a friend of humanity, as well as an expounder of the law. He was a man of fine literary tastes and accomplishments. During the Rebellion he wrote

letters to Mr. Lincoln and Mr. Stanton on the conduct of the war. When John Brown was hanged he called a meeting on his own responsibility at the old court-house, and made a speech in defense and eulogy of the old hero."

Mr. Strong's literary tastes led him naturally into newspaper work in the earlier years of his life in Racine, and he made two side ventures into that attractive field, though he never took it up as a vocation, or let it interfere seriously with his professional work as a lawyer. On February 14, 1838, the first number of the first newspaper in Racine County appeared, with the name of N. Delavan Wood as editor and the following as proprietors: Marshall M. Strong, Gilbert Knapp, John M. Myers, Lorenzo Janes, Stephen N. Ives, and Alfred Cary. The *Argus* was a four-page weekly. The second number contained an editorial announcement that N. Delavan Wood was no longer connected with the paper, though carefully omitting details. The fact was that the former editor had absconded with all of the portable assets, and had been followed to Chicago by Marshall M. Strong, who recovered a portion of the loot. It is likely that it was on the *Argus* that Mr. Strong had his first experience as an editor, for the paper had but eight months of life, its last issue being dated October 6, 1838, and only the proprietors' names appeared at the head of the paper after the first issue.

The Racine *Advocate* was founded in 1842, with Thomas J. Wisner as editor. Mr. Wisner died August 12, 1843, and Mr. Strong became editor; he continued to direct its affairs until December, 1844. Charles E. Dyer, in 1879, said of the paper, "No better newspaper has ever been published in the county than the *Advocate* under the editorial charge of Marshall M. Strong." Mr. Strong's hatred of the shams and deceits practised by many for purposes of profit and preferment in business and politics is clearly revealed by the policy he adopted in excluding from the columns of the

Advocate the quack medicine advertisements which were so prominent a feature of the newspapers of that day, and so remunerative a source of income for them. It brings into sharp relief, also, the fundamental idealism that actuated him, which a half-century or more later found national expression in the very real pure-food laws of the land.

In January, 1846 the territorial legislature passed an act providing for submission to the people of the Territory at a special election, (1) the question of a change from territorial to state government; (2) providing for a census of the inhabitants of the territory; and (3) for electing delegates to a constitutional convention to be assembled at Madison the first Monday in October, 1846. The consideration of these propositions occupied almost the whole month of January, and Mr. Strong, who was a member of the upper house, took a prominent part in the debates. One proposal, in the discussion of which there were many sharp exchanges, was that negroes be permitted to vote for convention delegates, which was favored by Marshall M. Strong, and violently opposed by Moses M. Strong of Iowa County. The latter stated that at a recent election in his county, for delegate to Congress, the abolition candidate did not get a single vote, and he thought it poor policy "to give the South any reason to suspect that Wisconsin was favorably disposed toward the abolition movement"—which is an interesting side-light on abolition sentiment—or the want of it—in Wisconsin in 1846.

Marshall M. Strong, in reply, championed the cause of the negro in spirited argument, but to no effect. The legislature was strongly Democratic and anti-abolition, and the outcome of the matter was that negroes were not permitted to vote for delegates to the constitutional convention. Comparatively few northern Democrats, then or later, were outspoken in favor of the abolition of slavery, and Marshall M. Strong found in his own party little sup-

port of his legislative efforts to secure for the free negro in Wisconsin recognition of his civil and political rights as a man and a citizen.

The convention met and organized on October 5, 1846, with Marshall M. Strong and Edward G. Ryan as two of the fourteen delegates from Racine County, which at the time had the largest population of any in the state. When the question of negro suffrage came up in the convention, E. G. Ryan of Racine and Moses M. Strong of Iowa County made violent speeches in opposition to it, and Marshall M. Strong, who in the legislature ten months before had championed it, declared that he "had changed his views on the subject and would vote against it," and that was about all that he had to say on the subject in the convention. When the matter came to a vote there, but thirteen were for it in a total of 124, and the people of the Territory confirmed this action by a vote of nearly two to one when the question of negro suffrage was submitted to them on April 6, 1847.

The convention was in the control of the progressive wing of the democracy, and Mr. Strong, being a conservative Democrat, found himself in opposition to the majority on the three great issues before the body, which were finally settled after extended and spirited debate, and the convention declared itself, (1) against all banks of issue; (2) for an elective judiciary; and (3) for full property rights for married women.

In the debates on these proposals there was intense and continual antagonism between Mr. Strong, on the one hand, who opposed them, and his colleague Ryan and his namesake from Iowa County, on the other, who favored them. So indignant was the first, and so sure of his ground, that when the convention finally adopted them he resigned his seat and went home to organize a campaign to defeat the constitution when it should be submitted to

the people for ratification, a project in which he was entirely successful, for on April 6, 1847, it was rejected by a vote of 20,233 to 14,119.

Mr. Strong declined membership in the second constitutional convention, made necessary by the rejection of the work of the first. The constitution which it formulated, and which was ratified in 1848, is still in force, the oldest constitution of any state west of the Allegheny Mountains. Mr. Strong was elected to the first state legislature in 1849, and took a prominent part in the revision of the statutes of the state, after which he retired permanently from the political strife so necessarily connected with public life, which was uncongenial to his thoughtful, quiet, and domestic nature.

Three recent publications of the State Historical Society —viz., *The Movement for Statehood 1845–1846*, *The Convention of 1846*, and *The Struggle over Ratification 1846–1847*, Constitutional Series, edited by Milo M. Quaife—have made it possible to get intimate and accurate estimates of some of the "Fathers" of Wisconsin, that have previously been difficult to secure. They are just the books for any who may wish to make an exhaustive study of those movements and men. They furnish a wealth of material, also, in the contemporary opinions of associates in the legislature and the conventions, and of newspaper editors and correspondents whose impressions and judgments were given frank and free expression. I think it worth while to make two or three quotations from these volumes which throw into bold relief the essential attributes of character that made Marshall M. Strong the real leader that he was.

On the organization of the convention Mr. Strong was a candidate for its presidency, and received the second largest number of votes on the first three ballots. As to his fitness for that office we have the opinion of E. G. Ryan, his colleague from Racine County, who in convention

business had seldom been in agreement with him. Mr. Ryan contributed a series of articles to the Racine *Advocate* during the convention, under the pseudonym "Lobby," and in commenting on the resignation of Mr. Strong directly after that event, he said, among other things: "His resignation is deeply lamented by all with whom he has been in the habit of acting, and his presence in the hall is greatly missed by all. His whole course in the convention was marked by great ability; he was ever a ready, fluent, and practical debater; very courteous in his bearing to all, and frequently, when assailed, giving proofs by his calmness and self-possession, of eminent fitness as well in temper as in ability for his position. His circumstances would undoubtedly have rendered the presidency of the convention a more desirable position to him; his occasional presence in the chair fully warranted his claims upon it; and neither I nor many others here have now any doubt that had the usages of the party been observed, and a caucus nomination made that nomination would have fallen upon him. The result was a far greater loss to the public than to him. Without any injustice to the present presiding officer, I feel well warranted in saying that, if Mr. Strong had been chosen the president, the convention would have adjourned weeks ago with a better constitution than they have now adopted." When in the midst of controversy a man steps aside to praise his adversary, he may be given credit for candor.

In the campaign for ratification of the constitution of 1846 Marshall M. Strong was generally recognized as leader of the opposition. He addressed a big rally of the antis at the Milwaukee courthouse on March 6, 1847, which was reported for the Madison *Wisconsin Argus* by its correspondent "John Barleycorn"; he said that when introduced to the meeting, Mr. Strong was "greeted with overwhelming cheers for several minutes. He spoke about half an hour

in his usual calm, clear, and convincing manner. The style of his oratory is peculiar. Though there is nothing striking about it, yet no man can listen to him without feeling his soul strangely and powerfully stirred up—without feeling that a large and noble soul is communing with his soul at unwonted depths. How strange it seems, and yet how welcome in these days of shallow quackery and raving demagogism to listen to a true man! . . . All that I have seen of Strong has conspired to give me an exalted opinion of the man." This writer gave expression to the feeling of many who listened to Mr. Strong. His positions—and his arguments in support of them—were not always unassailable, though taken and maintained with such evident sincerity and great earnestness as to convince the open-minded and compel the respect of all. The Milwaukee *Sentinel and Gazette,* in reporting the above meeting, said that "Marshall M. Strong followed Mr. Kilbourn, and for five minutes after his name was announced and he appeared upon the stand, cheer upon cheer shook the building and woke up responsive echoes from without. Most cordial indeed was the reception extended to Mr. Strong, and so he evidently felt it to be, for it stirred his blood as the trumpet call rouses up the warrior, and he spoke with a power and eloquence which told with wonderful effect upon his audience."

Although Mr. Strong had the tastes and spirit of an aristocrat, there was no snobbery in him. He was a straight, a clear, and a clean thinker, with a fine scorn of anybody or anything that was crooked, or dubious, or unclean. It was an aristocracy of brains, and heart, and soul that claimed him, and to which he owned allegiance. In the social and civic organization and activities of the settlement, the village, and the city that was his home, he took the part of a man and a citizen. He kept store, as we have seen; he was a member of fire company, engine number one, at a time when the most effective fire-fighting apparatus known was

a hand-pump machine, and it was hard and often dangerous work when called out by an alarm; and in every other possible way identified himself with the work, responsibilities, and other common interests of the community.

The last ten or more years of Mr. Strong's life were devoted quite exclusively to the practise of his profession, in which he was preëminently successful. He was the recognized head of the bar of the first district, and had a large clientele. I have talked recently with a gentleman who, when a young man, knew Mr. Strong and heard him argue cases in court. He told me that it was Mr. Strong's settled policy never to take a case unless convinced that justice was with his client.

The special attention of the reader is invited to the portrait of Mr. Strong accompanying this sketch. It does not require an expert physiognomist to see delineated there the fine traits of character ascribed to him by those who knew him well and appraised him truly. Of Mr. Strong's religious faith or experience I have learned but little, except that he had no church relationship, though his second wife and all of her family—the Ullmanns—were members of the Episcopal Church. Mr. Strong died March 9, 1864, and is buried beside his first wife and four of his children, in the family lot in Mound Cemetery, Racine.

THE FIRST TRADERS IN WISCONSIN

Louise P. Kellogg

The fur trade is the oldest industry of white men upon the North American continent; indeed, the fur traders often outran the explorers in their penetration of the interior and found their way to the farthest recesses of the unknown wilderness. After the French had formed a colony on the St. Lawrence, groups of Indians from the Upper Lakes ventured thither each year to exchange the skins of the animals they had captured for the strange and precious things the white men had to offer. It soon came to pass that a fur fair was held each summer on the island of Montreal. Late in June or early in July great fleets of Indian canoes came sweeping down the Ottawa, heavily laden with packs of peltry. From them disembarked many red men, who quickly set up their wigwams on the wide meadows around the little town and prepared their furs for sale. All the merchants of the colony, and some from overseas, gathered for this annual market. Booths sprang up as if by magic, in which was displayed merchandise that tempted the cupidity of the primitive visitors—knives and kettles, beads and armlets, blankets and cloth, looking-glasses and combs —articles manufactured expressly for the Indian trade.

Frequently during these periods of exchange, the young habitants and their dusky customers became somewhat intimate, and an invitation would be offered and accepted to return with the red man to his home in the far West. Usually the Canadian who accepted such an invitation would obtain some goods from a merchant on shares, promising to repay him with half of the profits of the expedition. Such an expedition required great courage and physical endurance. The trader was cut off from civilization always

for a year, sometimes for several years if the Indians whom he accompanied did not make an annual voyage to Montreal. They were often hindered from doing this by the danger of falling into the hands of the hostile Iroquois, who waylaid all the trading paths and rivers to capture peltry to sell to the Dutch at Albany. While the hazard was great, the profits were also tremendous—from ten to twelve hundred per cent being the customary return. This, with the lure of the wilderness life, its freedom and adventure, led many French youths to go with the Indians to their western homes. Most of these young traders kept no journals, nor are there any records of their voyaging. All we know of them is the mention made in missionary reports of the coming or going of some white traders in the Indian trade flotillas. It is thus quite impracticable to say who was the first trader in the region that is now Wisconsin. He may have come and gone and left no trace, only rehearsing his adventures in later years around the hearth fires in his quiet Canadian home.

About the year 1880 an interesting and curious manuscript was found in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, which proved to be the journals, written in English of a quaint and unusual style, of a French trader who visited Wisconsin about the middle of the seventeenth century. He styled himself Pierre Esprit Radisson, and narrated the events of four voyages undertaken in New France partly by himself, partly in company with one whom he calls his brother, Médart Chouart, Sieur de Groseilliers. The latter was in fact Radisson's brother-in-law, husband of his half-sister Marguerite.

It was for a long time a mystery how these journals came to be found in an English library. We know now that after Radisson left the French service, he assisted the English in organizing the Company of Adventurers to Hudson's Bay, the greatest fur trading corporation in the

world, which is still in active operation. Radisson also married an English wife and lived for many years in London, neighbor to Samuel Pepys, the famous diarist. With the latter's papers these quaint journals of early voyages into the American Northwest passed into the Oxford library.

The discovery of the journals was soon followed by their publication. Brought out in 1885 by the Prince Society of Massachusetts, they awakened much interest among western historians, since except for Jean Nicolet, Radisson was the first white man whose account of voyages into the Upper Lakes region has been preserved. By some historians he and Groseilliers are thought to have been the first discoverers of Iowa, of Minnesota, of the Dakotas, and of Manitoba. Others consider them the discoverers of the Mississippi River, and of an overland passage from Lake Superior to Hudson Bay.

It is quite certain that Radisson wrote the journals of his voyages many years after they occurred; in fact, after he had been some years among the English and had learned to write their language. His memory for dates was very poor, and he made so many mistakes in his chronology that it is difficult to determine when the voyages he narrates took place. On the other hand, his memory of what he saw and experienced was very keen, and from his pages we get the first picture of primitive Wisconsin in all its pristine beauty. These journals are thus among our most valuable historical sources.

Radisson came to Canada in 1652 and deserted to the English before 1665; within these thirteen years, therefore, all of his four lake voyages must have occurred. The first one was involuntary. While hunting near Three Rivers he was captured by some prowling Iroquois, carried to their country, and finally rescued by the Dutch at Albany. A French priest met him there in September, 1653; by his mention of this fact we can date the first voyage 1652–53.

Radisson then describes his "Second Voyage to the Upper Country of the Iroquois." From the *Jesuit Relations* we can easily date this voyage as from July 26, 1657 to April 3, 1658, when the party he was with came back to Montreal.

The voyages in which Wisconsin people are most interested are the two which Radisson took together with Groseilliers to the region of the Upper Lakes. In his journals the descriptions of these western voyages follow those to the Iroquois country. It has been assumed, therefore, that they necessarily followed these in date, and that both must have occurred after the spring of 1658. Radisson calls the first of these the "Auxoticiat Voyage" into the Upper Lakes. No one has yet determined what this title means. There are many reasons to believe that this so-called "third" journey occurred before the "second journey to the Iroquois country." For instance, in 1654 the governor of New France sent two traders back with the Indian flotilla which came down to Montreal that year, the first in several years. These two traders were absent from the colony until 1656, when they came back with the trade flotilla. From the *Jesuit Relations* we learn that one of them was Groseilliers; it has seemed probable, therefore, to many writers that the other one was Radisson, and that this was the voyage he describes as his "auxoticiat." That same year, 1656, twenty-eight French traders started to ascend the Ottawa River, but were driven back by an attack of the hostile Iroquois. Radisson, in his "auxoticiat" voyage, describes just such an attack, and says that he and his brother, unlike the other traders, went on and finally reached the Upper Lakes. He says also that they were three years in all upon this journey to the West. In view of our knowledge that in July, 1657 Radisson was on his way to the Iroquois country, how can these discrepancies be reconciled? I venture to propound the following theory:

When in 1654 the governor proposed to send two traders home with the western Indians, he naturally turned to

Groseilliers, who was much older than Radisson and had several times voyaged as far as Lake Huron, and had visited on Georgian Bay the tribes that later migrated to Wisconsin. Groseilliers had afterward visited France, and upon his return to Canada married, on August 24, 1653, Radisson's sister. At this time, as we have seen, the younger man was in captivity among the Iroquois. When released in the autumn of 1653, he, too, went to France; the date of his return to Canada is not known, but it may not have been until after Groseilliers had gone in the summer of 1654, at the governor's request, with the western Indians. Groseilliers came back, as we have also seen, with the trading fleet of 1656. May he not at this time have induced his young brother-in-law to go back with him for another year of profitable trade with the Indians whom he knew so well? This supposition would account for Radisson's description of the outward journey of 1656 as his first introduction to the West; it would also account for his statement that the voyage lasted three years, since he was describing both his own and Groseilliers' adventures—all the more that Groseilliers had the misfortune to lose his own journal on the voyage.

If this explanation be accepted, it follows that Radisson himself on this first western voyage spent but one year in the West (1656–57), but that his descriptions cover the adventures of Groseilliers (1654–57) as well as his own. This theory makes it easier to understand the difficulty encountered in attempting to construct any itinerary of this voyage. As far as Sault Ste. Marie all is clear; after that it seems impossible to map out any route that will answer all Radisson's descriptions. We believe that he himself spent his year in and around Green Bay, and perhaps ventured as far south as the Illinois country. His descriptions of the northern country, of the land of the Sioux and the Cree, were derived from the reports of Indians. He uses the

pronoun "we" in describing these; but an attentive reading will show that he was quoting what the Indian narrator said, when he used "we" for himself and his fellow Indians.

In the summer Groseilliers fell ill, and Radisson wandered off with a group of natives. He speaks in this connection of a "great river which divides itself in 2." This phrase has been thought to be a reference to the Mississippi River; but the account he gives is too indefinite to establish the claim that Radisson was the discoverer of that great waterway.

Radisson and Groseilliers made still another journey to the Upper Lakes; this time they departed by stealth, the governor being opposed to so many young men leaving the colony for life among the Indians. On this second western voyage they visited the country around Lake Superior. It probably occurred between 1658 and 1660, since Radisson says that upon their return they passed the place where a few days before Dollard and his heroic companions had sacrificed their lives to the Iroquois at the Canadian Thermopylæ. The itinerary of this voyage is not difficult to trace. After reaching Sault Ste. Marie the travelers entered Lake Superior; skirting its southern coast, they portaged across Keweenaw Point, and arriving at Chequamegon Bay built a log hut on the southwest shore of the mainland. This was without doubt the first white habitation in Wisconsin of which any record has come down to us.

Leaving their stores in this hut, the traders accompanied the Ottawa to their village on Lac Court Oreilles. It was winter before they finally concluded their preparations, and the Indian village at the lake side was destitute of food. Radisson describes the famine in most vivid terms: "Here comes a new family of these poore people dayly to us, halfe dead, for they have but the skin & boans. . . . In the morning the husband looks uppon his wife, ye Brother his sister, the cozen the cozen, the Oncle the nevew, that weare

for the most part found deade. They languish wth cryes & hideous noise that it was able to make the haire starre on ye heads that have any apprehension. Good God, have mercy on so many poore innocent people." The prayer was heard, for a sleet storm fell that crusted the ice, so that the deer broke through and were easily captured.

In the spring a rendezvous was made at the head of Lake Superior for the Cree Indians of the north. This probably occurred near the present city of Superior. Radisson at once perceived that the most valuable furs were to be collected in the northern country. His plan, that afterward resulted in the organization of the Hudson's Bay Company, probably began to take form in his mind at this time. This conference over, the two traders took the overland trail to the great Sioux village on Lake Mille Lac. It has been suggested that its inhabitants, the Isanti tribe (now known as the Santee Sioux) took their name, which means "Knife Sioux," from the fact that they were the first of the Sioux to obtain steel knives from these French traders.

Retracing their steps to Chequamegon Bay, Radisson and his comrade found that the Ottawa had arrived before them and had built a village on the point. The traders thereupon built a second hut supposedly on Houghton Point. It was at this time that Radisson broke or strained his leg, which was cured by rubbing with hot bear's oil.

After many adventures the French and the tribesmen gathered at the Sault and descended to the colony. Our traders had been very successful; they brought from the West a fortune in furs estimated at $60,000. But the governor, angered because they had gone out without authorization, confiscated their cargo. Thereupon Radisson and Groseilliers determined to offer their services to the English, and departed from the colony of Canada.

The chief importance of Radisson's journals lies not in finding their exact dates, nor in tracing the exact route he

traveled. His narrative is unique, a picture of Wisconsin in its original state, before its natural features or its aborigines had been changed by contact with the white men. The narrator had an eye for natural beauty. The first region he visited he thus describes: "The country was so pleasant, so beautifull & fruitfull that it grieved me to see y[t] y[e] world could not discover such inticing countrys to live in. This I say because the Europeans fight for a rock in the sea against one another, or for a sterill land and horrid country that the people sent heare or there by the changement of the aire ingenders sicknesse and dies thereof. Contrarywise these kingdoms [the Mississippi and Upper Lakes region] are so delicious and under so temperat a climat, plentifull of all things, the earth bringing foorth its fruit twice a yeare, the people live long and lusty and wise in their way." And again: "The further we sejourned the delightfuller the land was to us. I can say that [in] my lifetime I never saw a more incomparable country, for all I have ben in Italy; yett Italy comes short of it, as I think." "What conquest would that bee att litle or no cost; what laborinth of pleasure should millions of people have, instead that millions complaine of misery and poverty!" Was Radisson the first western land agent? Or was he rather the prophet of the Mississippi Valley where millions of Europe's poor were to find homes that would seem to them a "laborinth of pleasure"?

Passing along Lake Superior, Radisson found the coasts "most delightfull and wounderous." He especially admired "a bank of rocks like a great Portall, by reason of the beating of the waves. The lower part of that oppening is as bigg as a tower." At Chequamegon Bay the travelers found a "cape very much elevated like piramides." At Lake Court Oreilles, where he arrived in winter, Radisson says that "the snow stoocke to those trees that are there so ruffe, being deal trees, prusse cedars, and thorns, that

caused y^t darknesse upon ye earth that it is believed that the sun was eclipsed them 2 months."

At Mille Lac the Frenchmen were offered wild rice to eat. "It growes in the watter in 3 or 4 foote deepe. There is a God that shews himselfe in every countrey, almighty full of goodnesse, and ye preservation of those poore people who knoweth him not. They have a particular way to gather up that graine. Two takes a boat and two sticks, by wch they gett ye eare downe and gett the corne [kernel] out of it. Their boat being full, they bring it to a fitt place to dry it, and this is their food for the most part of the winter." Radisson also describes the fishes and birds he noticed. When he writes: "There are birds whose bills are two and 20 thumbs long. That bird swallows a whole salmon, keeps it a long time in his bill," we recognize the pelican. The moose "is a mighty strong animal, much like a mule, having a tayle cutt off 2 or 3 or 4 thumbs long, the foot cloven like a stagge. He has a muzzle mighty bigge. I have seen some that I put into it my 2 fists att once with ease."

More important still is his account of the primitive Indians and of their domestic arts. He describes their weaving and their pottery, their calumets, dress, and ornaments, their feasts and fasts, their games and dances. He was present at their councils, where he and his comrade were treated with great honor. "We weare Cesars," he writes, "being nobody to contradict us." In this terse phrase he sums up the attraction the Indian trade possessed for the youth of Canada. The average trader would not exchange his wilderness life for all the glittering pleasures of the court. Better be a "Cesar" in the wilderness than a sycophant at Versailles.

Radisson also frankly reveals the seamy side of the fur trader's life, the long journeys and tedious winters in snow-covered huts in the forest; the constant danger of perishing by starvation or by a sudden hostile whim of some savage

customers; the distaste induced in civilized men by their filthy habits and fickle dispositions.

Radisson's descriptions of the primitive Indian dress and customs have not been studied by ethnologists as carefully as they merit. Most Indian tribes had already acquired by direct or intertribal trade some French goods when the white men first met them. Not so the Sioux when Radisson visited their village. Here were savages in the stone age of progress, some of their weapons tipped with horn. Their hair was either worn long or burned off, "for the fire is their cicers," says the narrator. "They were all proper men and dressed wth paint," he says again. Then he goes on to describe their necklaces of snakeskins ornamented with bear's paws, their garments of moose and deerskins. "Every one had the skin of a crow hanging att their guirdles. Their stokens all imbroidered wth pearles and wth their own porke-pick [porcupine] worke. They have very handsome shoose laced very thick all over wth a peece sowen att the side of ye heele, wch was of a haire of Buff [buffalo], wch trailed above half a foot upon the earth or rather on the snow." He mentions also their "light earthen pots," "girdles of goat's hair," and describes at length the ceremonial calumet adorned with a fan of eagle's feathers.

Enough has been said to indicate the keen observation and vivid descriptions of this first-known trader in Wisconsin. His later apostasy made his memory odious to the Canadians, since none of their rivals were more injurious to the colony's prosperity than the English traders of the Hudson's Bay Company.

The remainder of Radisson's life was even more eventful than his early years. Having visited Boston in order to secure ships for a voyage to Hudson Bay, he fell in with the royal commissioner, Sir George Cartaret, a great noble and friend of Charles II. Cartaret at once succumbed to the charm of the wild tales the young Frenchmen could tell

and persuaded the latter to embark with him for England. En route they were captured by a Dutch privateer, finally landed on the coast of Spain, and made their way at last to London. There young Radisson became the lion of the day. He was entertained by great lords and ladies who listened avidly to his stories of adventure in the great western wilderness. Even the king was graciously pleased to summon Radisson to his presence, and he became a boon companion of Prince Rupert, the king's roystering cousin. Radisson's tales of the rich furs to be obtained from the Cree and other northern tribesmen aroused the cupidity of the English nobles. Ships were fitted out, and Radisson and Groseilliers, who had joined him in England, sailed for Hudson Bay. In the instructions orders were given to obey the commands of "Mr. Gooseberry and Mr. Radisson." Upon their return with a rich cargo, prize money was awarded them, and in 1670 a charter issued for the Company of Merchant Adventurers to Hudson's Bay.

In 1672 Radisson married Mary Kirke, daughter of one of the partners, and went to housekeeping in Seething Lane, then a fashionable London thoroughfare.

Reverses later came, and Radisson petitioned for a pension. Once he reëntered the French service for several years, and in a freebooting expedition damaged the forts of the very company he had helped to found. The French ministers were, however, suspicious of his loyalty, and insisted upon his bringing his English wife to France. This Radisson refused to do, and a tempting offer from an English diplomat took him back under the British flag. This time he was forced to swear allegiance to King Charles, and Louis XIV placed a price upon his head.

During all these years he was making voyages to Hudson Bay for one nation or the other; finally, when the advance of age was felt, he retired permanently to his London home and lived on a small pension accorded to him by the great

company whose fortunes he had made. Groseilliers had long since made his peace with France, and lived and died quietly among his kindred at Three Rivers, Canada. Finally, an entry in the Hudson's Bay Company books, July, 1710, mentions a pension paid to the widow of Mr. Radisson. The old explorer and trader was no more. Somewhere in a London churchyard rest the remains of Wisconsin's first trader, the first lover of her woods and waters, the first prophet of her future greatness.

MEMORIES OF A BUSY LIFE[1]

General Charles King

UNIVERSITY COMMANDANT

Edwin E. Bryant, one of the most cultured men I had ever met, was then adjutant general of Wisconsin. In the summer of 1880 we had a great reunion of Wisconsin volunteers of the Civil War, with Generals Grant and Sheridan prominent among the guests. The University Battalion, with the two Madison companies of state militia, came in and took part in the parade, and with them, as battalion commander, came Chandler P. Chapman of Madison, whom I had last seen as a lad of apparently about my own age, in the camp of the Sixth Wisconsin at Chain Bridge, in '61, his father being surgeon of that regiment. With them, too, in the University Battalion, was Allan Conover, who had succeeded Professor Nicodemus as head of the department of civil engineering at the University, and most unwillingly had fallen heir to the duties of military instructor. The laws of the United States required of all colleges and universities availing themselves of the Agricultural College Act of 1862, tendering large grants of public lands, that they should give, as *quid pro quo*, regular instruction in military tactics, etc., and it is safe to say that regents, faculty, and most of the students had come to regard this department of the University as an unmitigated nuisance. If it had a friend in the University it was Professor Conover, who, because of it, had double work and no thanks.

I was sore at heart over having to leave my regiment and the profession I loved, but beside that wreck of a sword arm, the seat of frequent and sometimes intense pain, I had found it impossible to provide for my family on the pay of a lieutenant, with the heavy costs of moving from station to

[1] The first installment of these recollections was printed in the March, 1922 issue of this magazine.—Editor.

station, as we had been compelled to do. I felt that I must get into civil pursuits of some kind. I knew something of railway engineering and loved it, and Mr. Alexander Mitchell, president of the St. Paul Railway, and his great chief engineer, Don Whittemore, were willing to give me a start, but for some reason the matter hung fire. There was an obstacle which I could not discover, and at last it proved to be the general manager. It leaked out that he didn't want any "kid-gloved West Pointer" on the road. It was late in the summer, too late to try the Northern Pacific, where they had West Pointers and had found them valuable, and just then came the adjutant general, Bryant, asking me to visit Madison and look over the situation at the University. A similar request had come from two other western colleges or schools, but I wanted to try railway engineering.

Bryant took me to see the head of the executive committee of the Board of Regents, Mr. E. W. Keyes, who was bluff and cordial. I frankly told him I could not undertake the duties unless I could be assured that the University would make up the difference between my full and retired pay, a matter of only $600. He said it could not be done until the January meeting of the Board, but that then there would be no difficulty about it. We called on the President,[2] who seemed rather bored at being interrupted, but supposed the drills, as he said, would have to be kept up, only he wished to have no "friction"—that appeared to be the bugbear. The only man really interested in my coming was Allan Conover. He said in proper hands the military department could be a valuable adjunct to the general system of the University. It could be the means of teaching the student respect for authority as well as habits of neatness, promptitude, etc. I called on two or three elderly dons of the institution who had known my father and whom I

[2] John Bascom, D.D., LL.D., president of the University of Wisconsin from 1874 to 1887.—Editor.

had known when as a little boy I had visited Madison with him. They were courteous, but rather apathetic; they were averse to military training. The nation had seen enough of war to last it a century, and it would never again, said they, be so foolish as to take up arms unless absolutely compelled to do so, in which event we would rely as before on the patriotism of the people. How often we have had to listen to that same line of talk in the long years that followed!

The result of my visit to Madison was that I came away convinced that in University circles the military department was looked upon as a detriment and I determined to go back there and show that it was not.

It was uphill work from the start. The government, as I have said, had enacted that instruction in military tactics should be part of the regular instruction in every college or university that accepted the big bonus of public land under the terms of the Agricultural College Act of 1862, but no inspector had ever been sent about to see that it was done, and the matter had fallen into disregard. When military instruction was first started at the University of Wisconsin, being a new toy it began with some enthusiasm, but the monotony of the drills soon told against it, and little by little it lapsed into disrepute. The regents even passed over the government allowance of fine cadet rifles, such as were used at West Point, with all the concomitant equipment, to a little country college up at Galesville. Then somebody woke up to the fact that the University had practically repudiated its agreement with the War Department, and an effort was made to revive an interest in military instruction. The state legislature passed an act providing that the University could have the use of such "obsolete arms" and equipment as were in its storehouse. The result was that the University found itself in possession of some old Civil War muskets, calibre fifty-eight, which had been

remodeled by the unique process of driving a steel tube down the bore, rifling that, and producing a heavy, cumbersome arm, far more weighty and much less efficient than that used by the regular service. With these guns went a supply of old, bulky cartridge boxes of the Civil War period, and a set of rusty waist belts with leathern bayonet scabbards. It was as antique an outfit as ever I set eyes on.

I called on the President and represented the inadequacy of this equipment. He said he didn't know anything about it, and obviously he didn't care. The chairman of the executive committee of the Board of Regents said that that equipment was all that my predecessors had had for some few years back and none of them had ever complained, which was probably true. The University authorities had ruled that all freshmen and sophomores should take the course, which at that time consisted of two drills a week. The special students decided that they were not involved, and we began work in September with something like thirty-five sophomores and forty freshmen, the former appearing in an old blue sack coat and cap that looked as though they had been handed down from the days of Camp Randall in '61. We drilled in a big wooden shed on top of the hill, then a little northwest of the main building wherein were the president's office and various class and recitation rooms, and the one bright aspect of the picture was that the lads who reported for duty were as sturdy a lot as ever I saw. The sophomores, under Professor Conover, the previous year had obviously had a conscientious instructor, but had never had sharp or critical test of their drill. The freshmen, of course, had had no experience.

I invited all those who were really interested in the work to meet me every afternoon "after school," as they called it, to take a special course in the school of the soldier, and as many as thirty reported. How well I remember them, and how many have since won distinguished names

for themselves! Boardman, Kalk, John Kingston, Archie Church, Rollin B. Mallory were among the foremost. It was from this squad I hoped to make the future officers and non-commissioned officers of the battalion that was to be with the coming year.

But it did not take me long to ascertain that there were just about as many young men still in their first two years at the University and not doing military duty as there were who were attending drill. Numbers of them used to hang about the gymnasium, so-called, and patronizingly watch their classmates who had to drill. At last I was able to get a list of the first- and second-year students, and began a round-up. That tickled the lads who were honorably doing their duty, and started a sensation in the school. Such a thing had never been done before. It was obviously looked upon as an assumption of authority, not to say military despotism.

By this time it was early winter, and except for Professor Henry, with whom I had joined in September, and Professors Birge, Conover, Owen, and Parker, with whom I played whist, and a nodding acquaintance with Professor Irving, who was a distant connection, I had no friends among the faculty, some of whom had been instructors at the University when my father was one of its regents. At Columbia and at West Point when a new instructor joined the force the elders promptly called and bade him welcome. When Professor Watson died, early in the fall, Henry and I went together to the President's office to tender our services. He was out. So I wrote a courteous note, as the elder man of the two, and informed the President of our call and placed ourselves at his disposition for the funeral. The result was he invited Henry to ride with the faculty, but didn't notice the soldier at all, so the latter walked. Going to and fro each day I met others of the faculty, but only as strangers.

Now, however, they began to call, or to stop me on the street, to remonstrate, to request that I should not require such and such a student to attend drill. I had succeeded in convincing the President that the University owed it as a duty to the government, and several of the faculty and several of the students took it much to heart that he should have turned against them. But when "school opened" in January, something like fifty young men who had succeeded hitherto in evading drills, were now, much to the delight of the soldier boys, notified that they must hereafter attend and might even have to make up for lost time. There was still a loophole for their escape, however. "Able bodied" students only were enrolled, and on a sudden there appeared a shower of so-called surgeon's certificates. At least forty of the lads descended upon the President, or upon me, with all manner of country doctors' letters or remonstrances, declaring this or that young man a victim of some malady, generally heart trouble, that would surely unfit him for military duty and would as certainly bring about serious results if he were compelled to drill. And yet the lads themselves looked sturdy enough in all conscience. My suspicions were aroused. I wrote to the doctors, and in several cases received answers that they had given no certificates and knew no such lads; though their professional letterheads had been used, it was not their writing or signatures. In several cases it looked mightily as though the lads living in the same town had procured blank letterheads and written each other's certificates, signing with the name at the head of the slip. Two young men submitted letters from alleged physicians as to whom I made inquiry through the local postmaster, only to be assured that no physician of that name lived in or near that town.

I took these and some that I thought absolutely trivial to the President, and urged that we order the young men

to report for duty at once, and asked him if such proceedings on the part of the students were not punishable. He said, "possibly," but that I "must expect such things." That seemed to me trifling with the subject. The President held that he would be taking a fearful responsibility in disregarding those physicians' certificates. I pointed out that six or seven were not even physicians' certificates, and then he did come to the rescue. But there were some of the baseball men who had brought certificates that their hearts were weak and "the violent exercise of military drill would inevitably injure them." I took the President over to the edge of the diamond one spring afternoon and showed him one of our self-registered wrecks whose heart could not stand the violent exercise of the drill, running bases like a meteor and sliding to second like a human catapult. I pointed out the fact that that man was getting more violent exercise in five seconds than he would get in military drill in five weeks. "It may be so," said he, "but we cannot go behind a medical certificate." I own that after this episode I did feel for a while like quitting.

But by the time the spring was fairly on we found aid from an unexpected quarter. I had taught the special squad men the duty of greeting respectfully all officers and professors of the University, also the regents and the state authorities, whose offices were there in Madison, advising members of the battalion when in uniform to give the salute of an officer, and when in civilian dress to raise the hat or cap, just as we freshmen at Columbia were taught in our first interview with the dean. The squad men carried out the instructions to the letter. The members of the sophomore class who were unwillingly serving objected: "Suppose we haven't been introduced," said their spokesman. The reply to this was that they were receiving, almost free, a liberal education at the expense of the state, and it was one way in which they could express their appreciation. Some

of them saw the point and acted on it: others saw, but regarded it as an infraction of their rights as American citizens—a manifestation of subserviency. Three-fourths of their number, however, heeded the lesson, and also the suggestion that in their section rooms at recitation they should sit erect and scrupulously say "Sir" to their instructors.

The first men to comment on this conduct were our new governor, Jeremiah Rusk, and his predecessor, my old friend General Fairchild, just returned from his diplomatic service abroad. By that spring of '81 the men of the little battalion were in trim, well-cut, soldierly uniforms of dark blue, with natty forage caps made in New York. They looked better than they did in civilian dress, and carried themselves accordingly. "I have lived in Madison nearly all my life, and never have I seen anything like it before," said General Fairchild. "They never saluted me when I was governor, and now they never pass me without it. It does me good to see it." Then Governor Rusk had his say: "I tell you it makes me hold my head up and throw out my chest, and what's more it tickles the other state officers, and they are all talking about it." Then certain elderly professors who had passed me long months in silence stopped, held out their hands in a shy, embarrassed way, and said: "I have been here a good many years and never have I known such manifestation of respect, or such courtesy, in or out of the classroom, and I'm glad of a chance to say so." This was just what Conover had predicted.

The regents, however, had not seen their way to paying that $600 salary. They said the government compelled them to have this military instruction, and although I had discovered by that time that one-fifth of the total income of the University came from that Agricultural College fund, most of the regents felt no corresponding obligation on their part. Long years after, however, without a word from me

they sent me that money of their own accord. Two or three of their number began coming out in May, with the Governor and his adjutant general, to see the prize drills; even the President appeared, though what he heard on one memorable occasion made him gasp with amazement and disapprobation. General Fairchild brought with him to the first real review no less a personage than Gen. John Gibbon, who had commanded the Iron Brigade in its famous battle near Gainesville the twenty-eighth of August, '62, and Gibbon was much impressed with the absolute steadiness of the battalion, and quite ready to make a speech after the ceremony:

"I have been greatly pleased with your performance," he said, "especially the fine discipline. Discipline is a great thing. Discipline is like whisky. Some whisky is better than other whisky, and other kinds are better still, but it is all good—now, that's the way with discipline." The rest of that speech no one probably remembers, but that part of it the President never forgot—nor did I.

It was somewhere about this time that two comical things occurred. We had, of course, our conscientious objector—a tall, serious young man who, having tried various avenues of escape from the hated drills and found them unavailing, came to deliver himself up, as it were. "But," said he, "I have come to say that I consider it a positive insult on your part to compel me to drill." I told him very quietly to go to the President and tell him what he had told me. Two days passed, and then the young man appeared at my door. I met him pleasantly, invited him in, and with the view of putting him as quickly as possible out of what I mistakenly supposed to be his embarrassment, perhaps humiliation, held out my hand with a word of welcome to the fold, and of pleasure that he should have thought better of his words. "I haven't come to talk about that," was his uncompromising answer. "It was to hand you

this," and "this" proved to be a note from the President, saying that he was convinced that the young man was sincere in his profession of faith that anything connected with military training was a sin, and therefore he had decided to declare him exempt. Without another word, he turned and left.

Then I sat down and wrote my first letter to the President. It is unnecessary to repeat the words, but in forty-eight hours a written apology came from the student, and the incident might have been closed but for an announcement in the public press that the Signal Corps of the Army desired to enlist for military service a few young men of education, with a view to having them take a certain course of study and then be appointed observer sergeants—board, lodging, tuition absolutely free, abundant time for other study and exercise, and $50 per month pay while undergoing instruction.

I thought there must be some mistake about it somewhere, but the conscientious objector obviously did not, for he promptly appeared with a letter from the President, asking me for a letter of recommendation for the bearer to the Chief Signal Officer of the Army. I took that letter to the President, and asked him if he had forgotten the young man's conscientious objections to any form of military service—and he had.

A most devout Christian, a profound metaphysician, a ripe scholar, and an untiring writer—a man whose influence for good over the student body was something remarkable—he was so deeply concerned with the better and higher things in life that he could not always keep track, so to speak, of the innumerable little matters of academic routine that in those days had to be referred to the president. He hated to be interrupted in his work, even during office hours. He would look up impatiently when professor or instructor entered to seek his decision on some point or other, would

give it, and in five minutes would forget the entire matter. I sometimes doubted whether he really heard us. He was about the last man in Madison who would be guilty of a lie, yet he would deny his own decisions on occasion, because his head was in the clouds and his thoughts on high and holy things perhaps, when suddenly called upon to say whether the sub-freshmen were to attend lecture or drill, or whether the sophomores might use Professor So-and-So's room for a class meeting.

He sent for me one day to say that a certain student complained of harsh treatment at my hands. I had had no trouble with the lad in question and told him so, but the Doctor said the youth was quite positive in his statement, and as president he must protest against my using violent language or methods to my charges, or anything like a display of temper. "It weakens one's influence with young men," and I thoroughly agreed with him and was quite unconscious of having been guilty of any lapse such as he described.[3] Just as luck would have it, at that very moment commotion and uproar arose in the corridor without, and drowned his words. A score of sophomores had come charging down the stairway and were having an impromptu riot. All on a sudden the Doctor sprang to his feet, rushed out into the hall, and in an instant had collared one of the ringleaders and, to my huge delight and that of his fellow students, banged the young gentleman's head half a dozen times against the wall, and then, flushed, remorseful, yet triumphant, returned to his seat, with, presently, "Er—what was it we were talking about?"

I couldn't resist the opportunity. "The supremacy, Mr. President, of the *suaviter in modo* over the *fortiter in re*."

For a moment the President gazed at me in bewilder-

[3] Somewhat later I learned the cause of my undeserved rebuke on this occasion. A student *had* complained of his treatment at the hands of "Professor King," and our good old President was unable to think of more than one "King" against whom the students could have reason to lodge a complaint. The instructor complained of was in fact another who bore the same name.—Author.

ment. Then the whimsicality of the thing dawned upon him and we had our first laugh together.

"I didn't know they taught Latin in the Army," he said presently.

"They don't, sir," was my answer, "and you must pardon my Columbia pronunciation."

"Why, were—have you—been at college? I thought—I—Well, you must excuse me."

But that discovery seemed to have enhanced my value in the Doctor's eyes. The secretaryship of the faculty had become vacant, and who should be nominated and elected but the Professor of Military Science and Tactics, hitherto a stranger to faculty meetings!

Now, it had happened that while a lad in my grandfather's household at Columbia College the secretary of the faculty became a victim to occasional attacks of gout and could not wield the pen. I wrote a very good hand, so the secretary, an elderly uncle, pressed me into service, and it resulted that many pages of the records of Columbia in '59 and '60 were my handiwork, and thereby I learned quite a lot about the business.

This experience now became valuable. The President had not the faintest use for or appreciation of military ability, but that I should have been secretary *de facto* of Columbia's faculty—for famous men they were—lifted me measurably in his estimation. As president and as secretary we were much together, yet differences over the military department would occasionally arise.

SERVICE WITH THE NATIONAL GUARD

Every Friday evening in 1881 I had been going in to Milwaukee to drill the Light Horse Squadron, and in the spring of 1882 began the long years of my association with the Wisconsin troops as their instructor and for many years their inspector. The first seven were under that

genial and redoubtable old war horse of a governor, Jeremiah M. Rusk, and there was a man it was a joy to serve with and study! For his adjutant general he had selected the first commander of the Lake City Guard, a company composed of the best young men in Madison. Both in the Knights Templar and the militia, Chapman speedily earned repute as a drillmaster, and it was this quality in him—the other of the two sixteen-year-old boys of the old Iron Brigade on the Potomac in '61—that drew us, twenty years later, into close comradeship. I speedily pointed out to him, and he to the Governor, that quite a number of the state companies were not drilling in accordance with Upton's *Infantry Tactics*, but some of them according to the Hardee-Casey methods of the Civil War, one or two by the so-called Zouave tactics, and one even by the system in vogue in Germany before the needle gun had been placed in the hands of the Prussian soldiery.

This was all contrary to the orders of the War Department, and I received orders to allow nothing but the authorized infantry tactics of the United States Army.

Nine out of ten of the captains cordially coöperated, but two or three stiff-necked German veterans "bucked" against it. One of them had quite a political backing in Milwaukee, and he showed fight. Following the method so successfully carried out at that time in the *Army & Navy Journal* in New York, and as the speediest and surest method of bringing about uniformity of instruction among the scattered companies, I published each week in the Sunday *Telegraph* a column or two of comments on the drills, and later the inspections, of the companies that successively were visited. These columns, clipped out and posted on the bulletin boards throughout the state armories, taught the entire Guard the good points to be followed and the errors to be avoided. It was welcomed by all the companies that were earnestly striving for excellence in drill, and highly

objectionable to the three or four German captains whose errors were flagrant, and a deputation of their friends in the legislature called on the Governor. "Why," said their spokesman, "at the inspection of the Turner Rifles he didn't give them a thing they could do!"—which was practically a fact, but it never occurred to the spokesman that this was all the captain's fault, not that of the inspector. However, the political friends of the aggrieved officers worried the Governor a bit, and he sent for me. "King," said he, "you'll have to go easy with that company; all but three of them are Republicans," which was the nearest approach to politics in Guard matters that I had yet encountered. The Milwaukee press about this time took a hand in the discussion, Uncle Billy Cramer, in the *Evening Wisconsin*, loyally backing the Republicans' view of that case, and declaring that Wisconsin had no room in its ranks for martinets, which brought about the discovery that the officer stigmatized as a martinet had simply carried out the orders of the Adjutant General, given with the full knowledge of the Governor. Then there came a lull in the firing.

Chapman organized the scattered companies into four-company battalions in '82, and then into regiments, and the regimental camp was held each year at the race track or fair grounds of some one of the larger towns in the regimental district, the troops moving thither by rail on a Sunday, drilling quite assiduously for three or four days; then came the Governor with a "glittering staff" (so described in the local journals)—three generals, and a dozen colonels in full-dress uniform. There was a review and parade in camp, and a march through the streets of the town. The crowning feature was the reception held by "Uncle Jerry" and staff to all the neighboring populace, in the big parlor or porch of the biggest hotel, and then the Governor was in his glory. He delighted in the people of Wisconsin and they in him. He always had two or three glib speakers in his train, and

when his health was proposed or an address made in his honor, he rose to the occasion, six feet four under his silk hat, beamed benevolently, bowed profoundly, thanked everybody in one comprehensive sentence, and then introduced Colonel Clough or Colonel Aldrich to speak for him.

Each spring I made the rounds of the state and the inspections required by the state laws, but in the fall and winter came the hard work, going from town to town to spend three days or so with each unit, coaching and drilling long hours at a time.

It was during the course of the spring instruction and inspection in 1886, that the mayor of Milwaukee pointed out to me that all the second-hand arms in the pawn shops had suddenly become marketable. In a week all were sold, and by inspection and inquiry among the local company commanders I ascertained that they had only three ball cartridges to the man. The mayor was frankly alarmed at the prospects. Grottkau and other agitators had been making inflammatory speeches to big crowds of foreign-born citizens. We had a German sheriff and a German chief-of-police, and it was confidently prophesied we were going to have trouble. I kept Chapman advised as to the conditions, and Chapman told the Governor, and asked for authority to send to the Rock Island arsenal for ammunition. The Governor said he would have no intimidation, and called us alarmists. Late in April, however, he came to Milwaukee for the four-day session of the Scottish Rite Masons, and before he could get away certain prominent citizens took him in hand and told him their apprehensions. He had conferences with the leading editors, among others, and then returned to Madison, sent for Chapman and, as Chapman later declared, wanted to know why in the suburbs, let us say, he and King hadn't kept him informed of conditions. Ammunition was telegraphed for at once, but Uncle Jerry wouldn't let it go direct to Milwaukee; it was

shipped to Madison, repacked in dry-goods boxes, with certain blankets, overcoats, and things of that description, and thus "camouflaged" came in a freight car to the old Reed Street Station, where I met it with Quartermaster-Sergeant Huntington and two or three old reliables of the "Light Horse," and in less than half an hour thereafter we had 31,000 rounds of ball cartridge in the vault of the newly-built armory on Broadway, and nobody the wiser.

We had no riot guns and cartridges in those days, deadly at less than two hundred yards, but warranted not to harm innocent spectators a block or two away. Such as it was, however, the death-dealing ammunition came only just in time. The big labor parade, so-called, with red flags galore, came off on May 1, and next day the men quit or were driven from work by armed mobs all over the shops in the Menomonee valley and elsewhere. By May 3 the city was in the hands of the rioters, and the Governor was summoned to town. He came; held a conference that night at the Plankinton with the sheriff and chief-of-police. Roswell Miller, general manager of the St. Paul Railway, was present, with his local superintendent, Mr. Collins, and told the Governor, "flatfooted," his shops had all been raided, his men dared not return to them unless given military protection, and he could not run his trains. It was the duty of the sheriff, under the circumstances, to turn the situation over to the Governor; but the sheriff still clung to the fatuous belief, and the mayor seemed to side with him, that he could persuade the mobs to disperse. Therefore, they would not ask the Governor for troops, and the meeting broke up at midnight.

But by early morning the calls for protection swamped both sheriff and police, and after one meeting with the mob the sheriff came posthaste to the Governor, and within an hour thereafter the riot alarm was sounding in every fire-bell tower, the local troops were promptly assembling, and

Chapman was wiring as far west as Darlington for the companies of the First Infantry. By noon the Fourth Battalion, a local organization, was sent by rail to the rolling mills at Bay View, then threatened by a big crowd. The first companies to arrive from out of town were stationed in the old Allis works; one company of Polish troops, inexperienced and badly led, was subjected at Bay View to ludicrous indignities at the hands of the south-side rioters, but the big plants were saved.

That night all over town the proletariat held fiery meetings and were addressed by "red" orators, who urged them to go to the rolling mills in force and throw the soldiers into the lake. The Governor made his headquarters at the armory, kept in telephone touch with the major commanding at that point, and sent as reinforcements two American companies from Janesville. The rioters set fire to freight cars and the big fence around the works, and the night was full of rumors, but nobody was hurt, until in broad daylight, with banners floating and with vast enthusiasm, the south-side mob swept down the causeway leading straight to the main entrance to the mills. The major telephoned to the Governor, and I was standing by him as he gave the order. The old war horse said, "Fire on them!" and one volley from three of the companies was all-sufficient. The mob was still nearly two hundred yards off, and flattened out at the crash of the rifles as though a hundred were hit, but only six were really punctured. Pierced by three bullets, the standard bearer fell, but lived. Struck by a single bullet, a law-abiding citizen, feeding chickens in his back yard nearly a mile away, dropped dead.

Then the scene of action shifted to the Milwaukee Garden, at the northwest side, and there a huge crowd, mainly Germans, defied police and sheriff, who endeavored to disperse them. These officials appealed for help. The Governor ordered me to take the Light Horse and the two com-

panies of infantry that were available, all we had, and end the business. We never had to pull a trigger. The troops were placed where their volleys could sweep the adjacent streets and, thus heartened, the police were sent in to arrest all ring-leaders and turbulent rioters. We loaded up three or four wagons full, and in a hollow square of soldiery trundled them off to jail, and so ended the Milwaukee riots of 1886.

And then and there began, most deservedly, the boom for Uncle Jerry's third and triumphant term as governor. He was in the heyday of his fame and reputation when he went with his state officials, his military staff, and his Grand Army attendants to the funeral of General Grant in New York City, probably the greatest pageant of the kind the metropolis had ever seen. Everybody had heard of the Wisconsin governor who had "knocked the backbone out of anarchy with a single volley," for all the world like Napoleon's "whiff of grapeshot," and even on so solemn an occasion, the dense crowds in places showed a disposition to applaud him.

The orders of the grand marshal, General Hancock, were that the thousand carriages of the dignitaries taking part in the parade, the senators, the representatives, the governors and their staffs and state officers, the Supreme Court justices, and hundreds of other notables should move four abreast up Fifth Avenue. When it finally came our turn (I was seated beside the Governor as his chief-of-staff, Chapman being unable to leave Madison) and we turned into Fifth Avenue at Twenty-third Street northward, the scene up to the crest of Murray Hill was something I shall never forget. The windows were filled and the sidewalks packed with spectators, while four parallel columns of black carriages moved slowly up the driveway. Directly in front of us were the carriages of the governor, the state officers and staff, and state legislature of Iowa, and only

three carriages were in their rearmost row. Then came, in the middle of the street and full ten paces behind that rearmost rank, the carriage of our leonine executive, his diminutive chief-of-staff on his left, his surgeon-general and his senior aide-de-camp facing us. Six paces behind us came the first row of four carriages, the state officials and four aides in the foremost rank. Directly opposite Madison Square an assistant marshal rode up and ordered our driver to whip up and take the vacant place in the rear rank of the Iowa legislature. In an instant Uncle Jerry towered to his full height. "Stay where you are!" he thundered to the driver, who was preparing meekly to obey.

"Those are General Hancock's orders, sir," pleaded the marshal.

"Tell General Hancock he has no power to order the governor of Wisconsin to ride as part of the legislature of Iowa, and that he refuses to do so!" roared Uncle Jerry. The marshal saluted and withdrew. A block farther on, the the same thing was repeated. Three blocks farther, also, but never once would Uncle Jerry yield. The order, of course, was a mistake and never was intended to apply to governors.

After seven memorable years as head of the state, Uncle Jerry gave way to another war-tried veteran, William Dempster Hoard of Fort Atkinson, who chose George W. Burchard to be his adjutant general, but continued me as inspector and instructor, with even wider scope than before. By this time a little tract had been cleared at Camp Douglas for a rifle range, and presently a regimental camp ground was staked out, and the Third Infantry, under the command of Colonel Moore, were the first troops to occupy it. Lieut. Philip Reade of the Third Regulars, an expert in his line, had become instructor in rifle practice and did remarkable work. It took two or three years to persuade the First and Second regiments that better results would

GOVERNOR RUSK'S STAFF AT THE FUNERAL OF GENERAL GRANT

follow their camping at Douglas than at some favored town in the regimental district, but by the time George W. Peck, still another Civil War man, became governor all the state troops were camping at the reservation, one battalion succeeding another. In this Democratic era I was transferred from staff to line duty, and placed in command of the Fourth Infantry, a Milwaukee battalion; but in 1892 I was additionally employed as commandant of the Michigan Military Academy at Orchard Lake, and in '93 was able to try out a long-cherished plan and take my household to Europe.

LITERARY LABORS

For by that time I had begun to earn quite a little money with my pen. It has always been my habit to keep a diary, especially when on campaign. While with General Emory in Louisiana, I wrote a Ku-Klux story of adventure in the South in the reconstruction days, sent it to the Harpers in New York, and received it back in three weeks with the stereotyped letter saying it was not available. It was pitched into a trunk and never again came under editorial notice until the early spring of '79, when Col. George A. Woodward, formerly sergeant-major of the old Milwaukee Light Guard, was editing *The United Service*, a Philadelphia magazine. He and his associates thought well enough of the story to say they would publish and push it in book form if I could put up four hundred dollars to cover certain expenses. I had just been placed on the retired list for "wounds received in line of duty," and said I couldn't put up four hundred cents. So again that story slumbered. But I wrote some short sketches for the magazine that found favor, and in 1880 had told, for the columns of the Milwaukee *Sentinel*, the story of the Sioux campaign of 1876. These weekly numbers were later issued by the *Sentinel* in pamphlet form, under the title *Campaigning with Crook*.[4] It actually sold, and the five hundred copies were gone in less than a year.

[4] Maj. Gen. George Crook, famous Indian fighter.—Editor.

Then Woodward asked me to write a serial story of army life for *The United Service,* to run along with one of the navy prepared for them by a distinguished admiral, and all through '81 and '82 my serial ran, coming out in book form with the imprint of J. B. Lippincott Company of Philadelphia, early in 1883, under the title *The Colonel's Daughter.* From that time for thirty years my pen was seldom idle, and in the course of those thirty years some sixty books and two hundred and fifty short stories were the result. In 1885 or '86 the Harpers wrote asking for a story for their magazine, got *A War Time Wooing,* found that it sold beyond their expectation, sent me a check beyond my expectation, and asked for another of double the length. For them I wrote *Between the Lines,* a story of the Army of the Potomac, which for long years outsold any others of mine, although Lippincott was bringing out a book a year for me (including that Ku-Klux story that nobody had wanted in '79); then it was that Harry Harper said to me, on the occasion of a visit to the old house at Franklin Square, "How did it happen you fell in the hands of that Quaker concern in Philadelphia, when you could just as well have come to us?" Then I told him the tale of my first essay, and how quickly they had returned it.

In 1893 there sprang into being in New York an association of writers that believed it possible to earn more money than was paid by the publishers. I had no fault to find with the prices given me for my wares, and indeed thought far more of military duties in Wisconsin that brought no reward in cash, save when some company that I had coached for competitive drills outside the state appropriated some of their prize money for the benefit of their instructor. The Michigan Military Academy, of course, paid well for services that took me away from home and required all my time. The Authors' Guild urged my joining it, just on the eve of my going to Europe with the wife and children three.

They promised higher prices for my short stories than even Harper, Lippincott, or the syndicates were paying, so I agreed to send them two or three from Switzerland during the fall and winter, and did so.

But on the way up the Rhine we received the distressing news that among a lot of banks to go under in the financial crash of that summer was the one in which my little hoard was placed. A month later, on the banks of Lake Geneva, came a cable from home telling us of the destruction by fire of my books, papers, and most cherished possessions in what had been alleged to be a fireproof warehouse. A month later still, the good wife slipped and fell on the parquet floor of my sister's home near Lausanne; a bone was split longitudinally, and the services of an expert surgeon were long in demand. The trip to Italy had to be abandoned, but the children had been placed in school, the family were delightfully housed for the winter at beautiful old Beau Rivage at Ouchy, so in March I came home to "mend fences."

The first visit in New York was to the office of the Authors' Guild, where I had met a congenial party in June, but only empty desks and chairs were left to represent it. They had discovered that the publishers knew far more about business than the writers, and had incontinently quit.

In April I was back in Milwaukee, writing day and night, and had I had two heads and six pairs of hands I could not then have accepted the chances given me. In the year that followed my return I wrote three or four long and I don't know how many short stories.

Then the fourth of the Wisconsin war veterans, William H. Upham, was elected governor, and he recalled me to active duty with the Guard as adjutant general.

Three years later came the war with Spain. Wisconsin was required to furnish three regiments at once, and the First, Second, and Third Infantry were promptly mobilized. Two weeks later, on the President's list of brigadier generals of volunteers appeared the names of two of the old "King's Corner crowd," Arthur MacArthur and myself.

(*To be continued*)

HISTORIC SPOTS IN WISCONSIN

W. A. Titus

X. THE LOST VILLAGE OF THE MASCOUTEN

Scattered like dust and leaves, when the mighty blasts of October
Seize them, and whirl them aloft, and sprinkle them o'er the ocean,
Naught but tradition remains of the beautiful village of Grand Pré.
—*Longfellow.*

Perhaps no historic location in Wisconsin has been the subject of so much speculation and doubt as has the early "Mascouten village," so frequently mentioned in the annals of the French explorers and missionaries. Antiquarians and students of Wisconsin history, adducing arguments that seemed to them logical and conclusive, have located the long-lost village site at several different points along the upper Fox River. Due to apparent discrepancies in the original records, these theoretical "sites" extend from a few miles southwest of Omro to a few miles northeast of Portage, and involve three present-day counties—Winnebago, Green Lake, and Columbia—the great weight of authority indicating that the village was located within the present limits of Green Lake County.[1]

If one can credit the estimate of the population made by Dablon, the Mascouten village was the largest community, savage or civilized, that ever resided together within Green Lake County. This missionary, who spent considerable time in the village, reported to his provincial in 1675 that the population had increased to over twenty thousand souls, and that Father Allouez could no longer minister unassisted to so large a parish. Antoine Silvy is mentioned as the missionary assistant who was assigned to the Mascouten village, or the Mission of St. Jacques, as the reed chapel was styled by the French. Several years earlier Dablon had

[1] *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvi, 42, note; and articles in Wis. Hist. Soc. *Proceedings*, 1906, 167–182.

reported the village as having three thousand people, and he explained in the later report that the great increase in population was due to the arrival of refugees from other tribes.

As regards the site of this aboriginal village, some facts are definitely stated in the *Jesuit Relations* that help to approximate the location. Allouez says distinctly that the community was a day's journey from the confluence of the Fox and Wolf rivers, and to support this statement we have the map of Marquette, accompanying his *Journal* of 1673, and the map of the Lake Superior region with the *Relation* of 1670–71, both of which locate the village near the present city of Berlin. It is stated also that the bank of the river where the missionaries left their canoes was hard, not marshy, and that they proceeded across a prairie to the village which was on an elevation about two miles south of the river. Again, we read in the *Relations* that the surrounding country was a fertile prairie region, relieved by slight elevations, and not forested except for scattered groves of elm and oak on the higher grounds.

The unfortunate discrepancy that has caused so much misunderstanding about this location is the single statement of Marquette, wholly at variance with his map, that the Mascouten village was only three leagues from the portage of the Fox and Wisconsin rivers, and it is more than probable that this is due to a mistake in copying the journal. Very likely the missionary-explorer originally entered in his journal "thirty leagues" rather than "three leagues." As the river distance from the portage to Berlin is about eighty-five miles, this explanation would harmonize the statements of Allouez and Marquette, and agree substantially with the maps before mentioned.

For some reason or other, perhaps because of its unusual size, the Mascouten village attracted to a marked degree the attention of all early explorers and missionaries. The

Jesuit Relations and other annals of the period tell us much of the village and its people. It was a cosmopolitan community, inhabited by several different tribes at the same time, and in times of stress it seems to have been a "city of refuge" for even distant tribesmen. The cabins were built of woven reeds, the village was well fortified by palisades, and because of its large population it was necessarily of considerable extent.

Allouez first came to the village in 1670 as an itinerant missionary, and he established there in 1672 the Mission of St. Jacques. Dablon was with Allouez at this mission a part of the time. Father Marquette and his companion, Jolliet, were at this village for three days in 1673. Hennepin saw the Mascouten community in 1680, as did Le Sueur in 1683, Nicolas Perrot in 1685, and Lahontan in 1689.

Dablon and Allouez have given us in the *Jesuit Relations* a detailed account of the village, its people, and the country surrounding it. Following are extracts from the letter of Father Allouez to the Reverend Father Superior: "On the twenty-ninth [of April, 1670] we entered the river that leads up to the Maskoutench, called 'Fire Nation' by the Hurons. This river is very beautiful, without rapids or portages; its direction is southwest. The thirtieth, having disembarked opposite the village and left our canoe at the water's edge, after a walk of a league over beautiful prairies, we perceived the fort. The savages having discovered us, made first a cry in their village; they ran to us, accompanied us with honor to the cabin of the chief, where first they brought us refreshments and greased the feet and legs of the Frenchmen who were with me; afterward they prepared a feast. . . . In the evening I assembled them and made them a present of cloth, knives, and hatchets, to let them know the Black Robe. 'I am not the Manitou who is Master of your lives, who has created the heavens and the earth; I am His creature, I obey Him and carry

His work over all the lands.' I explained to them afterwards the articles of our holy faith, and the commandments of God; these good people only half understood me. . . . The savages named Oumami [Miami] are here only in small number; the greater part have not arrived from their hunt, so that I say nothing of them particularly. Their language is conformable to their temper; they are mild, affable, grave; also they speak slowly. . . . These people are established in a very fine place, where we see beautiful plains and level country as far as the eye reaches. Their river leads to a great river called Messisipi; there is a navigation of only six days; along this river are numerous other nations. . . . The kindnesses they did me occupied me almost all the day. They called at my lodge to see me, took me home with them, and after seating me on some beautiful skin, they presented me with a handful of tobacco which they placed at my feet. Then they brought me a kettle full of fat meat and Indian corn, with a speech of compliment which they made me. I have always taken occasion from this to inform them of the truth of our faith. God has given me the grace to be always understood, their language being the same as that of the Saki. . . . This people appeared very docile.

"Here is a mission all ready, composed of two nations dwelling together, capable of fully occupying a missionary."[2]

In the *Relation* of 1670–71 Father Claude Dablon in his report to Rev. P. J. Pinette, Provincial, makes further mention of the Mascouten village. After a description of the difficult passage up the rapids of the lower Fox, he describes the country of the Mascouten as follows:

"After one has passed these ways, equally rough and dangerous, as a recompense for all these difficulties which

[2] R. G. Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents* (Cleveland, 1896–1903), liv, 227–233; Louise P. Kellogg, *Early Narratives of the Northwest* (New York, 1917), 155–158.

one has overcome, we enter into the most beautiful country that can ever be seen; prairies on all sides as far as the eye can reach, divided by a river which gently winds through them, and on which to float by rowing is to repose one's self. When we have arrived at this place, we have passed the forests and the hills; there are only small elevations here and there, covered with groves, as if to offer their shade to the traveler that he may refresh himself from the heat of the sun.

"Here are seen only elms, oaks, and other trees of like nature, not like those ordinarily found on bad lands which are merely fit to cover cabins with their bark, or to make canoes. For this reason these people know not what it is to go on water, and have no other houses, for the most part, than those made of rushes bound together in the form of mats. . . .

"This is all a prairie country . . . which richly feeds wild cows that one meets with pretty often in droves of four or five hundred beasts, readily furnishing by their number, food for entire villages who for that reason are not obliged to separate by families during the hunting season, as the savages of other countries do.

"It is also among these rich pastures where are found buffaloes . . . which much resemble our bulls in size and strength. . . . Their flesh is excellent, and its fat mixed with the wild oats makes the most delicate dish in this country. . . .

"It is necessary to proceed more than twenty leagues in this beautiful country before we arrive at the 'Fire Nation,' which is situated on a little rising ground, from whence nothing but vast prairies are seen on all sides with some groves in various parts, and which nature seems to have produced only for the delight of the eyes or for the necessities of man, who cannot do without wood. Here we arrived on the 13th of September, 1670, and were received by the concourse of the whole people. . . .

"The 'Fire Nation' bears this name erroneously, calling themselves Maskoutench, which signifies 'a land bare of trees' such as that which these people inhabit. . . . It [the Mascouten community] is joined in the circle of the same barriers to another people named Oumami, which is one of the Illinois nations that separated itself from the others in order to dwell in these quarters.

"They compose together more than three thousand souls, being able, each one, to furnish four hundred men to defend themselves against the Iroquois, who come even into these distant countries to seek them. . . ."[3]

Then follows a long description of the religious instruction given to the people of the village, and of their determination to build a reed chapel in which to establish a mission.

Father Dablon makes further reference to the Mascouten village in the *Relation* of 1671–72, from which we quote his reference to the work of Father Allouez as follows:

"He found in the village of the Maskoutench, which is the Fire Nation, three peoples of different languages; he was received there as an angel from heaven, particularly by those who, having recently arrived from the quarters of the south, had never had knowledge of any Frenchman. They could not satisfy themselves with gazing on him; the days were too short to hear him speak of our mysteries, and it was necessary thus to employ entire nights. So favorable a reception stayed the Father very willingly, and gave him the opportunity of baptising two sick persons. . . ."[4]

Dablon reported in 1675 that the Mascouten village had been increased to twenty thousand people by refugees from other tribes. In 1676 the report stated that of this large population, only thirty-six adults and one hundred twenty-six children had accepted Christian baptism.[5] It would

[3] *Jes. Rel.*, lv. 191–213.
[4] *Ibid.*, lviii, 21–37.
[5] *Ibid.*, lix, 225; lx, 207.

thus seem that the attitude of the community toward the new faith was one of tolerance rather than of conviction.

It is not known when or under what circumstances this notable village finally disappeared. As stated before, it had always been a haven for the distressed of different tribes. There are casual accounts in the later records that indicate a bond of sympathy between the Mascouten and the Fox Indians; and it is possible that during the long strife between the Fox tribes and the French, a conflict in which fire and sword were used indiscriminately, the Mascouten village may have been burned and its people driven away.

It is rather remarkable that no traces of this large and fairly well described aboriginal village have been discovered in modern times. It is clear that the Mascouten community was located on an eminence, that it was fortified by palisades, that it was about two miles (a "short league" as the *Relations* have it) south of the Fox River, that it was a day's journey from the junction of the Fox and Wolf rivers, and that an unforested prairie surrounded it on all sides. The two maps of the period, as well as most descriptions written by the early missionaries, fix the site between Berlin and Princeton, probably much nearer to the former city. During the long period of its occupancy by the savages, it would seem that refuse heaps must have accumulated in which were buried discarded weapons and implements, as well as the bones of animals used for food. An extensive burial ground must have developed in the immediate vicinity, and some of these evidences should persist to the present time, even though two and one-half centuries have elapsed since the planting of the Mission of St. Jacques. It is not impossible that, at some future time, excavation or accidental discovery may once more fix definitely the site of this long-lost village of the Mascouten. If so, it will become a hallowed shrine for the antiquarian and the historian—an "historic spot" indeed.

DOCUMENTS

ON THE ROAD TO WISCONSIN

The most striking fact in the history of Wisconsin during its first quarter-century of organized existence was the inpouring of thousands of white settlers intent on improving their condition in life. In 1830 Wisconsin was practically an uninhabited wilderness. Ten years later there were thirty thousand souls in the new Territory, and ten years later still the number had increased to three hundred thousand. The single decade ending in 1850 witnessed a greater proportionate increase in population than has the entire seventy-two-year period from 1850 to the present time.

It is not our present purpose to dwell upon the consequences which followed in the train of this vast inrush of migration, but rather to suggest the significance of the documents which we are about to present. All of these thousands of early immigrants came into Wisconsin over a tedious and weary road. For the most part they came from the East—from the states of New York and New England, or from foreign countries. In 1850 one-third of the population of Wisconsin were of alien birth, and almost another third were natives of New York and New England. Whether of alien or native birth, they came to Wisconsin by much the same route, across New York and thence by water around the Lakes or by land along their southern side to Chicago and beyond. The extent of this westward migration amazed the contemporary beholder, as it amazes today the student of our early history. From Buffalo, wrote an intelligent observer,[1] not less than eighty thousand embarked in the single year 1834. There could be no calculation of the tide that poured by land along the south shore of

[1] A. A. Parker, *Trip to the West and Texas . . . in the Autumn and Winter of 1834–5* (Concord, N. H., 1835), 22–23.

Lake Erie, but one observer counted 250 wagons moving West in a single day.

Most of these travelers kept no journals of their experiences, and the knowledge of them, if preserved at all, is handed down by way of hazy family tradition. Now and then such a journal was kept, however, and, more fortunate still, the record has been preserved to posterity. The records which follow are both by pioneers who bore a leading part in the work of founding the Wisconsin commonwealth. Both were kept by men of more than ordinary ability and literary capacity. Both records deal only with events on the way, and stop before Wisconsin is reached. One deals mainly with the water route, the other wholly with a trip by land. Both were written with no thought of reaching the public eye, and in each case the writer has now been buried almost half a century.

Charles Minton Baker was a native of New York, but grew up in Vermont, and his life before coming West was chiefly identified with these two states. He practiced law several years and engaged for a time in mercantile business. In 1838 he came to Wisconsin and settled at Lake Geneva, becoming the first lawyer of Walworth County. He soon became prominent in civic affairs, serving in the territorial legislature, in the constitutional convention, and in other offices of trust and importance. In the convention he was chairman of the important committee on judiciary, and in 1848 he bore the principal part in the work of revising the statutes of the new state. His influence upon the constitutional and legal development of Wisconsin was thus most notable. After a long life of useful labor he died at his home in Lake Geneva, February 5, 1872.

George B. Smith, whose letters, written to a youthful friend, we present, was also a native of New York but grew to manhood in Ohio. In 1843, at the age of nineteen years, he came with his parents to Wisconsin. The next year

he settled in Madison, which remained his home until his death in 1879. He was elected to the convention of 1846, being the youngest member of that body. In later years he served as mayor of his city, representative of his district in the state legislature, attorney general of the state, and candidate of his party for the national Senate and House.

CHARLES MINTON BAKER'S JOURNAL FROM VERMONT TO WISCONSIN

Sept. 10, 1838, Left Hortonville loaded with the kindness of friends & neighbours & amidst their regrets & good wishes for Wisconsin. Arrived at Whitehall,[2] that rocky, muddy, dirty, crooked, contracted, outlandish outlet of creation, tucked in between marshes & mountains,—the abomination of all travellers & my especial abhorrence. Made arrangements for the shipment of my goods to Buffalo. Met with sundry little annoyances & vexations.

11. Started from W'hall with my bitterest blessings resting upon it, not caring a copper whether I ever see it again. The roads tho' dry & dusty were so rough for some distance as continually to remind me of that particular object of my antipathy, Whitehall. The day was fine, the roads dusty, but our ride on the whole was pleasant. Drove 27 miles & put up at a quiet, genteel country tavern on the sandy plains of Moreau. Passed thro' Fort Ann, Kingsbury, Sandy Hill & Glenns Falls. Felt as if I had fairly set forward on my journey for the far West.[3]

12. Today travelled 34 miles passing thro' Wilton, Greenfield, Galway, Broad Alban. Stopped for the night at Fundy's Bush Montgomery Co. The roads the greater part of the way very hilly but the country looked flourishing.

Sept. 13. Stopped for the night at a Dutch tavern in Manheim on the Mohawk. Sheets & pillows so dirty that Mrs. B. would not sleep on them. Called at a Dutch tavern in the morning & the landlord a true Hollander "vondered vy we

[2] In northern Washington County, New York.

[3] The author had this day crossed Saratoga County from northeast to southwest.

vent so far for." In afternoon called at another Dutch inn & could get nothing but sour milk altho' it was milked in the morning & it has been a cool day. Have passed thro' Mayfield, Johnstown, Palatine, St. Johnsville, (late Oppenheim) & Meridan into Manheim. Rained last night but was rather an advantage than a hindrance as it laid the dust. Country good & even excellent most of the way. Day rather fine & ride pleasant.

14. Today have had a most delightful ride up the beautiful valley of the Mohawk with its broad & quiet stream, now presenting a long & silvery sheet clear as a mirror & now rippling over its pebbly bed. Here winds the canal thronged with boats laden with goods, emigrants & the produce of the interior, there stretches the turnpike over hill & dale or along the banks of the river, & beyond runs the railroad with its naked iron track lonely & deserted except now & then when the long train of cars come whirling & thundering along in sublime array & anon vanish in the distance. We saw all of these in full operation & to the best advantage today. Stopped at Utica about 1½ hours. She is indeed exceedingly beautiful & well deserves the title of queen of the valley. Had my pail stolen from my waggon. Drove on six miles beyond Utica to New Hartford & put up for the night. When I pass Utica I always feel as if I had just struck off upon the mighty West, upon a country vast, rich, fertile & filled with unbounded resources & the most untiring enterprise. Have travelled 32 miles. Passed thro' Herkimer, Frankfort & Utica.

Sept. 15. Weather dry & warm & roads exceedingly dusty. Travelled 35 miles & put up for the Sabbath at Fayetteville a pleasant & flourishing village in Onondaga Co. Passed thro' Westmoreland, Verona, Durhamville, (leaving Canastota to the right) Lenox & Sullivan & Chittenango. At the latter place the Camel Leopards 15 feet high & carried on a waggon 20 ft. high were being exhibited. Ctgo. is a flourishing little village lying in a narrow valley among the hills. Its inhabitants appear to be plain, industrious & hospitable.

Sept. 16. Attended meeting at the Presbyterian Church in the forenoon. Found a little to my surprise one of my old class-

mates was pastor. He was formerly an exceedingly dull scholar & makes rather a dull preacher. His discourse was regular & properly divided, but it was rather heavy & commonplace. Thought how many a blockhead is honored & reverenced in the world who if their real talents & knowledge were known would be despised.

In P. M. Attended the Baptist Church which appears to be flourishing. 12 individuals were recd. into the church. Attended the celebration of our Lord's Supper. But O how unworthy of so high a privilege. Blessed Jesus purify this heart & make it wholly thine.

Sept. 17. Took an early start from F'ville & drove to Syracuse 8 miles where we breakfasted. A flourishing, active, business place. Took the road for Auburn over Onondaga Hill. Passed thro' Marcellus & Sennett leaving Skaneatiles to the left & Elbridge to the right. The country very hilly, but fertile & well cultivated. Soil rich loam, as indeed it has been most of the way since we left Saratoga Co. Travelled 33 miles,—25 to [from] Syracuse. Have found quarters in Auburn in a very neat, genteel, quiet house, which is more than can be said of many taverns we have found on the way. Auburn is a splendid village surpassing any thing as a village that I have ever seen. It must contain much public spirit & enterprise as well as wealth & taste. Has improved some since I was here last.

Sept. 18. Drove to Seneca Falls by the way of the Free Bridge about 15 miles passing thro' Ments & Tyre. Found S. Falls but little improved since last here[4]—looks dirty & ragged—but little neat or tasty about it. Was warmly welcomed by many friends & very hospitably entertained. Found brother T. well & glad to see us. Did some business but the individuals I most wanted to see were absent. The population I found greatly changed—much more alteration in the inhabitants than in the place.

19. Left about 4 P. M. & drove 10 miles & put up for the night at Mr. Wests, a private house in the Western part of Waterloo.

[4] Here the author had practiced law from 1829 to 1834.

20. Travelled 35 miles to Lima & having arrived since dark can't speak as to the village. Have come today thro' Phelpstown, Hopewell, Canandaigua, East & West Bloomfield & Lima. A superb country, for the most part gently undulating & extremely fertile. It is well cultivated & adorned with beautiful villages, farm houses & out buildings. The roads were excellent, much the finest we have had. Passed thro' Canandaigua, that princely village, which for beautiful private residences & as a *rural* village surpasses anything I have ever seen. Have found for the night very good accommodations. There is a flourishing literary institution at this place under the Methodist patronage.

21. Drove to West Avon 7 ms. to Breakfast—there being two small villages of that name situated near together. At Avon is a mineral spring of some note. ½ a mile beyond Avon passed the far famed Genessee River. It is rather smaller than I anticipated & at present quite low. A canal from Rochester is constructing up its Western side. Immediately after passing this river we came to the broad domains of Le Roy. He has about 1500 acres in one body & has sown this season several hundred acres of wheat. Passed thro' Caledonia to Le Roy, a pleasant, flourishing, business like little village situated on Allans Cr. in the midst of a fine Country. The Country for the most of the way between G. River & Le Roy I did not like. It is very stony, rather dry & hard soil & timbered wholly with a growth of small oaks. From Le Roy to Batavia the country is superb & of almost unsurpassed fertility. Between lies the town of Stafford. Batavi[a] is a delightful village with one main st. broad & lined with trees & studded with beautiful villas & elegant mansions. It lies on the Tonawanda Creek is the county seat of Genessee Co. & is a flourishing village full of activity & enterprise. We passed on 5½ ms. to the Western part of Batavia where we have taken lodgings for the night. There is a railroad from B. to Rochester now in operation being a link in the great railroad from Albany to Buffalo. At B. we were misdirected & went out of our way about 2 miles over a bye & rough road

which like to have shaken the top off from my waggon. Travelled 38 miles.

Sept. 22. Started at 4 o'clock this morning & have passed thro' Ten Broeck (Rushville) Clarence & Williamsville to Buffalo. Was not much pleased with the country. The fore part of the day it was low & sandy then the soil became thin & Rocky. It [is] rather a good country however from Williamsville to Buffalo a distance of 10 miles where the[y] have constructed a good McAdamized road. Along this road are settled many Swiss peasantry. They appear to be possessed of little enterprise, are filthy in their persons & dwellings & have little taste. They are building a spacious Church in Buffalo devoted I believe to Catholicism. We arrived at Buffalo at about 4 P. M. & drove directly thro' Main St. to the wharf having travelled today 34 miles. We were immediately beset with Steam Boat agents & in a short time engaged a passage on Board the Steam Boat *Bunker Hill* for Detroit. Being about the first on board we secured pretty good quarters. She is a large staunch built Boat with good Accommodations. She is to go out this evening or tomorrow morning. Buffalo is a flourishing place & doing an extensive business. She is destined to be a great place as the main outlet of the extensive & increasing trade of the upper lakes. Here is the starting point for the mighty West & from this point imagination stretches her wing over the great waters which reach nearly 2000 miles into the interior & roll their billows along the most fertile shores on the Globe. Hail thou fair & fertile West, thou world of floods & forests of bright rivers & green prairies, thou art henceforth my home. Great & magnificent West almost untouched & fresh as at thy first creation formed on a mighty scale & destined by thy Creator for events mighty as thyself. Great West the pilgrims & the poor man's home, thou invitest to thy bosom to partake of thy riches & thy bounty all alike of every rank of every clime & tongue. Onward be thy way & glorious be thy destiny. The distance from Hubbardton to Buffalo by the way we came is [blank in MS.]. From Whitehall to Buffalo we were 9½ days on the rout & travelled at the rate of [blank in MS.] miles per day.

23 & 24. Last night about sundown the equinoctial storm which had been indicated all day by gusts & whirlwinds set in with a violent gale from the South West accompanied with rain. It blew almost a hurricane & completely broke down & stripped the top off from my waggon. One Steam Boat which put to sea was driven back & obliged to take shelter in the harbour. The wind & sea continued very high till Monday night when they abated. It is very tedious lying in port especially as we are thronged & our numbers are continually increasing from almost every tongue & nation the rich & poor, the civil & uncivil, the neat & quiet, the noisy & dirty, the pious & praying, the impious & swearing, the genteel & fashionable & gay, & the ragged & filthy & disgusting. Found all my goods which arrived today & shipped them on board the brig Neptune for Milwauky at $6 per hundred. Paid $9 per cwt. from Whitehall to Buffalo.

25. Tuesday morning at about 9 o'clock A. M. we started from the port of Buffalo, with a fine breeze from the South West a clear sky & bright sun. In addition to the motley lot of passengers above described we are heavily loaded with horses & waggons, merchandise & baggage of all descriptions. The boat pitches some & there is considerable sea sickness on board. Mrs. B. & Mary are considerably affected & Charley & brother W. a little & I am a little qualmish. We ran between 3 & 4 miles from land along the American Shore & the broad bosom of Ontario [Erie] with its watery & Cloudless horizon stretches to the North & West before us. Hail thou mighty flood type of Old Ocean, proudly thou bearest a thousand keels. How changed the scene which animates thee since thy waves bore the immortal Perry to battle & to victory. Then the strong battleship loomed upon thy waters, & the voice of the deep mouthed cannon echoed along thy shores & startled the timid deer & awoke the peaceful inhabitant from his slumbers. Now thy bosom is whitened with the bright sails of Commerce & the keels of fifty steamers plough thy waters.

Sept. 26. This morning found ourselves running along the Shores of the Ohio between Ashtabula & Cleaveland. Passed yester-

day Dunkirk the intended termination of the Hudson & Erie Rail Road, & last night we passed Erie the great port of Pennsylvania on the lakes. Here will terminate a railroad & canal when completed which will form a chain of communication thro' the State to Philadelphia. It is said that the railroad will bring Phida. nearer to lake Erie than New York now is but [the] canal rout is more circuitous. About 6 o'clock this morning we entered the Cuyahoga river which forms the harbour of Cleaveland & passed up to the village. The harbour has a fine pier & two lighthouses; one on the extremity of the pier & one on an eminence on the main land. Cleaveland is a handsome flourishing village situate on a plain of great fertility lying about 50 feet above the surface of the lake. The streets are broad straight & regular & the buildings good. Across the river is a small & flourishing village springing up called Ohio City. Here terminates the great Ohio canal which stretches thro' the State via Columbus & terminates at Portsmouth. The country around Cleaveland is very fine. Laid at C. 6 hours & started out about 12 M. The shores become lower as we proceed onward & the timber is very tall & heavy. Put in at Sheffield at the mouth of Black river. The village is small & the country low. We also touch at Huron situate at the mouth of Huron river a small place built almost in a Swamp. The river is full of reeds & rushes on the side opposite the village is a wet marsh & the country around is very low nearly on a level with the lake. Beyond this place to Sandusky the Country continues very low. Saw the latter place at a distance to the left. From Huron we directed our course to Cunningham's island which brought our boat into the troughfs of the sea when we had vomiting enough. Not Esculapius & all his tribe could have produced so sudden & astonishing effect. Suffice it to say we had plenty of reeling & staggering to & fro & a most filthy & disgusting scene ensued in all parts of the boat. There were many pale faces among the fair & some awfully wry faces among the men. Some hung over the sides of the vessel & some lay stretched on chairs & settees & on the deck & floors in all manner of shapes & positions, whilst others were reeling

& staggering wherever a lurch of the boat happened to throw them. It was curious to observe & contrast the glee & laughter of some few reckless characters who were unaffected with the solemn woe begone countenances of those who were sick. Mrs. B. & Mary were very sick, Charley was much affected & I had some very unpleasant sensations. We were thus exposed to rolling of the waves about 2 hours when we run under Cunningham's island to wood which completely sheltered us from the waves & the wind. This is a small island containing about 3000 acres is very fertile & settled by about 80 inhabitants. After lying to about 1½ hours we are again on our way direct to Detroit. The boat rides tolerably well.

27. We are now befogged nearly opposite Fort Malden in the Detroit river at about 2 o'clock in the morning awaiting for day light & I have arisen from inability to sleep more. The scene presented in the deck cabin among the deck passengers is worthy the pencil of Hogarth. Shades of night & my great grandmother. Here lie stretched in wild disorder & promiscuous confusion upon the floor like the slain on the field of battle in all shapes & positions both sexes & all ages, the man of gray hairs & the tender infant, the rosy cheeked damsel & the sturdy wood chopper. Here is crying & scolding & snoring & groaning. Some in births & some on chairs & trunks & settees & the rest on the floor. Some sitting & some lying, some dressed & some undressed, some covered & some uncovered & naked; some are stretched on beds, others on matrasses & cushions & cloaks & not a few are trying to find the soft side of the hard floor. Such is a steamboat life on lake Erie, a scene which I do not soon wish to experience again. At day light we weighed anchor & proceeded up the river. It is about two miles wide including the marshes which are principally on the Canada shore but narrows to ¾ or ½ a mile opposite Detroit. The lands adjacent to the river are low & heavily wooded. On the American side for some distance below Detroit are frequently seen the small white dwellings of the early French settlers. At length Detroit opened upon our view situated on a gentle rise of land elevated some 20 or 30 feet above the river. It is a very flourishing business place & for pleasant-

ness rather exceeded my expectations. We stopped at the Exchange & took breakfast & fell in with some old Brandon acquaintance. After refixing the top to my waggon we started from Detroit at ½ past 12 M. & took the Ann Arbour & Ypsilanti road for Lima. Passed over the railroad at D. which is completed to the latter place & took nearly a Sothwesterly direction.

For 5 miles from D. the Country is very low & the appearance gloomy & uninviting. It is principally covered with bushes interspersed with a few trees of large growth & the roads being in many places for a long distance constructed of logs are rough almost beyond description. We passed the Ruse or Rogue a small creek about 11 miles from D. came thro' Dearbornville about 10 miles out whe[re] the U. S. have erected a fine Arsenal. The land there is sandy & poor. We have travelled 20 miles & for almost the entire way the country is a dead level, thinly settled, the land poorly cultivated. But at only 3 or 4 small spots on the way has it appeared at all pleasant or the soil decently cultivated. Water is scarce & poor, no mill privileges & but very little grain raised. The road is exceeding [rough?] almost the entire distance being perfect log-pike. Where we watered our horses at noon 3 pailsful drained the well & the last looked as if it were taken from a mud hole. At one place we saw the geese & hogs contending with the utmost fury for a little water which had been left in a trough. Found many sick on the way & saw many pale faces. If this is a specimen of Michigan I wish to see no more of it. The soil for the most part is a mixture of black sand or muck with loam. It is very light & thin & rests on a bed of yellow sand. The country for the most part is covered with high bushes interspersed with a few trees or larger growth such as ash & elm for the most part with now & then a beech & maple.

Sept. 28. As we approach Ypsilanti the present termination of the railroad the country improves in appearance. This place is 30 ms. from Detroit is flourishing & full of activity. It is rather pleasantly situated on the river Rasin. Here we first begin to enter the Oak openings. They consist of white, black

or red & yellow oak with now & then a hickory. The trees are from 6 to 30 inches in diameter & thinly scattered. Bushes from one to ten feet high usually grow among the trees, but sometimes there are none when the woods present quite a beautiful & romantic appearance. Formerly these bushes were annually burnt by the Indians which probably occasioned what are now called grubs. These are turnip shaped bulbs or roots from which the bushes grow just under the surface of the ground & are destroyed only by grubbing or by plowing them off with a strong team of 4 or 5 yoke of oxen. From Ypsilanti we passed to Ann Arbour 10 ms. through a pretty good country considerably improved. The latter place is the co. seat & the site of the intended University of M. It is a handsome thriving village situated on or near the river Rasin. Thence passed on 12 miles to my brother in law's T. Cooper's in Lima. Found them well & much pleased to see us. The country here is pretty good. The soil is principally loam mixed sometimes with sand, sometimes with muck at others with clay. The country is sufficiently uneven. There are many low pieces of ground of from 5 to 30 acres covered with wild grass which the settlers mow for fodder. These they call wet prairies.

Oct. 3. After spending 4 days very pleasantly with my sister & family resumed my journey about 10 A. M. Whilst at Lima went to Dexter 3½ ms. a small thriving village founded by Judge Dexter also to Sylvan a good farming town. To day passed thro' Sylvan Grass Lake, the small village of Leona Jacksonburgh the Co. Seat of Jackson Co. situate on grand river & have put up for the night about 2 ms. West of the latter place. In Sylvan passed over the Short Hills which run thro' the State from North to South. To Jacksonburgh the surface of the country is quite uneven being full of small short hills & having many marshes & ponds of water. Part of the way the country is quite good but generally did not like it so well as about Lima. The soil is nearly the same as there. There is sufficiency of stone thus far altho' the Country is not stoney. The oak openings continue. Jacksonburgh is a very new & growing place & is the site chosen for the State

penetentiary. They have a fine hewn stone Court house & are building a bank of the same material. They have a fine stone quarry in the neighbourhood. Where I put up it is 40 ms. to Ann Arbour 80 to Detroit & 28 to Marshall.

LETTERS OF GEORGE B. SMITH[5]

Dear J. CHICAGO, March 24th, 1843

We arrived here yesterday all in good health and spirits. We have had a long & tedious journey. The weather has been extremely cold most of the time since we left home, a circumstance by the way which has been greatly to our advantage—indeed but for this fact, it must have been impossible for us to have proceeded. We had as you know 2 double wagons, & two single carriages all of which were heavy loaded and if we had had the weather usual to this season of the year the roads would have been soft & we would have been forced to have sold many of our things. It was unwise in us to have started as we did—but the unprecedented length of the cold weather let us out. It commenced snowing two or three days after we left, and continued to snow for several days. For this reason the roads were heavy for a few days, & we made but slow progress each day—however we got along as you see very well & we are here in good time. We were 16 days on the road.

I will not attempt to give you a detailed history of our daily life on the way, or any kind of a description of the country or villages through which we have passed. The weather has been so cold & some of the time so blustering, that I have not paid much attention to the country. I have looked only to the road & I assure you it has oftentimes required some care to keep that. We passed through Michigan and one corner of Indiana, & I cannot tell how the country would look in its summer garments, but I assure you it looks uncomfortable enough in its winter robes —but I do not intend to describe to you the country—indeed for the reasons I have stated—my description would be but poor if I tried.

I will however give you a slight idea of the people & a few miles of the country through Indiana. I do this because here for

[5] These letters were written to his friend James Sargent.

certain reasons I noticed the country & scrutenised the people with more minuteness than elsewhere on my route. The section of Indiana through which we passed is regard[ed] in some respects a dangerous route. I mean that portion of it say 40 miles the other side of Michigan City. This city is about 40 miles from Chicago.

Somewhere in the neighborhood alluded to lives the notorious Bill Lathy [?] formerly of Lathys corners, in Summit Co. & he is supposed to be the head & captain of a gang of horse thieves & counterfeiters—& hereabouts they live. We were warned to be on our guard in passing through this country. We had 6 very fine horses & some valuables besides—which under existing circumstances we could not well afford to loose. We tried to pass this infested district in one day, but the roads were so heavy from the depth of snow that night overtook us midway the distance, & we were forced to stop at what we had been told was a kind of headquarters for the scamps thereabouts. This was a low rakish dirty looking building, with a rickety sign in front on which was lettered, "Tavern." We drove up to the door, & out came Mr. Landlord. I wish you could have seen him—with his red bushy hair—his big bloated face & this by bad whiskey—which abounds in this neighborhood, & which is commonly called "red eye," literally dripping from his eyes—which were "red eyes" in truth. He was indifferently dressed yet fantastically, he had on a bright red vest much worn, a pair of green & red striped pantaloons and a big dirty green beige [word illegible] tied by the ends in front, & right at his heels were two big bull dogs that looked fierce & ugly enough—but not so bad as their master.

He said we could stay—he "sposed" whereupon we commenced to unload ourselves, & the little portable traps that we took in with us nightly when we stopped. We hardly commenced this unloading process when out came 5 or 6 of "Mine Hosts" croneys. I will not undertake to describe these characters to you. I will say however, that they reminded me of as many big black snakes, in a kind of half torpid state. Each man looked his part well. Of course we took them to be horse thieves, & our fears were excited that they might have been promoted to the higher

degrees of crime for they certainly looked as if they were ripe for "treason stratagem & murder."

We would have gladly left this place, but stay we must. We determined therefore to pass a sleepless night in that house, & we did. At first they would have placed us in rooms distant from each other, but we declined this arrangement & succeeded in getting two rooms adjoining—Father & Mother & Charles & Lafayette occupied one room & Parsons & I another. Our room looked out to the barn. We each had a big hickory cane & a Pistol; we watched the barn & listened intently all the night long in constant fear that some evil was to befall us. Once or twice during the night we thought we heard some unusual stir in the house & about the barn—but the morning and a bright beautiful cold morning it was—found us as safe from harm as if we had been lodged in a Princely Palace—save that we were wearied from watching. Our horses were all safe & they had been well cared for. A comfortable breakfast was prepared for us and about 9 A. M. we left the place where our fears had been so excited & I must say that all of the inmates of the house looked better to us than they did the night before. I have thought of the matter since, & I must do those rough fellows the justice to say that in estimating them we rather reasoned from our fears—they were rough looking men to be sure & what we heard excited our fears & we looked at these men with a distorted vision—at all events they did not molest us & in the morning they all seemed kind & obliging & the landlord assisted us with a will & a grace that would have done honor to "Mine Host" of a more elegant establishment.

We left them there thankful at least that our horses had not been stolen & that we had been permitted to depart in peace.

The country for about 20 miles either side of Michigan City looked to me rough & uninviting, the people all along the way looked rough & inhospitable, and I am inclined to think that this is really the true character of the country & the people in this vicinity. We arrived at Michigan City just at dusk. I will tell you about this place—a few words in my next.

Dear J.— CHICAGO, March 28th, 1843

I said in my last that I would tell you in a few words about Michigan City & a few words will tell all about it. This is the

only point that Indiana has on Lake Michigan, and if the harbor was at all good or could conveniently be made so, it would be in time a very important point, & something of a city but the harbor is full of sand, and already a large amount of money has been expended here by the Government to remove the sand & make a harbor but the most sanguine are disheartened at the prospect, for the sand drifts in about as fast as they can take it out. The whole city looks just as if the houses had been built somewhere else & moved here—& indeed this is true of many of them. A rival city was started a few miles from here in 1836, it busted & the houses many of them have been removed here.

The tavern house where we are stopping a large wood building was so moved, & it now stands on blocks imbedded in the sand. The city is on a sand Bank. There may be 12 or 15 hundred people here, & in the summer I should think most of their time would be occupied in keeping the sand out of their eyes. In short it is a cheerless dillapidated looking place, & I would rather live anywhere else than here. We got there in the evening at dusk & left at daylight the next morning, & right glad I was to get away. Still there will always be a "City" there & many a poor devil will be dumped into the sand after he has shuffled off his mortal coil.

The Road from Michigan City to Chicago hugs very close to the shore of the head of Lake Michigan & is consequently very sandy, but just now in its frozen state the road is good. The country along the route looks barren enough, & yet people have settled here & opened farms, & seem quite contented. It is well we do not all think alike. I would rather not live at all than to be obliged to spend my allotted days in this region, at least it seems so to me now.

This day we got within six or 7 miles of Chicago. Here Father found an old acquaintance keeping tavern in a long double log house & everything was very comfortable about it—the name I have forgotten, but as Toots says "its no consequence." Here we staid all night, all the next day & night, for the wind blew so that we could not proceed.

We kept close to the shore of the lake quite into Chicago & most of the way it is prairie. To the left of us which is south, this

[is] one vast sea of Prairie, as they say here we were out of site of land—and withall it is very low, not much above the level of the Lake—but in the summer when the grass is green & the flowers are in bloom, it must look beautiful for they tell me that in the summer the prairie is literally covered with beautiful flowers of many varieties—but now it looks cheerless & gloomy enough & here I would not stay.

We arrived in this city March 23d & we are stopping at the American Temperance House kept by C. W. Cook. He formerly kept the Cleveland House at Cleveland, where I boarded with him. The weather is still cold & sleighing good the snow is so deep between here & Wisconsin that we cannot proceed. We may stay here 3 or 4 weeks—at all events I will write you again in a few days, when I will tell you about this "far off" City.

Dear J.— CHICAGO April—1843

I promised in my last to tell you about this City. There is a wide expanse of sparsely settled country between us, which on the whole is capable of maintaining a dense & prosperous population, and all around Chicago there is a fine but yet uncultivated country, and yet Chicago is a city now much larger than Cleveland, with a business many fold greater than is done at that place. It is situated just at the head of Lake Michigan & on ground that seems scarcely above the lake, and now that spring begins to unfold its beauties, and Jack frost is leaving for parts unknown, we begin to feel as well as see that this great city in embrio is in a mud hole. The name denotes either a mud hole or sckunks den & I am not certain which. The Indians are remarkably cute in giving the right name to anything. Nevertheless it is a city—a thriving, prosperous busy city—it is just beginning to recover from the effect of the bubble of 1836—at which time the prices of property were perfectly fabulous but the traces of those days are fast passing away & a healthy & profitable state of things reigns here instead. The prices of property are not high for the business advantages and future prospects of the place, for notwithstanding it is in the mud it must from its very situation be in time a City of very considerable business & large population.

There are men here, sensible reflecting men who affect to believe that in a few years it will be one of the great citys of the Union. They are men who have an abiding faith in the growth & prosperity of what they call the "Great Northwest." You never heard much about it nor I either until now, and they regard Chicago as the Great Commercial Center of the Great West—perhaps they are right. We shall see.

Father has rented a house on Clark St not far from the main st of the city which is Water St,[6] & we shall stay here 3 or 4 weeks until the roads become settled so that we can jog on to Southport[7] Racine Co Wisconsin our place of destination.

I would like to stop here, but Father is not so enclined, and I must not leave him yet—his health is improving, still he is but the wreck of a man, & I must not leave him. My health has greatly improved since I left home, but still it is poorly & I am not more able to apply myself to my profession, & I have fears that I may never be able to do so, but I will not dwell upon a subject so painful to me & in no wise interesting to you. I have written today to E——— & enclose the same to you please see that it is delivered. I shall hereafter write directly to E———. I will write again in few days.

Dear J.— CHICAGO April 1843

We are still here waiting for the snow to go off & the roads to settle, so that we can move on to Wisconsin. The snow is slowly melting away but the roads are horrid, even the streets of Chicago are almost impassible. Our people are all well but we are all impatient to leave here & be settled in our future home.

My health I think is improving, and it has been from the day I left. I now look forward with some hope of being able to perform a part in the great world, for a while I feared that my time was short, then my ambition was correspondingly weak, but now a light glimmers in the future & hope revives. I pray that it may not be a delusion.

While waiting here we have but little to do. I have nothing to do, but read the newspapers. J. Y. Sanger you may remember

[6] This was South Water Street, then the business center of Chicago.
[7] Modern Kenosha.

him has a hat & cap store here, & he is also interested in business in Milwaukee Wisconsin. I repair to his store every day to read the newspapers of that state, several of which he takes. I feel more interest in these papers, because Wisconsin is to be my future home, and besides there is a very interesting contest going on there just now between the Gov. James D. Doty, and the Legislature. The Legislature & the people all seem to be against Doty, but Doty seems to be ahead.

The difficulty as I gather it is this—The Legislature met without being called by the Gov. & he refused to cooperate with them, because he says that Congress has not made an appropriation for that purpose. The Legislature undertook to go on without him, & although almost every member is against the Gov. they make very bad work in their opposition—somehow he contrives to head them at every turn. There is great excitement there & some here about it. I cannot learn enough to decide which is right, though I can clearly see that the Gov is ahead. All of the papers that I read are against the Governor & they abuse him roundly, & I hear that the people are against him too, but I don't know how that is. There is no party politics in the matter that I can learn, but it is Doty and anti Doty, & Doty is ahead. I will keep track of the fight & tell you how it comes out.

THE QUESTION BOX

ABRAHAM LINCOLN IN MILWAUKEE

I would like to have you give me all the information possible in regard to the different visits of Abraham Lincoln to Milwaukee. I understand he made one or two speeches in Milwaukee and I would like to have you give me all the particulars pertaining to them.

W. W. LANGE, *Milwaukee*

There is a strongly supported tradition that Lincoln went to Port Washington at a very early day, and planned to settle there. At that time he must have passed through Milwaukee. See an article by Julius Olson in *Wisconsin Magazine of History*, iv, 45–50.

In 1859 Lincoln spoke at the state fair on September 30. See same article, and *Wis. Hist. Colls.* xiv, 134–135. TheMilwaukee *Sentinel* for Friday, September 30, 1859 announced: "The Programme of ToDay At 10 o'clock today Hon. Abra'm Lincoln of Illinois will deliver the Annual Address before the State Agricultural Society on the Fair Grounds. Immediately after the address the awards of premiums will be announced." Then were to follow a hook and ladder company contest and other attractions. It is stated in the *Sentinel* that the day was windy and dusty, and that the crowd was not as large as it would have been but for the disagreeable weather. The speaker was delayed, and did not begin his address until nearly noon.

The address is printed in the *Sentinel* for October 1, 1859. It is also in *Transactions* of the Wisconsin Agricultural Society for 1858–59, 287–299. It was in no sense a political address, but was concerned with the development of agriculture, and a discussion of the relation of labor to capital and the importance of education to labor.

So far as we can ascertain, these were Lincoln's only visits to Milwaukee.

WHEN DID THE USE OF BOWS AND ARROWS CEASE?

The finding, this summer, of a flint arrow-head at the north end of the Dells of the Wisconsin River raised the question of its probable age. Some of the residents state that a great Indian battle occurred at the spot where the arrow-head was found, sometime about 1820, and suggested that it was a relic of that fight; others, however, did not believe that bows and arrows were used in that part of the country after about 1800, and thought it antedated that year.

This is a question to which I am wondering whether an authoritative answer can be given. Were not firearms in general use among the Indians of central Wisconsin after the beginning of the nineteenth century?

J. M. W. PRATT, *Milwaukee*

Wisconsin Indians began to obtain guns from the French as early as 1670, but they by no means abandoned their primitive weapons for firearms. Many settlers as late as the 1840's testify to having seen the tribesmen using bows and arrows. The guns were poor, made for the trade, easily got out of order, and the Indians themselves could not repair them. Every agency maintained a blacksmith, whose chief work was the repairing of Indian guns. Thus bows and arrows were much used for hunting, and part of an Indian boy's education was the accurate shooting of small game with arrows. This answers your question concerning the modern use of arrow-heads.

We have no tradition of an Indian battle at the Dells in 1820. The Wisconsin River Indians were in peaceful relations with one another. The Chippewa occasionally came down the stream, but its lower waters were Menominee territory and so far as we know there were no hostilities between these tribes except at a much earlier period.

SIGNIFICANCE OF INDIAN NAMES

I have heard different explanations of the meaning of the name "Winnebago." Please give me your definition.

Does "Neenah" mean "laughing water," or "running water"? I have heard that "Minnehaha" means "laughing water."

JOHN P. SHIELLS, *Neenah*

The word "Winnebago" was the name of an Indian tribe whose early habitat was around the lake of that name. The word really means "filthy" or "ill-smelling." It did not mean that this

tribe was more uncleanly than their neighbors, but that they lived in a land of ill-smelling waters. The Indians used the same word for the salt water of the sea.

"Neenah" means "water" only, nothing more. That is the Winnebago term. It is said that an early traveler pointing to the stream asked an Indian what was its name. The Indian thought he meant the element water, and said, "Neenah." The traveler thought it was the Indian name of Fox River.

"Minnehaha" is supposed to mean "laughing water." "Minne" is the same word in Sioux as "neenah" in Winnebago.

THE CAREER OF CHIEF WAUBUNSEE

I am preparing a paper on the life of Waubunsie, chief of the Potawatomi, and desire all the information I can gain concerning him. We own property on a creek named for Waubunsie, as he used it as a favorite camping ground while traveling along Fox River, into which the creek empties. We have built a cottage and fixed up a small park here, and are making a collection of Indian relics to keep in the cottage, which we have named Waubunsie Lodge.

Mrs. R. H. Johnston, *Oswego, Ill.*

We find the following concerning the career of Chief Waubunsee:

His name was spelled in several ways: Waubunsee, Waubansia, Waupan-eh-see, Waubunsie, and so forth. He signed the treaties of 1826, 1828, and 1829, as well as that of 1814 after the battle of the Thames, in which he was engaged on the British side. He was always a friend of the whites; nevertheless he is said to have urged that his tribe support Black Hawk in 1832, but was overruled (*Wis. Hist. Colls.* vii, 419). A letter from a man named McCarty says (Draper MSS. 9YY69) that he and his brother founded Aurora in 1836, although they owned the land as early as 1834. Waubunsee was head chief of the tribe on Fox River and spent his summers there, removing to the reserve on Kankakee River in the winter. He ultimately removed to Kansas, where he died.

McKenney and Hall, *History of the Indian Tribes* (Phila., 1855), iii, 31–35, say he was head war chief of the Prairie band of Potawatomi, residing originally on Kankakee River. Though a warrior of daring and enterprise, he was cool and sagacious, and

a bold orator. An anecdote is told of his feud with the Osages who had slain one of his friends. He finally met a party of that tribe near an American fort. The Osages trusted to the protection of the garrison, but Waubunsee scaled the fort at night, despatched a sleeping Osage, tore the scalp from his head, and leaped the wall just as the alarm was given. By sunrise he and his band were far away. At the treaty of the Wabash in 1826, near Huntington, Waubunsee was accidentally wounded by a friend in a drunken frolic. The agent Tipton kept Waubunsee with him until he was cured. In the spring Waubunsee paid a visit of ceremony to thank the agent for his kindness. The latter tried to reconcile the chief with his quondam friend. Waubunsee said, "You may tell him to come back. A man that will run off like a dog with his tail down for fear of death is not worth killing. I will not hurt him."

He was at the treaty of Chicago in 1833, when the tribe sold all their lands. In 1835 he visited Washington to see his "great father," the president. He went West about 1836, and was living in 1838 at Council Bluffs. Later he removed to Kansas.

EARLY PIERCE COUNTY

Our school would like to know a few things about early Pierce County. What Indian tribes lived here? Were there any trading posts in the county; if so, where? Who was the first white visitor to this vicinity? How did Maiden Rock get its name? Any other information about our early history will be appreciated.

MARGARET HENN, *Maiden Rock*

Pierce County is the scene of some of the most interesting historical events in western Wisconsin. It was the home of the Sioux tribe of Indians, or more properly the Dakota division of the great Siouan family. The Dakota were divided into the Sioux of the Plains, and those of the River. Those who occupied Pierce County were of the latter division. Their territory was encroached upon by the Chippewa from Lake Superior, and a state of war was almost continuous between these two great tribes until 1837, when the Sioux ceded all their lands on the east bank of the Mississippi and withdrew, the next year, to the west bank. The site of Prescott is the traditional site of a great battle between

the Sioux and the Chippewa, in which the latter were victorious, carrying off over three hundred scalps.

The legend of Maiden Rock is very old, and has many forms. The simplest form is told by Bunnell, in *Winona and Its Environs*. A maiden daughter of Wabasha, great chief who lived at Winona, Minnesota, was named Wee-no-nah, or eldest daughter. She had a young lover of her tribe, whom she wished to marry, but her parents desired to give her hand to an older, experienced warrior who had many Chippewa scalps to his credit. Weenonah objected and was separated from her young lover. One day, on a hunting expedition near Lake Pepin, the older lover pressed his suit. Again refusing, she bounded away from her friends and family, rushed to the height of a great rock, and recounting her sorrows and her undying love for her first lover, threw herself over the cliff and perished. We have never heard of any other site for this legend than the so-called Maiden Rock bluff, on the east bank of Lake Pepin.

The question of early posts in your vicinity is an interesting and a difficult one. In the Wisconsin Historical Society *Proceedings*, 1915, 117–123, you will find this subject discussed. Fort St. Antoine, where Perrot took possession in 1689 of the Sioux country, is thought to have been just below Stockholm in Pepin County. Fort Beauharnois was built in 1727 opposite Maiden Rock, near Frontenac, Minnesota. If you will get *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvii, 22–28, you will find an interesting description of this post, and of the celebration with fireworks which terrified the Indians. Fort St. Pierre was also built in your vicinity; just where has not been determined. These were all official French forts, but they were also trading posts. Carver mentions Fort St. Pierre in his journey of 1766—the first Englishman in Pierce County.

The first white men to pass up the river were Father Louis Hennepin and two French companions, Antoine du Gay and Michel Accault, in the year 1680. They were taken prisoners by a band of Sioux. Daniel Duluth came from Lake Superior down the St. Croix, rescued them, and took them east over the Wisconsin-Fox route to Green Bay. If you have Kellogg, *Early Narratives of the Northwest*, you can read Duluth's own account of this

adventure. After this, French travelers came and went constantly until the downfall of New France after Montcalm's defeat by Wolfe near Quebec in 1759. Then English traders came in, and occupied this region until after the War of 1812. Lieut. Zebulon M. Pike in 1805 carried the first United States flag along the upper Mississippi. In 1819 a post was built at Fort Snelling, and in 1827 a group of officers at the fort formed a company to buy the land at the mouth of the St. Croix. This was Indian land, so they could not obtain it until after the treaty of 1837.

St. Croix County was organized in 1840, and embraced what is now Pierce County. In 1849 a town called Elizabeth was laid off, comprising most of what is now Pierce County. This was perhaps named for Eliza Shazer, thought to be the first white child of American parents born in the present Pierce County. In 1853 Pierce County was erected and named for the president of the United States, Franklin Pierce. The first school was opened in 1851.

THE HORICON MARSH

We are making a study of the Horicon Marsh, and want information upon the subject. If you have any, would you kindly send it so we may use it in our high school work?

Adeline Kross, *Horicon*

This region was at first known as the Winnebago Marsh, and the town at its southern end was called Hubbard's town, for Governor Hubbard of Vermont, who had bought the land there. Governor Hubbard sold the land to Preston and Larrabee, who in 1845 had a dam begun at this place. This dam was completed in 1846 by Martin Rich from Vermont, who suggested the name Horicon for the slowly rising lake. The dam was originally built for water-power purposes, but soon the lake was utilized for the transport of timber to run from Chester down the Rock to Janesville and Rockford. In 1867 a decision of the supreme court abolished the dam, and Horicon Lake became Horicon Marsh. Soon the hunting and shooting clubs began to utilize this marsh. The Diana Shooting Club in 1883 leased ten thousand acres for twenty-five years. The later history covers an attempt to drain

the marsh by the Rock River Valley Company, organized in 1904.

THE WELSH CONTRIBUTION TO WISCONSIN

Our class in the Milwaukee State Normal School is studying the geography of Wisconsin, and is desirous of knowing what the Welsh people brought to Wisconsin. We know that the German people brought brewing and the sugar-beet industry, but we have been unable to find what the Welsh people brought.

ELLEN C. WILLIAMS, *Milwaukee*

The Welsh in Wisconsin have been for the greater part farmers, and have contributed by their industry and thrift to building up the agricultural interests of the state. In some portions, such as Racine and Waukesha counties, they have contributed to stock breeding and the dairy interests. In the western part of the state some Welshmen were miners, and others engaged in the manufacture of shot. See *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xiii, 357–360. Their best contributions to our Wisconsin life have been immaterial rather than material. The sober, religious character ofmany of the Welsh, their devotion to church life, especially their interest in church and other music, have been of benefit to the higher life of the state.

A Welsh Musical Union was organized in 1865, according to an account published March 3, 1869, in the Racine *Journal*. Each year the Welsh people held their musical convention, a great festival in itself. The Union also promoted church music and other forms. They offered prizes for musical compositions—a most unusual thing in the early history of the state, as it is still unusual.

The Welsh people, especially the rural folk, lived lives of great frugality, industry, and self-sacrifice, so that we may perhaps look upon their church and community singing as their characteristic form of recreation, and it was a most admirable one.

THE STORY OF THE STOCKBRIDGES

I would like to know to what nationality the Stockbridges of Wisconsin belong, and where they came from. Are they a mixed race of people?

H. C. KECK, *Welcome, Minn.*

The Stockbridge Indians originally came from Stockbridge, Massachusetts, where a mission for Indians was established early

in the eighteenth century and a school maintained for the education of Indian boys. The tribe that formed this mission was a branch of the Mahican or Mohegan tribe, called by the Dutch the "River Indians," because they dwelt along the Hudson River. That portion of the tribe living in the Housatonic Valley was the part that removed to Stockbridge, where in time they became known as the Stockbridge Indians. They always called themselves Mo-he-con-new, or Mohegan, and when John Metoxen, their chief, died in Wisconsin, he was spoken of as the "last of the Mohicans."

In the course of their removals, first to New York after the American Revolution, then to Wisconsin about 1825, remnants of other tribes became mingled with the Stockbridges, notably the Munsee, the Wolf clan of the Delaware tribe. These two bands came together to Wisconsin, most of them from Stockbridge, near Oneida, New York. One portion of the tribe had in 1818 removed to White River, Indiana, among some of the Delaware. Upon arrival there, they found the land had been ceded to the United States; so after a few years they joined their brethren in Wisconsin. Their first home was at Statesburgh, now South Kaukauna, on Fox River. In 1832 they ceded this region for a reservation on the eastern shore of Lake Winnebago, and founded there a new Stockbridge. The Brothertown Indians lived with the Stockbridges at this place. They were kindred tribes, but in reality the small remnants of southern New England tribes—the Pequot, Montauk, Narragansett, and so forth, that gathered at a mission in New York and took the title of Brothertowns. These Indians have become citizens, and their descendants still live in Calumet County. The Stockbridges, however, declined in 1846 the offer of citizenship, and in 1852 ceded their lands in Calumet County for a reservation near the Menominee in Shawano County. There they and the Munsee still live; practically all of them, however, have become citizens and accepted lands in allotment.

THE FOUNDING OF RHINELANDER

Please send me any information you may have on the early history of Rhinelander and Oneida County.

MISS B. SIMMONS, *Rhinelander*

Your community is so new that your local history may be obtained from persons now living in it. It would be wise to gather in the reminiscences of the pioneers before it is too late.

Oneida County was organized in 1885 from Lincoln County. Consult Wisconsin Historical Society *Proceedings*, 1908, on Oneida County organization and the changes in its boundary. This region had been for hundreds of years the home of the Indians, those of the Chippewa tribe having lived there from the seventeenth century. *Wis. Hist. Colls.* xix, 202, gives an account of a fur trader among these Indians in 1804. All these traders were French-Canadians, who came and went and left little trace, yet they may be called the first white men in Oneida County.

Rhinelander was, like most northern Wisconsin towns, the child of the railway. The Milwaukee, Lake Shore & Western Railway was organized about 1870; it was foreclosed under a mortgage in 1875 and bought in by a group of New York capitalists headed by Mr. F. W. Rhinelander. Mr. Rhinelander had great faith in the future possibilities and present resources of northern Wisconsin. His company began building north. By 1882 the railway had reached Summit Lake, with the line graded to Pelican Lake. By 1883 the road had been pushed beyond Pelican Lake, with a spur 15.7 miles long from Monico to the mouth of Pelican River, which was chosen by the president of the road as the site to which he gave his own name. Whatever settlement had been there before was called Pelican Station. Settlers came in so rapidly that by 1890 there were 2658 persons in the village of Rhinelander. The Milwaukee, Lake Shore & Western Railway sold to the Chicago & Northwestern in 1893, and after that the Rhinelander family was no longer connected with this region. The Rhinelander family is one of the old landholding families of New York City. The first in America (1686) was Philip Jacob Rhinelander, who was exiled from France by the revocation of the Edict of Nantes—that is, in the dispersion of

the Huguenots. The family home was on the Rhine, but in territory which was a part of France. Philip Jacob settled at New Rochelle, New York, and there died in 1737. His son William removed to New York City and was buried in Trinity churchyard in 1777. His landed property has been kept together as the Rhinelander estate and has become very valuable. William's son William II bought as a sugar house a building which was used as a prison for Americans during the Revolution. This historic monument known as Rhinelander's Sugar House existed until 1892.

William Rhinelander II (1753–1825) had two sons, William C. (1790–1876) and Frederick William. The latter had a son and a grandson of the same name. President Rhinelander of the Milwaukee, Lake Shore & Western was either the second or the third of the name. The family is now represented by Philip, bishop of the Episcopal Church.

THE CAREER OF MARINETTE

We have had several inquiries lately about the meaning of the name of our city, Marinette. As far as our records show, the name Marinette had no special significance except as it was the name of the Menominee Indian girl who married John Jacobs, and who was well known in early days for her business ability. Have you any further information as to the meaning of the name?

GLADYS M. ANDREWS, *Marinette*

In the Patrick Papers we find a manuscript "History of Marinette" by Dr. John J. Sherman, in which the author says that Marinette Jacobs, from whom the town takes its name, was born in 1793 at Post Lake, the source of Post River, one of the principal tributaries of the Peshtigo River. She was a daughter of a Chippewa woman and a Frenchman named Chevalier, of whom but little is known.

From our records we can add something about Marinette's father. His name was Barthélemy Chevalier, and he was for some time a resident of Green Bay. After his death his widow lived at this place. See *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, x, 138. See also the baptismal record of Marinette's older sister in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xix, 85. The name Marinette was probably an abbreviation of Marie Antoinette. It is quite possible that Chevalier may have

named his little daughter for the unfortunate French queen who was guillotined the year of her birth.

Further information from Dr. Sherman is as follows: Marinette was regularly married to John B. Jacobs, to whom she bore several children and with whom she lived on this river for some time previous to 1822, at about which time he left the river. In the *Wis. Hist. Colls.* you will find more about Jacobs. He was an Englishman who came out to Green Bay from Canada—a man of good education and family but sadly addicted to liquor. He taught school awhile at Green Bay, and Marinette *may* have been one of his pupils. At any rate he loved her, and some of his unpublished letters in our manuscripts show a deep interest in her welfare and that of his children. He went back to Canada to obtain an inheritance left him by a brother. So far as known, he never returned to Wisconsin.

Continuing Sherman's history, we find that Marinette remained on the river with William Farnsworth, to whom she bore several children and who in turn left her and settled at Sheboygan. He was lost on the *Lady Elgin* in 1860.

Marinette should not be morally blamed for her relations with Farnsworth, as those were the customs of the times and the people among whom she grew up. You will find a biography of Farnsworth in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, ix, 397–400. "The old residence of Marinette," Sherman says, "is still standing and is the property of our chief officer, F. Carney Esq. Marinette lived there with her children (among them were Mrs. Charles McLeod, John B. Jacobs, and George P. Farnsworth of Green Bay) devoting the latter part of her life to deeds of benevolence and devotion until she arrived at the ripe age of threescore and twelve, when she quietly passed away on the third of June, 1865. Her remains were first interred in the enclosure near the house where the family had a sort of temporary vault, over which was erected a building composed of cedar logs."

COMMUNICATIONS

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF "NEENAH"

I have noticed the inquiry of Mr. Harry F. Williams of Neenah[1] as to the meaning of the name "Neenah." It is to be observed that we all are inclined loosely to accept almost any interpretation of the Indian names which do so abound in Wisconsin, without investigation at the source, which is in this case the aboriginal people themselves who are still with us, speaking the tongues from which these names come.

It will be of some interest, no doubt, for me to give you the result of some inquiry of my own which reaches to the answer to the question of Mr. Williams. I spend many days each summer in the Keshena Reservation, peopled by the Menominee tribe. Last summer I found an old man, Peter Pamonik, who as a youth was familiar with the Neenah-Menasha region and its history, so far as the Indians knew it by tradition. He told me that Neenah was originally a Winnebago village and that its Winnebago name was "Wee-nah-pe-ko-ne." Beyond the fact that "Weenah" means "stinking" in the Winnebago tongue, he could not translate the name for me. This "Weenah," modified into "Neenah" by the whites, who also dropped the three closing syllables of the aboriginal name, appears in several Wisconsin names. Thus, we have Lake Winnebago, the towns of Winneconne and Winneboujou.

Of course all know that "Winnebago," or "Winnebagoshish," as it is in the original Indian, means "stinking water." This original Indian word in full is found in Minnesota, where a lake carries the name. "Winneconne" would seem to bear the earmarks of being originally the "Weenahpekone" which applied to the present city of Neenah. Of course the epithet "Neenah" grew out of the peculiar odor which comes from the water of Lake Winnebago and the slow water above it in the summer when it is filled with a growth of minute algae, often becoming very offensive.

[1] See the December, 1921, issue of this magazine, page 207.

The name "Menasha" applied in exactly that form to a Menominee village on the site of the present city, and merely means "island."

GEORGE Banta, *Menasha*

HISTORICAL NOTES

ADDITIONS TO HISTORICAL SOCIETY

During the three months' period ending April 10, 1922, there were thirty-one additions to the membership roll of the State Historical Society. Eight of these enrolled as life members, as follows: Wheeler P. Bloodgood, Milwaukee; John Clark, Cleveland, O.; Gustave E. Eck, Lake Mills; Edward A. Fitzpatrick, Madison; Charles H. Leavitt, Manila, P. I.; William L. Pieplow, Milwaukee; Alfred C. Schmitt, Albany, Ore.; Augustus H. Vogel, Milwaukee.

Twenty-one persons became annual members of the Society: R. H. Adams, Minneapolis, Minn.; Robert J. Barnes, Oshkosh; Nile J. Behncke, Oshkosh; Chauncey E. Blake, Madison; Ralph N. Buckstaff, Oshkosh; Matthew J. Connell, Milwaukee; Loyal Durand, Milwaukee; William T. Harvey, Racine; Charles L. Hill, Rosendale; Earle S. Holman, Antigo; Jacob K. Jensen, Janesville; Clarence H. McClure, Warrensburg, Mo.; Emil A. Marthens, Milwaukee; Vine Miller, Sheboygan; Frederic C. Morehouse, Milwaukee; Caleb Olson, Racine; Edwin C. Ostermann, Milwaukee; Howell Parks, Muskogee, Okla.; Harry L. Russell, Madison; Ida Sherman, North Prairie; Lewis F. Silverthorn, Footville.

The North Division High School at Milwaukee became a Wisconsin school member, and the University of Oregon at Eugene an institutional member.

THE SMILEY PAPERS

Prof. Smiley Blanton of the University of Wisconsin has presented to the Society the papers of his uncle Gen. Thomas T. Smiley of Nashville. General Smiley was a lifelong resident of that city and acquainted with the historic and political characters of Tennessee. In early life he was a nationalist Whig; after the defeat of his party in 1852 he drifted into the Know-Nothing or American party. As a member of this secret organization he had in 1855 a political difference with Andrew Johnson, then campaigning for governor, which was about to lead to an "affair of honor." Upon Johnson's assurance, however, that he intended nothing personal in his allusion to the Know-Nothings, he and Smiley were reconciled and became political friends.

In the campaign of 1860 Smiley voted for Bell of the Constitutional Union party, and saw with much regret the South undertake secession. Nevertheless, he thought it his duty to support his section, volunteered for service to "repel invasion," and became major of the First Tennessee Volunteers (Confederate), which rendezvoused at Camp Cheatham. There he was aide-de-camp to General Foster, who was superseded by Zollicoffer. Smiley was recommended to both General Beauregard and

the Confederate secretary of war for a brigadiership. Whether actually appointed or not, he was thereafter known as General Smiley. After the first year of the war he saw no active military service; he did, however, hold an appointment from the Confederate government to negotiate with the federal authorities that occupied Nashville, especially with Johnson, military governor of Tennessee, on behalf of Confederate prisoners, persons whose estates were confiscated, and others suffering the hardships of war. General Smiley's influence was potent in ameliorating conditions in the occupied regions. He also acted as legal counsel for many in distress, and was trusted by both parties in the great struggle. After the war Smiley never reëntered politics, although frequently importuned to do so. He devoted himself to his legal practice and to the affairs of the Odd Fellows and Masons, in whose lodges he held high positions.

His papers are of many kinds: family and personal correspondence; legal and business documents; political and military letters. They extend in point of time from the close of the War of 1812 to about 1880, and are the only Tennessee papers we possess of a later date than the Draper Manuscripts. Among the interesting letters are one from William E. West, an American artist in Florence in 1820; an autograph of Edwin Booth; several letters of Andrew Johnson; and war letters of Generals Foster, Zollicoffer, Heiman, and other officers of lower rank. Pre-war papers dealing with the purchase, exchange, or hire of slaves are significant. Upon the whole, the Smiley papers, though not great in number, constitute a group of documents illustrative of the civilization of the lower Mississippi valley in the middle years of the last century.

LOUISE P. KELLOGG

THE STILSON DIARY

Among the recent additions to our manuscript collection is the diary of Eli Stilson II, who in 1845 made a reconnaisance of eastern Wisconsin to decide on its promise as a future home. Mr. Stilson was born in 1820 at West Windsor, Broome County, New York. He came west from Buffalo around the lakes to Milwaukee, where the steamboat landed him at half past two in the morning on a cold May day. The traveler thought that Milwaukee was not very attractive, "situated on uneven ground and divided by water. The streets are tolerable smooth but the sidewalks are miserable or not at all." It had some good buildings and did "a sight of business"; but in his estimation prices were too high of both rents and building lots. "A fair size three story building will rent for five hundred dollars or more—a single room for one hundred or more per year."

From Milwaukee Mr. Stilson went westward looking for land. He visited Milwaukee, Waukesha, Walworth, Jefferson, and Dodge counties, examining several sites for a farm but making no definite selection. He was a shrewd judge of good land, and classified what he saw as timber, white-oak openings, burr-oak openings, prairies, marshes, swamps, and lakes. Much of the land was held by non-residents and speculators.

He also noted water sources, springs, and wells. The artificial mounds left by primitive people interested him, and he made in his diary a drawing of one group near Summit, Waukesha County. The little homemade book of folded paper fastened with pack thread is an eloquent souvenir of pioneer days in Wisconsin, all the more that its writer later contributed a goodly share to the state's growth. In 1847 Mr. Stilson purchased a farm just north of Oshkosh. There he became a leader in the agricultural interests of the state, experimenting with sheep husbandry and the dairy industry. In 1860 he became a life member of the State Agricultural Society, and in 1871 vice-president for his district. In 1874 he was elected president of this important organization, and was twice reëlected, retiring in 1878. About this time Mr. Stilson made investments in Texas and Kansas. He continued, however, to make his residence at his farm home in the township of Oshkosh until his death August 20, 1883.

This early diary of one of the founders of our commonwealth was presented to the Society by his son, Edgar Stilson of Milwaukee.

OUR CONTRIBUTORS

Eugene W. Leach ("Marshall Mason Strong, Racine Pioneer") is a resident of Racine and a diligent student of her history. He is the author of several works pertaining to the history of his city and county.

Louise P. Kellogg ("The First Traders in Wisconsin") is senior research associate of the Wisconsin State Historical Society.

Gen. Charles King ("Memories of a Busy Life") is a resident of Milwaukee and one of the most widely known citizens of Wisconsin.

W. A. Titus of Fond du Lac ("The Lost Village of the Mascouten") continues in this number his interesting series of contributions to the history of early Wisconsin.

SOME WISCONSIN PUBLIC DOCUMENTS

Our associate magazine, the *Wisconsin Archeologist,* assumed in January a new dress and began a new series with volume one, number one on the title page. It is not too much to say that the twenty years' publication of the *Archeologist* has placed Wisconsin in the front rank of the states that are listing and preserving their prehistoric remains and are making scientific reports of the primitive men of North America. The editor and secretary, Charles E. Brown, has personally supervised the publication of every one of the eighty numbers of the *Archeologist* that has appeared in the past score of years. The Wisconsin Archeological Society, now numbering four hundred members in every section of the state, was founded in October, 1901 as a section of the Wisconsin Natural History Society. Eighteen months later, it came of age and assumed its own independence. All those who are interested in the vanishing race of our first Americans, and in keeping their relics and records for our children, owe a debt of gratitude to this Society, which with only a small state subsidy has persevered in its good work and has placed Wisconsin on the archeological map of the United States.

The University Extension department of debating and public discussion has issued a bulletin on *Wisconsin and the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence Deepwater Route to the Sea,* under the auspices of the Wisconsin Deep Water-ways Commission, of which Harry Sauthoff is executive secretary. His report on the significance of water-ways occupies the first place in this publication. Civilization has always followed waterways; the rise of each of the great peoples of history has been upon the wings of sea-borne commerce. Water transportation is cheaper than land commerce, and now that the United States railways are almost bankrupt it is well to think of measures of relief. Price and production wait on transportation, and the only available remedy for the existing breakdown of the system and the possible dangers of another crisis is the proposed St. Lawrence water-way. It will affect every state between the Alleghenies and the Rockies, from Canada to Oklahoma. The estimated cost is not prohibitive; both the Panama and Erie canals cost more. Engineers are agreed as to its feasibility. Its building would release industrial workers to develop the agricultural lands of the Northwest. It would create a shorter haul to English, Scandinavian, and Mediterranean ports, as well as do away with the shifting of cargoes from cars to vessels.

A Joint High Commission of the United States and Canada met at New York City to discuss the problems of this water-way. Wisconsin was represented by F. E. Mitchell of Oshkosh. He reported the findings of this body with regard to ocean vessels. Three thousand two hundred and sixty-four are liners, 21,000 tramps. The former average above seven thousand tons, the latter below. Figures are here presented in the bulletin to show the average draft and the possibilities of lake navigation. By this water-way twelve states would be immediately affected, with a population of thirty-one million. It would give the farmers a needed outlet to foreign markets, and eliminate the cost of transfers at Buffalo for the all-water route, and transfers at Trenton for the all-land route to the port of New York. This project is not sectional but national in scope. Many Easterners favor it; for Wisconsin it would utilize a shore line surpassed in length only by Florida, Texas, and California. Terminals at Superior, Ashland, Green Bay, Manitowoc, Milwaukee, Racine, and Kenosha would lower rates and induce more complete cultivation of the land.

W. G. Bruce follows with statistics of Wisconsin's productive ability. The state now contributes $125,000,000 of the United States exports. Her imports may be roughly estimated at $60,000,000. By direct access to the sea Wisconsin's service to the nation will be doubled.

C. P. Norgord writes of Wisconsin's undeveloped agricultural possibilities. Her plow land may become eighty-two per cent greater than at present, with a potentiality of a marketable surplus of 102 per cent. Dean Russell estimates that in northern Wisconsin alone we have an area larger than Belgium awaiting transportation for development.

The Wisconsin Geological and Natural History Survey publishes as Bulletin No. 58, Educational Series No. 6, *The Geography and Eco-*

nomic Development of Southeastern Wisconsin, by Ray Hughes Whitbeck, professor of geography in the University. Professor Whitbeck's monograph is concerned with the physical geography and economic growth of five counties—Milwaukee, Waukesha, Racine, Kenosha, and Walworth, the earliest regions of our state to be settled after the lead-mine district. After describing the geology of the Great Lakes as related to this region, the author notes the mineral products of the district and the influence of Lake Michigan upon its progress. He then takes up each of the five counties in turn, noting briefly their pioneer era and the subsequent changes. The emphasis of this monograph is placed on industry and commerce, in which this region excels all other portions of the state. Agricultural history receives but brief treatment. It is probably the best account yet published of the growth of manufactures in the three large lake-board cities of southern Wisconsin. The bibliography is excellent; no references, however, are made to the material in this magazine. A few slight errors are noted. On page 78 is a typographical jungle. The author speaks, on page 77, as if the first railroad was proposed while Wisconsin was included in Michigan Territory. As this was in September, 1836, Wisconsin Territory was already organized. These mistakes, however, do not mar the excellence of the work as a source for Wisconsin history.

Recruiting for teaching service is assisted by a bulletin issued by the Platteville Normal School, entitled *Why Teach?* A call to teach is a call to arms; youth has enthusiasm, power, it must be directed. Do not drift, but consider in choosing a career what you can do best and most enjoy doing. The newer opportunities in teaching offer attractive vocations; there are manual art, rural, and agricultural schools for those who have such interests. Salaries are rapidly improving, and the pension system is effective, so teaching now carries an assurance of adequate living, and the possibilities of service that are creative opportunities. An interesting historical touch is given to this pamphlet by the excellently told reminiscences of one of Wisconsin's pioneer teachers.

ERRATUM

The second paragraph of footnote 16 of the article "Wisconsin's Saddest Tragedy," printed in the March, 1922, issue of this magazine, has been displaced from its proper position as the concluding part of footnote 15, on page 280. The paragraph in question was written by the author as a contribution to the discussion of the practice of carrying concealed weapons.

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