THE WISCONSIN MAGAZINE OF HISTORY

JUNE 1919

VOLUME II

NUMBER 4

PUBLISHED QUARTERLY
BY THE STATE HISTORICAL
SOCIETY OF WISCONSIN

THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF WISCONSIN

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

The WISCONSIN MAGAZINE OF HISTORY is published quarterly by the Society, at 450 Ahnaip Street, Menasha, Wisconsin, in September, December, March, and June, and is distributed to its members and exchanges; others who so desire may receive it for the annual subscription of two dollars, payable in advance; single numbers may be had for fifty cents. All correspondence concerning the magazine should be addressed to the office of the State Historical Society, Madison, Wis.

Entered as second-class matter, December 17, 1917, at the post office at Menasha, Wisconsin, under the act of March 3, 1879.

The Collegiate Press
GEORGE BANTA PUBLISHING COMPANY
MENASHA, WISCONSIN

VOL. II 1918-1919

THE WISCONSIN MAGAZINE OF HISTORY

PUBLICATIONS OF THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF WISCONSIN. Edited by MILO M. QUAIFE, Superintendent

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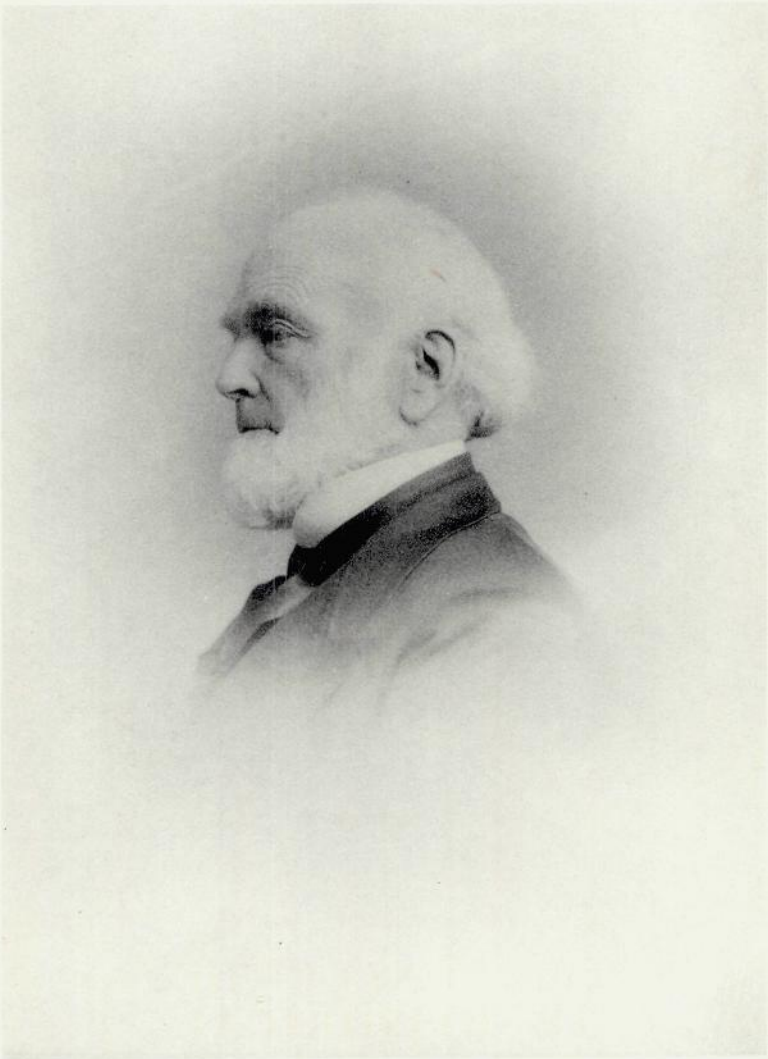

CYRUS WOODMAN
From a photograph taken in 1886

VOL. II, NO. 4 JUNE, 1919

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CYRUS WOODMAN: A CHARACTER SKETCH

ELLIS B. USHER

A biography and study of the personality, character, career, and antecedents of Cyrus Woodman are worth while because, although as a neighbor and resident of the state he lived in the West for only sixteen years, he was nevertheless identified with some of its most interesting history, and established relations and interests here that continued throughout his well-rounded life. And because it is especially fitting that such an estimate of Mr. Woodman should be prepared for and deposited with the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, I have undertaken this sketch.

The history of the state is the mosaic of accomplishment by its individual citizens; it is a misfortune that so many men of great usefulness leave so little personal record behind them. Mr. Woodman illustrates the importance of the useful private citizen and it is a matter for congratulation that he has left unusual records of his relations to Wisconsin and northern Illinois, and that his children have placed these records in the keeping of our State Historical Society.[1] The fact that Mr. Woodman was one of the charter members of this Society, and, as his correspondence shows, was also one of the earliest[2] and most persistent advocates of such a society, suggested to his children the propriety of this repository for most of his personal records. They knew that he had served long as one of the Society's vice presidents, and they were themselves natives of the region to which these papers chiefly refer.[3]

[1] There are nearly two hundred bound volumes of his personal and business correspondence in the Society's keeping. See WISCONSIN MAGAZINE OF HISTORY, Dec. 1918, 233-34.

[2] I am quite sure that he once told me, in reply to questions, that he made the first suggestion to General Smith and helped, later, in his quiet way, to push the undertaking to success.

[3] Two of his children were born in Winslow, Illinois, and four in Mineral Point, Wisconsin.

To interpret a man's character and value to his neighbors and his time is an undertaking that no one should essay without misgivings. It is, therefore, well for me to say, frankly, that the fact that I am the nephew of Cyrus Woodman, and that he was more than an uncle to me—he was my friend and benefactor—lays certain awkward limitations upon this effort to translate him to his permanent and proper place in Wisconsin and western local history. I shall, therefore, let others speak for him, and permit him to speak for himself as far as possible. The latter method would not be to his liking, if he might intervene, but it will be more just and more illuminating.

Writing to me recently of the death of Mr. Woodman's eldest son in Charleston, West Virginia, Superintendent Quaife says:

> "I judge that Mr. Woodman inherited, or had instilled in him, most of the admirable traits of his father. I note particularly the comment concerning the solidity of his scholarship, and the modesty of his character. Such men are all too rare in any country, or in any age. Without implying anything to the discredit of our own age and country, I think it was a God-send to youthful Wisconsin that we had Cyrus Woodman in our midst for a time. Evidently Charleston has profited in somewhat similar fashion by the presence of his son."

Mr. Woodman had an innate taste for history and many of the characteristics of the careful historian, so it was not surprising that as a young man fresh from Bowdoin College, Harvard Law School, and the practice of law in Boston, he should be interested in the scenes and inspired by the great possibilities of the robust, boundless new West into which he entered when, on January 14, 1840, he arrived in Winslow, Illinois. He came as the agent of the Boston and Western Land Company. Later the company was dissolved, and he purchased the remaining lands, mainly on credit, in 1843, and began business on his own account.

In the summer of 1844 he formed a partnership with Cadwallader Colden Washburn, also a native of Maine, a

lawyer, and already established in Mineral Point.[4] This was the beginning of a lifelong association and confidence between these two men, for, although they separated their business interests in 1855, they were often closely associated in large business transactions in later life. Mr. Washburn enjoyed great undertakings, and my uncle said to me, after the explosion of the Washburn flour mills at Minneapolis, that he would not bear such a load as General Washburn always carried "for all his money."

This remark illustrates one of Mr. Woodman's characteristics. He had a competence when he dissolved partnership with Mr. Washburn. When the latter was elected to Congress it was his wish that the partnership might continue, Mr. Woodman conducting the business. This was more of a responsibility than Mr. Woodman cared for, so in the division of the property he took his share very largely in cash, and gave Mr. Washburn what both considered the major share—a prospective great fortune, principally in wild lands and pine stumpage. A letter to Mr. Washburn written from Bonn, Prussia, in 1857, clearly illustrates Mr. Woodman's measure of his friend and former associate. He writes:

> "Though you talk of drawing your business to a close, yet I have no doubt that if you could cash your lumber this winter you would, before the Mississippi opens next spring, be making your calculations to buy out and cut down all the timber on the Black, Chippewa and Rum rivers, and perhaps be in favor of starting a gigantic joint stock company to cut down all the pine in Oregon the year following."[5]

Mr. Woodman, although then but forty-one years of age, retired from active business and as soon as he could adjust his affairs took his family to Europe for three years, educating his children in Germany and France, and studying himself at Bonn and with private tutors. He set aside $10,000 for this season abroad and, I believe, made it fulfill his purpose.

[4] Later a representative in Congress, major general of volunteers in the Civil War, and governor of Wisconsin.

[5] Records in the Woodman papers show that Mr. Washburn had serious ideas of a great lumbering corporation.

In my possession are a number of his letters to Mr. Washburn, written during these years. They were composed with leisure and in the full frankness and sincerity of personal confidence and security. They therefore measure better than anyone else possibly could the wide range of Mr. Woodman's intelligence, his interest in and careful study of the governments and peoples visited in his travels, and his discriminating estimates and decided and independent opinions upon the larger public questions under discussion at home. On the twenty-second of November, 1857, nearly sixty-two years ago, he wrote from Bonn to Mr. Washburn as follows:

"The English have retaken Delhi. I merely mention it to say that I am glad of it. England and the United States are the only two free countries in the world worth naming. England with her free speech and free press is hated and feared by all European governments, notwithstanding all professions to the contrary.

"In Europe generally the laws and the police for protection of life and property are much more effectual than with us. Our liberty, in the states, especially in the new states, borders upon license, and not infrequently license drives liberty to the wall. But after all I would rather live in the wildest and rudest part of the Union where freedom of speech and of the press is unrestricted, (this excludes some of the slave districts where neither are allowed in relation to the 'peculiar institution,' slavery) and where I might be obliged to protect my person and property with bowie knives and pistols, than to dwell in this land where one dares not utter his thoughts upon government or religion. Freedom of speech and of the press is essential to the development of a manly people. It is for this reason that the inhabitants of England and the United States are the most manly upon the earth.

"I look with pride upon the extension of English speech and English liberty over so broad a portion of the earth's surface.

"Here in Prussia more than twenty people cannot hold a meeting without permission of the authorities and if in a public place you speak with a German upon politics and religion he will not utter his thoughts without first looking round to see that he is not overheard. What effect this has upon the national character you can well imagine."

In a letter to his sister a month later, and in similar vein, I find the following extract which is prophetic, in the light of recent events:

"In Europe England is envied, feared, and consequently hated. I for one, am not envious of England's prosperity and greatness. I see in her, advance of order, intelligence and civil libertv. She is the natural

ally of the United States, and if, at some future day the nations of Europe shall combine against her, I hope she will receive all the support from the United States which they can constitutionally give."

These quotations justify his rejoinder to Judge Drummond, a friend of his school days, when the Judge cautioned him, as he was starting for Europe, not to forget his country —"I am too good a Democrat to do so." His democracy, as his letters from Bonn show, was broad and statesmanlike, transcending party limitations.

He came from the element in New England that revolted against the civil domination of the Congregational Church, because it was, in turn, dominated by or expressed itself through the Federalist party. Maine was, in that movement, an exemplar of Professor Frederick J. Turner's idea that "the frontier" is a social and not a geographical condition. Anti-Federalism was deeply bedded in his political principles, although he was named for a Federalist, Cyrus King, who was representative in Congress from the district in which he was born.[6] He once denounced to me the "American Statesmen" series of biographies, because they were written by Charles Francis Adams, Henry Cabot Lodge, and others, under the inherited spell of Federalism. But his politics, although he and his father before him were Democrats, were not measured by mere partisanship, as is demonstrated by the following quotation from a letter to Mr. Washburn, written in Bremen in 1856:

"I have no doubt of your reëlection, but I do not share your confidence in regard to the election of Fremont. I, of course, have not the grounds for an opinion that you have, but I believe that he will be defeated, for that seems to be the fate of the North, and this election resolves itself into a question between the North and South. The contest is a sectional one. Let it be so! I am content now to accept the issue which must one day be made and to fight the battle which must one day be fought. The question now is whether a small minority is forever to control the destiny of the United States and it is a question to which,

[6] The half brother of Rufus King and of William King, the first governor of Maine. He was no relation of the Woodmans, but was a popular public man after whom many Maine boys of that day were named.

until it is settled, all other practical questions in the United States will be subsidiary.

"You well know that I am as far as possible from being an abolitionist and that up to the time of the repeal of the Missouri Compromise I was what would be called a pro-slavery man. I was willing to stretch the Constitution a little rather than deprive the South of any rights to which by virtue thereof they were entitled. We had conceded and compromised until, in 1850, I felt that the South could ask for nothing more and that the slavery agitation was at an end.

"I did not conceive it possible that they would, even through a northern member, insult us by asking for a repeal of the Missouri Compromise. But they not only asked for but enforced it. From that moment I felt that the South contemned the kindness which I had before felt for it and in cramming the repeal of the Missouri Compromise down my throat I felt that it was wantonly injuring and insulting me. * * * I do not forget or forgive it. The South gets no more compassion from me, and another slave state would never come into the Union if I could prevent it. * * * I hope the time is not distant when the North will have the courage to say to the South—'Ye blew the fire that burnt ye, now have it ye.' Possessing these feelings I am in favor of the election of Fremont. * * * If I were at home now, I am not sure that I would not stump the district with you and give my influence, if I have any, to promote your election and that of Fremont.

"I have always been and believe that I still am a Democrat but now that the Democratic party is substantially resolved into an association for reducing the free population of the North into a servitude more ignominious than that of the black population of the South, I no longer belong to it.

"Such are my feelings and sentiments, which I would proclaim from the housetops, if I thought it would do any good."

He voted for Lincoln, and, so far as I know, for Republicans until the nomination of Samuel J. Tilden. He voted for him because he was a free trader. Later, he was a warm supporter of President Cleveland.

Mr. Woodman had no ambition for office himself, which probably accounted, in part, at least, for the fact that he was the trusted counsellor of men like C. C. Washburn, and his brother, Elihu B. Washburne,[7] of John A. Andrew, and a personal friend of Mr. Lincoln's able secretary of the treasury, Hugh McCulloch. Mr. McCulloch was born in the same county as Mr. Woodman, in Maine, and was a prominent banker in Indiana when Mr. Woodman was a banker in

[7] Elihu used a final "e" in his name. Cadwallader never used it.

Mineral Point. Mr. Woodman would himself have made an excellent secretary of the treasury. He was a firm believer in the gold standard and in the subtreasury. But not only did he never seek public office,—he actually went to the other extreme, declining the urgent appeals of his friends to accept nominations, and, in one instance, refusing to take a seat in the Wisconsin legislature, to which he had been nominated and elected while absent from the state. I had it from his own lips, and also from Mr. Hamilton H. Gray, of Darlington, who was a member of the committee from the district convention that waited upon Mr. Woodman and offered him the Democratic nomination for Congress in the fall of 1854, that he then refused what was thought to be an offer equivalent to an election. He declined, probably because of the views expressed in the letter above quoted, as the Missouri Compromise was an issue in the campaign, although his business commitments actually forbade, and were made the excuse for his refusal. A few days later the Whig convention offered its nomination to his partner, Mr. Washburn, who accepted and was elected. Mr. Gray expressed to me the opinion that Mr. Woodman's nomination would have assured success to the Democrats, and that Mr. Washburn would not have been a candidate.

Mr. Woodman's views of office-holding and of the proper attitude toward political preferment were expressed in the following direct and decided manner to one of his younger relatives:

> "Political office seems to be very fascinating to many men, but the result is in many cases very demoralizing. I hope you will never be a seeker for office. Even if office seeks you, who are not independent, in nine cases out of ten it will be best to decline. Maintain a manly, a true but not an offensive independence, even if it should lead to sawing wood for a living. Character is worth infinitely more than money. *Be no man's man.*"

With Mr. Washburn his relations, beginning in their early business association, lasted uninterruptedly until the latter's death. Mr. Woodman was called to the bedside of his old

partner, in Philadelphia, and after counselling with him, drew the will that disposed of the Washburn estate just as the testator desired and intended, although it was strenuously contested in the Wisconsin courts. Mr. Woodman declined to be an executor, but was a trustee for some of Mr. Washburn's private bequests.

Of his boyhood friend, John A. Andrew, the famous Civil War governor of Massachusetts, with whom he kept up a life-long intimacy, he wrote to his sister the following deeply sincere and beautiful tribute:

> "I have lost my oldest and nearest and dearest friend among men. It is a great affliction to me. Mother's death has been to me an ever present sorrow and so will Andrew's be. Life now becomes less joyful and death more welcome. Our acquaintance, which began at Gorham, was continued in college and afterwards in Boston, where we studied law. From the first we were friends and our friendship knew no variableness or shadow of turning. But I should not lament his death so much upon my own account as upon that of the country. He could not have remained much longer in private life. No man seemed destined to do so much good as he in the councils of the nation. The country by his death seems poorer and weaker. People were beginning to be aware that he was the foremost statesman in the country. But this great, courageous, manly soul has left us and the whole state mourns as Massachusetts never before mourned the death of any of her citizens. He was great in heart as well as in intellect, and in a simple, natural, unpretending way followed Christ more nearly than any man I have ever known."

From the early and otherwise busy days of his western life, Mr. Woodman began to gather a library of the works of the explorers of the Mississippi Valley, and to collect and save the more ephemeral literature of the time which would prove of later historical interest. As the possessor of many of the volumes that resulted from that early attention to historical details, I can testify that as early as 1844 and 1845 he was buying Carver's *Travels in Wisconsin,* Schoolcraft's *Narrative Journal of Travels * * * to the Sources of the Mississippi,* La Hontan, Hennepin, Long, and others, and that he saved *The Home of the Badgers,* and many other contemporaneous pamphlet publications of local character, now practically unobtainable. He was a constant bookbuyer

all his life, and as constant a contributor of books and papers to the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. He published *The Woodmans of Buxton, Maine,* in 1874, and largely through his initiative and pecuniary assistance the history of his native town is preserved with a fullness and accuracy that is said to be unexcelled if not unequalled in all New England.

Throughout his lifetime he was steadfast in his loyalty to his kindred, in devotion to his friends, and in a deep interest in his native town. Many a person in the old town of Buxton received timely financial help in sickness, or misfortune, or was presented with a cow, or something helpful, without knowledge of the source. When he visited California he found the grave of his Wisconsin friend, Col. William S. Hamilton,[8] neglected and unmarked; so he caused a respectable monument to be set over the grave, an iron fence built to enclose it, and had the lot put in order. When his class at Bowdoin celebrated its semicentennial, in 1886, he saw to it that every man was present, and he and they took great pleasure in the romp they had.

He made several contributions of scholarships and other assistance to Bowdoin College; he built monuments to relatives and friends, and did personal kindnesses—so many that no one now knows their number or importance, for he did not talk about them. A friend to whom I wrote for information replied:

> "President Hyde told me, years ago, that some of your Uncle Cyrus's gifts were unrecorded. He is now dead so that the facts are, very likely, forgotten as they were intended to be. I was for four years the beneficiary of the 'Buxton Scholarship' at Bowdoin. I might not have got through college without it, in those impecunious days, so I have a vital interest in that and allied bequests of Mr. Woodman."

The one place where he desired to record a gift was in his endowment of the Astronomical Library, at the Washburn Observatory, now connected with the University of Wisconsin. He created this library fund, with characteristic

[8] Son of Alexander Hamilton.

care, by a donation of $5,000, so conditioned that but one-half of the income might be used until additions to the principal from the remaining income had built up the fund to $100,000. When that time arrives all of the income may be spent. He wished his association with General Washburn to be perpetuated, so a bronze tablet in the library bears the record of that gift.

This method of businesslike donations of comparatively small sums, carefully fore-ordained to grow, was a distinguishing characteristic of many of his gifts. Sums of money were left in trust to provide occasional gifts, or necessary recreations, to distant relatives and I think even to old friends, and some such funds are already performing secret and grateful service in the third generation.

Perhaps this sort of thing is philanthropy, but I like to think of it as something warmer, kindlier, and more personal. It is certainly not of the self-vaunting sort and it emphasizes to one who knew the man the breadth of his democratic spirit and the warmth and steadfastness of his devotion to those he loved. These unostentatious gifts and the manner in which they were made also emphasize an underlying Puritan aversion to show and pretention that had deep root in his character. He despised sham and had contempt for all vulgar display.

His strict measure of right and wrong in business relations can be illustrated in no better way than by the statement that he never rode on a railroad pass nor permitted any member of his family to do so, although he was for a great many years among the inner circle of Boston men who controlled the finances and policies of the Michigan Southern and of the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy railroads. The only exception he made to this rule was when he built the Plattsmouth branch of the Burlington and Missouri River Railroad, when he traveled on railroad business.

The simplicity of his home life reflected his quiet tastes and dislike of display. His western home in Mineral Point

was a plain, homely, wooden house, which was rather small for his growing family; to the rear of it was attached his modest business office, which fronted on the next street. The Cambridge home, of ample size, and comfortable, is situated in a narrow byway, with four near neighbors, but it makes no show. The house was filled with books, largely volumes of American history and American literature, which bespoke both his taste and his loyalty.

In a letter to me, when I was a young man, he expressed his own character and philosophy as follows:

"Be honest, be truthful, honorable, manly, charitable, and you will be rich in character if not in money. We cannot conceal ourselves, if we would, from our neighbors. They are sure to find us out and rate us at our true worth."

To the details of Mr. Woodman's active business career little attention is paid in this sketch. There are several articles of that sort.[9] The effort here is to express the man.

Of his family, in a letter to his sister, he once said:

"Your remarks about the Woodmans are correct. They seem, generally, to think it a sin to show any affection for each other, and are perhaps unkind or thoughtless of the effect of unkind words. As I grow older I realize this more than I used to do, and can see that my manner toward my family has been too much like father's, not so warm and affectionate as it ought to be.

"I am not, I think, naturally hopeful. It is, I believe, not a Woodman trait. Nevertheless I try to cultivate hopefulness and though I do not succeed very well I yet make out in some good measure to ward off borrowed troubles.

"I have been a man of business and yet my tastes are not in that direction. It is well however that necessity has compelled me to engage in business, otherwise I might have become a misanthrope. I live in a crowd and yet I am alone."

There again speaks the Puritan, but there is another side to the picture from equally reliable authority.

As the excellent picture of Mr. Woodman opposite the title-page of this issue suggests, he was a man of good looks

[9] See publications of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin and genealogical matter in the library of the Society. Also *Bench and Bar of Wisconsin*, by Parker McCobb Reed, Milwaukee, 1882.

and dignified presence. There was a touch of the formality of an earlier generation, and of the self-respect and respect for others that is the foundation of good breeding. He was quite gray before he was fifty and white before he was sixty-five, but he never knew the infirmities of old age. Not long ago I asked his only daughter, who was, as is often the case, the father's closest confidant and fondest critic, for some definite facts as to her father's personal appearance. I received the following reply:

"Father's hair was brown, his eyes were blue. His height was 5 feet 7 inches, in his shoes, and he weighed about 160 pounds.

"I never saw father ill in bed for a day. To the last his step was light and firm, his carriage erect.

"He liked to spout verses and sing while dressing in the morning, a favorite theme was 'Consider the laylocks how they grow.' He thus declaimed in English, German and Spanish. Never in French, that I can remember.

"He was full of tease and fun at times. I have laughed myself weak over his monkey tricks.

"When he was a bit crusty he enjoyed having someone hit back. It never occurred to mother to poke fun at him, it was not in her. I succeeded fairly well.

"Father's bark was out of all proportion to his bite. He would talk about restless, uneasy women, unable to stay home, wanting to be always going somewhere. This was rather funny when he was always carting me from Dan to Beersheba.

"I have no way of knowing how many people father helped, or who they were. It was not his way to care to go on record, nor to wish to have his name connected with any gift, except in the one case of the library at the Madison observatory where he made a point of having the names of Washburn and Woodman stand side by side in perpetuity; if there's any such thing as perpetuity.

"It always seemed to be somewhat remarkable that father with his robust health, should have, as he did, a most intelligent sympathy with people who were ailing and delicate. With regard to the comfort of a guest, he often thought of things which mother and I had overlooked.

"When father arrived in Illinois the men in Winslow 'sized up' the brown haired, blue eyed, pink and white young thing, as one who would quickly find life in a rough new country beyond his power of endurance.

"It was not long before they had to revise their judgments. Father could do all that they could and go them one better. He could walk farther and faster. Sleep or go without sleep, eat or fast, and hold up his end of anything with the best of them.

"A great, life-long sorrow came to father in Winslow, the death of his first son, in infancy. In my thoughts I often see the young father

CYRUS WOODMAN
From a photograph taken in 1861

standing by the grave of that idolized baby with a pain in his heart which time softened but never wholly removed.

"There seemed to be nothing too much to do for his friends."

Mr. Woodman, for years a western pioneer himself, was a descendant of the earliest pioneers of New England. He was but three generations removed from those who began life in the pine forests of Maine, axe in hand. Such as they moved first from Maine and New Hampshire to the forests of New York, next to Pennsylvania, thence to Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, and still onward, across the continent, following the northern pine belt to the Pacific Ocean. Mr. Woodman was active as a participant in this movement in Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota, in all of which states he had at various times considerable land and lumbering interests. Wisconsin, however, was the scene of his main operations. After he had virtually retired from active business and had lived for some years in the East, he was induced to engage in lumbering in New Hampshire for a brief season, and his last investment in timber, made but a few months before his death, in 1889, was in the state of Washington, which he visited in company with the late William H. Bradley,[10] of Milwaukee, and Wallace G. Collins, then an officer of the Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul road, in this state. These three men tramped for two or three weeks in Washington timber, and made their selections, with practiced eyes, from personal inspection. The only survivor, Mr. Collins, is now reaping the reward of New England faith in pine timber, as a successful Pacific coast lumberman. He told me that Mr. Woodman, although in his seventy-fifth year, enjoyed this tramp immensely and kept the younger men busy trying to outdo him.

Most of the hardy, northern New England blood of early Wisconsin was attracted here through the Yankee knowledge of and faith in pine timber. This was an inheritance with Mr.

[10] Mr. Bradley's father, a Maine man, had been Mr. Woodman's associate in some of his Michigan enterprises; the son inherited his confidence in the father.

Woodman, whose grandfather and great-grandfather were pioneer lumbermen on the Saco River, one of the rich lumber streams of Maine. The first sawmill in Buxton Township, York County (then Narraganset No. 1) was built by his great-grandfather, Joseph Woodman, about 1750, and the first sawmill at the Bar Mills, in the same township, was built forty-five years later by his grandfather, Joseph Woodman, the second.

The progenitors of the Woodmans were settlers in Newbury, Massachusetts, in 1635, at the beginnings of that town. The neighboring dwellings of Woodman, the tanner, and Lieut. Stephen Longfellow, the blacksmith,[11] at last accounts were still standing. The two families were related by marriage.

Cyrus Woodman was descended from Edward Woodman, who came from England with the first settlers, and was one of the original ninety-one grantees of the town site. He was also reputed to be one of fifteen men entitled to the appellation of "Mister," or "Master," which signified a leading man; he long occupied a position of prominence in the Congregational Church and in the public affairs of this historic community. At this time public and religious affairs in a New England community were both centered in the Congregational Church. According to a biographer, he was "a man of influence, decision and energy," who made himself felt in the young community.[12] On his mother's side Mr. Woodman was descended from another and numerous Newbury family, the Coffins, and through their intermarriages he was related to the Gorham descendants of John Tilly and John Howland, Mayflower Pilgrims. So Cyrus Woodman's family and traditions rooted in the beginnings of the first New England colony. In him were combined many of the characteristics and traditions of the early, more liberal Pil-

[11] Progenitor of Henry W. Longfellow, the poet.

[12] Edward Woodman probably came from Corsham, a village in Wiltshire, England, and, as his name suggests, was of pure English stock.

grims and the later and stiffer-necked Puritans. His maternal grandmother, Mary Gorham,[13] was the daughter of Captain Nathaniel Gorham, a prominent and well-to-do sea captain of Charlestown, Massachusetts.

Mary Gorham married the Rev. Paul Coffin, in 1763.[14] He had graduated from Harvard College in the class of 1759, and three years later went into the wilderness of Maine to assume the pastorate of the first Congregational Church of Buxton. As a youth of twenty-three he preached there his trial sermon on February 8, 1761, the first sermon of a pastorate that began a year later and continued uninterruptedly for sixty years. He had left college distinguished for correct deportment and literary attainments, and, according to an historian of Buxton, was "a learned man, and was able to read the scriptures in the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew languages, to which he added a knowledge of French." In May, 1799, he enjoyed the privilege of preaching the annual "election sermon," in Boston, before the Honorable, the Governor, Lieutenant Governor, the Council, Senate, and House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. In 1812 Harvard College conferred upon him the honorary degree of Doctor of Divinity. The town's historian says of Dr. Coffin, that he was "born and educated in polished and literary society," and that his charge consisted of less than thirty families, most of whom lived in log houses, and were uneducated pioneers. "During eight years of the war of the Revolution he did not receive twenty dollars in specie." Dur-

[13] Her brother, Nathaniel Gorham, was long prominent in the politics of Massachusetts colony, as legislator, delegate to the Continental Congress in 1786, and delegate from Massachusetts to the convention that framed the constitution of the United States. Here he was called, by General Washington, to occupy the chair in the committee of the whole, over the deliberations of which he presided for the entire session of three months. He was later credited with "powerful influence in securing the adoption of the constitution" in the Massachusetts convention. Later, under the Commonwealth, he was speaker of the Massachusetts house of representatives, and twice unsuccessfully contended with John Hancock for the governorship. See Appleton's *Cyclopædia of American Biography;* also Max Farrand, *Records of the Federal Convention,* III, 87.

[14] Her brother, John, a physician of standing in Boston, was Paul Coffin's classmate and friend in Harvard College.

ing these years he supported himself and family from his farm.

As is often the case, the historians of Buxton have been inclined to emphasize the illiterate character of pioneer settlements. But the people of Buxton were generally of the intelligent stock of Old Newbury, and their separation from that center had not been long nor absolute. They were living remote from towns and educational advantages, but that they were ignorant is not borne out by the records.

Mineral Point, in 1845, and during the eleven years that Mr. Woodman lived there, was a lead mining center, and all of the southwestern corner of the state was a busy and typical mining camp. However, Mr. Woodman was not isolated among rough and uneducated people, though then as always in frontier settlements the man of education and cultivation was in the minority. But among Mr. Woodman's townspeople and comparatively near neighbors were such men as Gen. William R. Smith, son of a distinguished clergyman and educator of Pennsylvania; Col. William S. Hamilton, the son of Alexander Hamilton, patriot of the Revolution; Judge Charles Dunn, first chief justice of the territorial supreme court; Cadwallader C. Washburn; Moses M. Strong, George W. Lakin, and others. Elihu B. Washburne, Judge Thomas Drummond, of Galena, a graduate of Gorham Academy and of Bowdoin College, and others of education and wide and cosmopolitan experience were near at hand. Notwithstanding Mr. Woodman's assertion—"I live in a crowd and yet I am alone," I know from men like the late Montgomery Smith and Calvert Spensley, of Mineral Point, who were younger, but remembered him well, that he was highly respected and fully appreciated. Mineral Point was then a community into which drifted many adventurous spirits from all parts of this country and Europe. Mr. Woodman found among them companions who were his peers in education and taste for refined pursuits, and made ac-

quaintances who remained his friends through life. He cheerfully lived the life that circumstances demanded. He once told me that in the course of various business trips he had covered the ground on horseback from Black River Falls to St. Louis, had slept many a night in the open, using his saddle for a pillow, and had also slept in the logging camps, in below zero weather, where everybody put his blanket on the floor and his feet toward the fire.

When Gen. W. R. Smith completed the third volume of his *History of Wisconsin*, in 1854, the first documents quoted were the "Jesuit Relations" and a footnote on page 9, at the beginning of these quotations, signed "C. W.," is evidence that Mr. Woodman, who visited Boston frequently, had, at the Harvard College Library, made the translations of matter pertaining to Wisconsin, of which General Smith thus made use and acknowledgment.

An unfinished autobiography, addressed "To My Children," upon which he was at work at the time of his death, begins as follows:

> "It would be a great satisfaction to me if I knew something more than I do of the youthful days of my parents. I should like to know how their lives were spent under the paternal roof and before I can remember them. I should like to know what work they did, and what amusements and what companions they had, what schools they attended and the general courses of life in their younger days.
>
> "My parents were born within about a half mile of each other and doubtless went to the same common school, but their lives before they were married are almost a blank to me. There is much that I should be glad to know of them in their early days which never can be known. The strong desire which I have to know more about them than I do leads me to think that the time may come when my children will be pleased to know something of my own youthful days."

Unfortunately this sketch concludes at the time he was in Bowdoin College, so it is concerned chiefly with the home life of a young man who worked on his father's small farm, and whose college career had to be interrupted so that he might teach school to help pay his college expenses, for his father had other children to educate.

His father, Joseph Woodman, the third, had attended Fryeburg (Maine) and the famous Phillips Exeter Academies; later he studied law in the offices of leading lawyers of Maine, was admitted to the bar in 1809, and settled as a practitioner in his native town. He was fairly prosperous. A grievous loss, the death of his wife, in 1833, left him with a family of four sons, the eldest of whom was Cyrus, the subject of this sketch, then almost nineteen years of age, and a daughter, the youngest, nine years of age.[15] He soon gave up active practice, and three years later came west, thereafter to make his home chiefly with his son Cyrus, with occasional lengthy visits to his daughter and son-in-law, Mr. and Mrs. Isaac L. Usher, at Onalaska, La Crosse County, Wisconsin. He died in London, Canada, November 25, 1857, at the age of seventy-four.

Of his mother the autobiography of the son relates that she went to a private school in Cambridge and says:

"Her education was doubtless mostly at home, but it was, in my judgment, of the very best kind. She had the instruction and discipline of intelligent, cultivated and pious parents, she had the advantage of mingling with brothers as well as sisters, of seeing the best company at her father's house and in the neighboring towns,[16] of visiting relatives in Newburyport, Boston, and other places in Massachusetts, where she had access to the best society for the improvement of mind and manners;[17]

[15] His second son, William Henry, became a lawyer in New York City. The third son, George, attended Phillips Andover Academy and later studied law but never practiced. For many years he was the active manager of the private banking house of C. & G. Woodman, on Pine Street, New York City, of which his brother Cyrus was the larger owner, but personally inactive. Horatio, youngest of the four, practiced law in Boston. He had literary tastes and ability and Edward Waldo Emerson, in his recent volume on *The Early Years of the Saturday Club*, credits him with organizing it. Its early membership included Emerson, Lowell, Longfellow, Holmes, and Whittier, and it still includes leading scholars, literary and professional men of Boston, Cambridge, and vicinity.

[16] In his autobiography Mr. Woodman says that, returning from a visit to Boston with his mother, "We drove to the house of Peter C. Brooks, and there dined," in Medford. A daughter, Mrs. Edward Everett, was present, another daughter, who was then engaged to Charles Francis Adams, whom she later married. Another daughter married the Rev. Nathaniel L. Frothingham. Through Mrs. Woodman's Gorham relationship to Mrs. Brooks, who was her cousin, and a similar relationship to the Phillips family of Andover, in whose family George Woodman was welcome when he attended the Academy, Bishop Phillips Brooks of Boston, was also a relative.

[17] "Alice Morse Earle's *Diary of Anna Green Winslow, of 1771-1773*, gives account of the girls' parties given by Hannah Soley, of Charlestown, Massachusetts, who was a first cousin of Mrs. Woodman's mother, which suggests the social relations of the Gorhams and Coffins of that early day.

and last but not least, she had the advantage of being brought up on a farm where she was obliged to practice economy and to learn all the work which the wives of farmers performed in those days. It was a school under the best of influences, of industry, economy and usefulness. On the whole, I think that there is no better education for a woman than that which my mother received. What better education could she have had for married life and for the varied duties incumbent upon her as a member of society?"

Mr. Woodman married on January 5, 1842, at Fremont, Illinois, Miss Charlotte Flint, of Baldwin, Maine, daughter of Deacon Ephraim Flint, a prominent citizen of that place. Mr. Woodman had made the acquaintance of his wife when he taught school in Baldwin, in his college days. She was a woman of character and ability, whose management of her household was of great assistance in the early days of Mr. Woodman's life in the West. A brother, Thompson Flint, and a cousin, Daniel Thompson, were pioneer grain and elevator men in Chicago, and achieved decided success.

This is not intended to be a mere eulogium. Rather it is an attempt to arrange, in proper perspective, Mr. Woodman's relations to Wisconsin, so that the future historian may consider and interpret the Woodman papers, in the hands of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, with a clearer idea of the man whose labors they represent.

The attention given to Mr. Woodman's family history is not justified upon its personal importance but because the future historian must have such details if he is to give Wisconsin's historical landscape an intelligent and suitable perspective. Mr. Woodman was not a rare nor singular exception. He was one of many strong, capable, educated men of English descent and New England antecedents, who were potent as good citizens of pioneer Wisconsin. Such men, with traditions of more than eight centuries of British freedom, shaped Wisconsin's constitution and laws in the likeness of New York, whose early constitutional mentor had been Massachusetts, the American state which will, next year,

celebrate the three hundredth anniversary of the planting of free representative government upon her soil, at Plymouth.

That was a sowing which has borne the matchless harvest of this hemisphere—a hemisphere without a king, from the Arctic to the Antarctic Pole. Today this event at Plymouth is reacting upon Europe and all the peoples of the globe, touching them with aspirations for freedom and self-government.

Wisconsin history will not be properly interpreted without recognition of this powerful influence during her formative period.

THE STORY OF WISCONSIN, 1634-1848

LOUISE PHELPS KELLOGG

CHAPTER II—THE RED MEN AND THE FUR TRADE

A large portion of the surface of Wisconsin is covered with small heaps of earth or mounds that are without doubt the work of man and not of nature. The formation of these earthworks was formerly attributed to a pre-Indian race of men known collectively as the Mound Builders; modern archaeologists, however, have repudiated the theory of a prehistoric race, and now are certain that the true mound builders were none other than the Indians. A peculiar kind of mound occurs in southern and central Wisconsin and in the neighboring regions of northern Illinois, eastern Iowa, and southeastern Minnesota, that is not found elsewhere in the United States. These are the effigy mounds, slight eminences that have the outline of deer, bears, panthers, turtles, various kinds of birds, and in one or two instances of man. The origin of these effigy mounds has been much discussed. It is now accepted by scientists that their makers were a tribe known to the first discoverers of the Northwest as the Puant or Winnebago Indians.

The great number and extent of the mounds scattered over the surface of Wisconsin indicates the presence of a large Indian population in prehistoric times; but at what era in the world's history, or in what way the Winnebago reached Wisconsin is not known. The Winnebago belong to the Siouan division of Indian peoples, and their aboriginal name for themselves was Hochungara or O-chunk-o-raw, "speakers of the parent language." Their nearest affinities are with the Omaha, Oto, Iowa, and Missouri to whom they claim to be elder brothers. There is much difference of opinion among ethnologists concerning the first home of the Siouan peoples,

some thinking that they migrated from the Atlantic coast plain down the Ohio to its mouth, where divisions occurred, which severally occupied the lower Mississippi, the upper Mississippi, and the Missouri valleys. More recent investigators place the early home of these peoples north of Lake Superior, in which case the Winnebago must have crossed the straits of Mackinac and advanced into Wisconsin at a very early period. From the size of certain trees growing upon artificial mounds, it is inferred that the settlement of the Winnebago in Wisconsin must have occurred some time before the discovery of America by Columbus.

The Winnebago, who peopled Wisconsin's valleys and built their mounds along her streams and lakes, were in what is known as the Stone Age of primitive culture. Contrary to the common belief they were not a wandering but a home-loving people, devotedly attached to the places of their birth, the homes of their fathers, and the sites of their villages. These villages were so advantageously placed that the sites of most of Wisconsin's present cities were those once occupied by Indian towns. The woods and streams supplied their simple needs of food, clothing, and shelter. From the skins of animals they fashioned their garments; by hunting, and by harvesting wild rice, they gained their food. Their lodges were built of slender trees covered with bark and with mats formed of plaited reeds. Gradually they learned a rude form of agriculture; by cultivating the ground with hoes of bone and plows of wood, corn and pumpkins were raised for food. They had no domestic animals except dogs, which also served as an addition to their food supply. Their tools and implements of warfare and of the chase were made of stone. Flints chipped to a point tipped their arrows; axes and hatchets were of edged stone; war clubs swung a heavy stone head. The only metals known were lead and copper. The former, mined in a crude fashion, was mostly used for ornament. Copper secured by intertribal trade from Lake

Superior was beaten by hand into ornamental shapes, and occasionally used to tip weapons and domestic implements.

The change of seasons brought to Wisconsin Indians changed modes of living. During the winter they left their permanent villages and in small groups scattered through the forests subsisting as best they might on the products of the chase. They built temporary wigwams of pelts thrown over poles, within which fires were kindled that kept them from freezing. Upon the return of spring they sought their villages and cornfields. The summer was the time for religious rites, for council, and for warfare. Raids upon neighboring enemy groups were a normal part of the Indian's life. In every village a council house was built where questions of war and alliance were discussed by the chiefs and elders. The religious rites clustered about a unit resembling a clan; the effigy mounds were the symbols of the clan totems. Near to these totems burial mounds were placed. The sacred mysteries of the tribe and the clan were there celebrated.

Aside from warfare, intercourse was maintained with other tribes by means of trade. The extent and volume of intertribal trade was considerable. Sea shells found in Wisconsin mounds prove that they had passed from hand to hand among all the tribes between its inhabitants and the Atlantic coast. Shells, bits of metal, articles of dress and ornament constituted the bulk of the exchange. Shells pierced and strung or wrought into belts were both the medium of exchange and the binding symbol for intertribal treaties and agreements. While the fate of captives taken in war was horrible, envoys were sacred, and treaties were observed inviolate.

The red man's life was by no means an idyl, such as children of nature have been supposed to lead. Famine and disease stalked his footsteps; war and wild animals carried away his youth; struggle and hardships made up his lot in life. None the less it is open to question whether the contact

with the white man did not make the condition of the Indian worse. He soon became dependent upon the former's products for clothing, implements, and weapons. He forgot the arts of his primitive economy. Urged on by the greed of traders he rapidly killed off the wild game or drove it farther into the wilderness, which he had to penetrate in order to secure the store of furs with which to purchase his necessities. Thus hunting became more and more important to his existence, and with increased efforts and superior weapons brought ever diminishing returns. The red man became dependent upon the trader for the very means of life. After the French and Indian War, when all traders of the French race were withdrawn from Wisconsin, the English traders who after a lapse of two years went to Lake Superior found naked, starving savages, who in less than one hundred years had ceased to be self-sufficing, and could live only by means of relations with white men. Thus arose the fur trade, which was not only a commercial or an economic régime, but a system of government, a form of social life, a means of exploitation, and a stage in the development of the American frontier.

THE COMING OF THE WHITE MAN

For one hundred and forty years after the discovery of America by Columbus Wisconsin's forests slept in quiet, unvexed by the presence of any but their red children. Then suddenly out of the East, and skirting the coasts of Green Bay in a bark canoe driven by strange red men, the first white man came, and "women and children fled at the sight of a man who carried thunder in both hands—for thus they called the two pistols that he held." "He wore a grand robe of China damask, all strewn with flowers and birds of many colors." "They meet him; they escort him, and carry all his baggage." They call him the Manitouiriniou, the wonderful or godlike man. From all quarters they haste to see him until four or five thousand are assembled. "Each of the chief men

made a feast for him, and at one of these banquets they served at least six score Beavers." [3] Then the mysterious stranger made a peace with them, under such forms and ceremonies as were customary in intertribal negotiations, and vanished into the East whence he had come.

To the whites who had crossed the ocean to begin a small colony on the banks of the St. Lawrence this first white stranger to visit Wisconsin was known as Jean Nicolet. He had come to the New World with the express purpose of dealing with the red men, learning their languages and customs, and opening a way into their country for trade and missions. Sent by Champlain, the founder of New France, to dwell among the forest inhabitants, Nicolet spent several years among the Algonquian Indians of the upper Ottawa River; then he visited the Huron in the peninsula between Lake Erie and Georgian Bay. There he heard of a far western tribe known as the "people of salt water," whom Nicolet supposed must dwell on the borders of the Western sea, and whence the way would lead to the tribes of Tartary. Instead of a route to Cathay, however, Nicolet found merely a new tribe of Indians whose name—the Winnebago—meant equally "people of the salt water" or "people of bad-smelling springs," and who were known henceforth to the French as the Puants or Stinkards.

After Nicolet's advent to Wisconsin in 1634, no more of these mysterious white strangers disturbed the dwellers on Lake Michigan and Green Bay for over twenty years. Nevertheless in these far regions great changes were taking place, due to the widespread disturbance in Indian geography caused by the coming of the white man. Upon the peninsula of Ontario, then occupied by the Huron tribesmen, missionaries some years before the voyage of Nicolet had begun what proved to be the largest and most successful of their missions. Throughout all the Huron villages the Jesuits preached. Later, impelled by a desire to evangelize distant Indians, two

[3] *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, XVI, 1-3.

of the fathers in 1641 accompanied some of their neophytes to the shores of Lake Superior, and named the strait, where the waters leap down from this mighty basin, the Sault de Ste. Marie.

But the Huron were not long left in peace. Suddenly from central New York appeared large bands of their hereditary enemies, the Iroquois. By one blow after another the Huron missions were destroyed. Some of the Jesuits fell martyrs to their cause; others escaping sought refuge with the remnants of their mission children under the cliffs of Quebec. The remainder of the Huron fled westward; their alarm was communicated to the Algonquian peoples living beyond them, and for fear of the Iroquois whole tribes left their ancestral homes for shelter in the farther forests. It happened that shortly before this disturbance the Winnebago of southern and central Wisconsin had suffered a severe defeat at the hands of the Illinois tribes living to the south, wherein they were so reduced in numbers that but a small fragment of the former tribe was left in its Wisconsin home. Into this sparsely settled land the fugitives from Ontario and Michigan poured by both southern and northern routes. They hid from the pursuing Iroquois in the swamps and marshes of our state, and the Winnebago, being in no condition to resist, made alliances with the intruding tribes, and yielded to them new homes on the lakes and streams where their own ancestors had dwelt. Thus came the Sauk and Foxes, the Miami, Mascouten, and Kickapoo. Thus, pressed down from the north and the islands of Lake Michigan, came the Menominee and Potawatomi to mingle with the Winnebago around Green Bay; while the Huron and Ottawa, impelled by a more dreadful fear, sought refuge on the southern shores of Lake Superior and about the head waters of Black River. Thus in the middle of the seventeenth century Wisconsin became crowded with Indian villages, and was sustaining a larger number of red inhabitants than at any other

time throughout her history. This aggregation of tribesmen conditioned her discovery and exploration, and made her a region tempting both to the French fur trader and to the French missionary of the cross.

MISSIONARIES AND TRADERS

Before the dispersion of tribes incident to the Iroquois wars the Huron and their neighbors had learned the value of the white men's goods, and had ventured as far as Three Rivers and Montreal, there to exchange their skins and robes for the weapons, clothing, and trinkets that the white men had taught them to covet. Immediately there sprang up an intertribal trade that extended so far westward that tribes which had never seen a white man became familiar with his wares. The Ottawa Indians were especially skillful in trade, and so long acted as middlemen for the western tribes that all the region of the Upper Lakes was called by the French the Ottawa country.

The Iroquois wars of the middle of the seventeenth century interrupted the northwest trade and both the colony of New France and the interior tribes suffered from the break in the intercourse. Of the two, the French suffered the more, because the Indians had not yet forgotten their wilderness lore and were able to be self-sufficing. The lack of the annual harvest of furs from the Northwest had almost ruined the little French colony along the St. Lawrence, when suddenly it was gladdened by the arrival of a caravan of Indians at Three Rivers that came to exchange its hoarded treasure of peltry over northern streams and portages, uninfested by the dreaded Iroquois. Prosperity once more promised for Canada, the Indian visitors were royally treated, and when they embarked for their return voyage two young Canadians accompanied them, and wandered for two years or more among the tribes of the Northwest learning their customs and languages, and teaching them the white man's arts.

The explorations of Radisson and Grosseilliers during the latter half of the sixth decade of the seventeenth century were not known to historians until the journals of Radisson were discovered late in the nineteenth century in the Bodleian Library at Oxford. They were written in English, by one unfamiliar with that language, and their descriptions are so vague that it yet remains an open question where these explorers went, and whether or not they were the first white men to view the Mississippi River.

Radisson and Grosseilliers made a second voyage to the Ottawa Country two or more years after their first adventure. Upon this occasion they explored Lake Superior, and the headwaters of the Mississippi, and passed a desolate and famishing winter probably on the Wisconsin shore of Chequamegon Bay.

Meanwhile the first white missionary to Wisconsin had lost his life in her northern forests. Father René Ménard in 1660 came to the Northwest with a returning party of trading Indians. They abandoned him on the shore of Keweenaw Bay and after a wretched winter he started with one companion to visit the Huron fugitives, formerly members of the Ontario mission, then thought to be in hiding on the headwaters of Black River. While descending the Wisconsin in a tiny craft, the reverend father stepped aside at some one of its upper portages and was lost in the forest. Whether he was slain by beast or Indian or perished from starvation is not known; no trace of his fate was ever found.

In 1665 the colony of New France was reënforced by a regiment of soldiers; the next year Iroquois enemies were punished and forced to conclude a reluctant peace. Thereafter the wilderness waterways became safer and traders and missionaries again sought the tribesmen in the Wisconsin forests. Notable among the traders was Nicolas Perrot, who in 1665 began a career of discovery and exploration in Wisconsin that lasted over thirty years. Among the mis-

sionaries Father Claude Allouez was a pioneer. His first mission in 1665 was on the shore of Chequamegon Bay, where for two years he instructed large bands of Indians from all the Wisconsin region. Even the Illinois visited the good father in his northern home, and listened for the first time to the gospel message. In 1669 Allouez transferred his ministrations to the neighborhood of Green Bay where among the Menominee, Potawatomi, and Sauk of the Bay shore, the Foxes on the Wolf, and the Miami, Mascouten, and Kickapoo of the upper Fox Valley he founded missions, and worked with unflagging zeal for the conversion of their souls. The first permanent building in Wisconsin was the mission of St. François Xavier established in 1671 at the De Pere rapids of Fox River by Allouez and his fellow workers. The following decade was the most flourishing in the Jesuit missionary history of Wisconsin. After 1682 their influence and success began to wane, and by the close of the century was almost extinct.

In the meantime the King of France had in 1671 staged a pageant on the far shore of Sault Ste. Marie wherein his representative, Simon François Daumont Sieur de St. Lusson, took possession of all the western country for the French sovereignty. Nicolas Perrot was sent in advance to notify the Wisconsin tribesmen, and persuade them to send chiefs as representatives on this great occasion. With wondering awe the simple savages watched the impressive ceremony wherein priests and warriors chanted the praise both of God and of the great King Louis XIV, and declared the latter's benevolence in annexing the Indians' country to his own domain. All unwittingly they assented to an acknowledgment that made them thenceforth subjects of a foreign monarch. Some years afterward Perrot was sent as governor general of the new French territory west of Lake Michigan. He built therein a number of French posts, most of them upon the Mississippi. At Fort St. Antoine on Lake Pepin

in 1689 Perrot took possession for France of the Sioux territory lying along the upper waters of America's greatest river. He likewise was the first white man to explore the lead mines of southern Wisconsin. So long as he ruled in the West, French trade and French influence was supreme and the Indians of Wisconsin were his docile instruments.

Wisconsin's great waterway to the Mississippi River was first traversed in 1673 by Louis Jolliet and Father Jacques Marquette. Seven years later Daniel Greysolon Duluth, who had previously threaded the upper portage from Lake Superior to the Mississippi, came eastward by the Fox-Wisconsin route from the Sioux country. By these two voyages connection was established between Wisconsin's portage route and both the lower and the upper Mississippi.

Rapid changes in the Indian geography of Wisconsin occurred during the last twenty years of the seventeenth century. The population that had massed along the Fox-Wisconsin waterway was pressing upon the food supply. Moreover, in 1680 Robert Cavelier de La Salle took possession of the Illinois River Valley, and invited the Wisconsin Indians to remove thither for a permanent home. The Miami, Mascouten, and Kickapoo acceded to his request; the Potawatomi likewise moved south along the shore of Lake Michigan; the Foxes ventured from Wolf River to the river now called by their name. The Menominee surrounded Green Bay; the Sauk and Foxes controlled the Fox-Wisconsin waterway; the Winnebago occupied the upper Rock River. The Huron and Ottawa left northern Wisconsin for homes on the Strait of Mackinac; all the southern shore of Lake Superior was abandoned to the Chippewa, who at intervals continued their hereditary wars upon the Sioux of the St. Croix and upper Mississippi valleys.

THE FRENCH FUR TRADE

Along with the shifting of tribal homes grew up changes in the method of handling the fur trade. The Indian hunters

no longer made yearly pilgrimages to Montreal to exchange their gathered peltry for the white man's goods. Instead the white men came to them offering their wares, and with tribal consent built in their country at convenient places little log forts where an officer and a few soldiers kept order over the motley crowd of traders and *coureurs de bois* that enriched themselves by the wilderness traffic. Most of the traders were licensed by the government and subjected to strict rules for the conduct of their trade. The illegal trader, however, flourished, and followed his Indian customers into the depths of the forest, beyond the reach of the orders and regulations enforced by the commandants at the wayside posts. These unlicensed traders carried to the red man the alcoholic liquors the white man had taught him to crave; and in disregard of the regulations of the French government the Indian grew more and more debauched and degraded by his association with the whites. International rivalry also occurred in the fur trade. Radisson, who had explored the western forests for the French, deserted to the English government, and in 1670 aided in forming the Hudson's Bay Company, that greatest of all fur trade monopolies, which after nearly two hundred fifty years is still the greatest fur company in the world. Its traders early penetrated to the north shore of Lake Superior, and drew away many Indians who had previously contributed to the wealth of Canada. The English also attempted to secure the Northwest fur trade by the route of the Great Lakes. Utilizing the Iroquois as middlemen, the tribes of Wisconsin were tempted to carry their wares to white men, who paid a larger price for furs and gave better goods in return than those of the French merchants.

Thus through illegal traders and foreign rivals the French fur trade was by the close of the seventeenth century so demoralized that the Canadian authorities, spurred thereto by the missionaries, determined upon drastic measures. All licenses for traders were revoked, and in 1696 a decree went

forth that all the Northwest posts should be evacuated and that missionaries should be the only white men allowed in the Ottawa country. It was thought that the old custom of yearly caravans to the St. Lawrence would be revived; thus governmental control could be exercised over the trade, and the aborigines protected. These measures were only partially successful. *Coureurs de bois* refused to obey the summons to return to New France, and shamelessly brought in English goods; soldiers deserted from the garrisons before evacuation, married among the Indian tribes, and introduced the white man's arts. Albany and Hudson Bay traders vigorously pressed their advantage, and the Canadian authorities feared that the whole of the Northwest trade would slip from their control.

This danger of disintegration was checked by two events that occurred in the first year of the eighteenth century by which the French recovered their morale, and resumed operations in the Northwest. The first of these was the founding of Detroit, a post whose position barred the English from the upper lakes. The second was the peace with the Iroquois which was signed at Montreal after a great ceremony and an exchange of prisoners among all the warring tribes. The license system for the fur trade was then restored, the *coureurs de bois* called in by proclaiming pardons for past offenses, and the policy of control by posts and garrisons was reëstablished throughout the Northwest.

The establishment of Detroit caused new changes in the Indian geography of Wisconsin. The Miami and Mascouten entirely withdrew from the state, and moved eastward towards the new post. The Potawatomi progressed southward around the bend of Lake Michigan, while the Winnebago filled in the vacant territory near Lake Winnebago, and along the Rock River Valley. In 1706 a large portion of the Fox and Sauk tribes deserted Wisconsin and settled in the vicinity of Detroit, whither the Ottawa and Huron

from the neighborhood of Mackinac had preceded them. This new accumulation of savage peoples did not long dwell in harmony. In 1712 a fierce intertribal quarrel broke out in which the commandant of Detroit took sides against the Wisconsin tribesmen. Many of the Sauk, Foxes, and Kickapoo were slain; the remainder fled back to their former homes in Wisconsin, where the remnant of these tribes waged barbaric warfare against the French for over thirty years. This hostility closed the Fox-Wisconsin waterway to French traders, rendered their lives insecure on all the western pathways, and greatly diminished French influence in the far Northwest.

In the course of these Fox wars the first military invasion of Wisconsin occurred when in 1716 Louis La Porte Sieur Louvigny led a considerable army of Canadian soldiers, accompanied by a miscellaneous host of traders, voyageurs, and Indians, through Green Bay to the Fox fort at Little Butte des Morts. The Foxes withstood for a time a considerable siege, which ended in a compromise with the invading forces. The succeeding year a French post was built on the site of Fort Howard that was maintained until the fall of the French sovereignty in the New World. In 1718 in order to develop the copper mines that were thought to exist on the shores of Lake Superior an official post was built at Chequamegon. From 1727 to 1750 in order to exploit the fur trade among the Sioux several French posts were erected on the upper Mississippi. Chequamegon and the Mississippi posts were abandoned during the French and Indian War. In 1743 a French post was erected on the Mississippi near the lead mines, where a beginning was made in developing this industry. Thus the French found copper, lead, and furs in Wisconsin, the most valuable of which was peltry.

After the Fox wars were over the fur trade grew with startling rapidity, and the only rivals to the Canadian traders were the French merchants from Louisiana, the northern

boundary of which lay between the Rock and Wisconsin rivers. In 1752 the Green Bay post was leased to a relative of the reigning governor, who exploited it so dishonestly that the Marquis of Montcalm declared, "Never have theft and license gone so far." [4] The yearly harvest of Wisconsin furs was from five hundred to six hundred packs, valued at a quarter of a million dollars.

Peculation and dishonesty led to the downfall of New France. Unprotected by rapacious officials the lilies of France fell before the cross of St. George and St. Andrew, and the British replaced the French not only on the St. Lawrence, but along the Great Lakes and in the eastern part of the Mississippi Valley.

DEVELOPMENT AND DECLINE OF THE FUR TRADE UNDER THE BRITISH

The change from French to British sovereignty in Wisconsin was not accompanied by any marked upheaval in the little hamlets and among the Indian villages of the western wilderness. Most of the French traders transferred their allegiance to the new sovereign with only mild regrets. The earliest British officers were conciliatory in attitude, and the Indians docilely exchanged their French medals and flags for those of England. The British traders employed the same voyageurs and *coureurs de bois* as had served the traffic under the French régime. The language most in use in Wisconsin's forests continued to be French. Beyond the bounds of Wisconsin there was much discontent, which culminated in the revolt known as Pontiac's Conspiracy. In this uprising Wisconsin tribesmen, almost alone among those of the Northwest, refused to participate. Possibly the old grievances against the French, repressed since the Fox wars, still rankled, and made Wisconsin Indians more favorable to their new British masters. Be this as it may, the garrison at Green Bay was escorted by friendly and protecting tribesmen to

[4] *Ibid.*, XVIII, 206.

Mackinac, and there aided in rescuing the captured British officers from the hands of the hostile Chippewa and Ottawa. When Sir William Johnson met the Indian chiefs at Niagara in 1764, he signalized the loyalty of the Wisconsin Menominee by presenting to their chief a medal and a certificate.[5]

With the withdrawal of the garrison from Green Bay in 1763, Wisconsin's British post was permanently abandoned. Thenceforward the metropolis of the fur trade was at Mackinac, where each summer a great mart was held. Traders brought from Canada an abundance of goods for forest traffic, and exchanged them for the peltry that had been gathered during the previous winter and spring at dozens of small posts throughout the West.

With the growth of the trade subsidiary marts were established, and the one in Wisconsin at Prairie du Chien became next in importance to that at Mackinac.

The first years of the British trade in Wisconsin were years of unregulated and fierce competition between rival traders and rival companies. Slight restraints were imposed by the post officers, who in most cases participated in the profits of the traffic. Therefore this unrestricted rivalry wrought great havoc among both the fur-bearing animals and their red hunters. Liquor became the ordinary medium of exchange. The traders' outfits were largely composed of kegs of beverages, and so fierce were the drunken orgies of the Indians that it seemed that they would soon exterminate themselves. The traders in like measure grew demoralized, and employed all kinds of subterfuges to secure the advantage. Even murder and robbery went unpunished, and the law of force and cunning ruled the forests.

Excess of competition finally suggested its own remedy. In 1778 a representative group of Canadian merchants made at Mackinac a temporary combination to control the trade. Two years later the agreement was renewed, and became in 1783 the basis of the North West Fur Company, a powerful

[5] *Ibid.*, 268-69.

organization of Scotch and French Canadian merchants who controlled the Canadian trade for a third of a century. About the same time the Mackinac Company was formed, whose operations lay farther south than those of the North West Company. In 1786 the Mackinac Company had a post opposite the mouth of the Missouri, and was competing for the trade of Spanish Louisiana.

The Spanish strove unsuccessfully to bar the British traders from the trans-Mississippi. The lower Missouri trade they succeeded in possessing, but that of the waters of the upper Mississippi and the Minnesota (then called the St. Peters) was practically in the hands of the Scotch from Canada. All this upriver trade centered at Prairie du Chien, and was supplied by means of the Fox-Wisconsin waterway.

The headquarters of the North West Company lay on the northwest shore of Lake Superior; two subsidiary posts in Wisconsin—at Fond du Lac of the great lake and at Madeline Island—served the interior forts along the southern shore of Lake Superior. Around these posts small communities gradually grew up, composed chiefly of retired voyageurs and engagées no longer able to endure the hardships of forest wintering. These occupied themselves with a primitive type of agriculture, and supplied the products to the active traders. The most important of these settlements was at Green Bay, where before the close of the French régime a few families had settled. Thither after Pontiac's Conspiracy, the Langlades removed from Mackinac, and by their superior education and ability became the recognized leaders of the little community. Charles Langlade, called the "Father of Wisconsin," had been an officer in the French-Canadian army. Under the British he held a commission in the Indian Department, and his influence over both the white and the red men of Wisconsin was unbounded. It was Langlade, who during the American Revolution rallied the Wisconsin Indians for participation in the defense of Canada

and in the invasion of Burgoyne. It was due to his loyalty to the British that George Rogers Clark's agents had so little success in detaching Wisconsin Indians for the American alliance. It was Langlade who was depended upon to protect the Wisconsin settlements against the dangers from the Spanish of Louisiana; and upon his death in 1801 the French-Canadian settlements in Wisconsin mourned a protector and leader. His leadership fell into the hands of his descendants and relatives, the Grignons and Gautiers, who were allied to the better families of Green Bay and Prairie du Chien. The patriarchal condition of society in Wisconsin lasted until the coming of the Americans, who with their democracy and energy broke down the class system founded on the fur trade hierarchy, and introduced the elements of modern life into the trading posts and settlements that grew up during the fur trade régime. In the fur trade the bourgeois or master trader was all powerful; his will and the exigencies of the traffic were the sole source of authority. To make this more binding, each voyageur and engagé was obliged before leaving the main trading post to sign a contract by which he bound himself in consideration of a small wage and certain supplies "to serve, obey, and faithfully execute all that the said Sieurs his Bourgeois * * * shall lawfully and honestly order him to do; without trading on his own account, nor absenting himself from nor leaving the said service."[6] This constituted a species of peonage which to the honor of the fur trading fraternity was seldom abused. In truth the tie that bound master and man was not purely economic; it was composed of personal elements of loyalty and attachment. It was compounded from two loyalties—the French system of subordination and responsibility, and the Scotch Highlander's attachment to the head of his clan, and the clan leader's obligations therefor.

Many of the prominent traders of Wisconsin were Scotchmen, and in the War of 1812 they commanded retinues

[6] See a specimen engagement contract in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, XIX, 343.

of voyageurs and Indians who successively captured Mackinac, and Prairie du Chien, and drove every American from the vicinity. These traders fondly hoped and loudly boasted that new boundaries would be drawn and the territory now Wisconsin would become a fur trading preserve. Disappointed in that hope, they planned to adjust the exigencies of the forest trade to the demands of the American system. The Mackinac Company was dissolved and in its stead was organized the American Fur Company, many of whose operators were the Scotch Canadians who had been partners in the British concern. For twenty years after the American occupation the new Company conducted a flourishing trade along the old lines. From 1816 to 1824 the United States sought to better the Indians' condition by the so-called Factory system, government posts operated not for profit but for benevolence towards its Indian wards. The Factory system failed because of the powerful opposition of the American Fur Company, and because the factors were unacquainted with the conditions of Indian trade.

Gradually the fur trade, which for two hundred years had ruled Wisconsin, declined. The local traders, deeply in debt to Astor's monopoly, the American Fur Company, mortgaged their lands and lost them. Of recent years a new commerce in furs has sprung up and grows increasingly valuable. But the fur trade as a régime passed from Wisconsin with the coming of the Americans and the development of modern industries.

(To be continued)

RECOLLECTIONS OF EARLY RACINE[1]

APPLETON MORGAN, LL.D.

I was carried to Wisconsin an infant in arms in 1849, and at man's estate left it for my present location. The only episodes I vividly remember that have gotten into Wisconsin history (and been written threadbare) were the Booth fugitive slave affair at Racine and Milwaukee, and the Barstow-Bashford governorship controversy in which my father had some sort of part to play for the Republican claimant. I was a boy along with your present Chief Justice Winslow who used to ride to Racine College on my pony (a four-legged Canadian, not a Caballus to assist us in Greek) after I had sold him to the Judge's father when I came East—for I suppose I am about ten years older than Wisconsin's distinguished Chief Justice. I can't remember much of early days in Wisconsin except that my father was a member of the law firm of Doolittle, Cary & Morgan, and that Judge James R. Doolittle was once circuit judge of Racine County, and that his successors, Judges John M. Keep (of Beloit), David Noggle, and William P. Lyon, were all frequent guests at my father's board; that Judge Doolittle was afterwards a prominent United States senator, and that Mr. John W. Cary afterwards moved to Milwaukee where he became chief counsel of the Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul Railway; that my father used sand instead of blotting paper—the black variety which abounded on the beach of Lake Michigan just north of Racine—(a place known I think as "The Point")—whereto, when I played hookey, I felt myself as mitigating my punishment by scooping up an offering of black sand for the firm of Doolittle, Cary & Morgan. I recall my father saying that the Wisconsin bar was the most brilliant of any state, and indeed it was, with such men as Matt Carpenter

[1] Contributed informally, in response to the editor's request.

at its head! Peyton Randolph Morgan, my father, was the son of Brigade-Major Abner Morgan, who served as major of the first Massachusetts Continentals with General Montgomery's Northern army and until mustered out after Burgoyne's surrender on the field of Saratoga. For his Revolutionary services Major Morgan received a grant from Congress of some 20,000 acres of land in what is now Livingston County, New York, including the bulk of the present towns of Lima and Avon. And it was in the latter town that my father first began the practice of law, and where he first met Judge Doolittle—who was later to follow him to Wisconsin and become his law partner—a judge and a distinguished United States senator, the friend and adviser of Lincoln, and afterwards a supporter of the measures of President Johnson. It may be added, by the way, that my father in Livingston County was at one time the law partner of another and later Wisconsin United States senator, Angus Cameron, whom he also influenced to become a citizen of Wisconsin. Racine was a convenient change of venue from Milwaukee and I well recall how the news went round among us boys (all of whom proposed to be leading lawyers some day) whenever the big lawyers from Milwaukee had got some cause celebre on trial at the little wooden courthouse on the public square in Racine.

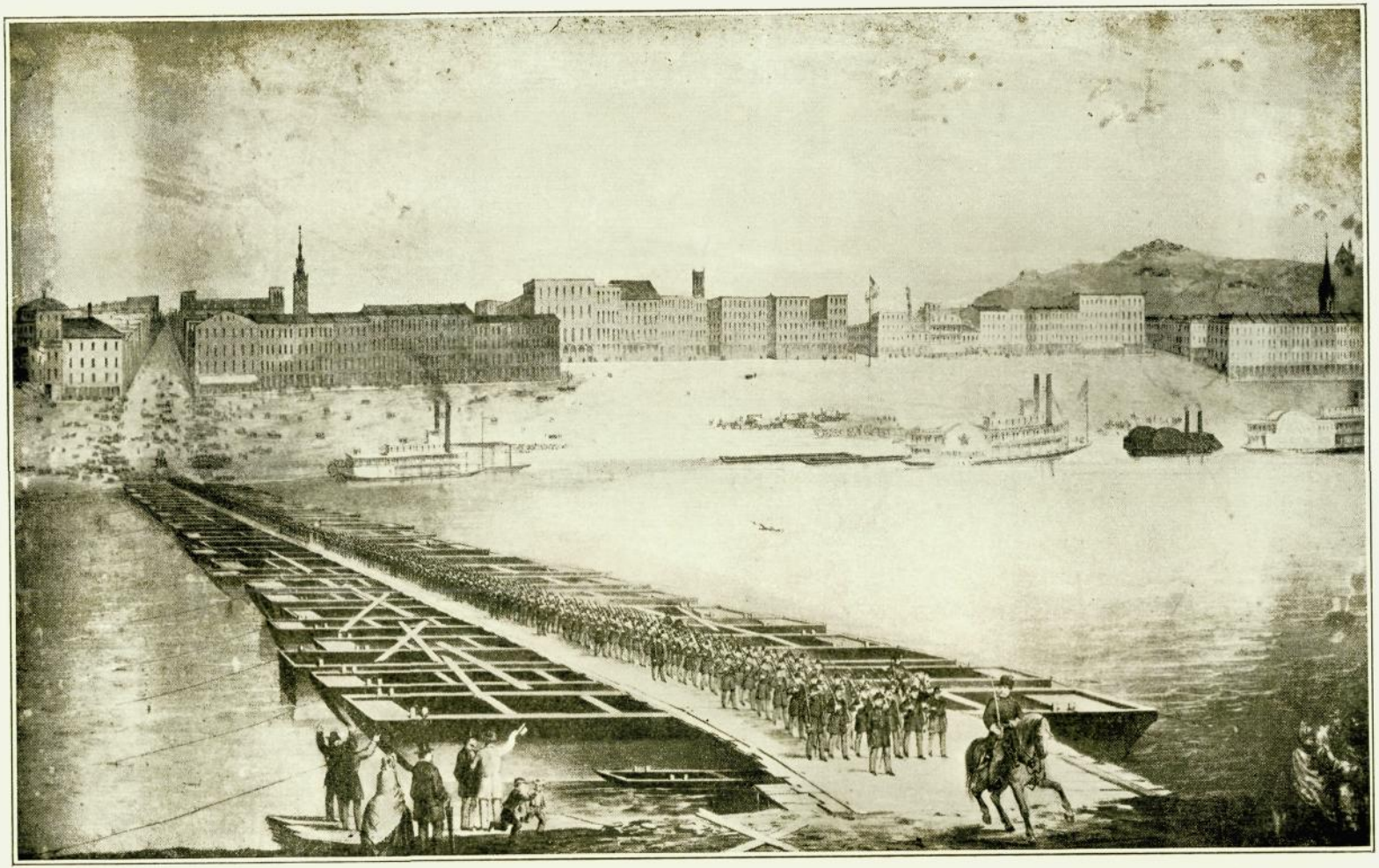
Brought up an abolitionist, I remember my surprise at seeing Judge Andrew Miller of the United States District Court at Milwaukee when a guest at my father's dinner table, and finding him a gracious and courtly gentleman! That a judge who had sentenced a man to jail for breaking a law of the United States that gave a runaway slave back to his master should not have horns and hoofs and breathe blue flames from his nostrils—was inexplicable to me! As a matter of fact I think I am right in saying that Wisconsin was the first state in the Union to declare the Fugitive Slave Law unconstitutional and to refuse to obey it and to substitute a

Personal Liberty Law in its place. At any rate I remember that Racine was an intensely loyal precinct during the Civil War and that it was an off-day in the calendar when some citizen who might have said something convertible into a suspicion of "Copperheadism" was not obliged to raise a flag over his domicil (even if the town had to supply the particular stars and stripes for the purpose) and to swear that he had no Southern predilections. The coercion in such cases was supplied by a procession of citizens which constantly grew as it marched until it reached the suspected-disaffected man's home. There was always certain to be a chaplain in the procession to administer the oath of loyalty!

During the entire war there hung in the postoffice at Racine a heavy collar of rough iron with three or four prongs about eight inches tall projecting upward therefrom. This was sent us by Col. William L. Utley, a Racine man, who was colonel of one of the Wisconsin regiments which were at the time quartered somewhere in Kentucky. It seems that a negro had come into the camp of the regiment wearing this collar which his master had ordered welded around his neck "to teach him not to run away," and that Colonel Utley had ordered it taken off and the negro given employment in the camp. As this was after Lincoln's preliminary proclamation of emancipation—whose terms excepted the state of Kentucky—this was a risky thing for Colonel Utley to do. And so, when some days after, the negro's owner, one Judge Robertson, who, as I remember, was a justice of some higher Kentucky state court, drove up in a coach and four and demanded his slave of Colonel Utley, it behooved the Colonel to be circumspect in his reply. "Paris is worth a mass," said Henry the Fourth when reproached with apostatizing to retain his throne; and the loyalty of the border states—always a ticklish thing in the diplomacy of those days—was worth one poor runaway slave! But the Wisconsin Colonel was equal to the dilemma. He received the Judge with dignity

and deference. "I am almost sure that your runaway slave is here at this moment in my camp," he said. "You are at liberty to go and come as you desire through the camp, and will be amply protected, and if you find your slave you can make him any inducement or offer you please to return with you, and no opposition will be offered by any of my men to his accompanying you. But of course," added Colonel Utley, "I have no right to order my men to perform anything but their military duties, and there is only one provost marshal to a thousand men and he may not be in camp at present to restrain any undue activity of my men outside of their strictly military duties." At least Colonel Utley is credited with words to this effect upon that occasion. Whether it was because Judge Robertson was himself of Falstaffian proportions, or because he perceived an absence of cordiality in the bearing of the thousand soldiers among whom his search was to be conducted, His Honor appears to have agreed with Sir John that the better part of valor is discretion, and to have ordered his coachman to drive him thence sans his proprietary negro! This did not prevent, him, however, from instituting a civil suit in the Kentucky Supreme Court against Colonel Utley personally for the value of the slave, which suit, as Colonel Utley did not defend, went to judgment, and a transcript or exemplified copy of such judgment being filed in the office of the clerk of the circuit court for Racine County, the same—by Federal comity—became a judgment of the Racine Circuit Court against Colonel Utley in his home county. I suppose this judgment is still on record in the clerk's office of Racine County. But I am sure it is superfluous to add that no sheriff of that county or of any other ever received an execution against Colonel Utley—or, if he did, ever levied thereunder upon any assets of Colonel Utley or of Colonel Utley's estate.[2]

[2] A somewhat different account of Colonel Utley's encounter with Judge Robertson of Kentucky is given in E. W. Leach, *Racine County Militant* (Racine, 1915), 97-106. Mr. Leach says that Colonel Utley paid the $1,000 judgment, but was afterwards reimbursed by the state.—Ed.



COLONEL UTLEY LEADING THE TWENTY-SECOND WISCONSIN INFANTRY INTO KENTUCKY, SEPTEMBER 22, 1862

From a copy of a war-time lithograph in the Wisconsin Historical Library

My father was, I believe, as long as he lived, Senior Warden of St. Luke's Episcopal Church, Racine, and about the year 1850 was instrumental in persuading the Rev. Roswell Park, D.D., to accept its pulpit. Dr. Park was a graduate of West Point, who, after service in the army, had resigned to become head master of a boys' school at Pomfret, Connecticut, where one of his pupils (and it must be confessed one of the most unruly) was the great artist, James McNeill Whistler. Dr. Park was not contented with being simply Rector of St. Luke's. He wanted another boys' school, but on consultation with my father he determined upon something more ambitious. The two consulted with Bishop Kemper (whose name must never be omitted from the list of great men that Wisconsin has contributed to the nation) and the result was Racine College! My father went to Madison and obtained its charter, and remained to his death one of its trustees as well as its legal adviser. Both he and Dr. Park lived to see it an eminent institution of learning. Today Racine College's diploma is recognized by every university and university club in the world, and its distinguished alumni, like your own Chief Justice Winslow, sit on the bench and in the councils of every state in the Union and speak from a thousand church pulpits.

One little anecdote of the Rev. Dr. Park I may recall. He was, as I have said, a graduate of West Point, taking commission in the Engineers. When he made Racine his home he bought a handsome property directly on the lake shore, about a mile north of the beautiful tract of grove and highland selected for the college grounds, and just within Racine town limits. Now at this time (I hope it has reformed at present) Lake Michigan behaved very badly to the Racine men who happened to own real estate upon its banks. It every year ate up its banks, indifferent as to how much beach (created by building long narrow cribs, filled with broken rock, out into its naughty waters) its waves had to wash over in order

to reach its prey. Dr. Park, being an engineer, determined to pit his professional skill against Lake Michigan. He constructed a sort of convex sea wall, built so that it slanted towards the open lake, the full width of his land (as well as piers galore), the result of which was that Lake Michigan surrendered at discretion and gave up eating away Dr. Park's home acre. It had its revenge, however, elsewhere. Dr. Park, indeed, Lake Michigan ceased to tackle, but it compensated its appetite by eating away the bank to the south of him, until the worthy Doctor found himself on a veritable promontory, while (if I remember rightly) all the residents between Main Street and the lake bank were routed and there remained only a narrow ridge the whole distance southward from Dr. Park's estate to the college campus. Now when the war broke out one of the Wisconsin camps of instruction was laid out just north of the college grounds, between the college and the city of Racine. When there was artillery practice at the camp of course the fieldpieces were pointed out over the lake, where in winter the icebergs afforded tempting targets. But by some freak the shot fell so thickly upon Dr. Park's promontory that he was obliged to send a messenger with his compliments to the commandant at Camp Utley to ask why his country's flag (always kept full-mast over his cupola) no longer protected an ex-officer of Engineers in the United States Army?

Though a new college, there was nothing new-fashioned or new-fangled about the Racine of my day. Her curriculum admitted no electives nor equivalents such as were already beginning to creep into even Columbia and Harvard, and she insisted upon Greek as Sarah Battle insisted upon her whist—the full rigor of the game! If we did not know our Euripides, or whatever author it was, Professor Dean (newly-imported from Columbia) would sit back and grin sarcastically at us, and his sarcastic grin was more fearsome to the

sinner than a whip of small cords.[3] For fully fifty years after leaving Racine, if I ever had a nightmare, it took the form of being called to take that chair in front of Professor Dean's table and undertake the hopeless task of camouflaging him into the delusion that I had any remote conception of the meaning of the ten lines of Greek he selected for my confusion! All Racine's professorships were filled with able men—Professor Passmore from St. James College, Maryland, whose farm was a part of the battlefield of Antietam,[4] Dr. Falk from Heidelberg,[5] Professor La Bombarie from the Sorbonne. The latter was the best teacher of the French language and literature I ever knew in the United States.[6] Whatever Racine may have lacked, she never made the mistake of calling inferior professors to her chairs.

Racine's second president (the president of my days as a student there—his official title was "Warden") was the Rev. James de Koven, who speedily became too great a man for any one state to claim. Going as a delegate to a general convention of the Episcopal Church held in old Saint John's Church in New York City, he made a speech that so electrified the convention that the house "rose" at him, and the enthusiasm communicated itself to the vestibules and cloisters of the church outside. He was soon elected to three state or diocesan bishoprics, besides being invited to become an assistant rector of Trinity Parish, New York City, ranking next to the Rev. Morgan Dix, its Rector-in-chief, but he declined all these honors, and remained with Racine until his death.

The Racine of my boyhood, like Cæsar's Gaul, was divided into three parts. Across Root River to the north

[3] Rev. George W. Dean, D.D., held the chair of Latin and Greek at Racine College from 1864 to 1872.—Ed.

[4] Rev. Joseph C. Passmore, D.D., had been for twenty years professor at St. James, Maryland, before he came in 1862 to Racine, where he remained four years.—Ed.

[5] Rev. Alexander Falk, Ph.D., D.D., came to Racine in 1867 as professor of German, and held several chairs in addition to that of German, including history from 1867 to 1872; French from 1878 to 1887 and probably later.—Ed.

[6] Professor M. L. Bombarie was, according to its printed history, at Racine College until 1878.—Ed.

was a sort of purlieu called—from a man of Canadian birth named "John" (what else nobody ever knew) who had been a woodsman in Michigan in my father's employ—"Canada." Then to the west across the bend of Root River was "Sagetown" ("Sage's addition to the City of Racine" as designated on the maps) and here, a mile or so from the river, was to penetrate the first right-of-way of the Chicago and Milwaukee Railroad—from whence an already ancient stagecoach was to carry any passengers that fate or fancy sent thither—to the heart of Racine itself—some ten years later than the date of which I am now writing. It was not until the outbreak of the Civil War or the year before, that Racine had a real harbor, when the government dredged the mouth of Root River and ran long jetties on either side out into the lake. Up to that time our only access to the world south or east of us was by two precarious-looking piers—like bridges that had started to cross the lake and stopped at fifty feet or so—at which steamboats landed. To the west Racine's only access or egress was by way of what—even to my tender years—it was a joke to call "the Plank Road." Planks there doubtless were at the bottom of it, which the tollgates thereon may have gathered in revenue enough occasionally to renew. But all that was visible on the surface of this thoroughfare was a rich black mud that any slight snowfall or heavy dew made into molasses! And yet over (or, it were better to say, through) this channel the farmers waded with loaded farm-wagons piled with sacks of wheat. These sacks were first dumped into the public square for inspection by factors, and then loaded in bulk upon schooners and carried—I fancy—to Chicago. This was the only commerce I, in my boyhood, saw in the town or "city" of Racine. When, later, the town and the adjacent farmers mortgaged their all to build a railway, no sooner did this railway reach another railway running into Chicago, than lo! this wheat from which Racine derived its commerce sought the better market, and Racine was left high and dry!

Just about fifty years afterwards, I used this example of how impotent railways or the builders of railways are to divert trade channels from points that geography has designed for a plexus of trade, in arguing against the first Interstate Commerce Law. This, it will be remembered, proposed, by some mysterious dispensation of providence, to accomplish that very thing. But such is shortsighted man! The history of the Wisconsin farm-mortgage policy it is not for me to write. I believe it is or was synonymous with all-around disaster.[1] But I remember the furore in Racine over the wonderful growth of Chicago. I remember hearing my father telling my mother that Chicago, incredible as it might seem, had fifty thousand inhabitants! The construction of the Racine and Mississippi Railroad which (nobody seems ever to have paused to ask why, or for what trade in sight) was to connect the lake at Racine with the big river was to make Racine City a rival of Chicago itself! There was something vastly tempting and picturesque in connecting the greatest all-American lake with the greatest all-American river by a railroad! Nature had connected them by a brief portage between the headwaters of the Fox River that emptied into the lake at Green Bay and the headwaters of the Wisconsin River that debouched into the Mississippi for the occasional voyageur or missionary (or tracer of the tracks of these, like the Prince de Joinville in 1841) who should go from one to the other. But to predicate such an annual passage of tourists between as would—without feeders—support a railway that should connect those two great alienated waterways was, perhaps, Racine's sense of poetic justice. At any rate she paid in full for the privilege of building such a railway.

I remember what a gala day in Racine it was when my father's client, Henry S. Durand, lifted the first spadeful

[1] An excellent account of the farm mortgage episode in the history of Wisconsin may be found in Merk's *Economic History of Wisconsin During the Civil War Decade* (Madison, 1916), Chap. IX.—Ed.

of Wisconsin earth for the Racine and Mississippi Railroad. I remember the first locomotive, a puny little affair garlanded with prairie flowers. Having been born in Portland, Maine (where they built at that time the earliest locomotives) I had often seen these little affairs and wanted to pat their glossy sides, banded every few feet with shiny brass, with their big balloon-like smokestacks which seemed to me to be made of dull black leather. They ran up alongside of you quite confidingly as you stood on the platform and were easily in reach. I don't know where one could find a sample of a locomotive of seventy years ago now, though one or two of our earliest are still kept in our railway museums for contrast with the massive giants of today. These ancient locomotives used to have glorious landscapes and seascapes peopled with Indian maidens (that is, the landscapes were so peopled) painted on their tenders. And in those days, when three or four locomotives was a big allowance for one railway line, these paintings were done by real artists at no inconsiderable outlay. As soon as our little railroad grew long enough to require a second locomotive, another appeared. The first, of course (the custom of the day when locomotives were few and hauls were short), was named, instead of numbered, and was the "Henry S. Durand," for the R. & M.'s first president. When no longer a mere shuttle railway, a second engine, called after the first general counsel of the line, the "Marshall M. Strong," [8] was placed on duty. These two locomotives—a discrimination between engines for freight and passenger service was quite unnecessary—did duty on the R. & M. for many a long day. Indeed a third engine (the first coal-burner—with long, slim smokestack, forerunner of the

[8] Marshall M. Strong, like his namesake—though, I believe, no relative—the Hon. Moses M. Strong, was a distinguished lawyer in early Wisconsin annals. We had a rather melancholy association with him in that the first house in Racine which my father bought upon settling there was famed as having been saved, by snowballing, from catching fire from the conflagration of the house which stood next it on Seventh Street. The latter house, occupied by Mr. M. M. Strong, caught fire one night during his absence from town; it burned to the ground, his wife and two children perishing in the flames.—A. M.

stacks of the present day which huge boilers make look like nubbins—which I ever saw) proved a costly superfluity, and was soon sold to the Chicago and Milwaukee Railway Company at a poor profit as I remember to have heard.

Well I remember how all Racine was en fête on the day the Racine and Mississippi Railway was opened to "Ives Grove" (a point some four miles westward) and another gala day when it had gone five miles farther to "Union Grove" (whether there are such names now I know not).[9] But, about synchronizing with the railway's arrival at Union Grove, the first year's interest on those terrible mortgages began falling due, and there were no more gala days! It was a maxim of that wiser man than Solomon—the Sieur de la Rochefoucauld—that "Il faut toujours d'aimer ses ennemis mieux que les amis; parceque les ennemis ne donne pas nous le bon conseil." Happy would it have been for the Racine of those days if only her enemies had advised her! But her friends convinced her that she needed a railroad, and she built one. I wonder is there anybody but myself still living who remembers her days of sturm und drang when those mortgages began to be foreclosed? As to the Racine and Mississippi itself, it passed either by foreclosure or otherwise into the hands of the Scotch bondholders, and a group of young Scotsmen and Englishmen quite repeopled Racine society and socially somewhat compensated for the bankruptcy which threatened the city as well as the county of Racine, from which at about that time the county of Kenosha was taken off.

My father had at one time, before his marriage, been embarked in the fur trade, and believed himself to be the first white man to penetrate to the confluence of the four rivers at what was afterwards Saginaw, Michigan. I remember his telling me, on reading of the extensive discoveries of salt deposits at that point, that the Indians of his day there

[9] Ives Grove is a hamlet in Yorkville Township, Racine County, not now on the line of the railroad. Union Grove is a station on the Western Union division of the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul Railway.—Ed.

were so guileless of knowledge of anything of the sort that they were eager to trade valuable peltries for as much salt as they could get from the white men, preferring it even to firewater. Many years later, at Racine, my father was surprised to receive a visit from a fine young Indian from Saginaw. This lad (whom my father had christened "Isaac," as that bore some semblance in sound to his Indian name) had readily learned to speak intelligible English and had been adopted by some local missionaries and instructed to preach to his Indian brethren. When he visited us he wore civilized broadcloth, had a white neckcloth, and was quite clerical in appearance. My father was glad to see him, and he remained with us several days. The following conversation was often alluded to, á propos des bottes, among us:

My Father: Well, Isaac, what are you doing in Saginaw now?

Isaac: Me preach.

My Father: Do you get paid for preaching, Isaac?

Isaac: Me get ten dollars year.

My Father: Ten dollars a year! Isn't that pretty poor pay, Isaac?

Isaac: Yes. But it's pretty poor preach.

As Father spoke a little Indian he often had some of the Indians, of whom there was a settlement in the vicinity (Choctaw or Chippewa,[10] I think) at our house in Racine, and saw that they received without undue diminution what was coming to them from the government. They were objects of great curiosity to me, especially as I was told that there were both braves and squaws in the collection, and that the braves brought the squaws along to carry any bundles or purchases they might make in the town. (The noble red man scorned to do any work save hunting or fighting, but otherwise any difference between brave and squaw was totally invisible to the naked eye.)

[10] The Indians of the Lake Michigan lake shore belonged to the Potawatomi tribe, with a considerable admixture of Chippewa. Most of them spoke Chippewa, which was the trade language of the Northwest.—Ed.

Whether Racine was one of the many localities throughout Wisconsin and Minnesota that bear French names allotted by the Jesuit missionaries of New France, or not, was a question I often heard debated in our parlor at home by amateur and local archaeologists. Whether some Canadian (possibly the "John" aforesaid) merely put the name of the river into French for the voyageur, or some woodsman put the name of the town into English for the pioneer, was a problem like the darkey's dilemma whether the egg was before the chicken or the chicken before the egg. One claim was that "Root" was all that some Indian could capture from the woodsman's shibboleth "Root hog or die" (if you don't come here to work you must starve) and so gave that to some Frenchman who asked him the English name of the river, and that this Frenchman "Frenched" it for a comrade. But the question was not settled, so far as I knew, in my Racine days. Racine was situated at the mouth of Root River, and that wisdom sufficed us.

My father's law practice extended as far west as Beloit and he used to put my young mother and myself into our roomy carryall and pack his law papers somewhere under the seats, and "ride circuit" (that was—to attend the various terms of the county circuit courts before which he practiced). We would then fearsomely entrust ourselves to that mobilized plank road and get through in a day's time to some sleeping place. I remember the name of one of these sleeping places was "Marengo." It happened that there was but one house in the town (destined to be a hotel) and of this only the frame and unshingled roof were up, though a second floor was laid rendering the first story habitable. We were privileged to occupy everything above the second floor. There was a dance on the first floor with a fiddle that lasted all night; and today, after seventy years, I can hear that fiddle and the shuffling feet. We would not have been able to sleep anyhow, but when a summer shower came up, my father and mother

stayed awake to hold their umbrellas over themselves and me. I remember contrasting Beloit, where the houses seemed mostly built of a rough yellow limestone, favorably with Racine, where everything was apt to be of wood, though later a handsome straw-colored brick, called "Milwaukee brick," was used for building business blocks. This brick, and, later, the delicious Milwaukee beer—alas, now no more by amendment to our parochial constitution—which, boy though I was, my father thought would give me brawn if not brains, first introduced me to the name of Wisconsin's splendid metropolis.

My father acted as the government Indian agent in and about Racine, reporting directly to Col. John H. Kinzie at Chicago. He was also the government agent for paying pensions and securing bounties for veterans of the War of 1812 thereabouts, of whom there were several. One of these latter, a harmless old fellow of uncertain antiquity, was named Abner Rouse, and both the Republican (or Whig) and Democratic parties' ballots at every municipal election in Racine used to wind up with "For Coroner—Abner Rouse." As the duties of a coroner were at that time performable by a county judge, Abner Rouse was never bothered either by the duties or the salary or fees attached to his high office.

HISTORICAL FRAGMENTS

THE STATE HOSPITAL FOR THE INSANE AND THE WAR

Though in a sense isolated from the world, the Wisconsin State Hospital for the Insane is, indeed, in such intimate contact with the outside that every shock which disturbs the serenity of our national affairs is immediately felt within the walls of the institution. Whatever is uppermost in the popular mind is mirrored, in a distorted fashion, to be sure, in the minds of those mentally unbalanced. War, pestilence, and famine, romance, political and financial changes, and a host of imaginary ills, as well, all play an important part in the mental aberrations of the world.

Formerly the great questions of religion were disturbing influences upon normal life, and, naturally, the various delusions of the insane centered largely around the absorbing questions of Christ, the Apostles, and the souls of the dead. Today electricity and its various devices, including the telephone and the dictaphone, and just recently the aeroplane and the submarine have become attractive subjects of insane delusions.

With the outbreak of hostilities and the appearance of delusions about the Great War, the laity have assumed that the war was the cause of insanity; that "he has gone crazy over the war," even though it is four thousand miles away. "For," they argue, "isn't it plain that this fellow imagines himself suspected of being a spy? That this other fellow imagines he has been providentially commissioned to 'get the Kaiser'? And that this one imagines that he has been ordained 'Leader of the Light' and is able to stop the war? What could be plainer than that these men have gone crazy over the war?" In point of fact, religion, patent rights, perpetual motion, electricity, war, are only convenient hobbyhorses for the insane to ride. The real cause of the mental upset is rooted in the unstable nervous make-up of the individual. In other words, the particular mental condition which maintains at the time of an outbreak of insanity in no sense can be ascribed as the cause of the mental upset. While the mental status may be the occasion of the

attack, or may have assisted in the attack, the most probable cause, barring injury, poison, or exhaustion, is a mental make-up predisposed to disease by bad heredity.

If we assume that the war is the cause of insanity, then reports ought to show a largely increased number of insane in our hospitals, particularly in Wisconsin, whose troops suffered heartbreaking losses in the battles of the Marne and the Argonne. But reports do not bear out this assumption. If we compare the total number of admissions to this hospital for the period of our participation in war with a like period prior to the declaration of war, we find a reduction of 58, or 11.3 per cent. By examining the report more closely, I find that the number of original female admissions for the two periods mentioned was exactly the same, whereas the falling off was confined exclusively to male admissions, a fact which, by the way, does not accord with the popular belief that women are more prone to insanity than men are.

This reduction in the number of male admissions has a very plausible, possibly an interesting and an instructive, explanation in the changes in our economic relations during the war. I refer to the prohibition of the manufacture of liquors. For the fiscal year ending June 30, 1918, the number of admissions in the group of alcoholic insane was forty-three as compared with ninety-five for the year ending June 30, 1917. Here is a reduction of 54.7 per cent. The increased cost of liquor following the government prohibition and the rapid extension of dry territory are facts sufficiently strong to account for this important change. It is safe to predict that the still further improvement in this respect which doubtless will follow the consumption of the surplus stock of whiskey and the consummation of national prohibition will prove to be a decisive and a thrilling demonstration of the wisdom and justice of the national prohibition movement.

Let me turn, now, to our war activities. At the outbreak of hostilities, Dr. W. F. Lorenz, director of the Psychiatric Institute, was commissioned Captain by Governor Philipp. He recruited a hospital unit from the employes of this institution and from men of the University and the city of Madison. At one fell stroke fifteen men were taken from our ranks. This unit was attached to

the fighting Thirty-second Division, "Division Terrible," of the French, and served as first aid back of the fighting line. They saw service from Chateau Thierry to Coblenz. I am glad to record the names of our Honor Roll:

George Boese	Frederick Foy	James Luster
Walter Horstmeyer	Luther Clayton	Harry Howe
George Kearney	Edwin Johnson	Cecil Taff
Gus Pasicka	O. H. Herbert	Ernest Kraitz
Lloyd Webber	Wm. Volkman	Carl Hoffman

The following men enlisted later in other branches of service: Earl Carter, Robert Dovre, Ray Toban, Lawrence Toban, and John Hoffman. In addition to these names, I might add, with propriety, the name of Herbert Cramer, son of Hospital Steward P. D. Cramer. Herbert Cramer served as lieutenant of infantry at Camp Custer. Also, the name of Ronald I. Drake, son of the Superintendent, who served as electrician on the United States transport *Agamemnon.*

Naturally, the loss of so many employes crippled our service sorely. Extra hours and more strenuous duties were thrust upon the shoulders of those left in charge of patients, and, though the Board of Control generously increased the wages of male attendants by forty per cent, I have been unable since to raise our full quota of male attendants. Indeed, help became so scarce that I was driven to the necessity of discharging some of our more reliable patients, and placing them on the payroll.

Fortunately my medical staff was not disturbed.

Through these trying times we have not sat by impassive spectators of the world's debauchery. If we have not actually borne arms, nor been in the midst of bursting shrapnel, we have, at least, busied ourselves to supply means for those physically better able to do so. It is with no little pride that I refer to the splendid financial showing made by the officers and employes of the hospital. They were asked to contribute what they felt able to give—no urging or prodding was permitted—and here is the itemized result:

Thrift and War Savings Stamps	$5,363.00
First and Second Liberty Loans	8,400.00
Third Liberty Loan	7,550.00
Fourth Liberty Loan	9,000.00
United War Workers' Fund	372.34

First Red Cross Fund	$134.25
Second Red Cross Fund	100.00
Tobacco Fund for Our Boys	54.50
Toward truck for Lorenz Hospital Unit	140.00
Total	$31,114.09

With the exception of two or three of the smaller items, the work of collecting this money was done by P. D. Cramer, Hospital Steward. We have "over the top" banners of the Third and Fourth Liberty Loans.

In these dark hours of the world's Gethsemane, we were not unmindful of the physical comfort of the boys "over there." Much credit must be given to the female patients and employes who have responded so generously to the call of the Red Cross for help. In this connection, too, I take pleasure in submitting a detailed statement of the work done. But for a lack of knitting yarn, this amount might have been increased considerably:

SURGICAL DRESSINGS:		
Muslin dressings		1,062
Gauze "		2,525
KNITTED GARMENTS:	Patients	Employes
Sweaters	104	43
Scarfs	1	1
Helmets	7	4
Wristlets	23 prs.	18 prs.
Socks	49 "	114 "

All of our efforts, moreover, to carry out the suggestions of the Food Conservation Commission met with perfect success. Notwithstanding the fact that flour substitutes were used, the supply of meats limited, and the sugar ration employed, not a word of complaint reached me from either patients or employes. All were eager to do their utmost to checkmate the swashbucklering leader of the Huns. The patients as well as officers and employes felt that they had to support their dear ones in France who were fighting for the triumph of right over wrong, for the victory of the moral uplift of mankind over the demoralization of brute force; who were fighting, in truth, against a most implacable foe whose resurrection of the powers of damnation had put to shame the unspeakable crimes of barbarism itself.

The war is over and the victory won. Those of us who were obliged to remain at home must be satisfied to have done here all in our power to usher in a brighter and a better day; but money and material and self-denial are but poor sacrifices to lay on the altar of our country beside the lives of Liberty's heroic dead. One sublime sacrifice has made immortal their devotion. Upon them shall rest, forever, the gratitude and the benediction of a world redeemed.

FRANK I. DRAKE, *Superintendent.*

THE POTTER-PRYOR DUEL

Ridicule is sometimes a better means of destroying an obsolescent and mischievous institution than argument. Cervantes dealt a death-blow to knight errantry when he related the wanderings of Don Quixote and Sancho Panza. It fell to the lot of a Wisconsin congressman, in the last years before the Civil War, to deal a similar blow to the Southern "chivalry," and the code duello. The fire-eating antagonist of this farce (for so it proved to be) died in March in New York City, where he had passed a long and honored career of post bellum activity, as part of the state judiciary. He never relinquished his devotion to the "lost cause," nor failed to expound the philosophical right of secession, but it is not recorded that after his encounter with John Fox Potter, of the First Congressional District of Wisconsin, he ever again sought "the satisfaction due a gentleman" who considers his "honor" wounded. It all occurred in those last thrilling days before the Civil War, when Congress was itself a battle ground between North and South, sometimes not merely a battle of tongues and ideas, but the frequent scene of fisticuff and bludgeon encounters between the hostile parties. The occasion of one of these disgraceful mêlées was an antislavery speech made April 5, 1860, in the House of Representatives by Owen Lovejoy, brother of the abolition martyr of Illinois. Lovejoy's diatribe was perhaps the most direct and bitter attack upon slave-owners ever made in Congress, and the blood of the irascible Southerners was raised to the boiling point. Epithets like "black-hearted scoundrel" and "nigger-stealing thief" began to fly, and as Lovejoy in the passion of his denunciation advanced towards the Democrats shaking his forefinger in their direction, Roger A. Pryor, a young representative

from Virginia, sprang to his feet, and ordered the speaker to desist. Thereupon Potter of Wisconsin sprang to the defense of the Republican orator and shouted that his party had listened quietly for eight weeks to the Southern speakers and "Now, sir, this side shall be heard, let the consequences be what they may." Pryor and his comrades thereupon fell upon Lovejoy, whom Potter defended with such hearty blows that a Quaker friend told him he must have taken lessons in pugilism.

When the scuffle had quieted, and the fires of anger had burned low, the congressmen were somewhat ashamed of their vehemence, and Pryor attempted to have some of the remarks erased from the *Congressional Record*, especially those of Potter. Potter accused him in open house of tampering with the journal to his disadvantage. Pryor retorted with a threat of action whose results "the future will demonstrate," to which Potter is said to have replied, "Let it demonstrate." The next day Pryor sent a challenge to Potter, well knowing that the constitution of Wisconsin deprived any participant in a duel of his franchise and his office. He expected to be able to taunt his Northern antagonist with cowardice or to drive him from Congress. Potter, who despised dueling as a method of settling grievances, determined to teach the fiery Southerner a lesson, and turn the tables upon him. Assuming his right as the challenged party to choose the weapons for the encounter, he instructed his second, a Democratic congressman from Massachusetts, to accept Pryor's challenge, and to prescribe a fight with bowie knives at a distance of four feet either in a closed room or in the open air. Pryor's second at once remonstrated against "this vulgar, barbarous, and inhuman mode of settling difficulties," but Potter remained firm in his choice of weapons, and the duel never occurred. The entire country saw the joke, and the press rang with Potter's praise. During his absence from the house, one wag responded to Potter's name at rollcall that "he had gone to meet a Pryor engagement." "The argument of Mr. Pryor's friends against the weapons chosen by Mr. Potter may be regarded," said another punster, "as a fine specimen of reasoning a-Pryor-i." A Wisconsin editor declared that "Pryor of Virginia doesn't care to know how his Clay would feel in the hands of our Potter." In vain the Southern friends of Pryor explained and expostulated; they

were met with ridicule on every hand. "It is not because he is afraid that Mr. Pryor objects to bowie knives—oh, no! it's because they are so demnition vulgar." Virginia chivalry had been "put into a cold bath" was said more forcibly than elegantly.

At the North Potter was the hero of the hour. Congress received him with suppressed enthusiasm upon his return after temporary arrest by the authorities of the District of Columbia. His visit to Wisconsin during a congressional recess in May was a triumphal progress. He was a large, strong man of good proportions, a product of frontier life in Maine and Wisconsin. At Chicago he was given an enthusiastic reception; when he reached his home at East Troy in Walworth County the entire community filled its largest building in his honor. Even from the Southwest admirers sent him trophies; one from the congressmen of Missouri was a bowie knife over six and a half feet long, on the blade of which was engraved, "Will always meet a Pryor engagement." He acquired the soubriquet of "Bowie Knife" Potter, and early in the war a knife captured from one of the Louisiana "Tigers" was presented to him with a suitable inscription on its haft; likewise a short Southern sword picked up at the battle of Bull Run.

Mr. Potter kept his seat in Congress until 1863, warmly supporting the Union cause. His antagonist, Pryor, became a congressman in the Confederacy and later a brigadier general under Lee. After the Northerner's term of office was ended, President Lincoln appointed him consul general at Montreal. In 1866 he retired from public office, and passed the remainder of his life, until his death in 1899, on his beautiful estate on Potter's Lake in Walworth County—land that he himself in 1838 had bought from the government, when a young lawyer of scarce twenty-one he had determined to make his home in Wisconsin. There he was yearly visited by a group of friends from Milwaukee, members like himself of the "Loyal Legion," who called themselves the Phantom Club. To these friends Mr. Potter loved to exhibit his trophies—the knife he was carrying when challenged by Pryor, the one he bought after that challenge, and those presented to him by admiring friends. With the exception of the large Missouri "toothpick" all the bowie knives were given after his death to the historical museum of our Society, where they may

now be seen, emblems of a barbaric custom now obsolete in America, and reminders of the Wisconsin pioneer who drowned it with a deluge of ridicule.

THE SINKING OF THE *ALBEMARLE*

A story has recently been told before the Lebanon County (Pa.) Historical Society[1] which calls to mind an historic exploit performed by one of Wisconsin's bravest men. It was October 27, 1864, the high tide of the Civil War. For six months Grant had been hammering Lee's army of northern Virginia, and for the same period of time Sherman in the West had been assaulting Joe Johnston's army in Georgia. The crucial election of the war was at hand and all over America men held their breath, fearing—or hoping as the case might be—that Lincoln would be defeated and therewith the war for the preservation of the Union ended ingloriously. A vital link in the serpentine chain with which the Union government was slowly squeezing the life out of the Confederacy was the thousand-mile blockade of the southern coast line. If this were broken, permitting the Confederacy access to the outside world, the Union cause would inevitably fail.

For a little time it seemed the Confederacy possessed an instrument adequate to break the blockade. A few miles up the Roanoke River lay the ironclad ram *Albemarle*, built in the style of the famous *Merrimac* which had been sunk two years before in the duel with the *Monitor* which revolutionized the art of naval warfare. Before the prowess of the *Albemarle* the wooden ships of the blockading Federal fleet were as helpless as children contending with a powerful man. In April, 1864, the ram attacked and captured the town of Plymouth near the head of Albemarle Sound, having beaten off the entire Union fleet and sunk one of its best vessels. A month later she again challenged and defeated single-handed a fleet of seven wooden vessels, sinking one of them that vainly essayed to ram her beneath the water line. Some means must be found to stay her career, if the Federal blockade was to be maintained.

The man and the measure adequate to the emergency were at hand. A Wisconsin youth of twenty-two, Lieut. William B. Cushing

[1] "Some Reminiscences of Noted Men and Times," read before the Lebanon County Historical Society, Feb. 21, 1918, by Capt. H. M. M. Richards.

of Delafield, approached Admiral Lee with the cool proposal that he be permitted to go out in a small steam launch and affix a torpedo to the *Albemarle* which on exploding would sink her. The character of this proposal is best appreciated in light of the fact that the *Albemarle* lay eight miles up the Roanoke River, its banks patrolled by watchful pickets, who would be almost certain to discover and destroy the hostile launch; moreover, the *Albemarle* had been surrounded by a protecting boom of logs chained together so as to hold off any approaching craft.

Desperate situations justify desperate measures, however, and the necessary consent was given. The fourteen men selected to go with Cushing were warned that death would almost certainly be their fate, even if successful; notwithstanding, so eager were men to share in the enterprise that some of those passed by vainly offered a month's pay to their more fortunate shipmates for the privilege of exchanging places with them. On the night of October 27 the tiny launch stole up the river, and, undiscovered, drew near the ram. A watchful lookout now gave the alarm, but under a storm of shot and shell the launch charged full at the boom and succeeded in breasting it. While successive bullets tore through his clothing Cushing carefully adjusted to the ram's side the delicate machinery of the torpedo and discharged it. A great mass of water spouted into the air, overwhelming his little vessel, but giving evidence at the same time that the torpedo had done its appointed work. Cushing now ordered his men to save themselves and under cover of the night they plunged into the water.

Eleven of them were picked up by a Confederate launch. Cushing himself, determined not to be captured, struck out for the opposite shore. He reach it so exhausted that he collapsed half in mud and half in water. Here he lay until daylight, when under the spur of danger of discovery he dragged himself into a near-by swamp. During the day he made his way down the river, found a skiff, and under cover of darkness the night following the sinking of the *Albemarle* paddled to a Federal picket vessel. He had only strength left to hail it when he again collapsed. From the bottom of his boat he was tenderly and joyously lifted by admiring comrades who for

twenty-four hours had believed him to be lying at the bottom of Roanoke River. Rockets were sent up from every ship in the Sound and cheer upon cheer rent the air.

Republics are sometimes ungrateful, but not always. The public congratulations of the navy department were tendered Cushing; he was given a vote of thanks by Congress upon the written recommendation of President Lincoln, and was promoted to the rank of lieutenant commander. In recent years the state of Wisconsin has erected an imposing monument at their Waukesha County home in honor of Commander Cushing and his two spirited brothers. Those who would know more about their story may find in every public library of the state the book *Three Wisconsin Cushings*, published by the Wisconsin History Commission.

The tiny launch which bore Lieutenant Cushing on his eventful night journey up the Roanoke was doomed to a second sinking, sadder and more tragic than the first. Retrieved by the Union forces the launch was sent as a relic to Annapolis. "One day (about 1867 or 1868, I do not have the exact time)," writes Captain Richards, "while in the bathhouse, I heard a terrific explosion, rushed to the window, and was just in time to see a cloud of vapor and smoke in the river where the launch had gone with a party of officers and its crew for some purpose. It is not known what caused the accident. Many were killed or drowned, and I was present when the living, who had been rescued, were brought ashore suffering untold agony. The boat, which had been sunk in its attack on the *Albemarle*, had again gone to a watery grave."

THE QUESTION BOX

The Wisconsin Historical Library has long maintained a bureau of historical information for the benefit of those who care to avail themselves of the service it offers. In "The Question Box" will be printed from time to time such queries, with the answers made to them, as possess sufficient general interest to render their publication worth while.

THE WISCONSIN HOME OF FRANCES E. WILLARD

In writing a life of Frances E. Willard I find a question or two coming out of the residence of her family in Janesville, Wisconsin. The family came to live on a farm on the Rock River about three miles south of Janesville in the spring of 1846. I understand that the agitation for statehood was taking place in 1847. Am I right about that? Mr. Willard was a member of the Wisconsin legislature the winter of 1848-49. Am I right in that, also? Was he a member of the first meeting of legislature in the state? He is said to have been one of thirteen "Free Soilers" who first in Wisconsin appeared in politics. Is that also the fact? He is said also to have taken part in some temperance legislation during the time he was in the legislature. Could you tell me what temperance legislation was enacted during the time he was in the legislature? Still another question: Mr. Willard (Josiah Flint Willard was his name) took up about one thousand acres of land. Could you tell me about the value average of cost in that year 1846?

The journals of Miss Willard, begun when she was a mere child, interest me immensely. It seems to me that it might be worth while to print them entirely. They would, it seems to me, cast a great deal of light upon the conditions in that state and in fact in any edge of the wave of immigration as it passed on westward. Her father was in relation with the Smithsonian Institution and through that she became interested in weather and meteorological matters and records incidents accurately. The struggles of a family in the midst of early conditions are portrayed in artless but sometimes very tragic expression. I wonder if there is in Wisconsin any society that publishes such records? I am sure the literary executors would be willing if I urged it. The journals are in my hands at present. Perhaps you could tell me the name of some person or society to address in regard to this.

MARTHA FOOTE CROWE, *Chicago.*

We are much interested in what you say of the Willards' Wisconsin life, and will be glad to give you all the information in our power. Miss Willard in her autobiography speaks of her father's interest in the *History of Rock County* which he was writing. A copy of that book, in our possession, affords much material on the Willard farm, and on Mr. Willard's activities. The book is entitled *History of Rock County and Transactions of the Rock County Agricultural Society and Mechanics' Institute.* Edited and compiled by Orrin Guernsey & Josiah F. Willard. Published by the Rock County Agricultural Society and Mechanics' Institute, Janesville, Wis.: Wm. M. Doty and Brother, Printers, 1856. The book was published according to a resolution of the society, signed by a committee of five, of which Mr. Willard was the chairman.

A careful examination of the contents leads us to the supposition that in the division of the work, Mr. Guernsey, who was one of the Willards' nearest neighbors, undertook the editing of Part I, the history of the county, while Mr. Willard compiled Part II, the records of the Rock County Agricultural Society and Mechanics' Institute. In his description of Rock Township (range twelve east, town two north) the author in speaking of its earliest settlement says: "D. Hume built a very respectable boat [1836] at what was known as 'Hume's wharf,' on Sec. 10, now the farm of J. F. Willard" (p. 145). Again: "In 1841 J. F. Willard bought Mr. Warren's claim in Sec. 10, where he now resides." This raises the question whether Mr. Willard did not visit Wisconsin and make the purchase at the time he went to Oberlin to live, holding it until he was ready to remove and settle in our state. Of course the date 1841 may be a typographical error, but there are few such in the book, and the authors would probably know when Mr. Willard bought his land. The writer continues: "The first 'breaking' [plowing prairie soil] done in the town or in the county, was on the N. W. qr. of Sec. 11, upon the farm of J. F. Willard, by Mr. John Inman, in the spring of 1836. It was 'cropped' with buckwheat and produced a fair yield" (p. 147).

"The number of farms in this town is 105. Hon. J. F. Willard resides in this town. He represented his Assembly district in the

Legislature of 1849." Among the town officers J. F. Willard was superintendent [of schools] in 1854 and in 1855. In listing the larger farms of the township (p. 152) Mr. Willard's name heads the list with the following statistics:

128 acres under cultivation
550 bushels of wheat
1600 bushels of corn
1200 bushels of oats
300 bushels of rye
100 bushels of potatoes
3 horses
25 cattle
150 sheep
25 swine.

Turning to the second part of the book one finds that Mr. Willard was largely instrumental in organizing in 1851 the Rock County Agricultural Society. He was one of the committee to draft a constitution, and was elected recording secretary at the same meeting, January, 1851. The next meeting held in February he attended and was one of a committee of five to draft by-laws. The county fair was held October 1, 1851; Mr. Willard was a judge of one of the sections. He read before the society in September, 1851, an essay on "Education of Farmers." This is given in full (pp. 227-30). In it he advocates a liberal education for the farmer as well as for the man who adopts the so-called learned professions. His mind should be disciplined, cultivated, and elevated. The farming interest is the base of all civilization; farming should advance in respectability. It is not vocational education he advocates, but the "virtue and intelligence" of the rural population.

At the annual meeting December 1, 1851, Mr. J. F. Willard was chosen president. His presidential address (pp. 233-39) is a very practical talk to his fellow farmers. He says the first error into which many have fallen is the buying of too much land; even if it is all paid for it is a mistake to hold too much; fences, taxes, etc., eat up profits. (Is this perhaps from his own experience?) He also advises a more diversified farming, too much wheat growing being disastrous; he advocates the cultivation of fruit trees, and trees for timber, citing Sir Walter Scott on the planting of trees. At the fair that year (1852) Mr. Willard took a prize for the best draught

mare, the best bull calf, the best six turkeys, and for "good specimens of Irish pink-eyed potatoes of extraordinary size." In the Ladies' department Mrs. J. F. Willard had a premium for the "best bouquet of flowers" and in the Farms and Garden section J. F. Willard took first prize for both. The following is an extract from the report of the committee, J. P. Wheeler, and E. A. Foote, appointed to examine Farms and Gardens.

The committee visited the farm and flower garden of J. F. Willard, Esq., of Rock. The farm is situated on the east side of Rock River, about two miles below Janesville, and contains about three hundred and forty acres, with a road running from north to south through it, leaving about one hundred acres west of the road, and near the road, are located the farm buildings, consisting of an ordinary sized dwelling, known as the "Forest Cottage," neatly constructed, and admirably arranged for utility and convenience, while within, there seems to be "a place for everything and everything in its place."

There is also a horse-barn, granary, and other outbuildings, the arrangements of which are in excellent taste. On the top of the horse-barn is an observatory, from which the proprietor can at any time overlook the whole premises, and from which a magnificent view can be obtained of one of those beautiful landscapes, so characteristic of Rock County, and stretching for miles in every direction. There is also, on this part of the farm, a fruit garden, containing a large number of thrifty young trees, well cultivated, among which your committee noticed the Peach, Plum, Cherry, Apple, Siberian Crab, &c., all of which, together with the buildings, are judiciously arranged, exhibiting evidence of skill and taste worthy of imitation. This part of the farm is mostly covered with oak openings, and is used mostly for pasturage, furnishing a delightful shade for building and stock. It is watered by Rock River, which forms its western boundary.

On the east side of the road, the land is mostly prairie—nearly level—with about two hundred and forty acres enclosed in one field. The committee noticed about a mile of living fence, mostly locusts, with a piece of native thorn fence; the balance of about two miles consists of rails, stakes with capping, timber set in a trench, &c. There are a few acres of locusts sown broadcast for timber. There is also a thrifty young orchard, of about one hundred and fifty apple trees, doing well, and a moveable granary, which can easily be removed to any part of the farm, to receive the grain when threshed, thereby saving a great amount of labor in the hurrying time of harvest, by avoiding the necessity of hauling grain a great distance to any given point. We also noticed the arrangement of crops, such as corn, oats, wheat, beautiful fields of clover, timothy, &c., all evincing taste in their arrangement, while the excellent state of cultivation of the farm denotes energy and skill in execution. On the whole, the committee consider this farm a very good model.

The committee also examined the flower garden of Mr. Willard, where we found the Native and White Cedar, the English, American, Norway and Balsam Firs, the Scotch Pine, the Mountain Ash, the Golden Willow, the Horse Chestnut, the Cypress vine, three varieties of Honeysuckles, the Flowering Almond, double and single Michigan Roses, the Canary Bird Flower, and about thirty varieties of Dahlias; among which are "George IV," "Russell Anna," and a thousand et ceteras, delightful to the eye and deliciously odorous, all tastefully arranged, and giving unmistakable evidence, in many instances, of the care of a softer hand, a finer touch than that of the "lords of creation." Flowers and shrubbery intermingled so as to present a tasteful appearance, as there were, should be seen to be appreciated.

Mr. Willard in December, 1852, was reëlected president and chosen one of three delegates to an agricultural convention to be held at Madison in January, 1853. His presidential address was delivered at the annual fair, held at Janesville, October 6, 1853. In it he urges the farmers to prepare for good times, citing the fact that access to markets via the railroad had changed all their interests. He again urged more diversified farming, and advocated the raising of cattle, sheep, and hogs, and especial attention to the dairy interests. At that same year's fair Mrs. Willard was chairman of the judges in the millinery, dressmaking, and plain needlework section.

At the next year's fair (1854) Mr. Willard was chosen superintendent of the fair grounds, took a premium for a "pair of white Shanghais," and for the "best show of plums."

The records of the society do not come down later than 1855. Mr. Willard was treasurer for that year and was appointed on several committees.

There seems to have been a group of very intelligent and thoughtful farmers living in the Willard neighborhood. Most of the early settlers of Rock County were New England people with a high average of education and ability. The Hodges and Burdicks Miss Willard has herself described. Upon a map of 1858 the farm of J. G. Knoepfel, sliced off from Mr. Willard's farmstead, is shown. On this same map the little brown schoolhouse is indicated on the Hodge property, with the farms of the Hoveys and Inmans near. The Hayners lived on the west side of the river, as did also the Washburn and Sears families. The Burdicks came in 1850 from Rensselaer County, New York.

Mr. Sutherland, whom Miss Willard names as her father's friend, was probably James Sutherland, of Janesville, a prominent merchant of the place, who had a bookstore and stationery shop; he was a Free Soiler and a temperance advocate, a prominent educator, the founder of Wisconsin's normal school system, and a prominent member of the Congregational Church at Janesville.

The first constitutional convention to prepare for statehood met at Madison October 5, 1846, and adjourned December 16 of the same year. It was an able body of men, one hundred and twenty-four in number, and represented the best elements in the territory. The Janesville district was represented by A. Hyatt Smith, later attorney-general of the territory, a prominent and enterprising Democrat. The first constitution was rejected by the people because of clauses prohibiting banking, making homestead exemptions for insolvent debtors, and establishing a married woman's rights to her own property. The question of negro suffrage, which was a burning one in the territory, was left to a separate vote, the five thousand that endorsed it being the measure of the Liberty party's strength in the community. The second convention met November 29, 1847, and was a much smaller body, sixty-nine in number. The second constitution was less radical than the first and was adopted by a large majority. May 29, 1848 Congress formally admitted Wisconsin to statehood. The first legislature was held in the summer of that year, so that it was the second state legislature to which Mr. Willard was elected, November 5, 1848. The antislavery cause had made great strides in that campaign. The Free Soil party was organized at the Buffalo convention in August of that year. In July, 1848, a call was issued for a convention to meet on the twenty-eighth at Janesville to elect delegates to the National Convention at Buffalo. It was said that the Democracy of Rock County had the Van Buren fever strong. They called themselves "Barnburners," a New York State nickname, and the party's organ in Wisconsin was the former abolitionist paper, transformed into the *Wisconsin Barnburner*. The Free Soil movement was especially strong in the southeastern counties settled by New Yorkers and New Englanders. They succeeded in electing their candidate for Congress, Charles Durkee, of Kenosha, the first Free Soiler to enter the national legislature.

Mr. Willard was nominated and elected to the state legislature on the Free Soil ticket. Apparently he had been before this time a Democrat. There were five assemblymen from Rock County, of whom the Democrats elected three and the Free Soilers two. There were sixteen Free Soilers elected from the entire state to the assembly and three to the senate. The assembly began at Madison January 10 and adjourned April 2, 1849. It was a strong antislavery body, although the Democratic senator, Isaac P. Walker, was reëlected. Mr. Willard cast his vote for Byron Kilbourn, the Free Soil candidate. The legislature on February 8, 1849, instructed its congressional representatives by a joint resolution to oppose all bills for organizing New Mexico or California unless they contained a clause forever forbidding slavery. Another joint resolution was passed to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia; and on March 31 a vote of censure was passed against Senator Walker for his vote in the senate on the Wilmot proviso, and his resignation was demanded. Practically all parties in Wisconsin were at this time antislavery, but the Free Soilers had absorbed most of the Abolitionists and Liberty party men and were more radical than the regular Whigs and Democrats.

With regard to the temperance movement in Wisconsin we have less information. There was considerable agitation of local option during the territorial period. In the legislature of which Mr. Willard was a member a bill was introduced to abolish all licenses for liquor selling. It did not pass, and as no vote is recorded Mr. Willard's attitude is not a matter of record. It was fathered, apparently, by Samuel D. Hastings, later a well-known temperance advocate. About 1852 a strong attempt was made to pass a "Maine law" in the Wisconsin legislature; but we have no information what part Mr. Willard took in these activities, aside from the general supposition that he was interested in reforms.

It may be of interest to know that the legislature to which Mr. Willard belonged passed a married woman's property act, along the lines of the provision rejected in the first constitution.

THE WISCONSIN STATE FOREST RESERVE

I understand that there is a monograph or pamphlet or small book treating of the record in this state as to the sale of the forest school

lands. I have been told that at one time, perhaps twenty or thirty years ago, the national government offered several thousand acres to the state to be put with certain state lands and form a Forest Reserve, but that certain influences prevented the state from accepting the proposed gifts of lands for this purpose from the national government; and also at that time, or shortly after, procured legislation authorizing the sale of extensive areas of forest lands, belonging to the state for the benefit of the school funds.

I may not have the tale exactly correct, but this is substantially as I recollect it. What can you supply me in the way of information on this general topic, either the pamphlet referred to, or in other form?

C. G. PEARSE
State Normal School, Milwaukee

We have not been able to locate any such pamphlet as you mention. You know, doubtless, the monograph of George W. Knight on *Land Grants for Education in the Northwest Territory*, but that was published in 1885, and evidently the transactions of which you speak were of a later date. The following is all the information we can find concerning forest lands, but so far as we have discovered there was no improper use of influence in their behalf.

In 1878 over fifty thousand acres in twenty-four separated townships in northern Wisconsin were set apart for a state park. The name was a misnomer; the reservation was intended to protect the headwaters of certain streams that drain into the Mississippi, and was made at the instance of United States government engineers. The Wisconsin land commissioners disapproved of the reservation because without their consent school lands were withdrawn amounting to at least nine per cent of the total reserve. In 1880 a similar withdrawal was made of lands at the headwaters of the Chippewa, and for the same purpose. This time the commissioners were consulted and consented to reserve from the school funds 31,402 acres. They, however, did not approve of the policy of such diversions, and respectfully suggested that such "should be studiously inquired into before legislative action, if not refused."

Whether this was some kind of a political job or not, in the end it proved much to the advantage of the school funds. The state park lands first falling into Lincoln, then into Oneida County, then into Vilas and Iron counties, as new divisions were successively created, amounted in 1896 to 55,932.75 acres. By a law of 1897 the commissioners were empowered to cause an estimate to be made of the

value both of the lands and of timber thereon. The estimate was placed at $346,000, whereas, if sold under the old law, they would have brought but $81,730. The Chippewa reserve did not have as satisfactory a settlement. In 1882 the reserve was thrown open and the lands sold at the usual price.

The abandonment of the state park reserve in 1897 may have been at the instance of the lumber barons, but, if so, it does not appear upon the surface. It was found that roads and dams within the reserve were decaying; that the danger of fire was very great; and that the best interests of the state would be served by the sale of the lands. At any rate the method of selling the school lands portion secured what was no doubt good value for both lands and timber, averaging $10.40 per acre. In fact it shows what might have been accomplished with all the school lands if they had not been used to attract immigrants rather than to build up a great school fund.

COMMUNICATIONS

THE DUTCH SETTLEMENTS OF SHEBOYGAN COUNTY

Some months ago there was placed in my hands a separate from the WISCONSIN MAGAZINE OF HISTORY for March, 1918, entitled "The Dutch Settlers of Sheboygan County," by Sipko F. Rederus. The author deserves credit for his painstaking portrayal of these Dutch pioneers. Since I long ago served as pastor of the Reformed Church of Oostburg, Sheboygan County, I wish to make a few additional statements, and develop somewhat more fully than Mr. Rederus has done the history of these Dutch settlements.

To this end it will not be out of place to take a brief survey of the Hollanders in America. The first Dutch settlement was founded at New Amsterdam (now New York) not long after the landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth. The settlers were a religious people of the Calvinistic type. Soon after taking possession of Manhattan Island they organized a church. They felt the need of church life and work, not only, but of the religious education of their children; so the minister and the schoolmaster were found side by side. Thus began what is now the oldest and wealthiest (in proportion to the size) of all ecclesiastical bodies in America; for generous legacies were left to the Dutch churches of New York which at present yield large incomes.

Soon other Dutch settlements sprang up along the Hudson River, on Long Island and in New Jersey, which for many years held tenaciously to the Dutch language and customs. I have more than once met descendants of these first Dutch settlers in the East, able to speak the language as it was spoken three hundred years ago in the Netherlands.

But as New Amsterdam was seized by the English in 1664, emigration from Holland to this country ceased for a long time. In 1846, however, by reason of hard times and religious oppression of those who had separated from the state church, emigration to America was renewed on a large scale. Since then large numbers of Dutch have made their permanent homes in this country. They are found

in nearly every state of the Union; they are, however, more numerous in Michigan and Iowa than in any other state.

These later immigrants to America for the greater part naturally joined the Dutch Reformed Church, which they regarded as the church of their forefathers. Although this church is spoken of by Reverend Rederus and many others not belonging to its fellowship as the Dutch Reformed, in fact it no longer bears this name. What was once the Dutch Reformed Church dropped the word "Dutch" some fifty years ago to make it appear a purely American organization. It is now known as the Reformed Church in America. About the same time the German Reformed Church followed suit by doing away with the word "German," thus becoming the Reformed Church in the United States.

The Reformed Church in America is closely assimilated to the Presbyterian Church in doctrine and polity. It is an intensely American body, though hailing from the land of dikes and dunes. In this respect it differs from the Christian Reformed Church, a much smaller organization. The latter seceded from the Reformed Church more than fifty years ago, and holds on more persistently to the customs and usages of the old country, sometimes speaking of itself as the "immigrant" church. It advocates, among other things, the so-called Christian school system, considering our public schools as godless. This must necessarily have a sectarian tendency. The Reformed Church is broad in its sympathies toward all Christian denominations, while the Christian Reformed stands aloof under the idea that in its isolation consists its strength.

The first Dutch settlers in Sheboygan County arrived in 1846 and 1847. The different elements among them coming from different provinces in the old country were difficult to harmonize, but, believing religion to be necessary to the stability and permanence of society, these pioneers strove to reconcile their divergent ideas and interests, seeking to promote their welfare spiritually as well as in material respects. These things Mr. Rederus has brought out clearly in his narrative. He tells us that Reverend Zonne founded the first Presbyterian Church among the Hollanders in Sheboygan County. It was at first a small, struggling congregation, and thus it remained for some time; later, under the leadership of the Rev. J. I. Fles, it

enjoyed a remarkable development. Mr. Fles was a young man from the Netherlands with the qualifications and tact requisite for the accomplishment of such a work. Although the Presbyterian Church was thus the first one established among the Dutch of Sheboygan County, the majority of the settlers belonged to the Reformed denomination. There are also in the county a few who adhere to the Christian Reformed Church.

The second church organized among the Sheboygan Dutch was the Reformed Church of Oostburg, four and a half miles north on the Sauk trail. The Rev. K. Van der Schuur was its first minister, serving for a number of years. From this organization later sprang the Presbyterian Church of Oostburg. It owes its origin to a vagrant preacher by the name of Jacob De Roo. He came from Paterson, New Jersey, where he had had charge of an independent church, and was wandering through the West in search of another field of labor. Reverend Van der Schuur's church seemed to offer a tempting bait. When the doors of the church were not opened to him, Reverend De Roo began to preach in barns, and by his eloquence and flattering manners ingratiated himself with the people. As a consequence, more than half of Reverend Van der Schuur's congregation seceded and soon organized a Presbyterian Church there. There are thus but two Presbyterian churches among the Dutch of Sheboygan County—the Cedar Grove church and that of Oostburg —both in the township of Holland. On the other hand, there are several Reformed Churches scattered through the county, viz.: at Cedar Grove, Oostburg, Gibbsville, Hingham, Sheboygan City, and Sheboygan Falls. These church societies are, on the whole, strong and influential in the community, with fine church buildings and parsonages.

Finally, for a number of years the Reformed Church has been maintaining at Cedar Grove a flourishing classical academy, whose doors are open to both sexes. Seeing the need of such an institution, the Dutch settlers contributed liberally for its endowment. Many of its graduates have pursued college courses elsewhere, and some are today filling important positions as ministers of the gospel, and as teachers in our public schools and higher institutions of learning.

Rev. John Hoffman,
Cawker City, Kansas

COMMENT ON "A VOICE FROM GERMANY"

It is only today that I have had time to read the translation of my cousin's letter in the WISCONSIN HISTORICAL MAGAZINE. Seeing it thus after an interval makes it more strongly apparent how complete was the German Government's preparation of its people for the idea of a necessary war. There must have been hundreds of similar letters written about the same time. I saw several such myself, and received one addressed to me by a Munich physician, which had an entirely similar tone. I now much regret that I destroyed it.

The translation is on the whole admirably done. I hope you will not mind if I allow myself a few criticisms of it. In the first place, as printed the letter is signed George Wagner. My cousin's name is Georg, and should have remained so. You would not write Jacob Marquette, even in an English document. Secondly, in the twelfth line from the top on page 156, the translation says: "Treacherous Albion." Does not the original say: "das perfide Albion"? And if so, is there any reason why this should be rendered otherwise than by the classic "Perfidious Albion"?

These criticisms are trivial. There is one other that is of real importance. In the translation the letter is dated from Cologne. You will find that the original says: Calw. Calw (the name is one of two or three words in the German language where the W is pronounced like a B) is a town of about 8,000 inhabitants in the Black Forest, some twenty miles west of Stuttgart. Were this letter from a manufacturer in Cologne, its tone would naturally be what it is, for Cologne is Prussian to the core, and reactionary. But it is exactly its evidence that Prussianism was so carefully instilled into the minds of leaders in even the remote centers of industry in easy-going, good-natured South Germany, that makes this letter of any importance.

Yours sincerely,

GEORGE WAGNER.

Madison, Wisconsin, February 9, 1919.

SURVEY OF HISTORICAL ACTIVITIES

THE SOCIETY AND THE STATE

From the time of making the last report down to April 10, 1919, forty-eight persons were received into membership in the State Historical Society. Twelve of these are life members: Otto Gaffron, Plymouth; Gritli Gattiker, Baraboo; Luise Gattiker, Baraboo; W. H. Hyde, Milwaukee; G. L. Lacher, Chicago; Warren J. Mead, Madison; Ludington Patton, Milwaukee; Louis Van Ess, Milwaukee; George Wagner, Madison; Julia Weinbrenner, Wauwatosa; Alexander Winchell, Madison; Franklin J. Wood, Grand Rapids.

Martin Schrank, Ashland, has changed from an annual to a life member, and the City Club of Milwaukee has been received into institutional membership.

The new annual members are: K. K. Amundson, Cambridge; H. L. Atkins, Madison; W. E. Babcock, Honey Creek; R. L. Benjamin, Waukesha; John Brehm, Waukesha; Charles J. Brewer, Eau Claire; Rev. R. A. Chase, Platteville; John F. Conant, Two Rivers; R. J. Diekelmann, Minneapolis; John L. Grindell, Platteville; Frank W. Hall, Madison; T. W. Hamilton, Berlin; M. A. Jacobson, Waukesha; Arthur James, Oshkosh; Carl G. Johnson, Eau Claire; Frederick Klaus Jr., Winneconne; Henry Krumrey, Plymouth; Otto Lacher, Detroit, Mich.; Norman T. Lund, Huron, N. Dak.; Mrs. H. H. Morgan, Madison; C. A. Nehs, Waukesha; Mrs. Charles E. Nelson, Waukesha; Grattan W. Norris, Waukesha; A. F. Olson, Cambridge; E. F. Potter, Cambridge; Chester Rohn, Milwaukee; G. B. Rusco, West Bend; Thomas Scholl, Milwaukee; Rev. G. C. Story, Ripon; Mrs. Homer Sylvester, Montfort; Fredrik L. Tronsdal, Eau Claire; John A. Week, Hollywood, Cal.; Martha G. Week, Stevens Point; Joseph E. Wildish, Milwaukee; Colin W. Wright, St. Paul, Minn.

Judge William J. Turner, of Milwaukee, a member of the State Historical Society, died suddenly of apoplexy at his home on February 15, aged seventy-one years. Judge Turner was born at Waukesha in 1848, his grandfather having removed thither from New York in 1839. The late Judge's family has participated creditably in the development of this country for several generations. On both the maternal and the paternal side his ancestors served in the Revolution; his father was a member of the Wisconsin constitutional convention. The Judge was long an active participant in educational and civic affairs.

Volume XXVI of the Society's *Collections* came from the press early in April, and should be in the hands of our readers in advance of this number of the Magazine. The volume is the first in the new constitutional series, whose contents are devoted to elucidating the history of our state constitution. Three more volumes will complete the series. One of these has been in the printer's hands since November, and may perhaps be expected from the press some time in the autumn. The final editorial touches are now being given the last two volumes. They should go to the printer before June and issue from the press some time next winter. The annual *Proceedings* of the Society for 1918 came from the press the first week in April. It is a pamphlet of fifty-three pages, devoted to the usual annual report of the Society's operations. Mr. Theodore Blegen's archival report, which the printer has had under way since May, 1918, is expected from the press momentarily. Under preparation at the present writing are Miss Kellogg's comprehensive history of early Wisconsin, and Mrs. Levi's combined history of the press of Wisconsin and checklist of Wisconsin newspapers. Arrangements have been made for Prof. Martha Edwards of Lake Erie College to spend the summer and autumn in the employ of the Society putting the concluding touches on her study of religious activities among the Indians, which the Society has long looked forward to publishing in its series of *Studies*.

The biennial appropriation by the legislature for the support of the Society is given under the three heads of operation, property repairs and maintenance, and capital. The respective sums granted annually for the biennium ending July 1, 1919, are $52,000, $780, and $8,200. The 1919 legislature has provided annually for the biennium, which begins July 1, 1919, $54,000 for operation, $1,000 for repairs and maintenance, and $8,200 for capital. Thus the total annual appropriation for the support of the Society is $63,200, an increase of $2,200 over the appropriation now current. Several other measures before the 1919 legislature affect the historical interests of the state. One provides for a War History Commission charged with the preparing of an official history of Wisconsin's part in the World War. For this purpose $10,000 annually for two years is appropriated. This bill is sponsored by the State Council of Defense and the State Historical Society. It has the approval of the Governor and it seems difficult to believe that the legislature will fail to pass it. Two other bills, sponsored by Mr. P. V. Lawson, and animated by the theory that the affairs of the Society are not being efficiently or properly administered, are before the legislature. In response to the request of representatives of the Society, a joint legislative committee has been authorized to inquire into the conduct

of its affairs. We forbear comment until the committee shall have made its report.

Three years ago, through the intervention of the Michigan Historical Commission, the Society was enabled to procure from the owners, for the purpose of copying, the valuable letter books of the American Fur Company still preserved at Mackinac. The books then procured covered approximately the ten-year period from 1815 to 1825, and their contents constituted a rich addition to the material in the Library dealing with the fur trade. Photostat copies of these books were made for our own Library and for three sister institutions—the Michigan Historical Commission, the Chicago Historical Society, and the University of Illinois.

More recently, again through the intervention of the Michigan Historical Commission, the Society has secured the loan from another Michigan citizen of still another volume in the Mackinac letter book series of the American Fur Company. The contents of this volume cover the years 1823 to 1830, and so supplement admirably the contents of the volumes previously copied. Six sets of photostatic copies of this book were made during the winter—one for each of the institutions noted above as subscribing for the earlier records, and in addition for the Library of Congress and the Minnesota Historical Society.

The foregoing items concerning the reproduction of valuable historical records by photographic process illustrate one of the most remarkable aids to the progress of historical scholarship which has been developed for many years. It is a matter of just pride we believe to the membership of the Wisconsin Historical Society that this organization was one of the earliest pioneers in this field of work; indeed it is still a pioneer, for even now but few institutions in the United States are equipped to do the work our own Society has for several years been doing in this field. How competent experts regard this service is shown by the following resolution which was voted unanimously at the annual conference of directors of historical work in the states of the Northwest held at Chicago in December, 1918:

RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE CONFERENCE OF DIRECTORS OF STATE HISTORICAL WORK IN THE UPPER MISSISSIPPI VALLEY, CHICAGO, DECEMBER 7, 1918

WHEREAS the State Historical Society of Wisconsin possesses a photostat for the copying of manuscripts, newspapers, and other records by photographic process, and employs a skilled workman to operate the same; and WHEREAS the Society offers to place these facilities freely at the disposal of

historical institutions and scholars for the reproduction of records for scholarly use,

Resolved, unanimously, That we view with approval this attitude on the part of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. We regard the service it proffers as a real aid to the development of mid-western historical scholarship, and cordially recommend to owners of manuscripts or newspaper files that they coöperate with the Society in its efforts to render such records more generally accessible to scholars by granting the Society permission to make copies of these records for placing in historical and other libraries which may have need of them.

SOLON J. BUCK
Secretary

On August 11, 1787, at Lexington, Kentucky, was issued the *Kentucke Gazette*, the first newspaper published west of the Allegheny Mountains. For several years it had no competitor, and for many years it continued to be an important diary of events in the West. So completely has this earliest western paper disappeared that but one important file is known to be still in existence. This is owned, appropriately enough, by the Lexington Public Library. Some time since the librarian of the University of Michigan obtained permission from the Lexington Library authorities to make a photostatic copy of the *Gazette* with a view to placing reproductions of it in the leading American libraries. Seventeen institutions subscribed for transcripts of the paper, among them being the Wisconsin Historical Society. The first installment of the work, comprising the period from August, 1787, to August, 1791, has at length been received; additional installments will be made as rapidly as practicable until each of the subscribing libraries shall have a photostatic facsimile of the complete file of this rare and historically valuable paper. While the original file will always possess chief sentimental value, for practical purposes of consultation and research the photostatic reproductions are quite as accurate and valuable as the original. Henceforth the *Kentucke Gazette* will be at the command of thousands of students who could never have consulted it if compelled to make the journey to the one original file at Lexington.

Through the kindness of Mr. Wingfield Watson of Burlington the collection of Wisconsin newspapers in the Historical Library has been enriched by the addition of a long run of one of the rarest and most interesting of American newspapers. Readers of Henry E. Legler's sketch, "A Moses of the Mormons," in the Parkman Club Publications two decades ago are familiar with the remarkable career of Wisconsin's Mormon prophet, J. J. Strang, who claimed to be the divinely ordained successor to Joseph Smith. Strang established two chosen cities, one called Voree, near Burlington, Wisconsin, the other on Beaver Island near the upper end of Lake Michigan. At the latter place he assumed the title of king, founded the kingdom of

St. James, and supported a royal press. Kingdom and king alike came to a sudden and violent end in June, 1856, when Strang was shot from ambush by a brace of cowardly assassins, and following this his subjects were driven into exile by a mob of neighboring fishermen. At Voree, beginning in 1845, Strang published for more than four years a weekly paper (monthly during the first year) styled variously the Voree *Herald, Zion's Reveille,* and the *Gospel Herald.* Upon removal to Beaver Island he began the issuance of the *Northern Islander.* This was supposed to be a weekly, but it was discontinued during the long period of winter isolation of the Islanders from contact with the outside world, and toward the end a few issues of a daily edition were put out. In all 180 numbers of the Voree *Herald* were issued, and 90 numbers of the *Northern Islander.* Both are excessively rare; indeed, so far as known no one has a complete file of either paper, and it is doubtful whether all copies of some issues have not ceased to exist. The Wisconsin Historical Library has long had some sixty scattering issues of the Voree *Herald,* but no single issue of the *Northern Islander.* Probably the Reorganized Church of Latter Day Saints at Lamoni, Iowa, has some issues of Strang's press, but positive information on this point is not at hand. Mr. Watson, still after sixty years of exile and tribulation as firm a believer as ever in Strang's divine calling, has exerted himself through many years to secure and preserve the files of his papers. As a result he has succeeded in collecting 152 numbers of the *Herald* and 72 numbers of the *Northern Islander.* In his file of the *Herald* together with the file owned by the Society are represented 162 of the total 180 issues of this paper. So far as present information goes, Mr. Watson's file of the *Northern Islander* is the only one in existence; as already noted it contains 72 of the total 90 numbers originally issued. These files have now been loaned by Mr. Watson to the Historical Society to permit the making of photostatic copies. Henceforth the Library's newspaper collection will be enriched by the possession of copies of all the papers owned by Mr. Watson which are not already represented by originals in the Society's file. It is already evident that in the light of these and other sources of information not available to Mr. Legler the story of King Strang's Mormon enterprise must be written anew.

Closely allied to the foregoing in interest and importance is a manuscript record also loaned by Mr. Watson for the purpose of copying. This is the "Chronicle of Voree," a portion of the official record of the church at Voree, covering the years 1844 to 1849. While this volume contains much that was also printed in the church paper, there is much additional historical material which for various reasons was not put into the paper. The original manuscript is one

of the sacred records of the now sadly-scattered church of Prophet Strang—a church whose few surviving followers still firmly believe will shortly be restored to power and glory, with its sacred city at Independence, Missouri, where shall be erected a temple more magnificent than that of King Solomon of old.

The State Historical Society Museum has in preparation several traveling loan exhibits illustrating pioneer domestic arts. These collections, which will be available for use by Wisconsin schools, are intended to be used by teachers in giving instruction in history. They will be encased in neat, convenient-sized wooden boxes, the specimens in each to consist of an old-fashioned candlestick, candle snuffer, candle mould, tin lantern, betty lamp, steelyard, flax cards, and other interesting objects to be found in early American households. The specimens selected for use are of an unbreakable character and sufficiently common to be readily replaced if lost; each one will be accompanied by printed matter descriptive of the manner of its use.

In a separate compartment in the case there will be placed a series of photographs illustrating the interior of a pioneer kitchen, its furniture, and utensils. Each of these also will be labeled with full information.

The Society hopes by means of these loan collections to extend still further the benefits of its museum to Wisconsin schools. Many pupils, often from distant points in the state, have been coming to Madison for purposes of instruction each year for a number of years. The loan collections are an experiment in this direction and, if successful, others will be prepared for circulation.

The exhibits are to be loaned on the application of principals and teachers for limited periods of time.

A full-length portrait of President Edward A. Birge of the University of Wisconsin, by Christian Abrahamsen, the Chicago portrait painter, is being exhibited in the auditorium of the State Historical Museum. This portrait, which was painted in a studio provided for the artist in North Hall, has received a very favorable reception from members of the University faculty and friends of the President. He is shown wearing his doctor's robe.

A portrait of Professor Joseph Jastrow, by the same artist, was also exhibited during the winter.

A number of exhibitions of paintings and drawings under the direction of the Madison Art Association in the Museum since the first of the year have been well attended and appreciated by the public. Special visits were made to these exhibits by the art classes of the University and of the Madison high school who on these occasions were given lectures and other instruction by their teachers.

The Association is now making an exhibit of fifty paintings and pen and ink drawings by Allied artists interned in Switzerland and twenty-three landscapes and other oils chiefly by George E. Browne and Eliot Clark.

Lieut. Ray E. Williams and Mr. Frank H. West have each made some important additions to the collections of European war materials deposited by them in the Historical Museum. Other interesting specimens have also been received from Mr. John R. Heddle and Mr. Christo Ganchoff, Wisconsin men who are members of the American Army of Occupation in Luxembourg and Germany. A particularly interesting gift is a fine neolithic flint hatchet obtained by Lieut. Harold Wengler of the 100th United States Aero Squadron at Notre Dame d'Öe, France. It was being used as a paper weight in the village grocery store. It was picked up in a field.

Lieut. Col. George E. Laidlaw of Victoria Road, Ontario, has continued to furnish examples of Canadian war posters as they appeared. These are exhibited in the Museum and then sent to the Society's manuscript department for cataloguing and filing. An interesting series of South African posters was obtained through the intervention of the same good friend.

Mr. Carl H. Johnson, Madison, has deposited in the Museum permits and other papers issued to him by the Bolshevik government in Russia in 1918. Another interesting Bolshevik proclamation has been received from Capt. Horatio Winslow who is serving with the Allied forces in Russia.

The collection of Wisconsin Indian quartzite implements of the late William H. Ellsworth, of Milwaukee, has been presented to the public museum of that city by his granddaughter, Mrs. Jane Asmuth. Mr. Frank G. Logan, of Chicago, has purchased and presented to the Logan Museum of Beloit College the archeological collection of some 3,000 stone and other implements of Mr. William H. Ekley, of Milwaukee. The heirs of Dr. Louis Falge, of Manitowoc, have given to the State Historical Museum a large part of the collection made by him from Indian village sites in Manitowoc County.

During the past fifteen years many members of the Wisconsin Archeological Society have presented or deposited their collections in Wisconsin public museums. As a result, the collections of this nature available to students in Wisconsin are now probably unequalled by any in the country.

At New London a public museum has been organized in connection with the public library with Mr. C. F. Carr as curator and Rev. F. S. Dayton as assistant curator.

With the other war activities of the state, in the main, declining in interest and importance, the work of the county war history com-

mittees may be said to be now at high tide. This increased activity is inspired in large part by the continuous home-coming of men from service overseas and the consequent possibility of completing individual records. The one great item of work is the preparation of the soldier record cards, which calls for much publicity, correspondence, telephoning, and personal calls to get the desired data. Many ingenious methods and agencies have been called into play to get these and other results. In some instances the work is done through the district schools; in others by the Red Cross home service sections; in some cities by women's clubs or war mothers making house to house canvasses; in some localities by the running of blank cards in the newspapers. At Ladysmith club rooms have been opened free to returning soldiers for some months and blanks are kept for obtaining individual records. At Baraboo, Manitowoc, and other places public-spirited photographers, in addition to making a free picture for each returning soldier who presents himself, also obtain his record for the history committee of the county. When this material shall have been secured many committees will give their attention to the indexing of their material, in which work a number have already made much headway. Most of the committees have received and filed the newspapers of their counties. Not all have been so successful in obtaining reports on war work by chairmen and secretaries of activities and many such could now be obtained only by personal interviews by experienced interviewers and investigators. It proves again that the work of collecting data was at least not begun too soon. A number of counties will also put their material into book form.

The state council and the state committee have not urged the writing of county histories of the war, but have emphasized rather the importance of collecting the thousand and one fleeting forms of material before they are lost forever. However, they have not discouraged such writing of county histories, and in a half dozen counties the history chairmen—in these instances more or less experienced historical writers—in addition to directing the collection of local material are at work on the preparation of county war histories.

In this great historical undertaking the state of Wisconsin has again proved to be a notable pioneer. If any state was in the field doing such work in advance of Wisconsin, it has not come to our knowledge. On the other hand, many neighboring states have adopted the Wisconsin plan, some in toto, others with inconsequential modifications. Many letters come to the State Historical Society calling for information concerning the Wisconsin method or outlines of the state's plan. In some states, unfortunately, the

work of collecting material, which has been so efficiently prosecuted in Wisconsin for over a year, is just now beginning and large appropriations are being made for the work which so far has been carried on here without pay by hundreds of patriotic volunteer workers.

The Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts, and Letters and the Wisconsin Archeological Society held a joint meeting at Milwaukee on Thursday and Friday, March 27 and 28, all of the sessions being held in the Milwaukee Public Museum and Library building. About fifty papers were presented at this meeting, which was attended by about one hundred members of the two organizations. Papers on Indian archeology and history were presented by Dr. Louise P. Kellogg, H. E. Cole, Dr. S. A. Barrett, Dr. A. Gerend, Dr. George L. Collie, C. E. Brown and others. On Thursday evening Major J. H. Mathews of the University of Wisconsin delivered a public lecture on "Gas Warfare," in which branch of military service he was recently employed.

This was the tenth annual meeting which the two societies have held. Next year the Academy will celebrate at Madison in an appropriate manner its fiftieth anniversary.

President E. A. Birge of the University of Wisconsin is the president of the Academy; among its organizers were Dr. Increase A. Lapham, Alexander Mitchell, Dr. Philo R. Hoy, and other prominent early residents of the state.

The Wisconsin Archeological Society held its annual meeting in the trustee room of the Public Museum at Milwaukee on Monday evening, March 17. Dr. Samuel A. Barrett was elected president of the state society; Dr. E. J. W. Notz, W. H. Vogel, George A. West, Milwaukee, A. T. Newman, Bloomer, and H. P. Hamilton, Two Rivers, vice presidents; and Joseph Ringeisen Jr., and Charles G. Schoewe, Milwaukee, directors. L. R. Whitney, Milwaukee, and Charles E. Brown, Madison, were reëlected to the offices of treasurer and secretary, respectively. These officers constitute the executive board of the society which has a large membership in Wisconsin and many members in adjoining states. At this meeting an illustrated lecture on "The Agriculture of the Arucanian Indians of Southern Chile" was delivered by Mr. D. S. Bullock of the University of Wisconsin. Mr. Bullock served among these Indians for a period of ten years as an industrial missionary. There are about 125,000 of these Indians in southern Chile and the Argentine Republic.

Attractive exhibits of Wisconsin and other stone implements and ornaments were made at this meeting by several members of the society.

In the course of a number of years the society has been able to publish a number of monographs descriptive of the copper implements and ornaments, the grooved axes, spuds, ceremonial knives, flint perforators, sinkers, pipes, marine shell implements, bird and banner stones, trade implements, and other weapons, tools, and ornaments used by the early Indians of Wisconsin.

Stone Celts is the title of a new publication of the society, which is devoted to a description of the stone hatchets or tomahawks used by these Indians. It is estimated that several thousand of these interesting implements have been recovered from graves, mounds, and sites of Indian camps and villages during the past fifty years.

Five classes of these, classified according to their shape, comprise a number of odd and peculiar forms. Many of these are well made and ground or finely polished. A small number known as fluted celts have blades ornamented with longitudinal grooves. Celts were used by the Indians of the larger part of the United States for many purposes. The lighter ones bound to short wooden handles were used as hatchets or tomahawks in warfare or for killing game, for cutting down trees, splitting soft wood, cutting holes in the ice, and for general use about the wigwam. Celts weigh from less than a pound to from three to five pounds. Specimens weighing from fifteen to twenty pounds have been found. The largest known celt weighs forty pounds.

A series of experiments in photographing typical specimens of the ancient Indian effigy mounds of Wisconsin has been undertaken by Mr. George R. Fox, director of The Chamberlain Memorial Museum of Three Oaks, Michigan, who came to Wisconsin for this purpose in April. Advance plans for his work include visits to the turtle shaped mound on the Beloit College campus, the Fort Atkinson intaglio effigy recently permanently preserved by the ladies of that city, and other animal shaped earthworks at Lake Koshkonong, Madison, Baraboo, and other localities in southern Wisconsin. Among others to be visited was the famous man mound which was purchased and preserved some years ago in Man Mound park, at a distance of several miles from Baraboo, by the Wisconsin Archeological Society, Sauk County Historical Society, and History section of the Wisconsin Federation of Women's Clubs.

Mr. Fox has been particularly successful in previous trials in securing good photographs of effigy mounds and of Indian garden beds by methods of his own. Of some of these pictures good lantern slides have been made. The low height, huge proportions, and environment of the effigy mounds make them particularly difficult to photograph, it being necessary to build a platform or to photograph them from the tops or branches of convenient trees.

At the time of going to press Mr. George B. Merrick, leading authority on Mississippi River steamboating history, lies seriously ill at his Madison residence, having recently suffered a stroke of paralysis. His illness checks for the time being the publication of a nearly completed series of historical papers on "Steamboats and Steamboatmen on the Upper Mississippi." These papers, which have been running in the weekly issues of the Burlington *Saturday Evening Post* for several years past, have been read and appreciated by present and former steamboatmen in every part of the United States.

Alexander Fletcher, of Kenosha, who is credited by the local press with being the community's oldest resident and reputed to be 103 years of age, died January 10, 1919. Mr. Fletcher retained his mental faculties until the end of life, and was able to relate many interesting recollections of the last seventy-five years of Kenosha's history.

The press of January 19 reports the resignation of the oldest postmaster in Wisconsin, James F. Walsh, of Clyman. Mr. Walsh was first appointed postmaster by Andrew Johnson and served continuously for fifty-two years.

On February 8, Lyman W. Thayer died at his home at Ripon at the age of sixty-four. Mr. Thayer had served as member of his county board, as state senator and assemblyman. During 1916 and 1917 he served as mayor of Ripon.

David F. Sayre of the town of Porter, Rock County, celebrated his ninety-seventh birthday January 14, 1919. Mr. Sayre is a college alumnus of seventy-five years' standing, having graduated from the University of the City of New York in 1844. He came to Wisconsin in 1849 by way of the Hudson River and Erie Canal, and began the practice of law at Fulton. In 1851 he purchased the farm on which he still resides. In 1849 Mr. Sayre established a union Sunday school, of which he was elected superintendent. To this position he has been annually reëlected to the present time, a period of seventy years.

The daily press of January 11 brings the information that an ancient tavern in the town of Yorkville, Racine County, is about to be razed to give place to a modern bungalow. The building is said to have been erected in 1835, and in 1837 passed into the hands of Marshall M. Strong. Strong was a prominent newspaper man of Racine, a member of the first constitutional convention of 1846, and in general one of the most brilliant men who ever lived in Wisconsin. Strong soon sold to Roland Ives, who moved into the building in 1838, and after whom the place has ever since been known as "Ives Grove."

"The finest winter meeting the society ever had," is reported from Baraboo by President Cole of the Sauk County Historical Society. The meeting was held at the home of Mr. and Mrs. Frank Avery, one of the historical associations of which is a large elm planted by Mr. Avery at the time President Lincoln was assassinated. About fifty persons attended the picnic supper and the historical program which followed. Mrs. L. H. Palmer read a paper on the work of women in the Civil War; Judge O'Neill, of Neillsville, gave an address on the Balkans; and James A. Stone, of Reedsburg, discussed European conditions and the League of Nations.

At a meeting of the Eau Claire County Historical Society, January 11, 1919, J. T. Barber was elected president, Wm. W. Bartlett, vice president, Ralph W. Owen, secretary, and Mrs. E. B. Ingram, treasurer of the organization. Plans were laid looking to a vigorous membership campaign and much interest was expressed in the present work and future prospects of the society. The Eau Claire society has for some time devoted special attention to the lumbering industry, and under the direction of Vice President Bartlett a notable series of logging articles has been prepared and published in the local paper.

A movement has been initiated at Madison having for its object the creation of a city park on the site of the first house erected in the state capital. The house was built in the spring of 1837 under the shade of a large bur oak tree near the shore of Lake Monona, just off the present King Street. Here the lares and penates of the Peck family were installed, temporarily at least, and here the workmen, who had come from Milwaukee to build in the midst of the wilderness a capitol which should house the government over a domain imperial in extent and resources, found more or less ample accommodation. The house long since disappeared, but the historic oak tree still spreads its branches to the breeze as sturdily as eighty years ago.

A dispatch from Reserve to the Superior *Telegram* of February 8 conveys news of the death of Wabakosid, reputed to have been the oldest Indian in the state. How old this representative of Wisconsin's native American stock really was is a matter for conjecture. Local reports credit her with being a full-grown married woman in 1825 and place her birth at about the year 1805. For the past twenty years she has lived with a grandson who is said to be a man of over seventy years.

We have no particular information concerning Mrs. Wabakosid, but we surmise that in strict justice she might have indignantly repudiated the local estimates concerning her supposed antiquity.

Unlettered persons are prone to exaggerate concerning their age, and when one comes to be regarded in the light of a local institution the general public is far from critical with respect to such claims. The story of Joseph Crély, an aged Wisconsin half-breed, is instructive in this connection. Crély lived at the Portage in the early thirties, where he came under the observation of Mrs. Kinzie, the author of *Wau Bun*, and to this circumstance he owes his position on the pages of Wisconsin history. Some thirty years later, during the Civil War, as Mrs. Kinzie relates, the papers of Chicago (now her home) advertised for exhibition in Wood's Museum "the most remarkable instance of longevity on record—the venerable Joseph Crély," who was represented as being one hundred thirty-nine years of age. The account given by Mrs. Kinzie of a visit paid to the acquaintance of earlier years, who had grown old at such a remarkable rate, is amusing enough, but we have not space to report it here. Suffice it to say that in the opinion of men like John H. Kinzie, Satterlee Clark, and H. L. Dousman, of Prairie du Chien, who had known Crély for many years, his age was not over ninety-five, and was possibly several years less than this.

Three or four decades hence the newspapers will contain frequent mention of the doings of the John Pershing Smiths and the Woodrow Wilson Browns who are now occupying the cradles—the cradle still exists among our foreign born—or creeping over the floors of numerous American homes. An interesting illustration of this practice in the days of our fathers is called to public attention by the death near Baraboo on February 24 of Gideon Welles Haskins. Mr. Haskins was one of male triplets born at South Starksboro, Vermont, in May, 1861. The father, overwhelmed, perhaps, by his good fortune, appealed to President Lincoln to name the children. The President responded to this appeal by proposing the names Abraham Lincoln Haskins, Gideon Welles Haskins, and Simon Cameron Haskins. Two of the three brothers are still living. Probably this is the only instance in American history where a president and two members of his cabinet have succeeded in maintaining intimate relations for almost three score years.

Within the last few years a corporation of Wisconsin origin has stretched a highway of steel from the shores of Lake Michigan to those of Puget Sound. Mr. A. J. Earling, the man responsible for this gigantic enterprise, terminated in January a fifty-four year term of active service in the employ of the Milwaukee Railroad. Born at Richfield, Wisconsin, in 1848, at seventeen years of age Mr. Earling began his railroad career as a telegraph operator. Thirty-four years later he succeeded Roswell Miller as president of the Mil-

waukee road, and this important position he continued to fill for eighteen years. Since the autumn of 1917 he has been chairman of the board of directors of the company. As president his most striking achievement was the extension of Wisconsin's pioneer railroad line—originally intended to tap the commerce of the Mississippi for the benefit of Milwaukee—westward to the Pacific coast.

In doing this Mr. Earling realized in part a dream of railroad expansion which greatly agitated our grandfathers in the period of Wisconsin's infancy. About the middle forties Asa Whitney startled the nation with a project which should connect Milwaukee by rail with both the Atlantic and the Pacific coasts. For a brief space the sprawling ten-year-old town entertained the dream of becoming the nation's great interior entrepot, the center of a world-wide commerce. Whitney proposed to build a due east and west line from Milwaukee to the Pacific. The cost of construction was estimated at $50,000,000, the period of time involved at twenty-five years. The road was to be run through a silent wilderness, and the promoter sought, by way of compensation, grant of a tract of public land extending thirty miles on either side of it.

The prospect of reward held out to the public was alluring. Milwaukee would be within four days' travel from the Pacific—within twenty-five days from China. The counterpart of the scheme, the construction of a line from the Atlantic seaboard to Lake Michigan, would put Wisconsin's nascent metropolis in close touch with the markets of the eastern seaboard and Europe. Over the steel highway thus to be constructed would flow a world-wide commerce; into the limitless lands of the West would pour unending hosts of settlers. No wonder such a project dazzled the eyes of the 150,000 citizens of the youthful territory of Wisconsin. It drew the fire of no less an authority on the West than Stephen A. Douglas, ever mindful of the interests of Chicago, Milwaukee's vigilant lake shore rival. The rival plan which he put forward contained at least one suggestion of vast importance in the future development of the West. It was that, instead of granting a solid sixty-mile strip of land to the promoters of such a railroad, alternate sections only should be granted, reserving the others for settlement. In the grants which Congress later made to aid the building of railroads this idea was commonly adhered to, with economic and other results of tremendous importance to the settlement and development of the West.

Whitney died with his project still but a splendid dream. It was reserved for a child as yet unborn, the future A. J. Earling, to bind Milwaukee to Puget Sound by a band of steel, and thus to realize in part Whitney's dream. We say in part, for meanwhile

Chicago had grasped for herself the coveted commercial preëminence which our forefathers fondly hoped might be gained by Milwaukee, fortifying her position by a chain of railway transportation which bids fair to assure her for all coming time the commercial preëminence she fairly achieved during the second half of the nineteenth century. Even our own Milwaukee road a few years since gave outward recognition of the thoroughness of Chicago's commercial mastery by removing its headquarters from Milwaukee to the Windy City. From its original purpose of upholding the greatness of the north shore rival metropolis, the Milwaukee has become one of the greatest feeders ministering to the commercial supremacy of Chicago. From the provincial Badger viewpoint it is exciting to reflect upon the possibilities that might have ensued had A. J. Earling been born half a century earlier. As for Asa Whitney, the enduring credit remains with him of having been the first to arouse popular interest in the project of a Pacific railroad, and imbue the public mind with an understanding of the necessity of such a road to the nation and the determination as soon as possible to build it.

James W. Bashford, who died at his home in Pasadena, California, on March 18, was a son of Wisconsin who from humble beginnings by the exercise of industry and native genius came to commune with the great ones of earth. Samuel M. Bashford, his father, was a native of New York City who in early life learned the medical art. In 1835 he joined the tide of westward migration which led him to Grant County, Wisconsin. Dissatisfied with the medical calling he now became a farmer, but it is recorded that in the absence of trained practitioners in the frontier region to which he had come he was often called upon for medical assistance, which he granted "cheerfully and free of charge." In 1843 he married Mrs. Mary Parkinson, and some time prior to 1849 settled in the town of Fayette, Lafayette County. While continuing the calling of farmer he began local preaching in the Methodist Episcopal Church. The manuscript United States census report for 1850 in the Historical Library discloses that he then had a farm of 200 acres and gives numerous data concerning his live stock, crops, and farming equipment. In June, 1850, while conducting religious services at Willow Springs, he was stricken with apoplexy and died in the pulpit, at the early age of thirty-six.

To Samuel and Mary Bashford were born several children in the years from 1843 to 1850, two of whom were destined to future greatness. One, Robert M. Bashford, died a justice of the supreme court of Wisconsin. The other, James W. Bashford, the subject of our present sketch, rounded out a notable career as preacher and educator and bishop for fifteen years in the Methodist Church. The

future bishop's preparatory training was received at the hands of Prof. John Barber Parkinson in the "select school" conducted by him at Fayette. In 1867 the latter became professor in the state University, a connection which still continues. In 1869 Young Bashford followed his former instructor to Madison, graduated from the University in 1873, and thereafter for several years taught and studied in the institution, receiving the Master's degree in 1876. While a student here he became converted at a prayer meeting in the Madison Methodist Episcopal Church. He also fell in love with Jennie Field, a Madison girl, who is still remembered by old-timers as one of the most brilliant women who ever attended the University. At that time the right of women to a university education was still called in question, at least in Wisconsin, and President Chadbourne was inclined to take the negative side of the proposition. One informant relates that the issue was finally determined in favor of coeducation by Jennie Field. In 1874 she captured every class honor open to student competition. In the face of this demonstration of the possibilities of female intellectual endeavor the opponents of coeducation were silenced and coeducational the University remains unto this day.

Bashford studied theology at Yale and for a dozen years preached in various eastern churches. During this period, according to the official organ of his church, he was eleven times invited to assume college presidencies. To this repeated importunity he finally yielded in 1889, becoming president of Ohio Wesleyan University. From this position he was made bishop in 1904. According to the same authority he "would have been welcomed as resident bishop in any city in America." To the surprise of many he promptly asked to be sent to China. His reason was the belief that China was "turning a corner in history," so that effort expended here toward shaping the future of the human race would give greater results than anywhere else in the world. To China Bashford went and there remained until the end of his life. Notwithstanding this self-imposed exile he kept intimately in touch with the homeland. At various times he was consulted on important international questions by the governments of Japan, China, and the United States. From Lafayette County farmer's boy to the title, fairly earned, of "world citizen" is a long journey; briefly put, it measures the achievement of this son of the Badger State.

Through the intercession of John L. Grindell, of Platteville, Mr. C. A. Rafter, who recently removed to Platteville from Mississippi deposited in the State Historical Museum in January an interesting firearm, a flintlock Kentucky rifle of the kind which a century and a quarter ago won for the hardy pioneers of the dark and bloody ground the sobriquet "the long hunters." The fact which lends

particular interest to this gun, however, is the inscription carved on the stock, "Boons True Fren," and in another place the letters "D. B." Also on the stock is a row of five grim notches each of which is supposed to commemorate the sending of a redskin to the happy hunting grounds. The history of the gun so far as known to Mr. Rafter is stated in a letter of January 29:

"Dr. Norcop or Count DuBois, as he used to be called, came to the Mountains of Northeast Georgia several years ago and built a rustic castle in which he lived very much by himself and collected relics.

"He was well educated, much traveled, and altogether a very interesting character. The Boone rifle hung over his fireplace. It was my pleasure to call upon him whenever in his vicinity, and upon one of these visits I asked him to will the old rifle to me when he was through with it. Shortly after this he brought it to me. He claimed that he purchased it from a Tennessee mountaineer about forty years ago and that the marks now on it were then on it.

"The doctor is getting quite old now and I had a letter from him the other day in which he said 'My health is fast failing and I am about to take the great adventure'—I expect to hear any day of his death."

Within a few days after writing this letter Mr. Rafter perished in the Platteville fire, thus anticipating his aged friend in embarking on the great adventure. More light on the possible history of the old gun is afforded by a letter written the Society March 13 by the superintendent of schools of Johnson City, Tennessee. "It was within a few miles (eight) of Johnson City," he writes, "that Daniel Boone killed a bear in the year 1760. The tree stood till two years ago. Older people recall the distinct words: 'D. Boon cillED a Bar on trEE in yEar 1760.' A marker has been placed there. It is quite evident that it was the same rifle that you have that Daniel Boone used in killing the bear, and we would like very much to have a good and distinct picture of the gun, showing the words and notches (supposed to represent number of Indians killed)."

We do not think the evidence is conclusive that "D. Boon cillED a Bar" in 1760 with the gun now in our possession, although it is not at all improbable that such is the fact. At any rate the gun is a highly interesting weapon and one can hardly look upon it without having the imagination stirred by pictures of the far-away scenes through which it must have passed.

On January 24, 1919, Paul Palmiter, of Albion, completed a century of existence in this world of trouble. When he was born modern Wisconsin was an outlying part of Michigan Territory, the source of the Mississippi River was undiscovered, Illinois had just

been admitted to statehood with a total population about equal to that of Madison today, Abraham Lincoln was a ten-year-old boy living in squalid wretchedness in southern Indiana, and Queen Victoria, who died years ago after the longest reign in English history, was still unborn; anesthetics and germs were alike unknown, while Asiatic cholera and yellow fever periodically scourged the United States. Politically the Holy Alliance dominated the European world, the Monroe Doctrine was still unborn, and bands of Sioux and Foxes, Potawatomi and Winnebago fought over the lordship of forest clad Wisconsin. One who has witnessed the changes of the busiest century in human history may well repeat the words of the first telegram (which was not sent, incidentally, until Mr. Palmiter was a man of twenty-five) "What hath God wrought." We visited Mr. Palmiter last summer and found him in the enjoyment of all his faculties, with a clear mind and an excellent memory. Since 1841 he has been a resident of Wisconsin. He might be called a lifelong Republican, were it not for the fact that he had lived a third of a century before the Republican party was born. More recently he has voted the Prohibition ticket, and for President Wilson.

Milo C. Jones, of Fort Atkinson, famous manufacturer of sausages, died suddenly at his home in January at the age of seventy years. Mr. Jones' successful business career in the face of physical handicaps, which would have deterred an ordinary individual from even dreaming of accomplishing anything in the world of work, constitutes an inspiring chapter in the annals of human industry. Of him a chronicler wrote some years ago: "His life is a monument to grit. He stands out as a man of iron nerve. More than once, when fate had shaken to shreds some youthful ideal that seemed to be the final goal, or the odds in some contest did not seem to offer me a fighting chance, a thought of Jones has proved as invigorating as a dash of salt spray on a summer day."

Miss Mary Woodman has presented to the Society three interesting manuscript volumes received from her father, Cyrus Woodman. Two of them consist of copies taken by Mr. Woodman of French documents pertaining to the early exploration of the Mississippi Valley. The third is the original manuscript of E. D. Beouchard's "Vindication." Beouchard came to Wisconsin at least as early as 1822, served in the Black Hawk and Mexican wars, and was living at Mineral Point as late as 1877. In Volume VI of the Society's *Collections* Dr. Draper published some recollections of several Green County pioneers which reflected very severely on the character of Beouchard. This drew from the aged pioneer a sturdy letter of protest entitled by the author his "Self Deffance." This

document was later procured and preserved by Mr. Woodman, who had it neatly bound in August, 1879, with the intention, apparently, of presenting it to the State Historical Society. For some reason this was not done, and accordingly the volume now comes to us, forty years later. From several points of view the "Deffance" is an interesting manuscript. Comparison of the original manuscript with Draper's printed version of it serves admirably to show the changed conception which historical editors of the present day hold toward their work as compared with those of Draper's time. Beouchard was an illiterate frontiersman, and his narrative breathes the very atmosphere of the rude time in which he lived. Draper so edited the document for publication that it comes forth with an air of polished refinement as though its author had been a cultured college professor. Such editing of an original document would today be regarded as both improper and unscholarly.

OUR CONTRIBUTORS

Ellis B. Usher, of Milwaukee ("Cyrus Woodman: A Character Sketch"), is a veteran Wisconsin editor and publicist. Born in Maine in 1852, he was brought to Wisconsin by his parents in 1855, the family settling in La Crosse County the following year. Mr. Usher became an editor and publisher at La Crosse in 1875, and so continued for a quarter of a century. In recent years Mr. Usher has lived in Milwaukee where he conducts a publicity office. He was long active in politics, being for three years chairman of the Democratic State Central Committee, and in 1896 one of the organizers of the national gold Democratic movement. Mr. Usher is a life member of the State Historical Society, and the author of "The Telegraph in Wisconsin," published in the *Proceedings* of the Society for 1913.

Louise P. Kellogg ("The Story of Wisconsin, 1634-1848") is a member of the staff of the State Historical Society. To all who have any knowledge of the Society's publications during the last dozen years she requires no introduction.

Appleton Morgan ("Recollections of Early Racine") of New York City has long since achieved prominence in the field of law and in that of literature. A native of Maine, he came in boyhood to Wisconsin. Upon graduation from Racine College he turned his steps toward the nation's metropolis, studied law, and soon won for himself a position of prominence in the profession. In 1886 he retired from professional practice, and has since devoted much attention to literature. He founded and was for twenty-five years president of the Shakespeare Society of New York. He is the

author or editor of numerous works on legal subjects and on Shakespeare, among them being the Bankside edition of Shakespeare in twenty-two volumes and the Bankside Restoration Shakespeare in five volumes.

SOME RECENT PUBLICATIONS

The Darlington *Democrat* has devoted more space to Wisconsin and local history in recent months than any other paper that has come under our notice. In the issue for March 13 was begun a series of articles by S. E. Roberts of Rapid City, South Dakota, on "Early Recollections of Fayette and Vicinity."

The Oshkosh *Northwestern* for January 25 contains an interesting history of the local First Baptist Church, written by Georgia Ellsworth.

From Carl Quickert, editor of the West Bend *News*, comes a report of the following interesting project: "I am just getting ready for publication a second edition of the history of Washington County. It is to be a revised and greatly improved edition, a real history and nothing else. I intend to publish the history (about 75,000 words) in the West Bend *News*, and then strike off about 500 copies in book form."

Among Wisconsin books brought out as a result of the World War are two designed to give a general historical survey of the part taken by the state and its citizens in the great world conflict, *Wisconsin's War Record*, by Fred L. Holmes (Capital Historical Publishing Company, Madison); and *Wisconsin in the World War* R. B. Pixley (Wisconsin War History Company, Milwaukee). Both works were produced by trained newspapermen, and were largely compiled and written at the state capital and to some extent in collaboration with state officials, whose assistance is acknowledged by the authors. Accordingly, insofar as the field is covered, the material presented may be said to be largely drawn from official sources and records. Naturally such emergency histories produced before the war was ended would have many limitations, and each author disclaims credit for completeness in his story. However, the books meet an immediate pressing want, a public demand "for the more important available facts of Wisconsin's part in the war," set forth in narrative form and in some order of sequence. Each author observes that his book must of necessity be largely a chronicle of the more outstanding acts and activities of leaders and organizations, and that the warmer personal touches to complete the picture must await, among other things, the return of the expeditionary

forces abroad. A commendable spirit of patriotism pervades the books throughout. In the twenty-two chapters into which each is divided are set forth the organization and operation of the various state activities, the national guard bodies, the council of defense system, the selective service machinery, food and fuel administration, the work of the legislature, the University, women's organizations, etc. Mr. Pixley also gives the personnel of the various military, council of defense, and other organizations. Grouped pictures of many of the men and women who bore prominent parts in war work are given.

While the books bear numerous evidences of haste in preparation, in regard to diction and arrangement of material, and while the historical judgment of the writers may here and there be questioned, the facts as presented will be found to be generally correct and accurately stated. Such works therefore serve a useful present purpose in the dissemination of an inspiring story and the stimulation of patriotism, and will be of much aid to the more ambitious and critical later historian.

A. O. Barton.

THE WIDER FIELD

The January issue of the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* contains two articles in addition to the usual departments. One of these, by Cyril Upham, discusses "The Speaker of the House of Representatives in June." The other, by Cardinal Goodwin, of Mills College, is an account of the American occupation of Iowa in the period from 1833 to 1860.

In the *Missouri Historical Review* for January three leading articles are printed and in addition the final installment of Gottfried Duden's "Report on Missouri Conditions in 1824-27" is given. The new articles are "The Missouri Merchant One Hundred Years Ago," by J. B. White; "Early Days on Grand River and the Mormon War," by Rollin J. Britton; and "Missouri Capitals and Capitols," by Jonas Viles. The last-named article is to be continued in succeeding numbers of the magazine.

Nathaniel Pryor served as a sergeant in the famous Pacific exploring expedition of Lewis and Clark from 1803-06. Thereafter, like many other members of this expedition, he largely disappears from public view. In Pryor's case, however, we have glimpses, or at least supposed glimpses, of him from time to time. Putting these scattered bits of information together, Professor Thoburn, of Oklahoma, wrote for the 1916 *Proceedings* of the Wisconsin Historical Society a sketch entitled "New Light on the Career of Captain

Nathaniel Pryor." In the *American Historical Review* for January, 1919, is a collection of original documents pertaining to the later career of Pryor. These were found recently in the Indian office at Washington and are contributed to the *Review* by Judge Douglas, of St. Louis. They add materially to our knowledge of the later career of this interesting laborer in the winning of the West.

The contents of the January number of the *Ohio Archeological and Historical Quarterly* are of more than ordinary interest. Byron E. Long contributes a biographical study of Joshua Giddings, noted abolition leader. Of a particular timeliness is a study of "Ohio's German-language Press and the War," by Carl Wittke. Other items of some importance are "Charles Dickens in Ohio in 1842," and "The Tory Proprietors of Kentucky Lands."

The Valley of Democracy (New York, 1919), by Meredith Nicholson, undertakes to interpret for the benefit of the world in general, and incidentally for Middle Westerners themselves, the life of the upper Mississippi Valley at the present time. The subject matter of the book is sufficiently indicated by its chapter headings—"The Folks and their Folksiness," "Types and Diversions," "The Farmer of the Middle West," "Chicago," "The Middle West in Politics," and "The Spirit of the West." In elucidating the spirit of the West, Mr. Nicholson pays considerable attention to the work of "the gallant company of scholars who have established Middle Western history upon so firm a foundation." From these pages we quote the following tribute to the work of Dr. Thwaites and the influence of the institution he did so much to upbuild.

"It is the view of persons whose opinions are entitled to all respect that the winning of the West is the most significant and important phase of American history. Certain it is that the story wherever one dips into it immediately quickens the heart-beat, and it is a pleasure to note the devotion and intelligence with which materials for history have been assembled in all the states embraced in my general title.

"The great pioneer collector of historical material was Dr. Reuben Gold Thwaites, who made the Wisconsin Historical Society the most efficient local organization of its kind in the country. 'He was the first,' writes Dr. Clarence W. Alvord, of the University of Illinois, 'to unite the state historical agent and the university department of history so that they give each other mutual assistance—a union which some states have brought about only lately with great difficulty, while others are still limping along on two ill-mated crutches.'

"Dr. Thwaites was an indefatigable laborer in his chosen field, and an inspiring leader. He not only brought to light a prodigious amount of material and made it accessible to other scholars, but he communicated his enthusiasm to a noteworthy school of historians who have specialized in 'sections' of the broad fertile field into which he set the first plough. Where the land is so new it is surprising and not a little amusing that there should be debatable points of history, and yet the existence of these adds zest to the labors of the younger school of historical students and writers. State historical societies have in recent years assumed a new dignity and importance, due in great measure to the fine example set by Wisconsin under Dr. Thwaites's guidance."

STATEMENT

of THE WISCONSIN MAGAZINE OF HISTORY, published quarterly at Menasha, Wis., required by the Act of August 24, 1912.

Name of—	*Postoffice Address*
Editor, M. M. Quaife	Madison, Wis.
Managing Editor, none.	
Business Manager, none.	
Publisher, George Banta	Menasha, Wis.
Owners, The State Historical Society of Wisconsin	Madison, Wis.
President, Wm. K. Coffin	Eau Claire, Wis.
Superintendent, M. M. Quaife	Madison, Wis.

No Stockholders.

Known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders, holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities:

None.

George Banta, Publisher.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 10th day of April, 1919.

[SEAL] Gertrude W. Sawyer,
Notary Public.

(My commission expires March 21, 1920.)

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