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THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF WISCONSIN

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

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CARL SCHURZ, IMMIGRANT STATESMAN[1]

JOSEPH SCHAFER

I

The war-time portrait of Carl Schurz as major-general, while not well suited to illustrate our theme, is in some respects the best ocular key to his personality. The dominant note is virility. It expresses also restless activity, emphasized by the pose of the body, the folds and rumples of the military cloak, the advanced right foot, and the way the hands are grasping, one the sword, the other the riding-whip. The countenance evinces determination, confidence, wariness, and a solemnity verging toward grimness.

Energy and steadfastness were fundamental traits of Schurz's character, and of these his family background yields a complete explanation. The engaging story of his maternal grandfather, Heribert Jüssen, the giant "Burghalfen" of Count Wolf Metternich's seigniory, as Carl Schurz presents it, renders superfluous a further quest for the sources of his own extraordinary endowment of vital force. His schoolmaster father, Christian Schurz, gave early direction to his eager and sensitive mind. At an age when the average boy is still callow and unformed, Carl Schurz was a budding scholar, earnestly devoted to the classics, to literature, philosophy, and history. In earliest boyhood he had been inducted into the entrancing mysteries of music, becoming an ac-

[1] This paper, in more extended form, will constitute the introduction to a volume entitled *Carl Schurz: The Stressful Period*, which the State Historical Society is about to send to press under the Superintendent's editorship. This volume will contain Doctor Schafer's translations of more than three hundred letters written by Carl Schurz to his family and friends prior to August, 1869. Typewritten copies of the original letters were secured from Miss Marianne Schurz, of New York, the sole survivor of Carl Schurz's immediate family.

complished performer on piano and organ. That means of cultural development and spiritual solace he never relinquished.

The revolutionary movement in the German states, which interrupted Schurz's university studies in the midst of his third year at Bonn, might have produced a violent change of direction and character in his training. Yet the outcome was wholesome. It gave him a profound emotional experience, strangely unrelated to the cloistered calm of lecture room and club. Apart from this, the dramatic episodes "of flood and field" could be reckoned as the laboratory phase of his social studies, making them infinitely more intensive and more real. The maturing of character, in this period, was inevitably hastened.

Schurz's exile in Switzerland, Paris, and London; his active journalistic propaganda in behalf of a liberal overturn in Germany; his careful investigation of the French Revolution as the nursery of political reform; and a study of advanced political thinkers among other European peoples, fitted him ideally for public service in a republic.

When he appeared on the American scene, it was not merely as a brilliant young revolutionist of high attainments and valuable journalistic experience. He was heralded as the hero of the Kinkel rescue, a dramatic aftermath of the German Revolution of 1848 which, in its publicity value to Schurz, was worth years of normally developing prestige. Americans of every shade of thought were curious about him, and all liberals received him with acclaim. The Forty-eighters already in the country were predisposed to accept his leadership, which made possible the winning of an ever-widening influence among Americans of German birth. Despite the element of luck which entered into his opportunity, and notwithstanding a liability to the mistakes of inexperience, Schurz successfully conserved his initial advan-

MAJOR-GENERAL CARL SCHURZ

Courtesy of Doubleday, Doran and Company

tages and grew steadily in the esteem and confidence of both native Germans and native Americans.

II

It was the knell of European liberalism, sounding in the news of the December (1851) reaction in France, that turned Schurz's thoughts toward America. He agreed with Louis Blanc, whom he accidentally discovered brooding on the same bench with himself in Hyde Park, that Louis Napoleon's coup d'état "finished" reform for years to come. "The Fatherland was closed to me," he says. "England was to me a foreign country, and would always remain so. Where then? 'To America,' I said to myself. 'The ideals of which I have dreamed and for which I have fought, I shall find there, not fully realized, but hopefully struggling for full realization. In that great struggle I shall perhaps be able to take some part. It is a new world, a free world, a world of great ideas and aims. In that world there is perhaps for me a new home. *Ubi Libertas—ibi patria*—I formed my resolution on the spot. I would remain only a short time longer in England to make some necessary preparations, and then—off for America.' " The preparation included his marriage in London, July 6, 1852, to the daughter of a Hamburg merchant. They sailed in August from Portsmouth and "on a bright September morning [September 17], with the bouyant hopefulness of young hearts, saluted the New World."

Schurz soon discovered that, hopeful as general conditions were, America was still far from his ideal of a free nation. By shrewd inquiry from all and sundry; by assiduous study of the newspapers; by conferring with government officials and listening to debates in Congress; by a somewhat thorough study of American history—he arrived within a very few months at a clear-eyed view of the character of

American democracy. How it looked to him is revealed in his reciprocal views of the New and the Old World, with both of which his letters of the period concern themselves. "Every glance into the political life of America," he wrote, "strengthens my conviction that the aim of a revolution can be nothing else than to make room for the will of the people—in other words, to break every authority which has its organization in the life of the state and, as far as possible, to overturn the barriers to individual liberty. The will of the people will have its fling and indulge in all kinds of foolishness—but that is its way; each one of these follies clears away something, while the wisest thing that is done for the people accomplishes nothing until the popular judgment has progressed far enough to do it for itself. . . . It is my firm conviction that the European revolutionists will drive the next revolution into a reaction merely through their lust for government, through their desire to improve things quickly and positively."[2]

It is evident, from these and other statements dating from his first American years, that Schurz's early political dogmas had the same tap root as Jefferson's later ones, namely, French revolutionary philosophy. He sought the maximum liberty of individual action with the minimum interference by government in the individual's affairs. "Here in America," he said, "you can every day see how little a people needs to be governed. . . . It is only here that you realize how superfluous governments are in many affairs in which, in Europe, they are considered entirely indispensable."

A suggestion that America had the actuality of what to Europeans was the nightmare anarchy, helps to interpret Schurz's views. His "little government" was a wholly relative term. Still, he consistently stressed the importance of

[2] See letter, winter of 1852, in *Speeches, Correspondence, and Political Papers* (New York, 1913), i, 7.

leaving men free to make their own mistakes in their own way. Above all else, however, men must have equal rights as men. Manhood, not property, or some other "stake in society," must be the basis of citizenship. In this faith he went through life—a convinced, wholehearted, radical liberal. Instinctively cautious, always liberal, but never what we today call radical, he limited the function of revolution strictly to the political organization and trusted men to work out their own salvation once they were dowered with full political rights.

With theoretical opinions strongly favoring a minimum of government, he soon found himself in the thick of a movement dominated by men not easily daunted by the fear of too much government provided they themselves were the wielders of it. He understood the reasons why, in the northern states, German citizens had so prevailingly allied themselves with the Democratic party. That party protected the foreigners' political rights, while Whigs and Nativists were unfriendly and even hostile to them. Disliking slavery intensely, the Germans nevertheless allowed their own immediate interests, rather than a remote humanitarianism, to control their political action. This was so natural that a different course on his own part calls for explanation, and fortunately his writings leave us in no doubt about the reasoning on which decision turned.

When Schurz came to this country he was still enmeshed in revolutionary propaganda and he at first scanned American policy through the revolutionist's glass. His dearest hope was for the exertion of pressure by this country in the interest of the liberal movement abroad.[3] This at the beginning of Pierce's administration did not seem wholly vain.

[3] Letter to Mrs. Schurz from Washington, March 23, 1854, and especially letter to Gottfried Kinkel, January 28, 1855. Schurz's activity in interviewing public men in Washington in 1853 supports the implication of these letters that he may have been acting as American agent for European revolutionary societies.

Webster's Hülsemann letter (1850) had sounded the warning that the United States could not fail "to cherish a lively interest in the fortunes of nations struggling for institutions like their own." Now Pierce's secretary of state, W. L. Marcy, wrote grandiloquently about America making its "nationality respected by other nations and respectable in every quarter of the globe." Schurz, however, quickly discovered that the Pierce administration really had no foreign policy and that it was too much the sport of faction to develop one. He gave up all hope that the United States would interfere in behalf of freedom abroad so long as slaveholders remained a power in American politics. "The slaveholder," he said, "fears the propaganda of freedom because he does not know how far it will go. Even the mere word 'freedom' has to him a dangerous and ambiguous sound."

Had he been merely a German immigrant anxious to get ahead in America, the Democratic party would have been his best spring-board. However, he was encumbered with a philosophy (and possibly also a practical program) which impelled to a different course. Schurz had pledged fealty to liberty, and just then the most forward-looking application of that principle was to block plans for the further extension of slave territory. The Nebraska debate of 1854 helped clear his mind on that point. Yet he wrote, significantly: "It is not the philanthropic side of the question which has brought me to this conclusion, but the direct and indirect effect of the [slave] system upon the whole government of the United States, the aristocratic character of southern society, the demoralizing influence of the slave power upon the politicians of the North; the consequent partisanship of all political ideas of justice and especially upon our foreign policy. When you ask me 'When will the United States interfere practically in the interest of the freedom of the world?' I answer, without hesitation and with unquestioning convic-

tion, 'As soon as the slave holders have ceased to be a political power.'" This shows that as late as January, 1855, he continued to manifest motives growing out of his connection with the revolutionary movement in Europe.

In striking hands with the rapidly forming party of Free Soil, he did not blink the embarrassing fact that the elements composing it were largely anti-foreign while the northern Democrats had always been friends of the immigrants. Nativism implied a denial of the equal rights of men politically. Schurz was convinced, however, that Nativism in the North was destined soon to disappear, while in the South, where the Democratic party was entrenched behind the economic and social barrier of slavery, the story would be far different. "It will not be long," he said, "before the slave states become the headquarters of the Nativistic movement and there it will remain." This prediction, in both of its branches, was justified by the result and is one gauge of his political penetration. After the campaign of 1856 only sporadic outbursts of Nativism were felt in the North, while in the South its influence persisted.

III

Schurz's removal to Wisconsin placed him in a congenial democratic atmosphere; it seemed to promise economic independence and offered a fulcrum for his political advancement. The charge was made later, in Missouri, that ambition was Schurz's god. This was slanderous, but his letters prove that he was influenced in settling in Wisconsin by the fact that the state had a large and growing body of Germans, who needed leaders and among whom he hoped to gain recognition. He performed prodigies of speech-making in the Fremont contest, going up and down the state wherever German audiences could be got together and addressing them with keen logic and fiery eloquence on the issues of

the hour. The count showed that, for the first time, an appreciable part of the German voters had deserted the Democratic party, insuring Fremont's success in the state, although the vast majority still held to the old political moorings. Schurz rode on the crest of the wave, and not even his serious financial problems incident to the panic of 1857 could dampen his enthusiasm.

The state election of 1857, in which he was singled out for defeat as a candidate for lieutenant governor on the Republican ticket, the gubernatorial candidate having been successful, touched his pride but did not weaken his determination to carry on. It showed a sediment of Nativism in the Republican glass; that was all. The following year he stumped for a week in Illinois, and declined invitations to New York and elsewhere. He was becoming nationally known. Being convinced that the victory of Buchanan in 1856 was "due principally to recent European immigrants,"[4] he was prepared to redouble his former efforts to win recruits for Republicanism from among the Germans. And inasmuch as a revival of Nativism in Massachusetts threatened to drive Germans back into the arms of the Democracy, he took the most direct means of influencing public opinion by going to Boston and delivering at Fanueil Hall a glowing address on "True Americanism."[5] The immediate object (which was to prevent the adoption of a referended bill requiring foreign-born persons who had completed their naturalization to reside in the state two years longer before gaining the right to vote) was not attained. But Schurz's personal leadership of the foreign, especially the German, interest in the nation was thereby rendered doubly secure. In the fall of 1859 he was

[4] Letter to Frederick Althaus, February 6, 1857.

[5] April 18, 1859. At the Jeffersonian festival a few nights earlier, at which he met many of the political and literary notables, he spoke briefly on the ideals of Jefferson. On the same trip he spoke at Worcester, saw Horace Greeley in New York, etc.

called into Minnesota to help insure the Republicanism of that new state. Wisconsin offered that year a special problem. The Germans had urged Schurz's nomination for the governorship; but the convention, to their general disgust, chose Randall. It was Schurz's part to placate his German partisans, and the results of the election show he was reasonably successful in holding them in line.

IV

All the activities of the years from 1856 could be looked upon as preparation for the decisive work he was to perform in connection with the Lincoln campaign of 1860. As chairman of the Wisconsin delegation at the Chicago convention he labored valiantly for the nomination of Seward, but gladly accepted Lincoln when the convention preferred him. "As a man of honor and faithful to the wishes of my constituents," he wrote the candidate, "I stood by Governor Seward for the nomination. If I am able I shall do the work of a hundred men for Abraham Lincoln's election." He was a member of the Republican national committee and as such was put in charge of the "Foreign Department." The hope of winning over enough recruits from the Democratic foreign-born voters to carry the election aroused all the enthusiasm of his ebullient nature. The plan was "to get up a complete list of all the Germans, Norwegians, Hollanders, etc., who can serve our cause in the way of public speaking and to make regular contracts with them. I would then send them in little squads into those states in which the principal work is to be done, have them stump township after township, in regular succession as the exigencies of the cause may demand, and as soon as they get through with their work in that particular state, have them relieved by another party and sent off into another state. . . . I would, of course, go to all the principal points and do the heavy work myself."[6]

[6] Letter to Lincoln, May 22, 1860.

The schedule seems to have been carried out only in part, but there is no doubt about his being allowed to do the "heavy work" himself. From the moment the convention adjourned to the eve of election he was steadily at it. He traveled, he says, over twenty-one thousand miles, and delivered so many speeches that at the close of the campaign he had lost count of the number. He canvassed personally the leading German centers in Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois. He delivered in New York a speech which contained a merciless exposure of the political principles of Douglas, and at St. Louis another which analyzed the philosophy of slaveholding. These two speeches are said to have been more widely distributed in print than any other addresses used for that purpose by the national committee. In the closing days of the campaign he entered Wisconsin, receiving a tremendous ovation in Milwaukee, where he spoke frequently during about ten days; visited the rural neighborhoods in that and the adjacent Ozaukee County, and spoke also in Jefferson and elsewhere.

Perhaps the best picture of his activity on the stump is furnished by Schurz himself, in a frankly intimate letter from Philadelphia to his wife, which of course was not intended for publication and is therefore all the more naively revealing. He says: "I am standing in the thickest of the fight. Every day I feel that I speak better and my powers grow with the heat of the struggle. The old 'Pennsylvania Dutch' follow me like children, although they can only half understand me. The Democrats are furious, and wherever I have spoken they telegraph like mad in all directions for German speakers to neutralize the effect of my speeches. But it is quite in vain. The Democratic newspapers attack and abuse me wildly with the result that even German Democrats become angry and everybody's curiosity is aroused. Consequently all my meetings are crowded and I drive every-

thing before me.... I am feeling better than ever in this turmoil. It seems as if victory could not fail us—and, by Jove! I have done my share towards it."[7]

In his Illinois tour Schurz spoke at Springfield, and Lincoln, seated in the audience, heard him with keen delight. He remarked to the orator after the speech: "You are an awful fellow! I understand your power now." At the Peoria meeting it was reported, "a complete impetuosity of enthusiasm prevailed among our German friends," while from Pekin came the news that at least one hundred Germans who were formerly Democrats had been converted by Schurz's speech at that place.

Testimony from the political battle-front doubtless represents something of the inflated psychology which goes along with the heat of action. The usual symbol of a deflating process is the election tally sheet. But when the vote of Wisconsin was tabulated it was found that, as against the Fremont majority of 12,668 over Buchanan, Lincoln had received 21,089 over Douglas. The increase of Lincoln's majority over Fremont's majority amounted to 8,421. Now, in the two counties of Milwaukee and Jefferson alone the increase in Republican votes aggregated 3,000, while the four strongly German counties of Milwaukee, Ozaukee, Sheboygan, and Manitowoc delivered 4,357 of the state's increase, or more than one-half of the whole.

Schurz had written in March, after studying the Indiana situation: "I am led to believe that we can turn about 10,000 German votes that were formerly Democratic. . . . That, it seems to me, is the only way to carry the state."[8] Indiana had gone for Buchanan by 24,000 over Fremont and by 2,000 over both Fremont and Fillmore. In that situation Lincoln's majority of 24,000 over Douglas and 7,000 over Douglas,

[7] September 24, 1860.

[8] Letter to J. F. Potter, March 17, 1860.

Bell, and Breckenridge combined seems to justify Schurz's confidence with reference to the German vote. Ohio was easier, and there the Lincoln majority over Douglas reached 44,000, whereas Fremont's advantage over Buchanan had been only 16,000.

Pennsylvania, however, was the surprise of the campaign. The summary is: Lincoln over Fusion, 89,159; over all opposition, 59,618. Buchanan over Fremont, 82,500. Republicanism gained in that state 142,118. If we assume that the Fillmore vote of 1856 all went Republican four years later, which would be too generous a concession, that would barely offset Buchanan's plurality over Fremont. It is certain that the Fillmore followers did not go with one accord for Lincoln, and in any event some 30,000 former Democratic votes must have been changed to Republican in order to make the total. The Lincoln campaign yielded conversions among all types of citizens, but a study of the returns by counties proves that the strongly German and Pennsylvania German areas gave at least their full quotas.

The case of the city of St. Louis is peculiar. There the Germans were doubly accessible to Republican propaganda, for they hated slavery, which was a present visible evil, and they resented the anti-foreign attitude of the ruling Democracy. Hence, they voted Republican quite as unanimously as Germans in the North had been wont to vote Democratic.

A treatment of the war-time career of Carl Schurz falls outside the scope of this study. It is, however, fair to point out that Lincoln's high opinion of his deserts was based in large measure on a recognition that he, better than any other, represented the German element in the country and that more than any other he was responsible for the recent success in winning for Republicanism German votes which were formerly Democratic. The fact that the Germans constituted the balance of power in a number of northern states

and that they were proving themselves a mobile army, with no inflexible tendency to a dyed-in-the-wool partisanship, made them critically important to party organizations.

Schurz was not disposed to overlook the representative character of his leadership, and took seriously his responsibility toward the great German constituency. This is illustrated in a keynote address which he delivered in Milwaukee at the jubilation meeting November 16, 1860, which happened to be also the eve of the secession movement. On that occasion, after the usual oratorical pyrotechnics had been indulged by others, he electrified the great audience with an eloquent and philosophical discussion of the meaning of the Republican triumph, regarded by him as one of the great turning-points in human history. That victory, he pointed out, boded no attack upon the institutions of the slave states; no violation of the constitution. It meant, however, that the pledges of the platform would be redeemed—that the constitutional right to prevent the further spread of slavery in the territories would surely be upheld; that freedom would be regarded as national, slavery as local. He warned the South against the fatuous hope that by threatening secession and arming their people they could prevent either Lincoln's inauguration or the faithful performance of Republican pledges. "I am devoted to this Union," he said, "as the great bulwark of peace, liberty, and progress. That is its value to us; that is its value to the world. There is the mission of the Republican party. It has maintained the principles upon which this government was founded, and I trust it will be able to maintain the government to which these principles have given birth."[9]

By this pronouncement he was preparing the German supporters of Lincoln for the policy which the Republican

[9] The speech was printed in full in the Milwaukee *Sentinel* (daily) of November 20, 1860. It was not included in Schurz's published works.

president was bound to proclaim, and he was also teaching them the logic by which the Union must be preserved, should its integrity be threatened by the action of the discontented southern slave states.

V

Though never a thick-and-thin partisan, his devotion to the principles espoused at the outset by the Republican party was strong enough to attach him firmly to its interests so long as the problems issuing from the slavery struggle indicated that party as the best means of their solution. But he could not be complacent in the face of what he considered false or wrong policies. Even Lincoln, in the course of the war itself, occasionally felt the sting of his frank criticisms. Andrew Johnson forfeited Schurz's respect when, after inviting him to visit the South for the purpose of reporting on conditions affecting reconstruction, Johnson coldly ignored his findings. Schurz was so deeply outraged by the President's conduct that, for the time being, he lost his habitual magnanimity and joined in the radical hue and cry for Johnson's impeachment—an aberration later deplored. The provocation was great and Schurz was not without a strong man's pride of opinion. He had also the not uncommon type of imagination which halts, or at least hesitates, at the thought that others may honestly see the same problems in a different light from themselves. Intellectual tolerance, for which he strove unremittingly, was always a little hard for this keen thinker and brilliant, effervescing talker.

Schurz aided generously toward the election of Grant, but quickly lost confidence in the military president. On important issues before the Senate (of which he became a member, from Missouri, in 1869) he was forced into the opposition; and opposition being a crime Grant knew not how to condone, their political relationship was most unsatisfac-

tory. When in 1870 he entered upon the local fight for the repeal of those provisions in the Missouri constitution of 1865 whereby the supremacy of the radicals was sought to be perpetuated, the whole weight of the administration's influence was against him. Schurz contended, in that case, for the liberal treatment of former friends of the South—for a healing policy such as in his classic report to President Johnson he had favored in dealing with the South as a whole. The result in Missouri was to emasculate the Republican party and throw the state back into the hands of the Democracy, an outcome which brought down upon his devoted head the unmeasured condemnation of administration Republicans.

The Missouri experience disclosed a strong sentiment in favor of liberalism among the Germans, who were a coherent body of voters, and also among a large section of the young Democrats of American derivation who were not averse to voting a nominally Republican ticket if such action would give them desired legislation. They wanted to put an end to the war feeling by restoring to full citizenship the former adherents of the Confederacy, and, though reluctant to accept negro suffrage as a condition, they were professedly willing to do so. A revision of the tariff in the direction of free trade was another of their demands, and they were responsive to the propaganda, so dear to Schurz's heart, in favor of civil service reform.

Having gained an insight into the political possibilities in Missouri, Schurz in 1871 penetrated other border states, and at Nashville, Tennessee, in September of that year launched the program for a Liberal Republican party. Much encouragement was received from other reforming leaders, but he continued to be the acknowledged head and heart of the movement, which quickly showed extraordinary vitality. The upshot was the plan for a national Liberal Re-

publican convention, scheduled for Cincinnati in May, 1872.

In that movement Schurz sought to consolidate a vast body of liberal opinion, north and south, in favor of universal amnesty, tariff and taxation reform, the restoration of self-government under the constitutional amendments in the South, an improved civil service and especially the overthrow of arbitrary government such as was represented by Grantism. The nomination of Greeley, brought about by the practical political schemers on the floor whilst he presided over the convention and indulged his penchant for splendid and idealistic oratory, is a commentary on Schurz's shortcomings as a political leader. He lacked the practical gift for close organization. Had the Cincinnati convention been dominated by a Platt, a Penrose, or a La Follette, as it was initially swayed by Schurz, it would have probably nominated the man he wanted as standard-bearer—Charles Francis Adams. By permitting himself to be maneuvered into a position of virtual helplessness, as keynoter and then permanent chairman, he proved that he did not understand politics as a "game."

Nevertheless, Schurz played his natural and historically significant role in segregrating the liberal elements from the "Waribund" Republican party, even though the Greeley candidacy proved the fiasco everyone expected and Grant was reëlected. Among his own special constituency, the Republican Germans, his efforts confirmed a tendency toward independent voting which, though weakened as a result of the war, was not yet lost. To hundreds of thousands of voters of that connection it was thereafter easier to vote their convictions irrespective of party—a tendency which politicians find has some vitality even at the present day. Certainly it affected the result in 1876 by securing the nomination and election of a Liberal Republican; again in 1884 when Schurz at the head of his German forces probably de-

feated Blaine; and again in 1896 when, on the issue of sound money, he rendered certain the elimination of Bryan.

VI

Carl Schurz figures in American political history most prominently as a free lance, whose fighting was carried on through the instrumentality of press and platform. Though properly ambitious, he was not an office seeker in the ordinary sense of scheming to build up organizations designed to put him into office and keep him there. So it happened that, though he gave half a century to the promotion of his ideals of American public life, only ten years—aside from his short diplomatic service and his generalship—were actually spent in official positions. He was a United States senator of Missouri from March 4, 1869 to March 4, 1875, and he was a member of Hayes's cabinet as secretary of the interior from 1877 to 1881. That is a short period; yet, measured by achievement and by the tone and quality of the service rendered, it stands out conspicuously among the records of the great careers of the age. In the Senate he was preëminent as a liberal leader determined to bring about the restoration of the South; to lay the foundations for a genuine reform in the civil service; to revise the tariff and the war taxes downward; to put an end to the dangerous usurpation of power by the executive, the attack on Grant's San Domingo policy being the typical expression of his hostility to that administration; and to check the insolence and corruption of the great corporations, especially those which, like the western railroads, received grants of the public lands. No Senator was ever more highly respected for the independence of his course, the honesty and disinterestedness of his motives, or the logical brilliancy and thoroughness of the treatment his speeches gave to important public questions. Though tending to carry a peak load of argument, Schurz

had the very great advantage of being a political philosopher deeply read in history; a sound thinker who envisaged his subject in all its ramifications; a powerful writer and orator, and a mordant but not always tactful critic.

Some senatorial situations in which he starred have become classic. One was his dramatic answer to the irate Conkling, who charged him with strutting and boasting. "If I did anything yesterday," said Schurz, "that looked like strutting, then I most sincerely beg the Senator's pardon; for I certainly did not want to encroach upon the exclusive privilege of my honorable and distinguished associate from New York. If I did and said anything that looked like boasting, let me assure you, Sir, that it was not the remark that [quoting Conkling] 'If I met a thousand of his kind I would not quail,' for I would not consider that a striking demonstration of courage."

Dishonesty, stupidity, and prejudice received through him the most unsparing exposure. He was thrice armed against all who tried to carry through "jobs" for private ends—the faithful promoter of the common weal. Says Rhodes, he "gave his country six years of almost ideal service."[10]

In the cabinet of President Hayes, whose nomination was the Republican party's concession to the strength of the liberal movement, Schurz was in his element. He had influenced and confirmed the President's views of reform, had suggested the language of two important sections of the inaugural address, and had been consulted on cabinet appointments. In a word, he was not only in full harmony with the President but was one of his most trusted confidential advisers. Through that administration he had the happiness of aiding to solve the problems left over from reconstruction; he saw the first intelligent, determined efforts to do away

[10] James Ford Rhodes, *History of the United States*, viii, 4.

with spoils and to develop a civil service based on merit. In his own department he carried out the reform principles to their logical conclusion, making it the model for the administration as a whole.

Every branch of the complex Interior Department's activity felt the inspiration of his earnest and wise supervision. Two examples, the Indian Bureau and the General Land Office, must suffice to illustrate. He continued and advanced abolishing of reservations (until convinced the policy was wrong), granting lands in severalty to families, discouraging the chase, and stimulating agricultural and pastoral pursuits.

He pressed vigorously for a new type of Indian education, and founded the first industrial boarding schools at Carlisle, Pennsylvania, and Forest Grove, Oregon; he instituted the Indian police and Indian freighting systems to give tribesmen significant employment. The land laws during his administration were executed in the interest of the public and of settlers instead of speculative individuals and corporations. He held the railway grantees to a strict accountability. He stopped the wholesale theft of government timber; and if Congress had been sufficiently independent of its timber-baron members to pass the laws he urged year after year, the United States would have had a scientific forestry policy, based on the best European experience, a quarter of a century before Roosevelt. In a word, Schurz as a cabinet officer fulfilled the ideal of the enlightened, able, patriotic public servant.

VII

The old fighter is often anathematized by Republican politicians as the chief of the "Mugwumps" who accomplished in 1884 the defeat of the brilliant James G. Blaine and the election to the presidency of Grover Cleveland. There was nothing in his entire career of which he felt he had

better cause to be proud. The personality of the "plumed knight" was well calculated to hypnotize the American voter. If the proofs of a too intimate association with corruptionists had not been marshaled in so pitiless a manner by Schurz, and if he had not concentrated upon that point the attention of many thousand voters who looked to him for advice, there is little doubt the election would have gone differently. Evidence of his influence on the result is cumulative. The state of Wisconsin, which in 1880 gave Garfield 144,000 as against 114,000 for Hancock, gave Blaine 161,000 to Cleveland's 146,000, cutting down the Republican majority by 15,000. The county of Milwaukee presented Garfield with a majority of more than 3,000, but Blaine "pulled through" with only 552 votes to spare. A close analysis shows that the Democratic gains came most strikingly from those communities which were Protestant German, where Republicanism had been developing gradually since 1856, rather than from the Catholic precincts, which had continued to this time strongly Democratic. For example, Blaine lost in the town of Mequon, Ozaukee County, 63 of the Garfield votes, all of which went to Cleveland. Here we have the key to the result in the predominantly German counties, in the other counties having communities of Germans, in the state at large, and probably in the nation. Of course, Schurz's opposition to Blaine was not the only influence affecting the fluid German vote, but there is no question that owing to his conspicuous position in the country it was greater than that of any and all others.

A comparison of the Wisconsin statistics of 1892 and 1896 will reveal, in like manner, Schurz's agency in defeating Bryan and free silver. "Sound money" was one of his foundation principles. He fought Greenbackism with the same fervor that he put into the campaign against slavery. As Senator he denounced every proposed venture into

doubtful monetary policy, and made himself feared and hated by all inflationists. In the campaign of 1896 he took a position promptly, and his speech of September 5 at Chicago had a relation to that campaign analogous to his Brooklyn speech on Blaine's candidacy August 5, 1884.

VIII

Schurz's work was not yet finished. The "big navy" policy of the then young Theodore Roosevelt drew his fire in 1897. When the yellow journals were hounding the American people to demand a war with Spain, Schurz in *Harper's Weekly* was writing calmly and wisely of the way to preserve an honorable peace. He applauded every step President McKinley and his cabinet took to save the country from the evil of war. Infinitely pained by their ultimate failure, he demanded that the war be pushed vigorously to success and that no chance for a righteous peace be lost. He was willing to make it a war of deliverance for the Cuban people, but abhorred the policy the country drifted into of making it a war of conquest. He opposed the annexation of any Spanish territory, even Porto Rico. "It may be somewhat old-fashioned," he said, "but I still believe that a nation, no less than an individual man, is in honor bound to keep its word." Our pledge had been given to the world and we were morally bound to redeem it. So intense was his conviction on the subject of imperialism that in 1900 he was disposed to prefer Bryan on an anti-imperialistic platform to McKinley, who had now come to embody the policy of expansion. If to many of his former sympathizers that judgment appeared whimsical, it illustrated nevertheless the emphasis he had come to place on the issue. He kept up the fight as long as there was a fighting chance.

Schurz, indeed, was not through with public questions until he was through with private questions—with life itself. To a wholly unusual degree he spent himself for country and

humanity. The friendship strong men gave him was an instinctive response to the heroic in his character as well as to the geniality and charm of his personality. "Dear Schurz," wrote Thomas F. Bayard in 1898, "I remember so well thirty years ago, when you stepped out 'solitary and alone' and struck the shield of organized and corrupt power in the Senate of the United States, and my heart has been with you from that day to this."[11]

Schurz's coming to America was not in answer to a Macedonian cry from this side the salt sea. On the contrary, we felt an unmeasured competence to manage without the aid of foreigners, who on political grounds were at that time rather feared and hated as alien disturbers than welcomed as cooperating brothers. Yet American statesmanship found in him, from some points of view, its highest exemplification. He possessed breadth of learning, the ability and habit of careful investigation, rare talent for speaking and equal talent for writing. His personality not only commanded universal respect but appealed dramatically to great masses of men, while his disinterestedness, profound moral conviction, and unshakable democratic faith elevated his politics to a plane approaching that of religion. Without notable gifts as a political manager, he was yet enabled to impress his character upon the public affairs of the nation. His life gave to American politics in a time of spiritual depression a vigorous impulse toward a new idealism. It justified the tribute of Richard Watson Gilder in his poem on Carl Schurz:[12]

> Ah, what a life! From knightly youth
> Servant and champion of the truth.
>
> . . . . .
>
> In youth he braved a monarch's ire
> To set the people's poet free;
> Then gave his life, his fame, his fire,
> To the long praise of liberty.

[11] *Speeches*, etc., v, 459.

[12] Read at the meeting in honor of Carl Schurz held at Carnegie Hall, New York, November 21, 1906.

PIONEER AND POLITICAL REMINISCENCES[1]

NILS P. HAUGEN

ELECTED TO CONGRESS

My term as railroad commissioner being about to expire, I intended to resume the practice of law and had an understanding with Frank Ross, a practicing attorney of Prescott and district attorney of Pierce County, with a view of entering into partnership with him and moving to the then promising city of West Superior.

William T. Price died after a short illness on the first Monday in December, 1886, the very day of the reassembling of the Forty-ninth Congress for its short session. All the state officers attended the funeral at Black River Falls. The Northwestern and Omaha railroads placed a special train at the disposal of the governor and other officials in honor of Mr. Price's memory. We had entered the car in the evening to return to Madison, when Governor Rusk came to me and said: "Step outside; some men want to see you." Quite a number who had no doubt come to attend the funeral met me, and one of them acting as spokesman said that they had talked over the matter and had concluded to ask me to become a candidate for the term in Congress to which Mr. Price had been reëlected the previous month. It was a surprise, and I said I should have to consider the matter; that possibly Mr. Warner from my own county might be a candidate, in which event it would not be wise for both to run; that I must find out first what his intentions might be. As I was foot-free again, the suggestion coming as it did was flattering, to say the least. Governor Rusk heartily encouraged my

[1] The preceding installments of these reminiscences appeared in the December, 1927, and the March, 1928, issues of this magazine.

candidacy. After a few days in Madison I went to Ellsworth, the home of Mr. Warner, and had an interview with him and with friends of both of us. He assured me he had no intention of being a candidate, and I was encouraged to try it out, although I knew by that time that Joseph G. Thorpe, a wealthy lumberman of Eau Claire, who had been defeated for the position in previous conventions, had already announced himself. The district consisted of fifteen counties, embracing Trempealeau, Jackson, and Clark on the south and east, and reaching to Lake Superior on the north, including Douglas and Bayfield, but not Ashland. It had according to the census of 1890 over two hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants. On this occasion I made a campaign for the nomination. The lumber interests had to quite an extent domineered in politics, and Thorpe was a prominent representative of those interests.

Governor Rusk ordered a special election to be held January 18, 1887, and the congressional convention was called to meet January 7 at Eau Claire. The convention met in due time and all the counties were represented. There were several "favorite sons" supported by their county delegates: Senator Noah D. Comstock of Trempealeau, August Finkelnburg of Buffalo, and others. Horace A. Taylor, then chairman of the Republican state central committee, had aspirations, but he came to the convention as a delegate from St. Croix County instructed for me, and he obeyed instructions—I fear, somewhat reluctantly. There was reason for believing that after a few ballots the local candidates would withdraw and at least some of those counties would come to me. That was especially true of Trempealeau, Buffalo, and Dunn. The last-named had voted for Rockwell J. Flint, always a good and firm friend, then and now. I led from the start, and when a recess was taken for supper I had thirty-nine votes; necessary to nominate, forty-three. I think I

remember the figures correctly. I lacked four votes. I approached Mr. Comstock, who had the support of his delegates from Trempealeau County, and asked him if he expected to be nominated; I said that if he did I would not ask him to withdraw. He replied that he did not expect to be nominated and would withdraw and when the meeting reconvened ask his delegates to vote for me, but we would not give the matter out. On my way to the hotel Mr. Taylor joined me and said: "Haugen, you cannot be nominated and you had better withdraw." I replied that being the leading candidate I should never be able to explain my withdrawal to my friends; that I had better be defeated in the convention; but I added: "I am going to be nominated on the next ballot." At this he poo-poohed with the air of a superior knowledge of politics. Hugh H. Price, son of William Price, had announced himself a candidate to succeed his father, and had an instructed delegation from his county. As some of them were the very men who had first approached me on the subject, I felt free to suggest to them that Mr. Price be given the short term to expire with the short session of the sitting Congress, and that I would suggest that course of action to other supporters. To this they readily agreed. On the first ballot after the recess, and after the nomination of Mr. Price for the short term, I had an even larger majority than I had expected. Thus I defeated Mr. Thorpe, a representative lumberman, a man of wealth and the father-in-law of Ole Bull, the Norwegian violinist, and Mr. Taylor all in one setto.

But the campaign was on, and the Democrats nominated as my opponent Doctor Johnson, one of the leading physicians of the state and president then or shortly thereafter of the State Medical Society. He was also the local physician and surgeon of the Omaha Railroad, an able and highly respectable candidate, and a personal friend then and later.

He resided in Hudson, the home of Mr. Taylor. It was related that engines were run during election day to carry the railroad workers to the polls, undoubtedly largely through friendship for Doctor Johnson. The Eau Claire lumbermen seemed also to have deserted me, and that county gave something like twelve hundred majority for Johnson. In spite of this I carried the district by something like thirteen hundred majority. Knowing of the disaffection in Eau Claire and in part at least in Hudson, I wrote Mr. Taylor during the campaign that as chairman of the Republican state central committee I had a right to ask his active support. His answer was that the state central committee had nothing to do with congressional elections. This I stored up in my memory for later use. That he had been itching for the nomination himself at the convention, expecting it to come as the result of a deadlock, I have no doubt. He probably depended on his position as the head of the party in the state to assist him, but his county had instructed for me, and there were men in the delegation, among them my friend Hans Borchsenius of Baldwin, keeping close watch of the trend of affairs. It had been a custom of candidates for state office to contribute ten per cent of one year's salary to the campaign fund, to be disposed of by the central committee, which amount I had contributed in former campaigns. When in 1888 I was a candidate for reëlection to Congress, I received notice from the committee, Mr. Taylor being chairman and Henry Payne of Milwaukee secretary, that I had been assessed five hundred dollars as my share of the campaign fund. I answered saying that in my former campaign the chairman had informed me that the state central committee had nothing to do with congressional campaigns, and that I would, as he had left me to do then, conduct my campaign independently of the state central committee. I never contributed to the committee in any of my succeeding cam-

paigns, nor did any of them cost me five hundred dollars. That of the special election cost me over two thousand dollars, partly due to the fact that in many localities the candidates had to pay for the printing of tickets, and at that particular election I was considered about the only Republican candidate. There was no official ballot until some years later.

SPOONER AND TAYLOR

In addition to his prominence as an attorney, John C. Spooner was one of the leading Republicans of the state and admittedly one of the best stump speakers. His recognized ability naturally suggested him as a proper candidate for the position of United States senator. He was the attorney of a railroad company, it is true, but the feeling against railroads had abated somewhat after the Granger excitement commencing with the election of Governor William R. Taylor in 1873. Spooner and Hod Taylor were neighbors in Hudson. Taylor was a newspaper man; a man of considerable ability, a good public speaker, and an adroit politician; and had, as stated above, ambitions. He had served under President Hayes as consul at Marseilles during that Republican administration. Spooner before removing to Hudson had served as private secretary to Governor Fairchild. He had also served in the army during the Civil War. Taylor had no army record. Spooner became an avowed candidate for the senatorship in the election of 1884, and was recognized as such during the campaign, in which he actively engaged. During the fall—it may have been after the election—he accosted me on the street in Hudson and asked me to come up to his office. He asked me what he ought to do when friends advised him that he could not be nominated and elected by the legislature to convene in January. I naturally

wanted to know what friend had so advised him, and he said Hod Taylor. I answered him in about these words: "You have taken an active part in the campaign, everybody understanding that you would be a candidate, and you cannot well withdraw now; besides, I think you will be elected." He had had correspondence with many of the legislators-elect and had received encouragement. Either then, or later, he asked me to go to Arcadia in Trempealeau County and see Senator Comstock for him; said he had written him, but received no answer. I suggested that as Mr. Comstock was a much older man than I, I hesitated to interview him, but I would do so if he would get Professor Thayer, then of the River Falls Normal School faculty, to go with me. Professor Thayer was institute conductor and well known throughout the state. We met by appointment in Winona and wired Mr. Comstock that we would be in Arcadia on the next train. He evidently did not like the idea of two politicians running after him, and met us at the train, got aboard, and went with us to Merrillan. Being told our errand, he said: "What is the matter with Spooner anyway? I have written him that I am for him, but I am not publishing it abroad." When the legislature convened the friends of Spooner met for consultation, Comstock not present. He had a room near the Park Hotel. Spooner again asked me to interview him, stating that he had not had a word from him. I did so, and was answered by the senator the same as in the former interview, and with more emphasis. The streets were icy at the time, and Mr. Comstock had lost a leg, a good excuse for not venturing out. He appeared at the proper time and stood loyally by Spooner. Later I learned through Horace Reed, who succeeded me as court reporter and who had been Senator Spooner's private secretary and had done service as stenographer for Mr. Taylor during the campaign, that the letter from Comstock was received by Taylor as acting chair-

man of the committee. Evidently it was never given to Spooner, and he was not advised of its receipt.

While Spooner was in the Senate during the Harrison administration he secured for Mr. Taylor the appointment of commissioner of Pacific railroads. These roads had been advanced large sums besides being given extensive land grants to aid them in the construction. Bonds to the government were about to fall due, and Congress was appealed to to give up the first lien held by the government and take in lieu thereof a secondary lien and extend the time for a number of years. Henry A. Cooper of Racine was at the time a member of the committee to which the matter was referred, and I deem it fair to say that he studied the record of the relations of the companies to the government and familiarized himself with it thoroughly—and it was very voluminous—and joined with a minority of the committee in opposition to the proposed plan. Mr. Taylor favored it and tried to persuade me to vote for it. He said among other things, that unless we passed the bill the government would have to take over the roads. He was the only person who approached me on the subject. I was somewhat surprised when I read Mr. Cooper's statement a few weeks ago that Thomas Reed had threatened him if he opposed the measure. I had reason for being surprised, for I had a seat just behind Tom Reed at the time; was, I may say, intimately acquainted with him. He knew very well that I was opposed to the measure, but he certainly did not try to persuade me. Did he credit me with more stubbornness than Hal Cooper? But the latter deserves more credit than any other member for the defeat of the bill. We talked the matter over and I insisted that he must take the floor on the subject, which he at first seemed reluctant to do. I think it was his maiden speech in the House. He informed me the day before the matter was coming up that he was not prepared, to which I replied that

if he would tell the House what he had told me he would defeat the bill. He took the floor, exhausted his hour, his time was extended, and the bill was defeated by a respectable negative vote. The result was that the government received its due, which, if memory serves me correctly, was over two hundred million dollars in principal, besides interest. It was undoubtedly Cooper's greatest service to the country during the thirty years and more that he has been a member. Taylor's prophecy failed.

I took my seat in the Fiftieth Congress just after the Holiday recess in January, 1888, having been prevented by illness from appearing in December. The House had organized, but no further business of importance had been transacted. John G. Carlisle of Kentucky was the speaker, the House being strongly Democratic. It was the Congress of the Mills bill. President Grover Cleveland had in his message denounced the Republican protective tariff and recommended radical changes. There was no question as to the attitude of President Cleveland on matters he discussed. William F. Vilas was a member of his cabinet. Spooner was in the Senate; also "Uncle" Philetus Sawyer. Among my colleagues from Wisconsin, the veteran in service was Lucien B. Caswell; another was Richard Guenther, elected from the Second District while a resident of the Sixth—the only case of the kind in the history of the state. Robert M. La Follette represented the Third, having first been elected in 1884, defeating E. W. Keyes and George C. Hazelton, a former member, for the nomination, and Judge Burr W. Jones, Democrat, after service of one term, in the election. Other members from Wisconsin were Henry Smith, Socialist, from Milwaukee; Thomas R. Hudd, Green Bay; Charles B. Clark, Neenah; Ormsby B. Thomas, Prairie du Chien; and Isaac Stephenson, Marinette. The Wisconsin members were all agreeable, and good fellowship prevailed. Among my

first acquaintances was William E. Mason of Illinois, a clever and humorous individual. We lived with our families at the same boarding-house, and sat at the same table.

KNUTE NELSON

I had some slight acquaintance with Mr. Nelson before meeting him in Washington. He was first elected to Congress from Minnesota while I was railroad commissioner. There was a bitter fight over the nomination and election in his district. As he had before moving to Minnesota served one term in the assembly in Wisconsin, the opposition evidently thought capital might be made against him by examining his record. An agent sent to Madison for that purpose called on me one day at the state capitol and told me frankly his errand. I said that I had always heard Mr. Nelson spoken of in the most flattering terms, and that I thought his errand was in vain. He examined the legislative record of the year but evidently found nothing to his purpose, for nothing further was heard of it. Mr. Nelson was courteous and obliging, and went with me to look for living quarters.

His district took in practically all of northern Minnesota, including Duluth and the north shore of Lake Superior. Superior was just at the beginning of a boom, and considerable jealousy existed between the two cities. Duluth had the larger population and by far the greater business at the time. The Superior harbor had not been developed except at the Duluth end. A canal constructed through Minnesota Point near the Minnesota shore served as the entrance for vessels coming to Superior as well as to Duluth. Duluth interests conceived a plan of building a bridge between Minnesota Point from outside of the canal to Rice's Point, which would obstruct or materially hinder vessels from reaching the harbor then in progress of development at West Superior. There was no conceivable purpose in a bridge across the bay

at that point other than to embarrass Superior. Mr. Nelson introduced the bill without any knowledge on my part. He was an old member serving his third term, while I was just beginning my first. Either I accidentally discovered its existence after it had been favorably reported by the committee, or it was called to my attention by Superior parties, and it was up to me to defeat it. It was considered a "private" or purely local bill, and such bills were generally called up just before adjournment for the day and unanimous consent asked for consideration and passage. Mr. Nelson had the ear of Speaker Carlisle; his general standing with the members of the House was good and popular. He was a good fighter. But the bill had to be defeated, and I was the only one directly interested.

This was in the summer of 1888. The discussion of the Mills bill was on and lasted for some weeks. I was not surprised when one afternoon just before adjournment Nelson called up the bill and the title was read by the clerk. I promptly objected to unanimous consent, and the bill went down. I suggested to Nelson that if he could secure a little time so that I might have ten minutes to explain the local situation I would agree to its consideration. But this he refused to do, and it may have been doubtful whether the time could be obtained. Of course the committee reporting the bill had only the Duluth side before it. One day La Follette and I together with our families attended a baseball game. As the afternoon sped on I excused myself saying that I had better get back to the House before adjournment to watch Nelson and his bill. Bob thought there was no danger. But I went back and sat in the lobby out of sight. Sure enough, Nelson, not seeing me on the floor, called up the bill, which again went down under my objection. The Republican national convention was coming on in Chicago, and many members left Washington to attend it, among them Nelson. I

was urged by La Follette and others to join them; but, as Cleveland said of Congress, I had Nelson "on my hands," and could not abandon the post. An evening had been set aside for the consideration of private bills to which there was no expected objection. Such a session came on during the absence of Nelson and many other members. I attended with watchful ear, when to my surprise the Duluth bill was called up by Charles F. Crisp of Georgia—an entirely unexpected quarter. When I objected Mr. Crisp promptly withdrew his request and came over to me, stating that he had been assured there would be no objection, and apologized. That was the last of that bill, and the result met with universal approval in Superior at least. My own view then and now is that the bridge would have hindered that free navigation within the bay of Superior which best served both cities at the head of the lakes. It was short-sighted, to say the least, for the best interests of navigation there.

I had occasion to aid both cities with another bridge bill during the last term of my service. The ore industry of the Mesaba Range in Minnesota had been developed and a railroad was being constructed to carry the ore to the docks on Allouez Bay, the eastern end of Superior Bay. The House was then Democratic, and C. F. Crisp (the same Crisp) was the speaker. I had served on the fighting committee on elections with Crisp before he became speaker. The Duluth district was represented by a Democratic member. He had introduced the bill and we were in agreement on the subject of the necessity of the bridge. The consent of Congress was needed to authorize its construction across St. Louis Bay, a navigable water. My Democratic friend was unable to obtain recognition; the date of final adjournment was drawing near, when matters are pressing, and it was therefore difficult to get recognition for any but the most urgent measures. The Great Northern, or a subsidiary, was building the road

and was about to construct expensive docks, all of which would be delayed if the bridge was not authorized. Crisp had been the leading member on the committee on elections during the Reed speakership, when the fight was bitter, and while we had been on opposite sides politically, our personal relations had remained very friendly and I had during his speakership received at his hands more than my share of recognitions. My Duluth friend, Mr. Baldwin, who seemed to have lost favor with his Democratic speaker, came to me in his distress and said that as he was unable to get recognition I must try it. When I approached Mr. Crisp he stated, as I had expected, that he had given me many recognitions, all that I could reasonably expect; all of which I acknowledged. But I represented the urgency of the measure not only to the localities but to the ore-shipping interests of the Great Lakes generally, adding that the bill had the approval of the War Department in all its details, etc. He stated that it would be useless, that even the time necessary to read the bill would invite objection. I said I should have to take my chances as to that. In order to remove the last objection I laid my case before Joe Bailey of Texas, a popular leader on the Democratic side, believing that he felt friendly to me personally. He had expressed his regrets when he learned that I was not coming back after the expiration of the Fifty-third Congress. He said, "But what can I do?" I suggested that when the clerk began reading the bill he direct some inquiries to me as to its merits—whether it had the approval of the War Department, etc.—and if the answers were satisfactory, that he ask unanimous consent that the reading of the bill be dispensed with. That plan was successful and the bridge bill was passed. This later bill was undoubtedly of far more benefit to both cities at the head of the lake than any other bill sponsored by the Duluth interests, and I have taken it out of its chronological order because it throws light on the

local situation and because it helped to remove the unreasonable rivalry between the two cities which gave rise to the Nelson bill of 1888.

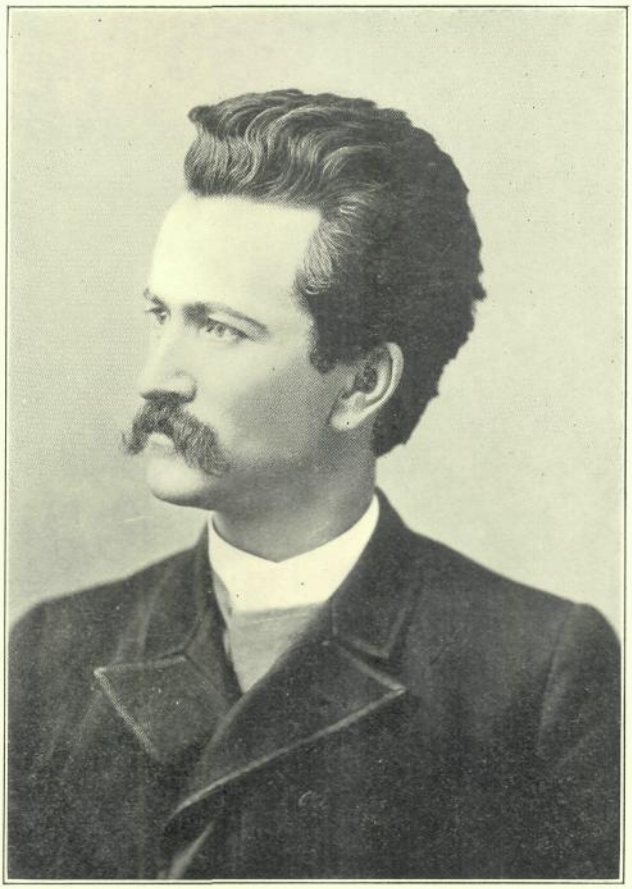
Nelson was an industrious and indefatigable worker in the interest of his district. We remained friends after the preliminary controversy referred to. On the whole he had the respect and good will of his colleagues, even though in the 1888 session he departed to some extent from the Republican fold and voted for the Mills tariff bill after making a speech in its defense, in which he advocated what he called a tariff for revenue with incidental protection. This was considered by the Republican protectionists a somewhat inconsistent attitude, their view being that to the extent that the duties protect American labor they do not provide revenue, and that in order to provide revenue they must admit foreign imports, which means giving foreign labor employment in preference to the American workingman. In other words, to the extent that it protects it does not produce revenue, and to the extent that it produces revenue it does not protect. Such was the theory of "Pig Iron" Kelley of Pennsylvania, and also of his Democratic colleague Samuel J. Randall, leading advocates of the protective theory in that and former Congresses. It was probably the only important legislative question upon which these two veteran legislators agreed. Randall had been speaker in a former house and was chairman of the committee on appropriations, which ranked in importance next to that on ways and means, the latter being the agency for raising revenue and the former for spending it.

Nelson retired voluntarily from Congress in 1888, later returning to the Senate, where he served with distinction until his death a few years ago. He had been governor of his state in the meantime. Before his election to that office we met accidentally in Minneapolis one day and had lunch together. He had not then announced his candidacy. I made

the remark: "You can be nominated for governor if I read the press of Minnesota correctly, if you give your friends a little encouragement; but it is somewhat like you to sit back and expect the nomination to be handed to you on a platter." He laughed and replied: "Haugen, that matter is being attended to."

The Mills bill was the outstanding measure before the Fiftieth Congress. It was supposed to be an ideal Democratic tariff bill, but it did not fail to remember home people and left the tariff on sugar undisturbed, although the country imported during 1888 almost seventy million dollars' worth of sugar, apparently offering a good example of the principle of a revenue tariff, in harmony with the English system of levying duties on those articles not adequately produced in the home country. But the Louisiana sugar planter was too vociferous to be ignored. And my friend O'Ferrall from Virginia, although advocating strongly the revenue principle, made an exception of sumac growing on the mountain slopes of his state and used in the tanneries. Speaker Carlisle left the chair to support from the floor the passage of the bill. Robert M. La Follette answered him, devoting his time to that one purpose, and received the compliments of his Republican colleagues.

Being a new member I did not obtrude myself much on the time and attention of the House. I had read before entering politics Horace Greeley on protection and free trade, and had become convinced of the benefits of the protective principle for this country at least, and of the necessity of a developing country to make itself independent economically as well as politically. So it was easy for me to agree with the generally prevailing Republican attitude. The fact that I disagreed with Mr. Nelson on the question no doubt had something to do with Mr. McKinley (the leading Republican member of the committee on ways and means, and the floor



ROBERT MARION LA FOLLETTE

Representative from the Third District. Selected by the Republicans to follow John G. Carlisle in the debate on the Mills tariff bill

leader in the debate) securing for me time to present my views. I had the usually allotted hour. Mr. Kelley listened to me, and when I closed came to me and paid me the compliment that I was one of the few younger men who fully grasped the underlying principles of the protective theory. Sam Randall, Democrat and former leader of his party, made a strong speech on the question in opposition to his party. His hour expired before he had finished, and he asked for more time. His Democratic friends refused him the courtesy; when McKinley, the Republican leader, who was to close the debate for the minority, said: "I give the gentleman as much of my time as he may want." This gallant offer was followed by tremendous applause in the galleries and by the Republicans on the floor. McKinley was always the courteous and obliging gentleman, popular with his colleagues. Mills was a ready and vigorous debater, but more of the fire-eating style. In closing the debate on the bill bearing his name, he marched down the aisle and with arms outstretched dramatically exclaimed: "Now, let the portcullis fall!" He had evidently read *Marmion.*

Some public lands in the then territory of Oklahoma were being opened for settlement and the bill on the subject, presented by William Springer of Illinois, who was chairman of the committee on public lands, excluded from the privilege men of foreign birth who had not resided in the United States at least two years. I moved to strike out the words "have resided in the United States for two years and." In presenting under the ten-minute rule my reason for the amendment, I said in part: "Whatever may be said as to the foreign-born citizens of our large cities, no complaint has ever been heard in regard to those settled in country homes." When I had finished, Mr. Springer adopted my amendment and the lands in Oklahoma were placed on the same basis as public lands elsewhere.

I served on the committee on labor in this and following Congresses; also on some minor committees.

TOM REED

The outstanding figure in the House during my service was unquestionably Thomas B. Reed of Maine. He was the recognized leader on the Republican side, ever ready and ever clear in his views. I believe it fair to say that Reed was the biggest man in Congress for at least fifty years back, and that he ranked in mentality with the leaders of any day in our history; he was ready in debate and in repartee. As an illustration of the latter quality: McMillin of Tennessee was of the southern flowery style, and when one day he closed his address with the somewhat stale expression, "I would rather be right than be President," Reed chimed in: "You will never be either." He was a giant mentally, and physically as well; there was never any doubt as to his views or his power and lucidity in presenting them. I pride myself on the fact that I enjoyed his friendship much more intimately than fell to the lot of most members. This was due in part to the circumstance that in my later service I occupied a seat very near his.

In the session of 1888 a bill was introduced to refund to states—which naturally meant northern states—money advanced to the federal government during the Civil War. This was opposed by the former rebel states. To the credit of northern Democrats, they as a rule supported the measure. But the opposition was obstinate and obdurate. The bill was favorably reported, and there was a fairly good majority for it on the floor. There were enough opponents to order the yeas and nays, and a course of filibustering ensued which lasted for weeks and contributed much to the adoption of the "Reed Rules" of the following Congress. Under the Carlisle rules and ruling, one motion to adjourn could not immediately follow another—a rule generally observed. New

business must intervene. But a motion to take a recess, or a motion that when the House does adjourn it be to a time certain, was considered new business. It took forty minutes to call the roll. The House was thus held up for weeks with purely dilatory motions, one following the other without end. The case becoming hopeless, an agreement was finally reached to pass the matter over until after the election, when Congress would meet in short session. It is strange that the old-fashioned calling of the roll by the clerk still prevails in the House. Tom Reed visited Paris one summer, and I heard him tell of the electrical method of voting in the French House of Deputies, which he thought should be installed in the House. We have it in our state assembly. But the privilege of filibustering is too precious to be abandoned even by a self-styled progressive. It keeps the individual in the limelight. That and endless talk by strong lungs have defeated far more desirable legislation than they have promoted. The measure referred to finally became a law, and Wisconsin collected several hundred thousand dollars under it during La Follette's service as governor.

McKinley must be mentioned as one of the outstanding members during my service, probably ranking next to Reed. But many others might be named: Cannon of Illinois; also old Tom Henderson of that state; Dave Henderson of Iowa, one-legged veteran of the Civil War, with rich Scotch brogue when excited; Governor Gear, also of Iowa; Dingley of Maine; Long and Lodge of Massachusetts; Funston of Kansas, who went by the designation of "Farmer" Funston. He was the father of General Funston. Houk came from the Republican Knoxville district of Tennessee; he had been an officer in the northern army during the war. Democrats with whom I became more intimately associated, from service on committees and otherwise, were Crisp of Georgia; Allen, the wit of the House, and Catchings of Mississippi; Blanchard

of Louisiana; Kilgore, Bailey, and Mills of Texas; O'Ferrall of Virginia. In those days many of the members lived at private boarding-houses, and closer acquaintances were formed in that way. Both O'Ferrall and "Silver Dick" Bland of Missouri were at "our" house. Mr. Bland was the outstanding advocate of the free coinage of silver at sixteen to one, and had been for years.

Judge Holman of Indiana was the veteran in service in the House. When asked if it were true that no man had ever served thirty years in that body he said: "I believe it is, but I am going to try to do it." I think, however, he died before enjoying the distinction. Since his day, Joe Cannon has broken the record with over forty years of service, and our friend Hal Cooper has exceeded the thirty years, and seems good for several more. Holman was the "Great Objector," the watchdog of the Treasury. He was especially interested in any new project in the River and Harbor bill—ready with a motion to strike it out. In that bill on one occasion was a moderate appropriation for a harbor on the Ohio River, in Holman's district. No objection having been raised, Tom Reed arose and stated that he had expected an objection from the watchdog of the Treasury; "But the watchdog of the Treasury seems to be like other watchdogs; he does not bark at home folks." The House was always generous with its applause at sallies of that kind, without reference to party origin. Mr. Holman had seen long service, and his judgment of men and measures was respected. The morning after the nomination of Harrison for the presidency I happened to be in the same car seat with Mr. Holman on the way to the capitol, and asked his opinion of the nominee. He said that he knew Harrison intimately, that they had never agreed politically, and added that he was beyond question as able an attorney as there was at the Indiana bar—a great compliment from a leading political opponent. I believe it can be

fairly said that there was more of the chivalric recognition of merit in political opponents in those days than at present, when personal bitterness is more in evidence.

Election was coming on, and I was renominated without opposition and without leaving Washington. Doctor Johnson was again my opponent at the election. But the state went Republican by the old-time majority. The House was Republican by the narrow majority of three when it convened in December, 1889. The "Solid South" remained solid as formerly, with one exception: a Republican was elected from a New Orleans district of Louisiana. I am not counting the border states as part of the "Solid" group. When asked how it had happened that he was not counted out by the election boards, the Louisiana Republican explained that he knew their methods, so he and his friends had placed armed men at the polls to see that a fair return was made, and that resulted in his receiving the certificate of election; that otherwise he would have been defeated in the count. He was a native of his state, which perhaps aided him—not being a "carpetbagger."

On our way to Washington some of the Wisconsin delegation headed by Mr. Caswell, including Mr. La Follette, Mr. Thomas, and myself, stopped off at Indianapolis and interviewed President-elect Harrison. We were met with cordiality at his house. Mr. Caswell acting as spokesman asked that Governor Rusk receive his friendly consideration for the post of secretary of war in his cabinet. Mr. Harrison knew Rusk from earlier service in Congress and had evidently kept track of his subsequent public career. He referred to the strike episode in Milwaukee and expressed the fear that organized labor would most vociferously object to having him in that position. "Jerry" Rusk was made the first secretary of agriculture, that cabinet office having just been created, and established a service commendable to him-

self and to the administration. Under the supervision of a capable man at the head of the veterinary department he published a book on *Diseases of the Horse,* which received the highest praise of "Farmer" Martin of Texas, who said on the floor that the three public writings which he valued most were the Bible, the Constitution of the United States, and Rusk's horse book. On an excursion to Philadelphia to witness the launching of the battleship *Oregon* I was in the car with the press representatives, and the suggestion was made that "Farmer" Martin be asked to address them on the "New South." When the old gentleman appeared and the subject was suggested to him, he replied in about these words: "Gentlemen, you may talk about the New South, but there ain't no New South. The South is as she always was."

THE REED CONGRESS

The Wisconsin delegation supported Thomas B. Reed for the speakership. Other candidates were McKinley of Ohio, Cannon of Illinois, Burrows of Michigan, each having a respectable following and all popular and well qualified. Mr. Reed was nominated on an early ballot, and his nomination was made unanimous in the usual way of conventions. No bitterness ensued, and in the stormy session following he had no firmer advocates of his policy than McKinley and Cannon. La Follette was placed on the leading committee of ways and means, with McKinley as chairman, the latter thereby becoming floor leader. I was placed on the fighting committee on elections, the leading committee in fact under the rule of precedence, as it involves the very membership of the House. Reed's views on the subject of filibustering were well known; he had repeatedly stated that a few members had no moral right to obstruct the orderly activity of the majority, and he had the necessary nerve to carry his views into

practical effect. Changes were made in the rules so that a member present and not voting would be counted to make a quorum.

CONTESTED ELECTIONS

It was a common Democratic charge against this Republican Congress that there was an indiscriminate unseating of Democratic members to assure a Republican working majority. Having been a member of the committee and familiar with the record as presented to it, I have always felt that we acted with the utmost conservatism, and no Democratic member was unseated unless the evidence of election fraud was overwhelming. There were more than twenty contests. The House seated, if my memory serves me correctly, five Republicans and one Independent. One Democrat, Breckinridge of Arkansas, was unseated, leaving a vacancy. His opponent was not a Republican, but an independent candidate who had served notice of contest and was traveling about the district getting evidence to support his case, when on a certain evening he was shot through a window of the house in which he was stopping, and instantly killed. No motive of a personal nature was apparent for the murder; politics was the only solution. Mr. Breckinridge went back to the district and was reëlected; whether there was any opposition I do not remember. There was nothing directly connecting him with the murder except that he was the beneficiary; certainly good reason for the committee's action.

General Chalmers, of Confederate war fame, had been accused by the Union forces of having shot down their men when cornered near Vicksburg and trying to surrender. He had joined the Republicans and had become a candidate for Congress in a Mississippi district containing, I think, nine counties. He made a thorough investigation in five of the counties, and while the results in them seemed to show a sub-

stantial majority for him, it was not sufficient to overcome the majority reported against him in the district. His former Confederate associates did not hesitate to attack him in the most vicious manner, using against him the old Union charge of his brutality during the war. We reported against him because he did not carry his investigation far enough to show a majority for him in the district. I think it was in connection with this case that the following happened: At a certain precinct it was charged that the negroes were intimidated from attending the polls. It appeared that bullets came flying into the road in front of the polling place. The Democratic explanation of this was an admission that it was true, but that some young men were shooting at a mark, and the range was such that the bullets happened to strike near the polls—just accidentally! It was different in a case in South Carolina, where the Democrats charged that the negroes had been intimidated. The polling was done at an open window—which seems to have been rather common. There was a separate box for each candidate. As many of the negroes were unable to read, a smart colored man conceived the idea of placing the tickets between the fingers of the voter in the order of the boxes. A darkey was sitting on the limb of a tree where he could watch the proceedings. It soon appeared that the officers were changing the position of the boxes, when the sentinel would cry out: "Change dem tickets!" But the officials drove him out of the tree, claiming that he was "intimidating the negroes."

John M. Langston was a mulatto, or rather a quadroon, of Petersburg, Virginia. He was a graduate of Oberlin College and the head of a colored normal school at Petersburg. He contested for a seat in Congress, and I was entrusted with the conduct of his case and wrote the report of the committee. The facts as established beyond question were as follows: The colored population was in a large majority in

most of the precincts of Petersburg as well as in other precincts of the district. In order to be absolutely fair (?) the voters were arranged in two columns, one white, the other colored, and they voted alternately—one white man, one colored, etc. But the officials challenged each voter, white or colored, as he presented himself, thus exhausting the time so that when the whites had all voted the time for closing the polls had arrived and a large number of negroes were left with their ballots in their hands. A couple of attorneys had taken it upon themselves to make a record of the proceedings. They marched the voters with their ballots across the street to a notary, and each ballot was deposited attached to an affidavit that this was the ballot which the voter had tried to cast but had been prevented from casting. There were enough of these ballots to change the majority from Venable to Langston. I so reported. Mr. O'Ferrall of Virginia had charge of the Democratic side. After some filibustering I called up the case one morning. Mr. O'Ferrall made the point of "no quorum." A call of the House showed just a quorum, counting O'Ferrall. All the other Democrats had fled from the chamber. The chair announced a quorum present and proceeded to put the motion to adopt the resolution, when O'Ferrall requested a division of the House and immediately shot out into the lobby, expecting thus to break the quorum. The speaker proceeded to count, when I addressed the chair asking unanimous consent that the request for a division be withdrawn. When I arose, McKinley, sitting a little in front of me, turned and said: "Don't interrupt him. He is counting." But it was no time to hesitate. Reed saw the point and, as there was no objection, declared the resolution adopted and Langston was immediately sworn in. Another colored case, that of Miller vs. Elliott from South Carolina, had been reported favorably, and Mr. Rowell of Illinois, having it in charge, called it up and Miller was seated before O'Ferrall

realized his defeat. This provoked a colored man in the gallery to yell out: "Dat man Haugen he treed one coon and brought down two." A Democratic paper of Richmond stated it differently the next morning: "We have come to a pretty pass when the country is run by a Norwegian and a nigger." And I am not sure but it placed the "nigger" first. I think this was the last effort of the session to break a quorum by wholesale desertion of the chamber.

As to election frauds, Virginia was in line with the blackest South. The law provided that voters must register at the county seat in order to be entitled to vote, and the list of voters was posted in each district. In the case of Waddill vs. Wise it appeared that the lists were duly posted, but almost immediately a person following tore them down. When the voter appeared he found that his name was not on the list, and having had no notice he was debarred from voting—all under the cover of law.

Why do the southern states remain generation after generation in the Democratic column? Look, in contrast, at the states of the North. They change with the times and issues presented. There is not one of them, unless it be Vermont, that has not at times departed from the Republican standard. From my experience on the committee on elections I am satisfied that the same would be true in the South if the elections were as honest and free there as in the North. But the aristocratic spirit prevails, and the negro, no matter how intelligent, must be constantly reminded of his slave ancestry. Quite generally, if not universally, the county was the local unit and the county machine appointed the local election officials, thus keeping the party in control.

During my service Congressmen had no clerks, as at present, except during my last term and then only during the session. This resulted in laborious correspondence carried on by the members largely at their desks during sessions. Until

the general pension law, based on age, was enacted in 1890, petitions for special pension legislation were innumerable. When Harrison was elected in 1888 the correspondence was still further increased by applications for appointments to local post offices, etc. I adopted the plan, and adhered to it, of letting the incumbent serve out a four-year term. John M. Allen of Mississippi, the wit of the House, said that he asked a Republican friend how he got along with the patronage question, and his friend mournfullly replied: "Oh, you see

> Johnnie runs the Sabbath-school,
> Levi runs the bar,
> Baby runs the White House,
> And—— it, here we are."

To explain, John Wanamaker was the postmaster general, Levi P. Morton was vice-president, and the owner of the leading hotel in Washington at the time, the Shoreham; and there was a baby in the President's family—a grandchild, I think.

While Harrison was an able chief magistrate, on whose record there was no blemish, he seemed to lack that personal attractiveness necessary to popularity. A little incident will to some extent explain. On a Saturday afternoon I fell in with Mr. Anderson of Kansas, who suggested that we go to the White House to hear the Navy Band play. We did so, and arriving found the President alone on the back porch. He remarked that he was pleased we had come, that the Saturday before he had been there entirely alone listening to the music. He was pleasant, but seemed to lack that geniality so characteristic of McKinley, or the robustness and readiness of Roosevelt. Muscle and brawn always appealed to Roosevelt. He was a member of the Civil Service Commission when I first went to Washington. I was about his height and weighed about two hundred. He always wanted to feel of

my muscle. I sent him on an errand once, to look up a charge of violation of the civil service law. He attended to it promptly and made report, satisfactorily explaining the situation. He and McKinley were of opposite types, but both were popular nevertheless.

The name of a post office in Trempealeau County had been changed during the former Cleveland administration from Strum to Tilden, for what reason I never learned. The railroad station remained Strum, and the patrons of the office wrote me asking that I have its name changed back to Strum. I called at the post office department, and a lady clerk and I made the change. When I called at the department on my return to Washington after a summer recess, the clerk said that Mr. Wanamaker wished to see me. I called at his office. He had a record of newspaper clippings, out of which he dug up an item published in an up-state paper in New York, accusing him of insulting the memory of Samuel J. Tilden, Democratic candidate for the presidency in 1876. I explained the circumstances to him, and my belief that the Tilden name had in all probability never occurred to my constituents, and certainly had not to me. He was satisfied. I mention this only to show how an entirely trivial matter may annoy a great man.

The town of Erin, St. Croix County, had been from earliest times a Democratic stronghold. It was related that a soldier of the Civil War tried to vote the Republican ticket in Erin but was prevented with some violence. He consulted Judge Wetherby, at one time circuit judge and a shrewd old Democrat, as to whether a man was not free to vote as he pleased; and was answered, certainly he was. He went on to state what had happened to him in Erin. The judge scratched his head and said: "I shall have to look that up." The story was told on the judge as I got it. But Erin remained Democratic, and at the special election in 1887 I did

not get a single vote in the town. During the Harrison administration, however, when I became the dispenser of post offices, I received a letter from a resident of the town requesting his appointment as postmaster in some office. I answered that when the present occupant of the office of Erin Prairie had served his four years I should be glad to remember him for that position, that postmasters were appointed only from the patrons of the office. He wrote an indignant letter, restating his stanch Republicanism—how he had labored for the party and especially for me at the winter election in 1887, and was entitled to some better office than the local one. I answered courteously, thanking him for his support, but had to regret that in his enthusiasm in my behalf in 1887 he had forgotten to vote himself, as the record showed no vote cast for me at that election. I lost a correspondent, and a supporter—possibly.

James G. Blaine was the secretary of state under Harrison. Hans Borchsenius, then a resident of St. Croix County, a good friend of mine, a Dane by birth, and a veteran of the Civil War, wished to be appointed consul to Christiania, Norway—not a very important position. I presented the matter to Mr. Blaine and before I left he said: "I think I can do that for you, Mr. Haugen." I went home for the summer, but failed to hear further in regard to Mr. Borchsenius. Returning to Washington in November I called at the department. The very first thing Mr. Blaine said on my entrance was: "I have not been able to take care of your friend Mr. Borchsenius." Rather remarkable that he should retain what must have been to him an unfamiliar name. But that was characteristic of Blaine. I mentioned this to a member from Ohio, and he told of a like event in his own county. Many years in the past Blaine had made an address at their county fair and had become much interested in a colt on exhibition. Some ten years later he was again at the fair,

and meeting the owner of the colt called him by name and inquired how the animal had developed. He never forgot names or events. Mr. Borchsenius was later appointed one of the auditors of the Treasury Department. He died in Madison about twenty years ago.

I think it was in this Fifty-first Congress that Henry C. Payne, member of the Republican state central committee and a representative of the Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul Railway, approached me with regard to some railway legislation. I disagreed with him. He asked me how "Bob" stood on the question. I told him that Bob felt about it just as I did. He became quite peevish and remarked that the railroad he represented had enough influence in the district to defeat Bob. This was in 1890 and the campaign was on. He did not make any direct threat as to me. But I resented his talk and left him, going directly to the capitol and informing La Follette. Within half an hour Mr. Payne called me out and asked me not to tell Bob what had occurred, that he had spoken hastily. I replied that he was too late, that I had already told Bob. La Follette relates this in his autobiography, but says that I told him some months later. He sent me the manuscript of this part of his life story and I called his attention immediately by letter to the real facts, which he admitted, but said my correction had come too late, as the book was already in print. Bob was defeated in the election, but it can hardly be attributed to the railroad influence, as all my other Republican colleagues were defeated that fall, I being the only Republican elected from Wisconsin. The McKinley bill must be given the credit—or blame. It was passed very late in the session, and was bitterly attacked with all kinds of criticisms and misrepresentations—as to its excessive rates and resulting costs of imported goods, etc. A River Falls merchant said to me that they would

have to raise the price of sugar and coffee because of the McKinley law. Asked why, he replied that a traveling man had told him that the wholesale price would have to be raised. I informed him that not only did we *not raise* the duty on sugar, but we actually placed sugar on the free list whereas formerly under the Mills law of 1888 the rate had been two cents a pound, and coffee was left on the free list as formerly.

I know that the opinion prevailed largely in Wisconsin that the Bennett school law was the main cause of the Republican defeat that year. But the party was defeated in Minnesota, in Iowa, in Illinois, in Michigan, and in other normally Republican states, where there was no Bennett law issue. Governor Hoard was blamed for signing the Bennett bill. It may have been an error politically, but its intent to secure an English education to all the children of the state cannot be condemned. The editor of a German paper in Milwaukee came to Washington during the summer and sought the opinions of the Wisconsin delegation as to the law. I refused to be interviewed in condemnation of it. Some of my colleagues did criticize it and Hoard, thus probably aiding in his defeat as well as their own. The report went through the opposition press that a parochial school had been closed in Jackson County because of the Bennett law. I had a meeting at Black River Falls and asked for information. A man in the audience told me, before the meeting opened, that he was one of the trustees of the Lutheran Church and was also a member of the school board, and that when the time for opening the common school arrived it was mutually agreed that the parochial school should close; that this was done and that the Bennett law had had no influence upon their action. I naturally spread this information as fast and as far as I could. There was no doubt much more feeling on the subject of the Bennett law among the Germans than

among the Scandinavians. The incident referred to in Jackson County occurred in a Norwegian community.[2]

I did not leave Washington to attend any of the conventions which nominated me, if Congress was in session at the time. My personal part in the campaigns was conducted by correspondence. I never had any personal controversy with a political opponent during campaigns, but was always able to meet him, shake hands, and have a friendly talk. I may make one exception. In 1890 Mr. Bailey of Eau Claire was my opponent. On several occasions during the campaign I saw him on the railroad platform and tried to approach him, but he avoided me. I had known him well during my days as court reporter and our relations had been friendly. He had, however, made some threats of impeachment proceedings against Judge Barron because of the latter's personal habits, which in fact had had something to do with my resigning as reporter of his court, as I did not wish to be involved in an investigation of a man who had befriended me and with whom I had maintained the closest personal relations. The charge never came to a head, and Barron served as judge I think until he died.

At the convention which nominated me for Congress the fourth time a resolution was introduced condemning the free use of railroad passes by members of Congress and other public officials. My good friend A. R. Hall of Dunn County, who had been chairman of the congressional committee in my preceding campaign in 1890, immediately arose and stated that the resolution was uncalled for as far as Mr. Haugen was concerned, as he knew that I had not accepted

[2] This statement may be belated, but the facts related by me, while written from memory, can be substantiated by reference to correspondence preserved from the time of my entry into politics. I have not gone over it in detail, but shall leave it in the care and custody of the State Historical Society. There will be a slight break caused by loss in the Capitol fire in 1904. The failure to make more thorough investigation of my correspondence in preparing these memoirs is due in part to the accident of breaking my right arm while engaged in the work. If health and life permit I may take up the correspondence more in detail later.

passes since my first entry into Congress. The resolution was withdrawn. Mr. Hall had been the leader in the movement in opposition to free passes in the legislature, never having accepted one himself. He may truthfully be said to have been the father of the "Progressive" movement in Wisconsin. He had before coming to this state been a member of the legislature in Minnesota. He was a manufacturer on a moderate scale in Wisconsin, had seen the evils of corporation favoritism in rate making, and was well equipped to lead the new movement. I enjoyed his intimate friendship and, I believe, his unlimited confidence. When he was chairman of the congressional committee I sent him a small sum to defray necessary expenses; this he promptly returned to me. I may say the same thing of Mr. Linderman of Trempealeau County, who had occupied the same position in an earlier campaign. Both rendered their services as a duty of citizenship, without looking for reward even to meet expenses.

But to return to Congress, which we left in charge of "Czar Reed." The Reed Rules were in force, so members in their seats refusing to vote were counted as present to constitute a quorum. A Democratic member from Ohio, who had formerly served as lieutenant governor of his state, joined with his Democratic friends in opposing this practice. But to his dismay Reed was able to refer to his record as presiding officer of the Ohio senate, where he had himself adopted the same plan. The so-called morning hour was largely consumed for weeks by some member of the minority taking the floor and exhausting his time in abuse of Tom Reed, the Czar. Reed never winced at this; it fell like water off a duck's back. When time expired, his gavel fell with the announcement: "The gentleman's time has expired." Mr. Springer of Illinois, who had been quite active and vociferous in this performance, was called away at one time, probably to look after his "fences." A member from Mis-

souri thereupon took his place to flay Reed during the morning hour. One day Reed noticed that Springer had returned. He called a member to the chair, rushed down and greeted Springer, stating how glad he was to see him back. Springer did not know what to make of it, but Reed explained that he had had the gentleman from Missouri on his hands and felt like welcoming Springer to the old post.

Time wore on with discussion of the McKinley bill, necessary appropriation bills, election contests, and routine legislation, so adjournment did not come until well into October. The campaign was thus unusually brief. Compared with later tariff measures enacted by Republican administrations, the McKinley law was moderate in its rates, but like the Mills bill of the preceding Congress it defeated its proponents. Evidently it is easier to attack than it is to defend a measure of this kind. And that may be true generally in political contests; an aggressive critic can drag in any matter, however remote and irrelevant, while the defense is limited to acts performed. McKinley himself was defeated; La Follette, a member of the committee, likewise. When we met for the short session in 1890 I took occasion to express to Mr. McKinley my regret at his defeat. His reply was that he had no regrets, that it would probably be for the best. He may have had in view then what actually occurred—he was elected governor of Ohio in the next election, which had much to do with his later promotion to the presidency. McKinley did not have the aggressiveness of Reed. Had he been the speaker of the Fifty-first Congress, there might not have been the bitter contests on the floor; but the narrow margin of the Republicans might have left the party impotent. McKinley would have been conciliatory, if possible. But the Reed Rules had come to stay, so they were in effect retained by the next Democratic House. In order to make it appear that they were not followed, the distinction was made that in-

stead of the speaker counting a quorum, that official appointed tellers to count those present and not voting; the difference between tweedle-dum and tweedle-dee.

I continued to serve on the committee on elections appointed by Mr. Crisp, the new speaker, with whom I had formerly served on that committee. There were not as many contests as in the former House; southern Republicans felt it would be useless, and the party in that section fell into what a member of Cleveland's cabinet would have termed "innocuous desuetude." I may say that in this Congress, I think it was, I served on a committee having under consideration an airship. A man from Chicago had taken out a patent for an airship constructed of thin steel plates, his theory being that if the air was entirely exhausted so as to result in a perfect vacuum it would rise into the air. The ship was to be some four hundred feet in length, other dimensions to correspond. But he needed money and wanted an appropriation, which was refused him. However, he was granted space in the Navy Yard at Washington for his experiments. I never heard of him afterwards; he was an impecunious and, no doubt, unpractical inventor. I am reminded of an old friend in River Falls, also an inventor. Tom Hill had conceived the idea that he could invent an air pump to be applied to a bicycle which would compress sufficient air into the hollow tubes going down hill so that when released it would run the bicycle up the next hill, or aid in so doing.

William Jennings Bryan, the "boy orator of the Platte," came to this Congress. He was a member of the committee on ways and means. Bryan possessed all the elements of popularity, a fine physique, friendly attitude toward colleagues, and a remarkably pleasant voice. I always attended his meetings when he came to Madison in later years. During his last visit here I spent a half-hour with him in his room at the Park Hotel. Jerry Simpson ("Sockless Simpson")

of Kansas, another member, was very much misunderstood. He was elected as a Populist. A man of much more than ordinary capacity, even for a Congressman (whatever that may mean), he was ready in debate and full of statistical information, a seeming characteristic of his party. Both Bryan and Simpson became popular with the members on both sides. When the latter was taken severely sick, general solicitude and sympathy were expressed on all sides.

Bourke Cockran of New York came into this House. When the adoption of the rules was considered he defended the Reed position because it gave the majority the right to act. He said, "If you give me the power to obstruct the will of the majority I may take advantage of it," or words to that effect; but he denounced obstruction for the purpose of defeating the popular will as legally expressed. He was a vigorous debater, and personally and naturally a good friend of Reed's. Both observed that decorum in debate which might be expected from men so eminent in their profession.

Reed undoubtedly had the presidential bee. But Blaine from his own state still suffered from the same malady and resigned the position of secretary of state under Harrison because he saw some slight hope of attaining his life ambition in 1892. But Harrison was renominated, and Blaine died in 1893. Before I left Congress in 1895 Reed asked me as to the probable stand of Wisconsin Republicans in 1896. La Follette seemed to me to be closer to McKinley than to him, and I so stated. He remarked that McKinley's elevation to the presidency "will continue the old régime at the other end of the capitol," referring to the Senate, which he thought was arrogating to itself more power and influence than was warranted by the Constitution, and was encroaching on the powers of the President. Have matters improved?

There were many applications for establishment of post offices in my district, and it was often left to me to suggest

to the department names for them. I selected those that seemed to be in harmony with the population of the neighborhood, calling one in Burnett County, Freya; one in Pierce, Viking. But when I suggested Finland for a Finnish community in Douglas County some of the native Americans objected, deeming the name too chilly, and it was called Poplar at their suggestion. George Smith had moved from Eau Galle, Dunn County, and started a country store in Barron County some ten miles north of Rice Lake on the Omaha Railroad. An application came to me for a post office at Smith's store. I took it to the department and, as no preference had been indicated by the petitioners, I suggested Smithville or Smithfield. But there were too many Smiths already represented by post offices. I stated the objection to my correspondents, and was informed in due time that they had agreed on the name Haugen. I was able to tell Mr. Phipps of the Omaha Railroad a few years later that while I was not boasting about the size of my town, it was much larger than Phipps, named after him.

In my last campaign for Congress in 1892 a newspaper at Iron River in Bayfield County charged me with having supported a bill extending the exemption of Northern Pacific lands in Wisconsin from taxation. At a meeting in Iron River I challenged the statement and referred to the fact that the act in question had been passed before my first term in Congress began. Spooner was a candidate for governor at this election, and as he had been in the Senate at the time referred to I immediately called his attention to the charge, which was leveled against him as well as against me. I received no acknowledgment from him; but it undoubtedly cost him some votes in the northern part of the state. The editor retracted his charge as to me. Many years later Lincoln Steffens, who was then more or less engaged in the "muckraking" business, called on me in Madison looking for Spooner's

record on corporation matters of this character. I told him that all the information I had was that the bill referred to had been passed before my service and I thought without a record vote. Spooner was defeated by Peck, who had defeated Hoard two years earlier. But Spooner came back several years later, was elected to the Senate, and served with distinction for a number of years. He was known to have been the attorney of the Omaha and other railroads in court and before the legislature. A long service in that relation would no doubt influence the views of most men and make them see matters from their client's viewpoint. It is human nature. This would be especially true in a man so intensely bound up in his client's case as was Spooner during his professional career. Quaere, whether a man so constituted would act impartially, though honestly, where the public and the corporate interests conflict.

Senator Sawyer was of the old-fashioned lumberman type, congenial and pleasant in his personal relations, but not free from those prejudices that seem naturally to accompany the possession of wealth. My relations with him were always friendly, and when the breach occurred between him and La Follette I was unable to determine whether the old gentleman was really guilty of trying to reach the court corruptly through La Follette, whose brother-in-law was the sitting judge in the state treasury cases, or whether La Follette jumped at a hasty conclusion and later adhered to it, seeing political advantage in so doing. It may be stated that the state treasurers had been in the habit of pocketing the interest collected from deposits of public funds in banks. Mr. Sawyer was one of the bondsmen, and the responsible one. Action had been brought by the attorney general under the Peck Democratic administration to collect the interest thus appropriated. There was no charge that the bondsmen had benefited by the action of the treasurers. Naturally

Sawyer tried to avoid the liability. Tom Reed asked me what there was to the row between La Follette and "Uncle Philete." I was somewhat noncommittal, and said that I had no reason to doubt Bob's word but I felt reluctant to believe that the Senator would try to reach the court in that crude way. Reed scratched his bald head and remarked: "You can never tell about these old commercial fellows." The occurrence was some time after Bob left Congress, when he was in the private practice of law at Madison. Sawyer lacked entirely that dignity generally ascribed to the members of the United States Senate. Tom Mills, who had been a member of the Wisconsin Assembly and later studied law in New York, came to Washington accompanied by two well-dressed New York women, mother and daughter. They called on me and I invited them to lunch at the Senate restaurant. As we passed Senator Sawyer's committee room I suggested that we step in and call on him. We had a pleasant visit, and as we were leaving Uncle Sawyer remarked: "Now, ladies, if you don't care about lugging your duds about with you, just leave them here in my room." Still the true lumberman! I always found him accommodating and ready to go to the departments if he could be of assistance. Naturally I did not court any misunderstanding with him.

Superior was the one place in my district that called for special attention and legislation. It was developing as a commercial city. The harbor was a long, shallow bay. The Soo locks were being deepened from fourteen to more than twenty feet, and Superior and Duluth harbors were crying for recognition in the same direction. Baldwin and I had asked the proper committee to provide for the necessary preliminary survey, but in vain. In considering harbor improvements the order was to move up the Great Lakes, Wisconsin thus preceding Minnesota. When Lake Superior was reached I proposed an amendment for a preliminary survey

and estimate to deepen the Superior harbor to (I think) twenty feet. Mr. Catchings of Mississippi had the bill in charge and, addressing the chair, said he agreed to the amendment, which was adopted. Mr. Baldwin immediately came over to my seat and asked for a copy of my amendment, and when Minnesota was reached proposed a similar one for Duluth harbor. But Mr. Catchings now objected; why I never learned. But I intervened stating that the amendment now proposed was identical with one to which he had agreed a few moments earlier; and Mr. Catchings consented. Thus the preliminary step for deepening the two harbors was provided for. I have a surmise that Mr. Catchings had a very friendly feeling toward me personally, as I had at an earlier session when a member of the committee joined in a report in his favor when his seat was contested. He was an able lawyer and had served as attorney general of his state.

The free coinage of silver had been a prominent subject before Congress for many years. As a compromise the so-called Sherman law for the purchase of four and one-half million ounces of silver bullion monthly had been enacted. But this large market for silver had resulted only in its fall in value as compared with gold, and in the summer of 1893, instead of being sixteen to one it stood at twenty-two or more to one. Cleveland had been elected in 1892, and in the summer of 1893 he called Congress in special session to meet August 8, one of his avowed purposes being to repeal the so-called "purchasing clause" of the Sherman law. A long controversy arose over the entire coinage question. The Republicans as a rule stood with the President, while his own party was largely arrayed against him, many of the southern Democrats joining with the silver-producing western and mountain states. The Populists declared for free coinage. Some of the Democrats who had in former sessions favored free coinage now changed tune and supported the President.

Among them was Colonel Patterson of Tennessee, who appealed to his Democratic colleagues to come to the support of the President, calling their attention to the fact that the Republicans were supporting him. This provoked "Private John Allen" of Mississippi to say that, as for him, he was not elected to follow Republican leadership, that on the contrary he was sent to fight the Republicans, and he continued in about these words: "The gentleman from Tennessee reminds me of a certain Confederate colonel of cavalry who encountered a troop of Yankees, and not being able to hold his own turned tail and fled with his command down the pike. The Yankees pursued, and now and then a Johnnie would turn in his saddle and fire back. The Colonel got excited and called out to his men: 'For God's sake, boys, stop your firing; don't you see it only makes them madder!'" The story had been told on Mr. Patterson before, but it brought down the House. A partial understanding was entered into by some of the Republicans that they would vote for free coinage at twenty-two to one. The voting went on by stages, but twenty-two to one was not reached; it did not satisfy the free silverites, and they submitted to defeat at an earlier stage. The question remained an issue and "The Crown of Thorns and Cross of Gold" speech of Bryan at the Democratic convention in 1896 made him the standard bearer and free coinage at sixteen to one a leading issue in the campaign. Senator Jones of Nevada published his own speeches on the subject in book form, making a very respectable volume, showing great research and study—probably the most thorough exposition of the free coinage view put before the public.

John Lind of Minnesota entered Congress at the same time I did, and we became good friends and generally agreed on public questions. Lind was a student of economic questions, a wide reader, and a well-informed man. He was in-

clined to vote for free silver, but agreed to delay his preference until twenty-two to one, which was about the market ratio at the time, was reached. But as it was not reached, not being satisfactory to the more radical silverites, he remained with the majority of the Republicans. In 1896, however, he supported Bryan on the silver issue. He wrote me before the convention that unless the Republicans did something for silver he would sever his relations with the party. He served as governor of Minnesota, and one term in Congress as a Democrat from the Minneapolis district. In 1890 he was the only Republican elected from Minnesota, as I was from Wisconsin. I see him occasionally, when we renew acquaintance and review old times.

Mr. Pickler, a member of the House from South Dakota, was quite a ready if not a very profound debater, and always seemed anxious to contribute his share to the *Record.* This provoked Reed to say of him: "I never understood what the Bible meant by the wild ass's colt until I met Pickler." (This was an aside, however, not for the *Record.*) While Reed was always ready, and at least as clear and instructive in debate as any other man of his day, he had the faculty of not taking himself too seriously, and delighted both sides of the House with his ready bon-mots. Somewhat in line with this was a story told me in regard to Mr. Pettigrew of South Dakota. Mr. Pettigrew was a man of ability who served as a Republican both in the House and later in the Senate with credit to himself and to his constituents. But the silver bug got him; he left the party, became very much dissatisfied with the general trend of affairs, and became a chronic growler. I took part in the campaign in South Dakota—I think it was in 1898. A woman at Millbank told me that during a misunderstanding between her little boy and one of his playmates she heard one of them say: "There you go, pettigrewing again."

The Republican Fifty-first Congress created a number of new states, and I voted for the admission of the two Dakotas, Montana, Idaho, Washington, and Wyoming. While this was a Republican Congress, the vote was not strictly partisan. It might have been expected that these states would remain in the Republican column; but some of them were affected by the free-silver virus, and most of them voted for Bryan in 1896.

In 1892 I was urged by some Republicans in the district to let my name be used as a delegate to the national convention at Minneapolis. But I declined, writing them that I appreciated the suggestion but thought it only fair that the honor should be conferred upon some private individual and not upon a member of Congress. This was different from what we have seen recently, when the present Senators and their immediate henchmen called in by special invitation nominated themselves as delegates. And they have the effrontery to call that the will of the people![3] I have witnessed national conventions, but never participated in one as a delegate. The Republican party of Wisconsin of today may truly be said to have fallen into the hands of "the three tailors of Threadneedle Street" who solemnly declared, "We, the people of England," etc.

Many interesting matters came up in Congress during my term of service, and I was a fairly close attendant on the sessions. No matter what the question under consideration might be, there was usually some member familiar with it and ready to inform the House. As said by Tim Campbell of New York, "A man ought to stay in the House, for every three or four days something interesting is said." This was intended as a compliment to a body in which talk was the order of the day.

[3] The voters however endorsed the Senators.—Editor.

(July, 1845), 466, 468; *ibid.* (November, 1845), 741; *ibid.* (December, 1845), 801;

I broke the rule in the Tenth District by serving four terms, all my predecessors having dropped out after serving three. I enjoyed the associations made. It was a pleasant experience. But under the then prevailing caucus and convention system I felt that there were ambitious members of the party, men of ability and standing, who would with reason aspire to the position. Whether I might have been renominated is scarcely worthy of conjecture. I am not aware that there was any criticism of my official action by Republicans, and it was a propitious time to step out. But the immediate occasion for my withdrawing from the congressional arena will be discussed in the next issue of the magazine—if the magazine can stand it. It has been difficult to select what ought and what ought not to be included in these personal sketches, but I have found it as difficult to get out of Congress, metaphorically speaking, as it was to get in.

[*To be continued*]

DOCUMENTS

LETTERS OF THE REVEREND ADELBERT INAMA, O. PRAEM.

[Continued from March issue of this magazine]

LETTERS DESCRIPTIVE OF WESTERN TRIP 1844[74]

Salina, Feb. 28 [1845]. (Corresp.) In pursuance of my promise I am sending you a few annotations upon my journey through the West which I made during the fall of last year.

At Raffeiner's return and the arrival of my dear countryman Father Florian Schwenninger, it became possible to carry out one of my most cherished projects, to tour the far West to acquaint myself by personal observation with the state of our holy religion; in particular, with the needs of the German Catholic immigrants in that far-off region. On the report that eight missionaries were coming with Raffeiner it was my intention to emigrate permanently to the West; but this proved impracticable when, instead of eight, only two arrived.[75] Hence I had to content myself with an interim leave of absence for two months, chiefly because His Lordship, the Bishop, had commissioned me to supervise the erection of the new church building at Salina. For this purpose, therefore, I called at Salina on two occasions, made the necessary arrangements, requested Father Florian to call

[74] These letters were probably addressed to the superior of the monastery at Wilten, Tyrol. They were printed in *Kath. Blätter:* No. 18 (May 5, 1845), *Supplement* no. 18, 430; no. 19 (May 12, 1845), 447; no. 29 (July 21, 1845), 685; no. 38 (Sept. 22, 1845), 906; no. 29 (July 20, 1846), 693. Translated by Father William Nellen.

[75] *Vide* note 47. Raffeiner actually left with eight, hence the reference to eight priests who were expected. Those in the party were: two priests for the New York diocese, the Reverends Florian Schwenninger, O.S.B., Ambrose Buchmair, O.M.Cap., and one for Cincinnati, William Untertheiner; three Franciscan brothers for the latter place: Leander Stoder, Arsatius Wieser, Dismas Kellner; two seminarians from Ratisbon: Joseph Relmpracht for the Redemptorist novitiate at Baltimore, and John Feihl for the New York diocese. *Vide Annales de la Propagation de la Foi,* xvi (1844), 444.

there occasionally for the same purpose during my absence, and, invoking divine protection, prepared to depart, on the fourth of September of last year.

On the following day, having made the necessary dispositions at Salina, I began my journey by railroad to Buffalo. The entire route was new to me. It leads through the most fertile and beautiful, and the most thickly settled part of this state. Of the many important towns I mention but four. After a trip of a full hour the train brought me to Auburn. This town comprises more than eight hundred houses and a population of six thousand inhabitants, eight churches, a Protestant theological seminary, twenty-seven schools, two banks, and many factories and millworks. Europeans can hardly conceive the regularity of plans, neatness and elegance of most buildings. However, magnificence and solidity are usually wanting in America. Only one building, and this belongs to the state, shows both; namely, the general penitentiary, containing nine hundred inmates. It forms a regular square of five hundred feet, enclosed by a wall four feet in thickness and thirty-five feet in height, equipped with towers and embrasures in mediaeval style. The Irish Catholics possess a small church with a resident priest, who serves also Geneva, twenty-two English miles distant.[76]

Geneva is the second town on this route, as large as Auburn and of the same if not more beautiful appearance, as it rises amphitheater-like on the shores of Lake Geneva. It contains eight churches and a sort of college teaching medical branches. Between the two towns mentioned the railroad passes over Lake Cayuga on a bridge a mile and a half in length. Rochester, forty-two miles westward from here, is still larger and more noteworthy. It is situated on both banks of the Genesee River, which has several falls here, two hundred and twenty-six feet. To this large water power and the proximity of Lake Ontario the town owes its rapid and unexampled growth. The first settlements were begun in 1812, and in 1840 the city numbered three thousand houses with a population of twenty-three thousand; it contains the

[76] The Rev. Patrick Bradley, pastor of Auburn and its mission, Geneva. *Catholic Almanac* (1845).

most varied enterprises. More than three and one-third million bushels of wheat are annually ground here by twenty-four mills. Most noteworthy, however, is a stone, genuinely Roman, aqueduct eight hundred and fifty feet long, resting upon eleven arched pillars, and erected at a cost of $480,000; on this the canal crosses the river through the middle of the city. Rochester has sixteen churches; five are Catholic, and three of these German. One of the latter, a solid, splendid edifice, belongs to the Redemptorist Fathers, but it is not yet completed.[77]

The queen of all cities in the western part of this state is, without doubt, the city of Buffalo at the east end of Lake Erie. It is only forty years old and even now numbers four thousand houses and a population of thirty thousand. It is the principal mart between the East and the West. German Catholics are numerous in the city as well as in the surrounding districts, many of whom remained here because they had not sufficient means to go farther to the west. Especially during the past year many have settled there, as an Indian tribe which still owned reservation land here emigrated in compliance with a treaty, and the land which it had occupied was offered for sale. The German Catholics have four priests in this region, each attending several churches. But an equal additional number seems necessary. In the city itself there are about six thousand Catholics, having two churches, one of which, St. Louis', is the largest in the diocese; it requires, however, a few thousand dollars more for its completion. This church was placed under interdict two years ago by the Bishop, in consequence of a deplorable misunderstanding. In the fall of 1843 I tried to end the conflict through correspondence with the trustees; but this was achieved only in July of 1844 through the personal presence of the Bishop.[78] From Buffalo to Chicago a steamboat now

[77] Two German churches, St. Peter's and St. Joseph's (incomplete), listed in *Catholic Almanac* (1845).

[78] Buffalo had two German churches, St. Louis' (Rev. Francis Guth) and St. Mary's (Rev. Alig, C.SS.R.); its county had two, at Eden (Rev. Arnailph Volenis [Follenius]) and at Williamsville (Theodore Noethen). *Vide Catholic Almanac* (1845). The newly built St. Louis' Church was under interdict from April 4, 1843, to August 10, 1844, as a result of the action of Bishop Hughes of New York against its trustees who refused to conform to the regulations of his

plies regularly each day, with the exception of Sundays, as long as the lakes are open. I decided to travel on the *Empire,* recommended by the newspapers as the "Giant Steamer"; it was to leave harbor on the seventh; hence I could protract my stay in Buffalo no longer, much less visit the Falls of the Niagara River. The *Empire* is, indeed, in its kind a wonderful structure; it surpasses all ocean liners in tonnage, for its tonnage is 1,220, whilst the largest liners have only 1,200. Its length is two hundred and sixty feet and it has three decks. The upper deck is most comfortably and elegantly constructed for the use of first-class passengers. It contains a salon two hundred and twenty feet in length, which can be divided at will by curtains. On the right and left sides sleeping apartments are arranged. More than a thousand passengers find comfortable accommodations. To the honor of the Americans it must be said that during the entire four days' trip I noticed no impropriety whatever, although ranks and sexes intermingled in many ways. This is partly due to the high esteem of the opposite sex, partly to the severe punishment imposed by law upon infringement in this matter. Seduction is punished by a prison term of several years, and illegitimate impregnation can be expiated only by a speedy marriage, or prison.

I found very few Germans on the boat and only four Catholics. Very likely they choose cheaper transportation. The captain assigned me, without asking, to the first-class passengers; I had to pay fifteen dollars for transportation and board, since I preferred not to plead the privilege of a

pastoral letter (1842) regarding the tenure and administration of church property, which was issued to the clergy and laity to promulgate in English the decisions of the first synod of New York, 1842. Synodal decrees respecting church property may be seen in *Wis. Mag. of Hist.,* xi, 197 (December, 1927), note 30. Bishop Hughes secured the title to church property in his diocese by assuming its debts, and immediately removed every layman from trustee boards. In New York City his right was easily established, but the trustees of St. Louis', Buffalo, refused to comply and were even instrumental in getting a bill passed by the state legislature which could effectively nullify his right. The bishop and the trustees met and ended the schism. On Sunday, August 11, 1844, Bishop Hughes gave absolution in St. Louis' Church. *Vide* U. S. Cath. Hist. Soc., *Hist. Records and Studies* (New York, June, 1915), 142-144, 154-156; Bishop Timon, *Missions in Western New York,* 221sqq.; *Der Wahrheitsfreund* (Cincinnati, 1837-), Aug. 29, 1844, 412; *ibid.* (Sept. 5, 1844), 5; *ibid.* (Apr. 20, 1843), 264; Salzbacher, *op. cit.,* 388-340.

missionary. The company was purely English and select, nearly as many women as men. Not being so conversant with the English language as to conduct a connected conversation in an educated company, I wished to remain aloof. But North American curiosity would not permit. Since dress, speech, and manners betrayed me a European, now one, then another sought a conversation, for me not indeed without profit. The boat landed at four harbors to unload and reload freight and passengers, and especially to replenish its fuel. The lakes, clear as crystal, furnish excellent and very fresh water. The last place of landing was the island of Mackinac, the most northern point of our voyage, where Huron, Michigan, and Superior lakes meet. A boundary fort and a Catholic mission are located here.[79] At this time the Indians made the place of special interest. Several thousand had gathered for their annual allotment of money by the federal paymaster. To my regret, night had set in when we landed. Nevertheless they came in crowds on to our boat to help load fuel, or to present their dances and songs. I also went ashore to inspect some of their tents. These Indians, a mixture of various tribes, in particular of the Chippewa and Menominee, have in great part accepted the Catholic faith and belong to the little sheep of our dear countryman, the Reverend Pirec, who jointly with Baraga labors as an apostle among the Indians of this section.[80] Some of

[79] The Rev. Otto Skolla, *Catholic Almanac* (1845); *Wis. Mag. of Hist.*, x, 73 (September, 1926), note 18.

[80] Francis Pirec was born in Carniola (Krain), 1785; seminary, Laibach, 1810; ordained 1813; worked in the diocese of Laibach until 1835; arrived Detroit, September 18, 1835; assistant to Baraga, who with Pirec and Visocky took care of nine hundred miles of territory, with missions at La Croix (Harbor Springs) on Lake Michigan, Sault Ste. Marie, Michipicoton, Fort William, Grand Portage, La Pointe, and L'Anse, and at Fond du Lac on Lake Superior. Pirec was a great temperance worker among the Indians. He was a practical physician too, and often vaccinated against smallpox. He spent twelve years among the Ottawa and built six flourishing missions. Bishop Cretin, first head of St. Paul, called him in 1852 to work for the Chippewa on the upper Mississippi. When seventy years old he built two churches for the Indians, two for the French, and six for the Germans. His first church was built at Crow Wing shortly after his call by the bishop. In 1864 Father Pirec went to his homeland to seek workers for the field to which many an appeal had failed to attract. One priest, the Rev. Buh, and fifteen ecclesiastical students accompanied him back, of whom one, Katzer, died archbishop of Milwaukee 1903, and two worked in the Milwaukee diocese: Francis Spath, who died at Schlesingerville in 1890, and Ferdinand Stern, who died in 1889. In 1873 Pirec went to Europe and died at the full age of ninety-

them appear quite civilized, are dressed in European fashion, and can hardly be distinguished from the whites. It is likely these are not of pure Indian blood. I tried to converse with them in English or French, but to no purpose. Dances and songs presented aboard the ship were really savage and repugnant, but not new to me; for in the state of New York and at this very spot [Salina] remnants of Indian tribes are found. A full hour's distance southward from here begins the reservation of the Onondaga, who, about a thousand in number, are what is left of the great nation formed by six tribes and known to the French as the Iroquois. A very few of them gave the Methodists a hearing. They remain savages in custom and religion and appear like mournful phantoms from another world.

After a stop of a full hour our boat set sail, rounded the northernmost point of Michigan, and from Lake Huron entered Lake Michigan. A strong breeze arose during the night so that sails could be used to advantage. But this caused a double motion of the boat which brought on severe sickness to at least two-thirds of the passengers, mostly women. At this, as upon a later occasion during a storm, I proved a good sailor.

After a pleasant voyage we entered the harbor of Milwaukee in Wisconsin during the night of September 12. The following morning I presented myself at the episcopal residence, but found only the Reverend Heiss at home. He is a young missionary from Bavaria and came to America nearly simultaneously with my arrival; with Bishop Henni he had moved to Milwaukee.[81] His Lordship had not yet returned from his journey to Lake Superior to visit Baraga, but he was expected daily.[82] In order to lose no time I embarked

four in Laibach. *Vide* Cath. Hist. Soc. of St. Paul, *Acta et Dicta* (July, 1911), iii, no. 1, 66sqq. For Baraga, see *Wis. Mag. of Hist.*, x, 72 (September, 1926), note 17.

[81] Michael Heiss was born in Pfahldorf, Bavaria, 1818; University of Munich, ordained 1840; labored two years in home diocese of Eichstätt; St. Mary's Church, Covington, Ky., 1842-1844; 1844 with Bishop Henni to Milwaukee as missionary and secretary; pastor St. Mary's, Milwaukee, 1850; rector St. Francis Seminary 1856-1868; bishop of La Crosse 1868-1880; archbishop of Milwaukee 1881-1890.

[82] Bishop Henni arrived at La Pointe, where Baraga met him, August 14, 1844. *Vide Der Wahrheitsfreund* (March 13, 1845).

the same day for Chicago, where I arrived the following morning.

Next morning (September 15) I called on the new bishop, William Quarter, an Irishman. He had formerly been pastor in New York; his parents, brothers, and sister live in Utica. I was very well acquainted with them, and upon two occasions had the honor of meeting the Bishop at his home. He had also invited me by letter to come to his diocese. This was formerly part of the dioceses of Vincennes, St. Louis, and Dubuque. Now, after the appointment of the new bishop, the bishops of Vincennes and Dubuque withdrew their priests; only the bishop of St. Louis made it optional to remain or leave. The diocese is a large and extended one, comprising the whole state of Illinois, and even now contains forty thousand Catholics, but far and widely scattered. Imagine, if you can, the position of the poor man. He was at once compelled to seek young theologians, ordain them—prepared or not—and distribute them in the rural districts. There were all told seven in number. German Catholics are very numerous in Illinois, especially in the southern parts and in the western mining districts. Now among the twenty-two priests only three are German. If you consider in addition to these conditions the Irish inborn art of pleasing flattery you will readily conceive how joyfully I was welcomed by the Bishop, and how urgently he endeavored to retain me for his diocese. Sheer force nearly was required to break away, and that only upon promise to visit him again for further deliberations, on my return trip. During my sojourn of six days I visited a mission fifteen miles distant which consists of about twenty-five families, exclusively Rhenish Prussian. They had constructed a log chapel which holds probably one hundred persons. I exercised all the functions of a missionary in this place.

A few additional remarks about this diocese will seem proper. The bishop's place is a board house, smaller than the customary peasant's home in Tyrol, with this difference, that spaces are used ingeniously for living rooms. The cathedral is a new, incomplete brick building without floor, ceiling, or plaster; briefly, without all that is found in Euro-

pean cathedrals. And even at that, the Bishop has no means to continue the construction. And this cathedral is the only Catholic church for three thousand Irish, German, and French Catholics. Though His Lordship had come to Chicago only four months prior to my arrival, I had read in the newspapers that he had built a college and seminary for theologians, and would soon build a Sisters' Convent for the education of young girls. I considered this Celtic magnification [Irish exaggeration]. And this I found true. But now I read what is more astounding, that the state government granted a charter to the college, establishing it as a university—a Protestant government to a Catholic institution. An American college is, as a rule, an institution for higher studies, and some of them include medical and juridical studies. Now, how does the Irish University of Chicago meet these requirements? The old board chapel is divided by partitions into small rooms: there you have a description of the university halls. Two priests, recently ordained, who probably have never instructed a single soul and who also have charge of the parish, alternate weekly in giving instruction in all courses and many languages. They bear the pretentious titles of president and vice-president of the university. At my second visit toward the end of October eleven students were enrolled, one of whom, a theologian, was without a professor. The university funds register zero. I mention this matter only to prove that, since such an attempt as this by an Irish bishop on his own account has resulted in failure, the Germans surely would need aid from abroad in a similar undertaking.[83]

[83] William Quarter, first bishop of Chicago, was born in Ireland, 1806; college, Maynooth; student Mt. St. Mary's Seminary, Emmitsburg, Md., 1822-1829; assistant 1829-1833; pastor 1833-1844, St. Peter's Church, New York City; consecrated Mar. 13, 1844; arrived in Chicago May 5, 1844; died April 10, 1848. His brother, Walter J. Quarter, was pastor in Utica (*Catholic Almanac*, 1835-1838). The following references may be consulted for various items in the text: *Der Wahrheitsfreund*, August 29 and November 7, 1844; *U. S. Cath. Mag.* (July, 1845), 466, 468; *ibid.* (November, 1845), 741; *ibid.* (December, 1845), 801; *Catholic Almanac* (1845 and 1846); U. S. Cath. Hist. Soc., *Hist. Records and Studies* (New York, February, 1911), vi, pt. I, 42; *Illustrated Souvenir of the Archdiocese of Chicago* (Chicago); *Souvenir of the Silver Jubilee* in the Episcopacy of His Grace the Most Rev. Patrick Augustine Feehan (copyright 1891), 15-63; especially the *Diary* of Bishop Quarter, 63-94; on p. 68, for September 15, 1844, it runs: "Had visit from the German priest that has been for some time officiating in Utica, New York, Rev. Mr. Ainarna".

Salina, May 12 [1845]. On September 20 of last year I left Chicago for Milwaukee to make a second attempt to meet Bishop Henni. The trip by steamer took nine hours. The weather was serene throughout the voyage, the sky cloudless, but the temperature oppressively hot, especially on shore. In the evening black thunder-clouds gathered and a destructive storm seemed imminent; however, it passed with only strong gusts of wind and cold gushes of rain, suddenly bringing in the autumn season; the ensuing nights were cloudless, cold, and frosty.

At my arrival the Bishop had not yet returned, and the Reverend Kundig was the only priest present to attend the doubly numerous parish of Irish and Germans, two others having gone across country to missions for Sunday. Hence my presence was most welcome, and I was constrained to hear confessions and conduct divine services for the Germans. The Reverend Kundig, like Bishop Henni a native Swiss, is an old and experienced missionary. Seventeen years ago they, as clerics, were sent together to America by the Propaganda at Rome. Kundig witnessed the formation of the dioceses of Cincinnati, Detroit, and Milwaukee, and took active part therein. No more competent personage could be found to give necessary information on missionary affairs and the conditions of the Church. I certainly owe him a deep debt of gratitude for this candid, plain-spoken, and confidential information. We would spend half the night in intimate commune. At last after three days, late in the evening came the Bishop, the two priests having arrived a little earlier. The entire clergy of the episcopal city was now assembled, and the moiety of the diocesan clergy, all living in community with the Bishop. One of the priests is the Reverend Heiss, a Bavarian of the Fichstaedt diocese, who is as strong as he is young in mind and body. Arriving in America but a few months before my coming, he went to Covington in the diocese of Louisville. Last year he migrated with Bishop Henni to Wisconsin. The other is a somewhat elderly man, a genuine Irishman.[84]

[84] *Vide Wis. Mag. of Hist.*, x, 84 (September, 1926), note 34. The reference to Propaganda is the missionary department of the Vatican and its college

Now you will, I know, expect a few remarks about the episcopal city. Hardly expecting you to believe me, I am going to state, as in previous reports, nothing but the pure truth. The Bishop permitted me to make these statements because, as a stranger, I can express them with more freedom and better grace than His Lordship. Before beginning I beg you to abstract yourself from all that is European and to imagine yourself living in the time of the Apostles.

The episcopal residence is a wee wooden structure, one of the smallest and poorest in all Milwaukee, harboring, in capuchin-like cells, the Bishop and his aides [text: *Kollegium*], the three priests mentioned. Even this place was not paid for when the Bishop arrived. The cathedral is a wooden building thirty-six feet long and twenty-five wide, probably large enough seven years ago to meet the first emergencies. At present it does not accommodate one-tenth of the population. Extensions are being added to its length, making it so disproportional that I have never beheld a more woe-begone structure. Why not build a new church? Alas, the poor apostle of the Germans did not arrive with pockets full of gold and silver, and his first task was to pay old debts on his residence and cathedral. He applied to neighboring bishops, but they are in similar straits.[85] Then he sought to

founded by Urban VIII. One of the first notices of Kundig's presence in Milwaukee is his letter about a Christmas celebration in 1841. *Vide Wahrheitsfreund* (January 26, 1842). Kundig and Bishop Lefevre left Detroit in July, 1842, and upon arrival in Milwaukee the Bishop appointed Father Kundig pastor in the place of the Rev. Patrick Kelly, first resident priest of Milwaukee, who had been there since May, 1837, and who was now transferred to Detroit. Kundig wrote from Milwaukee December 28, 1842, that the Rev. [Thomas] Morrissey was sent to assist him. This is the elderly Irish priest of the text. He died at Spring Prairie while on a missionary tour and was buried at Burlington May 21, 1850. *Vide ibid.* (August 25, 1842; January 26, 1843; June 20, 1850). At the time his missions were south and west to Mukwonago, Kenosha, Franklin, Prairieville, East Troy, and thereabouts; those of Heiss, to the north and west to Germantown, Richfield, Fussville, Menomonee Falls, and also to Yorkville, Burlington, and Jefferson. *Vide ibid.* (July 11 and 18, 1844); O'Hearn, *op. cit.*, 31; *Directory of the City of Milwaukee* (1847), 44. The other diocesan priests were Carabin at Green Bay, Bonduel at Prairie du Chien, and Mazzuchelli at Sinsinawa. *Catholic Almanac* (1845).

[85]The clergy residence up to Henni's arrival May 4, 1844, had been in the basement of St. Peter's Church. A cottage had been bought for his use at 110 North Jefferson Street between Martin and Division (Juneau Avenue) streets. He "was seated at the dining-table in his new home, taking his first meal, when he was called to meet a person who held a note for payment. Shortly before he had left Cincinnati, his congregation, Holy Trinity, had presented him with

secure loans from private persons, finally succeeding in obtaining one of two thousand dollars, at twelve (!) per cent, from a Protestant minister.[86] In his distress he applied to the Ludwig's Verein in Munich. During my sojourn he received an answer; but instead of speedy help came distant hopes, and the humiliating inhibition not to contemplate visiting Europe in person for the collection of funds.[87] But what are the treasures of the Church possessed by this sole German Bishop in America? One God, one faith, one baptism, one vestment, one chalice. At least, I was not made aware of more treasures. Fortunately also but one altar is erected in the cathedral, and by saying mass successively this unity of things sufficed for all, the Bishop of course included. Being accustomed to entirely different churches and church ornaments in the fatherland, I felt too embarrassed to ask about other treasures. You can easily imagine the deep sympathy I felt for my Catholic confrères living in such poverty. Would that similar sentiments rose in the hearts of my dear countrymen, who vie so zealously in ornamenting the houses of God. Aid, the quicker the better, finds a proper object here.

$500. This went in payment of the note. . ." St. Peter's, 28x42, begun in 1837, was ready for use in 1839, and according to a letter of Kundig, August 10, 1842, it was ten times too small and was to be enlarged to 48x94 and four galleries. The *Directory* for 1847 states that Henni enlarged it soon after his arrival in 1844 by adding 57 feet to its length, a beautiful sanctuary, steeple, and basement story for a chapel and school. In a letter of Heiss, January 7, 1845, it is noted that St. Peter's was enlarged in the summer of 1844. "Now the interior is finished and justifies the name 'Cathedral.' " *Vide* O'Hearn, *op. cit.*, 20, 21, 29, 30; *Wahrheitsfreund* (August 25, 1842; March 27, 1845); *Wis. Mag. of Hist.*, x, 71, note 15; 83, note 83.

[86] To show that twelve per cent interest was not local, it is noted that Bishop Quarter, upon his arrival in Chicago in 1844, discovered a debt of five thousand dollars contracted by his predecessors, some of which was bearing interest at from ten to twelve per cent. *Vide Souvenir* (Feehan), 35.

[87] The Rev. Joseph Mueller, general secretary for the *Ludwig-Missions Verein*, wrote to Bishop Henni, July 6, 1844. This is a reply to a letter from Henni dated May 23, 1844. The secretary urged correspondence rather than a trip to Europe for the purpose of seeking aid. "Here in Germany our people are astonished that American bishops and missionaries travel so much, indeed our people resent it. Vienna [Leopoldine Society] sent word to us that they do not wish to see another American bishop, and we in Munich conform ourselves to Vienna for the sake of the good cause. . . . I am now instructed to write to you and to beg you not to come because your personal visit will not be as helpful to you as a letter will be. . . ." *Vide Salesianum*, xxii (January, 1927), no. 1, 2-8.

Tuesday forenoon a meeting was held. It was composed of the Bishop and the Reverends Kundig and Heiss. I was a mute, honorary member. The Reverend Kundig submitted a report upon the progress in building during the Bishop's absence; this proved to be insufficient, owing to lack of funds. The next vital question was: Whence shall we obtain means of living for the coming winter? Nor was this an idle question. The Reverend Heiss told me confidentially he did not know where to find means to procure a new suit of clothes when his present one, which he had brought from Europe, wore out; and apparently the possibility threatened to become a reality very soon. The Reverend Kundig pleaded, while I was present, for a contribution to purchase another horse, his own having died after a fall (all missionaries are mounted in the West). Well, here were indeed vexing questions. No solution presented itself but to sell at auction the rentable pews, and even these were unfinished. Behold, such an episcopal domain in America—the entire income for Church and clergy. The greatest problem in auctioning the pews was to accommodate the Irish and Germans at the common divine services without creating dissatisfaction. The necessity for two churches became apparent at once, if only means could be found for the requisite building.

During the time of meeting an Indian chief asked for an audience. No one being conversant with his language, an Indian woman from the neighborhood, who was married to a Frenchman, was called as interpreter. After the audience the Bishop invited me to a private conference and to withdraw with him to his room. I expressed my regret immediately that I was not supplied with powers, commissions, or money, but presented myself as a mere traveler who had not even free disposal of his person. This was of course much below his expectation. Thereupon he offered appointments and propositions to my Order, among others the mission at Green Bay, which possesses notable buildings, provided we agreed to establish a college. It would require two thousand dollars, he stated, to finish the interior and equip it. I felt constrained to refuse the offer, since a knowledge of French is necessary, most of the settlers being French Canadians. Needless to add, he permitted me to visit any

place in his diocese for the purpose of making a stay or settling permanently. To this effect he gave me letters of recommendation to the westernmost missions.

Consequently I set out on my great journey across country; of this more in my next letter. But this much I will divulge at present: I found a place on this journey where I would gladly build three huts.[88] I intend to write shortly to Bishop Henni asking him to assign a definite field of labor for me and to have arrangements made for a settlement.

Salina, Aug. 5 [1845]. On September 25 of last year I left Milwaukee [spelled here and throughout the report *Milkanwie*] to travel westward through the middle of Wisconsin to the confines of civilization, to acquaint myself with land and people, religion and customs. On ascending a moderate elevation shortly after leaving Milwaukee we reached the divide of waters between the East, and the West and South. The Michigan waters flow eastward and empty into the Atlantic by way of the St. Lawrence River. West of the divide all waters hasten into the Mississippi River and to the Gulf of Mexico. At first the country and road looked like all others I had seen. The road had been cut through primeval forests at a great expense—and it was poor; hence I was not prepared to meet anything pleasing. But the forest extended only about eighteen miles; then the prairie [the prairie is nine miles wide and fourteen miles long, comprising 220,000 acres] country began—to me a wholly new and surprising view. Country and road were as charming and attractive as I have almost ever seen. I cannot enter into a description of the region, having more important news to tell, but a rough sketch I will add. The country is undulating meadow-land covered with high grass and oak trees causing an orchard-like impression. Every moment it assumed new shape ever increasing in charm. Throughout, the soil is fertile meadow-land and so elastic that even the heavy loads of lead from western mining districts leave no ruts.[89]

[88] *Vide* Matthew, xvii, 4, on the Transfiguration.

[89] There were two roads running west from Milwaukee, one via Mukwonago and the other via Waukesha. On this trip Inama went on the latter through Waukesha, Watertown, Lake Mills, Cottage Grove, and Madison. *Vide* A. C. Wheeler, *The Chronicles of Milwaukee* (Milwaukee, 1861), 128; *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xiii, 373, map.

The beaten track stops here and enclosures are seen but seldom, since only beginnings of settlements have been made and the ground permits driving anywhere. The direction of the future road will be determined when the land has found owners and tillers. Hence our mail coach, heavily loaded with ten passengers and their baggage, sped onward over such grounds and ever dodged straight-lined oaks, compelling me, sitting on the high stool [*Bock*], to bow frequently to low-hanging limbs. Neither stones nor roots obstruct the way; mounds and hills are not met; wet land is rarely seen, so that I noticed no tract of land unsuitable for farm and meadow purposes from here to the steep banks of the Wisconsin River. Though proceeding in a straight direction wheel brakes were never employed. Such a splendid country will, no doubt, be settled in a short time, reckoning from the day the country was opened to the white people for settlement.

The westward journey to my objective, Sac Prairie [Sac Prairie lies between 40° 30′ north latitude and 13 degrees west longitude on the right bank of the Wisconsin River; the west shore is a beautiful fertile plain, the so-called Prairie], took three days, and during that time I saw enough grass fodder, here left untouched to rot, to winter the cattle of all Tyrol. Very rarely signs of human activity were observed and only three times we encountered insignificant groups of houses, the last one at Madison, the projected capital of Wisconsin. Its location on a narrow peninsula between two lakes is very beautiful. On the highest point of this amid a grove of oaks stands the capitol, a solid, grand building, the home of the government. Its cost is about $105,280. Around the capitol a city is rising which a year ago had not over fifty houses and three hundred inhabitants. Here I also conferred with several Catholic families who had settled at some distance in the country. On September 28 I reached the shores of the Wisconsin River. It was a splendid view that greeted us driving down a steep incline and beholding the smooth, majestic stream—resembling the Danube at Vienna—and beyond it the plain (prairie) stretched far in all directions, and this again encircled farther off by wooded hills. Hard by the river, a half-hour's distance apart,

we observed two groups of houses, incipient cities. En route I received my ticket for quarters. In Milwaukee and on the way frequent mention was made of a Hungarian count who had settled at Sac Prairie.[90] On the last lap of my journey, from Madison to that place, the coach driver also spoke of him during our stop at a house for dinner. And, lo, who should come speeding along but the much spoken of Hungarian count! I hastened to greet him, introduced myself, and acquainted him with the purpose of my coming. "I am pleased to meet a priest and a Tyrolean," he replied affably. "You are my guest, and you will, I assure you, be a comforter to my family. I will give you a few lines to my father, the general; business hurries me to Madison, but I shall return by tomorrow." With this understanding we parted. Thus I was made the ardently desired guest of a Hungarian count in this remote corner of America. I met an exceedingly cultured general of the Austrian army and a young matron with four flourishing children, who had followed the Count to this distant region. But what brought the Count and his family to this place? The young count, Agoston Haraszthy, at one time member of the Noble Guard at the imperial court, later Supreme Count of his *Komitats* [province, county], had been leader of the liberal party in the Hungarian diet, this party however always being in the minority. For that reason he believed himself endangered, left Hungary, and migrated hither with a few friends. Three years ago he returned to Hungary by permission of the Austrian government to fetch his father and mother (the mother died in New Orleans), wife and children. You will easily understand how welcome my arrival must have been to the family. Had I not been bound by previously accepted

[90] The editor of *Der Wahrheitsfreund* (January 26, 1843) noted a letter of Kundig which appeared in the *Catholic Western Register* of Detroit and commented: "Reverend Kundig also mentions the interesting colony at Sac Prairie, where two Hungarian counts have purchased entire townships and settled with numerous families, and expect a hundred more families in the spring. They speak German and English." Haraszthy wrote to the Milwaukee *Banner* on March 2, 1847, that there were about two hundred German families at Sac Prairie and in the opposite township of Haraszthy. News contained in a letter from Germany and Switzerland led him to expect one hundred more families in that year. *Vide Wahrheitsfreund* (April 8, 1847).

obligations I should have stayed on permanently to assume the office of instructor to the three young counts and to take charge of the missionary affairs both of the few Catholic families here and of those in the surrounding country.

Sac Prairie, Mar. 29,1846. At last I find the time and take delight in continuing my promised report on my travels. To my best memory I ended my latest report at Sac Prairie, having imparted, I believe, sufficient information on this place. My stay at the time was of five days' duration, from September 28 to October 3, 1844. My original intention was to start from here for Prairie du Chien (Dog Prairie), ninety miles to the southwest. But a favorable opportunity being offered to go to Galena, I changed my plan and started southward. The journey, made in the company of a nephew of General Haraszthy, was highly interesting.[91] It led through a country of most varied natural beauties, ever alternating between plains and fertile valleys, among pleasant ranges of hills, through shady oak forests and luxuriant meadows. Soon after crossing the first range of hills we entered a wide valley through which meandered a small rivulet along whose bank the newly erected houses of the English colonists extended at moderate intervals. At the home of Mr. Wilson, the agent, we partook of a noon-day meal.[92] It will not be uninteresting, I know, to add a few remarks upon the English Emigration Society, because it is unique in its kind and deserves imitation, especially in Germany. It pursues a threefold object: that is, to serve as a treasurer for savings deposits; second, to function as a temperance society; and third, as an emigration society. Anyone who saves a shilling a week and deposits it in the treasury of the society becomes a member of the society and receives a share enti-

[91] Haraszthy immigrated to Sauk City in 1840 with a cousin, Charles Hallasz, who was therefore a nephew of the general. *Vide Madison, Dane County and Surrounding Towns* (Madison, 1877), 499.

[92] Today the trip is routed to Spring Green over State Highway 60, over 23 via Old Helena to Dodgeville, then over Federal 118 to Belmont, to Elmo, then via Cuba City and Hazel Green over 80 to Galena. *Vide Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xiii, 373, map. John Wilson, possibly, as referred to in *ibid.*, 347, note 2, whose "Double log house, situated as it was at the mouth of the valley on the river road, the most direct route from Galena to the Wisconsin pineries, became a favorite stopping place for travellers." *Ibid.*, 373, for map marking John Wilson's place.

tling him to acquire eighty acres of farm land. By paying more shillings he receives proportionately more shares. Those who desire to emigrate and take possession of the farm land must declare their intention in spring, at which time each year as large a number of families is sent to the colony as the treasury permits. If too many apply, decision is made by lottery. The emigrants are brought by special agent to the colony and each family head finds a house ready for occupation, five acres of plowed land seeded and fenced, and receives a supply in cash and provisions sufficient for all needs to his first harvest. For this the possessor pays five pounds sterling per annum in rent. Those who enter the society later must pay all shillings due from its inception to become entitled to all privileges. After ten years the allotted land is given free and unencumbered to each member as his absolute property, and the society having attained its purpose is to be dissolved. In case a member does not wish to emigrate and decides to leave the society, all dues paid and interest at five per cent are returned to him. For such the society has acted as a savings bank. The society has its home office in Liverpool and is to remain in existence for eleven years. During May of next spring the fourth group consisting of seventy families is expected, and all necessary preparations are being made for their settling between this place and the capital city, Madison.

We left the valley of the Wisconsin and reached a plateau, four hundred feet higher in elevation, the so-called mineral land. It is really remarkable what treasures are each day unlocked by astonished searchers. It is well established that in southern Virginia, Carolina, and Georgia rich deposits of gold and silver are found, while northern Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and New York are rich in iron and hard-coal mines. A like if not greater supply of hard coal and minerals—iron, lead, zinc, copper, and silver—is found in western states, chiefly in Missouri, Ohio, Iowa, Illinois, and Wisconsin. If the report proves true that the large state of Texas also possesses such wealth, an immense plain of mineral lands broken only by large rivers presents itself, touching the rich silver and gold mines in Mexico on the

south and bounded by Lake Superior on the north, along whose southwest shores very rich copper mines have recently been discovered. At noon we arrived at the little mining town Mineral Point, which owes its existence solely to the mines and is inhabited for the most part by miners, among them many Catholics. Their stone church is nearing completion, and lately a Frenchman was appointed as their pastor.[93]

On October 5 we crossed the southern boundary of Wisconsin Territory and towards noon reached Galena in the state of Illinois, an important mining town situated at the mouth of the Fever River, which empties into the Mississippi.[94] Steamboats ascending to this place are frequently loaded with minerals on their return trip. In Galena and the far-outlying districts many Catholics are found, one-third of whom are Germans in charge of two missionaries, one a Frenchman and the other a newly ordained Englishman. A German priest had formerly occupied the latter's position. In consequence of the change the German Catholics are entirely without spiritual care.[95] Upon arriving I hastened at once to the church and as I was viewing the beautiful structure built in Roman style under the direction of the missionary Mazzuchelli, the French pastor approached me inquiring whether my name was Inama. Upon my answering his question in the affirmative he guided me at once to his

[93] The church was blessed on December 7, 1845. It was completed mainly through the efforts of the Rev. Victor Jouanneault, who became resident pastor in the beginning of October, 1845. *Vide Wis. Mag. of Hist.*, x, 70; *Wahrheitsfreund* (February 19, 1846).

[94] "By a transposition of letters Galena is located on the maps upon the Fever instead of the *Fevre* River, hence the rumor of the unhealthiness of the place." Daniel S. Curtiss, *Western Portraiture and Immigrants' Guide* (New York, 1852), 387. But see also *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xi, map opposite p. 400, on which is the following: "Macaubie is the Indian name for the river on which Galena is situated, and when translated into English, means Small Pox, or more literally, a Fever that Blisters, & was so named from the circumstance of several hundred of the natives dying there of that disease, and there being no characteristic to justify naming it, Fever river, or Bean [*Fevre*] river, as translated from the French, no reason is known why the original name should not have the preference."

[95] The Rev. Remy Petiot came to the United States in 1839 with Bishop Loras of Dubuque. The Rev. Thomas O'Donnell was ordained in Chicago on August 22, 1844. The Rev. C. H. Ostlangenburg was the German priest. *Vide Catholic Almanac* (1845); *Souvenir* (Feehan), 67. A letter of June 1, 1846, in *Wahrheitsfreund* (June 18, 1846), states that there are not enough Germans in and about Galena to build a church and support a priest.

dwelling, stating a letter from the Bishop of Chicago addressed to me was awaiting my arrival. In it the Bishop granted me all the powers and privileges of a missionary and requested me to travel over his diocese as Visitator in matters pertaining to German Catholics and to report to him on my return. On the following day, a Sunday, I heard confessions for the Germans and had divine services for them. On Monday the pastor sent me to Dubuque, a town a day's journey westward located on the opposite shore of the Mississippi River, in Iowa Territory. We had dinner, both going to and coming from Dubuque, with the missionary Mazzuchelli mentioned above, an Italian Dominican who has for a long time rendered excellent missionary service in this district and has built several churches. He had just returned from a journey to Europe, during which he visited Tyrol and presented himself to the Bishop of Trent.[96] As a result he was enabled to purchase eight hundred acres of land for six thousand dollars and pay one-third of the price. At present he is seriously endeavoring to establish a house of his Order. He is making arrangements to have a church, built by himself, moved to his present location, a distance of more than a mile. "You see," he said jokingly, "in Europe the priests go to the churches; in America the churches come to the priests." After dinner we traveled southeastwardly over a rough country toward the "Father of Waters"—the Mississippi—arriving at its shores after three hours' travel. With amazement and rapture I beheld it the first time. The valley, more than a mile in width and enclosed by steep, high ranges of hills, forms the bed of the river. Its surface, bright as a mirror, is so smooth and calm that hardly any movement can be perceived. Groups of islands, thickly wooded, scarcely permitted a full view at any time. A ferry boat transported us to Dubuque on the opposite side.[97] To my deep

[96] Mazzuchelli left Galena April 16, 1843, acted as theologian for Bishop Loras at the Fifth Provincial Council of Baltimore, May 14-21, 1843, sailed from New York May 25, and arrived in Milan June 29. He came back in August, 1844. *Vide Memoirs* (Chicago, 1915); *Annales*, xvi (1844), 444; for other details see the note in Inama *Letters, post*, xii; *Wahrheitsfreund* (February 13, 1845), Heiss-Henni letter.

[97] Dubuque is a city of 2,000 inhabitants, half of whom are Catholics, many of them Germans. The diocese of Dubuque was erected by His Holiness, Pope

regret, Bishop Loras was at Davenport to conduct the installation of the Sisters of Charity, and it was impossible to await his return.[98] However, most missionaries from the country being present, they disclosed to me all desired information about the Indians, as also about the German missions. About the latter Allemann, a Dominican, the only visiting German missionary, imparted full knowledge with all frankness and detail during half a night's friendly chat. He had come from the southern part of the diocese, from the boundary of Missouri, to entreat the Bishop for assistance for himself and his church, which was in the course of construction. When parting the following morning the Reverend Cretin, vicar general, stated that of necessity his Bishop ought to have at least three more German missionaries.[99]

On the eleventh of October I continued my journey southward to St. Louis by the steamboat *Raritan.* The Mississippi, which had risen to an unexampled high level during the summer, flooding all lowlands far and wide, had receded to normal, which favored our journey, at other times very dangerous on account of driftwood. On the west shore

Gregory XVI on July 28, 1837, and Right Reverend Mathias Loras (a Frenchman), vicar general of the diocese of Mobile, was appointed bishop.—Note by Ed. of *Blätter.*

[98] Bishop Peter John Matthias Loras, first bishop of Dubuque, was born in Lyons 1792; ordained 1815; in Mobile, Alabama, 1829; bishop 1837; died 1858. It is interesting to note that Loras was probably the first bishop to visit Milwaukee. Several writers state that the Rt. Rev. Peter Lefevre of Detroit was the first to do so in the summer of 1841. Bishop Loras wrote a letter from Milwaukee, July 24, 1840. In 1839 he returned from France with six priests, the Reverends Joseph Cretin, A. Ravoux, L. Galtier, James Causse, Remy Petiot, J. A. M. Pelamourgues, all pioneer priests of Minnesota, and the first four also of Wisconsin. *Vide Cath. Ency.; Annales,* xiii (1841), 186. Sisters of Charity of the Blessed Virgin Mary came to Dubuque from Philadelphia after their convent-school was destroyed by fire of the mob in May, 1844. A branch house and St. Philomena's Academy for girls were opened in Davenport in 1844. *Vide U. S. Cath. Mag.* (October, 1845), 672; *Catholic Almanac* (1845).

[99] The Rev. John G. Allemann was born in Strassburg, 1806; Dominican at Springfield, Kentucky, 1832; ordained 1834; labored in Ohio until 1840; until 1851 in Fort Madison, Iowa; Rock Island and Moline, Illinois, until 1859; Collinsville, Illinois (Alton diocese) until 1863; sick at St. Vincent's Hospital, St. Louis; died 1865. *Vide* A. Zurbonsen, *Clerical Bead Roll* of the diocese of Alton (1918), 17-18.

Joseph Cretin was born in Montluel (in Ain), France, 1799; ordained 1824; U. S. 1839; vicar general of Dubuque to 1851; first bishop of St. Paul 1851; died 1857.

several villages are being built, beginnings of future cities. The east shores are lower flat-lands, and less populated, being exposed to inundations. On this side we landed at Nauvoo, the New Jerusalem of the Mormons.[100] It has a charming site on a semicircular peninsula, rising like an amphitheater. For several hours the high temple situated in the middle of the town was visible, but want of time prevented a visit to it. Next spring these incompatible people, by virtue of a treaty, must emigrate.

At this place begin the low rapids, which are eighteen miles long and cannot be navigated by large steamboats at low-water level. Our boat was accompanied on each side by flatboats to take on part of the lading at the rapids. From here on, the boat's speed has to be reduced, greater care exercised, and the plummet used more frequently. A large number of travelers were on board the ship, and it fell to my lot to have an American as companion in my cabin, who seemed a decent, quiet, pious man; seeing him kneel and pray every night I surmised that he might be a Catholic. On the other hand he seemed to regard me as a priest. To satisfy his curiosity he acted very friendly and began to describe his circumstances to incite me to do likewise. He disclosed to me that he was a Methodist,[101] adding that he disliked this and that in the Catholics. Of course I could not let this statement pass in silence; but not being fully conversant with the English language and permitting the true but bitter and unparliamentary expression to escape me: "Such are the lies and slanders spread about the Catholics," further discussion was abruptly ended, when my opponent grew visibly cooler and more reticent, without however becoming unfriendly.

[100] The Mormons (*Mormoniten*) are a sect sunk deep in all vices and excesses. It derives its name from the book Mormon, also called the golden bible, containing a collection of the most silly stories. The founder is a certain John Smith, who declared himself bankrupt. The Mormons are estimated at 15,000.—Note by Ed. of *Blätter*.

[101] The founder of the sect of Methodists was John Wesley, who had at first gone from the Anglican Church over to the sect of the Moravian Brothers, but afterwards resolved to found a religious community himself, whose prime object, abstracting from all doctrines of faith, would be to lead a strictly ordered life, and from this method the adherents received the name Methodists. Proselytising, seduction and enticements are still the chief traits in the character of this sect, which is at present the most popular and farthest extended in America, and for that reason of greatest danger to ignorant Catholics.—Note by Ed. of *Blätter*.

Thus under God's guidance, in four days and nights, on the fourteenth of October I reached St. Louis, Queen of the West and presumptive capital city of the United States.[102]

[*To be continued*]

[102] The *Blätter* states that the "trip letters" are to be continued, but owing to the incompleteness of the file at St. Francis Seminary, no others have been located.

THE SOCIETY AND THE STATE

LOUISE PHELPS KELLOGG

During the quarter ending April 10, 1928, there were forty-seven additions to the membership of the State Historical Society. Five persons enrolled as life members: Katharine Allen, Madison; Dr. S. M. Babcock, Madison; Dr. Howard Curl, Sheboygan; Robert P. Ferry, Lake Mills; Israel Shrimski, Chicago.

Thirty-seven persons became annual members: A. S. Barr, Madison; G. W. Buchen, Sheboygan; Dr. G. C. Buck, Platteville; Porter Butts, W. B. Cairns, Leland A. Coon, Madison; Mabel R. Cooper, West Allis; Dr. F. A. Davis, Madison; A. F. Ender, Rice Lake; Mrs. W. A. Fulton, Burlington; J. A. C. Grant, Madison; Isador S. Horwitz, Milwaukee; Lewis H. Kessler, Edgar A. Landwehr, Madison; Lawrence W. Ledvina, Manitowoc; Dr. W. H. Macdonald, Lake Geneva; Peter S. McGuire, Wauwatosa; Dr. W. B. Monroe, Monroe; P. J. Murphy, Chippewa Falls; C. C. Nelson, Appleton; Dr. Susanne Orton, Darlington; R. S. Owen, Madison; T. A. Parker, Prairie du Chien; Mrs. William S. Perry, Roseville, California; Edgar A. Pratt, Watertown; Ricardo Quintana, Ethel Rockwell, Madison; Dr. Olaf M. Sattre, Rice Lake; Almere L. Scott, Madison; Dr. C. U. Senn, Ripon; Dr. L. A. Steffen, Antigo; Mrs. Florence C. Stehn, Milwaukee; Susan A. Sterling, Madison; Direktor Alfred Wagner, Peterzsebet, Hungary; A. D. Winspear, Madison; M. M. Wittenberg, Milwaukee; May B. Young, Manitowoc.

The public library at River Falls, the Peckham Junior High School, Milwaukee, the University Extension Division at Madison, and the Beloit Historical Society enrolled as members.

Arthur A. McLeod, Madison, changed from the annual to the life membership class.

The Mississippi Valley Historical Association held its spring session April 26-28 at Des Moines, Iowa, where the Historical, Memorial, and Art Department of the State of Iowa was host for the occasion. Dr. Joseph Schafer, our superintendent, president of the Association, delivered the annual address on the evening of the twenty-sixth. His subject was "Carl Schurz, Immigrant Statesman." This is printed *ante*, 373-394. Dr. C. W. Ramsdell of Texas was elected president for the ensuing year. Memorial resolutions in honor of the late C. W. Alvord were passed at the business session. The next meetings will be in Indiana: in December with the American Historical Association at Indianapolis; in the spring of 1929 at Vincennes in connection with the George Rogers Clark sesquicentennial.

NECROLOGY

Harry E. Cole, president of the State Historical Society, died at his home in Baraboo Friday, April 13, after a lingering illness. Mr. Cole, a native of Indiana, was for thirty-three years editor of the *News*, a leading daily paper of Sauk County. Twenty-three years ago he became a member of the Society and in 1924 was elected to the Board of Curators. He became vice-president in 1919 and on the resignation of Judge E. Ray Stevens as president in 1924, assumed the duties of president, to which office he was formally elected for the three-year term at the annual meeting held in October, 1925.

Mr. Cole's interests included both history and archeology. He has written on Indian remains in Sauk County, has made a similar survey of such remains in Richland County, and has gathered data on other areas. He prepared and issued several illustrated booklets dealing with the history and traditions of the Dells and Devils Lake region. He published an interesting paper on "The Old Military Road" (*Wis. Mag. of Hist.*, ix, 47-62) and at the time of becoming incapacited by disease he had practically ready for the press a small volume dealing with the roads and taverns of southwestern Wisconsin. Mr. Cole used historical data to a large extent in his newspaper, thereby doing much to encourage historical interest among his constituents, and he organized the Sauk County Historical Society.

ACQUISITIONS

The Coe Papers. Robert, youngest son of Edwin D. Coe, his successor as editor of the Whitewater *Register*, has sent to the Society his father's diaries and some early letters. Edwin D. Coe was born at Ixonia, Wisconsin, in 1840; began his education at Wayland Academy, Beaver Dam, and entered the University of Wisconsin in the summer of 1860. His early letters from the University included in this donation are remarkably interesting. "I am reciting," he writes in one, "with the seniors now; I could graduate with them if I was a mind to take up some of the studies they have been over; but I don't care for that as I want to go to school two more years anyway." The next spring he enlisted at Lincoln's call for troops, and his school days were ended. He went to the front as a non-commissioned officer in the First Cavalry. It was characteristic of the youth that he kept a diary (a habit which persisted throughout life) and that his earlier ones were written in Latin. Forty-four little leather-bound books in this collection enable us to follow his entire career. Unfortunately the one for 1862 is missing; the loss is partly made up by a number of letters from the field both by Coe and by some of his comrades, among them Elihu Colman. One messmate vividly describes a steamboat race on the Mississippi between the *War Eagle* and the *Northerner*.

Coe saw service in Missouri and Arkansas and after discharge for disability acted as clerk at Cape Girardeau until the summer of 1863.

Then he returned to his home in Watertown and to civilian life. For a time he studied law at Janesville in the office of John B. Cassody, whose wife's sister Mr. Coe married in 1865. In 1871 he purchased the Whitewater *Register* and thenceforth made that place his home. In 1878 and 1879 his constituents sent him to the legislature and for the sessions of 1882, 1885-1889 he was chief clerk of the assembly. In 1890 as candidate for secretary of state he went to defeat with the entire Republican state ticket. In his later years he was pension agent at Milwaukee.

These activities and his intimate acquaintance with the political leaders of the state are reflected in the diaries, which after 1865 are written in English. These manuscripts thus become of importance for the political history of the state. They also record the life of a quiet, well-bred Wisconsin citizen, who served his country both on the battle field and as a civilian in building up his community for the good life.

The Rosenberg Library of Galveston, Texas, has presented to our Society a photostat copy of a manuscript journal by a Massachusetts pioneer in Texas kept during the stirring years when it was seeking its independence from Mexico. The granddaughter of the writer, Laura Underwood of Columbia, kindly consented to have photostats made from the original in her possession. It recounts the voyage from Boston to New Orleans, which took more than a month; then the trip by sailing vessel to Brazoria, thirteen days from New Orleans. The Yankee pioneer of Texas had many adventures, among which were several shipwrecks. He then joined the American army, marched towards San Antonio too late to rescue the besieged in the Alamo. Mr. Underwood served all through the campaign ending at San Jacinto, and finally determined to make Texas his permanent home notwithstanding many attacks of homesickness for the people and the ways of New England. The little volume makes delightful reading and is a contribution not merely to Texas history, but to the history of New England expansion in North America.

The expense account of Edward P. Carleton while he was a student at the University of Wisconsin, 1890-1895, forms an interesting item in University economics, and affords a comparison of the budgets of thirty odd years ago with those of today.

The Colonial Dames of America for the State of Wisconsin, by a donation from the Committee on Research, have made it possible for us to acquire reproductions of many valuable and rare maps. In 1927 Professor Louis Karpinski of the University of Michigan visited Europe in search of early maps of the Northwest. He found in the several archives at Paris many important maps made during the French occupation of the Great Lakes and Mississippi Valley, and secured permission for their reproduction. The entire series is in the William L. Clements Library and several other libraries of the neighboring states. Our Society, through the generosity of the Colonial Dames, has had photographs prepared of over one hundred maps, charts, portulans, etc. ranging in time from the

early sixteenth century to the middle of the eighteenth, and in space from the Atlantic seaboard to the Pacific coast.

The Attorney General's department of our state has placed in our custody three volumes of exhibits in the case of Michigan vs. Wisconsin, concerning the northeastern boundary, which was decided by the United States Supreme Court in Wisconsin's favor. The exhibits were prepared by Robert M. Rieser, special counsel, and contain photostatic copies of many rare maps and pictures.

A collection of about fifty specimens of fine and rare foreign laces collected by the late Luise Gattiker of Baraboo has been presented to the museum in her name. A silver soup ladle brought from Switzerland in 1855 by her father, John J. Gattiker, is also given.

LOCAL HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

Two new historical societies have been added to our constituency during the past quarter: one in the southeast, the other in the northwest portion of the state. Burlington, in Racine County, awakened to the fact that there were many historical treasures in the community worth preserving for posterity. A preliminary meeting was held in January, articles of incorporation were obtained in February, and a membership of over one hundred was secured. There are to be four meetings each year, and a board of directors was elected headed by Mrs. W. A. Fulton and E. John Wehmhoff. Congressman Henry Allen Cooper was made an honorary member. By March a considerable number of donations had been received and the directors were looking for quarters for a local historical museum. The Burlington Historical Society has a promising future.

The Barron County Historical Society was organized in March with headquarters at the county seat. Among those interested in the organization are L. S. Cheney, president; L. P. Bunker, Rice Lake, J. A. H. Johnson, Chetek, and Emil Huser, Cumberland, vice-presidents; H. S. Comstock, Mrs. C. A. Taylor, E. E. Kent, R. C. Peck, and C. C. Coe, directors. We believe that this society will do much to develop historical interest in northwestern Wisconsin.

The Winnebago County Archeological and Historical Society held its annual meeting in January at Oshkosh, when all the former officers were reëlected by acclaim. The address for the occasion was given by Professor John B. MacHarg of Lawrence College on the "Unknown Southwest." The museum at the Sawyer Foundation has had a very prosperous year; the "Room of Indian Life" has been created; many gifts have been received; and the building is a community center for increasing interest in historical and artistic progress.

The La Crosse County Historical Society during the last week of March cooperated with the Homemakers' Clubs in an exhibit of pioneer

costumes and house furnishings. Contests were arranged for rare old songs, for old proverbs and pioneer sayings. The clubs are assisting the society both in collecting and in spreading enthusiasm for the preservation of relics of past days.

Two of our larger cities, Oshkosh and Janesville, attained in April the dignity of age, both having been incorporated in 1853, three-quarters of a century ago. Although no formal exercises took place, the local newspapers called the attention of their citizens to this interesting anniversary.

The fiftieth annual convention of the State Bar Association occurs at the capital city in June; committees have been appointed to arrange for noting this anniversary and its significance.

Two Rivers had a semi-centennial occasion last March, when it was suggested that the growth of the city since the granting of its charter should be commemorated.

The first Farmers' Institute in the United States was held at Hudson in our state forty-three years ago next autumn. The history of its inception under the auspices of Hiram Smith, C. E. Estabrook, and Professor Henry is related in the Oshkosh *Northwestern* for February 10.

CHURCH ANNIVERSARIES

Christ Episcopal Church of Green Bay, the oldest of that denomination in the state, held its hundredth anniversary last January. The Baptist Church at Sheboygan Falls was one of the first started in the state; its ninetieth birthday was appropriately celebrated on February 12. The twenty-eighth of the same month St. James Episcopal Church at Manitowoc held a dinner to commemorate its eightieth anniversary; on this occasion Ralph Plumb, president of the Manitowoc County Historical Society, and Curator Emil Baensch were among the speakers. The Congregational Church of New London was organized in 1857, and last February held a special service in memory of its founding. Plymouth Congregational Church of Burlington held a seventieth anniversary service last January. In the same month St. Paul's Episcopal Church of Plymouth recalled its history for the last seventy years. At Royalton, Waupaca County, the Congregational Church held a reunion in January in honor of its sixty-fifth birthday. Church histories for Racine have been continued during the past quarter, E. B. Swingle having written and published in the *Call* those of the Emaus Lutheran and the St. Luke's Episcopal churches.

LANDMARKS AND PAGEANTS

With the publication of the extensive list of historical landmarks in the *Proceedings* for 1927, interest grows in restoring any that have been neglected and in planning for others. Examples are found in the recent

plans at Milwaukee to repair the World War monuments that show signs of deterioration, and in the arrangements at Antigo to honor the city's founder, F. A. Deleglise. Very important are the efforts being made by the Daughters of the American Revolution to restore old Fort Crawford; the Prairie du Chien chapter is asking for statewide cooperation in this historical project. The Milwaukee chapter of the D. A. R. has marked the graves in Wisconsin of several "real daughters" of Revolutionary heroes. The Milwaukee park commission is planting memorial trees in honor of the gold-star sons of Milwaukee County. The first mile so marked will soon be dedicated by the American War Mothers.

WISCONSIN HISTORY AND THE STATE PRESS

We mentioned in the March issue the articles that Professor L. H. Pammel is writing for the La Crosse *Tribune* on personalities of the La Crosse region. March 25 appeared a valuable sketch of Dr. Ludwig Hektoen, native of Westby, now a Chicago physician of international reputation; April 1, the sketch was of the Reverend Sheldon Jackson, missionary to Alaska. The same journal published in its issue for January 22 an account of the Scotch pioneers of Galesville and their celebration of the birthday of Robert Burns, and the famous curling club of the early days. March 4, also from Galesville, came an interesting letter written by William Cline describing the overland route to Oregon seventy-five years ago. The *Tribune* is also carrying an interesting series called the "Trail of the Tramp" through the central counties of Jefferson, Rock, and Dodge.

The *Crawford County Press* for February 8 was an "Educational and Historical" edition prepared by the students of Prairie du Chien High School. The conception of such an edition was excellent, but the execution was very uneven, and should have been checked up by the *Press's* editor. For example, on one page was featured the elopement of Jefferson Davis, a disproved tale of early Fort Crawford life; while on another page in the same issue an account of Davis' marriage in Kentucky as it really happened was given. Some of the sketches were excellent and the illustrations interesting. The whole issue must have given the community a sense of the importance of its historical background.

The Green Bay *Gazette*, like its contemporary, the *Crawford County Press*, has unusual opportunities for presenting historical articles. Oconto's early history as featured by Ellen B. McDonald for the Woman's Club was an excellent article. A well written account of Morgan L. Martin's activities a hundred years ago appeared February 8; the author, we are informed, was Glenn Toule. B. A. Claflin in the issue for February 4, under the title of "True Tales of Early Badger Logging Days," relates the life of "Pinochle" Armstrong, who settled in the town of Beaver, and his relations with the neighboring Indians.

The "Recollections" of Edward Thatcher, who came from Kilbourn to make his home at Augusta, were presented in two installments last January by the *Union* of that place.

The Eau Claire *Telegram* is publishing a valuable series of articles on local history signed "W. W. B.," known to be the work of Curator Bartlett. These articles go back to the earliest lumbering activities on the Chippewa and its tributaries, and are illustrated with rare portraits and views.

M. A. Robinson in the Fennimore *Times* of January 24 gave a detailed history of early Boscobel newspaper enterprises. The same paper carried a long genealogical article on the Garner family, originally from Maryland, descendants of which now live at Lancaster, Wauzeka, Platteville, and other southwestern towns.

Earliest Wisconsin history and the times of Jean Nicolet were presented last January to the readers of the Blanchardville *Blade*.

In the Colby *Phonograph* for March, Alois M. Gabriel sketched the early history of Colby, its first settlement soon after the Civil War, the differing elements of its population—French, Irish, and Germans.

A similar article for Rice Lake was prepared in January for the *Chronotype* of that place by Mr. and Mrs. Horace W. Drake, who first visited the site in 1877 and have been continuous residents since 1885.

An early Elkhorn schoolhouse was pictured and a short sketch of its history written for the *Independent* of that place on January 12.

In the Janesville *Gazette* for March 30 are a portrait of J. G. Babcock, now residing near Evansville, and his memories of service in the Civil War. Only the veterans who enlisted as boys yet remain to tell their stories. Mr. Babcock volunteered at sixteen and rendezvoused at Camp Tredway. Incidentally he gives some interesting facts about that Janesville camp. Later he drilled at Camp Randall, was mustered into Company D of the Thirteenth Wisconsin, and served until December, 1864.

The Brillion *News* has published in booklet form Christian Tschantz's story of the burning in 1865 of the immigrant ship *William Nelson*. Christian Tschantz, who was an immigrant from Switzerland, was one of the five hundred and fifty people on board the *William Nelson* when it burned. He was one of the eight-five survivors out of that total. Mr. Tschantz came to Wisconsin, settled first in West Bend, and afterwards in Brillion town, where he has prospered. He is now ninety years of age and still hale and hearty.

OUR CONTRIBUTORS

Joseph Schafer ("Carl Schurz, Immigrant Statesman"), our superintendent, delivered this paper as the presidential address on April 26 before the Mississippi Valley Historical Association.

Nils P. Haugen ("Pioneer and Political Reminiscences") relates in this issue some of his experiences while a member of Congress, from 1888 to 1895.

The Reverend Peter Leo Johnson has contributed the valuable notes connected with the Inama letters.

BOOK NOTES

The Aurignacians and Their Culture. By George L. Collie. No. I of Vol. I, *Bulletin of Logan Museum,* Beloit, Wisconsin.

Few of our readers know that at Beloit is not only a museum connected with primitive man and the beginnings of civilization, but a scholar of international fame in the field of prehistory. Dr. Collie is an archeologist whose views on primitive cultures are endued with authority, and whose investigations both in France and in north Africa are recognized as epoch-making. In this book he presents his latest conclusions in a form that, while entirely scientific, is interesting for the intelligent public. It is an account of the paleolithic culture of the Mediterranean basin, based on finds as far apart as Moravia and Algeria. Dr. Collie represents these primitive hunters at the close of the ice age as a peaceful people, averse to war, with a strong feeling for art as connected with magic, with religious ideas embodying belief in life after death. "In them," he writes, "are the potentialities of civilization, the roots of our civilization. They were the first modern men."

The Story of the American Indian. By Paul Radin. (New York, 1927).

This book attempts to tell the story of the American Indian in simple, untechnical language, and to give the author's conclusions about the numerous cultures that have spread over both Americas, centering, he believes, in south Mexico and Central America. He revives the old hypothesis of a mound-builder race, and identifies it with the Maya civilization. This volume is of especial interest to Wisconsin readers, since the author begins with a careful ethnological account of the Winnebago, and later he explains the enclosure at Aztalan and the effigy mounds of our state as relics of the mound builders. So many new and startling theories are herein promulgated that the book is bound to cause great discussion.

Edna Kenton, whose remarkable condensation of the *Jesuit Relations* of Dr. R. G. Thwaites's edition (seventy-three volumes) into a single volume we noticed in this magazine for June, 1926, has again put scholars in her debt. She has selected from the same source, material on the Indians of North America and arranged it in two usable volumes. The Jesuit fathers were keen observers and trained recorders; what is more they saw the Indian in his primitive condition, being often the first white men in the region. Their descriptions are exceedingly valuable for all students of prehistory and of the French régime in North America.

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