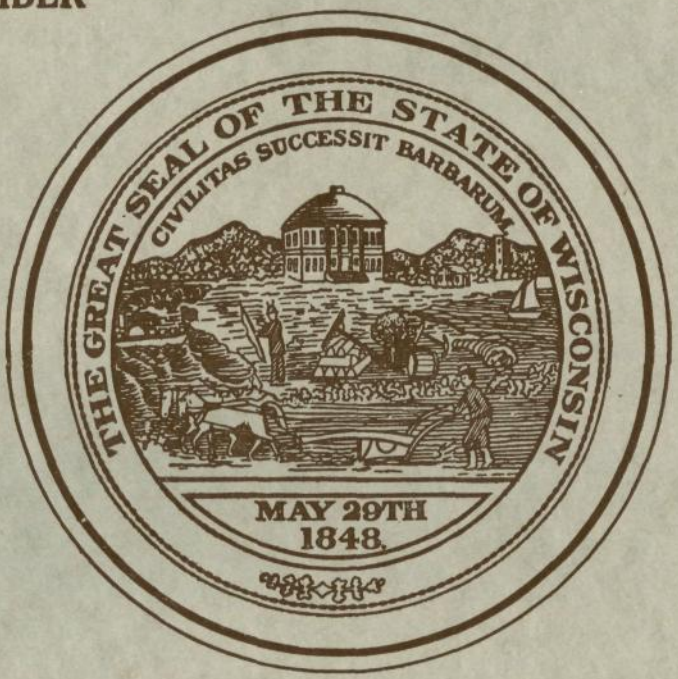
THE WISCONSIN MAGAZINE OF HISTORY

SEPTEMBER 1928



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THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF WISCONSIN

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

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THE WISCONSIN MAGAZINE OF HISTORY

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

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A FORGOTTEN VILLAGE

Mrs. W. F. Pett

Up in Lake Superior where Wisconsin has thrown out a sharp elbow, lie the Apostle Islands, a score of them, mere dots on one's map. Madeline is the largest of the group, fifteen miles long and a third as wide. There is a witchery in its natural beauty that is quite unforgettable, and it has the added lure of historic charm. Vigorous and compelling personalities made history here, the islands being almost the end of the long, long trail of the French voyageurs, who opened to the world the greatest of its waterways.

At the southern end of the island one of the oldest villages in the West trails along the one sandy street that follows the curve of the harbor, the forgotten village of La Pointe. It is a mere ghost of the days when the voyageur and the fur trader swept over this region and then passed away. The boat dock comes up and meets the street; here one stops to look back at the little steamer *Madeline* puffing its return to Bayfield over the lovely Bay of Chequamegon, and when the sun is bright, the red sandstone cliffs of the mainland are unbelievably brilliant. Something occult broods here! It evokes a moving picture, crowded with haunting legends, and with all the highlights and purple spots that go with the opening of a new empire.

The Ojibway (Chippewa) tribes were living on Madeline Island as their own tribal possession about the time Europe was building splendid cathedrals, but the poor islanders were still appeasing the wrath of their gods by sacrificing maidens. The cult of the medicine men demanded

it, but the rite was losing general sanction. However, when persisted in, things happened—supernatural, uncontrollable things. It came to be whispered about that the island was haunted, that the rebellious spirits of the slain maidens hovered near the sacrificial altar and wandered over the island at night. Then followed fearsome tales of evil spirits taking up their abode here, and an old Ojibway (Chippewa) legend relates that because of all this a great exodus took place, that the island became all but deserted. To this day some of the descendants of those old islanders scatter tobacco, a sacrifice, upon the site of the ancient altar.

Then there came a day about 1658, when two French voyageurs and their little company in two canoes left Sault Ste Marie and paddled toward the Bay of Chequamegon and the half-deserted island. These two, Pierre Radisson and Médard Chouart de Groseilliers, were the first white men, so far as history knows, to paddle across Gitchi-Gumee, as the Indians called Lake Superior. Skirting the south shore they passed some of America's finest scenery. In his journal Radisson wrote with enthusiasm of the now famous pictured rocks. Here the waves have carved domes and towers, caverns and archways out of the high sandstone walls. This sandstone is of a very ancient deposit, laid down long ages before the high hills of lava rock and some of the islands in the lake had burst through the ancient sandstone bed. Great depressions and cone-like peaks were wrought during this period of terrific volcanic upheaval. In glacial days these depressions were filled, and we have today beautiful blue Lake Superior; one of the hills of lava intrusion is the picturesque Isle Royale.

The canoe party portaged that great upheaval Keweenaw Point, then went on into the bay that is hemmed in by points and islands, and the spell of Chequamegon held them as it does the traveler to this day. There is romance

in the air, and wherever one turns the eye it all takes possession of one, as a magnet takes possession of a needle. Radisson's journal says of the Chequamegon region, "This is a terrestrial paradise." Forests of pine, spruce, balsam, and silver birches fringed the shore, and bark huts of natives were scattered along the bay. Somewhere on this bay, probably on the western shore, the voyageurs constructed the first abode of white men on Lake Superior. It was merely a shelter of pine boughs opening upon the water's edge, as this afforded a greater degree of safety. Another precaution was the weaving of strings of tiny bells around the barricade, that they might be warned of prowlers. These two men explored a vast territory, going far inland south of Chequamegon Bay, then circling round the lake to the north, tramping and canoeing by turns. They collected some furs in their travels, hoping that the expenses of their expedition would be met by the sale of pelts. They reached Quebec full of the thrilling news of their discoveries. They had mapped the new lands, had proved that the Great Lakes did not lead into the China Sea—as was the general belief of the time. But instead of receiving cheers, they were met with the charges of having traded with the Indians without a license, their small cargo was confiscated, and they were ruined financially. Such shortsightedness of officials, whose vision did not go beyond the fur trade, led to these two valuable explorers offering their services to England. Very soon the Hudson's Bay Company was formed, and it never ceased to be a thorn in the flesh of New France.

Father René Ménard started out from Montreal in the autumn of 1660 destined for the far-off Indian camps south of Chequamegon Bay—those that Radisson and Groseilliers had visited. After a winter of indescribable hardship on the bay, and deserted by his Indian companions, he started out

alone to find the camps. Somewhere in the dense forests it is believed he was lost, as he was never heard from again.

Father Claude Allouez, Ménard's successor, came in 1665 to Chequamegon Bay, and a runner was sent out to tell all the tribes that he had a message for the western Indians. As the news spread, hundreds who had never before seen a white man flocked to the bay. For Allouez's use a chapel of bark was built, and he called his mission La Pointe du Saint Esprit. The name La Pointe had been given to the long, sandy strip of land that hems in the lower bay, and at some spot overlooking this point the mission Saint Esprit (Holy Spirit) was located. Many decades later we find the name La Pointe transferred to the trading post on Madeline Island.

Father Allouez was both missionary and explorer. A lover of nature, he found much here to interest him. He was perhaps the first white man to note and send out reports of copper found in all this region. Voyaging beyond the mouth of the St. Louis River, he stood on the lava hills where now a boulevard winds, and he may have had a vision of a splendid city that would some day rise here. Across the bay he must have noted that in-curving stretch that was long years after given his name—Allouez Bay.

A polyglot Indian village grew up around Holy Spirit mission, Ottawa and Hurons who had fled from Georgian Bay. Father Allouez spent four years here, and they were years of almost constant warfare with near-by tribes. He was doubtless glad when orders came from Quebec that he had been transferred to Sault Ste Marie. Thence he went to Green Bay and established there a Jesuit mission; it might be better there, it couldn't possibly be worse.

Father Marquette, a younger missionary, was sent to take the place of Father Allouez. We see him now in the picture, with a few companions paddling into beautiful

Chequamegon Bay, that never fails in its appeal, and his hopes were high. Marquette was a gracious and scholarly gentleman whose youth had been spent amid formality and culture in his native France; he loved Gothic windows, frescoes by Michelangelo, Gregorian music, and delicate French china. But here he is, in the heart of savage wars, armed only with a dynamic personality, a black gown, a crucifix, and a portable altar strapped upon his back. Only a few natives came under his influence—"the good brother," they called him; but war was much more interesting at that time than a new religion. He was not to remain there long; he and his little flock were compelled to fly to the safety of Mackinac. This was the end of Holy Spirit mission, and a historian says, "Not till 1835, which was one hundred sixty years later, was mass again said at Chequamegon Bay." At a later time Marquette was commissioned to go with Jolliet on that memorable expedition in search of the Mississippi River, which was to make one of the most thrilling chapters in American history.

The whole Superior country was seething with war, and it was practically closed to explorations and the fur trade; even the most daring and venturesome of the coureurs de bois kept their canoes away from the western end of Lake Superior. The coureurs de bois were the unlicensed traders, noted for their reckless daring; they were outlawed, and many of them were all that the words "buccaneer" and "pirate" imply.

The story that the early Catholic missionaries tell does not make pleasant reading; in fact, it is harrowing and gory. The important explorers who with much pomp and ceremony took possession of new territory and lavished gifts, were treated with great reverence by the Indians; the trader and peddler with attractive packs of trinkets, knives, blankets, and brandy to exchange for pelts were very welcome. But

the "black robes," with something that was to change their whole system of gods, demons, good and evil spirits, their sacrifices and their time-honored rites—these they fought with war club, hatchet, and scalping knife. The Jesuit fathers complained of the demoralizing effect upon the savages of the coureurs de bois and the brandy traders. But it remained for the versatile Cadillac to dispose of the brandy complaint: "If we do not give the Indians our French brandy, they will exchange their furs for English rum, and how can you bear to expose these benighted children, whom you profess to love, not only to English rum, but also to the imbibing of heresy!" So argued Sieur Cadillac with the fathers, and the process of demoralizing the Indians went merrily on.

Just when things were looking darkest for all that region beyond Sault Ste Marie, a young French soldier at Quebec, late of the King's Guards, was perhaps wrestling with a disappointment in love, as a biographer suggests, and naturally, dashing young cavalier that he was, he didn't care how soon he was killed. So he offered his services to the authorities at Quebec; he would re-open to the trade and to exploration the Superior country. And now we see him, none other than the gallant gentleman Daniel Greysolon Du Luth, heading a canoe party and boldly paddling into Chequamegon Bay. He hadn't hesitated in pressing into his service some of the coureurs de bois, of unsavory record. Du Luth was a dynamo of energy; wherever he stepped, that spot became a center of activity. Now with the Sioux at Lac Mille Lake; now up at Pigeon River and Thunder Bay; next down on the St. Croix and the Mississippi, rescuing Father Hennepin from the hostile tribe that held him captive. He was openly accused of being a coureur de bois himself, but he was not an easy man to denounce. His ability to control the Indians was of the utmost value at this precarious time. Primarily

he was a French soldier of more than the average ability, and if a bit of vagabondia crept in occasionally—no matter. At any rate, even the excellent La Salle received little hearing when he complained of Du Luth and his band.

The successor of Du Luth, who built a fort at Chequamegon, was Pierre Le Sueur. He was made commandant about 1693, and we read that he placed a stockade on Madeline Island, which at that time however was called St. Michel's Isle. This new fort commanded to better advantage the Lake Superior canoe routes, and was also the gateway to the newly opened St. Croix and Mississippi trapping regions. On the site of this old fort of Le Sueur a tablet has been erected; here was the beginning of La Pointe as a village, though the settlement moved years later to a point farther north that afforded a better harbor. Le Sueur was enthusiastic over his findings in the copper region, but when he tried to appeal to authorities at Quebec, they believed that he was interested only in "mines of beaver skins."

The fur trade had spread like a forest fire; far south of Lake Superior and along the north shore as far as Thunder Bay traders followed like magic in the footsteps of Du Luth. The central collecting point of the western region was the community of bark huts, storehouses, log cabins, tepees, and fort on St. Michel's Isle (Madeline). From the hinterland trails and canoe routes came the trappers in the spring and fall to meet the peddlers, traders, and agents. Here were the stores of clothing, blankets, and all the requisites for trapping, and some of the luxuries like beads, knives, calico, and brandy. The little harbor swarmed with canoe fleets and that other boat called a batteau, wide and flat bottomed, designed especially for the fur trade. "Carnival day!" one might have exclaimed on just an ordinarily brisk trade day. Great chiefs were gorgeous in vermillion paint, head-dresses of wild turkey or eagle feathers, and hair glossy with bear

grease. Their coats of deerskin were fantastically decorated and fringed with porcupine quills and bear claws, and their trousers were handsomely fringed. The vainglorious voyageur, not to be outdone picturesquely, wore a coarse cotton shirt, deer skin jacket, and often leather trousers and leggings. He was touched up colorfully with a variegated worsted belt, and round his neck the loosely tied bandana, with often a red-tipped feather in his cap. His skin was tanned and weatherbeaten, and all he lacked to make him the regulation Tripoli pirate was earrings. The spirited Sieurs like Du Luth and Cadillac wore the leather and wool garments of the north woodsman, but if the occasion demanded it they could appear in gold lace and scarlet velvet. The white man, the red man, the halfbreed—all met here on something like equality, a red-blooded, devil-may-care company; but in all history there is no period of greater romantic appeal than the days of the French voyageurs.

Now came perhaps one of the most interesting families, that of the Sieur de la Ronde, commandant at St. Michel's fort, prospector of mines and chief trader. He was the first practical miner on Lake Superior. For their trade and prospecting he and his son had a forty-ton sailing vessel built at Sault Ste Marie. He had a garrison, a mill, horses and cattle, and encouraged small farming on the island. The family lived here for a long period of years; when the father died the son took his place, and when the son lost his life in the war that was now approaching—for France was tottering—Madame de la Ronde continued the trade by "farming out" her rights. The family represented the last of the great French soldiers of the exploration and trading days. Moreover, the fort they built was an official post, one of the few French posts in Wisconsin before the conquest.

In the meantime the British wedge had marched steadily on; the English were making settlements, manufacturing

in a small way, and farming—they were going to stay. To be sure there was much opposition; many neighborhood battles were fought, even hand-to-hand combats; many massacres were carried out by the Indians, which had been planned in turn by the French and then by the English.

But it was not in the cosmic scheme of things that the nation that had penetrated to the heart of America and had opened up a splendid waterway should remain in control. The day came when Quebec fell, and the land of the voyageurs became British America.

With the fall of New France the fur trade in the region of the Great Lakes passed into English hands, but many of the old French voyageurs and trappers were pressed into British service. The first English trader who obtained the exclusive right to the Superior trade was Alexander Henry. He had gone through the harrowing days of the Mackinac massacre and owed his life to a daring squaw, who hid him in an attic. He was discovered after the first onslaught had about subsided, so instead of being put to death he was made a prisoner and sent to Fort Niagara for about a year. After returning to Lake Superior Henry took as partner Jean Baptiste Cadotte, a well-known trader and interpreter whose influence with the Indians was a most valuable asset. They established a post on the mainland of Chequamegon Bay. Henry came to know the great fur regions and the copper country thoroughly, and the history of his travels and adventures is fascinating reading.

About this time John Johnston, a genial and cultured Scotch-Irish gentleman, established himself on the island near the old French fort of Le Sueur and La Ronde. He married the daughter of the chief of the large Indian village across from the island, doubtless where Bayfield now stands. The home of the Johnstons at Sault Ste Marie came to be known for its hospitality to all comers. Henry Schoolcraft,

explorer, geologist, and historian, married one of the Johnston daughters.

When Henry and the elder Cadotte went into other fields, their interests passed into the hands of the Cadotte sons, Michel and Jean Baptiste II. Both the sons had been educated at Quebec; and Michel, who remained on the island, married the daughter of Chief White Crane. Her name was Magdaleine, or Madeleine, and historians say that about this time the island was given that name in her honor. The village of the Cadottes came to be called La Pointe, the name which had served to designate a point of land along the mainland in the very early days and which had been used also by Father Allouez as the name of his mission, La Pointe of the Holy Spirit. It was probably about 1793 when the Cadottes settled here.

Gradually a group of Scotch merchants in Montreal were clinching the Lake Superior trade, and finally, as the Northwest Fur Company, they had almost a complete monopoly and ruled the wilderness like czars. They became the deadly rivals of the famous and powerful Hudson's Bay Company, and each held a strangle grip upon the other for years. When the rivalry, plunder, and bloodshed became unbearable a grand conference was held at Fort William, Canada, and if hatred and bitterness and "blood in the eye" could have killed, there would not have been one pompous Scotchman of the "Old Nor'westers," or one pompous Englishman of the Hudson's Bays left to go on with the conference. And each had the other so entirely "by the throat" that there was only one avenue of escape—consolidation! The banquet that followed was indescribably sumptuous. This was in 1821.

How rapidly the reel turns! While the war of the fur companies raged around Lake Superior and to the north, a new nation was becoming strong enough to assert itself—

the United States. There were boundary line disputes; and another war, that of 1812, had to run its bloody course, but when it was all settled and treaties signed with Great Britain, the Apostle Islands were in American territory and a new device, the Stars and Stripes, waved over Madeline Island. Very soon Congress made it illegal for any but Americans to engage in the fur trade in American territory. This decree was almost adhered to, but it must always be remembered that the unlicensed trader, the outlaw, and the real pirate without anything picturesque about him flourished intermittently under all the flags that had waved over the Great Lakes.

John Jacob Astor, a New York fur buyer, had interests on the Great Lakes that had been interrupted by the War of 1812; but the way was open now, and about 1816 under the name of the American Fur Company he bought all posts, permits, and equipment of the Northwest Company that were in American territory. La Pointe was to have another boom. Large storehouses were built and log cabins sprang up, but not on the old site. A better harbor was needed, so we find "New Fort" a mile or so to the north of "Old Fort." But the village that moved took with it its name La Pointe and came to be a metropolis of its day in the Northwest. The American Fur Company saw the trade reach its crest about 1824; then its slow decline began, and in 1834 Astor sold his interests.

Two of the outstanding managers of the Astor Company who visited Madeline Island were Ramsay Crooks and Robert Stuart; it was Ramsay Crooks who later took over the Astor interests. Subordinates of Crooks and Stuart on Chequamegon Bay were Charles Oakes and Dr. Charles Borup, both of whom after the fur trade passed away became prominent St. Paul citizens.

While the Astor Company at La Pointe was thriving, there came from Massachusetts the Warren brothers, who engaged in an inland trade about the headwaters of the St. Croix River, and became no small rivals of the Astors. The brothers married the daughters of Michel Cadotte, and this gave them the loyalty of the Chippewa. A stroke of diplomacy of the American Fur Company made Lyman Warren one of their agents with an interest, and with headquarters at La Pointe. He lived here many years and was late in life made a sub-agent of the Chippewa Indian Reservation at Odanah in northern Wisconsin.

Lyman Warren was a leading spirit in the advancement of his community, and the lack of all religious and educational observances concerned him deeply, but it was not until 1830 that he could realize his desires. That summer he found a young teacher in the Mackinac school, Frederick Ayer of Massachusetts, whom he prevailed upon to return with him to La Pointe and open up a school. The following year the American Board of Missions sent out the Reverend Sherman Hall and his wife as missionaries to the Chippewa. Mr. Ayer met them at Mackinac and brought them to La Pointe in his batteau. Mr. Hall's letters to his sister in Vermont are interesting documents of pioneer Protestant missions in the West. He wrote that on reaching Madeline Island he and his wife thanked God that their labors were to be in the midst of such beauties of nature—the pines and the birches, the matchless bay. But other pictures were not so pleasing: the crowds of natives hungry and dirty, peering into their windows at any and all times, their everlasting begging, and aversion to work. As to desire for education or religion, these aborigines had no such ambitions.

It was a welcome break in the monotony of the life of the Halls when the Reverend William Thurston Boutwell, a seminary classmate and companion in the missionary field,

stopped at La Pointe in 1831 as the rest of his party voyaged on to Mackinac. This was the Schoolcraft party that had explored the source of the Mississippi River, and had named Lake Itasca as the beginning of that great stream. Boutwell remained with the Halls a year. In the midst of all his other work he prepared a Chippewa grammar. His was the energy that could go easily from Latin verbs to log-chopping and cabin building and wading through northern bogs; then just to rest up a bit he would write a reader for the little Chippewa and halfbreeds. An interesting voyage is recorded in which Mr. Boutwell and a companion or so paddled down the turbulent Brule River to its entrance into Lake Superior, and then portaged on to Fond du Lac, near the city of Duluth. Here Mr. Boutwell and Hester Crooks, who was teaching at Fond du Lac, and who was the mixed-blood daughter of Ramsay Crooks, were married. Tea and doughnuts made up the wedding feast, and the next day the bride and groom set out for Leech Lake, canoeing, portaging, and wading through deep boggy areas.

While at La Pointe the two missionaries had helped to build a new school and a small church. These Protestant activities centered around the site now occupied by the Old Mission Resort.

It was about 1835 when Father Baraga, an Austrian priest, came to La Pointe and built a log church somewhere near the French and Indian cemetery. This little building soon outgrew its capacity, and so we see the Roman Catholic Church again firmly established in its ancient field of Chequamegon Bay.

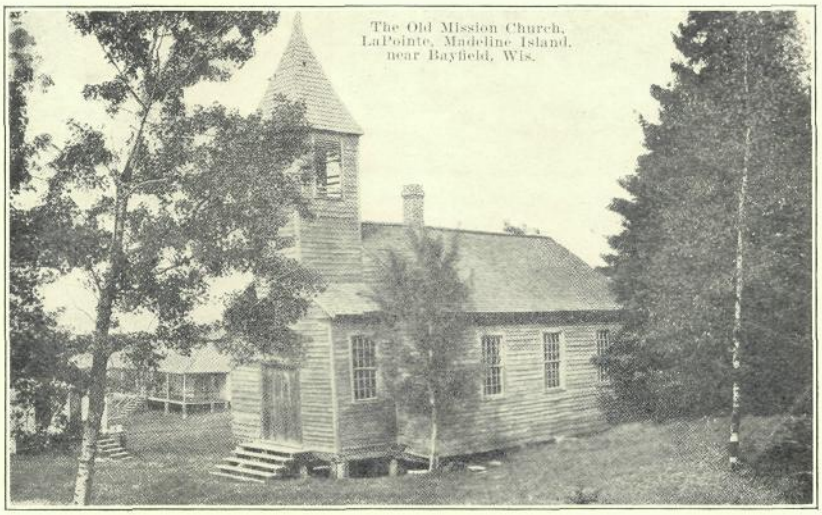
The lands bordering Lake Superior south and west were still claimed by the Chippewa. A treaty was made at La Pointe in 1842 by Robert Stuart, when representative chieftains ceded to the United States the land on the south shore. In 1854 at another important meeting at La Pointe of chief-

tains and commissioners, the land known now as the "north shore" was signed over to the United States, and the Indians were given compensations and reservations.

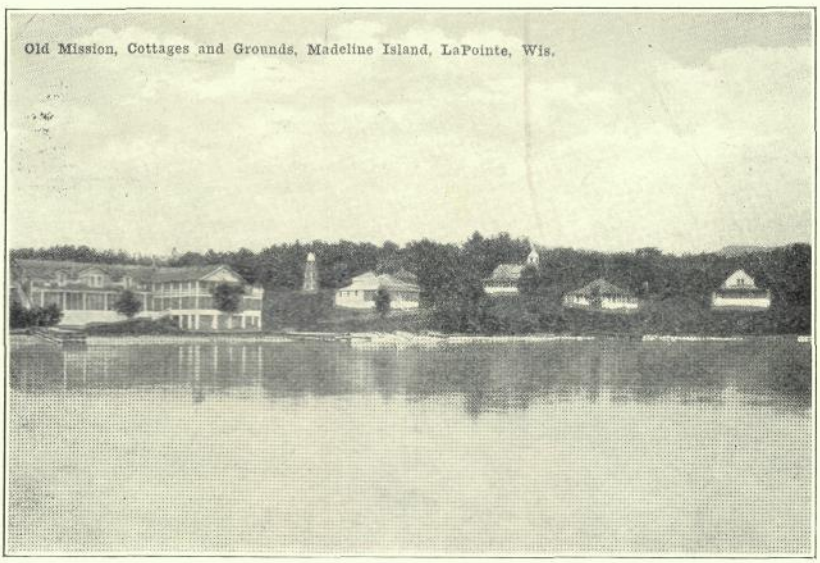
Commerce and civilization were now free to march steadily on, but by this time the fur trade had about passed into oblivion. The Indians were being placed on reservations and cared for. They had become a servile race of trappers and runners for the white man and had lost their old ability to take care of themselves. The wave of civilization had engulfed them and left them without a touch of hope, at least for their own generation.

Today La Pointe is a forgotten village, and all but deserted. A steamer glides into the harbor, but its cargo is made up of summer tourists. A few families of French and Indian fishermen and some villagers remain here, but the little drab-colored hamlet sleeps and it dreams. There are some summer homes on a prominent point, with wide verandas, awnings, gardeners, and maids—but utterly without halo! When one has been out in the "Fourth Dimension" communing with Radisson, Du Luth, and Marquette, one acquires a lofty disdain for the soft things and the safe things of life.

We were lucky to have left the old voyageurs just when we did, for here in the village store a remnant of coureurs de bois days is buying his groceries. Grizzled, nondescript, doubtless of French and Indian extraction, blue denim trousers tucked into two-color socks, and on astonishingly small feet the last word in French heels, high and with natty little straps. And there is the same vainglory that we saw in the coureurs de bois when he was irresistibly dashing and devilish in cap and red feather, variegated belt hung with polished powderhorn, tobacco pouch, and firearms. And one tries, for old times' sake, to be appreciative of exquisite feet in high French heels, though the wearer be a man.



The Old Mission Church,
LaPointe, Madeline Island,
near Bayfield, Wis.



Old Mission, Cottages and Grounds, Madeline Island, LaPointe, Wis.

Down the road is an old fur emporium of whitewashed logs, of such broad chastity of architecture that it might well be called "very earliest American." A romanticist would call it a dream house and envy the prolific family who now occupy it. Lake Superior sweeps up into their back yard, and a dinner of whitefish is not too far away.

Farther down the sandy way the slough comes up and makes the roadside swampy and beautiful with wild flowers and tall grasses. Then one comes quite suddenly upon the little French and Indian cemetery. An ancient fence hedges it in, and a tall cross of rough-hewn logs is planted imposingly in the center. One sees the name "Michel Cadotte," and near by "Madeline," wife of Lyman Warren. Over the graves are the crumbling little Norman penthouses, and tradition says their purpose is to shut out evil spirits, rather than merely protect the mounds, as the prosaic might suppose.

There is an air of complacency and assurance about this "within the fence" area, and one wishes that the old Indian chief had not been placed so forlornly across the road. He must have been an important spokesman for his tribe, if one may believe his epitaph. One wishes he had a penthouse, also that at some moment of the day the shadow of that tall cross might fall upon his grave too. Research shows that the cross has been a religious symbol for untold ages, and this old chief of sun-worshiping antecedents has full claim to the cross. Here at the grave of the Chippewa chief the sandy road merges into a grassy lane that leads into the grounds of Old Mission Resort, while a wagon road winds inland past the golf links and up the low slope of a glacial moraine of pinkish red drift, red as jasper, a most alluring road!

On the hill in the midst of tall white pines and silver birches stands the quaint little Protestant church. Its lat-

tice-broken belfry, worn doorsill, interior walls of birchbark, rough-hewn seats and pulpit, all speak of "yesterday." But of the old Jesuit mission of "day before yesterday" we can only say it was "somewhere" on Chequamegon Bay, near a long sandy point. If the portable altar of Father Marquette could be found, it would be a priceless relic of the days when the call of the mission bells was the sweetest sound that vibrated across the trails and the waterways. Back of the lonesome little church is a somber and neglected burying ground, its floor spongy with a depth of pine needles. Most of its stones lie flat, and lichens cover the names of the first Protestant missionaries and traders. One finds the names "Warren" and "Borup."

Old Mission Resort is a summer hotel with its group of cottages, wide lawns, and beautiful trees. It is all very remote from pavements, motor trucks, and movies, but there are tennis, golf, a red road, and the biggest and bluest lake in the world. With the coming of the summer colony and the tourists filling the resort, the little hamlet wakes up—yes, almost. But when the season closes, it turns over and goes to sleep again, and then the spell of forgotten things broods over Madeline Island and the red-cliffed bay of Chequamegon.

DANISH SETTLEMENT IN WISCONSIN

THOMAS P. CHRISTENSEN

Danes began to arrive in Wisconsin Territory in the late eighteen thirties. John S. Bang located in Racine either in 1839 or in 1840. He was a contractor and builder, and is also mentioned as a lay preacher. In 1851 he became a member of the city council and the same year assisted in organizing the Scandinavian Evangelical Congregation which eventually became purely Danish.[1] Danish immigration to Wisconsin increased rapidly in the late forties and through the fifties. Many of the immigrants settled first in Racine, to earn a little before they pushed on to the prairies and woods of the western and northern parts of the state, where rural settlements began to be formed in the late forties. Early Danish immigration to Wisconsin owes much to such immigrant leaders as Claus Laurits Clausen, Rasmus Möller Sörensen, Mogens Abraham Sommer, Lars (Louis) Jörgensen Hauge, Morten Christian Pedersen, and others.

Clausen was a minister among the Norwegian Lutherans, first in Wisconsin and later in Iowa and Minnesota. He encouraged and directed the immigration of Danes to these states. He was a native of the island Aerö, Denmark. At an early age the precocious youth thought of studying law, but his serious and devout mind soon turned from profane to sacred law, and he became a zealous lay preacher. While traveling in Norway he preached to congregations of Haugians, a pietistic Norwegian sect which owes its origin

[1] *Danske i Amerika* (2 v. C. Rasmussen Co., Minneapolis, Minn. 1908-1927), ii, 119, 145. In *Dannevirke* (Cedar Falls, Ia.), Oct. 3, 1923, O. W. Lund mentions a Danish hunter, John Smith, who came to Wisconsin in 1836. That would make him the first Dane in the Territory. He lived to be 107 years old.

to the remarkable Norwegian peasant preacher Hans Nielsen Hauge. At this time he heard of Norwegian emigrants in Wisconsin, who were unchurched but longed for a minister and a teacher to instruct their children. Clausen saw the opportunity. With the assistance of a Norwegian merchant the young preacher and his newly-wedded wife in 1843 emigrated to Wisconsin. Having received ordination from a German Lutheran minister, he accepted the call from the Norwegians in Muskego near Racine. Later he served Norwegian congregations in St. Ansgar, Iowa and in Austin, Minnesota. Some of the letters written by the Clausens to friends in Denmark were published in the newspapers, and from these the common people of Denmark obtained some of their first reliable information about Wisconsin (which they pronounced with a strong accent on the last syllable, giving the *i* the sound of long *e*). When the Reverend Mr. Clausen, after his removal to Iowa, where he was a member of the state legislature, visited Denmark in 1867 he easily convinced the home folks that the ambitious emigrant to the land of freedom and opportunity there might garner both gold and glory.[2]

While Clausen was ministering to the Norwegians at Muskego, L. J. Fribert, a Dane with a literary turn of mind, made his appearance at that place. In 1847 he wrote the first book (pamphlet) in Danish about the United States, Wisconsin in particular. It was written along the line of the ordinary emigrant guidebook, then so frequently used in the "man poor" regions to attract settlers from the states and countries more fortunate in that respect. Fribert's pamphlet contains little information about the Danes in America for the simple reason that there was so little to

[2] Chapter on "The Danes Discover Iowa" in the author's *A History of the Danes in Iowa* (manuscript in the possession of the State Historical Society of Iowa). The best biography of Clausen is R. Andersen, *Pastor Claus Laurits Clausen* (Cedar Falls, Iowa, 1921).

report, there being then only a few Danes in the country, but it contains a fine tribute to Clausen for his unselfish service among the Norwegians.[3]

Clausen's letters and Fribert's pamphlet were read by the public school teacher Rasmus M. Sorensen, and stirred him deeply. Already in 1844 he had written the first of a series of pamphlets, with long and curious titles, on emigration. His son, Martin Frederick Sorensen, who had been a student at the University of Copenhagen, came to Wisconsin in 1844, where he became a clergyman in the Episcopal Church. In 1852 the father with his wife and four children decided to emigrate, and they located in Wisconsin. There the elder Sorensen tried his hand at farming, preaching, and teaching, besides dabbling in politics and journalism. Nowhere was his restless spirit in peace. In 1861-1862 he visited Denmark. During his visit he lectured at several places and wrote a pamphlet entitled: *What says Rasmus Sorensen now after a residence of 10 years in the North American United States about the constitution and conditions there, and especially about the present war, etc.?* One hundred and fifty emigrants accompanied him when he returned to Wisconsin. The following year he was back in Denmark again and wrote another pamphlet, with the title: *Is it sense or nonsense for people in Denmark to emigrate to America? Answered together with a report of his* [*Sorensen's*] *last trip to America with a company of 150 emigrants.* Returning to Wisconsin he was followed by a still larger company of emigrants. But as the Civil War continued Sorensen became doubtful about the advisability of Danes emigrating to Wisconsin or even to the United

[3] L. J. Fribert, *Haandbog for Emigranter til Amerikas Vest* (Christiania, Norway, 1847). A partial copy of this pamphlet is in the library of Dr. P. S. Vig, Trinity Seminary, Blair, Nebraska. There is a short biography of Fribert in R. Andersen, *Banebrydere for Kirken i Amerika* (Brooklyn, N. Y., 1928), 89-94.

States. The title of the next pamphlet shows this. It runs in translation: *Is it at the present time better for Danish emigrants to seek work and land in Canada than in Wisconsin or in any of the western free states in North America? Answered by Rasmus Sorensen.*

Much as the encouragement of Danish emigration owes to men like Sorensen, he himself believed that the plain letters from the emigrants to the folks in the old country were much more effective than any pamphlet or emigration agent. When these "America letters" told that the emigrants had "neither drowned, got robbed or hanged or frozen to death" and that they were usually either earning well or working their own farms, then the relatives of the emigrants believed these statements and frequently went to America themselves.

Like so many other emigrants Sorensen sought economic opportunity and freedom to develop his personality, rather than expatriation. He finally settled permanently in Denmark, but all except one of his nine living children remained in the United States.[4]

Clausen and Sorensen were Lutherans; Lars Jorgensen Hauge (not related to the Norwegian Hauge already mentioned) was a Baptist. He was born on the island of Funen (*Fyn*). As he was an unusually bright boy the bishop of Funen recommended that he be educated at the expense of the state, but nothing came of this. As a young man he joined the Baptists, then beginning to organize their first congregations in Denmark. In the hope of becoming a missionary among the Indians he emigrated in 1858, settling first among emigrant brethren in Raymond, Racine County. There the first Danish Baptist church in the United States had been organized two years previously. Young Hauge

[4] *Danske i Amerika*, i, pt. 1, 337-349; *Kirkelig Samler* (official organ of the Danish Church), xxxiii (1905), 604; R. Andersen, *Emigrantmissjonen* (Brooklyn, N. Y., 1884), 74, 75; Andersen, *Banebrydere for Kirken*, 114-140.

was licensed by the church to preach and soon became its most active worker, both at home and in the other budding Danish settlements in the state. In 1862 he wrote a long letter for the church to brethren in Denmark inviting them to come to the United States, where a law (the Homestead Act) had recently been passed virtually giving away good-sized tracts of government land to both emigrants and citizens. For a short time during the Civil War he was an army chaplain; this gave him an opportunity to observe life in the South. Some of these observations were embodied in a pamphlet which he published in 1865 under the title (in translation) *America and the Life of the Danes Here.*

In 1863 Hauge led a company of Wisconsin Danes out to Freeborn County, Minnesota, where they made the beginnings of the largest Danish settlement in that state. But he himself remained there only a few years. After some disagreement with his church members, he became a free-lance missionary among the Indians on the Sisseton Reservation in South Dakota, where he labored over half a century.[6]

A most tragic figure in Danish American history was Mogens Abraham Sommer, emigrant leader and lay preacher. In his gloomy autobiography *Stadier paa Livets Vej* (*Stages on Life's Way*) he paints a sad picture of his childhood when he was in poor health, overburdened with work and study, and otherwise suffering under the supervision of an unsympathetic stepmother. In school he was scolded and beaten, though in many ways a gifted boy. His whole childhood he describes as "one chain of suffering, sorrow, sickness, and want." His greatest diversion was to sit in a corner and weep. Then the thought would come into his mind: "God, have you sent me into the world merely to suffer?" Naturally, such a high-strung and sentimental

[6] *Danske i Amerika*, i, pt. 2, 252-259, 354-367; N. S. Lawdahl, *De Danske Baptisters Historie* (Morgan Park, Ill., 1909), 25-31, 47, 57, 149, 498.

youth was attracted by the emotional dissenters, and his fervor and eloquence made him one of their most effective leaders. The body of dissenters that he identified himself with is known as the Free Mission People or Free-Frees, but his theology approached that of the Quakers. Like them, he denounced war and the paid or "hireling" clergy. As a leader of dissenters he was at odds with the home authorities. In 1861 he emigrated to New York where he staid only a short time. Returning to Denmark he conducted several parties of emigrants to Wisconsin and other north central states. For some years he maintained an emigration office in Copenhagen.

In this country he visited many of the early Danish settlements and lived for longer or shorter periods of time in Illinois and Nebraska, preaching and practicing medicine. Though licensed as a homeopath, his medical practice laid him open to the charge of quackery. It was this that finally spelled his doom. After many years' residence in this country he went to Denmark, where he was arrested for practicing medicine without license and sentenced to forty days in jail. He died two years later. Leaving but few followers, he is nevertheless remembered here and there with gratitude and even with praise. His influence on emigration and the early life of the settlements is unmistakable.[6]

The name of Morten Christian Pedersen is associated with both emigration and settlement building. He was born near Vejle in Jutland, Denmark and emigrated to Wisconsin in 1863 at the age of twenty-eight. For a while he lived at Neenah, where the idea came to him of founding a settle-

[6] *Danske i Amerika*, ii, 159, 415, 416; Mogens Abraham Sommer, *Stadier paa Livets Vej* (Chicago, Ill., 1891), 7-9; *Danskeren* (Blair, Neb.), May 25, 1899; Feb. 27, 1901; June 7 and 11, 1902; *Meddelelser fra den dansk-amerikanske Mission* (Odense, Denmark, 1872-1894), Jan. 15, 1875; Feb. 12, 1877; April, 1887; Andersen, *Banebrydere for Kirken*, 247-256. *Meddelelser (Reports)* was published by the committee in Denmark which from 1869 to 1894 directed the Lutheran missionary work among the Danes in the United States.

ment of his countrymen at a place where people with small means might obtain homes and economic independence. Having searched for such a place in several states, he found it in Polk County, Wisconsin. Pedersen made several trips to Denmark, each time bringing back companies of emigrants. He was a Lutheran, but unlike most early Danish emigration agents he had no special interest in theology, nor was he a lay preacher.[7]

A large number of the early Danish emigrants to Wisconsin, arriving from the Atlantic ports by way of the Great Lakes, located in Milwaukee and Racine. A few came by river from New Orleans. This route was followed in 1845 (or 1846) by Ludvig Christiansen, who bought land near Hartland, Waukesha County, thereby beginning the first Danish settlement in the United States. It was never very large, but the Lutheran congregation formed there in 1867 is still in existence.[8]

In 1848 what was to become a much larger settlement was planted in Brown County. It was called New Denmark and "the stopping place" in the community became known as Copenhagen. The name scheme hit the popular fancy. Since they had a "country" and a "capital" it seemed proper also to have a "king," and so the leading man of the settlement, Niels Hansen Gotfredsen, was spoken of as "the king of Denmark" and Mrs. Gotfredsen as "the queen." Indeed, the titles were not unfitting for them. Both were leaders. Mr. Gotfredsen, a man of varied ability, is described as one "built especially for leadership in such a wilderness." There were hard days of pioneering, but industry and forethought in time had their reward. In 1867 when there were about twelve hundred Danish people in the community, most of

[7] *Danske i Amerika*, ii, 174, 414.

[8] *Danske i Amerika*, i, pt. 1, 252-255; *Den Forenede Danske Evangeliske Lutherske Kirkes enogtredivte Aarsmöde i Blair, Nebraska, 7 de til 12 te Juni, 1927* (see statistics).

them were said to be well-to-do. And this material prosperity had been attained in spite of much religious agitation and many bickerings, especially between Baptists and Adventists on the one hand, and between these and the Lutherans on the other.[9]

During the fifties, sixties, seventies, and eighties other groups of newcomers, mostly direct arrivals from Denmark, gathered at places in the southeastern and central parts of the state: near Oregon and Brooklyn, Dane County; at Raymond, Racine County; at Poysippi in Waushara County; in and near Neenah and Oshkosh, Winnebago County; in Oconto, Oconto County; in Orange Township, Juneau County; in Pleasant Valley near Baldwin in St. Croix County; in and near Waupaca, Waupaca County; in Ashippun, Dodge County; at Big Flats, Adams County; at Rosholt, Portage County; on Washington Island in Door County; near Shennington in Monroe County; in La Crosse County; and at Clinton in Rock County. Most of the settlers at these places were poor. Pioneering was long and hard. Nearly a quarter of a century passed before the settlers in spite of much hard work could be said to be fairly well-to-do.[10]

The character of the pioneers and their struggles and hardships have been well described by a pioneer woman in Shennington. Her plain but graphic tale runs in part:

"Ten dollars was all we had besides the clothes we wore and a few old ones in our trunk [when the narrator and her husband in 1881 arrived from Denmark]. My husband had to go to work at once in the cranberry marsh, where he earned from a dollar and a half to two dollars a day. In the

[9] Andersen, *Pastor Clausen*, 143-145; *Danske i Amerika*, i, pt. 1; Lawdahl, *op. cit.*, 54-59; J. G. Matteson, *Liv og Adventbevægelsens Begyndelse blandt Skandinaverne* (College View, Neb., 1908), which contains an account of the life in the early days of the settlement of New Denmark.

[10] *Danske i Amerika*, i, pt. 1, 250-308; ii, 40-57, 361-375, 460-462; Lawdahl, *op. cit.*, 86-129.

fall we had saved sixty dollars. When the cranberries were ripe I picked berries at seventy-five cents a bushel and in that way I saved thirty-four dollars.

"Then we decided to buy a farm. We bought eighty acres for sixty dollars and a cow for twenty-two dollars. Thus we used our capital. A couple of bedsteads had been left by the former owner. We were able to buy a quilt, a couple of sheets, and a mattress. For an extra quilt we used a fur coat that we had taken along from Denmark. An old cook stove, which had been left by some lumbermen, we found in the woods and made it usable with some pieces of iron. An old table and a chair we found on the place. Three plates, two cups and saucers, two knives, one fork, a frying pan, and a kettle, completed the outfit of our new home. The house was a very old log cabin with a lean-to on one side.

"Soon it was winter, and not having any money my husband and I had to go to work again. We helped each other to make cord wood for which we received sixty cents a cord. We had to wade through snow knee-deep and yet had to work every day the weather permitted it—it was necessary to live. When summer came my husband again worked in the cranberry marsh, and I looked after the farm, on which we had cleared two or three acres.

"When fall came we had saved so much money that we could buy another cow and a pair of old oxen for draft animals. That was the kind of 'horse power' used in the neighborhood in those days. In summer the cattle browsed in the woods. So we had to hunt them at night. Often we had to wade through water knee-deep, and sometimes we fell into water holes when it was dark. Often we didn't get the cattle home before midnight. Next winter we 'kept it going' by cutting railroad ties.

"In 1886-1888 we had dry summers and everything dried up. But worst of all were the forest fires. For a long time we had to fight the fire day and night. One day it seemed that we could not save the house. We loaded our effects on the wagon and hitched up the two small oxen to drive away from our home and cattle, but thank God, a timely shower fell, put the fire out, and saved us.

"In 1886 there was still but little farming. People had a few head of cattle; the men worked in the cranberry marsh during the summers, and in the fall the women tried their hands at picking berries. The little butter which was produced sold for from five to six cents a pound. Cattle and everything else we had to sell was cheap. In 1891 a couple of three year old steers were sold to the butcher for eight dollars apiece. But groceries were high. . . .

"In 1891 and 1892 more Danes came from Racine and Kenosha counties, and from then on there was more system in our farming."

The building of a railroad through the settlement in 1892, a creamery in 1897, and a little later a cucumber salting station made farming really profitable.[11]

By far the largest rural group located in the northwestern part of Polk County. The first Danish settlers there—not counting the hunter John Smith—began to arrive in the early eighteen sixties. These people were Baptists.[12] Under the guidance and encouragement of M. C. Pedersen the influx of Lutherans began in 1869. As already pointed out, Pedersen had searched widely for a suitable locality in which to found a settlement of his countrymen. The prairies of Iowa and Minnesota did not please him, but he was strongly attracted by the wooded and lake-studded hills and valleys of Polk County, and there he helped to build up one of the

[11] *Danske i Amerika*, ii, 50-51.
[12] Lawdahl, *op. cit.*, 115.

largest and most typical Danish settlements in the United States. In loving remembrance of the fatherland it was named West Denmark. Pedersen visited the region in the winter of 1868 and at once began to correspond with friends in Neenah and at other places. This was done without any publicity, since it was feared that land speculators might take advantage of the increased number of settlers. In the spring of the following year we find Pedersen busy marking off lines and corners of the land for prospective settlers. He and his two brothers took homesteads near Big Butternut and Little Butternut lakes—a region which seemed idyllic to them in spite of what they might have surmised that they would have to suffer from snow and cold in winter and from the heat and mosquitoes in summer. On one of the homesteads they built a board hut with sloping sides and shaped like a tent, which served as an inn for some of the incoming settlers. A few of them arrived by boat up the St. Croix, others by the slow but sure ox wagons. To all, the latter part of the journey over the trail through the woods was especially trying.

Most of the pioneers built neat log cabins; all cleared patches of soil and began farming. In ten years some had under cultivation as much as forty acres. But for years the returns did not yield them even a bare subsistence; so they had to eke out a living by fishing, hunting, and by picking up odd jobs in the neighborhood. Not many worked in the lumber camps. They loved their homes too much for that. With a truly Yankee ingenuity they turned every advantage to account. Not a few of the men were excellent mechanics. Others had artistic ability. At least one gained recognition beyond the limits of the community as a woodcarver. The women were as industrious as the men. Besides attending to their ordinary household duties, they were constantly knitting. Some turned practical nurses, others became leaders

in improving dairying. Economic progress in the eighties and nineties is indicated by the change from oxen to horses, the appearance of buggies and frame houses, and, above all, the building of a creamery in 1886. A railroad was built through the settlement in 1901. Until that time it had been isolated, permitting the people to live their own quiet, but by no means dull, life in these sheltered greenwoods. They were a sociable people, extending and enjoying hospitality. Through their schools, churches, and home life they nourished a mental alertness that made not only for inquiry and progress, but also for contentment and happiness. Immigration continued into the present century. In 1900 there were about three thousand immigrants and immigrants' children living in Luck, Bone Lake, Eureka, Lake, and Sterling townships.[13]

It was especially the Grundtvigians, a nationalistic kind of Danish Lutherans, who made the West Denmark settlement such a distinctive Danish community in a social way. The Grundtvigians owe their origin to the Danish poet, preacher, and patriot Bishop N. F. S. Grundtvig (1783-1872). His youngest son, Frederick Lange Grundtvig, came in 1881 to the wildwoods of Wisconsin to spend his honeymoon and, as he later wrote, "to understand myself and my way in life." For two years the young people lived in "the striped house" on a little farm near Shiocton in Outagamie County, farming, hunting, boating, botanizing, bird-studying, and learning English. A product of Grundtvig's bird study was an article on the birds in Outagamie County, written originally in Danish but translated into English and published in the *Transactions of the Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts, and Letters.* The Grundtvigs became acquainted with the Danish pastor at Neenah, the Reverend Thorvald Helveg, and his wife. This acquaint-

[13] *Danske i Amerika*, ii, 174-198; *Dannevirke*, Nov. 2, 1880; Oct. 3, 1923.

ance ripened into a lifelong friendship between Grundtvig and Helveg. It also became a determining factor in Grundtvig's choice of his life work. Though Grundtvig had not been trained for the ministry, Helveg persuaded him to become a minister in the Danish Church. In 1883 he was ordained and at once accepted a call from the Danish Lutheran congregation at Clinton, Iowa, which he served the following seventeen years, dying in 1903 while living temporarily in Denmark.

From the time of his ordination and throughout his long pastorate in Clinton, Grundtvig took a leading part in the various activities of the Danish Church: its theological disputes, its schools, its endeavors to conserve the social heritage of the Danish immigrants, and not the least, its colonization projects. It was through his initiative and encouragement that the church in 1886 planted a colony in Lincoln County, Minnesota. Its success prompted the establishment of another located in the vicinity of Withee, Clark County, Wisconsin.[14]

In 1893 an agreement was made between the Danish Church and Messrs. D. J. Spaulding and Frederick L. Fake for the sale of a tract of cut-over land in the woods around Withee, at prices to the settlers ranging from eight to twelve dollars an acre. As a special inducement to settlement Spaulding and Fake agreed to pay the salary of a minister the first year and to build a parsonage for him, besides donating a smaller tract of land to the prospective congregation; but financial reverses made it impossible for them to keep these promises. Had it not been for the efforts of the Reverend A. S. Nielsen, pastor of a Danish Lutheran Church in Chicago, the project might have failed. Mr. Nielsen saved it by removing to Withee with some of his

[14] Chapter on "Reverend Frederick Lange Grundtvig" in Christensen, *A History of the Danes in Iowa.*

parishioners and by promising to be the pastor of the new colony without any very definite assurance of an income. Luckily for him, the successors to Spaulding and Fake gave him lumber for a parsonage and several acres of land. Nielsen was pastor of the congregation for ten years, and died at Withee in 1909.

The pioneers came from different parts of Wisconsin and from other states. Only a small number came directly from Denmark. Nearly all were quite poor. Pioneering was hard. Before crops could be raised, huge pine stumps had to be removed. This was a slow process and retarded agricultural development, but the luxurious growth of clover made dairying possible. With this the economic conditions improved steadily.

In communities where there are church interests, economic progress may frequently be gauged by the church building activities. As early as 1896 the congregation built a church; it was not completed, however, until 1906, when a basement and a tower were added. At the same time the young people in the congregation collected money and purchased a church bell. Through the persistent efforts of the young people, who had organized a young people's society, an assembly hall (*Forsamlingshus*) was built in 1909. This was used for the many community activities other than religious, so characteristic of Grundtvigian settlements.[15]

No new Danish settlement has been formed in Wisconsin since 1893, though attempts have been made to draw settlers into the northern woods.[16] But such places as West Denmark and Withee have continued to draw Danish people from other states, these two communities being in every way

[15] *Danske i Amerika*, ii, 858-860; *Meddelelser*, ii, 183-187; P. Jensen, *Minder gennem halofjerdsindstyve Aar* (Cedar Falls, Ia., 1920), 125-138.

[16] *Dannevirke*, Oct. 21, 1908, mentions an attempt to establish a Danish settlement near Iron River, Wisconsin.

the most typical and the most successful of the communities described.

It is a remarkable fact about Danish pioneering generally in the United States, that the immigrants during more than a quarter of a century were without trained ministers and were therefore left largely to their own devices in matters of religion. This fact is all the more remarkable when one remembers that the social life of the settlements usually centered around the church, for though trained ministers might be wanting, the religious life was not. Thus both economically and religiously the Danish pioneers were left to hew their own way. And hew they did. Reveling in the opportunity of studying the Scriptures without state-prescribed supervision, many an immigrant turned preacher or evangelist. Their Bible study did not make for a straight Lutheranism. Several sects appeared, and religious discussions and dissensions were rife. The religious conditions thus created in the early settlements were later aptly described by a Lutheran minister as a "sinful confusion."

But some order arose out of the disorder. With such leaders as Louis Jorgensen Hauge and P. H. Dam, both forceful lay preachers who took up their work with the newborn zeal of late converts, the Baptists were successful in extending their activities to many of the early settlements and in consolidating their gains. A report for 1870 shows that there were Danish Baptist congregations in Wisconsin at the following places: Racine, Raymond, Oconomowoc, Neenah, and at a place in Waushara County, all having a total of three hundred and thirty-one baptized members and probably about fifteen hundred people including the children. The congregations were organized in a conference which held annual meetings for mutual inspiration and guidance At these meetings the zealous peasant leaders boldly attempted to discuss such questions as: "What is

meant by spirit, soul, and body?" "Is there any difference between spirit and soul?" "How may one God be three?" We do not wonder that the Baptist historian Professor N. S. Lawdahl later observed: "They did not fully understand those matters, but took the same stand as Martin Luther and the theologians of the Middle Ages, namely, that those things must be believed, even though they could not be understood." Other important matters discussed were questions pertaining to mission work, a church paper, a traveling missionary paid by the conference, and whether women should be permitted to take part in the discussions at church meetings. At the conference in 1877 a motion was made and passed to the effect that "the sisters would not be permitted to entangle themselves in controversies." "As if," observes Lawdahl, "that privilege was reserved for the brothers." But for some time the "woman's question" (*Kvindespörgsmaalet*) continued to be so serious that it even threatened to disrupt some of the congregations.[17]

The Baptists encountered some opposition, in one of the settlements from the Perfectionists (*de Fuldkomne*) and in another from the Free-Frees, an evangelical sect like the Baptists stressing piety and emotionalism, but disagreeing with them on some fundamental doctrines. Much more serious opposition came from the Adventists, especially after one of the young Baptist ministers, J. G. Matteson, whom Louis Jorgensen Hauge later pronounced "an energetic and smart young man," had turned Adventist and drawn a large part of his Baptist congregation with him. Though Matteson proved a veritable St. Paul to the Danish Adventists, introducing their doctrines and organizing churches both in the United States and in the Scandinavian countries, the churches he organized in Wisconsin had but few adherents compared with the number of Baptists in the same state.[18]

[17] Lawdahl, *op. cit.*, 99-144.
[18] *Ibid.*, 59, 117; *Danske i Amerika*, i, pt. 1, 187-191; pt. 2, 252-256.

Individual Danish immigrants joined the Episcopal Church. Martin F. Sorensen, a son of Rasmus M. Sorensen, became an Episcopalian minister, but he did not succeed in building up a purely Danish Episcopalian congregation.[19] More joined the Methodist Episcopal Church, and several Norwegian-Danish Methodist congregations were formed in Wisconsin. In these, however, the Danes were in the minority. Chief among the organizers of the first Norwegian-Danish Methodist congregations was the Dane, Christian B. Willerup, born in Denmark but educated in this country for the ministry. In 1850 he organized the first Norwegian-Danish Methodist congregation in the United States at Cambridge, Wisconsin. A few years later he was sent to the Scandinavian countries to introduce Methodism there. After several years of successful work he returned to the United States, but later again went to Denmark, where he died in 1896.[20]

While the non-Lutherans thus struggled to build up congregations, very little was accomplished by the Lutherans. Whatever was done, was done by Norwegian Lutheran ministers, who organized so-called Scandinavian churches composed of both Norwegians and Danes. The Scandinavian congregation in Racine dates from 1851. It became purely Danish, the oldest Danish Lutheran Church in the United States. Other early Danish (Scandinavian) Lutheran churches organized through the efforts of the Norwegian Lutheran ministers were formed at Hartland in 1867 and at Oshkosh in 1869.[21]

Finally, in the late sixties, the mother church took action, prompted to some extent by the American Episcopalians and the Norwegian-American Lutherans, but especially by

[19] *Danske i Amerika*, i, pt. 1, 343; *Kirkelig Samler*, xxxiii (1905), 604.
[20] *Danske i Amerika*, i, pt. 1, 251-268; pt. 2, 355; ii, 124.
[21] *Meddelelser*, i, 11, 21, 37, 51, 158, 185, 191; *Den Forenede Danske Evang. Lutherske Kirkes enogtredivte Aarsmöde* (see statistics).

the Reverend Claus Laurits Clausen, who in 1867 visited Denmark, where he made a strong appeal for missionaries to go to the needy fields in the Danish settlements in the United States. Accordingly in 1869 ministers and laymen of the mother church, acting however in a private capacity, organized "The Committee to Promote the Preaching of the Gospel among the Danes in North America."[22] Two years later the committee sent its first ministers, A. S. Nielsen and R. Andersen. These were soon joined by A. Dan and N. Thomsen. None of them had studied theology at the University of Copenhagen, where all the ministers of the state church in Denmark were educated. For this reason they had been refused ordination by the Danish bishops. Mr. Clausen, who himself had been ordained by a minister, solved the difficulty by ordaining Nielsen, who in turn ordained Andersen. In 1872 the four ministers took steps toward the formation of a church association later called the Danish Evangelical Lutheran Church, briefly the Danish Church (*den Danske Kirke*). Unlike the mother church this association had no bishops, the duties of a bishop being divided between the president (*Formanden*) and the ordainer (*Ordinatoren*). Each year the ministers and delegates from the congregations met in conference, the annual meeting (*Aarsmödet*), which dealt with matters of general interest and yet had but little power over the individual congregations. The new church was thus organized on a more democratic basis than the mother church and without its ecclesiastical hierarchy.[23]

Three of the four ministers arriving in 1872 became definitely associated with the history of the Danes in Wisconsin. The part that the Reverend Mr. Nielsen had in building up the settlement at Withee and his death have already

[22] *Kirkelig Samler*, xxx, 414; Andersen, *Pastor Clausen*, 148, 159-160; *Meddelelser*, iv, 2-3.
[23] *Danske i Amerika*, i, pt. 2, 83-47; *Kirkelig Samler*, xiii, 409; xxvi, 228.

been mentioned. Both Andersen and Dan are still (1928) living. The former was long pastor of a congregation at Brooklyn, New York; and the latter continues to serve a congregation in Chicago. Aside from their ministerial labors, both have made notable contributions to Danish-American culture, Andersen as a historian and Dan as a poet. It should also be mentioned that Nielsen for a number of years was both president and ordainer of the Danish Church, being thus virtually bishop though not so designated.[24]

All of the four ministers, like most of the members of the committee, were either Grundtvigians or inclined toward Grundtvigianism.[25] The Grundtvigians constituted then as now one of the chief factions of Danish Lutherans. They were ardent nationalists, to whom an idealized Denmark fell but little short of being as delectable as Paradise itself.[26] Their peculiar doctrine, that the Apostolic Creed rather than the Bible is the inspired and direct word of God,[27] was especially abhorrent to another faction within the mother church, the Inner Mission people, a type of pietistic Lutherans who stressed the verbal inspiration of the Scriptures. In spite of such differences both factions in Denmark remained within the same organization—the state church—and it was hoped that the same condition might be possible in this country.

For some years most of the ministers sent out by the committee were Grundtvigians. After 1884, however, when the Reverend Vilhelm Beck, the standard bearer of the Inner Mission people in Denmark, became a member of the committee, more ministers of the Inner Mission type were sent, increasing thereby the difficulties of maintaining har-

[24] *Danske i Amerika*, i, pt. 2, 45-47.
[25] Andersen, *Pastor Clausen*, 168.
[26] See, for instance, the poem "Paradiis" on p. 142 in N. F. S. Grundtvig, *Digte* (Copenhagen, Denmark, 1869).
[27] N. F. S. Grundtvig, *Den kristelige Børnelærdom* (Copenhagen, 1883), 282-286.

mony with the Danish Church.[28] These conditions became acute when the Danish Church in 1884 established a theological seminary at West Denmark. The friend of F. L. Grundtvig, Thorvald Helveg, became its president. He was a graduate of the University of Copenhagen and a polished but ardent Grundtvigian. His assistant was Peter Sorensen Vig, a keen logician and a forceful personality, who represented the Inner Mission people. Dissensions soon arose which increased in intensity until the inevitable split occurred in 1894, after which the Grundtvigians remained in possession of the Danish Church, while the withdrawing (or excluded) Inner Mission people in 1896 joined with some of their brethren who had been members of the Norwegian-Danish Conference to form the United Danish Evangelical Church of America, briefly called the United Church (*den Forenede Kirke*). Its basic dogma is that the Bible is the directly inspired word of God, but this church also accepts the Apostolic Creed as the common "age-old slogan" of the Christian Church.[29] The United Church has been especially active in mission work both at home and abroad, and it has long outstript the Danish Church in the number of ministers and congregations. This is also true in Wisconsin, where the United Church has more than twice as many congregations as the Danish Church.[30]

At the beginning of the present century, all the non-Lutheran churches mentioned in this article were represented in the state, the Baptists predominating. In Racine —the most Danish city in the country—the Danish (Nor-

[28] *Meddelelser,* ii, 297; *Kirkelig Samler,* xiv, 7.

[29] *Danske i Amerika,* i, pt. 2, 56-81, 117-188; J. H. Bille, "A History of the Danes in America," in *Transactions of Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts, and Letters* (Madison, 1896-1897), xi, 26. Bille's history deals largely with the bickerings between the Grundtvigians and the Inner Mission people.

[30] *Beretning fra den Danske Ev. Luth. Kirkes 42 de Aarsmöde,* Kirkelig Statistik Aaret 1918; *Den Forenede Danske Evang. Lutherske Kirkes seksogtyvende Aarsmöde, Racine, Wisconsin, 7 de til 11 te Juni, 1922,* 20, 21, and statistics.

wegian-Danish) Methodists, Adventists, Free Mission People, and the Grundtvigians each had one congregation and the Inner Mission people three.[31]

Besides churches, the Danes in America have formed a vast number of other organizations: economic, social, and cultural. Of these the Danish Brotherhood with the similar Danish Sisterhood and the Danish United Societies are fraternal organizations patterned after the ordinary American secret societies. Originally, however, the Danish United Societies were nationalistic organizations, but they gradually developed along fraternal lines. Their membership, contrary to that of the Danish Brotherhood, is mainly urban. In 1900 they had four local organizations in Wisconsin, whilst the Brotherhood had seven. But since that time locals of the Brotherhood have been established in nearly every Danish settlement in the state.[32]

The Danish Lutherans have made several attempts to establish schools in Wisconsin. In 1884 the Reverend K. S. Nörgaard built a folk high school at West Denmark. It was in operation for but one year. From 1887 to 1893 the buildings were used by the theological seminary of the Danish Church under the presidency of the Reverend Thorvald Helveg. The seminary was closed in 1893 as a result of the church controversy. During the winter of 1893-1894 the Reverend A. Boberg attempted to reëstablish the folk high school, with but temporary success.[33]

More successful were the people of the United Church, who in 1902 built Luther High School and College in Racine. For some years it had a considerable number of students—at times more than a hundred per year. But the

[31] *Danske i Amerika*, ii, 118-124; *Forhandlings-Protokol over De Danske Baptisters Fjerde Fælleskonference*, 1917, 60.

[32] *Det Danske Brodersamfunds Vejviser i Amerika*, 1917, 69-71; *Inkorporations-Artikler og Bilove for de Sammensluttede Danske Foreninger of Amerika* (Cedar Falls, Ia., 1921), 47-48; *Danske i Amerika*, ii, 132-143.

[33] *Danske i Amerika*, ii, 195-196.

institution could not compete with the public high schools, and too few of the young people of the church went to college to insure it a continuous existence, so that not even the strenuous and self-sacrificing work of its last president, John Larsen, could prevent its closing. This was due partly, however, to the World War.[34]

In 1870 Wisconsin was the leading state in the Union in the number of Danish-born residents. Iowa had attained this rank in 1890 and California in 1920. But Wisconsin is still one of the leading states in the number of residents of Danish descent, having in 1920 over forty thousand.[35]

[34] *Danske i Amerika*, ii, 142-143.
[35] *Danske i Amerika*, ii, 14-15; *United States Census, 1920*: Population, ii, 697, 903.

PIONEER AND POLITICAL REMINISCENCES[1]

NILS P. HAUGEN

THE YEARS 1895-1901

While I was in Congress it was the custom to give the widow of a Congressman one year's salary—then five thousand dollars. William T. Price, my predecessor, had always opposed the practice, so when he died in office I was in doubt as to the course to pursue in the case of Mrs. Price. In the dilemma I consulted Mr. Randall, then at the head of the committee on appropriations, an old member, former speaker, and one of the leading Democrats of the country. Mr. Randall asked me to look up recent precedents for him, and added: "Whatever has been done for other widows we will do for Mrs. Price." The precedent seemed unbroken. I introduced the necessary bill; Mr. Randall looked after it in the committee, and Mrs. Price received the money.

I had been fairly successful during my congressional career in obtaining consideration of matters of special interest to the Superior part of the district, the only section where special legislation was needed. Friendly expressions from Superior assured me of continued support from that quarter. The district had been changed after the census of 1890; Eau Claire and the counties to the south and east had been taken off, and Chippewa and Sawyer had been added. The Eau Claire lumber interests had been exchanged for the Chippewa Falls lumber interests, the largest being the Weyerhauser, known as the Mississippi Lumber Company, operat-

[1] Previous installments have appeared in the December, 1927, and March and June, 1928, issues of this magazine.

ing not only on the Chippewa but throughout the northern part of the district. I had served one term in the new district, although John J. Jenkins had been presented to the convention in 1892 as the candidate from Chippewa County.

I had been mentioned occasionally for the governorship, but had given the matter little attention. Peck had defeated Spooner in 1892. The Treasury cases had contributed to the defeat of the Republican state ticket in 1890 and 1892. But the Democratic administration had laid itself open to severe criticism because of the "Roster Printing" scandal, and everything looked favorable for the Republicans in 1894.

I had kept up a friendly correspondence with La Follette after his retirement from Congress in 1891. A. R. Hall was a true and trustworthy friend. He continued as a member of the Assembly and must be considered the prime mover in the legislative reforms then urged and later placed upon the statutes. He had been active in stopping the issue of passes to public officials, including members of the legislature. He was entirely unselfish in his public service, and well deserved the recognition later given him by the legislature in placing a tablet to his memory in the assembly chamber of the capitol. I think I brought him to the attention of La Follette. In a letter of December 26, 1892, I said: "I wish our legislature would pass some law similar to the British corrupt practices act, to purify and control the use of money in elections. I know in my own case it is a constant struggle to avoid being bled to death during a campaign both before and after convention. I do not believe (*inter nos*) that I shall ever be a candidate again, but it is getting to a pass where there is danger that the nominations will go absolutely to the highest bidder. Consult with my good friend Mr. Hall of Dunn, and help him get up a bill with this in view. You will find him an excellent fellow, and I wish you would get well acquainted with him. He is as

honest as the day is long, and an invaluable member, watchful and fearless." Mr. Hall became and remained until his death in 1905 a strong supporter of La Follette.

My term in Congress terminated on March 4, 1895. During the winter of 1893-1894 I had quite a large correspondence with La Follette, in which he urged me to become a candidate for governor. He assured me of strong support from Dane County and his old congressional district. But Hod Taylor had taken up his residence in Madison, having become the owner and editor of the *Wisconsin State Journal,* and had announced his candidacy for the gubernatorial office. Senator Spooner too had moved from Hudson to Madison, and it was to be expected that their political alliance would be exerted against any ambition directly or indirectly nourished by La Follette. They had always worked in harmony with Senator Sawyer. I had maintained the friendliest relations with the latter while he continued in the Senate, and felt that I had enjoyed his good will although he knew of my friendly relations with La Follette. I had never expressed myself concerning the controversy between them, except as heretofore mentioned, in conversation with Tom Reed.

Governor Hoard had expressed himself in favor of my candidacy. But I wanted further assurance before committing myself; so I took a trip to Madison to confer with La Follette and Hoard. Together we went to Milwaukee and had a conference with Horace Rublee, editor of the *Sentinel.* That paper had always spoken well of my record as a public official. Mr. Rublee was friendly personally, but was closely allied with the dominant faction within the party, represented by Henry Payne of the state central committee, Senator Sawyer, Senator Spooner, Elisha Keyes, and others. On the way to Milwaukee I told La Follette and Hoard that I would not become a candidate if Sawyer was going to oppose me because of his personal quarrel with Bob, and

that I wanted to interview him personally as to his expected attitude if I became a candidate. To this both of them agreed, Hoard perhaps with more readiness than La Follette. On May 24 I went to Oshkosh, where I had a pleasant visit with the old Senator. I returned directly to Washington and on the twenty-seventh wrote La Follette. Let me quote from that letter as to my visit: "You know I went to Oshkosh and had a visit with the old man. I want to say for him that he does not refer to you with that bitterness which I have noticed in his conversations heretofore. On the contrary, when your name was mentioned he said, 'I would not do anything to hurt La Follette. On the contrary I would do anything I could to help him.' I want to say this to you because I think you would admit that the old gentleman is kindly disposed, and any controversy between him and you will, I am satisfied, not be kept alive by him. He naturally feels well toward his fellows, and that characteristic found opportunity of expression in my visit with him the other evening. He is enjoying himself at his home, where he has a great many friends and where his old age is made as mellow as possible. I judge by his conduct that he is well pleased with my candidacy. He said that he did not expect to take any active part, but that he would take pains to be interviewed if my opponents tried to make it appear that my candidacy is an assault upon him and his friends."

The above was written when the facts were fresh in my mind, and the interview was a determining factor in my candidacy. That the Senator was honest in his expressions at the time I have no reason to doubt. If he had expressed himself in the least degree hostile, or had advised me not to enter the field, I should have taken advantage of the suggestion. He was a power in his section of the state, not only by reason of his political influence but because of his extensive business relations.

But the Madison Junta was not idle, and through its influence Hans Warner was induced to become a candidate. He must have realized that he stood no chance of being nominated even if I were out of the way. The hand of Taylor was too apparent. The convention came on July 27. The Dane County delegation was secured for me, but only by a slim margin. Taylor carried the city of Madison, but the outside precincts won the day, to his great disappointment. But I lost Pierce County to Warner. Senator Sawyer appeared at the convention marshaling his forces against me. His friendly feeling expressed in our interview did not meet with the necessary reciprocal feeling on the part of La Follette, and it is plain that their quarrel became the determining element which resulted in my defeat. While La Follette gave me the strength to enter the field, his feud with the old gentleman was the certain cause of my defeat.

William H. Upham, a lumberman from Marshfield, became the nominee for governor; he was, in fact, chosen by Sawyer and his following. I have not examined the newspapers of the day, but my recollection is that I was next highest in the outcome and led Hod Taylor by a fair margin. He came into my room in the Pfister Hotel, very much excited, and with an oath said, "If it had not been for you, Nils Haugen, I would have been nominated for governor today." To this I answered, "If that is so, Hod Taylor, I have rendered the state of Wisconsin a great service today." Mr. Grevstad, editor of the *Skandinaven,* was sitting on the bed with me, and H. S. Comstock of Cumberland and other friends and supporters were present, all of whom enjoyed the retort. My next visitor was "Uncle" Sawyer. He shook hands and said, "I am very sorry, but I had to do it on account of La Follette." I believe the old man was in earnest, and that his activity was entirely due to his controversy with Bob. The natural instinct of the latter was to be vitupera-

tive in disagreement. This was made more manifest in his later life. Sawyer added that they wanted to place some Scandinavian on the state ticket, and asked me who it ought to be. He said he would leave that to my choice. I suggested Sewal Peterson of Barron County, and he was nominated for the state treasurership. Peterson had been a county official in Dunn County before moving to Barron. He had represented the latter county in the assembly and had proved to be an able and efficient public servant. Another little matter that contributed to my choice of him was this: In the summer of 1893 he and I were on a fishing trip in Ashland County. His name had been mentioned for state treasurer, and I told him that he probably would be nominated. He replied, "But you may be a candidate for governor." To which I answered that that was not very likely, and added: "If I am, you will have to keep out of the way." He said, "If you are, I am for you." And he kept his word, and his county voted for me throughout.

After this head-on collision with Hod Taylor I recollect meeting him only once, and that was somewhat accidentally on the streets of Seattle in the summer of 1909. We had a friendly visit; no reference to former political controversies. He had secured an appointment to visit and examine our consulates abroad and was returning from a trip on that errand to China and Japan—around the world. He belonged to the old style of politicians who had dominated the state for years, generally led and supported by the "timber barons" of the northern part of the state. He had elements of attractiveness and sociability. He was probably opposed to me from the time I failed to support his friend Keyes for the senatorship in the legislature of 1879. The appointments he held in later years were obtained through the influence of Senators Spooner and Sawyer.

La Follette seemed more disappointed than I in the re-

sult of our campaign. He took no part in the fall campaign on account of failure of health. I felt it my political duty to support the nominee of the party, and did so, putting in some time in different parts of the state, visiting New Richmond, Merrillan, Glenwood, Viroqua, Soldiers Grove, Deerfield, Racine, Marinette, and other places to which I was sent by the state central committee. My good friend Dave Henderson from the Dubuque district, Iowa, had asked me to come into his district for a few meetings; so I spent the last ten days of the campaign there, meetings being held at Delaware, Quasqueton, Cedar Falls, Popejoy, Iowa Falls, and some other places. Whether I was of any service to my friend is not for me to say, but he was reëlected by a good margin. Later he was speaker of the House. He was a one-legged veteran of the Civil War. Although his district was not among the strongest Republican districts in his state, he was one of the few Republicans saved in the wreckage of the party in 1890. He was a firm and steadfast friend and supporter of Tom Reed and Joe Cannon. He died in service in the House.

I attended the short session of 1894-1895, closing my congressional service on March 4 and bidding farewell to numerous friends. I know of no one now living who served with me from Wisconsin, except Hal Cooper, who served during my last term and is still a member. There may be others, but if so they have, like myself, fallen out of the public eye.

I went back to my home in River Falls and settled down to the practice of law, which I had not entirely abandoned during my public service; I had retained an office and had tried to keep up my law library in a moderate way. In a country town like River Falls the building up of a law practice is naturally a slow process, but the practice is fairly reliable when once established. The fees are necessarily more

moderate than those charged in larger cities. During the six years devoted to private practice I built up a clientele that afforded me a fairly sufficient income for family support, and its growth was steadily increasing each year, in spite of interruptions. I could not keep free of political activities, and as each primary approached I was more or less drawn upon by requests to take part, which it was almost impossible to ignore in view of friendly interests in former campaigns of my own. River Falls is a prosperous community, and my associations there were pleasant. During the season I could indulge my sporting instincts by fishing in the Kinnickinnick, this much of the time with my good friend Fred Burhyte, a leading merchant of the city. The stream was then fairly well supplied with the native speckled trout. Now the speckled is a rarity, the German brown and the rainbow having driven out the smaller trout. They are perhaps as gamy; but I cannot help feeling that the speckled should have been protected in many of our streams which seem its natural breeding places, and where it had always propagated and thrived. I think I was the first one to plant young trout fry from any state hatchery in Pierce or St. Croix waters, which I did personally on a very cold March day (in 1883, I think) while I was railroad commissioner, placing some in Rush River, some in the Trimbelle, and some in the south fork of the Kinnickinnick. The Izaak Walton League of River Falls has been very active of late years in keeping at least some of these streams well supplied and thus attractive to anglers. Not being overrun with clients, I could generally leave the office about five o'clock in summer and have a plentiful catch for breakfast the next morning. I find that in writing to La Follette at a later date I used this language: "I attend strictly to business—and waiting for it."

The campaigns, both state and national, of 1896 were

coming on. The leading candidates for the presidency seemed to be William McKinley and Tom Reed, both well-known friends of La Follette and myself. On the question I inclined to Reed. I quote from a letter to La Follette of December 18, 1894, which fairly presents my views of the two candidates at that time. Reed had made some friendly allusion to Sawyer, which irritated Bob. I wrote: "Reed said in a letter to me about what you attribute to him. I hope, Bob, that you will not let that influence your action. I do not think it ought to. Sawyer went down to Chicago to induce Reed to come to Wisconsin, and the letter was written with that visit fresh in Reed's mind. I know that he has the friendliest feelings for you. I think that he is likely to be the nominee, and that it would be very bad policy for us to antagonize him. I do not know that he would be the nominee if the convention were coming off today. I doubt it, but he will be the leading figure of the next House as its speaker, and his course will be wise and meet general approval, especially in view of the fact that the Democrats have endorsed his former methods, and the large Republican membership will be for him, and I look for public sentiment to move strongly in his direction. . . . So I think you ought not to let anything that Reed may have said with reference to Sawyer weigh with you in the least. You know I like McKinley personally even better than Reed, for the latter is sometimes as arbitrary and disagreeable as any man can well be; but I believe he is far greater than McKinley and that he is more likely to be the party nominee."

Such was my impression of the two men, and it has remained so ever since. Reed as president would have been entirely independent of any dominating influence "from the other end of the capitol," as he expressed himself to me in speaking of McKinley. Bob, however, when the time came threw his influence to McKinley. Mark Hanna became the

power behind the throne, and as far as Wisconsin was concerned it meant Henry Payne and the Sawyer influence; just what Bob did not want. I had tried the task of peacemaker between La Follette and Sawyer, and had failed. Bob was relentless. He may have given his own interview with the old gentleman a hasty construction not intended. But it was not in him to retreat in controversy from a position once taken.

In the spring of 1896 by invitation of Bob we met with friends in Chicago to confer as to the approaching campaign. Judge Emil Baensch of Manitowoc was invited, and I think H. P. Myrick, editor of the Milwaukee *Free Press*, was there, as well as other political friends. The proposition came from La Follette that he, Mr. Baensch, and I all become candidates for the nomination for governor, with the understanding that we cooperate and support the leader of the trio in the convention. I had said that I would not be a candidate. Once was enough for me. Nor did I believe that the plan was practical. Delegates cannot be shuffled about like pawns on a chessboard. Baensch seemed to agree to the plan. I was asked not to turn the matter down then and there; but a few days later I wired both that I must be considered out of it. Both La Follette and Baensch went into the convention and were defeated. Edward Scofield of Oconto received the support of Sawyer and friends and became the next governor. They dropped Upham, their choice in 1894, after one term of service.

We supported McKinley for the presidential nomination, although I should personally have preferred Reed, for the reasons stated. It seemed easier to carry the state for McKinley, and we were not entirely blind to the practical side of politics. I visited Chicago during the early part of the campaign and called at the Republican national headquarters. Payne was in attendance as the committee member

from Wisconsin and chief lieutenant of Mark Hanna, the chairman. I was introduced to Mr. Hanna, whom I had not met before, but who politely (politically) said he remembered me. A trick of the trade! He asked me to go to the state of Washington and take part in the campaign. I spent some weeks on the coast, visiting the principal cities on the Sound, also Aberdeen on Gray's Harbor. The places were somewhat familiar to me in name at least through the river and harbor bills in Congress. I had a pleasant outing and was treated courteously. The political agitation on the coast and in the mountain states at the time rested on the question of the free coinage of silver. Bryan had captured them in the Democratic convention with his "Crown of gold pressed upon the brow of labor" speech, and that section of the country supported him in the election. My expenses—all I ever charged or received in any campaign—were paid by the national committee.

Governor Hoard had the ambition to become secretary of agriculture under the McKinley administration, and we favored him. It was generally agreed that La Follette's relations with the President-elect made him the natural spokesman for Hoard. But Bob's health was such that he refused to take over the commission, so I was urged to go to Canton to see McKinley. This I did about holiday time. I asked the editor of the *Skandinaven,* Mr. Grevstad, to accompany me. We called at the McKinley home, where we were graciously received. McKinley was always the gracious gentleman and of friendly nature. When I presented the matter to him he confessed great admiration for Hoard, but said—what we knew—that Senators Spooner and Sawyer were very much opposed to him; that they had asked him to appoint Mr. Payne postmaster general; that with the opposition existing in Wisconsin he could not honor the state with a cabinet position. He added that the only request

Mark Hanna had made of him was that he make Mr. Payne postmaster general. Some time before this visit I had called on Senator Davis, at his request, in St. Paul. He knew I had served with McKinley and was on friendly terms with the President. He frankly stated that he had the ambition to become secretary of state. His service as chairman of the Senate committee on foreign affairs had made him familiar with our foreign relations. He was a scholarly gentleman. I had known him from my reportorial days and had kept up the acquaintance while in Congress. He asked me to mention him to the President, and this I did when nothing could be done for Hoard. But the same objection was raised as in Wisconsin. One of the Minnesota Senators was very much opposed to Davis; so the state must be passed over. I so reported. Davis was an "annexionist." As chairman of the committee he had advocated the taking over of Hawaii. Later, as one of the commissioners to the Paris Peace Conference after the Spanish War, he favored and advocated the annexation of Porto Rico.

After the election in November I received a letter (or dispatch) from a friendly editor in the northern part of the state asking me if I would accept the appointment of governor of Alaska. I answered as follows: "I have not thought seriously of asking for any appointment at the hands of the incoming administration, and am not prepared to say that I would want to be frozen up in Alaska. The only inducement for giving such a proposition serious thought is the fact that it might afford an opportunity to make some money. It is not desirable as a place for a family. But if I am governor of Alaska, you shall have the best post there is, and have the freedom of all the glaciers on the coast." Many years later I asked my friend if the proposition had come from Senator Spooner, and he said it had. It was evidently thought desirable to get me as far away from Wis-

consin as possible, and it may have been expected that I would leap at the bait.

After McKinley's inauguration I had occasion to visit Washington and called at the White House. The President being occupied I left my card. Calling again the next day, I was received in the most friendly manner, with the remark, "You were here yesterday. Why did I not see you?" I replied, "You were busy, and I did not want to interrupt." He said, "The door is always open to you, Mr. Haugen," and expressed himself as always glad to see me. I did not look for position, knowing the uncertainty and the brevity of political appointments at best. A close friend and associate during my congressional service was Binger Herman of Oregon, a very popular member of the House. He had been appointed commissioner of the General Land Office in the Interior Department. I called on him, and he offered me a roving commission to visit and inspect the land offices in the West, adding that there were great opportunities to make money out there. I have no reason to think that he meant in any other than an honest way; but he had some difficulty himself later, being accused of participating in some speculation inconsistent with his official duties. He was acquitted of any criminal charge. The Senator from his state was under arrest but died before the case came to trial. I stopped over night in the summer of 1909 at Roseburg, his home town, and spent a pleasant evening with Mr. Herman. He seemed downcast but expressed himself as very much pleased at my stopping over to see him. He too passed away some years ago.

At the May, 1898, session of the circuit court in Pierce County some friends approached me suggesting that I enter the race again for the congressional nomination. We had a meeting in the office of the county clerk, who participated and declared himself enthusiastically for me. He had al-

ways been a loyal friend and supporter in previous campaigns, and I believe he was honest in his professions at the time they were made. He had held the office of county clerk for many years. Hans Warner had attended the state convention as a delegate in 1896, but became ill on the way home and died a few days later. The field seemed open as far as my home county was concerned. I was assured by my friends at the meeting referred to that Pierce County could be relied on without any concern on my part. To my astonishment I was informed shortly before the county convention that the county clerk was a candidate for either secretary of state or state treasurer. I made no campaign in Pierce County, but went to the county convention with a delegation from the city and town of River Falls. Professor W. D. Parker, for many years president of the normal school at River Falls and always highly respected by all his fellow citizens, had at my request agreed to serve as a delegate. He had never been an active participant in our politics, but having retired from the school he agreed to take that much part. The convention met. The choice of delegates went on until about half of them had been declared elected and they were against me. They were elected singly, but it was understood whom they favored. The election of another delegate was announced, when a friend came to me and said, "Haugen, they are counting you out. The last vote gave a majority for you." I had no active lieutenant on the floor, so I arose and stated what I had learned. I asked that a recount be had and that Professor Parker be permitted to verify it. This suggestion could not very well be refused me. Mr. Parker reported a majority of more than half a dozen votes for me, just about the reverse of what the tellers had reported. What should be done with the delegates already reported elected? The ballots had been scattered or destroyed. I then and there withdrew my candidacy, but

added that, although not a delegate, I would be at the state convention. The hand of the "Hudson ring" in putting up a candidate from Pierce—an old trick—was too evident. I had made no particular effort and had spent no money in this wild-goose chase, which I certainly would not have entered except for the assurance made by some of the men who helped to stack the cards against me in the convention. James O. Davidson was nominated for state treasurer at the state convention, which thus disposed of the aspirant from Pierce. This was my last appearance at a popular election, and I wired my friends in other counties of the district that I was out of the race. In Burnett, however, they persisted in electing a Haugen delegation. I could always count on Burnett; it had always been for me and remained true. My intimate friend of later years and now, Mr. Myrland, for the last sixteen years secretary of the State Tax Commission, was then district attorney of Burnett and marshaled the forces.

The ease with which this fraud was perpetrated on the voters even in a county as free from corrupt practices as I believe Pierce to be, naturally impressed upon my friends, as well as myself, the belief that some method better calculated to carry out the popular will than the free and easy caucus system ought to be adopted. There was no legal supervision of the old caucus and convention. Any political crime could be perpetrated and the guilty go unpunished. I still believe in the convention, as it is necessarily a part of our representative system of government; but it needs to be placed under legal supervision so far as the choice of delegates and voting are concerned. The primary election, as we have it, destroys party harmony and responsibility, and has resulted in the present chaos in Wisconsin. It would seem entirely practical to convert the present primary election of candidates into an election of delegates to conventions

under the same official supervision as now exists. I claim to be a fairly intelligent citizen, but I am at a loss when making a choice from among a dozen or more candidates for a county office. I cannot know all the candidates. Delegates from the precincts would be able to confer at a county convention and impart information. It was the abuse of the caucus that gave impetus to La Follette's advocacy of the direct primary election.

I took an active part in the campaign of 1898 and supported Scofield in spite of the fact that he had shipped his cow on a free pass from Oconto to Madison. I had opposed the use of passes, but did not believe that the cow episode was a sufficient reason for turning the state government over to the Democrats. Scofield was reëlected.

I continued my practice and a quiet life at River Falls. I had built up a fair practice which, if attended to without too much interruption by politics, would assure a reasonable living for my family. But once in politics it is difficult to abstain entirely. Judge Bundy's term was about to expire in 1897, the election of his successor taking place in the spring of 1896. He had in my opinion made an exemplary judge. He was of a hasty temperament, but that had not shown itself in his career on the bench. There had always been some opposition to him in his own county of Dunn, perhaps due to his Democratic propensities before he became judge. The opposition was very likely the result of early party feeling. He had at his last election stated that if elected then he would not seek another term; but as another election approached he changed his mind and announced his candidacy. I was asked to meet in St. Paul some friends from Dunn, Buffalo, and Pepin counties, which I did. There were some attorneys in the group. They asked me to become a candidate for the judgeship—certainly a very honorable position. But my personal relations with

Judge Bundy, as reporter and as friend, were such that I could not agree to be a candidate against him. I so told them. My friend Hall was of the group. Later E. W. Helms of Hudson became a candidate against him and was elected. I supported Bundy, as in his former campaigns. I preferred his personal esteem and friendship to the judgeship with his defeat, and have never regretted my course.

I had become allied with La Follette in 1894, and now that he had become an active and persistent gubernatorial candidate himself, he did not hesitate to draw on me—and on his other political friends. My consent to be a candidate in 1894 had doubtless aided him in his home county of Dane. He had made a valiant fight against Keyes, Taylor, and Spooner, and had won out with me as a candidate. The two of us had elements of strength which neither singly possessed. This he fully realized, as I certainly did. Though La Follette had become our standing candidate for the governorship, he failed again of the nomination in 1898; Governor Scofield was renominated and reëlected. Mr. La Follette was again a candidate in 1900. His persistent pursuit of the office, carried on uninterruptedly for six years, calls to mind the quatrain in *Hudibras* which reads:

> Honor is like a widow, won
> By brisk attempt and putting on,
> With entering manfully and urging,
> Not slow approaches like a virgin.

The "widow" yielded in 1900. He won the nomination and was elected by a large majority.

[*To be continued*]

DOCUMENTS

LETTERS OF THE REVEREND ADELBERT INAMA, O. PRAEM.

[Continued from June issue of this magazine]

X

Transfer to Wisconsin

Sac Prairie, Jan. 15, 1846. As regards the church, arrangements have now been made as follows: The few German-Catholic families present have subscribed the money to build, on a plot of ground on the west shore of the river presented by Count Haraszthy, a provisional frame church thirty feet long, twenty feet wide, and twelve feet high, which is to be built so that it can easily be remodeled into a rectory. According to the contract the building is to be completed by the end of March, and the coming Easter services are to be held in it. In the meantime I officiate in a miserable schoolroom, where I am frequently disturbed by the Protestants, who also use it for religious purposes. The second or main parish, however, is forming on the east side of the river, where most of the colonists settle on account of the better land. So a church will also be built there, and it is there that I would build my mission house if I received support.[101] New families arrive continually and more are announced for the spring. Thus in a few years there will be several parishes on either side of the river, and there may

[101] On January 12, 1846, it was decided to build a church at Sauk City, which was completed in August; burned down October 15, 1846; rebuilt in 1847. The *Catholic Almanac* (1847) states that the chapel in Sac Prairie [Sauk City] is nearly completed. The combination cabin-chapel of Inama built in 1845 received an addition in the spring of 1847 to accommodate the people from Sauk whose church had burned. The *Catholic Almanac* (1847) states that measures have been taken to erect a regular monastery of the order at Roxbury. Besides Father Inama the Rev. Maximilian Gaertner, two candidates, and four lay brothers were members of the community. The present St. Norbert's, Roxbury, began with a small red brick church in 1853, and is one mile east of the site of the first chapel of Inama. *Vide* Harry H. Heming, *Catholic Church in Wisconsin* (Milwaukee, 1895-1898), 522, 855.

be a large enough gain to overbalance the Protestants numerically, toward which my plans may contribute.

The Protestants are consequently also becoming active, holding meetings and opening subscriptions in order to erect more churches. There are already numerous permanent non-Catholic preachers here, and even the German Protestants have a traveling pastor who comes once a month. In fact, there is much greater activity among them than among the Catholics, and it is much more favored by circumstances. For the Protestants are more numerous and prosperous, their churches are simple, and their meager rites cost almost nothing. Their mission bureaus are numerous and strong; consequently they flood the country with their missionaries and emissaries. The opposite is the case among the Catholics. They are still few in number and mostly without means. There are no Catholic mission bureaus in the country. Church-building and rites are expensive. The episcopate, with all the seminaries belonging to it, demands an expenditure which the European mission contributions are insufficient to cover. That is the reason why, while the non-Catholic missionaries live and travel partly or entirely at the expense of the bureaus, the Catholic missionary is always thrown entirely on his already poor parish, and that each parish which desires a priest can receive one only on the discouraging condition that it bind itself to build and maintain a church (for even soliciting contributions is made difficult or prohibited) and that in addition it is able to get together is usually so late by the time a priest arrives, that some of the members have already lost all faith, and others have become a satisfactory salary for the priest and teacher. Hence it so filled with Protestantism that when the priest does arrive he can accomplish little with them.

If I only receive some support from Europe the situation, here at least, will become much better. I am, so to speak, here before my congregation and am planting the standard on favorable soil, where the faithful can and will rally around it. I have completed all advance arrangements in order to make the practice of religion cheaper for the people who settle here, by founding it on the possession of

land, which is, in my opinion the only method of overcoming the hitherto prevailing drawbacks. How could I, for example, demand a money salary from people who have just arrived and either have no money left from the long voyage, or need what they have for the purchase and furnishing of their homes? No! I have contracted for no money-salary, but obligated the parish members only to assist me with material and labor in bringing under cultivation the land acquired by gift and purchase, and in building. In the meantime I keep school in return and tutor the children of the Count. Peter fished and Paul made tents; why should I be ashamed to work in order to be able to preach to the poor people without pay?

From this, my situation and the urgent need for prompt and strong support will become obvious to my brethren in the Faith and to all who have at heart the soul-saving of fellow-believers in these distant regions. If God gives us blessing and prosperity, perhaps in the coming year I may not only no longer need assistance, but even be in a position to help others.[102]

[Letter of the missionary Father Adelbert Inama at Prairie du Sac (Diocese of Milwaukee in Wisconsin Territory) to His Grace, the Most Reverend Archbishop of Vienna, published in *Berichte*, xx (1846), 31-36. Translated by John Koenig, St. Francis, Wis.]

PRAIRIE DU SAC (WISCONSIN TERRITORY)
Feb. 6, 1846

YOUR MOST LORDLY GRACE:

Since I am now to some extent in a position to join the closed past to a probable future, I hasten to send the promised report, drawn up in all possible brevity. Just three years ago I landed in New York, having in mind to travel through Philadelphia and Baltimore, to Cincinnati. But the then great scarcity of German priests in the city of New York alone (where eight are ministering at present, but at that time there were only two) forced me to remain there and help out during the Easter time, and three months later at the urgent request of the Most Reverend Bishop to take

[102] *Kath. Blätter* (1846), 260.

over the land-mission of Utica, which the Reverend Father Prost had forsaken five months previously. I arrived there June 1, 1843, and found myself in the midst of an enormously far-extended mission. From New York to Rochester (395 English miles) and from the St. Lawrence River to the borders of Pennsylvania there was not a single priest for the German Catholics (Schneller in Albany had long ceased to be one). And yet, right along this most frequented passage to the West did many Germans settle, especially the poor, who had no means whereby to continue the journey. In the course of the following summer I made the official inspection of my mission and found the need of at least four missionaries in this district. I provided for the most urgent needs of the communities and quickly sent reports to the Most Reverend Bishops along with the respective written petitions. All gave promise of help in the near future. For the same purpose the Reverend Raffeiner was sent to Europe but brought back, instead of the awaited eight missionaries, only two for this diocese, a Hungarian and a Tyrolean. Fortunately, or unfortunately, there came from most diverse districts a few more, uncalled and unexpected, whom the Bishop in his most urgent need had to employ. One of these came to the capital, Albany, where there are many German Catholics. But as the poor community could not provide the money for building a church and rectory, and a suitable salary for the missionary, and since other assistance could not be found, it was again forsaken.

Father Schwenninger was sent to help me in the mission of Utica, and I received from the Bishop the order to regulate the church affairs of Salina and the vicinity, and to direct the building of a church. Had I not received the generous financial support of your lordly Grace, I too should finally have been obliged to leave the work that was begun, and the community, in the lurch.

For two years now the very numerous but poor peasant-community in Constableville has been waiting in vain for a promised priest. There a church and a small rectory are complete, together with a property of fifty acres. True it is, the poor people cannot supply much ready money, but they

will give liberally of provisions, and are able and wish to make the land serviceable for a priest. Thus far no one has had compassion on these poor people, and since my departure these affairs have received even less attention.

Fortunately a successor was quickly sent to Salina; he however will encounter many difficulties. The community has, notwithstanding generous support, a debt of seven hundred dollars. The church, it is true, is in a serviceable condition, yet it will cost a great deal before it is entirely completed. The school concern is unfinished; rectory, none as yet. Owing to the lack of means, no thought could be given to the appointment of a school teacher, and I was repeatedly interrupted in school matters by more important official business. It shows how hard it strikes such poor communities, to pay for all these things by their own means. Thus for sixteen years, and still to a certain extent, the communities of Utica, Constableville, Salina, Syracuse, Manlius, etc. have had to seek in vain for help, to the great detriment of the welfare of their souls.

It is indeed very sad to see at what a great disadvantage the Catholics stand in this regard, compared with the Protestants. The Protestant churches and ministry are prosperous. Their partisans, as first settlers, are far superior in wealth and political influence; fanatic is their proselytizing. For this purpose the numerous mission societies in Europe and America have supplied ample means. Thus it happens that whole flocks of paid missionaries and emissaries overrun America and all accessible points of the earth. Just the opposite is the case with our Catholics and their missionaries. Almost all are strangers and poor; their churches and priests have no share in the large church lands which the English colonial government has parceled out; they have to withstand the pressure of the ten times stronger masses of non-Catholic sects. Churches, the ministry, especially the episcopate with its proper institutions, are expensive. There are no mission societies in this country. All turn their eyes eagerly toward European societies and benefactors. As these are so universally demanded, it happens that help seldom arrives where the need is greatest—in the country; thus most mis-

sionaries are solely dependent on the poor communities, which on account of a lack of means often remain forsaken for a long time or must be given up entirely. I can find sufficient examples even in my short experience. Albany was, as mentioned, again forsaken. In Constableville the German Protestants, although much less numerous, have long had a resident preacher; the more numerous Catholics have as yet none. There are in Syracuse and Salina, German Lutherans, Reformed, and Methodists with their churches and preachers, and the more numerous Catholics are still in a very doubtful position as to whether they are able to maintain their own priest; while the Protestant—and Masonic—proselyting seriously threatens the flock.

Here in Prairie du Sac the few English Protestants have three preachers, who draw their salaries from the mission fund; the German Protestants are visited monthly by one, sometimes by two, missionaries, who travel at the expense of the mission society. The Catholics had till my arrival seen no priest, had no sacrifice of the mass, and had received no sacraments. Shall I remain with them? I shall; I desire it; but without support neither I nor another can remain. The people are in great part new arrivals. They have spent their money for the journey, and for the purchase and cultivation of land. For the time being they can, with great hardship, manage only for themselves. They can give me little or nothing. That the Bishop is unable to help me, everyone knows. Moreover, it is most painful for me to be obliged to beg from poor people, I being still more impoverished. And then, too, the German is not accustomed as is the Irishman to give continually and everything he has; as it were, to let him be stood on his head. Nothing would make a worse impression on the Germans. Of course it is easier to get along here in the West and in a permanent way. Money, as has been said, is rare; but land, beautiful land, is abundant and is to be had very cheaply. Upon this land the support of the missionaries could and should be permanently established, and gradually benefices could be organized, according to the European plan, by means of

which missionaries could free themselves from all dependence on the communities.

I am on the point of making such a trial which, if in the beginning it finds the necessary support, as I hope to God, to the noble-hearted benefactors of Europe, especially to your lordly Grace it will, would be of help as a successful divine service to minister to the Germans of the far West; yes, as a nursery for future missionaries, and as an educational establishment for clergy and laymen. The Most Reverend Bishop is enthusiastic over my plan. Briefly it is the following:

Here in Prairie du Sac, in the most beautiful, fruitful, wholesome, and most favorable locality, on the shores of the Wisconsin River plied by steamboats, I would establish a priory of my order as a central mission house. A beginning has practically been made. I have made sure of the property of four hundred and twenty acres of land. Of that, one hundred acres are a gift from a Hungarian count, Haraszthy, eighty acres I bought on credit, another eighty acres I have secured through my personal money in the care of the abbot, and I took a right of preëmption on one hundred and sixty acres from the government. But these one hundred and sixty acres and the eighty acres bought on credit will be lost again if within a year I do not pay the interest. My prelate has already promised to send me this year a priest of our order and several lay brothers, but the chapter will send me no money, and so the whole beautiful plan will be ruined if I receive no support from other sources. Only for the first two years would I need support, for the clearing of the land and for necessary building purposes; the further development and continuation would be guaranteed by the income from the land. This is therefore my position, my plan, this my hope and my care, this my future. I believe that it will suffice to let you know my needs in order to assure myself of the kind cooperation of your lordly Grace, for the glory of God and the spiritual welfare of the Germans in the far West. What I must first ask for in advance is that you give me a hint as soon as possible as to whether I may hope for support [he had just the previous year received about

500 fl. C.M.], so that in uncertainty I may not make a hasty step, being misled by a vain hope. All help could be sent to me through the hands of the Most Reverend Bishop of Milwaukee.

With this I will conclude my present letter, with full confidence in God and the sacredness of the affairs, and in the generous charity of European helpers, especially your lordly Grace, and sign myself in a spirit of heartfelt thanks and deepest respect.

Your lordly Grace,

Your most humble servant
ADELBERT INAMA, M.P.
Missionary in Prairie du Sac

[Letter of Father Inama published in *Kath. Blätter* (Aug. 24, 1846), No. 34, 818. Translated by Father William Nellen, St. Francis, Wis.]

Sac Prairie, June 24, 1846. (Corresp.) The communication dated March 13 of the current year I received a long time ago, and I delayed replying because it had filled me with sweet anticipation not only of an early, still more consoling letter, but also of assistance in our extreme distress; but now, as you will readily understand, anxiety does not permit longer delay.

I directed a petition to Munich and Vienna, and to several private persons simultaneously. The extract from the communication of the Reverend financial secretary, imparted to me, affords gratifying proof of the ardent zeal of the Ludwigs-Verein, only 'tis a pity means placed at its disposal do not remain abreast. In spite of my timely, early application I came too late, and have therefore been listed for the year 1847, which is an uncertain hope, since it is so distant.[103] [Ed. note of *Blätter*: Through fortunate circumstances it has become possible to the Ludwigs-Verein to meet the request during the current year, and to forward a considerable sum to the petitioner for carrying out his plans.] I have more confident hope in Vienna, which has been made almost

[103] *Berichte*, XX (1846), 31-36.

certainty by the assurance from Brixen. Nevertheless, I may have to wait two months.[104]

The effects of delayed assistance are of greater loss than I can fully explain. I ought to visit far-outlying parts of my mission field. But the journey is as costly as it is laborious, and it must therefore be postponed to better time—for want of means. The erection of a little church was begun, and by contract ought to have been completed at the end of last March; the construction was halted—for want of means. Splendid fertile land, as fine and fertile as found anywhere, belonging to the mission lies within my view; it might have supplied plentiful provisions for many for the coming winter, but it had to be left uncultivated—for want of means. A few days ago I asked a newly arrived married couple how much they demanded for hire, promising to provide for them in days of health and sickness. The good folks believed themselves to be making a really moderate demand by asking twelve dollars (30 fl. R.W.) per month. How can I pursue agriculture by hired help under such conditions? I admit, however, there is well-founded hope of recruiting local help later on; and all would be well if only, to get a start at this time, I could obtain assistance from a few good Tyrolese.

On previous occasions I was informed that a number of candidates for religious life are found in Tyrol, nor do I believe that Tyrol yields to any other nation in self-immolation and self-denial—but the word "America" frightens one. In truth, however, I do not see what could be deterring in the word "America," since each succeeding year a greater number of Europeans are attracted hither, and even weak womankind does not fear the wild, far-flung Oregon Territory to assist the missionaries in their labors among the savages.[105] Shall it be said that not even half a dozen Tyrolese can be found to lend assistance, without any danger to themselves whatever, to Germans who have emigrated to America? Here they would find a better home than their present one, and would, though they directed the plow, be

[104] The financial report of *Berichte*, xx (1846) records $180 as given to the Rev. Maximilian Gaertner, who left Havre August 9, 1846, to become a fellow missionary of Inama.

[105] *Ante*, note 66.

considered not as hired men but as true members of a missionary institution, differing in nothing from the ordained members excepting in their employment. No other equipment is demanded than fear of the Lord and love of labor.

Or do the impending war in Oregon[106] and the Mexican War now actually begun—but very probably soon ended—create anxieties? Let it be remembered, we are thousands of miles distant from the scene of war, and the Oregon route does not lead by here, but much farther southward. Nor are soldiers in America quartered, as is customary in Europe, in private homes. They encamp on their marches, or else are stationed at garrisons along the boundary. In other respects a usual result of a near-by war is a rise in the cost of living to keep step with wages, a condition greatly desired by the farmers in view of their large annual surplus.

Likewise, too, little is to be feared from the Indians or Protestants. The latter, on the contrary, take a lively interest in the realization of my plans, and throughout manifest a kind demeanor toward me. A Protestant donated half the price of his land for a church location, and two-thirds of the helpers in raising the timberwork were Protestants. Curiosity impels many to attend our Catholic services.

From my ordinary, the Bishop, I expect news with the next mail, and later on a personal visit. As regards assistance, he is in greater need of money than I am. The amount promised to him by the Mission Society in Munich, 6,000 fl., falls far below his wants. In Milwaukee alone—his episcopal city—he has begun building a church [St. Mary's] to cost $7,000, and only $700 has been collected so far by subscription. Moreover, he wishes to establish a convent for the School Sisters [Notre Dame], build a special church [cathedral] for the Irish Catholics, and erect a diocesan seminary. Where will he find means for all this?[107]

Next week I intend to move into my log house erected

[106] The boundary dispute between the United States and Great Britain might have brought on war, but it was settled by treaty June 15, 1846. *Vide* Schafer, *op. cit.*, 173-185.

[107] Bishop Henni received a total of about $8,000 for the years 1844-1854 (reports for 1847-1849 are lacking) from the Leopoldine Society of Vienna. From 1844 to 1866 (reports for a few years missing) he received about $75,000 from the Society for the Propagation of the Faith, of Lyons.

by help of the parish. Since January I have had a student with me, sent by the Bishop, who acts also as my chef. For my farm I have hired for the present two men to mow my amazingly beautiful meadow, on which the grass stands four to five feet high, to be used for my prospective herd of cattle. The congregation is growing gradually through new arrivals. God willing, my plan, which the Bishop considers his own, will eventually be carried out. However, if it is not God's will I shall submit with fullest resignation, and either reduce my project to a minimum or make this place a mere mission.

I requested the dear confrater Max urgently to send a speedy reply, and I find no explanation for his long delay. Is he en route, or has he changed his decision? I beg for information upon these questions, and recommend myself to all pious prayers.

ADELBERT INAMA, Missionary

Sac Prairie, Feb. 16, 1847. (Corresp.) A few words about my last mission trip. In this western region, still sparsely settled and poorly organized, mission trips are filled with much greater difficulties than in the old eastern states of North America. Here there are neither canals, railroads, post-roads, nor even any regular highways. The missionary finds nothing here that resembles a decent church; not even the most important church equipment. He must therefore carry with him everything that he needs for his spiritual functioning. And unless he has a horse or team of his own, he must either await a favorable opportunity or rent horse and wagon at high prices. In addition, the present unusually severe winter with its tremendous snowfall makes any advance practically impossible for a considerable time. Thus I was for a long time unable to get together all that is necessary for a trip.

I did not start my mission trip until my colleague Max brought a second altar stone with him from Milwaukee after the Christmas holidays, and offered me a good chance to come with him to [Fort] Winnebago thirty-six miles

from here.[108] But we had covered hardly three miles, partly plowing through deep snow on foot with indescribable effort, when all trace of a road disappeared, the sled broke down, and we were obliged to give up all hope of going farther. A week later I made a second attempt to reach a new German settlement forty-three miles from here, but on a more traveled road.[109] On the second day a terrific snowstorm overtook me, so that I had to wait four days before I could continue my trip. Only after withstanding a second snowstorm, in which we wandered about lost in a prairie open on all sides, did we finally succeed in reaching the first houses of the German colony, where all were greatly astonished at the arrival of a priest in such weather. However, their joy at my coming was as great as their surprise, for the good people had not seen a priest since their arrival. I found here a fine, secluded, entirely German colony, all of them from the Ochsenfurt district in Würzburg. On all my missions I have never experienced such joy and consolation as here. The parish already consists of twenty-five families and one hundred and fifty souls, among them one hundred communicants, ninety-nine of whom received the holy sacraments, which they had had to do without for a year, some even for a year and a half. I preached every day, twice on Sunday, and was fully occupied with confessions and in-

[108] The Rev. Maximilian John Gaertner was born in Heiterwang, Tyrol, 1801; merchant in Augsburg, Bavaria; school at Innsbruck 1819-1826; joined the Premonstratensians there; professed 1827; theology at Brixen, Trent, Innsbruck; ordained 1830; started for America July 12, 1846; sailed August 9, 1846, from Havre de Grace on the *Iowa*, a first-rate sailing vessel, with three companions, [Joseph Lohr] a teacher and organist of St. Peter's, Ellboegen, a carpenter, who had been porter of the monastery at [Wilten], and one from Hildesheim. Another, a gardener from the Palatinate, took sick and could not make the trip. Father Gaertner went to Europe for funds in 1851 and returned in 1852. *Berichte,* xxv (1853) reports a disbursement of $120 for 1852 as trip expense for him, and lists a donation of $40 from Princess Caroline for him. The *Catholic Almanac* (1847-1858) lists the following places in which he worked: Sauk City, Clark's Corner, Baraboo, Columbus [East Bristol], Waterloo; (1855) St. Aloysius', Sauk City, a brick church, was partly built; Deltona near the Lemonweir, Honey Creek, Dutch Hollow, Leland's Mill, Marble Quarry, Baraboo Bluff. It is certain, too, that he often went to Madison and Fox's Settlement [Fitchburg]. He left for his monastery at Wilten in 1858, where he died in 1877. *Vide Kath. Blätter* (Aug. 24, 1846), no. 34, 816 (ed. note); the Rev. Alois Zitterl, *Meine dreissigjährigen Erfahrungen als Priester in Madison* (1907), 8, 8-9; the Rev. Ig. A. Klein, *Geschichte der St. Josephs-Gemeinde von East Bristol, Wisconsin* (preface signed 1910), 32.

[109] East Bristol. *Vide Berichte,* xxi (1848-1849), 56.

struction of the children. I cannot praise sufficiently the eagerness of these good people to make the most of the opportunity offered. In spite of the deep snow, almost all of them appeared daily for services, which were held in an empty log house heated with an iron stove. Their pious industry soon improvised there a beautiful altar. A touching hymn heightened the solemnity of the services, which were also attended with edification and obvious sympathy by the three Protestant families. The best indication of the delight at my appearance is the fact that these people, entirely voluntarily and without my mentioning it, left wholly to my choice the selection of a site for the church, which means a great deal here, and offered four hundred acres of land for the support of a priest. Upon my departure several of them promised to come to us for the Easter holidays, and then to take me back with them for a longer stay in their midst, especially to instruct the brighter ones in the holy religion and to prepare those eligible for their first communion.

After a stay of five days I left them with the greatest consolation, and felt more than compensated for the hardships of travel. I had planned to go from there to Portage, thirty miles away. But at that time of year, with such roads and weather, that was impossible. After Easter, God granting, I will complete the circuit and then report upon it.

I should like to add, finally, that we are all in good health and spirits and everyone works industriously at his vocation, with unshakable confidence in God and our high-minded benefactors in Europe, to whom I recommend myself and our missions.[110]

ADELBERT INAMA
Canon of Wilten

[Letter of Father Inama published in *Berichte*, xxi (1848-49), 52-59. Translated by John Koenig, St. Francis, Wis.]

PRAIRIE DU SAC, WISCONSIN TERRITORY
March 16, 1847

YOUR LORDLY GRACE:

Your most kind letter of June 4 of last year I received about the middle of September, through the gracious media-

[110] *Kath. Blätter* (1846), 260.

tion of our Most Reverend Bishop. My co-worker, Father Maximilian Gaertner, and I acknowledge with the most heartfelt gratitude the receipt of the generous gift of 500 fl. C.M. given us by the Leopoldine Society. Owing to the decreased rate of exchange on England it amounted to $237, which furnished us with a precious contribution for the continuance of our plan; namely, for the establishing of a permanent mission house in the far West. Since the final settlement with the Most Reverend Bishop did not take place till December, and because I wished to enclose a detailed account of our sphere of activity and the fruits of our labors; and since the winter this year with its unusual severity placed insurmountable obstacles in the way, I beg that the postponement of this letter may merit your gracious forbearance.

The extent of our mission is very great. It is more than a hundred English miles distant in any direction from the nearest German missionary. Toward the west it stretches to the Mississippi, or the boundary of Wisconsin; at all events there is no other missionary between Lake Superior [Michigan?] and the Mississippi. It is true that this stretch of land is sparsely settled, and at present we cannot speak of numerous Catholic families or communities; yet almost everywhere have individual Catholic families dispersed and wandered about in the forests; these must be sought after. For that reason our mission work is very laborious and costly. In several places successful beginnings of beautiful and populous communities have already been made, as in Prairie du Sac, near Columbus, at Fort Winnebago, Dewro[?], Baraboo, Madison, etc. The most remote parts of our mission are at present, from a personal view, still unknown to us, but should in the course of this year with God's help become known to us. This central point, that is, Prairie du Sac, we have baptized the "Mission of St. Norbert," in honor of our founder. The Wisconsin River divides it into two parts, of which the western reaches to the border of the territory; on the east it stretches over the counties of Portage and Columbia in the north, and in the south over Dane and Iowa counties.

Prairie du Sac itself lies on both shores of the Wisconsin and numbers thirty families, about two hundred souls. Two years ago in the course of my traveling about I found here but three families.[111] The announcement that a permanent mission house or monastery would be established here drew the rest in a short time, and twenty new families are announced from Europe for next summer. Of the thirty families spoken of, eighteen have settled on the west side and twelve on the east side: the former principally Prussians from the Rhine Province; the latter, immigrants from Bavaria. Practically all are well instructed, zealous, and pious believers, especially those from Bavaria. Last year, upon my request, the construction of a small frame church was begun on the other [west] side of the river, and in September was celebrated in it for the first time the holy sacrifice of the mass, by the Most Reverend Bishop, after which he administered the sacrament of confirmation. Unfortunately, a month later it became the prey of the flames owing to the carelessness of some of the Germans. I had just finished the holy sacrifice of the mass, and was about to confer with the fathers of the families regarding the further construction of the little church, when a woman who was waiting without for her husband threw open the door and cried, "Fire!" Then we noticed shavings in full blaze on the threshold, and a strong east wind drove them irresistibly under the floor of the church, which had as yet no foundation, so that we gave up all idea of extinguishing the flames and had to be content with rescuing, at the risk of our lives, the tapestries. The fact that some Germans had filled and lit their pipes in the immediate proximity was without doubt the unfortunate cause of the fire. The building had cost about 500 fl. C.M., of which we still owed 100 fl., which the community at present is not in a position to pay; still less can we expect them to rebuild the little church. We are again compelled, as before, to hold services on Sundays and holidays in a dirty, dilapidated schoolhouse. Last year I also held regular classes there for the limited number of German children, and pre-

[111] There was one Catholic in Roxbury when Inama came, Matthias Schmidt, who left soon after. *Vide Madison, Dane County, and Surrounding Towns*, 501.

pared some for the reception of holy communion and for the sacrament of confirmation.[112]

On this side of the river we received as a gift for the establishment of our mission house one hundred acres of land, of which twenty lie directly on the elevated eastern bank of the river, destined to hold our monastery and church, when these shall become possible; the remaining eighty acres together with one hundred and sixty which we purchased lie a quarter of an hour's walk from the river, and there is situated at present our wooden habitation.[113] Last summer I received from my prelate the joyful information that another Reverend co-worker [Gaertner] with several lay brothers would join me this fall. I had no choice left; it was necessary to act, to make necessary provisions for their reception and for their future support. So I ordered ground to be broken and building to be begun, etc. The wooden structure could not however be completed, so that this winter we did not find sufficient protection against wind, rain, snow, and cold. The accommodations are by degrees slowly being prepared. However, we are still lying upon straw ticks thrown upon the bare floor. Our food is very simple. One place we have decked out prettily and orderly, and that is our house chapel, to which the beautiful tapestries from our home country have contributed greatly. True it is that my dear co-worker, Maximilian Gaertner, brought some necessaries with him, but these are not sufficient to provide even for the above-mentioned essential conditions. From our community we receive no support; and judging from their present poverty none can be expected, so that for the past, present, and future we are thrown entirely on the support and generosity of Europe, until by the gradual development of the earth's rich treasures we shall be able to provide for our own maintenance, without being obliged, as unfortunately frequently happens here, to call on the purses of the poor people. At present six of us live together: two priests and four [sic] lay brothers (one teacher, one carpenter, one

[112] *Vide* notes 101, 108, 109.

[113] *Vide* Henni letter, December 18, 1845, postscript: "Count von Haraszthy . . . has signed . . . over a foundation of 100 acres . . . to Reverend Inama for the use of his Order." *Wis. Mag. of Hist.*, x (September, 1926), 74.

gardener, one cook, one steward).[114] For the development of agriculture and stock farming I have hired two families consisting of nine members, and I had separate log houses built for them; in addition I must supply their board and pay them a salary. The following would be an accurate and true statement of our present condition: We are poor, yes more than poor, but yet we are contented, and zealously active, according to our meager strength, in breaking the superabundant bread of life[115] for our poor sheep. On Sundays and holidays we have divine service in the forenoon and afternoon for the settlers on this side of the river, and on week-days we conduct school for the children.

Last summer a new colony of German Catholics settled forty-three miles northeast of here.[116] This colony consists of twenty-five families embracing one hundred and fifty persons. It is situated on the borderline of Dane and Columbia counties, seven miles from Columbus, the main village in the latter county. The Most Reverend Bishop entrusted the colony to our care. The early setting-in of a severe winter with its great mass of snow prevented us for a long time from fulfilling our ardent desire to visit them. Nevertheless toward the middle of January I set out on my journey. A snowstorm forced me to halt nine miles from here and finally after a delay of four days I continued my hazardous journey. After several dreary days I was caught in another snowstorm on a large, uninhabited prairie. My driver lost the way, which was completely covered, and we were in great danger of being forced to spend the night in the open and perhaps freeze to death; from which fate, however, God preserved us, and after much wandering about He led us safely to the end of our journey.[117] The good people had not seen a priest since their arrival in the new settlement; neither had they expected one in this blustering time of the year. The greater their surprise, the greater also were their joy and zeal to make good, yes the best, use of the available op-

[114] *Vide* notes 101, 108, 109.
[115] Holy communion.
[116] East Bristol.
[117] Ordinarily two days were required to make the trip. He arrived there on January 22, 1847. *Vide* Klein, *op. cit.*, 29.

portunity. To the honor of their former country and their previous spiritual father I must say with the most sincere joy of heart that I have never, on any mission-journey, experienced such a great consolation. Not only did they come in large numbers to church and take part in the divine services with touching edification and heartfelt devotion, but one hundred of them received the sacraments in a body. Even the few Protestants who lived in the neighborhood were present at the divine service and were visibly edified by the pious zeal of their Catholic fellow-citizens. Moreover, this colony has the inestimable advantage that the people live near together and are not much mixed with those of other religions and languages; and then too, almost all have come from the same European country, i.e. from Ochsenfurtergau in Würzburg; for this reason it is possible to hope for a unity of efforts, which is ordinarily very difficult among the Germans.

I dwelt with the most respectable and prosperous member of the community, a truly upright man, who sheltered me in his log house, which consisted of only one room and a sleeping-quarter under the roof. The family consisted of fourteen members, and I constituted the fifteenth. Surely there was no question here of European comfort; and yet it was certainly the best habitation for me. An old, decaying, forsaken log house was furnished with an iron stove, and this constituted an improvised chapel where I ministered for four days almost without interruption. Before my departure it was arranged that I should return the week after Easter to remain with them for two or three weeks, and to prepare their children for the reception of the sacraments. Some promised to visit us during the Easter holidays if the weather would permit. All are full of consolation because they are convinced that they shall not be left forsaken. The next time that I come to them, they will transfer to me a gratifying selection of a place on which to build a church. They also declared themselves ready to purchase forty acres of land for the maintenance of a future priest for themselves. As a compensation for my traveling expenses they placed seven dollars on the altar, from which I certainly could not

but infer that they were not often in a position to make such a sacrifice; for these good people spent their money partly on the long journey, and partly on their lands, which may bring rich returns only after years of untold effort and hardship.[118]

My plan at this time was to advance to Fort Winnebago; but time and the weather beckoned me home. The remaining parts of our mission are known to us only by hearsay. A second attempt to make a tour this winter failed utterly. It was not possible to proceed through the great masses of snow. In the first attempt I escaped with great difficulty the danger of freezing. After Easter, however, with God's help I hope to make a successful attempt, and shall then be able to send a detailed account.

Your lordly Grace perceives from the present statement, which is written in strict conformity with truth, that in our widespread mission nothing exists that may even so much as deserve the name of chapel. We cannot speak here of enlarging churches or of replacing old ones by new, splendid buildings. Here the concern is everywhere to make only a first poor beginning; here can many be helped with little; here are not only the communities in want of help with regard to church and school buildings; the one most in need of help is the missionary himself. Had I not received some support from Europe in the year and a quarter of my presence here, I should long ago have been obliged to forsake my post. Since November we have again been living on credit.

Your Reverence perceives, too, that our vocation here is truly and really a mission work and not such as in the large

[118] He stayed at the log house of Joseph Derr and held services there every day from January 24 to February 4. Easter Sunday was April 4, and the Rev. Maximilian Gaertner arrived April 9 and stayed until April 22. Gaertner stopped with the founder of the colony, Joseph Schmitt, and conducted services in his house. On December 8, 1847, a meeting was held to build a church, at which it appeared that there was a difference of opinion about the location of the proposed edifice. Some favored a more central spot in the colony, and were ready to donate the necessary land, rather than the property near Schmitt's home. After services on February 9, 1848, Mr. Schmitt measured off a strip of land 400x24 and gave it to the parish. This action emphasized the rivalry. However, a log church was under roof by May 12, 1850. Family and party spirit, together with misunderstandings over deeds, led up to a proper deed of November, 1853, and the parish took on new life and expansion with the advent of a resident pastor in the beginning of 1855. *Vide* Klein, *op. cit.*, 29-42.

and wealthy cities of the East; there is also this difference, that here two of us live together in community in order that, while we provide for the healing of the souls of others, we may not be forced to admit our own sufferings; that we endeavor to provide, in conformity with the spirit of the order, by agriculture for our own independent maintenance, in order to exempt ourselves from the painful necessity of living on the precious bread of strange poverty, and from being forced to continue the preaching of giving, as is everywhere customary in America, which is naturally the worst introduction to the preaching of the word of God. But just for that reason do we need substantial assistance from Europe for a few more years. It is also our plan and our sincerest wish to connect a school with our house, to secure for far distant children the benefits of instruction especially in religion, and to educate qualified individuals for the missions; this last could, however, be postponed.

We beg therefore most humbly and urgently, your lordly Grace, that we and our poor sheep in Christ be remembered in the distribution of the Leopoldine Foundation funds. With the assistance of the divine strength and the plentitude of grace, the scattered seed will here bring a rich harvest—many souls will be preserved and saved for God.

Herewith we sign ourselves in a spirit of the deepest gratitude for the help received, and trust with unshaken hope in a kind consideration of our present distress.

Your lordly Grace,

Your humble and thankful servants
ADELBERT INAMA M.P.
MAXIMILIAN GAERTNER M.P.
Order of St. Norbert.

XI

ACTIVITIES IN WISCONSIN

Sac Prairie, Jan. 12, 1848 (Corresp.) A merry Christmas and a happy New Year to all relations, friends, and benefactors within the sacred walls of Wilten, round about

among the mountains and valleys, and along the rivers Inn, Etsch, Lech, and Isar; may the rich blessing and fullness of grace of God visit them and remain with them. We prayed for these gifts of Heaven, here in the distant West on the shores of the Wisconsin, first at the holy midnight hour, again upon the holiday itself, as well as during the celebration of the octave, by offering the most august sacrifice, humbly trusting in the mercy of the Lord, that its infinite value should provide these fruits for us and ours. We lay the special furthering of such prayers in the hands of the spotless Mother of Mercy in Heaven, inasmuch as the chief pastors of the Catholic Church in America have publicly and unanimously declared that the most holy Virgin Mary should be honored by the clergy and people here as their chief patron saint.[119] Therefore, on each holiday after vespers we usually sing one of the beautiful hymns to Mary which have been brought from over there.

We finally received, on December 18, with true consolation the long and eagerly awaited letter of October 25, with notice of receipt of our earlier letters. Their time in transit can indeed be various, as a week or two can easily be lost in the trip by land to New York, partly on account of sudden damage to bridges, partly on account of the unpunctuality of the offices between, which, not being paid by the government, have no quarters of their own; it also occurs often that the mail shipments from distant regions reach New York just after the mail-boat has sailed, although the most recent measures have brought the establishment of a steamboat line direct to Havre de Grace, which will carry the most urgent freight. We hope to have a railroad here this year, at least from the capital Madison to the lake-city Milwaukee, so that the entire distance of one hundred and thirty English miles, which has always been a three days' journey, can be covered in a forenoon or an afternoon. Such prospects have been brought about by the astounding growth of those two cities during the last year, Milwaukee having

[119] The sixth provincial council of Baltimore in 1846, decree I, petitioned Rome to institute the Blessed Virgin Mary as patroness of the United States. The decree bears the date May 13. It was approved by the Propaganda on July 2, 1847. *Vide Collectio Lacensis, op cit.*, iii, 100, 106.

increased from 9,000 to 14,000 and Madison from 700 to 1,100 citizens.

"The Times of Great Worry Are Past"

On the birthday of Holy Mary[120] we held thanksgiving services for our benefactors in the Lech valley, whose gifts arrived just in time to meet our greatest needs. Truly, when the need was greatest, aid was closest! We were likewise rejoiced by the considerable gift from the Bishop's seat, sent through Mr. Habtmann, for which we vowed and completed the solemn thanksgiving at the festival of the Immaculate Conception.[121] A letter from the court chaplain Mueller at Munich contained the consoling information that the 500 fl. by which the 2,000 fl. promised us by the Ludwigs-Mission Society for 1847 had been reduced on account of pressing expenditures would be made up to us this year, and that we could in the future count on strong support from the society.[122] The altar-painting which His Majesty had executed for Sac Prairie is supposed to be already under way, and very beautiful. Boundless thanks to God and appropriate thanks to our benefactors! The days of great care and worry are past and we can look forward confidently toward an eventual if slow achieving of our goal. We are now free from debt and have enough on hand to see us through the winter. To be sure, the one hundred and sixty acres sold us by the government were lost because we could not pay for them at the proper time; but as soon as we received money we were able to buy for 600 fl. an even finer and more valuable piece. We now have sixty acres under cultivation, twenty of which are planted to winter grain, so that, with God's blessing, our nourishment and that of our workers will be provided. We can now think seriously of building a church, which is so necessary, since in the whole far-stretching mission there is not even a decent place of worship, let alone a church. The donations of the current

[120] September 8, 1847.
[121] December 8, 1847.
[122] The Rev. Joseph E. [F.] Mueller, general secretary of the *Ludwig-Missions Verein*, Munich.

year will be used mainly for that purpose. Lay brothers are urgently needed, especially for cultivation of field and garden. Several such have been offered us from Tyrol and Bavaria, even people of means. But we can use only reliable ones, who are able to pay their own way over and are prepared to fulfill their obligations conscientiously. Unless a contingent of such people arrives promptly, we shall be obliged to rent our cleared land on half-and-half shares in order to avoid the charges of day-laborers, which we cannot afford.[123]

Now a few words about our work in the missions: Mission service was held in both settlements, Columbus and Jefferson (which have grown considerably in the meantime), during the first half of last October, in the same way and with the same success as last year.[124] Most of the new arrivals come from the diocese of Regensburg; all have means and are well pleased with their new home, although the land must be cleared of heavy oak forests before it is arable. The reason such newcomers settle in the so-called bush rather than on the friendly prairies is in part due to their own ignorance of the situation, in part to fatigue of travel, and in part to the luring of agents, who are interested in populating their settlements quickly; great weight is also given to the assurance that religious needs are provided for by the building of churches or the visits of missionaries. Furthermore, the faithful crowded daily about the altar in the house of the first settler there and demanded eagerly the bread of spiritual life, which was willingly broken for them at every holy service.

A Strange Visit

On October 21 we received an unexpected visit from a chief of the Winnebago tribe of Indians, most of whom had

[123] *Vide ante*, note 101.

[124] Father Inama said the first mass in Columbus on January 24, 1847, in the log cabin of Joseph Derr. The mission consisted of twenty-five families. Supporting the text, Father Gaertner held a mission there October 3-8, 1847. In Columbus proper this priest said the first mass in May, 1850. Joseph Schmitt was the founder of the settlement at East Bristol. *Vide* Klein, *op. cit.*, 29, 30, 37, 40, 42.

been converted to Catholicism over twelve years ago by the industrious missionary Mazzuchelli of the Dominican Order in Milan. Upon further conversation it appeared that the man had come originally from Bordeaux in France, had migrated to Canada, and after the death of his bride, whom he had brought with him from France, had married a young Indian maid and settled on the Baraboo River, which flows westward into the Wisconsin.

Returning home from a journey to the southwest and overtaken by night at Sac Prairie, he had camped under the open sky with his entire family, consisting of his wife and her babe-in-arms, mother, and brother-in-law with his wife and three sons. In vain we offered them our house for shelter; the caravan preferred to remain in their camp, expressing only the wish to receive again the priestly blessing, which, deeply moved, we gave them after young and old had thrown themselves on their knees. The next day all attended services very reverently, and the family of the brother-in-law of the chieftain brought their youngest son to be baptized. After completing the holy offices we entertained the good people at breakfast and presented them with rosaries and medals blessed in Rome, which they assured us would always be highly honored by them. Before leaving, the chief promised to make a return visit with his neighbors the following Christmas, but this was prevented because at the time there was too much snow for wagons and too little for sleds, and the cold had become almost too severe. If he keeps his word and visits us, one or the other of us will use his services as a guide in order to hold a mission in that Indian settlement where in earlier days the praiseworthy activity of our Austrian missionaries Baraga, Skolla, etc. accomplished so much good, along the Wisconsin River as far north as the beginning of the rapids, and then also to visit the remaining halfbreeds on the Fox River (at Fort Winnebago).[125] Might not as a result a fine, wide field of

[125] For Father Mazzuchelli, *vide Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xiv. The Rev. Maximilian Gaertner wrote to Bishop Henni on October 27, 1847: "Last week an Indian family from Baraboo, whose chief is a Frenchman, came to us; he asked to have one child baptized, and another buried; and that [the baptism] in the most solemn manner, with the result that the brown faces hardly knew whether they shed tears of joy or sorrow. Their conversion we owe to the Very Reverend

spiritual activity open itself for us there? Two or three years make many things possible which formerly had to remain only a pious wish; even teacher Lohr expresses himself willing to tramp along with us.[126]

On Sunday, after the feast of the "Consecration of Churches," in sad memory of the church fire in Sac Prairie,[127] a meeting was held there to discuss rebuilding. Count Haraszthy was in charge of the discussion, but no definite decision was reached because the majority of settlers do not yet possess sufficient means for such building and are satisfied with the present use of the schoolhouse. Within two or three years, God willing, it will doubtless be more easily accomplished, as the surrounding farmers improve their condition from harvest to harvest and can show their good will with larger donations. Patience brings roses.

During Advent missions were held again at Columbus and Jefferson.[128] In Columbus, in the meantime, a former Prussian officer, who had fought at Leipzig and Waterloo, has settled, who, tired of the stilted life, wishes to round

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Father Mazzuchelli, who worked among them [Winnebago] thirteen years ago. The grandmother, being in danger of dying from consumption, received the sacrament of Extreme Unction, and—almost miraculously—obtained thereby so great relief that she was able to accompany the caravan home that same day. The quasi-chieftain, a very brave man, urgently sought us to visit the Baraboo settlement, because many families, about thirty, desired baptism for their children, and were willing to build a church. This man, by name John Joseph de la Ronde, promised to send a troop of his tribe to attend the celebrations here at Christmastide, and to discuss then a project for uniting the Baraboo mission with the one at Fort Winnebago, the distance between the two being only a few miles." *Vide Wahrheitsfreund* (Nov. 25, 1847); also *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, vii, 345, for John T. de la Ronde, who was born in Bordeaux, France, February 25, 1802, which with other data identifies him with the chief of the Gaertner and Inama letters. The fact that he was married to a Dekaury would account for his being almost a chief. For the Dekaurys and the Winnebago, see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, ii, 178; iii, 286; vii, 347; xix, 70, note 99. For Baraga and Skolla, see *Wis. Mag. of Hist.*, x, 72-73 (September, 1926), notes 17 and 18.

[126] Joseph Lohr, *ante*, note 108. Teacher at Roxbury 1847; went to Missouri; 1850 at Madison, teaching; member of St. Raphael's, Madison, 1852; taught in St. Raphael's School 1855; delegate to Bishop Henni to get permission to build Holy Redeemer Church at Madison; 1857 teacher in Holy Redeemer School. *Vide* Zitterl, *op. cit.*, 3, 6, 14, 21, 22.

[127] *Ante*, note 101.

[128] Father Gaertner was in Columbus in Advent, December 3-6, 1847. *Vide* Klein, *op. cit.*, 37.

out his days here as a simple farmer.[129] In Jefferson the completion of a little log church has been regrettably postponed because the services of the carpenter hired had been needed by the new arrivals to complete their quarters for the following winter. The services, therefore, had to be conducted again in the old house, although it could hardly hold the increased number of believers. Many of the new settlers received the sacraments, rejoicing at being able to have this spiritual benefit betimes.

Prospects for Immigrants

We regret the great famine which prevails in Europe on account of the rise in the price of food, and wish that some of the rich surplus of America could be sent there. At least, those over there who have means should feel themselves called upon to send their starving poor over here, where two industrious people with the small capital of 400-500 fl. could in the very first year gain a sufficient livelihood; or, still easier and better, by taking service the first year be in a position within the same time to found a home of their own. This holds, of course, only for independent, unmarried persons, although even entire families rarely find themselves in difficulty if they are in earnest and sensible. Our neighbor is a good example; he arrived last fall with a wife and two little children, sought shelter with us for a few days, then rented a farm, planted the field with wheat, corn, potatoes, turnips, etc., for which he spent his ready capital of 250 fl., and awaited confidently the harvest. It provided him all he needed for his household and the rent, so that he is entirely cared for for the future. Our own land produced more than we had hoped, although we cannot boast of exemplary farming, since only strange hands work for us, which want to be well paid. May the Lord continue to bless our earthly life

[129] James Juessen (Jüssen) was the first German Catholic settler in Columbus. He had been burgomaster of Jülich near Cologne; escaped from a Prussian fortress in 1848; came to East Bristol; was a singer, musician, and an accomplished speaker; lent assistance to the missionaries Inama and Gaertner, his home being the setting for the first mass said in Columbus, May, 1850, the priest being Father Gaertner; opened a store in Columbus; rejoined his family after an amnesty had been declared in Germany. *Vide* Klein, *op. cit.*, 33, 40.

in the same measure that we pray to him daily for the prospering of our far more important spiritual crop.

Our most worthy Bishop recently requested of us a prayer for him, as he has definitely decided to leave for Europe on New Year's and will first go to Rome to the feet of the Holy Father in order to give him a true report of the apostolic office here, and at the same time to receive from that excellent representative of Christ on earth new strength and rich blessings for the beautiful but hard task in this distant diocese, which still offers tremendous stretches of land for evangelical sowing, without having the services of even the most necessary workers.[130] The four missionaries who arrived recently from Austria were immediately and eagerly seized by the first communities this side of Lake Michigan, because there was altogether too much work for the four German priests already there;[131] but our western parishes long no less for permanent pastors, probably without hope of having their wish fulfilled for several years, as the lack of suitable missionaries can obviously be corrected only from the German dioceses in Europe.[132] Our most worthy Bishop will therefore make special attempts among our south-German fellow-believers, also in Tyrol, counting upon the energetic spirit of the clergy there, as we consider ourselves justified in describing it. To be sure, this sacrifice does not at once return a comfortable home, nor a solid and roomy house of God, nor an easy opportunity for neighborly visiting, but

[130] Bishop Henni left Milwaukee January 3, 1848; visited Cincinnati and Baltimore; sailed from New York for England on the *Washington* February 23; June 14 arrived in St. Gall from Italy; July 27 visited Wilten; left Europe in April, 1849; stopped in Baltimore for the seventh provincial council, May, 1849, after which he returned to Milwaukee. *Vide Kath. Blätter* (June 26, 1848), no. 26, 679, 680 (ed. note); Klein, *op. cit.*, 40; O'Hearn, *op. cit.*, 35.

[131] The Reverends Joseph Salzmann, Anthony Urbanek, Michael Wiesbauer, and Fabian Bermadinger, O. S. F., arrived in Milwaukee the beginning of October, 1847, and were assigned to Germantown, Fussville, Burlington, and Calumetville respectively. *Vide* Heming, *op. cit., passim; Catholic Almanac* (1848). The *Catholic Almanac* (1847) gives the following German priests working along the lake: Michael Heiss (St. Mary's, Milwaukee), Martin Kundig (St. Mark's, Kenosha), Francis Kendeler (Holy Cross near Port Washington), M. A. Meyer and F. X. Obermueller (Germantown), Charles Schraudenbach (Burlington). *Vide Wis. Mag. of Hist.*, x, 69-84 (September, 1926), notes 7, 9, 14, 16, 32, 34. The name of Casper Rehrl should be stricken out of note 32, *ibid.*, for whom see note 5, *ibid.*

[132] In 1843 there was a lack of priests generally in Germany, Austria excepted. *Vide Sion* (Nov. 12, 1843), no. 136, 1245.

an all the more joyful recognition of personal worth, a more vivid intensity in all devotions, a more consoling participation of the one bishop from home, whose good will stops only at the boundaries of the impossible. In response to a specific request, his Highness received from us a list of the well-known and appreciated leaders, benefactors, and friends in the fatherland from the Etsch to the Inn and also along the Sill; we expect a most worthy reception for him, all the more as he will not, like the last such guest, importune for material gifts, but merely open his blessing hand to the voluntary urge of noble hearts. Truly, to him "it is more blessed to give than to receive"! In the meantime the new cathedral, whose corner stone was recently laid with impressive ceremony, will require considerable sacrifice, more particularly as the German parish in Milwaukee have built their new St. Mary's Church out of their own pocket and the Irish are offering everything in order to bring about a worthy structure.[133] The Bishop must give due consideration to this part of the Catholic population, as they are still in the majority; however, the German tongue will soon achieve a parity and become the first jewel in the Bishop's mitre. We leave it to verbal discussion with our most worthy superior for you to hear the details in regard to missionary activity in this region in general and our mission especially, and hope the same will satisfy all friends of the Catholic cause and stimulate them to new warmth in its support.[134]

ADELBERT INAMA,
MAXIMILIAN GAERTNER
Canons of the Wilten Monastery, at the time Missionaries

XII

Sac Prairie, Dec. 24, 1849.[135] (Corresp.) For months we awaited with the most anxious feelings the reports, which finally arrived with the Reverend Mr. Etschmann in the harbor of Milwaukee on October 22, and reached us on Novem-

[133] The corner stone of the cathedral was laid December 5, 1847, and that of St. Mary's April 19, 1846; the latter was consecrated September 12, 1847.
[134] *Kath. Blätter* (March 20, 1848), no. 12, 276.
[135] Internal evidence offers proof that this letter was written in 1848.

ber 18. We should have liked very much to have received a verbal report of conditions in the fatherland from Mr. Etschmann himself; however, his destination was changed immediately after his arrival in Milwaukee, as the vicar-general, Kundig, ordered him to a Catholic mission thirty-six miles from there, at Brighton, instead of to us. Mr. Etschmann inquired hurriedly from us what to do and we advised him to obey the directions of the Vicar-general for the time being and wait until the most worthy Bishop, whose return from Europe is most anxiously awaited, could give him his real orders; furthermore, we assured him that brotherly hospitality would always be open to him in our house. According to his reply, Mr. Etschmann immediately occupied the post at Brighton, and took with him the teacher Taxacher, whose praiseworthy character will modify the hardness of his new mission life in a pitiable log house, with a log church.[136]

We learned with inmost rejoicing of the hearty reception of our most worthy Bishop, both in Wilten and in Brixen, at which latter place it was accompanied by a considerable gift both for the Bishop and for us, which we will receive in due time from him; in the meantime please express our appreciation until our letter of thanks is sent from here. The gift is most timely for our pressing needs of church-building. There are many things still to be done here, which the honor of the Lord demands and which will contribute to the eternal salvation of his little flock scattered hereabouts. But the means for these can as yet not possibly be provided by the new settlers, who have not even properly established their own homes. Therefore the missionary, besides sacrificing much of social life, must do almost entirely without support from his own flock, or look upon it as a proof of the utmost sacrifice if they share with him the first fruits of their

[136] The Rev. Francis X. Etschmann was born in Oberhofen, Tyrol, 1818; studied philosophy Innsbruck, theology Brixen; ordained 1842; influenced for the American missions by Inama; sought the permission of Bishop Henni to work in the Milwaukee diocese at Wilten July 27, 1848; arrived in Milwaukee October 22, 1848. He began his labors at Brighton (1848-1850) and returned there in 1881, remaining until his death in 1896. Meantime he was in many places of the diocese. He was the second resident pastor of Madison and built the second St. Raphael's Church 1853-1857. He attended Columbus 1852-1854. *Vide* Zitterl, *op. cit.*, 4, 11, 12, 13; Klein, *op. cit.*, 7, 40; *Catholic Almanac.*

labor. His position is therefore entirely that of an apostle, who can speak of great riches if he has more in his knapsack than a pair of shoes and a coat.

In case Mr. Etschmann should eventually receive instructions to take over alternately the two stations of Jefferson and Columbus, hitherto cared for by us, and which beg almost incessantly for a permanent priest, then our influence could be extended farther to the north and south, as the settlements of Catholic immigrants have grown tremendously since the state government has undertaken to connect our Wisconsin River with Green Bay and thus through Lakes Huron and Erie with New York.[137] The influence of this improvement upon the rapid development of this region is obvious, but will be greatly increased when the projected railroad from Milwaukee to Madison, our capital, is realized. A new star arose for Wisconsin on May 19, when the former territory was incorporated into the Union as a state.[138] Thus we advance materially. In religious matters too, God willing, we will not fall behind, even though the Protestant denominations, especially the Methodists, display powerful, almost violent, activity not only among their own people but also among others; without, however, having gained any ground which they can hold.

Our duty is and remains the care of the mission according to the directions of our most worthy Bishop; under more favorable circumstances, however, according to his wish, the establishment of a boy's seminary, preferably in the spirit of the Tridentine Council or, with the sanction of the Bishop, also for general classical studies, toward which the most recent resolution of the state government to found a university at Madison points most particularly.[139]

[137] The state legislature passed an act, approved August 8, 1848, appointing a board of public works consisting of five men, and providing for the improvement of the Fox River and building the canal. *Vide Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xi, 410.

[138] Wisconsin was admitted into the Union May 29, 1848.

[139] ". . . all cathedral, metropolitan, and other churches greater than these shall be bound, each according to its means and the extent of the diocese, to maintain [feed], to educate . . . and to train in ecclesiastical discipline a certain number of youths of their city or diocese, or . . . . of that province, in a college to be chosen by the bishop . . . near the said churches, or in some other suitable place." *Vide* Sess. XXIII, c. xviii, *De Reformatione*, of the Council of Trent. One of the first acts of the newly organized state government, first session, June 5 to August 21, 1848, was the incorporation of the University.

The fund of our mission consists as yet only of the land acquired. In the meantime we are taking the necessary steps toward incorporation as a public company, which the state allows according to its laws and rights, so that the future will no longer be exposed to any shrinking of the fund. The already-mentioned college of the Dominicans (from Milan) under its superior Mazzuchelli, at Sinsinawa Mound (on the Mississippi), is organized in the same way, and the Benedictine Convent at Mount St. Vincent (near Pittsburg in Pennsylvania) plans also to become so organized.[140] The conditions of incorporation are a desirable public purpose and at least three members who accept special responsibility. In the meantime we exert ourselves with all our strength in the sphere of influence assigned to us, and pray to Him who must be beginning, goal, and end thereof for His mercy, which can strengthen the weak reed so that no storm shall break it.

You might rightly expect that we would take up again the broken thread of our mission reports and continue with the most important occurrences. However, the disturbances in Europe, of which the newspapers keep us regularly informed just a month late, have probably driven the former interest of the public in such reports into the background, thereby making a description undesirable, especially as our activities continue pretty much in the same circle.

A long letter from Father Boniface told of the complete organization of his monastery at Mount St. Vincent, consisting for the time being of fifty individuals, partly stu-

[140] The Rev. Samuel Mazzuchelli, O.S.D., purchased the residence of Gen. G. W. Jones, known as Sinsinawa Mound, with eight hundred acres attached. This was done to establish a college there. Jones took up his residence there in 1828, and purchased the land from the government in 1834, for which he had received a patent. The corner stone of the new college was laid at Sinsinawa May 24, 1846, about two years after the purchase. On March 11, 1848, the state legislature acted, to wit: "The president and trustees of the Sinsinawa Mound College" were created "a body corporate and politic for educational purposes." *Vide Catholic Cabinet* (St. Louis, November, 1844), ii, no. 8, 506; *United States Catholic Magazine* (Baltimore, October, 1845), 673; *ibid.* (August, 1846), 460; Moses M. Strong, *History of the Territory of Wisconsin, 1836-1848* (Madison, 1885), 591; *Catholic Almanac* (1849), 128. The Benedictine Foundation was chartered by the state of Pennsylvania May 10, 1853. *Vide* the Rev. A. A. Lambing, *A History of the Catholic Church in the Dioceses of Pittsburg and Allegheny* (New York, 1880), 378. The *Catholic Almanac* (1856) gives April 19, 1853, as the date of the charter.

dents, partly lay brothers, after the Bishop of Pittsburg had finally condescended to secure them a living, which would serve as a full guarantee for conferring holy orders on professed members. Several near-by mission stations are connected with the monastery, since new members are expected from Bavaria. Father Boniface is also at the head of the convent of the Charitable Sisters at Youngstown and their girls' school there, which has a great reputation, as the schools of the Sisters have everywhere. But, since his present buildings already threaten to fall apart he must, whether or no, build new ones and enlarge the church, without having in his possession the necessary means. *"Dominus providebit"* is his motto.[141]

On July 15 we received news from Milwaukee of the arrival of the altar-piece presented to us by the new king, Louis. It represents a Raphaelite madonna in the gloria, St. Jerome with Bible and skull, and St. James with the pil-

[141] Archabbot Boniface Wimmer established the Benedictine Order in the United States. He was born in 1809 at Thalmassing, Bavaria, near Regensburg; studied at Regensburg and Munich; ordained 1831; professed O.S.B. at Metten, Bavaria, 1833; professor at Edenstetten 1833-1836, at Munich 1840; interested in the American missions by the *Berichte* and by the Rev. Henry Lemke (U. S. in 1834, worked in Philadelphia and Loretto, Pennsylvania). Father Wimmer sailed from Rotterdam with four students and fourteen lay brothers, and arrived at New York on September 16, 1846, and at St. Vincent's (Beatty, Pennsylvania) October 24, 1846. A few Catholic families had settled near by in 1788. In 1790 the Rev. Theodore Brouwers, O.S.F., a Hollander, and former missionary in the West Indies, purchased the land upon which the Benedictine Order settled. In 1834-1835 a brick church dedicated to St. Vincent de Paul and a two-story brick house replaced humbler buildings. In 1845 Sisters of Mercy from Pittsburg occupied the house which was the cradle of their convent and St. Xavier's Academy for girls, then under construction one and a half miles away near Youngstown. They moved May 14, 1847. In the meantime Wimmer and his companions lived in a recently built one-story brick school. On September 29, 1848, the corner stone of the new monastery was laid. Father Wimmer received a temporary title from Bishop Michael O'Connor of Pittsburg, November 5, 1846, and the first Benedictine, Martin Geyerstanger, was ordained March 7, 1847. The title was made permanent December 6, 1847, and confirmed February 17, 1848, and Rome approved the foundation in 1850. No bishop may ordain anyone who is not provided with a living, called a title. The text refers to the guarantee given to the Benedictines as an order, technically a "title of poverty" for individuals, who possess a living from the order. The order, canonically recognized and legally holding property, was in a position to secure the support of its subjects, and hence enjoyed the right to ordain them. In December, 1847, Wimmer wrote to the Augsburg *Sion* that the community consisted of three priests, three clerics, three students, one teacher-organist, and thirty-four lay brothers, totaling forty-four. *Vide Catholic Almanac* (1847-1888); Lambing, *op. cit.*, 374, 375, 377; *Records* of the American Catholic Historical Society (Philadelphia, 1891-1892), iii, 142-173, 179, 180, 181; the Rev. Oswald Moosmueller, O.S.B., *Bonifaz Wimmer* (New York, 1891), 70, 100, 101, 105, 107.

grim's staff; below, to the left, kneels a monk in black habit. We interpret the painter's meaning thus: The monk desires to make a pilgrimage into distant lands in order to dedicate himself there, in the wilderness with St. Jerome, to a life of repentance. St. Jerome, however, reminds him of the word of God, the announcing of which is supposed to be his calling, and of the dangers connected therewith. St. James, patron of the pilgrims, therefore takes him under his protection and commends him to the still higher protection of the powerful Protectress of the Christians. The picture arrived in the best of condition, is ten feet high and six feet wide, and withstands all criticism as regards power of the brush, realistic freshness of color, and handling of draperies and shadows, and may have cost 500-600 fl. As the most worthy Bishop would doubtless like to see it, and as a suitable place for its display is still lacking here, we left it temporarily in Milwaukee, where visitors see and enjoy it daily. Cherished and valuable as this kindly gift is to us, our joy at its reception was somewhat reduced by the thirty-three dollars freight charges on it, which we were forced to pay in spite of all remonstrance. Fortunately God presented us at just the right moment with a money order from Brixen, which provided the means for redeeming the box. In order to improve our economic situation, we secured in September two hundred good sheep from a Yankee in the South, with the agreement to deliver to him yearly one and one-half pounds of wool from each animal and to return the same number of animals at the end of five years. As our hill land is excellently suited for sheep raising, this trade may with any luck be of considerable value to us.

A small adventure which occurred to one of us might be told here. Brother Max [Gaertner], to whom it happened, tells of the occurrence as follows: On the day in question, a Sunday, it was my turn to cross the river to Sac for services. There were three companions with me and they started rowing across; but soon we noticed a rapid increase of water at our feet, so that within three or four minutes the boat was half full and the danger of sinking was obvious. We steered quickly toward the nearest island, but in vain. The water

filled the boat more and more and made us think of saving ourselves. Two of my companions jumped voluntarily into the river; the third remained standing in the boat with me, without however being very greatly frightened, as at the point there was no noticeable current. Finally our support tipped over and we too fell into the water, while the two were already swimming toward the island. There was nothing to do but to follow them, at the same time catching the chain of the boat and dragging it after us. With the help of the oar, which we also recovered, we managed to reach the island in safety, looked astonished at one another, and shook ourselves like wet dogs. We at once dragged the boat on to dry land and upon careful examination discovered a two-foot crack in the stern, which I stopped up with an entirely soaked English newspaper that I had in my breast-pocket. Then we got back into the treacherous boat and returned to the home landing. Having arrived at home and changed my clothing, I went to the chapel, where services were just ending, and told of the occurrence with the warning to join me in thanking the Lord for our rescue; for hardly ten paces farther and the swift twenty-foot-deep main current would have borne us hopelessly away. The involuntary bath hurt none of us, but warned us strongly to be more careful in the future.

May this also be the fortunate outcome of those terrible streams of thought which for the past year have been threatening the ship of state of almost all the governments of Europe. Here, in the land of complete freedom, we will all the more industriously raise hands and hearts to heaven, begging the Father above to allow peace and unity to return to all parts of poor Germany, and to strengthen in its people the realization that true fortune and welfare are to be found only in freedom from passion, control of selfishness, and the rule of right and justice. Fearful expectation filled our hearts every day when the unhappy news threatened to arrive that Europe had been hurled from its foundations, and the painful fear becomes doubly deep lest our hitherto so steady and loyal Alpine people should also be carried into the

whirlpool, to the eternal shame of their hitherto spotless history.

Recently we had among us a student from Bonn, a nephew of that officer who last winter, after forty years of military life, served as ministrant at the altar in Columbus.[142] The academician threw away his sheepskin and seized the ax, gave up student activities and became a farmer—all this while rejoicing at the heavenly freedom. Also several nobles from Hungary have come to our Count Haraszthy, who has provided them with land. Naturally the local simplicity of life contrasts strongly with their previous life as magnates, but this is compensated for by the enjoyment of freedom. Speaking earnestly—America chooses excellently among its political elements. Neither radicalism, which roots in the dark, nor even Democracy, which needs fear no light here, carried away the victory in the last presidential election; but the much criticized Whigs, whose candidate—the conqueror of Mexico, General Taylor, who is even a slave-holder—ascended to the presidential chair. The majority of the votes from the southern states (excepting South Carolina) outweighed the northern, as a sign that the Democrats in power were more feared than the old status-quo party.

We read with delight the "Call to the Fatherland" of Dr. Matzegger, the news of the establishment of the constitutional Catholic Union in Innsbruck, and of the sending of our Tyrolese deputies to the parliaments at Frankfort and Kremsir, whom we could not, however, deny our sympathy—among such a mass of out-and-out liberals![143] May the approaching New Year bring consolation, welfare, and blessing to you, our dear colleagues, to our beloved fatherland, and to the entire human race![144]

ADELBERT INAMA AND MAX GAERTNER
Canons of Wilten and Missionaries

[142] *Ante*, note 129.

[143] The constitution of the Catholic Constitutional Society for Tyrol is dated April 29, 1848, at Innsbruck. Dr. John Kerer, professor at Innsbruck, was the deputy for Frankfort. *Vide Kath. Blätter* (May 8, 1848), no. 19, 457-462; *ibid.* (June 19, 1848), no. 25, 645.

[144] This letter is not at St. Francis, Wisconsin.

[Letter of Father Inama published in *Berichte,* xxvi (1854), 50-53. Translated by John Koenig, St. Francis, Wisconsin.]

In the diocese of Milwaukee, the Praemonstratensian Order has developed its mission activities, with regard to which the superior, Father Adelbert Inama, made known from St. Norbert the following information on the fourteenth of February, 1853.

The mission consists of five distinct districts, practically organized, which districts either have or are building chapels, and they are visited regularly from St. Norbert. The greatest distance between the extreme points from east to west amounts to about fifty English miles—twenty-five-hour postal service. In the midst of this, on the east shore of the Wisconsin River, is St. Norbert's congregation, where seven years ago, at which time there were there but two Catholic families, I raised the holy cross as a signal for the gathering of the faithful, and erected an assembly house and chapel. Up to the present the Catholic population has grown to sixty-five families, which necessitated the building of a church, which brick structure was begun last autumn and which, with the help of God and the good people, we should like to complete this year. Last summer the Most Reverend Bishop visited us and administered the sacrament of confirmation. He tarried in our midst with evident pleasure and good will and consented with the greatest readiness to the organization of a convent of the Praemonstratensian Order.[145] On Rosary Sunday therefore I took up the first solemn reception of two novices, one of whom was a student of theology. Our order personnel at present consists of three priests, one student, and five brothers who provide for the domestic economy. This spring we are expecting an addition of two students and several brothers. Our habitation, built seven years ago, is too small and needy. A suit-

[145] A letter from St. Norbert's House, September 10, 1852, signed "Mx" (Gaertner) states that a new church with a basement for school use will be built at Roxbury. *Vide Wahrheitsfreund* (Oct. 28, 1852). A letter dated September 11, 1853, signed "W" (Weinhart, a student) informs us that the new church was opened on September 8, 1853. *Ibid.* (Sept. 22, 1853). The first letter above tells of the visit of the Bishop in the beginning of September, 1852.

able new structure is an urgent necessity. The coming spring we wish to begin this structure in God's name.[146]

Our second mission district is about nine miles southeast of here and comprises St. Martin's congregation in the towns of Springfield and Berry. It consists of forty families, largely from the diocese of Cologne, industrious and God-fearing farmers. Three years ago at my instigation they had built a chapel, which must now be enlarged, since a considerable increase is expected this year from the home country. A benefactor has given twenty acres of land for the support a priest of their own.[147]

Seven miles south in the towns of Cross Plains and Middleton is situated the third mission district, consisting of thirty-three families, almost all of whom are farmers from Cologne, largely immigrants of last year. A benefactor donated fifteen acres of land for a church and a priest, on which land the people have this winter constructed a church. They wish to have it ready for divine service by Easter, at which time I shall consecrate it. The community is in a state of lively development.[148]

I have thus far personally provided for these three missions. In the future the latter two will receive their own priest in the person of our Reverend co-worker, Francis X. Sailer, especially because the rapid increase of population demands that provision be made for a Catholic school.[149]

The fourth mission district lies along the western shore of the Wisconsin River, and indeed next to St. Norbert's mission house, being only one mile distant from it. It constitutes the congregation of Sac City and the neighboring territory, including seventy-five families—a mixture repre-

[146] Rosary Sunday was the first one in October (October 3). The three priests were Inama, Gaertner, and Francis Xavier Sailer. The student was Francis Xavier Weinhart. *Vide Wahrheitsfreund* (Sept. 22, 1853). Therein also is expressed the hope that Inama can soon build a monastery of his order. *Catholic Almanac* (1853).

[147] St. Martin's at Springfield Corners in the towns of Berry and Springfield. The first church was built in 1850. Up to 1854 it was a mission of Cross Plains. *Vide Catholic Church in Wisconsin.*

[148] St. Francis Xavier's at Cross Plains was built in 1854. Mrs. Anne Mary Stumpf gave fifteen acres toward establishing the church. Middleton built its church in 1889 for fifteen families. *Vide Catholic Church in Wisconsin.*

[149] F. X. Sailer, O. Praem., was born in Innsbruck 1824; ordained 1848; United States 1852; Port Washington 1853-1856; Racine, St. Mary's, 1856-1861; Port Washington 1863-1867; Sauk City 1867-1872; Highland 1877; Belgium 1877, when he died.

senting all provinces of Germany, to which the year 1848 added some fugitives from Austria and even from Vienna itself. There appeared many sects and some unbelievers among the fugitives. Here great energy and prudence are necessary to guard against the influence of evil and to save many a strayed sheep. For that reason my Reverend coworker Maximilian Gaertner has taken up his residence there, and in church and school struggles against the threatening corruption. Here it was that in the autumn of 1845 I began a frame church, which in the summer of 1848 [1846] was so far completed that the Most Reverend Bishop was enabled to celebrate there for the first time the holy sacrifice of the mass and to administer the sacrament of confirmation. At that time ten families formed the whole congregation. Unfortunately during the same year this first church became the prey of the flames, and thus far it has not been possible to build another. The schoolhouse, or rather a single room, had to suffice for both school and divine service. But since the community has so considerably grown and since there is a still more certain prospect of a rapid increase, owing to the extraordinarily favorable location of the place, the foundation of a larger church was laid, which has already risen three feet from the ground, and of which at least the presbytery for school and church should be completed this year.[150]

The fifth district lies about thirty miles north of the Baraboo, a tributary of the Wisconsin. The Catholic population is almost entirely of Irish descent and counts already eighty families. A church is in process of construction. Father Gaertner is visiting the community regularly, until they shall receive a priest of their own nationality.[151]

Besides these five organized mission districts the Most Reverend Bishop has assigned to us the whole immense tract of land between the Wisconsin River and the Mississippi.

[150] St. Aloysius', Sauk City, was under roof in October, 1861, but incomplete. *Vide Wahrheitsfreund* (Nov. 21, 1861).

[151] Lyndon Station was first visited by Gaertner in 1851. St. Bridget's (Kildare was the old name for its location) was built in 1853. Up to this time Father Gaertner held services in the house of Patrick Casey and thereafter in St. Bridget's to 1855, when he was succeeded by the Rev. Godfrey. *Vide Catholic Church in Wisconsin.*

This stretch of land has just been surveyed by the government and offered for sale; it has been planned to extend the railroad through the central part of it; the territory is fruitful and rich in minerals.[152] For these reasons it will become quickly populated. When the steamboat line opens next spring we shall pay our first visit to Carosse [La Crosse], about one hundred and fifty miles from here on the Mississippi.

In these mission districts we have during seven years endured all sorts of privation, with many hardships and needs, and are prepared to continue thus for the honor of God and the salvation of souls. We have set up for ourselves another goal of activity, primarily however with the heartfelt consent and frequent encouragement of the Most Reverend Bishop; namely, by means of a religious society to provide for the future development of the work of caring for souls, and of schools, among the Germans, in order gradually to become independent of Europe. And if all prospects, especially since 1848, became very dark, still we have never lost sight of this plan; and we seize now, with special joy of heart, the offered and most advantageous opportunity to steer for our goal with new courage. The Louis Society has procured us some help for this purpose. We could begin this work in earnest if we received a little more aid from the Leopoldine Society, for the erection of the necessary buildings.

[*The End*]

[152] On November 20, 1850, the Milwaukee and Mississippi Railroad made its first run over the five-mile stretch which had been completed as far as Wauwatosa. "The return trip was made in 11 minutes," if the editor of the *Banner* can trust to reports. Waukesha was the next objective of the road. *Vide Wahrheitsfreund* (Dec. 5, 1850), quoting the Milwaukee *Banner* (Nov. 21, 1850). In 1851 the railroad reached Waukesha, 1852 Milton, 1853 Stoughton, 1854 Madison, and Prairie du Chien in 1856.

EDITORIAL COMMENT

TRAILING A TRAIL ARTIST OF 1849

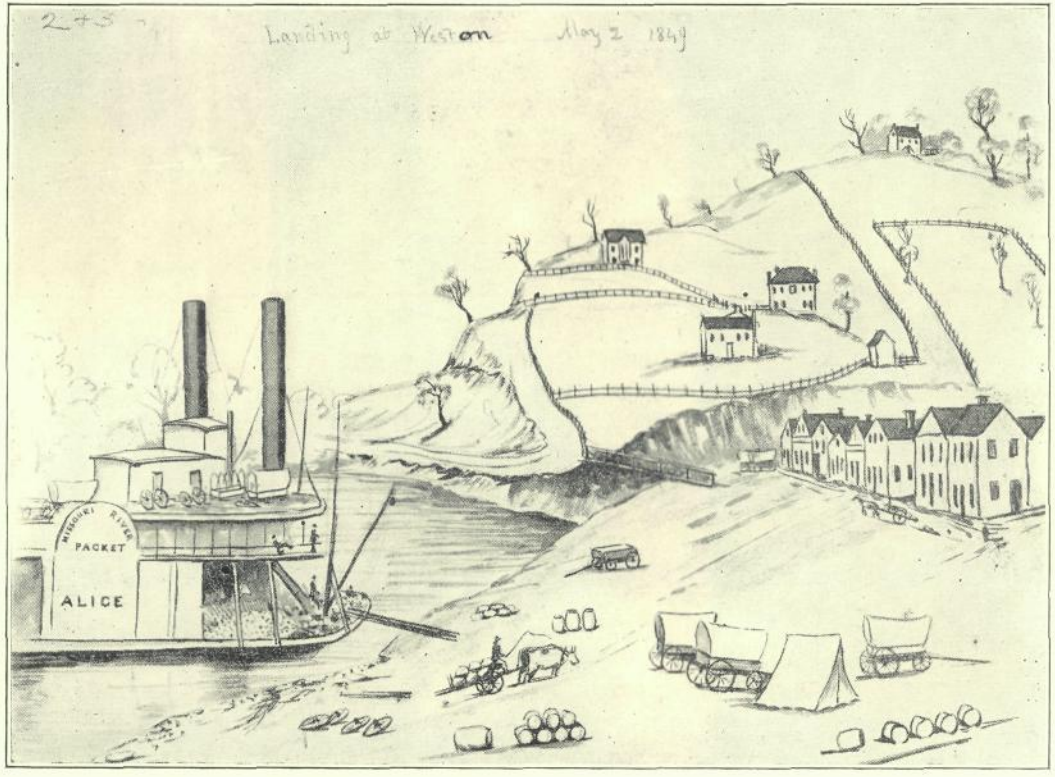
Those historical writers who find it easy to accept unverified tradition in lieu of ascertained fact, or who oversimplify the task of research by substituting pleasing hypotheses for proofs, will be apt to be discouraged by the disclosures which follow. But since it is one main function of historical education to rouse the dilettante from his complacency and reveal to him something of the austerity of spirit in which history should be undertaken, we hope they will follow us to the end of the discussion. They may find a certain amount of diversion in noting the successive points where they themselves would have been disposed to bring the inquiry to a close with a vigorous affirmation, which is the careless writer's mode of unconscious confession that he is weary of the quest and prepared to accept a solution which sounds plausible.

In October, 1926, the writer was offered in Eugene, Oregon, a collection of fifty drawings sketched in 1849 on the California trail between Fort Leavenworth and Soda Springs. The owner was C. R. Adams, a farmer living near the city, who explained that the pictures had been inherited from his father. The latter in the early 1850's was a wholesale druggist at St. Louis. He bought the pictures at that place from a man who had used them for exhibit purposes.

It was clear that the sketches were originals, made by the artist directly from the objects pictured, and not copies of printed work. Some of them were of considerable historical value, and there seemed no reason to doubt that they were

made in 1849. Subsequent research proved that point. The evidence is found partly in the way the artist's pictures of Fort Kearny and Fort Laramie harmonize with the statements of official and unofficial reports about the condition of these posts at the dates they were said to have been sketched. The reports speak of a new building then under construction at Fort Kearny. The picture shows workmen busily shingling the roof. At Fort Laramie, purchased by the government in the spring of 1849, a tower-like magazine was constructed between the summer of that year and the close of the next year. It is plainly shown in the picture of the fort as given in Captain Howard Stansbury's report, 1850. But our artist exhibits the structure as it was at the date of its acquisition from the American Fur Company. His Fort Laramie is simply the old adobe Fort John of the traders. We are therefore justified in accepting as authentic the dates found on the pictures themselves. They mark the time at which the sketches were executed, and the orderly succession of sketches tells the story of the march of the train with which the artist moved westward.

Beyond peradventure, therefore, we were dealing with original drawings made on the California trail in 1849. But who was the artist? To that question an unhesitating answer was given by the owner, and one which was startling to the writer by reason of the supposed artist's relationship to this Society. His name, we were told, was Daniel S. Durrie. The evidence for it was tradition supported by the presence in the box of sketches of a small *carte de visite* photograph, with his name written underneath. Inasmuch as Daniel Steele Durrie had been librarian of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin for about thirty years, beginning in 1854 or 1855, the propriety of carrying his western sketches back to Madison and to the State Historical Library seemed obvious.



LANDING AT WESTON

But were they Durrie's sketches? Some further evidence on that point was desirable.

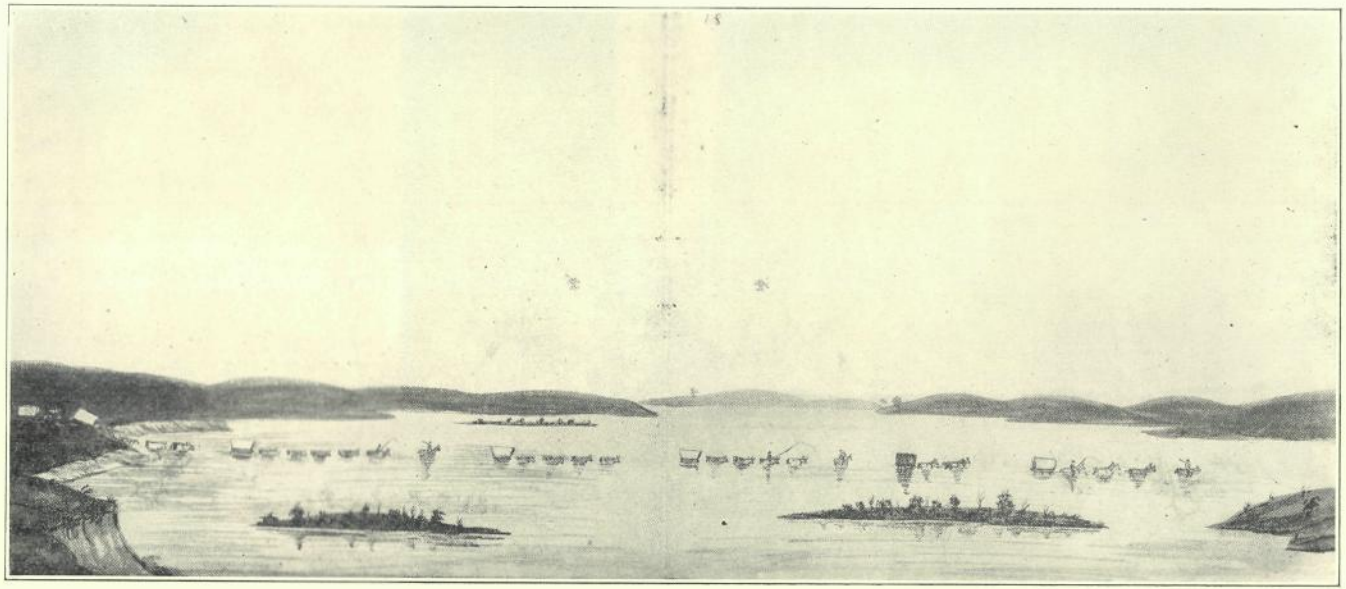
In the absence of any written history of Durrie's movements during the year 1849, the next step was to locate his descendants and learn from them whether or not their ancestor ever made a trip to California or the far West, a question on which family tradition would be decisive. An aged son of Mr. Durrie, when finally found and interrogated by letter, promptly exploded our hypothesis by declaring roundly and somewhat angrily: "My father never made a trip into the wild and woolly West. He was never a rover. I denounce it a lie." He supported that declaration with the information that his father could not draw. That was our first check. A man who neither sketched nor traveled was hardly worth considering further. If we had not insisted on proof, but had been satisfied with the supposition based on the presence of Durrie's photo with the drawings, it would have been possible to save a vast deal of subsequent research by proclaiming him as the artist; now that could no longer be done.

However, we quickly found another clue. Durrie had a cousin who was an artist, and particularly a landscapist. In *Pageant of America* (volume three) are reprinted several rural scenes painted by George H. Durrie: "A Cold Morning," "The Old Homestead in Winter," and "The Old Grist Mill," the originals of which are at New Haven, which was his home until his untimely death in 1863. All was once more plain—theoretically. It was George H. Durrie who had gone west, at least as far as Soda Springs in Bear Valley, in 1849. Daniel S. Durrie, in addition to acting as librarian of the State Historical Society, conducted at Madison a private book store and "doubtless" acted for his cousin in selling the sketches. That hypothesis was so satisfactory, so natural, that it seemed almost absurd to tempt fate by putting it

to the test. The devil kept whispering: "Let it alone; no one will ever question its correctness." Still, there was as yet no positive proof that George H. Durrie was the person who sketched these pictures. Could we have found Daniel's mercantile records, for which an unavailing search was made through the bat and cobweb infested attic over his one-time place of business, they might have settled this point. That resource failing, we had recourse once more to family tradition. It was a long time before we found a daughter of George H. Durrie, at Short Beach, Connecticut. But it did not take her long to demolish our hypothesis. Her father, we were assured, never made such a western trip—in fact, probably never had ventured beyond the boundaries of New England.

This was indeed a blow. Still, to the historian the next best thing to having his assumption verified is to have it disproved. So, after recovering from our astonishment—for we had confidently expected an opposite result—we pushed the inquiry in other directions. It was found that several military organizations crossed the plains in 1849, of which records were kept and printed. One of them was the exploring expedition of Captain Howard Stansbury to Salt Lake. From Stansbury's report it appeared he had been ordered to join the Mounted Rifle Regiment at Fort Leavenworth and travel west in its company. But, as he was delayed, the regiment was already some days on the way when he reached the frontier, thus leaving him to proceed independently. Stansbury's journal failed to harmonize with the chronology of the sketches; he invariably reached given points pictured by our artist a number of days later than the date recorded on the picture.

This suggested that the artist might have been with the Mounted Rifle Regiment, and in following through the journal of that aggregation as kept by the quartermaster,



FORDING THE PLATTE

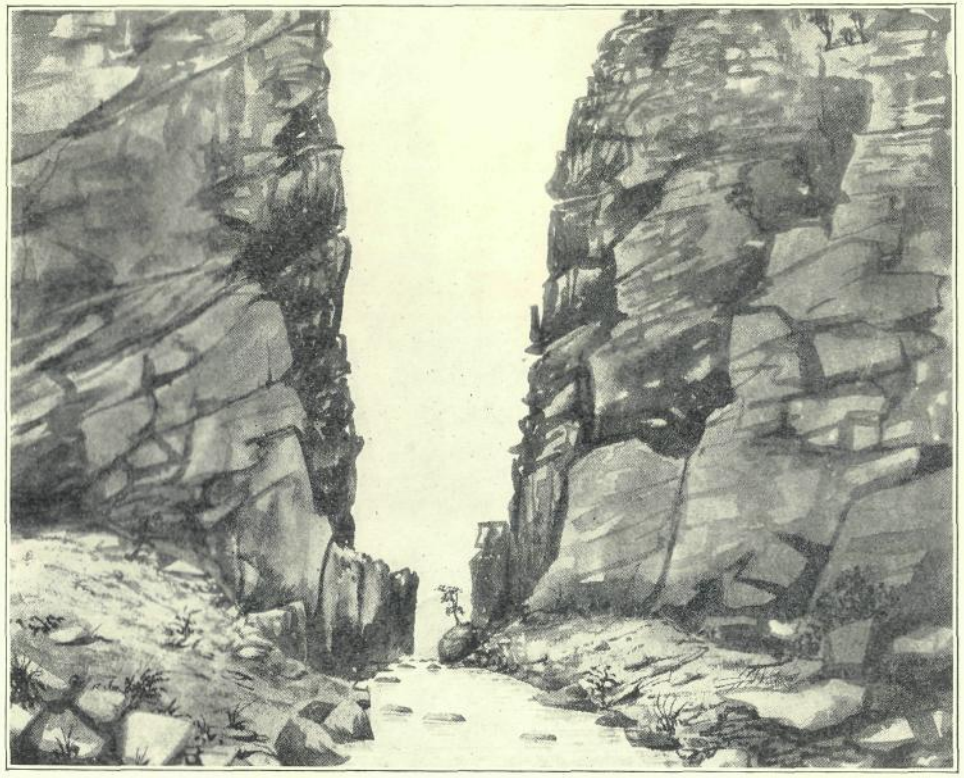
Major Osborne Cross, the point was established. The regiment was at Fort Kearny from May 31 to June 4; the sketch of that place is dated June 3. The regiment reached Fort Laramie June 22, the last section leaving on the evening of the twenty-fourth; the artist sketched that fort on the twenty-fourth of June. The same correspondence exists with reference to the other places sketched, like Independence Rock, Fort Bridger, Green River crossing, and the mineral springs in Bear Valley. At last we were able to make one positive statement about our artist: whoever he was, he was with the Mounted Rifle Regiment from the time it left the Missouri frontier until it turned northward from Soda Springs to Fort Hall.

That was something, but it did not tell us who he was. The process of identification should be rendered simpler, however, since our researches now were restricted to a single one of the many aggregations of men going west in '49. The first step was to assemble all discoverable reports of the march of this regiment, in the hope that some artist might be therein named. Copies of two manuscript reports were secured from the War Department, where they are on file. These revealed nothing. Letters written from the plains and printed in newspapers were equally guiltless of information. The extended journal of Major Cross, which is in print, was more hopeful, but its evidence had to be abstracted by indirect means, no direct statement being made about who was doing the sketches which illustrate the report. These do not bear the artist's initials or name, though the name of the "delineator" is faithfully affixed to each. This accorded with the common practice in publishing drawings made by army officers. Their sketches were always anonymous, while the man in the printing office—or near it—who sketched in the background, supplied fanciful shrubbery to border imaginary drives around desert forts, or forests of pine

trees on the bare rocky river cliffs beneath which roared the great western cataracts—this functionary was memorialized in the legend attached to the published sketches.

Still, the Osborne Cross journal told something without meaning to do so. Historians are agreed that the best evidence is unconscious testimony, and of this we have an admirable example in the journal under examination. On August 15, when the army trains were laboring painfully westward over the desert near Snake River, five days beyond the American Falls, they heard the sound of a waterfall. Having derived no hint of such a curiosity in that neighborhood from Fremont's report, they were surprised. Major Cross tells us however: "The guide who was with the command, having traveled this route very often, was shown the place by an Indian, and took Mr. George Gibbs of New York and Lieutenant Lindsay to the place, who pronounced it one of nature's great wonders. . . . They descended to the foot of the falls, after much difficulty and some length of time, where they were better able to judge more accurately of its great height; and there seems to be but one opinion, that it equalled in grandeur, in proportion to the column of water, the Niagara Falls. Having been the first who had ever taken the trouble to examine them carefully, and wishing to change the name said to have been given by a priest many years since, they decided on that of Great Shoshonie Falls instead of Canadian as being most appropriate."

A sketch of the falls is printed in the report, and this was taken from the level of the stream below. Here we have a controlled situation: only three men of the party went to the falls and only these three could have descended the escarpment to the river's brim. They were George Gibbs, Lieutenant Lindsay, and the Rocky Mountain guide. A sketch was made, and when we ask who made it the answer is: either Gibbs or Lindsay—for we should hardly expect so



DEVIL'S GATE

much artistic talent on the part of a Rocky Mountain guide.

From another section of the story we draw out an additional bit of evidence. The regiment had reached the Grand Ronde in a seriously demoralized state. The commander, Colonel William Wing Loring, had designed to march all the way to Oregon City, following the Mount Hood road over the Cascades. Owing to the exhaustion of the animals it was now deemed necessary when the Dalles should be reached to send a portion of the men down the river. He accordingly ordered Major Cross to go forward, by forced marches, to that point in order to arrange for transportation to Fort Vancouver. Major Cross notes, under date of September 10: "Having made all necessary preparations last evening, I started this morning at half past six o'clock, in company with Lieutenant Lindsay and two soldiers, as an escort." After performing the service expected of him and examining the gorge of the Columbia with care, he wrote, September 22: "My principal object in having the sketches taken was that the whole country should be delineated more perfectly in the description by them." The sketches are numerous, and they depict scenes from Des Chutes River to a point below the Dalles. Among them is one of an interesting historic structure, the old Methodist mission near the Dalles. Who made the sketches? Since Major Cross, by the language he uses, excludes himself, the natural conclusion is that Lieutenant Lindsay was the artist here. But Lieutenant Lindsay was also one of the two men who stood at the foot of Great Shoshone Falls. We are therefore impelled to ascribe to him the drawings which were printed in the journal.

Andrew Jackson Lindsay held a cadetship at West Point from Alabama and Mississippi in the years 1839 to 1841. He then resigned and joined the army. He was first lieutenant in the Mounted Rifle Regiment in 1846, serving

through the Mexican War. Thereafter he remained in the West till 1861, when he resigned his commission to take service under the confederacy. On the second day of Shiloh, April 7, 1862, as colonel of Mississippi cavalry he led a terrific charge against the northern troops, inflicting heavy losses upon certain Wisconsin regiments. He is represented as a perfect fury in action, but as a post commander negligent and inert, spending his time in his quarters playing solitaire. He lived till June, 1895, but we have found nothing relating to his career after the war.

In the period of Lindsay's cadetship the Military Academy classes of the second and third years enjoyed the art teaching of the celebrated Robert Walker Weir, painter of "Landing of the Pilgrims," which is in the rotunda of the United States capitol, "War and Peace," in the chapel at West Point, and many other historical scenes. Mr. Weir took charge of the art department in 1834 and relinquished it only in 1876, after forty-two years. He trained personally, for landscape sketching, most of the important mid-century military explorers, railroad survey men, and boundary survey men, as well as those whose field sketches controlled so largely the movements of defense and attack on the part of the armies, federal and confederate, during the Civil War.

Since the course in drawing began in the second year, Lindsay could have had only one year's work instead of the two years which full-course men enjoyed. But he probably possessed a flair for sketching and followed up the Academy training with much independent practice—which, after all, is the only way to learn the art. James A. McNeil Whistler also got his start under Weir, but he made such use of that preliminary training as to throw his old master completely in the shade.

We might, at this point, stop the quest we have been engaged upon and affirm, with confidence, "Our artist has been identified. He was Lieutenant Andrew Jackson Lindsay." It may seem hypercritical to seek further for direct and positive evidence. Yet, there are circumstances which cast doubt upon the accuracy of the identification. Lindsay was a seasoned frontiersman, familiar with all the characteristic forms of experience met with by such an expedition as the one to which he was attached; doubtless familiar also with the experiences of emigrants and fur traders in moving along the western trails. Now, the author of these sketches seems to have become emotionally inspired the moment he arrived at the Missouri frontier. He draws the river steamer *Alice,* on which presumably he ascended to Weston; the landing place, the scow on which wagons and ox teams were ferried across a stream, various types of terrain over which the wagons passed, a frontier mill, a frontier farmstead, a "lone tree" with an Indian "buried" in its branches, the act of letting a wagon down a precipice, fording the Platte—together with the landmarks, forts, etc., which Lindsay might have been expected to draw and which he (or another) prepared for inclusion in the report. Most of the above themes would have been commonplace to a frontiersman.

On the other hand, one feels that, were the artist an eastern person, it would have been quite natural for him to be interested in everything that came under his eye after leaving the older settlements. Acting on that hypothesis, we first consider George Gibbs, mentioned in Cross's report as one of the men who saw the falls. Gibbs was a prominent New Yorker, author and publicist, who had been librarian to the New York Historical Society. Going to Oregon as a guest of the Mounted Rifle Regiment, he remained there and in Washington Territory till 1860. He wrote much on the Indians of the region, his contributions being published

in the Smithsonian Institution reports. In 1853 he was one of the scientists of General Isaac Ingalls Stevens' Northern Pacific Railway Survey, and three years later acted as geologist of the Forty-ninth Parallel Boundary Survey. For a short time he was collector of customs at the port of Astoria. Returning to the East in 1860, he made his home at New Haven, where he died in 1873. Gibbs unquestionably could draw. Did he, perhaps, rather than Lieutenant Lindsay, draw the fifty hitherto unpublished sketches?

On the sheets bearing the sketches appear the names of the subjects in practically all cases, and the dates in a large proportion of cases. Ordinarily this would afford the basis for a handwriting test. The words on the sheets, however, are usually either "printed" or they are written with a special effort at legibility and evidently not in the writer's everyday unconscious style. In a very few instances only does he approximate what may be assumed to be his normal hand. We obtained from the New York Historical Society a good specimen of George Gibbs's handwriting, and the comparison instantly enabled us to declare that he was not the man who wrote over the pictures. His hand was strikingly individual and his manner of making the stem of final *y*, which he always looped to the right at the bottom, determined the point.

No other layman worthy of being suspected is named in the military report. But the Milwaukee *Sentinel,* edited by General Rufus King, then recently from Albany, New York, noted the fact of George Gibbs's trip to the Pacific as a guest of the Mounted Rifle Regiment, and added: "He is accompanied by John R. Ruggles, son of Hon. Samuel B. Ruggles, of New York." This John Rathbone Ruggles was a young lawyer, practicing with his father, one of the most distinguished lawyers in New York City. Inquiry in New York disclosed that he never returned from the West but was lost at sea in 1850, and the New York papers note that he

died of disease May 6, 1850, on the steamship *Tennessee* between San Francisco and Panama, en route home. It is not known whether he accompanied the regiment to Oregon and went from there to California or (what is inherently more likely) left his friends at Soda Springs and struck out in company with the thronging goldseekers by the Humboldt route. Two of his nephews still live in New York, but they have no detailed knowledge of his movements. They were able to supply an admirable letter written by their uncle at the age of about sixteen, in which he displays much interest in artistic matters. But they do not know what training he may have had for sketching nor whether he ever practiced that art. All of his private papers save the letter alluded to are supposed to have been burned in a fire which destroyed his father's accumulated papers.

A comparison of Ruggles' handwriting with the titles of the pictures suggests that he might have written the latter. But a similar conclusion results when we compare Lieutenant Lindsay's writing with what is found on the sketches. We cannot, therefore, assign the drawings definitely to either one of these men, though there would be more positive grounds for assigning them to Lindsay than to Ruggles.

It is not improbable that officers of the Mounted Rifle Regiment other than Lieutenant Lindsay made sketches along the route. Some of the lieutenants were very young and were obtaining their first frontier experience on the 1849 expedition to the far West. Such an one, for example, was George Washington Howland of Rhode Island, who graduated from the Military Academy in 1848. Howland, after the regiment reached Fort Hall, was detached to aid Captain Stansbury in his survey of Salt Lake and spent the winter in Utah Valley. In the summer of 1850 he was required to march with Colonel Andrew Porter's brigade, which had wintered near Fort Hall, to Oregon. If we could

assume that merely for practice he made sketches which were left in the hands of Captain Stansbury, the rest would be easy. Stansbury, on returning to the East, sent boxes of geological and anthropological specimens to Professor James Hall of Albany. He might well have included the sketches to illustrate the terrain. At Albany they would be accessible to Durrie the book dealer, whose known connection with the drawings has not been explained. Here is another hypothesis which like the others seems impossible of verification, and so we are back at the starting point—where for the present we stop.

JOSEPH SCHAFER

COMMUNICATIONS

JOHN F. RAGUE, ARCHITECT

"It would be interesting to look into his ancestry, if sufficient data were on hand, especially as one writer refers to him as 'that New Englander,' whereas the name has every appearance of a French origin," wrote Arthur Peabody to the *Wisconsin Magazine of History* (x, 219) in discussing this remarkable early architect of Wisconsin. Other articles and letters appearing in the same magazine in the last two or three years are at a loss to account for his early life—before coming to Milwaukee—and his later life after departing for Dubuque. J. H. A. Lacher (x, 339) intimated that he might have been like his namesake, the Reverend von Ragué, of German extraction.

Fortunately I am able to fill in these hiatuses, partially at least. Rague's father was a surgeon in the French army who came to America with Lafayette during the Revolutionary War. After the war he married and resided for a while in New Jersey. The family Bible, which came from John F. Rague's Presbyterian mother, and which he brought to Dubuque with him, states in the birth records: "John Francis Rague, born at Scotch Plains, N. J., March 24, 1799." In 1806 the family removed to New York City, and it was here that young Rague received his architectural education under the then famous Milard Le Fevre. He followed this profession in New York until 1831, when he removed to Springfield, Illinois. In 1836 he was trustee of that town. Among the prominent buildings which he planned and built there was the first capitol of Illinois. This was of the colonial-

classic type and gained him such renown that he was asked to prepare the plans—in 1839—for the first capitol of Iowa at Iowa City, based upon the design furnished probably by Father Samuel Charles Mazzuchelli, the cultured Dominican, whose missionary endeavors were so intimately connected with the early nineteenth century history of Wisconsin. While at Springfield, Rague became a warm friend of Abraham Lincoln.

After coming to Milwaukee he pursued his profession not only there but in Madison, Janesville, and Chicago. He moved to Dubuque in 1854, and there found a fertile field for his talents. He designed a number of buildings of a public and private character, and there stand today as monuments of his early labor, the Dubuque county jail, and the central market house and city hall, both still in active use. In the '60s his eyesight began to show impairment and he soon became pitiably and totally blind; this affliction lasted to the day of his death, September 24, 1877.

As Mr. Peabody states in his communication, John F. Rague was a man of many parts. He was deeply interested in music and was the possessor of a rare tenor voice. While singing in the choir of the Presbyterian church at Springfield, he courted and married a lady chorister of the same choir who was ten years his senior. He divorced her later, and after coming to Wisconsin he abandoned the Presbyterian faith and became an open and avowed Freethinker.

The legend mentioned by Mr. Peabody, about Mrs. Rague assisting her husband in his profession and thus being the first woman architect in Wisconsin, refers to his second wife, who was Chestina Scales of Janesville and was forty years younger than Mr. Rague. In Dubuque, during her husband's blindness, and for many years after his death, she conducted a combination studio and lace- and fancy-work

shop, which many of the matrons of present-day Dubuque patronized in their youth.

In his late years, Mr. Ragué became reconciled with his first wife, who visited him in Dubuque. He now lies buried in Linwood Cemetery, and beside him rest the remains of both his wives.

His name was pronounced Ra-gu'.

M. M. HOFFMANN
Columbia College, Dubuque, Iowa

THE SOCIETY AND THE STATE

LOUISE PHELPS KELLOGG

I THE SOCIETY

During the quarter ending July 10, 1928, there were twenty-five additions to the membership of the State Historical Society. Three persons enrolled as life members: Fred W. Arthur, Madison; Albert H. Griffith, Fisk; and James Wickham, Eau Claire.

Twenty-two persons became annual members: Katharine K. Adams, Chicago; Dr. George Van Ingen Brown, Milwaukee; Helen I. Clarke, Madison; Mrs. H. E. Cole, Baraboo; Dr. Elizabeth Comstock, Arcadia; E. C. Fiedler, Beloit; L. P. Fox, Chilton; Walter W. Hammond, Kenosha; Norman Herum, River Falls; James H. Hill, Baraboo; Ralph W. Jackman, Madison; Dr. C. M. Johnson, Harvard, Ill.; Edward L. Kelley, Manitowoc; Charles E. Monroe, Milwaukee; Dr. Eugene Neff, Madison; Louis A. Pradt, Wausau; Arthur H. Shoemaker, Eau Claire; George B. Skogmo, Milwaukee; H. H. Smith, New Richmond; Harold E. Stafford, Chippewa Falls; James Trottman, Milwaukee; E. John Wehmhoff, Burlington.

R. D. Bienfang, Madison, changed from the annual to the life membership class.

The seventy-sixth annual meeting of the Society will be held October 18 at two o'clock in the library; all members are invited to be present. Notices will be sent to members giving information of the proposed program.

Superintendent Joseph Schafer has been commissioned to visit Europe during the ensuing autumn in quest of documentary material for the Society. He intends to travel in Ireland, Great Britain, Holland, Germany, Switzerland, Czechoslovakia, Italy, and Greece in search of the homes of European immigrants to Wisconsin, expecting to find so-called "America letters"; that is, letters written from the New World to the relatives and friends remaining in the Old. In a few cases such letters were later brought to Wisconsin, as for example, those of the Bottomley family published in our Society's *Collections*. Most of such documents, however, remained in Europe. The Society will be glad to receive any information which will assist in this search. It will be forwarded to Dr. Schafer, who sailed early in August on his quest.

ACQUISITIONS

One of the outstanding personalities in Wisconsin history was James R. Doolittle, United States senator from this state during the fateful years 1857 to 1869. He is credited with having defeated the impeachment of President Andrew Johnson, and says of himself in a letter May 19, 1858: "[Lyman] Trumbull sits at my left, we together constitute the Democratic right wing of the Republican party." Doolittle's opinions were so opposed to those of his Wisconsin constituents that in 1866 he was requested to resign, but refused. As he was the "stormy petrel" of Wisconsin politics his letters are of especial interest and importance, and the Society has gradually acquired a considerable number. Recently Senator Doolittle's grandson, John G. Pease of St. Paul, has presented to us two volumes of the statesman's speeches. He is also sending a number of his grandfather's letters, which are supplemented by those being donated by Duane Mowry of Milwaukee. Among these is a series of Doolittle's personal epistles to his wife and sons, extending from 1856 to 1881, the bulk of them written from Washington during the senatorship. These intimate letters reveal the man and his motives as nothing else can. It is now probable that all existing Doolittle material will soon be in possession of our Society.

The beginnings of a distinguished career as a botanist may be traced in the letters (1862-1885) of Edward Lee Greene to Professor Thure Kumlien, recently presented to our Society by the latter's granddaughter, Curator Angie Kumlien Main. Dr. Greene was born in Rhode Island in 1843, came as a boy to Wisconsin and was educated at Albion Academy, where he imbibed his love of natural history from the teachings of Professor Kumlien. At the age of nineteen young Greene enlisted in Company K, Thirteenth Wisconsin Infantry, and served throughout the Civil War. The letters from the army tell of his botanizing in the southern states, of his trouble to preserve specimens, and the sacrifices he made for them. Later letters from Colorado narrate meetings with Torrey and Asa Grey, and the writer's many scientific adventures. The writer was on the Smithsonian Institution staff many years before his death in 1915. The series is well worth preservation in our collections.

The death of Mrs. James G. Jenkins was noted in our March number. Her daughter has sent the Society several memorials of Mrs. Jenkins' parents, Judge and Mrs. Andrew G. Miller, including a diary of the latter for 1840. These are given under the auspices of the Colonial Dames of America for the State of Wisconsin.

This same organization is making for our museum a collection of the women's World War service uniforms—those of the Red Cross nurses, ambulance drivers, Y. W. C. A. workers, nurses in hospitals, etc.

The costume collection has also been enlarged by donations from Mrs. William Chester of articles belonging to her mother, the late Mrs. S. S. Merrill of Milwaukee; and from Elizabeth Young of Winona Lake, Indiana, who has sent garments formerly worn by Annie Sewell of Stoughton, Wisconsin.

A notable book purchase was made possible by the Brittingham Fund: two volumes designated *Adventures in Americana,* a selection of books from the library of Herschel V. Jones of Minneapolis, giving title pages and descriptions of rare volumes from the discovery of Columbus to the exploration of Alaska. This will prove of great value in identifying our own and other rare volumes.

C. H. Gaffin of Milwaukee has given the museum a collection of Indian stone implements found at Fredericksburg, Virginia.

ACTIVITIES

The Colonial Dames of America for the State of Wisconsin have recently provided a sum of money for the preservation of the Society's complete set of autographs of the signers of the Declaration of Independence. It is proposed to mount the autograph letters and the accompanying portraits of the signers on uniform-sized paper and have them preserved in a large portfolio. This set of autographs is one of the cherished possessions of our manuscripts department, being one of the few such sets in the United States. It was collected many years ago by Dr. L. C. Draper, since when some of these autographs have become exceedingly rare, and genuine signatures of the signers bring large sums at book auctions.

The manuscripts department notes increasing consultation of the Draper Manuscripts, especially as the George Rogers Clark sesquicentennial approaches. These papers have recently been searched to ascertain the exact route taken by Clark's army in the memorable midwinter march from Kaskaskia to Vincennes.

The *Check List of Wisconsin Documents* is now in its twelfth volume; this valuable record of Wisconsin's activity in this line is published monthly and contains notices of the issues of the preceding month. It is of especial interest to libraries, being one of the few current lists of such publications.

Visitors continue to throng the museum, four recent excursions of schools and teachers from the Fox River valley bringing nearly three thousand sightseers. In May, Dudley Crafts Watson of the Art Institute at Chicago brought seventy-five art students from that city to study

our museum portraits. Dr. Watson considers ours the best place in the Northwest to study the development of portraiture.

II THE STATE

The adoption by the President of the United States of a summer home in northwestern Wisconsin has quickened the nation's interest in this historic region. The Brule River, where the summer White House stands, is a historic stream, having been discovered and mounted by Duluth in 1680. Its original Indian name was Nemitsakouat, changed by the Chippewa tribesmen to Wisacoda, which signifies burnt pines. The French voyageurs translated this term into Bois Brulé (burnt wood), whence the Americans clipped the appellation to the Brule. This stream with the St. Croix furnishes the shortest portage from the Great Lakes to the Mississippi. Historic memories are being stimulated by present-day interest in this region.

The eightieth birthday of our state was passed on May 29, the anniversary of the day when the signature of President James K. Polk to the congressional act of admission made Wisconsin a full-fledged member of the federal Union. No especial commemorations were held, but the day was noted quite generally in the state press. This day was in 1919 designated by joint resolution as Wisconsin Day, and its observance in schools and societies especially recommended.

After the death of President H. E. Cole, noted in our last number, it was found that he had left a manuscript on *Travel and Taverns in the Midwest,* largely based on Wisconsin. This manuscript is being prepared for publication and it is hoped that it may be given to the public sometime before long. It is replete with anecdote and incident concerning stagecoach and tavern days of long ago, and will be fully illustrated.

The dean of the graduate school of Marquette University, Dr. Edward A. Fitzpatrick, has issued through the Bruce Publishing Company, Milwaukee, a volume of four hundred and twenty-three pages entitled *Wisconsin.* The book is a text for teachers and schools, put forth because "the history of Wisconsin is a story worth telling" and because "it is not known generally in any detail to the people of the state." It combines geological, topographical, historical, political (or civics), and educational data in generous measure. It is well illustrated and indexed, and contains a brief bibliography.

We called attention in our number of last December to the delightful autobiographical articles by Mrs. Irvine L. Lenroot (née Clara Clough) appearing in the *Wisconsin Magazine.* These have proved of so much interest that the entire series of six numbers (July to December, 1927)

is to be combined into a book, to be entitled *Long, Long Ago*. Mrs. Lenroot's childhood home was first at Hudson, then at Osceola Mills, when in 1868 the family removed to Superior.

After the regretted passing of Henry C. Campbell of Milwaukee his friends raised a memorial fund to be used to bring to Milwaukee lecturers of eminence on historical matters. The first of these Campbell memorial lectures was given in April by Herbert Adams Gibbons of Princeton, who was a personal friend of Campbell. Gibbons' subject was "America's Place in the World."

Two historic buildings of Wisconsin are falling so rapidly into decay that unless efforts are made to check this deterioration nothing of them will soon be left. One of these is old Fort Crawford at Prairie du Chien, most of which has already disappeared. There still stands one corner of the old hospital building, a picturesque ruin, and the Prairie du Chien Chapter of the D. A. R. has begun a campaign to save it. The other building is that of the agency house, near Portage, once the home of Indian agent John H. Kinzie and his gifted wife. It is around the agency house at Fort Winnebago that Mrs. Kinzie wove her delightful tale of *Waubun*.

PILGRIMAGES AND ANNIVERSARIES

The patriotic societies of the state made their second annual pilgrimage on May 18 to Cushing Memorial Park at Delafield, where an interesting program was carried out at the foot of the Cushing monument. The cadets of St. John's Military Academy participated in the exercises.

The Mount Vernon Park Association invited May 3 any Wisconsin citizen who was interested to attend the dedication of memorial trees at the Forest of Fame, Mount Vernon, Dane County. This forest was inaugurated in 1916, when George Washington trees from the first Mount Vernon were planted. On the occasion last spring a Henry Clay ash, a Robert E. Lee ash, a Woodrow Wilson spruce, a Luther Burbank mountain-ash, a J. Sterling Morton elm, and a Frances Willard elm were dedicated with appropriate speeches and songs.

The Wisconsin Chapter of the Friends of our Native Landscape motored on June 3 to Blue Mounds, the highest point in southern Wisconsin. Talks were given and a masque presented, all of which were intended to emphasize the importance of the conservation of Wisconsin's natural beauties.

The Sanctuary Association of Frost Woods was invited to explain its objects and accomplishments to the students of St. John's Military

Academy. A party of fifty visited that institution on April 29 and were entertained by the faculty and the cadets.

A fete in honor of the seventy-fifth anniversary of the arrival of the Menominee Indians at their present reservation was held May 27 at Keshena. Father Engelhardt, a Franciscan monk who has given a quarter-century to the work of the mission for these Indians, was in attendance. Religious exercises, games, and a pageant presenting the "Menominee of yesterday and today" filled the day. More than three thousand persons were in attendance.

Articles in several newspapers noted that May 23 was the fiftieth anniversary of the tornado that devastated Iowa, Dane, and Jefferson counties in 1878.

The Saengerbund of the Northwest, composed of German-American singing societies, held its twenty-eighth "sing fest" in Milwaukee in mid-June. This musical organization was organized in 1866 at La Crosse.

MONUMENTS AND MARKERS

The archeological reserve at Aztalan, our oldest and best known prehistoric region, has been fenced and cared for by a committee of which Robert Ferry of Lake Mills is chairman. A large boulder has been placed for a commemoratory tablet. A meeting for its dedication will be held in the early autumn under the joint auspices of our Society and the Wisconsin Archeological Society.

The Chicago-Green Bay trail, which is being marked by the Wisconsin Society of Chicago, is having this summer markers placed a mile apart on the section between Chicago and Milwaukee.

A replica of the statue of Colonel Hans Heg of the Thirteenth Wisconsin Volunteers, which stands in the Capitol Park at Madison, was dedicated July 4 at Norway, Racine County, Heg's early home. Congressman H. A. Cooper was the chief speaker, and the statue was unveiled by a veteran of Heg's regiment, Louis Rolson. Mrs. Hilda Heg Fowler, the Colonel's daughter, was an honored guest.

The Appleton chapter D. A. R. unveiled on Flag Day a tablet at the Indian cemetery at Kaukauna in honor of Captain Hendrick Aupumut, an Indian who served in the Revolutionary War and was commended by Washington.

The city of Antigo celebrated its fiftieth birthday June 14 by the unveiling of a memorial to its first family, that of Mr. and Mrs. Fran-

cis A. Deleglise. The memorial was placed on the grounds of the Langlade County Normal School and is a granite shaft on which a bronze relief portrait of the founder is inserted.

At Fox Point, a northern suburb of Milwaukee, once stood a small settlement of Hollanders, who began coming as early as 1846. The school and church are gone, but the cemetery has been cleared, the fallen and broken stones reset, and on Memorial Day a monument was dedicated by the children and descendants of the early settlers.

HISTORY IN THE STATE PRESS

The Oshkosh *Northwestern* last June carried two articles to describe the last meeting of the Twenty-first Regiment Association, which was held at the city's museum with seven veterans in attendance. The flag and badges were turned over to the director of the museum for permanent preservation, and the society was formally dissolved. Fourteen more members survive, but were unable to be present at this time. Curator Behncke stated that the emblems of the regiment would be kept "where future generations might see them and gain inspiration for greater reverence to the nation."

The German Theater Stock Company of Milwaukee was dissolved last spring after seventy-six years of presenting classical drama in the German language. So says the *Sentinel* for April 24, and gives a brief history of the achievements of this notable company of dramatic artists.

An article from Galesville, appearing in the La Crosse *Tribune* for May 13, gives a history of Trempealeau County from its creation in 1854 to the present. The erection of all the towns is described and a brief account given of the first court and of the origins of the county institutions. The same paper on June 10 narrated the early days of the Beaver Creek settlement. Among the personalities described by L. H. Pammel in his articles for the *Tribune* are Jeremiah M. Rusk (April 29) and Professor Daniel Starch (June 10, 17). The *Tribune* also narrates May 23 the career of the La Crosse banker Gysbert Van Steenwyk. Articles in the same newspaper entitled the "Trail of the Tramp" describe the modern Merrill, formerly Jenny; and also give a history of the Green Bay *Intelligencer*, the first Wisconsin newspaper.

The history of the early court at Prairie du Chien is the subject of an article in the *Tribune* for June 17. It narrates the appointment in 1805 by the governor of Indiana Territory, of which Wisconsin was then a part, of a justice of peace in the person of Henry Monroe Fisher, a prominent fur trader. Later Nicolas Boilvin, the Indian agent, was also a justice, with unique ideas of the duties and dignities of his office.

The livestock industry as developed by the Plankintons and Cudahys is the theme of a long article in the Milwaukee *Journal* for April 12.

The history of the Teachers College at River Falls is related at some length in the River Falls *Journal* for May 10 in anticipation of Patrons' Day celebration. The petition to the legislature of January 24, 1870, is given in full with a list of the signers then resident at the town; only three of the many signers are now known to reside in the vicinity.

The Shawano *Journal* for June 21 published the talk given by Mrs. Winans of that place, who came to join her grandfather in 1852 at Keshena, where he had been appointed Indian agent the previous year. Her father, Julius Murray, built the first houses in Keshena, and was the first register of deeds for Shawano County.

From the opposite side of the state comes an article in the Eau Claire *Tribune* by Curator W. W. Bartlett containing the recollections of Mrs. Jennie Fleming, who came to Arkansaw, Wisconsin, in 1854; and an account by Captain Charles H. Henry of his friend the Chippewa chief Med-we-a-sing.

In the Marshfield *Journal* for May 24 appeared a letter from Platteville describing the printing establishment of the Rindlaub family, with its old presses, addressing machines, and unusual collection of photographs. The same paper on May 22 reported the possession by the local bank of currency bearing the signature of W. H. Upham thirty-seven years before he became governor.

"Pioneer Events of Ozaukee County," a series of articles from the pen of Dr. Bernard J. Cigrand, now of Illinois, was begun in the Port Washington *Herald* for May 10 and continued for several weeks.

The Janesville *Gazette* printed on April 21 an interview with Mrs. Dorothea Buchholz of that city recalling early days of the German-speaking people of that city.

LOCAL ITEMS

The Milwaukee Historical Society, which has been moribund for some time, was revived and reorganized in April. John R. Wolf was elected president and General Charles King vice-president. President Wolf has been gathering items of interest to Milwaukeeans for several years.

The seventy-fifth anniversary of the founding of the Milwaukee Turnverein was celebrated on June 17 with talks by Mayor Hoan, Curator Robert Wild, and Fred Schnell, editor of Sheboygan *Amerika*.

The First Wisconsin National Bank celebrated its seventy-fifth birthday by the publication of an anniversary pamphlet illustrated with historical pictures and containing an article by George Richardson of the Old Settlers' Club on his Milwaukee boyhood. The Common Council of the city made an appropriation recently to purchase a monument for the grave of Solomon Juneau and his wife in Calvary Cemetery.

The high-school bell which for more than forty years called to classes the pupils of the famous Kenosha free school has now been placed in the museum of the new building.

St. Mary's Catholic Church at Racine held on August 15 a diamond jubilee commemorative of its founding in 1853.

The Burlington Historical Society is preparing to save the great mound through which the road runs on State Trunk Highway 83, by having the roadway changed and a tablet erected on the mound—the first to be photographed from an airplane. (See *Wisconsin Archeologist*, September, 1927.)

At Union Grove a largely attended Old Settlers' meeting was held on June 21. The chief speaker was the veteran Congressman, Henry A. Cooper, who in a happy vein gave reminiscences of his early life. John S. Blakey, president of the society for thirty-five years, was given his due meed of praise. A week earlier the Congregational Sunday-school at Union Grove celebrated the ninetieth anniversary of its founding.

The twenty-second annual meeting of the Waukesha County Historical Society was held May 5 in the city of Waukesha.

At Sheboygan the Trinity Evangelical Lutheran Church celebrated on May 27 the seventy-fifth anniversary of its founding. The *Press* of the previous day carried a detailed history of this organization. A week earlier the first Evangelical Church of the same place remembered its eightieth birthday with historical services and sermons.

The Cedar Grove Presbyterian Church of Sheboygan County had an appropriate service early in June for its seventy-fifth anniversary. It was assisted by the choir from Oostburg. Both of these churches were founded by Hollanders.

Trinity Evangelical Lutheran Church of Wilson, in the same county, had early in June a diamond jubilee. The Sheboygan *Press* of June 4 gave several columns to the history of this congregation.

Chilton in Calumet County held a historical pageant during the county fair, which commemorated the history from the days of the Indians to the present.

At Menasha the Winnebago County Archeological and Historical Society met late in June for its annual historical pilgrimage. Governor Doty's log cabin was visited and a number of Indian mounds. The speakers were R. J. Barnes, Oshkosh, Dr. Orrin Thompson of Neenah, and the Reverend F. S. Dayton, New London.

A historic mansion that was built over fifty years ago at Wausau was recently torn down to make way for improvements. It was known as the C. F. Dunbar house and was built of heavy timbers. St. John's Episcopal Church in the same city commemorated in May the seventieth anniversary of its founding, with Bishop Weller in attendance.

At Washburn two anniversaries were noted last May by the Norwegian Lutheran Church—it was the fortieth year since the corner stone of the church was laid, and four decades since the pastor was ordained.

About mid-May at Dunnville occurred a disastrous fire which destroyed several historic buildings, among them the Tainter tavern, much used when Dunnville was at the head of navigation on the Chippewa and Red Cedar.

III OF GENERAL INTEREST

Curator Carl Russell Fish of the State University has published as number six of a "History of American Life" a volume entitled *The Rise of the Common Man.* This relates to the period of American history during the two decades 1830 to 1850, and is more inclusive than the older histories, giving attention to manners and morals, religion and education, art, science, and literature, industry, invention, and trade.

The John Askin Papers, volume i, 1747-1795, edited by Milo M. Quaife, is published by the Detroit Library Commission. This substantial volume of documents on the eighteenth-century history of Mackinac, Detroit, and vicinity is the most complete contribution to the period it covers, since the appearance of the *Wisconsin Historical Collections,* volumes xviii and xix, nearly a score of years ago. The notes, which are very full on the personnel of the period, form almost a directory or compendium of early Detroit families during the British régime at that place. They show the blending of the early French stock with the British influx in a remarkable way, and prove the persistence of the blood of the founders of Detroit in many of the prominent families of later days. For the fur trade the papers are interesting but limited, dealing

chiefly with the transactions of one firm with the Montreal and London houses that promoted the fur trade in the far West. The Mackinac letter-book of 1778 is perhaps the most important document for the fur trade, showing changing conditions due to the American Revolution and the echoes it awakened at this distant post. It is curious that the editor nowhere mentions that the largest portion of this letter-book had already been published (with the consent of Clarence E. Burton) in *Wisconsin Historical Collections*. It is still more curious that many of the notes follow almost exactly, with a conscious change of a word or phrase, the annotations of that document in our *Collections*, sometimes with reference, frequently without. In one instance a mistaken date is copied, which might have been corrected by a reference to the *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, xxviii, published after the *Wisconsin Collections* were issued.

The California Historical Society has published under the editorship of Charles L. Camp a volume entitled *James Clyman, American Frontiersman, 1792-1881: The Adventures of a Trapper and Covered Wagon Emigrant as Told in His Own Reminiscences and Diaries*. This volume is of especial interest to the people of Wisconsin for two reasons: one, for the fact that Clyman was an early pioneer of our state, before it was a territory; that he was a resident at Milwaukee, owned land there, and had a remarkable experience in returning from the Green Bay land office, where he had been with Ellsworth Burnett to enter his land. They were set upon by Indians near Theresa in Dodge County; Burnett was killed and Clyman seriously wounded. Only his long experience with Indians—for he had been a trapper on the western plains for half a score of years—enabled him to escape and reach Milwaukee and safety. The Indians were later arrested, tried, and convicted, but were pardoned by Governor Dodge on the score of expediency. A town near where this event occurred is now called Clyman. Secondly, much of the material on Clyman's earliest exploits was obtained from our Society, having been secured by Dr. Draper from the old pioneer himself while he was still living at Napa, California. This is not a part of the Draper Manuscripts, so called, but was obtained for the Society directly. We recently furnished the material to Professor Camp. The remainder of the volume is made up of the diaries of Clyman's emigrant days, when piloting trains to Oregon and California. These diaries are now in the Huntington Library, California.

Clyman was a type of pioneer which has become extinct with the passing of the frontier. He was a lineal successor of Daniel Boone and Kit Carson, and the tale of his adventures, told in the simplest words by the actor himself, is thrilling indeed for those who can read between the lines of the historical document and realize its significance. We recommend Clyman's diaries to our readers.

Charles E. Brown, curator of our museum, prepared for the students of the summer session at the University of Wisconsin a folklore pamphlet entitled: *Indian Tales of "Little Indians," Windigos and Witches.* He has also published *Scenic and Historic Illinois,* including Lincoln sites and monuments and those connected with the Black Hawk War. The same author, with Theodore T. Brown, published in the *Wisconsin Archeologist* for April, 1928, a thorough survey of Indian life both prehistoric and historic of the Lake Geneva and Lake Como region. This survey was made possible by a fund provided by S. B. Chapin of New York, who has a summer home at Lake Geneva.

Dr. Alexander Kahnowicz of Milwaukee has been for years collecting material relating to Thaddeus Kosciusko, Polish and American patriot hero. An exhibit was made last spring in the South Side armory of the city, which included a portrait of the soldier by the American artist John Trumbull, and a considerable collection of letters both from and to Kosciusko. The collector states that he found treasures of Polish history in America, cherished by the immigrants in their homes. His collection was first shown at Warsaw, Poland.

OUR CONTRIBUTORS

Mrs. W. F. Pett ("A Forgotten Village") was formerly a teacher at Two Harbors, Minnesota, in the Lake Superior region of which she writes.

Thomas P. Christensen ("Danish Settlement in Wisconsin") prepared this article after he had completed for his doctor's thesis at the University of Iowa a study of the Danes in that state.

Nils P. Haugen ("Pioneer and Political Reminiscences") was recently honored by the Wisconsin State Bar Association, on its fiftieth anniversary, as being one of the few remaining charter members of that organization.

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