

# Wisconsin Academy review. Volume 30, Number 2 March 1984

Madison, Wisconsin: Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts and Letters, March 1984

https://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/M7VWMQPYN447R8P

http://rightsstatements.org/vocab/InC/1.0/

The libraries provide public access to a wide range of material, including online exhibits, digitized collections, archival finding aids, our catalog, online articles, and a growing range of materials in many media.

When possible, we provide rights information in catalog records, finding aids, and other metadata that accompanies collections or items. However, it is always the user's obligation to evaluate copyright and rights issues in light of their own use.

#### **EDITORIAL**

#### **Our Material Legacy**

t the March 1983 Wisconsin Academy Council meeting then Vice A President for Arts Bill Tishler suggested a special Review issue on historic preservation. A couple of weeks later Phil Martin, from the Wisconsin Arts Board, called to suggest a Review issue on folklore and folklife. Wondering if the two ideas could be combined, I attended an Arts Board conference on Wisconsin Folk Culture. Although far too much work is being done in both preservation and study of folk culture to combine the two subjects, I realized that if we limited our topic to nineteenth century material culture, we could broaden preservation beyond architecture and include some material aspects of folk culture. Both Anne Woodhouse, in her introductory essay, and Emilie Tari, in her article on Old World Wisconsin, discuss the new study of material culture and what can be learned from this to supplement traditional historical research. The field of historic preservation, which until recently included only significant architectural styles, has been broadened to include vernacular architecture, districts, and communities and to use buildings to interpret social history. Thus a building which is not architecturally distinctive may be designated a landmark for its value as social history—its occupants or its use by the community.

The study of material culture (artifacts) and historic preservation (buildings) are both means of apprehending history through objects. In this issue we try to interpret nineteenth-century Wisconsin through its barns, bridges, courthouses, houses, and their archeological remains and through furniture, toys, pottery, ships. We also learn how these objects can be documented and preserved so that future generations may understand their heritage. The next obvious step is to study folklife and folklore to understand the significance and origin of vital

traditions. But that is a future issue.

Patricia Powell

#### **PRESIDENT** Kenneth Dowling, Madison

PRESIDENT-ELECT Joyce Erdman, Madison

IMMEDIATE PAST PRESIDENT Martha Peterson, Madison

VICE PRESIDENTS Brock Spencer (Sciences), Beloit Warrington Colescott (Arts), Hollandale Menahem Mansoor (Letters), Madison

> SECRETARY-TREASURER Jerry Apps, Madison

> **COUNCILORS-AT-LARGE** TERM EXPIRES 1988 James Crow, Madison Roy Saigo, Eau Claire

**TERM EXPIRES 1987** James R. Johnson, River Falls Daniel O. Trainer, Stevens Point

**TERM EXPIRES 1986** Margaret Fish Rahill, Milwaukee Gerald Viste, Wausau

**TERM EXPIRES 1985** Nancy Noeske, Milwaukee F. Chandler Young, Madison

COUNCILOR-AT-LARGE EMERITUS John Thomson, Madison

> **EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR** LeRoy R. Lee

**LIBRARIAN** Jack A. Clarke, Madison

**EDITORS** Kay and Philip Whitford, Transactions Patricia Powell, Review

Typeset by Impressions, Inc.

Printed by American Printing, Madison Second class postage paid at Madison.

#### MEMBERSHIP INFORMATION

REGULAR	\$25 annual dues
ASSOCIATE	\$10 annual dues (students only)
LIFE	\$300-500 in one lifetime payment
LIBRARY	\$20 annual dues

Your membership will encourage research, discussion, and publication in the sciences, arts, and letters of Wisconsin. Please send dues payment along with name and address to Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts and Letters, 1922 University Avenue, Madison, WI 53705. Academy members receive the annual TRANSACTIONS, the quarterly REVIEW, and occasional monographs or special reports.

The Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts and Letters is affiliated with the American Association for the Advancement of Science, the Association of Academies of Science, and the Education Association Press of America.

#### SUBSCRIPTION INFORMATION

The REVIEW is published quarterly by the Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts and Letters, 1922 University Avenue, Madison, WI 53705. Distributed to members as part of their dues. Available by subscription at \$15 per year. Individual copies \$5.00 postpaid.

Statements made by the contributors to the WISCONSIN ACADEMY REVIEW do not necessarily reflect the views or the official policy of the Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts and Letters.

Letters to the editor, poetry, fiction, line art, photographs, and article proposals are welcome. All correspondence related to the RE-VIEW or other Academy publications (change of address, single copy orders, undelivered copies, Academy membership) should be sent to the Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts and Letters office. Copyright @ 1984 by the Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts, and Letters.

ISSN 0512-1175

**REVIEW STAFF** 

PUBLISHER LeRoy Lee

**EDITOR** Patricia Powell

CIRCULATION MANAGER Sue Davis

**EDITORIAL BOARD** Warren Moon, Madison Ray Puechner, Milwaukee

POETRY CONSULTANTS Barbara Fowler, Madison Arthur Hove, Madison Mary Shumway, Plover

# WISCONSIN ACADEMY REVIEW

Published Quarterly by the Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts, and Letters.

March 1984 Volume 30, Number 2

# **CONTENTS**

Introduction	3	Material Culture Studies Anne Woodhouse
	7	Poetry by R.S. Chapman and Leslie Dock
Archeology	8	Archeology, History, and Preservation Robert P. Fay
History	11	Shipping in the Badger State Isacco Valli
Architectural history	14	Built From Tradition: Wisconsin's Rural, Ethnic, Folk Heritage William H. Tishler
Folklife	19	Folk Toys in the Milwaukee Public Museum Wendy Leeds-Hurwitz
History	22	The Engum House at Norskedalen Charles R. Lee
Art history	24	A Nineteenth Century Wisconsin Potter: Conrad Langenberg Mark Knipping
Ethnic preservation	29	The Max Kade Institute for German-American Studies Juergen Eichhoff
Historic preservation	30	The Madison Trust for Historic Preservation, Inc. Sara Leuchter
Ethnic history	31	Norwegian Nineteenth Century Heritage in Stoughton Martha Alexander
Engineering history	34	Ordinary Iron Highway Bridges Robert Newbery and H. W. Guy Meyer
Art	38	Wisconsin Photographers' Showcase: Lewis Koch
Legal review	42	Government's Response to Historic Preservation Jeff Dean
Museum history	48	Old World Wisconsin: What Price Our Heritage? Emilie Tari
Archeology	53	Archeological Survey and Preservation in Wisconsin William Green
Art history	56	Manufactured Furniture From Wisconsin Anne Woodhouse
Historic preservation	59	Putting Flesh on the Bones of the Past: Halsey Rinehart, Artist and Storyteller Thomas Barden
Architectural history	63	Surveying Wisconsin History and Architecture Barbara Wyatt
Architectural history	67	Landmark Cases: Wisconsin County Courthouses Diane Filipowicz
City planning history	70	Communities and Settlements on Wisconsin's Gogebic Range Arnold R. Alanen
	74	Bookmarks/Wisconsin

## **Authors and Artists**

Anne Woodhouse is curator of decorative arts at the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. She received her B.A. from Lawrence University, M.A. from Stanford University in history and Ph.D. from Stanford in cultural history. She also received an M.A. from the University of Delaware and Winterthur Museum in early American culture and museum studies. Anne continues to gather information on Wisconsin furniture and would like for anyone with labeled furniture or information on the industry to contact her at the State Historical Society.

Robin S. Chapman is professor of communicative disorders at UW-Madison and the author of articles on child language acquisition.

Leslie Dock is coeditor of *Third* Coast Archives, a literary magazine. She teaches part time at UW-Milwaukee English Department. Her poems have appeared in the Review, Pudding, Primavera, Women, Out of Wisconsin V, Gathering Place of the Waters: 30 Milwaukee Poets, Janus, and Abraxas.

Robert P. Fay received his B.A. in anthropology from UW-Madison in 1974 and his M.A. in anthropology from the University of Kentucky in 1980. He has conducted archeological research and fieldwork in Wisconsin, Iowa, Minnesota, Kentucky, and California at both prehistoric and historic sites. Since returning to Wisconsin, he has conducted archeological field surveys for the Wisconsin Department of Natural Resources and the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. Bob also does private consulting work under the tradename Old Northwest Research. He lives in Madison with his wife, Georgia, and their daughter, Erin.

Isacco Valli is curator of the Manitowoc Maritime Museum.

William H. Tishler, a graduate of the University of Wisconsin and Harvard University, is professor of landscape architecture at UW-Madison. In 1979 he developed a new historic preservation program in that department and has, since that time, focused his teaching and research efforts on historic preservation activity. He is past vice president for arts for the Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts and Letters. In 1967 Professor Tishler became involved with the Old World Wisconsin project for the State Historical Society and prepared the master plan for its development. He is doing research and field work for a book on the architecture of the ethnic groups that settled in rural Wisconsin.

Wendy Leeds-Hurwitz teaches in the humanities division of UW-Parkside and lives in Milwaukee. She received a Ph.D. from the University of Pennsylvania in folklife and folklore. She is continuing her research on folk toys.

Charles R. Lee is project director (1983–84) for a Wisconsin Humanities Committee and UW-La Crosse Foundation, Inc., funded project, Interpreting the Bekkum Farmstead—a project in social history to assist the interpretation of the farmstead at Norskedalen. He is also instructor of history at UW-La Crosse. His specialty is early American social history. His graduate training was at the State University of New York at Buffalo; undergraduate work was done at University of Iowa.

Juergen Eichhoff is professor of German at UW-Madison and director of the Max Kade Institute for German-American Studies. Mark Knipping received an M.A. in American History from the University of Wisconsin in 1972 and is now resident manager of the Pendarvis Historical Site in Mineral Point where, he reports, a half-dozen contemporary potters live and work. He wishes to dedicate this missive to his friend George La-Budde, who long ago came to appreciate the consummate art and skill of Conrad Langenberg.

Martha Alexander has an M.A. in folklore from Indiana University. She is currently a Ph.D. candidate, completing her dissertation on Stoughton's Syttende Mai festival. A Wisconsin native, Martha Alexander graduated magna cum laude from Beloit College with a triple major of classics, comparative literature, and modern languages. In the spring of 1984 she will offer a Wisconsin folklore course through Beloit College and Madison Area Technical College.

H. W. Guy Meyer is a Ph.D. student in civil engineering at UW-Madison. He was formerly a bridge design engineer at the Wisconsin Department of Transportation. In private practice, he has consulted on bridge design and renovation in Wisconsin, Illinois, and Mississippi. He is a registered professional engineer in Wisconsin and Tennessee and a registered structural engineer in Illinois.

Robert S. Newbery is a graduate of Stanford University. He is a Ph.D. candidate in American history at UW-Madison, where he received his M.A. Although his dissertation topic is nineteenth century Wisconsin politics, he has been studying truss bridges for over three years. He is currently employed by the Wisconsin Department of Transportation.

continued on page 73



# **Material Culture Studies**

By Anne Woodhouse

n the past few years among some academic historians and museum professionals there has been a broadening of the perception of what is worth knowing about the past. In addition to the preoccupation with great men and their words and deeds there is a growing fascination with the masses and the commonplace-in the words of one book title, with "Ordinary People and Everyday Life." Called the "new social history," it has been concerned with groups women, workers, children, the poor-not considered of much scholarly interest previously. Because such groups have been less likely to record their thoughts and actions in written words, some researchers have turned to the objects made and used by these people to find out more about their lives.

Though history museums have traditionally preserved objects from the past, the emphasis has been on those owned by the great and the wealthy. Now museum curators are collecting a much broader range of items to reflect the lives of more and diverse people. At the same time, there is a widespread and growing public interest in objects from the past. In an odd blend of seemingly incompatible concepts, we have antiques supermarkets and malls today. People buy antiques and collectibles because they consider them aesthetically pleasing and because they find them interesting as fragments of past ways of life. "Material culture" is a term which applies to both the things specialists study and the ones laymen collect.

What is material culture? Schol-

ars agree that it deals with the tangible remains of the past-with objects made or altered by humans. Beyond this, however, there is professional disagreement about how broadly the term should be applied. Some use it to refer to the full range of these objects—the "material" produced by a "culture." The study of material culture can illuminate human activities of the past, reveal knowledge not obtainable through written sources. Through detailed examination and comparison of objects, we can sometimes arrive at some understanding of the mentality of the people who produced them. Those who define material culture most narrowly actually restrict it to "the study through artifacts of the beliefs-values, ideas, attitudes, and assumptions-of a particular community or society at a given time." (Prown,1). Narrow and broad definitions aside, it becomes clear that (1) there is an infinite variety of artifacts now considered worthy of serious study; (2) artifacts are a source for the discovery of historical truth just as much as are the words in documents, and (3) through artifacts, we can get at broader cultural issues.

How is material cultural research done? Different approaches are followed, depending on the discipline and the resources available. Where there are photographs, printed matter, advertising, or drawings, it makes sense to use this information. If living persons have useful knowledge, an oral history project using tape recordings can be invaluable. Sometimes an artifact has a label, inscription, or identifying mark which can lead to precise identification of when, where, and by whom the object was made.

If this information is lacking, it is necessary to examine the object itself carefully. Design, materials, style, and decoration are observed. Techniques of construction, tool marks, and evidence of usage and of repair or alteration are important. The location where the object is found is particularly crucial to archeologists. The material culture researcher compares one object with similar ones to establish the function of the object and to fit it into a context. Aesthetic judgment may or may not be made. Once as much information as possible has been wrung from the object, one can begin to make informed judgments about the maker and the society in which the object was made.

New methodologies are being developed to analyze categories of objects. Some involve detailed measurements and comparison of like objects to create categories of items with similar structural principles.

Another involves recording quantitative data with the aid of the most tireless of research assistants, the computer. One historiographer of the material culture studies movement finds as many as nine different approaches to the study of material culture: art history, symbolist, cultural history, environmentalist, functionalist, structuralist, behavioralistic, national character, and social history (Schlereth, Material Culture Studies in America, p. 38). The possibilities for analysis are as vast as the body of material available for analysis.

Material culture is becoming an academic subfield, adapting portions of the traditional disciplines of art history, history, anthropology, and several other fields. It is now possible to get a Ph.D. degree in American material culture. Several journals have been started or revised to publish scholarship in the new area. One of these journals of material culture studies, Winterthur Portfolio, states in its editorial policy its preference for articles which are analytical rather than descriptive. But before analysis can take place, it is often necessary simply to survey, identify, and describe categories of objects. We are now at this stage in looking at much of our heritage of material culture from nineteenth-century Wisconsin.

Among the different areas of material culture studies currently being pursued in Wisconsin are archeology, the excavation and analysis of remnants of settlements of the past; architectural history, the examination of the built environment; concentration on folk art, the largely handmade products of a preindustrial culture; and the study of the history and products of technology. The preservation of past cultures has become important in the field of architecture, so much so that "historic preservation" almost always refers to buildings. Architectural and archeological surveys point out the richness of survivals and help us to identify which buildings or sites will best repay further study.

Tas the material culture of nineteenth-century Wisconsin different from that of other times and places? Yes, of course. Settlement in the state by Europeans and Yankees began in earnest in the first half of the century; by 1900, life in its cities, towns, and rural areas resembled in many respects life on the East Coast. The settlement process was speeded up; the era of log cabins and frontier life, of families making their own household necessities, was brief or nonexistent. Technical and scientific innovations-the steam engine and the



Annala Barn, Town of Oma, Iron County. This split-fieldstone round barn and adjacent milkhouse, listed in the National Register of Historic Places, are unique examples of rural architecture in Wisconsin. Photo by Jeff De

railroad—made it possible to produce and obtain mass-manufactured items: stoves, furniture, clothing. The advent of the mailorder catalogue meant a proliferation of possibilities and choices and resulted in a certain amount of standardization in household furnishings and clothing.

Yet individual craftspeople survived as factories grew up. Practicing the skills they had learned, often in Europe, they preserved an extraordinarily rich ethnic heritage in Wisconsin. Their buildings, crafts, and ethnic customs survived despite intense pressure on their creators to "become American" and are emerging today into renewed popularity among both material culture scholars-folklore and folklife specialists—and the general public. Much of the interesting work in nineteenth-century material culture today is in this area.

But there is a danger of focusing on the ethnic, folk, or vernacular culture exclusively and ignoring the mainstream culture. The pendulum has swung from interest in the elite and their culture to the opposite extreme. Somewhere in the middle lie the vast majority of people. The study of their possessions—for instance, mass-produced decorative arts items like furniture, ceramics, glassware-has been almost entirely ignored. Most scholars are interested in preindustrial, one of a kind or high-style artifacts. Yet there was a good deal of replication in handmade, "one of a kind" items. And the possibility of dramatically increasing production was hailed at the time as a great advance, allowing more people to have more goods, and more varied goods at less cost. The items which appeared in many households simultaneously deserve closer study in the future.

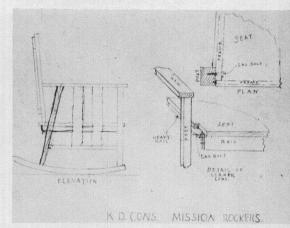
A dilemma facing material culture studies is that frequently items are found removed from their historical context (unless the location is the context, as with archeology). Personal possessions tend to be very transient. Items are retained as long as they remain useful or of aesthetic



or sentimental value. History museums, which attempt to preserve "typical" items, have a tendency to show what has survived, not necessarily what is representative. Now, along with a movement to collect more broadly, there is the challenge of interpreting history to the public rather than merely displaying collections. Other material culture scholars, too, must search widely for related material and cannot escape the pressure to make their findings understandable to the general public as well as to their

Scholars present their findings to each other and to the public in a variety of ways. The journal article and the monograph are the traditional means. This issue of the Wisconsin Academy Review is a more unusual forum, in its joining together of recent work in several areas and many disciplines, and in its general audience. Research institute staffs respond to specialized questions in their area of expertise. The museum exhibit and catalogue, along with such supplementary techniques as the slide-tape program, are being shown now to great effect by history museums.

Red milk pitchers with lids by potter Conrad Langenberg (1830-1899)



This working drawing was used in the design of a chair for the Buckstaff-Edwards (now Buckstaff) Company of Oshkosh. It makes clear some of the details of construction.

#### Halsey Rinehart

Videotape and film are being used increasingly. The walking tour is being refined to acquaint the public with architectural treasures in their communities. Lectures and printed materials teach styles and provide information to homeowners eager to identify and preserve or restore their own homes and public buildings. The most ambitious effort seems to be the open air museum, which attempts through research in many different fields-architecture, archeology, social history, decorative and fine arts, technology-to recreate the semblance of life in the past.

In becoming aware of material culture and its meaning, many of us will no doubt resemble the character in one of Molière's plays who was astonished to discover that he had been speaking prose all his life. We have had the objects of material culture around us for all of our lives. The written word, from being the only source of getting at history, has become one of many paths to the past.

### For Further Reading

Gardner, James B., and Adams, George Rollie, eds. *Ordinary People and Everyday Life: Perspectives on the New Social History*. Nashville: American Associaton for State and Local History, 1983.

Metcalf, Fay D., and Downey, Matthew T. *Using Local History in the Classroom*. Nashville: American Association for State and Local History, 1982.

Schlereth, Thomas J. Artifacts and the American Past. Nashville: American Association for State and Local History, 1982.

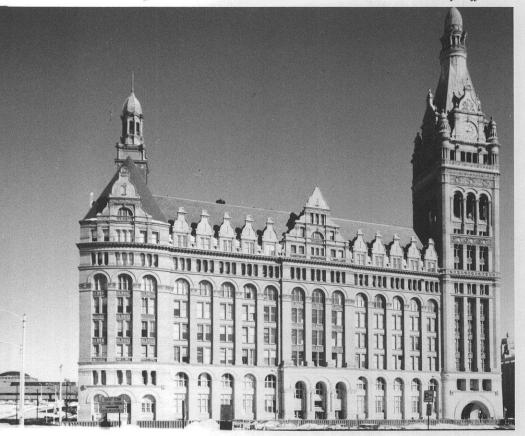
Weitzman, David. Underfoot: An Everyday Guide to Exploring the American Past. New York: Scribner's, 1976.

Prown, Jules D., "Mind in Matter: An Introduction to Material Culture Theory and Method." Winterthur Portfolio Spring 1982.



Milwaukee City Hall (1893–98). This important Milwaukee landmark is designated a historic structure under the current Milwaukee preservation ordinance and is listed in the National Register of Historic Places.

Photo by Jeff Dean



6/Wisconsin Academy Review/March 1984

### Wisconsin History Lesson: John Muir on a Hill in Marquette County

John Muir Walked across this hill When he was a boy.

Bones aching
From digging out oak grubs
Or hollowing out the cramped
Damp well
Fifty, seventy, ninety
Feet down
Day after day
Until the neighbor noticed
That no more buckets
Were coming up
And hauled him out
Just before the oxygen gave out.

Head aching
From his father's grim message:
You're no good boy,
No good unless you work;
The only salvation
From our evil nature
Is prayer and work;
Reading and education
Are the devil's temptation.

Eyes aching
From reading at three a.m.,
Catapulted out of bed
And sleep
By a contraption
Of wooden scraps
To the wooden desk
That turned the pages
Like clockwork,
Twenty minutes a book.
It's still on display
At the Historical Society.

Years later,
Heart aching,
He walked away
From the education
That wasn't the answer;
Walked away from a Yosemite sawmill
And a woman who wasn't his;
Walked home to Wisconsin once
When he imagined
His mother was dying.

But walked
Most of his life
Toward the high Sierras,
Yosemite's upper reaches,
The Grand Canyon
Toward the views that stunned
The heart into forgiveness
Or forgetfulness
And peace.
Talked Teddy Roosevelt
Into leaving
All those views
To the nation.

His own salvation
Foreshadowed
In the aching boy
Seeking some ease,
Watching and walking
Through the Marquette County trees,
The light
Shining in benediction
Through the leaves.

R. S. Chapman

The fragrance of daffodils lounging against a green vase fluted with black at the lip /

a friend once said they looked so silly, hundreds on the hillside, frilly skirts naively worshipping the spring sun

yet every night she stole out to the planted meridian they lit with hours of healing

yellow

Leslie Dock

# -Archeology, History, and Preservation-

by Robert P. Fay

# Hardscrabble A Case Study



isconsin's historic preservation movement has come to be viewed by many of its proponents as simply restoring and refurbishing old houses to their original appearances, saving downtown commercial buildings from destruction, and enacting local landmark ordinances designed to protect and enhance a community's cultural and historic heritage. While each of these efforts is commendable in its own right, this provincial approach to preservation is highly biased, for it focuses only on the built environment as it is seen and understood today.

But what about those cultural resources which no longer remain above ground, but whose tangible links with the past lie buried in the ground? Are they not, too, an important part of our legacy and often worthy of study and preservation efforts? For many residents in the driftless area of southwestern Wisconsin, the response to this question over the last fifteen months has been an unequivocal "yes."

#### Hardscrabble discovered

In September of 1982, the site of Hardscrabble, an early nineteenth century lead mining community, was unexpectedly uncovered during the construction of a new wastewater treatment plant facility and sewer outfall for the village of Hazel Green in Grant County, Wisconsin. Construction crews working in the area were unaware of the site's existence until Bob Camardo of Mineral Point visited the construction site one weekend and located what appeared to be the remains of a stone foundaton with a dirt floor. Associated with the structural remains were broken pieces of English Staffordshire ceramic ware, handblown bottle glass, and other domestic refuse. The artifacts and architectural features had been buried beneath three to four feet of zinc tailings, but were now exposed

8/Wisconsin Academy Review/March 1984

as a result of construction and grading activities at the proposed sewage plant site.

Realizing the importance of the cultural remains and believing that they represented an early lead miner's cabin, Mr. Camardo reported his finds to the Historic Preservation Division staff at the State Historical Society of Wisconsin in Madison.

#### Historical and archival research

A cursory review of available local and county histories, population censuses, and early maps of Wisconsin in the Society's collections by historian George Brown indicated that this was indeed the site of an early lead mining community. In 1824 Hardscrabble became one of the first permanent white settlements established in the heartland of the Wisconsin lead region.

The name Hardscrabble or Hardscrabble Diggings appeared on several early maps of the lead region, including one drawn by R. W. Chandler in 1829 and another by John Farmer seven years later. The location of Mr. Camardo's cabin remains was found to correspond precisely with these place names.

The town of Hardscrabble was also mentioned in the journals and papers of pioneer settler John Edwards, who owned the community's general store and listed twenty-one residents of his home in an early government census. Edwards and his son, John Jr., later founded the Nekoosa-Edwards Paper Company, now located in Port Edwards, Wisconsin.

#### Archeological salvage excavations

Once the historical background information was gathered, an archeological salvage recovery program at the site of Hardscrabble was conducted under the direction of the author, with the assistance of a group of local volunteers from Mineral Point, Platteville, Hazel Green, Madison, and Galena. Salvage work focused on mapping the stone foundations and excavating several test squares in order to trace



Several lead miners' cabins such as the one shown here were uncovered by volunteers using hand trowels, brushes, dust pans, and shovels to remove dirt systematically from the excavation units.

out and expose architectural features and to recover additional artifacts associated with the lead miners and their families.

Although limited test excavations were conducted, hundreds of domestic and personal artifacts dating from the early to the late nineteenth century were recovered during subsurface testing and repeated surface walk-overs at the site. Recovered also were additional pieces of English Staffordshire ceramic ware decorated in blue, brown, yellow, green, red, or purple and a soft paste earthenware known locally as Galena pottery. Clay pipes, brass straight pins, shell and pewter buttons, handblown bottle and tableware glass, cutlery, spoons, handwrought and square nails, window glass, construction debris (limestone, mortar, brick, wall plaster), and faunal remains (saw-cut animal bone, fish scales, and egg shell) were also found.

Also recovered during the archeological salvage work were several miners' tools including picks and shovels and metal work such as a

large cast iron kettle with feet. Lead artifacts included musket balls, bird shot, and several cubes of galena.

The recovery of button hooks from high-laced shoes and a broken ceramic cup inscribed with a nursery rhyme are signs that women and children lived in the mining town. This is a particularly important discovery, for it dispels the myth that frontier mining camps and towns were occupied only by men.

Of particular interest were several two-tined forks with hand-carved bone handles and a silver "pillar" dollar struck at the Spanish mint of Zacatecas, Mexico, in 1823. Lead miners, wary of paper money and the banks that issued it, preferred hard currency in their private and business dealings, and foreign currency was legal tender in this country until the 1840s.

During the course of the archeological work, evidence of a small, temporary prehistoric habitation site was found below the zone of historic occupation, indicated by the presence of grit-tempered pottery, lithic debitage (some heat treated), and an undisturbed sub-

surface feature, possibly a storage pit. The lack of any truly diagnostic artifacts, however, prevents assigning the prehistoric component of the site to a more specific time period within the Woodland tradition (1000 B.C.–1600 A.D.).

Although salvage efforts at the Hardscrabble site continued periodically throughout the fall of 1982, construction of the sewage plant resumed the following spring before further archeological subsurface testing and surface investigations were conducted at the site. Important archeological and architectural data concerning life at Hardscrabble was irretrievably lost as a result.

## Current research and preservation efforts

Through the efforts of local volunteers working at The Mining Museum in Platteville, many of the artifacts recovered from the archeological salvage work and subsequent surface investigations are being washed, catalogued, and analyzed. The artifacts will aid in making inter- and intra-site comparisons and planning future interpretive exhibits on lead mining at the museum.

Archival research for collecting and synthesizing baseline data pertaining to Hardscrabble and other lead mining communities such as New Diggings, Benton, and Gratiot's Grove is also planned. The results of this work, together with the archeological research, will be summarized in a comprehensive report on the Hardscrabble salvage project.

Future preservation efforts include nominating the site of Hardscrabble to the National Register of Historic Places, and we hope to arrange for a portion of the site located on private property to be donated to an interested historical society, institution, or preservation group.

The archeological salvage work at Hardscrabble exemplifies the need for an interdisciplinary approach to preservation. Without the outpouring of local support, interest, and enthusiasm for this project, the extent to which the salvage work was carried out would not have been possible.

The salvage work at Hardscrabble, like all research projects, raised questions which remain unanswered. We do not know how many cabins were originally built at Hardscrabble, or how many of them remain buried at the site, or why the town, which was originally located in a steep ravine along a tributary of the Galena (Fever) River, moved out of the valley to a nearby ridgetop, the present day village of Hazel Green. We hope to find answers to these and other questions through continued cooperation of local volunteers, historians, and archeologists.

Hardscrabble is no longer a town that time has forgotten. The legacy of this early nineteenth century lead mining community has been preserved for future generations to study and to enjoy.

#### **Suggested Reading**

Carter, Margaret S. New Diggings on the Fever, 1824–1860. Benton, WI: privately published by the author, 1959.

Clark, James I. Life on Wisconsin's Lead-Mining Frontier. Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1976.

Fiedler, George. Mineral Point, A History. Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1976.

Libby, Orin G. "Significance of the lead and shot trade in early Wisconsin history." In *Collections of the State Historical Society XIII*, pp. 293–334. Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1895.

Schafer, Joseph. *The Wisconsin Lead Region*. Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1932.

Wright, James E. The Galena Lead District: Federal Policy and Practice 1824–1847. Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin for the Department of History, University of Wisconsin, 1966.

Teams of professional archeologists and interested townspeople volunteered their time and labor to help uncover the lost lead mining town of Hardscrabble.



# Shipping in the Badger State

By Isacco A. Valli

isconsin has a rich history that brings many images to mind: dairy farms, breweries, paper mills, lumberjacks, and ethnic groups who have all left their mark on the Badger State. No less important is the contribution Great Lakes shipping made to the development of nineteenth-century Wisconsin.

The multitude of Yankees and European immigrants who settled Wisconsin in the 1830s and 1840s arrived at their destination on steamboats. The Walk-In-The-Water was the first steamboat to enter the upper Great Lakes when she steamed to Detroit in 1818. In appearance she resembled a sailing ship with a steam engine protruding from her hull. Three years later the pioneer vessel became the first steamer to enter Lake Michigan when she brought a detachment of 200 soldiers for Fort Howard in Green Bay.

During the rest of the 1820s, steamboat service on the lakes was irregular. However, after the Erie Canal opened in 1825, resulting in a large flow of immigrants and settlers to the Midwest, the demand for regular passenger service increased. By 1845 three steamboat lines ran regularly scheduled trips between Buffalo and Chicago. Other major ports of call were Detroit and Milwaukee; occasional stops were made at smaller cities.

It was common for these early steamboats to carry as many as 500 passengers per trip. In 1840 a ticket from Buffalo to Chicago cost \$20.00 for cabin passengers and \$10.00 for

steerage accomodations. Prominent among Wisconsin settlers at this time were New Englanders and German and Scandinavian immigrants.

By the 1850s a large number of steamboat lines were established on the Great Lakes. The tide of immigrants coming to the Midwest was declining, and the steamboat passenger service entered a new era. Vacationers, tourists, and businessmen began traveling on the steamboats in increasing numbers. Excursion boats became the dominant form of public transportation on the lakes throughout the rest of the century.

The excursion boats usually traveled between two major metropolitan centers within a day's journey of each other. Stops were also made at smaller ports along the way. These ships became noted for passenger comfort and their luxurious interiors. Many were outfitted with a restaurant, snack bar, soda shop, and barber shop.

The largest steamboat company to operate on Lake Michigan was the Goodrich Transportation Company. Founded in 1856, the company grew rapidly and by 1861 offered regular passenger service to Chicago, Milwaukee, Kenosha, Racine, Manitowoc, Two Rivers, Kewaunee, and Green Bay. By 1884 Goodrich vessels stopped at every major port on Lake Michigan. The development of the Goodrich Transportation Company was especially important for many northern Wisconsin communities. Railroad service was not extended to many of these cities until the 1870s.

For example, the first railroad to Manitowoc was not completed until 1873.

Passenger steamers also transported the mail and package goods. However, because of their construction and complex upper works, bulk cargo was too unwieldy to load and unload. The bulk carrier for the most part of the nineteenth century was the Great Lakes schooner. In 1820 there were only fifty sailing vessels on the Great Lakes. With the settlement of the Midwest, lake commerce increased dramatically. During the 1870s, over 2,000 sailing ships, most of them schooners, sailed on the upper Great Lakes.

One of the first Wisconsin products carried by these ships was lumber. Lumber was the largest industry in Manitowoc until the end of the Civil War. In the second quarter of 1856 alone, Manitowoc exported 6,490,000 feet of lumber, 49,198,000 shingles, and 2,100,000 lath. Much of this timber was delivered to the growing cities of Milwaukee and Chicago. Milwaukee imported 15,000,000 feet of lumber in 1853.

The major products exported from Milwaukee during the second half of the 1800s were grain and mill products. In 1855, 1,679,305 barrels of wheat, barley, rye, and flour were shipped from the city. This is not surprising, since Milwaukee was the largest milling center in the country until the 1870s. Major exports also included bricks, pork, and beef.

Other major ports that developed in Wisconsin were Ashland, Green Bay, Kenosha, Manitowoc, Racine, Sheboygan, Sturgeon Bay, and Superior. The completion of the Soo Canal in 1855 and the development of iron ore mining in Minnesota and northern Wisconsin spurred the growth of two Wisconsin ports, Ashland and Superior. In 1896, 1.5 million tons of ore were shipped from Ashland, and over 3.5 million tons of ore from Superior. By the turn of the century, the port of Duluth-Superior was the fourth largest port in the country in terms of tonnage shipped.

Between 1850-80, the size of Great Lakes ships grew. In the 1870s many three-masted schooners were built up to 200 feet in length. Some of these vessels could carry as much as 60,000 bushels of wheat. The increasing size of sailing vessels was partially brought about by the nation's rapid industrialization after the Civil War. As a result, larger ships were needed to haul raw materials and agricultural products from the Midwest to eastern markets. The 1870s were the heyday of sail on the Great Lakes. After delivering their cargo, schooners usually returned to the Midwest with coal, salt, and iron rails.

However, the days of the sailing ship were numbered on the lakes. The development of the steam freighter in the 1870s meant that steamships could now carry bulk cargoes. The construction of steel ships in the 1880s hastened the demise of sailing ships. In 1888 steamships outnumbered schooners on the lakes for the first time. By 1890 steamships were being constructed that were almost 400 feet long.

Several large schooners were built in response to the competition posed by steamers. The largest of these was the David Dows, a fivemasted ship. Launched in Toledo, Ohio, she was 260 feet long. Because of her size she was too clumsy to sail on the lakes. Eventually, she was converted into a barge and towed behind a steamer. This became the fate of many sailing vessels. Their topmasts and bowsprits were removed, and they were converted into tow barges. After their hulls rotted, many of them were either abandoned or set afire. Steamers were now carrying Wisconsin's iron ore and agricultural products to market.

The last commercial sailing ship built on the Great Lakes was the Cora A, built in Manitowoc in 1889 at the Burger & Burger shipyard. Nevertheless, sailing ships did not disappear from the lakes until the twentieth century. Most of the surviving vessels were engaged in the cordwood and pulpwood trade. The last full-rigged schooner in service

on Lake Michigan was the *Lucia Simpson*. Her last voyage took place in 1929. Sailing north past Algoma, Wisconsin, the *Simpson* lost a spar in a storm and began leaking badly. The ship was towed to Sturgeon Bay where it was abandoned. In 1935 the *Simpson* was destroyed by fire.

The rapid settlement of the Midwest in the 1830s and 1840s and the growth that followed gave rise to the shipbuilding industry on the Great Lakes. Manitowoc, Wisconsin, with its natural harbor and abundance of virgin timber, became a center of shipbuilding on Lake Michigan. Shipyards were also established in many other Wisconsin cities, including Green Bay, Milwaukee, Sturgeon Bay, and Superior.

Before 1850 Great Lakes shipbuilders built schooners based on their oceangoing counterparts. This changed in 1851, when William W. Bates, a New England shipbuilder, moved to Manitowoc. Bates was a "practical shipbuilder," designing ships scientifically for the conditions they were to sail under. The Great Lakes have many narrow channels and shallow harbors. To overcome these obstacles. Bates designed a schooner with sharp ends underwater, a clipper bow, a shallow draft, and a centerboard. This design was new in Great Lakes shipping, allowing ships to enter previously inaccessible ports. Other builders around the lakes soon began to copy his design.

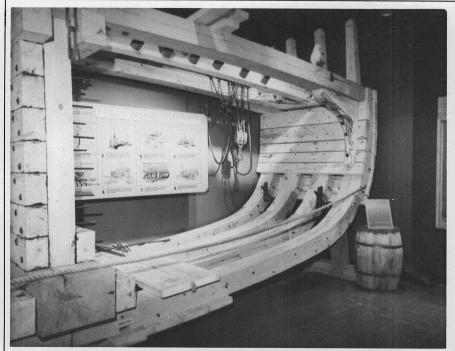
William Bates is best remembered for the schooner Slipper City. Built in 1854, she was noted for her speed. She made runs from Sheboygan to Manitowoc in eighty minutes and from Chicago to Milwaukee in five hours. The average speed for both voyages was an incredible eighteen miles per hour.

Between 1847–1900, a total of twenty-six shipbuilders operated in the Manitowoc-Two Rivers area at one time or another. During this time they built 204 wooden sailing ships, barges, tugs, and steamers. Many of the shipbuilders came from the ranks of Scandinavian immigrants and Yankees who settled around the Great Lakes.

Much of the work of wooden shipbuilding was done by hand. A busy yard employed up to fifty workers. Wages ranged from \$1.50 to \$2.00 for a ten-hour day. Heavy beams were hauled into place with horse-powered hoists. Before 1850 planking was attached with wooden pegs, also called treenails. Iron fastenings were introduced in the early 1840s and became dominate in wooden shipbuilding by the late 1850s. Holes were made with augers and pegs were driven in them with wooden mallets. The ring of the caulker's mallet could be heard throughout the yard as he drove oakum into every seam of the ship to make it watertight. In 1884, at least twenty caulkers worked in Manitowoc.

That year there were also 193 shipbuilders working in the Great Lakes region. By 1904 only twentythree shipyards were still operating. Steam freighters and the birth of the steel ship were responsible for this change. The smaller shipyards could not afford to build steamships. which cost over twice as much to build as a sailing vessel. As a result when steel ships became prominent on the lakes, it spelled the end of many of the wooden shipbuilding trades. After the turn of the century, the shipbuilding industry in Wisconsin became based in four cities: Manitowoc, Milwaukee, Sturgeon Bay, and Superior.

A Superior shipbuilder named Alexander McDougall made a unique contribution to Great Lakes shipbuilding. He invented an early type of steel bulk-carrier which he called a "whaleback" steamer. The ship had a unique, cigar-shaped hull. Forty-eight whalebacks were built, one of which was a passenger steamer. Christened the Christopher Columbus, it was constructed in 1893 to carry passengers from downtown Chicago to the Columbian Exposition. During her first year in service, the Columbus carried over two million passengers. After the exposition, she spent her career sailing between Chicago and Milwaukee and had the distinction of carrying more passengers than any other Great Lakes vessel.



The Manitowoc Maritime Museum's new permanent exhibit, "The Wooden Ship Era," features a full-scale reproduction of the midsection of the schooner *Clipper City*, built in Manitowoc in 1854.

Excursion boats were famous for their elegance in the late 1800s. The Manitowoc Maritime Museum has rebuilt a salon section of the renown whaleback steamer, the *Christopher Columbus*, which is on permanent exhibit.



The elegant schooners and magnificient wooden passenger steamers which once sailed the Great Lakes are now extinct. Most of the passenger lines went out of business during the Great Depression. The days of sail and steam may be gone, but they are not forgotten.

Since its inception in 1968, the Manitowoc Maritime Museum has been dedicated to the preservation of the rich maritime heritage of the Great Lakes. The museum's collections and exhibits represent the major areas of Great Lakes history including wooden and steel shipbuilding; yachting; small craft, commercial, and sports fishing; lifesaving and the Coast Guard service; and artwork and crafts.

The museum's newest permanent exhibit, "The Wooden Ship Era," focuses on the days of wooden ships and iron men. The museum began research for this major exhibition in 1981 and incorporated items from its collection to construct the most comprehensive exhibit in the country on the Great Lakes wooden shipbuilding era. A focal point of the new exhibit is a full-scale reproduction of the crosssection of the 1854 schooner Clipper City. Total attention to authenticity was adhered to during construction of the replica, and one of the research sources used was the shipbuilder's mold loft notebook.

Other themes in the exhibit focus on shipbuilders, mariners, port commerce, and wooden steamships. A rebuilt salon section from the whaleback steamer *Christopher Columbus*, which includes rich woodwork, ornamental ironwork, and furnishings from the vessel, display the elegance and grandeur of Great Lakes excursion steamers.

The "Wooden Ship Era" is not only a monument to the era of wooden ships and iron men, but serves as a tool to interpret and preserve the maritime heritage of the Great Lakes for the present and future generations. The Maritime Museum will continue to work towards this goal and to increase public knowledge of our maritime heritage.



Photograph by Andrew Dahl, courtesy State Historical Society of Wisconsin

# **Built From Tradition:**

# Wisconsin's Rural Ethnic Folk Architecture

Text and photographs by William H. Tishler

ecause of the primal human need for shelter, buildings represent the most basic, widespread, and visible expression of material culture on the face of the landscape. They also provide important clues for understanding our past—particularly the folk buildings of ordinary people who shaped their structures by virtue of tradition and necessity and seldom left a written record of their thoughts and activity.

Because of a diverse ethnic population and lingering ties to old world cultures, Wisconsin, perhaps more than any other state, possesses a rich heritage of ethnic folk architecture. Yet, relatively little has been done to identify, document, and understand this precious re-

source, except for the efforts of the few people such as the distinguished architectural historian Richard W. E. Perrin and his colleague, architect Ralph Schaefer; Hans Kuether, who spent many years investigating buildings built by German immigrants; and the more recent research and fieldwork undertaken by Old World Wisconsin's staff and the Department of Landscape Architecture at the University of Wisconsin-Madison.

Of the more than thirty nationality groups who settled in Wisconsin, at least a dozen built structures that retained significant architectural characteristics from the builder's country of origin. Such features relate to traditional patterns of layout and function, as well as to construction methods, siting relation-

ships, and exterior decorative elements. These, of course, varied in their level of adaptation to the new conditions found in Wisconsin. Some examples, including those possessing national significance from the standpoint of architectural and historical value, can still be found today in the surviving pioneer buildings of selected areas of rural Wisconsin.

The Germans, our state's largest ethnic group, left an impressive array of structures built in the ancient half-timber or fachwerk tradition. This method of construction refers to a wood framework or skeleton, filled with clay or brick to form a continuous wall. Later, in barns and other outbuildings, this heavy framing system was covered with a sheathing of sawn boards and the

infill material was omitted. In Europe half-timber technology evolved in response to a shortage of timber and was popular in north and east Germany. Yet, in spite of an abundant supply of wood in Wisconsin, it continued to be used by German builders for the construction of houses, threshing barns, stables, granaries, and even churches. Perhaps the most remarkable expressions of an ancient European building tradition are the surviving Germanic housebarns located in east-central Wisconsin. Essentially a structure sheltering humans and cattle in separate spaces under a single roof, this most basic form of peasant house dates back to neolithic times. Its use was rare in America, yet Wisconsin can claim several fachwerk examples and others built of stone, brick, and logs.

Concentrated in the central area of the state and in Milwaukee, Polish Americans constitute another large ethnic group in Wisconsin. In spite of a proud and highly sophisticated wood building tradition in many regions of their homeland. intact rural structures built by firstgeneration Polish immigrants are surprisingly rare. Their rapid assimilation of New World building techniques, frequent initial settlement in urban areas, and relatively late arrival may, in part, be the cause of this phenomenon. Polish log buildings can be found in rural areas of Portage, Brown, Outagamie, and Shawano counties, but they appear to have been purely utilitarian structures built in the early decades of the twentieth century. Other than the method of construction relationship there is a conspicuous lack of information regarding their old world ties. Once exception is a modest, one-story log cottage just north of Stevens Point, built about 1885 by Woicheck Bukowski. Measuring 16' x 22', this structure was constructed of roughly hewn and chinked logs, with interior walls whitewashed and later covered with cardboard and wood paneling. A shallow root cellar was dug under the floor, and access to



Immigrants from East Germany built hundreds of *fachwerk* structures in Wisconsin. The Kuenzi barn, shown here, from rural Dodge County, once had a thatched roof and has been carefully documented by the Historic American Buildings Survey program.

This log house once sheltered the family of Woicheck Bukowski, a Polish immigrant who purchased land north of Stevens Point in 1855. In spite of their large number, examples of intact, original log houses from this ethnic group are quite rare.



March 1984/Wisconsin Academy Review/15



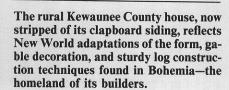
The Finns who settled in the northern reaches of Wisconsin's cutover country were highly skilled log builders. Finnish farmsteads typically included a sauna such as this well-crafted log structure with attached frame dressing room from Oulu Township in Bayfield County.

the attic level was by an outside ladder on the south wall. The oblong-shaped front door centered on one side of the long sides, ladder access to the loft, and raised planting beds at the base of the exterior walls are features known in Polish peasant houses, but one must be careful in making linkages to Polish folk architectural antecedants, because little research and information exist on this topic.

A recent survey of the large and cohesive Bohemian cultural landscape in Kewaunee and Manitowoc counties has revealed an especially rich array of surviving pioneer architecture. The large number and integrity of these builidngs, which represent a remarkable continuation of the centuries-old Bohemian skill in fabricating sturdy log structures, appears to be unique in America. Four basic log house types can be discerned in this area. While in nearly all cases they have been subsequently covered with clapboard siding, many retain traditional characteristics in their log construction details, widespread use of roof overhangs and forebays, gable exterior decorative elements, interior refinements, and close proximity to the adjacent road. Distinctive patterns are also prevalent in the Bohemian summer kitchens, granary/machine shed structures, and huge log barns. The latter are remarkably similar in size and shape, and incorporate low

foundations, massive logs, two cribs separated by a central threshing floor, and identical upper-level structural systems.

The Scandinavians and Finns brought their legendary wood building skills to Wisconsin and made a significant contribution to our heritage of folk architecture. The Norwegians in this group, who in 1900 constituted the state's second largest foreign-born element, were prodigious log builders, and many examples of their work survive today scattered primarily in western and south-central Wisconsin. Among these are a few rare examples of loft houses—a medieval Nordic folk building with an upper gallery overhanging the first floor-as well as the more numerous one and two-room log dwellings. Many of the latter remain occupied, but have been concealed under clapboard siding and enlarged with frame additions and, of course, now lack the sod roofs that were sometimes used during initial years of occupancy. Also of interest is the unusual regional variation in Norwegian log construction in the state. In southern Wisconsin, logs were loosely fitted with interstices chinked with mud or lime morter (not a traditional Nordic characteristic, but common in Yankee and central European log construction), presumably because of the greater difficulty in hewing and shaping the oak wood species dominant in this area. Further north however, where more easily worked coniferous wood was abundant, their structures reflected the more typical Scandinavian technique of logs tightly joined without morter chinking. In less isolated areas, this ethnic group tended to assimilate rapidly the building techniques of their established American neighbors. This is clearly demonstrated in the revealing Andrew Dahl col-



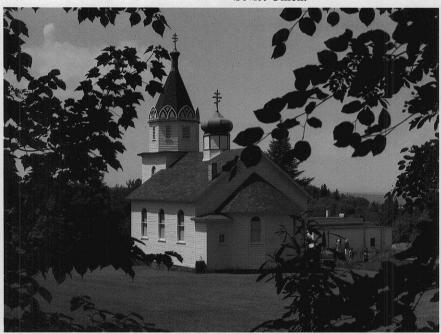


16/Wisconsin Academy Review/March 1984



This rare example of a Norwegian *loft* house, with its exterior stairway to the projecting upper level, survives on a farm near Stoughton. It is a good example of an old world folk house form transferred to the early Wisconsin frontier.

The spires on this handsome and wellmaintained Russian Orthodox church in Cornucopia, near Lake Superior, mirror the details of many elegant cathedrals that have been preserved in the Soviet Union.



lection of photographs showing Norwegian immigrant families standing proudly in front of their new Yankee-style barns and frame houses—symbols of success and achievement in their new homeland.

In the northern reaches of Wisconsin's cutover country are the more recent log buildings skillfully built by Finnish-Americans. Until quite recently, entire farmsteads of mostly log structures, including the characteristic sauna, existed in Bayfield County's predominantly Finnish Oulu Township and a few areas in Douglas and Iron counties. Not far away, in pockets of Swedish settlement, more log buildings can also be found. While fewer in number, they adhere to the same construction principles, with the exception of the rare examples that incorporate stovewood construction—a technique utilizing logs sawn into short uniform sections, then stacked and mortered like a pile of firewood to create a solid wall. This unusual building method has been used by other Wisconsin ethnic groups, particularly the Poles and Germans, but only the Swedes can relate it to a folk building tradition in their homeland.

Wisconsin's geological resources provided abundant materials that enabled some ethnic groups to continue the masonry building techniques they had used in Europe. Best known for their stonework are the Cornish immigrants who built locally quarried limestone structures in southwest Wisconsin's lead mining region. Recent research by the State Historical Society has established striking similarities, based on room arrangement and construction methods, between several Mineral Point buildings and their English prototypes. The Williams house, patterned after rural Cornish miners' cottages, and the Thomas/Carbis house derived from the two-story structures of Cornwall's urban laborers are two surviving examples of this significant relationship.

A concentration of impressive fieldstone dwellings can be found

throughout the area settled by Luxembourgers in Ozaukee and the adjacent southern edge of Sheboygan counties. Here, the repetition of a distinctive house type is evident in the many sturdy two-story structures with outside doors opening into a transverse central hallway, symmetrical arrangement of windows, and chimneys at each gable end. In some specimens, the stone walls have been completely covered with a thick layer of lime morter-the same treatment used in the massive walls of St. Mary's Catholic Church built by a Luxembourgish congregation in the hamlet of Lake Church not far from Lake Michigan.

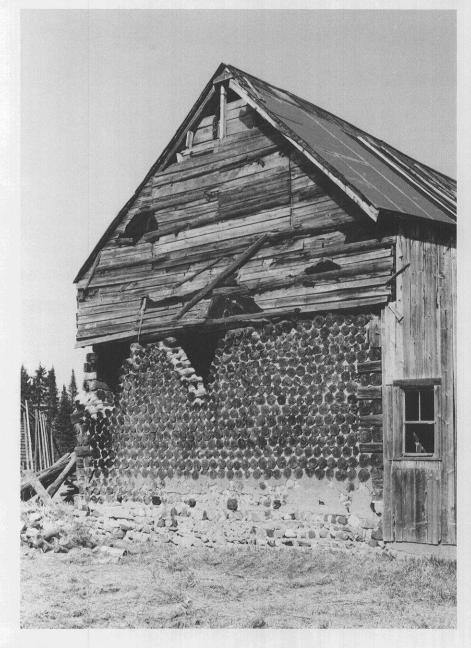
Further north, at the confluence of Door, Kewaunee, and Brown counties, Walloon Belgians acquired land that remains to this day a homogeneous ethnic settlement. After the great fire of 1871 destroyed their initial log structures, along with the area's supply of useable timber, red brick became the preferred house building material. Today these well proportioned, twostory dwellings, adorned with round or semicircular attic windows and occasional decorative brickwork at the corners and around window and door openings, form the nucleous of many Belgian farmsteads. While brick buildings have been built throughout most of Wallonia, no direct relationship to their Wisconsin descendants has yet been established. Exploratory studies of this ethnic group have been undertaken by professors Bill Laatsch and Charles Calkins who have investigated surviving outdoor bake ovens and wayside chapels found on Belgian farms. The latter-small, rectangluar stone or framework structures-were built for prayer and meditation to commemorate special blessings received or the memory of a loved one.

The acculturation of old world architectural patterns in Wisconsin was a complex process. Some ethnic groups like the Danes, Dutch, Irish, Italians, and Swiss, for reasons not yet fully understood, adopted new American forms very

quickly, and few of their building characteristics appear to reflect European precedents. In other cases, immigrants from such countries as Austria, Lithuania, and Russia built distinctive old world buildings, but only a handful of rare and isolated specimans are known to survive or have been documented. Our heritage of ethnic architecture can provide us with important insights into our past. In these structures many builders have spoken to us about the rich and diverse cultural legacy that helps make Wisconsin a special place to live.

Note: The author is grateful to research support from the University of Wisconsin Foundation and to the hundreds of rural Wisconsin families who graciously enabled him to document their houses, barns, and other structures.

This Bayfield County stovewood barn, now falling into ruin, portrays an unusual wood construction technique used by several ethnic groups in Wisconsin. The method utilized short log sections mortered together to make an inexpensive, well-insulated building that could be erected by a relatively unskilled builder.



olk toys are traditional. handmade objects children play with. They can tell us about the culture which makes and uses them. As part of an ongoing research project on folk toys, I wanted to see what kinds of folk toys were in the Milwaukee Public Museum.1 I was interested in adding an historical dimension to my fieldwork, and visiting a museum is one way to do this. People in Milwaukee may not have kept the toys with which their grandparents played, but many have been deposited in the Milwaukee Public Museum. It stands as a storehouse of memories for future generations. At the same time, we must recognize that a museum collection cannot be relied upon as a representative selection of toys. No one set out to obtain an accurate record of folk toys in Milwaukee, let alone Wisconsin or the United States, and so one does not exist here.

No one section of the Milwaukee Public Museum is devoted solely to toys, but toys are included in several collections. The most relevant were the American and European history collections. In addition some information was found on Native American toys, but it was ambiguous. The museum has some Indian games in its collection, such as Hopi darts, which may have been used by children as well as adults. And it has elaborate cradleboards too small for real babies which may have been used by children, as well as many ritual objects, such as the Hopi katchina dolls, which were given to children, although used primarily by adults. But most things the children would have played with are not to be found in museums. For example, Winnebago children would play with a walking stick insect put into a makeshift cradle-a very temporary sort of toy indeed.2

<sup>1</sup>I would like to thank John Lundstrom of the American history section, Lazar Brkich of the European history section and Nancy Lurie of the Native American section.

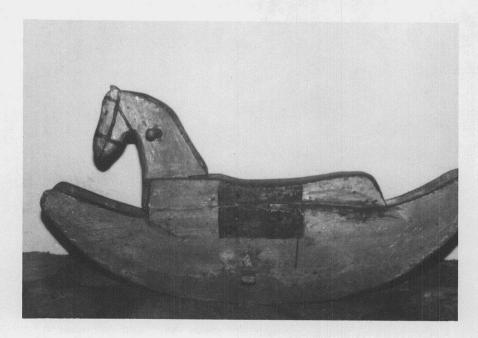
<sup>2</sup>Related by Nancy Lurie from her own fieldwork among the Winnebago in northern Wisconsin.

# Folk Toys

## in the

## Milwaukee Public Museum

By Wendy Leeds-Hurwitz





March 1984/Wisconsin Academy Review/19



American toys

The American history collection contains a multitude of toys, but not many are folk toys. Of those that are folk toys, a majority are dolls. What follows are descriptions of a representative sample of the folk toys in this collection.

Cotton ball doll: female doll with a nut head and arms, cotton ball torso, and a corn husk skirt. The face has been painted onto the nut head. The doll is approximately 5" tall.

Nut doll: female doll with a nut head, hands, and feet, with a red checked cloth dress, a white apron, and hat. The doll is approximately 8" tall.

Wood doll: female doll made of a small stick of wood with a piece of blue cloth for a dress, a brown cloth hat, and a face drawn in pencil. The doll is approximately 4" tall.

Bandage doll: male doll made of a rolled bandage for a body, with black fabric clothes, and a painted face Leather doll: leather figure with cut-fringe all around (for hair and decoration on clothes), with no face. Only slightly stuffed. May have had fabric glued to the basic doll for clothes at one time. Approximately 8" tall. This is the sort of doll the children on wagon trains frequently were given to take across country with them.<sup>3</sup>

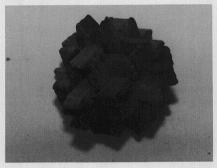
Sock doll: little girl made of a pink and a white sock, stuffed, with a painted face. Approximately 6" tall. This sort of doll was first made at home of old socks, but later similar ones were sold commercially. The museum has examples of both.

Crochet doll: female doll with crocheted arms, legs, dress, and hat; fabric head with painted face. The doll is approximately 3" tall. Made of tiny stitches, it clearly took a long time to make.

Log cabin: wooden log cabin with a chimney; door and windows have been painted on. Approximately 7" long by 4" deep and 5" tall.

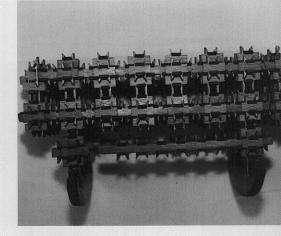
<sup>3</sup>According to John Lundstrom of the American history section.

Clockwise from top left: wood doll, cotton ball doll, nut doll, crochet doll, leather doll, bandage doll.



Wooden puzzle: a large number of small pieces of wood glued together to form a sort of Gordian knot. The task is to take the puzzle apart. Approximately 3" in height and width, and the same shape in all directions. (above)

Doll cradle: made of a series of what appear to be similar puzzles to the above, but not meant to be taken apart. It is unclear whether this was ever actually intended to be played with or whether it was a showpiece. Approximately 16" long by 12" deep by 10" tall. (below)



#### European toys

The European history collection has a large number of folk toys from countries outside the United States, but the same toys would have been used by immigrant children in this country. These toys are divided in the collection according to country of origin. Many are now displayed as part of the European Village exhibit in the museum.



Swedish horses: the museum has various sizes and colors, ranging from one which is 4" tall and blue to one which is about 8" tall and black. All are primarily one color but have elaborately painted (in several colors) reins, saddle, and mane. These come from Dalarna and are still made today. (above)

English jump rope: handles made of bobbins with silver (?) trim. Handles approximately 7" long by an inch wide.

Czechoslovakian windmills: made of wood, the three in the collection are all red with blue and white trim, designed with an oval peg under the base and four vanes. Approximately 4" long.

German coach and horses: this is a copy of a Nuremberg original from the nineteenth century; painted primarily black with trim of many colors; coach, coachman, and horses. Approximately 12" long. (below)



Austrian rocking horse: made of wood painted brown with black bridle and saddle. Has knobs to hold onto on the sides of the horse's head and small steps to support the feet. Approximately 3' long. (see page 19)

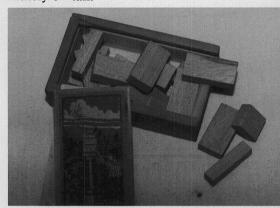
German toy houses: four miniature houses made of wood and painted various colors (blue, green, yellow). All have red roofs with doors and windows painted black. Approximately 1½" long.

Norwegian bank: made of wood shaped like a doll, with painted traditional dress of red, white, black. The slot for the coin is her mouth, and the head turns into the body in order to deposit the coin. Approximately 5" tall. (below)



German pull toy: a realistic horse, brown with white fetlocks and black hooves, with a hair mane and tail. Black reins are attached, and the horse is standing on a blue painted platform with wheels, which is how the child pulls the toy. Approximately 20" long. (see page 19)

Russian bear: made of wood, unpainted, with the bear's arm wired to a ball. When the toy is moved in a circle the ball moves and the bear's arm is pulled up. Approximately 5" tall.



German box of blocks: miniature wooden blocks in several shapes, in a wooden box with a painted cover. The blocks are unpainted. Approximately 4" by 2" for the box, 1" by \(\frac{1}{2}\)" for the blocks. (above)

These brief summaries contain the kind of information available about the toys in the Milwaukee Public Museum. In addition, many accession cards include some information about donor and year of acquisition. Sometimes details of exact size or colors have been recorded, although this is not consistent.

It is strange to look at toys in a museum, divorced from any context which would tell us who made them and who played with them. They sit frozen on a shelf, isolated from the people who once used them. Even the formal accession records contain little information regarding the origin of the toy and its previous owners. Although a museum provides more historical data than we might otherwise have, it does not tell us everything we might want to know; we still have unanswered questions.

# The Engum House at Norskedalen

A Case Study in Nineteenth-Century Wisconsin Material Culture

By Charles R. Lee

"Material culture," as Thomas Schlereth notes, "is something of a contradiction in terms; that is, material culture is not culture, but its product." The Engum house at Norskedalen, a nature and cultural center located fifteen miles southeast of La Crosse, Wisconsin, is a case in point. The structure is the physical product of family and community experience. It gives lifesize proportion to the social history of a nineteenth-century family and of other families.

The physical remains of life in nineteenth-century Wisconsin-artifacts, objects, and natural features-are necessary reference points for an understanding of that era. A recent, and vet unfinished, addition to restoration and interpretation efforts in the state is an 1890s Norwegian-American farmstead at Norskedalen. (Norskedalen means Norwegian valley.) The farmstead is one part of this 350 acre project, undertaken by the University of Wisconsin-La Crosse Foundation and the University of Wisconsin-La Crosse. Located near Coon Valley, Norskedalen includes a nature center, arboretum, and farmstead. For the last, seven log buildings were donated by area residents and moved to the site. The Engum house is the centerpiece. An example of vernacular building, not of academic architecture, the house reveals a great deal about those who lived in it as well as about a broader social spectrum.

<sup>1</sup>Thomas J. Schlereth, Artifacts and the American Past (Nashville, Tenn.: American Association for State and Local History, 1980), p. 2. This study is funded in part by a grant from the Wisconsin Humanities Committee and the University of Wisconsin-La Crosse Foundation, Inc.

This spectrum or culture may be defined with reference to two factors. First, the region was in 1890, and remains, predominantly rural. Situated within the western Wisconsin driftless zone, the rural neighborhood from which these buildings came included farms from both ridge and coulee. These farms were relatively small and given to cereal grain and garden crop production, on something less than "fat," champion land. Urban areas were distant. The hamlet of Coon Valley was not incorporated until 1906 and was not the community focal point that it is today. This was, in short, a small, rural neighborhood, connected to a far-flung network of work, play, trade, travel, and church. Second, in the years following 1860 a highly concentrated Norwegian-American population settled the region. Arriving either from the ethnic settlements of southeastern Wisconsin or directly from Norway, these immigrants formed a rural, ethnic ghetto; church, school, township politics, neighborhood associations, and exclusive mutual-assistance enterprise provided cohesion for a transient people. Here the Engum house sat at the base of the northern ridge, adjacent to stubbly plots of wheat, and enclosed within the confines of the Norwegian immigrant experience.

When acquired by the Norske-dalen project, the Engum house had been moved from its 1890 foundation and stood as one part of a much larger house. Once moved and reassembled, it stood as a two story log house, measuring fifteen feet wide by seventeen feet long. The logs were all hand worked, but those used on the first story display some differences in adz markings and diameter compared to those used on the second. The logs were numbered or marked, but one wall includes two marking systems.

The Engum house has been thus far restored.





The Engum house in 1890. Seated before it are the Engum and Haugen families. The woman and children at left have not been identified.

These features suggest the house may have been assembled from parts of other, smaller cabins. There was a large opening cut in one end of the first floor wall. Above it was a second story doorway. Apparently, a series of functional adaptations had given size and shape to this house.

This evolutionary, almost organic, process of change was confirmed when an 1890 photograph of the house was discovered. In that year the house looked very different than the rebuilt log shell. It was larger due to the addition of a frame entryway and extension. Vertical siding of the sort illustrated here was common on houses in Norway, as combination log/frame houses. In this case, though it was not always true, the frame extension was a later addition to the log house. A seam in the shingles is clearly visible. And the simple tworoom floor plan-one large and one small room, or stue-was also a common feature of Norwegian houses. The large opening provided easy access to the stue located behind the stove. The upstairs room had more limited access. The house included features derived from Norwegian forms as well as some that were functional.

Both types of features were the products of an experience that had begun at least twenty years earlier. Paul Johnson Engum, his wife Anna, and their three daughters immigrated to America from Norway in 1867. One year later Engum purchased forty acres of land in Washington Township, La Crosse

County. The farm was later enlarged, not by Engum, but by Mathius Knudson Haugen, his son-inlaw. In 1882, with the Engums and Haugens living together under the same roof, Haugen bought an adjoining forty acres. Even with this additional land, the Engum/Haugen life was a hardscrabble one. Eighty acres, including hills too steep to till, a house that was possibly pieced together from others. and handmade benches as furniture frame a livelihood that was eked out of the soil by two pairs of adult male hands, feeding eleven people.

The Engum/Haugen household partnership began in 1876 when the Engums and Haugens put their marks to a maintenance bond. The bond provided for an orderly transfer of land between generations before the death of the parent generation. Bonds of this sort also provided a form of old-age security. In this case, the Haugens posted a bond and agreed to provide for the maintenance of the elderly Engum couple until their death; when the agreement was satisfied, the Haugens received full title to the farm. Maintenance bonds often were very detailed documents, and this one is no exception. The Engums were to receive a cash annuity, garden and barn space, specific amounts of wheat, pork, and potatoes each year, and house room. Such elaborate estate planning was not the norm. Because of high population mobility perhaps as few as one third of all families managed to settle their estates using this or other mechanisms. But maintenance bonds appear to have been relatively common in the Coon Valley region in the late nineteenth century, making this area similar, in this one respect, to other midwestern Scandinavian-American communities. The Engum/Haugen bond was the vehicle for joining two families in one farm enterprise and under one roof.

Accommodating both the Engum couple and the Haugen family under one roof was no short-term or simple matter. Paul Engum lived until 1890 and Anna survived him by six years. The Haugen family included three children in 1880, five children in 1885, and seven in 1890. In response to these changing needs the house grew to its 1890 dimensions. No more than 50 percent of all families managed two generations of landed tenure during this period. Mathius Haugen added over 100 additional acres to the farm during the 1890s, joined the old house with an even larger, log house, and fathered six more children. Members of this third generation also stayed on the farm. The maintenance bond formalized a lineal family relationship, which the house symbolized.

The house changed and in the process chronicled a transformation from one way of life to another. The greater part of daily life still was lived together in shared space in 1890. But this corporate, noncompartmentalized family life was modified, and limited segregation of space with regard to age, sex, and function was introduced. At least one of the small rooms can be labeled a kårstue, or pensioner's room. It was added after 1876 in response to both the specific need for house room and the changed relationship between members of this household. The Engum house, in sum, is the product of a lineal, corporate family experience. And the experience that produced it also carried it towards the future and a more modern condition. Here material culture, using Schlereth's definition, includes four walls and these lives locked in dynamic interaction.



## A Nineteenth Century Wisconsin Potter

# Conrad Langenberg

By Mark Knipping

Then I went down to the potter's house, and behold, he wrought a work on the wheels.

hus did the prophet Jeremiah comment over 8,000 years ago on the craft, the art, the magic of the potters' trade. A north-European earthenware tradition appeared on these shores almost as the first colonists landed at Jamestown, and a century later during the late 1720s, stoneware was being produced in Pennsylvania and New Jersey. Potters joined the westward migration into the Ohio Valley and Old Northwest, persisting almost unchanged in their methods and materials until early in the present century.

A potter named McCann may be the first on record in the Territory of Wisconsin, establishing himself near Dubuque by 1836. Broken potshards found at abandoned mining camp sites in the southwestern region of the state point to other early workers who left no written record, for a potter is able to set up shop wherever clay, fuel, and water can be found. More than 225 potters worked in Wisconsin from 1836 until about 1915, though the industry achieved its greatest success between 1855 and 1885. Their production fell into two broad categories: a relatively soft-bodied red earthenware, whose antecedents stretch back into antiquity, and the more modern and durable stoneware, a vastly improved product over its country cousin.

Photographs by Pat Ripp

Earthenware production changed little from twelfth century Europe to nineteenth century Wisconsin. The potter dug ordinary coarse brick clay from local deposits, cleaned the material of sticks or pebbles and ground it in a pugmill to a fine consistency. After vigorously kneading and mixing the clay with sufficient water, the potter threw his pots on a foot-powered kickwheel. The greenware was dried and customarily glazed with lead oxide and allowed to dry once again before being stacked in a wood-fired kiln. Temperatures ideally ranged from 1700 to 1800 degrees Fahrenheit, with maple, hickory, oak, or other hardwoods as fuel. Firing might take thirty hours, after which the kiln was unloaded and its contents sold locally.

Earthenware was thus a relatively simple product to produce, but it had several disadvantages. It was soft-bodied, chipped easily, and could not stand up indefinitely under hard daily useage. Even after firing it remained porous and tended to absorb its contents, becoming sour and tainted. But most importantly, its lead glaze scaled off or was leached out by acids, producing a subtle but dangerous poison.

Stoneware was a high-technology improvement in pottery production, developed in Germany during the fifteenth century. While stoneware pottery still was thrown by hand, the setting was that of an urban factory with large numbers of both skilled and unskilled workers hired to specialize in only a few aspects of production. Kickwheels were replaced by water-powered or steam-driven wheels; large sheds or lofts were constructed for drying greenware; and enormous kilns were fired with wood, charcoal, coal, or gas. A common, inexpensive glaze was produced with salt. When kiln temperatures reached their peak of about 2300 degrees Fahrenheit, workers shoveled common rock salt into the kiln through hatches in its dome. The intense heat vaporized the salt, which settled over the ware as a hard, transparent glaze. The higher temperatures partially melted and fused the clay/sand bodies, producing a vitrified vessel which was impervious to liquids and contained no lead to poison the user. It was so durable that it could strike sparks with steel and rang like a bell when struck.

The major difficulty in its production, however—which finally spelled its doom—is that stoneware clays must possess a certain granular size and shape to bond successfully at temperatures which melt common earthenware clay. But alas! Wisconsin contains no such suitable clay deposits. Stoneware manufacturers were forced to purchase and import clay from Ohio, Illinois, New Jersey, and other states.

One may readily appreciate the

dilemma. Stoneware production required far more capital and labor investment but resulted in a superior product. Earthenware was simple and inexpensive to produce, but could not compete against its urban counterpart when both were available, and herein lies the critical variable: transportation. Earthenware filled domestic needs within a frontier environment, where roads were lacking and choice among products remained limited. Stoneware sales cut into redware profits as wagon roads and railroads caught up with westward settlement, until the traditional one-man earthenware pottery was forced to relocate or retire. Wisconsin stoneware companies persisted awhile longer, but it soon became clear that it is far simpler and less costly to take the potter to the clay rather than bring the clay to the potter.

Wisconsin's nineteenth century potteries geared themselves toward satisfying the needs of two distinct markets: the household and the home dairy. The earliest potters to arrive enjoyed high demand for their table and cooking ware, including covered baking dishes, pipkins, bundt pans, utility bowls, plates, cups, saucers, and an occasional teapot. Food storage jars, lard pots, and covered crocks provided some measure of protection for foodstuffs and helped with food preparation and storage. In the days before refrigeration, meats were prepared in brine or pan fried and packed with lard in earthen crocks. Vegetables, especially cabbage, beans, and cucumbers, were pickled and stored away in crocks for use during the long winter months. Pickles stored in earthenware must have caused some lead poisoning. These vessels, intended for kitchen, pantry, and dinner table, found an early market in villages and cities as well as on the farm.

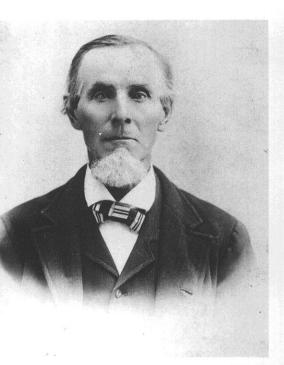
The other major market was largely rural: Wisconsin's home dairies, which made possible a revolution in state agriculture. The usual method of pioneer settlement was to clear and burn the forest, then plow the earth and sow it in



Bright red bundt pan, dia. 22 cm; red hanging flower pot, dia. 18 cm

wheat to produce a quick-yielding cash crop. But beginning in some areas as early as the 1850s, intensive wheat cultivation exhausted the soil and brought ever-diminishing yields. Farmers who owned a cow or two for domestic consumption of milk, butter, and cheese found they could profitably market their surplus to urban areas. The manure produced as a byproduct of keeping cattle in time restored fertility to the soil, allowing larger feed crops to be grown to support larger dairy herds. It was the local potter, with his milk pitchers, milk pans, churns, crocks, butter pots, and cheese strainers who allowed dairy experimentation and specialization to occur.

Sadly enough for the potter, however, his own success proved to be his undoing. Following the Civil War, dairying began moving out of the kitchen and into a factory system of centralized production. Creameries and cheese factories replaced home dairies, and the potter lost his market. Perhaps it was just as well from the standpoint of public health, since modern dairies adopted cleanliness and sanitation procedures which helped eliminate the vagueries of barn and farmhouse production for an expanding urban market. But it greatly accelerated the end of the potter's trade as it had been known for centuries. Increased competition from imported stoneware, tin or enamelware, and glass, in addition to declining demand for dairy utensils, brought a traditional art form to an end in Wisconsin by the turn of the century.



Conrad Langenberg, 1830-99

Deep reddish brown churn, glazed inside and out, ht. 44 cm, stoneware cover and ash dasher



ne potter who fits this outline perfectly was Conrad Langenberg, born April 12, 1830, near the medieval Hanseatic city of Lemgo in the northwest German state of Lippe-Detmold. It is a region of heavily wooded rolling hills on the northern edge of the vast Teutoburg forest, where German tribesmen under the leadership of their cultural hero Hermann defeated the Roman legions in 96 A.D. Deeply steeped in history and tradition but unable to support a rapidly expanding population, Lippe began giving up her sons and daughters to foreign shores during widespread emigration of the 1840s. In 1847, a colony of 112 emigrants departed to settle (appropriately enough) in Town Herman, Sheboygan County, Wisconsin. On a sharp rapids astride the Sheboygan River they reestablished their familiar folk culture in our forested wilderness: half-timbered farmhouses, a watermill to grind flour, a water-powered sawmill, a blacksmith shop, wagonbuilder, brewery, cooperage, several stores and inns, and tradesmen such as carpenter, tailor, shoemaker, and mason.

Letters exchanged between the emerging village of "Lippers' Mills" (later called Franklin) and friends in Lippe-Detmold brought many additional members to the colony during the following decade. Conrad Langenberg is believed to have arrived in 1855 as an unmarried journeyman potter, capably trained in his trade but unable to find employment in his homeland. But with his fellow immigrants, stranded by poor roads in the dense forests of Sheboygan County, his utensils were immediately in demand. He built the pottery in 1856 and carried on his trade with a helper for several years. He evidently remained in contact with his sweetheart in Lippe-Detmold, for in 1861 Louise Schaferkort immigrated from Wiembeck to Wisconsin, and they were married on October 23 of that year.

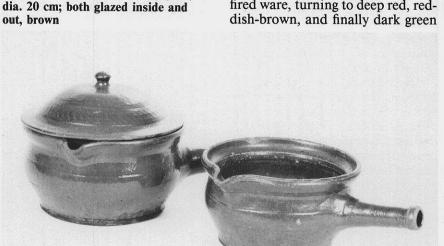
The Civil War had broken out just six months earlier, seemingly far away in Charleston, South Carolina. Neighborhood men enlisted and local recruiting rallies provided some excitement, but the war remained distant until October 15. 1864 when Langenberg was drafted as a private to serve in Company B, 22nd Wisconsin Infantry for the term of one year. He was assigned to the Permanent Party stationed at Camp Randall, Madison, where he guarded Confederate prisoners of war until being mustered out of service May 17, 1865. Military records describe him at age 35 as 5 feet 71/2 inches tall with blue eyes, light brown hair, and fair complexion.

Following the war, the pottery moved into its most productive period of operation. Daughter Anna was born in 1867, and Louise two years later. By 1870, nephew Adolph Rehm, aged 19, also joined them from Lippe-Detmold to assist in the pottery, then valued at \$500. Motive power is described as "hand," doubtless referring to a manually operated kickwheel. He listed clay and 700 pounds of commercial red lead as his materials, valued at \$100. He dug his clay from a pit at the northern edge of Franklin near the Sheboygan River. Cordwood kiln fuel was probably cut from his own woodlot, though choice maple and beech were available from area farmers at \$1.00 per cord, delivered. Annual pottery production was valued at \$600, which at prevailing rates of 8 cents per gallon would translate into 7,500 gallons of ware totaling perhaps 8,000–10,000 items.

Langenberg's village location allowed him access to both the dairy and household markets. Inexpensive ceramic milk pans, churns, covered milk pitchers, butter tubs, cheese crocks, and cheese strainers were produced here, as well as covered, unhandled baking dishes, covered pipkins with hollow handles, bundt or cake pans, crocks, pots, jugs, and jars. The latter are of two types, one with a flanged rim to receive a clay lid, while others were incised with a groove around the outside rim to tie a paper cover in place with string. He also made decorative items, including glazed jars with ear handles, cream pitchers for table use, glazed and slipdecorated hanging flower pots, conventional flower pots, and clay houses for purple martins. A glazed redware ink sander and a slip-decorated teapot having a handbrushed tulip on both sides may represent personal or speciality items and perhaps are therefore not typical of his production. Family tradition speaks of his Christmas tree angels as some of his finest work, though none are known to exist today.

Since Langenberg is not known to have marked any of his ware, attribution can be difficult but is by no means impossible. Handled milk pitchers seem to be his most common surviving example, though individual treatment varies. A third of surviving examples have a crisp, clearly delineated rim profile, formed with a wooden template or rib, while two thirds have a less well defined rim, formed freehand. Almost all of his pitchers are marked with an incised ring at the shoulder and their handles are indented with a finger press mark where attached to the body of the piece. These pitchers were supplied with simple turned clay lids having a small button-shaped knob to safeguard their contents while separating cream overnight.

Pipkin with lid, dia. 17 cm; pipkin, dia. 20 cm; both glazed inside and



Preserve jar, mottled orange and green glaze, ht. 16 cm; red sander, ht. 10 cm; green preserve jar, ht. 14 cm

Similarly, his crocks, cooking utensils, preserve jars, and glazed covered jars were marked with either one or two incised rings at the shoulder. Jugs, milk pans, flower pots, and simple lard pots were not so marked. Jars, cooking utensils, and the one known teapot have a carefully turned base or foot, while utilitarian pots, crocks, milk pitchers, jugs, and milk pans are more simply trimmed. His hanging flower pots are either slip-glazed or leadglazed on the exterior only, some with a ruffled piecrust rim while others are indented repeatedly around their circumference. They were thrown in an inverted position on the wheel, had three holes pierced in the rim for hanging while the clay remained moist, and have a drain hole in the tapering bottom, marked with a braided rope design in the soft clay.

Since this pottery utilized commercial lead oxide (called red lead) as the glazing compound, the final product is more uniform in color and appearance than pottery made in southwestern Wisconsin, where local lead ore was used for glazing material. Color variations in Langenberg's ware appear to result from differences in kiln temperature, with a pumpkin orange found on lowfired ware, turning to deep red, red-



for pots heated so high that they partially melted or warped during firing. Fragments of saggers, or heavy-walled clay containers meant to protect delicate ware during firing, have been found in his waster

dump.

Marketing his pottery undoubtedly presented as many problems as its manufacture. Initially the Lipper community in and around Franklin provided the majority of his sales. A good selection of ware sat on the front porch of the house. where passersby might see and select what they wanted, or place an order for speciality items. He also set up exhibitions of his products at agricultural fairs where they might attract interest for their artistry as well as practical dairy applications. Eventually he developed a system of wholesaling pottery to twenty-two stores in the Sheboygan area, periodically making deliveries from a two-wheeled cart. During the latter part of the century he also placed advertisements in state business gazeteers, perhaps in an effort to augment local sales. He was one of eleven Wisconsin potteries advertising in the 1884 gazeteer, when Bradstreet's Reports rated his credit as "fair" and estimated his wealth at \$2,000-\$3,000, equivalent in value to area dairy farms.

The 1870s brought a semblance of maturation to Town Herman as the forested vestiges of frontier Wisconsin passed into prosperous farms and agricultural expansion.



The Langenberg family grew apace, as daughter Pauline was born in 1871, followed by Emilie in 1873, and Bertha in 1875. The girls attended school while their father tended his shop during the winter months, while summer found them working their large garden and small farm. In true German fashion the half-timbered dwelling and pottery lay within the village of Franklin, while their field acreage was located a half mile south of the village.

That this had recently been a frontier wilderness could not be in doubt, however, as Indian bands continued to pass through the area during their seasonal migrations. Family tradition maintains that Old Solomon and his band of Potawatomis would pass through the area on their way to winter camp at Black River Falls. They would remain several days in the kiln shed, where they unwrapped their leggings to warm themselves around the brick kiln. They brought their own supplies and food, but whiskey was not allowed. Before departing the Indians were allowed to select any pottery from Langenberg's stock they wished to have, and also indicated by hand signs the height of their children needing clothing.

Langenberg continued to list his occupation in the 1880 census as

potter, but at age 50 his primary source of income seems to have shifted toward agriculture. His twenty-six acres included seven acres of meadow and eight acres of woodland, from which he "sold or consumed" fifteen cords of wood annually, valued at \$15.00. He exhibited healthy crop diversity with seven acres of meadow (three pasturage, four cut to produce ten tons hay), three acres oats (70 bu.), two acres rye (46 bu.), and one-half acre of Irish potatoes which yielded 26 bushels. Like many other Germanowned farms in the area, he also harvested 40 bushels of dry Canada peas for cash sale and maintained a small apple orchard, whose total production of two bushels in that vear sold for \$1.00.

His livestock holdings also reflected a food-producing form of agriculture rather than cash-crop grain production. His only horse was used to plow and harvest, to grind clay in a pug mill, for daily hauling and transportation, and to transport his agricultural surplus and pottery ware to market. Langenberg was also a beekeeper, who reportedly talked to his bees in a low, soothing tone of voice and is said never to have been stung. A bee once found itself trapped inside the house on a windowpane: the

Pair reddish brown glazed jars, ht. 25 cm

potter held out his finger, spoke to the bee, and it rode on his finger as he walked the bee back to the hives.

In terms of personality, Conrad Langenberg is said to have been a quiet, gentle man. His wife was perhaps more able as a business partner and, therefore, kept the books in balance and generally supervised the financial aspects of the pottery. He was far happier throwing and firing his clay pots and was apparently a great favorite with his five daugthers. When the girls were disciplined by their mother, they would run into the pottery to their father for comfort or protection.

Langenberg continued to operate the pottery as late as 1891, but by 1893 had gone into rural semiretirement. During a visit about this time he spoke of his vanishing craft to one of the neighboring Arpke boys: "Wir machen unser Geld aus Dreck", or "We [potters] make our money from dirt." Four of their five daughters married and left home as the century drew to a close, leaving only Bertha at home to care for her parents. Mrs. Louise Langenberg died February 11, 1899, after which the potter reportedly lost interest in life and began to loose strength. On Sunday July 16, 1899, aged 69 years, he succumbed to the grippe and nephritis, though some would say he simply no longer cared to exist without his lifelong companion and partner. They lie buried in Immanual Evangelical Reformed Church cemetery a mile from home, where their simple epitaph perhaps has as much to say to today's careworn world as it had scone eighty years ago:

Wir haben Über wunden Krenz, Leiden Angst unNötig Durch Seine heilgen Wunon Sind wir versohnt nit Gott.

We unnecessarily bear the cross of fear and anxiety, when we could be reconciled with God through his holy word.

# The Max Kade Institute for German-American Studies University of Wisconsin-Madison

By Juergen Eichhoff

he Max Kade Institute for German-American Studies was opened October 12, 1983, in connection with the festivities commemorating the founding of Germantown, the first German settlement on America's shores, exactly 300 years ago. Located on the Madison campus of the University of Wisconsin, the Institute is a research and documentation center designed to help arrive at a better understanding and appreciation of the history and heritage of German immigration to this country. In close cooperation with the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, source materials and research data will be collected from throughout the state and the nation.

In addition to its own research and documentation activities, the Institute offers guidance and support of such activities undertaken by others, individuals as well as organizations and communities. It will provide the physical and intellectual environment for scholars from pertinent disciplines to pursue research in such fields as culture contact, acculturation, ethnicity in history and in the modern world, language loyalty, and ethnic heritage preservation, with the German immigrant experience as point of reference. Finally, in the spirit of a longstanding Wisconsin tradition, the Institute will make

results of scholarly research available to the public in the form of publications, teaching materials, exhibits, lectures, and individual assistance.

The establishment of the Institute for German-American Studies comes at a time when we witness, among Americans, the emergence of a new personal relationship with this country's history. Americans have traditionally looked forward. There were always new frontiers, new opportunities, new challenges. All problems were considered solvable if only one worked on them hard enough or put enough money into them. With so much to look forward to. Americans were not interested in looking back. Many immigrants consciously severed their ties to their backgrounds and traditions.

Today, the future no longer provides the promise of sure success. Many citizens see no new frontiers open to them.

Unemployment threatens at the end of a college education.

Nuclear annihilation looms over us as a real possibility.

The present interest in family roots, in ethnic heritage, and in cultural traditions is a response to a world in which looking forward fails to provide the likelihood of fulfilled dreams. To say it in the words of John Dos Passos:

In times of change and danger when there is a quicksand of fear under men's reasoning, a sense of continuity with generations gone before can stretch like a lifeline across a scary present.

In the process, Americans are laying claim to the conscious possession of an extraordinary part of this country's unique and fascinating history: to the *E Pluribus* part of the motto, "E Pluribus Unum," which was selected in 1776 by Benjamin Franklin, John Adams, and Thomas Jefferson for the Continental Congress.

The Institute's activities cover all German-speaking immigrant groups regardless of their country of origin. More than seven million people have immigrated from Germany since the 1680s. Hundreds of thousands of German-speaking immigrants came from Austria, Switzerland, Russia, Poland, Romania, and other European countries.

While the Institute's collections and library are designed primarily for scholars, anyone with serious research interests may use them. Its displays and orientation programs are open to the public during regular hours and by appointment. The library has many works of general interest. We welcome mail and telephone inquiries, but only limited help can be provided for genealogical projects.

# The Madison Trust for Historic Preservation

By Sara Leuchter

The Madison Trust for Historic Preservation, Inc. is a nonprofit organization committed to the conservation of Madison's unique urban environment through the renovation, restoration, and continued use of buildings and sites of historical, cultural, and architectural significance. In an effort to preserve Madison's architectural and cultural heritage, the Madison Trust has the following goals: 1) the acquisition, improvement, and sale of properties to people committed to preservation; 2) the preparation, acquisition, and holding of protective easements and restrictive covenants on properties; and 3) the advocation and support of programs and policies which encourage historic preservation and neighborhood conservation.

Madison's first preservation group, the Taychopera Foundation, was established in 1968; its founders had a special interest in saving examples of Madison's varied styles of architecture. Members of Taychopera reviewed different types of projects, including the buying and selling of properties with restrictive covenants. They were unsuccessful, however, in their attempts to acquire such property. Despite good intentions, Taychopera was unable to provide adequate support for its interests in historic preservation and disbanded in 1975.

The Madison Trust for Historic Preservation was established in 1974, and it, too, suffered in the early years. By 1978, however, the Trust began to undertake serious efforts in the area of historic preservation in the city. Its first project was the preparation of a poster and brochure containing information on the organization. Its first newsletter, a one-page flier on preservation issues, was coproduced with Design Coalition in May, 1979. The Trust achieved city-wide recognition shortly thereafter when it successfully negotiated with Dane County for a preservation easement at an Indian burial site in Truax Park.

The Trust made headlines again in the winter of 1979-80 when it became involved with a controversy surrounding the old Elizabeth McCov homestead on Svene Road. which was slated for demolition by the Wisconsin Alumni Research Foundation to make way for an industrial park. The Capital Times supported the Trust's efforts to save the house, and it was eventually sold rather than razed. Also that year, the Trust was the sponsoring organization for a reuse feasibility study, funded in part by the National Trust for Historic Preservation and the City of Madison, which concerned the potential reuse of two historic houses in Marshall Park. As a result of the study, both homes were saved.

In 1980 the Trust sponsored two open-house benefits held in renovated historic buildings. The following year, the Trust was part of a successful lobby effort for Senate Bill 581, which authorized localities to designate landmarks and historic districts and created the Historic Building Codes Council.

A major undertaking of the Trust occurred from June to October. 1981, with the purchase and restoration of a nineteenth century house at 1014 E. Gorham Street, launching the Trust's Historic Preservation Revolving Fund to provide an ongoing source of capital for the successive acquisition, restoration, and sale of significant Madison buildings. The redevelopment of Gorham Street property fulfilled several goals: 1) halting deterioration of the structure and reversing the inappropriate modernizations to the exterior; 2) using the project as a vehicle for public education; 3) helping to link the preservation of the individual building with the conservation of the neighborhood as a whole; and 4) promoting owner-occupancy in the neighborhood. Financial support for the project came from the City of Madison, the Madison Community Foundation, and the M & I Bank of Madison. Volunteers spent countless hours contributing research, photography, graphics and publication, clerical work, publicity, education, and on-site demolition and refinishing. The property was converted into two condominium units for low- to moderate-income buyers. One unit has been sold; the other, though presently a rental unit, is on the market.

In the past few years, the Trust has become more involved with community education, sponsoring lectures on such topics as "State Street Then and Now," Frank Lloyd Wright's work in Madison, and "The First 75 Years of the History and Architecture of the UW-Madison Campus." In May, 1982, the Trust held a symposium and exhibition entitled, "Buying and Renovating an Older Home." Other special projects included open houses at a newly restored sorority on Mansion Hill and a restored home designed by Frank Lloyd Wright, restoration of the Period Garden Park at the corner of Gorham and Pinckney Streets, cosponsorship of a plan of study for the reuse potential of three older buildings on the square, a neighborhood research project in the East Wilson Street area to lay the groundwork for its designation as an historic district.

Current membership in the Trust is approximately 200. Our quarterly newsletter reaches about 800 persons, and contains an average of six pages of news on preservation issues in and around the city. Future plans call for the establishment of a quarterly or bi-monthly lecture series and ongoing planning for administration of an easements program. In its own way, the Madison Trust for Historic Preservation is continuing to preserve a piece of Madison's cultural heritage.

toughton, Wisconsin, has been called America's Little Norway. Through its annual Syttende Mai celebration and related activities, Stoughton has maintained its reputation as a center of Norwegian heritage. Immigrants from Norway were drawn to the town early in its development, and their encouraging letters lured friends and relatives to follow. Norwegian families poured in between 1850 and 1900, and many of their descendants populate Stoughton today. As a result, Stoughton citizens boast a treasure trove of material items reflecting their Norwegian heritage, and their local history museum has amassed a truly remarkable collection.

A brief investigation of Stoughton's history and the history of its Syttende Mai festival account for the preservation of thousands of nineteenth century Norwegian artifacts in the town. The village was founded by Luke Stoughton in 1847. His business savvy produced a prospering village which attracted entrepeneurs. One such gentleman was Targe Mandt, founder of the Stoughton Wagon Company. Mandt's family journeyed from Norway to America in 1848 when he was two years old. Targe learned the craft of wagon-making from his father. After offering his skills to the Union during the Civil War, he returned to open his Stoughton factory in 1865. Beginning with five employees, the factory grew until it employed five hundred, most of them Norwegians. The advent of the automobile forced the company to close in the 1920s, but Mandt's success caused hundreds of countrymen to settle in Stoughton.

The immigrants arrived by the trainload beginning in 1853 when the first iron horse steamed into Stoughton. Many families arrived at the depot after a grueling trip only to find no friend or relative expecting them. Many found refuge at Hanson's Store near the depot. Hans Tolaf Hanson, the store's proprietor, kept an eye out for lostlooking immigrants. In his fluent Norwegian he invited wayfarers in for food and gave them directions or located their friends. Rolfe Hanson, Tolaf's son, still lives in

## Norwegian Nineteenth Century Material Heritage in Stoughton, Wisconsin

by Martha Alexander



Syttende Mai, 1910. Main Street, Stoughton, Sons of Norway parade float

Stoughton and remembers seeing women perched on their rosemaled trunks, knowing not a word of English, frightened and alone in the new world.<sup>1</sup> T. O. Homme recalled walking by the depot and spotting a lady in distress. The proper Norwegian lass agreed to accept his offer for lodging only if she could follow behind her rescuer at a safe distance until sure he indeed had wife and family, not evil intentions.<sup>2</sup>

The rosemaled trunks which lined the Stoughton train depot were filled with family treasures. Every nook and cranny was stuffed with life's essentials and the raw materials with which to begin a new life. The student of Norwegian material culture will not find golden goblets in Stoughton; the town boasts a booty of an everyday nature.

Many communities with settlement patterns similar to Stoughton's are not today in possession of a hoard of material memories. The reason for Stoughton's status lies in its long tradition of celebrating Syttende Mai, Norway's Constitution Day.

The first documentable recognition of Syttende Mai in Stoughton came in 1868 when the Scandinavian-American Fraternity held a Constitution Day Ball. From then until the end of the century, May 17 was observed informally and with frequent lapses. The first citywide festival, in 1897, took the form of a military review by the Stoughton Rifles, followed by games and contests. Between 1898 and 1909, Syttende Mai was observed by the occasional dance or program. The first official Syttende Mai parade was in 1910. One senior citizen recalled attending the event in her horse-drawn buggy. She said the city fathers ran water sprinklers to keep the dust down on unpaved Main Street. The parade drew a large outof-town audience.

From 1911 to 1938, Stoughton fell on hard economic times, and Syttende Mais took the form of speeches. In 1939, Torstein Kvamme, a high school band director, inspired a revival of the festival like Stoughton had never seen before, and one that demanded repeat performance. In an interview before his death, Mr. Kvamme explained his motives for rejuvenating the holidays:<sup>3</sup>

Now in my history classes, we had been emphasizing the unusual history of our own U.S., how it had really become the melting pot of so many divergent ethnic groups... Here in Stoughton was an example of a large group of immigrants from Norway having settled here. Why not call attention to our Norwegian customs and cultures? Many years earlier Stoughton had celebrated Syttende Mai. I suggested reviving it and was made general chairman of the event.

Kvamme had the brainstorm of asking the community for Norwegian artifacts to display in downtown windows. Response surpassed the loftiest expectations of the Syttende Mai committee. Citizens of Stoughton came forward with thousands of items to decorate Main Street for their guests. A panel of judges worked long into the night to choose a prize-winner among the glorious exhibits based on uniqueness, authenticity, arrangement. The May 16, 1939, Stoughton Courier-Hub named a few of the items. Displays of household objects included an 1830s coffee cup, 1850s candle-holder, 1874 hat-box, 1874 trunk, and spinning wheels, carding boards, baskets, bowls, and towels from Norway all dating before 1900. Printed matter was represented by an 1829 primer, an 1842

hymnal, an 1844 Bible. The number and quality of artifacts, coupled with the response to the beautiful arrangements they created, prompted citizens to suggest a museum as a perpetual showcase for their treasures and a year-round draw for visitors.

Syttende Mai observances in Stoughton flickered between 1940 and 1951. The war doused Norwegian-American holiday spirit, although the forties brought economic growth to the town. In 1952 the Chamber of Commerce decided to revive the festival with a modest observance and enlarge it each year. Walt Eggleson became chairperson of the event and continued the tradition of window displays. Another essential ingredient of Syttende Mai which he revived was Norwegian foodways. Cooking utensils from the homeland staved in families becasue their special functions were needed to make May 17 foods from



Three generations of bunads

<sup>3.</sup> Interview with Tut and Lois Kvamme in their home, Stoughton, April 8, 1983.

<sup>1.</sup> Interview with Rolfe Hanson and Karen Johnson in Karen's home, Stoughton, September 8, 1983.

<sup>2.</sup> Ferd Homme, Oak Opening: The Story of Stoughton, Stoughton, WI: Stoughton Centennial Historical Committee, 1947, p. 52.



Jo Ellen Anderson, daughter of Walt Eggleson, marches in the parade pushing an antique baby carriage.



Child on float in modern festival

lefse to krumkake. As the Chamber of Commerce hoped, Syttende Mai has grown steadily since 1952. The 1983 event provided a weekend of sport and spectacle.

As Stoughton's festival grew, so grew its dream for a local museum. In 1960 the museum generated by years of Syttende Mai activities became a reality. The city procured a building of historical significance to house the collection: The Universalist Church, first in the community, built in 1858 on land purchased in part by Luke Stoughton. Mr. Stoughton also donated half of the "cream city" stone for the structure, brought by ox team from Milwaukee. In 1960 the Universalists gave Stoughton the building for museum and educational purposes.

The Stoughton Local History Museum's main floor is dedicated to material Norwegian heritage. Mannequins sport bunads of various styles. One Telemark costume is about one-hundred years old.

An exquisitely rosemaled trunk bearing the legend "Anno 1842" attracts the visitor's eye. The trunk is surrounded by items that an adventuresome Norwegian might have packed into its precious space: work clothes, wooden utensils, tools and sewing items, baskets and bowls, wooden shoes, and fur boots. One of the museum's most unusual artifacts is a pair of snow shoes, intricately hand-carved from a single branch. In addition, the museum

browser will find several *tinas*, or round wooden storage chests, and scores of photographs from both Stoughton and Norway dating before 1900.

Printed matter includes an 1828 prayer book, an 1831 Bible, an 1836 hymnal, and several Norwegian cookbooks. Furniture is another category of household item on display. The museum has two *kubbestols*, chairs whose seats were formed from a hollow tree trunk. The craftsman then added wooden back and seat, leaving the base hollow for storage. One of the kubbestols was made by Knut Roe, early settler in the Stoughton area. The other, more modern, chair was rosemaled by Per Lysne.

The myriad of Norwegian household items dating from the nineteenth century combine to make Stoughton's museum a remarkable attraction. Many artifacts still cry out for documentation, restoration, and preservation. Public access is limited by long stairs and short hours: 1:30-4:30, Saturday and Sunday, from Syttende Mai weekend to September 30.

In addition to the window displays that led to the founding of a local museum and the foodways projects which required ethnic cooking utensils, the Syttende Mai festival has encouraged preservation of Norwegian material culture through its parade. Stoughton's May 17 parade has grown yearly

more elaborate. Those who ride on the floats need costumes. Those who had bunads in the family kept them to wear at the annual style show. For some, Norwegian costumes became a family tradition. Objects as well as clothing added authenticity to the parade's floats and walking units.

The window displays, foodways, and parade are facets of the Syttende Mai festival which, in addition to Stoughton's settlement history, account for the wealth of the nineteenth century Norwegian material heritage in Stoughton today. The economic nature of the celebration coupled with its ethnic nature encourages participants to retain in their families material objects from Norway. Jacobsen and Gates, in "Norwegian Ethnicity and Household Objects," prove a correlation between ownership of Norwegian household objects among American descendants of immigrants and continuance of ethnic practices, of which Syttende Mai is a prime example. Other high correlations included ownership of articles and frequent travel to Norway or communication with Norwegian relatives. Many Stoughton citizens stay in touch with friends and family in Norway. But the town's own Syttende Mai festival has played the greatest role in making Stoughton a center for nineteenth century material ethnic heritage in Wisconsin.

## Ordinary Iron Highway Bridges

Text and photographs by Robert Newbery and H. W. Guy Meyer

hen J.A.L. Waddell published his 1891 textbook, The Designing of Ordinary Iron Highway Bridges, he had the benefit of half a century of development in highway bridge design and construction in this country. His book, like many other bridge engineering texts of the time, focused on one particular type of iron bridge: the truss. The prominence and popularity of the truss bridge was due both to the intrinsic merits of its design and to concurrent developments throughout the nation in industry, transportation, and engineering. Moreover, in Wisconsin, legal changes which redefined the responsibilities and means for constructing highway bridges provided the capacity and the incentive for widespread improvement of highway bridges on local roads. These and other reasons make highway truss bridges an important category of cultural resources and one which has been the subject of several recent intensive studies.

Truss bridges provided intrinsic design and concomitant practical advantages for the nineteenth century bridge builder. The intrinsic advantage of the truss design was that it utilized shorter pieces of material configured in triangles to create a longer beam which could span

greater distances. The strength of a structural triangle depends only on the strength of its members and not on the ability of the joints to resist rotation. Unlike a rectangle which can become a parallelogram, as everyone with a sagging screen door knows, a triangle remains rigid until the applied forces (in our case, the traffic) exceed the capacity of the material. Thus, the applied loading to a truss could be resolved into tension and compression forces which simplified the design of the truss members. Bridge designers, by exploring theoretically and experimentally the limits of design and material, contributed to the establishment of engineering as a profession with bridge engineering as a recognized specialty.

The practical advantages of the truss came to be associated with a new bridge building material: iron. Wood had been the most common bridge building material up to the Civil War but problems of fire, decay, decreasing quality and size, and erratic supply made wood increasingly less desirable, though never completely obsolete. Although an iron truss cost slightly more to construct than a wooden bridge, it was expected to last much longer with less maintenance. Moreover, iron trusses became increasingly competitive as the century progressed. Ernst Kunert's factory was one of a number of local iron works which built truss bridges.

built truss bridges.



MACHINE SHOP, FOUNDRY AND BOILER WORL

Manufacturers of High and Low Truss Steel Bridges.

Engine and Boiler Trimmings Always Kept in Stock.

Cheese and Creamery Boilers a Specia

WATERTOWN. - WISCONSIN.

As bridge companies proliferated, there was an increased demand for longer and larger members of higher quality. Iron manufacturers responded with a line of beams, bars, and rods in a variety of cross-sectional shapes. Standard cross-sections were developed and became available in desired lengths with increasingly reliable characteristics. The attaching hardware also became more uniform and more reliable

Reliability, as well as relative simplicity was also built into the construction process. This combination provided opportunities for both growing, national and ephemeral, local companies to compete in the bridge construction market. Whether the company designed its own bridges or bought a patented plan, the entire bridge was first fabricated and assembled in a shop, and then marked, disassembled, and shipped to the construction site. Although the quality of professional oversight no doubt varied, its centralization in the company shop substituted, to a certain extent, for the need to have a master bridge builder at each construction site. Certain styles at simple cross-

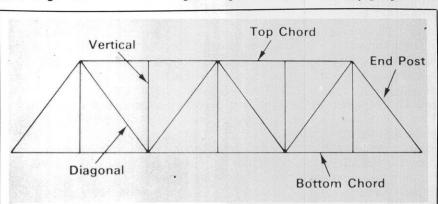


Fig. 1. A generalized view of a truss. The members between the top and bottom chords are referred to collectively as the "web."

This overhead truss on Mill Street in Manitowoc Rapids has a truss height of 23 feet and an obvious need for overhead bracing. The black and yellow clearance boards are an attempt to discourage truck traffic.

ings could even have been put up entirely with local labor, but most truss bridges were probably erected by a semi-professional crew with at least a trained foreman. The iron truss bridge, then, was particularly suited to areas of the country with both a shortage of skilled labor and a desire to build good quality bridges.

In Wisconsin, an important incentive for towns to choose a more substantial kind of highway bridge resulted from changes in state law. Although counties had been permitted, since 1849, to assist a town in paying for the cost of erecting a new bridge, the conditions for, and the amount of, county participation had been rather limited. Beginning in the late 1860s this towncounty share procedure was liberalized and standardized. The result was to encourage the building of better, rather than cheaper, bridges. As one town chairman put it in 1885, rather than replace a washedout wooden bridge with another just like it, "Let us build a bridge which will last a lifetime and not have any further trouble."

By the 1890s, towns routinely petitioned the county boards to request the county pay one half of the cost of a new bridge chosen by the town. They were seldom denied. The system had its abuses, however, and the establishment of the Wisconsin State Highway Commission (SHC) in 1911 provided a familiar Progressive Era solution of greater professionalization, centralization, and standardization. This date marks a logical boundary for the end of the nineteenth century phase of the highway truss bridge era.

With this overview in mind, we can now add some descriptive terms, and look at a few examples of highway truss bridges in Wis-



Fig. 2. Variations of the Pratt style overhead truss. The configuration of the web members is as important as the outline of the top chord in categorizing overhead bridges by style. PRATT TRUSSES HORIZONTAL POLYGONAL TOP CHORD TOP CHORD "CLEAN" SUB-MEMBERS "CLEAN" SUB-MEMBERS PRATT BALTIMORE PARKER PENNSYLVANIA CAMELBACK **EXACTLY 5 SLOPES** 

consin. Truss bridges are generally identified by two sets of criteria: the location of the deck (which carries the "load") relative to the chords, and the particular configuration of the chord and web members. Both distinctions are related to engineering considerations, but fortunately both are also visually ob-

vious and can be described for

nonengineers in those terms. In this article we will refer to the first distinction as designating the type of truss bridge, and the second as designating the style. There are three types of truss bridges: pony, overhead, and deck. Both the pony and overhead types have the deck near the bottom chord, while deck trusses have it near the top chord.

A two-span bowstring in a city park in Watertown.

Pony trusses are shallower than overheads and have no bracing between their top chords.

A great variety of styles of trusses was designed in the United States; the two most common in Wisconsin were the Pratt and Warren, each named for their patent holders (see Table 1). The nineteenth century Pratt style truss is easily recognized by the obvious difference between its heavy vertical members in compression, its lighter diagonals in tension, and its pinned connections. The top and bottom chord are parallel, and the end posts are invariably slanted. The Warren's outline makes the triangle more obvious. Its members tend to be more uniform in size with the diagonals carrying both tension and compression. The connections are riveted.

The term "bowstring" is a generic but accurate description of the shape of this part truss, part arch style of bridge. It may have been a common feature of the landscape, but today there are just seven left in Wisconsin, all located in recreational areas. Five from the 1890s are in Van Loon Wildlife Area, and two of unknown dates are in city parks in Fond du Lac and Watertown.

Truss legs were named for the extension of the end post to form part of the abutment, and eight survived in 1980. One of the best examples is in a city park in Allenton. Today the Allenton bridge demonstrates the reason the SHC disdained this type of truss design, and felt a strong professional obligation to advise local communities on proper bridge designing principles. The banks are sliding, causing the legs to buckle and the deck to warp.

Milwaukee Bridge & Iron built this truss leg in 1896. It is now in Allenton's city park. Note how the "legs" are buckling.



	Number/Extant	Dates
PONY		
Bowstring	6	1890-1897
Truss Leg	8	1897-1920
Pratt	194	1886-1935
Warren	497	1890-1940*
OVERHEAD		
Pennsylvania	1	1908
Cambelback	5	1884-1934
Pratt	123	1877-1936
DECK		
All Styles	48	1908-1940*

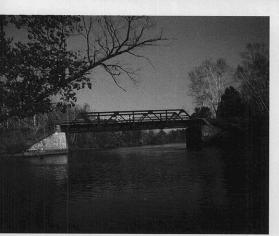
Table 1. Wisconsin iron truss bridges on or over public highways. Several styles which occur only in the 20th century in Wisconsin are not listed.

\*\*examples are known to exist after this date, but the enumeration has been done.

\*examples are known to exist after this date, but the enumeration has been done only up through 1940







The 1894 Grand Avenue Bridge in Neillsville is undoubtedly Wisconsin's most decorative Pratt truss. It was built by Wisconsin Bridge & Iron, one of Wisconsin's leading bridge manufacturers for almost a century.

This Warren pony truss in Marinette County was built in 1890 to carry lumber trains. The former railroad right of way is now a town road.

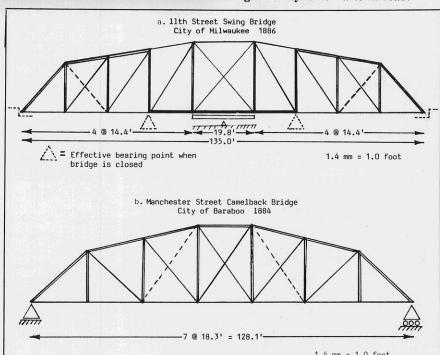


Fig. 3. The 11th Street and the Manchester Street bridges both have five-sided top chords, but only the Manchester Street is a Camelback. Heavy dark lines indicate members in compression.

Overhead truss bridges, like ponies, carry the load near the bottom chord, but, being generally much longer, their trusses are deep enough to require (and allow for) lateral bracing between the top chords to prevent buckling. Wisconsin's nineteenth century overhead trusses are almost all Pratts, again with heavy verticals, light diagonals, and a flat top chord. A few have charming examples of ornamental iron work.

Beyond a certain span length it is economically advantageous to have a polygonal top chord because savings in materials outweigh complications in design and erection. The Manchester Street bridge in Baraboo, built in 1884, is called a Camelback. It will soon be the only nineteenth century polygonal top chord overhead truss left in Wisconsin.

The 11th Street Bridge in Milwaukee, built in 1886, is the last remaining example of a highway swing truss, never a very numerous group in Wisconsin. This special case of truss design has a more complicated resolution of stresses. The designer must consider that such a bridge when open has two "arms" hanging from a center pier, and when closed it is a single structure supported at either end.

These then are some of the highlights of an important group of Wisconsin bridges. Today, truss bridges hold our interest as distinctive features of the landscape, as engineering objects whose basic principles are easily understood, and as cultural resources that are fast disappearing. Those in parks will likely be around for some time to come. A few others which have an interested, local constituency may continue to be both bridges of the present and reminders of the past. For the rest, the best preservation may be documentation, with the historical reports and photographs stored in archives. We hope that this article, too, will help preserve, in some sense, the best examples of ordinary iron highway bridges from the nineteenth cen-







# Wisconsin Photographers' Showcase

Lewis Koch

## "Garage Interiors"

These photographs are a selection from the series, "Garage Interiors: The Topography of Hidden Space," completed in 1983. During preceding projects I became intrigued with the exoticness of seemingly familiar aspects of our immediate environment. Structures in our everyday landscape may contain the wit and eccentricity of higher forms of aesthetic expression but are easily dismissed from our consciousness in the blur of familiarity.

Visual exploration of mundane exteriors led me to the "interior" landscape of that most banal and ubiquitous structure, the garage. The skeletal superstructure of these interior walls demonstrates a random but somehow fortuitous coalition of unintentioned design and functional purpose. The artifacts of our material culture which abound in these spaces are revealed incidentally. I included actual objects as secondary evidence rather than primary data: hence this view of interior space as landscape rather than sociologic catalogue.

To extend the boundaries within which the work might ordinarily be seen, I installed the completed series in my garage and opened it to the public one weekend last June. The garage provided the photographs with a sculptural setting to amplify the visual ideas and provide a resonance between 3-D and 2-D.

"Garage Interiors" was funded in part by an Individual Artist's Grant from the Wisconsin Arts Board.

L. K.





March 1984/Wisconsin Academy Review/39



Otto Rindlisbacher of Rice Lake handmade this Hardanger fiddle which is now in the collection of the Vesterheim Museum in Decorah, Iowa.

Over the past four years the Wisconsin Old-Time Music Project has documented ethnic music traditions in rural communities throughout the state. Phil Martin collected oral histories, and I did visual documentation, with an initial focus on Wisconsin Norwegian traditions. The photographs here are part of a much larger record which chronicles the social function of homemade music in the rural setting.

Portraiture, the landscape, home environments, and personal mementos have all been significant aspects of this photodocumentation. Additionally, historical images drawn from public and private collections have contributed greatly to the visual record. Selected photographs and oral history excerpts were made into a slide-tape program, "A Kingdom of Fiddlers." We have recently made a shortened version into a film strip for grade school classes.

Future plans are to continue this documentary effort with other Wisconsin ethnic groups under the aegis of the newly established Wisconsin Folklife Center, a program of Folklore Village, Dodgeville.

L. K.



This button accordian is played by Gleeland Olson.

40/Wisconsin Academy Review/March 1984



This rosemaled Norwegian Amerika chest with the embroidered linen is in the collection of the Stoughton Historical Society.

## Lewis Koch

A restored cabin at the Vesterheim Museum in Decorah, Iowa is the setting for this rosemaled Amerika chest.



March 1984/Wisconsin Academy Review/41

## Government's Response To Preservation

Text and photographs by Jeff Dean

s historic preservation has evolved in America and in Wisconsin during this century, especially in the past two decades, government's approach to preservation has also evolved. Much, however, remains to be done by government if preservation is to shape effectively the future character of our communities, our state, and our nation.

Before 1970 historic preservation in Wisconsin was an isolated activity that focused on a few buildings of major significance. Around the turn of the century, the Little White Schoolhouse was acquired by the Ripon Historical Society, and in 1908 the city of Green Bay acquired the 1776-vintage Tank Cottage. In 1910 the Wisconsin Federation of Women's Clubs acquired the first territorial capitol of Wisconsin, located at Belmont, and in 1921 the building was moved back to its original site and restored. In 1930 the Colonial Dames purchased the Old Agency House, Portage, then a century old. In 1936 the city of Prairie du Chien began operating Villa Louis—an historic mansion with fur-trade connections-as an historical site, and sixteen years later it was turned over to the State Historical Society for operation as an historical site. Other historic properties, including Old Wade House at Greenbush, Fort Winnebago Surgeon's Quarters at Portage, Fort Howard Hospital at Green Bay, Galloway House at Fond du Lac, Cotton House at DePere, Hazelwood at Green Bay, Hawks Inn in Delafield, Miller-Davidson House in Menomonee, Pendarvis in Mineral Point, and the Brisbois and Rolette houses and Astor Fur Warehouse, all in Prairie du Chien, have also been preserved, generally as operating historic sites rather than as rehabilitations for contemporary use. Numerous other historic properties have been similarly treated.

By the 1960s, however, those concerned with preserving our nation's heritage had learned that such preservation activity, although important, was too limited to affect the character and vitality of entire communities and rural landscapes. A more comprehensive approach was needed to prevent the homogenization of our cities and towns and to keep for every community a sense of its own identity and place, a sense that is nearly always rooted in its historic and architectural resources.

Preservation in America was a grass roots movement, both as an ethic and as a governmental function. Charleston, South Carolina, in 1931 enacted the nation's first historic preservation ordinance. Following with similar early efforts to preserve historic properties and districts were New Orleans, Alexandria, Williamsburg, Winston-Salem, Natchez, Annapolis, Boston, and Nantucket. Representing America's communities, the U.S. Conference of Mayors in 1966 issued a report on the deficiency of the nation's preservation efforts and asked Congress to enact national preservation legislation. Congress responded in October of that year by passing the National Historic Preservation Act.

In Wisconsin, too, local government took the first broad action in pursuit of historic preservation. Milwaukee enacted the state's first preservation ordinance in 1967. Madison followed in 1970 with the first ordinance in the state that regulated private property to achieve preservation objectives. More than twenty other communities have since followed suit. In 1972 the State Historical Society, began hiring staff to implement the new national law. Five years later the Wisconsin Legislature enacted, in Section 44.22, the state's first historic preservation statute. Additional legislation was enacted in 1982, in part to support local preservation ordinances.

#### Preservation in localities

We now have enough experience with community preservation activity to outline the sequence of events that occurs once preservation emerges as an issue. Although every community has its own historic resources and government structure to work with, certain activities occur early in the process and lead to other activities as a local program evolves.

Early activities. A community just facing historic preservation as a serious issue requiring communitywide attention will attempt to discover what its resources are and inform the public about them and the need to care for them. The State Historical Society's Historic Preservation Division usually will assist such communities with advice and support, and occasionally grants, as they begin the preservation process.

Critical to establishing a local program is a communitywide professional survey to identify historic, architectural, and archeological resources. Such surveys are usually funded by the local government and carried out by professional consultants, local government employes, or contractors. For very small communities, regional planning commissions have provided funding for such surveys. In an intensive survey every structure in a community will be examined and significant ones identified, with the necessary research included to evaluate historical significance. Districts of historical or architectural significance will also be identified, since recognition can be critical to rehabilitating downtown commerical centers and historic neighborhoods.

Communities in Wisconsin which have undertaken intensive local surveys assisted by the State



Frank L. Chenoweth house, Monroe (1887–88). One of the finest Queen Anne style houses in Wisconsin, this house and its octagonal carriage house behind are listed in the National Register of Historic Places. Monroe has, for years, had an active local private preservation organization.

Historical Society include Madison, Beloit, Eau Claire, Janesville, Ashland, Appleton, Stevens Point, Hudson, New Richmond, Superior, Milwaukee, and others. Survevs are currently under way in Reedsburg, La Crosse, and Wausau and are continuing in Milwaukee and Madison. A thematic survey is being conducted for the Southwestern Wisconsin Regional Planning Commission to identify sites important in that area's lead-mining history. Another regional planning commission, located in Spooner and covering northwestern Wisconsin, has surveyed communities in its ten counties for several years and has been instrumental in preservation work there.

Public information is another critical early activity. Both the citizens and the local elected officials must learn about the resources of a community and the means of preserving them. Preservation as a proper function of local government may be a novel concept to officials, who may need to be persuaded of its value. Informational activities can include public speaking, displays, lobbying, and publications such as tour guides, survey reports, technical information, and preservation plans. Perhaps the most elaborate publication yet issued in Wisconsin was the popular Built in Milwaukee, which resulted in 1981 from a citywide architectural survey. The book was sold out within a few months of publication. Madison's Sandstone and Buffalo Robes tour guide has gone through three revisions. Other reports and guides have been published by Kaukauna, Racine, New Richmond, Kenosha, Neenah, Janesville, Eau Claire (also a video tape), Boscobel, Beloit, Ashland, Rock County, Manitowoc County, Trempealeau County, Appleton, and Stevens Point.

In the early stages of preservation activity, concerned citizens and elected officials sometimes form a communitywide, private preservation organization, which can be critical to the eventual success of a local preservation program. Such groups have been formed in Milwaukee, Madison, Racine (Preservation-Racine being one of the earliest), Sheboygan, Delavan, Cedarburg, Kenosha, La Crosse, Green Bay, and Bayfield.

Inevitably, a locality involved with preservation begins to think about enacting a local preservation ordinance. The mayor or city manager may appoint a special ad hoc study committee to make recommendations, or the community may simply draft and adopt a local ordinance. Much will depend on the local political climate and on how successful the public education and

lobbying programs have been.

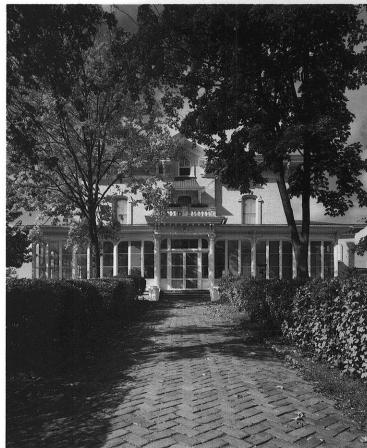
Maturing programs. Preservation in Wisconsin communities dates back no more than fifteen years, so it is too early to say that a mature program exists. However, several communities have programs that are in the process of maturing to become part of the establishment. Again, the Historic Preservation Division of the State Historical Society assists such programs, though more in the role of partner than advisor.

In a maturing community an effective local ordinance is in place, and the commissioners know what they are doing. The commission may have professional preservation staff assigned to it. Public education activities include regular publications, and the community has a record of preservation advocacy. A community preservation organization exists to support, and occasionally prod, the local commission. To the citizens of such a community preservation is somewhat familiar, and it is treated relatively seriously.

Of course, no city perfectly fits this theoretical mold. There are cities that have one or more of the characteristics of a mature program but have hardly gotten to first base with some of the allegedly early activities. The most mature programs in the state today are those of Madison and Milwaukee. A few smaller municipalities, however, are well on the way to joining the preservation establishment.

The local preservation ordinance. The establishment of an effective local ordinance is a seminal response by a local government to preservation. Much effort may be expended to secure the adoption of an effective ordinance, one not diluted to meaninglessness for political expediency. In some communities such ordinances may pass with surprising facility. In others painful negotiation and compromise may be required to secure the passage of anything at all. It depends entirely on the attitudes of the local elected officials and those in city hall who influence them.





Villa Louis, Prairie du Chien. Now operated as an historic site by the State Historical Society, Villa Louis was first operated, in 1936, by the city of Prairie du Chien.

Edwin Galloway house, Fond du Lac (1846). This large Italianate house, which is listed in the National Register of Historic Places, is operated as an historic site by the Fond du Lac County Historical Society.

When Milwaukee and Madison found a need for municipal activity in historic preservation, they created local preservation ordinances and local preservation commissions to designate significant properties and recommend the designation of historic districts. At this point, however, the two largest cities in Wisconsin parted ways. Milwaukee's 1967 ordinance made no attempt to regulate historic properties, relying instead on public education projects to effect preservation. Madison, however, enacted an ordinance that placed municipal controls on the alteration and demolition of designated historic structures and properties in designated historic districts. Subsequently, twenty-five other communities in Wisconsin enacted preservation ordinances, most with regulatory elements protecting designated properties. Milwaukee recently altered its ordinance to include protection controls. (Communities interested in establishing local preservation ordinances should consult Historic Preservation Law in Wisconsin, a legal report published in 1983 by the Historic Preservation Division, State Historical Society, that includes a model local ordinance.)

Local preservation ordinances create local preservation commissions comprised of qualified professionals and interested persons and provide for the designation of historic structures and sites, by the commission itself or by the local elected body upon recommendation of the commission. Some ordinances also provide for the designation of historic districts, usually by the local elected body upon recommendation of the preservation commission. If the local ordinance includes alteration and demolition controls, it will specify the procedures under which they are applied. The owner who wishes to remodel or alter an historic structure normally applies to the commission for a "certificate of appropriateness." Frequently, the application will result in some negotiation between the property owner and the commission prior to issuance in order to avoid unnecessarily defacing or damaging the historic structure.

During the process of considering, drafting, and adopting a local preservation ordinance, a community nearly always faces difficult and sometimes emotional issues about the rights of property owners to do whatever they wish with their property. Frequently, a small group of extremely vocal opponents will claim headlines and make impassioned arguments in defense of property rights and against government intervention in them. Though a government's ability to regulate private property is well founded and widely accepted, the use of this power for historic preservation is less well known and not always well accepted. When a community faces the issue head on, as it will when it prepares to adopt or reject a preservation ordinance, it takes determination and will to assert the public's legitimate concern for the character and quality of its community. To date, the majority of Wisconsin communities who have addressed this stormy issue have risen to the test.

#### State government's response

In 1967 Governor Warren Knowles appointed the director of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin as State Liaison Officer (since redubbed the State Historic Preservation Officer) to carry out the federal preservation law in Wisconsin, in partnership with the National Park Service. In 1969 the Society received a grant of \$1,892 to begin a comprehensive statewide historic preservation program. The next year this grant grew 500 percent, and in 1971 it approached \$90,000. Similar scenarios were repeated in forty-nine other states. By 1972 the Society hired staff with the education and experience to carry out the assignment, which represented a new role for the agency.



Rittenhouse Inn, Bayfield. Most of Bayfield, Douglas County, is listed in the National Register of Historic Places as an historic district. A unique community, Bayfield is also home of an active local private preservation organization, Bayfield Heritages.

In 1973 the Society's preservation staff began to survey the entire state to locate properties of historic, architectural, and archeological significance. Some 50,000 of them have been located, forming the nucleus of a statewide inventory of historic places. Initially, the survey used graduate students and volunteers on bicycles, in cars, on foot, and, in one case, on snowshoes. During the past few years the survey has become increasingly professional and intensive, normally carried out through subgrants issued to local governments, regional planning commissions, and county historical societies. Some localities have become close partners with the Society in implementing local preservation programs and may soon become 'Certified Local Governments' (CLGs), a federal program created by Congress in 1980 designed to intensify the partnership between states and their local governments to achieve preservation goals. In the future, it will be less clear where local authority ends and state responsibility begins as both pull together to save the unique resources of Wisconsin.

After a significant property has been identified, often the next step is to list it in the National Register of Historic Places. Established by Congress in 1966, the National Register is actually created and maintained by the states. Properties listed on the National Register are eligible for federal development grants (when available) and, if they are income-producing, federal 25 percent investment tax credits for substantial rehabilitation work. They are also protected to a degree from federally assisted and permitted projects. State-owned National Register listed buildings and sites have additional protections with respect to state development projects. Eight hundred entries in the National Register from Wisconsin currently represent over 3,000 individual properties.

National Register listing is often thought by preservationists to be the ultimate solution for a preservation problem. It is not. Owners of National Register properties can, if there is no direct federal involve-

## Unless preservation is taken seriously, Wisconsin will become a land where its cities and villages will be as homogenized as its milk.

ment, remodel them or even destroy them at will. National Register properties are not necessarily open to the public, and the public need not be permitted on or in them. Listing a property in the National Register is often more significant for the prestige it creates for the propety than for the tangible effects of listing, which are minimal. Its entry in the National Register is sometimes enough to save an historic property from destruction. A more effective governmental action to save an historic building is to designate it an historic structure under a good local ordinance. Ultimately, the best action is to assure that there is an appropriate, economic use for a threatened resource.

The Wisconsin Legislature has addressed preservation in 1977 and in 1982. In 1977 the legislature created the state's basic preservation statute, Chapter 44.22, assigning certain authorities and responsibilities to the State Historical Society. In 1982 the legislature enacted provisions to support local preservation ordinances enacted by towns, villages, cities, and counties; to examine and modify the state building code to accommodate historic buildings; to reinforce the state's responsibility for caring for its own historic properties; and to provide notice to the State Historical Society whenever someone applies for a wrecking permit for a building in the National Register.

Preservation of state-owned historic structures has been improving in the past decade. The University of Wisconsin-Madison, which has formally adopted plans dating back some eighty years calling for the demolition of the University Armory and Gymnasium (Old Red Gym), has reversed its policy and now plans to preserve and rehabilitate the building. King Hall, on the UW-Madison campus, recently was a cause célèbre when the uni-

versity staff persevered and proved that rehabilitating it for modern laboratory use actually would cost less than demolishing and replacing it, which other state staff had advocated. Indeed, under the guidance of Campus Architect Gordon D. Orr, Jr., FAIA, the UW-Madison has adopted a comprehensive preservation plan. At UW-Stevens Point, historic Old Main recently was rehabilitated, rather then demolished. And last year, the state made national news when it decided to restore the original cherrywood windows in the State Capitol, rather than replace them with aluminum windows-a decision that government saved the state hundreds of thousands of dollars while preserving the character of the state's most symbolic monument. State officials are learning that preservation can cost less than replacement-frequently a lot less. Nevertheless, the state has yet clearly to commit itself to preserve its own historic facilities.

Wisconsin has made significant strides in historic preservation in the past decade. Much remains to be done, however, before the state is a leader in preservation in the nation. The preservation ethic needs to be applied to all state-owned historic facilities so that it, not demolition, is routine, even if it costs more (which, to date, it hasn't). Local governments can, as a few have, take the same posture. State government should investigate what tax incentives can encourage owners to rehabilitate and preserve historic properties. Preservation needs to be brought into the classrooms of Wisconsin to begin educating a generation of people who will understand and implement this ethic. Public education needs to be enhanced as well, and to this end Wisconsin needs an agressive private preservation organization that is truly statewide in its emphasis. State enabling statutes supporting local

preservation ordinances could be expanded and reinforced to help local governments create effective, uniform laws. The Historic Building Code Council, created to revise the state building code, faces a 1984 sunset provision; it should be extended. A statewide preservation easements program, now aborning, needs to be implemented. Of course, funding for preservation work at state, county, and local levels needs to be increased. Wisconsin's record here is not exemplary, and in preservation a few dollars can go a long way.

Preservation is still a new concern in Wisconsin, but the state and the communities have come a long way in a few years, largely as a result of national initiatives and incentives. However, eighteen years after the passage of the National Historic Preservation Act historic preservation still is not thought of as an important and serious issue by many government officials at all levels. But preservation must be widely accepted and successful if the cities and byways of Wisconsin are to retain the quality and individual uniqueness that give them appeal and identity. If it does not succeed, Wisconsin will eventually become a land where more than milk is homogenized; so will be her towns, her villages, her cities, her neighborhoods, and her rural landscapes. It could become a land of boring sameness, devoid of interest and covered with commercial strips, metal buildings, picture windows, parking lots, franchise outlets, and plain, one-dimensional boxes. It could become a land to be avoided. rather than visited: one no one would be proud to call "home," or hardly even able to recognize as home.

Wisconsin deserves a future for her past, and she deserves to have her identity preserved. Preservation must succeed in this state. The alternative is too awful to accept.

## Old World Wisconsin

## What Price Our Heritage?

By Emilie Tari

n 1885 at the age of 53, Mary Hafford built a modest house in Hubbleton, Wisconsin. Widowed at 35, she took in laundry to support herself and her three children. So begins a barebones recital of nineteenth-century immigrant experience, neither unique nor uncommon. These immigrants to Wisconsin had many names: Marie Ketola, Friedrich and Sophie Koepsell, Charles August Schultz, Knudt Fossebrekke, Frederick Groteleuschen, and they came from many places: Germany, Norway, Ireland, England, Bohemia, Poland, Denmark, Finland. Settling in rural communities, in small towns and villages, and on isolated farmsteads, they shared Wisconsin with American neighbors called Smith, Wade, Benson, Sanfordfarmers and/or entrepreneurs who had traveled west in search of cheap land and promising opportunities for money making.

Mary Hafford was known only to her family, friends, and neighbors in the small Irish communities of Hubbleton and nearby Watertown. She is listed in no history books and has not been the subject of any research or scholarly curiosity. She left no letters, no diaries, not one single word. She was probably illiterate. Along with many of that diverse human flood who poured into Wisconsin throughout the nineteenth and into the twentieth centuries, Mary Hafford shares a certain official and documentary anonymity. The records of their existence are shadowy, with scattered references in census, church, and tax forms, stark entries-"1870 Census: Mary Hafford 38, John 7,

Ann 5, Ellen 3, Real Estate Value 0, Personal Property 500"—statistics unlikely to conjure up flesh and blood and personality.

If the written word and the official form insure our historical immortality, how will the Mary Haffords and the Knudt Fossebrekkes fare in any historical tally of Wisconsin's past? How can their collective experiences become part of our present consciousness?

Memory is a major repository for popular history; communal memories, usually anecdotes about local characters, stunning events, hairbrained escapades; family memories, grandchildren remembering ever-working, uncommunicative grandfathers and neat, untouchable aunts; professional memories, "he repaired everybody's equipment, but he wasn't much of a farmer." But memory is transient, unlikely to survive beyond a generation or two. If this history resource is so fragile and uncertain, where then do we hunt for Mary Hafford?

It is a compelling irony that the material things which we make and own and use have a physical durability that often exceeds our own. Perhaps the most lasting evidence of any person's physical existence is that impact which we make upon the physical environment—our land, our houses, our possessions. Mary Hafford may be only a line in the 1870 census, a two-sentence obit in an 1891 newspaper, and no longer remembered in Hubbleton, but she built a house, she owned a bed and a table and a wardrobe and a stove, and she crotcheted yards of lace to edge pillows and petticoats. And at Old World Wisconsin, an

outdoor museum operated by the State Historical Society, Mary Hafford's house sits in the village and looks as it did in 1885, house-proud and propertied in its owner's image. Inside in the three small rooms are a bed and a table and a wardrobe and a stove and indeed miles of crotcheted lace edging everything. The yard is fenced, the kitchen garden has plants she would have grown, and the cistern and pump are in their familiar places. Mary would be quite at home there.

Why has such effort been expended to restore an ordinary small dwelling of an ordinary woman with such meticulous detail? Restoration of this caliber and scale is costly and time-consuming. How can worth for such an undertaking be measured?

This article seeks to address these provocative questions. But some familiarity with the museum, its goals and procedures must set the stage for fuller understanding. Old World Wisconsin evolved from the simple but powerful concept that a people's and a state's past is an invaluable heritage which nourishes personal and public awareness of worth and continuity. From this abstraction grew the form of Old World Wisconsin, an outdoor ethnic museum which would seek to preserve the material and cultural heritage of nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Wisconsin. Because farms, homes, and businesses of these eras were selectively restored, visitors could experience the physical world of their ancestors and, perhaps, come to understand values which formed them.

As an outdoor museum, Old



photographs by Barry Powell



48/Wisconsin Academy Review/March 1984

World Wisconsin would follow in the venerable tradition of European and American museums, such as Sturbridge, which combine historic buildings and objects in natural environments, resembling the original siting as closely as possible. As an ethnic museum, it would tangibly attest to the diversity of Wisconsin's native and immigrant settlers. Immigration, particularly from Europe, contributed significantly to the development of Wisconsin. Population statistics show that by 1850 the foreign-born in Wisconsin amounted to approximately 36 percent of the total. By 1900 this number included more than two million people who came to America and Wisconsin from more than thirty different countries. Settlement maps of the state which represent each ethnic group by a different color resemble a Victorian crazy quilt, so varied and large a number are depicted.

Old World Wisconsin would also be a living history museum to distinguish it from museums with set or static exhibits. Here visitors could experience the lives of their forebears by watching trained museum guides dressed in the clothes of the period perform the daily domestic routines and farming chores that would have occurred through each changing season.

Planning for the new museum began in the late 1960s with a master plan for eighteen ethnic farms completed in 1968 by Professor William Tishler, University of Wisconsin. A village, included to provide balance to the agricultural/ immigrant emphasis, permitted interpretation of such themes as Yankee (American) land development, entrepreneurial roles in the developing economy of Wisconsin. The interreliance of farm and town economies as produce and market allies and the services provided by villagers to farmers, such as blacksmithing, wagonmaking, shoemaking, could be demonstrated.

A site was chosen, approximately 550 acres of DNR land in the Kettle Moraine near Eagle, Wisconsin. Construction began in the early

seventies, and, with the museum designated an official Bicentennial Project, opening was planned for 1976. Over the years, the master plan has been modified to reflect more efficiently the museum's mission, which is to offer the visitor as thorough and rich a museum experience as possible.

Presently, the master plan proposes a specific number of buildings, farms, etc., which are considered essential for making an accurate and credible statement about Wisconsin's historic past. The fifty-five buildings completed by 1983 will represent both village and farm life. The village will sport an inn, church, shoe shop, blacksmith shop, and wagon maker, as well as a town hall and private residences. The farms will interpret German (3), Norwegian (2), Polish (1), Yankee (1), Danish (1), and Finnish (2) lifestyles in the carefully restored farmhouses, barns, and planted fields.

ouring behind the scenes at Old ■ World Wisconsin exposes the methods and procedures which turn a general concept, such as representing Pomeranian immigrants, into the reality of a 30 foot x 41 foot half-timber house with a woman in handspun, handwoven clothes baking rye bread in a woodstoked bake oven with geese honking out in the backyard. The first stop is the planning section. The research carried on here determines the broad historical themes of Wisconsin's history around which the museum is organized and which ethnic and immigrant groups best illustrate these themes. Each selected group is then researched in detail—why they came, when they arrived, where they settled, what they did to earn a living, how they adapted to new conditions. The "where they settled" becomes the geographical basis for mapping out a field research program for each group which locates settlement areas and communities, maps farmsteads to determine building placement patterns, and identifies possible structures to be acquired for the museum.

Out of this fieldwork a proposed farmstead restoration plan is drawn. Available barns, houses, sheds, store buildings, outhouses which fit into this proposed plan are then carefully examined. Fairly detailed dossiers are assembed on the date of construction, sequence of occupants, a possible restoration date, say circa 1875, and a profile of the family who occupied the building at that time. Such careful documentation is necessary to avoid errors in identification.

Finally there is some action after all of this slow routine. Hauling the building from its location to the museum can hardly be termed dull. Images of St. Peter's Church sitting on a flatbed slowly rising over the crest of a hill like some giant run amuck in a sci-fi film and backlighted by a sun rising with it, stick permanently in the memory; or Sanford House, wide as the county highway it's being hauled on, barely scraping past the trees and electric wires strung all along the route, on its rear a jaunty sign, "I'm on my way to Old World Wisconsin."

While many frame structures are moved intact, log buildings are usually handled differently. Like a puzzle maker's dream, each piece of wood and hardware is tagged and numbered, the building disassembled and moved to the site. The building is then piece by piece reassembled on its new foundation in an area that closely resembles its original siting, and it is restored to look as it did at a specific time in its past. It quickly settles in, and soon looks as though it had always been there.

By now, the files are fat with data about the ethnic group being studied. We know their settlement habits, and we have assembled through photos and fieldwork a fair sampling of structure types and architectural preferences. We have chosen and moved a specific building to the site and have begun a detailed study of the family who lived and worked in these spaces. We have restored the building to the selected date. And at the museum the transplanted buildings sit on

their new foundations, the empty shells of some family's whole existence. To make these structures whole and complete requires the addition of artificts, everything that people used from hoes and hand plows to bedsteads and sad irons.

Possessions are sometimes all that is left to show what a person or a group of people was like. The less written documentation, the more important this material evidence becomes in piecing together the past. Since history is the sum total of human experience organized, the researcher must use every available source of evidence to comprehend it. To use only the traditional historical sources with their bias towards the literate, the successful, and the prominent is to ignore a large portion of the population and to downplay the impact and influence of this substantial bloc in the ordering of larger historical events.

This awareness has fostered the entry of a wide variety of disciplines into the historical field. Anthropologists, social historians, folklorists, archeologists, art historians, statisticians, computer programmers are all evolving new methodologies and research procedures to organize this explosion of information and inquiry and, along with them, new sets of jargon. Material culture originally was a catchy bit of jargon that has grown in stature and respectability.

Material culture is not a discipline, but rather an umbrella concept which can shelter a number of methodologies and a diversity of inquiry. At its heart, however, is the realization that history is also blatantly, persistently, and unarguably three-dimensional. It does not exist only in archives, libraries, and written documents and film, tape, and photos. It exists in buildings, in cities, towns, factories, houses, clothing, tools, furniture, automobiles; the list is long and expanding with study. Accommodations are occurring between historians and more materially oriented professionals. as the realization grows that within the manmade environment lies a





The Ketola house (1894–1900) was built in three stages in Oulu in Bayfield County. This Finnish house, restored to its 1915 appearance, illustrates log construction with careful dovetail corner notching. *Below*: Bedroom of the Ketola house.

major and relatively untapped historical resource. But how to tame this great wealth of stuff, how to form it to our historical needs?

Old World Wisconsin offers one bold, innovative way to preserve and interpret this physical documentation of Wisconsin's past which is as important as any archival or library document resource. Here the three-dimensional world of our forebears can be walked through, touched, experienced in a direct and significant way. Through their things we can learn about them and understand their impact on the past. Historical themes from the intimate fact to the

broad generalization divulge new meaning as they are interpreted through those things which people have made and held dear.

Can objects and buildings really tell you much about people? What conclusions can legitimately be drawn from manmade things? A table, a chair, a house, a bed were major tools in reconstructing life and times of Mary Hafford, the Irish widow. Without this physical evidence, she would have fallen between the cracks like so many of her fellow immigrants.

Objects which have been made, owned, purchased, used, abused, rented, sold all reflect something about their owners and/or users.

They can reveal a person's occupation: woodworking tools for a carpenter, a plow for a farmer. They can show function: milk pails to haul milk, cleavers for butchering. They can also be more complex and operate on several levels. As image makers, they are material indicators of how we want to be viewed. even judged, by the different worlds we move in: pianos, books, encyclopedias, pictures on the wall symbols of "culture"; the new car/ carriage, the new house-symbols of material success immortalized in proud photos in family albums; symbols of leisure, such as boats. sports equipment, and hobbies. Like Mary Hafford and all of her contemporaries, we, too, are constantly judging and being judged by what we own and surround ourselves with.

We know the relative value and significance of our stuff, and we can walk into the homes of total strangers and assess pretty accurately their social standing, economic level, working habits. Those are the rough, pigeon-holing judgments which help us place ourselves and them in the proper social roles. We can estimate how much the chair we're sitting on cost, where they bought the coffee table, how much they paid for the nineteeninch color TV. We can make even more subtle deductions. A kitchen knife, for example, is a functional tool. A kitchen requires at least one; but see only a few with serrated edges tumbled in a drawer, and practical getting-it-on-the-table, three-meals-a-day come to mind. Observe, however, a big maple block complete with specialized knives with "Chicago Cutlery" or "Made in France" stamped on them, and visions of Julia Child and gourmet food spring to mind.

We are highly literate and sophisticated in reading our own manmade environment, because we know its codes and symbols and can use these to make order out of our human surroundings. But this knowledge does not translate well into another time or even into another culture. A room full of nine-



teenth-century artifacts may just be a room full of antiques. Our immediate judgment is to plug them into our value system: "They are antiques worth money, therefore, I am in a room with valuable stuff."

Time has distorted value. That elaborate rosemaled trunk in the corner of the Norwegian cabin at Old World Wisconsin must be worth a few thousand, the visitor thinks, for it is a handsome piece. But to the Norwegian who lived in that cabin in 1845, its value was utilitarian. It brought his meagre belongings over by boat from Norway, it served as a table and a bench; when the first baby was born, it probably was a bed. When the farm finally prospered, the trunk was replaced by proper furniture and an American-type chest of drawers, banished to an outbuilding to be filled with tools and chewed on by mice.

#### Source material

To understand how people viewed their possessions in their own time, how they used and valued their objects is at the heart of the artifact research program. The detective work involved draws upon many sources. Oral history tapes are made of family and community members. Old photos from family albums are carefully studied. Primary source material, such as diaries, letters, business account and day books, catalogs from the period, are scrutinized.

Collecting oral history is the process of interviewing and taping people talking about their memories. Although Mary Hafford today is only a dim figure in Hubbleton, we found people who remembered the Irish community there and had purchased and lived in Mary Hafford's house after her death. Interviews helped us determine Mary Hafford's position within the community, her aspirations and experience as an immigrant, and what artifacts to use to interpret these aspects of her life. Our informants, being old enough to remember, could provide that key which would unlock the meaning and value of possessions to the residents of that small town in the 1890s.

Houses were important indicators of status and social rank, and owning one put you in that most desirable category of property owner. The type of house and the number of rooms told a great deal, not necessarily that eight rooms were tonier than five, but rather in how those rooms were used.

Mary Hafford's house had three rooms on the ground floor, a small narrow bedroom and a pantry with the staircase in between, and a large room across the front of the house. This type of dwelling was a basic form common to small towns throughout Wisconsin in the nineteenth century. It offered flexibility. Overall dimensions could vary, smaller or larger, one story or two, depending on the wealth of the owner. It was easily added on to, as finances permitted.

For Mary Hafford one large room had to serve as her kitchen, workroom, sitting room, and parlor. In this space she cooked, washed, ate, napped in the afternoon, crotcheted, and had friends to tea. To disguise the functional, homely mess of laundry washing and lard rendering, the scrub-top, handmade kitchen table could be pushed back against the wall and covered with a neat cloth edged with hand-crotcheted lace. Top this with a pretty teapot and dessert dishes, and she was ready to serve tea. A store-bought tufted fainting couch, with its definite proper parlor airs, helped transform the room, as did a wire stand filled with pots of geraniums and begonias.

In contrast, the floor plans of the larger houses in the village, usually Yankee-owned, reflected quite a different life-style. They had a separate parlor, a separate dining room, a separate sitting room, a kitchen with all of its heat and smells cut off from the main part of the house. small rooms for a cold pantry, a serving pantry, a buttery, a closet. The more separate and distinct the room usage was, the more sophisticated and middle class the lifestyle. Mary Hafford's house aspired to this way of life; the large house was the reality.

Our informants also told us those little indicators of rank that people use to judge their fellows. Better-off members of the group used linen damask tablecloths when they entertained. Mary Hafford probably did not.

Old photos are also prime documents in determining how people viewed their things. Less jaded by the photo than we, they saw a picture as an historical document, an important statement about themselves and the image they wished to project. Carefully posed and deliberate, they stand stiffly surrounded by things of importance to them.

Andreas Dahl, an immigrant from Norway, traveled around southern Wisconsin in the 1870s photographing towns, businesses, families, and local events. A sampling of at least 200 glass negatives shows family after family in front of their homes dressed in "major event" clothes. They are grouped about thoughtfully arranged possessions: fashionable parlor furniture, a table, store-bought if possible, with displays of fancy glass and

china, coffee and tea serving sets, silk flower arrangements; fancy store-bought chairs to sit on; also books and newspapers and magazines prominently placed. Some photos have more things; some have less, depending on economic standings. Other objects are arranged in the backgrounds, such as stylish carriages and new farm equipment. Choice livestock, or at least bunched livestock, show off the farmer's prosperity.

These pictures are proud and deliberate inventories of material worth with a clear message: "Measure us by these things." Many families in these photos were Norwegian immigrants who had been in Wisconsin long enough to have established themselves. It is a telling commentary, of at least surface adaptation, that almost none of these cherished and exhibited objects are Norwegian. There are no family heirlooms brought over from Norway here, no rosemaled trunks proudly placed, no handmade chairs following Norwegian traditional form to sit on. This is a display of American stuff in the American manner and with American style, a remarkable tribute to the pervasiveness of a rapidly developing consumer-oriented economy in this country.

Primary source material, such as diaries, letters, business accounts, etc., form the third major resource. An abundance of material, each category offers different insights. Diaries are frequently the only way we can know what people thought and deemed important about themselves in those periods for which no one alive is old enough to remember or even pass down memories. Oral history is not a useful tool for tracing a Norwegian immigrant living in Rock County in 1845. Day books and account books open up a wealth of information about how communities worked. what services were available and what they cost, who bought what, and what was actually available to buy in, say, Whitewater, Wisconsin, in the 1860s if you had the cash to do so.

#### Interpreting the data

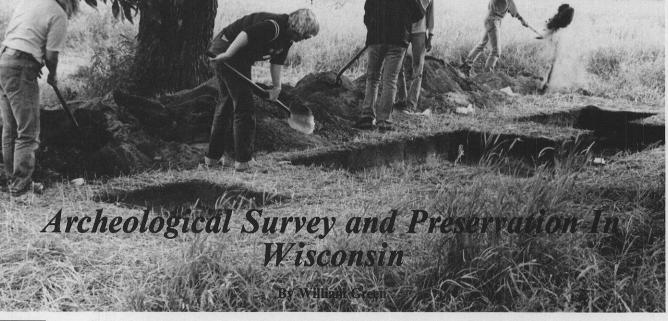
Surely the most critical phase of this whole sequence is the last. This accumulated knowledge must be communicated to the visitor in some stimulating way. Guides in the historic buildings at Old World Wisconsin use several methods to interpret this information. They demonstrate crafts and domestic skills or plow fields and shear sheep to show how these were done. They talk about historical themes that each farmstead or village building and its owner best illustrate, e.g., the theme of upward mobility through property ownership at the Hafford house. They involve the visitor in the daily chores being performed so that he or she feels the heat, the noise, the smells, even the flies.

Through these interpreters the site becomes alive. They help the visitor to understand some values and judgments represented by the artifacts in the houses and barns and to view objects and structures in a more thoughtful way. They provide the missing codes to explicate that particular environment.

Old World Wisconsin is a remarkable achievement. It preserves the material past which is rapidly disappearing. It uses this restored material to illustrate the history of this state and its people. It focuses on that large group of people who built this state but have only recently been studied in depth or in sympathy.

As a museum it has received much attention nationally and internationally and is considered by museum professionals to be one of the most exciting and innovative projects in the field today. Yet the question has been bluntly asked if such a project is worth the cost and whether it should receive state funding. Through all the controversy there emerges no simple answer. Perhaps it is not a question of dollars and cents, but rather how much worth a people places on its past. What are the lives and experiences and culture of our grandparents and great grandparents worth to us? What price our heritage?





he search for archeological sites, by both professional and avocational archeologists, produces more than just artifacts. Materials collected from archeological sites are valuable primarily for the information they contain on past cultures. This is true also of the knowledge gathered on the form and distribution of the sites themselves. Collecting such information is a necessary step in archeological conservation and preservation. This article examines some aspects of archeological data collection by discussing the current status of archeological survey in Wisconsin and the prospects for a coordinated statewide survey program.

Archeological survey, the systematic search for archeological sites, is nothing new in Wisconsin. Reports by Increase Lapham and other pioneer investigators of the nineteenth century led to nationwide recognition of Wisconsin's unique archeological resources. In the early twentieth century Charles E. Brown, director of the Museum of the State Historical Society, made a major effort to locate and document archeological sites throughout the state. Brown and other researchers published articles in The Wisconsin Archeologist and in numerous unpublished survey reports. Some survey work in that era was partially supported by state appropriation, and for this Wisconsin was ahead of most states. Since state funding for archeological survey ended in 1915, the data collected by Brown and the members of the Wisconsin Archeological Society before 1940 form the backbone of the state's archeological site file.

In the late 1940s the Wisconsin Archeological Survey, an organization composed of the professional archeologists working in Wisconsin, was formed to carry out research and to coordinate a comprehensive archeological survey of the state. The Survey conducted several excavation projects in the 1940s and 1950s but has not sponsored major field surveys. However, this group established the Wisconsin Archeological Codification File, a card file of published archeological sites and sites reported to the state's research institutions.

Two features characteristic of modern archeology emerged relatively early in Wisconsin, possibly as a result of those extensive early surveys. First, Wisconsin archeologists, both amateur and professional, have long been concerned with the preservation of archeological sites. And second, individuals such as W. C. McKern and S. A.

Barrett led methodological advances of national importance in archeological field work and interpretation, fostering a strong research orientation. Through the years a combination of research and preservation orientations, perhaps best expressed as conservation archeology, has characterized much of Wisconsin archeology.

#### Current survey efforts

Recent developments in both preservation and research have led to growth in conservation archeology as well as to new approaches to archeological survey. Archeologists are spending time and effort evaluating and retrieving data from areas threatened by development. The recent enormous increase in the amount of contract archeology is because many proposed construction areas are surveyed prior to development. However, while federal and state laws in theory protect some endangered archeological sites, no legal protection is afforded to sites on private land threatened by private construction projects. (Much of the survey work supported by the state historic preservation program focuses on such areas, as described below.)

A commitment to conservation archeology requires the retrieval of important data from threatened areas, but it also requires adoption of a regional perspective in order to evaluate and interpret intelligently the recovered data. Archeologists realize that to view cultural history and adaptation in a regional context, samples of all environmental zones in a region must be examined for traces of past utilization. Limiting survey effort to so-called prime occupation areas or to easily accessible areas will lead to a biased, inaccurate picture of past settlement patterns. Therefore, large-scale survey projects are beginning to examine areas that had received little attention, such as seasonally inundated floodplains and upland areas far from obvious sources of water.

Recently it has become possible to expand upon past surveys through numerous large-scale survey projects. Many of these surveys are part of the Department of the Interior's nationwide historic preservation program; the Wisconsin portion of this program is administered by the Historic Preservation Division of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin (see the article in this issue by Jeff Dean). This program relies on annual funding from the federal Historic Preservation Fund, composed of revenues from offshore oil leases. The Department of the Interior apportions this fund annually to each State Historic Preservation Officer to conduct comprehensive historical, architectural, and archeological surveys of each state. The purpose is to improve cultural resources planning and management on a statewide level, as required by the National Historic Preservation Act.

The statewide archeological survey and planning program in Wisconsin faces problems. Areas of rapid development must be surveyed before their archeological resources are destroyed, as recommended by The Wisconsin Archeological Survey in 1974. Because ignorance of site distribution hampers both research and management, survey of poorly known areas is another high priority. Finally, historic preservation-funded surveys should apply the regional

approach, recognizing that all potentially utilized environmental zones should be examined to identify areas without sites as well as areas with sites.

Thirty different archeological survey projects in Wisconsin have been supported by historic preservation matching grants since 1971. Many are multi-year projects covering thousands of acres, while some are more limited in scope. Work has concentrated on southern Wisconsin, reflecting the need for intensive coverage of rapidly developing areas such as the southeastern corner of the state. Overall, the survey projects have identified several thousand archeological sites, some of which are now listed on the National Register of Historic Places. Here is a sample of the work conducted over the past few years:

\*Projects sponsored by the UW-La Crosse have found dozens of late prehistoric (Oneota culture) villages and campsites and associated agricultural fields and burial mounds. A 2000 year-old Hopewell culture burial mound group also was found, even though all surface evidence had been obliterated by plowing.

\*The UW-Milwaukee has surveyed thousands of acres near Aztalan in Jefferson County, furthering our understanding of that unique site. UWM also conducted work in the remaining undeveloped parts of Milwaukee County.

\*UW-Madison surveyed the floodplain and islands in the Mississippi River near Prairie du Chien, revealing shellfish-processing sites occupied by prehistoric Woodland peoples and providing data on ancient settlement patterns.

\*The Burnett County Historical Society and the St. Croix Tribe (of Lake Superior Ojibwa Indians) worked on significant historic and prehistoric sites in Burnett County, collecting scientific data and preserving sites of cultural importance to local Indians.

Complementing the historic preservation-funded surveys are many large-scale archeological surveys sponsored by agencies that

own land or conduct land-disturbing activities. The U.S. Forest Service, Army Corps of Engineers, National Park Service, and the Wisconsin Department of Transportation actively conduct or support archeological work. These and other agencies also fund many small-scale surveys for individual federally assisted projects, in compliance with historic preservation laws and regulations. Finally, a few surveys that are not federally funded continue.

#### Current and future needs

Few would deny it is important to continue archeological surveys and evaluations, especially in areas facing strong development pressure. However, lessons learned over the past decade should be considered as decisions are made on survey priorities. We can identify three basic gaps in the recent archeological survey program which point to areas needing improvement.

Public contact and public information. It is crucial for archeologists to develop closer ties with interested local citizens and groups in their research areas. Citizens around the state and particularly amateur archeologists are aware of important sites not listed in the state files which may be endangered by development or natural forces. People may not know whom to contact about these sites. A qualified archeologist in the area, who can talk to local people, could tap this information source and could simultaneously help educate the public to the values of conservation archeology. Educational efforts may well increase public support for archeology.

Regional planning. Because of the amount of survey work conducted over the past decade, we now need to determine what we do know of Wisconsin archeology and what we should know and to define conservation strategies for the different parts of the state. Intensive data collection by large survey projects has not always been followed up by an evaluation or synthesis of the information gathered or by realistic planning for additional research and

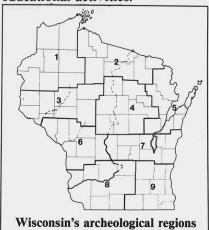
preservation work on a regional level. Because this pattern has been recognized across the country, many states and federal agencies now are compiling archeological overviews: summaries of knowledge of the prehistory and/or history of an area which may include recommendations for further research.

A refinement of the overview concept is the Resource Protection Planning Process ("RP3") developed by the National Park Service. This process is meant to assist states and agencies in all aspects of cultural resources identification, evaluation, and protection. Ideally, it is a comprehensive cultural resource management tool. It involves the analysis of study units, topics with spatial and temporal boundaries, such as "the effigy mound tradition" and "the French fur trade in Wisconsin." Analysis involves examination of previously gathered data, identification of major research questions and threats to sites. and a recommended plan for the best ways of protecting important sites. The National Park Service is asking all states to implement this process: Wisconsin is now finishing its "RP3" for both historic and prehistoric study units.

Flexible response. Wisconsin archeologists historically have responded to emergency situations where sites needed to be tested or salvaged. The ever-increasing rate of land development makes it difficult to keep track of areas needing work and to carry out the work where needed. Natural forces such as erosion which affect many sites must be monitored as well. Archeologists generally can devote little time to unfunded emergency field work, although some professional archeologists are responsive to site emergencies, and some avocational archeologists regularly attempt to investigate endangered sites and areas. These people should be encouraged to continue this work, because there is a need to have archeologists throughout the state ready to respond to these situations on short notice.

#### New approaches

The regional archeology program recently started by the Historic Preservation Divison of the State Historical Society is a way of meeting some of the public contact, regional planning, and flexible response needs in Wisconsin archeology. For this program the state is divided into nine regions of seven to ten counties each (see map), whose boundaries approximate the boundaries of some of the major physiographic zones. A regional archeology center is planned for each region, and at each center a regional archeologist will be responsible for carrying out surveys, evaluations, National Register of Historic places nominations, and educational activities.



Regional archeologists will prepare detailed analysis of study units as part of the "RP3" approach. (An overview of Wisconsin's prehistoric study units will be published this year.) The regional archeologists should have high visibility as a result of being part of a statewide network and sponsored by a local institution. The regional archeologists will be able to respond to emergencies and to investigate endangered areas that might not be known to the State Historical Society.

The regional archeology program is just beginning in Wisconsin. Four University of Wisconsin campuses—Eau Claire, La Crosse, Milwaukee, and Oshkosh—received historic preservation matching grants for 1983–84 to conduct this program in their regions. Already,

many new sites have been reported, public contacts have increased, and regional study unit analyses and plans have been developed.

The major concern regarding the regional archeology program is the uncertainty of the federal funding on which the program now depends. The fact that only four grants could be given for 1983–84 should indicate the relatively small amount of historic preservation money now available. Perhaps the state of Wisconsin will recognize once again the value of supporting a statewide archeological survey program, as it did between 1911 and 1915.

The current status of archeological survey and research in Wisconsin owes as much to the investigations conducted before 1940 as it does to the better funded projects of the last ten years. This is not meant to imply that improvements have not been made, however. The large-scale surveys supported by the Historic Preservation Division of the State Historical Society, and by other agencies, have covered parts of the state never previously examined and have led to new insights into Wisconsin's prehistory and early history. The new regional archeology program is attempting to build upon the knowledge gained from all previous work in the state to improve efforts at survey, evaluation, and protection. It is hoped that in the near future regional archeologists will be in place throughout Wisconsin and that this program will meet many of the state's archeological needs.

### Suggested Readings

Gibbon, G. "A Brief History of Oneota Research in Wisconsin." Wisconsin Magazine of History 53: 278-93 (1970).

McGimsey, C. Public Archeology. New York: Seminar Press, 1972.

Schiffer, M., and Gumerman, G., eds. Conservation Archeology: A Guide for Cultural Resource Management Studies. New York: Academic Press, 1977.

# Manufactured Furniture from Wisconsin

By Anne Woodhouse

he social history of Wisconsin's furniture industry, which I traced in a reexhibition. cent "Furniture for the Millions" (on view at the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, December 1981-May 1982), had never before been studied or interpreted to the public. It is vital to examine this industry as a whole in order to understand the products of it. Conversely, a study of the furniture itself and related printed materials illuminates the industry—and many aspects of daily life as well.

Wisconsin developed a furniture industry late compared to the East Coast, but then went through many stages at an accelerated rate. The earliest settlers to Wisconsin brought furniture with them or made crude furnishings for themselves. Within a few years, they could buy the products of local cabinetmakers. Small factories soon grew up in the southern half of the state, concentrated near Lake Michigan. Wisconsin had the natural resources for making furniture: wood, a plentiful supply of labor (much of it German), and water to float in logs and to power waterwheels. Steam engines (some of them made in Wisconsin) replaced water power, and the railroad spread throughout the state bringing wood to factories and carrying finished furniture to retail stores (fig. 1). As settlers moved west, there was a market for all the furniture Wisconsin could make. In its heyday, around 1900, Wisconsin had over 250 factories and ranked among the top six states in furniture produc-

As factories grew larger, the number of employees increased and work became more specialized. Most operations were performed by machine rather than with hand

THE UPHAM MFG. CO., MARSHFIELD WIS.

Manufacturers of LUMBER, SHINGLES, FURNITURE, VENEUR. Dealers in General Merchandise. Flour and Feed

Fig. 1. This engraving of the Upham Manufacturing Company of Marshfield shows clearly where each stage in the furniture-making process took place, from logs arriving at the sawmill (upper right) through assembly and addition of finish (left center) to storage in the warehouse awaiting rail shipment. Logs arrive at the sawmill (upper right). Cut lumber is stacked for air drying in the lumberyard (top). Rough-cut boards are smoothed in the planing mill. The powerhouse (center) supplies steam power for the planing mill and factory machines. Furniture parts are made and assembled in the furniture factory and completed in the finishing building (left center). Furniture is stored in the warehouse (far left) before being shipped out by rail. The firm's business operations are represented by the circular inset of the office. Upham also operated a flour mill, shown at lower left.

Fig. 2. Women were among the employees of the packing and shipping department of the Buckstaff-Edwards Company (now the Buckstaff Company) of Oshkosh. These workers are padding high chairs for shipment.

tools. Most employees were adult males, but women worked in a few departments, especially in the finishing and packing operations and in the business office (fig. 2). Children worked at unskilled jobs such as picking up scrap wood.



Courtesy State Historical Society of Wisconsin.



Fig. 3. These two chairs, which appear dissimilar at first sight, actually contain many of the same parts. Only the crest rails, back splats, and front stretchers are different. In this way hundreds of different "styles" were created.

Fig. 4. The Sheboygan Manufacturing Company specialized in office chairs. In a letter soliciting the business of the Smithsonian Institution in 1876, the company's secretary claimed, "All chairs are strong, durable, neat, tasty & easy sitting." The hundreds of different model numbers, each slightly different, show the company's desire to please clients—and sell more chairs.

Wood was the most usual material for furniture. But economic forces could prompt development of alternative materials. Wicker, a natural pliable material, often willow, was a popular choice for lightweight furniture for parlor and porch. However, the problems of obtaining the wicker led to the development of fiber, a twisted paper product which was an inexpensive substitute for wicker. Several Wisconsin factories specialized in furniture made from the paper fiber which could be cheaply produced in Wisconsin.

How can one tell if a piece of furniture was made in Wisconsin? The paper or stamped metal label or brand is a boon to identification. Occasionally the label contains information which can shed light on the furniture: the name of the factory and its location, model number, occasional slogans or pictures, patent dates or numbers which can be checked with patent records to reveal date of manufacture. Rarely, a label can contain information on the names of craftsmen. Shipping

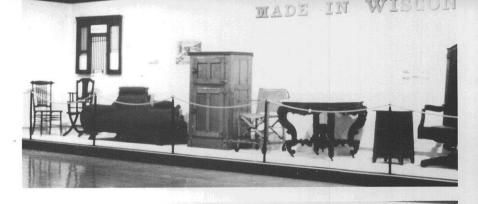


labels were sometimes pasted on pieces of furniture rather than on crates; these can show how widely the furniture was distributed. It is not known whether some furniture was never labeled, or whether paper labels have often come off. Trade catalogues, put out by companies to show their wares, can also provide a wealth of information on factories, woods, construction techniques, prices, and especially evolution of styles.

The furniture made in Wisconsin covered an amazing range of styles, grades, and functions. By varying the configuration of interchangeable components (designed to be made readily with available machinery), hundreds of slightly different permutations—each a different model number-resulted (fig. 3 and 4). Stylish, well-made rococo revival and Greek or Renaissance revival matched parlor or bedroom suites reflected European styles and preferences for a proliferation of form and specialization of function. Hall chairs, center tables, and piano benches are examples of pieces adapted to a very specific use or placement (fig. 5 and 6).

At the same time, however, almost paradoxically there was also an interest in furniture which was multipurpose: combinations of sofas and beds, for example, or infant high chair/stroller/rocking chairs. Patents were issued for dozens of improvements in design and construction technique for Wisconsin furniture. Radio and phonograph cabinets, folding wheel chairs, and cast iron garden seats were among the diverse types manufactured. Although household furniture was an important part of the total output. business and even ceremonial uses were often served, from iceboxes for home and store to dental cabinets to church furniture and even the chairs with carved eagles for the North Hearing Room of the Wisconsin State Capitol. Furniture touched most aspects of people's lives.

Tracing patterns of usage is one of the most difficult aspects of material culture research. Sometimes old photographs show items in use



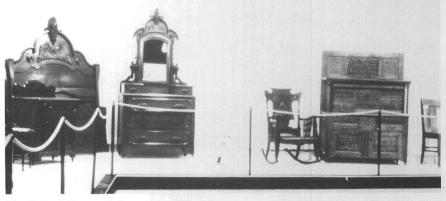
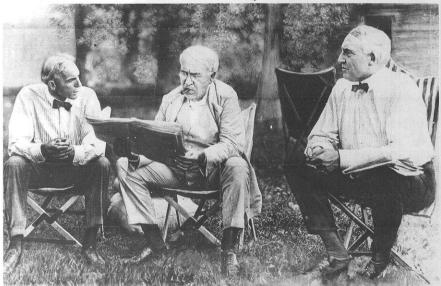


Fig. 5 & 6. Some of the variety of furniture made in Wisconsin. Among the pieces are a fancy chair, paneling from public buildings, two convertible pieces-a child's chair and a bed lounge, an icebox, a folding wheel chair, an elaborate center table, a humidor, a chair from the Wisconsin Capitol, a bedroom suite, a cast iron garden chair, a rocker, a dentist's cabinet, and a plain dining chair.

Fig. 7. Henry Ford, Thomas Edison. and President Warren G. Harding relax on a set of Ford's camp chairs, made by Gold Medal of Racine.

which have survived and are recognizeable today. Occasionally, connection with a famous person has preserved proof of usage. Henry Ford had a set of camp chairs made by the Gold Medal Company of Racine, and he and his friends were photographed "roughing it" in comfort (fig. 7). The same company supplied folding chairs and cots to the army, where they were widely

Courtesy State Historical Society of Wisconsin



In general, styles of Wisconsin furniture and methods of construction were not strikingly different from those made in other manufacturing areas of the United States at the same time. From the point of view of material culture studies, that is not disappointing but instructive. The growth of advertising and availability of magazines about the home made consumers aware of styles available elsewhere in the country; they wanted the same thing. Advertising, which came into its own in the late nineteenth century, fanned the demand. Ads in magazines aimed at the public promised a range of furniture from which to choose ("fine, medium, and common chairs" was the claim of the versatile Crocker Chair Company of Sheboygan). Boosterism showed local and company pride. "Our new factory is just completed. We mean business! If Chicago competition expects to keep pace with us, they must prepare to manufacture their own goods, as customers will not pay two profits any longer!" blared the Matthews Brothers furniture company of Milwaukee in the Fond du Lac Reporter Annual for 1883. "All the railroads in the United States lead to Oshkosh" boasted an ad for the Buckstaff-Edwards company at the turn of the century.

But all the railroads in the United States were not enough to keep Wisconsin producing at the capacity it had developed. Beginning in the nineteen-teens and accelerating during the twenties and thirties, a combination of economic depression, exhaustion of hardwoods, and high labor costs and organized labor led to a decline in production and bankruptcy of some companies as furniture manufacturing in general moved to the southern states. Companies which survived in business did so by concentrating their efforts on a few lines or categories such as office, children's, or hospital furniture. Furniture is still made in Wisconsin today, but on a much reduced scale.

## Putting Flesh on the Bones of the Past

by Tom Barden

he landscape along the Pine River north of Richland Center, Wisconsin, is in the heart of the driftless region, an area missed by the glaciers of the ice ages. Since it was not affected by the scraping of the massive ice sheets, the whole area is scenic, with high rolling prairies and stream-laced valleys. But the stretch above Richland Center is exceptional, even for the driftless region. Hardwood covered hills end in abrupt drop-offs, sixty foot sandstone fingers topped with pines run beside the river, and rock outcroppings point at stark angles toward the sky. At one point a stream runs completely through a cliff, which forms a natural bridge over the water. This is the site of the town of Rockbridge and the home of artist Halsey Rinehart.

Halsey has been many things in his life: teacher, farmer, storekeeper, insurance agent, and local government official. He is a lay preacher, a writer, a student of geology and history, and president of the Richland County Historical Society. He takes courses at the University of Wisconsin Center-Richland campus, works in a local peace group, and is a devoted family man, father, and grandfather. Though he thinks of his art as a sideline, he keeps something on his board at all times. At sixty-eight and retired he intends to devote more time both to drawing and to the historical research that goes with each picture he creates.

Halsey has become a local "public figure," but he is far too modest a man to have actively sought the position. It was principally because he kept the general store in Rockbridge that he became so well known in Richland County. His family started the store in 1928, and from the time Halsey was in high school he put in time behind the counter. He happened to grow up in the center of a natural meeting place for the community.

Being in the store influenced Halsey in many ways. The informal gatherings that took place every evening gave him an early taste of storytelling and good conversation, and soon he became one of the best talkers around. He also met many of the community's more interesting and outgoing citizens in this setting. And none was more interesting to Halsey than the self-taught primitive painter, Earl Sugden.

Sugden, artistic, free-thinking, and eccentric, cast a powerful spell over young Halsey, who saw in him his first model of the Renaissance man he would himself become. Sometimes called "the sage of Richland County," Sugden was written up by *Life* magazine and received wide recognition as a poet, painter, sculptor, botanist, geologist, and linguist. As he studied ornithology, he made tin replicas of one hundred-thirty-five species of area birds.

Sugden influenced Halsey informally at the store, but at least once he influenced him directly as his in-

structor. In the 1940s, when Sugden organized a summer painting class for the kids of Rockbridge, twentythree-year-old Halsey Rinehart joined it. In this class Halsey learned the technical aspects of art perspective, vanishing point, foreshortening for distance effects, and shading. He also learned how to mix colors. Just as important as these technical matters, he learned how to see artistically. In talking about his own teaching of art appreciation classes later, he said he taught the same way Sugden had taught him. "I got the kids to really look at the pictures and to see the warmth of the colors, the blues that were in the hazy skies, all the little things that make art true and worthwhile."

Sugden stressed attention to detail and urged Halsey to grasp the subject of painting intellectually as well as visually. It was unthinkable to Sugden that a landscape painter not study geology, or an artist who would paint reconstructions of the past not study history. So Halsey took up both and approached them in the manner he said his father went about clearing the one-hundred acres of the family farm—"like a pup to a root." He has since become an acknowledged local expert on both subjects.

I have studied Halsey's pastel drawings and the accompanying sheets which give information about each scene depicted, and I have come to some conclusions about his art. The first thing is that

Halsey Rinehart, a one-man area preservation committee, recreates the past with drawings and stories.

the drawings are simply one dimension of Halsey's overall artistic impulse, which is to keep the past alive through his expression of it. A newspaper article I found about him in the Richland Observer (May 7, 1981) began as follows: "Storytelling is what Halsey Rinehart does best. The Rockbridge resident recently took his glib tongue and easy manner to the Milwaukee Public Museum for a two-day program. Halsey is best known for his ability to tell the history of the county." (my italics) The photograph with the article shows him standing in front of a panel displaying his drawings. A group of smiling people sit around clearly being entertained by Halsey himself rather than the works behind him. A sign on the panel reads "Halsey Rinehart-Storyteller."

Halsey is known to many people more as a language artist than as a visual one, but the distinction doesn't mean much in Halsey's case. The drawings are the visual portion of his historical reconstructions. The information sheets are condensed versions of the oral histories and anecdotes Halsey gives when he is there physically with the drawings. This is the aesthetic basis of his work—he is engaged in a multimedia form of evoking history.

This first occurred to me when I noticed a strangely misshapen tree in a drawing of Halsey's grandfather's barn and barnyard. The foliage on the tree was missing from the lower branches, and the branches themselves seemed cut back far too short. Halsey usually draws more graceful trees than this. Then I noticed the watering trough under the tree was half in and half outside the fence. The odd foliage was not a slip of the pastel pencil but was drawn as it actually was and as Halsey accurately remembered it fifty years later. It was pruned back so horses with riders could get under it as the horses watered at the trough. And the trough was placed so it could be used from both the barnyard and the road. What is depicted in the drawing is this gesture of neighborliness, not some idealized, well-shaped tree.

A consistency in the drawings emerges from Halsey's intimate knowledge of the local landscape. While the cliffs are the same behind all his locations, the tree cover on them varies and does so consistently. Rockbridge scenes always show pines at the top of the rock formations, while Hub City and Bloom City scenes have maples and oaks. Even the color of the dirt roads in the historical renderings of old towns is consistent. It adds up to a convincing sense of place. A stranger to the area would know these drawings come from a specific locale and would, I am sure, recognize it upon seeing the Rockbridge area.

In the drawing Halsey considers his favorite, the rock bridge in Rockbridge is shown with a flume and overshot waterwheel that used to run through the opening in the cliff. Six fissures at various angles on the right and one on the left of the opening show prominently. The opening itself is a not-quite-equilateral triangle, and above it on the right are three pine trees in the sandstone just as the topsoil begins. I checked these details against the actual rock formation after one of my visits to Halsey's home, and they checked out precisely. Of course, the flume and mill were

gone, but the opening, the fissures, the tree cover, and the shadings of light were exactly duplicated. I could even tell the time of day depicted in the drawing by the shadows; it was a little later in the day than the time I was there and quite a lot later in the year.

As I stood there listening to the water trickle through the rock, my awareness of Halsey's ability to recreate the past was heightened. I could feel the presence of that mill and waterwheel. His background sheet on the drawing said the first work of the waterwheel was to power an "up and down" timber saw, and as I stood there I could almost hear it and smell the newly cut pine of the 1850s. And behind those sensations I felt the majestic. imperceptible movement of time in the larger geological sense. The stretch from 1855 to the present seemed laughably small compared to the countless lifetimes it took the rock and water to work on each other to form the natural bridge. Halsey Rinehart's studies and artistic goals make perfect sense coming from this particular place.

Drawing of the rock bridge showing the old mill and overshot waterwheel.



When I asked him why he is an artist, he brought up history right away. "When you're a teacher," he said, "you like to take subjects local folks are interested in. It would be impractical for me to teach the history of France in my paintings. But Richland County history is something people are really interested in; so that's what I paint." He pointed out that he usually puts the date on his drawings in a conspicuous place.

Halsey sees his art as part of an exchange with his audience, one that involves both information swapping and memory jogging. "The first one that got people's attention," he said, "was the one of the old Buck Creek store. I put it up in the store and people would come in and say 'Oh yes, I remember that, sure.' And then somebody would tell me some story that happened in relation to it."

"In the beginning," he added, "my paintings were just landscapes, but for a long time now they have been historical. I don't do pictures anymore just to be painting the pictures."

History to Halsey inevitably includes oral history. He said that history is just the bones of the past, but what he tries to do with his drawings is to put some of the flesh on those bones. He often does a drawing specifically to give the occasion for an interesting story. When he showed me the drawing of Buck Creek, for instance, he said "I always show this one and tell about Mr. Outcalt the blacksmith who decided to build an airplane.

"I start in by saying that Buck Creek could have become the Kitty Hawk of the Midwest, except the plane wouldn't fly. The concept he had of an airplane was that you had four parachutes, two going up closed and two coming down open on a crankshaft. So they were going up and down. Because the horsepower is kind of weighty, it wouldn't fly. But experimentally that kind of airplane has been known to get off the ground. So if Mr. Outcalt was years ahead of his time, at least he wasn't crazy! That's the kind of thing I put in."



r. Hatch's House, now the Rockbridge Park. Part of the beauty of this picturesque house was Reverend Jesse Hatch, an early minister of the United Brethren Church in Richland County. Many years a widower, he had learned to live the "good life" of service and love. The house had a pot-bellied stove, a lean-to for sleeping, a pitcher pump for water, a long shelf for good books (the most used was the Bible), and a comfortable rocking chair with a footstool.

His Model T Ford stood under the overhanging ledge of the rock, where extra beehives were also stacked. Winter 1924 he drove the Ford to California and back. Beekeeping was only a summer occupation. Winters he lived with a son or daughter. Mr. Hatch returned to the "little house by the rock" for thirty years of retirement.

Halsey Rinehart

Drawing of the old hotel in Rockbridge.



March 1984/Wisconsin Academy Review/61



Halsey Rinehart sitting by the rock bridge in Rockbridge.

While a good story is the impulse for some drawings, more often it is the recreation of a local building or a small town scene a certain year or era. When this is the case, Halsey is as concerned with the historical truth as he is with visual accuracy in the drawing. His work on a drawing of the old Richland County Farm, or "Poor Farm," as it was called, will illustrate this.

"Well," he said, "the home had been gone for so many years, and I had just seen it out of the corner of my eye. I never really looked at it when I went by. So when I decided to draw it I went to my Uncle Dewey Rinehart, who lived over by it. I took my sketch pad and went through it with him-'Is this the way you remember it? Was it like this?" Then I went to Mrs. Will Parsons down in the new county home. She and her husband had worked there when they were newlyweds. Then I went to Wencil Stanyk who lived in Yuba, and he said 'Well, those trees weren't that big then.' And then I went to Walter Ferguson who owned the farm for so many years after it was the county farm. Then I went to the old papers in the library and found the story of the farm."

I got a taste of the historical recall and gift for narrating events as he told me the history of the old county "Poor Farm."

"It started in 1866," he said. "The County Board declared a state of emergency in the county because there was so much poverty, so many soldiers who had beeen wounded in the Civil War, and widows and families of soldiers who had died. You had to have some welfare system. So they formed a three-man committee to explore the idea of having a county home. Well, you know how committees work; it took from 1866 to 1881 to explore. The motion would come up every year and no one would follow through. Finally in 1881 they bought land up here between Woodstock and Bloom City...."

And so on. He wrote up a solid historical essay on the home, and now it forms an essential piece of the whole work as Halsey sees it. As he put it, "Going back and putting all that together gives you the whole picture. You draw the picture and you get the history. Then you have the memory all put together in a single unit. That's what

I do with my pictures."

Smiling, he added, "Now I've found out you can be a primitive painter and get away with a lot of things. When I had my drawings on display down at the university, the president of the university was there and I was presented to him and given a little citation. At that time I said a primitive artist is one whose ambition exceeds his abilities. I told him he shouldn't be surprised if the houses go off into space instead of staying on the ground. But I am trying to portray an idea more than strictly photographic perspective. So if a roof gets a high corner, well, so what!'

I wouldn't call him a primitive painter, or that other term that comes up in elite culture circles naive. I would call him a folk artist,

though.

A folk artist is one whose aesthetic is the same as his group's. Over many years Halsey's works have hung behind the counter at the Rockbridge store and been subject to immediate critical response and the evaluation by an audience that shared Halsey's values and memories. As he said, "I always stuck

the pictures up with thumbtacks, and people would come in and say 'Well, I just stopped by to see if you'd painted any more pictures.' And of course the paintings always brought out a whole torrent of explanations and stories." And he was always subject to corrections if he got something wrong.

Halsey's art was formed with an understanding of his audience from the beginning, almost in partnership with it. He wanted to fulfill expectations, not break new ground. Thus he developed the historianstoryteller-artist combination. It was what his audience appreciated, so it was what he painted. This is what makes him a folk artist. It is what is meant by the technical definition of folklore as "artistic communication in small groups."

His "folk group" has expanded in recent years from the customers of the Rockbridge store to most of the people in the Pine River watershed. His works hang in the campus student center, in the city library, and he takes them with him to lectures he gives on area history. As the article on his residency in Milwaukee indicated, he sometimes goes quite a distance these days. But the aesthetic that informs his work, like his subject matter, remains that of the local Rockbridge area.

That aesthetic values the past. People in the Pine River Valley would like to see their history and heritage preserved and honored as much as would people in village and city settings. But it is clear that no individual or benefactor is going to save the old, historic buildings and little fading towns of our rural landscape. No committee is likely to be formed to restore and preserve the old hotels and schools and churches that were the centers of community life a century ago in this or any other rural area. It may happen in a few fortunate locations. The Rockbridge area is fortunate to have Halsey Rinehart.

Halsey is the equivalent of a oneman area preservation committee as long as he continues in his drawings, stories, and researches to put flesh on the bones of the past.

ore than 43,000 properties of architectural or historical interest are contained in the Wisconsin Inventory of Historic Places. This big-and-growing collection has been maintained by the State Historical Society's Historic Preservation Divison since 1973, when the state's first comprehensive survey efforts were initiated. The survey program sprang from the legislation that brought historic preservation into the governmental arena: the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966.

With passage of the act funds became available to states to maintain historic preservation programs based on the National Register of Historic Places. A condition of the funding was a requirement that states conduct statewide surveys of historic and prehistoric resources. They would document buildings, structures, and sites of significance and would identify properties eligible for the National Register.

Initial survey efforts focused on a road-by-road and street-by-street canvass, known as a reconnaissance survey, in the southeastern counties. The division's priority was to photograph and map properties in areas threatened by rapid development. Soon the division began offering 50 percent matching grants for conducting county-wide surveys. The Northwest Regional Planning Commission and the Office for Coastal Zone Management received funds to conduct surveys in twenty counties between 1975 and 1977. Today, reconnaissance surveys have been completed in forty-nine counties, and parts of fifteen other counties have been surveyed.

Survey results are incorporated in the Wisconsin inventory, which is an important archive of photographs and historical research. It has been used to assess trends in Wisconsin architecture and to locate buildings and structures of individual interest or distinction. In 1981 an examination of the inventory was used to identify county courthouses eligible for the National Register. Recently, the inventory has been used to identify the types of vernacular buildings that occur in Wisconsin. Although this latter study is in its infancy, eventually the division hopes to classify the myriad buildings that cannot be defined by the generally accepted stylistic terms.

This 1935 photograph was taken by Anthony Wuchterl, a member of the Historic American Building Survey (HABS) team. The building, known as the James Frazer House, was recorded as being located near Honey Creek in Walworth County. Drawings of the house were also prepared in this early HABS effort. The Historic Preservation Divison has not been able to locate the building and does not know if it is still extant.





A reconnaissance surveyor in Douglas County photographs the Davidson windmill.

three historic districts, also listed in the National Register.

In Waukesha more than 400 properties were surveyed. Five districts and thirty-three individual properties were subsequently listed in the National Register. Other cities that have been intensively surveyed include Ashland, Beloit, Kaukauna, Hudson, Oshkosh, Racine, Kenosha, Janesville, and Platteville.

The key to an intensive survey is the historical research that accompanies the identification and documentation of significant properties. Research is conducted according to themes, such as education or industry, for the purpose of establishing historical contexts within which to evaluate buildings. In addition, the research reveals properties that may not be readily identifiable as significant from field observation.

Each property identified in an intensive survey as potentially eligible for the National Register is researched to determine the date of construction, architect, associated individuals, and other historical information. An itensive survey form is prepared for each property, and a survey report is produced, containing thematic research and survey evaluations. Through the intensive survey program, the division, working with communities around the state, has made great strides in the identification of significant Wisconsin properties.

Interesting examples of discoveries abound; here are a few. The New Richmond intensive survey called attention to a house designed by the important St. Paul architectural firm of Gilbert and Taylor. Although each achieved greater fame after the partnership dissolved, the firm's work in the late nineteenth century contributes significantly to the wealth of midwestern architecture. In 1887 Cass Gilbert and James Knox Taylor designed a Queen Anne style house for O. W.

Researchers have used the inventory to search for stovewood buildings, round barns, Belgium brick houses, rural churches, and oneroom schools. Users have included historians, architectural historians, students, artists, planners, landscape architects, architects, and laymen with an interest in historic buildings. Their purposes vary. The inventory has been the basis for publications, planning, and preservation and restoration efforts. It is a tool of unlimited value for those with the time and patience to examine it.

Because the inventory is not indexed or filed by site types, it serves some research purposes better than others. At this time, the most logical use of the inventory is for searches of a particular geographic area. Inventoried sites are recorded on 4" x 6" cards, with 3½" x 5" photographs mounted on the back. Each county is filed separately and arranged in alphabetical order from Adams County to Wood County. Within the counties, the cards are arranged by rural or incorporated location. Rural properties are filed numerically by a code formed by the town, range, and section numbers. Incorporated areas are arranged alphabetically within the county file, and sites are ordered by address.

In 1982 the division began to computerize the inventory. Users had long recognized that the major limitations of this vast amount of information was the inability to re-

trieve properties easily by a number of variables. Working with the University of Wisconsin's Madison Academic Computing Center (MACC), the division selected a system that will maximize its research capabilities. A terminal is in place and data is beginning to be entered. Although the data entry will take years, eventually researchers' ability to evaluate and interpret Wisconsin history and architecture will expand exponentially.

In 1978 the Historic Preservation Division added an intensive survey program to the reconnaissance survey effort to add an historical research component. The new program promoted a federalstate-local partnership in preservation through the commitment of local dollars to the survey effort. Matching subgrants that had been used to fund a small number of reconnaissance surveys were now made available to municipalities for intensive surveys. The local units of government wanted to obtain information on historic buildings for comprehensive planning and to use the survey to promote historic preservation activities.

Intensive surveys have been conducted in about thirty Wisconsin communities. The results are impressive. In Eau Claire more than 600 properties were identified as architecturally or historically interesting, and twenty-four were subsequently listed in the National Register. The survey also identified

Mosher, president of the Northern Grain Company. The house is not only an important example of the Queen Anne style locally (particularly since much of New Richmond was demolished by a tornado in 1899), but is important as a rare example of the work of Gilbert and Taylor in Wisconsin.

The Galesville intensive survey took note of Gale College, built in 1859, one of Wisconsin's earliest institutions of higher education. Later, it became one of the few institutions for the education of Norwegian Americans. It is the only intact college campus in Wisconsin associated with this ethnic group, although today it is used as a retreat center by the Society of Mary.

The Superior intensive survey revealed some significant industrial structures built there in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries when the Lake Superior port was an important access point to the Midwest. A steel grain elevator. built by the Great Northern Railroad in 1900, was a notable discovery of the Superior survey. The elevator is rare because of its tremendous size and because few steel elevators were ever built. Not long after its construction, virtually all elevators were made of concrete. With construction of the 6.5 million bushel capacity elevator, Great Northern became one of the largest grain storage facilities in the world. Although the looming structure cannot be missed on the Superior skyline, the significance of the structure in engineering and agricultural history was known by few until the intensive survey.

The Southwest Wisconsin Regional Planning Commission has sponsored an intensive survey of the communities associated with lead mining for the past two years. Although the absence of large cities in the region contributes to the predominantly vernacular character of the building stock, significant exceptions were described in the survey. Some were designed by Dr. Charles C. Gratiot, an architect and physician who lived and practiced both his professions in Shullsburg



City Hotel, Shullsberg, Lafayette County. This historic photo was used to assess the integrity of the building today. The mining era intensive survey, conducted by the Southwest Wisconsin Regional Planning Commission, included the hotel in its survey.

from the early 1880s until his death in 1924. His most notable works are the Merchants Union Bank (1884) and the Shullsburg High School (1900), although he also designed residences. His own house, which he designed in 1896, still stands at 428 East Water Street in Shullsburg.

Architects are not the only notable people discoverd in an intensive survey. In the Eau Claire intensive survey, the house of Charles L. James was revealed at 411 Union Street. James is recognized as a figure of national importance to the anarchist movement in the late nineteenth century and until his death in 1911. An articulate scholar, his articles appeared in several nationally distributed publications. According to an article that appeared in Mother Earth at his death, his work "Vindication of Anarchism" "does for anarchism what Marx did for socialism in his Capital." Because James kept a relatively low profile and because his writings did not appeal to the general populace of Eau Claire, his house was forgotten by all but a few local historians until the intensive survey was completed. Today, his house is listed in the National Register as a nationally significant resource and has been officially declared an Eau Claire landmark.

The Wisconsin Inventory of Historic Places is not the first attempt to inventory the state's architectural legacy. In 1933 the Historic American Buildings Survey (HABS) was initiated by the National Park Service, under the auspices of the Works Progress Administration. The mission of this survey, as stated by the Historic Sites Act of 1935 that codified the effort, was to secure, collate, and preserve drawings, plans, photographs, and other data of historic and archeologic sites, buildings, and objects. Local architects were employed to prepare measured drawings of a crosssection of Wisconsin's buildings, representing both ethnic influences and national trends.

The HABS effort was abandoned with the advent of World War II and was not restored until 1957, but the program is still active today. Over the years more than 100 Wisconsin buildings have been documented through the HABS survey. The collections are housed at the Library of Congress, but the State Historical Society has a collection of the early drawings in the iconographic collections and the remainder on microfilm in the library. The HABS documentation is important for the structural and



An historic photograph of the Union High School in Black River Falls. The school was later used an an elementary school but is being redeveloped as apartments. The division plans to conduct a reconnaissance survey in the city in 1984.

functional information provided. Often meticulously accurate, the measured drawings provide a record that is not available in most subsequent survey efforts.

ther private and academic survey efforts have also contributed to the accumulated knowledge of Wisconsin architecture. Richard W. E. Perrin, FAIA, a member of the HABS survey teams in Wisconsin in the 1930s and again after the program was reactivated in the late 1950s, has spent several decades studying, documenting, and writing about Wisconsin architecture. The most prolific, and probably the most knowledgeable of authors on Wisconsin architecture, Perrin has been influential in categorizing Wisconsin buildings and has contributed to both their recognition and preservation. Larry Jost has identified 180 round and five-ormore-sided barns in Wisconsin, both extant and demolished. His research helps substantiate the theory that Wisconsin leads the nation in the number of this form of barn constructed.

Jeff Dean, director of Historical Preservation at the State Historical Society, inventoried George Fred Keck's Wisconsin architecture and succeeded in bringing the Wisconsin native's drawings and letters to the Society's archives.

Professors from various disciplines have studied aspects of Wisconsin architecture. William Tishler, of the Department of Landscape Architecture at UW-Madison, has published several articles on stovewood architecture, a rare form of construction that utilizes logs cut in stove lengths, stacked, and held in place with mortar. In 1975 Mary Ellen Young and her students at the

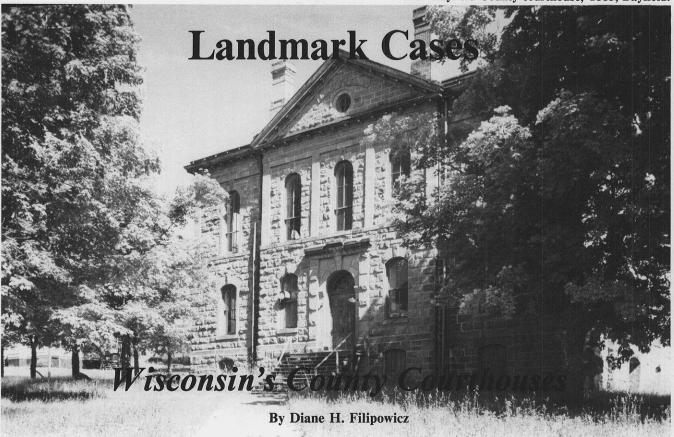
University of Wisconsin Center-Waukesha conducted a survey of houses of worship in Milwaukee. She has studied Milwaukee architecture extensively. William Laatsch, a geography professor at the UW-Green Bay, has taken a special interest in the architectural legacy of the Belgium settlements in the northeastern part of the state. Another geographer, Ingolf Vogeler of UW-Eau Claire, teaches his students survey techniques, using Eau Claire as a laboratory.

Gordon D. Orr, Jr., FAIA, has undertaken a survey of the University of Wisconsin-Madison campus, discovering important facts about the development of the institution and the architects involved.

While Wisconsin residents are aware of Old World Wisconsin, few are aware of the extensive research that is the foundation of the museum. The Historic Sites Division of the State Historical Society canvassed the state to find appropriate structures, creating a huge inventory of its own as a result. The research effort has continued, with extensive documentation collected on each of the buildings moved to the site and related structures.

Although the focus of this article is the Wisconsin Inventory of Historic Places, other significant survey activity has occurred and is continuing today. Even so, Wisconsin architecture has innumerable facets and still presents many enigmas. The basis for understanding will continue to be the survey and related research. This documentaton contributes to an understanding of our architectural heritage, but much of the material remains unevaluated. With computerization of the inventory and the recent emphasis on historical research, the Historic Preservation Division is entering a new phase of interpretation. With these tools at hand, the division will be able to use the inventory to fulfill its mission: to promote the preservation of those buildings, structures, and sites that contribute most to an understanding of Wisconsin architecture and history.

"Old" Bayfield County courthouse, 1883, Bayfield.



Courtesy State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Historic Preservation Division

ntended by design and purpose to be landmarks in their respective counties, Wisconsin's county courthouses are among the essential historical and architectural assets of the state. From the beginning of the state's participation in the National Register of Historic Places program in the early 1970s, these buildings were individually studied and evaluated according to program criteria, with the hope that recognition through listing in the National Register would increase appreciation of their importance and foster their preservation. By 1981 seventeen courthouses had been successfully nominated, leaving an unknown larger number still waiting for consideration. Time and circumstances then allowed staff of the State Historical Society's Historic Preservation Division to undertake a comprehensive survey, research, and writing effort to identify and nominate the remaining courthouses in Wisconsin's seventy-two counties that could meet National Register requirements for significance, age, and architectural integrity. Twenty-two courthouses, some housing county jail facilities or adjacent to historic jails, were simultaneously nominated and listed in the National Register, bringing the total roster of these local "landmarks to law" to thirty-nine; of the total, twenty-four are twentieth-century buildings constructed before 1940, and fifteen are extant nineteenth-century structures.

Subject, like other buildings, to obsolescence, deterioration, and changing tastes, the earliest courthouse buildings in most counties had been demolished and replaced. Often the earliest "courthouse" was just a portion of a preexisting building that was used for the conduct of the limited business of the nascent county. In many cases, small frame buildings were first constructed to suit their simple legal duties. With increasing population, responsibilities, and financial sup-

port, county offices and courts graduated to larger and more impressive quarters, corresponding to the aesthetic taste and economic capabilities of each decade. Viewed by succeeding generations as antiquated and conspicuous "white elephants," earlier quaint or impressive architectural achievements were destroyed when newer courthouses were built, whether in the same location, on new sites, or in "new" seats in rival communities. Happily, in some counties (including Iron, Polk, St. Croix, Washington, Waukesha) the older monuments remain, serving as auxiliary county or other-governmental offices, or museums.

More inadequate, obsolete, and less adaptable to other uses were the associated county jails. Although several county jails had outlived their contemporary courthouses, only half of the nineteenth-century courthouses were listed in the National Register with included or associated jails. More than the court-

houses, these remaining jails speak to bygone concepts of jurisprudence, and in form represent penal practices well removed from the current "science" of criminal justice.

In history (and legend), courthouses were more than administrative centers of law, county maintenance, and public welfare. In the more rural counties especially, they were symbols of a strong sense of identity, subordinate only to state and national allegiances. They were often the witnesses of lynchings or notorious trials. Or the courthouses were trophies, stolen, in function if not form, and sometimes repeatedly, by warring communities greedy for the power and commerce that a courthouse would bring. The genealogy and biography of the Pepin County courthouse in Durand is especially rich in such military history, the construction of the building marking one point in the migration of the seat from Pepin to Durand to Arkansaw and back. In spite of alterations made to the exterior of the frame Greek revival style building, that courthouse is no less commanding as a local temple of justice; in the second-story courtroom, the jury box, still furnished with straight-backed wood rockers, matches the most romantic visions of small-town simple justice. The adjacent jail of 1895, designed in the residential mode of the late Gothic revival period of American architecture, conforms to the nineteenth- and early twentieth-century concept of punishment and correction, in which inmates dwelled with the resident sheriff and his housekeeper wife. Still more evocative of an earlier age is the mid-nineteenth-century jail in the basement of the Crawford County courthouse in Prairie du Chien. Said to predate the 1867 courthouse above, the "dungeon" with five stone and iron cells is a forbidding contrast to the chaste Italianate facade of the building outside.

As proper representatives of community self-esteem and good taste, every courthouse expressed, in most affordable form, the na-



St. Croix County courthouse, 1899–1900, N. Hudson.

tional vogues in architectural design. The simple frame building in Pepin County and a younger sister in Dodgeville, Iowa County, are the last remaining of Wisconsin's Greek revival courthouses. Constructed in 1859, the courthouse in Dodgeville is a distinguished coursed-sandstone temple with hallmark wood Doric portico and cupola. In the Crawford County courthouse, the state has its purest example of the Italianate style, and a precursor of eclectic later-Victorian cousins in Juneau, Dodge County, and Viroqua in Vernon County. A masterful blend of Italianate, high Victorian Gothic, and Second Empire features, the Dodge County courthouse is the last remaining Wisconsin courthouse designed by "courthouse master" architect H. C. Koch of Milwaukee. Perhaps best known today as the designer of the Milwaukee City Hall, Koch was credited with submitting designs for "... eleven different courthouses in the West, in competition with architects of high standing, and in every case his design [was] accepted."1 To the Koch building, a substantial addition was made in 1937, doubling the size of the building. Surprisingly complementary, the newer half answers in size, stone, and stylized art deco vocabulary, to the classical and medieval

Washington County courthouse, 1889, West Bend.





remarks of the 1878 building. The early neoclassical Bayfield County courthouse of 1883 at Bayfield (to be supplanted a decade later by another courthouse at Washburn) anticipates the classical temper of eighteen later Wisconsin courthouses, together constituting the largest stylist class of the courthouses that were listed in the National Register. Especially when considered with the earlier classical Greek revival and Italianate, and later twentieth-century modernistic P.W.A.-style, buildings, these neoclassical courthouses prove the traditional association of government with the forms (as well as the institutions) of the antique.

Washington County jail, 1886, West Bend.

Marking the start of the monumental decade of courthouse design, the Washington County courthouse of 1889 in West Bend was architect E. V. Koch's northern European style interpretation of Romanesque forms. Neat tiers of square pinnacles crown its balconied tower, rising from a great arched entry. The adjoining jail building of 1886 is an eccentric but pleasing blend of domestic Oueen Anne and medieval confections. The state's singular extant example of the Romanesque revival courthouse design stands in Oconto County; the 1891 design by architects Rau and Kirsch of Milwaukee was later capped with a tile roof and classical cupola by Foeller and Schoeber, architects of Green Bay. Compounded in mass, visual rhythm, and dramatic effect, several Wisconsin courthouses express the power of Romanesque forms as reinvented by American architectural giant H. H. Richardson. The courthouses in Green, Waukesha, Monroe, Polk, and St. Croix counties were 1890s masterworks of Milwaukee, Illinois, and Minnesota architects, constructed in rich shades of stone or brick. The Waukesha courthouse followed most closely in the tradition of H. H. Richardson's trend-setting Allegheny County courthouse and jail in Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, but the design by Rau and Kirsch of Milwaukee and the use of native Waukesha limestone tie the building to state and local traditions as well.

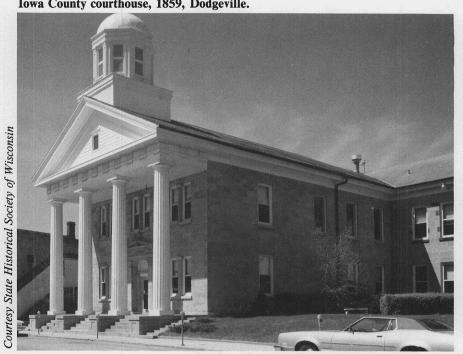
The physical role of the buildings doesn't stop at the walls. Courthouse squares, lawns, and hill- or lake-side sites were chosen from prime land available in Wisconsin communities; graced by distinctive buildings, these parklike settings are among our most impressive public spaces today. And within the buildings, courtrooms, rotundas, lobbies, and stairhalls are often the finest gathering places in town. Where they retain their murals, polished marble, statuary, and decorative glass, the county courthouses function as museums of splendid period rooms and galleries.

For the most part, curatorship of these buildings has been left to the counties. The Historic Preservation Divison has passed through U.S. Department of the Interior grants for rehabilitation of the "old" former courthouses in Bayfield and Iron counties, but like other federal subsidies, those are now limited. If the courthouses survive in their historic forms, it will be because citizens and county officials recog-

nize their dimensions.

This essay was based on information prepared for a thematic National Register of Historic Places nomination form, approved by the Department of the Interior in 1982, and on individual nomination forms prepared for seven other nineteenthcentury Wisconsin courthouses. The author wishes to recognize the work of Leonard Garfield and Jeff Dean in particular in preparing the various nominations. Detailed information on the thirty-nine registered buildings is available in the nomination forms and in supporting files of the Historic Preservation Division of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

Iowa County courthouse, 1859, Dodgeville.



# Communities and Settlements on Wisconsin's Gogebic Iron Range Frontier, 1884–1894

By Arnold R. Alanen

hroughout most of the world, communities and settlements serve as the major depositories for material culture. Whereas studies of material culture generally focus upon specific elements within such settlements-artifacts, architecture, crafts, tools-the overall physical form or morphology of communities generally receives less attention from scholars and the general public. An understanding of the morphological characteristics of communities, however, can provide us with certain insights to a particular society or culture. The layout and organization of most American communities, for example, often might represent little more than efforts to realize such objectives as expediency, simplicity, and efficiency; nevertheless, the imprint of these plans and plats also mirrors our attitudes toward the land and the landscape, the visual environment, and the role of speculation in determining settlement patterns.

The rapid rise and demise of settlements and communities have seldom been more clearly spelled out than in resource-based regions of the United States. When the economic raison d'etre of an area, region, or community has been based upon the exploitation of a finite natural resource, be it timber, ore, petroleum, or whatever, certain forces were set into motion that often led to boom and bust conditions. Similar situations have also occurred in some areas of Wisconsin. The southwestern region of the state, by the early 1800s, was punctuated with numerous small enclaves situated proximate to lead mining sites. Some of these settlements disappeared completely when mining operations ended, but others were able to serve the subsequent needs of agriculture or other economic enterprises and evolved into permanent communities. The

metamorphosis of the state's second major mining region-the Gogebic Iron Range of northern Wisconsin-was somewhat different. During the first ten years of development (1884 to 1894) when the settlement framework for the ore producing area was established, numerous enclaves were developed to house and provide services for workers employed at scores of exploration and extraction sites along the fifty mile long portion of the Gogebic Range situated in Wisconsin. Only about fifteen early mine sites in Wisconsin ever provided any merchantable ore, and most of these were small producers that operated for no more than a few years. Because of this, virtually all settlements associated with diminutive or nonproductive mines disappeared from the map and landscape of northern Wisconsin, while the few longer-lived mines supported the communities that achieved permanent status. Unlike southwestern Wisconsin, subsequent agricultural developments along the Gogebic never proved adequate to provide a sufficient economic base for the development of a network of farm service centers. The needs of timber and tourist oriented activities in this northern area also could be satisfied by those few communities that survived the initial mining boom.

The ensuing account seeks to clarify a segment of Wisconsin's settlement history and geography that to date has been rather inadequately documented. Though this narrative must necessarily be brief, an overview of the early distribution of settlements along the Gogebic Range will be provided; this will be followed by a discussion of the physical features of communities that once comprised the settlement hierarchy of the Gogebic Range. The sources that have been used to provide this profile include county

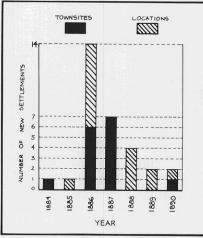
court house records, newspaper accounts, mining reports, manuscript documents, aerial photographs, geological and survey maps, oral interviews, and field notes taken by the author.

### Background

The first ore shipment from the Gogebic Range occurred in 1884 when the Colby Mine by Bessemer, Michigan, entered the production ranks. One year later the completion of a rail link to the new dock at Ashland saw the Germania Mine by Hurley emerge as Wisconsin's first Gogebic Range mine. During ensuing years exploration activities burgeoned, although relatively few sites ever produced any ore. One year after the Germania opened, eight other Wisconsin mines began to produce, and another seven extraction sites did likewise from 1888 through 1890. A portion of the work force at each mine site was housed in a nearby residential enclave known as a "location;" therefore, the date or origin for each location was considered to be equivalent to the year that the nearby mine shipped its first ore. Once it appeared that an area of the Gogebic Range might have exploitable ore, townsite promoters also sought to capitalize upon the land sales boom that was believed to go hand-inhand with successful mining activities. After Hurley was platted in 1884, thirteen other townsites were developed in 1886 and 1887, and one more in 1890. (Figure 1)

### The townsites

The overall distribution of townsites clearly reveals the speculative fever that swept along the Gogebic Range throughout its formative years. (Figure 2) During 1887 especially, the area was rife with speculators who sought to encourage people to purchase property in ventures that might have displayed little more than a few survey lines laid



out along the railroad tracks. Newspaper accounts quickly noted that a race for "supremacy" was being waged between Upson and Plumer, and reported that while Hoyt, Upson, and Finney had each experienced brief booms, people were unsure which town to consider for investment purposes. Altogether, twelve townsites were platted out in a ribbonlike pattern from Hurley and Mellen, while the far western end of the Gogebic was defined by the community of Pratt. Two settlements-Peeksville and Magnetic Center-also emerged some miles to the south of the Gogebic along an iron ore formation often termed the South or Messembria Range by local observers. Peeksville and Magnetic Center, as well as all of the mining settlements platted west of Upson, eventually were abandoned when nearby iron ore deposits proved to be nonproductive.

Figure 1. Annual number of new townsites and locations that emerged on the Gogebic Iron Range of Wisconsin, 1884–1894. Source: Iron ore production reports, newspaper accounts, and cartographic documents.

Only Mellen thrived on the western Gogebic, but the community's existence was tied to its role as a railroad junction point for iron ore being shipped to the docks at Ashland.

The physical characteristics of the townsites were either gridlike or rectilinear features. The Upson plat, for example, was similar to those formulated for other townsites such as Benjamin, Finney, and Hoyt. (Figure 3) Since each plat was laid out on a forty-acre parcel of land,

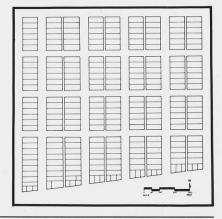
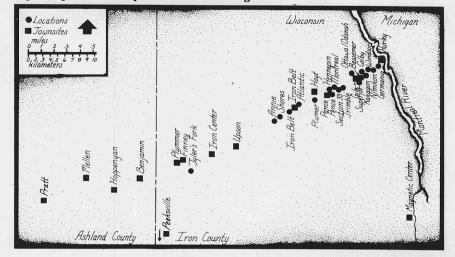


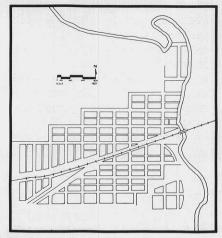
Figure 2. During the formative years of Gogebic Range history, townsites and locations developed between Hurley and the Mellen area, but most mining settlements west of Upson were abandoned when the quality of iron ore deposits proved inadequate. Source: See Figure 1.



the outer boundaries were precisely outlined by the survey lines that had been used to divide northern Wisconsin into townships and ranges only a few years earlier. The rail line that served these places generally passed along the northern or southern border of the townsite, while the interior blocks, most of which were of similar size, were bisected by an alley. All interior streets were 40' in width, and the avenues displayed a standardized width of 60'. Unlike the majority of settlements along the Wisconsin Gogebic Range, Hurley experienced such a population gain that it was necessary to expand the community beyond the original townsite boundaries. After new subdivisions began to appear north of the railroad tracks that bordered Hurley in 1884, the rectilinear features of the original plat simply were continued in a similar manner. (Figure 4)

Figure 3. The gridlike features of the Upson plat (1887) were similar to those displayed by several other early Gogebic Range townsites. Source: Adapted from the original plat for Upson filed in the Iron County Courthouse, Hurley, Wisconsin.

Figure 4. The initial plat for Hurley (1884) was situated south of the railroad tracks, but by 1891 several additions had expanded the townsite beyond its original boundaries. Source: Adapted from a map in the V. Lemmer papers, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.



Sanitary and living standards in the early towns could be considered little more than primitive. Observers from other areas of Wisconsin claimed that the use of contaminated drinking water in the Hurley area led to dysentery, diphtheria, and kindred diseases; supporters of Hurley quickly sought to refute these charges, just as they attempted to point out that prostitution and vice were no worse in their town than in any other frontier settlement of the country. At the same time that alleys, streets, and backyards were reported to be "frightfully filthy," especially after the snow had melted in spring time, developers were touting the electric lights and sidewalks that provided a "splendid approach" to their new subdivisions.

### The locations

While the townsites were platted in a rigid, organized, and monotonous manner, most of the early locations were spontaneous, irregular, and disorganized creations. These random patterns emerged when the miners built their shacks and houses on unplatted land; somewhat later, circuitous roads and pathways laced the settlement together, albeit in a rather helter skelter manner. Accounts from the

late 1880s noted that the larger locations had from fifty to seventy dwellings, although the smallest consisted of little more than a few ramshackle houses strung out along a single path. The appearance of the locations had changed very little by the time Cleveland landscape architect Albert Taylor observed them in the early 1920s. Noting that at each mine there was "a conglomeration of short streets developed as needed, upon which houses face or back at the pleasure of the individual owner," Taylor concluded that the lack of clearly defined roadways and sidewalks made "the streets appear rudimentary and unfinished." Since there were few through streets in the locations, residents used the roadways as cow pastures. To keep the animals out of individual gardens and yards, the streets were lined with fences. According to Taylor, the need for enclosures, as well as different fence types and maintenance problems, "handicapped" the progress of the locations. Finally, the assemblage of outdoor sheds, privies, and wood piles, coupled with a virtually complete absence of trees and shrubs, resulted in a landscape that was stark, barren, and devoid of visual amenities. (Figure 5)



Figure 5. The barren, treeless landscape proximate to the Ottawa Location was indicative of conditions found throughout much of the Gogebic Range. Source: A. D. Taylor, *Improvements Report on the Montreal Mining Company Properties in the Ironwood District, Michigan* (report deposited with the Iron County Historical Society, Hurley, WI).

Summary

To the casual observer, a mining region might have represented little more than a confusing array of machines, buildings, and transportation facilities surrounded by a scarred and pockmarked landscape. Mining regions, however, embraced much more than technological features, especially when one considers the communities that housed the thousands of anonymous individuals who lived and worked in such environments.

The basic physical features of the communities that developed on the Gogebic Range of Wisconsin were quite similar to those found throughout the entire Lake Superior iron ore mining region. The early Gogebic Range, however, served as the locale for the most rampant speculation ever experienced in the region; therefore, the communities of the Gogebic serve as classic examples of the promotional schemes, both legitimate and otherwise, that so often accompanied the development and exploitation of this nation's natural resources. Many townsites, platted and promoted before the potential productivity of adjacent mine sites had been determined, were quickly abandoned once ore deposits proved to be marginal. Even the communities that did survive beyond their formative years were laid out with virtual disregard for the most elementary planning principles. Conditions in the locations that were built on company land were no better, for here the residents lived in primitive quarters and also were subject to the direct controls of a mining firm or a mine site developer. Though conditions in the communities improved gradually during the twentieth century, the 1884 to 1894 interim on the Gogebic Range, poorly documented though it may be, stands out as an active and volatile period of Wisconsin history. The settlements of the Gogebic serve as the most important physical expressions of the economic, social, and cultural conditions that were experienced on the largest iron ore mining region of the state.

Sara Leuchter received her B.A. from Bryn Mawr College and her M.A. in American history from UW-Madison. She is an historian/archivist with the State Historical Society of Wisconsin and recently edited the *Guide to Wisconsin Survivors of the Holocaust*. She also serves as president of the Madison Trust for Historic Preservation and lives in an older home on Madison's east side.

Lewis Koch is a visual artist living in Madison. Working primarily as a project photographer, he divides his time between documentary work and personal aesthetic goals. His photographs have been exhibited widely and are in such museum collections as the Museum of Contemporary Art in Chicago, the Corcoran Gallery in Washington, D.C., and the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, and others in the U.S. and Canada. Project awards have included grants from the National Endowment for Arts, the Wisconsin Arts Board, and the Wisconsin Humanities Committee.

Jeff Dean, director of the Historic Preservation Division, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, serves as Wisconsin's State Historic Preservation Officer. His 1981 book, Architectural Photography: Techniques for Architects, Preservationists, Historians, Photographers, and Urban Planners, was published by the American Association for State and Local History. Dean was coauthor of Historic Wisconsin Architecture (1976), Historic Preservation in Wisconsin: A Manual for Communities (1977), and Design in Wisconsin Housing: A Guide to Styles (1977), and the original ordinance of the Madison Landmarks Commission. He has published numerous articles and photographs on historic architecture and on historic and traditional canoes and their builders and is president of the Wooden Canoe Heritage Association.

Emilie Tari has been curator of collections for Old World Wisconsin, operated by the State Historical Society of Wisconsin since 1975. She received her B.A. and M.A. in art history from UW-Madison. In 1980 she received a grant for a research project in Norway comparing furniture typology and construction for nineteenth century rural Norwegian interiors.

Barbara Wyatt is chief of the Survey and Planning Section of the Historic Preservation Division of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin and has worked at the Society for five years. Educated at Hartwick College in Oneonta, New York, and at Utah State University in Logan, Utah, Barbara Wyatt has held positions in historic preservation in Utah, Texas, and Georgia and with the National Park Service, Rocky Mountain Regional Office.

William Green attended Grinnell College and received an M.A. degree in anthropology from UW-Madison in 1977. He has been staff archeologist in the Historic Preservation Division of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin since 1978. His archeological field work includes excavations in Israel and England as well as in the Midwest, and he has taught archeology courses at Western Illinois University. He is editor of The Wisconsin Archeologist, the quarterly journal of the Wisconsin Archeological Society. The present paper is a muchrevised version of one presented in 1981 at the 111th annual meeting of the Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts and Letters in Madison.

Thomas Barden is an associate professor at the University of Toledo where he teaches folklore, literature, and writing. He has a Ph.D. in literature from the University of Virginia. He is coeditor of Weevils in the Wheat: Interviews with Virginia Ex-slaves (Indiana University Press) and editor of The Travels of Peter Woodhouse: Memoir of an American Pioneer (Ocooch Mountain Press). In 1979 he was coordinator of the Pine Valley Folklore Project and in 1980 a collector for the Wisconsin Humor Project, programs funded by the Wisconsin Humanities Committee on Wisconsin's traditional culture. He met Halsey Rinehart through the Pine Valley project.

Diane Filipowicz, a native of Manchester, New Hampshire, did undergraduate work in the history of art and architecture at Wellesley College and graduate work in the history of architecture and preservation planning at Cornell University. After serving for a year as architectural historian with the South **Dakota State Historic Preservation** Office from 1978-79, she accepted and still holds a similar position with the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. She is the coauthor of a study of historic architecture in Jamestown, New York (publication pending), and is concluding a study of domestic architecture of the 1930s in Madison, Wisconsin.

Arnold R. Alanen has a Ph.D. in geography from the University of Minnesota. Associate professor of landscape architecture at UW-Madison, he has written extensively on the settlement history and geography of the Lake Superior region. He helped to found, and currently coedits, Landscape Journal, published by the University of Wisconsin Press.



# **BOOKMARKS/WISCONSIN**

IN THE WINK OF AN EYE by Kelly Cherry; New York: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, 1983. 305 pp. \$15.95.

### By Richard Boudreau

Miguel, a caudillo from the streets of La Paz, and Rosita, fetching guerilla who paints her toenails for her country, share their zipperedtogether sleeping bags (simultaneously) and his Fruit of the Loom jockey shorts (nonsimultaneously) in the Green Hell of Santa Cruz State in Amazonian Bolivia. Ramon, radicalized during a peace march he mistook for a registration line on his first day at the Universidad in Madison, Wisconsin, in Los Estado Unidos, acts as Miguel's Marxist intellectual and advisor, but is in love with Rosita.

Meanwhile in the Bowery of New York an oxyacetalene-torch-wielding sculptor by the plain name of Jane is in trouble for winking at the requirements of the estimated tax clause (total penalty: \$16) and is being shadowed by Neal "Nails" Sumter, a disillusioned, middleaged IRS agent worried about his daughter's virginity. A disgruntled city engineer, John Lovett, of Tulsa, Oklahoma, stumbles on a plan to effect tax rebates for all citizens by holding the entire country hostage. Noelle Rowe, an 18-year-old barmaid in a London pub, receives an inspiration to organize a massive strike against everything, and her first recruit is the Queen Mother.

That bizarre cast of characters comes uproariously together in this subsupercilious melee, Kelly Cherry's third novel. Using money (laundered, of course) they stole from the Euro-Bolivian Real Estate and Livestock Co., Miguel and Ramon buy out the company's holdings, which consist of all of Santa Cruz State, attract workers from the rest of the country, drill for oil, and turn a pretty capitalistic profit. Miguel soon annexes Bolivia #1, proclaiming Bolivia #2. To avoid a Brazilian takeover of his fiefdom, Hermann App, "The Mad German of the Amazon" and real power on the continent, arranges certain revolutions so that Miguel becomes El Presidente of all of South America.

The American and Russian ambassadors come calling, the one offering peace and missiles, the other, peace and tanks. A special invitation to the Oval Office to meet with the President follows. While John Lovett's threat to the nation's water supply brings the country to nearstandstill, Jane organizes a national taxpayer's revolt. Caught between those pressures and the need to borrow money from App for the tax rebate, the President agrees to make the United States in effect a satellite of South America, and Miguel becomes the "Plenipotentiary of the Two Americas." Noelle, leaving the picket line under the direction of the Queen Mother, flies to New York to join forces with Jane, and both then fly to see the Plenipotentiary in Bolivia.

A mere sampling of such scenarios suggests how easily these nictitations serve as grin-producing and sometimes discomfiting satire. There is a stirring (stirring of Watergate memories) parody of the Nixon White House strategies, including a dedicated agent of the President who ate a rat when he was twelve and intends to write a book, something about will and power. Piper Lovett tries to save her marriage with John through attempts at being the sensuous woman at one time and the Schlafly submissive wife at the other; neither work-or more precisely, both work-for about fifteen minutes. Besides the United States being reduced to colonial status, England sinks into the sea, its people hauled off as refugees by boat (the QE II, of course) to Pakistan (which to maintain its racial purity has a quota) and India.

The whole melange of rambunctious transpirations is deftly handled by Miss Cherry with, let it be said, wit: quotations from Che Guevarra inserted in trivial or ironic contexts; memorable bon mots, such as "Ars Longa, sex isn't"; humorously twisted trivia as in Rosita's official title at one point— First Posslq, an acronym from the U.S. census form, "person of opposite sex sharing living quarters"; incongruous references, to Alice (in Wonderland), L. L. Bean, Helen Reddy, the Evil Queen (from Snow White), Walter Cronkite, Twinkies, Mao Tse Tung, Time, and National Geographic, among many; and fun

with chapter titles, some nearly as long as their chapters, and chapter lengths, ranging from a single sentence to many pages.

And before these extravagant shenanigans are over, the Pope (who is Bulgarian and agent of the KGB), the Queen Mother (who never did see eye-to-eye with Maggie Thatcher), the Plenipotentiary (who has taken up with Jane), and other oddments of dramatis personae are preparing to take the unbelievable action of . . . !

But you'll have to find out for yourself, that is, unless you are genetically straight-faced and prefer forty winks instead of only one.

Richard Boudreau teaches American literature at UW-La Crosse and specializes in Wisconsin authors.

TUNES FOR BEARS TO DANCE TO by Ronald Wallace; Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1983. Pitt Poetry series, 64 pp. Cloth \$12.95; Paper \$5.95.

### By Barry B. Powell

The theme of this warm book is the sorrow of sonship, the joy of fatherhood. Wallace remembers the slow, cumbersome death of his crippled father, dying three times in ten years: "a festering bedsore has burst/to the surface, shredding his skin/like lettuce; his tailbone is/a thin spike of rot." We sentimentalize childhood, but poets remember the truth. Eithr daddy is dying, flying away to heaven in "... his motorized wheelchair/out of that sea-green room/beyond their careful arrangement;" or it's old Grandmother Grace, her feet "fat boats of cancer," who lived in Williamsburg, Iowa. She began the day with lavender kisses (opprobrious to boys), had a picture of Jesus on the wall of her every empty room, and taped dimes to her letters to encourage the Christian faith. Children live in a world of the dying, but grownups don't know that.

How different the world peopled by one's own children. The best

poem in the collection tells of the little girl born microcephalic, "face pinched and ugly," awful like a bug. Now this father makes "painful plans," wants to "swat you away, smash those cries against wall or ceiling." He keeps her anyway. At four, the child is normal: "I remember the picture you drew/the day we knew you were healthy,/the picture of me and you. You said,/a picture of two bugs, hugging." Wallace's language loves crazy sound effects. He makes music with words: the "thin zither, dizzy tickler,/hissing its breathy, arresting/whistle of fizz and spittle." I like this kind of stuff. Best of all is when Ron Wallace altogether lets loose, drops his poetic wit like a stone into a phantasmagoric illusionistic paradise of bizarre anything-can-happen, for example when "This morning my socks/opened their mouths/and swallowed my feet." Or when in "Fat: In Love" (great title): "Squat on the fat bed, eating,/my heavy stomach hunkering,/I loll, baggy as old pants,/sweat dropping from me in globules. ..."

Ron Wallace is a most gifted young poet. His heart's as big as the midwestern sky, his ear's finetuned to the tintinabulation of contemporary American speech. In this, his third book, he gives us life whole. its anguish and joy, pleasure and sadness: what else poetry's mission?

Barry Powell, professor of classics at UW-Madison, teaches ancient Greek and Roman poetry.

**BLACK SETTLERS IN RURAL** WISCONSIN by Zachary Cooper; Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1977. 28 pp. \$1.25. DANES IN WISCONSIN by Frederick Hale; Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1981. 32 pp. \$1.50.

FINNS IN WISCONSIN by Mark Knipping; Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1977. 39 pp. \$1.25.

GERMANS IN WISCONSIN by Richard H. Zeitlin; Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1977. 32 pp. \$1.25.

NORWEGIANS IN WISCON-SIN by Richard J. Fapso; Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1982. 40 pp. \$2.00.

SWEDES IN WISCONSIN by Frederick Hale: Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1983. 32 pp. \$2.00.

THE WELSH IN WISCONSIN by Phillips G. Davies; Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1982. 39 pp. \$2.00.

WISCONSIN INDIANS by Nancy Oestreich Lurie; Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1982. 68 pp. \$2.00.

### By Lee Burress

The State Historical Society of Wisconsin has performed a delightful and useful service to the citizens of Wisconsin in publishing these eight pamphlets which describe several of the ethnic groups of the state. Perhaps the most useful function of this short review is to call these materials to the attention of the readers and to urge them to purchase the pamphlets for themselves and for their libraries. A major caveat of this reviewer is regret that the reports could not have been longer. The many photographs are fascinating as they bring to the mind of the viewer a sense of the living reality of persons and ways of life now long gone. Most, though regrettably not all, of the reports have bibliographies for readers who wish suggestions for further reading.

Zachary Cooper's short report on black rural settlers in Wisconsin shows that blacks, both during and after the Civil War, paralleled the white world in the westward movement. A partial explanation for the limited amount of black migration to Wisconsin is offered by the evidence of prejudice when sixty petitions were sent in 1863 to the legislature requesting prohibition of black immigration. Cooper reports also that in the Pleasant Ridge community of Grant County, when

a black named Samuel Gadlin, a Union Civil War veteran, was believed to be courting a white girl, her father killed Gadlin. On the other hand, in the Cheyenne Valley community of Vernon County, there was "considerable intermarriage between Afro-Americans and the surrounding Norwegians, Irish, and Bohemians." Cooper's report will make a good contribution to a more complete history of blacks in Wisconsin.

Six of these reports, dealing with the Welsh, Finns, Swedes, Norwegians, Danes, and Germans, have considerable similarity. There were similar reasons for migration, for example. The agricultural economy of Europe, for various reasons, did not provide employment for the growing population. The slow development of industrialization did not provide employment for displaced artisans or agricultural workers. Religious conflicts, a desire to avoid the draft, and democratizing impulses complemented the economic motive for migration.

Other topics covered in these reports include the hardships of the voyage to the United States, the number of settlers, their distribution across Wisconsin, early occupations, acculturation, English language learning, marriage or intermarriage, ethnic newspapers, ethnic churches, and eminent persons. Relatively little attention is paid to folklore. These six reports emphasize the nineteenth century rather than the twentieth century, in contrast for example, to the more impressionistic report of Fred L. Holmes, Old World Wisconsin, (Eau Claire: E. M. Hale & Company, 1944).

Space does not permit justice to Nancy Lurie's superb report, Wisconsin Indians. Lurie makes clear the complex situation of the approximately 35,000 Indians living in various tribes, bands, communities, and urban settings. The report is historically organized with thirteen pages of pictures, two maps, and a limited bibliography. The report brings the reader up to the year

1979. It includes not only historic origins of Wisconsin Indians and the processes by which various reservations were established in this state, but also events of the recent past, including the termination of the Menominee tribe, the seizure of the Alexian Brothers facility in Shawano County, and the effort of the Menominees to repeal termination. This sixty-six page report should be required reading for every citizen of Wisconsin. It would also be useful for an educational unit on Wisconsin Indians.

These reports, with additional material, would make excellent books for use in classes in Wisconsin history.

Lee Burress, professor of English at UW-Stevens Point, is active in the Wisconsin Folklore and Folklife Society.

WISCONSIN SAMPLER Madison: Northword, 1983. 193 pp. \$9.95.

### By Howard Kanetzke

Of the many definitions of "sampler" in the dictionary, perhaps this one is most descriptive of Northword's recent publication *Wisconsin Sampler*: "a decorative square or rectangular piece of needlework, typically having the alphabet, family names, and dates embroidered on it in various stitches as an example of skill."

Certainly, Sampler displays the writing skills of the contributors just as stitchery displays needlework skills. While writing is not normally a visual art, many of the selections in this paperback are so descriptive and evocative that readers may recall similar experiences of their own. Sampler reflects memories of diverse people, all of whom have the ability to remember and communicate their experiences in ways that allow us to participate in them. Evidently the editors took great care to preserve the flavor and style of contributors to the collection. The fifty-odd stories in Sampler will probably reach out in different ways to each reader. Those that I find no reason to linger over may cause others to pause for reflection in a flood of personal memories.

In allowing us to recall past events, memory is an important ingredient in history. Memory is both individual and personal, and we know that when several people witness the same event, multiple accounts will result. Yet, even given the disparity of these accounts, they can add substance and transform impersonal accounts into more individualized, distinctive ones.

The editors chose "10:10 Lullaby" as the opening selection to introduce a slice of long-ago Wisconsin. Blanche Lindblad recalls the sights, sounds, and smells of Sanborn, Wisconsin, to create a kaleidoscope of images that allow us glimpses of a winter in another time.

Mother doing applique. Mother in a beaver coat—pelts trapped by Dad. Dad, in black half-sleeves, shaving lumber in his office, for a sled. The mill-pond, pre-tested, bonfires, clampon skates, shadows, mystery. Sore throats, and a swab of blue vitriol; turpentine and lard on the outside, and a sock. Dr. Andrus, from Ashland, in his sleigh.

The book contains samples of biographical sketches that introduce us to a variety of personalities. We meet Doc Kerscher who began medical practice in 1914 and served folk near Euren for more than sixty years. In "Memories of a Country Preacher," Clay Schoenfield examines his father's ministry from three viewpoints-through Rev. Schoenfield's papers, newspaper accounts, and personal memories of his father. "James Duane Doty: Master of Chicane" recalls the man and the complicated land deals that led to the location of Wisconsin's capital in the four lakes region. We see two views of cheesemaker P. H. Kasper—one through his own words and another with the eyes of a granddaughter. Though separated from each other in the book, the

two articles combine to present a rounded impression of this craftsman.

Family traditions are also shared in Sampler. "Tree of Candles" presents a family that decorated its tree with candles earned through doing good deeds for others. "Drummer Boy" is a graphic remembering of a shadowy ancestor. "The Saturday Matinee" is a childhood memory of the family outings in the upper balcony of a downtown Milwaukee movie house. The Erickson family discovered that "Swinging Was Our Thing" as the porch swing became a setting for family events.

Reminiscences that are tightly focused on small topics can unlock a flood of memories in readers. Consider "Ode to Overalls" by Justin Isherwood. If you ever wore overalls, read this essay and let your experiences and memories mingle with those of the author.

My favorite story was written by Louise Coleman. "When Milkweed Went to War" recalls that 1940's fall when school children were urged to collect milkweed seeds for use in life jackets for servicemen. I, like countless others I am sure, had forgotten that week. Yet, halfway through Louise's article, I suddenly found myself in the company of comrades of long ago. The hillside was covered with stalks of milkweed, and our gunny sacks were filled with fluff. There was a white haze as the breeze carried the seeds that had escaped our fingers . . .

There are links between our senses of sight and smell and memory. Perhaps it is with this in mind that several contributors for *Sampler* included recipes. What memories might these recipes conjure up in your memory storehouse: sourdough buckwheat pancakes, baked fish a la Flambeau, pineapple upside-down cake, buttermilk flapjacks, or muskie chowder?

Some of the contributions for Sampler come from the popular Yarns of Yesteryear Contest which has been responsible for the collection and preservation of a large collection of Wisconsin memories. In a sense, books like Sampler are re-

written with each reading because every one of us has a different set of memories to react with those on the printed page.

RIVER CITY MEMOIRS by Dave Engel; Wisconsin Rapids: South Wood County Historical Corporation, 1983. 120 pp. \$13.95.

### By Howard Kanetzke

River City Memoirs is an interesting mixture of chronology, historical vignette, personalities, and yarns. It draws together a series of articles published in the Wisconsin Rapids Daily Tribune between 1980 and 1982.

An unspoken and unintended message in a typical American history textbook is that "history always happens somewhere else." When we turn to books of local history/memory, we discover that history did, indeed, also happen at these places. Such books can give us glimpses of how ordinary people coped with and responded to the issues that we find outlined in history texts. "Mapping the Mud" gives us a look at the travel directions from Stevens Point to Grand Rapids (now Wisconsin Rapids) in the days before highway signs and maps. "The Pecan Line" was built by local promoters at the time that railroads were expanding across the face of the nation. This article places that expansion of that transportation system in the local setting where it can be observed.

Some of the tales recalled in this book could have happened anywhere—"A Nickel a Head," for example. Yet this story of observant, ambitious youngsters is a part of the fabric of this community.

Photographs are important to publications that explore local stories. They help place the local readers in a familiar environment and, at the same time, provide a contrast of the past with the present. Taken together, the photographs in this book combine to present a visual image of Wisconsin Rapids's past.

Dave Engel has a sense of humor in approaching local stories. An in-

troduction to his book includes this quote of Diedrich Knickerbocker: "What important beings are we historians! We are the sovereign censors of who decide upon the renown or infamy of our fellow mortals—we are the benefactors of kings—we are the guardians of truth—we are the scourgers of guilt—we are the instructors of the world—we are—in short, what we are not."

Fortunately for the reader, *Memoirs* presents a fairly wide range of impressions of Wisconsin Rapids's past. As such, it provides an introduction to the community to outsiders and an opportunity for residents to smile and reflect.

Howard Kanetzke is school services coordinator for the State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

E. M. GRIFFITH AND THE EARLY STORY OF WISCONSIN FORESTRY (1903–1915) by F. G. Wilson; Madison, WI: Department of Natural Resources, 1982. 67 pp. Limited free distribution.

### By Frank N. Fixmer

This thin, soft-cover booklet treats a most significant period in Wisconsin forest history. F. G. Wilson, a long-time member of the Wisconsin Academy, required twenty years of research supplemented by his records of personal experiences to produce this absorbing account of the contributions of the first chief state forester to the early development of the forestry and conservation program in Wisconsin.

Wilson is not only an historian but has made history as well. He was hired by Griffith in 1911 as the result of the first civil service examiniation given in Wisconsin for the position of forest ranger. He subsequently established the first state forestry headquarters, the first system of lookout towers for fire detection, and the first state-operated tree nursery. He further served the former Wisconsin Conservation Department in various highly

responsible positions before his retirement in 1952.

Wilson vividly describes the problems from 1903 to 1915 and the progress toward their solution under Griffith's leadership. With almost seven decades of enlightened conservation policy since that era to benefit from, we find it difficult to understand today the opposition to Griffith. That antagonism was fostered by land developers, agricultural promoters, and even by some members of the lumber industry who had the most to gain from a sustained forest protection and management program. Griffith ended his eleven-year tenure disillusioned with the political process which determined the constitutionality of a state forestry pro-

In his final chapter Wilson describes how the years following Griffith's departure from Wisconsin vindicated most of his earlier policies and doctrines. The ultimate passage of basic legislation originally advocated by Griffith eventually resulted in the literal "greening" of Wisconsin. A belated tribute to Griffith's foresight occurred at a session of the Vilas County Board in November, 1953, when a board member declared, "We have just adopted a land use ordinance; we have our county forest, the first state forest has developed, and the plantation at Star Lake has become an attraction: we have industry forests owned by paper companies, and our recreation resources draw thousands, not only in summer. We have done everything Mr. Griffith advocated: He should have had our support."

Frank N. Fixmer, secretary-treasurer of the Forest History Association of Wisconsin, is a retired forester.

GIFT OF THE STRANGERS by Kay Saunders; Hancock, WI: Pearl-Win Publishing Co. (Box 300, R.R. 1), 1983. 166 pp. \$8.95.

By Lenore M. Coberly

Who are you? We reply, I am an accountant with the state, a housewife and volunteer, a professor specializing in thermodynamics, a news delivery person with the Journal, a member of the school board, or a host of other activity-related identifications. Later we say we are retired professors or former salespeople, keepers of empty nests, or full-time volunteers. But for those in the final days of life, imprisoned in bodies spent in living, or those who have always been disabled without a productive place in a society that demands products, the question is seldom asked and the implied answer is, if I am anything I don't know it. I am me.

That is the point where a few sensitive people have begun to listen and, as Kay Saunders, writer and leader of poetry workships in the Appleton Extended Care Center, discovered, with a little help they will begin to say, we are writers. Gift of the Strangers is a book about eighteen such writers and includes examples of their poetry.

The book tells about Mrs. Saunders' growth as a writer and a person through her efforts in behalf of nursing home patients. With only Kenneth Koch's *I Never Told Anybody* as a resource she went on to develop her own methods of stimulating the writing process and the whole mental process as well.

Her husband, George Saunders, contributed photographs of extraordinary sensitivity. One of wrinkled hands writing with a ballpoint pen, "Love is magic. . ." is not easy to forget.

Social work journals are beginning to report on the therapeutic benefits of writing, but it will require people like Mrs. Saunders, who are themselves writers, to have the success she reports in her book. This is an important book for all who care about nursing home residents but especially for those who decide how money for programming for the residents is spent.

### The Maintenance Men

The maintenance men are so nice to us, / They fix up everything we

need. / They are always around with a smile or grin / from chin to chin. / Maintenance men are clever, / They know how to work my wheelchair lever, / paper walls and sweep the floor / and at 4 o'clock they walk out the door. // /

Neal Chudacoff

Lenore M. Coberly, credentials chairman of the Wisconsin Fellowship of Poets, is a teacher of writing in the Creative Arts Over Sixty project in Dane County. She is coauthor with Jeri McCormick and Karen Updike of a text on teaching writing, Writers Have No Age, to be published in the spring by Haworth Press.

BROTHERS AND STRANGERS: THE EAST EUROPEAN JEW IN GERMAN AND GERMAN JEW-ISH CONSCIOUSNESS, 1800– 1923 by Steven E. Aschheim; Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1982. 331 pp. \$25.00.

### By Sara Leuchter

The emancipation of Western European Jewry during the nineteenth century introduced a critical dichotomy into Jewish historical development. While Western European Jews, especially the French and German, were enjoying enlightenment and emancipation, Eastern European Jews remained politically disenfranchized and clung to a "traditional" Jewish culture. The resulting dialectic tension was felt most acutely in Germany, particularly given its common border with Poland, from which a steady stream of Eastern European Jews (Ostjuden) flowed westward. To these newly emancipated German Jews, for whom assimilation into German culture was imperative, the Ostjude represented a disdainful reminder of the past.

The ways in which German Jewish intellectuals reacted to the threat of the Ostjude and the manner in which the perceptions of the Ostjude were manipulated by the German Jews as they sought their own place in modern Jewish life are examined with precision in great detail by Steven E. Aschheim in Brothers and Strangers. The book received the first Mark H. Ingraham Prize, awarded by the University of Wisconsin Press to a first work by an author in any subject. Aschheim, who studied under Professor George Mosse at the University of Wisconsin, is currently visiting senior lecturer of German cultural and intellectual history at the Hebrew University in Jerusa-

As Aschheim notes, "assimilation was not merely the conscious attempt to blend into new social and cultural environments but was also purposeful, even programmatic, dissociation from traditional Jewish cultural and national moorings." To the German Jew, the Ostjude represented the embodiment of negative traits the Western Jew had successfully overcome: religious fanaticism, dishonesty in economic dealings, communication in jargon (Yiddish), and physical uncleanliness. Repudiation enabled German Jews to ascribe to the Ostjude those negative traits commonly attributed to Jews in general.

Aschheim painstakingly details, over several generations, the reactions of German Jews toward the Ostjude, among them: the assimilationists, who desired to see Judaism spiritualized (so that it would be recognized purely as a religion); the liberal Jews, who felt a sense of responsibility toward their Eastern brethren, especially during the great migration of 1881-1914; and the radical (or "second generation") Zionists, who, believing that Germanness and Jewishness were incompatible, admonished the whole of German Jewry to "commit themselves to Jewishness and personal settlement in Palestine.'

This surprising shift in attitude prompted many German Jews to reexamine Eastern European Jewish culture, which they had so thoroughly shunned several generations before. In part, Aschheim credits this rise in a so-called Jewish nationalism to the influence of the German "Volk" ideology; German Jews, in search of a "Volk," looked to the ghetto Jew as a genuine cultural hero. After all, it was the Ostjude, not the German Jew, who had retained his Jewish identity through prayer, language, and community.

The advent of World War I, argues Aschheim, signaled a new urgency in the concept of the Ostjude in the German and German Jewish consciousness, for Germany's occupation of Poland in 1915 brought German soldiers face to face with the realities of Eastern European Jewish life. German anti-Semitism flourished as the government established policies conerning the Ostiuden, and the German populace saw food supplies dwindling as 70,000 additional Eastern European Jews swelled their ranks. As the war progressed, anti-Semitic attacks were no longer aimed solely at the Ostjude—all Jews were to blame, regardless of their national origin. The period between 1918-23 saw almost daily outcries against Jews, many of whom were arrested and thrown into detention camps. Election posters portrayed Jews as leeches on German society and urged Germans to vote for Christian candidates.

By the end of the war, German Jewry had embraced a romanticized view of the Ostjude as cultural hero while, ironically, the Ostjuden viewed their German brethren as cold, assimilated, and formal. As Aschheim notes, the images of one another had been inverted, and "as Eastern European Jews moved slowly out of the ghetto, there was a realization that the predicament of the German Jew was the general predicament. Modernity brought to all Jews the dilemma that had confronted German Jewry."

Aschheim concludes that the Ostjude and the German Jew were mirror opposites, bound to each other. The Ostjude, as the representation of a "genuine Jew," was

an essential ingredient in German-Jewish self-definition, thus making it impossible for German Jewry to ignore or decry its Eastern brethren.

Brothers and Strangers is a complex work. Aschheim consulted a wealth of archival sources, the most detailed records of German and German-Jewish life of the period. The book's contribution to the understanding of modern Jewish culture and consciousness is immeasurable. However, the book will appeal mostly to scholars of Jewish and modern German history because of its strict adherence to historical detail. Also, many of the German and Yiddish words and phrases are not translated more than once in a chapter, and the research notes at the back of the book make it difficult to find immediate explanations to certain references. Despite these minor flaws, the book offers astute commentary and fills a void in the body of cultural and intellectual history of modern Jewish development.

Sara Leuchter, historian/archivist with the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, is editor of the Guide to Wisconsin Survivors of the Holocaust.

FISHES OF WISCONSIN by George C. Becker; Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1983. 1052 pp. \$75.00.

### By Donald H. Rusch

In view of the state's abundance and variety of fish and prominence in limnological research and progressive fish management, it is somewhat surprising that a comprehensive work on the fishes of Wisconsin has not been published previously. But when one recognizes the depth, breadth, and complexity of *Fishes of Wisconsin*, one can fully appreciate why this book, twenty-five years in the making, was not published before. This volume was well worth waiting for.

George C. Becker, a longtime member and former vice-president for sciences of the Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts and Letters, is emeritus professor of biology and curator of fishes at the University of Wisconsin-Stevens Point. Most of the distribution records in the book are a result of extensive collections by Becker and his students.

The attractive dust cover features a muskie protrait by Virgil A. Beck. The massive volume includes 280 black and white and 171 color plates, 333 line drawings, and 324 maps. There is a Wisconsin distribution map and a North American range map for each of the 157 fish species known in the state. The major sections of the book are Wisconsin Waters, Wisconsin Fishes and Fishery Management, Fish Parasites, Glossary, Keys to the Fishes of Wisconsin, and the Species Accounts. Also included are extensive references and a useful index.

Becker's concern for the welfare of Wisconsin fishes and their habitat, set forth in the preface, is evident throughout the book. Much in the introductory sections is concerned with the ecosystem impacts of pollution, fish transplants, exotics, and fish management techniques such as chemical control.

The excellent glossary will be most useful to readers who want to use the key to the fishes of Wisconsin. As a novice user of fish keys, I found these to be unambiguous and easy to use. The excellent line drawings that accompany the keys clearly highlight diagnostic characters and greatly facilitate use of the keys.

The historical material on fish culture and stocking, often painstakingly assembled from obscure, unpublished sources, was both informative and interesting. The extent and magnitude of historic fish transport by man is truly remarkable, and, as Becker notes, often influenced present distribution of Wisconsin fishes.

It is unfortunate that we cannot always manage fish in accordance with the widely embraced goal of preserving biological diversity. Specific data to support action programs are often lacking, but some action is nonetheless needed because of the multitude of continuing demands upon our aquatic resources. Thus Becker acknowledges the need for control of the sea lamprey in the Great Lakes, despite his widely shared aversions to chemical and single-species approaches to management.

The species accounts comprise the bulk of this remarkably comprehensive book. Anatomical descriptions, systematic notes, distribution, status, habitat, and biology are thoroughly covered, often including previously unavailable material from obscure sources or Becker's own studies. Resource planners will appreciate Becker's assessment of species status and recommendations for management. The distribution and range maps complement each other and the text. In many accounts, simple yet elegant line drawings effectively supplement descriptions of fish anatomy and behavior. The same cannot be said for the photographs of all 157 species. Many prints have poor contrast and resolution, and as Becker acknowledges, colors of museum specimens are often misleading in the color plates. Some plates, especially those of fish portraits, are good, but many others, especially those of preserved specimens, add little. This book will certainly be a standard reference for biologists in Wisconsin and neighboring states for many years to come; perhaps many of the poorer plates can be replaced in future editions.

This monumental volume will assume a prominent place in the natural history literature and is a fitting capstone to twenty-five years of dedicated study of the fishes of Wisconsin by Professor Becker.

Donald H. Rusch is leader of the Cooperative Wildlife Research Unit and associate professor of Wildlife Ecology at UW-Madison. He is also an ardent fisherman.

# Letters



Dear Editor:

The December issue of the Review arrived a few days ago and, noting the subject matter, I started to browse with more than the usual anticipatory pleasure. I expected, of course, to read somewhere in it a piece about my former place of employment. I refer to the U.S. Forest Products Laboratory, since 1910 a fixture of the Madison campus of the University of Wisconsin and known the world around as the first institution of its kind, devoted entirely and exclusively to research on the utilization of wood, including pulp and paper. How could you overlook us?

Not only did you virtually ignore FPL, you failed even to mention the fact that one of your authors, John McGovern, spent many years with us in pulp and paper research. Only his postretirement affiliation with the University of Wisconsin is mentioned.

Frederick A. Strenge Bayonet Point, Florida

The December issue of the *Review* is superb. I am sending a check for a copy to send to my brother-in-law who got his Ph.D. at the Appleton Paper Institute. I do not want to part with my copy.

Hanford Earl Johnson Polatka, Florida

The September 1983 isue of the Review was, in my mind, one of the most outstanding issues in the many years of the Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts and Letters. I would like to encourage you to include more articles dealing with the social sciences in future issues.

Douglas L. Rabbach Watertown, Wisconsin

# Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts and Letters Corporate Members

Consolidated Papers, Inc., Wisconsin Rapids

**Exxon Corporation** 

Johnson Controls, Inc.

**Kohler Foundation** 

**Norman Bassett Foundation** 

Oscar Mayer Foods, Inc.

Wausau Insurance Companies

Webcrafters-Frautschi Foundation

Wisconsin Electric Power

Wisconsin Power & Light Company

Funding for this issue provided in part by the Exxon Corporation.

# WISCONSIN ACADEMY REVIEW

1922 UNIVERSITY AVENUE MADISON, WISCONSIN 53705

**Address Correction Requested** 

Second-class Postage Paid at Madison, WI