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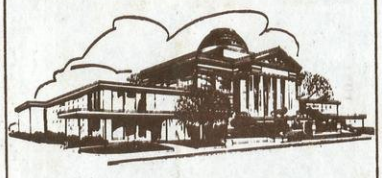

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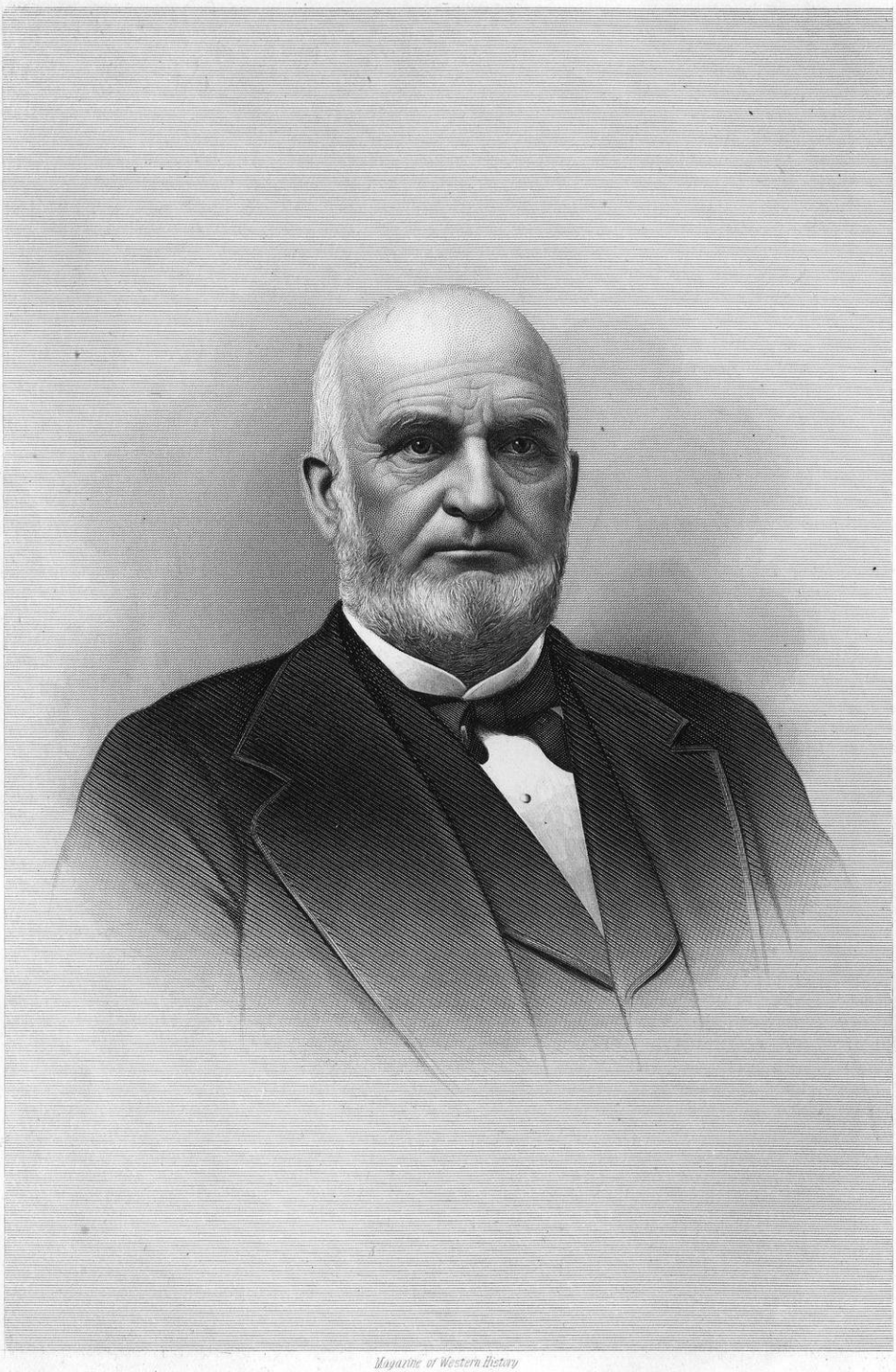

Magazine of Western History

Philetus Sawyer

HISTORY

WINNEBAGO COUNTY

WISCONSIN

ITS CITIES, TOWNS, RESOURCES, PEOPLE

BY

PUBLIUS V. LAWSON, LL. B.

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AND

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IN TWO VOLUMES

VOLUME I

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Why long to visit lands remote
Whose beauties charm the eye?
Where could we find a fairer spot
Beneath a clearer sky!
Aye, here's a place to live and die,
Without a wish to roam;
Our natal spot, a long good-bye,
We've found another home.
Then cheerily we'll raise the cry
We never wish to roam,
For there's no place like Wisconsin,
Our wild Wisconsin home.

The pathless woods have disappeared,
The prairies wave with grain,
And sounds of industry are heard,
Throughout our wide domain.
Now taste and wealth united reign,
Religion rears her dome,
While busy commerce flows amain
And learning finds a home.
Then raise again the blythe refrain,
Fond ring the welkin dome,
Oh! there's no place like Wisconsin,
Our wild Wisconsin home.

—By Robert Shiells, Neenah, 1850.

O there's nothing like Wisconsin
When snow is on the ground,
The merry sleighbells ringing
Through all the country round;
When boys and girls are full of glee
And dance around the Christmas tree.

CHORUS—
O there's nothing like Wisconsin,
My wild Wisconsin home.

—By W. W. Wright, Oshkosh.

INTRODUCTION.

Winnebago county leads in population all others with one exception in the state and thereby becomes a most important factor in the civic, educational, religious, moral and business activity of the commonwealth. Its historic rivers and lakes, the most important in the state for water power and navigation, has ever made it the central figure in early and later events. In the earliest days its position on the great route leading from the fur trading marts of Canada to the Mississippi river has brought the region into all the history of the West. This system of rivers and lakes made it the earliest home of the Winnebago Tribe, the first of the savages to locate in the state, and the occasion of the visit of Nicolet, the first white man to visit the region and hold a great council with this tribe.

The river and lakes, with its game and soil, was the factor that held the Fox tribes within its borders so many years, and their presence and independence brought about a half century of bloody war, said to have so weakened the resources and finances of France in Canada as to have lost that rich territory to England. The westward march of the white man led these tribes to seek the chase farther west, and the Menominee moved along their trail and claimed a large share of its rich lands on the eve of settler days. With them came the trading post and the government mission of Neenah, which became the nucleus of the oldest and most beautiful city in the county.

The great black forest of pine stretching through the north region of the county along Rat river, a slow moving, glittering ribbon in a wealth of wild rice covered with a myriad of ducks, and way north along the Wolf river, where towered untold millions of feet of clear cork pine, the most splendid forest in the world, never ending until trailing into spruce it died away in the perpetual arctic circle. The little mill with its lazy up-and-down saw at the mission in Neenah commenced to cut away at this vast range of towering timber way back in 1835. Then a mill over at Omro and at Algoma took up the task, and at the same period sixty years ago a little mill at Oshkosh was slash-

ing into that towering forest. Year after year the trees were cut and run down the river, first in logs, then in rafts, then in fleets, then millions on millions of feet came down the streams with each spring flood. Mills were built, then more mills and improved mills; then sash and door factories, then furniture factories, and Oshkosh grew each year, always in the lead, the second city in the state. The romance of the forest of wood still goes on—men got rich, people got prosperity, great cities grew up. It made senators, congressmen, governors. The front of the great forest receded northward. The great county and cities remain, and thus was hewn from a saw log the wealth of 60,000 people. The rich soil and vigorous climate which in older days had charmed the savage now became the inspiration of the settler. The lands once bought from the Indian tribes for 1 cent an acre, sold by the government for $1.25 an acre, now everywhere thrifty with growing crops or milch cows and improved with happy homes, is worth $125 an acre. The pioneer was a wheat raiser; but the invention of John Stevens, of Neenah, of the roller mill brought into economic use the hard wheat that could not be raised in our climate, changing the method of farming and the great industry now is the dairy and creamery.

A half century past a single red frame paper mill at Neenah had been leased for one year at the first cost of the mill. Then was begun in this county the great paper-making industry that, spreading from here over all the state, has become one of its most important industries.

In enterprise, wealth, energy and literature, splendid men and women, the county—both country and city—has no equal in the history of any time or place.

In gathering the immense amount of material required in the preparation of this important work, the authors have been embarrassed to arrange, sort out and select such as had historic value and could be regarded as correct, and may have left out subjects or inserted some matter others would have used or discarded; but they have endeavored to cover every representative subject and relate the story of all the various interests impartially. As there has been no history published of the county for thirty years, and no history ever published of the important cities of Oshkosh, Menasha and Neenah, it will be seen that this story covers the period of all its success and prosperity and required us to seek original sources for its details. P. V. L.

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THE HISTORY

OF

WINNEBAGO COUNTY

I.

NATURAL PHENOMENON.

The county of Winnebago is in eastern Wisconsin, in the middle Fox river valley, about forty miles west of Lake Michigan, thirty-five miles south of Green Bay and eighty miles north of Milwaukee. It is within fifteen miles of the center of population of the state. Lake Winnebago lies along nearly the whole of its eastern boundary, except three miles of its northeast line in town Menasha, where it joins Calumet county on the east. The counties of Waupaca and Outagamie join it north, Waushara and Green Lake counties west, Fond du Lac county south.

The surface is undulating or rolling, but on a general level of about fifty feet above Lake Winnebago, which is 170 feet above the surface of Lake Michigan. The soil is glacial till, and the boulders frequently met with, especially in the rivers and lakes, give the best evidence of the presence of the glacier. The soil is rich agricultural land, and was early selected by the pioneer for desirable farm sites.

Beautiful Lake Winnebago, the largest lake in the state, contains 350 square miles. The lower Fox as it leaves this lake breaks into two channels surrounding Doty Island, which is about three-quarters of a mile wide and one and a half miles long, a beautiful island covered with giant oaks and elms. The waters of these two channels descend over rapids with a fall of about ten feet into Little Lake Butte des Morts, making the

water power of the cities of Menasha and Neenah, located on either channel. The upper Fox river enters the county near its southwest corner and traverses the central part of the county, entering Lake Winnebago, midway of its north and south range, at the city of Oshkosh, having passed the villages of Eureka, Omro and Butte des Morts; and by a wide broadening of this river above Oshkosh, it has formed Great Lake Butte des Morts. The Wolf river, rising near the north boundary of the state, enters the county at its northwest corner and joins the Fox below Winneconne, near the center of the county. Lakes Winneconne and Poygan in the northwest corner of the county are drained by the Wolf. Rush lake, a small rice lake in the southwest corner of the county, is drained by Waukau creek into the Fox river. Thus the county, with its six lakes and two great river systems, not only has splendid drainage and no marsh or poor land, but drains the watershed of a quarter of the state. The annual rainfall is thirty inches. The numerous lakes and rivers are extensively enjoyed by the citizens and strangers in yachting, fishing and hunting. The waters of Lake Winnebago are used by the waterworks at Oshkosh and Menasha, both for public, domestic, drinking and culinary purposes.

Originally the land area of the county was mostly covered with hardwood trees, such as oak, elm, basswood, ash and hickory. The wild fruits were plums, cherries, crabapples, and strawberries, raspberries and blackberries, while the streams and lakes abounded in fish, wild fowls, beaver and martens, and the woods with the deer, bear, wolf and rabbits.

The geological formations of the county do not have a wide range, as they are among the oldest of the sedimentary rock which remain, the later formations of several hundred feet in depth having been eroded or worn away many ages ago. Beginning at the very base or bottom rock, there is the granite or primordial rock which is found at 700 feet deep in the eastern border and about 200 feet in the western. The granite does not outcrop in the county. On this granite there is a formation of about 400 feet of Potsdam sandstone. Above this there lies a rock layer of varying depths of Lower Magnesian limestone, the surface of which is rolling, and therefore often protrudes through the layer of St. Peter's sandstone laid down over it. It is for this reason that wells sunk to reach the St. Peter's sandstone frequently do not find it, as they strike the top of a knob of this limestone measure. Above the St.

Peter's sandstone there is a layer of possibly 200 feet of Trenton limestone, and the lower part of the Galena limestone.

The sedimentary rock layers generally dip toward the east under Lake Winnebago at the approximate angle of twenty-three feet to a mile. This brings their broken edges to the surface where exposed on the western side. The upper rock is all removed from the Potsdam in the western border of the county. The upper Fox and the Wolf rivers as well as Lakes Poygan and Winneconne have their beds mostly on this sandstone. Their eastern flood planes have sharp escarpments or bluffs and outcrops of the Lower Magnesian limestone. Other local outcrops of Lower Magnesian limestone noticed are west of Rice lake, where the rock is observed, and in Nepeuskun; also northwest of Winneconne, where the rock becomes billowy, the hills rising to forty feet. In the outcrops in town Winneconne the phenomenon of mud cracks and ripple marks is found in the rock layers and fossil casts of Ophileta. At Eureka there are ledges of the Lower Magnesian limestone, where it contains a great quantity of flesh colored chert, which was possibly utilized by the savages for arrow points. In these Lower Magnesian layers are found opalescent quartz crystals and the rock is punctured with almond shaped cavities which once contained chert or crystals. The rock is used for foundations and was used in the construction of the lock in the Fox river canal at Eureka. In the town of Poygan, the western line of the Lower Magnesian limestone in the county, it forms a line of bluffs. A quarry has been opened in this layer and a kiln for burning lime erected.

The spouting artesian wells along the upper Fox river have their force and source from the Potsdam sandstones, the water from which is highly prized as being quite free from lime.

The St. Peter's sandstone has very few exposures in the county, because of the mass of glacial drift obscuring its outlines, although it may always be found just below the Trenton limestone, and found along its edge. The St. Peter's is not a compact stone, and weathers to sand on exposure, which makes its edge appear more like a sand bank than a rock measure. The sand of this measure is a clear crystal white sand and sought for use in the manufacture of glassware and window glass. A factory was established in 1876, at Omro, for the manufacture of window glass and shades from St. Peter's sandstone, obtained near Waukau. A six-pot furnace was erected, having a capacity of 800 boxes per month, and the results were highly

satisfactory, though the operation of the works was discontinued.

The St. Peter's is highly regarded as a drinking water zone and all well drillers attempt to sink their drills to it, assured of a supply of good water. At the Gilbert Paper Company's mill at Menasha the St. Peter's was found at 500 feet. It will be found at constantly decreasing depth toward the west.

The Trenton limestone is the sub-rock of all the county excepting that part described above, and is the rock found beneath the earth covering of most of the county east of the Fox and Wolf rivers. It does not outcrop at many points because of the mass of glacial till covering the surface. It is found at the surface or near the surface in a wide circle around the cities of Menasha and Neenah, where it is quarried for building and architectural purposes, and used for rubble stone, and crushed for macadam roads and streets, and for grouting in laying cement walks. On Doty Island the rock surface is eleven feet below the surface. A ledge extends across the north and south outlets of the lake at the mouth, or entrance to Lake Winnebago, and for a space of several acres on both sides of the channel at Menasha. The rock is blue and hard. Captain George Stein built his house of this rock on Broad street in Menasha. The layers of rock all dip to the east.

There is a notable elevation of the Trenton limestone into a ridge about two hundred feet high, north and south, through central Clayton and western Vinland to the village of Butte des Morts. As the high winds always come from the west, it has been suggested that this Clayton ridge has thus far modified the severity of the winds and protected the cities of Menasha and Neenah.

The quarries one mile south of Neenah and Hunt's quarry north of Menasha, and the quarries two miles south of Oshkosh, are the very first layers of the Galena limestone period. Both the Trenton and Galena have small pockets of lead, but it is not found in any quantity. Calcite crystals are common, and in the form often of dog tooth spar. Zinc blend is quite common, but not in economical quantity. The combination of these minerals makes handsome hand specimens. Iron pyrites, filling vertical fissures, traverses the quarries.

Artesian water can be obtained by sinking wells into all the rock layers under the county down to the granite, which contains no water. At the asylum north of Oshkosh a well was

drilled 961 feet in depth. The drill first cut through clay, gravel, sand and loose material for sixty feet to the surface of the solid rock; then through a layer of 240 feet of the Trenton and Lower Magnesian limestone; then through 414 feet of sandstone; then into the primordial granite or original framework of the earth, 248 feet. The drilling into granite for water is a waste of time, as it contains no water. This well had reached its water limit at 714 feet, the surface of the granite. On Algoma street in Oshkosh a well was drilled in 1876, of which Mr. K. M. Hutchins kept the readings. The drill reached solid rock at ninety-two feet, and cut through 208 feet of limestone, 380 feet of sandstone and fifteen feet into the granite, making a depth of 695 feet. It seems in these wells that the St. Peter's sandstone is entirely wanting, and the limestone area is the Lower Magnesian and Trenton combined, and the sandstone area is the Potsdam, which is credited at places with 1,000 feet in depth. The well at the asylum discharges 22,000 gallons per day, and the water is of the best.

The Hudson river shale and Niagara limestone to the extent of 700 feet in depth once covered the county and the site of Lake Winnebago, but was many years since worn away, and is now represented in the cliffs east of the lake seventeen miles away.

The glacier once covered the county; its main body, known as the Green Bay lobe, followed the ancient course of the Fox and Rock rivers, directed by the bluffs on the opposite side of the lake. The striae on the rock surfaces in the county show a westward and southwest direction. Whenever a rock surface is exposed in the county it is found to have been scraped and polished by the glacier. The loose earth of the county is nearly all rock rubbish rasped from older rock to the north, transported and deposited here by the glacier. The gravel beds, sand beds and yellow clay deposits found in the rolling hills are the natural sorting of subglacial rivers made by the melting ice and confined between its walls in crevices. There are some fine examples of eskers or fossil glacial river beds, in ridges, met with at intervals. A notable instance is the one along the ridge road from Oshkosh to Blair's springs, in town Menasha.

The glacial material filled all the ancient preglacial water courses, including the lakes. Prior to the glacier Lake Winnebago was the bed of the Fox-Rock river. The ancient channel was filled at Fond du Lac and Appleton and a new one made

after the recession of the glacier. The Champlain sea, the great lake of water melted from the retreating glacier, left a lacustrian deposit of red clay along the lower levels. This is now found along the rivers and lakes. It is a good brick clay, and burns cream color. This red clay filled the site of Lake Winnebago and the smaller lakes and rivers. At the close of this period the land was elevated or tilted, and the Fox and Wolf rivers, both as very large rivers, discharged their waters south through the Wisconsin to the Gulf of Mexico. At Oshkosh the waters poured in torrents through a gorge thirty to forty feet deep and over a waterfall or rapids which extended from a point half a mile out in Lake Winnebago through Oshkosh for a distance of six miles. Where the water is now thirty feet deep at the North-Western Railway bridge there existed a cataract. All these surging waters and picturesque sites of earlier days are now buried by a deep, wide river whose waters flow into the lake and escape over a rock ledge at Menasha and Neenah which was only three feet below the surface of the water, before the canal improvement, and the waters now, by changes of level of the earth crust, seek the St. Lawrence drainage channels.

Beneath the lacustrine red clay deposits along the upper Fox river, and around Little Lake Butte des Morts, and over the towns and cities of Menasha and Neenah, there is a very large area of buried forests, covered by the red clay. The deposit is in the shape of leaves, moss and the trunks and limbs of trees, found at a depth of from ten to thirty feet. It is from this area that marsh gas frequently escapes and gives rise to futile prospects of gas wells.

The climate is temperate, cold in winter and warm in summer. The extreme cold in winter is twenty degrees below zero, though the usual winter weather is six degrees above zero. In summer the thermometer records seventy-eight degrees as the usual heat, but frequently it reaches 100 degrees. The region is regarded as unusually healthy, and a number of people who have lived a good part of their existence in the county have passed the one hundred years mark. In the winter months there is usually a fall of several feet of snow, making good sleighing for about three months. Lake Winnebago freezes over the last of December and remains frozen over until April 12. The ice, usually three feet thick, is harvested for domestic uses in the summer, and frequently

shipped to Chicago, being regarded as very clean, pure ice. The lower Fox river and Little Lake Butte des Morts seldom freeze over.

Among the commercial natural products there has been an industry established in brick making from the red clays. On the east shore of Little Butte des Morts, in Menasha, Mr. Patrick McFadden had a yard from about 1876 to 1885, operated by a steam engine, making some pressed brick, but more largely the common variety. About twenty men were employed. The firm of Schenke & Hanke operated a yard adjoining the above in Menasha from 1871 to 1890, making 2,000,000 common brick annually, burned in open scove kilns, using cordwood for fuel. The puddling and brick machines were operated with a steam engine. The brick were air dried. In the town of Menasha on the west side of Little Lake Butte des Morts, in 1876, Mr. E. M. Hulse & Son employed about eleven men in making common brick. He had three grinders. Near by, in town Neenah, Mr. J. Bailey in 1891, afterward Mr. E. Smith, and in 1899 Mr. Louis Hanke, operated a brick-making establishment near the above. Mr. Bailey had six grinders and employed twenty men in his time. Mr. Hanke operated by hauling the clay from the bank in a car, mixed it with sand and tempered it in a pug mill connected with the brick machine. The brick were made on a Sword machine, dried in hacks on the yard, and burned in a scove kiln. The capacity of the drying yard was a quarter of a million, and the kiln capacity was 2,000,000. It required six days to burn the brick and one-third of a cord of wood was consumed for each one thousand brick burned. The brick have a white or cream color, though the clay is red. In the city of Neenah Mr. R. Eisnach burned brick in 1885, and for several years, opposite the stove foundry. At present there are no brick made in the county.

Allied to this was the stoneware industry, established in Menasha as early as 1850 by Mr. Carlton and Cleveland B. Bachelder, using local red clay and mixing with Ohio stone clay for a slip. Three kilns were erected on Water street, west of Tayco street, for burning the jugs and vases. In 1870 Mr. Leonard Rohrer carried on the same industry near the above. About the same time Mr. Anton and Wenzel Hahn constructed a small pottery on Third street in Menasha, making drain tile and flower vases from local red clay entirely. These enterprises were all abandoned before 1875.

II.

PRIMITIVE PEOPLE.

Climate, beauty of location, rich soil, good fishing and hunting, it is natural to suppose, attracted primitive men to the region of this county in bygone days, as it eventually lured the mighty Indian tribes and later a great population of intelligent and thrifty Europeans. There is everywhere in the county archeological evidence of a once populous prehistoric occupancy. It is found in the numerous mounds, cairns, kames, village sites, shell heaps, and the vast quantity of stone, clay, bone and copper artifacts.[1]

The story of all these prehistoric tribes is lost forever except such meager evidence as is furnished by their monuments or artifacts. Much of this remains buried and only a part of that found is properly recorded. Many mounds have been destroyed and very few have been scientifically examined.

From a study of such evidence as is at hand it is discovered that the culture and art of the prehistoric peoples was high in the scale of primitive intelligence. They understood how to make fire, as shown by the charcoals and ashes found in the mounds and the shell heaps. They lived on the fish, animals and fruits of their beautiful wild woods home and cleared the land of its forest and piled up the small stones and made garden beds covering many acres in which they cultivated corn, potatoes, squashes, roots and tobacco. They were a peaceable people, not savages at war with their neighbors, though they possessed innumerable spears and bows and arrows, which were doubtless used in the chase.

They made immense quantities of earthenware, though only two or three whole ones exist now; there are great quantities of sherds scattered over the surface as well as in the mounds. Impressed on them is also found the numerous kinds of basketry and cloth manufactured by these people. It is truly surprising

[1]Most of the monumental evidence still to be seen was reported by the author in "Summary of Archeology of Winnebago County," published by the Wisconsin Archeological Society in volume 2, 1902.

to see the excellent quality of the product of these primitive looms; though the thread was mostly twined, the cloth was made in many patterns. Some few pieces have survived to us, but most of the product has long since crumbled to dust with this people and their history. The pottery is tempered with quartz, the same material used ever since the world over, even in the finest classic porcelain of China. It is a long story to explain that the culture of the Wisconsin neolithic man in the fabrication of earthenware was almost complete. He knew how to select, wash, wedge, temper and bake his clay. No potter ever knew more and improvements have only been made in appliances, or selection.

They worked, fashioned, broke, chipped and polished the diorites, hornblends, granites, flints, and all the hardest rock, into many desirable forms. The form of their axe, chisel, scraper hoe, spear, knife and arrow had the same form as the approved modern implements for similar uses. They made copper implements from float or glacial copper found among the boulders of the glacial drift. It was made into knives, spears, lances, needles, spuds and fish hooks, which are marvels of the coppersmith art.

They were intensely superstitious and loved to adorn their person with the most grotesque amulets and charms, beads and bracelets made of stone, bone, wood, copper, silver, lead and iron ore or crystals. They had passed far beyond that state of culture whose utilities are simply useful. Their activities were as much devoted to art for its own pleasure. They carved images of animals, birds, men and women on their stone pipes, on bone or copper; decorated their pottery with regular designs in shevron, dotted characters or lines and with fabric; made demijohns, bowls, dishes, with legs and handles. Carved human images and idols; used dyes to enhance the beauty of person and utilities; and colored their pottery. Had altars, temples and pyramids for worship of their complicated mythology, and represented many of its events in totems, in which we may possibly discover the cradle of the highly cultured Mayas and Toltecs.

These prehistoric people were wonderful travelers. The flints and stones of our county or state furnish but crude material for aboriginal art, yet these Etruscans of the west possessed a rich archeological collection. Their commerce was carried on from ocean to ocean and from Greenland and Alaska to Mexico. They possessed quantities of red pipestone only found

in Minnesota and western Wisconsin; much ivory from the walrus of Greenland; quantities of obsidian from the Rocky Mountains or Mexico; sea shells from at least two thousand miles away; beautiful shimmering quartzites, ivory chalcedon, jasper, tortoise shell flint, and many other kinds of foreign stone for their artifacts not found locally. The beautiful ribbed slate stone of their bird and banner forms, gorgets and boat-shaped ceremonials, were all imported. In exchange they probably carried the native copper of the drift or the lake mines to all accessible parts of North America. They were a prosperous, rich and happy people. History does not disclose that they were related to the Indian who came after them and who first met Nicolet here, almost three hundred years ago, although many students suppose they were related and it has been found quite impossible to separate the prehistoric art from the Indian art even in the mounds, because of so many intrusive burials.

Many of these prehistoric artifacts have been taken or sold out of the county. Every collection in Wisconsin and the Smithsonian, National and Field Museums have specimens from this county. There are two clay pipes in the Hamilton collection at Two Rivers, and one clay pipe owned by M. Weise of Elcho. There are several earthenware vessels in outside collections. Hundreds of copper specimens have been taken away. The county, and especially Doty Island, is rich in copper finds. The specimens found in this county consist of ceremonials, implements and decorative artifacts fashioned of copper, stone, ivory, bone, hematite, shells and clay. The prominent collections owned in the county, formed of materials gathered in the county, are: Clarence Olsen, Oshkosh, 10,000; T. R. Fowler, Omro, 3,000; Ernest Benedict, Butte des Morts, 3,000; H. H. G. Bradt, 200; Chas. Stever, Waukau, 3,000; P. V. Lawson, Menasha, 2,000; Dr. Titus, Oshkosh, 500; Geo. Overton, Butte des Morts, 200; Chas. Freer, Tustan, 800; A. Ayers, Black Wolf, 500; Mr. Besse, Black Wolf, 200; Clinton Elliott, Menasha, 700; Frank Ballister, Neenah, 200; Hon. Robert Shields, Neenah, 500; M. M. Schoetz, Menasha, 300; S. S. Roby, Menasha, 500; Miss Frank Roby, Menasha, 200; George Parks, Menasha, 100; George Jenny John, Neenah, 100; Menasha Library, Menasha, 100.

The Oshkosh Public Library has set aside a large, pleasant room for a museum and placed it in charge of Miss Frances A. Ford. They have purchased the fine collection of the late Hon. James G. Pickett, of Pickett, consisting of several thousand

aboriginal artifacts, and, with others collected, now possess about 5,000 specimens. It is desirable to make this a county repository of all finds in this county for a representative collection.

It is possible to make some separation of the nations into distinct tribes or periods of occupancy. First among these were the very rude Paleolithic people. Their chipped argelite implements are found along the Fox river and Lake Winnebago at Menasha. They are the same class of implements found on the surface all over the United States; but identified as to age by the Trenton gravels in which they have been discovered. Those who made them have been called the River Drift men. When they occupied our county we cannot say; but reasoning from other evidence would suppose they followed closely the foothills of the retreating Ice Age, which may have been many thousand years ago.

After a wide interval then came the Neolithic people. These were the first in all the world to domesticate the wild corn, potato and tobacco plant. They are generally known as the Mound Builders.

The Clam Eater seems to come next in ancient chronological order, though he may have been a modern habitant. The muscle shell heaps, which mark the refuse left from his barbaric feast, recklessly dropped on the floor of the tepee, are not numerous elsewhere in the state. They are here found around the shores of Lake Winneconne at the R. Lasley place, one and one-half miles north of Winneconne, where there were eighteen sites. In the village of Winneconne there were a number of shell heaps fifty years ago. At the Boom, on Lake Poygan, there is an area of three hundred acres which has numerous shell heaps, the evidence of a very extensive village, and including a large burial ground. There was a small village with possibly a dozen tepees on the west shore of Little Lake Butte des Morts. The principal food of these people was the muscle of the same species, still to be found in the adjacent lakes and rivers. Their tepees were often circular, but frequently very long and narrow, some of them 180 feet long and fifteen feet wide, as indicated by the shell heap left on its floor. Some of the shell heaps are still four feet high.

Of the art remains of these people, found in the shell heaps, their pottery was of a high grade, some tempered with black quartz and decorated with rush matting and cloth, as well as the usual conventional marking of aboriginal pottery of our

state. In the superficial examination made of them they have yielded two copper spears and three ivory harpoons. They contain quantities of animal and fish bones and great quantities of decaying clam shells. Bone implements are found in abundance. In the plowed over shell heaps of Lake Little Butte des Morts have been found two copper spear heads, many bone implements and a great quantity of handsome small arrow points of crystal quartz, quartzite, flint and chert.

The people of the Cairn burial may be any of the others, though they all have their own burial customs, and the archeologist must place these in a class by themselves. Examination has not been made to determine the culture of the people who thus protected the graves of their dead with a pile of stone. These stone heaps or cairns are usually about thirty feet in diameter and two to three feet high, made up of the boulders of the surrounding soil and now covered with moss, grass, bushes and trees. They are found along the Fox river, and among the shell heaps at the Lasley place, while one is found on the south end of Island Park, the old site of Wild Cat's village. The Winnebago Indians had a custom in their Virginia home of throwing up piles of stone to mark certain events as a calendar, and this may be their work for a similar purpose.

The Kame burial may be that of more modern races, though it seems to have been a type of burial in sand and gravel pits, and was very common. With these have been found copper and stone implements, charcoal and animal bones, pipes and numerous relics. These Kame burials are discovered in every gravel and sand pit in the county.

The expression of the highest art of the prehistoric residents of the county and state is the emblematic or effigy mounds. The wonderful earth pictures are rarely found outside this state. Many of these singular effigies are to be seen in this county. They are usually arranged in groups on the elevated lands along the rivers, lakes and streams, though often found on the bottom lands. Both the hill and emblematic mounds occupy the latest geological deposit of our state, hence they have been made in present geologic time. These different shapes are intermingled with each other in a group which often contains hill mounds also. The purpose of this grouping of mounds is unknown. Such a group often seems to be the clay sculptured hieroglyph upon a broad grass canvas, and this great pictograph, seemingly portraying the legends of war or mythology of these mysterious

people, has led some to give them the name of emblematic mounds. They are all sepulchral mounds and hence it is believed these singular forms are the expression of the clan name, as turtle clan, eagle clan. The stone circles, garden beds or corn rows, fortification mounds and many other artificial structures may be the work of any of these Neolithic people.

A beautiful sample of pictured mounds is found in a group along the parade grounds, beneath the ancient gnarled oaks, at Oakwood. One is on the brink of the fading bank, the arm or wing of one is held down by the corner of a house; another wing is nearly severed from the body of an animal effigy by the constant tread of many feet which have cut down the soil of the pathway a foot in depth, and most of them have been run over so much they are losing their identity. One has been deeply excavated for its contents and others have holes in them made by the same careless hands. There are eight mounds in the group, formed of red clay, from six inches to three feet in height. These tumuli are basso-relievo monuments, or representations of animals upon a gigantic scale. Three of them represent a peculiar type of bird mounds. The body is heavy and the wings close to the top of the head resemble a calf's ears. They are slender and nearly as long as the body. There is no neck and the head is very short in proportion to the other parts. The body is thirty feet in length and the wings from tip to tip sixty feet in length. The earth is raised at the highest part of one three feet and the others two feet. These monuments are unlike other representations of birds in having a short head, no neck and a fat body. They more closely resemble the shape of a worker bee. This shape is unknown and has not been illustrated before.

Paired with the bird mounds are three lizard mounds, one with each bird. All six animals are bound for some western destination, as they are headed in the same direction, moving in pairs in regular order of procession, two and two, along the bank of the lake. The birds are lined up on the inland side and the lizards in line nearer the brink. The largest lizard is in advance and seems likely to head off the birds. A description of one will suffice for all of them. It is 160 feet long, including a thirty-six-foot head, and thirty feet from foot to neck. The mound is rounded up to three feet high at the head above the surrounding soil. The most singular type of mounds in this interesting collection are the rings at either end of the settle-

ment. The animals seem to be hurrying by twos in a line from a large single ring on the east to a double ring on the west. The single ring is built up as an oval mound of earth six feet wide, one foot high, enclosing an oblong area about seventy feet long and forty feet wide. The double ring consists of a single ring similar to the above with a smaller ring within. This inner ring is forty feet long and twenty feet wide. There is a space of eight feet between them. These rings are unique. In this work one wonders at the exact circle at the ends of the link-like rings, the exact proportion of the body and wings of the birds, and all three effigies alike, with the right side a counterpart of the left. The tails of the lizards are as straight as an arrow and gradually reduced and tapered from the head to the tip, while at the neck the head is thrown back and the legs proportioned accordingly.

The great serpent mounds of West Menasha are the longest serpent effigies ever discovered.[1] The two mounds are located one and one-half miles west of Little Lake Butte des Morts and west of the farm of Henry Race. The country about is old farming land. One of the mounds has never been disturbed, while the other one has been plowed over in parts and largely removed with scrapers. The two reptiles are apparently rushing toward each other. Between their heads runs a very small creek four feet wide and dry in summer, but which in 1728 was large enough a half mile below to admit several hundred canoes bearing the French and Iroquois army which came to assault the Fox Indian village near by. West of the mounds the land sinks into a basin, so that they seem to lie along the edge of the sharp depression of about three feet to the basin. They are constructed of red clay similar to the surrounding subsoil, and with a few inches of vegetable mold on one and much more on the other. At the bottom of the slope along which they lie there is an artificial ditch extending their whole length, except at certain points in the one which has been plowed over, which is now from three inches to two feet in depth. It is deepest at the head and gradually grows less deep toward the extremities, where it disappears with the tails of the mounds. The stumps on the mounds are numerous and some of them three feet through, showing ages from forty to 150 years. The heads of the reptiles are not distinctly outlined, but are flat as if mashed. In the jaws of one there is a four-foot elm stump. One of the mounds

[1]See description and illustration, by P. V. Lawson, I. Wis. Archeo. 35, 2 do. p. 51, 1903, Oshkosh Northwestern, Sept. 3, 1898.

is a prominent feature of the landscape, as it can be seen from quite a distance. Its peculiar serpentine shape is very striking. The length of one mound is 1,210 feet, and of the other 1,580 feet, making for both of them a total length of 2,790 feet, or over half a mile.

A drawing of these immense leviathans, lying full length upon the ground, made on a scale of 100 feet to the inch, cannot convey to the mind any idea of the numerous coils and curves which make up the mounds. One great loop runs out twenty-five feet and returns within a few feet of its starting point. From the neck, the mounds grow gradually higher and broader toward the middle of the effigies, then as gradually and gracefully grow smaller and smaller until they disappear into the surrounding soil. The smaller one ends among a lot of stumps, and the larger one up in the top soil of a rock outcrop of Trenton limestone. The lands across which the mounds lie are divided into half a dozen fields with as many owners.

Doty Island was covered with great oaks and noble elms, and is now occupied by the cities of Menasha and Neenah. On this island there were known to have been nineteen mounds. The land is now occupied by houses, streets, fences and gardens, and the few mounds preserved are in small groves still standing, or but recently plowed gardens. All except one are found on a terrace which circles the east end of the island and marks the ancient flood plane of Winnebago lake and Fox river. In the southern part of the park, in the city of Menasha, there is a group of five of these animal mounds. In the plans made for the improvements of the park it has been arranged to preserve these mounds, and this portion of the park is named "Indian Gardens." Four of these mounds are of the type named by Lapham, "Lizard" mounds. The east "Lizard" mound is twenty-six inches high, and total length, 217 feet. A towering white oak tree two feet in diameter is growing on its body, and a small elm on its tail. The middle lizard mound is 125½ feet long. The body is twenty-two inches high. White oak trees thirty-three inches in diameter grow on each toe, and one twenty inches in diameter was recently cut from the body, and near the middle of the tail one thirty-one inches in diameter is growing. The west lizard mound has a much longer tail with a smaller body. Its total length is 200 feet; and twenty-one inches high. A twenty-seven inch white oak tree grows on the body. Its legs lie toward the west, the other two above described toward the

east. The heads of all these lie toward the south. The fourth lizard mound in the southeast corner of the park is nearly obliterated, as Park street is graded across it. It lays southwest across the street with its head toward the southwest, and was about seventy feet long. The fifth mound of this group is a turtle mound. It is fourteen inches high, thirty feet across from toe to toe, and thirty-seven feet from nose to where its tail ought to be. It is the only turtle born without a tail. On its head there is growing a thirty inch diameter oak tree. Its head is toward the south and it lies southwesterly.

About 600 feet south of this group in Neenah on the Geo. Webster lot there are two lizard mounds, with their heads in a southeasterly direction and lying within twenty feet of each other. Their feet are toward each other. The west one is 283 feet long and twelve inches high. The east one is 137 feet long and sixteen inches high. The head of the longest one has been much plowed over in another field, but its outlines are not entirely obscured. East of the above about twenty feet there was a similar mound, with head to south, now obliterated by the planting over it of a row of apple trees. South of this in the Wm. Stridde's lot there is one mound that has been much cut up. Over fifty loads of black mould were removed from it. But the mound was so high that its outlines have partly survived this as well as several years' plowing. A drawing of it appears most like a water pitcher, but it is supposed to represent a fish. It is seventy feet long, and from nose to tip of longest tail is 112 feet. A part of it is still thirty inches high and one part eighteen inches high. East of the Wm. Striddie lot, down on the lower land toward the lake, there existed twenty years ago, in the native woods, another lizard mound, which was at least three feet high and about 150 feet long, with its head lying in a southwesterly direction. It was entirely removed when the track was graded for the Island driving park, in the City of Neenah.

Part of the group is on the premises of Roberts' summer hotel, which is the old homestead of Gov. James D. Doty. The first one near the driveway and entrance gate is a circular mound forty-five feet in diameter, two feet high. It appears, however, to have a head and two feet, and may have been made as a bird or turtle mound. Across the driveway there is an oval mound now only three inches high. Further toward the house there is one that is thirty inches high, sixty feet north and south at front leg, and seventy-one feet east and west across the body, which

may have been a bear mound. Its exact outline has been disturbed and was much obscured by grass when surveyed. In the rear of the house is an oval mound twenty feet in diameter, two feet high; and in the barn lot a mound that was deep in grass when surveyed, but has the appearance of a bird mound. It is two feet high and sixty-three feet in diameter. It has been plowed over and the wings and tail are but indistinctly made out. A twenty-one inch diameter decayed oak stump is on its head. West of this last mound, in a vacant wooded lot which is in grass but may have been plowed over, is a fish mound. Its head lies against the fence on Fourth street, Neenah. It is eighteen inches high, forty-eight feet long, fifteen feet wide. Its two fins are three feet long and its tail about fifteen feet long. On the body there is a fourteen inch oak stump, a six-inch hickory tree and an eight-inch hickory tree.

All these mounds seem to have been made of materials at hand. Those in Smith park are made of red clay and the others of sandy or gravelly earth. The mounds are rounded and gently slope to the level ground, no excavation appears near any of them. The straight and exact lines and graceful curves, and proportioned size of all the effigy mounds bear witness to considerable art. None of these mounds have been excavated to explore their interior arrangements or contents.

The hill or oval mounds are distinguishable from the effigy mounds, and referable to a different object, and possibly made by another nation or tribe. They are also made of earth and are oval or conical in design or oblong. They range in height from one to fifteen feet. There were hundreds of them in the county and therefore we can only mention a few of the locations.

In former years before Lake Winnebago had eaten away the lands on which it stood there was in the east side of the City of Oshkosh, at an equal distance between Washington and Merritt streets, a beautiful circular oval hill mound. It stood close to the shore in 1865 and had nearly disappeared by 1875. It has been entirely washed away with the soil on which it stood. Originally the soil was only one to three feet above the lake toward which it sloped. This has been described to the author by Mr. Charles Nevitt of Oshkosh. It was eight feet in height and about twenty feet diameter, slightly oblong. The old residents tell of a number of other mounds along the river in Oshkosh, but all trace and description of them seems to be lost. There was a number of groups of interesting oval mounds in the

Rush lake region. Many of them have been excavated, and one found to contain a stone coffin, which is evidence of another tribe, as stone graves are unusual in our state.

Of the fine group of eight hill mounds in the fourth ward, City of Menasha, only one remains, with some trace of the outlines of two others. Dr. I. A. Lapham visited them in 1850, and described them:[1]

"Half a mile from Menasha is a group of eight mounds about four feet high and from forty to fifty feet in diameter. They are on the southeast quarter of section fourteen, township twenty, range seventeen, not far from the shore of Lake Winnebago. This ground has been selected for a cemetery by the present inhabitants, who do not scruple to dig up the Indian skeletons to make room for the bodies of a more civilized race. The ground here, as in numerous other places, exhibits marks of former culture in rows or beds, very different from that of the modern Indians. These are covered with a dense forest of young and thrifty trees, the largest not more, perhaps, than 150 years old; so that the whole have grown up since the time of Marquette, or within 180 years." The tract of land occupied by these mounds, and formerly known as Little Prairie, has long since become a thickly settled residence portion of the City of Menasha.

The most notable example of the hill mound in the county was the Butte des Morts or Hill of the Dead in West Menasha, which was the largest mound reported in Wisconsin. A picture of it was made by J. O. Lewis in 1827, and by Dr. I. A. Lapham in 1850. Many historical events to be mentioned hereafter have taken place at this historic landmark.

Around this prehistoric monument there gathers through the rolling years a romantic interest, second to none, in the Fox river valley, richly laden with historic lore. The hill stood up boldly in plain view of all voyagers up and down the little gem of a lake, to which it early gave its name. It could be plainly seen in settlement days by the pioneers of Menasha and Neenah on the opposite bank of the lake. It was twelve feet high, sixty feet long, north and south, and thirty-five feet wide. It stood in the midst of a prairie 300 feet back from the lake shore, on a point of land that was thirty feet above the level of the lake, and the only high land on its west banks. In 1863 the North-

[1]Antiquity of Wisconsin, p. 61, I. A. Lapham, 1855.

western railway constructed a pile bridge across Little Butte des Morts lake, making a deep cut through this point on the south side of and within thirty feet of the mound. Subsequently they excavated and removed the gravel of the point over an area of about five acres, to a depth of about twenty feet, and with it, regardless of tradition or respect for the graves, went the "Hill of the Dead" all in the same mixture. The skulls and bones and relics of ancient kings were strewn along the right of way for miles. All such structures are considered the work of the mound builder race, monuments erected over the grave of some hero of these simple children of the forest. After one-third of this ancient monument had crumbled into the pit made by the busy pick and shovel a large pocket full of human bones was plainly exposed near the base. All about the outer surface, in shallow graves, were hundreds of skeletons, possibly of later date and so-called intrusive burials, as not being the objects of its construction. The early settlers and doctors often resorted to the mound for skeletons. One of them came near being the subject of a tragedy. As he bent over digging in the bushes and grass on the side of the mound Mike Krause, hunting deer, came out of the grove, and taking him for a deer had leveled his gun to shoot, when that instant the digger raised his head, just in time to save his life. As no burying ground has been found that may be traced to the Fox Indians, who resided from 1680 to 1763 within a mile of the hill, it is supposed that some of the intrusive burials were of that tribe.

A widely heralded and old tradition told in history, song and story, weaves a tale of how the Fox Indians, demanding tribute of all traders who passed the lake, finally became a nuisance not to be longer tolerated. And one Moran, covering soldiers in his bateaux, as if they were goods, came to the shore near the point, on the signal challenge of the tribe. As they crowded on the beach for presents up rose the bloody Frenchmen and killed, murdered and slaughtered, while a detached body had made a detour to the village and slaughtered the remnant of red men and women amidst the burning wigwams. This tradition ascribes the origin of the Butte des Morts to the burial of the Fox tribe. Whether true or not it is fixed in the legendary lore of our romantic valley.

A group of six mounds is located in section 23, on an open prairie elevated about ten feet above the Fox river, near the village of Delhi. The first mound is about ninety rods south of

the river. It was formerly six feet in height and seventy feet in diameter. In 1849 Mr. G. H. Elliott built his residence upon it, excavating into the mound for his cellar. It is said that no discoveries of any consequence were made during the digging. The site is now occupied by a barn. About 180 feet south there is a second mound measuring three feet in height and forty-five feet in diameter. The third mound is about 420 feet south of the former. It was sixty feet in diameter and six feet in height. Mr. Louis La Borde, a pioneer, built his house upon it, and in digging his cellar he disinterred human and animal bones. At a distance of about 420 feet south of the third is a fourth mound, which was formerly used as a graveyard by the La Borde family. This mound is seventy-five feet in diameter and six feet in height. The fifth mound is about 460 feet west of the last. It is eight feet in height and seventy-five feet in diameter. In 1846 this mound was employed by Mr. Luke La Borde as a root cellar. Mr. La Borde told Mr. H. H. G. Bradt that near its bottom he found a bed of charcoal and "a large mass of copper." Mr. Bradt recollects meeting Governor J. D. Doty at the La Borde's in 1849. When told of this find the Governor remarked: "We are in a country with a great, but I fear an unfathomable, history." The last mound in the group is situated in a cultivated field at a distance of 750 feet southeast of the fourth mound. It is eighty-four feet in diameter and eight feet in height. All of these mounds are constructed of clay and mold of the same nature as the surrounding soil.

On a range of glacial hills on the Cross farm in section one in northeast corner of the town of Winneconne, and on the summit of the most prominent elevation, there was a series of thirteen hill mounds within a distance of 900 feet, which in 1848 were about four feet high and conical in form. When the early surveyor passed these mounds they were prominent against the horizon for a long distance, resembling a row or cluster of balls, from which the surveyor gave the region the name "Ball Prairie," a name it has borne ever since and often placed on maps.

There were numerous trails over the county, their direction controlled by its rivers and lakes. From the mainland to Doty island both channels of the river was crossed by fords at the east end of the island and mouth of the river just at the margin of the lake. The south end of the lake Little Butte des Morts, where the big slough of town Neenah enters it was crossed in two feet of water from present City of Neenah to near the old

home of Joseph Jourdain in town Menasha. At Oshkosh the Fox river was thirty feet deep and not fordable. The river was crossed near the old trading post of Augustin Grignon, where there was more shallow water in the river and the wide marsh to cross, to the point on south side of Fox river at the point near the latter trading post of Robert Grignon. At Winneconne the Wolf river was twelve to twenty feet deep and not fordable. In the northern part of the county the Wolf could be crossed in low water. The upper part of the Fox within the county in town Rushford was fordable at a few points.

The fords determined the cross county trails. The Fox river trail, known as the "Tomahawk Trail" on the route from Green Bay to Fort Winnebago, was a very ancient trail. It came into the northeast part of the county, on the shore of the river and ran inland a half mile at Caldwell's (now Strobey's) island at the foot of Lake Little Butte des Morts, to reach a fordable place over Mud creek; it then comes back to the margin of the higher banks of the lake which lay above the flood plane or bottoms. It runs south along this higher land or margin of the lake, winding along the sinuosities of the headlands and down over the wide channels of ancient creeks until it passes the "Hill of the Dead," midway of the west bank of the lake; it then curves away from the lake on to a gravel ridge at Blair's Springs, which it follows to the Big Butte des Morts ford. Near the site of the Little Butte des Morts the trail can still be traced in the woods for a thousand feet, since used for a bridle path and then for wagon teams, and abandoned for the line highway. Some traces of the trail remains, about 500 feet in length at Blair's springs. Both these visible trails are in town Menasha. This trail was the highway up and down the river before and after white contact. It may not be out of place to add here that the beauty and fertility of the county was not the whole reason why it was so long and persistently populated by savages; but the natural defenses, impassable lakes and the deep rivers made the savage home nearly impossible of attack in primitive days. This was also the reason why the mound builder made it his home so many years, and the copper Kings found safe retreat, and the clam eaters were safe upon the banks of its deep rivers.

On land of Albert Frieberg on Long Point bay, on shore Lake Winnebago, in town Black Wolf, there stands on the shore at the waters' edge a great granite boulder, not much rounded, but angular, which is eight feet in diameter across the top and

stands five feet above the ground, and though a farmer excavated down its side for wild animals five feet he did not reach its bottom. It is a prominent landmark of the vicinity, where there are no other large boulders. It is the largest glacial rock in the county. On its top are two artificially excavated basins or "corn mills," polished like glass, about three inches deep. All about the vicinity are found stone axes, celts, arrow and spear points, the long, narrow corn rows or garden beds, and aboriginal graves. An interesting tradition or legend clings to the Manitou rock.

Another Manitou boulder of black gabbro, about eight feet diameter, has been pushed upon Island Park by the ice, to which cling Indian legends. On Doty island, on the river bank at the Governor Doty loggery, there is a black trap boulder, six feet long, three feet wide and three feet high, rounded and egg shape. Its weight is about three ton. On the top are two concave basin shaped highly polished depressions, which in former days were used to grind Indian corn or wild rice.

III.

THE WINNEBAGO TRIBE.

Origin.

Archeologists have concluded that the Winnebago were the first tribe of Indians who came to Wisconsin, as they made their first home on Doty island, and were there visited by Nicolet, the first white man to come to Wisconsin, and this war loving tribe of savages were so prominent in pioneer days they became the most important tribe in the state. Recent investigations have led many students of Indian history to suppose that the Winnebago were the builders of the mounds. They have been phonetically assigned to the Siouan family of Indians, a family which originated on the Atlantic coast.[1]

The Siouan tribes occupied a vast region, 70,000 square miles in extent, along the eastern foothills of the southern Alleghanies, from the Potomac on the north to the Santee river on the south, including all central Virginia, or one half the area of the state, and two-thirds of North Carolina, and all the northeastern portion of South Carolina, with an Atlantic coast line of 200 miles in the Carolinas. The Catawba and other cognate tribes of the Siouan stock related by archeologists through a study of scraps of their language occupied parts of these regions down to a very late date. This region is regarded as the "original home of the Siouan race." That the migration of the tribes of the plains was from the east is evident from "the older dialectic forms to be met with in the east, and the concurrent testimony of the Siouan tribes themselves." The language of the east was older in its forms than the cognate dialects of the west. The movement was doubtless by tribes and slow, constantly fighting their way along the pathway to their future home. After crossing the mountains they passed down the New and Big Sandy rivers to the Ohio, down which they slowly passed, remaining a long time at

[1] For complete reference to the Winnebago tribe and their history see Lawson's "Winnebago Tribe," published in Wis. Archeo, 1907.

the falls of the Ohio, now Louisville. As early as 1701, Gravier said, the Ohio was known to the Illinois and Miami as the "river of the Arkansa." The name of the tribe is now Kansa or Quapaw of the Winnebago branch of the Siouan stock, living then on the lower Arkansas river. Traditions of the Osage, Mandan and almost all the tribes confirm this. Two of the plains tribes, the Kansa, cherish sacred shells which they assert were brought with them "from the great river of the sunrise." It is possible that the Winnebago also brought the sea shells with them. They have been found in large numbers in Wisconsin. Mr. Clarence Olen of Oshkosh has several picked up in Winnebago county. When the migration took place is not known. Doubtless it was of gradual progress during several centuries. When De Soto looked over the broad Mississippi from the Chaska mounds at Memphis in 1541 he found these "Capaha" or Kwapa, the southern branch of the Winnebago, already established on the western bank, though still a considerable distance north of their later location on the Arkansas river. The name Kwapa signifies people living "down the river," the converse of Omaha, which means "up the river." "In their slow march toward the setting sun the Kwapa probably brought up the rear, as their name lingered longest in the traditions of the Ohio tribes, and they were still near that stream when encountered by De Soto."

The principal reason of this movement from Virginia was the presence, both north and south, of powerful and hostile tribes leaving them only one way of retreat across the mountains. As late as 1728, as mentioned by Byrd, the Iroquois had "an implacable hatred" for "the Siouan tribes of the south," who still clung to their ancestral domain.

From the mouth of the Ohio the Winnebago worked their way up the Mississippi. As they are first known from Champlain's map (1632) as located on Lake Winnebago it is supposed they made the journey by the Wisconsin river to the Portage into the Fox river, where they descended to the spot on Doty island, under wide branching oaks and elms, which they occupied so many years. There is evidence in their traditional wars with the Illinois, the Menominee, the Potawatomi, Sauk and Foxes, that the maintenance of this Siouan wedge in the beautiful region of lake, forest and prairie, occupied very soon for hundreds of miles in all directions by Algonquian tribes, was attended by constant and bloody warfare.

The oldest map of the region, now known as Lake Winnebago

and the Fox river, is Champlain's map of 1632, on which he names the "Nation des Puans" on a lake named "Lac des Puans," which discharges itself through a long river to Lake Superior. That the map was intended to represent Lake Winnebago and the Fox river is now accepted and seems the correct interpretation from the later known habitat of the Winnebago. This map was said to be made up from information furnished by western Indians visiting at Quebec. It furnishes the evidence that both Lake Winnebago and the Fox river were the earliest names of all the physical objects in Wisconsin, and the lake has ever since retained the name given it by Champlain, two years before any white man had been within several hundred miles of the state.

It was two years after the date of this map that Nicolet visited Wisconsin in 1634, "delegated to make a journey to the nation called 'Gens de mer,' People of the Sea, and arrange a peace between them and the Hurons, from whom they are distant about 300 leagues westward." The account of Nicolet's journey was not published until 1643, nearly ten years after his visit, and then only mentioned as an incident in western travel, giving such vague description of places and topography that it was not until over 200 years afterward that John G. Shea discovered, in 1852, that "Gens de mer," the People of the Sea, referred to the Winnebago, and that Nicolet visited Wisconsin; and the year (1634) of his coming was not settled until 1876. In 1643 Jean Boisoeau's map was published, in which he followed the main topography features of Champlain's map, placing "La Nation des Puans" on "Lac des Puans," and named the river from which it discharged "R des Puans."[1]

Charlevoix, who visited the tribe in 1720, names them "the Otchagras, who are commonly called Puans." Father Hennepin in his map 1697 has this same name spelled Ocitigan placed against Lake Winnebago. The name by which the Winnebago are best known to all the old French writers is "Puans" or "Puants." This is said to have been an erroneous translation by the French of the Algonkin name for the tribe, which was Ovenibigoutz. It is from the English spelling, and the French Oui being pronounced as we, and the free pronunciation of the Algonquian name, handed down in the Jesuit Relations, that the modern name is derived; and the Bureau of American Ethnology

[1]See for collection of all references and maps Lawson's "Habitat of the Winnebago, 1632-1832."—Proceed. Wis. Hist. Soc. 1906.

have determined that the plural of Winnebago shall be the same as the singular.

Most writers have amused themselves by giving the reason why the Winnebago were called Puans. The French word for Ouenibigoutz of their Indian neighbors, the meaning of which was feted or putrid or foul smelling as variously given. It has been noticed that as early as 1632 and 1643 the tribe and Lake Winnebago, where they lived, and the Fox river had all been named Puans. No one knows why their neighbors gave them this name. As long ago as 1720 Charlevoix had said they were called "Puans, for what reason I do not know." Yet he did try an explanation: "They seated themselves on the border of a kind of lake, (Winnebago), and I judge it was there that living on fish which they got in the lake in great plenty they were given the name of Puans, because all along the shore where their cabins were built one saw nothing but stinking fish, which infected the air. It appears at least that this is the origin of the name which the other savages had given them before us, and which has communicated itself to the Bay."[1] John G. Shea says their name Ouenibegoutz, given them by the Algonquians, means "feted," therefore the French translated it by the word "Puants."

This name of Puans was frequently more roughly translated "stinkards," as used by Augustin Grignon as late as 1857. In 1816 Mr. Biddle mentions, "the Winnebago, a bold and warlike tribe, who lived at Lake Au Paunt or Stinking Lake, now Lake Winnebago"; and the eccentric student of English, Radisson, wrote of them in 1659, as at "the great lake of the Stinkings"; while Allouez, before his visit to them, mentions their lake of "the Stinkards" in 1666, so that this "ill smelling" name has clung to the tribe through all the centuries down to the present moment.

The explanation of their name is simple when relieved from the numerous explanations that have been given, for the most part erroneous. Dr. Dorsey, a student of the Siouan language, says the Siouan root changa or hanga, signifies first, foremost, original, ancestral. Thus the Winnebago call themselves Hochanga-ra, "the people speaking the original language." The student of dialect can easily trace in the various spelling quoted above the attempt to reduce the gutteral sounds of the Winnebago name to a written language, though their explanations and

[1] Bay de Puans was an ancient name of Green Bay.

definitions have often gone far afield. Their name as known to the whites, however, is not so easy to understand. The migrating Algonquian tribes despised the Winnebago, as they were of a different stock, speaking a different language, and tried at once to drive them out; but these savages were no match for the Winnebago, who had the power by numbers or prowess to maintain their place in their new home. If the name by which they were called by these Algonquian neighbors, Ovenibigoutz, had been translated at Quebec when first heard by the French, as mean, base or vile in place of Puans, it would have more correctly expressed as intended, the extreme disfavor of their neighbors, and this is the rational explanation of the name which has come down to us as Winnebago.

Perrot, as related by La Potherie as the earliest traditions of the tribe, gives the circumstances of their fall as their disregard of others' rights. He says the nation was populous, very redoubtable, spared no one and violated all the laws of nature, as they were sodomites, and even had intercourse with beasts. If any stranger came among them he was cooked in their kettles. They declared war on all the other nations, though they had only stone hatchets and knives. When the Ottawa sent envoys to them they were eaten; and then the nations formed an alliance against them, which occasioned civil war among themselves. They finally united all their forces in one village of 5,000 men; but an epidemic occured which reduced them to 1,500. "Despite all these misfortunes they sent a party of 500 warriors against the Foxes, who dwelt on the other shore of the lake, but they perished in a tempest." It is supposed this was on Little Lake Butte des Morts, as it had been stated the Puans resided on an island which it is supposed was Doty island, where they had lived from the earliest times; and the Fox tribes resided on the opposite side of the lake from very early times. Reduced to despair and famine the other nations took pity on them, ceased to make war, and the Illinois sent 500 men, including "fifty of the most prominent persons in their nation" to carry them a supply of provisions. "Those man eaters received them with the utmost gratitude," but at the same time meditated sacrificing the Illinois to the shades of their dead. A large cabin was erected to lodge their guests; but while the Illinois were dancing their bow strings were cut and the Winnebago "threw themselves on the Illinois and massacred them, not sparing one man, and made a general feast of their flesh." In a few years the Illinois, assemb-

ling a large army, composed of all the nations, and came to avenge their dead. "Having reached the island (Doty island) over the ice they found only cabins—the Winnebago had gone to their hunt—traveling in a body—that they might not be surprised by the Illinois." The hostile army followed the hunters in the dead of winter, coming up to them on the sixth day, and laid siege to their camp. "So vigorous was their attack that they killed, wounded or made prisoners all the Puans except a few who escaped, and who reached the Menominee village, but severely wounded by arrows." He again refers to these traditional events as those of "the ancestors" of the tribe as he knew them, and which refers to "ancestors of" the Puans of possibly 1660. There is no record to say how many years before, though it was doubtless several score, for fifty years before La Potherie was published Rev. Jean Claude Allouez had told this same story of the massacre of the Winnebago by the Illinois as "about thirty years ago," which would be in the year 1640; "all the people of the nation were killed or taken captive by the Illinois, with the exception of a single man, who escaped, shot through the body with an arrow," and adds that when the captives were permitted to return to their homes this one was made a chief as having never been a slave. John G. Shea, commenting on this disastrous defeat of the Winnebago, says, if this strange event took place at all we must ascribe it to an earlier date than "1634 when visited by Nicolet, who found them prosperous, and we can hardly suppose a tribe almost annihilated and then restored to its former numbers in thirty years."

Nicolet Comes to Doty Island.

Jean Nicolet was the first white man to visit the Winnebago. He was sent over these unknown lakes and rivers by Governor Champlain to make a treaty of peace between the Winnebago and the Hurons of Canada. He visited them with seven Huron savages in the summer of 1634, returning home the next year. As he approached their village word was sent in advance to announce his mission, and the Winnebago sent out envoys to meet him, who gave him a warm welcome and carried his baggage. Word was sent out to the surrounding savages, and a great council was held with 5,000 men, who indulged themselves in a barbaric banquet, in which the choicest dish was six score beaver tails. This was the first council held with the Indians in the



Leander Choate

region erected into the state of Wisconsin. There is no contemporary narrative inspired by Nicolet which gives a hint of the place at which this council was held, or the location of the Winnebago village, which was the objective point of Nicolet's voyage. The habitat of the Winnebago during this period must therefore be sought from other narratives and maps, and these clearly show the Winnebago village of 1634, and for 200 years thereafter to have been at the foot of Lake Winnebago, and from the later accounts, which give a more exact locus in quo, on Doty island, in what is now the cities of Menasha and Neenah, on the Fox river, yet on the shore of Lake Winnebago.

It has been heretofore stated that Champlain's map of 1632, made two years before Nicolet's visit, named the "Nation des Puans" on "Lac des Puans." Also the map of Jean Boisseau's of 1643, which is found in Lennox Library in New York, and published in "Jesuit Relations," has "La Nation des Puans," on "Lac des Puans," which discharges through "R. des Puans." The next map to mention the tribe is that of Marquette. His journal of the famous voyage through the Fox river valley was published in Paris by Thevenot in 1681, with his real map of the voyage. It places the "Puans" village at the foot of Lake Winnebago. The master of this voyage was Joliet, and his map also places the "Puans" village at the foot of Lake of the Winnebago. Father Hennepin also places the word "Ocitagan" against Lake Winnebago on his map, dated 1698. He was aso a traveler among them and this is his attempt to spell their own name, rendered by Charlevoix at Otchagras. The maps so far mentioned are all of the Nicolet century, while those of the next century, which show the village, all place it at the foot of the lake, which always bore their name.

The name of the lake as "the Lake of the Puans" has some value in identification of the site of the Winnebago Village. As nearly all the early voyagers approached it from Green Bay they named Green Bay "La Bay des Puans," because it was the way to reach the Puans. Charlevoix has said that it was the Puans of Lake of the Puans who "transferred" their name to the Bay. Leaving the Bay in the progress of their voyage they entered the "Riviere des Puans." This was the earliest name of Fox river. It is found on the earliest maps as mentioned above. It is found on the maps of La Hontan of 1709, as "Riviere des Puants," and also on another map by the same author of 1709 as "R. des Puants." Allouez, in 1670, in his journal refers to

it as "Riviere des Puans." He also approaches by the river of the Winnebago up its boiling rapids, the "Lac des Puans." Radisson as early as 1659 refers to it as "the great lake of the Stinkings," a name by which Allouez refers to the lake in 1666, and through all the years down to this day the lake still retains the name it bore in the very earliest narratives. It was natural that this very large and important lake as well as this important and historical waterway should have been given the name of this important tribe, and it is impossible to show it was given for any reason except the obvious one, that the tribe lived on the banks of the river and shore of the lake which bore its name.

There is no historic reference narrative of travel or maps which places the Winnebago at any location other than Lake Winnebago during the century in which Nicolet visited the region, nor until 1760, when they seem to have divided into three villages with their head village still on Lake Winnebago.

Perrot visited the Fox river region for a number of years, and took some of the Winnebago with the other tribes to the great council at Sault Ste. Marie when Sr. Lusson took formal possession of the west, in the name of the French King. In 1690, while in this valley, the Fox tribes who resided on the west shore of the Little Lake Butte des Morts, contemplated treachery to Perrot, and he was informed of their intentions by the "chief of the Puans," who acted as his messenger, and remained his steadfast friend. He advised and helped to prevent the Foxes making an alliance with the Iroquois of New York, which they contemplated, and Perrot was determined to prevent.

In the Fox Wars.

Later in the long Fox war they formed the third party in an alliance between the Foxes and Sauk, and were ever present with the Foxes in that long battle which they raged against the French throughout the Fox river valley and the prairie of the Illinois. This was the war to save the region of the golden fleece to the fur trade of France, in which the war whoop of the Foxes was heard around the world; "a dreary half century of spasmodic conflict, which absorbed the attention and helped to drain the treasury of New France, contributing not a little to her downfall;" meanwhile, as Bancroft remarks, the "Foxes were a nation, passionate and untamable, springing up into new life from every defeat, and though reduced in the number of their war-

riors, yet present everywhere by their ferocious enterprise and savage daring.'' Throughout those long years of frontier warfare the Winnebago were everywhere the silent allies, wearing the livery of the forest and committing the terror of their name to strike dismay to the border post. And though the Foxes are mostly mentioned the French were aware of the close friendship of their allies, the Winnebago. As early as 1714 Ramezay had reported the Winnebago as friendly to the Foxes, which date the colonial office at Paris had determined on the extermination of the Fox tribe. At this time Father Marest writes the Governor that, ''the Puans were sixty brave men, all boatmen.''

The long enmity between the Winnebago and the Illinois was a part of the French war, and a relic of ancient days when the Winnebago had been almost destroyed by the Illinois. The Winnebago were with the Foxes in their raids against this tribe in 1723. Captain De Lignery was sent up the river in 1724, and called a council of the tribes at the old French fort at Green Bay. Those present were the Winnebago, Foxes and Sauk. The council to induce the tribes to cease their war on the Illinois was fruitless, as the Winnebago declared the Illinois retained some of their tribe prisoners, and an exchange must be effected before a treaty. However, the difference seemed to have compromised, as at a council held by the same officer, June 7, 1726, with the Winnebago, Foxes and Sauk, a treaty was settled by which these tribes consented not to fight the Illinois again. Very soon after this, however, war broke out afresh and the frontier rang with the savage war cry.

The French had sent an army against the Fox palisade or Fort village on the west shore of Little Lake Butte des Morts, under de Louvigny, in 1716, opposite the Winnebago village on the eastern shore. The three days' battle and seige had resulted in a treaty of peace, but in which the French had no confidence. They determined to establish a post in the border of the Sioux country to prevent an alliance with the Foxes and that powerful tribe of the plains. This equipment with soldiers and goods for trade made their way over Fox river toward the head of Lake Pepin, to establish this post. The journal of the voyage was made by Father Guignes. As they passed the Fox river he says of the visit to the Winnebago, August 14, 1727: ''The chiefs met him there three leagues from their village with peace calumets and refreshments of bears' meat and escorted them into their village mid discharge of musketry and great demonstrations of

joy, requesting them to remain some time. There were sixty to eighty men in the village. Both men and women are tall and well built. They were located on the borders of a pretty lake at thirty-five miles from La Baye and eight leagues from the Foxes." The Foxes seem to have been on the upper Fox river at this season.

When Captain De Lignery arrived at La Baye with his expedition against the Foxes, composed of 450 Frenchmen and 1,200 savages, in the month of August, 1728, he captured three Winnebago whom he handed over to the tribes. They put them to death with slow torture, and ate them. He then pushed on up the Fox river to the village of the Winnebago on Doty island, which had been abandoned several days before, and burned the wigwams and fort, and "ravaged their fields of Indian corn, which is their principal article of food."

In pursuance of their policy to combine all the tribes against the Foxes the French in some manner bought over the Winnebago, the lifelong friends of the Foxes and Sauk. So we read that in the autumn of 1729 word was brought to Quebec by information given by the Indians, of an attack by the Winnebago, Ottawa and Menominee on a Fox village, in which there were killed 100 Fox warriors and seventy women and children. Among the killed of the assaulting party were four of the Winnebago. The Winnebago having broken with their neighbors and ancient friends, the Foxes, by the treacherous and unprovoked slaughter, were now in terror for the consequences of their miserable acts. Further attempts against the Fox tribes were projected from Quebec, and by the fall of 1729 Sieur Captain Marin appeared at the old French fort at Green Bay, and repaired its fallen roofs. He had with him ten Frenchmen. On September 10 the Winnebago returned from their hunt and went to Marin to assure him that they still remained faithful to the French, presenting him with three slaves. They were rewarded by powder, bullets, hatchets, guns and knives. Some days after, having ascertained that the Foxes were not in the country, the Winnebago took their families and camped on Dendo island, now in the City of Menasha, in Fox river, adjoining Doty island, where "their former fort stood." But very soon the Foxes and Sauk surprised some Winnebago fishermen, and then began a long siege of the Winnebago, by erecting on the Doty island water side two forts to command the water in all directions. The

siege lasted two months; but was finally abandoned after Marin came with the Menominee to aid the Winnebago.

Before 1739, after being at enmity with the Foxes for ten years, the old friendship was revived, and at a council in Quebec, held that year with the western savages, the Winnebago chief spoke for mercy for the Foxes, some representatives of whom were present. The following year, at a council held in Montreal, the Winnebago chief again spoke for the good will of the French for "their kinsman, the Foxes and Sauk." The next year they appeared in Montreal again and reported they had returned to their old home on Doty island. While at a council at Quebec the next year the Mayomba, chief of the Mascoutins, whispered to Beauharnois that the Winnebago sought a refuge in their village the year before, as they feared the Foxes. At this council the Winnebago said half of their village had returned to its old home and half was at Rock river. The Rock river band were notified to join the Fox river band to form one village. Serotchon and Chelaonois were Winnebago chiefs present and promised medals by Beauharnois; but he had none then to bestow, they must wait until next year. Sieur de Clignaucourt had sole right in 1747 to trade at Green Bay with the Winnebago.

In Other Border Wars.

By some very ancient maps in possession of Mr. James G. Albright, of Milwaukee, which bear dates of 1755, 1756, 1757, the "Otchagras" village is marked against Lake Winnebago. About this time the De Langlades had settled in Wisconsin as the first pioneers, and in a few years the great war between France and England had its influence on this farthest frontier, where the bold warrior, Captain Charles de Langlade, was appointed to command the western tribes. With his motley throng of savages there were about 100 Winnebago, and midst the din of Braddock's defeat was "mingled the blood curdling screech of the Winnebago." They were at the council, with Montcalm, on the banks of Lake George; and at the massacre of Fort William Henry, and at the fall of Quebec.

After the Fleur de lis was hauled down from Quebec and England took all Canada under her authority, commandants and soldiers were sent west to assume command of the ancient border posts, which had been under the gentle sway of France since the

[1] "Bravest of the Brave, Captain Charles de Langlade," by P. V. Lawson, pp. 65-86, 87, 114, 143.

first white men came. By 1762 Lieut. James Gorrell was in command of the remnants of the old French fort at Green Bay, and held a council with a Winnebago chief, who promised to send the belt he had received to the other two chiefs of his nation. He reports soon after that "a chief belonging to a second puans town arrived." In August the Winnebago chief from the third town came and declared he had never fought against the English. They all requested a gunsmith, a trader and rum. The following summer (1763), when Captain Etherington, after the massacre at Old Mackinaw, sent word to Gorrell to go to him with the garrison, the Winnebago were among the four Indian tribes which formed his escort.

In his journal Lieut. James Gorrell reports of the "Indian warriors, besides women and children depending on the post at Green Bay," there were "Puans, 150 at the end of Puan's lake (Winnebago) and over against Louistontant."

It was in 1766 that the celebrated Captain Jonathan Carver made his voyage up the historic Fox river and passed four days enjoying the hospitality of the Winnebago village on Doty island, then presided over by their queen, Glory of the Morning, or Hopokoekau, who had married Sebrevoir De Carrie, an officer of the French army, who, after resigning in 1729, became the first trader among the Winnebago. Three sons and one daughter were born of the union. He re-entered the army and died for his flag before Quebec April 28, 1760. Captain Carver called the village "the great town of the Winnebago" and said it contained fifty houses, which were strongly built with palisades.

During the war of the Revolution there was not a friend of the colonists in all Wisconsin, and Captain Charles de Langlade, now in the red uniform of a British officer, recruited his dusky troops from among the Winnebago to join Burgoyne's invasion, but all had abandoned the English general before his surrender. The Winnebago received the war belt from De Peyster, in command at Old Mackinaw, and had notice to be ready to go to Hamilton's aid, at Vincennes, in the autumn of 1778. In the party of savages who went down the Mississippi in the spring to aid Hamilton but returned on receiving word of his surrender to George Roger Clark, there were Winnebago. On their return to Old Mackinaw with Goutier the Winnebago were at once sent (in June, 1779) south through Michigan to commit depredations and "bring in some prisoners." The Winnebago repaired to Montreal with other western savages under De Langlade and

returned on news of the operations of George Roger Clark in Illinois. When Lieut. Gov. Sinclair sent the army of savages under Captain de Langlade to the massacre of St. Louis there was a band of Winnebago, as usual, in his party. The assault on the embankment at the stone warehouse was made by the Winnebago, who left one chief and three warriors dead on the parapet, while four others were badly wounded, the only casuality of the expedition. Governor Sinclair reports in July, 1780, sending sixty Winnebago and a party of other Indians south to the Ohio and Wabash rivers to intercept convoys of provisions intended for Americans in the Illinois region.

After the close of the Revolutionary war the British fur trader had no intention of giving up the rich fur bearing region of Wisconsin, and began at once to keep the savages in good feeling, by a liberal distribution of presents, an annual favor which was accorded the Winnebago and others for many years and until after the close of the last war in 1815. At the instance of the merchants of Montreal in 1787, after the cession of the region now Wisconsin, the British sent Mr. Ainsee up the Fox river to the Mississippi with a "canoe loaded with thirteen bales of goods" for presents to Wisconsin savages. At the Portage he "assembled all the Puants to give them a speech and made them presents of goods, rum and tobacco." In the same report Ainsee gives the number of Puants as 340 men in "the villages of the Puants altogether."

The principal or head village of the Winnebago was still on Lake Winnebago, as it had been since long prior to the coming of Nicolet in 1634. The first record of any other village was the reference given from Gorrell in 1762. During the Revolution, when Goutier took to the woods on snowshoes to rouse the clans for the spring campaign of 1778, he mentions "the great village of the Puants of the lake, which was the strongest one."

Antoine LeClaire, a trader who settled in Milwaukee in 1800, mentions sending out "engages" to trade with the Indians, "on Winnebago Lake to the Winnebago." The merchants of Montreal reported to the agents of the crown, in 1786, that the Winnebago numbered 600 men, and had their first village only twelve leagues (thirty miles) from "La Baye," and "being on the road to the Mississippi, they are frequently troublesome to the traders passing." This system of claiming to own the river and exacting presents for the right to pass had been practiced for many years by the tribe, and had been a frequent cause of strife between the

Winnebago on Doty island and the numerous traders obliged to stem the tides of the Fox river to reach their posts along the Mississippi river.

The frontier disquiet of the Indians, inspired by British agents, finally resulted in sending Mad Anthony Wayne into the border lands of Ohio, where he fought several successful battles with the savages, the most desperate and successful one being that near Maumee City in Ohio on the 30th of August, 1794. The Winnebago had been led into these border troubles and were among the savages defeated in that disastrous battle. Mr. William J. Snelling relates that he remembers a Winnebago at the Wisconsin portage who met travelers with a human hand dangling on his breast, which he had taken from a Yankee soldier at Tippecanoe, and says sixty Winnebago were killed in that battle.

The last war with England was declared on June 19, 1812, by the President's proclamation. Before it was possible to reinforce the small garrison at Fort Mackinac, on the island of that name, it was surprised and captured and held during the war as a rally outpost of the British, from which the savages of Wisconsin were constantly recruited to add to the frontier horrors of that war. It is said that after the capture of Proctor's camp in the battle of the Thames bales of scalps were discovered on which had been paid a bounty by the British agents. The Winnebago took part in many of the important movements of the British on the western border. When Colonel Robert Dickson, the "Red Head," gathered the tribes for the English in 1812 he ran into Green Bay with 100 Sioux, and enlisted Tomah and the Grizzly Bear with 100 Menominee, and a large body of Winnebago led by Teal, One-eyed Decorah and other chiefs. They voyaged over to Mackinac island and captured the fort from the Americans, July 17, 1812, without a blow, after which the Winnebago and Sioux returned home. In the spring of 1813, when Colonel Dickson rallied the clans again for the war, there sailed out of the Fox river in his train, beside the Sioux and Menominee, a considerable band of Winnebago under their chiefs Old Decorah, Carrymaunee, Winnosheek, Pesheu or the Wild Cat, Sausamaunee, Black Wolf, Sarcel or the Teal, and Neokautah or Four Legs, with Michael Brisbois as their interpreter. Arriving at Fort Meigs too late for the action, they retired to Detroit, from whence they sailed under Proctor and Dickson to Sandusky and attacked the fort so gallantly defended by the young Major George Cro-

ghan, where they were defeated. In June, 1813, Colonel Dickson emerged at Mackinac from a long sojourn among the Wisconsin tribes, bringing with him 600 savages and their families, to be sent to General Proctor as a part of his force. There were 130 Winnebago in the party. After eating nearly all of Proctor's available provisions and committing wanton depredations on the settlers' live stock the Wisconsin Indians returned home. During the winter of 1813-1814 a delegation of Wisconsin savages visited Quebec, where they were warmly welcomed by Sir George Prevost. The Winnebago were represented by Lassamic.

The expedition under the British Colonel William McKay, which surprised and captured the American fort Shelby at Prairie du Chien July 17, 1814, had with them a band of 100 Winnebago under their chiefs Pesheu or Wild Cat, Sarcel or the Teal, Carrymaunee, Winnosheek, Sar-ra-chau, Sau-sa-maunee, neokautah or Four Legs and Black Wolf. As McKay's fleet of barges and canoes floated down the Wisconsin, a Winnebago was in the party of scouts, who went under cover of night into the town and captured a citizen, whom they carried away to get information. In deploying before the fort the Winnebago took post above the fort. Two of the Winnebago, discovering some hams in a house, mounted to the roof and began to tear off the shingles to gain an entrance, and were both shot in the thigh. On the second day of the siege Colonel McKay assembled the Indian chiefs and requested their consent to an assault, but the Winnebago chief, Sarcel or the Teal, demurred, saying he and his people remembered taking part with the English in assaulting an American fort, when they were beaten back with terrible slaughter. Sarcel proposed to dig a trench in the sand and blow up the fort, to which Colonel McKay agreed; but after a few hours' labor the Indians tired of the work and refused to go ahead. After the surrender, and just before the time appointed for the Americans to give up their arms, a Winnebago cut off the finger of a soldier whose hand was thrust through a port hole in friendly greeting. In his reports Coloney McKay mentions the Winnebago as in the Indian contingent, and says of them that they were "perfectly useless to him," and severely criticises them. They would not receive officers' orders unless he "held a blanket in one hand and a piece of pork in the other."

Colonel Robert Dickson on his way to the British garrison at Prairie du Chien in the fall of 1814, caught by the freezing of Lake Winnebago at Doty island and forced to remain the win-

ter, writes in the spring: "I shall move from this as soon as I can, as the Puants are beginning to draw round me, and one had as well be in hell as with them."

After the peace the British held a council, June 3, 1815, at Mackinac, between Sau-sa-mau-nee, Black Wolf, Neokautah or Four Legs and forty warriors. Sau-sa-mau-nee was the orator for his people, and his speech is recorded. Judge Lockwood reports their number in 1816 as 900 warriors, from estimates of the traders best acquainted with them. The treaty made with a portion of the Fox tribes Nov. 3, 1804, which caused so much dissatisfaction among members of that tribe, was confirmed at a council held at St. Louis May 18, 1816, at which those Winnebago present, residents of Wisconsin, confirmed that part of the treaty which was supposed to grant their rights in the lands of the lead region.

The New York Indians.[1]

The Winnebago were involved in the immigration of the New York Indians by the range of their hunting grounds. The Winnebago and Menominee, August 18, 1821, granted to the New York tribes a ribbon of land diagonally across the state five miles wide, the strip crossing the Fox river at Little Chute. At this time the Menominee claimed all Green Bay and the shore of Lake Michigan to the mouth of the Milwaukee river and west to the Mississippi river in a northwest direction. The Winnebago claimed all the balance of the state north and west of the Fox river and Lake Winnebago. The following summer the New York Indians returned to urge a larger grant; but on coming into the council the Winnebago refused to concede any further grants and left in a body to go on their hunt. Before leaving, however, they were induced to favor the visitor with an exhibition of their war dance, pipe dance and begging dance, which are graphically described by General Ellis, who adds: "The Winnebago exhibited the largest, most perfectly formed men and women ever seen anywhere. The display of action and muscle in the dances struck the beholder with admiration and terror. The ring around the dancers of several thousand, all singing in chorus to the chief drummer, the voices of the Winnebago women prevailing in clarion tone above the whole." August 11, 1827, there

[1] Seventh Wis. Hist. Coll., 224; 2 do., 425. "Prince or Creole," Lawson, 200.

was a treaty concluded at the Little Butte des Morts, "the Hill of the Dead," on the west bank of the lake of that name, now in the town of Menasha, between the Winnebago, Menominee and New York Indians, by which the above tribes ceded their lands in the Fox valley to the United States. Lewis Cass and Thos. L. McKinney were the commissioners. This council was held during the Winnebago war, so called. It was attended by 5,000 savages. Colonel Whistler, while on his journey up the Fox river from Fort Howard to join General Atkinson at Portage, remained with his regiment at the Little Butte des Morts as the Governor's guard until the close of the council, when he resumed his journey up stream. During the council the Winnebago were notified that they must give up the murderers. It is said to have been due to this council that brought the surrender at Portage the next month on the arrival of Colonel Whistler. There is a painting of the Little Butte des Morts council made by Lewis, "painted on the spot," in his rare portfolio of frontier scenes.

The Winnebago war took place in 1827. It was not a war but only a widespread scare to the few pioneers who had come to settle in the faraway lands of the west. Those who mention the events of that day generally agree that the energetic movements of Governor Lewis Cass, and the promptness of the militia under Gen. Henry Dodge, and the dispatch of General Atkinson with the United States army into the field, inspired the Winnebago with such respect for the power of the United States that the incipient disturbance was quelled before it was barely commenced. As there were at that time nearly nine thousand Winnebago, they could have set the torch to the whole frontier before being conquered. At that period there was a small settlement of whites at Green Bay, another at Prairie du Chien, and possibly seven hundred people in the lead region south of the Wisconsin river. Fort Winnebago was then erected at Portage as a protection to the frontier from any Winnebago treachery.

In Settlement Days.

By this time the tribe had very much increased in numbers, and were scattered all along the Fox and Wisconsin rivers. Mrs. John Kinzie reports in "Wau Bun," in 1830, two divisions of Winnebago Indians, "one paid by the agent at Portage and the other at Prairie du Chien." "The Portage division numbered be-

tween four and five thousand.'' At the Winnebago annuity payment in 1834, Mr. Henry Merrill says there assembled at Portage upwards of three thousand men, women and children. Mr. McCall reports in 1830, ''Four thousand Winnebago in the nation.''

The smallpox scourge broke out in the tribe in 1834 and raged a fearful epidemic, from which nearly half the tribe died. The medicine men abandoned their futile attempts to stay its ravages, and the pest swept through the villages, the survivors fleeing before it, leaving their dead unburied.

The delegates who visited Washington in 1837 to make a treaty had no authority to conclude a treaty, and so declared. This was the treaty (Nov. 1, 1837) by which all the lands of the Winnebago east of the Mississippi were ceded to the United States. It was loudly proclaimed by the tribe to be a fraud. Chief Yellow Thunder, whose village was near Eureka, in this county, and two others were of this party, and all declared they had no right to make a treaty. The first attempt to remove the tribe was begun in 1840, when a considerable band were induced to remove to the Turkey river in Iowa. In 1837 the Winnebago, headed by One-eyed Dekaury, Little Dekaury, Winnosheek, Waukon Dekaury, and six other chiefs, went to Washington and ceded all the land still claimed by them east of the Mississippi river, reserving the privilege of occupying until 1840. That year the troops came to Portage to remove them. Yellow Thunder and Black Wolf's son were invited to Portage to get provisions, but as soon as they arrived they were put in the guardhouse with ball and chain on their ankles, which hurt their feelings, as they had done no harm. The General had understood they were going to revolt, and refused to emigrate; but as soon as Governor Dodge came to Portage they were released. They all promised faithfully to be at Portage in three days, ready for removal, and they were all there. Two large boats were provided to take down the Indians who had no canoes. At the head of Kickapoo creek they came to some wigwams, where two old women, sisters of Black Wolf, fell on their knees, crying and beseeching Captain Summer to kill them; they were old and would rather die and be buried with their fathers and mothers and children than be taken away. The Captain let them remain, and left three young men to hunt for them. Further down they came to the camp of Ke-ji-que-we-ka; the people were told to put their things in the wagon and go along. Depositing their belongings, they started south from where they were when the Captain sent

to ask where they were going. They said they were going to bid good-bye to their fathers, mothers and children. The interpreter followed them and found them on their knees, kissing the ground and crying very loud where their relations were buried. This touched the Captain, who exclaimed: "Good God, what harm can these poor Indians do among the rocks."

After being removed at different times to locations in Iowa, Minnesota and Dakota, they were finally located on 128,000 acres of the northern part of the Omaha reservation in eastern Nebraska, containing some of the best timbered lands, by May, 1866. There still reside in the pine barrens of Jackson and Adams county stragglers who have returned, reported in 1887 to number 1,600. Most of these have homesteads, where they live by picking berries, fishing and hunting, with ever increasing families. Large families are the rule among the Winnebago. Green Grass, son of Kayrahmaunee, came to the payment at Black River Falls to draw for fifteen children; but could not count or name them. Major Halleck, the agent, had him bring them in and stand them in a row.

"The Winnebago as a tribe have due them $883,249.58 under their treaties of 1837 and the act of July 15, 1870, which has not been capitalized and placed in the treasury as a trust fund. Congress annually appropriates five per cent interest on the principal, amounting to $44,162.47. The Wisconsin band receives 1,180/2,613 of that amount, which is paid them in cash. They also receive $7,000 each year from that amount to equalize their payments with the Nebraska branch under the act of 1881. Under that act they have received $147,000, and $73,969.91 is yet due them in yearly instalments of $7,000. The Nebraska branch receives yearly $10,000 cash for per capita payments, and after this and the amounts due to Wisconsin branch are deducted the remainder is subject to expenditure for supplies for the Nebraska branch. Eventually the Wisconsin branch will receive their share of the principal after it has been capitalized and segregated."[1]

Their Habits and Domestic Life.

There are at this writing 1,180 Winnebago listed in Wisconsin and 2,613 in Nebraska, making a total of 3,793, or about 4,000

[1] From a private letter to the author by Hon. C. F. Larrabee, acting Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Washington, D. C., January 26, 1907.

Winnebago now living. This shows an increase in 200 years of 700 per cent, due to enforced peace; and notwithstanding the natural decimation due to smallpox, famine, habits and whisky.

Rev. Cutting Marsh crossed Doty island in 1832, and found still there a small village of Winnebago. This was the remnant of Four Legs' tribe. He was dead two years before. Three years later the Menominee mission was established at Neenah, before which time, it is presumed, these last of those who had made this ancient village famous in border annals had moved up the river and away.

The totems of the Winnebago were the lynx, catamount, wildcat and stag. They dressed in earlier days much as the primitive tribes, in the tanned skins and furs of the wild animals, as also in woven cloth. The special manner of doing their hair was to shave the sides of the head and do the hair in two square cushions on the back of the head. The artist in the Nicolet landfall recently hung in the rooms of the State Historical Society has taken their nakedness too literally and made a caricature of their nudeness. There is no authority for such literal nakedness. They were an industrious and thrifty people, having at all their villages wide fields of corn and vegetables. Some of these fields were several hundred acres in extent. They gathered wild rice for food also. Sat. Clark told Dr. Lapham that Gen. Atkinson purchased 6,000 bushels of corn from the Winnebago; and in 1848 he had driven over half a mile of old Indian cornfields in Columbia county, which a pioneer had told him the Winnebago had cultivated. Their villages contained well constructed, warm cabins or wigwams, and they appeared to enjoy prosperity, notwithstanding their history contains so much of war, pestilence and whisky.

Whatever may have been the truth of the matter, they seem to have the universal hatred or disfavor of all their neighbors and the whites. The whites write them down invariably as filthy. It is such a general charge that one might be inclined to suppose it to be repeated by suggestion. Whether any one took the trouble to inquire if this was a domestic infirmity or only came from the supposed derivation of their name we cannot learn. One hundred years ago Capt. Thomas A. Anderson wintered on Rock river at the foot of a precipice, 300 feet above the river, trading with the Winnebago, and long afterward said, "They were the most filthy, most obstinate and bravest people of any Indian tribe." As an instance of their independence,

Hon. Morgan L. Martin relates of the guide he procured at Taycheedah, who, after leading them into the prairie, laid down and refused to proceed, saying he "had never yet been the slave of a white man, and never would be."

The numerous missionaries who had gone among the Wisconsin savages seem to have made little progress with the Winnebago. The first to devote himself specially to one of the bands was Rev. Father Mazzuchelli, who, April 16, 1833, visited the Winnebago at the old Decorah village, eight miles up the Wisconsin river from Portage. Pietre Paquette assisted him to talk with the savages. Two hundred converts were made, and he translated Father Barago's Catechism from Ottawa to Winnebago, going 700 miles to Detroit to get it printed, and returned. It had eighteen pages. The influence of the missionary was such that on Mrs. Kinzie's offering wine to one of the Indian women she pointed to the cross about her neck and refused to drink.

Remains of Winnebago Village on Doty Island.

Situated partly upon the property of Mr. John Clovis and Mr. William Striddie, at a distance of forty-seven rods east of Ninth street in Neenah and directly in line with a series of effigy mounds, are located the remains of the earthen embankment at one time supporting the walls of the Winnebago stockade or fort, which was destroyed in 1728 by the French and Iroquois expedition, which also destroyed the Fox Indian stockade on the mainland, as already described.

While the villagers returned and continued to inhabit the island, it does not appear that the stockade was rebuilt. The position and shape of the embankment enclosure can still be seen, though most of it has been plowed over. As it was not possible to enclose the entire population of the island within the stockade, it is supposed that it was only occupied in time of war, when the women and children were probably removed to a distance for safety. The peculiarity of the double enclosure indicates that one is simply the result of the enlarging of an earlier and smaller stockade. There is enclosed at present within the embankment of the stockade about three-quarters of an acre of land. The northern side of the enclosure is 200 feet, the southern side 300 feet in length and its extreme width about 160 feet. The embankment is from eighteen inches to three feet in height.

The cornfields of this village are still to be seen at the eastern

end of the island, on the property of Mr. G. C. Jones, and along the Neenah Fox river. They consist of long regular drills or ridges, covering several acres of ground, each row being from three to six inches in height, about three feet in width and from four to six feet apart from center to center.[1]

Dr. Lapham said: "The eastern extremity of Doty island has long been occupied by Indians, as is evidenced by the regular cornhills covering nearly the whole surface, as well as by a new feature not before observed or supposed to be within the pale of Indian customs. The ground was originally covered with loose stones, fragments of the solid limestone rock that exists everywhere not far beneath the surface. These stones had been carefully collected into little heaps and ridges to make room for the culture of the native crop. The stone heaps are six or eight feet in diameter and from one to two feet in height. The interstices are now filled with soil and partially covered with grass and weeds." These stone heaps are still to be seen at this place. At the water's edge several hundred feet southeast of the old Doty homestead there is a black trap boulder having on its top several highly-polished basin-shaped depressions, which are said to have been employed by the Indians in grinding their corn. This boulder is somewhat oval in form, six feet in length, three feet in height and three feet in thickness.[2]

[1] These cornhills are mentioned by Dr. Increase A. Lapham, "Antiquities of Wisconsin," p. 61, April, 1855.

[2] Briefly described in the October, 1902, issue of the "Wisconsin Archeologist," Vol. 2, No. 1, p. 30.

IV.

THE WINNEBAGO CHIEFS.

The Sachems of the great Winnebago, who have become intimately associated with the beginning of the history of Wisconsin, were either residents of Winnebago county or were sired by its ancient lords. The mother and grandmother of that noble line of Decorah chiefs, who met the pioneers of the state, was the beautiful queen of the Winnebago, "Glory of the Morning," sister of the head chief of the Winnebago tribe on Doty island, now in Menasha and Neenah, on the Fox river at the foot of Lake Winnebago. Her Indian name was Hopokoekau, also spelled by La Ronde, Wahopoekau. Her birth is not of record. She married Sebrevoir De Carrie, who was an officer in the French army in 1699 under De Boisbriant. He resigned his commission in 1729 and became the first trader in Indian goods in the county, living and trading with the Winnebago on Doty island. During the French and Indian war De Carrie re-entered the French army and was mortally wounded before Quebec, April 28, 1760. In some of the almost daily assaults made by Wolfe upon some part of the long defenses on the bluffs of the St. Lawrence, and being taken to Montreal, died there in the hospital, and two weeks later France lost Canada forever. Three sons and two daughters were born of this union. Glory of the Morning refused to go to Montreal with her husband and remained on her island home with her family; but De Carrie took with him one daughter, who married there Sieur Laurent Fily, a merchant of Quebec, who subsequently removed to Green Bay, where they have descendants still living in the valley. Captain Jonathan Carver, who visited the Queen in 1766, on Doty island, mentions the pleasure his attentions to the Queen gave her attendants as well as herself. She received him graciously and sumptuously entertained him during the four days he remained in her village. He writes of the town that it "contained fifty houses." "The land," he says, "was very fertile; grapes, plums and other fruit grew in abundance. The Indians raised large quantities of Indian corn, beans, pumpkins, squash, watermelons and some tobacco." Mrs.

Kinzie gives a long character sketch of the ancient Queen in August, 1831. "No one could tell her age; but all agreed she must have been upwards of 100. Her dimmed eyes, almost white with age; her face darkened and withered, like a baked apple; her voice tremulous and feeble, except when raised in fury —she usually went on all fours, not having strength to stand upright. On the day of the payment she received her money and crawled to the agency door to count it." Mr. Henry Merrill, writing of the year 1834, says that she "was pointed out to me several years after (1834), and I was told she must be 143 years old. She was then able to walk six or eight miles to Portage. She lived several years after, and was finally burned to death by the burning of her wigwam."[1]

As she then lived in the village of her late grandson, Old Gray-Headed Decorah, eight miles below Portage, on the west side of the Wisconsin river, she was probably buried there. She is said by some writers to have been a daughter of the head chief. It has been said of her descendants, the Decorah chiefs, that "they were generally good Indians and frequently urged their claim to the friendship of the whites by saying they were themselves half white." They are said to have been "influential men in the nation," and Augustin Grignon says, in 1801, the "Decorahs were among the most influential of the Winnebago." Of this marriage there were two sons, whose names have been reported. The oldest was Chou Ke Ka, or Spoon Decorah or Ladle; the other was Chahpost Kaw Kaw, or the Buzzard, who settled with his band at La Crosse about 1787.

Chou Ke Ka, also spelled Chau Ka Ka, called Spoon Decorah, or Ladle, was the eldest son of Sebrevoir De Carrie, says La Ronde. Augustin Grignon renders the name Chongarah. As he knew the chief in the winter of 1801-2, he reports him then as head chief of the Winnebago, and "he was then a very old man and died at Portage in 1808. By his request he was buried in a sitting posture in a coffin, placed on the surface of the ground, with a low cabin above it, surrounded with a fence." His death occurred in 1816, according to La Ronde, when he was "quite aged." It also appears that Chau Ke Ka signed the treaty of St. Louis, May 18, 1816, and therefore could not have died until after that.

Old Gray-Headed Decorah, or Old Decorah, or Gray-Headed

[1] 7 do., 376.

Decorah, or White War Eagle, whose common Indian name was Schachip Ka Ka, and whose Winnebago name was Warrahwikoogah, or Bird Spirit, was a son of the Ladle, and grandson of Glory of the Morning. He died at Petenwell, the high rock on the Wisconsin river, April 20, 1836, said to have been ninety years old. He fought under the British General Proctor at Sandusky, where the small force under Major Croghan, who was then but twenty-one years of age, gallantly held the frontier fort with but one cannon. The War Eagle also fought with Proctor and Tecumseh at the battle of the Thames, where the British army was mostly slain or captured and Tecumseh shot, Oct. 5, 1813, by the Americans under William Henry Harrison. The War Eagle was held as a hostage at Prairie du Chien in 1827 for the good behavior of the Winnebago during the so-called Winnebago war, and for the delivery of Red Bird to justice. It was while Major Zachary Taylor was located at Prairie du Chien that he received from Old Gray-Headed Decorah his "peace pipe," and during the Winnebago war it was he who gave assurance to General Atkinson at Portage, of the peaceable intentions of the Winnebago. Soon after Laurent Barth purchased the right from the Winnebago over the portage, 1793, Old Gray-Headed Decorah moved from Apuckawa lake, on Fox river, in Green Lake county, and formed a village with his tribe on the Wisconsin river about two miles above Portage. La Ronde says: "Schachipkaka De Kawry died April 26, 1836, aged ninety, at his village, the locality in 1876 known as the Caffrey place in the town of Calidonia, at the foot of the bluff, between the Wisconsin and Baraboo rivers. Schoolhouse of District No. 5 occupies the spot where the old chief died. This town contained over 100 lodges. He was a Catholic, and was buried in their cemetery, near the site of the present courthouse in Portage City." He signed the treaties of 1828, 1829, 1832. Mrs. Kinzie described him as "the most noble, dignified and venerable of his own or, indeed, of any other tribe. His fine Roman countenance rendered still more noble by his bald head, with one solitary tuft of long silvery hair neatly tied falling back on his shoulders." Old Gray-Headed Decorah came over to Portage from his village during the famine in 1831 and reported his people as starving. He was offered enough food for his own family. "No," he said, "if my people could not be relieved my family and I will starve with them."

Chah Post Kaw Kaw, or the Buzzard Decorah, was a son of Glory of the Morning and Sebrevoir De Carrie, so One-Eyed

Decorah told Judge Gale. He settled at La Crosse in 1787 with a band of Winnebago, and was soon after killed by his own son in a drunken row.

One-Eyed Decorah, whose Indian name was Wadge-hut-ta-kaw, or Big Canoe, was a son of the Buzzard. He died at Channel (near the Tunnell), Monroe county, Wis., in August, 1864, at an advanced age, as Grignon says, of ninety-two. His village in 1832 and later was at the mouth of the Black river, or some say near the village of Salem, on La Crosse river, in Onalaska township, La Crosse county. Also said by Rev. Brunson to be at Prairie La Crosse in 1832. In 1826 he was said by Gen. H. L. Dousman to have his village on Black river. Thomas P. Burnett, in 1832, when he went up the river to keep the Winnebago canoes from Black Hawk, says he "found One-eyed Decorah and Little Thunder at the lower mouth of the Black river." One-Eyed Decorah was born about 1772, and was fifteen years of age when his father settled at La Crosse. He aided in the capture of Mackinac (July 17, 1812), and was out with the British in the attack on Fort Stephenson, Aug. 2, 1813, and was with McKay in the capture of Prairie du Chien; and signed the treaty of 1825. The act for which he became celebrated was the capture of Black Hawk and the Prophet in 1832. The daring warrior, his band and followers broken, slain and scattered by the murder at the Bad Axe, had fled northward into the forests and entered the picturesque and rugged valley of the Lemonweir river, and then toward the La Crosse river, where Big Canoe was hunting near Bangor, below Sparta, and found Black Hawk, who consented to go with him to Prairie du Chien, where he delivered the captives.

A brother of One-Eyed Decorah was Wa Kon Han Kaw, or Wa kon Decorah, or Snake Skin, commonly called Washington Decorah, the orator of the Winnebago. The name is also rennered Wau kon cauhaga, or Waukon. His likeness was painted by J. O. Lewis in 1825. When Mr. Burnett steamed up the Missippi river on the "Enterprise" to secure the Winnebago canoes from Black Hawk, July 25, 1832, at sixty miles up the river from Prairie du Chien, he found Washington Decorah with the principal part of the band from the Wisconsin and Kickapoo rivers. The Waukon had a village on the headwaters of De Sota creek, below La Crosse. He died at the Black Earth agency about 1864.

Among those who bear the name and boast descent from this famous line of Winnebago chieftains there is one who is destined

to become famous in the white man's finest art. She is Angel De Cora (this is the official spelling), of the reservation in Nebraska, but practicing her art in New York city. She studied art in the art department of Smith college at Northampton, Mass., and under the famous artist Howard Pyle, who has interested himself in her success. She has been since 1906 an art instructor in Carlisle Indian School.

Four Legs, or Neokau tah, had his village at the outlet of Lake Winnebago, on Doty island, now Menasha and Neenah. This has been the ancient home of the Winnebago since first known to the whites in 1632. He was known as Neokautah by the Menominee; but his Winnebago name was Hootschope, pronounced Hooshoo. Hon. Morgan L. Martin made a journey up the Fox river with Jude Doty from Green Bay to Prairie du Chien to the trial of Red Bird in 1828, and describes this village: "On Doty island, very near the mouth, on West channel, was the village of Hootschope, or Four Legs, the well-known Winnebago chieftain. There were from 150 to 200 lodges covered with bark or mats." Augustin Grignon also mentions this village "on Doty island, at the mouth of Winnebago lake." On August 16, 1830, Mr. McCall, one of the commissioners to arrange the differences between the New York Indian and the Winnebago, met in council Four Legs and ten other chiefs at Four Legs' lodge on Doty island, and mentions "that the head chief was seated on his mat, cross-legged, in all the majesty of an Asiatic prince," describing Four Legs "as about forty years of age, of middle stature, a most interesting man in appearance and deportment, speaks his own tongue fluently. In short, he is a great man." Mrs. Kinzie mentions Four Legs as the "great chief of the Winnebago, whose village was on Doty island," in 1830, and says, "It was at the entrance to Lake Winnebago, a picturesque cluster of huts spread around on a pretty green glade and shaded by fine lofty trees," and she furnishes an illustration of the village. She says in another place, "It was a cluster of neat bark wigwams." Four Legs died in 1830, but his village was still occupied in 1832, reported by Cutting Marsh as "occupied by a small band of the Winnebago tribe." This was the last mention of this village. Its name is preserved in the word Menasha, the city which with the city of Neenah occupy its site. Menasha was the name of this most ancient Indian village on the American continent. The name was by both Curtis Reed and Governor J. D. Doty, the founders of the modern town, said to mean the name of the vil-

lage on the island, and in Dakatah would be Mini haha, or Laughing Water, a possible reference to the double rapids which ran around their village. At the council held in Green Bay, August 24, 1830, Four Legs was head chief. Duck was head orator. There was also present Shounk Schunk siap, or Black Wolf; Wheauk Kaw, or Big Duck, and Monk Kaw Kaw. For entertainment to amuse their visitors Four Legs was active. At night a band of Winnebago appeared "painted all colors," "naked except breach clout," before the house where McCall boarded; encouraged by drink, they held a war dance until 10 o'clock "with disfigured and distorted countenances." "The head chief Four Legs displayed great activity." The report of the commissioners of the Council of 1830 at Green Bay recites that Four Legs and Black Wolf were the only speakers, and that they had signed the treaty of 1822 with the New York Indians. Schoolcraft mentions that Four Legs levied tribute from travelers immediately after the war of 1812. He assumed to be the keeper of the Fox River valley. Colonel T. L. Kinney alludes to this custom of exacting tribute, and relates that General Leavenworth, going up stream with his command in 1816, was accosted by Four Legs and notified that the lake was locked. The General rose with his gun resting on his arm, and asked the interpreter to inform the chief that he had the key to unlock it. Four Legs replied, "Let him pass." This incident marks the last challenge of the Winnebago, and it is said that it took place beneath the Treaty Elm that for many years stood a conspicuous landmark in the county. The "Treaty Elm," or "Council Tree," beneath whose widespreading branches the chiefs of the neighboring tribes are said to have been wont to gather in council, was located on Riverside park point at the mouth of the Neenah channel of the Fox river in the city of Neenah. It was of immense size and girt, towering above all the surrounding forest, and could be seen from points eight miles distant. Such was its prominence as a landmark that it was for many years used as a guide by sailors and steamer pilots on the lake. It was destroyed by a charge of dynamite June 12, 1887, by the employees of the Government in cutting away the point to widen the channel to increase the flow of water in flood times.

As Four Legs was supposed to be forty years of age in 1830, the year he died, and he must have been born about 1790, he could have taken part in the war of 1812, where he is frequently found on the side of the British. Mrs. Kinzie mentions the death of

Four Legs by drinking too much sutler whisky when waiting at Fort Winnebago with the assembled Winnebago for the arrival of the silver from the Government for payment of their annuities. "His body was wrapped in a blanket and placed in a rude coffin along with his guns, tomahawk, pipes and a quantity of tobacco." He was buried on the "most elevated point of the hill opposite the fort" in presence of "an immense procession of his people." A stake was placed at head of his grave "on which was painted in vermilion a series of hieroglyphics descriptive of deeds and events of his life," and a small white flag also waved over the grave. His wife who survived him was a Fox woman, but spoke the Chippewa language, which brought her services into use as an interpreter, as that was the court or universal language among all the tribes. He is said to have been a big chief and "a great and mighty warrior." In 1887 there were two descendants living —one was Good Cloud, a woman residing at Tomah. She had a son whose name was Good Year. One descendant was Will Dandy, a boy who was at school in Wittenberg mission. He had two cousins also living at Wittenberg.

Sau-sa-mau-nee was a younger brother of Four Legs and fought with him under the British flag in the war of 1812.

Wild Cat or Pe-Sheu had his village on Gerlic island, now Island Park, a small island on the west margin of Lake Winnebago, seven miles south of Menasha and the same distance north of Oshkosh. The village was also located across the solent on the mainland. The corn hills are still visible both on the island and mainland. Just when this village was established here cannot be ascertained, yet it is highly probable that Pe-Sheu himself was its founder and that he and his tribesmen came from the principal Winnebago village on Doty's island. One of the earliest descriptions of this village is that of Mrs. (Governor) James D. Doty, who records in her journal under the date of August, 1823, of a canoe journey which she made with her husband, who was on the way up river to hold court at Prairie du Chien. "We coasted along the west shore of Lake Winnebago to Garlic island, on the opposite point to which is a Winnebago village of fine permanent lodges and fine cornfields." The late Judge Morgan L. Martin made the same journey in birch-bark canoes with Judge Doty and others in 1828 on their way to try Red Bird, the Winnebago, for murder. "Garlic Island was the next stopping place. There was a Winnebago village there of about the same size as that over which Four Legs (Doty Island) presided (150 to 200 lodges cov-

ered with bark and mats). The lodges, however, were longer and neater. We purchased supplies of vegetables of the island villagers." From these descriptions it would appear that the village occupied both the island and mainland, that the wigwams were well constructed, the fields of Indian maize of considerable extent, and the population at that time one of 1,000 or more persons. Chief Wild Cat was a large and bulky savage with a hasty and ferocious temper which often got him into difficulties. He was probably born at Doty Island at some time just previous to the Revolution. The earliest knowledge we have of this chieftain is from a remark he once made when he and Sarcel, a Winnebago chief, had a dispute in regard to their relative bravery. On this occasion Wild Cat is said to have exclaimed, "Don't you remember the time we aided the Shawanoes (English) in attacking the fort that you ran off so fast that you lost your breech clout?" This remark had reference to the Indian war of 1793, when the British had incited the Western Indians to frequent depredations against the straggling white settlers in Ohio and Michigan. There is a possibility also that he may have served with Charles de Langlade under the British flag in the war of the Revolution. Certain it is that in 1797 he was considered of sufficient importance to receive from the royal officers the medal of their King. This bronze medal, given as a memento of distinguished favor by King George III to his savage ally in his wildwood home on the shore of Lake Winnebago, now reposes in the museum of Lawrence University at Appleton. It was deposited there about the year 1875 by Mr. D. C. Church, of Vinland, who obtained it from Louis B. Porlier, of Butte des Morts, a trader and son of Judge Porlier.[1]

Mrs. Kinzie says the Wild Cat was "our Indian Falstaff in all save cowardice and falsehood." Being made drunk, he was unable to get to Fort Armstrong at Rock Island in time to object to the treaty of 1831, and when he found it granted the lands on which stood his village he wept. It is said that he was found dead against an oak tree in the center of the woods where Oshkosh now stands. He was at the payments in Portage in 1830-1831, and is said to have died soon after the Black Hawk war, which would make the date of his death about 1833. He is reported to have gone under the partisan British leader of the Wisconsin savages, Col. Robert Dickson, early in 1812, to the capture of Mackinac. The following spring he fought with Tecumseh at

[1] Harney, "Hist. Win. Co.," pp. 271-3, Wis. Archeologist, 60-5, do., 416.

Fort Meigs, and after this defeat was beaten off of Fort Stephenson or Sandusky. He was also a part of the Winnebago contingent under McKay in the capture of Prairie du Chien. In the winter of 1814 Dickson, with his convoy of supplies, was ice bound until January on Garlic Island at Pesheu's village.

Black Wolf or Shounktshunksiap was a celebrated character in the border days of a century past. Mrs. Kinzie has left a racy sketch of this bold warrior Black Wolf, "whose lowering, surley face well described his name. The fierce expression of countenance was greatly heightened by the masses of heavy black hair, contrary to the usual custom of the Winnebago, who for the most part cut away a portion of the hair, drawing the remainder to the back of the head, clubbed and ornamented with beads, ribbons, cocks' feathers, or if entitled an eagle feather for every scalp taken from an enemy."

On a point of land now known as Black Wolf point (Sec. 21), in town of Black Wolf, jutting out into Lake Winnebago, at a distance of seven miles south of the City of Oshkosh, there was formerly located Black Wolf's Winnebago Indian village. It is said to have numbered not more than forty huts. The date of its establishment here is not exactly known, but it is supposed to have been about the year 1800 or slightly before. Mrs. G. A. Randall, who formerly resided at Randall's point, remembers to have seen the Indian tepees and campfires along the shore of Black Wolf point as late as the year 1846. Chief Black Wolf was a character of some importance. He was a large man and much respected by his people and was called a war chief. In the attacks on Mackinac in the War of 1812 he fought under the leadership of Col. Robert Dickson. After the war the British, still seeking to hold the Winnebago in their interest for purposes of trade, called them to Mackinac to a council or treaty with Col. Robert McDonald, the British commissioner. Black Wolf was one of those in attendance at this gathering. He also participated with the British and their allies in the capture of Prairie du Chien in the year 1814. He was one of the signers of the land grant negotiated by Eleazer Williams in 1821 with Four Legs, the Winnebago head chief, and others, by which the New York Indians were to receive a strip of land five miles in width along the Lower Fox, "from Grand Kachalin rapids to Winnebago rapids" in Winnebago county. He also participated in the councils held at Green Bay and Doty Island for a similar purpose in 1830. He is said to have died at Portage in the year 1847. During the Black

Hawk war, Black Wolf camped with the Winnebago assembled at the site of Portage on both sides of the Wisconsin river. The principal chiefs in these camps were Black Wolf, his son Dandy, White Eagle, White Crow and Broken Arm.

Dandy, the Beau Brummell of the Winnebago, was a son of Black Wolf and a cousin of Four Legs. "He wore fancy dress shirts of the brightest color ornamented with rows of silver brooches and displayed two pair of arm bands. His leggins and moccasins were of the most elaborate embroidery in ribbons and porcupine quills. Numerous ornaments were dangling from his club of black hair. A feather fan was in one hand and a mirror in the other. His face was brilliantly colored and daubbed." LaRonde says Dandy, son of Black Wolf, was also known as Little Soldier. His village is reported by Mr. W. H. Canfield as being in 1839 on the Baraboo river five or six miles above the present city of Baraboo. Old Dandy was one of those Paquette went after, then seventy years old, who was a small, thin man, and the only Winnebago who, after the breaking of tribal relations in 1848, was generally respected as chief of the tribe. He went to Washington in 1828 with War Eagle and others to see the President. His camp was then near the Dalles. He said he would not go to Long Prairie and was allowed to remain. In 1844 Captain Summer was sent back to Portage to hunt for Dandy. He was found at the head of Baraboo river and made to ride horseback with his legs chained under the animal with an oxchain. He demanded to be taken to Governor Dodge at Mineral Point. Dodge asked him what was wanted. Dandy took a Bible from his bosom and asked the Governor if it was a good book. He answered it was a good book—he could never have a better in his hand. "Then," said Dandy, "if a man would do all that was in that book, could any more be required of him?" He answered, "No." "Well," said Dandy, "look that book all through, and if you find in it that Dandy ought to be removed by the Government to Turkey river, then I will go right off; but if you do not find it I will never go there to stay." The Governor informed him his trick would not work. He was then replaced on the horse, his feet chained up again and taken to Prairie du Chien. The chain blistered his feet and legs so he was unable to walk for three weeks. He was then put in charge of a corporal, who was obliged to carry Dandy on his back to a buggy to be taken to Turkey river, Dandy claiming he was unable to walk. The buggy was at the fort gate and the corporal, supposing Dandy unable to walk, left him for a moment

to re-enter the fort. Dandy jumped from the buggy and ran into the forest, where the corporal could not find him. He remained in Wisconsin and died on the Peten Well bluff, an isolated rocky peak on the Wisconsin river, in June, 1870, aged seventy-seven years.

The Yellow Thunder "was a fine looking Indian, tall, straight and stately." His old encampment was about five miles below Berlin, on the Fox river, at the Yellow banks. This would locate his village in Section 31, near Eureka, in Winnebago county. In 1832 at the close of the Black Hawk war Col. Charles Whittlesey with four others made a saddle journey over the Tomahawk trail along the left bank of the Lower Fox and right bank or east side of the Upper Fox river. Before arriving at Fort Winnebago he passed two Winnebago villages, one of which was that of Yellow Thunder. He mentions crossing the Fox river in a flatboat and landing near the spot where the father of "Grizzly Bear," a Menominee, is said to have lived. Here, he says, commenced a rolling prairie that continued for fifty miles (since known as Democrat prairie). "The trail passed two Winnebago villages, one of which was called Yellow Thunder from its chief." The villagers, much to their annoyance, followed the party out of their village on horseback. Hon. Morgan L. Martin mentions passing a "Winnebago village on Green Lake prairie" in 1829, which may have been the village of Yellow Thunder. In 1828 Yellow Thunder and his squaw, a daughter of White Crow, made a journey to Washington to interview the President, and thereafter this squaw was known as Washington Woman. Yellow Thunder was a convert to the Catholic Church and became zealous in its offices and was called the head war chief of his tribe. By false pretenses he was induced with others to visit Washington in 1837 and signed the false treaty which granted the Government all their lands east of the Mississippi river, under which three years after he was one of the first to suffer by being forcibly put in irons at Portage and removed to Yellow river, Iowa. Yellow Thunder soon returned and requested La Ronde to go with him to Mineral Point to enter a forty of land on the west bank of the Wisconsin river. In reply to an inquiry if Indians could enter lands, "Yes, Government has given no orders to the contrary." So Yellow Thunder, the head war chief of the Winnebago, entered, lived and died on his forty of land. He was again forcibly removed to Iowa with Black Wolf, but was allowed to return, as he was a land owner. Yellow Thunder owned the southwest quarter of

the southeast quarter of section 36, on Wisconsin river, town of Delton, Sauk county, two log huts having been constructed for his own use and that of families who lived with him. About five acres of land was cultivated, raising corn, beans and potatoes. During big feasts as many as 1,500 Indians gathered in the vicinity. Shortly before his death he sold his land to Mr. John Bennett. It is related that when he paid his taxes he placed a kernel of corn in a leather pouch for each dollar of taxes paid, and when he sold the land he demanded as many dollars as there were kernels of corn in the old pouch. His summer village was sixteen miles up river from Portage in 1840, where Dandy and Little Duck also camped. Yellow Thunder died in 1874, said to have been childless, and was buried on a sandy knoll. Near by are the graves of Washington woman and several other Indians. She was buried sitting up facing the east. A painting of Yellow Thunder hangs in the rooms of the Wisconsin Historical Society, and an unpublished manuscript giving "personal reminiscences" by Mrs. A. C. Flanders is deposited in the Public Library at Portage.

V.

THE COMING OF NICOLET.

The magnificent cenotaph raised on the Menasha park, under the inspiration of the women's clubs of Menasha, unveiled on Labor Day, September 3, 1906, with fitting ceremony, commemorates one of the greatest voyages in the history of the world. And as it was the event which made known the interior of the continent and opened to the world the vast empire of the West, it may easily be regarded by its results as the greatest event in the history of the West.

For ten years after this remarkable voyage over unsailed seas of 2,000 miles by the first white man, the records seem silent on the remarkable event. It was "Vimont's Relations of 1643" which first described the event and sent it to Paris, where it was published to the world.

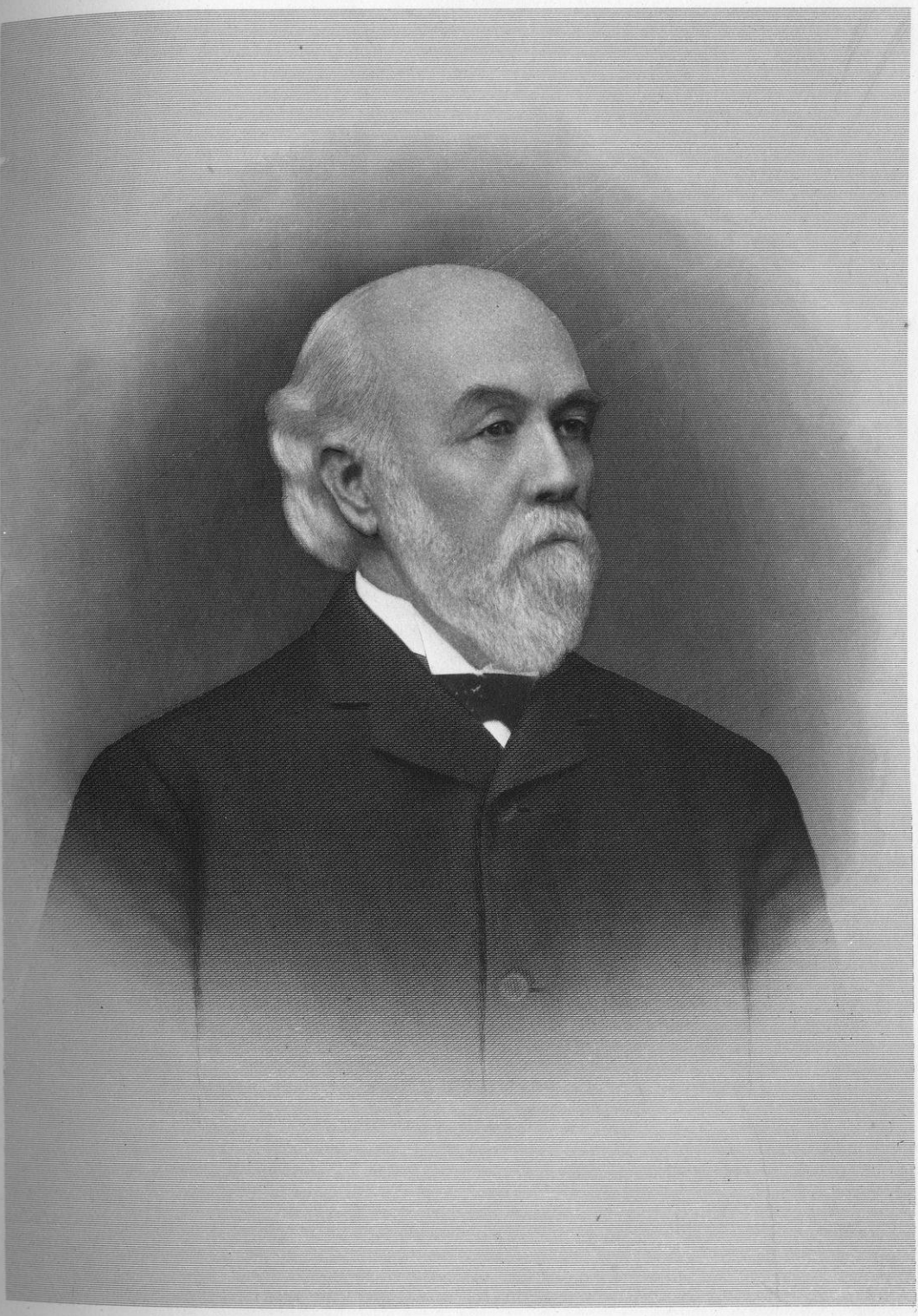
Nicolet with his seven Huron Indians braved the terrors of darkest America fourteen years after the Pilgrims landed and twenty-four years after Canada was founded, but thirty years before Marquette followed in his wake to push his way still farther toward the setting sun and forty years before La Salle entered the Illinois. There were then scarcely 1,000 white people in America, and yet it was only 270 years ago.

Stories had been brought to Quebec, which was a log cabin village then, of the Indians who resided about the great lakes, and from such narratives the French governor, Champlain, had made up a map of our country in the West in which he had located Lake Winnebago, which he called "Lac des Puans," way up north of Lake Superior, and made the Fox river run south into Lake Superior (1632). At this time it was supposed by the scholars and government of France that the rich empire of China lay somewhere in the West beyond the setting sun. It had for many years been the great desire of numerous hardy and reckless adventurers to get at the fabled riches of this mythical China. They supposed if they could reach this far-off land they could return home laden with diamonds, sparkling gems, gold and silver, and be the envy of all their neighbors. In their story the visiting

Indians at Quebec had told of a people living upon a large lake, who were lighter colored and with other peculiarities spoke a strange language. They were said to live upon or had come from a salt sea and they named them Ouenibegoutz, meaning feted, and since written Winnebago, and which the French translated "nation des puans" and called "men of the sea." In some way the notion prevailed that this lake was the China sea and these people the long sought Chinese. It was afterward learned that these were our Winnebago Indians, who gave their name to our lake. They had left their Siouan family sometime in their migration from the South and settled on Doty island at the foot of Lake Winnebago, where they were surrounded by tribes of the great Alqonkin nation.

The romantic love of adventure and discovery and possible riches inspired Champlain to look about for someone he could send out to discover the truth of these rumors, make peace and raise the standard of France in these distant lands. At this time Jean Nicolet was in the colony. He had come over from France in 1618 and had spent most of his time for sixteen years among the Alqonkin Indians, trading with them and had for a number of years acted as "agent and interpreter." He knew the natives and their language and habits very well, and was just the man for such a dangerous undertaking. So, as related by the only chronicles, "while in the exercise of this office (of agent and interpreter) he was sent, delegated to make a journey to the nation called People of the Sea, and arrange peace between them and the Hurons." He started out from the country now known as lower Canada, at Quebec, but then called the Huron country, as inhabited by that tribe of Indians, in a single canoe, made of the bark of a birch tree, accompanied by seven Huron Indians, in the summer of 1634.

One single white man, alone facing thrilling experience over unknown waters and streams known to be inhabited by savage men and wild animals which might justly strike terror to any person. But this brave, little whiskered Frenchman pushed into the unknown and mysterious setting sun, ran the cavernous and frightful rapids of the St. Louis river into the tempestuous water of Lake Huron, where he swiftly crossed the channel from island to island. Then on through the straits of Mackinac, where, if he had any poetry in his soul, and what brave man has not, he must have remarked upon the glorious scenery of island, lakes and wooded shores about him.



Geo Paine

On he sped into the often furious Lake Michigan, whose very waters never ending was to him unknown and perhaps the end of it all undoubtedly something to make his heart stand still. Along its bracken shore, from headland to headland, his frail bark was paddled by his dusky seamen. At last, after several weeks of strenuous life in his little boat, he skirted along the shore of Green Bay, then called by them Bay des Puans, and came to the mouth of the Fox river, up over the swift, boiling, dangerous rapids of which he proceeded to the village of the Winnebago. Along their course thus far at all the Indian villages passed they had "fastened two sticks to the earth and hung gifts thereon, so as to relieve these tribes from the notion of mistaking them for enemies to be massacred. When he was two days' journey from that nation (Winnebago) he sent one of these savages to bear tidings of the peace, which word was especially well received when they heard that it was a European who carried the message, they dispatched several young men to greet the manitau—that is to say, wonderful man. They meet him, escort him and carry all his baggage."

Having been sent by the French as an ambassador, as they surmised to the court of the rich Chinese empire, Nicolet was provided with gorgeous robes in which to make his courtly visit. So before coming to their village he beached his canoe and took off his leather jacket, bespangled with rainbow colored beads, and robed himself in a grand gown "of China damask all strewn with flowers and birds of many colors." The Relation does not say if he was booted and spurred and wore a Gainsborough hat, after the fashion of the times. But it is related that "no sooner did they perceive him, then the women and children fled at sight of a man who carried thunder in both hands, for thus they called the two pistols that he held." Having fired off his pistols and displayed his elegant clothes, he was himself surprised to learn that these were only ordinary half naked savages and their grand palaces only straw covered conical huts.

He soon made friends with the Winnebago. "News of his coming quickly spread to the places round about and there assembled 4,000 or 5,000 men. Each of the chiefs made a feast for him, and at one of these banquets they served at least six score beavers." Having made a peace with all these people, Nicolet returned. Although he does not mention it, the beautiful wild woods of sturdy oaks and graceful elm, filled with the song birds' sweetest melodies, lined the river banks, from which at night came the

screech of the panther and between the branches of which by sunlight walked the bear, the graceful doe and lordly buck. His swarthy paddle put to flight vast flocks of wild fowl, and farther up the river beyond Berlin on his way home his way must often have been disturbed by droves of buffaloes.

Though in its conclusion Nicolet's voyage was one of unbounded pleasure, yet before and while on the way it must have been of the most thrilling interest and expectation and often filled with dread and certainly of many dangers.

The monument erected in the park at Menasha to commemorate the coming of the first white man to Wisconsin was accomplished by a movement inaugurated by the Menasha Ladies' Study Club and the Menasha Economic Club. The committee in charge were Mrs. James Thom, chairman, and Mrs. Harry Fisher, Mrs. F. D. Lake, Mrs. William H. Miner and Mrs. T. M. Gilbert. Upon the elaboration of the original plans the Common Council became interested in the movement and passed a resolution empowering its committee to aid in the erection of the monument, and the Park Board consented to have it placed within the park. Its cost was about $1,000. The black trap boulder on which the bronze tablet is placed was taken from the ancient cornfields of the Winnebago not far away on the head of Doty Island.

The inscription on the monument reads: "Near this spot landed, 1634, first white man in Wisconsin, Jean Nicolet—Metthe Winnebago Tribe—Held earliest white council with 5,000 savages —Erected by Women's Clubs of Menasha, 1906." The ceremony of unveiling the monument took place in the afternoon and was included in and made part of the programme of the second field assembly of the Wisconsin Archeological Society, whose members were present. About forty members of the Historical Society of Green Bay, in attendance on these meetings, were present. There were also many distinguished citizens of the state and an immense gathering of residents. Mrs. James Thom acted as chairman; Mrs. Sally McCarty Pleasants gave the address of presentation; Miss Mary P. Whipple made the address on Nicolet; Mr. Franklin D. Lake accepted the monument for the public, and Mr. A. Duane Clinton made a humorous talk on the earliest recollections of the first boy born near the location.

VI.

THE FOX TRIBE AND THE BATTLE GROUND OF THE FRENCH AND OUTAGAMIS.

From the earliest times of which any mention is made of this tribe their history seems to be one long battle either with other savage nations or the French. Their permanent country was in West Menasha west of the Little Butte des Morts lake and along the upper Fox river from the time they were first known to the Whites until about 1763. Their head village was about three-quarters of a mile west of Little Lake Butte des Morts.

The sole purpose of the French in exploring the west and maintaining the military posts was the trade they enjoyed with the savages in the furs of wild animals. The French had no ambition to acquire landed estates in the West, although they paid high for the exclusive license to trade with the savages for furs. The only money in the West for many years was its furs. The Fox and Wisconsin rivers being the principal route by which the trader could reach the rich fur-bearing region of the Wisconsin and upper Mississippi river, the French government of Canada, who controlled the western region until 1760, were deeply interested in keeping this river free and safe from danger to those passing along its waters, either laden with the goods for trade or returning burdened with the spoils of the wild woods. The Fox Indians and their strong allies, the Mascoutin, Kickapoo, Winnebago and Sauk, all lived along the banks of this historic highway, and the known dislike of the French by the Foxes brought on a half century of bitter warfare, which brings the tribe into historic prominence and make them the most important tribe in the West during the olden period. The tribe is supposed by archeologists to have migrated from the east with other Algonquian nations after the Winnebago had located in Wisconsin. The earliest historic account of them places them in Winnebago county, on the west shore of Little Lake Butte des Morts.

From a letter written by La Salle descriptive of the rivers of Wisconsin, 1682, we find in making his journey down stream "the village of the Outagamie is reached half a league from the river

on the north side," below Lake Winnebago and about five miles above Grand Chute Falls.[1] In his rambling narrative of ancient traditions and current history La Potheries, who had his facts from Perrot, a narrative credited to the years between 1640 and 1660, there is mention of the Winnebago, when, much reduced by famine and pestilence, sending a party of "500 warriors against the Outagamis, who dwelt on the other shore of the lake," but perished in a storm while crossing. This was probably Little Lake Butte des Morts, as there is evidence that the Foxes lived on the west shore and the Winnebago on the east shore of this lake.

In Perrot's visit to the Fox river tribe credited to the years 1665-1666, as related in La Potherie, the Foxes had formed a village of 600 cabins. Some Frenchmen, guided by some Sauk chiefs, visited the Foxes at their winter camp seventy-five miles from Green Bay. They found a large village, but destitute of everything. They had four or five hatchets which had no edge, which they used by turns for cutting their wood. They had scarcely one knife or bodkin to a cabin, but cut their meat with stones, which they used for arrows, and scaled their fish with muscle shells. They were hideous with want. Although large, their bodies were deformed. They had disagreeable faces, brutish voices and evil aspects, and begged continuously from the French.[2] "The Miamis, the Mascoutin, the Kickàpoo and fifteen cabins of Islinois came toward the Bay in the following summer (1666) and made their clearings thirty miles away beside the Foxes toward the South." This was south of the Potawatomi, who were on the east shore of the head of Green Bay, where the French had located with them, and these people had come down river to get closer to the trade in guns, knives and hatchets.[3]

They were visited by the first missionary to ascend the Fox river, Father Claude Allouez, in 1670. He found them on the Little Wolf river in Waupaca county, near the present village of Manawa. Of this visit he says, "These savages had withdrawn to these regions (Ouestatinong) to escape the persecution of the Iroquois, and settled in an excellent country, the soil of which

[1] 16 "Wis. Hist. Colls.," 106.

[2] 16 Ib., 41.

[3] See "The Location of the Mission of St. Mark," by Publius V. Lawson, 1900.

is black, yielding them Indian corn in abundance. They live by hunting during the winter, returning to their cabins toward its close, and living there on Indian corn that they had hidden away the previous autumn." In the midst of their clearing they have a fort, where their cabins of heavy bark are situated for resisting all sorts of attacks. On their journeys they make themselves cabins with mats. They are at war with the Sioux, their neighbors. Canoes are not used by them, and for that reason they do not make war on the Iroquois, although they are often killed by them. They are held in very low estimation, and are considered by the other nations as stingy, avaricious, thieving, chloric and quarrelsome. They have a poor opinion of the French since two traders in beaver skins appeared among them."[1]

"They were haughty and insolent," and at first were insolent to him, rebuffed and mocked him; but persevering in his efforts to influence them with the gospel, "cheering some with the hope of paradise, and frightening others with the fear of hell," he finally secured their attention and even affection. He baptized seven persons, and the elders promised to build him a chapel when he returned. They were especially interested in the cross, almost everyone, young or old, frequently made its sign, and a war party from this tribe believe they have won a battle by this means. Allouez erected in their village a large cross, "thus taking possession of these infidel lands in the name of Jesus Christ." He says mass every day and preaches against their superstition and licentious customs; yet no one interferes with him. "This is a special grace for this village, where the people are self-willed beyond anything that can be imagined." They listen to him, but are easily diverted from belief in the new faith when it does not protect them from their enemies. "This nation is renowned for being populous, the men who bear arms numbering more than 400, while the number of women and children is the greater on account of polygamy which prevails among them, each man having commonly four wives, some have six and others ten.

Six large cabins of these people were put to rout this month of March by eighteen Seneca Iroquois, who, guided by two fugitive Iroquois slaves of the Potawatomi, made an onslaught and killed all the people except thirty women, whom they led away captive. As the men were away hunting they met with little resistance, there being only six warriors left in the cabins besides the women

[1] 16 Ib., 70.

and children, who numbered about 100." This probably occurred at their old village at West Menasha. In 1677-79 Allouez and Silvy attended the Foxes in their mission, and Allouez was their missionary from 1670 for about ten years. In 1675 he wrote that he expects much of the Foxes, "for they have been sorely afflicted of late by war, famine and pestilence."

The tribe was always known to the French as Les Renards, which is rendered Foxes in English. Their neighbors spoke of them as Outagamies and they called themselves Musquakies from Moshwa, red and aki land.

Their retreat into the dark forests of the Little Wolf river in 1670 was for a period of about ten years, for by 1682, as mentioned above, La Salle finds them again located in their ancient home in West Menasha.

Revolt of the Foxes and Northwest Tribes in 1687.

The Dutch and English along the Hudson river through their allies, the powerful Iroquois, who occupied the lands south of Lake Ontario, came very near to making a peaceable conquest in 1687 of the whole rich fur bearing land of the Northwest by the weakness of the French and the defection of their tribes in their haste to arrange personally a peace with the Iroquois, ignoring the offices of the French. This was the same contest which then begun was successfully defeated by the French for over seventy years. At this time the outpost of Mackinac, located at the present St. Ignace, on the main land, with its few missionaries and soldiers, was the western limit of the French garrisons. Beyond this there were some traders on the Mississippi in the Sioux country. There was also a very small force at Old Detroit, at the foot of Lake Huron, where Duluth had built a stockade with orders to occupy it with fifty men.

The tribes of the northeast had been in constant danger from the hostility of the Iroquois, and the impoverished and feeble as well as incompetent government of Canada had prevented the French from assisting in their defense, as also caused them to fail of success in their raids against the Iroquois. The Iroquois, goaded by the past cruel treatment by the French and emboldened by their weakness, renewed their raids into lower Canada. They massacred the settlements of La Chine in August, 1689, and overrun Montreal, butchering or torturing to death over 400 men, women and children. To the French government

at Paris it became evident that a more capable and experienced head was required in Canada, and in 1889 returned Count de Frontenac. He found the Hurons and Ottawa, who occupied the region of the present state of Michigan, had arranged to make peace with the Iroquois on their own account, and the Foxes of the Fox river in the present Wisconsin had returned the prisoners they held of the Iroquois and effected a peace with them. The tribes of the whole Northwest were ready to join with the English and Dutch in New York for trade in the peltries of this rich fur-bearing region. Frontenac at once despatched Monsieur de Louvigny with a force of 170 men, accompanied by Perrot and others, to relieve Monsieur de la Durautaye at Mackinac and recover the good opinion of the Hurons and Ottawa.

After their arrival Perrot proceeded with a small force up the Fox river on the information which had been brought to them of the disaffection of the Foxes and of their intention to ambush and massacre the French traders as they returned up the Wisconsin and down the Fox from the Sioux country.

The Foxes had returned to the Iroquois five chiefs, whom they had captured while on a hostile raid against the Illinois, and the Iroquois, being greatly pleased, had sent an embassy to the Foxes with a large wampum collar of friendship. These two great tribes of the East and West were now in strong alliance to please the Iroquois and doubtless to secure the booty that would result. The Foxes had let it be known that they intended to murder the French traders on their return through their village of Little Butte des Morts.

The Foxes, to make ready for the returning French traders, had taken their tomahawks to the mission house of the Jesuits at Depere, which "were dulled and broken, and had compelled a Jesuit brother to repair them. Their chief held a naked sword ready to kill him while he worked. The brother tried to represent to them their folly, but was so maltreated that he had to take to his bed." The chiefs then led their warriors up the river into ambuscade to await the French traders.

Sieur Nicholas Perrot proceeded up the bay to the mission house, where he was met by the Winnebago chief, who had been to the Foxes and informed them of the coming of Perrot. The chief of the Foxes did not wait his coming, but fled to the wilderness and left orders for his people to give him a kind reception.

When Sieur de la Mathe Cadillac established the new post at

Detroit it was a part of his scheme to settle near him bands of savages both for protection and trade, as well as to obtain their services in tilling the soil to raise the necessary crops of corn and vegetables for the maintenance of the garrison and habitants. A band of Foxes, Mascoutins and Kickapoos from the Fox river of Wisconsin, asked to settle there, came down in 1712 and, having been assigned their location, built a fort and established themselves. The Foxes were under their great chief, Pemoussa. Instigated by the blundering methods of Sieur Dubuisson, who commanded at Detroit since Monsieur de la Mathe Cadillac had been transferred, in 1711, to the governorship of Louisiana, the several savage nations, enemies to the Foxes, took advantage of their unprotected advance near Detroit to attack them.

These nations were Hurons, Ottawa, Chippewa and Missasaugas of Michigan. The Illinois, Missouris and Osages of the West, together with some Potawatomi, Sauk and Menominee of Green Bay. There were about 800 Foxes and Mascoutins who had settled there with their men, women and children. There were of the enemy about 1,500 warriors, though the accounts differ. In the stockade at Detroit there were twenty-six Frenchmen soldiers and traders or helpers.

From the French and savages in the stockade and from the woods a continuous fire was kept up against the camp of the Foxes and Mascoutins for nineteen days. The Foxes dug holes in the ground for shelter from the bullets of the enemy. Cut off from water, they were exhausted from thirst and hunger. Friends coming to them from the West were surprised and captured, unaware of their siege. It was the sport of the French Indians "to shoot them or fire arrows at them and then burn them." Many of the Foxes dying of hunger and thirst, the camp became filled with pestilence. Pemoussa, the head war chief, and Allamima, their great peace chief, called with a white flag on the French for a council. Pemoussa at their head wore a "crown of wampum upon his head and many belts of wampum on his body and hung over his shoulder. He was painted with green earth and supported by seven female slaves, also painted and covered with wampum." Three other chiefs had each a chickikone, a small drum used by medicine men, "calling all the devils to their assistance to have pity on them. They had figures of little devils hanging on their girdles." In this manner they were received into the stockade, where Pemoussa begged for

mercy, not for himself, but for "our women and our children." But the French and their allies refused to grant them quarter.

In the rain and darkness of the night they escaped and were pursued by the savage enemies, led by Sieur de Vincennes and several other Frenchmen, who came up to the fugitives ten miles above Detroit, near Lake St. Clair, where about twenty of the pursuers were killed before they discovered the Foxes. After four days' siege the Foxes surrendered on a promise of protection, but the savages gave them no quarter. "All were killed except the women and children, whose lives were spared, and 100 men who had been tied but escaped." All the Indian allies of the French returned to the fort with their captives. "Their amusement was to shoot four or five of the Foxes every day. The Hurons did not spare a single one of them," and the priest "rendered thanks to God for having preserved us from our enemies."

The report says that 1,000 of the Foxes and Mascoutins were killed, although just before this the statement was made that they had 300 warriors and that no women and children were killed. The statement must therefore be modified to possibly a death list of between 200 and 300.

In regard to this affair Father Joseph J. Marest, of the Society of Jesus, seems to imply the attack was by the French on the Foxes.[1] Gaspard Chaussegros de Lery, chief engineer of Canada, understands it was a treacherous attack upon the Foxes by the French after they had been invited to settle near Detroit.[2] The report made by Sieur de Buisson does not make it clear that he attacked the Foxes for anything they had done, but only to aid the Indian enemies of the Foxes, especially the Ottawa, who sought three of their women held captive by the Foxes. Mr. Hebbard claims the French took this means to destroy the Foxes: "Enticed them to Detroit in order that they might be slaughtered." Francis Parkman says: "It is by no means certain they came with deliberate hostile intent. Had this been the case they would not have brought their women and children."[3] Dr. Reuben G. Thwaite supposes: "Intertribal jealousies and hatreds are a sufficient explanation of the cruel overthrow of the Foxes." Thus the modern historian sees that the Foxes were attacked and murdered in a cruel manner at Detroit.

[1] 16 Ib., 289.
[2] 16 Ib., 293.
[3] See "Half Century of Conflict," 268-287.

Monsieur de Lery, chief engineer of Canada, makes that cruel act of the French at Detroit the cause of the future wars of the Foxes; the beginning of the battle for the golden fleece, in which the war whoop of the Foxes was heard around the world, and France was involved in a half century of war with the mighty Outagamis. He says, "Thus perished the Foxes whom the Monsieur de la Mothe had brought to Detroit. As soon as the Mascoutin and Kickapoo learned of this deed they sent many war parties into the field to all the routes of travel. They caused all the other nations to take to flight. This went on until Monsieur de Louvigny besieged them in their fort in 1716. It does not seem from previous history that the Outagamis were ever friendly to the French, except intermittently as a matter of expediency, and it is quite impossible to say when the enmity was begun, though possibly it was close to 1670, when the first traders cheated them.

Sieur de Vaudreuil, the Governor, and Sieur Begon, the Intendant, the official heads of the dual government of Canada, in their report to the "Ministere des Colonies" at Paris, November 15, 1713, wished to send Sieur de Louvigny that spring to bring about peace or "have the war with the Foxes continued," but feared their authority to do so. They now sought authority to proceed against the Foxes, for as "the common enemies of all the nations of the upper country it is absolutely necessary to take all possible measures to destroy them," as they had recently killed at Detroit three Frenchmen and five Hurons. The Hurons had sent to Quebec to ask for help to fight the Foxes and threatened to ask English aid unless help was forthcoming. The people at Detroit were said to be obliged to remain under cover of the fort, fearing to go out. They reported the Foxes had killed one L. Espine, a Frenchman, at Green Bay, and unless the Foxes were humbled the French would have the contempt of all the tribes. For the enterprise against the Foxes it was recommended that licenses be granted to the French to trade in the lake country, to agree to join the war against the Foxes, and to assemble at Mackinac for that purpose. Also to furnish before departing fifty pounds powder and 100 pounds of bullets so the war would be carried on "without expense to his majesty." The soldiers to indemnify themselves by trading the merchandise they carry with them as soon as the war with the Foxes is ended. To increase the number of French in the party it was recommended to grant amnesty to the 100 coureurs des bois who had assembled to

trade in the Lake country without the authority of the Canadian officials. This report was seconded by a letter from Claude de Ramezay, Governor of Montreal, to the Minister at Paris, dated September 18, 1714, in which he mentions the matters set out by the Governor and intendant, and mentions "The pitiable situation of the savage nations, who are dying of hunger in their cabins, not daring to leave them to go hunting on account of their well grounded fear that the Foxes will destroy them all one after the other."

Anticipating the favorable action of the Council at Paris, de Ramezay had agreed with the Governor to send this fall two boats, one to Monsieur de Lignery at Mackinac and one to Detroit to cheer up the savages and notify the coureurs des bois to join the expedition against the Foxes next summer.[1] "It is so important to make war on the Foxes promptly and to transport merchandise into the upper country to prevent the savages from resorting to the English that we beg you to make known the intention of his Majesty by the first fishing vessel leaving France for Newfoundland."

Under plans settled at a conference in Quebec between Governor Vaudreuil and Begon, the Intendant, Sieur de Ramezay, Governor of Montreal, de la Forest, commandant at Detroit, and Sieur Daigremont, agent of the King, reported to the Minister at Paris, September 20, 1714, it was deemed necessary to first take measures to bring about a peace between the Wea and tribes of Miamis and Illinois, as these nations are numerous and, though they "have always been enemies of the Foxes," they do not make war on them for fear the vengeance of each other while their warriors are absent. To bring about this peace it was agreed to send them presents at once. Those for the Wea were sent via the lakes to Detroit to be carried to Sieur Desliettes, commandant on the Wabash. Those for the Illinois were sent to Sieur Vincennes, who commanded in Illinois, and taken by a convoy under command of Jean Paul le Gardeur de St. Pierre, a grand nephew of the first white discoverer, Nicolet. He made the journey by the Mackinac route and carried despatches to the commandant there, Sieur de Lignery, "to make war in every possible way against the Foxes early in the spring (1715) as soon as Sieur de Louvigney arrives." Sieur de Louvigney was to go out in the spring with a detachment of twenty soldiers by the route of the Ottawa river. Corn was expected to

[1] 16 Ib., 302.

be forwarded to Mackinac from Detroit. Sieur de Lignery had orders to send word to the Sioux of the planes to break their peace with the Foxes and refuse them an asylum. The Coureurs des Bois had word that the King had granted them a general amnesty on condition that they join by St. John's day at Mackinac the soldiers of De Louvigny for making war against the Foxes on pain of being punished with the full rigors of the law. The report concludes with "These French, having assembled with all the savages who have been invited, will form a considerable force with which Sieur de Louvigny will march to the village of the Foxes to attack them, and if they do not stay in their forts he will cut their corn, burn their cabins and encamp on the ground. As the Foxes will not find it easy to obtain provisions when assembled, they will be obliged to disperse to hunt, and Sieur de Louvigny will have them pursued and harassed by different parties that he will send after them."[1]

October 23 and November 12, 1714, the acting Governor, Ramezay, and Begon, the Intendant, sent a report to the French Minister at Paris that the Foxes, Wea, Mascoutins and Kickapoo had recently sent a delegation to invite the Iroquois to join them in a war against the French and Ottawa tribe.[2]

Further delays in prosecuting the war against the Foxes were made necessary by unforseen events, and in the meantime, in June, 1715, five Frenchmen carrying corn to Mackinac were surprised by a boat containing twenty-two Foxes, who, after a desperate fight, killed all the French. Three of the Foxes were killed and several wounded in the encounter. This affair made de Ramezay and Begon conclude in their report of September 12, 1715, that peace could only be made with the Foxes "after we have aroused ourselves to make war against the Foxes and struck some blows that will oblige them to sue for peace." For several years the fur trade of the region now Wisconsin and Michigan was practically abandoned and the whole frontier terrorized by fear of the Foxes. The illness of de Louvigny compelled him to give up the command of the forces to subdue the Foxes, and Monsieur de Lignery, captain in command at Mackinac, was given charge of the execution of the project. Sieur de St. Pierre failed to reach Mackinac, as "his boatmen fell ill with the measles," and he did not arrive until the spring of 1715. But Sieur Dupuy, destined for the Miamis and Wea, met with

[1] Report to the French Minister, 16 Ib., 303.
[2] 16 Ib., 310.

better success. He reached the Miamis on the Wabash in January, distributed his presents and then proceeded to the Wea, several days' journey toward the west. He found these tribes disposed to make war on the Foxes. Word was brought that Sieur de Vincennes had made peace between the Miamis, Wea and Illinois, and of their willingness to war on the Foxes. They boasted of having recently killed three Foxes, including the son of the Fox chief Thunder.

Failure of Plans to Suppress the Foxes.

After the official endeavor to send an expedition against the Foxes, since the attack on the Foxes by the French and Indians at Detroit in 1712, now after three years' plans were formed which appeared to have some assurance of going forward successfully. The movements contemplated were over such a wide area miles distant that it would have been an accident if they were successful.

Under orders of Sieur de Ramezay, acting Governor of Canada, in the absence of Marquis de Vaudreuil at Paris, his eldest son, Lieutenant de Mounoir and Ensign de Doncour, went to Detroit from Montreal, in April, 1715, where they arrived June 15. As ordered by Sieur de Ramezay, they called a council of the savages near that place, to learn their views of the "most suitable post to serve as a rendezvous for the nations of the south." It was decided that Lieutenant de Mounoir and Ensign de Doncour "should go with the Miamis, Wea and Illinois to Chicagou, where in case they arrived first they were to await the savages of Detroit, who are to go there over land, hunting on the way, to save provisions. When all are assembled there they are to set out against the fort of the Foxes, distant about 65 leagues from Chicagou. "They will regulate the time of their departure so as to arrive at the fort of the Foxes at the end of August."

Up at Old Mackinac a complementry movement was to take place. As Monsieur de Louvigney had fallen sick again at Quebec, the execution of the project had been given in charge of Monsieur de Lignery, the captain in command at Mackinac, "who appears to have all the necessary qualities for acquitting himself of it with success, being of all the officers in this country the best fitted for this expedition, with the exception of Sieur de Louvigney." Under the plans now settled, "Sieur de Lignery

will likewise assemble the French, with the Ottawa and other savages of the north, and he will set out with them for the fort of the Foxes, distant from Mackinac about 80 leagues." The entire route was by water over Lake Michigan, Green Bay and Fox river." He can reach it by boat in 5 or 6 days, regulating also the time of his departure from Mackinac, so that he also may arrive at the fort at the end of August. "It was agreed in the council that the first corps reaching the fort should only invest it, waiting the arrival of the second corps, which will enable them to attempt its capture in such manner as may seem best to Sieur de Lignery."

As soon as the council was concluded, messengers were sent to Mackinac to inform Sieur de Lignery of it. He at once sent Sieur de St. Pierre to Detroit to get more precise information, who returned without delay. Lieutenant de Mounoir and Ensign de Doncour departed from Detroit June 23, (1715), for the Miamis, where they arrived on July 3, and it was expected they could assemble the savages and keep the appointment. As a further necessary part of this effort over vast territory, to visit the doomed Fox tribe with the extreme displeasure of the mightiest monarch in Europe, Lieutenant de La Perriere was sent from Montreal in April, (1715), to go via Mackinac and thence among the Sioux (probably via Lake Superior), to invite them, not only to refuse refuge to the Foxes, but also to join us in making war upon them."

In this same spring there were sent to Mackinac, to reinforce the garrison and for the war against the Foxes, one Captain D'Eschaillons, Lieutenant Lanour, and Ensign Belestre, "who left Montreal in May, with a sergeant and 20 soldiers, who are to form the garrison," and they were expected to arrive "early enough for the expedition." These soldiers and some "French settlers whom we allowed to go up there, to serve in this expedition, and resident savages who accompanied them, "carried up 300 minots of corn which had been purchased of the Iroquois of New York.[1]

But these elaborate details were not to work out as planned. An epidemic of measles had broken out in the camp of the Miamis. A chief of the Wea had come down with the measles while at Detroit, which resulted in his death, and he had been

[1] See the details of this grand movement as set out at length in the report made by Sieur de Ramezay and Begon the Intendant, to the French Minister, Sept. 13 and 16, 1715, reproduced in 16 Ib., 311.

buried with military ceremonies. Three Miamis chiefs had also died of the same disorder. At the village of the Miamis on the Wabash river, the savages had fled on hearing the French were coming to fight them; but being reassured returned, and finally agreed that all those able would march at the proper time with Sieur de Vincennes, Lieutenant de Maunoir and Ensign de Doncour reached the Wea in eight days, where they were not well received because of the death of the Wea chief, who they professed to believe had been killed by the French; but a few presents put them in better spirits. They finally promised to march to the Chicagou at the time set, and Ensign de Doncour remained to lead them. Lieutenant de Maunoir then set out for the Illinois. After his departure the measles "so increased among the Wea that there were from fifteen to twenty deaths a day," and Ensign de Doncour was himself attacked by the fever for several days. When the time to march came, they could only muster twenty or thirty men and two chiefs, who made the long march over the prairies with "only dried beef and a little water" for subsistence. They did not dare to hunt for fear of the Foxes, whose trails they had found leading to Detroit. "To complete their misfortune they found no one at Chicagou; nor were the canoes there promised from Mackinac. Two of the Wea were attacked by the measles, and the others returned, so that Ensign de Doncour remained alone with five Frenchmen." After waiting five days over time, they set out west to meet Lieutenant de Maunoir with the Illinois; and becoming lost on the prairie, passed him undiscovered and reached Starved Rock on the Illinois river. Lieutenant de Maunoir had gone to the Illinois, where he was well received, and only remaining long enough to collect 450 savages, whom he took to Chicagou, where he arrived on August 17, and "was much mortified to find no one to meet him, and no news from Mackinac." After sending out scouts to no purpose, he returned to Starved Rock, the village of the Illinois, where he discovered his companions.[1]

Soon after canoes had brought the news to Quebec of the total failure of plans for the southern savages to gather for war on the Foxes, canoes came to Quebec with letters from Captain de Lignery at Mackinac, informing the Governor that as late as August 30 he had not gone out against the Foxes, "because

[1] The failure of these designs are to be found in a letter by acting Governor Sieur de Ramezay to the French Minister, Nov. 3, 1715, 16 Ib., 322.

the convoy of provisions, munitions of war, the presents for the savages and the soldiers of the garrison, had not yet arrived.[1] It was then too late to undertake anything that year.

The French Council of Marine, sitting in the most gorgeous palace of the Louvre, March 28, 1716, approved by Memoir the acts of the Canadian Government, in going to war with the Foxes, although they approve of the plans set out by Captain de Louvigny, in which "He says that the French, who went up for this war, set out laden with merchandise, although none is needed for carrying on the war; and that they have carried thither more than 40 casks of brandy. The result is, that wherever French and savages come together there is an open hell; and Monsieur de Louvigny states that some Frenchmen have gone to trade with the Foxes savages, of which all our allies complain. They consider that, to make peace, it is necessary to begin by restoring to the Foxes all the slaves of their nation whom the French hold; and that it is not in nature to think that peace can be made with people whose children we are withholding. That, in order to carry on war, it is necessary to begin by arranging for peace between the Sakis, the Puants and the Sauteurs, because we can not undertake any war unless these savages remain at peace; and to send 500 or 600 Frenchmen, equipped for war only, and without any merchandise.

Done and decreed by the Council of Marine, held at the Louvre on March 28, 1716.

(Signed) L. A. De Bourbon, Marechal d'Estrees.

By the Council:

(Signed) La Chapelle.

The slaves mentioned in the record of the Council of Marine were the captive Foxes taken in the battle at Detroit in 1712, who, according to the custom of the savages and the frontier in those times, were reduced to slavery.[2]

The French Army in West Menasha.

The hope of the French in their war against the Foxes had long centered in Monsieur de Louvigny, who had the rank of Major in the army, but was a trader by occupation. For two seasons he had been ill when he was expected to lead the army

[1] See report of acting Governor Sieur de Ramezay and Intendant Begon, Nov. 7, 1715, to the French Minister, 16 Ib., 327.

[2] 16 Ib., 340.

to the fort of the Foxes. He had advised that it was best "to make peace with the Foxes. He will without doubt employ every measure to achieve this, as it is his opinion that we cannot hope for success in undertaking a war against them."[1]

In the spring of 1715, May 1, de Louvigny was prepared to lead his mixed band of French and savages to the war. There were gathered at Quebec and Montreal 225 Frenchmen, who had been given licenses permitting them to trade two years among the savages in the northwest, which had been given them in lieu of other pay, so they were to make the journey, placing themselves under the orders of De Louvigny free of expense to the King, their canoes being laden half with merchandise and half provisions.[2] It was expected that 100 "settled savages" would also accompany De Louvigny. These were Mohawks and other Iroquois from the mission colonies along the lower St. Lawrence river.[3] This martial array, destined to make peace in the west, made the voyage up the St. Lawrence, and across lakes Ontario and Erie. At Detroit they induced the Hurons tribes and other Indians to join them, as well as a number of French soldiers and habitants. Arrived through Lake Huron at Mackinac, their force was augmented by Ottawa, Chippewa and the French garrison and habitants, until the motley host that pushed out over Lake Michigan and entered Green Bay, and worked their canoes up the tempestuous rapids of the Fox river to Little Lake Butte des Morts, and appeared before the great stockade fort of the Foxes, consisted of 425 French soldiers, civilians, traders and habitants, who had toted the munitions of war, the presents and necessary provisions "at their own expense and without cost to the King"; and scattered in promiscuous confusion in the convoy were about 400 savages, Iroquois of the missions, Hurons, Ottawa and Chippewa.

The oak stockade of the Fox nation was located three quarters of a mile west of the lake shore, near Sills Creek. The area enclosed by the triple lines of oak stakes, was seven and one-half acres. The fort also had the usual curtains and bastions and must have been a formidable fortress for the savages, as it was strong enough to withstand the two cannon, grenade mortar and guns used in the assaults of the army of French and Indians,

[1] From report of Ramezay and Begon to French Minister, Nov. 7, 1716, 16 Ib., 328.

[2] 16 Ib., 329.

[3] 16 Ib., 328.

who kept up a heavy fire night and day for three days, and even then it was not captured. Within this stockade there had assembled 500 Fox warriors, and their families, composed of 3,000 old men, women and children. They had sent out word asking assistance from their allies, and the French understood 300 of them were coming to their assistance.

De Louvigny's own account of the battle reads as follows:

"After three days of open trenches sustained by a continuous fire of fusileers, with two pieces of cannon, and a grenade mortar, they were reduced to ask for peace, notwithstanding they had 500 warriors in the fort, who fired briskly, and more than 3,000 women; they also expected shortly a reinforcement of 300 men. But the promptitude with which the officers, who were in this action, pushed forward the trenches, that I had opened at only seventy yards from their fort, made the enemy fear the third night that they would be taken. As I was only twenty-four yards from their fort, my design was to reach their triple oak stakes by a ditch of a foot and and a half in the rear. Perceiving very well that my balls had not the effect I anticipated, I decided to take the place at the first onset, and to explode two mines under their curtains. The boxes being properly placed for the purpose, I did not listen to the enemy's first proposition; but they having made a second one, I submitted it to my allies, who consented to it on the following conditions:

"That the Foxes and their allies would make peace with all the Indians who are submissive to the King, and with whom the French are engaged in trade and commerce; and that they would return to me all the French prisoners that they have, and those captured during the war from all our allies. This was complied with immediately. That they would take slaves from distant nations, and deliver them to our allies to replace their dead; that they would hunt to pay the expenses of this war; and, as a surety of the keeping of their word, they should deliver me six chiefs, or children of chiefs, to take with me to M. La Marquis De Vaudreuil as hostages, until the entire execution of our treaty; which they did, and I took them with me to Quebec. Besides I have reunited the other nations at variance among themselves, and have left that country enjoying universal peace. I very humbly beseech the Council to consider that this expedition has been very long and very laborious;

that the victorious armies of the King have been led by me more than 500 leagues from our towns, all of which has not been executed without much fatigue and expense; to which I ask the Council to please give their attention, in order that they may allow me the gratification they may think proper, as I have not carried on any kind of commerce. On the contrary, I gave to all the nations which were with me the few beaver skins that the Foxes had presented me with, to convince them that in the war the French were prosecuting they were not guided by motive of interest. All those who served in the campaign with me can testify to what I take the liberty to tell the Council.

"(Signed) Louvigny.

"At Quebec, October 14, 1716."

The date of the battle is unknown. De Louvigny left Quebec on March 14, and Montreal May 1, 1716, made the long canoe voyage of nearly 4,000 miles, fought the battle and returned by October 12 to Quebec. The battle was probably fought during the month of August. For his part in the expedition Major Louis de la Porte de Louvigny was made a Lieutenant Governor, by the Council of Marine at Paris, and His Royal Highness granted him a gratuity of 3,000 livres, equal to about $600.

The treaty made with the Foxes is said to have contained an express cession of the country to the French reduced to writing. Among the hostages given to De Louvigny for the good faith of the treaty was the old veteran war chief Pemoussa, who led the tribe at the battle of Detroit. The old warrior died at Quebec the following winter of smallpox, and was buried with military honors on the height of Quebec.

The present remains of the embankment of earth heaped against the triple oak stakes of the old Fox stockade fort, appears as fortification mounds, on the farm of Henry Race, in the southeast corner of section 8, town Menasha. The mounds are 1,600 feet long, and about twenty feet wide, and three feet high, made up of the earth of the vicinity. Toward the creek on the north end situate a few rods from the main mounds there is a low red mound, 200 feet long, which may have been the remains of the trenching done by De Louvigny, in working his way close to the fort mentioned in his report. All over the plowed fields of the vicinity are found crude stone arrow points and Indian implements. Many of the trader iron hatchets are also picked up on near-by fields. They have the cross legends

stamp of the Utrech, Holland, make as described by Beauchamp. The author has a number of the axes, and they are found in many collections.[1]

The following year (1717) De Louvigny was to visit the Fox tribes as promised at the treaty, but the ravages of smallpox among the hostages now made the visit imperative. This description of this council of tears is furnished by Charlevoix, who visited the Fox valley in 1721, close to these events:

"Unfortunately the smallpox, which raged the following winter in the colony, and among the neighboring tribes, carried off three of the hostages, who died at Montreal, and among them the famous war chief Pemoussa. De Vaudreuil, fearful lest the treaty should fail, hastened upon the ice to Montreal, and despatched De Louvigny to Michillimackinac, with orders to execute the conditions accepted by the Foxes, and to bring to Montreal the chiefs of that and neighboring tribes, together with the ranger-deserters, to whom the King had granted a full pardon.

"De Louvigny set out at the close of May, 1717. One of the surviving hostages, who had been attacked by the smallpox, with the others, and had lost an eye by it, was taken along, that he might bear testimony to his people with what tenderness he and his companions had been treated. As soon as De Louvigny arrived at Michillimackinac he despatched this one-eyed chief to the Foxes, attended by two French interpreters, with presents to cover the three dead hostages. They were well received, smoked the calumet, and sang the songs of peace, and after spending some days on grieving for the dead, they met to listen to the hostage. He represented all matters in a proper manner, and severely reproached the chiefs for not having repaired to Michillimackinac.

"The chiefs declared to the interpreters that they were very sensible of the kindness which the Governor General continued to show to them; but excused themselves for not having already sent deputies to fulfil the treaty, and promised to comply with

[1] For documents and references to this battle, see 5 Ib., 79, for Louvigny's report; page 80, for letter of Gov. Vaudreuil; page 81, for Charlevoix's account of the expeditions. Proceedings in Council of Marine, 16 Ib., 342. Paper on the location of the battle, by Publius V. Lawson, "Proceedings Wis. His. Soc.," 1900, page 204, with illustrations of embankment mounds still to be seen, 2 "Wis. Archeo.," p. 50, in a paper by Publius V. Lawson. For a sketch of De Louvigny, by Dr. Lyman C. Draper, see 5 "Wis. Hist. Colls.," 108.

their word the following year, giving this pledge in writing, adding that they would never forget that they were indebted for their lives entirely to the clemency of their good father, the Governor. The hostage then set out with the interpreters, to rejoin De Louvigny, at Michillimackinac; but after traveling about twenty leagues, he left them, saying it was necessary he should return to urge upon his people a faithful compliance with their promise. Nothing further was heard from him. The Foxes failed to send deputies to the Governor General, and all the fruit De Louvigny reaped from this laborious journey was bringing back to the colony nearly all the ranger-deserters, and engaging a very large number of Indians to transport their peltries to Montreal, in greater quantities than they had done for a long while before. Governor De Vaudreuil flattered himself for a long time that the Foxes would send the promised deputies to him; but he was only taught by the renewal of their old conduct that an enemy driven to a certain point is always irreconcilable. While the Foxes were discomfited in many encounters, they, on their own part, compelled the Illinois to abandon their river forever; although after repeated defeats, it could scarcely be conceived that there remained enough of that nation to form even a trifling village, yet no one ventured to go from Canada to Louisiana, without taking the utmost precaution against their surprises; and, it is said, that they had formed an alliance with the Sioux, the most numerous Indian tribe of Canada, and with the Chickasaws, the bravest nation of Louisiana.[1]

In the relations of Sieur de Lamothe Cadillac, describing the Indian tribes of about the period of 1718, he has this to say of the Foxes: "The Outagamis (that is, the nation of the Foxes) are so called because they are a wily and mischievous nation. They dwell on a very fine river, and in a country that is excellent for all purposes. This nation is growing powerful, and for that reason is daily becoming insolent. I think that if we had not had the war with the Iroquois on our hands, steps would have been taken to humble the Outagamis; for they have on several occasions insulted and pillaged the French, and otherwise treated them shamefully. They do not war against the Iroquois. On the contrary, there is some sort of alliance between them; and it is the policy of that common enemy of all the nations of the New World to keep as a neutral, in the midst of

[1] 5 Ib., 83; 16 Ib., 343.

all the other tribes, one that would have caused them much trouble had it declared war against them. This is of great use to the Iroquois, because by means of the Fox (Renard) he often eats the hen. The Foxes are very dirty, and great thieves; one even has to watch their feet more than their hands, for they use them very cleverly in stealing. They carry on war against the Sioux and Saulteux, and inflict severe blows upon their enemies. They are so little jealous of their daughters that they do not refuse them to any who ask for them and give them trifling presents."[1]

An unknown writer of the period furnishes the following sketch of the Foxes:

"All these nations are very industrious and have four women to one man. The Foxes are eighteen leagues from the Saquis. They number 500 men, and have a great number of women and children. They are as industrious as they can be, and raise extraordinary crops of Indian corn. They have a different language from that of the Outaouacs; an interpreter of the latter could not serve the Foxes. They are well fortified. They have the same customs as the Poutouatamis, as regards dancing and games, but not as regards dress; for the men wear scarcely any garments made of cloth, and the majority wear no waist-cloths. As for the women, also the girls, they all wear these. They are made of deer skin, black or brown, and are adorned around the edge, in some cases with little bells, and in others with ornaments of iron or copper or tin; over these are also worn blankets. Their women are quite pretty, and not at all black. They hunt a great deal in this region, and live in great comfort. as they have abundance of meat and fish, for that river of the Foxes abound in fish.[2]

Five of the principal chiefs with others of the tribe of the Foxes voyaged to Montreal, arriving there July 20, 1718, with French interpreters, to hold a council with the Governor and other northwest tribes. The Fox chiefs said they had been "sent in behalf of Ouachala of Kiuetonan, and all the other chiefs of their village," and asked to have their tribesmen returned to them, who were slaves among the French. They were permitted to return with the one remaining hostage, one having died early in the year, and three reported as dead the year before by smallpox, and one had been returned at the former council. They

[1] 16 Ib., 360.
[2] 16 Ib., 371.

were also permitted to take back twelve of the seventeen captives held as slaves. There was a general exchange of captives at the Council, among the savage nations. Ouachala, their principal chief, feared to go to the Council in person, as he was not certain of the good will of the French.

The following season, 1719, three chiefs, headed by Ouachala, held council with the Governor at Montreal, accompanied with a Kickapoo chief sent by his own nation, and the Mascoutins. They assured the Governor of their disposition to maintain the peace with all the nations, and had returned all captives held by them.[1]

The Long War Between the Foxes and Illinois.

The Fox tribes, being very numerous and belligerent, were diplomatic and crafty. They had attached to their interest by a very strong alliance, the Sioux of the plains, the Iroquois confederacy of New York, the Abenakis of Maine and Vermont, and the neighbor tribes of Winnebago, Sauk, Menominee, Kickapoo and Mascoutins, while the Potawatomi played fast and loose with all, though always favoring the Foxes. This powerful alliance made them formidable. Their enemies were the Chippewa of Sault Ste. Marie, the Ottawa and Hurons of lower Michigan, and the Miamis, Wea and Illinois tribes of the country south of Lake Michigan; but all these tribes were at enmity with each other, and each in turn felt the tomahawk of the Foxes.

The Foxes seemed to have a most bitter hatred for the Illinois, and their war parties were constantly out, lurking in all conceivable places watching an opportunity to take their scalps. They roamed with a free lance the whole of the prairie lands of the Illinois region. No member of the tribes of the Illinois ever dared to wander into the lands or on the river of the Foxes. Hundreds of this enemy tribe were slain, scalped, burned at the stake and often cooked in the kettles and eaten by the Foxes.

This fierce enmity of the Foxes, as told by themselves, was occasioned when the Illinois neglected to return the Fox captives held by them at the treaty made at the battle of the Fort of the Triple Oak Stakes in 1716 by De Louvigny. Then Minchilay, captured by the Illinois at one of their forays, was burned alive at the stake. He was a nephew of Ouachala, the head chief of the Foxes. It was admitted in the council of Marine at Paris that the Illinois still held Fox captives after they had agreed to

[1] 16 Ib., 380.

restore them; and that the French commandants at the Illinois posts had caused Fox captives to be burned at the stake.

In the spring of 1720 one of three Frenchmen who had wintered with the Kickapoo on the upper Fox river, was stabbed by a Fox. The chief visited the French officer at the old French fort at La Baye and offered presents to cover the dead their usual peace offering; but the officer demanded the murderer. This was refused, as he was related to so many of the tribe that it would not be permitted. Charlevoix, the historian of Canada, visited them in 1721, and says of them: "The tribe which, for the last twenty years, has been more talked about than any other in these western lands, is that of the Outagamis. The natural ferocity of these savages, increased by the bad treatment often inflicted on them (sometimes very unreasonably), and their alliance with the Iroquois, who are always disposed to excite fresh enemies against us, have rendered them formidable. Moreover, they have since become closely united with the Sioux, a populous tribe, which has also become gradually inured to war; and that union now renders the navigation of all the upper Mississippi almost impracticable for us. There is not entire safety even in voyaging upon the Illinois river, unless one is sufficiently equipped not to fear a surprise; this inflicts great damage upon the mutual commerce between the two colonies."[1]

At a council held at the house of Montigny, commandant at La Baye, Ouachala assured the French in a long speech, "that the wars are all ended today," and promised in name of the whole nation they would not go to war unless first attacked. Governor Vaudreuil wrote the French Minister October 2, 1727, the first kind words of the Foxes, that had crossed the ocean. He said: "That nation had not made any attack on the French since the peace" in 1716; "and engaged in the war of the Kickapoo and Mascoutin against the Illinois only after having been attacked" by the Illinois, "who in various encounters had killed or taken prisoners many Fox savages from 1718 to 1719, while the Foxes were laboring to persuade the Kickapoo and Mascoutin to cease making attacks on the Illinois; and notwithstanding the fact that on eight different occasions the Foxes had sent back to them slaves or captives of their nation whom the Kickapoo had presented to them, and they had charged these slaves to tell the Illinois chiefs that if they desired to make peace they had only to come to the village of the Foxes, where they

[1] 16 Ib., 417.

could negotiate it in all safety." He then states that if these advances had been favorably received, or the commandants of the French posts in Illinois "had urged the Illinois to respond by some concession on their side, I am convinced that the war between these nations would long since have been ended." "The Foxes last year besieged the Illinois of La Rocher, and reduced them to such extremity that they were obliged to sue for their lives, which the Foxes granted, and raising the siege returned to their own village." The Foxes, after their declaration that they would not engage in war unless attacked, mentioned above, "were attacked by the Chippewa four times before the 12th of last July, and having on each occasion told Montigny that they were going to avenge the attacks, this officer deterred them." "But after that made by the Ottawa of Saginaw, July 15 last, resulting in the killing of twenty-two men, women and children, who were fishing on the shore" of Little Butte des Morts, "among whom were five Sauk and two Winnebago, it was impossible for Ouachala to restrain his warriors. Four detachments went against the Chippewa" of the north and one to the tribes in Michigan by way of St. Joseph. Ouachala informed Montigny of this, and that he was going with the last party. "As these facts are certain they may serve to show the Foxes less in the wrong than the Illinois for the war they have had together." "It is not surprising that, after having been attacked four successive times, without making any reprisal, they should have been aroused the fifth time they were attacked."[1]

All the dispatches from Canada were burdened with the doings of the Foxes. At last the Minister impatiently wrote across the back of the Governor's report for 1724, "that he must take measures to end the affair of the Foxes. That His Majesty will recompense the officer who shall reduce the Foxes to submission, or rather who will destroy them, as His Majesty expressly desires this,"[2] thus placing a high price on their heads.

At a council held by De Lignery at the old fort at La Baye, August 23, 1724, between the Foxes, Winnebago and Sauk, "he addressed them in forcible terms to make them lay down the war club against the Chippewa, and at the same time he returned two of the Fox captives held by the Ottawa, and the Foxes returned three Chippewa captives held by them. All agreed to keep the peace." De Lignery then asked them to stay

[1] 16 Ib., 429.
[2] 16 Ib., 440.

the war club against the Illinois; but the reply of the Foxes was not so favorable: "My father, the Illinois has attacked us too often to allow of our staying our war club and of breaking our word." They said they were indignant because, after the peace of 1716, they sent the Illinois prisoners back, while theirs were not returned to them, as agreed by the treaty.[1] Du Tisne, commandant at Fort de Chartres, in the Illinois country, in a letter January 14, 1725, wrote the Governor: "Our Illinois have no slaves belonging to the Foxes and have never acted treacherously toward them."[2] But it was admitted by the missionaries, there were Fox captives among the Illinois.

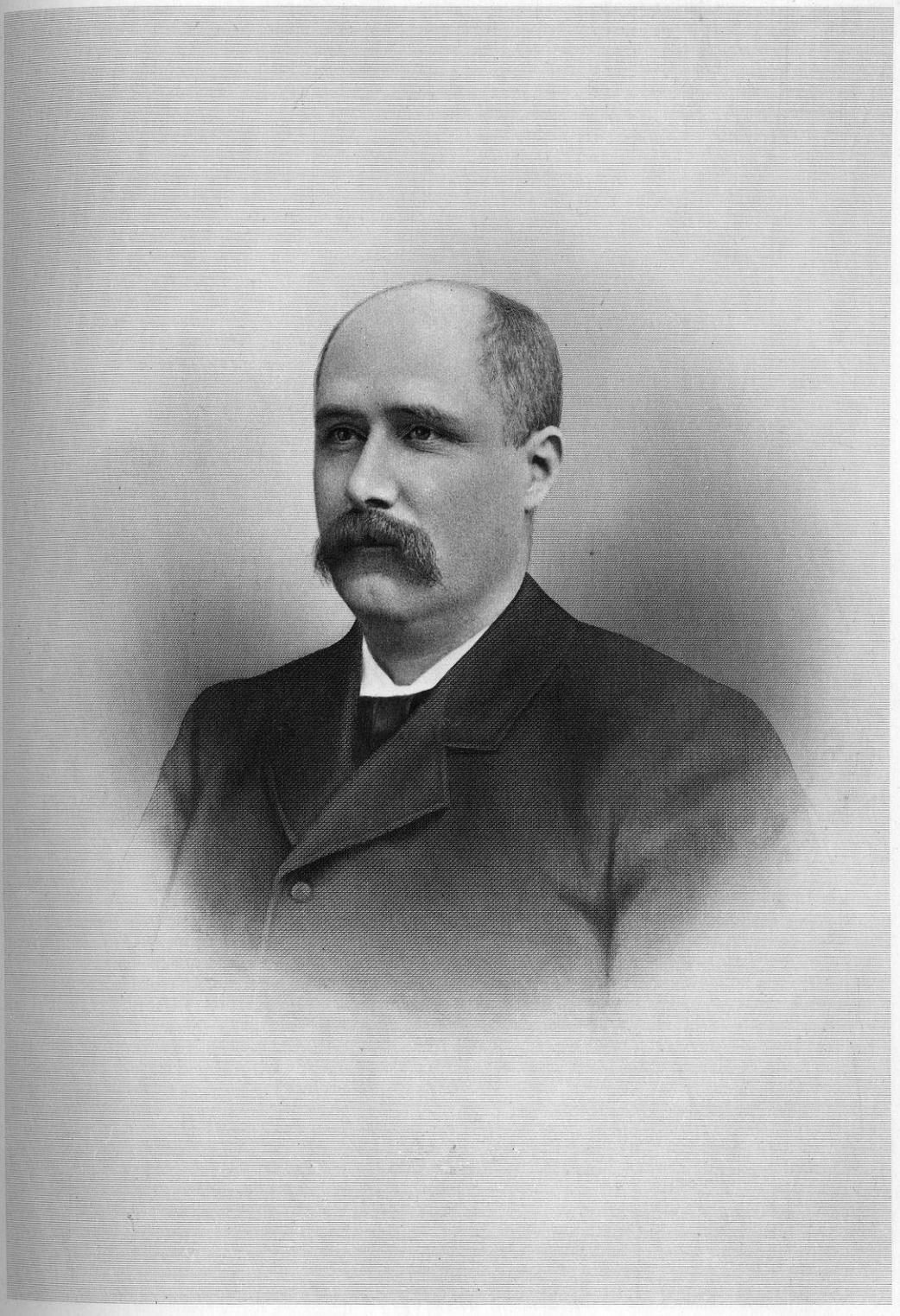
The Foxes killed a soldier at the gates of Kaskaska; attacked a canoe containing four Frenchmen and slaves and killed the Frenchmen; they destroyed the Indian villages of Le Rocher and Pimithony.[3] A frightful list of the cruelties of the Foxes is made up in the charge of the Illinois against the Foxes.[4]

In the spring of 1727 there was a council at the old fort at Green Bay, where the Foxes promised Du Plessis, the commandant, "to go no longer on the war path," and to obey the French King."[5]

The Army Burns the Fox Village in West Menasha.

On October 25, 1727, Governor Beauharnois and Dupuy Intendant in a joint letter to the Minister at Paris, assert the English have sent secretly to the Foxes, collars of wampum which have been accepted, saying: "They would no longer suffer any French to go among them." This information has determined us to wage war in earnest against the Foxes to forestall their evil designs, and they ask for the funds, 60,000 livres ($12,000) to defray the expenses of that war.[6] The Council approved of the expenditure.[7] The King, by memoir dated at Versailles, May 14, 1728, approved of the war against the Foxes, saying, "His Majesty is persuaded of the necessity of destroying that nation."[8]

[1] 16 Ib., 444.
[2] 16 Ib., 45.
[3] 16 Ib., 454.
[4] 16 Ib., 453-463, covering ten pages.
[5] 16 Ib., 468.
[6] 16 Ib., 477.
[7] 17 Ib., 22.
[8] 17 Ib., 21.



We have a close view of the tribe at this period in the report of the convoy sent to the Sioux in the spring of 1727, who arrived at the Winnebago village on Doty Island, and early in the morning of the 15th of August paddled out on the lake to go to the village of the Foxes, twenty miles away. A storm of rain came up in the afternoon, and they arrived at the Fox village quite wet. The location of this village from the description was at that time a few miles above Oshkosh. "Upon a little eminence on the banks of a small river which bears their name" —"they have only simple cabins of bark without any sort of palisade or other fortification. When the French canoes touched their shore they ran down with their peace calumets, lighted in spite of the rain and everybody smoked." "A general council was called together in one of their cabins; we spoke to them civilly and amicably. On their part they gave us some rather fine sides of dried meat." This "nation so dreaded, and really very little to be dreaded, to judge from all appearances, is composed of 200 men at the most; but there is a nursery of children, especially of boys between 10 and 14 years old, well made and sturdy." The French "were greatly rejoiced at having passed with so much ease"; this nation of "cutthroats and assassins."[1]

In a report by the Governor to the French Minister August 4, 1728, he mentions receipt of letters with information that the Foxes knew of the expedition going against them; but were determined not to abandon their village. He also had news that the Foxes were divided into two parties, one of which claim they had not killed any French, and the other admit they have. Their forts being two and a half miles apart.

As late as 1727, the year before the French army burned their villages, the French Council at Paris had advised the commandants in the Illinois country to "make the Illinois restore to the Foxes such captives of that nation as they may have in their hands; and that he shall not follow the example of the commandants who have preceded him, who thought they would intimidate the Foxes by burning the prisoners of their nation, which served only to irritate them, and to make war rage more bitterly."[2]

The war waged for upwards of a dozen years by the Foxes against the Illinois, and frequently attacks on the French trad-

[1] 17 Ib., 24.
[2] 17 Ib., 5.

ers while voyaging over the rivers, had terrorized the frontier so long that finally, when news came to Quebec that the Iroquois had renewed their alliance with the Foxes, the Government of Canada concluded they could no longer put off stern measures with this troublesome nation. The necessary arrangements being made, and not waiting for the approval of the King, the army was sent west. Letters were sent to Sieur Desliettes, of the Illinois country, and "to all the commandants of the forts in the upper country to advise them to make all necessary preparation for the war against the Foxes, and to co-operate at the Old Fort at La Baye." Word was not received in time in the Illinois country, and no aid was had from there. A few months before the arrival of the French army, a priest, a French officer and their party, passed the village of the Foxes, who invited them to stop, but they said they "would not sleep on a mat, dyed with French blood." They report three Fox villages, and that they "had sowed a great extent of land this year."

The army set out from Montreal on June 5, 1728, to go to the destruction of the Foxes, expecting to find them still in their forts on Little Lake Butte des Morts. It was made up of regular soldiers and Canadians to the number of 450, under command of Captain de Lignery. With him were Major de Cavagnal, as commissary, and three priests. There was also a large party of savages, gathered along the St. Lawrence, the "settled Iroquois." They voyaged over the Ottawa river route to Lake Nipissing, where the Nipissing tribes joined them. Over the rapids of French river, the canoes becoming separated, it was agreed that the first to pass would wait at the shore of Georgian Bay until all had arrived. By July 26 all had arrived. Under favorable weather they made the voyage over Lake Huron to Mackinaw, where they arrived August 4. They remained until August 10, to repair damages, and being delayed two days by unfavorable winds. Here they were joined by the Hurons of Detroit; the Ottawa of Mackinac; 100 Menominee; the Chippewa of Sault Ste. Marie and other savages of Lake Huron to the number of 300, making up the army to 1,200 savages and 450 French, some of whom had been enlisted at Mackinac. Passing Death Door, they encountered a gust of wind which drove several canoes on the shore, which were broken by the shock, when the occupants were accommodated in the other boats. The next day the canoes crossed over the bay to the Menominee village, where a part of the tribe, out of friendship

to the Foxes, were lined up in battle array. They were defeated and compelled to flee. The following day they camped at the mouth of a river they named La Gazparde, where the savages ranged in the forest for game and brought in several roebucks. At midday on August 17 they waited near the mouth of the Fox river, that they might reach the French fort at night to surprise the enemy he thought were in the Sauk village on the east shore. They arrived at the fort at midnight, and sent the savages across to the east side, who surrounded the Sauk village, the French troops entering the village; but "notwithstanding the precaution that had been taken to conceal our arrival, the savages had received information of it (from some Sauk slaves who escaped by swimming ashore), and all had escaped, with the exception of four; these were presented to our savages, who after having diverted themselves with them, shot them to death with their arrows." Three of these captives were Winnebago, and one was a Fox Indian, who were made "to undergo the horrors of thirty deaths, before depriving them of life," says Father Crespel.

After two days the great army of savages and French pushed their 300 canoes up the fierce rapids of the Fox river. "On the second day a Potawatomi, settled among the Winnebago, came to meet us with a flag of truce, followed by four men of the Fox village, in order to ask if their lives might be spared. I sent him back to tell (says De Lignery) that I come to listen to all the nations, even the Foxes (in order to keep them there); but the Potawatomi did not return. We continued up river toward the Winnebago village, but they had left two or three days in advance of us, owing to our having been delayed by the rapids of the river in which most of our canoes were broken." "I had the Winnebago village burned," says Captain de Lignery.

Father Crespel describes the burning of the Winnebago village on Doty Island. "August 24 we arrived at the village of the Winnebago [on Doty Island] much disposed to destroy any inhabitants who might be found there; but their flight had preceded our arrival, and we had nothing to do but to burn their wigwams, and ravage their fields of Indian corn, which is their principal article of food." The French army then "crossed over the Little Fox Lake [Lake Little Butte des Morts], at the end of which we camped" [North end.] The next day (day of St. Louis) after mass, we entered a small river [Sills or Duck Creek in town Menasha] which conducted us into a wet land,

on the border of which is situated the grand habitation" of the Foxes. "Their allies the Sauk, doubtless, had informed them of our approach, and they did not deem it advisable to await our arrival, for we found in their village only a few women, whom our savages made their slaves; and one old man, whom they burned to death, at a slow fire." The Priest Crespel protested at this "striking act of cruelty"; but was answered by the Iroquois that if they fell into the hands of the Foxes or Sauk, "they were treated with still greater cruelty." De Lignery in his official report says: "We camped between two villages of the Foxes, too late to go there. On the following morning we reached the first village, where we captured an old woman and a young girl. They told us their people had left in great haste three days before. From there we went to the second village, where we captured an old Fox, who told us the same thing. We continued on our way and slept at a third village, where we found no one." This was probably at the present village of Butte des Morts. A council was called of the savages, and a wide trail being discovered by the scouts, De Lignery ordered a large party of savages to follow it two days; but several hundred savages had loitered at the middle village, which caused delay, and the savages demanded 200 French to go with them, but they were deemed unfit to travel, as their shoes were worn out, and their only food was corn, and as he did not wish to "expose all the French of our party to perish," the pursuit was abandoned. An old Ottawa slave woman was found at the middle village, who told the French that the Foxes had "departed four nights before, and that they had 100 canoes, into which they put the old men, women and children, while all the warriors followed on foot on the banks to protect them." The certain prospect of meeting the Foxes on the trail seemed to cool the ardor of the savages, as "they no longer spoke of going after them," and De Lignery at that time thought "of nothing but bringing back the army," and "caused fire to be set to the four villages, and all the scattered cabins to be burned, and all the corn to be cut, of which there was so great quantity that one could not believe it without seeing. I also had the village of the Winnebago burned. The expedition will be no less advantageous to the glory of the King, inasmuch as one-half those people will die of hunger," says De Lignery.

De Lignery sent a dispatch by some Menominee across coun-

try to the French at Lake Pepin, of the failure of his war on the Foxes, and advised them to abandon the country, which they did. The failure of this war, begun with such splendid preparation and equipped at such great expense, and after such a long journey, was very humiliating to the Governor, obliged to report to Paris. As for De Lignery, the Governor says: "The murmur was very general against him in the army. The savages in their speeches have not spared him."

In this army there were several who became leading men high in Canadian councils. This Captain De Lignery was the one who gave up Fort Duquesne to the flames in the French and Indian war, when Washington came in sight of it. The Major de Cavagnal was afterward under another title, the ill-starred Governor, Marquis de Vaudreuil (son of former Governor of that name), the Governor during the French and Indian war, who fled from Wolfe's victorious army at Quebec, and surrendered Canada to the English in 1760. The Sieur Captain De Beaujeu, who was second in command under De Lignery in this campaign against the Foxes, was the leader of the French and Indians with De Langlade at the massacre of the Monongahela or Braddock's defeat, where he fell mortally wounded. Sieur Captain du Buisson was commandant of different frontier posts, and finally wounded at the last stand at Quebec.[1]

On hearing the message from De Lignery of the escape of the Foxes and Winnebago, and discovering that the Sioux "had Fox hearts," De Boucherville, Father Guignos, the brothers Monbrun and other Frenchmen to the number of twelve, left the traders at Lake Pepin, and started for Canada by way of the Mississippi. After passing the Foxes' canoes, they ran into a party of Kickapoo below the Rock river, who detained them, and after a council finally compelled them to build log cabins and remain the winter as hostages for the protection of the tribe. One day Kansekoe, a Fox chief, and ten tribesmen came to the camp and tried various means to induce the Kickapoo to deliver up the Frenchmen; but the treachery was prevented by numerous presents, given to both Kickapoo and the Foxes. They finally took their departure, and soon met a party of 100 Foxes, led by one who had lost a son in an encounter with the French. Chief Kansekoe warned him to return and accept

[1] For the events above narrated, see letter Father Crospel, 5 Ib., 87; Beauharnos' reports, do., p. 72; letters and reports, 17 Ib., 28 to 31; report of De Lignery, Ib., p. 31.

presents for the death of the son. Seventy of the band were won over and returned; but thirty of them refused to be peaceful and kept on their way to the village of the Kickapoo, which had been removed to an island in the river for greater security. The Kickapoo saw no danger in permitting this small number to gain the island. The Foxes tried every means to arouse the Kickapoo to revenge them on the French, "weeping for their dead, spreading out a bloody robe, a shell all reddened with blood, and a red calumet with feathers all dripping blood." The Kickapoo told them they did not detain the French with evil design, and would defend them with their lives. The Foxes angered with the refusal, "arose with fire in their eyes. They threatened vengeance, made up their bundles and crossed the river; and having met at a distance of three day's journey from the Fox village, a Kickapoo and Mascoutin who were hunting, they massacred them without pity, and carried their scalps home with them." This murder alarmed the older members of the tribe, as it made enemies of the old-time good friends. A party was made up at once to visit the Kickapoo and offer themselves as victims; but the tribe were too much offended and refused all offer of reconciliation.

The Kickapoo now thought of their gloomy condition: "The Foxes have killed us; the Illinois has killed us; the Frenchmen is angry with us; what are we to do?" The French advised them to make their peace with the Illinois, which would recommend them to the French. This they did at once. In the meantime a party of thirty Kickapoo visited the Foxes, secretly seeking an opportunity for revenge. The Foxes, seeking means to recover the friendship of their old allies, offered to send two chiefs to their village to make the customary presents for the dead. Pemoussa the younger, and Chichippa, "the great war chief," offered to go, and they were entrusted with a calumet and some other presents. During the second day's march the two Kickapoo chiefs said to one another: "We came to avenge our dead, and these Foxes who follow us are coming to speak of peace. We will give them food at our first stopping place, and fire two shots at them. This plan was carried out in all its details, and their scalps taken to the village." The Kickapoo were offended at this bloody act, as Pemoussa, who had married a Kickapoo wife, had many relatives and kindred among them. The murderers sneaked into the village and remained concealed. The

French reached their destination in the spring, and the Kickapoo remained the enemies of the Foxes.

The Governor in his report to the French Minister on the Foxes says: "The Sioux and Iowa, having refused them shelter in their lands, they have been obliged to return to their former village (in West Menasha), where they are surrounded by all these nations who are at war with them." This was in the spring of 1729. During the winter following the flight of the Foxes from before the army of De Lignery, a large number of Foxes and Winnebago estimated as sixty cabins, a method of estimating savage numbers little understood, but possibly equal to about five members to a cabin, appeared before the French traders who lived at the Lake Pepin Fort. They sought terms of peace; but the French warned them away. They begged to have a Frenchman go with them to their village, where they would get several chiefs and go to St. Joseph to arrange a peace. Le Sieur de la Jemeraye proposed to go with them. They remained twenty-one days at the Fox village. By this time Jemeraye became anxious for his fate; but at the end of this long delay they escorted him, accompanied by fourteen Foxes, to St. Joseph in Michigan. They made proposals of peace, and the officer asked them to go on to Montreal, but they feared to entrust themselves so far among enemies, and returned home.

Jemeraye says that while he was detained at the Fox village, probably in the spring of 1729, "the Menominee came to strike a blow at them, and killed one man and one woman. The Foxes made up a band of thirty warriors to fall on the Menominee, who were only twelve in number; but they came back with three men wounded without having killed or wounded any of the Menominee.[1] The dispatch of the Governor to the French Minister in the fall of this year announces that a band of fifty Ottawa had started from Mackinac" to strike the Foxes; but thirteen had returned. It was their purpose to start again in the spring (1730) with the Menominee to go to the country of the Foxes. There is reason to believe that nation will decrease every day, for all its neighbors are its enemies."[2]

In the summer of 1729, probably in July, there was a determined and savage attack made on the Foxes at "the farthest of the three villages, thinking that they would be less on their guard than the two nearer ones." The party of the enemy was

[1] 17 Ib., 67 and 69.
[2] Ib., 68.

composed originally of fifty Ottawa from Mackinac, but thirteen of these had returned to that post, leaving the thirty-seven to proceed. There were also a band of Chippewa known as Sauteurs, as they had their village at Sault Ste. Marie. With them also went a band of Menominee; and the Winnebago of Doty Island joined them, making up "a large party." In the attack they killed thirty Fox warriors, and murdered seventy women or children. The loss of the enemy was three Ottawa, three Menominee, and four Winnebago. The assaulting party carried away "many prisoners, and the scalps have been divided among the tribes."[1]

Another account of this same battle reads: "A party of over 200 Indians, Ottawa, Chippewa, Menominee and Winnebago, fell on the Foxes, surprised and destroyed twenty cabins, containing eighty men, who were all killed or burned, except three. The allied Indians having burned the cabins, 300 women and children shared the same fate."[2]

The Governor wrote to Paris of this battle, that "Our Indians in this last affair only acted according to the solicitation I made of them, to destroy the Foxes, and not to suffer on this earth a demon, capable of opposing our friendly alliance."

This battle was probably fought in the month of July, 1729, and it was the first time the Winnebago had manifested by overt acts their desertion of the Fox alliance. They had been to Mackinac to solicit the favor of the French; and a few weeks after were made to suffer by the Foxes for their treachery to their old-time friends. The Foxes had now lost the friendship of all their old allies and neighbors; even the Sauk joined the popular movement of claiming friendship for the French, though with them it was not sincere, as they were still at heart friends of the Foxes.

Battle of the Four Tribes, on Dendo Island, Menasha.

The Foxes now, deserted by their old-time friends, had moved up the Fox river after the last battle; and cast about for an opportunity to revenge themselves on those who had opposed them. Their first care was to attack the Winnebago for the unkind slaughter of their tribesmen during the summer. The Winnebago expected their vengeance and fled to the protection

[1] 17 Ib., 80, 81, from reports of the Governor to the French Minister.
[2] 5 Ib., 104.

of Sieur Marin at La Baye, leaving their fields unprotected. In the fall (1729) they sent scouts to discover if the Foxes were absent, and the state of the crops. Finding everything in good condition, as they had left it, on Doty Island, and that the Foxes had withdrawn to other parts, they returned with their families to settle in their own country.

For some unknown reason, they fortunately camped on Dendo Island. This was a small island of about ten acres in extent, lying in the Fox river, separated from the larger Doty Island by a shallow narrow channel of 100 to 200 feet wide, now closed and filled and known as Garfield avenue on Doty Island in Menasha. Washington street crosses the eastern end of the ancient island, onto which the southern abutment of the lower wagon bridge rests. The island, now a part of the mainland of Doty Island, is occupied by a lumber yard; but formerly for many years was the homestead of Jesse Armstrong.

The Winnebago were "quite confident that the Foxes had gone away permanently. But they were not left long in peace, for the Foxes came to infest not only them and all their families, but also a number of Sauk who were with them, and camped in two different forts below the island on which their former fort stood, so as to attack them on all sides. Being at a distance of an arpent and a half at the most, and the river being easy to cross, as the water was only knee deep. They began first by attacking two Winnebago, who were fishing with spears. These they killed; and one of their own people was killed also. They fought thus for nearly forty-eight hours without speaking to one another. At the end of that time the Winnebago, being the first to begin the address, called out to the Foxes: "What does this mean, my brothers? We are surprised that you should attack us today without saying anything. Know you not that we are always your true brothers, since we have always been from the olden times of our forefathers. It is true (they added) that you have to reproach us with having dipped our hands in your blood, by delivering two of your people to the Ottawa and Menominee. But if we did, it was because we were forced to do so, and could not help it. Nevertheless, we are now filled with regret at having done so, and we will show you that we are still prepared to give you proofs of the sincere affection we have always had for you. We have here four Menominee whom we will deliver into your hands to do with as you will in payment and compensation for the loss of the two Foxes just mentioned."

They at once led out two of them bound; and, after cutting off the heads of the two others, they immediately carried these to the Foxes, begging the Foxes to cease to be angry with them and to have pity on them. But the Foxes replied that they had not yet had time to taste the broth they had given them to drink; that there was not enough to satisfy so many as they were; that they must also deliver into their hands the four of their number who had been cowardly enough to give up their people to the Ottawa and Menominee, their enemies; and that when they had drunk the broth, they would see whether they were sufficiently satiated to be able to grant their request. This proposal seemed too great an insult to the Winnebago to allow of their consenting to it; they therefore prepared to sustain the siege and defend themselves as well as they could, having food for a couple of months."

During the fight which had gone on for about six weeks, the Menominee at La Baye became uneasy for their absent tribesmen. Six of their number went up river to within sight of the Fox forts. But unable to enter the Winnebago forts they hastened home to give the alarm, pursued by the Foxes, who were unable to overtake them. The Menominee requested Sieur Marin, commandant at La Baye, to lead them, to protect their tribesmen and help the Winnebago. They set out with thirty-four Menominee and six Frenchmen, and reached Doty Island on March 20, 1730. They proceeded toward the fort of the Winnebago, "somewhat slowly, to avoid being discovered by anyone as I feared," says Marin, "that if the Winnebagos were the first to perceive us, they might make some demonstration that would bring on an attack by the Foxes before we had time to place ourselves in slight entrenchments; neither did I wish to throw myself rashly into their fort, without informing them of the reason that had induced me to come to them, because they would be sure to distrust us, owing to their having delivered to the Foxes the brothers of those for whom I was prepared to fight, although they were not aware of this, nor was I myself aware of the other fact. Moreover, I was unable to reach them without running a risk, because I could not do otherwise than land at one of the places on the island where the water was deepest, the Foxes being camped where it was shallowest, and watching the fort of the Winnebago in such a manner as to allow nobody to approach it without opposition. I therefore decided to have a slight entrenchment thrown up at

once, forbidding our people to use their axes to cut wood lest they should be heard by the Foxes, who were not very far from us, while I went a little to one side to observe their movements. As we had arrived about 10 o'clock in the morning, I resolved to wait until night to inform the Winnebago that we had come to their assistance and to ask them to send some canoes in case we should need them. But our people, not heeding my orders, struck some blows with their axes which were heard by the Foxes, who issued from the two forts in which they were posted, and attacked us with some violence before we had time to finish our small redoubt. When I saw them approaching I called out to our people to take courage and show the Foxes what we were, and we attacked them without mercy, forcing them back to the gates of their fort. When they reached there they stopped fighting for a while, and called out to me that they were surprised that I should, with such ardor, take the part of a nation who not long before had delivered four of my children to them to be put into the kettle to replace those of their own people whom they had delivered to the Ottawa and Menominee the previous summer. When the latter heard this they tried at once to induce me to avenge the treachery of which the Winnebago had been guilty towards them by committing so foul a deed, without having been forced to do so, after they themselves had united with the Ottawa and Menominee to eat the Foxes. But, foreseeing the regrettable consequences that might result from such a step, I said to them: "My children, I admit that the treachery of the Winnebago towards you fully deserves your resentment, and that you cannot too deeply regret your brothers. You must, however, remember that I consented to place myself at your head to come and kill Foxes and not Winnebago. Although I do not tell you what is in my mind for the present, let us continue what we have begun and be very careful not to let the Winnebago find out your hatred of them if you do not wish to excite distrust in them, which may take away the courage they need to defend themselves properly. On the contrary, I exhort you to put on a good face before them and to encourage them to sustain what they have already so vigorously kept until our arrival; for if, at first, we behave otherwise towards them the Foxes will not fail to take advantage of such a division to win from us all the advantages we might give them on this occasion." It was not long before we were attacked a second time by the Foxes, who endeavored to surround and capture us; and when night came they deputied

two of their number to speak to me in order to ascertain our position in our slight entrenchment. They stated, as a pretext, that they wanted the night for rest that both sides might sleep; that, in order to do so without distrust, one of them would sleep with us, while one of our people should go and sleep with the other at their fort. They thought thereby to banish all suspicion from our minds. I was, however, informed by a Menominee who had overheard what one of the Foxes had said to his comrade respecting the steps they were to take during our sleep, telling him that as soon as he found us asleep he would slip away and warn the Foxes, who would at once attack us. Being aware of their design, I took no steps, and told them at once to withdraw and that before the night was half over they would find me nearer their fort than they expected; that I was in no humor to receive their compliments after they had insulted me as they had done on my arrival. It is true that those two Foxes had chosen that time solely for the purpose of watching what we might be doing during the night, to prevent us from working at our entrenchment. We had received a reinforcement of ten Winnebago warriors, who had crossed over to our assistance when they saw we had come to defend them. Meanwhile the Foxes had already asked beforehand to speak to me and begged me to hear them before going further, and the Menominee, being anxious to know their thoughts, urged me to hear them for a moment. But I replied: "What do you wish to hear from these evil men? They are capable only of betraying you and me also. Therefore I refuse positively to listen to their evil speeches." The Menominee persisted in asking me to listen to them, since they addressed themselves to me only, and finally I consented, making them understand that if I did so it was solely through regard for them, and because they urged me to do it. Then the Foxes spoke to me as follows: "We know that thou has come here solely to protect those dogs, whom, without thee, we should have eaten. They are cowards, who have already sacrificed us not long ago to our own enemies, and who have outraged thee thyself in the tenderest spot thou couldst expect, by delivering into our hands thine own children that we might drink their blood. And we are surprised that thou shouldst display such ardor on behalf of people who are so little worthy of thy protection." I replied at once that I had resolved to help the Winnebago, solely because I still believed them to be true children of the French, their father, to whom they had promised fealty last year and that, having been

warned of the Foxes' wickedness and treachery on all occasions, I could not rely on their word, adding that I could not trust them after all the treacherous acts of which they had been guilty towards the French, whom they had betrayed on several occasions; that if it were true that the Winnebago had acted as they (the Foxes) said they had, I would avenge myself on them without requiring the assistance of anybody, but that, before doing so, I wished to ascertain the whole truth. While I was holding this conversation with them they were posting two parties in ambush about an arpent from my position. I noticed this at the time, and, as I already had some wounded, I was somewhat at a loss as to how I should save them, because it was impossible for them to walk. I nevertheless ventured to attempt to reach the fort of the Winnebago, who, in the darkness, had sent me three canoes to facilitate the removal of my wounded. This was effected with the greatest precaution; I myself went to beguile the Foxes with many threats, while my wounded were embarked in the canoes. That night being the second from the day on which I arrived, I also gained the fort of the Winnebago shortly afterwards in spite of all the shots fired at us by the Foxes while crossing, against which we protected ourselves quite easily in the darkness of night, that seemed given us to favor our retreat.

On entering the fort I found only people moaning and ashamed at the sight of their deliverers. I therefore hastened to call out in a loud voice, "What are you thinking of, you Winnebago, who are our brothers, and why are you in such deep sorrow at a time when you should rejoice at seeing one of the elders of Onontio, your father, coming to your assistance, for it is true that I am here solely for the purpose of saving your lives and of delivering you from the hands of those evil men who seem anxious to destroy you without sparing a single one of you? Arm yourselves therefore with joy and courage and act like those whom I have brought with me and who are your brothers, thinking of nothing but defending your lives and those of your wives and children and of all your allies."

A Menominee old man, and a woman who were then the only members of that tribe among the Winnebago, were the first to present themselves to me, and they told me and their people that they begged me to take revenge while it was in my power on the Winnebago, whom they considered their chief enemies, after the cowardly deed they had committed by handing over their brothers to the fury of the Foxes, and they added that, without

my assistance, they could not have hoped for four hours of life from the thorough knowledge they had of the evil hearts of the Winnebago. When our people, the Menominee, heard these words they were on the point of forgetting what they had promised me, to keep silent on the subject as I had requested them, and of asking me almost positively to promise to allow them to take their revenge in the fort itself. I diverted their attention for the moment in order to induce them to think that the only thing to be done then was to try and win a victory over the Foxes, their cruelest enemies, and I told them that I would afterwards think of the steps I would take with regard to the Winnebago. When day came the Winnebago, who were somewhat reassured by what I had said to them, thought of nothing else but of fighting together with us without any apprehension, for the Foxes never ceased firing at us continually without interruption. On the third day the Foxes asked for speech with me and for a cessation of hostilities for a time that they might represent to me what they had already said to me concerning my taking the part of the Winnebago, adding that if I would visit their fort it would afford them a real pleasure; that their young men would receive me with open arms in the hope that I would inspire all with good sense. But, although they seemed sincere, judging by the manner in which they gave me to understand this, I nevertheless placed no reliance on what they said and considered that they wanted to set a trap for me in order to take me easily. But, as I did not wish them to see at once that I fathomed their designs, I contented myself with telling them that I could not consent to their proposal without alarming my children, who would perhaps be afraid of losing their father through such an act of folly; that, so far as I was concerned, were I alone, I would willingly visit them without fear of death—all the more so that I had never feared it—and before they could kill me I should probably kill several of their number; but that as I was at the head of a small band of the faithful children of Onontio, the father of all the nations, I must be careful not to abandon them, and that, far from doing so, I could assure them that they would always find me at their head to encourage them; that I merely asked them to resist this paltry attack, as I myself would, without fear. It is true that in order to give the Foxes reason to dread that we might in the future inflict a disastrous blow on them (not knowing when we might be able to get away from there), I added that, as my flag was planted in their sight, it

would never be taken down until my death, and that they might expect to see a similar one before long. I considered that the famine from which we already suffered would continue; the Winnebago had suffered from it for four or five days before I entered their fort, being reduced to eating bearskins and similar things, while I myself and all my people were obliged to follow their example for five days. About seven o'clock in the morning of the fourth day of our fight the Foxes, seeing that we were determined to resist them for a long while, asked me whether I had lost many of my children. They said they knew very well that they had seen several fall on the spot, and that if I would tell them the truth they would do the same in this respect. I replied that, although I had no account to render them in the matter, I was willing, in order to satisfy them, to let them know that I was no weaker on that day than on the first day of the fight; that the fact of their having killed five or six of my people, and having wounded as many more, would not prevent my vanquishing them. In fact, I had lost one Frenchman, who was killed on the spot, while two others were wounded, one dangerously; three Menominee also had been killed and seven wounded. They admitted that fifteen had been killed and wounded on their side. We were sure of seven whose heads we had cut off. I know not whether at that moment terror did not take possession of the hearts of that wicked nation, for from that time they secretly sent out of their forts the old men, the women and the children that they might fly in advance of them, the warriors only remaining to face us until night, of whose protection it was natural for us to presume that they also took advantage to withdraw. On the following day, which was the fifth of our combat, we observed the ravens alighting in their forts; this left us no doubt that they were no longer there, and induced us at the same time to go there without distrust. We found that they had fled somewhat precipitately, inasmuch as they had left behind them a portion of their effects and all their apakois (of which they generally make their cabins.)[1]

In the summer, soon after their retreat from before Sieur Marin, the Foxes appeared in the Illinois country, where they attacked their ancient enemies near the old Illinois village of Le Rocher, or Starved Rock of La Salle, on the Illinois river, where in the vicinity they built a stockade fort in the forest, and excavated caves in which to live. The Mascoutins and Kickapoo

[1] 17 Ib., 92 to 99.

soon came to the aid of the Illinois. Messengers were sent in all directions to arouse the French and the Indians. Sieur St. Ange, with 100 French and 400 Illinois and Missouris, came from Fort Chartress and joined in the siege; then De Villers arrived from the river St. Joseph with Potawatomi, and the Sauk settled there, and as the senior in rank took command. And soon the several Wea tribes and Miami, under Des Noyelles, from the Maumee and Wabash rivers, arrived. The savages thus gathered from all the surrounding territory for many miles numbered 1,400; besides there were over 100 Frenchmen, all surrounding the Foxes by August 19, 1730. The battle raged daily with varying intensity. Several offers of the Foxes to surrender were rejected. Water was cut off from the fort, and the tribe reduced to living upon boiled skins, which had served them as beds. There was distress in both camps for want of food. "But, on the 8th of September, a violent storm with dreadful thunder and continual rain interrupted our work. The day was followed by a night as rainy as it was dark and very cold. The Foxes seized the opportunity and issued in silence from their fort. This was at once perceived through the crying of the children. But what could be done and how was it possible to recognize anybody in such obscurity? There was as much fear of killing our own people as of letting the enemy escape. Nevertheless, all were under arms and the savages advanced on both flanks of the fugitives to be ready to attack them as soon as day broke. Daylight came at last and all set out in pursuit. Our savages, who were fresher and more vigorous, soon overtook them. The women, children and old men walked at the head, and the warriors posted themselves in the rear to protect them. Their ranks were at once broken and defeated. The number of those killed and captured was about 300 warriors, besides the women and children. It is agreed on all sides that not more than fifty or sixty men escaped, without guns and without any of the implements for procuring their subsistence. The Illinois of Le Rocher, the Mascoutins and Kickapoo are now in pursuit of this small remnant of fugitives, and the first news we shall get will tell us of the total destruction of that wretched nation."[1]

Another account says: "No other chief escaped except Licauais. The others were made prisoners and given to the Illinois, who will assuredly not spare their lives. Those who escaped from us threw away all they had, even to their powder

[1] For details of this battle, see documents, 17 Ib., pp. 108 to 120.

horns, in order that they might escape; but few remain. The prisoners told us they had fought the Sioux in the spring."

In the report of the Governor to the French Minister, he says that 200 warriors were killed, as well as 200 women and children, while 500 men, women and children were captured, who were scattered among all the tribe.

The younger Sieur De Villiers was sent as a personal messenger to France to carry the dispatches containing the news of the defeat of the Foxes, which was regarded as a very important event. He carried with him a captive Fox Indian as a slave, and intended as a gift to an official of France. It was reported that the Foxes sought an asylum among the Iroquois of New York.

The next summer two chiefs of the Foxes visited Montreal "on behalf of the remnant of that nation," "who are at last reduced to begging for the lives of those who remain." "I have kept one and sent back the other to bring me next year four of the principal chiefs," says the Governor.

"Tranquillity for so many years disturbed in the upper country will now reign." The post in the Sioux country was re-established. It had formerly "to be abandoned owing to the Foxes, through whose territory it was necessary to pass to reach that" country. The post at La Baye was also reoccupied.

This quiet of the frontier was not to last for long. This same fall forty-seven Iroquois from the Christian settlement above Montreal, invited by La Forest, the head chief of the Hurons of Detroit, arrived in the Huron village to go to war with the Foxes. As they were unprovided with powder and ball, the commandant at Detroit supplied them. They started from there Oct. 17, 1731, to the number of 124 warriors, consisting of seventy-four Hurons, forty-six Iroquois and four Wea, and marched across Michigan to St. Joseph, and then to Chicago, where they built a fort and left their sick with some of their people to guard them. They then marched to the Kickapoo village, who proposed they wait until spring, when they would go with them. They could not listen to this, but marched to the Mascoutin villages, whom they tried to induce to join the party. But they replied "that it would be too risky, and that even if they joined together they would not be able to destroy the Foxes, who were very numerous. They obtained guides from the Mascoutins and marched away to the boundary of the Foxes territory. And when they had marched so far into Wisconsin their guides told them "they were on the soil of the Foxes. That they had only

to march straight before them and they would meet only Foxes." Then the guides returned home.

"The Hurons and Iroquois marched some days more, when, as many among them, and especially the old men, suffered from hunger and fatigue, caused by the deep snow, which compelled them to use snowshoes, they held a council and several of the old men thought that they should turn back. The young men were not of the same opinion, and stated that they had not come so far for the purpose of returning without striking a blow, and one of them added that he would perish rather than go back to his village without having killed some men. Two of the most notable among the Huron chiefs said that they were in good health, and that, although they were old men, they felt strong enough not to give up the undertaking. The little army broke up; the old men, both Hurons and Iroquois, went back toward Chicago, while the others, namely forty Hurons and thirty Iroquois, followed the route that led to the Ouisconsin. After several days' march, about 11 o'clock in the morning, they perceived in a prairie three men who were coming to meet them. These were three Foxes, who took to flight as soon as they saw them. Our people pursued them, thinking that they came from four or five cabins, of which they had been told; but they were greatly surprised when they reached the top of a hill to see forty-six cabins in a valley on the bank of the Ouisconsin. (This was the principal village of the Foxes.) The chiefs encouraged the young men, telling them that they had nothing to fear; that they had to deal with dogs, who did not acknowledge the master of life. The Foxes, who had been warned by the three men and had had time to seize their weapons, came out to the number of ninety to attack our people, who received their volley, and replied to it by two volleys in succession. The chiefs told the young men not to amuse themselves by shooting; they made them lay down their guns, and with a tomahawk in one hand and a dagger in the other they forced the Foxes back into their village; they pursued them so closely and so great was the carnage that seventy of the Foxes were killed on the spot and fourteen were made prisoners; eighty women and children were also killed, and 140 of them were captured, besides ten Foxes, who escaped, quite naked, and who died of cold. The Hurons had five men killed and several wounded. Finally, after this attack, they unbound a Fox chief who was wounded in the thigh, and after dressing his wound they sent him with six women to tell

the remainder of his nation that the Hurons and Iroquois had just eaten up their chief village, where they would remain for two days; that if the Foxes wished to follow them they were free to do so, but that as soon as they would see them they would begin by breaking the heads of all their women and children; that they would make a rampart of their dead bodies, and afterward would endeavor to pile the remainder of the nation on top of them." This was the battle fought on snowshoes.

In explanation of the existence of so many Foxes after their reported defeats, it was stated that they recovered by some secret means the captives of former wars, and thus augmented their number. Out of 148 prisoners taken, the Huron killed fifty-six on the retreat, as they were embarrassed with so many to care for, and feared they might escape.

The Governor reports the next year, that as no Fox chiefs came down to Montreal, he sent back the chief he held to tell the nation that, as they had not kept their word to him, "he left them to the mercy of the savages, and resolved to exterminate their race."

The Foxes are next heard of as visiting the French post among the Sioux, also at La Baye, and a party of them were attacked in Fort Marameg, in Illinois, by their enemies, who were "unsuccessful in effecting much injury." In fact, this may be considered a victory for the Foxes.

The Slaughter of De Villiers' Army.

By July, 1733, the "Foxes have at last abandoned their forts (at West Menasha), in which there remained only fifty of them in all, consisting of forty warriors and ten boys from twelve to thirteen years of age. They went to La Baye to beg Monsieur de Villiers to ask the Governor to have mercy on them." He led four of the principal chiefs to Montreal, among them "Kiala," "the instigator of all their misdeeds." The Sieur de Villiers was directed to return at once to La Baye "to bring all the Foxes to Montreal or destroy them," and "the Sieur de Villiers also has orders if that wretched remnant will not obey to kill them without thinking of making a single prisoner, so as not to leave one of the race alive in the upper country if possible." If he had been successful in taking the Foxes to Montreal it was planned to "disperse them among our settled savages." It was also suggested they be sent to France as slaves.

Sieur de Villiers arrived at La Baye, September 16, of the same year, with a company composed of 250 Ottawas, Chippewa and Menominee, several officers and seventy Frenchmen. He left Lieutenant De Repentigny with most of the savages and French two miles down the bay, and went alone to visit the Sauk, leaving orders for their coming up at the firing of three gun shots. He had also sent his son with ten French and sixty savages up river to cut off the retreat of the Foxes by the tomahawk trail. The Sauk chiefs came out of their village to meet De Villiers, who explained to them that the Governor had granted "the remnant of the Foxes who were with them their lives; but on condition that they should submit to his orders and go to Montreal." After a long council without result, De Villiers sent the chiefs to tell the tribe that if within a certain time they did not give up the Foxes to him he would go and take them. As the Sauk did not return, he ordered Lieutenant De Repentigny to guard the approaches to the Sauk fort to prevent the escape of the Foxes. De Villiers took ten Frenchmen with him to the gate of the fort and demanded the Foxes. The Sauk ordered him to withdraw, but he tried to enter the fort, and a skirmish took place, in which he was shot and instantly killed. His son by his side was also shot and three other Frenchmen were wounded. A moment after Lieutenant de Repentigny and Sieur Duplesis and six Frenchmen who ran up were shot and killed.

After this the Sauk and Foxes evacuated their fort in the night and retreated up Fox river, pursued by Ensign de Villiers, whose father had just been killed, and all the French and savages. They came up with the Foxes and Sauk at what is said to have been near the Hill of the Dead in West Menasha, and fought a desperate battle, in which the French admit they were beaten, with a loss of nine Ottawa, including the head chief; six Menominee, two Chippewa, all killed, and four Chippewa wounded, beside three Frenchmen, including another son of De Villiers, were wounded. Out of four of this family in the battle only one remained uninjured. The report states that twenty Sauk and six Foxes were killed and nine mortally wounded in this battle. Monsieur de Repentigny, who was killed, was commandant of Mackinac and de Villiers was commandant at La Baye.[1]

The Fox and Sauk tribes, after the victory over the French at the Hill of the Dead, moved up the Fox and down the Wisconsin rivers, into the present state of Iowa, onto the banks of the

[1]7 Ib. 188 and 200.

Wapsipinicon river. Here each for himself built a stockade fort, and the Sauk gave out so that it came to the ears of the French that they intended to separate from the Foxes, who were the cause of the trouble, and make peace with the French. The Governor and soldiers were eager to avenge the losses in the last victory of the Foxes, and Sieur de Noyelles was given command of the war party, consisting of eighty-four Frenchmen volunteers, consisting of seven officers, and the remainder of cadets, sergeants, soldiers and habitants, besides 130 of the "settled savages," who asked to go with them. They left Montreal August 14, 1734, for Detroit. Here the Potawatomi and Hurons soon joined him and afterward the Illinois. The Chippewa and Ottawa had refused to join him, as they feared to see a tribe destroyed by the French, although they had sent envoys way to Montreal to ask the French to avenge the last victory. The Hurons left him on the march.

During the winter they marched across Michigan, Indiana, Illinois and far into Iowa, where they came up to the Foxes and Sauk on the Des Moines river, and after several skirmishes crossed the river on a float wood and ice dam, and gave battle, in which the Foxes were again victorious. At a council the French were constrained to agree to the proposals made by the Sauk, to withdraw from the Foxes as soon as they could and return to their old village at La Baye. The French were reduced by famine to accept the terms and retreat. "For four days the French had nothing to eat but twelve dogs and a horse. Several soldiers were obliged to eat their moccasins." The slight success obtained by this expedition made across half the continent through seven months of the winter, when so much was anticipated, was an acute disappointment to the King and the Governor. The King wished to know where so many Foxes came from when so many had been reported as slain. The Governor now reports in October, 1736, that the Foxes were constantly recruited from their captives held by the other savages, who also supplied them with guns and powder. The other savages do not wish the French to destroy one of their nations.

The Foxes at Peace.

The Fox chiefs who have been mentioned as visiting at Montreal as envoys of their tribe were sent to Quebec and held in captivity. One of them died; but Kiala, "an intrepid man," was

banished to the island of Martinique in the West Indies. His wife was sent to the Hurons of Lorette at their request and adopted by them. While out in the forest with other squaws she wandered into the woods and escaped.

In 1736-7 there was a strong movement among all the tribes to aid the Foxes and Sauk to renew the friendship of the French. The Ottawa, Potawatomi, Menominee and Winnebago all sent envoys to Montreal, who "begged for the lives of the Foxes" in 1735 and 1736. The following year the Ottawa and other clans of the tribe, with the Menominee, Potawatomi and Winnebago repaired to Montreal "to ask that the lives of the Sauk be spared." The Governor replied to them that "since you ask me for the lives of the Foxes and Sauk I am willing to grant this out of love for you." The Governor was pleased "to have restored peace among all the nations."

Sieur Marin was sent west over the Fox-Wisconsin route in the summer of 1739 to report the state of the country, and arrange to open up communications and restore the activity of the abandoned posts. He found the Foxes and Sauk at Rock Island, and was informed by them that they had not returned to their old villages, as rumors had come to them of the coming of a "large body of soldiers to eat them up." They also said their ancient territory on the Fox river was not as fertile as formerly, "because they regard the place with suspicion on account of the things that have happened there."[1] They again said in their speeches at the council that their old home was no longer fertile, "being stained with French blood and with our own."

Mekaga, a Fox chief, had been to Montreal to arrange a peace, and while away he was very sorry to learn that some of his warriors had killed a Frenchman, though by accident. Marin did not care much about it, as he was a soldier who had deserted.

In July, 1742, at a council in Montreal with the western tribes, the Foxes announced their return to "a day's journey from La Baye" at some point along the river. They renewed assurances of the peace and expressed a desire to have Sieur Marin stationed among them to help to keep the peace. They requested the freedom of the daughters of Ouachala, "who was a great chief." She seems to have been a captive of former wars, and was now set free. In this council sat Pemoussa. This was the third of that name. The two former were dead as recorded above. Governor Beauharnois in his address said: "Pemoussa, I give

[1] 17 Ib., 317.

you a medal to show you that I am satisfied with you. Had I others I would have given one to Pemaho, and would have sent another to Mekaga. It will be done next year." This peace, now made secure by the mutual desire of both parties, lasted for many years.

They removed permanently from the Fox river about 1763, as Lieutenant Gorrell reports them on the river in 1762, and Captain Carver found them on the Wisconsin in 1766. As they retired from this county long before the arrival of the pioneer, their subsequent history belongs to others to relate, and we bid adieu to the unconquered Fox. With the tribute due to them, that though their history has always been written by their enemies, it has not failed to show between the lines very much to be said in favor of the Foxes. It is certain no such slaughters ever occurred, as often reported by the French, for in 1832 there were 3,000 of them living in Iowa. They are at present assigned to a reservation in Oklahoma.

VII.

THE MENOMINEE TRIBE AND CHIEF OSHKOSH.

As these savage tribes, who had so long occupied the beautiful flower-swept openings by river and lake since known as the region included in Winnebago county, slowly separated and formed new villages, always moving up the Fox and down the Wisconsin rivers toward the west, receding from the approach of the white man, the Menominee tribes followed in their wake and occupied the regions abandoned by these retreating tribes, the Winnebago and Foxes. Thus the Menominee came at last by the treaty of 1836, to the south shore of Lake Poygan, or by 1835, to the Mission at Neenah, and thus became occupants of Winnebago county for a period of twenty-two years or more. They were residents when the first settlers came and have left many traces of their occupancy in place names. The Menominee Indians have resided since first discovered by white men, and still reside, between the Wolf river and Green Bay or Fox river. Nicolet, Allouez, Andre and Marquette all met them on the western shore of Green Bay. They advised Marquette not to visit the southern tribes, as they were ferocious, and would kill strangers, and there were demons that would devour him. Before this they had promised to furnish him with a canoe for the voyage. They were reported to have four women to every man, to be good natured, not keen of intellect, were selfish and avaricious, but brave warriors, and they did not steal or lie. They were great canoe men and fished sturgeon with a spear. Their public language was Algonquian with Ojibwa dialect, but they had a secret language of their own.

Their war parties traveled far. They aided the French at the battle of Detroit against the Fox and Mascoutins; joined Charles de Langlade in his journey to Fort Du Quesne, where they assisted to ambush and destroy Braddock's army on the Monongahela, and were with Langlade fighting under the banner of France when Montcalm fell on the plains of Abraham; they fought under the "bravest of the brave," in Burgoyne's invasion and at Bennington; they refused to join Pontiac's conspiracy, and old Carron, the head chief, was one of the guard who con-

ducted the English garrison safely away from the post at Green Bay, for which service he had a medal.

Two centuries ago they were said to number but eighty warriors, or 400 people, and since have grown to upwards of 1,500 people. In 1820, when the New York Indians, under Eleazer Williams' guidance, made a visit to Green Bay to treat with the Menominee for a cession of lands, that tribe claimed to possess a good portion of northern Wisconsin, which they could not have made good as against the Winnebago and Chippewa. They pretended to sell the New York Indians a joint right to a five-mile strip of many miles in length, which, however, was never occupied by them nor conceded by the government.

The Menominee, Fox and Sauk were friends on Green Bay and the lower Fox river, but about seventy-five years ago or earlier some Menominee joined the Sioux against the Fox, ambushed them fifteen miles below Prairie du Chien and killed their chief, Kettle. Soon after the Menominee, being all very drunk in their camp on an island in the river near Prairie du Chien, the Foxes fell on them and killed great numbers before being driven away.

After the War of 1812 Americans maintained an army post at Prairie du Chien, where the Menominee often visited and frequently wintered on the Mississippi river. In 1836 such a band was visiting there, when in a drunken fray a Menominee killed a Winnebago. By the savage law he must either be given up or his life must be taken by his own tribe. A council was held and instead of the Menominee the chief of the tribe offered them whiskey. The Winnebago could not resist the temptation and ten gallons of whiskey was produced, which was consumed by all the parties over the grave.

The first Menominee chief mentioned was Kioulouskoio, in 1695, since which time numerous celebrated names have sprung up in the tribe, eight or ten holding sway at the same time. Many incidents in the life of the tribe have been related in former pages and need not be repeated here.

The first missionary among the Menominee was Allouez, in 1669, since which date they have been at times under the teaching of some good priest, among whom have been Andre and Marquette, and later Mazzuchelli, who established a school for them, and Rev. Van Den Broeck had his mission for them at Little Chute. They now have their churches, schools and missions at Keshena, yet still the weird songs of the sighing winds through the shaded forest, with its carpet of trailing arbutus, and the

sun and moon and all the savage superstition inherited from untold ages by the children of the wild woods retains its spirit influence over many of them, and while they chant their catechism they still propitiate the Manitou of the red man with offerings of tobacco and presents and make provision for the journey of the dead to the happy hunting grounds. The pagan party is very large in the colony at Keshena.

Gov. Henry Dodge, the hero of the Black Hawk war, passed through the county over the Tomahawk trail in 1836 on his way to the treaty ground at the Cedars. The Governor and his escort were mounted on six horses and were fully armed. The Governor had two pistols and a bowie knife on his person and a brace of large horse pistols in the holsters. They were making the journey to Cedar Point at Cedar Rapids, on the Fox river, opposite the new village of Kimberly, to hold the annuity payment for the Menominee. While there a council was held with the Menominee sachems and a treaty was made, September 3, 1836, with the Government, by which the tribe ceded a large portion of their lands, including a large part of the region now the county of Winnebago. Oshkosh and all the influential men of the tribe were present. The tribe was then removed to the south shore of Lake Poygan. They numbered at this time about 700 or more Indians and mixed bloods, and their tepees were scattered along the lake shore in small groups for a distance of six miles in the town of Poygan and extending into the town of Winneconne. Traces of their corn hills and burial grounds can still be seen. The whole region is a rich field for aboriginal relic hunting, and great quantities of stone and copper arrow points, stone axes, bone implements and pottery sherds have been picked up on the plowed fields.

The Menominee were induced to cede all their lands in Wisconsin at the treaty of Poygan, made October 18, 1848, and they were to be removed to Minnesota; but the district assigned them not being found suitable to their wants they were, with the consent of the Wisconsin Legislature, allowed to remain in the state. In 1852 they were removed to their reservation on Wolf river, nine miles north of Shawano, containing 276,480 acres of timber land. This removal caused them much distress, and the next year "Oshkosh, the renowned chief of this tribe," represented to the Government that his tribe "had never been so poor and destitute of provisions and are starving."

As a sample of local legislation, by a statute law of the Ter-

ritory of Wisconsin of 1839, it was made a penal offense to furnish liquor to the Indians, and in 1840 an act providing "that it should be unlawful to keep within five miles of the mouth of Wolf river," in Winnebago county (then Brown county), "any intoxicating liquors for the purpose of supplying the Indians." This law was made for the Menominee. Under the constitution of Wisconsin the property of Indians was exempt from taxation and they were allowed to sue or be sued with all judicial rights.

Under the Ordinance of the Northwest, 1787, it was declared that the lands and property of the Indian tribes should never be taken from them without their consent. And this rule was observed as to all the lands of this county, which was purchased and paid for by the Government by treaties duly made in council with the savages.

The Old King bore up for nearly a hundred years the name of Cha-kau-cho-ka-ma. He was the grandfather of Oshkosh, "the brave," and Osh-ka-he-nah-niew, his brother, called "the young man," who was born in 1806.

The Old King died in 1821 at 100 years of age while on a visit at Prairie du Chien with some of his relatives. Though nearly blind, he was a man of good sense, though no public speaker, and he was highly esteemed by his nation. His certificate as grand chief, given by Governor Haldimand, of Canada, in 1778 is in possession of the Historical Society at Madison. In 1728, when the French and Indian army came against the Wisconsin Indians, they attacked a Menominee village on the west shore of Green Bay. At the same time the Sauk were located on the present site of Green Bay. Old King's village was half a mile up river from the old French fort at the bay until the Menominee were removed to Poygan, in Winnebago county, in 1836, and must have been located about 1740. It was there in 1763, and hence was about a century old. His grandsons, Oshkosh and Young Man, led their tribe to Poygan in 1836, and Oshkosh resisted many attempts of the Government to induce them to remove west of the Mississippi river, and in 1852 led most of the tribe up the Wolf river to their present reservation, located within a few miles of their ancient home.

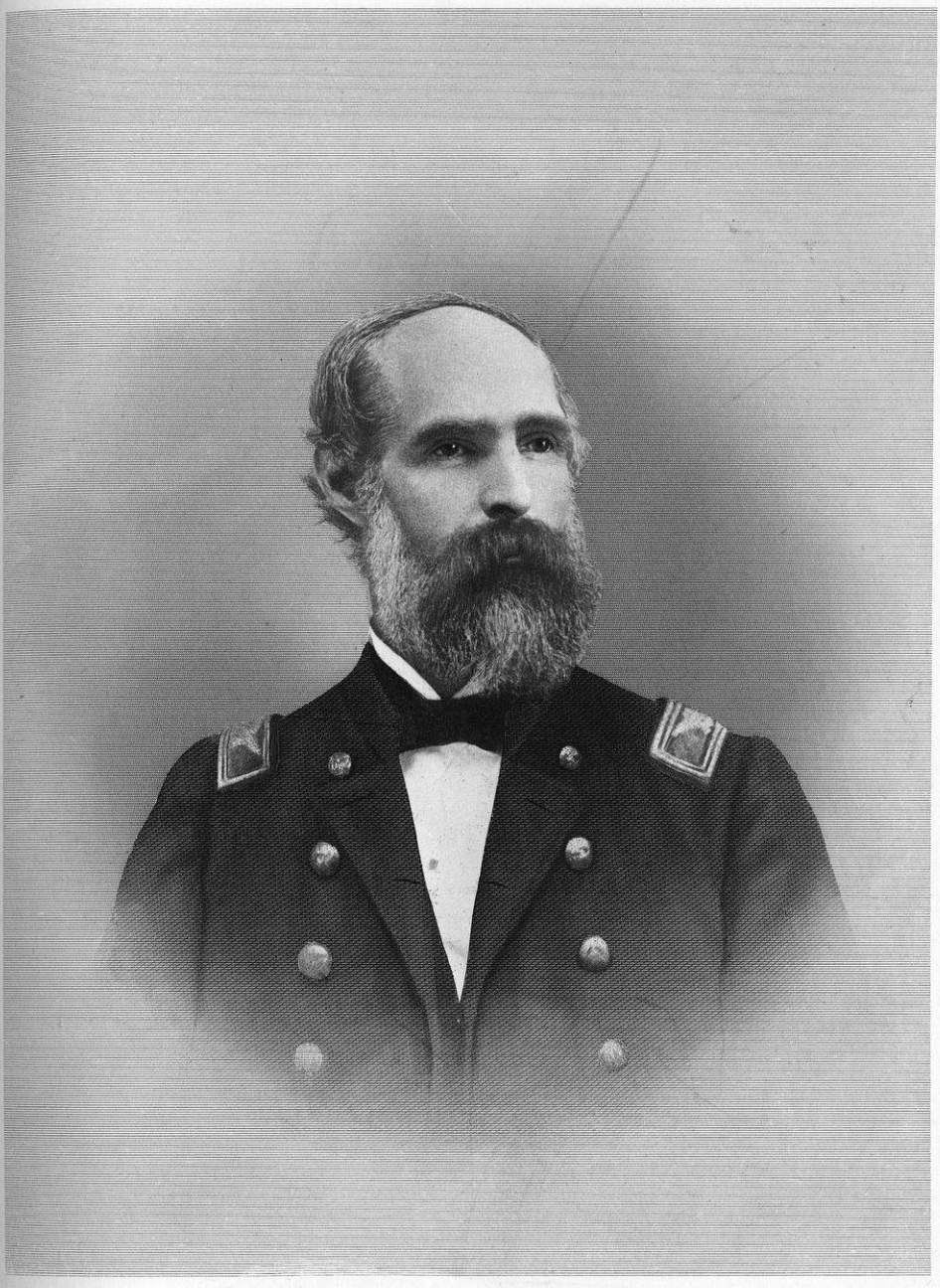
When many years ago Oshkosh, now the second city in Wisconsin, was a hamlet of a few scattered wooden houses along the beautiful forest banks of the deep, wide Fox river, it was known by the classic name of Athens. An election being held to settle on a sure enough name for the future city, the river men, not so

much in love with the ancient glory of the city of Athens as they were with the more appropriate name of the old head chief of the Menominee, came partly in fun and some in earnest and, casting the deciding vote, gave the budding city the name that has made it known around the world.

Old Chief Oshkosh was entitled to the honor, as he was a very worthy man. His worst enemy was his love for "fire water." He was born in Old King's village, one-half mile up river, or south of the old French fort on the west bank of the Fox river, opposite the small settlement at Green Bay, in 1795. Like all papooses, after he grew out of the basket cradle strapped to his mother's back, he learned to fish and hunt with bow and arrows. He was the grandson of Old King, but was not a chief until he became a warrior. When he came into the world the country about was owned by the Americans, but no government had been established over these tribes except such as was accomplished by the fur trading Englishmen from Canada.

The Americans had a small garrison in the old fort at Mackinac island at the outbreak of the War of 1812. Col. Robert Dickson organized a band of Wisconsin Indians, including the Menominee under their chief, Tomah, with Oshkosh in the party. They proceeded by boats and canoes from Green Bay and easily captured the stockade without any loss to either side. During the war the Americans could not repossess the fort. Colonel Dickson with the Fox river Indians, including the Menominee under Tomah, defended the fort in a hard battle with the Americans to capture the stronghold in 1814. Major Holmes was killed by the Menominee and a chief, Wee-kah, of the Menominee was killed near the same spot. Oshkosh was with this garrison defending the fort, and it was not the first real battle he had ever seen. Oshkosh went on the warpath with Tecumseh against Fort Meigs in 1813, and later under Proctor and Dickson attacked Fort Sandusky, so gallantly defended by Chrogan, and everywhere defeated the Menominee, returned home. Doubtless he was with the Menominee war parties who frequently went out against the Chippewa in the northern and western parts of the state. Oshkosh saw the first American soldiers land from their steamboats at Green Bay in 1816, when Fort Howard was constructed.

Prior to 1827 a young halfbreed was hunting up Hell creek, east of Green Bay. As he glided by the tall rushes on the margin very early in the morning he noticed the rushes move, which



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he thought was caused by a deer and, raising his gun, shot at the spot. Hurrying up to the place, to his horror he found an Indian in a canoe which was half drawn on shore, drooping lifeless over its side with a shot through his head. As the killing was accidental he had no wish to conceal it; so, placing the body in his own canoe, he brought it to the camp at the bay. On landing he went to Oiscoss, the chief, and told him of it, and the chief, being drunk, plunged his knife into the unfortunate Indian. Oiscoss was arrested, but acquitted by the civil court. The tribal law, however, was not satisfied. The murdered Indian was related to the Jourdains, and Mrs. Jourdain could take a pipe and war club, lay them at the feet of any of the chiefs of the Menominee and insure punishment of death. Oiscoss, wishing to be made chief at Little Butte des Morts, went to her and begged forgiveness and life, which she granted, after informing him in strong language of her opinion of him.

At the treaty of the Little Butte des Morts, held at the great mound on the west bank of the lake of that name, opposite Menasha, between the Menominee, Winnebago and Gov. Lewis Cass, the Governor announced as the tribe had no one who could speak for them as head chief, he would appoint one next day unless they could agree among themselves. One of the most interesting events of the council was the making of Oshkosh head chief over the Menominee and officially recognizing him as such, and presenting him the medal of chieftainship. After the council was opened Governor Cass addressed the Menominee and said: "We have observed for some time the Menominee to be in a bad situation as to their chiefs. There is no one who can talk as the head of the nation. If anything should happen we want some man who has authority in the nation that we can look to. You appear like a flock of geese without a leader—some fly one way, some another. Tomorrow at the opening of the council we shall appoint a principal chief of the Menominee. We shall make inquiries this afternoon and try to select the proper name. We shall give him the medal and expect the Menominee to respect him." On August 7 two young men were called in front of the commissioners—one was named Oiscoss, alias Claw; the other was called Carron. Colonel McKinney then addressed them and tied medals around their necks. Oiscoss, or Oskosh, as the name is spelled in the treaty, was made head chief and the future organ of communication with the commissioners. The treaty was signed August 11, 1827, and the council ended. Car-

ron was also made a chief. Both were given medals. This medal cannot be located now.

Oshkosh is the modern spelling, doubtless derived from the English pronunciation of the Menominee name. He was also known as Claw, which perhaps led Louis M. Moran, interpreter for the Chippewas, to interpret the meaning of his name as a "hoof." Lyman C. Draper says he has always understood its meaning was "brave." Augustine Grignon also says the name means "brave."

He joined the small party of Menominees who were with the American soldiers going up river in the Winnebago war in 1827, who arrived at Portage just when the war ended. When the Black Hawk war broke out in 1832 the Menominee, who had been for many years enemies of the Ojibwa, or Chippewa, made peace with them on the Chippewa river, encouraged to do so by their desire to join the Americans against the Foxes and Sauk Colonel Stambough took about 300 of them up river to join the rangers under General Dodge and the frontiersmen protecting the settlers in that war. Rev. Cutting Marsh saw this Menominee band on their way up the Fox river and thus describes them: "They appear, indeed, thoughtless as sheep bound to the slaughter. Their painted faces, ornaments, drums, whistles, war clubs and spears made them appear, indeed, savage and warlike. Their songs, uttered from their throat, consisting of deep gutteral songs and the occasional whoop, was calculated to make one feel darkness still brooded over this land, removed so far from civilization." Oshkosh was with them. There were about sixty Menominee under Colonel Hamilton, son of Alexander Hamilton, who came up to the battle of Peckatonica just as it was over. The Winnebago took the scalps of the dead Sauk, but the Menominee refused to take any, saying they belonged to the white chief—they had not killed them. One authority says of this Indian contingent after a few days of talking, counseling and "eating up a great deal of beef, they became discontented and departed, frightening the inhabitants of the country through which they returned. They were a cowardly and treacherous set of miserable fellows."

Oshkosh was present at the annuity payment and treaty held by Governor Henry Dodge in 1836 at Cedar Point, opposite Kimberly. At this treaty the Menominee ceded a portion of their lands west of Lake Winnebago and Fox river, and were removed to Lake Poygan, in the town of Poygan, in Winnebago county.

where annuity payments were made to them by the government for upwards of twenty years at the payment grounds on the shore of the lake. The Indian boy claimed as the lost child of the Partridges was a Menominee. The speech made by Oshkosh, head chief, in 1855 to the editor of the Milwaukee "Sentinel" and interpreted by Mr. Robert Grignon and Mr. William Johnson was as follows: "It was at the payment at Lake Pouwaygan, made by Colonel Jones, that this boy was born. I then lived on the Wisconsin river and was notified to come to the payment with my tribe. The roll had all been made up and the payment was to be made the next day. During the night this boy was born. I was told of it in the morning, and asked Colonel Jones to put his name on the roll. The colonel said it could not be done, but if the chiefs were all willing the child should have his share. They were all willing. The boy's share was given to me, and I gave it to his mother. It is the truth I am telling." The Partridges lived in the town of Vinland. Their child was lost in the woods and, having discovered this boy among the Menominee, they claimed it, although Mrs. Partridge denied it was her child, and a trial was had before Commissioner Buttrick in Oshkosh, who decided in favor of the Indian mother, Nahkom; but the child was taken from the sheriff by friends of Mr. Partridge and after two years was recovered by the Menominee Indian agent in Indiana and brought to Milwaukee, where before proper legal steps could be had the Partridges smuggled the child out of jail and he grew up among the whites and is now living in Iowa. Solomon Juneau wrote: "I wish you all concerned to know the boy now in jail is the child of the Indian woman, let the decision of the judge be what it may."

To quote from a contemporary news account of this affair in the Menasha "Advocate" of December 28, 1854:

"The residents of our county in the year 1852 will readily recollect the unparalleled excitement that occurred on the occasion of the reported discovery among the Indians of a child lost by Mr. Partridge some two years previous. An Indian boy was wrested from his parents under the white man's law, and a legal trial was had as to whether the boy was the son of white parents or of Indians. After a full and fair investigation, in the face of the threats and imprecations of an excited populace, the commissioner, E. L. Buttrick, Esq., adjudged the child to be Indian and ordered it restored to its mother. Mr. Partridge, who had by courtesy of the court obtained possession of the child during the

trial, refused to obey the order of that court and return the child to its parents, but took it clandestinely from the state.

"The Indian mother, whose love for her offspring was as deep and strong as that of her white sister, was robbed of her son because Mr. Partridge had lost his boy. But such was the state of public opinion in this neighborhood that it was not safe to utter an opinion against the probability of the boy being the son of Mr. Partridge, Indian though he was in every feature and appearance. Indignation meetings were held and Commissioner Buttrick was condemned in the most unmeasured terms.

"Subsequently to the abduction by Mr. Partridge of the boy and when few but the bereaved mother and friends remembered the event with much interest, the bones of a small child were found near where the boy of Mr. Partridge's had been last seen. The belief then became general that the boy abducted belonged to the Indian woman who had claimed him. Representations on the subject were accordingly made to Dr. Heubschmann, superintendent of Indian Affairs, who took up the matter warmly, proceeded to trace the missing boy and finally found him among some connections of the Partridge family in McHenry county, Illinois. Dr. H. promptly reclaimed him and returned with him to the state last week, and will no doubt return him without delay to his mother and tribe."

And on January 8 following the "Advocate" had this item:

"The Milwaukee papers state that a writ of habeas corpus has been issued by Judge Smith and served upon Dr. Heubschman, the Indian commissioner, to recover possession of the Indian boy whom the doctor has recently reclaimed from some of the Partridge family in Illinois. The object of the proceeding is to try once more the question of the boy's parentage.

"The writ was made returnable last Saturday and after hearing the statement the judge made an order that the child be placed in the custody of the sheriff till the first Tuesday of March, when the case will be determined."

The boy might resemble his white neighbors, as the Menominee are a fine appearing people. Cadillac says of them many years ago that "the men are very white, and the women also rather pretty and more gentle than those of other tribes. There is no nation in which the men are so well built or have so good figures as this one." It was Charlevoix who said of them they are "fine looking men, among the most shapely in Canada and taller than the Potawatami."

"Oshkosh was of medium size, possessed much good sense and ability, but is a great slave to strong drink, and two of his three sons surpass their father in this beastly vice." (Grignon.) It was because of a brawl, occasioned by too much drink, that he was laid up for a week and died at Keshena, August 20, 1858. The artist Brooks reached Keshena a day or two before his death and painted his picture, which hangs in the room of the Historical Society at Madison. The artist lacked good taste in perpetuating this noble red man in the scarecrow clothing some wag had given him. Oshkosh in plug hat and high colored ribbons may do for a comic almanac, but it is scant justice to the supple form of the brave warrior of the Menominee. The grave of Chief Oshkosh is at Keshena on the high hill pagan cemetery west of the river on the right bank opposite the village. There is no headstone or monument, but it is marked by a low shack grave house two feet high made of unpainted rough pine boards. In the gable end there is a small opening through which food is frequently placed. No name or mark of any kind indicates that in that grave lies Chief Oshkosh, the brave.

Neopope Oshkosh, dressed in citizen's clothes with a large red-flannel sash wound round his hip and a broad-brim felt hat on his head, is to be seen on the single long street of the village of Keshena, near by which he resides in his clearing. He is about 70 years old and the oldest son of Chief Oshkosh. Neopope is a chief in influence and dignity, though the tribe has no chief now. Their tribal affairs are in the control of a council of fifteen representative men of the tribe of which Neopope is one. He still retains his pagan beliefs, and the religion of the wild woods most appeals to him. He is a forcible orator. Reginald Oshkosh, son of Neopope, is also married and lives in a frame house on the Shawano road. He has been in attendance at Carlisle, Pa., Indian School, and is a ready speaker.

Old Carron, or **Vieux Carron,** said to be the son of a French trader, was born about 1700 and died in the Old King's village in 1780. He was a fierce old warrior, having served in all the French wars and with Montcalm on the heights of Abraham. He assisted Lieutenant Gorrell, with the English garrison, to escape from the Green Bay post in 1763, when the Pontiac Beaver war was on. Sir William Johnson sent a certificate to Ogemaunee for this service, which must have been his Indian name. He was for many years head orator. His children were Glade, Tomah, Shequanene, Iometah and three daughters.

Glade, or **Glode,** or **Con-note,** the son of old Carron, was born in 1739. He was the orator of the tribe and a fine speaker, who made sensible remarks and to the point. He was a very successful hunter and trapper and great warrior, going on the warpath for the French and fought on the plains of Abraham, and he took an active part with the English in the American Revolution. In the fall of 1803 when on a hunt, accompanied by his two wives and five children, they all contracted some malady and all died except two children. His only surviving son was an infant named Carron. He was made chief at Little Buttes des Morts in 1827 the same day with Oshkosh. He was born in 1803 and was alive in 1858. Glade was a tall and well proportioned man of great personal prowess. At ball play when two or three would pitch on him to keep him back he would dash ahead, not seeming in the least to mind them. He was a splendid athlete.

Tomah, the most noted of the sons of old Carron, was born in 1752 at Old King's village, opposite Green Bay, and died in the summer of 1817 at Mackinac at 65 years of age. He was six feet tall, spare, had dark eyes and handsome features, was very prepossessing, with lordly bearing. He looked every inch a king. Grignon said he was the finest looking chief he had ever seen. His speeches were not long, but pointed and expressive. He was firm, prudent, peaceable and conciliatory, and he was sincerely beloved alike by white and red men. He was the best deer hunter in the tribe. One city is named for him. He was often called Carron and was for many years head speaker. Three of Tomah's sons were chiefs. One was Mau-kau-tau-pee, who was with McKay at the capture of Prairie du Chien in 1814 and died in 1820. Another son of Tomah was Chief Josette Carron, who succeeded him as head speaker and died in 1831, and another son of Tomah was Chief Glade, named for his uncle. He spoke French well, had no love for public affairs and died in 1848.

The above Josette Carron had two sons, chiefs in 1857. One was Keshenah, born in 1829, and for whom the present reservation town is named. Another was Shawneon (Shononee), or the "Silver," born in 1827. The city and county of Shawano are named for him.

Iometah, head war chief, brother of Tomah and son of old Carron, born in 1772, was in 1859 at 87 years of age the only surviving son of old Carron, and then he was strong enough to walk 200 miles to Milwaukee. He had his village at the Cedars and Little Kaukauna. He was on the warpath in the war of 1812

and was a great hunter. He was noted for paying his debts, a rare trait of Indian character, and is said to have been an honorable man and worthy representative of the Indian in heroic days. His picture by Brooks hangs in the Historical Society's rooms at Madison.

The old chief known to history as Iometah, whose name appears signed to the treaties as Aya-mah-tah, or Fish-spawn, who had his village at Little Kaukauna and Little Chute from 1833 to 1842, was the principal chief and had the authority of the tribe at the treaty of Washington. He took his wife with him and they passed the winter in Washington. He was an honest, quiet and temperate Indian, was born on the Menominee river in 1776 and died at Keshena in 1864. Sho-ne-on was a nephew and Joseph Gauthier was a grandson.

Mr. Davis, the Indian agent at Keshena, says he once had a house built for the old chief and his wife, but he preferred living in a tent.

It is not true that Colonel Stambough gave **Grizzly Bear** his name, as his father bore it before him, who, though not a born chief, exerted great influence over the tribe and was regarded as such. His son, Kaush-kau-no-naive, or the Grizzly Bear, served under Tomah in the War of 1812, and after the death of Tomah in 1817 was, with Josette Carron, chosen orator of the nation. He served under Colonel Stambough against the Foxes and Sauk in 1832 and died in 1834, aged 52 years. About 1830 he was with Colonel Stambough when he went with the Menominee to Washington to make a better treaty for lands and annuities. While there it is reported of him that, viewing the historic paintings in the rotunda of the capital, he pointed to the illustration of the landing of the Pilgrims and said, "There Injun gave white man corn," then to the Penn treaty, "There Injuns give um land," then to Pocahontas saving the life of Captain Smith, "There Injun give um life," then to a picture of Daniel Boone with his foot on the neck of a savage and plunging his knife into another, said, "There white man kill Injun." He was a savage of great personal dignity. In 1832 Colonel Whittlesey mentions his village as near the present city of Omro. His other name was the Great Packer. After his death he was succeeded by his son, Wau-pa-men, or the Corn, who was succeeded by his brother, another son of Grizzly Bear, Ok-ke-ne-bo-way, or The Standing Land, who was born in 1820.

Among the chiefs of the Menominee who led their family to

the heights of Abraham were Osauwishkeno, or the Yellow Bird, and Ka-cha-ka-wa-she-ka, or The Notchmaker.

Souligny was a mixed blood born in 1783. His grandmother was the reputed daughter of Souligny, an early French trader, who was a son-in-law of Sieur de Langlade's second wife. This chief was highly regarded by the tribe and the whites. He led his band with the English in the War of 1812 and the Stambough expedition on 1832, and was a stout, good looking man, though he had lost one eye. He was alive in 1858 at 70 years of age, when he walked 200 miles to Milwaukee. His portrait, painted by Brooks, hangs in the Wisconsin Historical rooms at Madison. His decendants live at Keshena.

Other chiefs in 1858 were Ahkenotoway, who was born in 1821, and Cosagascegay, who was born in 1813, and Poegona, or the Feather Shedder, and Muwasha, or the Little Wolf. The chief of the mixed Menominee band at Milwaukee was Onaugesa, who had married a Potawatomi woman. He was a brother of Mrs. Joseph Roy, of Green Bay, and often visited her as early as 1784. Unlike most of the Milwaukee band, he was a kind and worthy Indian. He died there about 1840. One of the historic Menominee chiefs was We-cha-nequa, or "The Rubber," who is said to have protected an American during the War of 1812 by guarding his escape from Green Bay to Mackinaw. He was chief of a small band and a brother to Oshaw-wah-nem, or the "Yellow Dog," and cousin to l'Espagnol, who distinguished themselves in the killing of Major Holmes at the defense of Mackinac in 1814. The old chief, who formerly lived at the present site of Marinette long prior to 1791, was Te-pak-e-ne-nee. Another chief of distinction was Ap-po-mich-sha, or the White Elk, who also fought at Fort Meigs under Tecumseh, and with Proctor was defeated at Sandusky. Another noted chief at the capture of Mackinac was Pe-wau-te-not, and among others who were on the warpath in 1832 against the Foxes and Sauk there was Old Poegonah and Wau-nau-ko and Na-mothe. Among those who were engaged with McKay in the capture of Prairie du Chien were Chiefs Macha-nah, or the Hairy Hand; Kish-kou-nau-kau-hone, or the Cutting Off, Yellow Cloud, and Wau-nau-ko, after whom Winneconne is named. In the town of Rushford about the year 1836 and for some years later there was a Menominee village called Waukau, on the north shore of Fox river opposite the old village of Delhi, described by Hon. H. H. G. Bradt, of Eureka, as still in existence at this point when he settled in the town of Rushford in 1849.

At this time the chief was Lapone, "an excellent Indian," and the village was composed of a dozen cabins and about thirty people. Traces of their corn hills and burying grounds may still be seen.

Wild Cat's Winnebago village at Island Park was one day the scene of a laughable fit of savage humor. Paw-wa-ga-nien, the Menominee chief, whose name was given to Lake Paw-wa-qan (Poygan), was a half century ago on a friendly visit to old Wild Cat at his Indian village. Cut Finger, chief of Potawatomi, of Chicago, was on a visit south of Oshkosh to old Black Wolf, but was informed that he was at Pe-Sheu's village, at a corn husking, so he went on there, where he also found Chief Paw-wa-ga-nien, of the Menominees. Cut Finger was a great brave, a wag and a bully. He stalked up to Paw-wa and pulled his hair and jerked his head about, saying he was no brave. Paw-wa did not wince, but stood his punishment like a man. When Cut Finger was satisfied he had humiliated the chief sufficiently he sat down. Then Paw-wa opened his sack and took out his famous cap of war eagle feathers and, taking up his lance and club, paid his respects to Cut Finger. Seizing his long hair in both hands, he shook his head with all his might, then raised Cut Finger off his feet by the hair and threw him away. This sort of reply in kind seemed to satisfy the old warriors and they were friends.

From an intelligent paper in the "Winnebago County Press," February 5, 1870, the localities of a number of Indian villages are given: "A Menominee village was located on what was then (1870) Hammonds farm, on Big Lake Butte des Morts, presided over by a chief called by the French Mat-qui-Marche, or Mat the Traveler. There was a village at "Rogers" Point on Big Lake Butte des Morts, about a mile above the cemetery.

"On Lake Poygan, in Norwegian Bay, Wau-poose, or the Rabbit, had a village. This was on the north shore. Opposite this on the south shore at the pay ground on Section 16 there was another Menominee village." And this writer says, "Lake Winneconne is the lake of the place of skulls."

Also the following: "A Menominee village was at Cowan's place, one and a half miles north of Winneconne, on Lake Winneconne; another at the mouth of Mud lake, on Fuller place, since Mr. James Clark.

"A Potawatomie village at Potawatomie Point, one mile south of Winneconne. This was a band which moved from Calumet county, on the east side of the lake. There were Winnebago vil-

lages on the McCann farm at Omro, and on Preech Bend, a few miles below, were mixed villages of Winnebago and Potawatomi." Mentions: "Remains in city of Oshkosh of planting grounds in fourth ward on a vacant block, lying on lake shore between Merritt and Washington streets, the elevation left by the old corn hills are still plainly visible (1873), and a mound on the lake shore close by was no doubt a cache or place of storing grain. In the lot on Merritt street adjoining this block on the west a strip of ground running the whole length of the lot is composed almost entirely of stones from fist size to larger that marks a 'squaw hill,' or the place where the squaws piled away the stones that might interfere with the growing crops."

Indian Eloquence.

As a sample of Indian eloquence we give here the speech made by Reginald Oshkosh at the celebration held in Oshkosh, August 26, 1903, to recognize the half century of its corporate life. A large party of Menominee Indians came from their reservation under the care of their agent, Mr. Shephard Freeman, and with them Neopope Oshkosh, a son of Oshkosh, then 72 years old, and his son, Reginald Oshkosh, a grandson of Chief Oshkosh, a young man of 26 years. He was a graduate of Carlisle, Pa., Indian School and a married man. His wife was also present. Neopope made a forcible and complimentary address, his words being interpreted through an interpreter, as he speaks only the Indian language. The exercises were held in the open air at North Park before an immense crowd of people. The address made by Reginald Oshkosh was in the English language and was in words as follows:

"Ladies and Gentlemen—I appreciate very much the honor of being called upon to address you upon this great day. I am not an orator; therefore I feel unprepared for the occasion.

"It is a pleasure to me to be in the midst of so many happy and intelligent faces and to be greeted as the once original owner of the soil upon which you stand. Words fail to express the impressions and ideas which come to me as I view this beautiful city, and its surroundings where my ancestors once happily dwelt. The wigwam, the dense forest and even the red man and his customs have entirely disappeared. Today we see him not roaming the paths beneath the gigantic pines, with painted face, bow and arrows; neither the tomahawk nor the war club.

"In place of these we behold the white man with his modern structure, massive farms and all the comforts which accompany civilization.

"It has been over fifty years since this country was ceded by the Menominee Indians to the white man, who soon afterward founded this beautiful city. If Chief Oshkosh, after whom this city is named, was here today and could see how prosperous its citizens have been during his absence, he would undoubtedly describe the improvement which cultivation has made of the once most deserted wilderness as being a miracle performed by 'Ma-na-poose.'

"I will tell you later who Ma-na-poose was. A short sketch of his life and the Indian's belief might interest you, as the pagan Indian still practices his religious teachings. The religious teachings of the Indian resembled that of the Christian world. Many generations ago mysteriously human blood was placed on a bunch of leaves in the forest. Four days later it developed into a great rabbit, from which it gets its name of 'Ma-na-poose,' meaning in the English tongue, 'Great Rabbit.' Later it took the form of man and roamed about preaching to the Indians a higher and nobler form of living. On entering the prime of life he established the grand medicine dance. After his work was accomplished the great spirit beneath the sea took him. The fourth day he arose from the dead and returned to the Indians, saying, 'I am going West, far beyond this continent, to prepare a happy hunting ground for those that are to come hereafter.' While he was speaking he disappeared with the setting sun in the West.

"Some of the tribes still cling fast to the doctrine of 'Ma-na-poose' and perform their ceremonies according to his dictation. Since the majority of my people have become Christianized by the whites, this tradition is only of historical value to us.

"I am proud to say that my people have always realized that there was some supreme power above human beings. The lack of intellectual education prevented them from discovering the truth until the Franciscan fathers introduced the gospel to them in the eighteenth century. There are thousands of people who know little or nothing about the Indians. I am sorry to say that we have been too often misrepresented in the newspapers. We are generally pictured in costumes that degrade our character and race, impressing the world with dependence upon the na-

tion. We realize that these United States have been liberal with their protection to us, yet we feel that there are reasons for it.

"Your forefathers have seen their red brother pick up his wigwam and pathetically disperse from his happy surroundings for the pleasure of his white brothers. Today we see my people driven so far westward that the mighty Pacific in her sympathy for her red children stretches her threatening hand of destruction to them and says, 'Thus far and no further shall you be driven.' While traveling in the East some years ago I was occasionally questioned, 'How did you ever become tame?' I felt that I was as tame as they. So I answered them that I never was wild. This interested them enough to allow a long conversation between us.

"There are many noble white men and there must be a noble Indian, as all men are created equal regardless of features and color. While noble Chief Oshkosh was ruling the Menominee tribe they were very peaceable, took no part in the pow-wows or massacres among the whites as did other tribes. Chief Oshkosh stood between the reds and the whites to maintain peace. I feel justified in saying that the Menominees have always been loyal to all with whom they have made treaties. In the early days by the request of France the Menominees arose to protect her from oppression of the English, who after the contest became in possession of this country. At the outbreak of the Revolutionary War the Menominee Indians again sacrificed their lives to protect the English crown and restore her rights on American soil. In spite of all efforts the birth of this great nation took place. There was no more promptness than that of the Menominees in responding to the call of President Lincoln for men to maintain the Union in 1860. There are a number of the Menominees here today in their native costume. This is not our daily attire. We do this simply to commemorate the days of our ancestors. We have laid aside our blankets and breech cloths. Our usual dress is that of the ordinary farmer or citizen.

"The aim of my people today is to reach the highest rank in civilization. I hope to see the day when they will be among the best citizens of the country. We have been in close relation with the Oshkosh people. Our affairs have been conducted by some of the most prominent citizens of Oshkosh for a number of years, who took much interest for the betterment of the tribe.

"I thank the Oshkosh people for their courtesies and honor extended toward my people."

VIII.

COLONEL ROBERT DICKSON ICE BOUND.

In the winter of 1813-14 the majesty of the King was forced to remain seated on Doty island in the person of Col. Robert Dickson, who signed himself agent and superintendent of the Western nations for his Britannic Majesty, and therefore was the foremost officer in command in the state. While on a voyage from Mackinac to Prairie du Chien up the Fox river his fleet of canoes, loaded with presents for the savages and provisions for the garrison, was ice bound as it reached the Winnebago village on Doty island, at the entrance to Winnebago lake, and compelled to tie up for the winter. With him and under his command were a number of soldiers and Canadians and a large number of Menominee Indians. A number of his letters (the first ever written in this county) written to the officers at La Baye and Mackinac have been published in volumes 10 and 11 of the "Wisconsin Historical Collections," from which we have a lively picture of his activities during the season. Some of these are dated from Puant's lake, Winnebago rapids and Lake Winnebago. He arrived on November 14, 1813, with "very little provision, but trust in a kind Providence."

During the winter he was in constant fear of an attack by the Potawatomi, which did not occur. His little band suffered much from hunger and cold. The winter was severe and in the spring a great snowfall made it almost impossible to travel and many savages died of hunger or perished in the snows. In the middle of March he writes that he had not less "than fifty people per day here for these ten days past. They have eaten me even to the nails. I have only two bushels of wheat remaining." News came by courier from Mackinac of the defeat of Proctor by General Harrison at the battle of the Thames and death of Tecumseh, and newspapers were frequently forwarded to him with letters, so that while cut off from the world, he had news of even foreign wars such as the defeat of Napoleon.

Dr. David Mitchell, a frontier physician assigned to the Indian service, was with this flotilla winter bound. At intervals Lieuts.

John Lawe and Louis Grignon, famous traders, visited Dickson's camp from La Baye, as also Jacob Franks, Mr. Brisbois, Mr. Longevin, Mr. Collish and Jean Vieux, all traders, ran over the snows to his camp, and letters and mail were constantly exchanged through Indian couiriers. One Chandonnet acted as a scout, and news was brought over land from Chicago and St. Joseph. The old Menominee chief, Tomah, with his tribe, remained with the camp all winter. In the spring the Winnebago returned from the winter hunt and Dickson looked forward to the opening of spring that he might escape their begging.[1]

After the capture of Prairie du Chien by McKay in July, 1814, Dickson returned to Mackinac for supplies, ammunition and Indian goods; but being delayed by the nonarrival of the supply boats, his return with loaded barges was late in the fall and he was caught by the cold weather and frozen in when he had reached Garlic Island, the home of the Wild Cat, where he was compelled to remain until late in December, when he hauled his boats over the ice and arrived at Prairie du Chien in January, 1815, after many difficulties, to the great relief of the Indians. He dated his letters from Garlic island, which is the first use of the term.

In his reports Bishop Henni tells of his visit to the Menominee at Lake Poygan in 1844:

"In company with Father Van den Broek and four half-breeds, we now passed up the Fox River and Lake Winnebago to the new Indian settlements. It was midnight when we came to the western shore of Poygan lake, so we fired a gun to notify the people of our arrival, as our guards were unable to locate their wigwams among the dark birch woods. It was not long before a number of Indians came down to the swampy shore, one of the most sturdy of them taking me upon his shoulders and, notwithstanding my objections, bearing me to dry land. Here then I for the first time experienced the novelty of establishing my episcopal residence in a wigwam in which soon after, upon a couch composed of native mats, I obtained some much needed repose. Early in the following morning we returned to our canoe, by means of which we journeyed a farther distance of four miles, which brought us to the center of the settlement, where all of the Indians had been notified to gâther for divine service. This was on the 12th of July.

"Not far from the shore we built a temporary chapel from

[1] See letters, and note, 10 "Wis. Hist. Colls.," 113.

branches, wherein I celebrated holy mass. Afterwards I addressed the Indians in English, which was interpreted for me into the Indian language sentence by sentence. After giving the Episcopal benediction I left the chapel, and was led to the Presbyterian wigwam, where I partook of some excellent refreshments. Soon after the chiefs, with their attendants, came to call upon me, and after much handshaking they sat down. After a pause the first chief began to speak, making the following requests: First, that a teacher be sent to instruct their children; second, that permission be granted them to build a chapel; third, that an additional missionary be sent to them, their present pastor, owing to extreme age, being unable to attend the ever-increasing duties of his charge. In response I gave them permission to erect a chapel in honor of St. Francis Xavier, and I also told them that I would send an English missionary as soon as I could secure the services of one. As regards a teacher, I made them acquainted with my companion, Joseph Bouglar, formerly a teacher at Little Chute, suggesting him as an altogether suitable person for that position. His services were at once accepted; more readily, perhaps, owing to the fact that his wife belonged to their tribe. At the close of the conference we entered our canoe and began the return journey, being accompanied by thirteen other canoes bearing a number of Catholic Indians who were going with us to Little Chute so that they might receive the sacrament of confirmation in their old chapel at that place. Having arrived at our point of destination, Butte des Morts, we landed and received a friendly welcome from Mr. Grignon, an old Canadian courier des bois. I accepted his courteous invitation to stay over night at his residence, while the Indians erected their wigwam and camped between this house and the river. Mr. Grignon is a descendant of those French who came to this country 100 years ago."

IX.

JOHN LAWE'S THRILLING MOONLIGHT PLUNGE THROUGH THE FOX RIVER RAPIDS ASTRIDE CHEST CONTAINING $9,000 IN SILVER.

Judge John Lawe was one of the most remarkable characters who ever engaged in the fur trade in Wisconsin. His accounts were accurate, he was strictly honest, was beloved by white and red man alike. He was proverbially charitable, and the richest man on the river. A man of never tiring energy, he could add four columns of figures at once and attend to business day and night. At the time he made his midnight ride over the Long Sault of the lower Fox river he had had no sleep for two nights, weighed 300 pounds and was 65 years of age.

For two days John Lawe had been dumping silver into a large chest. It was at the annual payment of the Menominee Indians by the Government, held on the green banks of Lake Poygan. These Indians had purchased red blankets and whisky of John Lawe, the veteran trader of Green Bay, during the previous summer and winter, and each one had been charged various sums under such local names as "Two Toes," "Run-Fast John" and other equally identifying cognomens, until the tribe was totally indebted to his trading post in a large sum. As each Indian emerged from the paymaster's tent he was guarded for a distance by the soldiers, but soon fell into the hands of the creditor, who exacted his due; and then, seized by the fighting trader who followed the payments with flashy jewelry, he was soon as spare of silver as before. As this contest to collect the charges on his book had been fierce for two days, John Lawe was not sorry when, late in the afternoon, the last red man had been paid and his books were once more balanced. By this time he had tumbled into the big chest over $9,000 in silver. Quickly his tent was folded. He grasped one handle of the heavy chest and his big Highlander assistant grasped the other handle, by which they carried with some effort and several rests the huge chest to the lake beach and heaved it over the side and into the center of a Mackinaw rowboat. John Lawe followed the chest and sat down

on it. The Highland voyageur seated himself in the bow with a pole.

Two Indians kneeling side by side one-third the length of the boat from the stern plied their paddles. The boat shot out into the lake; looking back they could see the dusky outline of the savage village, and the campfires glowing in the advancing gloom along the edge of the wood. After a short time the boat had come to the edge of the lake and entered the tall rice which covers the bar and separates it from Lake Winneconne. A flock of geese were frightened from their rest as they swiftly crossed the reeds and glided into the open water. After an hour's steady paddling they entered the Wolf river, passed the few log cabins which fifty years ago marked the site of the village of Winneconne and sped on their course to the confluence of the Fox river, which they entered and glided on its deep-flowing waters, passed the scattered settlement of Butte des Morts, hailing each light as it came in sight with the merry cheer of the coureurs de bois. They crossed the six miles of Big Lake Butte des Morts and bore down the current of the three miles of river to Lake Winnebago, wnere they sited the ferry man at the collection of shanties, now celebrated as Oshkosh. Here they ought to have tarried and rested the Indian canoemen, but John Lawe, sitting like a sphinx on that chest of silver, did not give the order. They kept on into the lake and turned north on a straight line for Garlic island, several miles away. It was now so dark that the coast line was only known to the instinct of the kneeling Indians plying the paddle blades. A cool breeze came over the lake and rippled its waters into long swells, but the blades gave no heed to this. The rythmic play was as regular as when in the quiet water of the river. About 10 o'clock a faint gleam of light stole over the lake. They knew the moon was rising. Soon a dark spot could be seen ahead. It was Garlic island. When they came into its inner harbor the boat was beached. A fire was made and supper prepared of salt pork and bread. The savages stretched their cramped limbs along the sandy beach. The moon was rising. After an hour's rest Lawe gave the word, still seated on the chest, when all took their places again, and the boat, leaving the island far in the wake, was speeding toward the one log cabin which marked the site of the infant metropolis of Menasha. The moon now could be seen, a great silver ball, above the Clifton hills far over the wide lake, and the dark night was turned into a silver day. Long after midnight they reached the first rapids of the Lower

Fox river. They shot down them and out into Little Lake Butte des Morts. They had now made as long a voyage as usual for an all-day run. A wise man would have made fast to shore and camped until morning. Below there was one long, plunging, boiling, treacherous rapid extending for thirty miles with many dangerous intervals where most men quailed to leap the falls in daylight. Over these seething rapids the waters rush and roar over a long fall 170 feet in one long leap from the level of Lake Winnebago to the level of Lake Michigan.

The bed of the river was filled with broken rock and great boulders around which the waters fought their way from one to the other. The trader who had seated himself on that chest of silver before the sun went down still sat there, while the shore seemed to move past him so swiftly sped the boat. Just before them they heard the roar of the Grand Chute Falls, where the waters made a perpendicular jump of six feet. The Scotchman in the bow stood up. The Indians placed their paddles close against the side of the boat to act as rudders. No need to ply the paddle any longer to propel the boat. The rushing torrent would give them the speed of wings. On they flew. As they shot over the falls the bow of the boat dipped almost perpendicular with the stern high in the air.

The Indians gave a shout to the Manitou to save them. A crushing, breaking noise was heard above the water's roar. The bow had splintered against a boulder. Quick as thought the Scotchman stanched the hole with his blanket. The boat leaped into the torrent and rushed on her way past the foundation of Lawrence University, then building in the forest hamlet of Appleton far upon the heights. The shouts of the savages echoed through the deep gorge made by the river as they used every endeavor to keep their frail barque in deep water and away from hidden boulders. On they flew through the turbulent boulders. Some deer coming down the ravines to drink the cool water sniffed the air and raised high their heads as the strange craft went sailing by. Some creole fishermen crawling out onto the bank near the old church of Father Van Den Brock at Little Chute in the early morning wondered at a sight they had never seen before in all their lives along those long saults of leaping water. Still John Lawe sat on the silver chest. The perspiration streamed from the Indians as they strove with might and skill to steer the boat from the thousand hidden rocks that lined the way. Now they came to the Kakaling rapids. No sane man

would run this death trap at night. But the boat plunged on. Here was a rush of the torrents over broken rocks and hidden islands. A fall of fifty feet in a mile. A roar of surging water heard far off through the woods like the breakers on the seashore. When he saw through the moonlight the white surf boiling ahead of him, even the hardened scout thought he saw a vision of the white lady on the heights above, a sure sign of death. Even the Indians, born to danger and the river, had not seen the like before. For a moment they ceased their efforts and paled before the sight of plunging waters into which the boat was rushing to a wreck. Surely no craft could run through that chaos of jagged rock and foaming waters in the dim moonlight without being dashed to splinters.

The stone man sat on the silver chest and the boat rushed on. Several crashing noises were heard. The men were nearly thrown out of the boat and the water trickled down the inside from some ugly cracks as the boat stove heavily against submerged rocks. Yet in a few minutes the worst of the rapids were passed in safety. Old Statesburg, whose deserted and rotten cabins, like a phantom village, lay dark along the southern shore, and the Canadian French cabins came into view on the flats at Kaukauna. Still the iron man sitting on the silver chest gave no word to land and sleep. The night was far spent. The paddlers were much exhausted. Swiftly down the smooth currents the boat flew. Now they see far up on the red banks at Little Kakaling the log cabin of Eleazer Williams, the lost dauphin. The morning breaks. Swarms of duck fly up at every turn through the narrows. The high, rolling, beautiful banks, green and wooded, are now outlined in the early morning light. The old mission site of St. Francis Xavier comes in view. They are almost home. They shoot the last rapid, Des Peres, and, plying the paddles for five weary miles farther, leap ashore. The Indians lay down on the grass nearer dead than alive, but the man of the silver chest once more grasps its handles with the Scot and carries it to the store. The long midnight ride is ended. They have come seventy miles since sundown, over five lakes and the treacherous rapids of the lower Fox, by dark and moonlight, a ride never made before or since.

John Lawe at once sat down to his desk, and attended to his correspondence and his customers just as if he had arisen from his usual night's rest.

He looked as though nothing had happened.

X.

WHEN WINNEBAGO COUNTY WAS ALIVE WITH WILD ANIMALS.

The abundance of big game, wild animals, birds, insects and reptiles, which abounded on lake and river, forest and prairie, the sport of the missionary, trader and settler, reads like a tale from the jungles of Africa. Father Claude Dablon wrote 230 years ago on a canoe trip through here that "the quantity of all sorts of game is so great everywhere about here that without much stopping we have killed it at discretion."

The American bison (Bos Americanus), commonly called buffalo, now nearly extinct on this continent, roamed over Wisconsin in great herds. Marquette describes them in detail, calls them after the native name, "pisikious," and says they were "scattered over the prairies like herds of cattle. I have seen a band of 400." Dablon also says: "Also among these rich pastures where we found buffaloes, which they call 'pisikiou.'" Other travelers also mention them. Down to a late date one party was delayed in their journey down the Wisconsin river awaiting the passage of a herd of buffalo.

The tall, beautiful moose, or moose deer, so often called the elk, the largest of the deer family, the tall, lithe elk of the painter, once thrived in great droves on the grass, willow buds and twigs of this vicinity. The stag has broad, high, towering horns, but the lady moose has no horns. Father Dablon calls it the cow, which the female resembles, and, writing of the prairie lands along the Fox river, says: "On which richly fed wild cows that one meets with pretty often in droves of 400 or 500 beasts." A stray one is sometimes met in our northern forests now. Thirty years ago it was reported as rarely met with. There are a few in upper Michigan, where their killing is prohibited for five years. Last spring the writer saw near St. Ignace some beautiful broad, flat antlers, for which $25 had been paid. The owner refused $50.

Common deer are still hunted in Wisconsin. A few years ago they were common here. Earlier they were found over the

whole United States, and are still hunted in sparsely settled parts. I met a hunting party in Georgia last winter that had killed five deer, and last spring saw them flee at the approach of the railway train in northern Michigan. They are mentioned by Allouez in 1670 as being "in sufficient great numbers" along the Fox. Other writers also mention them. They were plenty on Doty Island. Rev. Mr. Clinton once shot one on the site of the Northwestern depot. Deer was the regular meat of the pioneer. They were even shot in door yards, pastures, woods and fields. At Dr. Linde's home a large buck was shot from the front door.

The gray and prairie wolf were once too numerous. The bounty for its scalp and the persistent enmity of the human race for this meanest of the forest rangers has nearly wiped them out. Some still rob hen roosts and kill hogs in the new settlements. Once their dismal howl was the nightly music of our pioneer. Mr. Ben S. Croft, of Appleton, in 1846 went to Neenah for lime. Going home with the bag of lime on his back, his route, on the old trail, lay over a bog across Mud creek. The wolves had followed him howling, and had got so near that he threw the bag of lime into the creek, and as fear gave him speed, he flew to Mr. Marche's cabin, bolted in and yelled to Marche, "I don't know but you like this kind of music, but I am d—d if I do." In 1849 the wolves were very thick and hungry. They chased a son of John Hofner, near Appleton, for over a mile and nearly caught him, but instead of him they took a yearling steer and badly mangled a heifer. The wolves make a great noise in howling. The same year bears took Hofner's large hogs.

Both the black and cinnamon bear were frequently shot by the settlers. The meat and fur were valuable. A bear hunt was one of the sports that gave zest and good cheer to the backwoods. Judge Wheeler killed one with a shotgun, Louis Hart killed one on Doty Island, and when Elder Clinton occupied the Governor Doty home he saw one on the Treaty Elm point across the Fox river. He paddled over after Bruin, who seeing his retreat cut off, took to the water and made for the island. Mrs. Clinton kept him off with stones, clubs and screaming until an Indian arrived at the scene of excitement and dispatched the bear. The Indian then complimented Mrs. Clinton as being a "brave squaw."

One evening a large panther came prowling about the premises, uttering the most terrific screeches. He fired several shots

at him in the twilight, which may have taken effect, as several days afterward some starving cubs were shot close by.

There is still preserved in the cabinet at Lawrence university the skin of a very large panther which was killed in the limits of the city of Appleton fifty years ago. The wildcat is still met with as a stray from the forests. Among the game either extinct or nearly so is the lynx, red and gray fox, pine marten, white, little and small weasel, mink, otter, badger, wolverine, fox, gray, black and red squirrels, northern hare, which are white in winter and gray in summer, and gray rabbit. The opossum was once caught in this vicinity.

Perhaps of all the animals of our country the beaver has had the most influence on our history. Its fur was the object for which nations planted outposts and maintained armies, fought for control of this territory, and thousands of brave men risked their lives and great wealth was amassed.

Beaver peltry was the medium of exchange—the money of the country. All accounts were kept in beaver-skin value. The coinage value of beaver was two shillings sixpence. If otter or marten were accepted their value converted into beaver value was otter six shillings and marten one shilling sixpence. The beavers were very numerous. They had their dams and houses on every creek, brook or rivulet. Remains of these dams can still be seen on all our creeks and dry runs, now a ridge running to both sides of a dried up brooklet in the midst of plowed fields. Thousands of beavers were killed for their furs. As it was only valuable when the animal was taken in winter, that was the hunting season. The beaver house was broken up to dislodge the animals, which sought refuge in holes in the banks.

The edge of the ice was sounded for these hollow places, which were broken into and the beaver taken out by the hands, which were often badly bitten. The beaver flesh was good to eat, and "the tail was accounted a luxurious morsel."

As to birds, Captain Carver says of the upper Fox: "This river is the greatest resort of wild fowl of every kind that I met with in the whole of my travels. * * * Frequently the sun would be obscured by them for some minutes together." Marquette says: "They obscured the sun in their flight." Father Allouez says: "In passing, we saw clouds of swans, bustards and ducks. * * * Ducks, swans, geese, in great numbers in all these lakes and rivers." The pigeon roosting trees, where they were slaughtered by the thousands, are mentioned. And

Allouez mentions, "Where we saw two turkeys perched on a tree (near Winneconne), male and female, exactly like those of France, same size, same color, same cry."

Edward West relates of his settlement of Omro. "Most kinds of game were made scarce by the Indians, except wolves and prairie hens, which they did not molest. Prairie hens were so numerous that I killed them in great numbers with my gun to save my grain. What could not be eaten were fed to the hogs."

The American white pelican, this large scoop-net fisherman, was formerly a common migrant and, with the heron, sand-hill crane and other strange wild birds, lent a tropical aspect to our picturesque shores now seldom if ever seen, but found moving westward along the Mississippi river was noticed and described by the missionaries who early threaded these streams.

Rev. Catling Marsh describes the dense swarms of Green Bay flies met with on one occasion which is far beyond anything known of now, and all the accounts of the mosquito are vicious as, of course, they were much worse before the lands were dried up.

Dr. Foot killed inside Fort Winnebago a yellow rattlesnake seven and a half feet long. Charles De Langlade and his motly company of French and Indians, on the way to ambush Braddock, relying on such food as they could collect by the way, were at one time nearly starved when they discovered some live rattle-snakes, and by means of forked sticks placed over their necks, severed their heads, dressed the meat and made a savory dish.

XI.

THE BEAUTY OF THE VIRGIN SCENERY OF THE COUNTY AS DESCRIBED BY TRAVELERS, JUST BEFORE THE COMING OF THE PIONEER.

Mrs. John Kinzie made the journey up river in 1830, and thus describes the incidents of a voyage across this county in its primitive condition: "It was a moderate sized Mackinac boat, with a crew of soldiers, and our own three voyageurs in addition, that lay waiting for us, a dark looking structure of some thirty feet in length. Placed in the centre was a framework of slight posts, supporting a roof of canvas, with curtains of the same, which might be let down at the sides and ends, after the manner of a country stage-coach, or rolled up to admit the light and air.

Judge James D. Doty was our admirable traveling companion. He had lived many years in the country, had been with General Cass on his expedition to the head waters of the Mississippi, and had a vast fund of anecdote regarding early times, customs, and inhabitants. The Canadian boatmen always sing while rowing or paddling, and nothing encourages them so much as to hear the "bourgeois" take the lead in the music. If the passengers, more especially those of the fair sex, join in the refrain, the compliment is all the greater. Their songs are of a light, cheerful character, generally embodying some little satire or witticism, calculated to produce a spirited, sometimes an uproarious, chorus. It is an invariable custom for the voyageurs to stop every five or six miles to rest and smoke, so that it was formerly the way of measuring distances—"so many pipes," instead of "so many miles." The Canadian melodies are sometimes very beautiful, and a more exhilarating mode of travel can hardly be imagined than a voyage over these waters, amid all the wild magnificence of nature, with the measured strokes of the oar keeping time to the strains of music. With all our tugging and toiling, we had accomplished but thirteen miles since leaving the Kakalin, and it was already late when we arrived in view of the "Grande Chute," near which we were to encamp.

The brilliant light of the setting sun was resting on the high

wooded banks through which broke the beautiful, foaming, dashing waters of the Chute. The boat was speedily turned towards a little headland projecting from the left bank, which had the advantage of a long strip of level ground, sufficiently spacious to afford a good encamping ground. I jumped ashore before the boat was fairly pulled up by the men, and with the Judge's help made by way as rapidly as possible to a point lower down the river, from which, he said, the best view of the Chute could be obtained. I was anxious to make a sketch before the daylight quite faded away. The first sound that saluted our ears in the early dawn of the following morning, was the far-reaching call of the bourgeois: "How! how! how!" uttered at the very top of his voice. All start at that summons, and the men are soon turning out of their tents, or rousing from their slumbers beside the fire, and preparing for the duties of the day. There is, after all, no breakfast like a breakfast in the woods, with a well-trained Frenchman for master of ceremonies. It was a hard day's work to which the men now applied themselves, that of dragging the heavy boat up the Chute. It had been thought safest to leave the piano in its place on board, but the rest of the lading had to be carried up the steep bank, and along its summit, a distance of some hundreds of rods, to the smooth water beyond, where all the difficulties of our navigation terminated. The Judge kindly took charge of me; while "the bourgeois" superintended this important business, and with reading, sketching and strolling about, the morning glided away. Twelve o'clock came, and still the preparations for starting were not yet completed. Everything being at length in readiness, the tents were struck and carried around the Portage at Grand Chute, and my husband, the judge, and I followed at our leisure. The woods were brilliant with wild flowers, although it was so late in the season that the glory of the summer was well-nigh past. Our encampment this night was the most charming that can be imagined. Owing to the heavy service the men had gone through in the earlier part of the day, we took but a short stage for the afternoon, and, having pulled some seven or eight miles to a spot a short distance below the "little Butte," we drew in at a beautiful opening among the trees. The soldiers now made a regular business of encamping, by cutting down a large tree for their fire and applying themselves to the preparing of a sufficient quantity of food for their next day's journey, a long stretch, namely, of twenty-one miles on Winnebago Lake. Our

Frenchmen did the same. Our supper was truly delightful, at the pleasant sunset hour, under the tall trees beside the waters of the lake; and when the bright, broad moon arose, and shed her flood of light over the scene, so wild yet so beautiful in its vast solitude, I felt that I might well be an object of envy to the friends I had left behind. But all things have an end, and so must at last my enthusiasm for the beauties around me, and, albeit unwillingly, I closed my tent and took my place within, so near the fall of canvas that I could raise it occasionally and peep forth upon the night.

A row of a few miles on the following morning brought us to Four Legs' village, at the entrance to Winnebago lake, a picturesque cluster of Indian huts, spread around on a pretty green glade, and shaded by fine lofty trees. We were now fairly in the Winnebago country, and Four Legs was their principal chief. The inhabitants were absent, having, in all probability, departed to their wintering grounds. The skies, hitherto so bright and serene, became overcast, and, instead of the charming voyage we had anticipated over the silver waters of Lake Winnebago, we were obliged to keep ourselves housed under our canvas shelter, only peeping out now and then to catch a glimpse of the surrounding prospect through the pouring rain. About midway of the lake we passed Garlic Island, a lovely spot, deserving of a more attractive name. It belonged, together with the village on the opposite shore, to "Wild Cat," a fat, jolly, good-natured fellow, by no means the formidable animal his name would imply. He and his band were absent, like their neighbors of Four Legs' village, so there was nothing to vary the monotony of our sail. It was too wet to sing, and the men, although wrapped in their overcoats, looked like drowned chickens. They were obliged to ply their oars with unusual vigor to keep themselves warm and comfortable, and thus probably felt less than we the dullness and listlessness of the cold, rainy October day.

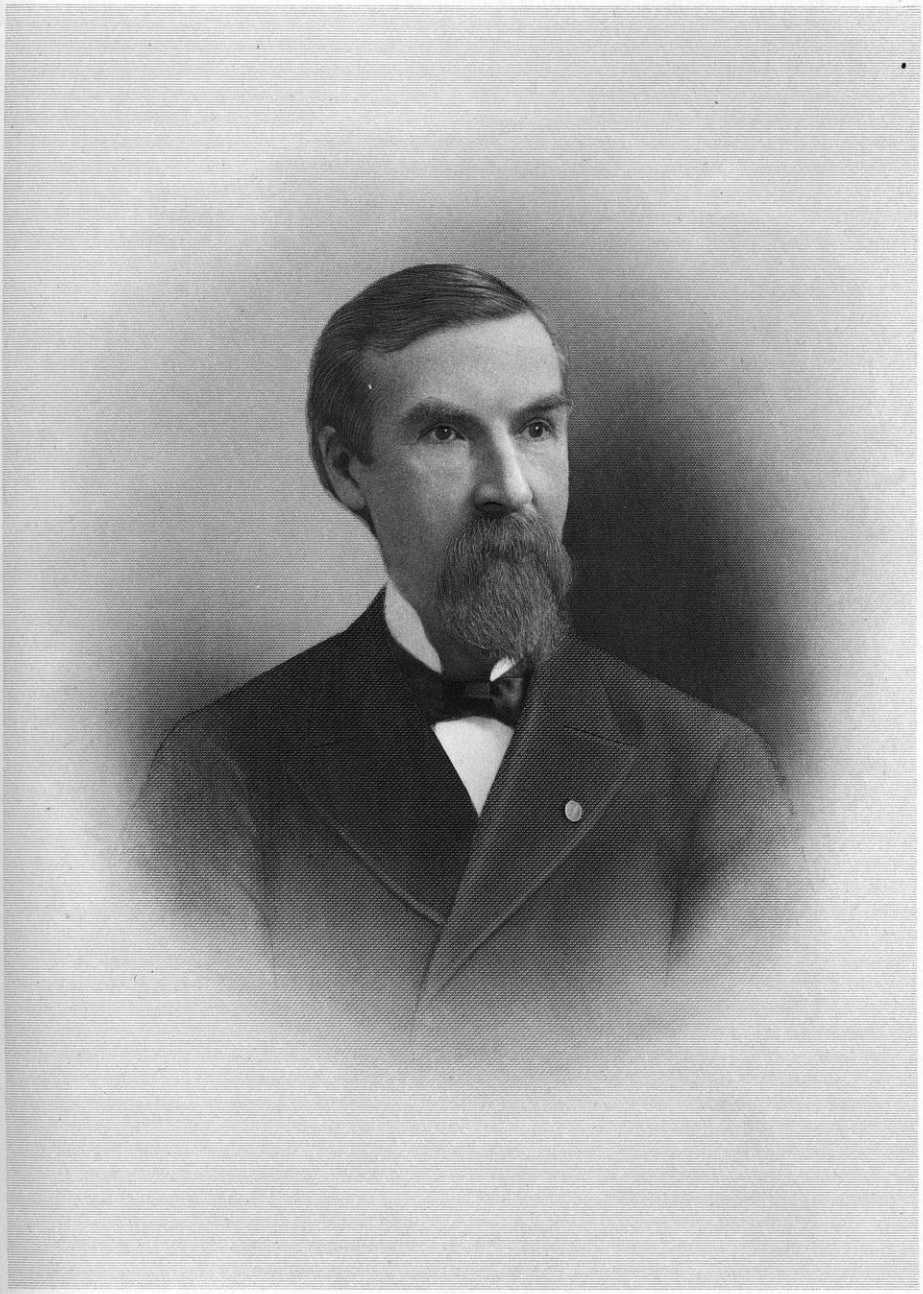
Towards evening the sun shone forth. We had passed into the Fox river [at Oshkosh], and were just entering that beautiful little expanse known as Big Butte des Morts Lake, at the farther extremity of which we were to encamp for the night. The water along its shores was green with the fields of wild rice, the gathering of which, just at this season, is an important occupation of the Indian woman. They push their canoes into the thick masses of the rice, bend it forward over the side with

their paddles, and then beat the ripe husks off the stalks into a cloth spread in the canoe. After this, it is rubbed to separate the grain from the husk, and fanned in the open air. It is then put in their cordage bags and packed away for winter use. The grain is longer and more slender than the Carolina rice. It is of a greenish olive color, and, although it forms a pleasant article of food, it is far from being particularly nutritive. The Indians are fond of it in the form of soup, with the addition of birds or venison."

Mr. and Mrs. Kinzie having gone to Green Bay the following season, intending to journey east, had received by mail information which changed their plans, and they prepared to return to Fort Winnebago. No boats being available, they journeyed on horseback. Her description of the saddle ride over the Tomahawk trail is as follows: "I suggested undertaking the journey on horseback. "No, indeed," was the answer I invariably received. "No mortal women has ever gone that road, unless it was some native on foot, nor ever could." Dr. Finey, the post-surgeon at Fort Howard, on hearing the matter debated, offered me immediately his favorite horse Charlie. "He is very sure-footed," the doctor alleged, "and capital in a marsh or troublesome stream."

After crossing the river at what is now Depere, and entering the wild, unsettled country on the west of the river, we found a succession of wooded hills, separated by ravines so narrow and steep that it seemed impossible that any animals but mules or goats could make their way among them. Our Menominee guide Wish-tay-yun took the lead. The horse he rode was accustomed to the country, and well trained to this style of road. As for my horse Charlie, he was perfectly admirable. When he came to a precipitous descent, he would set forward his fore-feet, and slide down on his haunches in the most scientific manner, while my only mode of preserving my balance was to hold fast by the bridle and lay myself braced almost flat against his back. Then our position would suddenly change, and we would be scaling the opposite bank, at the imminent risk of falling backward into the ravine below. It was amusing to see Wish-tay-yun, as he scrambled on ahead, now and then turning partly round to see how I fared. And when, panting and laughing, I at length reached the summit, he would throw up his hands, and shout, with the utmost glee, "Mamma Manitou[1]" (My mother is a spirit.)

Our old acquaintances, the Grignons, seemed much surprised that I should have ventured on such a journey. They had never undertaken it, although they had lived so long at the Kakalin; but then there was no reason why they should have done so. They could always command a canoe or boat when they wished to visit "the Bay." From the Kakalin to the Butte des Morts, where lived a man named Knaggs, was our next day's stage. The country was rough and wild, but we were fortunate in having Wish-tay-yun for our guide, so that we could make our way with some degree of moderation. We had travelled but forty miles when we reached Knagg's, yet I was both cold and fatigued, so that the cosy little room in which we found Mrs. Knaggs, and the bright fire, were most cheering objects; and, as we had only broken our fast since morning with a few crackers we carried in our pockets, I must own we did ample justice to her nice coffee and cakes, not to mention venison steaks and bear's meat, the latter of which I had never before tasted. Our supper over, we looked about for a place of repose. The room in which we had taken our meal was of small dimensions, just sufficient to accommodate a bed, a table placed against the wall, and the few chairs on which we sat. There was no room for any kind of a "shake-down." Where can you put us for the night?" inquired my husband of Mr. Knaggs, when he made his appearance. "Why, there is no place that I know of, unless you can camp down in the old building outside." We went to look at it. It consisted of one room, bare and dirty. A hugh chimney, in which a few brands were burning, occupied nearly one side of the apartment. Against another was built a rickety sort of bunk. This was the only vestige of furniture to be seen. The floor was thickly covered with mud and dirt, in the midst of which, near the fire, was seated an old Indian with a pan of boiled corn on his lap, which he was scooping up with both hands and devouring with the utmost voracity. We soon discovered that he was blind. On hearing footsteps and voices, he instinctively gathered his dish of food close to him, and began some morose grumblings; but when he was told that it was "Shaw-nee-aw-kee" who was addressing him, his features relaxed into a more agreeable expression, and he even held forth his dish and invited us to share its contents. "But are we to stay here?" I asked. "Can we not sleep out of doors?" "We have no tent," replied my husband, "and the weather is too cold to risk the exposure without one." "I could sit in a chair all



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night, by the fire." "Then you would not be able to ride to Bellefontaine tomorrow." There was no alternative. The only thing Mr. Knaggs could furnish in the shape of bedding was a small bearskin. The bunk was a trifle less filthy than the floor; so upon its boards we spread first the skin, then our saddle blankets, and, with a pair of saddle bags for a bolster, I wrapped myself in my cloak, and resigned myself to my distasteful accommodations. The change of position from that I had occupied through the day probably brought some rest, but sleep I could not. Even on a softer and more agreeable couch, the snoring of the old Indian and two or three companions who had joined him, and his frequent querulous exclamations as he felt himself encroached upon in the darkness, would have effectually banished slumber from my eyes. It was a relief to rise with early morning and prepare for the journey of the day. Where our fellow travellers had bestowed themselves I knew not, but they evidently had fared no better than we. They were in fine spirits, however, and we cheerfully took our breakfast and were ferried over the river to continue on the trail from that point to Bellefontaine, twelve miles distant from Fort Winnebago."

During the Black Hawk war in July, 1832, Mrs. Kinzie with others at Fort Winnebago were sent down river to Fort Howard, out of any possible danger, and she described this journey in "Wau Bun": "The nevt morning brought us to Powell's, at the Big Butte des Morts. Sad were the faces of the poor Frenchmen at learning that not a loaf of bread was to be had. Our own store, too, was by this time quite exhausted. The only substitute we could obtain was a bag of dark looking, bitter flour. With this provision for our whole party, we were forced to be contented, and we left the Hillock of the Dead, feeling that it had been indeed the grave of our hopes. By dint of good rowing, our crew soon brought us to the spot where the river enters that beautiful sheet of water, Winnebago lake [at Oshkosh]. Though there was but little wind when we reached the lake, the Frenchmen hoisted their sail, in hopes to save themselves the labor of rowing across; but in vain did they whistle, with all the force of their lungs, in vain did they supplicate with a comical mixture of fun and reverence. As a last resource, it was at length suggested by some one that their only chance lay in propitiating the goddess of the winds with an offering of some cast-off garment. Application was made all round by Guardapie, the chief spokesman of the crew. Alas! not one of the poor

voyageurs could boast a spare article. A few old rags were at length rummaged out of the boat, and cast into the waves. For a moment all flattered themselves that the experiment had been successful, the sail fluttered, swelled a little, and then flapped idly down against the mast. The party were in despair, until, after a whispered consultation together, Julian and Edwin stepped forward as messengers of mercy. In a trice they divested themselves of jacket and vest and made a proffer of their next garment to aid in raising the wind. At first there seemed a doubt in the minds of the boatmen whether they ought to accept so magnificent an offer; but finding, on giving them a preparatory shake, that the value of the contribution was less than they had imagined, they, with many shouts and much laughter, consigned them to the waves. To the great delight and astonishment of the boys, a breeze at this moment sprung up, which carried the little vessel beautifully over the waters for about half the distance to Garlic Island. By this time the charm was exhausted, nor was it found possible to renew it by a repetition of similar offerings. All expedients were tried without success, and, with sundry rather disrespectful reflections upon the lady whose aid they had invoked, the Frenchmen were compelled to betake themselves to their oars, until they reached the island. Two or three canoes of Winnebago arrived at the same moment, and their owners immediately stepped forward with an offering of some sturgeon which they had caught in the lake. As this promised to be an agreeable variety to the noontide meal (at least for the Frenchmen), it was decided to stop and kindle a fire for the purpose of cooking it.

We took advantage of this interval to recommend to the boys a stroll to the opposite side of the island, where the clear, shallow water and pebbly beach offered temptation to a refreshing bath. While they availed themselves of this, under the supervision of Harry, the black boy, we amused ourselves with gathering the fine red respberries with which the island abounded. Our enjoyment was cut short, however, by discovering that the whole place, vines, shrubs and even, apparently, the earth itself, was infested with myriads of the wood-tick, a little insect that, having fastened to the skin, penetrates into the very flesh, causing a swelling and irritation exceedingly painful, and even dangerous. The alarm was sounded, to bring the boys back in all haste to the open and more frequented part of the island. But we soon found we had not left our tormentors behind. Through-

out the day we continued to be sensible of their proximity. From the effects of their attacks we were not relieved for several succeeding days; those which had succeeded in burying themselves in the flesh having to be removed with the point of a penknife or a large needle. After partaking of our dinner, we stepped on board our boat, and, the wind having risen, we were carried by the breeze to the farther verge of the lake, and into the entrance of the river, or, as it was called, the Winnebago Rapids [now Neenah]. On the point of land to the right stood a collection of neat bark wigwams, this was Four Legs' village. It was an exciting and somewhat hazardous passage down the rapids and over the Grand Chute [at Appleton], a fall of several feet; but it was safely passed, and at the approach of evening the boat reached the settlement of the Waubanakees at Kaukauna. These are the Stockridge and Brothertown Indians, the remains of the old Mohicans, who had, a few years before, emigrated from Oneida county, in the State of New York, to a tract granted them by the United States, on the fertile banks of the Fox river. They had already cleared extensive openings in the forest, and built some substantial and comfortable houses near the banks of the river, which were here quite high, and covered for the most part with gigantic trees."

The same month word was received of the close of the Black Hawk war, and Mrs. John Kinzie returned from Fort Howard to Fort Winnebago, and thus describes her journey through this region by boat: "Our crew was composed partly of Frenchmen and partly of soldiers, and, all things being in readiness, we set off one fine bright morning in the latter part of July, 1832. Our second day's alternate rowing and poling brought us to the Grand Chute [now at Appleton] early in the afternoon. Here, it is the custom to disembark at the foot of the rapids, and, ascending the high bank, walk around the fall, while the men pull the boat up through the foaming waters. Most of our party had already stepped on shore, when a sudden thought seized one of the ladies and myself. 'Let us stay in the boat,' said I, 'and be pulled up the Chute.' The rest of the company went on, while we sat and watched with great interest the preparations the men were making. They were soon overboard in the water, and attaching a strong rope to the bow of the boat, all lent their aid in pulling as they marched slowly along with their heavy load. The cargo, consisting only of our trunks and stores, which were of no very considerable weight, had not been

removed. We went on, now and then getting a tremendous bump against a hidden rock, and frequently splashed by a shower of foam as the waves roared and boiled around us. The men kept as close as possible to the high, precipitous bank, where the water was smoothest. At the head of the cordel was a merry simpleton of a Frenchman, who was constantly turning his head to grin with delight at our evident enjoyment and excitement. We were indeed in high glee. 'Is this not charming?' cried one. 'I only wish—' The wish, whatever it was, was cut short by a shout and a crash. 'Have a care, Robineau! Mind where you are taking the boat!' was the cry, but it came too late. More occupied with the ladies than with his duty, the leader had guided us into the midst of a sharp, projecting tree that hung from the bank. The first tug ripped out the side of the boat, which immediately began to fill with water. My companion and I jumped upon the nearest rocks that showed their heads above the foam. Our screams and shouts of the men brought Lieutenant Hunter and some Indians, who were above on the bank, dashing down to our rescue. They carried us in their arms to land, while the men worked lustily at fishing up the contents of the boat, now thoroughly saturated with water. We scrambled up the high bank, in a miserable plight, to join the general lamentation over the probable consequence of the accident. 'Oh! my husband's new uniform!' cried one, and 'Oh, the minatures in the bottom of my trunk!' sighed another, while 'Oh, the silk dresses, and the ribbons, and the finery!' formed the general chorus. No one thought of the provisions, although we had observed, in our progress to shore, the barrel of bread and the tub of ice, which Lieutenant Hunter had providently brought for our refreshment, sailing away on the dancing waves. By this time fires had been made, and the articles from the trunks were soon seen covering every shrub and bush in the vicinity. Fortunately, the box containing the new uniform had been piled high above the others, in the centre of the boat, and had received but little damage; but sad was the condition of the wardrobes in general. Not a white article was to be seen. All was mottled—blue, green, red and black intermingling in streaks, and dripping from ends and corners. To add to the trouble, the rain began to fall, as rain is apt to do, at an inconvenient moment, and soon the half dried garments had to be gathered out of the smoke and huddled away in a most discouraging condition. The tent was pitched, wet as it was, and

the blankets, wrung out of the water, and partially dried, were spread upon the ground for our accommodation at night.

"A Hamburg cheese, which had been a part of my stores, was voted to me for a pillow, and, after a supper, the best part of which was a portion of one of the wet loaves which had remained in a barrel too tightly wedged to drift away, we betook ourselves to our repose. The next morning rose hot and sultry. The mosquitoes, which the rain had kept at bay through the night, now began to make themselves amends, and to torment us unmercifully. After our most uncomfortable and unpalatable breakfast, the first question for consideration was, what we were to do with ourselves. Our boat lay submerged at the foot of the hill, half way up the rapids. The nearest habitation among the Waubanakees was some seven miles distant, and this there was no means of reaching but by an Indian canoe, if some of our present friends and neighbors would be so obliging as to bring one for our use. Even then it was doubtful if boats could be found sufficient to convey all our numerous party back to Green Bay. In the midst of these perplexing consultations a whoop was heard from beyond the hill, which here sloped away to the north, at the head of the rapids. 'There is John; that is certainly his voice!' cried more than one of the company. It was, indeed, my husband, and in a moment he was among us. Never was arrival more opportune, more evidently providential. Not having learned our plans (for the unsettled state of the country had prevented our sending him word) he had come provided with a boat, to take us back to Fort Winnebago. Our drying operations, which we had recommenced this morning, were soon cut short. Everything was shuffled away in the most expeditious manner possible, and in an incredibly short time, we were transferred to the other boat, which lay quietly above the Chute, and were pulling away toward Winnebago lake. We had resolved to go only so far as the vicinity of the lake, where the breeze would render the mosquitoes less intolerable, and then to stop and make one more attempt at drying our clothing. Accordingly, when we reached a beautiful high bank near the Little Butte [now Menasha], we stopped for that purpose again, unpacked our trunks, and soon every bush and twig was fluttering with the spoils of the cruel waves. Hardly had we thus disposed of the last rag or ribbon when the tramp of horses was heard, followed by loud shouts and cheers ringing through the forest. A company of about twenty-five horsemen, with ban-

ners flying, veils fluttering from their hats, and arms glittering in the sun, rode into our midst, and, amid greetings and roars of laughter, inquired into the nature and reasons of our singular state of confusion. They were Colonel Stambough and Alexander Irwin, of Green Bay, with a company of young volunteers, and followed by a whooping band of Menominees, all bound for the seat of war. We comforted them with the assurance that the victories were by this time all won and the scalps taken; but, expressing the hope that there were yet a few laurels to be earned, they bade us adieu, and rapidly pursued their march.

We crossed Lake Winnebago by the clear, beautiful light of a summer moon. The soft air was just enough to swell the sail, and thus save the men their labor at the oar. The witchery of the hour was not, however, sufficient to induce us to forego our repose after the heat and annoyances of the day; we therefore disposed ourselves betimes, to be packed away in the centre of the boat. How it was accomplished no one of the numerous company could tell. If any accident had occurred to disturb our arrangement, I am sure it would have been a Chinese puzzle to put us back again in our places. The men on the outside had much the best of it, and we rather envied those who were off watch, their ability to snore and change position as the humor took them. We reached Powell's just in time to have gone ashore and prepare our breakfast had we had wherewithal to prepare it. We had hoped to be able to procure some supplies here, for hitherto we had been living on the remains of my husband's ample stock. That was now so nearly exhausted that when we found the mess-basket could not be replenished at this place we began to talk of putting ourselves on allowance." [1]

A picture of the country out of which the county of Winnebago was carved, was written by Colonel Charles Whittlesey, in which he gives a graphic account of its appearance just at the season when it was to become the home of the pioneer. He says in part: "About the first of September, 1832, after procuring horses and equipments, a stock of provisions, blankets, coffee, and liquor, a company of four took their departure for the Portage. The road since constructed between Forts Howard and Winnebago, not being then laid out, our route lay along the Fox river. The station we had just left, though sufficiently endowed by nature, had nothing in its then condition to cause regret

[1] These extracts taken from "Wau Bun" are only changed in places to connect extracts and name places. "Wau Bun," by Mrs. John Kinzie.

on leaving it. Had the contrary been the case, the pleasant scenery of the river and the singular mixture of civilization and barbarism exhibited by the few people we saw; the unusual combination of valley and hill, of prairie and woodland, that distinguished the country, would have banished all regret. During the second day we passed some most lovely situations on the banks of the river. The most romantic boarding school Miss never imagined a more enchanting display of nature. The country was elevated into rolling meadows fifty or sixty feet from the bed of the stream, and covered with scattered oaks, beneath which the coarse grass flourished in high luxuriance. This river is obstructed by four considerable falls, beside rapids, but the only communication for goods, provisions, etc., to the military and trading posts in that quarter is by navigation on this stream. At high water, a small river boat, of fifteen to twenty tons, is pushed against the current, till it comes to a fall, or "chute," the cargo is here taken out until the "voyageurs" can force the craft up the rapid by main strength. In low water it is with difficulty a bark canoe will swim. An Indian farm showed itself occasionally on its banks, but our path generally lay through a wild pasture, well stocked with the prairie hen. Near night we passed the "Little Butte des Morts," or Hill of the Dead [in West Menasha], where the treaty of 1827 was held. It is a large mound, apparently artificial, on the summit of which still stood the flag staff of the American commissioners. The mound is reputed to contain the relics of departed warriors. Early in the day we had crossed an open space of a few acres, where the Sauks once met the French in battle; which contained several small mounds, but apparently the result of winds acting upon a light soil. We slept at a hut on the western shore of Lake Winnebago, near where the Fox river empties into it [at Oshkosh]. From the rapids below the lake to the Portage this stream is sluggish, and though crooked, is of sufficient depth for transportation of boats. It is rather a succession of shallow lakes than a continuous river, bearing the wild rice in endless profusion. This plant strongly resembles the southern rice in the kernel, and somewhat in taste, furnishing excellent food for ducks and Indians. Where the water is still, it comes up from a depth of ten to fifteen feet, extending above the surface, in a dense green mass, about as high as grown flax. In the fall and winter, the Indian pushes his canoe through it, and shakes out the seed over the gunwale into his boat. It also serves to

shelter him in his insidious designs against the wild ducks, who congregate among it, and lay claim to what they wish to eat. After pushing our way in a flat through a thick growth of this vegetable, about two miles, we were on the opposite shore of the river, near the spot [near Omro], where the father of "Grizzly Bear" is said to have lived, raised pumpkins and entertained the whites. Here commences a low, rolling prairie that continued about fifty miles. The trail passed two Winnebago villages, one of which was called Yellow Thunder [near Eureka], from its chief. The Winnebago is the reverse of a Menominee. Tall in figure, haughty in his mien, proud of his nationality, and ever ready for war, he indulges in less drink and idleness than his neighbors, practices theft and murder, and repulses the advance of the white man. We had too often seen their treachery and duplicity, to be anxious to spend much time with them, and would have been quite willing that they had dispensed with following us out of the village on horseback.

We arrived at Fort Winnebago late at night, having made 140 miles in two and a half days. Fifty miles of this day's travel lay in a rolling prairie, over which a two-horse carriage traveled in company, although no road had been constructed. Nothing occurred to hinder the progress of a vehicle except an occasional marsh. On the right of our track lay at irregular distances the Fox river, and "Opukwa" or Rice Lakes, which were distantly seen as we rose the swells of the country. The garrison is at the portage between the Fox and Wisconsin rivers, on a handsome rise, overlooking the immediate valley of both streams. This valley is a meadow or swamp about half a mile across, over which the waters of both channels mingle in time of flood, floating boats from the valley of the Mississippi to the valley of the lakes. Goods destined for posts on the Upper Mississippi from the east, are here carted across and committed to the current of the Wisconsin. This river has capacity for steamboat navigation, but is filled with movable sand bars from the portage to its mouth. From the fort there were traveled roads leading to the Mississippi at Prairie du Chien, or Fort Crawford, at the mouth of Fever River, near Galena, and at other points."[1]

[1] "Whittlesey's Recollections," - "Wis. Hist. Colls.," 73.

XII.

THE TRADING POSTS.

As described under the Winnebago the retired soldier of the French Canadian army Sebrevior de Carrie located some day between 1729, and 1760, on Doty Island, married the Queen of the Winnebago, Glory of the Morning, traded with the Winnebago, raised a family who with their descendants, became renowned in the border annals of this historic waterway. De Carrie appears to have been the first settled trader of our county. Colonel Whittlesey slept in a hut at the present site of Oshkosh, on banks of Lake Winnebago in 1832, but there is no account of its builder or owner.

Captain Augustin Grignon and Judge James Porlier established a trading post at Big Butte des Morts as early as 1818. The log cabins were erected about 200 feet south of the present farm residence of Mrs. B. A. Overton, along the bank of the small creek crossing her farm in the town of Oshkosh, up from the shore of big Lake Butte des Morts, about half a mile east of the present village of Butte des Morts, and were still standing in 1868, but are now destroyed. The business of the frontier store, properly known as "trading post," was to trade to the Menominee and Winnebago Indians, beads, colored calicos, felts, guns, powder, ball, axes, knives and hooks and lines, salt, sugar and whisky, in exchange for the furs of the bear, deer, beaver, marten, otter, fox, hare, wild cat and such other wild animals as the hunter secured in the winter chase. Beaver skins were used as money value for all commerce on the river. The pelts, salted and tied in bundles, were taken in small boats or canoes down the rapids of the Fox river to Green Bay, and then over the bay and Lake Michigan in small boats to Mackinac Island, where they were sold to the Southwest Fur Company, afterward the American Fur Company, of which John Jacob Astor was the head, the boats returning with a new stock with which to carry on the Indian trade.

Judge James Porlier, of the firm, had his home in Green Bay, where his old home still stands, the oldest house in Wisconsin.

He was well born of the French nobility, a man of culture and refinement; and the regard awarded him by his neighbors was universal and sincere, who tendered him every evidence of esteem and respect, says General Albert G. Ellis. He was the foremost citizen among that romantic host of the French Regime, who had discovered and peopled the west. Very gentle in his manners, and in conversation remarkable for the purity and elegance of his language, and not less so for the high moral tone of his sentiments. Born in Montreal in 1765, and educated in her best schools, he moved to Green Bay in 1791, where he engaged in the fur trade, became an extensive dealer, his enterprises reached over all the rivers in winter trade with the Winnebago and Menominee. By the treaty at the Cedars, he was allowed $7,500 for goods sold the Menominee. He died at Green Bay, July 12, 1839, at the age of seventy-four. His neighbors kept him constantly in office. As judge he had the authority to perform the marriage ceremony, and as such officiated at the marriage of Rev. Eleazer Williams, the Lost Dauphin, to Mary Magdaline Jourdain, at the home of her father, Joseph Jourdain, in 1823. Judge Porlier was a Lieutenant in the British service in the war of 1812, and participated in the defense of Mackinac in 1814. On the occupation of the country by the Americans, and being commissioned Chief Justice of Brown County and Judge of Probate, he translated the laws of the territory from English into French. Brown county comprised the region of this county until 1840. Judge James Porlier married in 1793, Miss Marguerite Griesie, whose father was a Frenchman, clerk to Pierre Grignon, and mother a Menominee woman; and mother and daughter resided with that tribe on the St. Croix river. In 1859, three sons were still living. One of these was Louis B. Porlier, of Butte des Morts, born in 1815, who had married the daughter of Captain Augustin Grignon. Their son Charles married Margaret Duchine, and their residence is Oshkosh. They have seven children—Sophia, Louisa, Martin, Louis, Charles, David, Joseph, Alfred, Ross, Jessie.

Captain Augustin Grignon was a type of that elegant French gentleman known through the frontier and in his day one of the leading men along the river, whose area of influence ranged from Green Bay to Portage. He was born in Green Bay, June 27, 1780, and lived much of his life in the region set off into Winnebago county, where he lies buried with his consort in a cornfield in unmarked graves on the banks of Big Lake Butte

des Morts. His father was Sieur Pierre Grignon, who was born in Montreal of pure French descent, early engaged in the fur trade at Green Bay, about the period of English occupation in 1763, and became a leading citizen and head of an immense family, hundreds of whose descendants still live along the Fox river. He died about 1795, at sixty-five years of age. All his descendants are tall, noble looking men, after their ancestor, who was six foot tall. For his first wife he married a Menominee woman, the only issue of whom to have descendants was Pierriche Grignon, who married a daughter of Glory of the Morning, the Queen of the Winnebago, and resided at the portage. By his second marriage with Louise Domitilde de Langlade, when she was seventeen, in 1776, there were born to them nine children. She was the daughter of Captain Charles de Langlade, the celebrated border partisan and warrior, the hero of ninety-five battles fought in border warfare and leader of the western savages in the French and Indian war, and the Revolution. He led the savages at the defeat of Braddock, and to the burning of St. Louis. With his father they were the first settlers and real founders of Wisconsin.[1]

Augustin de Langlade, the father of Charles, was of noble military French family, and his mother was a sister of the Ottawa King, so Charles was a half blood; and by his marriage to a beautiful French girl his daughter, mother of Captain Augustin Grignon was a creole quarter blood. Pierre Grignon, his father, being pure French, would make Captain Augustin Grignon have but one-eighth Indian blood in his veins.

Captain Augustin Grignon is mentioned by old-time residents with profound respect and veneration as an honest and enterprising business man, and the natives held him in high esteem. He was noted for his princely hospitality; no person ever met a frown at his door or went away hungry. He early made his home at Kaukauna, at least before 1820, where he had a trading post and maintained ox teams and wagons to carry the goods of voyageurs up the river around the Kaukalin rapids.

He married in 1805 Miss Nancy McCrea, the daughter of a trader of the name of McCrea, and a Menominee woman, a near relative of Oshkosh, Old King, Iometah and Tomah. Six children were the fruits of this marriage, three of whom were alive in 1859. She died at Big Butte des Morts October 24, 1842, at the age of fifty-three years, and lies buried in the cornfield near the

[1]Lawson's "Bravest of the Brave, Captain Charles de Langlade," 1904.

Louis B. Porlier homestead, in an unmarked grave. In the War of 1812 he joined the forces of Colonel McKay, who captured Prairie du Chien, and was commissioned a lieutenant in the militia. When the American troops came to Mackinac, bound for Green Bay, they found Captain Grignon there and impressed his services, very much against his inclination, to pilot one of the three boats to bring the first American soldiers to Wisconsin in 1816. During the Black Hawk war he was commissioned a captain in the Colonel Stambaugh command of Menominee braves, who were enlisted to aid the settlers.

Major Mathew Irwin, who was sent by the Indian department of the United States with Indian goods to maintain a government factory or trading post at Green Bay in 1816, with the advent of the military establishment, says that John Jacob Astor sent goods in 1818 to Augustin Grignon and Peter Powell, licensed by the Indian agent at Mackinac, for trade with the Indians. That Peter Powell has his post on the Menominee river. Mr. Lusienaux was sent by Mr. Astor to trade on Winnebago lake. He does not say where Augustin Grignon was located; but all the histories of the county—Judge Osborn in 1856, Finney, 1867, and Harney, 1880—state that Augustin Grignon, associated with James Porlier, maintained a post at Butte des Morts in 1818; but none of these give the source of the information. Augustin Grignon may have had what was known as a jacknife post in this county in 1818, by which is meant a temporary winter quarters built of logs or poles, abandoned as soon as the ice left the river in the spring. Major Irwin says[1] that Augustin Grignon, James Porlier and son and Lewis Grignon went on to the Wisconsin river in 1819 with their boats loaded with goods for the Indian trade, and the Indians were friendly to them, going with them for the purpose of hunting for them during the fall, winter and spring. He at the same time reports the Indians at Winnebago lake as hostile to the Americans, having fired on a boatload of goods in charge of Mr. Armitinger, an American trader; and at another time Colonel Whistler was fired on at Winnebago lake; while at another time Dr. Madison, of the army, was plundered by Indians at Winnebago lake.[2]

Mr. Henry Merrill mentions a talk with Daniel Whitney in which he mentions a visit to Augustin Grignon's trading encamp-

[1] 7 "Wis. Hist. Colls." 279.
[2] 7 "Wis. Hist. Colls.," 277-279.

ment, thirty miles above Prairie du Chien, in 1821.[1] Captain Augustin Grignon learned to read and understand English, though he spoke it very little. In 1830 "he built and established himself at Grand Butte des Morts, leaving his place at Kaukauna to the care of his sons. His chief attention was given to Indian trade, although he opened a good farm at the Grand Butte des Morts, as he had previously done at Kaukauna," and he owned the land on which the village of Butte des Morts is located, as he is recorded as the proprietor of the plat of the village of record July 5, 1848. "He was noted for his penetration and excellent judgment in the fur trade, and for his suavity of manner. The natives held him in the utmost reverence. Living so closely in the Indian country, he held few public offices, though regarded with high respect by the French and American, as well as the military, and was an honored guest at social gatherings. His house was often crowded at night to the great inconvenience of himself and family, all without fee or reward.[2]

Miss Brevoort attended a wedding at Captain Augustin Grignon's in 1828, of which she says: "At that time there was nothing between Fort Howard and Fort Winnebago but Grand Kaukaulin, where stood one house occupied by Augustin Grignon, where I was invited to attend his daughter's wedding to Mr. Ebenezer Childs. Quite a large party attended. All came in large boats called batteau. The bride was dressed in white muslin. On the table for supper were all kinds of wild meat, bear, deer, muskrat, racoon, turkey, quail, pigeon, skunk, and porcupine cooked with the quills on. Her mother was an Indian woman. Most of the old settlers were married to Indian women; splendid looking, clean, respectable."[3]

In the personal narrative of John T. de la Ronde[4] he states that in 1832, while engaged with the American Fur Company, he made a voyage up the Fox river, and "when we came to the place where is now the city of Oshkosh there was a small log house where Charles Grignon was living, and about four miles above Nex a son-in-law of Charles Grignon was residing. About six or seven miles above that Captain Grignon was living; he had goods and was trading with the Menominee Iidians." This was Captain Augustin Grignon at Butte des Morts, where General

[1] 7 "Wis. Hist. Colls.," 370.
[2] Gen. Albert G. Ellis, 7 "Wis. Hist. Colls.," 245.
[3] 8 "Wis. Hist. Colls.," 303.
[4] 7 "Wis. Hist. Colls.," 349.

Albert G. Ellis said he had gone to live in 1830. Hon. Morgan L. Martin, passing that place in 1828, notices a large Menominee village, in which the women and children were shy and kept out of view; but does not mention any trading posts. By the treaty of the Cedars in 1836 he was awarded $10,000 for goods sold the Indians.

Dr. Lyman C. Draper visited him in 1859, and obtained from him a rich fund of frontier information, which is published as "Grignon's Recollections." He records that he was at seventy-seven "robust and healthy," due to a life in the wilderness, also "intelligent and well read," and the last of the grandchildren of Captain Charles de Langlade. He was then residing with his son-in-law, Louis B. Porlier, son of Judge James Porlier, at Butte des Morts village on the fractional lot west of and adjoining the site of the old trading post on the banks of Big Butte des Morts lake. At this place in the house still standing Captain Grignon died the following year and was buried beside his wife in the cornfield about two hundred feet east of the dwelling. At first some stones and rose bushes marked the spot, but after the Porliers moved away about 1900, the house and farm was leased and the graves plowed over. The children of Captain Augustin Grignon were (1) Margaret, who married Ebenezer Childs; (2) Charles A., born in Kaukauna June 15, 1808, and married Mary E. Mead; (3) Sophia, who married Louis B. Porlier, of Butte des Morts; (4) Louis; (5) Alexander; and (6) Paul.

Mr. Robert Grignon, a nephew of Captain Augustin Grignon, came to Butte des Morts with the establishment of Captain Grignon and Judge Porlier in 1818, and at later dates whenever the post was maintained there, which may have been each season. He relinquished his duties as agent and clerk of the post to Mr. James Knaggs, and went to Algoma. Mr. James Knaggs acted in the capacity of clerk and agent, maintaining a ferry until about 1832, when he also went to Algoma. He was succeeded by Mr. Louis B. Porlier, who resided there all his life, and during many years maintained a trading post, at least as late as 1880, and he was one of the three who composed the first board of supervisors of the county. He purchased the most westerly land in the town of Oshkosh, adjoining the land on the east, on which the old trading post stood, and built thereon a two-story frame farmhouse, which still stands there. He is said to have been "an intelligent gentleman," and "a good business man." As a

son of Judge James Porlier and a half-blood Menominee mother, he was a quarter-blood creole.

The Tomahawk trail passed this post where a ferry was maintained until 1835, when it was changed to James Knaggs' at Algoma. The mail of the pioneer was carried over this trail to Chicago on horseback in summer and on snowshoes in winter. The site of the post was in its day the business center of the upper Fox. The opposite shore, now a wet marsh, was much harder ground then, and afforded footing for a horse. A ferry was maintained and a public house kept for travelers. At times a goodly number of Indians congregated there, trading their furs for Indian goods.

Lieutenant Robert Grignon, the nephew of Captain Augustin Grignon, who had been in charge of his posts at the Butte des Morts, removed to Algoma, at a point just above the present Algoma bridge, where he established a trading post and ferry in 1832. It was over this ferry that Mrs. Kinzie passed the river in 1832. Mr. Robert Grignon took an active part in all public affairs. He was a man of great energy, perseverance, good sense and fair business qualification, though having had but slight opportunity for education. As lieutenant of the Indian force under Colonel Stambaugh, who marched to the Black Hawk war, he was wounded seriously by his own men, for which he had a pension. He was long engaged in the recovery of Indian claims and was greatly beloved by the Menominee. Robert Grignon is said to have led the forces of half bloods and rivermen to the election for a name at Oshkosh, which decided for the name of the old chief. When the committee for the selection of a site for a county seat were appointed Robert Grignon was elected one of the members, with Harrison Reed and Clark Dickinson. They selected Butte des Morts as the location, which the enterprise of Oshkosh would not permit to stand. In the treaty of 1836 made with the Menominee at Cedar Point the tribe included an annuity of $1,000 per annum for twenty years to Robert Grignon, "their friend and relation," "for valuable services rendered by him to their nation"; but the senate of the United States cut this generous provision out on the ratification of the treaty. He was awarded jointly with William Powell the sum of $4,500 for goods sold the Indians, by the same treaty. "He was not rich, but in comfortable circumstances." He purchased a tract of land west of Algoma, where he lived on a farm after the settlement of Oshkosh, and is said to have been located there as late as 1857. Here

he met a tragic death one winter night while returning home in a snowstorm, when near his house he became bewildered in the blinding snow, lost his way, and the next day was found frozen. A few years before his wife fell into the fireplace and was burned to death.

"The original trail from Green Bay to Fort Winnebago crossed the Fox river at Augustin Grignon's place, in the northeast corner of section 30, town 19, range 16; thence by boat, following the south bank of the river around to the trading post of Robert Grignon, near the section line between sections 34 and 35, and quarter line of section 35, town 19, Range 15, and from there directly south. This distance over four miles from the landing at Augustin Grignon's ferry was good footing for horses then, is now under water." The above from Mr. Richard Harney's History of Winnebago, intended to explain that the wide marsh at the confluence of the Wolf and Fox rivers was not always so wide, we have repeated to show another location for Robert Grignon on the Fox river, just below Omro. This location must have been about 1830 to 1832 or later.

Mr. James Knaggs, a quarter blood Menominee and three-quarters white, came down from the Butte des Morts trading post in 1831, or 1832, to Algoma and took Robert Grignon's place, just above the present Algoma bridge. He established a trading post, gave scant entertainment to travelers and kept a ferry. This was the place at which Colonel Whittlesey crossed in 1832, and earlier the same year Mrs. Kinzie's saddle party, described in a former chapter. He had two old log huts, with slight sleeping accommodations. Mr. Henry Merrill mentions that in 1834 "the usual way was to follow a trail on the west side of Lake Winnebago, and across the river at Knaggs' Ferry, where Oshkosh now is."[1] In the treaty of Cedar Point Mr. James Knaggs was awarded $550 for goods sold the Indians. He remained at this post until Mr. Webster Stanley came over from Neenah with a boatload of lumber prepared at the government mill, and located on the south side of the river opposite Knaggs' Ferry, erected a small shanty and bought Mr. Knaggs' ferry, which he proceeded to conduct himself. It was this ferry which took over Governor Henry Dodge and his escort, who informed him on their return of the cession of the Menominee lands, which gave him the first selection, which he made with Mr. Gallup on the north side of the river east of the future ferry street in Oshkosh. Mr

[1] 7 "Wis. Hist. Colls.," 371.

James Knaggs continued to reside in the vicinity, and his descendants still live in the county. Mr. James Knaggs was a candidate for county offices in 1842-1843. Mr. George Wright was appointed justice of the peace in 1838, and James Knaggs was plaintiff in the first case had before him and the first lawsuit in the county. The sons of James Knaggs, Sr., are Moses, Louis, James, Charles, William. The wife of Mr. Knaggs, Sr., was Chippewa and French.

Lieutenant Peter Powell, an Englishman, was an Indian trader residing at Green Bay, and selling goods in 1816 and 1817 for the Southwest Fur Company on the Menominee river. Later he had winter posts on the Wisconsin river. He was a lieutenant of militia with Colonel McKay in the capture of Prairie du Chien. Lieut. Peter Powell, about 1832, located on a point of land on the north bank of Big lake Butte des Morts, about two miles west of Algoma, where he engaged in trading, and cultivated a farm until 1838, when he died. In the treaty of Cedar Point he was awarded for goods sold the Menominee, $1,750.

Capt. William Powell, his son, resided with his father on this tract of land until his death, and then removed to Algoma with Robert Grignon. He was well known by all the older citizens, and took a lively interest in all things of a public nature. His acquaintance with the Indian character, as well as with their language, gave him great influence with the Menominees and closely allied him to their interests while here; and after the removal of the tribe to their reservation at Keshena Captain Powell was still retained for many years as interpreter, and in government employ. He was noted for kind-heartedness and eccentricity, and was a man of great urbanity and good address; but the driest of jokers. He was said to always have plenty of money, but when going away from home invariably left his money behind which was probably the cause of his always having a fund laid by.

Mr. Charles Grignon, a brother of Capt. Augustin Grignon, was one of the first settlers in Oshkosh. He located a post for trade at what has since been known as Jackson Point, in Oshkosh, now the foot of Wisconsin street, in the heart of the city, where he engaged in trade. The year as given for his location in most of the histories is 1839, though it was possibly many years earlier, as La Ronde found him there in 1832. He brought his family with him and established a home. A band of Menominee joined him and established an Indian village, with their plant-

ing grounds. By the treaty at the Cedars in 1836 he was awarded $1,200 for goods sold the Indians.

Mr. George Johnson, father of William Johnson, well known to the pioneer as the Indian Interpreter, who formerly resided at Green Bay, built on what was afterwards known as Coon's Point two log houses, established a ferry and opened a tavern. The year is given as 1835 by Mr. Richard Harney, who also says he sold to Lieut. Robert Grignon and Capt. William Powell, and that they sold to Mr. James Knaggs, who established a trading post with a large stock of Indian goods. He says this was the first business enterprise in the limits of the present city of Oshkosh.

James Cowan maintained a trading post on the east shore of Lake Winneconne, during the occupancy by the Menominee of Poygan, some time between 1836 and 1852. His post was on the farm site recently occupied by R. Lasley. It is possible that this was not James but George Cowan, or properly George Coustaugh.

"On the southern shore of Lake Poygan, in section 16, is the site of the old Menominee 'Pay Ground,' where annually from 1837 to 1851, about October in each year, occurred the Indian annuity payments. Here the tribe were visited by the government agents, whose duty it was to deal out a small quantity of rusty pork, a few pounds of damaged tobacco, with blankets and some money. A company of soldiers were generally on duty to guard these treasures from the avarice and cupidity of the hundreds of white men, who congregated here as promptly as the natives themselves. White and half-breed traders, who for the year past had been scattered over the country trapping with the Indians for furs, peltries, maple sugar and cranberries, would invariably manage to be on the ground at pay day. Merchants from all parts of the country, from Green Bay, Appleton, Neenah, Oshkosh, Milwaukee, Prairie du Chien, Chicago, Detroit, and elsewhere, would each lay in a stock of Indian goods, which about the appointed time were shipped to the pay ground. Gamblers went there in flocks, and eating houses were distributed over the ground in profusion. As the only thing prohibited was spirituous liquors, large quantities were offered for sale upon the outskirts of the forbidden ground."

After the Menominee located on Lake Poygan, Father Bonduel established there a Catholic mission for the Indians. This mission was commenced in 1844, and it included a school presided over by Madam Donsemond of Green Bay. About the same time

Mr. George Coustaugh, commonly known as George Cowen, a half blood from Mackinac, established a trading post with a large stock of Indian goods, which was maintained for a number of years. The site of the pay grounds, on section 16, was for many years the village site and headquarters of the band under the chief Grizzly Bear. The first annuity payment was made in 1844 by Mr. D. Jones of Green Bay, and continued annually until 1851.[1]

The agent, having distributed the goods brought for that purpose, and everything in readiness, he proceeds to pay out the money in specie. As the interpreter calls the name of the head of a family from the roll, the individual called enters the pay house, walks up to the counter, reports the number comprised in his family, and if this corresponds with the number on the roll he receives the amount for the entire family, which he secretes under his blanket and emerges from the building at the end opposite the door he entered, and passes along between two files of soldiers, who protects him for a considerable distance from the mob of traders, who are greedily awaiting an opportunity to pounce upon him. He no sooner passes the last soldier than he is seized by two, three, or, perhaps, a half dozen of this motley crowd, each one claiming to have an old account against him, and each striving to get the first chance at the pittance just drawn from the pay table. In an instant he is stripped of everything that could hide a dime, and each of his captors taking an amount sufficient to satisfy his rapacity, the victim is released and left to gather up his scanty clothing and depart with the small amount, if anything, he has left. In the meantime another debtor has been turned loose from the pay house, to run the same gauntlet, and another set of traders are relieving him in the same manner. The true definition of "Indian trader" is: "A man to whom the Indians are always indebted." This constitutes the main difference between that class and merchants, or peddlers. Having escaped this debtor's court, from which there is no appeal, he is now beset at every step with temptations to part with what remains. Blankets, broadcloths, calicoes, saddles, fancy bridles, beads, brass buttons, ear-rings and finger rings are everywhere conspicuously displayed. Pint bottles of whisky, two-thirds water, are offered him at about the price of a gallon, and are seldom declined.

At last the payment is over, the eating houses have received

[1] Finney and Davis, "Hist. Oshkosh," 1867.

a considerable money for a small amount (in value) of provisions, the gamblers have reaped a rich harvest, the whisky dealers have figured up a profitable trip, the merchants have taken a great deal of money, and have a large proportion of their goods left, and the spectators have been handsomely remunerated in amusements, and all in the space of three or four days."[1]

Arrived at Winnebago Rapids, now Neenah, in 1836, Mr. Henry Gallup, a pioneer settler of Oshkosh, says in his narrative:

"These farmers were the only inhabitants of the place, at the house of one of whom, Mr. Clark Dickinson, we were welcomed and furnished with our dinner. We could make but a short stay, as we still had sixteen miles to travel without a habitation. Our trail now ran across the country, through prairies and openings, to Knaggs' Ferry, now in the Fifth ward of the city of Oshkosh, and just above Algoma bridge. I do not suppose I could at this time trace that trail through all the highly cultivated fields between these two points. But at that time it was a lonesome journey, indeed; all the low ground was covered with water a foot deep, and grass up to our arms, and in the whole distance we did not see a living thing with the exception of a few prairie chickens. Arriving at the river at the point mentioned, we found a log house belonging to Mr. Knaggs, a half-breed, and owner of the ferry, but which was then run by Webster Stanley, who lived on the opposite side of the river in a board shanty, and who, in answer to our call, came over for us. We were once more among friends. Mr. Stanley had, about two years before, left Ohio and went to Green Bay, and then to Winnebago Rapids, and had, within thirty days previous to our arrival at the ferry, moved to this point. We now learned that our journey, from where we had crossed the river five miles from Green Bay, had all been through Indian territory, and that we were now for the first time on government land."

[1] From Harney's "Hist. Win. Co.," 1880.

XIII.

TREATIES MADE WITH THE ABORIGINAL TRIBES, BY WHICH THE TITLE TO THE INDIAN LANDS PASSED TO THE UNITED STATES.

Treaties With the Winnebago.

The general impression of the modern occupants of the region now included in Winnebago county is that the United States became at once the owner of the soil after the treaty with Great Britain in 1783, which closed the war of the American revolution. The suzerainty or ultimate control of the country and its people passed to the United States, with the right of eminent domain. The country belonged to the United States; but the soil was regarded as the property of the Indian tribes. These aboriginal nations having been enemies were regarded as such and formal treaties made with them, each making to the other reciprocal concessions. The land was regarded by the United States as the property of the Indian occupants and was protected and respected by the majesty of the government and her troops employed in many instances in this state in keeping white people off the Indian lands, even if they had the consent of the Indians, unless they also had the right from the proper authority of the United States under properly made treaties with the regularly constituted authorities of Indian nations or tribes. No one was permitted to enter on Indian lands to trade with the tribes, or build sheds, or cut any timber or shingle or commit any acts of trespass, unless they had the proper license issued by the regular Indian agent appointed by the United States to watch over the interests of the Indians and see that justice was accorded them and their property respected. Prior to 1816, when the United States soldiers took possession of Fort Howard, the Indians of this region had always been under the control and influence of Great Britain, although the country was part of the United States after 1783, and the traders all had the license of the Indian agent of England. After 1816, when the United States appointed an agent at Mackinac and at Green Bay, they assumed the control

of license. The Indian agent at Green Bay had a habit of charging fifty dollars for a license to trade, which sum he claimed as his own property. Mr. Lewis Rouse and Mr. Thomas P. James were licensed and fitted out with Indian goods for trade by the United States Indian agent, and factor at Green Bay in 1819. Mr. Ramsey Crooks, Lieut. John Lawe, Mr. Lewis Grignon, Capt. Augustin Grignon, Lieut. Peter Powell, Mr. Peter Grignon, Mr. Jacobs, Mr. Chaperaux, Mr. J. B. Grignon, Mr. Lusienaux, were all licensed by the United States Indian agent at Mackinac to trade along the Wisconsin waters in 1819. At other times licenses were issued to James Porlier and son, and to a Mr. Armitger. It was for this reason these people were permitted to trade in the territory of the Indian lands. Some of the people like the Grignons and Knaggs had rights as mistiffs or creoles in the lands of the tribes and therefore would be permitted to occupy the lands as natives, or they had old French claims, which were recognized and confirmed to them by the government by special acts. No unauthorized person would be permitted to occupy Indian lands. When Mr. Webster Stanley selected a site on the south side of the Fox river at Coon's Point he was obliged to remain on that side of the river, as at that date he would not have been permitted to erect his shanty on the north side of the Fox river.

Another error often indulged by very intelligent people is the belief in the destruction and falling away of the Indian. There are more Indians in the United States today than known to any prior historic period. The tribes who have occupied this county have made wonderful increases. The Foxes reported in 1716, by the exaggerated official letter of Louvigny as 3,500, were said by the Indian agent in Iowa one hundred years later to number 6,000 people. The Menominee reported one hundred and fifty years ago as a small band of about three hundred are said to number now 1,500 people. The Winnebago, reported to have had two hundred to three hundred people two centuries past, now have upwards of four thousand.

In the extinguishment of the Indian title to lands in this county the Fox tribes, who maintained a half century of bloody war for their home on the western shore of Little Lake Butte des Morts, seem to have yielded all claim to their ancient home. They had moved away about seventy years before the title to these lands was sought after; and the Menominee tribe had taken their place and claim their lands.

The claim of ownership to the soil in the territory covered by

the bounds of this county was made by the Winnebago, who claimed to own all of it; and the Menominee, who claimed as far as the Fox river, which runs through the center of the county; and the New York Indians claimed as tenants in common with the Menominee rights co-extensive with that tribe.

In setting forth the purchases by the United States of the soil of this county from its aboriginal occupants and owners, the extinguishment of the title of the Winnebago will be first considered, not as first made, but as the most convenient method. The "Indian Treaties," published by the Indian department, setting out in detail the complete copy of the several treaties, has been consulted. The several treaties made with the Winnebago are as follows:

No.	Concluded.	Held at—	Commissioners.	Ratified.
1.	1816, June 3...	St. Louis	Clark, Edwards and Chouteau..	1816, Dec. 30
2.	1825, Aug. 19...	Prairie des Chiens.....	Clark and Cass.....	1826, Feb. 6
3.	1827, Aug. 11...	Little Butte des Morts....	Cass and McKenney.....	1829, Feb. 3
4.	1828, Aug. 25...	Green Bay	Cass and Menard.....	1829, Jan. 7
5.	1829, Aug. 1...	Prairie du Chien.....	McNeil, Menard and Atwater..	1830, Jan. 2
6.	1832, Sept. 15...	Fort Armstrong.....	Scott and Reynolds.....	1833, Feb. 13

The treaty of 1816 was one of peace and amity, and confirmed to the United States all cessions made to France, Spain or England, and acknowledging the protection of the United States. The treaty of 1825 defined the boundary of the territory of the western Indians, and the treaty of 1827, made at Little Butte des Morts, was for the same purpose, while those of 1828-1829 made more definite former locations of Winnebago boundary and very much increased the annuity payments.

It was the treaty of September 15, 1832, made at Fort Armstrong, Rock Island, ratified by the United States Senate, February 13, 1833, which gave to the United States title to the Winnebago lands, admitted by the several treaties to be within their boundary lines in Winnebago county. So much of the treaty as grants the title to these lands is as follows:

"Articles of treaty made and concluded at Fort Armstrong, Rock Island, Illinois, between the United States of America by their commissioners, Major General Winfield Scott, of the United States army, and his excellency John Reynolds, Governor of the state of Illinois, and the Winnebago Nation of Indians, represented in general council by the undersigned chiefs, headmen and warriors. Article 1. The Winnebago Nation hereby cede to the United States forever all the lands to which said nation have title or claim, lying to the south and east of the Wisconsin river and the Fox river of Green Bay, bounded as follows, viz.: Beginning at the mouth of Pee-kee-tol-a-ka (Pekatonica) river, thence

up Rock river to its source, thence with a line dividing the Winnebago Nation from other Indians east of the Winnebago lake to the Grande Chute, thence up Fox river to the Winnebago lake, and with the northwestern shore of said lake to the inlet of Fox river, thence up said river to Lake Puckaway, and with the eastern shore of the same to its most southeasterly bend, thence with the line of a purchase made of the Winnebago Nation by the treaty at Prairie du Chien, the 1st day of August, 1829, to the place of beginning."

Under this treaty and those made before and since the tribe have had several million dollars, and there is in the treasury of the United States for them at the present time nearly $1,000,000, as explained in a previous chapter. Upon the basis of land value in those primitive days the tribe have had ten times as much per acre as was paid by the United States to Napoleon for Louisiana. The United States either sold this land at $1.25 per acre or gave it to homesteaders and preëmption occupants. Under the conditions of the treaty "no band or party of Winnebagoes shall reside, plant, fish or hunt" on the ceded lands after June 1, 1833. Black Wolf, who had been on a drunk and missed the journey to Rock Island, was very much aggrieved to find his fields were sold and was moved to tears when informed of it. This treaty ceded to the United States the title to all the land of Winnebago county south of that part of the Fox river which runs through the center of the county south of Oshkosh, Omro and Eureka. All the territory of the county north of that part of the Fox river was still Indian land, the Indian title to which required three treaties to extinguish.

Treaties Made With the Menominee for the Purchase of the Indian Lands North of Lower Fox River—The New York Indians.

It required three separate treaties to extinguish the Indian title to the balance of the county north of Fox river, and a contest and agitation involving the New York Indians, the Menominee and the old French and halfbreed element at Green Bay, the political power of New York and the Senate, as well as the Episcopal Church and holders of the inchoate title to the lands of the Six Nations as known to the English, the Iroquois of the French, and the agitation ranged through a period of nearly thirty years.

Back in 1820 Rev. Jedediah Morse, father of the inventor of

telegraphy, had visited Green Bay and advised the Brothertowns, Stockbridges and Oneida to remove to the Fox river region, for there "You will never again be disturbed. The white man will never go there. He will never desire these lands. They are too far off." Led by Rev. Eleazer Williams, the Lost Dauphin, a delegation from the six nations, supported by the War Department, arrived in Detroit in July, 1820. Here they learned that Col. John Bowyer, Indian agent at Green Bay, had effected a treaty cession of part of the Menominee lands. They retraced their journey and, placing the subject before the New York delegation in Congress, caused the Senate to reject the treaty.

The next year another delegation of the different allied Indian tribes of New York repaired to Green Bay under the support of the War Department, where they arrived on the first steamboat to enter the harbor, "Walk in the Water," on August 5, 1821. Governor Lewis Cass had added to the party Mr. Charles C. Trowbridge, of the Indian Department. They found the agent at Green Bay had died the previous winter; but they proceeded to hold a council with the Menominee and Winnebago, which finally resulted in a treaty, August 8, 1821, making a cession to the New York Indians of a strip of land five miles wide crossing Fox river at Little Chute, thence northwest and southeast to the limit of the claims of the Menominee. Five hundred dollars was paid at the signing of the treaty and $1,500 in goods the following year in equal amounts to the Winnebago and Menominee.

On their holding a new council with the delegation of the six nations and John Sergeant, Jr., commissioned by Governor Cass to act for the Indian Department, the Winnebago refused a larger concession, but the Menominee were finally induced to enter into a new treaty, extending their grant to the six nations to a right in common to the whole of their lands. This treaty was concluded September 23, 1822, and "this treaty, as well as that of the previous year, were approved by the President, and the New York Indians thereby recognized as joint owners with the Menominee of all their immense territory, comprising nearly half of the state of Wisconsin," says Gen. Albert G. Ellis. But President Monroe in his approval March 13, 1823, of this last treaty approved only in part, allowing it to stand as to lands between Lake Michigan and Fox river, north to Sturgeon bay and south to the Little Chute purchase line. His approval cut out the New York Indians from participation in any right to lands of the territory covered by this county. Three thousand dollars in

goods was paid for his vast tract of land forty miles wide and 150 miles long. Very soon after this treaty was concluded the tribe became dissatisfied and divided into parties, one denying all rights under it. The French and halfbreeds had always advised against giving the New York Indians any concessions and opposed their influence to the settlement of those tribes in the valley. The long contest of the New York Indians for their rights to settle in the valley had its influence on all the future treaties of the Menominee, but as their final location was on lands not within the boundary lines of this county, their history will not be related here.

The Menominee treaties which had to do with the lands of this county and which were recognized as such were the following:

No.	Concluded.	Held At.	Commissioners.	Ratified.
1	1817, Mar. 30	St. Louis	Clark, Edwards & Chouteau	1817, Dec. 26
2	1825, Aug. 19	Prairie des Chiens	Clark and Cass	1826, Feb. 6
3	1827, Aug. 11	Little Butte des Morts	Cass and McKenney	1829, Feb. 3
4	1831, Feb. 8	Washington	Eaton and Stambaugh	1832, July 9
5	1832, Oct. 27	Green Bay	George B. Porter	1833, Mar. 13
6	1836, Sept. 3	Cedar Point	Gov. Henry Dodge	1837, Feb. 15
7	1848, Oct. 18	Lake Poygan	Col. D. Jones and Hon. Wm. Medill	1849

The treaty of 1817 was one of peace and harmony and confirmed all cessions made to France, Spain or England. The treaty of 1825 defined the boundary of the possessions of the western savages, giving to the Menominee nearly all Wisconsin north of the Milwaukee, Fox and Black rivers, though at this date the old war chiefs of the Winnebago, Four Legs, lived on Doty island, and Wild Cat on Garlic island, and no Menominee tribe had any village in the county.

The important treaty for the whites was the Stambaugh treaty of 1831. Under this treaty title passed to the United States in Doty island and the lands of the county north of Menasha to Appleton; also by its provisions the mission was established at Winnebago rapids, now Neenah, which resulted in the first settlement of the county. This treaty was brought about through Col. Samuel C. Stambaugh, of Pennsylvania, who had been appointed Indian agent at Green Bay to succeed Mr. Henry B. Brevoort. He espoused the cause of the Menominee traders and French in opposition to the New York Indians. He advised them to deny the rights of the New York Indians, saying they ought to sell part of their lands to the United States and obtain valuable annuities as other tribes were doing. Favored by the tribe, he applied to Governor Cass for permission to take ten Menominee chiefs to Washington. Though the request was denied, he left Green Bay with fourteen of the tribe November 8, 1830.

Oshkosh, the head chief of the Menominee, was expected to head the delegation to Washington, but when he reached Green Bay the traders, who were opposed to a treaty at Washington, advised him not to go, as they said no treaty could be made without him. He took their advice and remained at home. The old chief known to history as Iometah, whose name appears signed to the treaty as Aya-mah-taw, or Fish Spawn, was the principal chief and had the authority of the tribe. He took his wife with him and they passed the winter in Washington. Charles A. Grignon, son of Capt. Augustin Grignon, and Gen. Albert G. Ellis accompanied the party as interpreters. Arrived at Detroit, Governor Cass approved of the journey to Washington, adding Hon. Robert A. Forsyth and John T. Mason to the delegation. Rev. Eleazer Williams and Daniel Bread, chief of the Oneida, having followed up the delegation, were added to the party by Governor Cass. In midwinter they visited Gen. Andrew Jackson, the President, and were admitted to a council with Hon. John H. Eaton, Secretary of War. Grizzly Bear made the President a speech in which he frankly informed him that they came to give him a piece of their land for a handsome reward. The treaty was finally concluded February 8, 1831, and, though ratified by the Senate the following year, July 9, 1832, it was strongly opposed by the New York Senators, who secured a provision saving the rights of the New York Indians to a wide territory and successfully opposed confirmation of Colonel Stambaugh as Indian agent at Green Bay.

This treaty sets out the claim of the boundary limits of the Menominee tribe in the following words:

"Articles of agreement made and concluded at the city of Washington, this 8th day of February, 1831, between John H. Eaton, Secretary of War, and Samuel C. Stambaugh, Indian agent at Green Bay, specially authorized by the President of the United States, and the undersigned chiefs and headmen of the Menominee Nation of Indians, fully authorized and empowered by the said nation to conclude and settle all matters provided for by this agreement. The Menominee tribe of Indians by their delegates in council this day define the boundaries of their country as follows, to wit: On the east side of Green Bay, Fox river and Winnebago lake, beginning at the south end of Winnebago lake, thence southeastwardly to the Milwauky or Manawauky river, thence down said river to its mouth at Lake Michigan, thence north along the shore of Lake Michigan to the

mouth of Green Bay, thence up Green Bay, Fox river and Winnebago lake to the place of beginning, and on the west side of Fox river as follows: Beginning at the mouth of Fox river, thence down the east shore of Green Bay and across its mouth, so as to include all the islands of the 'Grand Traverse,' thence westerly on the highlands between the Lake Superior and Green Bay to the upper forks of the Menomonee river, thence to the Plover portage of the Wisconsin river, thence up the Wisconsin river to the Soft Maple river, thence to the source of the Soft Maple river, thence west to the Plume river, which falls into the Chippewa river, thence down said Plume river to its mouth, thence down the Chippewa river thirty miles, thence easterly to the forks of the Monoy (Lemonweir) river, which falls into the Wisconsin river, thence down the said Monoy river to its mouth, thence down the Wisconsin river to the Wisconsin portage, thence across the said portage to the Fox river, thence down Fox river to its mouth at Green Bay, or the place of beginning. The country described within the above boundaries the Menomonees claim as the exclusive property of their tribe."

And grants to the United States a range of territory estimated as 2,500,000 acres, which includes the northeast corner of Winnebago county from Doty island north in the following words:

"Third. The Menomonee tribe of Indians, in consideration of the kindness and protection of the Government of the United States and for the purpose of securing to themselves and posterity a comfortable home, hereby cede and forever relinquish to the United States all their country on the southeast side of Winnebago lake, Fox river and Green Bay, which they describe in the following boundaries, to wit: Beginning at the south end of Winnebago lake and running in a southeast direction to Milwauky or Manawauky river, thence down said river to its mouth, thence north along the shore of Lake Michigan to the entrance of Green Bay, thence up and along Green Bay, Fox river and Winnebago lake to the place of beginning, excluding all private land claims which the United States have heretofore confirmed and sanctioned. It is also agreed that all the islands which lie in Fox river and Green Bay are likewise ceded, the whole comprising by estimation 2,500,000 acres." * * *

As compensation for this large territory the United States agreed to set up a mission with all its attendant improvements, the details of which are given complete under the history of Neenah in this work. They also condescended to pay the ex-



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penses of the delegation to Washington and to furnish each of the Indian members with a new suit of clothes. In addition to this there was to be distributed to the members of the tribe "articles of clothing" within six months to the amount of $8,000, and "flour and wholesome provisions to the amount of $1,000, and $1,000 in specie." There was also an agreed annuity of $6,000 each year for twelve years to be paid the tribe. A provision was made for schools for the children of the tribe of $500, added to $1,500 by a former treaty which is supposed to have gone to the Cadle School at Green Bay. The United States further agreed to furnish the Indians with "fowling guns and ammunition to the value of $4,000," and with $1,000 in value of provisions annually for four years.

Under the treaty the New York Indians were given 500,000 acres on the west side of Fox river running forty miles north of Little Kaukauna, for which the Government agreed to pay the Menominee $20,000. When the Senate ratified the treaty they moved this grant north to one mile above Grand Chute Falls, now Appleton, which brought its boundary several rods into the northern part of Winnebago county, a title subsequently extinguished by other treaties, by which the Oneida were located at Duck Creek and the Stockbridges and Brothertowns on the east side of Winnebago lake.

Treaty of Cedar Point—A Most Important Landmark.

In September, 1836, Gov. Henry Dodge, the first head of the territory of Wisconsin, inaugurated the Fourth of July of that year, came over the trail on horseback to Stanley's shanty, on Coon's Point, to take the ferry across the river on his journey to the Menominee annuity payment then to be held at Cedar Point. In the absence of the regular ferryman, Mr. Henry A. Gallup had the honor of taking the distinguished party over the river. The entire party of six were on horseback. "The Governor was armed to the teeth. He had two pairs of pistols and a bowie knife on his person, and a brace of large horse pistols in his saddle holsters, I suppose to impress on the Menominee what he once told the Winnebago—that he was as strong as a lion and as brave as Julius Cæsar," says Mr. Gallup.

The place of holding this payment and council was at Cedar Point, at Cedar Rapids, on the west bank of Fox river two miles below Appleton, opposite and across the river from the present

village and mills at Kimberly and near the location of the present depot of the interurban street car line along the old shore of the river, a historic landmark worthy of a monument. The situation was on the old Tomahawk trail and lies in Outagamie county. Iometah, a leading chief of the tribe, had his village near by.

There were assembled for the payment and distribution of the presents agreed in the treaty twenty-four chiefs and headmen of the tribe and several hundred tribesmen, women and children. Oshkosh was in command and Glade Carron was present; also Hon. Henry S. Baird was secretary to the commissioner, Governor Dodge. George Boyd, United States Indian agent, then located at Green Bay, Charles A. Grignon and Capt. William Powell were sworn interpreters. Others present and signing the treaty as witnesses were: Bvt. Brig. Gen. George M. Brooke, R. E. Clary, of the United States army; D. Jones, afterward Indian agent; John P. Arndt, a justice of the peace; Hon. Charles R. Brush, Louis Philipson, Louis Grignon, brother of Capt. Augustin Grignon; Col. Samuel Ryan, William Bruce, John Drake, David Blish, Jr., Joseph Jourdain, the nestor of Wisconsin gunsmiths, and T. T. Porlier.

It had been stipulated in the Stambaugh treaty that this tribe would grant other portions of their lands whenever the United States "shall deem it expedient to extinguish their title." There had been a rumor on the frontier that the council to be held at this time would extinguish the Indian title to a wider territory. Mr. Gallup was aware of this. Governor Dodge had been commissioned to make a treaty and those in authority very soon settled the details after the council was called together.

Text of Treaty of Cedar Point.

This was the treaty of September 3, 1836, which gave to the United States the Indian title to all the area of this county north of the Fox and east of Wolf rivers, on which now stands most of Oshkosh and Neenah. It reads in part as follows:

"Articles of agreement made and concluded at Cedar Point, on Fox river, near Green Bay, in the territory of Wisconsin, this 3d day of September, in the year of our Lord 1836, between Henry Dodge, Governor of said territory of Wisconsin, commissioner on the part of the United States, on the one part, and the

chiefs and headmen of the Menomonie Nation of Indians of the other part.

"Article 1. The said Menomonie Nation agree to cede to the United States all of that tract or district of country included within the following boundaries, viz.: Beginning at the mouth of Wolf river and running up and along the same to a point on the north branch of said river, where it crosses the extreme north or rear line of the 500,000-acre tract heretofore granted to the New York Indians, thence following the line last mentioned in a northeastwardly direction three miles, thence in a northwardly course to the upper forks of the Menomonie river at a point to intersect the boundary line between the Menomonie and Chippewa Nation of Indians, thence following the said boundary line last mentioned in an eastwardly direction as defined and established by the treaty of the Little Butte des Morts in 1827 to the Smooth Rock or Shos-kin-subie (Escanaba) river, thence down the said river to where it empties into Green Bay between the Little and Great Bay de Noquet, thence up and along the west side of Green Bay (and including all the islands therein not heretofore ceded) to the mouth of Fox river, thence up and along the said Fox river and along the west side of Winnebago lake (including the islands therein) to the mouth of Fox river, where it empties into said lake, thence up and along said Fox river to the place of beginning; * * * the quantity of land contained in the tract hereby ceded being estimated at about 4,000,000 acres. * * *

"Article 2. In consideration of the cession of the aforesaid tract of land, the United States agree to pay to the said Menomonie Nation at the lower end of the Wah-ne-kun-nah (Winneconne) lake, in their own country, the sum of $23,750 (ratified at $20,000) per annum for the term of twenty years. The United States further agree to pay and deliver to the said Indians each and every year during the said term of twenty years the following articles: Three thousand dollars' worth of provisions, 2,000 pounds of tobacco, thirty barrels of salt; also the sum of $500 per year during the same term for the purchase of farming utensils, cattle or implements of husbandry, to be expended under the direction of the superintendent or agent; also to appoint and pay two blacksmiths to be located at such places as may be designated by the said superintendent or agent; to erect (and supply with the necessary quantity of iron, steel and tools) two blacksmith shops during the same term. The United

States shall also pay the just debts of the said Menomonie Indians agreeably to the schedule hereunto annexed, amounting to the sum of $99,710.50. * * * And, whereas, the said Indians are desirous of making some provision and allowance to their relatives and friends of mixed blood, the United States do further agree to pay the sum of $80,000, to be divided among all such persons of mixed blood as the chiefs shall hereafter designate, said sum to be apportioned and divided under the direction of a commissioner to be appointed by the President. * * *

"Article 4. The above annuities shall be paid yearly and every year during the said term in the month of June or July, or as soon thereafter as the amount shall be received, and the said Menomonie Nation do agree to remove from the country ceded within one year after the ratification of this treaty."

It could not be ratified before Congress met in the winter, when it was ratified by the Senate, February 15, 1837, with some changes in detail, which did not affect the cession of the territory mentioned.

When Mr. Webster Stanley ferried the Governor and his escort, returning home from the council, across the river (at Algoma), the Governor informed him of the treaty and extent of territory included. Sure of its ultimate ratification and the lands coming into the market, Mr. Webster Stanley and family and Mr. Henry A. Gallup and his brother, Chester Gallup, and their families moved across the river and took possession of the beautiful tract of lands on which Oshkosh now stands east of Main street, north of Fox river to the shore of Lake Winnebago, erecting a new shack from the spoil of the old one torn down at Coon's Point in South Algoma.

Very soon after this treaty was made the tribe moved over to the west bank of the Wolf river to Lake Poygan, on its south shore, where they established their villages on the triangular piece of land between the Fox and Wolf rivers above their confluence. Blacksmith shops were set up on the west side of the river at Winneconne by Joseph Jourdain.

Treaty of Lake Poygan.

The commissioners, Hon. William Medill, who was commissioner of Indian affairs, and Col. D. Jones, met the Menominee tribe on Lake Poygan in October, 1848, to make the annual payment and hold a council. Oshkosh and the chiefs all strongly

opposed the treaty offered, which was a reservation of territory for their use west of the Mississippi river. After four days in council without results Mr. Henry S. Baird, secretary to the commission, took his horse and started for home, having lost hope that a treaty could be made. Hon. Morgan L. Martin was appointed in his place, and by his advice to the Indians that the United States owned the land now and the tribe was merely permitted to remain by sufferance, and unless they accepted the offer of increased annuities now they might not have the opportunity again. He referred to the clause in their former treaty, which in effect extinguished title to all their lands, which the President could take advantage of at any moment, and give them such an increase in annual payments as he deemed just. They finally consented to the treaty and were removed to the Keshena Reservation on the Wolf river above Shawano several years later.

Thus by numerous councils and treaties all the territory of Winnebago county became by purchase fairly made and by treaties signed by the numerous chiefs of the two tribes who claimed the title the proper and legitimate property of the United States. The Menominee tribe were paid nearly a million dollars for their lands. It would be difficult at that period in Western development, when there was but one frame house in Chicago, to find an individual or corporation who would have paid more. As an investment for the United States it was a good thing; but, considering the civilization wants and requirements of the aboriginals, it was a better investment for them. In the light of history they were paid all it was worth.

XIV.

BUILDING A COUNTY—ITS CIVIC ADMINISTRATION, COURTS, SCHOOLS, BUILDINGS AND INSTITUTIONS.

The white inhabitants of the area set off as Winnebago county in 1840 were a few farmer pioneers about Butte des Morts, and at the future site of Oshkosh, then known as Saukeer, Merton's Point or Stanley's Ferry, also Knagg's Ferry and Athens. The United States Menominee Mission at Neenah was abandoned in 1836 and the property as a reservation withheld from sale. By an act of the Legislature passed January 6, 1840, Winnebago county was set off from Brown county and made a separate county with the boundaries as they are at present and have been since that first law describing the boundary. In this same law Nathaniel Perry, Robert Grignon and Morgan L. Martin were appointed commissioners to locate the county seat and purchase a quarter section of land for the use of the county upon which to locate the court house. It does not appear that these commissioners ever met or ever acted on the subject. Prior to this act there was an act passed March 8, 1839, making a township of Winnebago of the territory since formed into the towns of Menasha, Neenah, Clayton and two townships of Outagamie county, in which is now located the city of Appleton; but at that date containing only the White Heron Inn of Hipolite Grignon at the Grand Chute. The first election was to be held at the home of Nathaniel Perry, who still resided at Winnebago Rapids. By the same act of 1839 the town of Butte des Morts was made of the territory now included in the four townships bounded by the present towns of Winneconne, Omro, Algoma, Oshkosh and the square township of Vinland. The first election was to be held at the residence of Webster Stanley.

These laws seem to have been inoperative, possibly because of the small population, and February 18, 1842, a law was approved organizing the counties of Winnebago and Calumet from

the first Monday in April, 1843. Apparently the law makers were ignorant of the geography of the region, as they placed the first election at the school house in Manchester, Calumet county, on the opposite side of Lake Winnebago, twenty miles from the new county of Winnebago. The settlers along the Fox river at the future city of Oshkosh ignored the provisions of the law and refused to cross the lake to hold their first election. They opened the polls in the cabin of Webster Stanley over in the woods east of Ferry street. This election was held on Monday, April 4, and Tuesday, April 5, and we presume was upon due notice to all the inhabitants of the region. It was not authorized by law, but was very independent and democratic and doubtless very regular, as two days were given to poll all the votes. There was a total of 143 people in the region then being organized into a county. At this election, which was the first held in the county, there were twenty-three men polled and present who voted. There were twenty-one offices distributed, and it is said that six voters got away without any office. Mr. Chester Ford was chairman and Jason Wilkins clerk, both sworn in by T. Lee, coroner. Clark Dickinson was appointed clerk, as Wilkins refused to serve. The further result of the election: Chester Gallup and William C. Isbell, supervisors; John Gallup, town clerk; Thomas Lee and Louis B. Porlier, assessors; Webster Stanley, treasurer; Thomas Evans, collector; Robert Grignon, Ira F. Aiken and Shipley A. Gallup, commissioners of highway; John P. Gallup and Clark Dickinson, school commissioners; Henry A. Gallup and Louis B. Porlier, constables; Jason Wilkins, sealer of weights and measures; Ira F. Aiken, Henry Moore and Archibald Caldwell, overseers of highways; Robert Grignon, Chester Ford and Chester Gallup, fence viewers. David Johnson, William Powell, James Knaggs, Augustin Grignon, William W. Wright and William A. Boyd received some votes for these offices.

Under the laws of the Territory of Wisconsin, approved 1836, the territory of each county was declared one township for raising taxes and to regulate highways, and the three supervisors of the town shall perform the duties of county board, and the town clerk was to act as county clerk. By the election mentioned above, which was an election of the town of Butte des Morts, under the laws of 1839 of Brown county the chairman and supervisors became the county board, or should have been so regarded, except for the mix-up mentioned, by which the election was

specified to take place at Manchester. To legalize the acts of the settlers an act was passed by the Legislature March 29, 1843. Three days later the Legislature passed an act of April 1, 1843: "The town of Butte des Morts, of county of Winnebago, shall hereafter be known as Winnebago, embracing all territory within the limits of said county, and future elections shall be held at the house of Webster Stanley."

A town meeting of the town of Butte des Morts had been held April 4, 1843, at which Mr. W. C. Isbell was chosen chairman and W. A. Boyd was clerk. There was appropriated $50 for current expenses, and salaries fixed at 50 cents per day. At the election held at the said town meeting W. C. Isbell was elected chairman and L. B. Porlier and Lester Ford for supervisors, and George F. Wright town clerk. These officers of the town of Butte des Morts now became the officers of the town of Winnebago, including the whole territory of the county, and these same officers became under the laws of the territory the county board and therefore were the first county board of Winnebago county. As a county board they held their first meeting May 1, 1843, at the house of Webster Stanley, which became thereby the first court house, and it stood very near the present court house. At this meeting there was present the chairman, William C. Isbell, and one supervisor, Chester Ford. Mr. L. B. Porlier was absent. A quorum being present, the treasurer's bonds of William W. Wright were approved. A week later these two members, in whose person reposed the majesty of the new county, met and solemnly voted to raise by tax the sum of $50 for current expenses. A resolution was passed to adopt a county seal, device an eagle, holding a snake in his claws. This seal, still in the clerk's office, was a small penny coin issued in 1837 by Doctor Feuchtwaugers, of New York. The two members again met as a county board on May 19, 1843, and resolved that the register of deeds is "required to record all land conveyances entire." The treasurer's report for 1844 shows receipts of $49.76 and expenditure of same amount. At the election for sheriff held at the house of Webster Stanley, May 1, 1843, there were sixteen votes cast. The annual election held at Stanley's house, April 2, 1844, for the town of Winnebago, Harrison Reed was elected chairman and William C. Isbell and C. R. Luce supervisors, the highest vote cast being twenty-three. These officers then became ex officio the county board.

The first county election for the county officers was held the fourth Monday of September, 1844, resulting in the election of W. C. Isbell, register of deeds; George F. Wright, clerk; William W. Wright, treasurer; Samuel L. Brooks, district attorney. The highest number of votes cast were eighteen. At the same time a test vote was had to obtain the sentiment of the settlers as to statehood, and there were nineteen votes against to four for statehood.

The Legislature passed an act in 1845 providing for the election of three commissioners to locate the county seat. At the annual town meeting in April, Clark Dickinson and Robert Grignon were elected and Joseph Jackson and Harrison Reed were tied for third place with twenty votes each. At a special election Harrison Reed received the highest number of votes. The commissioners met at the Stanley house on July 6 to deliberate on the location of the seat of justice. Robert Grignon presented a proposition from Augustin Grignon for Big Butte des Morts. Clark Dickinson presented a proposition from Chester Ford to locate it near the mouth of the Fox river at Oshkosh. Harrison Reed made a verbal offer of a site at Winnebago Rapids, now the city of Neenah. When the commissioners met again in July they reported in favor of Butte des Morts and accepted Augustin Grignon's offer of 300 feet square and the land was deeded to the county in October, 1845. This location created great dissatisfaction, and with their usual enterprise the citizens of the future metropolis of Oshkosh set about to change the location to their settlement, where all voting had up to that time taken place. An act of the Legislature was obtained February 8, 1847, locating the county seat at Oshkosh and organizing the county for judicial purposes. Several offers of land for sites were made to the county, but that of L. M. Miller, Samuel H. Farnsworth and Sewell A. Wolcott for ten lots was accepted and deeded on April 2, 1847. On this site the buildings were finally erected and so remain seated to this day.

The citizens of Butte des Morts did not propose to quietly submit to the location of the county seat at Oshkosh, and demanded a vote of the whole county on the question. This vote was taken on April 2, 1850, for and against removal of the county seat to Butte des Morts, and stood 472 for removal and 690 against, with no returns from Algoma, Utica and Neenah. The location was now assured to Oshkosh.

The first county building erected was an oak jail, costing $500, of which Oshkosh paid $300. Albert G. Lull had charge of its erection and Mr. Kendrick Kimball was the builder. A small three-room brick office building was completed in 1853 in the corner of Court House square in Oshkosh for the registrar, clerk of court and county clerk and treasurer. In a few years the expanding business of the county and its courts required more pretentious quarters. Contracts were let for the erection of the court house, which forms the major part of the present buildings. It was completed in the fall of 1860 at a cost of $7,000 for carpenter work, $9,000 for mason work, $2,000 for iron work and other items, making a total cost of $19,689. The local enthusiast exclaimed: "It is entirely proper to say that we have the largest and best court house in the state." The building was erected of Milwaukee cream brick with a stone basement; was two stories high above the basement. The basement contained the jail cells and the sheriff's residence. Several years after an extensive addition was made to the west wing, occupied for the county court and its records. A few years ago the county erected a large and handsome modern jail and sheriff's residence south of the court house, costing $15,000. The county poor farm is economically conducted and the new houses, recently erected at a cost of $60,000, are ornamental and representative. There is an extensive pile of buildings near the Northern Hospital, erected at a cost of $150,000, which is the Insane Asylum of Winnebago county, and used also for the incurable insane of other counties who pay for their care.

The County School of Agriculture was established in Winnebago county in 1907. Early in January, Hon. E. R. Hicks had addressed the county board on the subject and the committee appointed to report on the school made a favorable report in March. The offer of Winneconne of $6,000 and a site was accepted and immediate arrangements made to found the school, the building costing $40,000.

The most profitable investment ever made by the county was in its work house, where tramps are made to break stone. It originated from the desire to rid the county of the tramp nuisance. The justice and police cost of tramps, maintenance and "move on" order was costing the county $30,000 a year. Supervisor M. M. Schoetz, of Menasha, proposed the work house plan. The building cost $2,500 and a small sum for superin-

tendence, and as soon as it was ready for occupants the tramps avoided the county and have never returned to their old accustomed haunts.

When the first settlers located in the woods on the future site of Oshkosh there were but 11,000 people in the whole state of Wisconsin. When the postoffice was established at Oshkosh the first in the county, in 1840 there were possibly less than 100 people in the whole county. By 1842 there were by the enumeration made by the sheriff 143 white people in the county. In ten years the population of the state had increased to 155,000 people, showing a stream of immigration. The people came mostly from New York and New England. The census for 1846 gave Winnebago county 732, an increase of 600 in four years. From that time on the population rapidly increased. In 1847, one year later, the population had increased to 2,787, and to 10,179, three years later, in 1850. Five years later 7,000 were added, and by 1860 there were 23,770. During the war the population increased over 7,000, and by 1870 it was 37,279. Fifteen years later, in 1885, it reached the 50,000 mark. Thus in fifty years 50,000 people had swarmed from the East and foreign lands to build the flourishing cities, make great investments, improve the highways and found the leading and second county of the state. By the last census there were 60,233 people to show for the sixty years of settlement.

In county official life the whole political force of the county has usually aroused annually a lively interest because the places are worth the effort for the money in them. For many years the office of sheriff was the center of the hottest contest, the office often being worth as high as $30,000 and often $50,000 for the term, a scandalous condition, which has been largely modified by the county board. The office being reduced to a one-term tenure has limited its value also. The office of clerk of the court has been a valuable and desirable position, both for the money in it and the influence of the position as well as education afforded by necessary contact with all the bright lawyers. Edward Eastman, the first to hold this office, was appointed by Judge A. G. Miller, January 12, 1848. George Gary, elected clerk in 1857, was admitted to the bar in 1858 from this office. W. G. Rich, clerk in 1860-62, was an editor, senator from the county and Governor of New Mexico. Col. H. B. Harshaw, who came out of the Civil War with one arm, was immediately given this

office, to which he was steadily re-elected from 1864 until he finally resigned, January 1, 1878, to become postmaster, then state treasurer of Wisconsin. On his return home he opened a law office. The office was then permanently filled by Tom D. Grimmer from 1878 until 1889. Mr. W. W. Kimball then became the popular clerk for a number of terms.

The county had originally been connected with Brown county for judicial purposes, and then for a short time with Fond du Lac county by an election of the people; but November 7, 1848, the county elected their own probate judge. This court has the settlement of dead men's estates, and its officers keep the records. It has now become a very important office, and its records are carefully housed in fireproof vaults. Judge A. A. Austin became the first judge of probate. Judge G. W. Washburn was appointed to fill the unexpired term of Judge Hodges, who had been elected state prison commissioner in 1858, the term expiring in 1865; but April 5, 1864, Judge G. W. Washburn was elected to the office of judge of the tenth judicial circuit and resigned as judge of probate. Judge C. D. Cleveland, the present incumbent, was elected to the office in 1886, over twenty-two years ago, and has held the office the longest and is the most distinguished of all its incumbents. The jurisdiction has been increased to take appeals from justices and with original jurisdiction in civil causes to large amounts.

The office of district attorney has been held by a number of men who have become distinguished at the bar. The term is two years. and Judge A. A. Austin seems to have caught the plum for a number of random terms, making twelve years in all. Judge G. W. Burnell got fastened in the place in 1876 and the farmers kept him there for six years, though he made several efforts to be a private citizen. W. F. McArthur was shot dead on the street in Neenah just at the close of his term in 1883. Then Hon. Silas Bullard, of Menasha, had the office for two years, when Henry Fitzgibbon, of Menasha, a Democrat, was elected. He was several times nominated by his party, but the county has been for many years Republican.

The office of county clerk has become now a very important position, and is ably filled by Mr. J. J. Fish, of Neenah, who can remain there as long as he will keep the place. Years ago when Mr. George F. Wright was first clerk in 1843 his duties were not very great and the office was in his pocket.

The registrar of deeds' office has been worth a fight to obtain for a good many years and has been filled by a good number of distinguished men. Clark Dickinson was the first registrar, in 1843, and it was possibly because he set things down by the short synopsis that the county board resolved that all instruments must be recorded verbatim. Samuel L. Brooks, an early settler and surveyor, was registrar 1845-46; Edgar Cronkhite, merchant and banker, in 1856; Hon. James H. Foster, pioneer and state senator, was registrar in 1858-60; Robert McCurdy, state treasurer, was registrar in 1866, 1868 and 1870; John Strange, the large paper manufacturer of Menasha, was elected to the office in 1896 by an immense majority.

In the make-up of the county board it is easily the most representative body of men in the whole county. Originally in 1842 the township system prevailed, by which the board was composed of the three supervisors of the town of Winnebago, whose territory was expanded to cover the county for this purpose. This system prevailed for five years until 1847, as the county until that time had but one town. Then in 1861 the assembly district system, by which a supervisor was elected from each assembly district, the members were elected biennially until 1866, when the members were elected for three years, one member being annually elected. This system was changed in 1870, constituting the chairman of towns, and supervisors elected from the wards as the board, a system revived, that had prevailed from 1847 to 1862. There are now thirty-nine members; eighteen of these are town chairmen, and four supervisors elected from the city of Menasha, four from the city of Neenah and thirteen from the city of Oshkosh, representing one from each ward in the cities. As this body equalizes the assessments of their respective civil areas each strive to send their strong men to save their town or city from being charged with more than its proportion of taxes for county and state purposes. It therefore becomes a strong and representative body of men. During the last sixty years this board has had as members from time to time nearly all the men who have become in after years distinguished by higher position or great deeds in commerce or civic life. There are nearly 2,000 members named in that long list, which contains almost a roster of the men of the county who have done things in building up its great commercial and agricultural prosperity and wealth.

After 1842 the county remained attached to Brown county for

judicial purposes until, by the act of February 8, 1847, the county was organized for judicial purposes to form part of the third judicial circuit, and the county seat was again declared located at Oshkosh. The first session of the circuit court was to be held by Judge A. G. Miller in May, 1848. A clerk of court was appointed and a grand jury drawn, who appeared and waited a week, but as the judge did not appear the jury were discharged. Chief Justice Alexander W. Stowe was elected and held the first term of court in the school house in the village of Oshkosh, October 16, 1848. The next year a term was held in the new office building erected in the corner of the court house square. Since 1865 all circuit judges have been residents of the city of Oshkosh—G. W. Washburn, D. J. Pulling and Judge G. W. Burnell.

The schools of the county were begun in 1841, when Miss Emeline Cook taught the first school in the county at the village of Oshkosh. Henry A. Gallup closed the school by marrying the teacher. The first school taught in Neenah was in 1847 and in Menasha in 1848. Mr. A. B. Foster taught school in a log cabin in the town of Nepeuskun in 1847 on section 8. In the same year a log school house was erected in Rushford with Mr. W. R. Manning as first teacher. In Winneconne a school house was built in 1848, and two years later a frame shanty was erected in the village, where the first school was opened by William Mumbrue. In Clayton Miss Amanda Hicks taught in 1850, and Miss Lizzie McClean at Gillinghams Corner, Vinland, in 1849. A school house was built in 1846 near the present Boyd School in a district composed of Black Wolf, Nekimi and Algoma, with Eliza Case as first teacher. The first school in Omro was taught in the home of Myron Howe in 1848 by Mrs. Abraham Quick. In the Gilman Lawd district Mrs. George Beckwith and Hanna Olin taught the first schools about 1847. The Wolf river schools were opened in 1858 by Mrs. Mary Hagers, and Miss Julia Jordan taught in Poygan in 1853. The Fish Corner, Utica, school was opened by Miss Kimball in 1848. These were the pioneer schools of a system that now thrives with great success over the county, and the scholars of these schools have taken high rank in the professional, civic and commercial world.

A building was completed during 1870 for a third State Normal School at Oshkosh, but, owing to lack of funds, was not opened for admission of pupils during that year. The opening and the

ceremony of dedicating the building took place September 9, 1871. George S. Albee, A. M., was president. He had been principal of public schools at Racine and retained the position of president until his death. He was greatly honored and beloved by all who knew him. His successor, Prof. L. B. Halsey, endeared himself to students and faculty and was universally beloved by all the citizens of Oshkosh. The Oshkosh Normal has been a model college, very successful in its work, and always overcrowded with students. The sudden death of President Halsey in 1907 from the accidental discharge of a gun while out camping, in the hands of his own son, was a very sad occurrence. His death was felt to be a great loss to the state. Over 1,000 students attend the Normal College.

A law was passed in 1870 authorizing an additional state hospital for the insane. After an examination of several sites in different parts of the state by commissioners appointed for that purpose, choice was made of the location offered by the citizens of Oshkosh, consisting of 337 acres of land, about four miles north of Oshkosh on Lake Winnebago. The necessary appropriation was made and the north wing and central buildings were completed and opened for admission of patents in April, 1873. Further appropriations were made from time to time for additional wings and in 1875 the hospital was completed in accordance with original design at a total cost of $525,250. The building has been constructed on the most approved plan, suited to accommodate 550 patients, but does accommodate 650. In December, 1873, Dr. Walter Kemster, of Utica, N. Y., was elected superintendent as an expert alienist and continued to discharge the duties of that position with great skill until 1890. Dr. W. A. Gordon, "the sage of Winnebago," has been in charge of the hospital for twelve years. His careful, intelligent supervision has greatly improved the institution and the care of patients. His administration has become a national subject of praise and remark. Dr. Gordon is also a prose poet, a literary student and a celebrated essayist and after-dinner public speaker, his style partaking of the short paragraph or short sentence of epigrammatic character so much used by Carlyle.

Dr. Gordon combines the emotions of a humanitarian with the routine duties of a public official and physician, and applies himself faithfully to the care of the unfortunate placed in his charge. He not only sees to their wants, but takes delight in the better-

ment of the pleasure grounds, the productions of the farm, the growing of trees, the stock and 2,000 fowl and all the economics possible. Some one sent him from Boston a report of a painting of a famous Paris doctor who several decades since caused the shackles to be struck from the insane under his care. Since then great changes have been made in the care of the insane and Dr. Gordon has made many advances. There is much necessary system in the care of so many under one roof, yet it is possible to individualize each case and give each their proper care. That Dr. Gordon has reduced the death rate of the institution 50 per cent is the best evidence of a watchful care. He has removed the "Keep off the grass" signs, laid out beautiful flower beds, made old cinder heaps into flower beds, turned surface ditches into lawns, made the back yard as handsome as the front, planted strawberries and berry bushes so that all the patients have their rich fresh fruit, when formerly only the officers had it. He has laid out a mile long walk and lined it with trees by meadow and lake, begun a menagerie where the pretty deer, badger and fox vie with the monkeys for attraction. All this beauty and amusement with the out of doors is for the nature healing of the body and the restoration of the mind follows. The outdoors at stated hours has been changed from "daylight to dark." All the fresh air possible as it sweeps in pure and sweet from the broad surface of Winnebago lake. One night several years ago the heat in the great building was intolerable. He could not sleep and made the rounds of the wards to learn the condition of his sick people. They were locked up in their little rooms off the wards with all their filth and odor and misery. The corridors were dark. No light could be had for fear of fire. Some of them in want of water had pounded great dents in their doors. It was a sure enough madhouse, and the conditions were bad enough to make a well person go mad. He made up his mind something must be done to change this wicked method of all-night imprisonment. He had the gas, which was the only light at that time, arranged outside the window so it would stream down the hall from a reflector; then they arranged lavatories on each corridor and had a tank of water ready at hand for drinking. The doors were ordered left unlocked. This humane arrangement it was feared might result in someone being injured by these irresponsible subjects; but no such results have followed. On the doors in some of these chamber cells can still be seen the hacks, mars and dents made by the

imprisoned inmates calling for water or air. One day it was necessary to give a patient a hot bath. While attendants were making ready he thought he would assist to hurry along the arrangements by turning on the hot water in the iron bathtub. He noticed with the first flow of water there came a black mass of filth. An investigation discovered that the tubs had but one outlet for the waste water, which was the same orifice through which entered the clean water, and that a settling bend in this pipe caught the last outflow of filth which was flushed back into the basin with the incoming clean water. Such a sickening piece of plumbing should never have been installed, but it was what had been used for years. Some of these old iron tubs can still be seen piled in the basement and ought to be placed on exhibit with the thumbscrew of the Inquisition. They have now a bath house where the patients are laid on a board, thoroughly rubbed by two attendants working daily, so that each patient is attended to at least twice a week all the year round, and the water is not drawn from polluted sources but from extensive settling basins which have been recently installed. The patients are given, in addition to the regular and nutritious food served, such other healthy food as suits the taste of each patient—in fact, the sick are treated like guests rather than as factors in a systematic routine, and Dr. Gordon seeks their happiness and their restoration. Going down a corridor one night he noticed his steps echoed in the long uncarpeted floor and, being reminded that the guard made that journey every two minutes by a watch clock at each end, he had the store house searched and all the old carpets made up into narrow hall rugs, which are now rolled out every evening and laid away after daylight. He then saved $100 a month by combining a dozen dining rooms into one, and the meals are warm and fresh when served. Some of these dining rooms were almost a quarter of a mile from the kitchen.

The plumber had arranged the steam heating system, so that all the drip was carried back to the boiler through the ground, out of doors, reaching the boiler cold. He caused the whole system to be dipped on the reverse, and got the water back to the boiler at 154 degrees hot, thereby saving thousands to the state in fuel.

A few years since he had in the great conservatory of the asylum a century plant in bloom. The aged old plant had been cared for a half century, when it began to show signs of doing

things, sent out a sprout which grew a foot in one day, and then for several weeks rapidly shot upwards to thirty-five feet in height. A hole was cut through the roof of the conservatory and a tower erected around the stalk with a stairway to the top for visitors. After several weeks the stalk died down, and the whole plant rotted away, never to bloom again. This summer, 1908, another century plant is in bloom at the asylum.

County Traveling Library.

The law authorizing the county traveling library was passed in 1901. Immediately after its passage Winnebago county adopted the system, and thus became the first county in the world to establish a library system. These libraries are sent to a central station in each town and crossroads, over ten thousand books are read each year. The county now has thirty libraries in circulation. Of the establishment of this system the Wisconsin Free Library Commission in their state report for April, 1901, said:

"After the passage of the above law, the county board of Winnebago county voted to establish a system of county traveling libraries in accordance with its provisions, and decided to appropriate $500 for the purchase of books. The Board of Libraries was appointed and included Hon. P. V. Lawson, of Menasha; L. E. Scott, of Neenah; R. E. Root, of Omro; Miss Lillian Kimball, of Oshkosh, and Mrs. L. E. Chapelle, of Eureka. The board met and organized April 10. Two officers of the commission were present at the request of the board, and will aid in the organization of the new system. Hon. P. V. Lawson, president of the Fox River Valley Library Association, and author of the law, was made chairman of the board, and Miss Lillian Kimball, secretary. Miss Emily Turner, librarian of the public library at Oshkosh, was employed as librarian. Mr. Lawson stated that the heirs of the late E. D. Smith, of Menasha, had contributed fifteen traveling libraries of fifty volumes each, and that the Twentieth Century Club of Oshkosh would contribute $50 to purchase a traveling library, and E. P. Sawyer donated two libraries. Winnebago county has a population of 58,000; but 40,000 of its citizens live in cities having public libraries, of which one at least, the library in Menasha, is free to farmers in its vicinity. A few of the smaller villages are

nearly ready to establish local libraries, and within a year or two every citizen of Winnebago county will have a free library near his home. We regard the experiment in Winnebago county as a very hopeful one, and believe that many other counties in the state will follow so worthy and promising an example.''

XV.

RECOLLECTIONS OF WILLIAM W. WRIGHT, STYLED THE FATHER OF OSHKOSH, AND HIS WIFE, MARY ELIZABETH, STYLED THE MOTHER OF OSHKOSH, OF THE EARLIEST BEGINNINGS OF SOCIAL, CIVIC AND RELIGIOUS LIFE IN THE COUNTY AND THE CITY OF OSHKOSH, HAVING LIVED THROUGH THE CHANGES FROM A WILD FOREST TO A CIVILIZED COUNTRY AND THE CITY A MODERN EMPORIUM OF TRADE, TROBBING WITH THE LIFE OF MODERN COMMERCE.

Mr. William Wallace Wright came to Oshkosh in 1836, when there were but two other families there, and none of them dreamed of the coming city. He was born in Auburn, New York, July 7, 1819, a grandson of Dr. Thomas Wright, native of Dublin, Ireland, who came to America as a young man, just before the Revolution, offering his services to General Washington, who appointed him one of the surgeons in his own command. Remaining with the army throughout its long struggle, he was finally appointed to rank of surgeon general. After the war he practiced his profession in New York City, owning a half acre of land, now included in the Trinity Church property. Here he married, by which union was born, January 1, 1779, George Wright. Dr. Wright died on the ocean while on a journey to claim his share of his father's estate. His widow survived him many years, dying in Albany at a very old age. George Wright, their only son, received his education at Albany, New York, and was a soldier in the war of 1812. He took up the trade of millwright, building mills through New York and Michigan, Canada and Wisconsin. He moved to Cleveland and Detroit in 1834, having previously married at Maulin's, New York, and removed to Auburn, where Hon. W. W. Wright was born in 1819. While at Detroit he was engaged to build a flouring mill at Depere, Wisconsin, and arrived there in 1836. The following September he engaged to erect a flour mill at Brothertown agency, across the lake, and began work on it in November, 1836. Their journey up river passed Winnebago Rapids has

been described under Neenah. Mr. Hotchkiss took Mr. George Wright and his son, W. W. Wright, then a young man of seventeen, from Depere up the rapids of the Fox river, and over the lake in a large rowboat, propelled by six Brothertown Indians, with one at the helm. They procured the assistance of Menominee to get over the rapids at Neenah. That winter Mr. George Wright, having heard of the beautiful lands near the mouth of the river at unnamed Oshkosh, crossed the lake to examine the country. Concluding to locate there, he returned to Brothertown, where he procured material for building, and hired an Indian to transport it over the lake. The same year he finished the mill at Brothertown, and returned to New York for his family, with whom he arrived on the site of Oshkosh in February, 1838, and moved into his new house, the third one erected in Oshkosh. Here Mr. Wright took a squatter's claim of 156 acres, which he subsequently entered, on which Oshkosh stands, being the first ward and part of the fourth. Governor Henry Dodge appointed Mr. George Wright justice of the peace. It was in the kitchen of his house that the election was held to give the name to Oshkosh in the winter of 1839-40, participated in by all the white men, creoles and several Indians. The house stood in the wilderness opposite the present high school building on the site of the late George W. Pratt's residence on Algoma street. Squire Wright died there, March 30, 1841. He was married to Electa Whitney, born at Salem, New York, February 19, 1783, daughter of Captain John Whitney, a native of Ridgefield, Massachusetts, who had entered the Revolution as a private and was promoted to captain. She died at the home in Oshkosh February 10, 1847. Their children were George F., William Wallace, Philip V., Electa W., who became Mrs. Rhodes, and Henrietta A., who married Tim E. Crane, the lumberman. By the will of Squire Wright the estate was divided among the three sons. Mr. George F. Wright took some interest in promoting the town, and with Albert Lull and others undertook to build a railroad to the southwest through Ripon, the road since under the control of the C., M. & St. P. Ry. Mr. Philip V. Wright also took an active part in building up the town and moved to California in 1877, for his health, and died there.

Mr. Stanley, who had the first house in Oshkosh, lived to see a city grow up about him; but derived no substantial benefit and moved away about 1870. Mr. Chester Gallup, who located lands near by, died in 1849, leaving the lands to the sons, Henry,

John and Amos. The latter moved to Missouri, and the other brothers soon sold their lands and moved onto adjoining farms; but remained always identified with the interests of Oshkosh and are men kindly remembered by the pioneer.

William Wallace Wright, the father of Oshkosh, was born in Auburn, New York, July 7, 1819, where he received the chief part of his education, then followed his father to Wisconsin, attending school at Green Bay, and in 1836, at seventeen years of age, located in Oshkosh. Here in the forest he opened a trader's cabin, dealing in the merchandise of a country store, and dealing in real estate. From the estate of Squire Wright he had 106 acres between Main and Jackson, and the river and Irving, and had surveyed in 1847 a plat of town lots known as "W. W. Wright's additions," extending from Algoma street to the river. The lands originally owned by Squire Wright extended from the river north to Irving street, between Main and Wisconsin street, embracing the heart of the city now. Mr. W. W. Wright continued to farm the uplands; but from time to time platted them into city lots as the town advanced, and disposed of the lots. In 1866 he purchased Stony Beach, a tract of seventy-one acres, and the water front was platted and sold in lots on which thirty-four summer cottages have been erected, making an attractive and pleasant summer settlement, within a few minutes' ride of town on Interurban cars running every fifteen minutes. Mr. W. W. Wright was the first treasurer of the town and county of Winnebago. He has been alderman and held other offices. In the M. E. Church Society "he has held every office except pastor."

Mr. W. W. Wright was married July 23, 1843, at the residence of Thomas Evans, at the foot of Washington street in Oshkosh, to Miss Mary Elizabeth Evans, daughter of Daniel and Mary Evans, born in 1823, in Geauga county, Ohio, educated in the village of Parkman, and in 1842 moved to Oshkosh with her brother Thomas. Mrs. Wright is living in the home at Stony Beach in fine possession of her faculties, and quite vigorous in body and now at 85 years of age, making a garden with her own hands and can cook a supper as well as many younger people. While working in her garden the past summer, a shower came up when she was reminded to go in under shelter of the house; but she continued at her work in the garden, remarking she "was old enough to know when to go in out of the rain." She holds now a singular place in the great city, merg-

ing into 40,000 population, of having seen it grow up about her. She came to the site of Oshkosh half a dozen years before there was a platted lot in it. And the town has grown around her, spreading out for miles in every direction. She is now the mother of Oshkosh, alone the only one of all her friends in the county living who were here when she arrived. Their children are: Walter W., George Frederick, Frank E., Edward E., Newton G., Mary A., wife of Mr. Dudley Fernandez; Ida May, wife of Dr. W. H. Titus; Nellie K., the artist, and Miss Jeanette A.

First Days In Oshkosh.

On his eightieth birthday, W. W. Wright related to a "Northwestern" reporter how he found Oshkosh: "I worked in Brothertown until February, 1837. I then crossed on the ice on Lake Winnebago, in company with my father, and came here to reside, taking up a homestead of 120 acres in the present First Ward. Our farm was located in a kind of clearing among scattered timber lands, and we erected our house or cabin of hewn logs on the spot on Algoma street, where the residence of Hon. George W. Pratt now stands. I married Miss Mary Elizabeth Evans July 23, 1843. We were wedded on the lake shore by Rev. Cutting Marsh, the missionary to the Stockbridges."

Mr. W. W. Wright died March 24, 1903, at his home in Oshkosh, aged 84. For a number of years he had contributed pioneer recollections to the "Northwestern," some of which we reprint here, with slight changes to save repetition and connect them:

The Beginnings of Religious Meetings.

"The first meeting of a Methodist class was held in Oshkosh, near the mouth of the river, in the summer of 1839, under the leadership of Rev. Clark Dickinson, a local M. E. preacher. Mr. Dickinson lived in the town of Black Wolf. In the fall of 1840, the first organization was formed by Rev. Jesse Halsted, a traveling preacher of the Methodist Society. It was known as the Methodist class, and was composed of six members. The leader was Ida Aikin. Mrs. Aikin, Rachel Aikin, Mrs. George Wright (the speaker's mother), Mrs. Anna Brooks and Mrs. Thelka Ford were the original members of the class. On April 11, Rev. Gallup, a traveling preacher of the Rock River circuit, embracing Wisconsin and Northern Illinois, preached the first

sermon and made regular visitations every four weeks to Oshkosh.

These meetings were usually held at the homes of the members, a large number occurring at the home of Mrs. Fleming. In 1844 Mr. and Mrs. W. W. Wright organized the first Sunday school in a grove, where the house of Dr. G. M. Steele now stands. The first class sat upon a log, under the shade of an oak tree. Of that class there are only four who survive and none reside in Oshkosh. The Sunday school, however, which was begun at that time has been continued ever since. In 1848, a school house was built upon the place now occupied by the Atheran Hotel, and in that building meetings were held until the court house was built, after which that was the place for services. In 1850 Mr. W. W. Wright donated the land now occupied by the First Presbyterian Church to the First M. E. Society of Oshkosh and a church 30x42 was erected. Later it was enlarged to meet the increasing needs and afterward sold, and the present building erected. In 1852, when Rev. M. Hinebaugh was pastor of the little church at the corner of Church and Division streets, the ladies' society had raised money enough to purchase a new carpet, and on the next Sunday Rev. Hinebaugh called attention to the fact in the following language: "Brothers and Sisters: You will see what our good women have done. We have our church all fixed up now. It is nice and clean and we want to keep it so. To the men who use tobacco I want to say, when you come to church hereafter, before you enter the building, you take your quid out and put it on a stone or a chip, so as not to dirty the floor. The quid will be all right; no dog or no hog will touch it."

First Sabbath School on a Log.

"In the spring of 1844, the first Sabbath school was organized, consisting of Superintendent W. W. Wright, assisted by my wife, also teachers. The school was opened on a large fallen tree whose location was in the woods at now Algoma street in front of Doctor Steele's present residence. At that time the same site was occupied by a small frame house owned by Wm. Wright. The school was composed of six children, five males and one female. Also one adult besides the superintendent. Names of children were Nelson Allen, Albert Allen, George Stanley, Henry Stanley, Charles Libel and Malinda Stanley. They were all

seated on the big log, and each one was furnished with a testament, from which they read a lesson, as no one had learned any lesson to repeat from memory, and then the superintendent would explain as best he could what had been read. Two or three hymns were sung, and a prayer offered up to God for His blessing on this Sabbath school. Lessons were given out for the next Sabbath school, and the school dismissed. Thus was organized the first beginning of Sabbath school in Winnebago county.

Pioneers.

"The first meeting of the county board was held May 1, 1843, in the house of George F. Wright, brother of W. W. Wright, a log house that stood until 1874, a few rods west of the residence of Dr. Titus on Algoma street." Before Winnebago county was organized for judicial purposes Mr. W. W. Wright was summoned in 1841, to appear at the court house in Depere, then the county seat of Brown county, on October 12, 1841, to serve as juryman for the term, Judge Miller presiding, as appears by the diary of Mr. Wright. Evans Brothers came west May, 1838, Chester Ford in 1839. August, 1838, old Chas. Grignon put up a log house on bank of river near upper bridge and lived in it until his death. Robt. Grignon lived on what is now called Sunset Point on Lake Butte des Morts, and was living there in 1836, when I first came here. My first acquaintance with Wm. Powell was in 1839. Ira F. Aiken came here in the spring of 1841. Joseph Jackson came here to live from Kenosha in 1840. Jason Wilkins, a tailor, came in the spring of 1840. Dr. Christian Linde came in 1842.

First Wheat Raised.

"Nothing whatever was raised here in the way of provisions until the summer of 1837, when Chester Gallup raised one acre of winter wheat, sown in the fall of 1836, and a patch of corn, potatoes and a few other vegetables. Mr. Stanley also raised a few vegetables during the same year, as did my father and myself. Provisions of all kinds were expensive. I well remember the first barrel of pork my father bought in Green Bay and paid $40 in cash for it. Also two barrels of flour for which he paid $20 each, and they were not very good at that, being shipped from Buffalo, N. Y. Our supply of potatoes we bought

in Brothertown at $2 per bushel. Our houses were not very elaborately furnished, as not much furniture was brought from the east owing to the excessively high freight charges, and nothing of the kind was manufactured nearer than Green Bay, and such a luxury was too expensive for most of the settlers to indulge in.

Household Furniture.

"The consequence was that many articles of household furniture, such as common chairs and bedsteads for the boys to sleep upon, were manufactured from such materials as could be obtained from the woods. The nearest flouring mill was located at Grand Kaukauna, and operated by a French half breed. The long distance made it very difficult to get there with our grain, especially in the summer time. In the winter we could travel much easier, as we went on the ice with horse and ox teams. I well remember going to the above mentioned mill with our neighbor, C. J. Coon, with oxen and sleds and twenty bushels of wheat each. It was in the month of January, and it was bitter cold. A severe northwest wind was blowing in our faces, and we were compelled to exercise ourselves by running and pounding each other and 'whaling' our oxen to keep from freezing. Finally we reached the foot of the lake, after an almost endless tramp on the ice.

"The whole day was consumed in reaching the mill, and you can imagine our disappointment, when we learned upon arriving there that the mill was frozen up and no grinding could be done. The next nearest mill was located at Green Bay. Feeling much chagrined over our painful disappointment, we put up for the night at Pete Pendleton's, a half breed darkey, who lived in the vicinity. Upon arising the next morning we summoned new courage and set off for Green Bay. We traveled all day, and at last, after experiencing much hardship, reached there. The mill at that place was located at what was known at that time as Devil River. We stopped here for the evening and in the morning we got our flour and started for home, which was reached upon the second day, just at nightfall.

"Sometimes in the late winter and early spring the supply of flour would get at low ebb in the settlement, and under the stress of circumstances it was amusing and interesting to notice the solution of our difficulties. Borrowing was often resorted

to. I remember one time when no flour could be had on account of the mills being frozen up, and at last the whole visible supply of flour in the settlement was consumed. We, however, in those days, never became discouraged, and in order to supply the necessary bread, resort was had to coffee mills, of which there was a goodly supply. Our own family made flour, grinding wheat in coffee mills for nearly a month before we could get a supply from the mill. I have spent many an evening turning the coffee mill to make flour for the morrow, and my wife would bolt it with a fine sieve. It was not quite as fine as our flour at the present day, but it made very good bread and biscuit, and served the purpose equally as well. In those days we were never troubled greatly with smut in the wheat, and the only way we could get rid of it was by washing and thoroughly drying it in the sun.

Hardships of Early Settlers in Getting Provisions.

"The hardships and sufferings the early settlers were subjected to in getting their grain manufactured into flour or feed were many. But when a flouring mill was as near to us as Brothertown we thought it convenient and handy. In the fall of 1839 my father (who was a millwright) finished the Brothertown flouring mill and the inhabitants of this side of the lake were very much pleased that it was so handy and easy of access, as we could cross the lake in winter on the ice with teams with our grain, and in summer with boats or bark canoes, which we often did. One of the boat trips I will attempt to describe. In the summer of 1842, C. J. Coon, our neighbor, brought a fair-sized sailboat from Green Bay. It was the largest sailing craft on the lake at that time, about twenty feet in length and principally used for milling purposes. The late G. F. Wright (my brother) and myself hired our neighbor's sailboat, loaded in our grist and set sail for Brothertown mill. A young man from New York State accompanied us. The writer was the only sailor of the three, and nothing to brag of in that line, but we sailed across the lake all right, having a fair wind. We had to hire a team to haul our grain from the landing to the mill, which was half a mile from shore. We got our flour in due time and were ready to embark for home, when a stiff northwest wind sprang up and prevented our sailing, and we were kept there three days, windbound, before we could get away. Finally the wind went down

and we got off on our return trip; but when a few miles out from shore a strong west wind sprang up and we were obliged to make for Long Point, as we could not beat against the gale that was blowing. In fact, we did not know how. We landed just south of Morley's Point in a bay out of the wind. We went on shore, built a fire and prepared to cook our meal, as we were all feeling keen appetites, having eaten nothing since early morning and it was then well towards night. We had used up all our provisions in our wind-bound experience, and had nothing but flour to fall back on. The young man (Cook) who was with us had his gun and ammunition along and went into the woods close by to look for fresh meat, while the writer (who had some experience in camping out and roughing it) prepared the bread for our repast. We had a small pan in the boat for baling out the water. Having put a sufficient quantity of flour in the pan and wet it up with lake water to a stiff dough, I rolled it out in a long string on a seat of the boat, after washing the seat, of course. I then cut a little tree about three inches in thickness and about four feet long, stripped the bark off and took the string or rope of dough and began at the largest end of the stick and wound it around the stick about half the length of the stick. I sharpened the other end and stuck it in the ground slanting it over the fire and occasionally turning it so as to bake the rope of dough evenly. Our hunter, Mr. Cook, soon came in with three red squirrels, which we dressed and roasted before the fire like the bread. In about an hour we had a lunch ready of roasted meat and crulls, as we called our bread, and did ample justice to the savory viands before us. A little salt would have been acceptable, but it appeased our hunger as it was. We were obliged to camp there for the night on account of the strong wind, and it was late the next day before we could get away. We had no other provisions but crulls and fresh squirrels. We were very glad to get home, where we could get a square meal again. Many other trying times of the same character might be mentioned, but think the above sufficient to show the present generation what the pioneers had to endure in settling this new country. In the earliest years of our sojourn here we were obliged to go to Green Bay for our groceries and dry goods and no way to get there with teams except in winter, by crossing the lake on the ice and reaching the military road, which was attended with more or less danger; or in summer by boat or canoe on the lake and lower Fox river, or on foot, following an Indian



J. W. Kinnebaugh

trail, which was usually the mode adopted. Generally two of us, neighbors, would go together with large knapsacks strapped on our backs, which were empty in going except a good-sized lunch stowed away in one corner of the sack, put up by our mothers or wives (if we had any). The neighbors who were in need of supplies would give their orders and money to those making the trip, who would then take their leave for the Bay, about sixty miles by the trail. It usually took four days to make the round trip and make our purchases. Our knapsacks would be crammed full on our return trip, which was a footsore and tiresome tramp. Arrived home the neighbors would come together to receive their share of goods and welcome the travelers home and eager to hear whatever news there was, also to get their mail, for this was before we had a postoffice here.

"In the year 1845 the writer sold a strip of land containing twenty acres, the strip of land being fourteen rods and two feet in width and running from Fox river north to what is now West Irving street. The center of Main street was the east line of this strip of land. The strip was deeded by the writer to R. W. Jackson, son of the late Joseph Jackson. In the spring of 1846 W. W. Wright and Joseph Jackson platted a portion of the above land in connection with other lands belonging to said Wright. The platting not being satisfactory to the parties, it was subsequently vacated and in 1847 was replatted and recorded and remains practically the same to this day. This was the first beginning of the city of Oshkosh. Webster Stanley was offered a lot in the new plat if he would build thereon and keep a public house, as he was then doing at the mouth of the river, and also remove his ferry up river to Main street. He accepted the offer and immediately began operations by erecting a large board shanty on the northwest corner of Main and High streets for the accommodation of the traveling public and local boarders, who were few at that early date. The ferry was also established where Main street bridge is now located. Main street was then called Ferry street. Subsequently Mr. Stanley erected a frame building on the southwest corner of Main and Pearl streets for a hotel, but before it was finished it was sold to Manoah Griffin, who removed it across Main street to what is now Nos. 48 and 50 on the east side of the street, and enlarged and finished it for a hotel. He conducted it for many years until it was destroyed in the first great fire, which occurred in May, 1859, and swept both sides of Main street from Ceape street north to Washington

and Algoma street of every building except Eckstein's clothing store and a few other buildings near the river. This fire was a great setback to Oshkosh, as many lost everything, with no insurance.

"The next prominent public house (or hotel) was erected on the site which is now Nos. 88 and 90 Main street, in 1846, by Asa Hollister and L. P. Sheldon, and was successfully conducted for a number of years by Mr. Hollister, from whom it was purchased by Lucius Olcott, father of the two Miss Olcotts living in this city, on High street. Mr. Olcott conducted the house successfully for many years. The first wet goods and dry goods store was erected in 1844 at the mouth of the river and was conducted by Amos Dodge and the late J. H. Osborn for general trade. Subsequently it was removed to Ceape street, now No. 29, north side of the street. They carried in stock a general assortment of merchandise. Just before moving from the mouth of the river, T. C. Wilson purchased Mr. Osborn's interest in the business and the firm was known as Dodge & Wilson thereafter. They carried on quite an extensive trade with the Menominee Indians and half breeds. J. H. Osborn bought a small stock of dry goods in the spring of 1844, the first goods ever brought here for sale. The same year Mr. Dodge joined him.

"The next business house was erected on or near what is now No. 42 Main street, by L. M. Miller and Edward Eastman, where they carried a stock of general merchandise for many years. In the spring of 1845 P. V. Wright erected a business house on what is now No. 91 Main street, where he carried a stock of general merchandise and among the stock was some Milwaukee beer. The writer was at one time left in the store while the proprietor was out. Mr. Chauncey King, an old settler that many will remember, was also in the store and asked for a glass of beer. The writer attempted to draw the beer, but found the keg empty. A fresh keg must be tapped. That was a business I did not understand, but thought I could do it all right. The faucet and the hammer were procured and the cork was being driven into the keg, when the beer blew out the stopple and shot the writer squarely in the face and eyes. Mr. King clapped his thumb into the vent and stopped the flow of beer, or he would not have had his glass.

"In the fall of 1848 S. M. Hay came here with the first stock of hardware and commenced business at or near the northeast corner of State and Ceape streets, where he conducted a general

hardware business. A month or two thereafter E. C. Hall became a partner and the firm name was known as Hay & Hall. They soon removed to a new building on the west side of Main street, which is now No. 75, and where the business is still continued under the name of the Hay Hardware Company. This is the very oldest business house now in the city. It has continued to do business for fifty-two years without a break, only as the devouring fire fiend compelled the firm to rest long enough to rebuild its store which was twice laid in ashes. After about two years Mr. Hall sold his interest in the business to S. M. Hay and withdrew from the firm.

"The first drug store of any note was opened in 1850 at or near No. 4 Main street, near what is now the north end of Main street bridge, and was owned by the late M. J. Williams. Mr. Williams continued the drug business until 1897.

"The first blacksmith that located here was Chauncey Foster. His shop was located at or near No. 43 Main street, the present site of B. H. Soper's furniture store, where he continued about two years to do work for citizens and farmers.

"The first shoemaker to locate here was Edward Edwards, an Englishman. He erected a 7x9 shop on what is now No. 65 Main street, the present location of Horn's drug store, where he manufactured boots and shoes. He arrived here in 1847, remaining but a year or two, when he went to Waupaca to edit a newspaper, where I lost track of him.

"The first newspaper published in the city was The True Democrat, by James Densmore. The first issue was February 9, 1849. Quite an amusing incident occurred not long after The True Democrat was started. Mr. Dinsmore did his own canvassing for subscribers to his paper, and among others he called on the late George Mansur, living on a farm a few miles south of Neenah and wished him to subscribe for the paper. Mr. Mansur refused to subscribe, but Mr. Densmore insisted very strongly, and after much persuasion, Mr. Mansur handed him a half dollar, saying he would take the worth of that and then stop it, as he did not like Densmore's politics. Time went on and the paper came to him once a week regularly. After a while notice was sent him to pay for the paper. Mr. Mansur sent back word to stop the paper, as he did not want it, but still it came as usual. Again he ordered it stopped, to no purpose. Then he came himself and asked some of his acquaintances how he could stop that paper. Among others he called on the writer and was advised to go to

the office and order it stopped. He said: "I have done that and Densmore said I must take the paper or take a licking." The writer never learned whether the paper stopped or not.

"The first clothing and tailoring establishment of any note was established by the late Samuel Eckstein in 1848. This was in a building now No. 33 Main street, where he carried a large stock of ready-made clothing and also manufactured to order. The fire of 1859 did not destroy his building, but gave him a good warming. Peter McCourt also started an extensive tailoring establishment in 1850 and for many years did a heavy business.

"The first lumbering in the up-river pinery was done in the winter of 1939-40 by the following named parties: Richard Johnson and Louis Lamott, and a few days thereafter they were followed by W. W. Wright and Joseph Jackson. The above named parties lumbered in the Rat river pinery. They cut shingle logs and smaller trees, which they hewed into square timber for building and other logs for making lumber. These logs and timber were hauled to Rat river and floated down the Rat into the Wolf river and thence to Oshkosh, where they were cut up by the old whip saws. Later on other parties followed, until the Rat river pinery was cleaned out.

"The first saw mill was erected here in 1846 by Urial Firman and Samuel Bridge, at the mouth of Fox river, just east of the Traction company's power house. They used what was called a muly saw that would cut about 4,000 feet of lumber in twenty-four hours. Another saw mill was erected on Sawyer creek by Coles, Bashford & Forman about the same time and of the same capacity. These mills were a great improvement on the whip saws previously used. Logs were brought from the Wolf river pinery to supply these mills. The lumber manufactured by these mills was an immense help to builders in Oshkosh and to farmers in the surrounding country in constructing dwelling houses for their families, as the country was fast filling up with new settlers.

"The first banking institution to do business here was under the head of Darling, Wright, Kellogg & Co., of Fond du Lac. They opened a branch at or near what is now No. 87 Main street, then occupied jointly with them by Col. John W. Scott, jeweler. Mr. Ansell Kellogg was cashier, paying teller, bookkeeper and errand boy, all in one, and conducted the business successfully. The bank was subsequently located on the southeast corner of

Main and Otter streets, where the business was conducted for many years.

"The first jail, the lower story of logs and the upper story frame, was built by Kendrick Kimball for the county of Winnebago in 1850, on the present court house square. The first jailer was Mr. Kenny, father of James Kenny.

"The first public hall was erected by Mr. Marks and Peter McCourt, on the northeast corner of Ceape and Main streets, and was used for all public purposes. The bell that hung in its tower was cast here in Oshkosh and did good service until the big fire of 1859, when it was rung until the fire drove the bell-ringer out. The building was consumed and the bell was broken. The first matches made here were manufactured by S. Whitman at Algoma in 1856. He sold out to W. D. Curtis in 1857, who removed to or near the junction of Pearl and Light streets, where he continued the business until 1863, when he sold out to the late J. L. Clark.

"The first doctor and surgeon of any note was Dr. Christian Linde, who, in 1844, located on a farm near where the Northern state hospital is now. He afterwards removed to the city and located at the northwest corner of Washington street and Linde avenue, where he died.

"The first lawyer of any prominence was L. P. Crary, father of Oscar F. Crary, now in the pension office in Milwaukee.

"The first church edifice was erected in the winter of 1850-51, on the corner of Church and Division streets, where the First Presbyterian Church now stands. It was a Methodist church and at that time was far out on the prairie.

"The first school building was built where the Athearn Hotel now stands, about 1846. It was used for school purposes, political meetings, caucauses and all sorts of gatherings, social, educational, political and religious.

First Preaching in Oshkosh.

"Hitherto I have given you several scraps of early reminiscences, historical and otherwise, and now will change the program somewhat and give you a brief account of what came under my personal observation of the first organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the county of Winnebago and city of Oshkosh. The first preaching I have any account of was in the summer of 1839, by Clark Dickinson at the house of Webster Stan-

ley, near the mouth of the river. Dickinson was a local Methodist preacher. There are some people living here yet who remember him, no doubt. He lived on a farm at that time on the north side of the creek in the town of Black Wolf. The good brother has gone to his reward many years ago. The first church organization of any kind took place in the fall of 1840, when the Rev. Jessie Halsted, traveling preacher of the Methodist church at Brothertown, formed what was called a Methodist class, consisting of the following six persons: Ira Aiken, leader; Mrs. Aiken, his mother, and Rachel Aiken, his sister; Mrs. Anna Brooks, Mrs. George Wright and Mrs. Chester Ford. The last two named persons were Presbyterians. but wished to and did join the Methodist class until such a time as a society of their own denomination should be established here. Subsequently others joined the class until it numbered twenty or more. On April 11, 1841, the Rev. J. P. Gallup preached his first sermon here that I have any knowledge of. This I find in a diary kept by me at that time. I was not a member then, but attended all the meetings held in the settlement or all that I could get to. Preaching was generally held at the house of Mr. Stanley. My mother's house was also open for preaching or prayer meetings, as was others also. Some time thereafter the Rev. Mr. Gallup was appointed to this circuit for four weeks by the annual Rock River conference, which included Wisconsin and northern Illinois. The next preacher following the Rev. Mr. Gallup was Harvey Bronson in 1842-43. We were under full church organization at this time, and Presiding Elder Goodridge held the first quarterly meeting here, while J. P. Gallup was here. In May, 1843, the writer experienced religion and joined the church after six months' probation and was appointed recording steward and subsequently class leader of a new class and held the two offices for many years. In the summer of 1844 the writer and his wife organized the first Sabbath school in the county, composed of seven scholars. The first meeting was held in the open air seated on a log under the shade of an oak tree near the present site of Dr. Steele's residence. The same belonged to the writer at that time. Four of those children are yet living, but not in the city. That school was continued during warm weather and closed through the winter season until such time as a suitable place was provided, since which time it has been a continuous school to the present time. Quite a good many people were moving into this place, and in 1845, a small school house was erected

on the site of the Athearn hotel. That was occupied for preaching and other meetings by all denominations that desired to do so. This was continued for a number of years until the county seat was located here and a court house erected, when that was occupied for preaching as well as court purposes. The first Methodist church building erected here was commenced in 1850 and finished in the fall of 1851, the site being donated for that purpose. It was located on the corner of Church and Division streets. Its dimensions were thirty by forty feet. In a few years it became too small and was lengthened twenty feet. In a few years more it again became crowded to overflowing and was raised up and a stone foundation, basement and class rooms added and otherwise improved. The old church and grounds were sold to the Presbyterian society or church about eighteen years ago, and the Methodists bought their present church building, corner Main and Merritt. Last year, 1893, the old church was again sold and removed, and a beautiful brick church is being erected thereon.

"During the earliest years of the settlement, Rev. Clark Dickinson, a local Methodist preacher living at Neenah, would preach occasionally at Mr. Stanley's, in the absence of the circuit preacher. In 1842 a new preacher was sent here. In those days circuit preachers were changed every conference year. Sometimes married preachers were allowed to remain two years on the same circuit. Harvey Bronson was the second preacher appointed at the annual conference of Wisconsin to fill the Oshkosh charge. During this year Presiding Elder Goodrich held a quarterly meeting here, the first one in this county, and organized the first church. Officers were appointed to fill the offices and a regular Methodist church organization was established in good working order. Mr. Bronson was a whole-souled, Christian man and a faithful worker in the Master's vineyard, and with the blessing of God the church here was very much strengthened and built up and many new members added thereto under his preaching and labors of love. He was a whole-souled, genial spirit and made friends with all with whom he came in contact. At the end of his year, and when about to leave for conference, Mr. Thomas Evans, a brother of the late David Evans, learning that Mr. Bronson was short in his pay, said it was too bad for him to leave without full pay for the hard labor he had done on this charge. He at once started a subscription paper, heading the list with a goodly sum, and started out among those that made

no profession of religion and in one-half day received enough money to more than pay the balance of the claim. He made his brags afterward that the sinners did better than the Christians for the preacher.

"At the next conference, Rev. Mr. Whipple was sent to Oshkosh. He was a young man just entered conference. Washington Wilcox was appointed elder for this district. He was a man nearly sixty years of age and truly a man of God and an earnest worker for the Master. The writer was appointed district steward and was to furnish the bread and wine for communion. The next quarterly meeting was to be held at Ball Prairie (so called), about ten miles from Oshkosh. At the time appointed myself and wife drove there with horse and buggy, with the elements for communion. Notice had been given through the country of time and place, and farmers had gathered there from many miles around, and quite a good-sized congregation was gathered there. The elder preached a grand, good sermon of one hour and thirty minutes, and yet there was no lack of interest. Everybody seemed well pleased and edified with the sermon. I forgot to mention that this quarterly meeting was held in a beautiful grove of burr oaks, it being warm weather and no house large enough to hold the half of the congregation. The stewards passed through the congregation to take up a collection to pay the elder's claim. The writer passed the hat to an old farmer well known to be fairly well-to-do, who threw a silver dollar in the hat. When all had been waited on this old farmer beckoned to the collector, who went to him and he untied his purse, containing seventy dollars, which he emptied into the hat, remarking that the sermon was worth it all and more. Enough was collected to pay the elder's claim and a few dollars for the preacher in charge.

Those quarterly meetings were very interesting in those early days, as they would bring together the scattered inhabitants for many miles around, who were always glad to meet each other in Christian fellowship, at a quarterly meeting more especially, as they expected to get an extra spiritual blessing in the sermon of the elder, and were not disappointed. The presiding elders in those early days were the older class of preachers with large experience and good executive ability. Most of the circuit preachers were young men just entering the ministry and required good counsel while working their circuits and at their quarterly conferences, and old Elder Wilcox was eminently calcu-

lated to fill that position to the letter. He was truly a man of God and accomplished great good wherever he labored. He has long since passed to his reward, but will ever be remembered with loving hearts by those who had the pleasure of his acquaintance and Christian counsels in those early days.

The First Fourth of July Observance in Oshkosh.

"The first celebration of the Fourth of July ever held in Oshkosh took place in 1848. This was when only a small part of the present city was surveyed and platted. The celebration was held on land owned by Joseph Jackson and W. W. Wright, laying in the now Seventh ward. The then surveyor was the late Joseph H. Osborn, founder of the Pioneer Club of Winnebago county. Webster Stanley (who lived at the mouth of the river) was offered a lot in the new village plat if he would build thereon and run a public house, or tavern, as it was called then. He accepted the offer and chose a lot where now stands the National Union bank, and erected thereon a large board shanty and opened it up to the traveling public in the summer of 1848. The inhabitants dwelling here and vicinity held a mass meeting at the shanty hotel and after several short speeches it was voted unanimously to celebrate our national independence on the coming Fourth of July, then close at hand, committees were appointed to make all necessary arrangements for the occasion. The writer was appointed a committee on music, and immediately dispatched a message to a Mr. Mansur, who had lately located on the lake shore about three miles south of Neenah, who played the snare drum, to join us in this celebration, as we had no martial music here. W. C. Isbel was engaged to play the fife. These two constituted our martial band. As no clearing had been done, scattering oak and hickory trees were interspersed all over the village plat, and hazel bushes covered what is now Main street. On the third of July Mr. Jackson and myself took our scythes and mowed a road through the bushes and grass to the river, where Main street bridge is now located, so the company could march to the river, where a log dock had been made for the steamer Manchester to land and take on freight and passengers. On the morning of the glorious Fourth some powder was burnt in old muskets and shotguns, and a blacksmith's anvil was also fired several times. Anything to make a noise. The drummer was on hand in good time; also the fifer, and their

stirring music soon brought young and old together, that being the first time the fife and drum had been heard together in this new country, and this martial music sent a thrill of patriotism through the crowd such as was never felt here before. The tables were set under an awning of bushes and the wide spreading branches of large oak trees where now stands the beautiful Athearn hotel. Mr. Jackson was chosen marshal of the day, and G. W. Washburn was chosen orator. Mr. Washburn had lately arrived in this embryo city from the east, and being a lawyer had located in Oshkosh to practice his profession, and soon became one of our leading citizens and one of the foremost in the progress of the city. When all was in readiness the whole company was formed in a double line headed by the martial band, followed by the orator, with Miss Henrietta Wright (now widow of the late T. E. Crane) as partner. The line of march was then taken up following an Indian trail (as there were no streets) up to Wright's grove, where now stands the High school, where a platform had been erected and seats provided for the occasion. The Declaration of Independence was read (I do not remember by whom), but it was read all the same, and again the anvil was made to belch forth its voice and the people to give three rousing cheers and a tiger for the Fourth of July. Mr. Washburn was then introduced to the company by the marshal and stepped upon the platform and delivered the oration, which was listened to with profound attention by all present. Again the gun and cheers sounded out into the forest in honor of our national independence. The marshal then formed the line as before and marched back to the shanty hotel and then to the dinner tables, which were groaning under the delicious viands prepared by Madam Stanley, who well understood how to do it. After satisfying the inner man the company broke up. Just then the steamer Manchester landed at the dock and Captain Houghteling and his crew were invited to take dinner, which was accepted, after which the captain invited all who wished to take a ride on the steamer. Quite a goodly number accepted his kind invitation. A general good time was enjoyed by all.

Interesting Data From the Diary of an Old Settler.

My father (George Wright) being a millwright by trade, was employed in September, 1836, to build a saw and grist mill at Brothertown, and as money was scare in those early days in this

part of Wisconsin, he was compelled to take in payment for his services all kinds of farm truck that could be used in the family, including grains, etc. He was very methodical in his business transactions, as shown by an account book that has descended to me and which is an heirloom of the family. In glancing over the several accounts, some of them balanced and others still open, I find that articles of produce were quoted as follows: Wheat at $2 per bushel; corn and oats the same price per bushel; potatoes, $1.50 per bushel; turnips, $1 per bushel; butter, 50c. per pound; eggs, 50c. to 75c. per dozen. The above prices continued about the same until 1838, when I find wheat at $2, corn at $1.50, oats at $1.50, potatoes at $1, turnips at 50c., butter at 50c., eggs, per dozen, 50c. to $1; flour, per barrel, $20; pork, per barrel, $30 to $40, according to quality; common calico, 20c. to 25c. per yard. Tea and coffee were not much in use in those days. A small quantity of tea was kept on hand, but only used in case of company.

Farming tools were very scarce and high priced. My father succeeded in purchasing what was called a bull plow in the spring of 1838 at Brothertown, for ten dollars. The plow had a heavy point, with landside bolted to the point and an upright standard. The moldboard, beam and handles had to be made of wood and fastened to the point. The above described plow was made by a blacksmith by hand and was a poor excuse for a plow, but was the best we could do at that time. Some two or three years thereafter we purchased a cast iron plow at Green Bay, but that was not much of an improvement on the bull plow. In looking over an old account book of my own, opened in 1837, I find prices of various articles of food as follows: In the spring of 1838 butter had dropped to 38c. per pound; eggs were selling at 30c. per dozen; mess pork was selling at 20c. per pound; Indian sugar at 7c. to 8c. per pound. We had no other sugar in those early days and we were glad to get that. We used to trade butter and eggs with Robert Grignon and other traders for sugar. This maple sugar was made and put up by the Menominee Indians in what they called mococks, made of white birch bark, of all sizes, weighing from one to seventy-five pounds. Sometimes we would buy direct from the Indians when they came from their sugar camps in the spring to occupy their planting grounds in this vicinity.

Very many people of today know nothing about the modus operandi of Indian sugar making. I will give it as I saw it.

The Indians made a suitable cut in the tree with an axe, for the sap to ooze from. Under the lower end of this cut they drove in an iron gouge. In that puncture they put a wooden spout to carry the sap into a receptacle made of white birch bark that would hold about two quarts, from which to make the sugar. At the camp they had one or more kettles to boil the sap in. Those kettles were the receptacles of any meat food they might wish to cook by boiling. Such things as fish, pigeons, muskrats, squirrels and the like, all went into the boiling sap. When done, the meat was taken out and the liquid boiled down and made into dry sugar by stirring as it boiled. I have seen them strain the sap through a woolen blanket like those they wore, but many did not strain their sap at all. Of course fish bones, rats' claws and other debris were in evidence in the sugar, if examined closely. The following verse handed me by a friend is appropriate to wind up this sugar story:

THE INDIAN.

He hunts and shoots, he traps the rats,
He is a dirty buggar;
He strains his sap through his shirt flaps
And makes it into sugar.

Nearly all our business transactions among the white population and Indians was done through barter, as no one had any money to brag of but once a year, and that was when the Indians received their annual payment from the United States Government in payment for lands purchased from the Indians in 1836 by Governor Dodge. Many of the settlers attended these payments with articles for trade with the Indians, figuring to get hold of as many of those silver half dollars as possible. (They were always paid in half dollars.) That was the best opportunity to gather in a few dollars they would have for a whole year. Some of the settlers would trust the Indians for provisions, etc., and receive their pay at the payment in the fall; and then whoever trusted the redskins would have to watch them very closely on the day of payment or they would not get their money. Mr. Indian would slip out of sight like an eel in muddy water, after being paid his portion. I know this from personal experience.

But to resume prices. Cattle and horses were not very plenty, but were not held at high prices. Working oxen were worth

from $60 to $80 a pair. My father purchased a pair of six-year-olds for $80 cash and an excellent cow for $30. Fifty dollars would buy a good French pony. Indian ponies could be had for much less. Day labor was from 75 cents to $1 per day, and no striking, either. In 1843, sheeting was selling at 12½ cents per yard and common calico at the same price. Fresh beef was selling at 4 to 5 cents per pound. In 1845, flour was selling for $4.50 per barrel; mess pork at $12 per barrel.

Earliest Lumbering.

It may not be of any particular interest to many readers to be told who cut the first pine logs on the Wolf or Rat river; yet as that industry has grown to mammoth proportions in a few years and very many have been made wealthy thereby, it may not be out of place to put on record what seems to be the very commencement of the lumber industry of this part of the State of Wisconsin. In the winter of 1839-40 one Richardson Johnson and a Frenchman by the name of Lamott came from Green Bay to Butte des Morts and stopped at Augustin Grignon's and inquired the way to Rat river pinery. They then secured an Indian to guide them to the desired location. They crossed what was then called Bald Prairie to Rat river and up that stream to where the pine timber came nearest to the river, and there commenced operations, erected shanties for living in and also for their team. This fact became known to us at Oshkosh very soon thereafter by the Indians, with whom we were well acquainted, and as we were very anxious to get timber for a barn and also logs for making shingles it was soon settled that Joseph Jackson and myself should go into that pinery and get what we wanted in that line. No one to our knowledge had ever cut any pine on the Wolf or Rat rivers; in fact the native pines stood all along on the banks of the Wolf unmolested when our first lumbermen went to lumbering on its banks later on. We soon got our outfit ready—my team, a good yoke of oxen, and sled, also provisions for ourselves and team, and away we went for Rat river pinery, where we arrived the same day just at dark. We followed the track of Johnson and Lamott part of the way across the prairie and up the Rat river for about two miles, where they left the river at a point not far from the timber. We followed their track and soon found them in their log shanty. They had been there three or four days and had

done some cutting. We stayed with them that night, and the next day erected a shanty for ourselves and oxen. Neither Mr. Jackson nor myself knew anything whatever about logging, but we did know how to hew timber, as that was then a part of a carpenter and joiner's business. We cut and hewed our timber first and hauled it to the river, and then went for the shingle logs. We cut twelve or fifteen very nice logs and undertook to haul them on our sled. Neither of us knew how to load a log, and it took us about two hours to load one of our largest and best logs. Finally it was on the sled and we hitched on the team and started. Crack, smash and away went the team with the sled tongue. The sled stood still and did not start an inch. We looked at it with dismay. Mr. Jackson says, "What are we going to do?" "Well," said I, "we will try the Brothertown Indian plan." We could do nothing more with the sled, so we cut a strong heavy maple crotch and hewed and smoothed it off and got it all ready to use that day; next morning we hitched the team to the crotch and placed it alongside the sled, rolled the log onto it and started the team, and this time the log came also. We hauled them all out to the river in that way and placed them with our timbers ready for rafting in the spring. It had taken us nearly two weeks' work to get our timber and logs banked. Our neighbors had nearly completed their lumbering and would soon break camp. We bargained with them to bring our timbers and logs down river with theirs in the spring, which they agreed to do. Our barn was not erected until the spring of 1843. It was erected where Doctor Dale's dwelling now stands. His front yard used to be our barnyard. Some time in the fifties it was sold and removed. The next I knew of it the late Tim Crane had it on his farm on the Omro road, where it now stands with some of the same timbers that we took from the Rat river pinery more than fifty years ago. In the winter of 1842 Clark & Farnsworth cut logs and timber on the Wolf river below the present site of Fremont. Thomas Evans (brother of the late David Evans) lumbered in Rat river pinery in the winter of 1842 and 1843. P. V. Wright, Milan Ford and Gill Brooks lumbered in Rat river pinery and brought out quite a respectable raft of logs the following month of May, 1843. In September, 1844, the steamboat Manchester, Captain Hotaling, towed two small rafts of logs to Fond du Lac for a Mr. Clark, who lumbered near the present site of the village of Fremont on the Wolf river. These were the first logs

ever towed to Fond du Lac by steam, and I believe the first ever taken there from this point. This lumber business brings to mind a little incident that happened in the camp of Wright, Ford & Brooks' company, as told by one of the party. They took turns in cooking and had breakfast very early so as to get to work by daylight, consequently must do their cooking by lamplight. Brooks was cook at this time. He went to the spring a short distance from camp for water to make coffee and dipped it up in his pail in the dark and filled his coffee kettle and in due time called the others to breakfast. When about through breakfast one made the remark that the coffee tasted queer and not as usual. Finally they all thought there was something unusual in the taste of the coffee and they began an investigation, which terminated in finding a large frog in the tea kettle well cooked and tender. They felt no bad effects, however, from the use of frog juice (as they called it) and passed it off with a hearty laugh.

The first great commercial occurrence that took place in Oshkosh after its incorporation as a city was the advent of the Northwestern railway, which reached Oshkosh in the month of September, 1858. This was truly a wonderful event for this city, as very many of the inhabitants had never seen a railway before, much less to ride on the cars. Now we had an opening to the outside world and could go to Milwaukee and Chicago without much trouble. It was considered that it would help wonderfully in building up the young city, and so it did. We felt as though we were really in the swim. The first settlers here never expected to live long enough to see a real live railway in this wilderness. The officials of the road sent invitations to many citizens of Oshkosh and other cities for a trip to Chicago on the formal opening of the road. The writer and wife were among those invited, but owing to sickness were unable to go, and we were thankful that it so happened. For in the smash-up that took place south of Watertown five Oshkosh people were killed and several others injured more or less—a very sad ending to that pleasure excursion.

The next stirring event that struck Oshkosh was at the breaking out of the Rebellion in 1861, by the capture of Fort Sumter and the seceding of the southern states from the Union. J. W. Scott, who had seen service in the Mexican war and was well versed in military tactics, immediately closed up his business as jeweler and offered his services to the Governor, who gave him a captain's commission, and he proceeded at once to raise a com-

pany of volunteers for the army. Very soon he had squads of men drilling in the grove (now the High School grounds), and great enthusiasm prevailed in the city. Men readily enlisted, and in a short time his company was full. They were quartered on the old fair grounds plat of twenty acres, lying just west of the present North park, where long board shanties were erected for their accommodation until they were called into active service. Gabe Bouck also received a captain's commission and raised a company in the city to replenish the thinning ranks of the army at the front. Although it made stirring times for Oshkosh, yet there was a foreboding sadness about it that was not pleasant. When the boys in blue returned from the war (what was left of them) it was a joyous time for those that survived the dangers and hardships of the war.

Indian Payments.

I will attempt to describe an Indian payment of more than fifty years ago, but I will probably come far short of the reality. It was an Indian payment (as I saw it) of the Menominee tribe. Perhaps a little explanation would not be out of place as to what an Indian payment really was. It was the paying of a stipulated sum of money annually by the Government to a tribe of Indians for land previously purchased by the Government by special treaty with the tribe of Indians who owned the land. The Government agreed to pay them a certain specified sum annually until the land purchased was all paid for. The payment which I am about to describe was made to the Menominee Indians, of which Chief Oshkosh was the head chief of the nation. His summer residence and planting ground was where the North park is now situated on the lake shore. The tribe was divided into several bands and an under chief was appointed over each band. Chiefs Black Wolf and Red Jacket's bands inhabited the lake shore between Oshkosh and Fond du Lac. The names of the two other chiefs were Big Wave and Little Wave, who lived up the Fox and Wolf rivers. The town of Black Wolf is named after Chief Black Wolf. One or two persons who could speak the Indian language were appointed by the Government to go through the whole tribe and enumerate them, taking down the name of every one, old and young, to whom payment was to be made. The manner of paying was as follows: Notice would be sent to the chiefs (by word of mouth) of the time and place of

holding the payment, and the chief of each band would notify his people that they were to receive their annual payment of money (silver half dollars always), also a certain amount in provisions, blankets and other merchandise stipulated to be paid to the Indians. As the time appointed drew near one might see canoes coming from up the Fox and Wolf rivers and from points around the shore of Lake Winnebago loaded with pappooses, dogs and camp equipments, usually many more dogs than children. The canoes were mostly propelled by the squaws. The first Indian payment I attended was held at Big Butte des Morts, where the village of that name now stands. But one white man lived there at that time, Mr. Augustin Grignon, a Frenchman who kept a trading post for barter with the natives. This payment was held in the fall of 1838 to the Menominee Indians from the United States Government, which had purchased a large tract of land in the summer of 1836 by special treaty at a place called Cedar Rapids, on the lower Fox river below Appleton. The purchase was made by Governor Dodge, who was then Governor of Wisconsin territory. The eastern boundary was the lower Fox river and west shore of Lake Winnebago; thence west and north up the Fox and Wolf rivers. I do not know how far this purchase extended west and north. The way these payments were conducted was as follows: The paymaster would come on the ground at the time appointed, bringing the specie, accompanied by a company of United States soldiers as guard. A large tent was set up near the center of the pay grounds, together with a pole and a United States flag thereon. A large table was constructed of boards near the center of the pay tent and the specie counted out for every name on the pay roll and placed in piles. Then the interpreter called the head chief first, who marched into the tent and stopped at the table, and his portion of money was swept off the table into his blanket, which he held for the purpose. Then the next chief in authority was called, who received his money in a like manner. Those belonging to his band were also called individually and paid in like manner. Then the next in authority was called, etc., until the whole tribe had received their pay, which required about two days. During the paying the Indian traders who had unsettled accounts with them (and most of them had) would station themselves at the door of exit and when an Indian came out with his money a trader that he owed would grab him, and if he did not pay voluntarily, Mr. Trader would proceed to take

his money by force and count out what he claimed and give back the balance. Then another trader would take him in hand, and so on until the red skin would have nothing left. I saw a trader grab a squaw (a widow) and she fought him off and ran for her wigwam. The trader followed her and after a hard fight with her and nearly destroying the wigwam, he finally succeeded in getting the money. She did not intend to be robbed without a struggle. These squabbles were of frequent occurrence. The paymaster paid no attention to them. The agent allowed no whisky on the ground while he stayed there, but the traders would outwit the agent and soldiers too. They would hide their barrels of whisky in the marsh two or three miles from the pay grounds among the grass and rushes, and one canoe would start out as they said to catch some fish. After a while they would come back with a bottle or two of whisky and the first thing the agent knew he would hear the howl of a drunken Indian in camp. He would send a soldier and bring him into the big tent for examination, but could not find out anything by the drunken redskin. Then the soldiers would be sent out to search for the whisky to no purpose. The pork and flour in barrels was dealt out to them before the money was paid, and the Indians would sell their pork to anyone that would buy it for anything they could get, as they did not like salt meat. Their beef was driven to the ground on foot, as the Indians preferred to slaughter it themselves. They would drive the cattle a mile or two from the pay ground, then surround the herd with guns charged and commence firing at them promiscuously. Then a stampede would begin. The cattle would be wounded."

XVI.

NATIONAL AND LEGISLATIVE REPRESENTATION.

Under the territory of Wisconsin, which was inaugurated July 4, 1836, and lasted until the inauguration of the state in 1848, the territory of Winnebago had no resident representation as such. It was not organized as a county until 1842. Prior to that time as part of Brown county its representatives were residents of Green Bay. In 1842 the name of Winnebago county first appears as represented in the council by Judge Morgan L. Martin, of Green Bay, who at the same time represented eight counties, covering a territory from Stevens Point to Lake Michigan. The representatives for this wide territory were Gen. Albert G. Ellis, Mason C. Darling and David Agry. In 1845 the county had as representative in the assembly a Stockbridge Indian, William Fowler. In the last territorial legislature Mason C. Darling was in the council. The convention to form a state constitution met at Madison in 1846 with Gov. James Duane Doty, of Neenah, as member for Winnebago county. On submission to the people the constitution was rejected in 1847. The second constitutional convention met in 1847 with Gov. Harrison Reed, of Neenah, as member from this county. This constitution was adopted and the first session of the state legislature met at Madison, June 5, 1848. Fond du Lac and Winnebago county were joined by the constitution as one senatorial district and Warren Chase elected first senator. He had led a colony to Silver creek and founded the community of Ceresco, afterwards Ripon. The first Oshkosh senator was John A. Eastman in 1850. The year 1853 the county first had two assemblymen, Curtis Reed, Menasha, and Col. L. M. Miller, Oshkosh. The county formed one senatorial district in 1853, 1854 and 1855, with Gov. Coles Bashford, of Oshkosh, as senator. Then came Senator John Fitzgerald, banker and steamboat monopolist. In 1859-60 Judge G. W. Washburn was senator. He died in 1907 at 84 years of age. S. M. Hay, the late ancient banker of Oshkosh, was senator in 1862. The city of Neenah was represented in the senate by Judge J. B. Hamilton several terms. The city of Menasha

has furnished Senators W. P. Rounds and Ira W. Fisher. The county has had the late Hon. James H. Foster, a pioneer, for senator. The county is still apportioned into one senatorial district. In 1888 the town and city of Menasha were attached to Outagamie county senatorial district for a short time, as it had a sure Democratic population, and Mr. P. V. Lawson, Jr., was made the Republican candidate to run against a sure Democratic majority of 2,000 and could only reduce it by 200 votes. Since then Outagamie county has become Republican, but Menasha city remains Democratic. Mr. William Hewitt remarked that "Menasha and Texas always voted Democratic."

For assemblymen the county first had three districts, as now, in 1857, and Philetus Sawyer became a member of assembly, beginning that historic political career that has placed his name high in the annals of legislation. Col. Gabe Bouck was first in the assembly in 1860 just before going to the war. He was afterwards a member and speaker of the assembly. He once remarked the only thing he wished to forget was that he was once an alderman. Col. George B. Goodwin, of Menasha, was an assemblyman before the war. Hon. Hichard C. Russell, the long-time banker of Oshkosh, was a member in 1864. Mr. Henry C. Jewell was a member in 1864. In 1872 the apportionment gave the county four assemblymen up to 1879. Hon. Tom Wall was in the assembly in 1873, 1876 and 1877. In 1879 William Wall became an assemblyman. Dr. N. S. Robinson, of Neenah, was a member in 1875, when the city charter of Menasha was granted, and Hon. W. P. Peckham was a member in 1874, when the Neenah city charter was passed.

About a little table in the school house at Ripon on February 28, 1854, sat a small body of men who drew a resolution for a new party, adopted by the crowd of determined patriots who jammed the little building. In a few days a great ratification meeting was held in Madison and the new Republican party was started. Up in Winnebago county the first Republican meeting was called out at Thompson's corners, in Clayton, September 9, 1854. Mr. Cornelius Northrup, of Menasha, was chairman, and Mr. Armine Pickett, of Winneconne, secretary. Mr. E. S. Welsh, of Neenah, and Mr. C. R. Hamlin, of Winneconne, were elected delegates to the Republican congressional convention to be held at Waupun. A mass meeting was called for Thompson's school house September 28, 1854, to nominate a candidate for assembly and a committee appointed to confer on a Republican senatorial

convention, consisting of S. R. Hopkins, of Winchester; Benjamin Strong, of Clayton; Rufus Lambert, of Vinland; Mr. Thompson, of Poygan; C. Northrup, Menasha, and Armine Pickett, of Winneconne. The convention endorsed Jonathan Dougherty, of Oshkosh, for Congress, but he did not receive the support of the congressional convention, which placed in nomination Mr. Charles Billinghurst, of Dodge county. This was the first Republican congressional convention and was held at Waupun, September 20, 1854. The members consisted of those who previously had been Free Soilers and Whigs. Billinghurst was elected, defeating the Democratic candidate, John B. Macy. At the mass meeting called at Clayton, September 29, 1854, to nominate a Republican candidate for assembly, H. Reed had sixty-nine votes and E. S. Welsh thirty votes. Gov. Harrison Reed was formerly made the first Republican nominee for assembly. There was some change made after by which Mr. Welsh became the candidate and was elected. "A ranting, canting, pie-bald hypocrite," said the "Advocate."

The first Republican county convention was held at Oshkosh on October 12, 1854, and nominated this ticket: Coles Bashford, senator; John P. Gallup, sheriff; Jonathan Daugherty, treasurer; Lester Rounds, registrar; H. Osborn, clerk; L. M. Taylor, clerk of court; Edwin Wheeler, district attorney. Coles Bashford was then holding the office of senator. This ticket was elected except registrar and clerk of the court.

In the fall of 1855 the new Republican party put up its state ticket with Coles Bashford, of Oshkosh, for Governor. In the outcome Barstow was declared elected, but a trial in the Supreme Court exhibited frauds showing that Bashford was elected and he was finally given the office. For Governor Neenah gave Bashford 149 votes and his opponent, Barstow, 49 votes. Oshkosh gave Bashford 311 and his opponent 312 votes; but Bashford carried the county by 553 majority. The new Republican party over the state captured a majority of the legislature and elected a Republican United States senator.

XVII.

ORGANIZATION OF TOWNS.

Omro. As previously explained, all the earlier towns of Winnebago county were absorbed by act of the territorial legislature of April 1, 1843, expanding the town of Butte des Morts into the town of Winnebago, embracing the whole territory of the county, and thus it remained until the act of February 11, 1847, which provided for organizing of five towns within the county—Winnebago, Butte des Morts, Brighton, Neenah and Rushford.

The town of Butte des Morts comprised the part of the present town of Omro and part of Winneconne, south of the Fox river, composed of the area as stated, "All of townships 18 and 19 in range 15, lying south of Fox river." An election was held at the house of Edward West on April 6, 1847, at which nineteen votes were polled. The corner of township 19 was set off to Winneconne, March 11, 1848, and the name of the town of Butte des Morts was changed to Bloomingdale by act of the legislature, April 3, 1849, and by an act of the county board in 1852 the name was changed to Omro. In 1850 the south half of section 31 was attached to Rushford, and in 1856 the north half of the same attached to Rushford. Sections 1 and 2 and the north half of 13 in Rushford were attached to Omro, completing the present boundaries of that town.

Oshkosh. Under the above mentioned act of February 11, 1847, the new town of Winnebago, which was afterwards changed to Oshkosh, comprised township 19 of range 15, north of Fox river (afterwards set off to Winneconne); the south half of township 19 and fractional lots of town 18, range 16 and 17, and for temporary township purposes, the future Wolf river and Winchester were attached to the town of Winnebago. The part mentioned as part of township 19 was set off to Winneconne on March 11, 1848. The town of Winnebago was further changed in its limits by an act of March 22, 1849, declaring township 18, range 16, to constitute the town of Winnebago. By authority of the act of August 21, 1848, authorizing county boards to set off, organize and change the name of towns, the town of Algoma was set off from Winnebago by the county board in 1850 and the name of the town of Winnebago was

changed to Oshkosh by the county board, November 10, 1852. The two southern rows of sections of the town of Vinland were attached to Oshkosh in February 8, 1856, by the county board.

Nekimi. The town of Brighton, of the act of February 11, 1847, included the future towns of Nekimi, Black Wolf and Algoma. The town of Algoma was set off in 1850 by the county board and the name of Brighton changed to Nekimi. Black Wolf was set off November 14, 1850, thus the town of Nekimi became limited to its present size.

Neenah and Menasha. Under the act of February 11, 1847, the town of Neenah embraced townships 20 and north half of 19, ranges 16 and 17. It was reduced to township 20, range 17, by the setting off of Vinland and Clayton in 1849. The **town of Menasha** was set off from Neenah by the county board in 1855.

Rushford. As originally organized by the act of February 11, 1847, the area of this town included the present towns of Nepeuskun, set off November, 1849, and Utica, set off March 11, 1848. Some other changes in its boundary is explained under Omro.

Utica. Set off from Rushford by act of the legislature, March 11, 1848.

Nepeuskun. Set off from Rushford by the county board, November 17, 1849.

Winneconne. This town as a complete township was organized under an act of the legislature, March 11, 1848.

Vinland. As explained above, Vinland was set off from Neenah under an act of the legislature, approved March 15, 1849.

Clayton. As explained above, Clayton was set off from Neenah under an act of the legislature, March 21, 1849.

Algoma. As stated above, Algoma was set off from Brighton by the county board, February 5, 1850.

Black Wolf was set off from Nekimi by the county board, November 14, 1850.

Winchester. The town of Winchester was organized by the act of the county board, November 11, 1851.

Poygan was organized pursuant to an act of the county board, November 11, 1852.

Wolf River. This town was originally organized by virtue of an act of the county board, January 4, 1855, under the name of **Orihula.** On July 6 of the same year the name was changed to Wolf River. The former name remains attached to the village and postoffice.

XVIII.

THE STEAM AND SAIL BOAT ON LAKE AND RIVER IN EARLIER DAYS.

The almost impassable highways in the pioneer days compelled the settler to resort to the natural highways by lake and river, and from the earliest days the canoe and barge had been the favorite mode of travel from place to place.

In the winter of 1844 Capt. Peter Hoteling engaged the services of Brothertown Indians to construct a steamboat at Manchester, in Calumet county. This was the first steamboat on Lake Winnebago and was named the "Manchester," Capt. Peter Hoteling. Its name was afterward changed to "Fountain City," being still in service in 1861 with Capt. J. Lapham in command.

In the spring of 1850 the steamboat "Peytona," a famous river boat, was completed on the shore of the river in Wisconsin street, east of the library, in Neenah. Three years later it was purchased by B. F. Moore, of Fond du Lac, and ran direct from that city to Menasha, connecting with the plank roads. The "John Mitchell" was built at Menasha in 1851 by Capt. James Harris and commenced running to Oshkosh. It is said to have been the first of the lake boats to go up to Portage. That season the other boats on the lake were the "Badger State;" "Oshkosh City," Capt. John Moody; "Menasha;" "Peytona," Capt. Steve Hoteling. This same year the "Van Ness Barlow" was built on the south shore of Little Butte des Morts lake at Neenah for Townsend Bros., and when the lock in Neenah was finished in the spring of 1852 this was the first to go through, and her upper works completed afterward. In August, 1854, as the steamer "Barlow" was leaving the dock at Oshkosh both boilers exploded, killing two firemen. Mr. John Fitzgerald, the owner, gave the widows $200.

The third boat built in Neenah was the "Jenny Lind," constructed on Cedar street near the Jameson machine shop in 1851 by Dr. N. Peake and Patrick Tiernan. Being too large for service on these waters, it was taken over into the Mississippi.

The rivalry between the villages of Menasha and Neenah

caused Mr. Curtis Reed and Charles Doty to build the "Menasha" in 1851. Boats ran from Lake Winnebago up river through the Portage canal by July, 1854. In June, 1856, the steamboat "Morgan L. Martin" arrived at Oshkosh from Green Bay, the first steamboat to pass through. In August, 1856, the "Aquilla" arrived from Pittsburg via Ohio, Mississippi, Wisconsin and Fox rivers, the first steamboat to pass the entire length of the great waterway.

"On Wednesday the steamers 'Peytona,' 'Barlow' and 'Sampson' arrived here, crowded to their utmost capacity with passengers and freight. On Saturday the steamer 'Eureka' and schooner 'Merchant and Trader' landed here," says the "Menasha Advocate" of May 31, 1855.

The steamer "Sampson" was built at Menasha in the winter of 1855 and commenced running in the spring to Fond du Lac. On her return trip her boiler exploded at Calumet, killing several and mangling others. Steamer "Independent Republic," with a long name and short engine, had a race with a deer in Lake Winnebago and the deer won out.

John Fitzgerald purchased in 1855 the entire steamboat force on the river and systematized the business, running regular lines. At one time this aroused Jere Crowley, of the "Advocate," because they raised the passage rate from Fond du Lac to Menasha from $1 to $1.50. In 1856 the steamboat fleet had the added names of "Queen City," "Eureka," "Menominee" and "Shioc." The "Ajax" and "Pioneer" passed the locks and canals below Appleton by June 11, 1856. The "Aquilla" had for some weeks previous made regular trips from Oshkosh to Appleton through the Neenah lock.

In 1861 "Fannie Fisk" was added to the fleet, the "Tigress" in 1870 and "Flora Webster" in 1872, built by Webster & Lawson, of Menasha, as a freight boat for logs, having a power crane for handling logs. "Steamer 'Energy,' Captain Gordon, cleared from Menasha for Dubuque with spokes and hubs from Webster and Lawson, May 25, 1870. The week before the 'P. V. Lawson' cleared with two barges loaded with hubs and spokes, tubs, pails and barrel stock for Prairie du Chien."—Menasha "Press."

For many years Capt. Holly S. Thurston ran the "Island City" on the river route. In 1872 he bumped into the lower gates of the Menasha lock and broke them down. The force of the water loosened the upper gates and this let the whole canal rush into the lower lake. The boat was helpless on the floods and rushed

out broadsides over a mile into the lake before brought under control. Capt. Thurston was buried at Menasha, August 10, 1882. In addition to those named there have been a host of smaller crafts—tugboats, sailboats and pleasure yachts.

Among the freak boats may be mentioned "The Traveling Pottery," a vessel constructed in Menasha in the winter of 1864 by Mr. Clough to run up the Fox and Wisconsin and down the Mississippi river, making pottery for sale on the route. A windmill furnished power for the clay-grinding machinery. The boys called it Noah's ark, and a description is given in the current "Advocate." It started on its voyage and recently a lady in Oshkosh has mentioned the fact of witnessing the pottery at work at Oshkosh. Messrs. Clinton, owners of the steamboat "Swan," when the season closed in 1854 set up lath and shingle machinery in the boat and operated the business all winter.

XIX.

ORIGIN AND MEANING OF PLACE NAMES OF LAKES, RIVERS AND LOCALITIES.

The first thing named in Wisconsin was Lake Winnebago. It is interesting to know that the first of the physical features of the region since erected into Wisconsin to receive a name from white men was Lake Winnebago, and it is quite singular to note that the name it then had still clings to the beautiful lake. Two years before any white man had been within several hundred miles of the region Governor Champlain, founder of the log cabin village of Quebec, had in 1832 drafted a map of the region from the narratives of savages and placed thereon a lake, which he named "Lac des Puans," which is French for Lake of the Winnebago.[1] This lake discharged through a river which he named "R. des Puans," which was French for River of the Winnebago, which has since been changed to Fox river. The Champlain map was topographically distorted and misplaced, as no white man had then visited any of the territory covered by it. But students of history agree that it was intended to represent Lake Winnebago and the Fox river. In 1643 Boisoeau, a French cartographer, also outlines in his map "La Nation des Puans" on "Lac des Puans," which is discharged through "Riviere des Puans."[2] In the extracts from the peculiar journal of the daring bushranger, Radisson, of 1659, which may be found in II. Wisconsin Historical Collections, p. 69, whose notes were said to have been "hammered into eccentric English," the fearless traveler refers to a visit to the Mascoutin Nation, who resided near Princeton, and when about to leave them mentions their desire to accompany him "to the great lake of the Stinkings." This was a literal translation of the French term "puans," which means filthy or ill smelling.

As early as 1670, when the great Allouez, "The father of Mis-

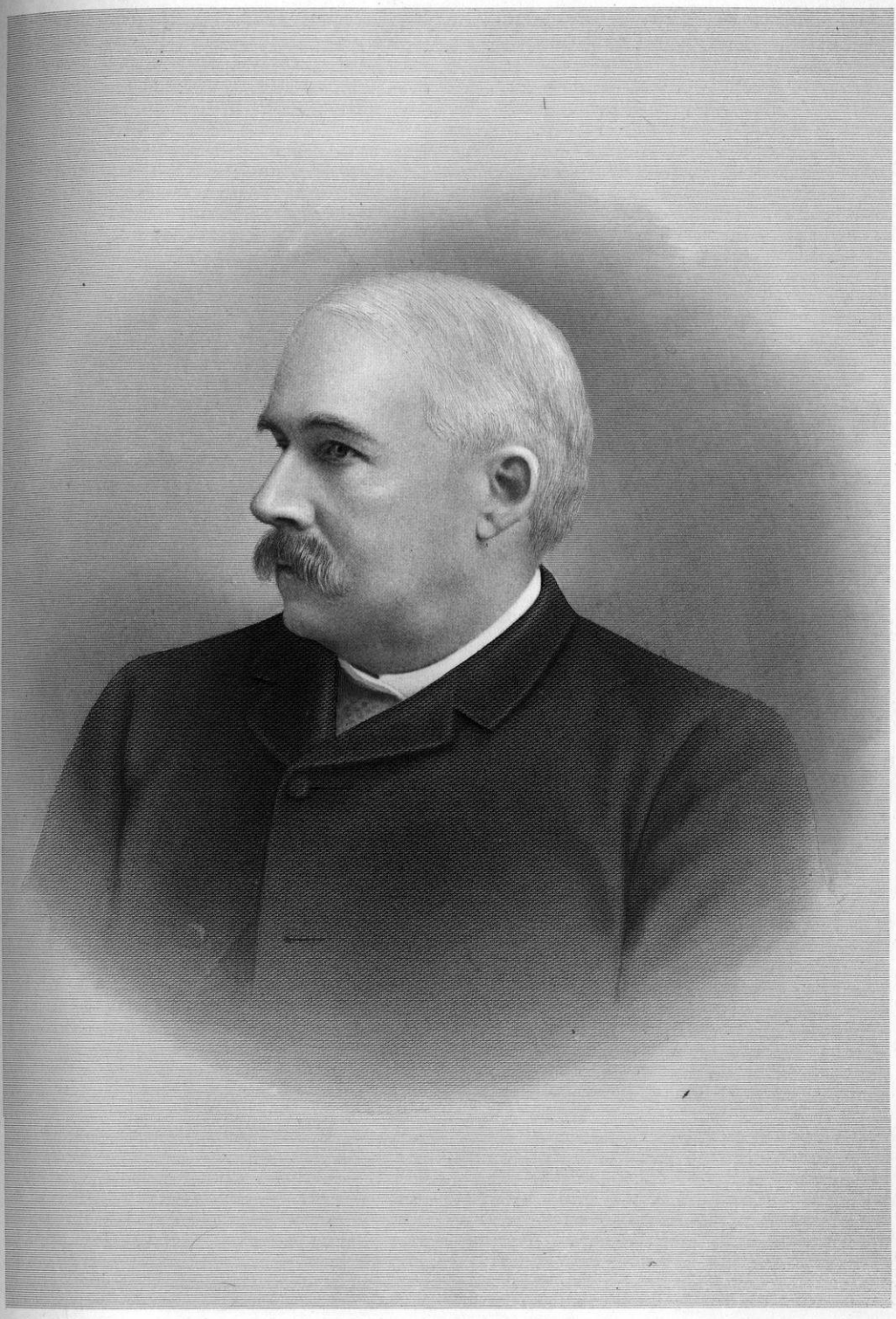
[1] For copy of this map, see "Proceedings Wis. Hist. Society" for 1906.

[2] This map is in Lenox Library, New York, and is to be found in 23 "Jesuit Relations," Cleveland Ed., which may be had in the Oshkosh library.

sions," made the first voyage of any of the missionaries up the Fox river, he refers to "Lac des Puans" as if it was well known to him. He tried to change its name to St. Francis, his patron saint, but no cartographer or voyageur ever followed him in the use of this name. All the French except Hennepin refer to the lake as Puans. He names it in his 1697 map "Kitchigamie," meaning "large lake," which doubtless was the name given him by the savages, as that was their customary name for the larger lakes.

Puans was the name applied by the French to the Winnebago and is supposed to be an erroneous translation of the Alqonkin word Ouinipeg, by which the Winnebago were known to their neighbors, which is the word from which Winnebago has derived its modern spelling and pronunciation. The tribe called themselves Otchagras. The head village of these stalwart children of Wisconsin forests was located on the shore of Lake Winnebago, on Doty island, at the foot of the lake, for upwards of two centuries from 1632 to 1832. It was the most permanent, longest maintained in one place of any Indian village on the continent. It may have been there longer than 1632, as, according to La Potherie in his traditions obtained from Perrot, it would seem to be almost pre-Columbian. The first known account of any other Winnebago village is to be found in Lieut. Gorrell's journal, 1760, where he mentions three villages. These may possibly have been the Wild Cats village on Garlic island and Black Wolf's village at Long point, though the famous old chiefs could hardly have been born at that early day.

The far famed historic and romantic Fox river, being the oldest river on the continent, has also the distinction of having been named at the same time with Lake Winnebago, the earliest of all natural objects in the region since erected into Wisconsin. It was named on Champlain's map of 1632, two years before any white man had been within several hundred miles of the river, Rivière des Puans (River of the Winnebago). It had this name two years before the coming of Nicolet and thirty-eight years before Green Bay had any name. On Jean Boisoeau's map, 1643, it still retains this name. When Rev. Claude Allouez, the first missionary, entered the river in 1670 he speaks of it as the R. des Puans, as if the name was well known, and undertook to change it to St. Francis; but the change in name was not adopted by other cartographers or voyageurs. It was not even adopted by the Jesuit map of 1670-71.



James M. Bray

La Hontan's map as late as 1709 contains the name R. des Puans, although prior to this in 1683 Hennepin had attached to his map R. le Outagamis (Fox river), although in his map of 1679 Hennepin named it R. Verte (Green river). The Chevalier de la Salle in his description of the valley in 1683 calls it Kakalin river, probably because the Kakalin rapids, now Kaukauna, was the most prominent obstruction to the navigation.

That the Fox tribes, whom the French had named La Renard and who were known among their neighbors as Outagamis, were prominent as early as 1683 is evident from their mention by La Salle as having their village three-quarters of a mile west of Little Lake Butte des Morts, but also as giving Hennepin occasion to name the river on his map of 1683 R. le Outagamis. As early as 1718 De la Mothe Cadillac had reported the Outagamis (Fox) as "wily and mischievous," "growing powerful," "and becoming insolent," and had it not been for the war with the Iroquois "steps would be taken to humble the Outagamis." Charlevoix, the historian priest, on his visit to the French fort at Green Bay as early as 1721 calls it the River of the Outagamies. It has never been seriously known by any other name than Outagamis, which is only another name for the Fox tribe, since first named in Hennepin's map of 1683, so that it may be truly said that Hennepin named the river.

When Captain Cram made the first survey ever made of the Fox river in 1839 he uses in all his maps the name Neenah with Fox river in parenthesis. This was a guarded attempt to change the name of the river and was possibly inspired by Governor Doty, who supposed Neenah was the Menominee name of the river, whereas it was only their word for water. As the Fox tribes had abandoned the river by 1742 and the Winnebago by 1840, their hunting grounds being occupied by the Menominee, Governor Doty may have felt justified in finding a name more consonant to current historical events. But the change in name died at its birth and the name hung upon the map by Friar Hennepin way out on the fringe of time, back in the mysterious days of 1683, clings to the mighty river through all the ages.

The Fox tribes had at the very beginning of the fur trade of the French in the West incurred the displeasure of the trader by refusing to submit to unfair methods, and open war was begun by the Foxes against the French as early as 1700, which lasted for upwards of half a century, causing great annoyance and loss to the Canadian Government, who sent many war par-

ties against them and fought several battles at different periods on the shores of Little Lake Butte Morts. The prominence given to the Fox tribe in the annals of the French is far out of proportion to their real importance, though sufficient to attach their name permanently to this great waterway, controlled by the war-whoop of the Outagamie. The golden fleece gathered by the French forest rangers on the headwaters of the Wisconsin rivers was in constant jeopardy by the enmity of the tribe and the importance of this waterway as the only practical means of reaching the rich fur-bearing regions united always the river with the danger of the journey, so that it was natural for such an important highway to be currently connected with the name of the tribe living on its banks, whose warwhoop was heard around the world and whose presence on the river was a constant menace to the wealth of the courtiers, who hung on the pleasure of the palace at Versailles.

Little Lake Butte des Morts was named by Father Crespel in 1728 as Little Fox Lake. Very early in French occupation it became generally known by its present name, and the high prehistoric mound builder hill on its west shore near the tomahawk trail was associated with a tradition of the massacre of the Fox Indians, an event placed at about 160 years ago. An attempt was made by a modern map in 1856 to change it to Peepeek lake. **Big Lake Butte des Morts** is said to derive its name from the same tradition in connection with the second massacre of the Fox Indians at that place on their fleeing from the first assault. There was no hill of the dead on this lake and no reason has been given for assigning the name to this lake. The village and town of Butte des Morts also derive their name from the same tradition; but whether the village takes its name from the lake or the lake its name from the village would be difficult to determine.

Rush lake is so named for the wild rice and rushes which abound on its border.

Lake Poygan is named for a great war chief of the Menominee and has been spelled differently as Pow-wa-ga-nieu. The first postoffice in the town of Poygan was spelled Powaickam. Captain Cram in his Fox river survey names the Wolf river on one map Pau-may-can river. Modern spelling agrees on Poygan for the town, the lake and the postoffice.

The **Wolf river** is named for Black Wolf, the Winnebago chief of Black Wolf point, on Lake Winnebago, from whom the town of Black Wolf also takes its name. The oldest name for this

river, R. des Mantoueoilec, is given on the Jesuit map of 1670-71. Captain Cram in his survey maps of the Fox river in 1839 names it on one map Wolf river and on another map Pau-may-can river. The town of Wolf river takes its name from this river. The first white person to go on this river was Allouez, who ascended the river as far as Manawa in 1670.

Lake Winneconne, which gives its name to the village and town of Winneconne, is named for a Menominee chief whose name has been spelled Wau-nau-ko. In the treaty made by Governor Dodge at Cedar point in 1836 the name of the lake is rendered Wah-ne-kau-nah. In a deed in possession of the author signed by Joseph Jourdain, witnessed by Eleazer Williams and drawn by his secretary, D. J. Wautman, who also witnessed it, selling for $168 a piece of land at Waynacomnah, where the Indian blacksmith shop stands, on the west side of Wolf river, containing 160 acres with a dwelling house and other improvements to John L. Williams, August 7, 1849. This was the property afterward known as Williamsburg.

Waukau was Lapones village and is said to mean zigzag, or lightning. It is the name of the river outlet of Rush lake and empties into Fox river, and the name of a village in the town of Rushford.

Menasha is named from the Winnebago village on Doty island, Mini-ha-ha, laughing waters, referring to the twin falls around the island.

Neenah is a Menominee word for water and originated as a modern name for the Fox river by Governor Doty, who inspired Captain Cram, engineer, to give the name to Fox river, supposing it was the Indian name of the river. The name as attached to the Fox river did not survive, but it still remains the name of a small river tributary to the Fox near Portage. The original name of the village of Neenah, as well as Menasha, was Winnebago Rapids. It was finally changed to Neenah upon consolidation of both village plats of Neenah. The township had been named Neenah long before the village.

Oshkosh is named, as explained in another place, for the chief of that name. It means brave. The original spelling was Oiscoss and Oskoshe.

Omro was named for Charles Omro, one of its first traders. The street names of the town are often self-explanatory, but frequently there are historic or Indian names not found in any lexicon. Naymut street in Menasha, on the island, ran to the

door of Governor Doty's log cabin home and was given by him this name, which is a Menominee word meaning "welcome." Keyes street, which runs through the park, ends at the old colonial home of Capt. Joseph Keyes, one of the founders of the city of Menasha. Ahnaip street means in Menominee "at what time" and is most commonly spelled Ahnapee. Tayco street in Menasha is a corruption of Tecos road. It was the original trail on the east bank of Lake Butte des Morts from the ford across the Fox river at the foot of the lake below Caldwell's or Stroby island, and ran through Menasha and over Doty island to the mission mills at Neenah. The name harks back into the ancient times when the only house in primitive Appleton was Grignon's log cabin inn, called the "White Heron," located on the north bank of Fox river about a mile above the Grand Chute natural waterfall as early as 1838 and known as Tecos point. Appleton was in 1846 known as Tecos point, where Crafts had a box on a post, which was the first postoffice of Appleton.

XX.

POPULATION, WEALTH AND PRODUCTS OF WINNEBAGO COUNTY.

Population.

From the census of 1905 it appears that the density of population of Winnebago county is third, with 128 people to the square mile. It is only beaten by Milwaukee and Racine in density of population.

It has the most inhabitants of any county in the state, except Milwaukee, its total population being 60,300, made up of 13,102 families. The population is made up of 29,744 males, 30,556 females, 61 colored, 6 Indians, 516 ex-soldiers and sailors and 11,107 are available for military service.

Oshkosh is the fourth city in the state, with a population of 30,575. Neenah has 6,047 people; Menasha, 5,960; Omro, 1,300; Winneconne, 942. Winnebago county increased in population in ten years from 1895 to 1905, 2,075.

In the whole county there is 812 more females than males. The most notable difference in the number of the sex is found in the seventh ward in Oshkosh, where out of 421 families there are 257 more females than males, and in the tenth ward 213 more females than males. In every town in the county there are more males than females. In the town of Neenah the males are ninety in excess, and in the town of Oshkosh there are 161 more males than females. The population of the towns is given as follows: Algoma, 876; Black Wolf, 699; Clayton, 1,143; Menasha, 673; Neenah, 617; Nekimi, 966; Nepeuskun, 887; Omro, 1,111; Oshkosh, 1,797; Poygan, 686; Rushford, 1,511; Utica, 943; Vinland, 1,007; Winchester, 1,003; Winneconne, 655; Wolf River, 902. There are ex-soldiers and sailors in every town and every ward. Rushford has thirty-one, the largest number of any township.

Nativity of Population.

From the census of 1905 the nativity of the population of the several towns and cities of Winnebago county is interesting and

instructive. Algoma has 719 native born and 157 foreign born; 609 were born in Wisconsin and 110 in other states. Of the foreign born there are 15 Canadians, 15 Danes, 18 English, 72 Germans, 6 Irish, 7 Russian, 4 Scotch and 10 Welch.

Black Wolf has 583 native born and 116 foreign born; 546 were born in Wisconsin and 35 in other states. Of the foreign born there are 1 Canadian, 2 Danes, 1 English, 93 Germans and 1 Scotch.

Clayton has 923 native born and 220 foreign born; 844 were born in Wisconsin and 79 in other states. Of the foreign born there are 5 Canadians, 30 Danes, 5 English, 152 Germans and 2 Irish.

Menasha has 506 native born and 167 foreign born; 472 were born in Wisconsin and 34 in other states. Of the foreign born there are 2 Canadians, 48 Danes, 2 English, 100 Germans and 6 Irish.

The city of Menasha has 4,777 native born and 1,483 foreign born; 4,149 were born in Wisconsin and 358 in other states. Of the foreign born there are 32 Canadians, 9 Danes, 16 English, 757 Germans, 72 Irish, 2 Russian, 13 Scotch, 3 Welch and 518 Polanders.

Nekimi has 743 native born and 223 foreign born; 685 were born in Wisconsin and 58 in other states. Of the foreign born there are 3 Canadians, 1 Dane, 8 English, 159 Germans, 9 Irish, 1 Russian, 2 Scotch and 34 Welch.

Nepeuskun has 759 native born and 128 foreign born; 661 were born in Wisconsin and 98 in other states. Of the foreign born there are 8 English, 112 Germans, 2 Irish and 2 Welch.

Omro has 951 native born and 160 foreign born; 811 were born in Wisconsin and 140 in other states. Of the foreign born there are 15 Canadians, 6 Danes, 17 English, 101 Germans, 6 Irish, 1 Scotch and 5 Welch.

Omro village has 1,182 native born and 118 foreign born; 783 were born in Wisconsin and 399 in other states. Of the foreign born there are 23 Canadians, 7 Danes, 34 English, 23 Germans, 13 Irish, 9 Scotch and 2 Welch.

Oshkosh has 1,234 native born and 563 foreign born; 979 were born in Wisconsin and 255 in other states. Of the foreign born there are 26 Canadians, 36 Danes, 17 English, 270 Germans, 38 Irish, 2 Russians, 9 Scotch and 8 Welch.

Neenah has 431 native born and 186 foreign born; 394 were

born in Wisconsin and 37 in other states. Of the foreign born there are 1 Canadian, 45 Danes, 4 English, 73 Germans, 3 Irish and 2 Welch.

Neenah City has 4,662 native born and 1,381 foreign born; 4,133 were born in Wisconsin and 532 in other states. Of the foreign born there are 43 Canadians, 403 Danes, 43 English, 639 Germans, 41 Irish, 4 Scotch and 16 Welch.

Oshkosh City has 23,304 native born and 7,251 foreign born; 20,000 born in Wisconsin and 3,304 born in other states. Of the foreign born there are 397 Canadians, 422 Danes, 218 English, 4,969 Germans, 190 Irish, 221 Russians, 25 Scotch and 107 Welch.

Poygan has 533 native born and 153 foreign born; 447 were born in Wisconsin and 56 in other states. Of the foreign born there are 6 Canadians, 3 English, 79 Germans, 32 Irish and 20 Russians.

Rushford has 1,325 native born and 186 foreign born; 1,067 were born in Wisconsin and 258 in other states. Of the foreign born there are 22 Canadians, 5 Danes, 20 English, 100 Germans, 4 Russians, 6 Scotch and 1 Welch.

Utica has 780 native born and 163 foreign born; 716 were born in Wisconsin and 64 in other states. Of the foreign born there is 1 Canadian, 3 Danes, 11 English, 95 Germans, 5 Irish, 9 Scotch and 37 Welch.

Vinland has 804 native born and 203 foreign born; 738 were born in Wisconsin and 66 in other states. Of the foreign born there are 2 Canadians, 18 Danes, 21 English, 119 Germans, 5 Irish, 1 Scotch and 2 Welch.

Winchester has 795 native born and 208 foreign born; 766 were born in Wisconsin and 29 in other states. Of the foreign born there are 31 Danes, 5 English, 66 Germans and 8 Irish.

Winneconne has 547 native born and 108 foreign born; 480 were born in Wisconsin and 67 in other states. Of the foreign born there are 5 Canadians, 10 Danes, 6 English, 68 Germans and 2 Irish.

Winneconne village has 772 native born and 170 foreign born; 639 were born in Wisconsin and 138 in other states. Of the foreign born there are 12 Canadians, 5 Danes, 7 English, 108 Germans and 12 Irish.

Wolf River has 686 native born and 216 foreign born; 678 were born in Wisconsin and 8 in other states. Of the foreign born there are 2 Canadians, 1 English, 212 Germans and 1 Welch.

Nativity of County Population.

In the whole county the records show 46,719 are native born and 13,581 foreign born. Of these 40,627 were born in Wisconsin and 6,092 in other states. Nativity of the foreign born is 113 Austria, 22 Belgium, 15 Bohemia, 610 Canadian, 1,000 Denmark, 465 England, 28 Finland, 30 France, 8,390 Germany, 10 Greece, 34 Holland, 45 Hungary, 478 Ireland, 56 Italy, 388 Norway, 10 Austria-Poland, 580 Prussia-Poland, 58 Russian-Poland, 255 Russia, 84 Scotland, 127 Sweden, 232 Switzerland and 230 Wales.

Figured in percentage, 77½ per cent of the county population is native born and 22½ per cent is foreign born, of which the largest percentage is German, being 14 per cent of the total population, all other foreign countries making 8 per cent of the population.

Occupation.

The occupation of the people of Winnebago is various and is here given for the whole county, as to set it down for each town and ward of the cities would make a long and uninteresting list. There is, according to the census of 1905, 2,847 farmers; 917 merchants, manufacturers and bankers; 269 hotelmen; 186 saloonkeepers; 93 clergymen; 142 physicians; 51 lawyers; 20 newspaper men; 486 teachers; 180 nurses and midwives; 289 agents; 426 bookkeepers; 918 clerks; 419 railway and telegraph men; 1,219 carpenters; 358 blacksmiths; 670 tailors; 453 engineers; 115 barbers; 2,038 factory hands; 115 lumber raftsmen; 75 sailors; 69 quarrymen; 4,246 common laborers; 448 draymen; 128 servants; 2,809 students; 552 retired farmers, business men and capitalists. There are a total of 24,459 men and women employed at some of the designated occupations. For the county containing the largest population the unfortunate and deformed are but a small number of the total population. There are 164 insane, 53 deaf and dumb, 18 blind and 15 idiots.

POPULATION OF WINNEBAGO COUNTY FROM THE EARLIEST RECORDS TO 1905.

Towns and cities—	1850.	1855.	1860.	1865.	1870.	1875.	1880.	1885.	1895.	1905.
Algoma	702	850	699	713	807	789	791	769	821	876
Black Wolf	...	552	692	827	847	897	888	840	763	699
Clayton	402	775	1,104	1,140	1,340	1,300	1,270	1,315	1,242	1,143
Menasha (town)	...	361	380	2,467	613	720	631	698	680	673
Menasha (city)	...	1,264	1,436	.....	2,484	3,170	3,144	3,823	6,154	5,960
Neenah (town)	1,520	1,074	314	2,309	468	534	588	601	574	617
Neenah (city)	...	...	1,296	...	2,655	4,023	4,202	4,910	5,781	6,047
Nekimi	910	797	1,102	1,257	1,278	1,275	1,226	1,193	1,070	966
Nepenskun	361	684	987	1,009	1,129	1,123	1,050	1,028	959	887
Omio (town)	909	1,605	2,012	2,309	3,216	3,312	2,694	2,716	1,227	1,111

Omio (village)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1,395	1,300
Oshkosh (town)	1,627	345	761	723	729	1,124	1,384	1,584	1,522	1,797
Oshkosh (city)	...	4,118	6,087	9,346	12,663	17,015	15,749	22,064	26,947	30,575
Poygan	...	401	613	682	843	868	995	864	851	686
Rushford	514	1,207	1,651	1,977	2,019	2,079	2,059	1,801	1,661	1,511
Utica	630	824	1,201	1,111	1,039	1,078	1,045	1,030	1,039	943
Vinland	756	1,090	962	1,095	1,206	1,141	1,069	1,076	1,023	1,007
Winchester	...	578	1,055	1,298	1,439	1,131	1,176	1,094	1,069	1,003
Winneconne (town)	1,948	830	1,184	1,177	1,989	2,577	1,910	2,066	806	665
Winneconne (village)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1,136	942
Wolf River	...	84	233	327	505	877	940	906	913	902
Total	10,179	17,439	23,770	30,769	37,279	45,033	42,741	50,395	57,627	60,233

Population in 1840, 135; in 1842, 143; in 1846, 732; in 1847, Brighton, 546; Rushford, 727; Butte des Morts, 312; Winnebago, 678; Neenah, 524; total, 2,787. The count of 1850 for the town of Neenah included the town of Menasha. The count for Nekimi in 1850 included Black Wolf. The count of Oshkosh town in 1850, and Menasha and Neenah towns in 1865 included the villages. In 1840 the population of Wisconsin was 30,945; in 1850, 305,391; in 1860, 775,881; in 1880, 1,315,497; in 1905, 2,228,831.

Bounteous Year.

From an editorial in the "Oshkosh Daily Northwestern," an extract from which is copied here, it would seem that this year (1907), while the crops are ten per cent short, the farmers are still to have increased returns because of increased prices received. This paper says: "According to an estimate made by 'The American Agriculturist,' a recognized authority on farm and crop statistics, the farmers of this nation will be more than a billion dollars better off this year as a result of their harvests than they were last year. It is admitted that the farm crops this season will be about ten per cent less in quantity than they were in 1906, which was the bumper season, but the crops of 1907 will still fully equal the average yields for the five years prior to last season. The preliminary review of crops made by 'The Agriculturist' also emphasizes the fact that because of the increased prices the leading staples this year will net the farmers over $500,000,000 more than they received for the same crops last year, while their total gains as the result of high prices for other products of the farm will more than double this amount."

Value of Land and Products from the Census of 1905.

The total values of lands and products of the county are as follows: 2,605 farms, containing 265,028 acres, with 178,640 acres

improved and 73,908 unimproved. Total value of farm lands is $17,145,535. The farm implements are valued at $306,478. There was paid out for wages $264,612 for the year 1905. There were 35,216 bushels of wheat raised on 2,984 acres, valued at $30,172. There were 1,273,675 bushels oats raised on 40,048 acres, worth $393,925; 479,243 bushels barley raised on 16,644 acres of land, worth $213,374; 14,524 bushels rye raised on 858 acres of land, worth $9,197; 522,785 bushels corn raised on 20,388 acres, valued at $236,422; 73,416 tons hay raised on 48,164 acres, valued at $498,219; 11,527 horses, worth $800,435; 38,138 cattle, worth $747,506, besides 16,042 cattle sold worth $198,244; 21,327 hogs, worth $98,791, besides 33,505 hogs sold, worth $293,587; 13,453 sheep, worth $36,975, besides 6,719 sold, worth $23,798; 315,682 bushels potatoes were raised on 9,189 acres of land, worth $81,595; 47,479 pounds of honey produced, worth $4,818; 66,765 bushels of apples, worth $27,163; 665 tons sugar beets, worth $3,065; the dairy products of Winnebago county are becoming a valuable industry. There were by the census of 1905 24,335 milch cows, worth $622,402, making 1,504,732 gallons of milk, worth $160,674, from which was made 900,685 pounds of butter, worth $183,491, and 7,417 pounds of cheese, worth $712. In the whole county there were raised 153,672 fowls, valued at $51,534, which laid 719,431 dozen eggs, worth $114,825. The wool product is worth $19,562 for 723,157 pounds.

The amount of acreage in farm lands value of the farms, including the buildings, value of implements and expenditure for farm labor, is here given from the census of 1895. Similar statistics are given later from the last reports of the county assessors, as reported by the county clerk, Mr. J. J. Fish, to the officials at Madison.

In Algoma there are 174 farms, containing 10,175 acres, of which 9,094 acres are improved, and 1,081 unimproved, all valued at $1,067,575. The farm implements are worth $14,350. The cost of labor during the year was $16,773.

In Black Wolf there are 106 farms, containing 7,984 acres, of which 6,430 acres are improved, and 1,554 unimproved, all valued at $743,020. The farm implements are worth $11,145. The cost of labor during the year was $5,878.

In Clayton there are 223 farms, containing 23,785 acres, of which 16,439 acres are improved, and 7,346 unimproved, all valued at $1,708,040. The farm implements are worth $21,473. The cost of labor during the year was $28,532.

In Menasha there are 119 farms, containing 8,054 acres, of which 5,875 acres are improved, and 2,179 unimproved, all valued at $567,000. The farm implements are worth $12,476. The cost of labor during the year was $14,415.

In Neenah there are 106 farms, containing 7,972 acres, of which 6,058 acres are improved, and 1,914 unimproved, all valued at $552,900. The farm implements are worth $9,005. The cost of labor during the year was $6,845.

In Nekima there are 192 farms, containing 19,484 acres, of which 15,783 are improved, and 3,701 unimproved, all valued at $1,419,475. The farm implements are worth $20,357. The cost of labor during the year was $30,476.

In Nepeuskun there are 173 farms, containing 19,865 acres, of which 12,476 are improved, and 7,389 unimproved, all valued at $1,102,200. The farm implements are worth $17,690. The cost of labor during the year was $18,990.

In Omro there are 217 farms, containing 20,098 acres, of which 15,523 acres are improved, and 4,575 unimproved, all valued at $1,102,200. The farm implements are worth $17,690. The cost of labor during the year was $15,196.

In Omro village there are sixteen farms, containing 628 acres, of which 613 acres are improved, and 15 unimproved, all valued at $64,600. The farm implements are worth $1,775. The cost of labor during the year was $1,000.

In Oshkosh there are 118 farms, containing 9,410 acres, of which 8,699 acres are improved, and 711 unimproved, all valued at $900,725. The farm implements are worth $17,643. The cost of labor during the year was $6,588.

In the city of Oshkosh there are 14 farms, containing 236 acres, of which 234 acres are improved, and 2 acres unimproved, all valued at $882,000. The farm implements are worth $260. The cost of labor during the year was $2,155.

In Poygan there are 139 farms, containing 13,989 acres, of which 9,709 acres are improved, and 4,280 unimproved, all valued at $1,084,045. The farm implements are worth $16,755. The cost of labor during the year was $9,517.

In Rushford there are 217 farms, containing 20,515 acres, of which 13,989 acres are improved, and 6,526 unimproved, all valued at $1,355,150. The farm implements are worth $37,455. The cost of labor during the year was $18,630.

In Utica there are 149 farms, containing 20,129 acres, of which 12,329 acres are improved, and 7,800 unimproved, all valued at

$1,194,100. The farm implements are worth $22,655. The cost of labor during the year was $27,635.

In Vinland there are 191 farms, containing 18,469 acres, of which 15,728 acres are improved, and 2,741 unimproved, all valued at $1,440,075. The farm implements are worth $32,948. The cost of labor during the year was $21,168.

In Winchester there are 166 farms, containing 21,402 acres, of which 12,248 are improved, and 9,154 unimproved, all valued at $974,800. The farm implements are worth $19,115. The cost of labor during the year was $9,787.

In Winneconne there are 112 farms, containing 13,625 acres, of which 10,012 acres are improved, and 3,613 unimproved, all valued at $928,150. The farm implements are worth $14,670. The cost of labor during the year was $15,575.

In Winneconne village there are 7 farms, containing 174 acres, of which 138 acres are improved, and 36 unimproved, all valued at $10,200. The farm implements are worth $750. The cost of labor during the year was $750.

In Wolf River there are 162 farms, containing 16,554 acres, of which 7,263 acres are improved, and 9,291 unimproved, all valued at $685,880. The farm implements are worth $17,338. The cost of labor during the year was $14,102.

The total for the county is 2,605 farms, 252,548 acres, of which 178,640 are improved, and 73,908 unimproved, valued at $17,145,535. The farm implements are worth $306,478. Cost of labor $264,012.

The agricultural and stock products of the several towns from the census of 1905, is here given for each town in the county:

Algoma has 78 acres in wheat, raising 874 bushels, worth $907; 2,216 acres in oats, raising 54,802 bushels, worth $17,340; 503 acres in barley, raising 14,292 bushels, worth $6,827; 18 acres in rye, raising 276 bushels, worth $182; 1,058 acres in corn, raising 17,505 bushels, worth $8,790; 2,676 acres in hay, raising 3,735 tons, worth $28,976; 540 horses, worth $45,990; 1,695 cattle on hand, worth $39,732, and sold 692 for $8,306; 829 hogs on hand, worth $3,758, and 115 sold at $10,761; 55 sheep, worth $224, and 20 sold at $63; 71 acres in potatoes, producing 8,087 bushels, worth $2,867; 7,629 bushels apples grown, worth $3,583; there are 1,092 milch cows, worth $32,203, producing 172,990 gallons milk, valued at $16,667; 49,609 pounds butter, valued at $11,701; there are 5,388 fowls, worth $2,335, laying 20,498 dozen eggs, worth $3,141; 8 pounds wool, valued at $2.00.

Black Wolf has 295 acres in wheat, raising 388 bushels, worth $3,109; 1,260 acres in oats, raising 44,020 bushels, worth $13,652; 934 acres in barley, raising 26,761 bushels, worth $11,607; 586 acres in corn, raising 16,550 bushels, worth $6,757; 1,328 acres in hay, raising 2,185 tons, worth $21,520; 329 horses, worth $22,225; 1,257 cattle on hand, worth $25,500, and 189 sold for $3,698; 240 hogs on hand worth $2,811, and 885 sold at $8,726; 72 sheep, worth $232, and 20 sold at $52; 53 acres in potatoes, producing 7,970 bushels, worth $2,280; 2,870 bushels of apples grown, worth $1,172; there are 900 milch cows, worth $21,688, producing 1,200 gallons of milk, valued at $105; 11,985 pounds of butter, valued at $2,245; there are 4,185 fowls, worth $1,180, laying 14,833 dozen eggs, worth $2,611.

Clayton has 99 acres in wheat, raising 1,448 bushels, worth $1,286; 3,919 acres in oats, raising 141,807 bushels, worth $42,004; 1,806 acres in barley, raising 55,580 bushels, worth $26,843; 13 acres in rye, raising 120 bushels, worth $84; 1,720 acres in corn, raising 47,755 bushels, worth $23,177; 4,346 acres in hay, raising 6,699 tons, worth $42,658; 809 horses, worth $57,592; 3,819 cattle on hand, worth $75,454, and 1,574 sold for $19,629; 2,374 hogs on hand, worth $10,224, and 2,832 sold for $26,533; 1,050 sheep, worth $3,974, and 485 sold for $1,860; 231 acres in potatoes, producing 13,910 bushels, worth $8,129; 3,788 bushels of apples grown, worth $1,285; there are 2,192 milch cows, worth $57,406, producing 70,525 gallons of milk, valued at $5,455; 27,688 pounds of butter, valued at $5,382; 1,186 pounds of cheese, valued at $118; there are 8,779 fowls, worth $2,692, laying 76,163 dozen eggs, worth $12,788; 3,657 pounds of wool, valued at $1,087.

Menasha has 25 acres in wheat, raising 445 bushels, worth $430; 1,493 acres in oats, raising 52,595 bushels, worth $15,747; 739 acres in barley, raising 19,830 bushels, worth $9,645; 34 acres of rye, raising 690 bushels, worth $475; 254 acres of corn, raising 6,910 bushels, worth $3,432; 1,720 acres in hay, raising 3,502 tons, worth $26,986; 356 horses, worth $22,505; 1,442 cattle on hand, worth $25,795, and 556 sold for $10,286; 638 hogs on hand, worth $2,375, and 800 sold for $7,286; 105 sheep, worth $340, and 54 sold for $195; 42 acres of potatoes, raising 4,220 bushels, worth $1,325; 561 bushels of apples grown, worth $233; there are 784 milch cows, worth $18,920, producing 28,160 gallons of milk, valued at $3,397; 38,550 pounds of butter, valued at $8,480; there are 3,952 fowls, worth $1,932, laying 12,041 dozen eggs, worth $2,131; 390 pounds of wool, valued at $113.

Neenah has 41 acres of wheat, raising 560 bushels, worth $506; 1,169 acres of oats, raising 39,060 bushels, worth $12,145; 508 acres barley, raising 12,928 bushels, worth $5,417; 12 acres of rye, raising 280 bushels, worth $184; 338 acres of corn, raising 8,270 bushels, worth $4,045; 1,608 acres of hay, raising 2,979 tons, worth $21,194; 331 horses, worth $21,660; 1,262 cattle on hand, worth $29,410, and 310 sold for $4,528; 275 hogs on hand, worth $1,117, and 618 sold for $5,866; 168 sheep, worth $502, and 61 sold for $185; 43 acres of potatoes, producing 4,846 bushels, worth $1,265; there are 880 milch cows, worth $24,201, producing 15,752 gallons of milk, worth $1,407; 34,720 pounds of butter, valued at $6,724; 160 pounds of cheese, valued at $15; there are 4,109 fowls, worth $1,152, laying 21,433 dozen eggs, valued at $4,188; 989 pounds of wool, valued at $257.

City of Neenah has 18 acres of oats, raising 560 bushels, worth $163; 2 acres of corn, raising 60 bushels, worth $21; 166 acres hay, raising 234 tons, worth $1,872; 392 horses, worth $39,790; 46 hogs, worth $187; there are 259 milch cows, worth $9,031, producing 68,595 gallons of milk, valued at $13,359; 9,925 pounds of butter, valued at $2,005; there are 8,379 fowls, worth $2,137, laying 54,490 dozen eggs, worth $8,257.

City of Menasha has 208 horses, worth $23,950; 114 milch cows, worth $3,680, producing 48,395 gallons of milk, valued at $9,704; 1,565 fowls, worth $484, laying 14,155 dozen eggs, worth $2,255.

Nekimi has 436 acres of wheat, raising 4,522 bushels, worth $3,964; 3,589 acres of oats, raising 98,201 bushels, worth $28,872; 3,165 acres of barley, raising 82,187 bushels, worth $35,304; 8 acres of rye, raising 132 bushels, worth $96; 1,603 acres of corn, raising 32,390 bushels, worth $15,750; 4,371 acres of hay, raising 5,968 tons, worth $44,108; 785 horses, worth $53,995; 2,865 cattle on hand, worth $51,390, and sold 1,463 for $17,652; hogs on hand, 754, worth $4,987, 2,546 sold for $24,808; 1,197 sheep, worth $2,998, and 491 sold at $1,587; 89 acres of potatoes, producing 12,303 bushels, worth $2,437; 5,430 bushels of apples grown, worth $2,064; there are 1,623 milch cows, worth $42,430, producing 18,924 gallons of milk, valued at $1,513; 58,700 pounds of butter, valued at $11,515; 270 pounds of cheese, valued at $27; there are 8,222 fowls, worth $3,321, laying 43,021 dozen of eggs, worth $7,785; 4,609 pounds of wool, worth $1,276.

Nepeuskun has 343 acres of wheat, raising 3,938 bushels, worth $3,186; 3,112 acres of oats, raising 103,898 bushels, worth $30,998;

1,184 acres of barley, raising 37,931 bushels, worth $18,077; 79 acres of rye, raising 1,663 bushels, worth $1,104; 2,065 acres of corn, raising 59,985 bushels, worth $29,710; 2,807 acres of hay, raising 4,027 tons, worth $25,226; 685 horses, worth $48,870; cattle on hand, 2,569, worth $47,185, and 839 sold for $11,372; 861 hogs on hand, worth $5,620, and 3,247 sold for $27,830; 2,368 sheep, worth $5,424, and 949 sold for $2,246; 271 acres of potatoes, producing 43,955 bushels, worth $8,787; 5,770 bushels of apples grown, worth $1,732; there are 1,664 milch cows, worth $36,972, producing 30,230 gallons of milk, worth $4,323; 31,146 pounds of butter, worth $6,149; there are 8,150 fowls, worth $2,091, laying 25,890 dozen eggs, worth $3,935; 10,889 pounds of wool, worth $2,975.

Omro has 212 acres of wheat, raising 2,501 bushels, worth $2,169; 3,495 acres of oats, raising 91,391 bushels, worth $26,791; 1,126 acres of barley, raising 30,514 bushels, worth $12,279; 62 acres of rye, raising 640 bushels, worth $368; 2,065 acres of corn, raising 59,985 bushels, worth $29,710; 2,807 acres of hay, raising 4,027 ton, worth $25,226; 754 horses, worth $49,705; 2,648 cattle on hand, worth $54,046, and 842 sold at $13,846; 1,776 hogs on hand, worth $7,149, and 2,778 sold for $23,232; 595 sheep, worth $1,566, and 385 sold at $1,227; 134 acres of potatoes, producing 14,608 bushels, worth $3,607; 7,127 bushels of apples grown, worth $3,053; there are 1,838 milch cows, worth $44,855, producing 37,929 gallons of milk, worth $3,653; 38,816 pounds of butter, worth $8,237; there are 10,021 fowls, worth $3,047, laying 50,334 dozen eggs, worth $7,516; 2,960 pounds of wool, worth $713.

Omro village has 97 acres of oats, raising 2,964 bushels, worth $11,307; 34 acres of barley, raising 891 bushels, worth $412; 50 acres of corn, raising 995 bushels, worth $500; 169 acres of hay, raising 314 tons, worth $2,488; 206 horses, worth $17,860; 91 cattle on hand, worth $2,445, and 49 sold at $284; 40 hogs on hand, worth $400, and 71 sold for $884; 8 acres of potatoes, producing 420 bushels, worth $120; there are 131 milch cows, worth $4,415, producing 22,190 gallons of milk, worth $2,743; 7,934 pounds of butter, worth $1,469; there are 1,279 fowls, worth $632, laying 13,366 dozen eggs, worth $1,971.

Oshkosh has 197 acres of wheat, raising 2,367 bushels, worth $2,048; 1,631 acres of oats, raising 52,601 bushels, worth $15,481; 335 acres of barley, raising 9,268 bushels, worth $4,395; 1,112 acres of corn, raising 35,242 bushels, worth $17,739; 2,958 acres

of hay, raising 3,615 tons, worth $30,900; 351 horses, worth $29,680; 1,182 cattle on hand, worth $29,895, and 548 sold at $5,836; 665 hogs on hand, worth $3,838, and 822 sold at $8,614; 106 sheep, worth $367, and 3 sold at $9; 70 acres of potatoes, producing 6,584 bushels, worth $1,965; 1,869 bushels of apples grown, worth $1,055; there are 1,153 milch cows, worth $34,633, producing 678,284 gallons of milk, worth $51,557; 107,132 pounds of butter, worth $21,488; there are 5,625 fowls, worth $2,793, laying 36,066 dozen eggs, worth $5,466; 50 pounds of wool, worth $18.

City of Oshkosh has 2 acres of wheat, raising 25 bushels, worth $20; 9 acres of oats, raising 350 bushels, worth $108; 2 acres of barley, raising 100 bushels, worth $40; 1 acre of rye, raising 10 bushels, worth $5; 11 acres of corn, raising 610 bushels, worth $183; 76 acres of hay, raising 92 tons, worth $767; 1,276 horses, worth $133,510; 18 cattle on hand, worth $550, and 1 sold for $35; 62 hogs on hand, worth $710, and 9 sold for $100; 5 sheep, worth $15; 1 acre of potatoes, producing 70 bushels, worth $21; 6,010 bushels of apples grown, worth $3,004; there are 414 milch cows, worth $15,152, producing 257,162 gallons of milk, worth $42,248; 3,485 pounds of butter, worth $763; there are 19,412 fowls, worth $6,677, laying 120,473 dozen eggs, worth $21,893.

Poygan has 218 acres of wheat, raising 2,273 bushels, worth $2,251; 1,704 acres of oats, raising 55,394 bushels, worth $16,637; 357 acres of barley, raising 7,979 bushels, worth $3,320; 40 acres of rye, raising 644 bushels, worth $387; 1,004 acres of corn, raising 25,016 bushels, worth $12,481; 2,364 acres of corn, raising 3,864 ton, worth $30,688; 384 horses, worth $29,753; cattle on hand, 2,452, worth $44,035, and 929 sold at $1,314; 1,498 hogs on hand, worth $6,355, and 2,004 sold at $16,902; 1,058 sheep, worth $2,197, and 232 sold at $640; 131 acres of potatoes, producing 10,324 bushels, worth $5,832; 3,194 bushels of apples grown, worth $1,324; 1,223 milch cows, worth $29,962; there are 5,530 fowls, worth $2,586, laying 6,533 dozen eggs, worth $1,108; 2,150 pounds of wool, worth $633.

Rushford has 144 acres of wheat, raising 1,739 bushels, worth $1,491; 2,756 acres of oats, raising 82,341 bushels, worth $24,904; 780 acres barley, raising 20,730 bushels, worth $9,271; 33 acres of rye, raising 595 bushels, worth $379; 2,178 acres of corn, raising 49,715 bushels, worth $20,265; 3,887 acres of hay, raising 6,663 tons, worth $37,628; 876 horses, worth $56,220; 3,238 cattle on hand, worth $60,830, and 2,068 sold at $21,283; 3,120 hogs on hand, worth $13,251, and 4,277 sold at $38,091; 1,874 sheep, worth

$4,547, and 519 sold at $1,529; 347 acres of potatoes, raising 55,684 bushels, worth $18,098; 10,965 bushels of apples grown, worth $4,455; there are 1,894 milch cows, worth $45,420; 328,435 pounds of butter, worth $65,691; there are 18,384 fowls, worth $5,802, laying 46,746 dozen eggs, worth $6,672; 6,276 pounds of wool, worth $1,638.

Utica has 274 acres of wheat, raising 3,528 bushels, worth $2,404; 3,836 acres of oats, raising 134,581 bushels, worth $42,179; 2,173 acres of barley, raising 72,452 bushels, worth $32,032; 21 acres of rye, raising 330 bushels, worth $244; 1,557 acres of corn, raising 33,300 bushels, worth $14,731; 3,353 acres of hay, raising 4,432 ton, worth $32,730; 701 horses, worth $52,320; 2,520 cattle on hand, worth $51,640, and 632 sold at $16,557; 2,047 hogs on hand, worth $7,927, and 2,437 sold at $21,120; 2,035 sheep, worth $9,451, and 2,914 sold at $12,322; 75 acres of potatoes, producing 8,494 bushels, worth $1,783; 2,485 bushels of apples grown, worth $1,326; there are 1,391 milch cows, worth $35,150, producing 800 gallons of milk, worth $80; 48,440 pounds of butter, worth $9,709; there are 6,512 fowls, valued at $2,127, laying 34,279 dozen eggs, worth $4,334; 34,957 pounds of wool, worth $9,114.

Vinland has 198 acres of wheat, raising 2,425 bushels, worth $2,000; 3,522 acres of oats, raising 116,100 bushels, worth $35,397; 1,723 acres of barley, raising 52,167 bushels, worth $22,986; 8 acres of rye, raising 90 bushels, worth $65; 1,894 acres of corn, raising 45,800 bushels, worth $19,367; 3,467 acres of hay, raising 5,316 tons, worth $39,357; 790 horses, worth $57,740; 3,084 cattle on hand, worth $68,321, and 1,706 sold at $19,909; 2,047 hogs on hand, worth $7,927, and 2,437 sold at $21,120; 3,035 sheep, worth $9,451, and 2,914 sold at $12,322; 122 acres of potatoes, raising 16,032 bushels, worth $4,597; 4,551 bushels of apples grown, worth $1,448; there are 1,913 milch cows, worth $54,086, producing 33,808 gallons of milk, worth $3,651; 52,430 pounds of butter, worth $11,358; there are 7,567 fowls, worth $3,161, laying 47,954 dozen eggs, worth $7,211; 602 pounds of wool, worth $160.

Winchester has 57 acres of wheat, raising 913 bushels, worth $835; 2,420 acres of oats, raising 76,870 bushels, worth $22,970; 268 acres of barley, raising 7,962 bushels, worth $3,237; 171 acres of rye, raising 3,222 bushels, worth $2,475; 1,270 acres of corn, raising 34,545 bushels, worth $11,853; 3,650 acres of hay, raising 4,718 tons, worth $21,345; 632 horses, worth $42,250; 3,081 cattle on hand, worth $52,770, and 1,354 sold at $13,568; 591 hogs

on hand, worth $4,552, and 2,444 sold at $21,450; 276 sheep, worth $856, and 109 sold at $334; 192 acres of potatoes, raising 29,445 bushels, worth $8,824; 677 bushels of apples grown, worth $167; there are 1,825 milch cows, worth $40,500; 7,830 pounds of butter, worth $1,555; there are 6,630 fowls, worth $2,078, laying 29,430 dozen eggs, worth $4,401; 560 pounds of wool, worth $158.

Winneconne has 211 acres of wheat, raising 2,724 bushels, worth $2,364; 2,101 acres of oats, raising 78,289 bushels, worth $23,235; 580 acres barley, raising 16,450 bushels, worth $7,265; 2 acres of rye, raising 20 bushels, worth $14; 1,132 acres of corn, raising 45,280 bushels, worth $21,880; 2,502 acres of hay, raising 4,123 tons, worth $24,787; 494 horses, worth $38,985; 2,235 cattle on hand, worth $43,843, and 1,110 sold at $11,679; 1,701 hogs on hand, worth $7,191, and 2,227 sold at $18,620; 803 sheep, worth $2,204, and 227 sold at $712; 76 acres of potatoes, producing 10,364 bushels, worth $2,235; 2,961 bushels of apples grown, worth $995; there are 1,394 milch cows, worth $34,299, producing 31,489 gallons of milk, worth $3,159; 13,758 pounds of butter, worth $3,064; there are 11,284 fowls, worth $2,267, laying 22,583 dozen eggs, worth $3,454; 3,567 pounds of wool, worth $996.

Winneconne village has 33 acres of oats, raising 1,280 bushels, worth $336; 5 acres of rye, raising 126 bushels, worth $95; 16 acres of corn, raising 640 bushels, worth $319; 57 acres of hay, raising 124 tons, worth $1,132; 114 horses, worth $9,185; 6 cattle on hand, worth $225; 2 hogs on hand, worth $30; 5 acres of potatoes, raising 415 bushels, worth $82; there are 64 milch cows, worth $1,950, producing 25,000 gallons of milk, worth $2,500; 2,028 pounds of butter, worth $477; 105 fowls, worth $60, laying 700 dozen eggs, worth $107.

Wolf River has 154 acres of wheat, raising 1,546 bushels, worth $1,202; 1,668 acres of oats, raising 46,571 bushels, worth $13,659; 427 acres of barley, raising 11,221 bushels, worth $4,417; 350 acres of rye, raising 5,687 bushels, worth $3,040; 643 acres of corn, raising 28,997 bushels, worth $11,596; 1,900 acres of hay, raising 4,300 tons, worth $23,171; 514 horses, worth $36,645; 2,638 cattle, on hand, worth $44,530, and 1,180 sold at $8,362; 1,659 hogs on hand, worth $6,136, and 1,497 sold at $11,459; 379 sheep, worth $987, and 145 sold at $424; 228 acres of potatoes, raising 39,351 bushels, worth $7,250; 768 bushels of apples grown, worth $207; there are 1,586 milch cows, worth $35,449, producing 53,299 gallons of milk, worth $4,153; 28,074 pounds of butter, worth $5,479; 5,801 pounds of cheese, worth $552; there are

8,592 fowls, worth $1,980, laying 28,443 dozen eggs, worth $3,601; 1,493 pounds of wool, worth $422.

From the reports of the several assessors County Clerk Fish has prepared a certified statement of the acreage of the principal farm crops now growing and the number and value of the stock owned in Winnebago county.

The compiling of this statement is required by law, and a copy of it has been forwarded by County Clerk Fish to the secretary of the state board of agriculture at Madison. Accompanying the statement is a certified report of the principal crops growing in the county during the year 1907.

From the report on acreage it is learned that the number of acres devoted to the growing of certain crops this year is apportioned as follows: Wheat, 1,272; corn, 21,931; oats, 36,961; barley, 14,944; rye, 1,909; flaxseed, 40; potatoes, 1,909; sugar beets, 64; cranberries, 110; apple orchard, 1,245; strawberries, 50; raspberries, 8; blackberries, currants and grapes, each one acre; cultivated for hay, 34,603; growing timber, 10,495. The number of apple trees is given at 41,382, over 4,000 less than last year.

There has been a decrease from last year in the acreage of wheat, corn, barley and potatoes, but a substantial increase in the acreage devoted to the raising of oats and rye. There is also an increase in the acreage of apple orchard, although the number of trees is less.

The number and value of live stock in the county is noted in the statement as follows:

Milch cows, 21,058, valued at $516,794; all other cattle, 11,012, valued at $148,500; horses of all ages, 7,641, valued at $572,834; sheep and lambs, 12,349, valued at $22,909; swine four months old or over, 10,199, valued at $69,261.

There has been an increase in the number and value of all branches of live stock, except sheep and lambs.

Amount of Products.

The crop statement gives the amount of the principal farm products grown in the county during the year 1906 as follows:

Wheat, 30,243 bushels; corn, 773,322 bushels; oats, 1,332,387 bushels; barley, 449,049 bushels; rye, 15,420 bushels; flaxseed, 418 bushels; potatoes, 218,805 bushels; beans, 116 bushels; cranberries, 512 bushels; apples, 30,027 bushels; strawberries, 1,896

bushels; raspberries, 793 bushels; blackberries, 9 bushels; currants, 28 bushels.

Of sugar beets there were 1,136 tons raised and of tame hay there were 43,643 tons. In clover seed there were 171 acres harvested and 81 acres of timothy seed were harvested. In clover seed there was a decrease and in timothy seed an increase in acreage over 1905, but there was a decrease in the production of both. There was a large increase in the production of corn, oats and barley, but a decrease in wheat and rye. There was a large increase in potatoes, the number of bushels harvested in 1905 being but 126,625 bushels as compared with 218,805 bushels in 1906.

Dairy and Cheese Products.

The ever increasing dairy products make the industry a valuable addition to the wealth of the county, as shown by the census of 1905. Clayton has two creameries, with 100 patrons, producing butter valued at $59,160. Nekimi one factory, with fifty patrons, make butter worth $19,000. Nepeuskun, three creameries, with 530 patrons, make 923,842 pounds of butter sold for $186,487. Omro, two factories, with 150 patrons, make butter valued at $43,196. Winchester factory, with forty patrons, produce $12,434. Winneconne, two factories, forty-eight patrons, make 70,627 pounds butter, worth $15,413. The city of Neenah has one factory making 13,788 pounds of butter, worth $6,356. The city of Oshkosh has two creameries making 91,000 pounds of butter, worth $18,500. The whole number of creameries for the county is sixteen, with 1,140 patrons, having $41,100 invested in buildings, with 13,284 cows contributing their milk to the amount of 21,000,000 pounds annually, producing 1,730,443 pounds of butter, worth $369,836.

Winnebago county continues to grow as a butter and cheese making center and the value of those products amounts to a large sum annually.

According to the official report compiled by County Clerk Fish and forwarded to the state department at Madison, as required by law, the total value of the dairy products of Winnebago county for the year ending April 30, 1907, was $846,984, an increase of $21,266 over last year, which had in turn shown a large increase over the previous year.

Most of the increase this year comes from the cheese produc-

tion. Last year there were but twenty-seven cheese factories in operation in the county, while this year there are thirty-four. Last year the product of the cheese factories was valued at $172,043, while this year it is $304,701.

These thirty-four cheese factories are valued by the assessors at $27,285 and the number of pounds of butter or cheese made or condensed milk produced during the year was 2,666,777, as against 1,986,782 pounds last year. The number of pounds of milk received during the year was 21,150,185, compared to 16,789,151 pounds last year. This milk came from 7,373 cows owned by 659 patrons of the factories.

The cheese making industry is increasing in the county and assuming large proportions, having in 1905 no less than thirty-seven factories. Black Wolf has three factories, the product valued at $21,095. Clayton, three factories, producing $28,514 worth of cheese. Menasha, one factory, with value of product $19,670. Neenah one, product valued at $8,432. Nekimi one, product valued at $2,750. Omro one, value of product, $3,000. Oshkosh town, four factories, value of product, $10,715. Vinland seven, product value, $37,027. Winchester, five factories, product value, $39,931. Winneconne, four, with product value of $21,475. Wolf River is the most thrifty of any of the others, with seven factories and 142 patrons, milking 1,614 cows, from which is obtained 6,000,000 gallons of milk, made into 618,306 pounds of cheese, worth $51,354.

This year there has been a falling off in the value of products at the creameries, of which there is one less. Last year there were thirteen creameries in operation and this year there are but twelve. The value of the product this year is reported at $510,850, while last year it was $609,759. The total industry of cheese production in the county shows for 1905 thirty-seven factories, worth $50,000, having 645 patrons, milking 7,000 cows, producing 26,000,000 pounds of milk, made into 2,379,636 pounds of cheese, for $225,863. The cheese is sold to dealers on the board prices at Fond du Lac, and delivered at the factory. Mr. A. D. Eldredge at Neenah has a large warehouse on Wisconsin street, and buys the output of a number of factories. Many of the factories are co-operative enterprises owned by the farmers. Some are rented or owned as private enterprises. The total of creameries and cheese factories in the county was, in 1905, 53, with a total product valued at $605,699. This year, 1908, it is $846,984.

Total Value of Property in 1907, as Assessed, in Winnebago County—It Has Been Increased $918,723 Over 1906.

Winnebago county's total assessed valuation of taxable property for the year 1907 is $44,291,864, an increase of $918,723 over the assessed valuation of 1906. Of this amount, personal property is assessed at $8,220,510 and real estate (lands and lots with improvements) at $36,071,354. Last year the personal property was assessed at $7,885,690 and the real estate at $35,487,451. The increase in the personal property assessment is $334,820, while on real estate the increase is $583,903.

These figures relative to this year's assessment of property in the county are taken from County Clerk John J. Fish's certified abstract of assessments of items appearing on the assessment rolls of the several cities, towns and villages of Winnebago county, as returned to him by the assessors.

The total number of horses in the county, as returned by the assessors, is 10,297, valued at $784,127, an average value of $76.15 per head. Oshkosh city is credited with 1,165 of these useful animals, valued at $91,600; Neenah city, 360, valued at $22,930; Menasha city, 232, valued at $11,950; Omro village, 174, valued at $12,965; Winneconne village, 102, valued at $7,520. Outside of the cities and villages noted there are in the county 8,264 horses, valued at $637,162.

Mules and asses are comparatively few, for the assessors were unable to locate more than seventeen, whose total value is placed at $1,665, an average of $97.94 per head. Of these animals the towns of Winneconne and Wolf River are each credited with three, the cities of Oshkosh and Menasha and the towns of Neenah and Vinland with two each, and the towns of Menasha, Nepenskum and Winchester with one each.

Of neat cattle there are in the county 34,286, valued at $701,939. Their average value per head is $20.47. Oshkosh is credited with 71, valued at $2,025; Neenah, 249, valued at $6,010; Menasha, 181, valued at $3,620; Omro, 195, valued at $4,530; Winneconne, 94, valued at $2,409. Outside of the cities and villages there are 33,496 neat cattle, valued at $683,345.

The total number of sheep and lambs in the entire county is reported at 9,504, valued at $26,178, an average of $2.72 per head. None of these are reported as being owned in the cities or villages.

Of swine there are 9,829, valued at $75,545, an average of

$7.67 each. All but fifty-eight of the swine are owned in the townships. Of the fifty-eight the village of Omro possesses forty-four, valued at $385; Oshkosh city owns three, valued at $50, and Winneconne is credited with eleven, valued at $102.

There is a total of 6,281 wagons, carriages and sleighs in the county. These are assessed at a total of $189,690, and average $30.20 each in valuation. Oshkosh owns 1,464 vehicles, valued at $96,850; Neenah, 371, valued at $15,170; Menasha, 224, valued at $7,630; Omro, 161, valued at $3,505; Winneconue, 117, valued at $3,230. The remaining 4,044 wagons, carriages and sleighs are owned in the several townships, and their total value is $63,305.

Of the gold and silver watches of sufficient value to be assessed there were found in the entire county a total of but 75, upon which the total valuation is $3,770, or an average of $50.27 for each timepiece. Seventy-four of these watches are owned in the cities of Oshkosh, Neenah and Menasha, and the village of Omro and one remaining in the property of an opulent citizen residing in the town of Winchester. In Oshkosh there are just forty-eight watches valuable enough to be assessed. Last year the assessors managed to find sixty-five timepieces subject to assessment owned in Oshkosh.

According to the assessors there are in the county 908 pianos, valued at $92,075, an average valuation of $101.40 each. In Oshkosh the pianos are reported to number 426, valued at $42,725. Neenah has 113, valued at $13,725; Menasha, 80, valued at $5,320; Omro, 38, valued at $4,460; Winneconne, 49, valued at $6,735. The remaining 202 pianos are distributed among the several towns and are valued at $19,110. There are also 61 organs and melodeons subject to assessment in the county. At least, that is the number reported by the assessors, who valued them at a total of $810, an average of $13.28.

Considerable bank stock is held by the well-to-do people of the cities and villages. The total amount of such stock found for assessment is $1,552,492, and all of it is owned in the cities and villages, distributed as follows: Oshkosh, $1,231,318; Neenah, $171,792; Menasha, $110,800; Omro, $25,500; Winneconne, $13,082. Of merchants and manufacturers' stock there is a much larger amount held by the citizens of the county, and it is distributed more generally. The total amount is given at $2,616,733. More than four-fifths, or $2,077,025 worth, is owned in Oshkosh.

The average amount of moneys, credits and other securities

owned in the county is reported at $550,313. Of this amount Oshkosh is credited with $566,088. The total amount returned for assessment is $650,683, and of this amount Oshkosh is credited with $586,338.

In this year's abstract of assessment there appears a new item, taking the place of the space formerly assigned to leaf tobacco. This item relates to automobiles, of which machines there are reported just nineteen subject to assessment, and they are valued at $17,350, an average of $913.16 each. In this statement Oshkosh is not credited with having any automobiles, but it should be noted that such as were found for assessment were included either in the column devoted to wagons, carriages and sleighs or in the column for bicycles. Of the nineteen reported in the abstract, Neenah is credited with fourteen, valued at $13,450; Omro with two, valued at $900, and Winneconne with three, valued at $3,000. There are none credited to Menasha, or any of the towns, and if any are assessed they are probably included with the wagons, carriages and sleighs.

The value of logs, lumber, ties, poles, posts, etc., not manufacturers' stock, is $177,490, and most of the class of property is owned in Oshkosh. To be exact, the value of such property owned in Oshkosh is assessed at $146,500.

Steam and other vessels owned in the county are valued at $73,530. Their number is not given. The vessel property owned in Oshkosh is assessed at $33,975. The remainder is distributed as follows: Town of Black Wolf, $5,725; town of Clayton, $5,750; town of Menasha, $250; town of Winchester, $400; town of Winneconne, $675; town of Wolf River, $510; Menasha, $5,600; Neenah, $8,695; Omro, $4,665; Winneconne, $7,285.

The value of real and personal property and franchises of water and light companies not taxable under the law is given at $799,371.

Oshkosh is credited with $3,300 worth of bicycles, but as these are not assessed in any other part of the country, the supposition is that the "bicycles" in this case are really automobiles.

All other personal property not specifically enumerated is returned at $453,762 and the total in the county is $8,220,510.

The value of the land outside the cities and villages, exclusive of buildings, is $13,424,981. There are 269,011 acres of this land and the assessed valuation ranges from $23.37 to $96.84 per acre. In the entire county there are 269,824 acres of land, valued at $13,471,406, and the average value per acre is $60.08.

The valuation of city and village lots, exclusive of buildings, is $8,207,440 and the value of the buildings on those lots is $11,652,713, making the total value of city and village real estate $19,860,153. In the towns the value of lots, exclusive of buildings, is $23,735 and the value of the buildings is $61,013, making a total of $84,748. Outside of the cities and villages the total value of lands and buildings is $16,231,869.

The grand total value of lands and improvements in the county is $36,071,354 and the total value of all property in the county is assessed at $44,291,864, apportioned to the several townships, villages and cities as follows:

Oshkosh city, $19,102,153; Neenah city, $3,604,553; Menasha city, $2,422,415; Omro village, $630,225; Winneconne village, $382,298; Algoma, $1,126,412; Black Wolf, $1,101,895; Clayton, $1,592,792; Menasha, $712,131; Neenah, $668,901; Nekimi, $1,545,-885; Nepenskum, $1,409,885; Omro, $1,163,473; Oshkosh, $1,163,473; Poygan, $669,263; Rushford, $1,249,104; Utica, $1,402,930; Vinland, $1,516,499; Winchester, $1,038,403; Winneconne, $995,613; Wolf River, $811,519.

The total value of all property in the townships is $18,150,220, while the total value of the cities and villages is $26,141,644.

XXI.

LITERATURE, ART, MUSIC AND THE STAGE IN WINNEBAGO COUNTY.

Among the former residents of Oshkosh who have won for themselves a national reputation is Miss Helen Farnsworth Mears. She was born and lived her childhood in Oshkosh, where she first experienced the inspiration to become a sculptor. In this art she has won fame. The first opportunity that came to her was the offer of the Women's Clubs of Wisconsin of a prize for the best design in sculptor for the World's Fair at Chicago in 1893. She offered the design of the clay model of her genius of Wisconsin which was given the first prize of $500. The model designed by Jene Miner, born at Menasha, but then in Madison, secured the second prize. One was afterward cut in marble and stationed in the rotunda of the capitol, and the other cast in bronze and mounted in the capitol park, the only pieces of sculpture about the capitol, and both designed by girls native to Winnebago county. Miss Mears has studied under Lorado Taft, and was for many years up to the time of his death the special friend of Augustus St. Gaudens, of New York. When Congress in 1898 authorized the statue of Miss Frances E. Willard to be placed in the hall of fame in the national capitol, the commission came to Miss Mears and the statue unveiled in February, 1905. A contemporary says of it, "The statue stands in the hall of fame, its womanly and appealing quality heightened rather than lessened by the folds of the simple dress, touched with nervous delicacy and refinement, the one statue to a woman among all those statues of great men." This famous statue of a Wisconsin woman, designed by a Wisconsin woman, will remain forever, a monument to her genius. She also designed the bust of George Roger Clark, in the library at Miuwaukee, and the model of the great fountain of life at the World's Fair at St. Louis.

Mary Mears, her sister, was born in Oshkosh and attended its public schools. Her writing of fiction has brought national fame. Something of her life and work has been told in her own pleas-

ant way, part of which is copied here: "I was expected to write and I wrote, principally, I think, in the first place, because my mother before me had written. My parents considered that I had a picturesque and original way of using words, and when I was a little girl I was set at story writing as my sister Helen was set at modeling, as our elder sister Louise was set at drawing. Our elder sister illustrated books while still young. Helen modeled a bust while she was still a child in short dresses, and I wrote all but the five concluding chapters of my first book, 'Emma Lou—Her Book,' between the ages of 13 and 17, while I was still a school girl. Later, when the book was published by Henry Holt, I added, at their suggestion, the last five chapters which make it a love story.

"During the progress of 'Emma Lou,' I wrote many short tales. I wrote for a sensational paper in Chicago that paid me, as I remember, about $4 for a newspaper page of the finest print. My stories were as sensational as the imagination of seventeen years could produce. I remember one was called 'His Strange Eyes'; it closed with the hero's leaping from a housetop into the darkness of night. My first short story to meet with marked success was published in 'Harper's Bazar.' Afterward I published it in the leading magazines. My best short story appeared in 'Harper's Magazine' in 1900. It is entitled 'Across the Bridges.' It was written immediately after my return from Europe.

"The achievement that marked my efforts was at times easy, and at other times difficult. My first book, 'Emma Lou,' I wrote with no conscious effort, as a child plays. The short stories were more difficult, for I sought constantly to use the fewest words possible in telling the tales. It seems to me now that I put very little of myself into them. They are, with the exception of two or three, objective studies. 'The Breath of the Runners,' I believe is the most individual work I have done, therefore I consider it a greater achievement than anything else. My inspiration has come to me largely at all times, from my surroundings. Europe filled me with feverish longings and unquenchable enthusiasm. Some part of my mind that had never before been touched, awoke. I believe the creative faculty, to a large degree, awoke. My stay over there altered the style of my writing. From my trip dates my effort to write as one would paint or model, using words as if they were clay or paint, keeping in mind always a just sense of color and proportion. My life

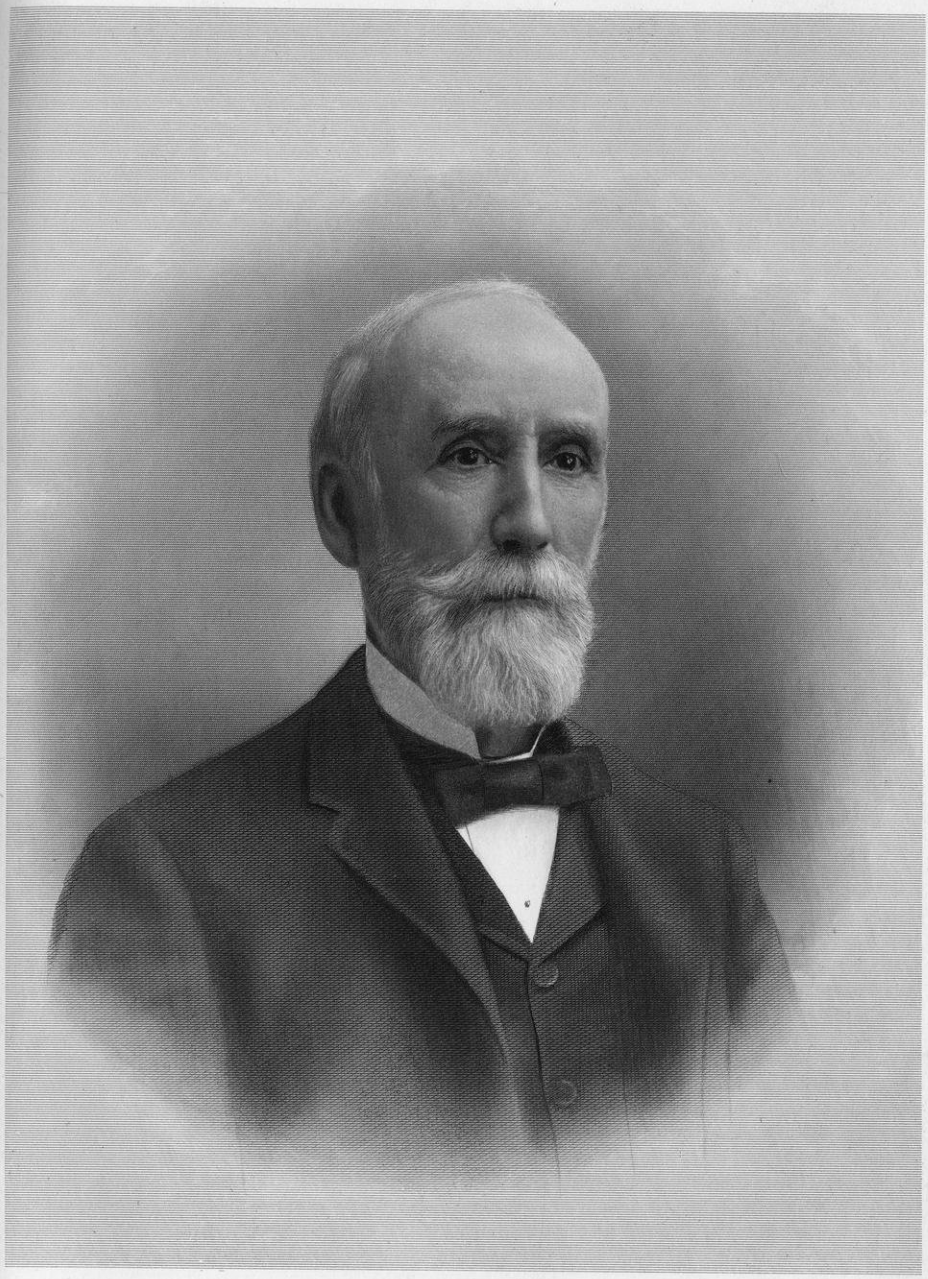
with my sister in studios has convinced me that all the arts are practically one. If the painter and sculptor are artists, how much more is the creative and poetic temperament required in one whose field is vaster than in any of the other arts.

"My advice to those just commencing to write is, study the great writers diligently, and aim to carry away from the study a sense of their simplicity and directness, together with a perception of the rules of construction. Then, when this knowledge has become a part of him, as it were, so that he no longer thinks of it, let him work his own brain like a newly opened mine. Let what is in that mine be his only concern, and above all things, let him not seek to bring any metal from a mine not his, to add to his hoard. It is this working over the thoughts of others that is the ruin of many a writer. And, as if in revenge, his own power as a creative writer withers and dies, in proportion as he carries on the nefarious practice."

Mrs. Frank B. Fargo, of Lake Mills, nee Miss Louise Mears, of Oshkosh, gave promise of attaining high place in the field of illustration and random sketches. All still life and the ideal was her field. Her most celebrated work was the illustration of the Land of Nod, of Ella Wheeler Wilcox. Since her marriage she has only indulged her natural talent for her own amusement and the decoration of her home. Miss Mary and Helen Mears reside in New York City, where they are both busy with their chosen profession.

Their parents were John H. Mears and Elizabeth Farnsworth Mears. Mrs. Mears wrote the first book of poems published in the state. She was born in Grotin, Massachusetts, in 1830, moving to Wisconsin with its earliest pioneers, living for many years at Fond du Lac, where she wrote under the nom de plume of "Nellie Wildwood." She died November, 1907, at the home of her daughter, Mrs. Frank Fargo, in Lake Mills, and was buried in Oshkosh, by the side of her husband, who died in Oshkosh in 1885.

The authorship of books has some students in the county, writing both for pleasure and profit. Hon. Robert Shiells, of Neenah, wrote "The Token," an account of the disk or card formerly given in the communion of Presbyterian churches. It was at first only intended for a paper on the collection of tokens, but developed into a small book, and was published by John Ireland, New York, 1891, from which the author received but $18 in proceeds. Later the Presbyterian Publication Board



D C Van Ostrand

obtained his permission to republish it. He obtained the acknowledgment of King Edward for a copy presented to him. It is the only book ever written on the subject.

Mr. John Hicks, old-time editor of "The Northwestern," and now Minister Plenipotentiary to Chili, wrote "The Man From Oshkosh."

Miss Lillian G. Kimball, of this county, and a member of the faculty of the Normal School at Oshkosh, and instructor in English, wrote the "Structure of the English Sentence," in 1900, published by the American Book Company, a text book in grammar intended for students in advanced study, the popularity of which is attested by the sale of over 20,000 copies, and its use in several normal schools, and many of the high schools in this state, and many other schools in the United States. Miss Kimball wrote in great part and edited a "Bulletin on the Teaching of English in the Grades," in 1905, which was published by the Board of Regents of the Wisconsin Normal Schools. She has contributed articles on phases of language teaching to "The School Century," and in 1902 wrote a paper on the English sentence for a magazine entitled, "New York Teachers' Monographs." Beside the above she has delivered numerous unpublished addresses to teachers and students.

Among the students of the Neenah schools who have acquired some literary fame is Miss Emma Helen Blair, a native of the town of Menasha; she graduated from Ripon College in this state, and afterward was engaged in newspaper work in Milwaukee. For five years she was registrar of the Associated Charities in that city, and interested in other philanthropic work there. Since 1892 she has resided at Madison, where she pursued graduate studies in the University of Wisconsin for two years, and was during nearly ten years a member of the library staff of the Wisconsin State Historical Society. For the last twelve years she has been an historical editor; compiler of the Catalogue of Newspapers in the society's library; assistant editor of the 72 volume edition of the Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents (Cleveland, 1896-1901); assistant in preparing Vol. XVI. of Wisconsin Historical Collections; Original Journals of Lewis and Clark; and various other historical works; and co-editor of the Philippines, 1493-1898 (Cleveland, 1903-08), twelve volumes.

Miss Kate Gordon, philosopher, born in Oshkosh, daughter of Dr. W. A. Gordon, has received an unusual number of high

honors and degrees, and is now traveling in Greece and other foreign lands, making a study of art in its ancient home for a work now in preparation on "Ethics," of which 200 pages are completed.

Miss Gordon, after graduating at the Normal School at Oshkosh and from the University of Chicago, was selected by members of the university faculty to take the part of Queen Elizabeth in the Ben Johnson play; and was given a fellowship in the department of philosophy. The press said of her on this occasion: "Although but twenty-three years of age, Miss Gordon has received an unusual number of high honors as a student, and is considered one of the brainiest young women attending the university. She will have been a student at the University of Chicago five years next fall. Two years ago she graduated with high honors from the regular course of psychology and philosophy, first winning honorable mention and then a scholarship. Since then she has taken post graduate courses and has won two fellowships, besides election to the Greek society of the university, which admits only those who have the highest standing in scholarship. She first received the title of Bachelor of Philosophy, and in June will be given the degree of Ph. D. or Doctor of Philosophy, being all the honors to be obtained in these departments of Psychology and Philosophy. Miss Gordon was also appointed graduate scholar in pedagogy by her alma mater for the year 1900-01. For the three months in 1903 she taught psychology and logic, in the Rockford College. Some of her publications at this period were: "McDougal's Observations Regarding Light and Color Visions"; "Spencer's Theory of Ethics in Its Evolutionary Aspects"; "Ethics of the Hindus"; "Psychology of Desire."

She was the choice of the association of collegiate aluminæ who select each year a representative for a one-year free tuition in European college work, known as the European Fellowship, and crossed the ocean to follow her studies in the schools of Europe, on which she was honored by an invitation to deliver an address before the German Psychology Society, one of the great educational organizations of Germany. While studying in Paris she was honored by a call to accept a chair in the Mount Holyoke Seminary at Mount Holyoke, Massachusetts. It was while engaged in this professorship she delivered on invitation an address before the New England Association of Colleges, her paper on, "Wherein Should the Education of a Woman Differ from That of a Man?" The bright, sharp treatment of the subject

creating considerable newspaper notice, with numerous extracts, and of which the "Boston Journal" said: "Miss Gordon, who is fair to look upon, got an ovation from the audience." In the Memorial volume on Professor James, Miss Gordon furnished a paper on James' "Pragmatism of Ethics."

Mrs. Hypatia Boyd Reed is among the most remarkable of the literary people of Winnebago county. Though deaf she has accomplished wonders for herself and others during the short period of her life. Her story is best told by herself as written to the author in a letter: "I was born in Milwaukee thirty-four years ago, and was in the first grade of the public school when four years old. At the age of six and a half, scarlet fever was epidemic in Milwaukee, and like thousands of other children, I had it, with the result that it left me totally deaf. Then I made a trip to Scotland in the vain hope that the doctors there could restore my lost hearing, which they failed to do after repeated operations. It is hard to see how hearing can be restored at all, when one has no ear-drums. Returned to Milwaukee, I attended the hearing school awhile until the Milwaukee Day School for the Deaf was started, and I was among its first pupils. In a class of eight I graduated as the valedictorian, and the following fall entered the hearing high school. I was like a stranger in a strange place, but I soon became used to my new surroundings. Everybody was very kind, and I was treated just as if I, too, could hear. Those days at high school were very happy ones, but all too soon over, for in two and a half years I graduated from the south side high school with the class of 1895. I was elected the class poet.

In the meantime I had met Mrs. Charles K. Adams, whose husband was then president of the University of Wisconsin. Through her kind interest I was enrolled as a pupil at the University of Wisconsin in September, 1895. Among the cherished and tender memories of my life in Madison is Mrs. Adams' beautiful friendship for me. I was often invited to her beautiful home, and she gave me the freedom of her fine private study, the windows of which look out on Lake Mendota. President Adams, too, was very kind, and it was a great pleasure to read his lips.

To these two friends, to Paul Binner, who taught me to speak and hear with "the listening eye," to John Johnston, a prominent banker and scholar of Milwaukee; to Daisy M. Way, of Kansas City, Mo., herself a deaf lip reader, and to Mrs. Robert C. Reinertsen (Gale Forest), a well known writer of Milwaukee,

I owe much for their kindly interest and their words of cheer and encouragement, which helped me over seemingly insurmountable difficulties in my pathway. Leaving the university in June, 1896, I was a newspaper woman, until February, 1902, when I suddenly found myself a teacher to the first deaf-blind pupil in the history of the state, Eva Halliday.

She was fourteen years old then, had not been to school since she was six, and her mind was practically a blank. It was an experiment, but during the first five months I succeeded in teaching her over 230 words, besides the ability to compose sentences, and to read and write in American braille. That same year I taught her also to operate a Remington typewriter, and she could do sums in arithmetic, and all this by the sense of touch. So pleased was the board of control with my success that they opened a deaf-blind department at the Wisconsin school for the deaf and put me in charge of it. Eva's affection for me and for Mr. William Wade, the great warm-hearted friend of the deaf-blind everywhere, was and is as pathetic as it is charming. I in turn loved her, and had decided to devote my life to her. But I did not then know what destiny had in store for me. Eva's fame grew and grew, the papers were full of her, and up in Menasha Charles Reed, the deaf assistant postmaster, read these accounts and becoming deeply interested, journeyed to Delevan at the time of the celebration of its fiftieth anniversary. There he met Eva Halliday and her teacher, then Miss Hypatia Boyd. He was interested in the remarkably bright deaf-blind girl, and next found himself more than ordinarily interested in the teacher, so much so until finally he succeeded in carrying her off to Menasha as his wife, where they have since lived a very happy life. One child, Charlie Boyd Reed, came to bless their home, but died in infancy.

I have written but one book, "Paul Binner, His Noble Work Among the Deaf," which book was published in 1901. Titles of some of my papers published are: "The Deaf and Sound Vibrations"; "University Experiences," "That Wonderful School," "Deaf Woman's Friend," "Name of Milwaukee, Its Derivation and Meaning," "Hallowe'en in Auld Lang Syne," "How the Deaf Are Taught to Talk," "Christimas, December 25; Uncertainty as to the Year and Month of Birth of Christ," "Why the Deaf Intermarry," "A Visit to the Yerkes' Observatory at Lake Geneva," "Unique Sermon in the Sign Language," "History of Kissing; Its Origin as Old as the Bible," "Voices of Deaf and

Hearing Persons Compared," "Plea for the Deaf," "Letters to St. Nicholas," "The Remarkable Intelligence of Deaf-Blind Eva Halliday," "How a Deaf Girl Got Lost in Chicago," "Do the Deaf Enjoy Going to the Theatre?" Then there are my monthly articles of several years' duration, while I had charge of the Woman's department in the "Silent Worker."

(Signed) HYPATIA BOYD REED.

Mrs. E. M. Crane, nee Lillian Felker, wrote many short stories, which were published in the "Oshkosh Times," when her father, Charles W. Felker, the brilliant advocate, was the editor. Miss Ellen Brainard compiled a book of short stories, which she caused to be published in Oshkosh. It was illustrated by Miss Hattie Brass. Minnie Hicks Harmon wrote "The Oshkosh Fire," and many other poems of merit, published in the public press. The late Dr. Harvey Dale wrote quite frequently for the papers and magazines on various subjects, and published several poems, one of them entitled, "Three Score and Ten," which appeared in "The Northwestern" but a few weeks before his death. Miss Nellie Maxwell, domestic science expert and writer, educated in Neenah high school, University of Wisconsin, and Downer College, was a resident of Neenah, where her parents were pioneers, and her mother still has her home. Her papers appear regularly in the "Sentinel," Milwaukee. Mr. George Leon Varney, of Oshkosh, has written numerous papers on literary and historical subjects, for the press and magazines, and is gathering material for a volume on "Historical Truths."

Martin Mitchell and Judge Joseph H. Osborn wrote the first "History of Winnebago County" in 1856. This was a small pamphlet, paper covered, printed on news paper. It was written sixteen years after the organization of the county, but during primitive and pioneer days. The booklet is very rare now; but doubtless served its purpose of attracting attention to the county. It contained wood cut illustrations made from daguerreotype pictures made by Mr. J. F. Harrison, of Chief Oshkosh, Webster Stanley, the villages of Oshkosh, Algoma, Neenah, Menasha, Omro and Winneconne, the log cabin homes of Governor Doty and Harrison Reed, and the ancient lighthouse in the Menasha channel. These wood cuts are deposited in the State Historical Library. A number of these were reproduced in the "Proceedings of the Wisconsin Historical Society," 1905. Mr. Charles G. Finney and Mr. Davis prepared, in 1867, a "History of Oshkosh," in which was included a considerable history of the county. This

paper-covered booklet was considerable larger than its predecessor of ten years before, and though doubtless sent out in large numbers at the time is now very rare. "History of Winnebago County," by Richard Harney, 1880; published by the author, was a large folio volume of 300 pages, cloth bound, and contained a fund of local information and pioneer recollection. Mr. W. N. Webster wrote the chapters on Neenah and Menasha, and the township history from personal visits and pioneer recollections. His sister married Major Charles Doty, and his association with the people of the county gave him the information possessed by very few, and he had the ability to record it in a readable and historical study. Mr. Harney was himself a pioneer and well adapted to prepare this work. The illustrations were mostly of homes, farms and manufacturing industries, and very interesting for future reference. Cotemporary with this work, Mr. G. A. Cunningham wrote the "History of the City of Neenah," and stopped the press to include some information from the county history just issued by Mr. Harney. This history of Neenah contains some rare old wood cuts of the council tree, the old landmarks, the loggery of Governor Doty still standing, and the double log house of Governor Harrison Reed, which has long since rotted away. There is a portrait of Harvey Jones, and several street views, and many old mill views. Both this history of Neenah and the county history contained complete directories. Mr. John V. Bunn, of Oshkosh, has been engaged in compiling directories of cities and counties for the past twenty years, and has produced several editions of his complete directory of Winnebago county. G. A. Randall, of Oshkosh, published a town and city "Atlas of the County" in 1886 containing a large number of biographies and portraits of men and views.

Song writers: Mr. S. A. Petrie, of Jackson street, wrote "In the Good Old Summer Time." The late Arthur Bauer, who was with Sousa's band, composed the popular waltz, "Dream of Heaven." His brother, Charles Bauer, is also a composer of popular music.

Before the footlights, Francis Fisher Powers, of Oshkosh, has a national reputation as a singer. He makes his home in New York, and was once taken in a special car to sing at the White House before President McKinley. Arthur Shattuck, of Neenah, gave two concerts in May at the Salle des Agriculteurs in Paris, with the assistance of Edward Colonne and his orchestra. Piano recitals: Clarence E. Shepard, of Oshkosh, together with Char-

lotte Lund, the opera singer, gave a concert April 29 at the Salle Gaveau, Paris. In the histrionic art Mr. Edward Clifford, of Oshkosh, has obtained national fame, and is well known to playgoers everywhere. He is also a playwright, and has produced some interesting work, one of which was his play of "Lazare." Miss Alice Washburn, native of Oshkosh, studied her favorite expression and reading with some of the best teachers in New York and Chicago, and has given her studies in many places. She has also taken character parts with great success in real life drama, traveling with the theater party to all the large cities in the country. Mr. Edward Balch Barr has taken up the work of travalogue lectures, making canoe journeys to out of the way places with camera and note book, and returning to give lectures through the winter with stereopticon views. His present marked success bids fair for his future in the chosen profession.

In the art of the painter we may mention Miss Adele Heckel, of Menasha, who has painted many subjects in still life from copy, and is now engaged as art teacher in the schools at Hancock, Michigan. Mrs. John P. Shiells, nee Blanch Cummings, of Neenah, has made some creditable work for her own amusement. One of her best pieces is a painting sketched from life in Mexico of the typical peon. Mr. William A. Knapp, of Oshkosh, has taken up painting as a business, having a natural talent for the art. His copy work is excellent, and his original work correct and realistic. One of his best pieces is a still life sketch of an old barn door, hung with violin and old letters nailed to the weather-beaten boards. His painting of the historical incident of the Jesuit Fathers throwing the Indian idol into Grand Chute falls, now owned by Mr. J. W. Priest, of Appleton, is a fancy sketch of historical value. Mr. Edward Osthous was an oil painter of considerable note. His special genius included depicting the animal and dog in art. Mr. Frank Waldo obtained something more than local fame as a painter of broad scenes "in westward the star of empire takes its way" pictures. Leo Gruenhagen, of Gruenhagen Point, studied painting in Paris, where his "White Lady" was exhibited with favor. He is doing portrait oil painting. Mr. Robert Jasperson, of Neenah, as cartoonist and illustrator of current events, has been employed for a number of years on the "Evening Wisconsin."

XXII.

TOWNSHIP HISTORY.

Town of Algoma.

Town of Algoma lies on Big Lake Butte des Morts, and around the city of Oshkosh, with its east mile section on the shore of Lake Winnebago. It is the rural portion of the town not yet absorbed by the extension of the great city of Oshkosh. In the coming years its fertile fields will be platted into city lots. It is composed of rolling rich agricultural and stock lands. Algoma creek crosses the town. The Fond du Lac Interurban crosses the east mile of the town, and the C., M. & St. P. railway runs through the town, with the station in the city. There are four school houses, but easy access to the city schools gives the advantage of city life.

Algoma contains a population of 876, of whom 609 were born in this state, fifteen in Canada, fifteen in Denmark, eighteen in England, seventy-two in Germany and ten in Wales. There are 10,175 acres in the town, of which 9,000 acres are improved, valued at over one million dollars. The sales in the region show the value per acre of $82. There was raised, by the census of 1905, 54,000 bushels oats, 14,000 barley, 17,000 corn, 8,000 potatoes, 7,600 apples; and the people possess 540 horses and 1,700 cattle. Their 1,092 milch cows produce 49,000 pounds of butter, and 5,000 fowls produce 20,000 dozen eggs.

This town was one of the very earliest localities settled by the real pioneer. Webster Stanley located on Coon's Point when he came into the river from Winnebago Rapids by flatboat with his family in 1836. This location is now in the Fifth ward of the city of Oshkosh. Stanley put up his shanty and resided there during the summer, engaging in the ferry and hotel business. Coon's Point is formed by the river and Big Lake Butte des Morts. In the fall Stanley left this site and carried the wreck of his shanty over onto the location selected by him east of the present Main street in the city of Oshkosh, and became the founder of the original location of Oshkosh. Mr. Chester Ford, father of

Milan Ford, built a log house on the shore of Lake Winnebago on Ford's Point, later known as Wright's Point, in the winter of 1837, where he resided several years, and became the first settler of the town of Algoma. Next came Mr. William A. Boyd, a son-in-law of Mr. Chester Ford, who located on the farm afterward owned by Mr. J. P. Roe, who devoted it to small fruits and fancy stock. He was a brother of E. P. Roe, the author and writer of fiction. When Mr. Boyd came in June, 1840, he brought with him twenty-one sheep, the first introduced to the county. They were brought by boat from Cleveland to Green Bay, and driven over land from there on the Tomahawk trail. He brought with him a stock of leather and was the first shoemaker in the county. Afterwards he was a pioneer mail carrier, making the journey over the Tomahawk trail every two weeks from Saukeer to Green Bay. Hon. Joseph H. Osborn made a claim in the spring of 1846, and built a house. Mr. Osborn was an active pioneer, enterprising and progressive. By 1847 the land in the town was mostly taken up and was nearly all settled. Mr. John Stroud, an early settler, helped build the first saw mill. Mr. H. C. Jewell came into Algoma in 1848, engaging first in mercantile lines, and then in lumber and manufacturing. He was the first chairman of the town of Algoma at the first election held April 5, 1850.

The old village of Algoma, now absorbed into the Fifth ward of Oshkosh, was in pioneer days a flourishing village, with all the prospects of future prosperity. It was the site of Webster Stanley's first shanty, and the landing for Knaggs and Stanley's ferry, above Sawyer creek. In 1839, Mr. C. J. Coon arrived and purchased land from Robert Grignon, and commenced at once the erection of improvements. He was an energetic and enterprising man, and his location was soon occupied by Mr. D. W. Forman, Wm. Daggett, James Whittemore and Thomas C. Baker. Together they started a village. They constructed a saw mill, the first one in Oshkosh. Stores went up and the Eagle hotel was built, mechanic shops were established and a number of dwellings erected, making a promising show of a lively place. The Algoma post-office was established. Weed, Gumaer and Coon built a bridge over the Fox river at this point. The first grist mill in this region was erected at Algoma. The ancient village is now a phantom town, with all its flush days having served to raise the glory of other places, and it has left only a name.

Over on the shore of Big Lake Butte des Morts there are many country homes lining the high banks of the lake in a cluster,

named by the citizens of the delightful place Oakwood. Near by is Waldwic, the handsome summer home of Hon. Edgar P. Sawyer. Over on the shore of Lake Winnebago the whole shore line of the town is occupied by summer homes and places, principal among them being the location named Stony Beach.

The town is rich in archeological monuments and relics. There was before the plow had destroyed them several aboriginal mounds on the farm of Mr. William W. Wright, at the present site of Stony Beach, in section 35. One of the best monuments remaining in the county of the aboriginal clay sculptured hieroglyphics, or effigy mounds, is the campus in the foreground in front of the summer cottages at Oakwood. It has been illustrated in "the Archeology of Winnebago County," 1903, by P. V. Lawson. The group consists of a panel made up with a single ring at one end and a double ring at the other end, with a line of three bird effigies and three panther mounds intermediate. The birds seem in a race with the panthers. The residents have been requested to preserve these beautiful and last works of a lost art, and a lost people, for the inspection of the future student. In former years there was an aboriginal cornfield near this place. On section seven, about two miles west of Oakwood, on the place formerly owned by James Hammer, there were four conical mounds, each about thirty feet in diameter and two feet high, all of which have been plowed down. There was an aboriginal cemetery on the same tract of land.

Town of Black Wolf.

Town of Black Wolf was named for the old chief of the Winnebago, who had his village on the banks of Lake Winnebago, seven miles south of Oshkosh, and in the territory of the town on a point of land known as Black Wolf Point. The history of Black Wolf is given in another place in this work. His Indian name was Shounk Tshunksiap. Mr. J. O. Lewis painted his portrait in 1827, to which he gives the name of Shounk Chunk. This picture is also found in "The Winnebago Tribe," by P. V. Lawson, 1907, and it certainly portrays Mrs. Kinzie's description of the fierce old chief, "whose lowering, surly face was described by his name," the fierce expression of his face was "greatly heightened by masses of heavy black hair." Dandy, the Beau Brummell of the Winnebago, was his son, and he was born at his father's village in this town about 1793. Black Wolf left this village before

1840, and Dandy before 1836, as he had a village at Baraboo by that date. Black Wolf died in Portage in 1847; and Dandy resisted deportation and died at Petenwell Bluff on the Wisconsin river in June, 1870, aged seventy-seven years. The corn hills and other evidence of Indian occupation can still be seen along the shore in the town. The village site was in section 21, about seven miles south of Oshkosh.

On Long Point bay, on Lake Winnebago, close to the southern line of the town, on a tract of land about 500 feet from the lake, there is about five acres of corn hills still visible which were left by the Indians. Grooved stone axes, celts, arrow points and spear points have been gathered from a neighboring field. An Indian burial place is nearby these fields.

A huge granite boulder, the largest glacial boulder in the county, is located on section 33, the property of Mr. Adolph Frieberg, at the water's edge on the shore of Long Point bay. It is a prominent landmark in a district where there are no large boulders; it is angular in shape, measures eight feet across, stands five feet above ground, and is known to extend much farther below the surface. On the top there are two artificial basin-shaped depressions three inches deep, and highly polished, which were used as Indian corn mills or mortars for pounding grain. It has been called the Manitou rock. There are circular pits eight feet in diameter excavated in the ground three feet deep on La Belle Point, section 16, formerly Randall's Point, now owned by E. H. Farnly. Mr. George A. Randall says they were used as dining pits by the aboriginals. There were formerly numerous Indian corn hills all over the surface at this place.

The town of Black Wolf is bordered on the east by the broken shore line of Lake Winnebago. It is drained by several small creeks and all its waters flow into the big lake. The rich farm lands were formerly covered with an open growth of hardwood timber known to the pioneer as openings. When wheat was the staple crop the grain of the town was noted for its excellent quality, and took first prize at the exposition in Paris in 1875. Bank gravel is found in quantity for making good roads in the town.

There are 699 people in the town, of whom 546 were born in Wisconsin, ninety-six in Germany and twelve in Switzerland. The town comprises 7,984 acres, with 6,430 acres improved and valued at $750,000. The sales made show an average value of $108 per acre. There is raised 3,000 bushels wheat, 44,000 oats, 26,000 barley, 16,000 corn, 7,000 potatoes, 2,800 apples and 6,000

tons hay. There are 329 horses, 1,200 cattle, 8,700 sheep on the farms, and 12,000 pounds of butter is made from 900 milch cows, while 4,000 fowls produce 15,000 dozen eggs. The town supports one creamery and four cheese factories.

The people of Oshkosh resort to the shore of the lake in the town for summer homes and cottages. A number of the places, such as Paukatuck in the town, and Stony Beach, Knapp's Place, and Roe's Point, adjoining in the town of Algoma, are thickly populated in the summer time.

The first to settle in the town was Mr. Clark Dickinson, who moved onto a tract of land in the north part of the town in the spring of 1841. He was a pioneer of the county, coming to Winnebago Rapids in 1834 as a government employee at the establishment of the mission. Then moving to Oshkosh, he helped to found that city, and later took up this land. A photograph, taken in 1866, showed him still a vigorous man. His name was given to Dickinson's creek. He was followed by Mr. C. R. Luce, Ira Aiken, William and Thomas Armstrong, Charles Gay and T. and H. Hicks. Later there came Dr. Carey, a graduate of Edinburg college, with his wife, the daughter of a baronet; Mr. John Harney and William Greenwood. Francis Weyerhorst and a number of other Hollanders settled in 1847, and later. The Bangs family came in 1848. Mr. Milton Cleveland came from New York state. Mr. Henry C. Morgan moved to this town in 1851 and erected a saw mill on Murphy's creek, and a hamlet, which he called Perryburg, sprang up around it, with a steamboat landing. Mr. Warren Morley came in 1849 and constructed a steamboat landing, from which cordwood was taken away by steamboats. He sent seven sons into the civil war. Mr. Charles Morgan came in 1857, and at first engaged with his brother in the saw mill at their village of Perryburg, but finally bought lands and maintained a fine stock farm. George A. Randall, city engineer of Oshkosh, formerly lived on the John Harney place. Mr. W. B. Knapp's farm is in the most northerly part of the town, on the shore. The Howletts moved on their lands in 1849, when the town was known as Brighton. The Swiss settlement was begun in the woods as early as 1845, and from their first log cabins have grown large handsome homes, and the forest has disappeared from broad rich farms.

The Northwestern railway runs through the town, with a station at Vandyne. Rural mail delivery service reaches all parts of the town. There are now in the town five school houses, a

number of churches and a town hall. The first log school was built in 1850 on the site of the present frame, and was taught by Mr. Warren Crosby, at a salary of twelve dollars per month.

Town of Clayton.

The town of Clayton lies on a plain made by the gradual rise of the lands from Little Lake Butte des Morts to an elevation of about 150 feet. The waters in the town shed west through Rat river into the Wolf river and east through Duck creek into Little Lake Butte des Morts. The elevated lands of this region are supposed to protect the cities of Menasha and Neenah from the full force of the gales that sometimes blow from the west. The land is a rich loam. Originally it was covered with oak openings, and the northern part was a hardwood forest. The population of Clayton is 1,143, of whom 933 were born in America, and 844 of these were born in this state. Of foreign birth there were 152 born in Germany, thirty in Denmark and twenty-three in Norway. The total acerage is 23,700, of which 16,500 acres are improved and valued at $1,700,000. There is raised 1,400 bushels wheat, 141,000 oats, 55,000 barley, 47,000 corn, 33,000 potatoes, 3,700 apples and 6,000 tons of hay. The live stock listed shows 800 horses, 2,300 hogs, 1,000 sheep, and 2,200 milch cows, which yield 27,000 pounds butter. There are 8,700 fowls, which produce 76,000 dozen eggs. The town contains two creameries, whose sales amount to $60,000, and three cheese factories, whose sales amount to $30,000.

Mr. D. C. Darrow and William Berry were the first pioneers to come in the fall of 1846. About the same time came Mr. Alexander Murray and John Axtell, followed soon after by Benjamin George, William Robinson and Benjamin Strong. In June, 1847, Mr. L. H. Brown purchased a large tract of land. Mr. Geo. W. Giddings, W. H. Scott, J. S. Roblee and Truman Thompson all made settlements during that year. In the year 1847 Mr. Giddings and Mr. Roblee erected a private school house, and Miss Elizabeth McLean was employed as teacher. The public school was erected in 1850, with Miss Amanda Hicks as teacher. In 1877 there were ten schools and 523 children of school age. The Wisconsin Central railroad crosses the town, with a station at Norwegian Island, or Medina. The postoffice at this place is named Crete. The Northwestern railroad also crosses the town, forming a junction at Medina with the other railway. Thomp-

son's Corners was a well-known landmark for many years along the main highway to the woods and lumber camps. Mikesville now has a general store, blacksmith shop and cheese factory.

Town of Menasha.

The town of Menasha lies in the northeast corner of the county, cut through in the center by Little Lake Butte des Morts, so that nearly an equal area of the town lies on either side of the lake. The opposite parts cannot be reached except by a drive through the cities of Menasha and Neenah. It is for this reason that the voting place is located by law in the city of Neenah. The lands of the town are very fertile and large crops are raised.

The town of Menasha was originally covered with a dense forest of hardwood timber, oak, ash, hickory, basswood, soft and sugar maple. Along the banks of Little Lake Butte des Morts there are red clay banks clear from gravel, which is excellent material for brickmaking, and which has been used for that purpose since 1834. The brick burn to a cream color. The limestone quarries mentioned can be used for lime burning, the product being the strongest plaster lime obtainable in these parts. Mr. James Ladd, of West Menasha, was the first in the town to adopt the Trenton to lime burning; but before that lime had been burned in the village of Neenah near the site of the present library from stone gathered from the bed of the river. The experiment was made by Mr. Ladd in 1849 on his farm in the town, and from his lime kiln he supplied the whole surrounding country with lime. The wreck of the old kiln can still be seen on the farm site. The lime for Lawrence University was burned in this old kiln, being hauled to Appleton and delivered at the building for fifteen cents a bushel. From the Galena and Trenton limestone quarries on the Jens Jorgensen farm, formerly the O. J. Hall farm, large quantities of rubble stone for foundations are obtained, and a stone crusher is kept constantly at work preparing crushed limestone for macadam roads and cement sidewalks in the adjacent cities of Menasha, Neenah and Appleton. There are also some fine quarries in the town west of the lake. Duck creek, often called Little river, as the name given it by Father Crespel in 1728, or Snell's creek, as he lived on its banks so long, runs through the west town and enters Little Lake Butte des Morts near the upper end of Stroebe island. The eastern half of

the town is flat, but the west part of the town gradually rises to a height of possibly 100 feet elevation above the lake.

The Fox River Valley Interurban from Menasha to Appleton crosses the east town, running along the shore of Lake Winnebago, where numerous summer cottages and some hotels have been constructed, and during the summer harbor a large population from neighboring cities. The town is also crossed by the C., M. & St. P. railway from the city of Menasha, east to Milwaukee, north to Appleton. The Wisconsin Central crosses east from the city of Menasha to Fond du Lac, and north from Neenah to Minneapolis. The Northwestern railway crosses north to Marquette; but none of these railways maintain depots in the town.

There are a number of never failing springs. The Blair's spring in the glen on the old homestead on the lake shore road is quite notable. The old Tomahawk trail along the west bank of the Fox river ran to this spring and passed up onto the ridge or eskar toward the southwest to the ford above Big Butte des Morts, thirteen miles away. The trail can still be traced in two places near Blair's Springs. The celebrated hill of the dead, named by the French Butte des Morts, was located in West Menasha on the high bank of Little Lake Butte des Morts, from which it takes its name. The hill was destroyed in 1863, when the Northwestern railway bridge was built across the lake. The Tomahawk trail passed the site of the hill and nearly one thousand feet of the ancient trail can still be traced north of the site. The Tomahawk trail ran along the west bank of the Fox river from Green Bay to just beyond the Hill of the Dead, when it ran inland to Blair's Spring, as mentioned above.

The historic monument, Little Butte des Morts, known as the Hill of the Dead, was visited by Wisconsin's pioneer archeologist, Dr. Increase A. Lapham, on June 14, 1851, and as described and figured by him in his "Antiquities of Wisconsin." He says of it: "The first one (mound) in ascending the river (Fox), being on the west side of Little Lake Butte des Morts, a name indicating the existence of the mound, and the purpose for which it was erected. This tumulus is about eight feet high and fifty feet in diameter. It is to be hoped that a monument so conspicuous and so beautifully situated may be forever preserved as a memento of the past. It is a picturesque and striking object in passing along this fine lake and may have been the cause of serious reflections and high resolves to many a passing savage. It is well calculated to affect not less the bosoms of more enlightened men.

There is neither necessity nor excuse for its destruction; and we cannot but again express the hope that it will be preserved for the benefit of all who may pass along that celebrated stream. The summit of the mound is about fifty feet above the lake, affording a very pleasing view, embracing the lake and the entrance to the north channel of the river. Among the articles discovered in the field nearby was some burnt clay in irregular fragments with impressions of the leaves and stems of grass, precisely like those found at Aztalan. This has been a place of burial and, perhaps, of well-contested battles; for the plough constantly turns up fragments of human bones and teeth, much broken and decayed. Arrow points of flint and pipes of red pipestone and other materials have also been brought to light." The tradition of the origin of the "Hill of the Dead" is well known, having been included in nearly every important work on Wisconsin history. According to this tradition the tumulus was erected by the Indians as a repository for the bones of warriors and others who fell in a terrible battle which took place here at some period not definitely known, probably during the early part of the eighteenth century, during the long war of extermination waged against the Fox Indians by the French. The direct cause of the attack upon the village is said to have been due to a custom of the Fox Indians of exacting tribute from all voyagers who passed this point. This levying of a tax on goods becoming a nuisance, one Capt. Perriere Marin, or Morand, received the permission of the authorities at Quebec to undertake the chastisement of the offenders. Repairing to Michilimackinac, he proceeded to organize his expedition, which is said to have consisted of a number of strongly-built batteux covered with canvas and manned by soldiers, boatmen and Indian allies. With this force he proceeded to Green Bay and thence up the Fox river to near the Indian village. Here he divided his forces, one detachment making a detour by land to the rear and the remainder continuing to the village in the boats, the soldiers being well secreted behind the canvas coverings. In response to the customary hail from the shore the steersmen turned their boats toward the land, and at the proper moment, at a command from the supposed peaceable trader, Marin, the canvas coverings were raised by the soldiers and a deadly volley poured into the assembled horde of unsuspecting savages. In the meantime the detachment which had been sent to the rear of the village had set fire to the wigwams and cut off the means of retreat. The battle which ensued

is said to have been a most desperate one, thousands of warriors, women and children being slaughtered by the French and their allies..

One of the most notable events occurring at the "Hill of the Dead" was the great council of August, 1827, at which several thousand Chippewas, Winnebago and Menominees were assembled to meet Gen. Lewis Cass and Col. Thomas L. McKinney, the United States commissioners appointed for the purpose of apportioning the lands of the various tribes represented and fixing their proper boundaries. Chief John W. Quinne, an educated Stockbridge Indian, with Eleazer Williams, the "Lost Dauphin," were present as representatives of the New York Indians, who had been ceded lands along the Fox river by the Menominees. There was also present at this treaty a command of United States regulars and volunteer troops, who had halted en route to the seat of the Winnebago war. It was during this council (on August 7, 1872) that the young Indian Oiscoss, or "Oshkosh," as the name is spelled in the treaty, was formally selected by the commissioners and recognized as the head chief of the Menominee Indians. It is greatly to be regretted that Dr. Increase A. Lapham's wishes, so strongly expressed in regard to the preservation of this historic monument, should not have been heeded. In the year 1863 the Chicago and Northwestern railway constructed a pile bridge across Little Butte des Morts lake and made a deep cut through this point on the south side of and within thirty feet of the mound. Subsequently they excavated and removed the gravel at this place over an area of about five acres to a depth of about thirty feet, and with it, regardless of tradition or history, went the "Hill of the Dead." Thus it happened that the bones and implements of the aborigines entombed therein were strewn along the railway right of way for miles. After one-third of the mound had crumbled into the pit made by the busy pick and shovel, a large pocket of human bones was plainly exposed near its base. All about the outer surface, in shallow graves, were the remains of a great number of skeletons, possibly representing burials of a later date than those found at its base. As I can find no indication of an aboriginal cemetery in this vicinity that may be ascribed to the Fox Indians, who resided from 1683 to 1728, or later, within a mile of the mound, I have come to the conclusion that some of these latter interments were those of members of that tribe. I am informed, on good authority, that

the early settlers and physicians often resorted to this mound for skeletons.

The "Hill of the Dead" was probably never properly surveyed. According to Augustin Grignon it was "some six or eight rods in diameter and perhaps some fifteen feet high."[1] The author's measurements were obtained from Mr. C. V. Donaldson, of Menasha, and old residents of the neighborhood, who state that it was of an oval form, having a long diameter of sixty feet and short diameter of thirty-five feet. The height, corresponding with that given by Grignon and others, is fifteen feet. It was located a distance of 360 feet west of the lake shore and 300 feet south of the east and west quarter line of section 16.

About one-half mile west of the "Hill of the Dead" there is another eminence, apparently artificial, which has been referred to by Mr. Richard Harney[2] in connection with the foregoing as the "two hills of the dead." It is nine feet in height, 100 feet in diameter and is built of boulders and gravel. It is now overgrown with trees and bushes. No attempt has been made to investigate it.

In the vicinity of this mound there are a number of stone circles, each about four feet in diameter, constructed of boulders about ten inches in thickness. The areas enclosed within these circles have become filled in with earth and many of the circles almost hidden beneath the accumulation. From the center of one has grown a great oak tree so that the stones now lie in a ring about its base. In a cornfield adjoining north of the woodland, in which these are located, there were formerly hundreds of such circles, which the thrifty husbandman has now cleared from the field.

The village site stockade embankment of the Outagamie (Fox) Indian village, of which a full description and history has been given by the author in the "Proceedings" of the Wisconsin State Historical Society for the year 1900, is located on the farm of Mr. Henry Race, in the southeast quarter of section 8, one mile northwest of the "Hill of the Dead" and three-quarters of a mile west of Little Butte des Morts lake. Being driven from Michigan after their battle with the French and their Indian allies at Detroit in the year 1712, the remnant of the Fox Indians who took part in that raid returned to their Wisconsin ancient village site in West Menasha, and endeavored to form an alliance with other

[1] 3 "Wis. Hist. Colls."

[2] "Hist. Winnebago Co.," 1880.

Wisconsin tribes for the purpose of again harassing the French, with the result that a war of extermination was ordered by the authorities in Quebec, and the fifty years' war was again in full flame.

In 1716, Sieur de Louvigny, in command of an army of 500 French and 1,000 Iroquois, came to Wisconsin seeking the Foxes. In the meantime the Fox Indians had prepared for his coming by erecting a strong stockade consisting of a triple row of oak palisades, with an outer ditch. From within this strongly fortified enclosure 500 warriors and 3,000 women for a period of three days successfully defended themselves against the French and their cannon. At the end of this time propositions for peace were received and a treaty finally concluded between the opposing forces. The French affected to suppose the Foxes failed to carry out their agreement under the treaty, and in 1728 Sieur de Lignery came to Wisconsin with a second expedition for the purpose of subduing them; but the Indians, being warned of his coming, only empty villages were found. These and the stockade were burned and destroyed by the French. The stockade embankment, which is still to be seen, partially encloses about seven and a half acres of land. The central portion is 700 feet in length and its two wings each 450 feet in length. It is twenty-five feet in width and now about three feet in height. On one wing and corner are bastion-like extensions, the probable site of block houses. The rear may have been otherwise defended. A low embankment 200 feet in length in a field a slight distance to the west is supposed to indicate the position of the trenches built by the French in their attack on the palisade. A description of this stockade has also been published by the author in the "Milwaukee Sentinel" of September 10, 1899, and these events are more fully outlined on another page of this work.[1]

The Great Serpent mounds are located about one and a half miles west of Little Butte des Morts lake, and about two and one-half miles northwest of the city of Neenah. It is only about 500 feet northwest of the remains of the old Fox stockade embankment just described. The country about is old farming land. One of the mounds has never been disturbed, while the other one has been plowed over in parts and largely removed with scrapers.

[1] A plat and description of the group of great serpent mounds has been given by the author in the January, 1902, issue of the "Wisconsin Archeologist," Vol. I, No. 1, pp. 35-36. A description of one of the effigies has also appeared in the "Oshkosh Northwestern" of September 3, 1898.

The two reptiles are apparently rushing toward each other. Between their heads runs a very small creek four feet wide and dry in summer, but which in 1728 was large enough a half mile below to admit several hundred canoes bearing the French and Iroquois army, which came to assault the Fox Indian village nearby. West of the mounds the land sinks into a basin, so that they seem to lie along the edge of the sharp depression of about three feet to the basin. They are constructed of red clay similar to the surrounding subsoil and with a few inches of vegetable mold on one and much more on the other. At the bottom of the slope along which they lie there is an artificial ditch extending their whole length (except at certain points in the one, which has been plowed over), which is now from three inches to two feet in depth. It is deepest at the head and gradually grows less deep toward the extremities, where it disappears with the tails of the mounds. The stumps on the mounds are numerous and some of them three feet through, showing ages from forty to one hundred and fifty years. The heads of the reptiles are not distinctly outlined, but are flat as if mashed. In the jaws of one there is a four-foot elm stump. One of the mounds is a prominent feature of the landscape, as it can be seen from quite a distance. Its peculiar serpentine shape is very striking. The length of mound A is 1,210 feet, and of the other, mound B, 1,580 feet, making for both of them a total length of 2,790 feet, or half a mile. A drawing of these immense leviathans, lying full length upon the ground, made on a scale of one hundred feet to the inch, cannot convey to the mind any idea of the numerous coils and curves which make up the mounds. One great loop runs out twenty-five feet and returns within a few feet of its starting point. From the neck the mounds grow gradually higher and broader toward the middle of the effigies, then as gradually and gracefully grow smaller and smaller until they disappear into the surrounding soil. The smaller one ends among a lot of stumps, and the larger one up in the top soil of rock outcrop of Trenton limestone. The lands across which the mounds lie are divided into half a dozen fields, with as many owners.

At various places in the southern portion of this town and in the town of Neenah, on the Blair, Jennijohn, Moulton, Hankey and other farms,, some burials or gravel pit interments are frequently disturbed in taking out the material for road work. These graves are usually at a depth of but a few feet beneath the surface. They are generally about two feet wide and deep

and six feet long. The bones lie in a horizontal position, the direction varying greatly. From a pit near the "Hill of the Dead" the author obtained, in 1882, a dozen shreds of shell-tempered earthenware, several fragments of a carved bone and a number of bone awls. During the summer of 1902 a number of human bones and a copper spear-point found with them were taken from a pit on the Blair property by workmen. The gravel ridge in which these interments occur extends from this point across portions of the towns of Neenah, Vinland and Winneconne to Big Butte des Morts lake. On the farm of Mr. W. Weaver, in the southwest quarter of section 17, near a stone quarry, human bones and a considerable number of stone implements have been found at different times.

Evidences of the former existence of shell heaps are to be seen at the south side of the mouth of Sill's creek, or Duck creek, where it empties into Little Butte des Morts lake, near its lower end, in the northeast corner of section 3. The surface of the ground at this place is white with fragments and flakes of broken and decomposed clam shells over an area of three acres or more. The writer has collected from this site upwards of fifty finely chipped flint arrow points, several bone and horn awls and a considerable quantity of pot sherds. The most of the latter are fabric marked and tempered with black quartz. Two sockette copper spear points, one of which has the surface of its blade ornamented with small regular indentations, have also been obtained. The prevailing style of pottery decoration is in the chevron or triangular patterns, impressed in dotted and continuous lines made with a pointed implement or with twisted cords.

The town of Neenah, as stated in another page, originally included the towns of Menasha, Vinland and Clayton. After Vinland and Clayton had been set off and the village of Menasha sprung up around the north outlet of Fox river in 1848, there was constant friction in the town meetings between the citizens of Winnebago Rapids and the hamlet starting up at Menasha. The contest originally grew out of the strife for roads, school money and the location of the place of holding town meetings. The natural place for the meetings was where it had always been held at Winnebago Rapids, now Neenah; but the village of Menasha desired that half the time it should be held in Menasha. This desire was finally accomplished by Menasha friends polling the most votes. Then the Neenah people determined to divide the town. The Menasha people opposed this. The place of holding

the town election or town meeting was established by law at Neenah. Menasha having for a long time agitated the holding of the election alternately at that place and Neenah, the question was voted on April 5, 1853, and decided in favor of Neenah as the place of holding the next town meeting and against dividing the town—182 votes for Neenah and 160 votes for Menasha. At the next annual town meeting, April 2, 1854, a vote was taken to decide the place of holding the general election of 1854 and the annual meeting for 1855; 239 votes were cast for the Decker House in Menasha and 147 votes for R. C. Wheeden's brick hotel in Neenah. Menasha was at last victorious, and Neenah, being dissatisfied, made an application to the county board to divide the town, which was opposed by Menasha; but the town was divided and the town of Menasha set off from the town of Neenah. The cemetery had been located in West Menasha, as described in another place, and in the division a jog south was made in the straight east and west line of the division to carry the line through the center of the cemetery, giving half to each town.

The first permanent settler in the town is regarded as James Ladd, who with his family located near his future farm in the fall of 1846 in one of the log houses built by the Government for the Indians. This block house stood on the corner on the Blair premises. Mr. Ladd was born in Sudbury, Vt., May 16, 1799, removing with his parents to the state of New York at an early age, where he remained until 1845, when he traveled to Beaver Dam, in Wisconsin. He has told the story of the first settlement himself in a letter written in 1877: "In March, 1846, in company with Deacon Mitchell and Mr. Wheatley, I arrived in Neenah, then known as Winnebago Rapids. We came from Dodge county, but had to leave our team on the other side of the river in Oshkosh, cross the river in a skiff and proceed on foot, following the Indian trail through the woods. We found at Winnebago Rapids a few log or block houses built by the Government for the benefit of the Indians, also the Government mills. At this time there were seven or eight families within four miles of Neenah and a large sprinkling of Indians. We stopped over night with Harrison Reed and made inquiries of him concerning Government land. He directed us to Governor Doty on the island and there we were directed to Mr. Pendleton, who lived on the Cronkhite place, he being the oldest settler and best acquainted with the country. We got what information we could respecting the best locations and started off through the woods to look for land and lost our way. After

wandering a long time we found an Indian trail, which brought us to Mr. Jourdain's, on the Neff farm. It was late in the afternoon and we were tired and hungry, but there we were served to a good dinner of wild duck. After wandering about through woods and brush, crossing the streams in a skiff, I concluded to make a claim where I now live. In October following I moved my family into a block house with Mr. Coldwell, who lived with an Indian wife on the Blair place. Other families moved in that summer and fall. We had no way to cross the lower lake with teams but to ford it, going into the lake by the old mill and guiding our course by an old oak on the Jourdain place, the water coming up to the middle of the wagon box, so that we were obliged to place ourselves and effects on top of the box to keep dry.

"Some Frenchmen with a load of calico and trinkets going through to trade with the Indians at their annual gathering to receive their annuity from the Government, in attempting to cross just at night to stop with me, there being no place in Neenah to stop, got out of the right course into deep water with a muddy bottom. They called for assistance and I went to them in a skiff. The men and horses were rescued, but wagon and goods were left to soak over night. The next morning, by means of long poles tied together and the oxen, the wagon was drawn ashore. They dried their goods and resumed their journey, thinking they would be none the less valuable to the redskins for having been soaked.

"My house, which consisted of three rooms with low chambers, was the only stopping place for travelers that winter west of the slough and the lake. That fall the settlers who were here clubbed together, there being no town board to raise an extra tax, to hire the Indians to cut a road through to the Oneida settlement, a distance of fourteen miles. We were to furnish them with provisions while they did the work. That road connected with a road to Green Bay, which was the only way we could reach the bay with teams. The Indians camped in rude huts as they worked their way along, taking my house for the terminus of the road, which they reached one night, headed by their chief, Mr. Breed. We gave them (twenty in number) a good supper, after which each took his blanket and lay down before our old-fashioned fireplace. Before leaving in the morning they presented me a cane with a snake's head neatly carved on the top of it. These Indians brought us our lumber for the first building in Neenah from their mills on Duck creek.

"Some six or eight of the settlers agreed to pay me $100 to build

a bridge at the big slough, which I did by making cribs of logs, laying stringers from crib to crib and covering with poles. This bridge was completed in the spring and lasted a number of years.

"One of my family was taken sick that spring and I sent to Oshkosh for a physician, there being none nearer; but he did not understand the case, and I sent to Stockbridge for Rev. Dr. Cutting Marsh. The only way to get there was to cross the lake in a skiff. Mr. C. Northrup, of Menasha, went across, a distance of fourteen miles, and returned with the doctor. We had to take him home and send for him a second time in the same way.

"Work on the Neenah dam was begun in 1847, and as there was no place to board the men, I built the barn back of the Winnebago House, moved into it and took fifty boarders, besides keeping what travelers came along. I have no record of the arrivals, but think there would be a long list. We often had to make a barrel of flour in a day. We lived in the town that summer and until I built the Winnebago House. The work on the dam caused quite an influx of men this year, while large numbers were constantly arriving for the purpose of taking up claims of Government lands, and on the whole it was quite busy during the fall of that year. During the winter the territory was changed to a state. The first town meeting in Neenah was held in the spring of 1847. Governor Doty, Cornelius Northrup and myself were appointed supervisors and Lucius Donaldson town clerk.

"Neenah, 1877. JAMES LADD."

Mr. Joseph Jourdain conducted the blacksmith shop down on the bank of Little Lake Butte des Morts, near the sawmill, for the Menominee Indian Mission, under the Government factor, in 1834, until the mission was abandoned under the treaty of Cedar Point, September 3, 1836. It is supposed that he afterward occupied with his family the block house in the town of Menasha, located on the place, which Thomas Jourdain, his son, took up as Government land in 1848. During a part of the time Joseph Jourdain was blacksmith to the Menominee with shops and buildings at Winneconne. Thomas Jourdain resided on the place he had purchased until 1871, when he moved to the city of Menasha, holding the position of policeman or marshal. He was a large, powerful man, and because of his good nature and common sense had a host of friends. The old blacksmith, Joseph Jourdain, of whom mention has been made under the history of Neenah, is possibly entitled to be regarded as the first settler of the town of Neenah, and after Menasha was set off he would be regarded as the first

settler of the lands afterward included in the town. After the mission at Neenah was abandoned there is every reason to suppose that Joseph Jourdain remained living in the block house, where he afterward lived until his death in 1866, the land being purchased by his son Thomas as soon as opened for purchase. Mr. James Ladd mentions this Jourdain place when he moved into the town. It is supposed that Joseph Jourdain remained located on that place from 1836 until his death in 1866, excepting the few years he was in charge of the blacksmith shop at Winneconne for the Menominee. Mr. Thomas Jourdain was a blacksmith and assistant to his father at both the Neenah and Winneconne shops. The Jourdain family history and genealogy has been furnished for this work by Mr. J. P. Schumacher, of Green Bay, whose wife was a descendant. The family becomes interesting as among the earliest residents of the county and permanent settlers, as well as for the marriage of a daughter to the celebrated Eleazer Williams, to whom history points very clearly as the lost Louis XVII, King of France. Joseph Jourdain was born at Three Rivers, near Montreal, Canada, January 12, 1780, where he lived until May 10, 1798, when he appeared in La Bay, now Green Bay, the first blacksmith to locate in Wisconsin, a prominent and necessary character in the romantic back-woods life of the early pioneers. An expert at his profession, he could fashion a razor or a sword as well as an ax, or hatchet, or shovel, and made the locks for their cabins and the cranes to do the cooking for the family, and andirons for the great open fireplace, and the shovels and tongs, the pans and copper kettles for the good housewife, repaired the guns and adjusted the flints for the early hunters. He made the spears and the fishhooks to catch the sturgeon and other fish, forged his tools to work with and made his own forge and bellows. The pipe tomahawk he made of old gun barrels were marvels of the smith's art. They were graceful and beautiful in design, a crescent on the side of the blade being inlaid with copper from an old French penny. The handles were made from an ironwood sapling and served as a stem for the pipe. One of these pipes is in the collection of George A. West, of Milwaukee, and Dr. Tanner has one in Kaukauna, and Mr. Benedict, of Butte des Morts, has one. Mr. Jourdain for a long time was armorer and smith for the military post at Fort Howard and for a short time at Camp Smith, Green Bay; then he built himself a house and shop on the site where the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul depot now stands. Mrs. M. Lefevre has a picture of this house. In 1834 or earlier he took a

claim of eighty acres of land at Bay Settlement (now town of Scott), five miles northeast of the city of Green Bay, on the east shore of Green Bay, and built a large house there. He gave the place to his daughter, Marguerite (Mrs. D. J. Parent), whose son, Medrions Parent, lives there at present and owns the place.

About the year 1834 Mr. Jourdain moved to Winnebago Rapids, now Neenah, as mentioned above, where the sub-mission for the Menominee Indians was established, where he held the position of armorer and blacksmith, his shop being at the foot of the Winnebago Rapids at Little Butte des Morts lake, the site of which is now covered by the Neenah writing-paper mill of the Kimberly-Clark Company. He made his home over the lake in the town of Menasha in one of the log cabins erected by the Government. After the agency was closed he remained and was the earliest permanent resident of the town of Menasha. He was a devout Catholic and his name is found on all the subscription lists for building churches and maintaining the priest. For several years he was treasurer of the church at La Bay. He was five feet six inches tall and straight as an arrow, heavily built and a handsome man, his deportment courtly, his manners pleasant, amiable and kind. He was known and esteemed far and wide as of a cheerful and peaceful disposition, considerate to the poor, and no one was ever suffered to leave his shop without their work on account of poverty. It was said of him that he had no enemies and never had any trouble with anyone, and the Indians loved him as their father. He died at Green Bay when on a visit May 22, 1866, at the age of 86 years, 4 months and 10 days, and is buried in Allouez Cemetery, where his grave is marked with an iron cross.

At the age of 23 years on January 2, 1803, he was married to Marguerite Gravelle, who was born at Prairie du Chien, October 14, 1781. Her mother was a daughter of l'Espagnol, chief of the Menominee Indians, who served in the War of 1812. Her father was Michael Gravelle. She died at Menasha and was buried beside her husband in Allouez Cemetery, where her grave is marked with an iron cross.

Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Jourdain had eight children, two boys and six girls:

(1) William, born at Green Bay in 1804. He was a blacksmith by trade and had a shop at Portage, Wisconsin, for many years, then moved to Green Bay, and later lived with his daughter, Mrs.

Marguerite Lafond, at Two Rivers, where he died in 1888 at the age of 84 years.

(2) Mary Magdalene, born at Green Bay, December 15, 1806, became the wife of Rev. Eleazer Williams, the lost King, Louis XVII of France, March 3, 1823, at the home of her parents, Judge James Porlier officiating, in the presence of Gen. Albert G. Ellis and Ebenezer Childs. After their marriage they repaired to their estate of 4,800 acres at Little Rapids, given to her by the chiefs of the Menominee, fourteen miles above Green Bay. Of their three children only John Lawe Williams lived to grow to manhood. He was born at this home January 1, 1825. At her confirmation in the old Trinity Church on Broadway, New York, by Bishop Hobart he gave her the name of Mary Hobart Williams. She lived twenty-eight years after the death of her husband and died at her home July 22, 1886, and was buried in Woodlawn cemetery in Green Bay, Judge E. H. Ellis reading the Episcopal service. Visitors say "her house was as neat as wax." By her will she provided for her old Indian domestic, "Nan," whose descendants own the historic old log cabin home. Her son, John Lawe Williams, as described under the history of Winneconne, came into possession of the 160-acre farm on the west side of the river at that place in 1849. When sixteen years of age he was with his father, Rev. Williams, on the steamboat when presented to the Prince de Joinville, an incident in the now famous interviews with the son of King Louis Philippe. December 26, 1851, he married Mrs. Jane Pattison Enery at Fond du Lac, a sister of Mrs. Judge George Gary, Mrs. Matt Hasbrouck and Mrs. S. R. Clark, all of Oshkosh. They resided at Winneconne until the farm was sold in 1868, when they moved to Oshkosh. While in the woods at Tigerton he was fatally injured by a falling log, and died September 22, 1883. The funeral service was conducted by Rev. F. R. Haff, the late venerable Episcopal rector, and the Masonic service was conducted by the late Col. Gabe Bouck. He was buried in the cemetery at Oshkosh. There were three children— George, Louis and Eugene. The last two born in Oshkosh died young. George Williams, their oldest child and now the last of the Bourbons, was born in Winneconne, November 8, 1852. He attended school in Oshkosh and is remembered by many friends there. He has resided for many years in St. Louis; has been married since 1884, but has no children. Mrs. John Lawe Williams, his widowed mother, now resides with her son in St. Louis.

(3) The third child, Josephine, died young.

(4) The fourth child was Susan, born at Green Bay, July 22, 1809. She was married at Green Bay, January 18, 1834, to Major De Quinder by Father Sandrall at the Shanty Town Mission Church. Major De Quinder was a merchant at Green Bay and died there May 23, 1864. They had no children, but always a houseful of orphans and homeless children. They adopted a girl baby and named her Matilda, who afterwards married Frank Fay, and still lives at Green Bay. Mrs. Susan De Quinder died at Green Bay, June 8, 1893, and is buried in Allouez Cemetery.

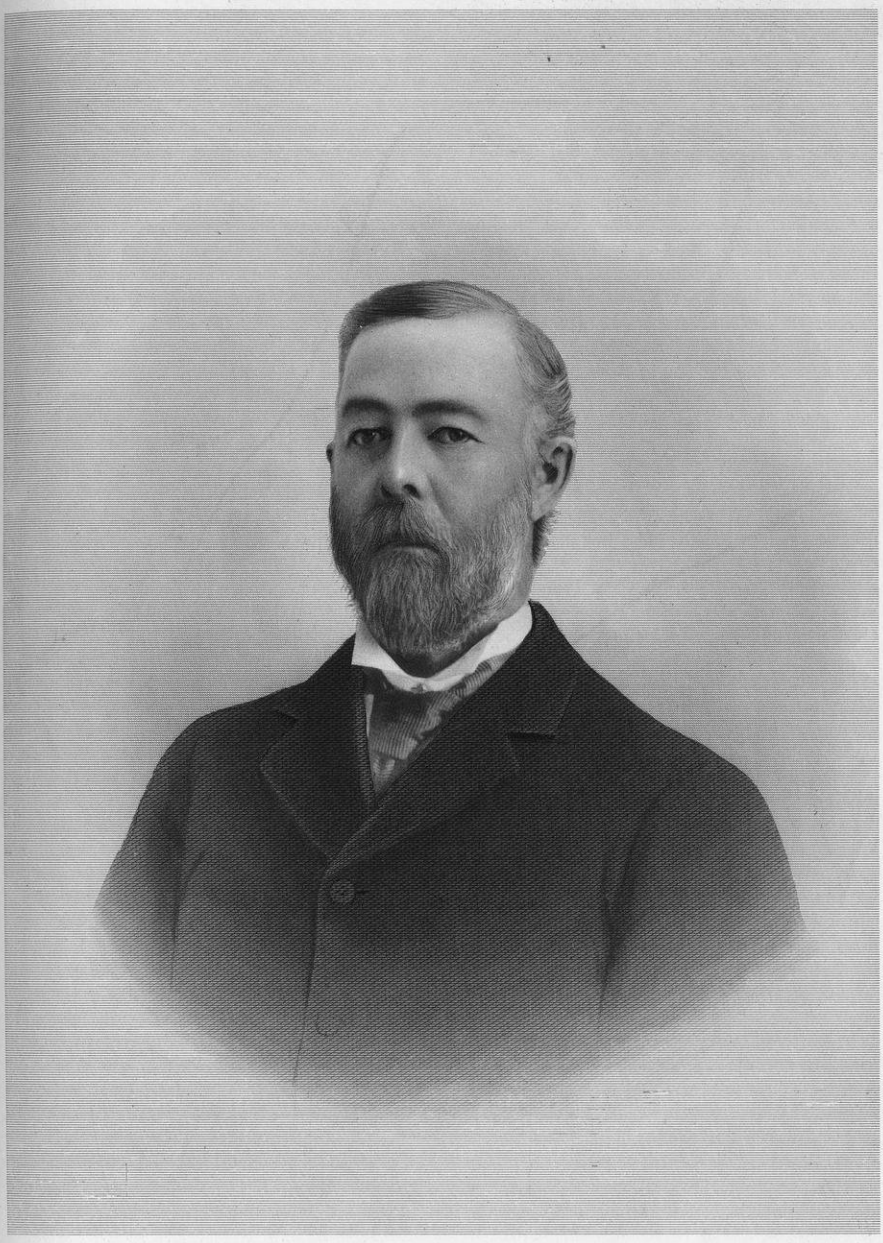
(5) The fifth child was Marguerite Monie, born November 1, 1812, at Green Bay. She was married at Green Bay, February 3, 1836, at the mission church at Shantytown by Father Sandrall to D. J. Parent, of Detroit, Michigan. Mr. Parent was born at Sandwich, Ontario, Canada, February 17, 1809, where he attended school till he was 18 years old, when he learned the wagon-maker's trade at Detroit. On June 12, 1831, he sailed from Detroit for Green Bay, where he arrived July 9 and entered the employ of Gen. Albert G. Ellis. From 1832 till 1836 he was employed at the garrison of Fort Howard. In 1836 he opened a wagon shop of his own at Green Bay, and in 1841 moved to Bay Settlement, on the claim given to his wife by her father, where he spent the remainder of his life on the farm and where he died Friday, January 30, 1885, and was buried February 2 at Holy Cross Cemetery, Bay Settlement, by Rev. Father Canterells. Mrs. Marguerite Monie Parent was probably the best known woman in Bay Settlement. She was doctor and nurse for the whole settlement, as there was no regular doctor in the settlement. She died March 26, 1899, at the age of 87 years. The funeral services were held at Holy Cross Church, Bay Settlement, and burial at Holy Cross Cemetery, same place, Rev. Canterells officiating.

(6) The sixth child born was Domitile, born at Green Bay, May 12, 1814. She married Joseph Parent, of Detroit, Michigan, where they went to live, and died there January 5, 1834. One son was born to them. He died at Detroit when a young man.

(7) The seventh child was Christine, born at Green Bay, March 4, 1816. She married Polite Grignon,[1] and died July 2, 1857. Three children were born to them—one son and two daughters. They live at Milwaukee at present.

(8) The eighth child was Thomas, born at Green Bay in 1823, the same as described above as the companion of his father's

[1] It is possible this name is Hipalite Grignon, who had a trading post at Grand Chute, Appleton, in 1838, the original of the White Heron Inn.





smithy at Neenah and Winneconne and with whom his parents lived from 1834 to the time of their death. He was married, and his wife died last fall in Green Bay. He was killed in the writing-paper mill fire, described under the history of the city of Menasha. They had no children. Mr. Louis T. Jourdain, now residing with his family on Nicolet avenue, Neenah, engaged in insurance and real estate, is an adopted son, having lived nearly his whole boyhood days in the family and given their name.

Mr. Wells E. Blair located on the place so long occupied by him in 1850. At first he moved with his family into one of the better Government block houses near the Blair Springs. This was one of the better and larger houses built for the teachers. It was, as Mrs. Blair says, "excellent and substantial, well framed and finished, made of hewn or square logs. Near this was one of the log houses built for the Indians, which we used for a barn. Later in 1861 we built a stone house (still standing) and moved into it." Mrs. Blair is living in Madison with her daughter, Miss E. Helen Blair.

Mr. Michael Kerwin was one of the earliest pioneers in the town and county. He carved his splendid domain out of the primeval forest of hardwoods and made his wide acres into a thrifty, fruitful farm. The Kerwin family has been celebrated in Ireland and America, many of its members being highly educated and displaying great intelligence as priests and lawyers. Many of them came to America and attained considerable prominence in religious and civic life as well as military affairs. Gen. Michael Kerwin, of New York, was one of them. This biography is mostly of some of the descendents of James Kerwin. James Kerwin, of County Tipperary, Ireland, where he was born and died, married Mary Quinlan, of the same place, who was born there in 1790 and died in Wisconsin in 1877 at the age of 86 years. Their son, Michael Kerwin, was born in Tipperary county, Ireland, in 1815. He married Mary Buckley in Ireland, daughter of Walter Buckley, of Ireland, where he was born in 1790 and died in 1830. His wife was Mary Clary, who died when her daughter, Mary Buckley, was an infant. Mary was born in 1821 in Ireland in County Tipperary. Michael Kerwin went to Canada from Ireland in 1844 and remained there until 1848, when he returned to Ireland and married Mary Buckley. They came to America, settling on a large farm in the town of Menasha, Winnebago county, Wisconsin, in 1848, and lived there until his death in 1902, his wife, Mary Kerwin, having died in 1873. He was one of the first settlers in

Winnebago county and helped to make the first canal improvements on Fox river, which were made from Neenah to Kaukauna, aiding in building the first dams on the Fox river and helping to clear brush and timber from the lands now occupied by the cities of Neenah, Menasha and Appleton. Seven children were born to Michael and Mary Kerwin—Margaret Kerwin (Mrs. P. McGann), Judge J. C. Kerwin, Bridget Kerwin, John Kerwin, Mary Kerwin, Walter Kerwin, and Dr. M. H. Kerwin, three of whom, Mary, Walter and Dr. M. H. Kerwin—having died.

Dr. Michael H. Kerwin, who, though young in years, had obtained by his ability a high place in his chosen profession of medicine, was, to the great grief of his numerous friends, stricken down just as he had gained the highest honors in preparation for his life work. "The Transactions of the State Medical Society" had this to say of him: "Born May 14, 1855, in the town of Menasha, Winnebago county, Wisconsin, on his father's farm, and until of adult age his time was spent on the farm, summers at work and winters in the school. He graduated from the Medical Department of the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor in 1876, practiced for a few months at Hilbert Junction, Wisconsin, and then removed to Seymour, Wisconsin, where he soon built up a very large and lucrative practice. In 1881 he went to New York and spent a year at the College of Physicians and Surgeons, receiving his second degree from this institution in 1882. He then returned to Seymour and resumed his practice. In 1887 he went to Europe and remained abroad two years, studying in Vienna, Berlin, Hamburg, Prague and Paris. He returned in 1889 to Seymour and again resumed practice, remaining there about one year, when he removed to Milwaukee in 1890. When the announcement was made that Prof. Robert Koch had discovered a cure for consumption he again took his departure for Berlin and was able to bring to Wisconsin the first vial of Koch's lymph. On March 7, 1891, from an acute intestinal disease and after an illness of but two days he died at 35 years of age. At the time of his death there probably was not a physician in Wisconsin of his age so well informed and so well known as he. Dr. Kerwin was a most diligent student. He read and spoke German almost with the same ease that he did English, and he also acquired a good knowledge of French, reading it without difficulty. Dr. Kerwin was by nature well calculated for a physician—tender, generous, sympathetic and genial. Always considerate of the feelings and sensibilities of

others, he made friends wherever he went. Sober, industrious, self-reliant, cool and collected under the most trying circumstances, his patients had not only the utmost confidence in his ability, but they loved and honored him for his untiring devotion to their cause as well as for his sterling honesty and integrity. During his stay in Seymour he acquired a large practice. It is difficult to grasp and comprehend the position and practice he might have attained had he lived the allotted threescore years and ten. Cut off in the vigor of young manhood when he had gained a most enviable position and practice in the city of Milwaukee, his untimely death has cast a gloom over the entire state of Wisconsin." The celebrated late Dr. Nicholas Senn, of Chicago, and the leading physician of the West, kindly remembers Dr. Kerwin in this generous language: "I knew Dr. Kerwin well. He was a young physician of great promise, a polished gentleman, a faithful student and most conscientious practitioner."

His brother, Judge James C. Kerwin, now Justice of the Supreme Court of Wisconsin, son of Michael Kerwin, the pioneer, was born on the farm in this town May 4, 1850, son of Michael and Mary Kerwin. Mr. Kerwin passed his early life on a farm, attended district school and graduated at Menasha High School in 1870. He then attended the University of Wisconsin and graduated in the law department in 1876. He studied law with Judge A. L. Collins at Menasha and was admitted to the bar in the Circuit Court of Dane county, then the Supreme Court, in 1875, the U. S. courts in 1875 and the U. S. District and Circuit Court by Judge Charles E. Dyer, July 10, 1878, at Oshkosh. After his admission he plied himself with unremitting energy to the practice of law in the city of Neenah. He was one of the board of regents of the State University of Wisconsin, is a Republican in politics and supported Gov. Robert M. La Follette. He has won some very important cases. One was the railroad bond case of the town of Menasha. The case had been fought in all the courts and the bonds won. It was a long standing and acknowledged by all to be a hopeless defense by the town. When he took hold of the case it did look useless; but he made a successful defense for the town and they did not pay the bonds. Another very important case was the celebrated Krueger vs. the Wisconsin Telephone Company, in which he established before the Supreme Court the right of the property owner to prevent setting of poles on the street in front of his property and ob-

tained damages against them for doing so, and had an injunction to remove the pole. It was said that the decision would cost the corporations requiring the use of poles in the highway more than $50,000,000. We copy the following notice from the "Oshkosh Times" of December 23, 1902: "For many years Mr. Kerwin has been recognized as the foremost attorney in Neenah and one of the best known men in the profession in this section of the state, a distinction he has gained solely upon his merits as a lawyer, for, unlike most of his brethren, he is a total abstainer from the alluring influences of politics. Mr. Kerwin is noted as a man of forceful characteristics, learned in the fundamental principles as well as the intricacies of law, and strong, clear and convincing as a trial lawyer. By reason of these distinctive qualities in his make-up he has been more than successful and his services have been eagerly sought in prominent cases from all parts of the state. Mr. Kerwin is one of the busiest men in his profession in this part of the country and, although of a wonderful capacity, his time is taxed to the utmost. He is one of the leading citizens of Neenah and has done much to promote the welfare of the city and make it what it is today. He has hundreds of friends in Neenah and the surrounding country, as he is a gentleman who makes many friends and always retains them." Three years ago after a sharp contest he was elected to the Supreme Court by the immense majority of 14,000 over an opponent favored by all the railway and largest financial influences in the state. He was married in 1880 to Miss Helen Elizabeth Lawson. Their daughter Jessie was married January 4, 1908, to Mr. Charles Benjamin Clark, of the Kimberly-Clark Company, and their daughter Grace was married May 27, 1908, to Mr. John Sensenbrenner, son of Mr. Frank J. Sensenbrenner, first vice-president of the same paper-making firm.

The late Mr. Phillip Verbeck resided in the town from a very early date and was always a prominent man in its civic, moral and educational affairs. He was retained in the position of chairman for many years. It was due to his persistent efforts that the town finally beat the bondholders in the attempt to collect the railroad bonds from the town. Mr. A. D. Paige moved from the village of Menasha on to his farm in East Menasha at an early day and always took a lively interest in the town affairs. Mr. Charles Derby resided for a good many years on a well improved farm of eighty acres in West Menasha. He was several times chairman and held other offices. Mr. Andrew

Frederickson, who purchased his old place on the lake shore in 1860 and on to which he moved in 1863, made the farm profitable. The place at last contained 175 acres. On this he bred improved stock and Clydesdale horses. For a good many years he acted as chairman of the town board.

Capt. Laukland B. MacKinnon introduced into the county the first blooded stock. In April, 1854, he wrote the "Menasha Advocate" that "Menasha Mac" had sailed for America. He was a full blood Durham with a long pedigree set forth in detail in the paper. He was bred in England of a stock then said to be the most popular breed of cattle as best milkers and heavy weight. From the "Menasha Advocate:" "Capt. L. B. MacKinnon, of the British navy, shipped the horse April, 1854, to Menasha from England, 'King Cymbry,' bred in 1847, a son of the celebrated racer 'Touchstone,' 16 hands high, a rich bay." "If he survives the journey I trust he will be the progenitor of the finest and best breed of horses in America," writes the Captain.

The "London Mirror" called him an "entire horse." In a later edition the "Advocate" in May, 1854, says: "Captain MacKinnon's horse, 'King of Cymbry,' bred by Wynn and got by 'Touchstone' and showing a line of Derby, Great Doncaster, St. Leger and other great race winners extending back to 1780." The description of the family required half a column in the "Advocate" to transcribe. On July 3, 1854, the "Advocate" mentions: "Captain MacKinnon arrived in town with the stallion, bull and a variety of fowls, with which he hoped to improve the stock of this county."

Town of Neenah.

The town of Neenah lies in the corner against Lake Winnebago and the western sweep of the Fox river over the Winnebago rapids into Little Lake Butte des Morts, the several sections along the river being occupied by the city of Neenah, set off from the town. The original town comprised all of Vinland, Clayton and the town of Menasha, as well as the town of Neenah. It was covered with a forest of hardwood timber, basswood, hickory, oak, ash, elm and butternut. Most of this has been cleared away and the town covered with beautiful farms with large, handsome homes and outbuildings. There are several limestone quarries in the town in the Trenton measure, and

artesian wells can be had by boring 50 to 200 feet. A stream named the Big Slough crosses the town. Something of the history of the origin of the town and its land sales has been mentioned in other pages. The Indian title to the lands of the town was taken over by the Government at the treaty of Cedar Rapids in 1836, and after survey in 1839 were offered for sale October 2, 1843, at the United States land office, then in Green Bay, excepting the Reservation of Winnebago Rapids, formerly intended as a mission to the Menominee Indians. The offer of the lands for sale remained open until withdrawn, October 14, the sale having been allowed to proceed but twelve days when it was suspended as to these lands until January 12, 1846. The reservation comprised part of the present city of Neenah and described by Government survey all the lands now in the town and city south of the Fox river, two miles south to the south line of the B. F. Rogers place, east to Lake Winnebago and west to La Grange road in the city, and south of Lake Butte des Morts to Sherry street. Part of the reservation was sold to Harrison Reed, as described in the history of the city of Neenah, and December 28, 1846, the remainder of the lands included in the original reservation were offered for private entry.

The first settlers in the town were those who located at the site of the settlement of Winnebago Rapids; but Mr. George H. Mansur, who had been at work in the old Government mills at Winnebago Rapids for Harvey Jones, located in June, 1844, with his family on his lands on the Lake Shore road and became the pioneer of the town. Two years later farms were entered by G. P. Vining on the Ridge road, George Harlow, Ira Baird, Stephen Hartwell and Salem T. Holbrook near by. The town was thereafter settled rapidly. A store was opened on the Ridge road in 1847, but after one year was given up and a school opened in the building with Miss Caroline Boynton as teacher. She became the wife of Deacon Samuel Mitchell, a pioneer of Neenah in 1846. His farm adjoined the city on the Lake Shore road. He died over twenty years past, and Mrs. Mitchell lived here until her death this last winter, the farm in recent years being occupied as a fruit farm by her son-in-law, Mr. Joseph Reek. The postoffice for the town was at the village of Neenah, and now the town has the rural mail delivery. The postoffice at Snells was established in 1876. The Northwestern railroad crosses the town with stations at Snells and Neenah. The Wisconsin Central railway parallels the same line through the town

with stations at Snells and Neenah. The Interurban from Neenah to Oshkosh crosses the town with stops at all places.

The original town meetings for the organization of the town is involved in the history of the city of Neenah and is there described in full. The original town records are in the office of the city clerk of Menasha. The late Hon. H. E. Huxley, whose beautiful place adjoins the city on the highway to Oak Hill Cemetery, was for many years chairman of the town. Mr. F. Gillingham has a large farm in the town. The farms of the late D. Blakely, Gilbert C. Jones and A. W. Collins are under high state of cultivation. Mr. Anthony Miller operates the Snells Station cheese factory, and Mr. H. J. Frank conducts an extensive creamery in the city of Neenah. The sales of lands show the average value of $80 per acre.

The population of the town is 617, of whom 45 were born in Denmark, 73 Germany and 394 in this state. There are 7,972 acres, nearly all improved, valued at $552,000. There is produced 39,000 bushels oats, 3,000 barley, 8,000 corn, 5,000 potatoes and 4,000 pounds of honey, and there are 331 horses, 1,200 cattle on the farms and 880 milch cows, with 4,000 fowls.

On the old C. H. Manser farm, on the shore of Manser's Bay, Lake Winnebago, in the northeast quarter of section 9, there are indications of a rather extensive aboriginal burying place. The graves are scattered over an area of ten acres along the shore of the lake. In excavating at this point in October, 1898, Mr. Harold K. Lawson and others succeeded in uncovering eleven skeletons, an entire pottery vessel and fragments of several others, some carved clam shells, bone awls and a number of flint arrow points. The perfect vessel and the half of another were described and figured by the author in the July, 1902, issue of the "Wisconsin Archeologist." The former is well fashioned of a dark colored clay, shell tempered and decorated about the shoulder and neck with a pattern consisting of incised lines and indentations. The dimensions of this vessel are: Height, 4½ inches; diameter at the top, 4 inches; at the shoulder, 6 inches; thickness, 3-16 of an inch. The fragmentary vessel is of similar material and is ornamented about the neck with a single row of indentations. Its original dimensions I estimate to have been as follows: Height, 9 inches; diameter at the top, 8 inches; at the shoulder, 10 inches. These vessels are the present property of Messrs. Harold K. and Percy V. Lawson, of Menasha.

Town of Nekimi.

The town of Nekimi presents a beautiful panorama of wide, well cultivated farms, fine dwellings and ample barns, showing evidence of thrift and prosperity. The land is rich glacial loam, rolling and well drained in the creeks leading to Lake Winnebago. Formerly a portion of the land was natural prairie surrounded with hardwood timber lands and openings. The town contains a total of 19,484 acres, of which 15,800 acres are improved, and valued at $1,400,000. The population is 906, of whom 685 were born in the state, 150 in Germany, 34 in Wales and 9 in Ireland. The thrift of the people of the town is shown in the annual products of 4,500 bushels wheat, 98,000 oats, 82,000 barley, 32,000 corn, 12,000 potatoes and 5,400 apples, while they possess 784 horses, 2,800 cattle, 3,300 hogs, and from 1,200 sheep had 4,600 pounds of wool, 1,600 milch cows, 59,000 pounds of butter, and 8,000 fowls and 43,000 dozen eggs. The sales of real estate show the average value per acre of $93.

Nottleman Brothers operate a creamery, Mr. J. W. H. Jones a cheese factory and Mr. Richard Foulkes a cheese factory. There is a postoffice at Nekimi. The first settler in the town was Mr. William Greeman, who came in the summer of 1846, followed by Mr. David Chamberlain, A. M. Howard and Robert W. Holmes in the fall of the year. William Cassett and Chauncey Foster built a blacksmith shop on Crossett's claim, since owned by Milan Ford. These settlers built a log school house the same summer near the Boyde school house. The school was taught by Miss Eliza Case. Mr. William Simmons moved into the town in 1847, and Mr. Hiram B. Cook came the same year. Hon. Milan Ford came with his father, Chester Ford, to this county as among the first five families to settle in the county in the fall of 1837, locating near Wright's (then Ford's) point, in Black Wolf, and finally he located in this town.

The Welsh settlement, so called, was begun in 1847. The settlement lies through the towns of Nekimi and Utica, extending into Rosendale in Fond du Lac county. The first party was made up in Waukesha in July, 1847, consisting of Abel Williams, Owen Hughes, Robert Roberts, David E. Evans, James Lewis, Peter Jones and John Williams, afterward of Neenah. They selected the region of Nekimi for its rich promise of fertile lands. As soon as their claims were selected they walked to the land office at Green Bay to enter them and secure titles. Re-

turning they proceeded to erect log cabin homes. During the next few years they were joined by a large colony of their countrymen and the region became known as the Welsh settlement. Mr. William Powell with his family came direct from South Wales and located on section 10 in 1848. Mrs. Powell died in 1851 and Mr. Powell in 1874. William, David and Jeannette, left on the old farm, are now all dead.

Rev. John Evans delivered the first sermon in the summer of 1849 at the house of Peter Jones. This year they built their first church. Rev. Thomas Foulkes was the first pastor. In 1855 another church was erected by a division of the first congregation. A Congregational Church was organized in 1851 by Rev. Jenkin Jenkins. A Methodist Episcopal Church was organized in 1855 and a church erected in 1862. The Baptist Church was organized in 1848 by Rev. Evan S. Thomas. There are now five churches and seven school houses in the town. The first town meeting was held at the home of William Powell in 1850, at which Milan Ford was elected chairman.

Town of Nepeuskun.

The town of Nepeuskun is nearly a full township of six miles long and wide. The surface is rolling. Rush lake, in the eastern part is about four miles long and two miles broad. The soil is generally a rich clay loam, producing good crops. In the settler days there was sugar maple, burr, white and black oak standing in the western part in "openings." Limestone is the rock beneath the soil with an occasional ridge of sandstone. The only stream, Waukau river, the outlet of Rush lake, which runs through Waukau, where it develops a water power and empties into the Fox river. Years ago when the settler arrived there were several creeks, but clearing the lands has dried them. Rush lake seems to be supplied mostly by springs. Rush lake was surrounded by numerous Indian mounds, many of which have disappeared on the advance of cultivation.

There are 19,865 acres in the town, of which 12,476 are improved and valued at $70 per acre. The total value of the land and improvements is $1,100,000. The population is 888, of which 779 are native born and 661 born in Wisconsin. Of the foreign born 112 are native to Germany. The industry of the people and the production of the lands is shown in the produce and stock marketed. They raise 59,000 bushels of corn, 4,000 wheat,

103,000 oats, 37,000 barley, 43,000 potatoes, 5,700 apples, 400 tons hay; and possess 685 horses, 2,569 cattle, 754 hogs, 11,000 sheep and 1,664 cows. There are three creameries which produce $186,000 worth of butter.

The first settlement in the town was made by Mr. Jonathan Foote, his wife and daughter, and a nephew, W. H. Foote, who located their home on section 11 in March, 1846, near a fine grove of sugar maples and a number of springs. The family lived in their wagons several weeks until their frame house was completed. It was only thirteen by sixteen feet in size; but in it they frequently entertained strangers who passed that way. In May Mr. Lucius B. Townsend, his family and brother took up lands in the town. The day following their arrival they unloaded a plow and turned the first furrow in the town. They set up two stakes in the ground, joined by a pole overhead, against which they leaned boards, making a tent camp into which they moved and lived all summer, breaking up sixty acres of prairie sod in the season. Before the close of the year their number was increased by the arrival of more than twenty pioneers. Among these were Aashel B. and James H. Foster, Samuel Clough, Sidney Vankirk, John Vankirk, John Nash, Dan Burmine, T. F. Lathrop, George Walbridge, W. C. Dickerson, Lyman B. Johnson, H. F. Grant, Solomon Andrews, H. Stratton and Alonzo J. Lewis.

The log school was erected in 1847 on section 8, and Aashel B. Foster installed as teacher. Religious services were first held by Rev. Hiram McKee on September 26, 1846, in the home of George Walbridge. Afterward religious services were held in the school house by Elder Manning, a Baptist minister. A postoffice was located at Rush Lake named Nepeuskun in September, 1849, with James J. Catlin postmaster. It was moved to Rush Lake Junction on the coming of the railroad. A postoffice was established in 1850 named Koro, and James H. Foster appointed postmaster. Mr. J. Hasbrouck, of Oshkosh, carried the mail between Oshkosh and Berlin. The town was set off by the county board November 17, 1849, and given the name Nepeuskun, from the postoffice in the town of that name.

The Milwaukee and Horicon railroad was completed through the town to Berlin in 1857, locating a station, now known as Rush Lake Junction. This is the oldest railroad in the county. Three years later the road was completed to Winneconne via Waukau and Omro. These roads are now owned by the Chi-

cago, Milwaukee & St. Paul Railroad Company. A small village has developed at Rush Lake with sixty inhabitants. It has a blacksmith shop, a produce company and a general store.

The town contains six school buildings and three churches. The government rural mail delivery brings the mail directly to the door of the farmer. The county traveling library has a station at Rush lake.

Miss Orlena Foote, daughter of Mr. E. P. Foote, who afterward became the wife of Mr. John Edward Sheldon, made a journey to Neenah from her home in Nepeuskun with her brother, W. H. Foote, in 1847, when there were no roads in the county. They crossed the river on the ferry at Oshkosh, stopped at the tavern of M. Griffin, then newly opened, and continued their journey north to Neenah, where they visited a friend in the wool carding mill of Daniel Priest. This carding mill was then the only machinery on the water power at Neenah except the old mission flour and sawmills.

Sidney Vankirk settled in the town in 1846. Having been in the Menomonee river region, he, with a companion, made a canoe journey to Green Bay and thence over the Indian trail to Chicago. The next year he made a claim to land near Burlington, where he settled and married. Here he constructed a wagon, the wheels being sawed off from the ends of logs. Into this ox cart the household effects were loaded, and with his wife they commenced the journey north, finally landing on their lands selected in this town.

Hon. James H. Foster moved into the town in 1846 and resided there until five years before his death, when he moved to Berlin, six miles away, where he died August 11, 1907, in his eightieth year. Mr. Foster came from Massachusetts. For many years he was one of the foremost citizens of the county, an excellent speaker, and had a rare faculty of making and holding friends. Almost as soon as Mr. Foster was eligible for the position he was honored by election to the position of superintendent of public schools, an office which he filled most creditably for a number of years. From this he was advanced to the position of county register of deeds, then to state assemblyman, where he served two terms, and in 1870 he was chosen as state senator in an election which was one of the hottest ever known in this county. He also had the distinction of being one of the ten presidential electors from this state who helped to nominate President Hayes in 1876, and for nearly sixteen years he served as deputy state

railroad commissioner, embodying into concise form and finished shape the elaborate statements and reports of that department in a manner that has always stood as a model for similar work.

Mr. Samuel P. Button, a native of Vermont, arrived at Strong's Landing, now Berlin, in 1847. He became aware of the want of shingles for dwellings and embarked in the business in a primitive way. Going up the Wolf river, he had pine trees cut into 36-inch logs and loaded them on to a flat scow, which was poled down the Wolf river over Lakes Poygan and Winneconne and up the Fox river, and eventually split and shaved into shakes, as these rived shingles were called. He purchased a farm in Nepeuskun of 160 acres and made a contract to furnish 100,000 rived shingle for $100. Mr. T. J. Lathrop immigrated from Vermont in 1846. The energies of the pioneer were mostly devoted to wheat raising, which was carted ninety miles to Milwaukee for sale. Mr. Lathrop preferred to sell his on the place at 3 shillings a bushel and save the expensive journey. Mr. H. T. Grant came from Connecticut in 1846, built a log shanty and broke up nine acres of sod the same year, raising twenty-six bushels to the acre. He recollects drawing pork to Milwaukee and selling it at $1.50 a hundred pounds weight, and wheat taken to Milwaukee brought 50 cents a bushel. The journey there and return required six to ten days, and thirty bushels of wheat was an average load.

Edward Baker and five sons came from England and commenced the manufacture of pocket cutlery on the shore of Rush lake in 1850. The father and Henry made the handles, James forged the blades and backs and Edward ground and polished them. The machinery was run by horse power. The best quality of goods was made and the neighboring merchants were good patrons, but the enterprise was abandoned. Mr. A. Y. Troxell, a native of Pennsylvania, came to the town in 1847. By his remembrance they gathered 500 bushels of corn in the ear from five acres which was broken the year before, and the year 1848 they harvested forty bushels of spring wheat to the acre. Their grain was threshed with a flail or treading it out with horses. The nearest mill was at Ceresco, owned by the Fourierites community, but was for their exclusive use and they refused to grind for the settlers, who were compelled to take their grain to Watertown. An indignation meeting was held and a conference arranged at which the Ceresco people consented to set apart two days each week to grind for the settlers. The great rush to the

mills on these days occasioned strife to be first there. A farmer, finding his neighbor there in advance, expressed surprise, asking, "How did you get here so soon? I started as soon as I could see." "Oh, I started last night," was the reply.

Rev. J. W. Fridd, of English descent, settled in the town in 1848. For fifty years he preached the gospel, having been ordained an elder in the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1846 in New York state. His son, John A. Fridd, born in this town October 29, 1850, has been for many years a leading citizen, elected for several years chairman and a member of the assembly from the district, and now the state senator from the county.

Mr. Jerome Betry was one of the forty-sixers, coming from New York state. He started on foot from Milwaukee to his claim in the present town. Coming up with a sick teamster moving a load of goods to Fond du Lac, he was given a ride to drive and care for the team. He found Fond du Lac a small hamlet with one small tavern, three little stores and several dwellings. He took the trail for Ceresco, where he found a lady about to drive past his brother's shanty and she was pleased to have him drive for her. He drove the team as far as the shanty, where he alighted. He found the wilderness cabin a small log shanty with a bark roof. No one was at home when he saw the interior through the window. The furniture consisted of a rough board table and a bunk. Hearing the sound of axes, he discovered his brother in the forest splitting rails. At the shanty they had a meal of potatoes and cold-water shortcake. The settler depended on his gun for fresh meat. One day a flock of prairie chickens alighted near the corncrib and, removing a block from between the logs, Mr. Betry shot a number of the birds before their mates became frightened and flew away. Mr. Betry bought a tract of land, and once having occasion to borrow some money to pay for another piece, he obtained the loan at 25 per cent interest. The first grain his brother raised harvested forty-three bushels to the acre. This was taken to Watertown to mill, requiring a week for the trip.

In the monograph on the "Archeology of Winnebago County," written by Publius V. Lawson and published in the "Wisconsin Archeologist" for January, 1903, there is an extended description of the ancient mound remains of the vanished races, from which some extracts are copied herein.

The following extract from a letter directed by the late Hon. James G. Pickett to Mr. Charles E. Brown, dated April 17, 1903,

will assist the reader to a proper understanding of the antiquities listed under this town. He says: "Agreeable to my promise, I have revisited all of the village sites, mounds and other evidences located on the east side of Rush lake, in the town of Nepeuskun.

"I had been over them all many times during the years following 1846. The mounds were then quite prominent and remained so for seven or eight years later, when those who had entered the land began its clearing and cultivation. At the present time they are nearly obliterated and their exact locations can only be learned through the assistance of the old residents. Probably no section of the state was in prehistoric time more densely populated than the eastern border of Rush lake—in fact, this entire shore line appears to have been one continuous village site, as evidenced by the numerous mounds and earthworks and the hundreds of human remains exhumed from them or turned up in the fields by the plow. Nowhere in the state has a greater harvest of aboriginal implements of stone and copper been obtained, and certainly no site could have been better chosen for the location of an aboriginal village. The locality known as Dutchman's island, bounded on the west by the lake and on its other sides by great peat marshes, was then a veritable island, containing about three sections of firm ground. The lake had its outlet at its southern extremity, connecting with Green Lake and the Fox river instead of at its northeastern side, as now. The waters of the lake were from 4 to 6 feet higher than at present, thus covering the great marshes and making it fully three times its present size. The evidence of this change is shown by the miles of ridges surrounding the marshes, composed of gravel, boulders, shells and the debris thrown up by the action of the ice. The island was only approached by boat and could be easily defended. Wild rice, fish and waterfowl were very abundant. These natural advantages combined to make the locality an ideal dwelling place."

In a communication dated April 11, 1903, and directed to Hon. James G. Pickett, Mr. W. H. Foote, a pioneer resident of the town of Nepeuskun, gives the following information in regard to an enclosure formerly located on the property of his father, Mr. E. P. Foote, located at the head of Rush lake in the southeast quarter of the southwest quarter of section II. "The sides of the square were about four rods long, three to four feet high and three to four feet broad. They had prob-

ably once been somewhat higher. At the openings at each corner within the square were round mounds of earth. When we first broke up the land for cultivation, we went around it, but it has since been obliterated by successive plowings.'' This property is now owned by Mr. Will Hall.

The Hall mounds were located on the north shore of Rush lake on the farm of Mr. Will Hall, on fractional section 14. The first of these tumuli stands at a distance of about 200 feet north of the lake shore on land elevated about 50 feet above the water. It was constructed of rich loam similar to the surrounding soil and was 30 feet in diameter and 6 feet in height. This mound was excavated by Mr. Charles Stever, af Waukau, and the following description is drawn from notes kindly furnished by him. Below the base of the mound on a hard earthen floor and lying in a general north and south direction, the head toward the north, the bones of a human skeleton were unearthed. Near the left hip bone a catlinite platform pipe was found. The bones were in a poor state of preservation and fell to pieces when their removal was attempted. Fragments of broken pottery were found throughout the mound. At a distance of 200 feet west of this mound there was a second of the same material. When excavated by Mr. Stever this mound was found to contain at its base a single interment, the grave being walled in on either side by a double row of round and flat boulders probably gathered from the neighboring fields. The grave lay north and south and the stone walls were 2 feet apart, 20 inches in height and 6 feet in length. There was no head or top or bottom stone. Besides the very much decomposed bones of the leg, arm, ribs and a portion of the skull there were taken from this grave a number of animal bones, a turtle shell, clam shells, pottery fragments and flint chips. Distributed through the base of the mound was a large quantity of charcoal, some of the pieces being of unusually large size. Both of these mounds are about 3 feet in height at the present time. They have been under cultivation for fifty years. Mr. Will Hall has carted a number of wagon loads of black earth from them. About 20 feet to the west of this mound Mr. Stever located a number of Indian graves, from which he took six human crania, which he afterwards reinterred in the same place. The bones were well preserved, indicating that they were of more recent origin than the mound burials. Mr. W. H. Foote in a letter to Mr. Pickett corroborates the statements made by

Mr. Stever, but adds that there were originally three mounds in the group.

Up to as late as the year 1846 there was, according to Hon. James G. Pickett, a Winnebago village numbering from one to 200 Indians, located about the present outlet of Rush lake near the center of section 13 of this town. The cemetery belonging thereto was located on the farm of Mr. David Llewellyn on the south side of the present highway and about forty rods east of the outlet bridge. In a communication directed to the author, and dated November 30, 1902, Mr. Pickett gives the following interesting description of the burial customs practiced here, as observed by himself: "With the Winnebago Indians there were two styles of burial, temporary and permanent. A person dying in the winter time, when the earth was frozen solid, was wrapped in his blanket and usually enclosed in a roll of bark, or the body was deposited in the smallest canoe at hand and elevated into the branches of a tree. Sometimes a staging was built between two trees and firmly secured, and the remains placed upon it. They were left in this position until the frost was out of the ground in the spring, when the permanent grave burial occurred. Not having proper digging implements a shallow grave, seldom more than two feet in depth and slightly rounded over with earth, was prepared and the body placed therein. A small forked post about three feet in height was set in the ground at each end of the grave. These posts supported a ridge pole, against which, one end resting on the ground, were placed split shakes or puncheons, thus forming an "A"-shaped enclosure over the grave and protecting it from disturbance by wild animals. To mark the grave of an adult male a peeled post about 8 feet high and painted in two colors was set in the ground at its head. If the deceased was a man of note his white dog (if he owned one, if not, one was found), was killed and hung by the neck to the post. Such graves were very common at the different villages of the Winnebagos at the time of the settlement of the county by the whites. When I first visited the village site above described in the early summer of 1846, I think that there were to be seen at that place as many as fifty graves with their roof coverings in various stages of dilapidation and decay, as well as several recently made and with the dogs suspended from the painted posts at their head. I believe that it was during the winter of 1847 that I saw the last elevated temporary burial at

this place. In exhuming these graves the only articles which have been brought to light were a few glass beads, a childish trinket, a rusty knife or some similar object. I have, however, been informed by the Indians that when a great man dies, a noted chief, or one who has in Indian ways distinguished himself, his most valuable belongings were buried with him. If he owned horses, the most valuable one was killed on the day of his master's death, but not buried with him. His gun was usually interred with the body, so that with his horse, dog and gun he was fully equipped for business in the new field to which he was going."

Mr. Pickett states that in the year 1846 this peninsula, located in the northwest quarter of section 24, was covered with a heavy growth of hard maple. It was undoubtedly a favorite camping ground of the Indians, as a large amount of pottery fragments are still scattered over the new cultivated land.

Upon a sharp wedge of land locally known as Eagle Point, in the northeast quarter of section 26, where the north and south boundary line of sections 25 and 26 touches the shore of Rush lake, there were formerly located, according to Mr. Reagan, an old resident of the neighborhood, one or two small round mounds and a number of Indian graves.

Upon the property of Mr. F. Radke and about twenty rods east of the shore of Rush lake (N. W. ¼ sec. 25) there was formerly located a group of some seven or eight round mounds. Mr. Reagan, who piloted Mr. Pickett over the property, stated that when he first noted them in about the year 1857, before the land was cultivated, they were from 18 to 20 feet in diameter and not more than three feet in height. Although nearly obliterated indications of five of these mounds are still to be seen. A paper treating of this group was read before the Lapham Archeological Society of Milwaukee, in 1878, by Mr. Thomas Armstrong of Ripon. Extracts of this article were afterwards published by the same gentleman in the United States Smithsonian Report of the year 1879. "These mounds," says he, "are situated on the southern shore of Rush lake, on land belonging to Mr. (J.) Gleason in the southeast quarter of the southeast quarter of section 27, and the southwest quarter of the southwest quarter of section 26, and were visited by a party of students from Ripon College, May 12, 1877. The mounds, sixteen in number, are ranged in an irregular line running essentially east and west, about twenty rods from the

shore of the lake, which is here high and steep, though all the adjacent shores are low and marshy. The mounds are in what is now a wheat field, formerly covered with timber, an oak tree, some sixty years old, having been cut from the summit of one of them. All of these mounds are circular in form, varying from 15 to 30 feet in diameter, and from 2½ to 5½ feet in height, though not much can be said with certainty about this latter dimension, the land having been cultivated for a number of years, and the mounds plowed down as much as possible every year. We selected the largest and most conspicuous mound we could find, the fourth or fifth from the eastern end of the line, and sank a trench into it. Each shovelful of soil thrown out was carefully examined, but was found to present no difference in appearance from that of the surrounding field, until we reached a depth of 18 inches, when a few pieces of coarse-grained charcoal were found. The earth now began to show the action of heat, it being harder and of a reddish hue, until at a depth of 2 feet and 6 inches layers of ashes mixed with earth began to present themselves. These appearances were the same all through the trench on the same level, being only seen near the ends of it as if separate fires had been built. These appearances continued until we reached the depth of 3 feet and 9 inches, the ashes meanwhile growing more plentiful, when we found the charred bones, evidently those of human beings, mixed with earth and ashes. A few inches more of calcined earth was passed and then we struck bones in earnest. Within the space of 3 feet square we uncovered seven skulls, mingled with the various long, short and flat bones of the human body. These, unlike those in the upper stratum, did not show the action of fire in the least, but were so badly decayed that we could get none of them out entire. The bones were not arranged in any order whatever; no single skeleton even could be traced through the mass. We did not uncover all of the bones within the mound, but finding that none of them could be taken out entire, contented ourselves with digging through the layer of bones and earth, which was 4 inches thick, to the hard subsoil underneath, which we found so compact that we concluded it had never been disturbed, and so did not go deeper. A careful search failed to bring to light any ornaments or implements of any kind. We now abandoned this mound and, selecting two nearer the eastern end of the line, which in size were most unlike the first and unlike each other,

proceeded to sink trenches into them. In the larger of these at the depth of 4 feet, human bones were found, which were much better preserved than those in the first mound opened, though they showed the same lack of arrangement and dearth of ornaments and implements. Fewer ashes were found in this mound and no charcoal or burnt bone. In the third mound, at the depth of 2½ feet, a skeleton was found, lying with its head toward the west. This was in so good a state of preservation that many of the more heavy and solid bones could be taken out; this skull, like all the others, could not be gotten out except in small pieces. This was the only mound of the three into which we dug, in which a skeleton could be traced, and even in this the bones were somewhat crowded together, the skeletons not lying extended at full length, and also somewhat mixed up with others, though I think fewer bones had been buried in this mound than in any of the others. I would mention that the second and third mounds were much smaller than the first. We were inclined to think that the dry bones were gathered together—those in the larger mounds first and in the smaller ones afterward, and placed in loose piles on the ground and the earth heaped over them until the mounds were formed. It also seemed from the ashes and charred bones near the surface that the larger mounds had been used for sacrifices or feasts.

Professor (A. H.) Sabin, Mr. (Everett) Martin and I afterward made an investigation of another of these Gleason mounds. This one was situated near the center of the group; is 30 feet in diameter and 3½ feet high. Like the others, it contained nothing but bones, was built of the same material and had its full share of ashes and charcoal. But, unlike the others, an oval pit 18 inches deep, 8 feet long and five feet wide, its major axis lying in a general northwest and southeast direction. In this case some arrangement was apparent, the bones of the lower extremities being, as a rule, near the center of the pit, and those of the trunk and upper extremities ranged around the sides.

In a letter directed to Mr. Charles E. Brown, dated March 2, 1903, Mr. Jas. G. Pickett, who first visited these mounds in the fall of 1846, gives the following additional information in regard to them: "If I remember correctly, there were some twelve or fifteen mounds in the group located in a direct line nearly parallel to and about twenty rods distant from the lake

shore. The land was then overgrown with white and burr oak timber. The mounds were elevated about 12 feet above the lake level, and were about 20 feet in diameter and from 4 to 6 feet high. In 1894, with the assistance of my hired man, I investigated one of the largest of these mounds. This is probably the one referred to by Mr. W. C. Mills in his communication in the Archeologist of February, 1895. I do not know from what paper his extract was taken. It is in some respects inaccurate. In excavating this mound we found at a depth of about a foot below its base the skeletons of seven persons, lying upon their faces with arms extended above the head, the bodies radiating from the center in a circle like the spokes of a wagon wheel. All of the bones were in a fair state of preservation. No implements other than a couple of arrow points were found. Evidently the burials were made at one time and the mound erected over them." Two of the crania secured were sent to Prof. F. W. Putnam at the Peabody Institute at Cambridge, Mass., at his request. One of them was retained by Mr. Pickett. At the request of Mr. C. E. Brown, Mr. Pickett again visited this locality in April, 1903, and found that all but five of them had been entirely obliterated. He concluded that a village of considerable proportions must have been at one time located here and in the vicinity, since probably but few similar sections of land in the state have produced such a large number of stone and copper instruments. All of the mounds have been found to contain human remains.

The mounds which were described by Mr. Thomas Armstrong, of Ripon, Wis., in an article entitled "Mounds in Winnebago County," appearing in the United States Smithsonian Report of 1879 (pp. 335-35) were located on the property of a Mr. M. Hintz in the southwest quarter of the northeast quarter of section 34. The following are extracts from his description: "They are situated about ten rods from the shore of Rush lake, 60 feet back from the edge of a steep bank, which undoubtedly at one time formed the shore of the lake, but the waters have since receded, and is every year becoming more and more shallow, and giving place to marsh. These mounds were originally covered with a heavy growth of oaks, which have been cleared off within the last ten years, and the land cultivated. Some stumps of trees remained on them until last summer. The mounds are in a group, of which No. 1 is isolated, and Nos. 2, 3 and 4 are in line, the nearest about 100 feet from

No. 1. Nos. 1 and 4 are about 15 feet in diameter, and 2½ feet high; No. 2, 56 by 42 feet and 3½ feet high; No. 3, 30 by 40 feet and 3½ feet high; Nos. 2 and 3 are 75 feet apart. A quadrilateral ridge, indistinct in some places but quite prominent enough to be easily recognized, and having on its several small mounds at regular intervals, passes through Nos. 1 and 2. The mounds 2, 3 and 4 are the only ones which are distinct and striking. The shape of all was once circular, or nearly so, but it has long since been changed to oval by long cultivation. All except No. 2 are composed of the same sort of material as the ordinary surface soil of the surrounding fields, and these fields are undoubtedly the source whence it was derived. No ditches or hollows from which such a quantity of earth could have been taken are now to be seen in the vicinity, and it must therefore have been scraped uniformly from the surface. No. 2, however, is of a different material, having in its center a stone heap covered with the same sort of earth as the others. This is the largest mound on Rush lake and is peculiar in this regard, for in most other mounds not even a pebble could be found, and in none were there rocks of any size; but here was a conical pile of boulders such as the farmer today hauls off his fields, built in the exact center of the mound, and reaching to within a few inches of the surface. We explored the four mounds. In Nos. 1 and 4 we found nothing, but in 2 and 3 human remains were plentiful enough, and a quantity of these in a tolerably good state of preservation we were able to obtain. No. 2, as I have said, is a conical stone pile, built of boulders weighing from 5 to 100 pounds and perhaps fifty in number. Underneath this stone pile and somewhat mingled with its lower layer, was a large quantity of ashes and charcoal, and also human remains; most distinct among them was the skeleton of a full grown man of ordinary size, his thigh bone measuring 17 inches, lying in a doubled up position, with his head toward the west, and near it the remains of three or more other human beings. The bones were in a poor condition, but by care two skulls and several long bones were saved. These were all found at a depth of 3 feet and 6 inches." Mr. Armstrong also examined mound No. 3 and at a depth of 2 feet a few small and much broken pieces of pottery, made of a reddish clay mixed with fine particles of broken stone, a small flint chip, and a piece of red chalk or soft chalk like stone. At a depth of 3 feet were found a confused mass of human

bones, of which a number in tolerably good condition, including several skulls, were saved. In no case did a skeleton seem to have been placed in the mound entire. The bones of twenty-five to thirty-five individuals had evidently been gathered in a heap on the original turf and the mound raised over them. It is evident that no pit had been dug to receive them. That these were not the remains of warriors slain in battle is evident from the number of bones of children found in the mounds. No other bones than those of human beings were found, nor did any of them bear marks of fire, though ashes and charcoal occurred in a layer about 6 inches above the remains. Mr. Armstrong was accompanied on this expedition by Prof. A. H. Sabin and Mr. Everett Martin, both of Ripon, Wis. Mr. James G. Pickett, who visited this locality in April, 1902, for the purpose of collecting additional data, states that these mounds are now entirely obliterated. According to his report Mr. Hintz corroborates the early description of Mr. Thomas Armstrong, of Ripon, and states that when his father purchased the land these mounds were from 2 to 6 feet in height. Human remains have been found in all of them, and many implements have been collected from the surrounding fields.

Town of Omro.

Town of Omro is one of the finest agricultural regions in the state. It lays high, with rolling rich soil. Originally it contained oak openings and hardwoods, now all cleared except a few wood lots. The Fox river runs through the town, bringing it into direct steamboat connections with the whole of this historic valley. The few gravel beds afford good roads material. There is a belt of artesian fountain or flowing wells strata through the town, reached by boring fifteen to thirty feet. Stephen Johnson in 1847 had excavated a well on section thirty-six, some thirty feet without getting water. During the night the water broke through, and in the morning the well was flowing over, and had flooded the garden all about the house. Mr. Nelson Olin, in January, 1848, was excavating a well on his place, when at thirty-three feet down the pick broke through the containing water wall, when the air and water burst through with great force, compelling a hasty retreat of operators. The water raised over the surface has been running ever since. Many other artesian wells have been

sunk. The fountain belt is said to be about two miles wide.

The C., M. & St. P. Railway runs through the town with station at the village of Omro. The town contains eleven school houses and a number of churches. The post office is at the village of Omro, and there is rural mail delivery.

The town of Omro contains a population of 1,111, of whom 811 were born in this state, 101 in Germany, 15 in Canada and 17 in England. There is a total of 20,000 acres of land with 15,500 acres improved, valued at $1,265,000. The sales show the average value per acre of $90. The productions include 91,000 bushels oats, 3,000 barley, 33,000 corn, 14,000 potatoes, 7,000 apples, 8,000 pounds honey. There are 754 horses, 2,600 cattle and 3,400 hogs. The 1,800 milch cows produce 34,000 pounds of butter and 10,000 fowls lay 50,000 dozen eggs.

The town was settled at the site of the future village of Omro, some years before the real settlement of the town by the location of the trading posts of Mr. Charles Omro, Charles Carron, Jed Smalley and Captain William Powell, who at different times maintained trading posts at this point for traffic with the Menominee Indians and at a very early day the place was known as Smalley's Landing, or trading post. Mr. Edward West made the first permanent settlement in the town, by the purchase of 500 acres and erection of log cabins, in the spring of 1845, near section 23. Before he could move his family, he marked out and cut, where it was necessary, a wagon road from Rosendale in Fond du Lac county, to this land in Omro, then known as the town of Butte des Morts. His nearest neighbors was Oshkosh and Ceresco. He says: "There was an old block house a short distance above the site of the village of Omro, and a few families were trading with the Indians and farming a little on the site of Oshkosh. The balance of the surrounding country was uninhabited, except by Indians. Mr. Stanley offered to sell his claim for a small sum. Neither Oshkosh nor Omro were inviting places. Game was scarce because of the Indians. Wolves and prairie hens were abundant, as the Indians, because of superstitious belief, did not molest them. Prairie hens were so numerous I was obliged to shoot them to save my grain, and fed them to the hogs. Strangers calling were feasted on the birds." Mr. West was a pioneer in Wisconsin, arriving in 1836. The first year in Winnebago county he put in a large crop of fall wheat, which sold for $1 a bushel on the farm, to new settlers, as soon as threshed.

After seven years' farming on this land, he leased it in 1852, and moved to Appleton, where he became a prominent citizen and constructed the West canal for power purposes. Other settlers came in at once any very soon they were thickly scattered throughout the town. At the town of Butte des Morts an election was held at the house of Edward West on April 6, 1847, and he was made chairman. There were seven votes in favor of the state constitution, and fourteen against it. Five votes to give colored persons the right to vote, and sixteen against it. Eleven votes cast against the sale of liquor, which was all the votes cast on the subject. After many changes of territory and name, the name was finally changed to Omro by the county board in 1852. Nelson Olin moved into the town in 1846, and Mr. Gilman Lowd came the same year. About the same time Mr. Myron Howe moved in and built a log shanty on his land. Mr. Milo C. Bushnell came from Vermont into the town in 1846, and the next year erected a log shanty in company with Mr. A. H. Pease. He was a prominent man in the county for many years, and a member of the assembly. Mr. Richard Reed settled in the town with his family in 1848, and Mr. Frank Pew in 1847.

The first school was established in 1848, in the house of Mr. Myron Howe, by Mrs. Abram Quick, the first teacher. The same year Mrs. George Beckwith taught school in her own house, and a private school was taught the same year by Hannah Olin in the Gilman Lowd neighborhood, in a school house built by subscription. Rev. Sampson held services in the grove near the West home in the summer of 1847. In the winter meetings were held in a shanty on section 27. In 1848 meetings were held in the house of Mr. Richard Reed.

The fur trader has been mentioned as stopping at various locations along the river, and this much of a letter from Mr. Hiram H. G. Bradt, of Eureka, will be of interest on the subject: "In 1885 I was in Green Bay, sick, and one day there came into my brother's office a lady patient, to whom I was introduced as a Miss Grignon, of Depere, and learning where I resided, she asked about the La Bordes, Le Fevre's, Dousmans and Louis Beauprey. The latter, a brother-in-law of Luke La Borde, and stated that when she was a girl, he paddled her in a canoe to St. Paul to bring down furs gathered at the different stations on the rivers, and that she had in her possession a map upon which all the trading stations were marked. Well,

in our town there was one situated between Delhi and Omro, which was still doing business when I reached town in 1849, though it was operated by "an alien crowd" of lawless creatures, the principal of whom was George Roberts, of Whitewater, Wis. His den, which was eliminated through prosecution by David Le Fevre, was on a piece of land owned by a Mr. Pesan, who lived in a log house near the river, which house was on the site of another, the ruins of which he found underground. Miss Grignon informed me that Robert Grignon, a pensioner of the Black Hawk war, and then living below Omro, above the mouth of the Wolf, likewise handled furs, though she did not speak of his having a station."

Village of Omro.

The main part of the village of Omro is located on the south side of the Fox river, connected by a swing bridge with the opposite bank. It is a handsome village, and noted for its thrift and general air of prosperity and neatness. It contains a population of 1,358, of whom 783 were born in this state, 23 in Canada, 34 in England, 23 in Germany, and 13 in Ireland. There are a large number of well stocked stores of the usual classes of merchandise carried for a lively country traffic, also livery stables and grain and produce warehouses. The First National Bank has a capital stock of $30,000. The place has the advantage of electric lights. The Union Felt Company manufacture felt goods, and there are wagon and blacksmith shops. Mr. C. H. Larabee conducts a large grocery store. The village has a two-story brick public hall for its fire engines, and meetings of the village board. The village library is located in the building, under the care of the village clerk.

The public schools, which have long been under the intelligent care of Mr. E. E. Sheldon, are the pride of the place. A recent article in the Oshkosh "Northwestern" has this to say of her schools: "Principal E. E. Sheldon has received the report of the inspection of the High School by the university inspector, and among other things the inspector reports that the committee recommends that the Omro High School be continued on the accredited list. The equipment of the library and the laboratory was reported good. The manual training building impressed the inspector most favorably in all respects. It was well arranged and well equipped. The organization, man-

agement and general condition of the schools were found to be very creditable indeed. Some time ago the state inspector reported as follows on the library of the High School: 'The library is excellent. Probably there is no better school library in any town of the size of Omro in the state, and there are few better in any place, regardless of size.' The library has been carefully card-catalogued by Miss Lucy Thatcher, of the English department, and is in constant use by the students. The teachers have made every effort to enlarge the library, as reference books right at hand are very valuable. The library has over 500 volumes of magazines, including complete sets of the World's Work, the Review of Reviews, McClure's and Scribner's, and nearly complete sets of The Forum, Harper's, Century, St. Nicholas, Technical World and other standard magazines. Poole's Index and the Reader's Guide make easy reference to magazine articles. There are special libraries in the department of domestic science and in the department of manual training. The girls in the first year High School class in domestic science are preparing meals to which their parents are invited. The girls, in groups of four, serve dinner. They are required to prepare and serve a meal for ten people at an expense not to exceed $1.25. There are forty girls in the class, and each section strives to make the best record. The members of the second year German class recently finished reading a short play, and were then required by the teacher, Miss Abel, to translate the play into English, after which four members of the class presented it before the High School literary society.''

The manual training school was the gift of Mr. H. W. Webster, a pioneer, and for many years one of the leading business men. His sawmill formerly cut 5,000,000 feet of lumber each season. Hon. Hiram Wheat Webster was a native of New York State, of New England parents, and a graduate of Troy Academy in Vermont. He entered his lands in the town of Omro in 1848, where he lived until he moved into the village and commenced the manufacture of lumber. Mr. Webster died May 14, 1884.

The earliest occupation of the site of the village of Omro was by Charles Omro, Charles Carron, Jed Smalley and Captain William Powell, all of whom at times before 1845 maintained temporary or jacknife trading posts at this point for traffic with the Menominee Indians. The site was occupied by

them possibly as early as 1836. It was known in the early settlement day as Smalley's Landing, or trading post, Mr. Edward West had moved into the town of Omro in 1845; but the first to locate on the site of the future village was Mr. David Humes.

He embarked in a skiff on Fox river at Marquette, in the spring of 1848, and paddled down the willow lined river to the present site of Omro, where he landed and located for a residence a part of section sixteen. This place was afterward known as "Beckwith Town." Here he erected a log cabin. It was Mr. Hume's ambition to build up a thriving town. He settled here for this purpose, and laid plans to accomplish this end. He supposed if he could devise means to tow logs up the Fox river that the sawmills would be built and their operation attract people to the place for trade and commerce and a town would grow up about the mills. To accomplish this he devised the grouser boat. This was a great invention, which for many years afterward was successfully operated in handling the great fleets across Lakes Winneconne, Butte des Morts and Winnebago. It made the handling of the millions of feet of pine timber that was run down the Wolf river comparatively easy and safe over the wide expanse of inland seas, and much of the success of the great lumber industry of Fond du Lac, Menasha, Neenah and Oshkosh was and is due to the grouser tow boat, invented by Mr. David Hume, the first settler of Omro. The grouser boat consists now of a strong steam tow boat, just large enough to contain powerful boiler and engines. It has near its bow end, through a tight housing, a tall, powerful oak timber which is raised up or let down by a ratchet and pinion. When let down and forced into the bottom of the river, it acts as a grouser or powerful anchor, to hold the boat fast to the spot. A windlass on the stern of the boat run by steam then draws the fleet of logs up to the boat. The grouser is raised and the boat runs out, a distance ahead and downs grouser again, and the fleet of logs is windlassed up to the boat again. The boat alone could draw behind only a few thousand feet of logs; but by the grouser device the boat is able to draw over the water several million feet of logs in one fleet. Thus it will be understood that this invention was worth a great deal to the lumber interests, and has been in use ever since it was first devised, not only on the waters of the Fox and Wolf rivers, but in other parts of the world.

The first grouser towboat built was a cheap affair, and the logs were towed up by horses, four horses on a sweep, and was known as Hume's Horse boat. Mr. Aaron Humes, a son of the inventor, built the first steam winch grouser boat. It was named the "Swan." Mr. Humes operated it a short time, then sold it to parties in Neenah. As soon as it was demonstrated that the grouser boat was a success, Mr. Nelson Beckwith, son-in-law of David Humes, and Mr. W. C. Dean commenced the erection of a sawmill. Mr. Beckwith withdrew and built another mill in 1849. Among the newcomers of the period were Colonel Tuttle, Dr. McAllister, Andrew Wilson, L. O. E. Maning, A. Corfee, William Hammond. The original plat of the village was laid out in 1849, by Joel V. Taylor, Elisha Dean, and Nelson Beckwith. The river was crossed by a ferry boat; but in 1850 Colonel Tuttle built a float bridge over the river at the foot of Main street. The steamer Badger is said to have been the first boat to come up river. It appeared in 1850, bringing several people to join the settlement. The first store opened in the town was by Mr. N. Frank, and Mr. C. Bigelow, who put up a building at the end of the bridge for the purpose. Of the extent of business operations in town at that time, it is related that a load of wood was brought to town for sale. Late in the day, finding no purchaser, the farmer started for the river to throw it away, rather than draw it home; but some one came out and offered him a pint of whisky for the load, which he accepted. The first hotel was erected in 1850, on the site of the present Larrabee House. There was a sawmill erected on the north side of the river in 1851, by Hiram Johnson. It was burned in 1866; but restored at once, and operated for many years afterward. The schools were instituted in 1850-51. Mr. Henry Purdy was the teacher, and the building was located near the present High School building. The Methodist church was erected in 1855, the Baptist church in 1866 and the Catholic church the same year. Mr. Andrew Wilson erected his sawmill on the north side of the river in 1856. The same year the great event for the village was the erection of a flour mill, by Mr. McLaren. This was the means of drawing considerable trade to the town. The village charter was granted in 1857, and at the first village election Mr. W. P. McAllister was elected president. The project of a railroad was pushed, and during the summer of 1857 the town and village took stock to the extent of $90,000, which was pledged and paid, insuring the



John Buckstaff Jr

coming of the railroad essential to the improvement and advance of any village. The last rail was laid January 1, 1861. The villagers paid for the depot. The float bridge was purchased by the town of Omro for $800, the village agreeing to keep it in repair. It was now opened free to the public. Mr. George Challoner built a shingle mill in 1863. This was afterward used by Thompson & Hayward for a carriage factory. The "Omro Union," the first newspaper, was established in May, 1865. The machine shop of George Challoner was built in 1866. Mr. Challoner had invented a shingle mill which afterward became famous, and the leading machine in America for the manufacture of shingles. A number of years ago the shop which was built of stone, was moved on barges down river and set up in Oshkosh. The ten block shingle mills made by the Challoner Sons, became the leading mill used for the manufacture of shingles. A spoke factory was put up by Goodenough & Utter in 1866. Sheldon & Allen built a broom handle factory. Scott's shingle mill was built the same season. Hon. Hiram W. Webster built his fine sawmill in 1866.

The Omro Journal has been published by the veteran editor, Mr. Platt M. Wright, since 1876. It was established in May, 1865 as the "Omro Union" by S. H. Cady, and in 1876, published as the "Journal" by Kaine & Wright. Mr. Wright has been sole proprietor since April 1, 1877. He was born in Wrightstown on the Fox river, Wisconsin, son of Hoel S. Wright, who settled in Brown county in 1833, and gave his name to Wrightstown. Mr. C. H. Slocum publishes the "Omro Herald." The hotels are the Larrabee House and Northwestern Hotel.

The Baptist Church was erected in 1866. The first pastor was Elder Theodore Pillsbury. The membership increased to 125. Elder O. W. Babcock, of Neenah, was in charge in 1881. The Methodist Episcopal church was erected in 1859, but not completed until 1866. The pastor in 1881 was Rev. Jesse Cole.

The Presbyterian Church was organized May 10, 1851, by Rev. L. Robbins. Their church, erected in 1867, cost $3,500, but has since been improved and enlarged. Rev. F. Z. Rossiter was pastor in 1881. The Episcopal mission was in charge of Rev. Charles T. Susan, rector, in 1881. The Catholic church, St. Joseph, was built in 1866. In 1881 it was in charge of Father Mazzeaud, as a mission attached to Berlin; but in 1896

it was in charge of Rev. M. Kelleher, as a mission of the Poygan church.

Hon. Milo C. Bushnell, so long a prominent citizen of the town and village of Omro, and so often representing them away from home that he becomes a part of their history. He came from Vermont, where he was born in 1824, to the town of Omro in 1846, among the earliest pioneers of the town and county, and took up lands at $1.25 an acre, on which he erected a log house. In a few years he moved into the village, taking an active interest in civic and moral affairs. He was a member of the county board for fifteen years, treasurer of the township five years, and on the school board twenty-seven years. Several terms chairman of the township and supervisor for a good many years. He was elected to the Legislature in 1867, and re-elected. It can be honestly said of him that he was an esteemed citizen.

In the Civil War the village and town was well represented by stalwart sons. The companies mostly recruited from Omro were Company C of the Fourteenth; A, of the Forty-eighth, and F, of the Eighteenth regiment, as well as members of the Third Cavalry. Company C was recruited in the fall of 1861, mustered into the United States service January 30, 1862, and left the state March 27. David Hinman was the first of the Omro contingent to be killed. William W. Wilcox, commissioned October 8, 1861, was captain, and resigned March 16, 1862, giving place to Absolom S. Smith, commissioned March 17, 1862, Captain, and afterwards promoted to Colonel. Lieutenant Colin Miller died May 23, 1863, from a mortal wound received in the assault upon the works at Vicksburg the day before. Asel Childs took his place under commission December 9, 1864. The Fourteenth Regiment was divided in 1864, the non-veterans being transferred to the army under General Sherman, the veterans re-enlisted were assigned to the Seventeenth Army Corps before Vicksburg, and then on the Red river expedition. In the western campaign they marched on ten days' rations 324 miles in nineteen days, building two bridges and fording two rivers.

Company F, of the Eighteenth Regiment Infantry, Colonel James S. Alban, were mustered in January 20, 1862, at Camp Washburn, and departed from the state March 27, 1862. Captain Joseph H. Roberts, commissioned January 13, 1862. Lieutenant George Stokes was taken prisoner at the battle of Shi-

loh, Tenn., April 6, 1862, but was afterward promoted to Chaplain. William A. Pope, who took his place in April 1, 1864, was reported missing in action October 5, 1864. George A. Topliff was Second Lieutenant, succeeded by Francis M. Carter, July 4, 1862. This regiment participated in Sherman's movements for the relief of Chattanooga, and with the Army of the Cumberland helped make a thrilling page in the history of the civil war.

The Third Cavalry, partly recruited at Omro, and contained a large number of men from this place, was commanded by ex-Governor Colonel William A. Barstow. It was mustered into the service from November 3, to January 31, 1862, at Camp Barstow, and left the state March 25, 1862. In reading over a list of the commissioned officers of this regiment of cavalry, there appears the names of many men who have distinguished themselves in the civic and business life of the state. In Kansas, Colonel Barstow was appointed provost marshal general of Kansas, and the command was given over to Major Henning. They were in the campaign west of the Mississippi river, with the army, doing scout duty and engaging in many of the numerous battles, some of them with Quantrell's famous band of so-called guerillas, who gave no quarter, killing their prisoners. At one battle the guerillas captured the whole regimental band, who were non-combatants, and killed all of them, even burning their bodies, so the official report records. During the last of the war Company A of the Forty-eighth Regiment was recruited in Omro, composed almost entirely of men from Omro town and village.

Town of Oshkosh.

The town of Oshkosh occupies with the city of Oshkosh the triangle of land which lies between Lake Winnebago and Big Lake Butte des Morts, containing 8,600 acres of land, all under cultivation except 700 acres, the smallest amount of unused lands of any of the towns. The cash value of these lands and their improvements is $900,725. The surface is elevated above the lake and generally level. The soil of the southeast is a rich vegetable mould, and south and west clay loam. Glacial escars of gravel and sand are frequent, affording material for excellent highways. The land was formerly occupied by scattered hardwood belts of timber, black and white oak and hickory.

According to the census of 1905, the crops consist of 2,000 bushels of wheat, 52,000 oats, 9,000 barley, 35,000 corn, 4,000 tons of hay; no rye is raised. The people possess 351 horses, 1,182 cattle, 665 hogs, 5,600 hens, which produced $5,600 worth of eggs; 1,153 milch cows produced $21,000 worth of butter.

The pioneers of the town were Yankees and New Yorkers; but many foreigners have taken over much of the land in later days. The population of 1,797 is the largest number living in any of the towns. It is made up of 1,234 native born, which, excepting Rushford, is the largest number of native born in any of the towns. There are, however, 563 foreign born, which is the largest number in any of the towns. It has a German population of 270, which is more than in any other town. The nativity of some of its citizens not included above is: Ireland, 38; Norway, 39; Sweden, 24; Canada, 26; Poland, 15; Denmark, 36; England, 17. The town contains more German and Irish than any other, and is only beaten in Scandinavian population by Winchester.

The evolution of the town by depletion and addition of territory has been explained in another place, continued from 1840 down to February 8, 1856, when the present area of the town became permanent except for frequent additions taken in by the city of Oshkosh. Long before this, however, the town was settled by an ever-increasing population. The first to settle on lands within its present limits was J. L. Schooley, who moved on his land in the fall of 1839 (on section I. T. 18, R. 16). He afterwards moved to the city of Neenah. Ira F. Aiken located the same fall near what is now the Asylum landing on the lake shore. Wm. C. Isbell settled in 1840, on section 6. He was frequently given prominent and responsible offices in the county and moved before 1878 to Fremont on the Wolf river. Dr. Christian Linde, afterward a prominent physician of Oshkosh, arrived from Denmark in 1842, and first took up lands in this town where, with his brother Carl, who came with him, they purchased of Colonel Charles Fuller, 280 acres of land, which is now occupied by the Northern Insane Asylum. Here they erected a log cabin for their home.

Samuel L. Brooks moved in 1842, locating on section 25, until 1846, when he moved on to the old Brooks homestead. He was a land surveyor, and laid out many of the roads. Mr. Jefferson Eaton entered on his lands, now partly occupied by the Asylum, in 1843. He was born in Herkimer county, New York,

in 1820, and moved west with his family, arriving in Oshkosh by team. He remained on his farm the remainder of his life, and died there August 4, 1882. His son, M. H. Eaton, was born there and became a prominent attorney at the city of Oshkosh, where his son, Leo Kimble Eaton, is also a prominent attorney. Charles Derby, born in Downpatrick, Ireland, in August, 1819, arrived in the town in 1849, the pioneer of the Irish settlement. He had $1,500, earned in Massachusetts as a machinist, and he purchased a pre-emption right to his farm. He built the second frame house in the town. With Oliver Libbey and S. S. Keese they erected a school building. Mr. Corydon L. Rich purchased his dairy farm in 1845, commencing work in the spring of 1846. He died there March 24, 1886. This family has always been one of the most prominent in the town.

The Northern Insane Hospital, the county Insane Hospital, and the county Poorhouse, are all located in this town about four miles north of Oshkosh; but have been described in detail in another place. The lands in this town were purchased from the Menominee Indians, September 3, 1836, at the treaty of Cedar Rapids; surveyed by David Giddings in 1839, and offered for sale in April, 1840, the lake shore region being purchased by non-residents for speculation. The first post office was the Oshkosh village office, which was the first in the county, established in 1840, with John P. Gallup as postmaster. In June 2, 1847, the Vinland post office was established, with Samuel L. Brooks as postmaster, a position he retained for more than thirty-nine years. The northern portion of the town of Oshkosh, two miles wide, was from 1849 to 1856, part of the town of Vinland, and was then assigned to the town of Oshkosh. The change in jurisdiction brought this post office into the town of Oshkosh. A post office, named Winnebago, was established at the asylum June 26, 1876, and William W. Walker was appointed postmaster. When the town in 1855 was not so large as now, it contained but one school house of seventy-seven scholars. There are three school buildings now in the town. A large town hall is located in the center of the town at the crossing of two principal highways. No town contains so many elegant and substantial residences and farm buildings. There is one store at Winnebago conducted by W. M. Walker. There is a church on the ridge road which crosses the center of the town. The Northwestern Railway crosses the town with two lines of road with a station at Winnebago. The Wisconsin

Central crosses the town, with a station at Winnebago. The Interurban street car line crosses the town on the ridge road. A stage line crosses it on the Winneconne road.

Island Park is in Lake Winnebago off the shore of the town of Oshkosh. It was formerly known as Pe Sheu or Wild Cat's Island, prior to 1813, since then to recent times as Garlic Island; and is the only island remaining above the waters in the lake. The story of the bold warrior chief, Pe Sheu, who had his village there, is related in another place in this work.

The corn hills of the Indian village are still visible on the island and on the mainland adjacent. On the south shore of the island there is a cairn made of boulders, now about thirty inches high, and about fifteen feet diameter, supposed to mark some aboriginal burial. On the lakeside shore there lies an immense black trap rock about which are gathered legendary lore.

On the farms north of the asylum there seems to have been an aboriginal graveyard, from which have been recovered vessels, clay pipes and other relics. Some of these have been illustrated in the Wisconsin Archeologist. There was also a cemetery at Sunset Point on Big Lake Butte des Morts. Near by on Plummer's Point on the property of Levi Plummer there was a round mound on the southeast quarter of section thirty. It was twenty feet diameter and thirty inches high.

Town of Poygan.

In the town of Poygan the lands did not come into the market until 1852, and it was the last town to be taken over from Indian occupation and ownership. On the shore of Lake Poygan, which borders the whole north line of the town, the ancient tribe of Menominee Indians made their last home in the county. Their principal village under Grizzly Bear was located on section 16 in the town, and it was at this place where the annual payment was made to the tribe by the government, and the location became known as the Pay Grounds. These payments, under the treaty of Cedar Point, made by Governor Henry Dodge as commissioner, September 3, 1836; by which all the lands south of the Wolf and Fox rivers in the county passed to the United States, reserved to the Indians the lands north of these rivers and provided for certain payments annually to be made to the Menominee. Their head chief was Oshkosh, who was a strong-minded, bright old chief.

The annuities provided for in the treaty to be paid each

summer in June or July, was under the treaty of Green Bay of 1832, $1,000 annually. Under the treaty of Cedar Point of 1836, the amount was increased to $23,750, annual cash payment; but changed by the Senate on ratification to $20,000, to be paid annually for the term of twenty years. These annuities were given for a cession by the tribe to the United States of all their rights to 4,000,000 acres of land. "The United States further agreed to pay and deliver to the said Indians, each and every year during the said term of twenty years the following articles: $3,000 worth of provisions; 2,000 pounds of tobacco; 30 barrels salt; also $500 for the purchase of farming utensils, cattle or implements of husbandry, to be expended by the superintendent," also appoint and pay two blacksmiths and furnish the iron and steel for them, as mentioned in the history .of Winneconne. It was also agreed to pay the just debts of the Indians amounting, if proven to be $99,710.50. The further sum of $80,000 was to be divided among the mixed bloods.

It was the distribution of the articles and payment of cash at the pay ground in the present town of Poygan, from the time of the making of this treaty in 1836, until the making of the treaty of 1848, giving up the lands north of the Fox and Wolf rivers in the county, a period of some twelve years, that drew to these annual payments an adventurous crowd of all classes of society then on the frontier. People came to these payments from all parts of the county, and along the river as far as Green Bay on the one side and Portage on the other. There were traders like Grignon, Porlier, Powell, Archibald Caldwell and Smith Moores from this county, and John Lawe and Daniel Whitney from Green Bay, who came for the collection of their just accounts for the credits of the Indians during the year. Then there was the peddler and vender of flash jewelry. beads and colored scarfs, who came to attract the Indian to their wares. Then the gambler, the sport and the hanger-on of the frontier came to play his game, and all of them came to get their share of the money of the Indian, and they all met with fair success. The agent of the United States was usually guarded by a company of soldiers, who made some show of protecting the Indian. Temporary eating houses and boarding places were improvised and the scene was one of thrilling, exciting life, the forest was alive with the hum of its activity. After the treaty of 1848, the Indians remained on the site of Poygan for

a number of years, as they were not satisfied with the western lands provided, and became finally settled on the reservation at Keshena, where they remain. The land of the town is rich loam, and it is one of the finest farming sections in the county. There is no railroad communication in the town; but depots at Omro and Winneconne are close at hand.

The town was originally a forest of hardwood, which is cleared away now, excepting an occasional wood lot. The roads are good, and the town is under a high state of cultivation, with fine farm buildings. At present the town has a population of 686, of whom 477 were born in this state, 32 in Ireland, 79 in Germany, 22 in Canada, 22 in England, and 20 in Russia. There are 14,000 acres of land in the town, of which 10,000 acres are improved, and valued at $1,000,000. The annual crops raised are 2,200 bushels of wheat, 55,000 oats, 8,000 barley, 25,000 corn, 20,000 potatoes, 3,000 apples and 4,000 tons of hay. In stock the thrifty people possess 384 horses, 2,400 cattle, 3,400 hogs, 1,000 sheep, 1,200 milch cows, and 6,000 fowls. The sales of lands show the average cash value of $73 per acre.

The town has six school houses, a church and a town hall. The first pioneer was Mr. John Keefe, who still resides on his lands near Poygan post office. He made a cruise through the town in 1848, and staked out the site that he intended to enter as his future farm as soon as the lands were open to settlement. Having located in Waukau with his family, he remained there until the spring of 1849, when he moved into the town and set up a shanty on his claim, title to which he could not obtain until it was surveyed and open to sale in 1852. His son Charles was the first child born in the town, in February, 1850. In the fall of 1849, Mr. Thomas Mettam moved in with his family, and found Mr. George Rawson and brother, Jerry Caulkins, and Thomas Robbins, who had all just moved into the town. Mr. Thomas Brogden and Henry Cole, with their families, Richard Barron, George Burlingame, Joseph Felton, Jonathan and David Maxon and Reed Case, all came very soon after. Philander Hall, James Heffron, James Barron, William Johnson, G. and S. Wiseman, H. Scofield, William Tritt, and E. B. Wood settled in 1850; and the following spring Mr. Micheal O'Reilly came. Later Mr. M. Killilea settled. His son is now a prominent attorney located in Milwaukee.

The pioneers had a difficult task to maintain peace with the Indians, who had made the treaty selling these lands, but were

generally dissatisfied with the location west of the Mississippi river and refused to move out of the Poygan forests. The swift encroachment of the settler on these lands alarmed and provoked the Menominee and frequently they made a rush and drove the settler over the border, and tore out their improvements. The whites had no redress, as they were not permitted to occupy the land until 1852, when it was open to purchase. John Keefe and his family were in good fellowship with the Indians, and were frequently warned that they were safe and would not be molested. They never were driven away, though Mr. Keefe saw a good many rushes. After the lands were offered for sale at the United States land office, some speculators attempted to enter the lands already selected and occupied by the settler, and in some cases they were successful, and then there was another settlement war, as no one would be permitted to use or occupy such lands except the one who had selected and moved in. There were frequent rushes by the whites to drive out those who had sought in this manner to jump claims of their neighbors. This would not be permitted, and for several years these affairs came up, until finally all titles were settled. The first town meeting was held in 1853. The first school house was a log building built in 1853, and Mrs. Julia Jordan was teacher. This was not the first school in the town, however, as the mission school taught the Indians there in 1844, under Miss Donsemond, from Green Bay. The post office at Poygan was first named Powaickam, and was established July 8, 1852, with William S. Webster as postmaster. The derivation of the name Poygan has been given in another place, and is derived from the name of an Indian chief. It will be noticed that Mr. James Heffron, Jr., is chairman now, but Mr. W. L. Tritt had been chairman so long that no one knew when he first was elected to the office; or else it was Mr. Thomas Mettam, or Mr. Michael O'Reilly.

The old mission churches of the Catholic church date back many years, and have been mentioned in another place in this work. These services were almost entirely for the Menominee Indian. The settlement was for a long time under itinerant visits from the priests located at Oshkosh; but in 1873, a church society was organized and a church erected. From this time they had their own resident priest. Their first pastor was Rev. Arthur O'Connor. After him Rev. H. G. Anen, B. Beldi, P. M. Honeyman, Lorenz Spitzberger, Charles J. Gallagher and Rev.

M. Kelleher officiated. The resident priest also attends missions at Omro and Winneconne. There are possibly more people of Irish descent in this town than any other in the county, unless it was the town of Menasha in its older days.

Town of Rushford.

The town of Rushford is generally level and the soil is a rich clay and sandy loam. The Fox river runs through the town, and is crossed by bridges at Eureka and old Delhi. The higher grounds were originally covered with "oak openings." North of the river there formerly existed a forest of maple, butternut, hickory, basswood and ash. Flowing wells are easily obtained by drilling about fifteen feet deep along the shore of the river. Waukau creek runs through the south part of the town north into the Fox river.

The lands north of the river, as explained in other places in this work, remained Indian lands, and no one was permitted to settle on them until after 1848. The earliest settlements were therefore made on the south side of the river. Waukau, a hamlet in the southeast part of the town, is the site of the first settlement. It is a station on the C., M. & St. Paul Railway, and obtains a water power from the falls of the Waukau creek. The post office was established July 1, 1848, with William H. Elliott as postmaster. Mr. Lester Rounds opened a general store the same year, and Mr. W. L. F. Talbot engaged in the business of blacksmithing. The village plat of Waukau was laid out and recorded December 30, 1848, S. W. White and G. W. Woodnorth, proprietors. The grist mill of Mr. Parsons was commenced in 1849, and completed in 1850. The development of the village was gradual, and it became an important place. The water power supplied the power for two flour mills and one woolen mill. There were several stores and mechanics' shops. There was a good school established and two church buildings. It is a pretty village, with an air of thrift and care. At the present time Waukau is very much of a village, though it has no village charter, but politically its inhabitants are a part of the town of Rushford. The population is 292, and it contains one hotel, two large general stores and a coal and wood yard. Eureka, on the south bank of the Fox river, is a handsome hamlet. Mr. Lester Rounds moved his stock of goods from Waukau to the site of Eureka in 1850, where he was

joined by Mr. Walton C. Dickerson, who moved over from Nepeuskun, and they became the first settlers and founders of the village of Eureka, a plot of which was recorded July 24, 1850, of which Rounds, Dickerson & Starr were proprietors. A ferry was established across the Fox river at this point, during the same season, and four years later a bridge constructed, when the place became an important village. The post office was authorized July 16, 1850, and Lester Rounds appointed postmaster. A steamboat landing and warehouse was built by Mr. Walton C. Dickerson for the accommodation of the daily line of steamboats on the river, running between Oshkosh and Berlin. The sawmills along the river at Eureka, Delhi, Omro and Berlin were supplied with pine logs from the Wolf river, which were towed up the Fox river at first by horsepower boats or tugs. Eureka now has a population of 246, and a stage line from Berlin, with its schools and churches. It is a station of the Free Traveling library of the county system. It contains the grocery and drug store of Mr. L. E. Chapelle, a hardware store, implement store and harness shop, two general stores and a meat shop, a wagon shop, canning factory, feed mill, and lumber yard. It is served by the rural postoffice service. It is the home of Dr. T. E. Loope, who has held a number of county offices and been active in advancing apple culture; and Hon. H. H. G. Bradt, secretary, treasurer and historian of the Third Wisconsin Battery association.

Mr. Lester Rounds had come from Ceresco, where he had been secretary of the community of Fourites under the name of the Wisconsin Phalanx of the Fourier association, of which Warren Chase was president. In the establishment of that settlement into a town he had been chairman of the town and as a member of the Fond du Lac county board elected chairman of that body. Afterwards settling in Waukau, town of Rushford, as stated, he became a prominent citizen of the county, and the founder of Eureka, remaining at his post of village merchant for many years. His son is at present county treasurer.

Three miles down the river from Eureka is the site of ancient Delhi, which in the flush days of river navigation bid fair to be a metropolis; but the changing scenes and efforts of times and people have made it relapse into a beautiful rural farm community, and the dream of cities and commerce vanished forever. It was an early day French trading post, kept by Luke La Borde, the principal owner and occupant.

The first settlement in the town of Rushford was made at Waukau, March 7, 1846, by Mr. L. M. Parsons, who on that day erected the first house, a ten by twelve one-story shack, of which the main posts had been driven into the ground. Here he accommodated the traveler. He at once set about the erection of a small saw mill, which was put in operation the same year, the first saw mill on the river within the county, except the old mission mills at Neenah. The month of March also welcomed Mr. J. R. Hall as a pioneer, who was joined during the summer by his brother, Uriah Hall. Mr. R. Stone, Mr. John Johnson and family, and Mr. Pinrow located the same spring, and Mr. James Deyoe and family, with Mr. Joseph Mallory, arrived in October. They lived in a shanty for a few days while erecting a log house roofed with shakes. There was no floor during the winter, as lumber could not be had. The same fall Richard, Thomas and John Palfrey, with their parents, located in the town. Religious services were conducted as early as the fall of 1846 by Rev. Hiram McKee. As the nearest postoffice was Ceresco, about fourteen miles south, the settlers agreed to take turns in making a weekly visit to bring back the mail. The Waukau postoffice was opened July 1, 1848. During the summer of 1847, Elliott and White built the first store, and Mr. James Deyoe erected the first frame house. During this fall a log cabin was erected for a school house and Elder Manning was made the teacher.

The first claim on the north side of the river was made by Mr. O. E. Loper while it was still Indian lands and not open to legal settlement. After the Indian title was extinguished by the government at the treaty of Poygan, the lands were rapidly taken up and now they are cleared and improved. A small cranberry marsh was cultivated on the western margin of the town. Mr. Loper, who was first to settle north of the river, had been a member of the Fourier community at Ceresco. Mr. Chester Gilmore, who also settled north of the river in 1849, was a native of Vermont. Mr. J. R. Hall, one of the earliest pioneers, was a native of Vermont, settling in Waukau in the spring of 1846, two weeks after Mr. Parsons. On his arrival he was entertained for the night at the shanty described as erected by Mr. Parsons, the only house for several miles about, where he found a large number of strangers. In the absence of sufficient bed clothing two beds were pushed together and made to accommodate eight persons for the night with sufficient bed clothing. Mr. E. B. Thrall was a native of New York state. He emigrated to Utica from Penn-

sylvania, making the journey in a covered wagon in company with the family, consisting of the father, John Thrall, five brothers and three sisters. They arrived June 9, 1846, in Utica at Armine Pickett's, who had located a few weeks before, and taking the covers from the wagons, set them against the log house of Mr. Nash until they could erect their log cabin, which they proceeded to do, taking the logs from their claim. They built of the logs the hewed puncheons, or half logs, for floors, and split out oak shakes for shingles. Not having lumber for doors and windows, they lived in the house all summer without them. They then obtained some oak lumber at Dartford, twenty miles away. Having sold his farm, Mr. Thrall located in Rushford March 21, 1866.

Warren Leach settled in Waukau in 1849, and opened the first tavern. Alonzo Wood, often chairman of the town, located in Waukau in 1858, and with V. H. Wood and R. M. Lincoln became proprietors of the Empire flour mills, constructed in 1857 by Hon. D. R. Bean. Mr. Bean was a native of Vermont, and became interested in the water power at Waukau. In 1874 he erected the Waukau flour mills.

There were in 1849 two hundred and twenty-one scholars in the town, and in 1855 there were six hundred and twelve children of school age. In 1880 there were 790 children of school age with nine school houses, in which twelve teachers are employed.

The population is now 1,511, of which 1,325 are native born. The largest number of foreign born is one hundred German and twenty-three native of Ireland. The town contains 20,515 acres, of which 14,900 acres are improved, valued at $1,400,000. The lands sold show an average value of $73 per acre. There is harvested annually 1,740 bushels wheat, 82,000 oats, 20,700 barley, 50,000 corn, 56,000 potatoes, 11,000 apples, 7,000 tons of hay. The town contains 876 horses, 3,300 cattle, 3,000 hogs, 1,800 sheep, 18,000 fowl. There are 1,894 milch cows, that produced 328,000 pounds of butter annually.

In the story of the Winnebago tribe on another page is given the life of Yellow Thunder, the head chief of the tribe, who formerly had his village on the Fox river near the site of Eureka, at the Yellow Banks. He was visited here by Col. Charles Whittelsey in 1832, who passed along that Indian trail that followed the river.

In the "Wisconsin Archeologist" for 1903 the author described

the mound builder remains of this town, which is in part repeated herewith. About the year 1836 and for some years later there was a Menominee Indian village of "Waukau" located on the north shore of the Fox river opposite the old village of Delhi. According to Hon. H. H. Bradt, of Eureka, this village was still in existence at this point when he settled in the town of Rushford in 1849. The chief at that time was called "Lapone," and was an excellent Indian. The village consisted of a dozen cabins and about thirty people. Traces of their cornhills and burying ground may still be seen.

There was a group of six mounds located in section 23, on an open prairie elevated about ten feet above the Fox river, near the village of Delhi. The first mound is about ninety rods south of the river. It was formerly six feet in height and seventy feet in diameter. In 1849, Mr. H. G. Elliott built his residence upon it, excavating into the mound for his cellar. It is said that no discoveries of any consequence were made during the digging. The site is now occupied by a barn. About 180 feet south of the last there is a second mound measuring three feet in height and forty-five feet in diameter. This mound has never been investigated. The third mound is about 420 feet south of the former. It was formerly sixty feet in diameter and six feet in height. Mr. Louis La Borde, a pioneer, built his house upon this mound. In digging his cellar he disinterred human and animal bones. At a distance of about 420 feet south of the third is a fourth mound, which was formerly used as a graveyard by the La Borde family. This mound is seventy-five feet in diameter and six feet in height. The fifth mound is about 460 feet west of the last. It is eight feet in height and seventy-five feet in diameter. In 1846 this mound was employed by Mr. Luke La Borde as a root cellar. Mr. La Borde told my informant, Mr. H. H. G. Bradt, that near its bottom he found a bed of charcoal and "a large mass of copper." Mr. Bradt recollects meeting Governor J. D. Doty at the La Bordes in 1849. When told of this find the Governor remarked: "We are in a country with a great but I fear an unfathomable history." The last mound in the group is situated in a cultivated field at a distance of 750 feet southeast of the fourth mound. It is eighty-four feet in diameter and eight feet in height. All of these mounds are constructed of clay and mold of the same nature as the surrounding soil.

The author is indebted to Hon. H. H. G. Bradt, of Eureka, for

information concerning a round mound which formerly stood on the edge of the public highway in that village and which has long since disappeared. Of its exact size or contents nothing can be learned. There was also an aboriginal burying ground near this village in former years. In a search for mounds made in November, 1902, Mr. Bradt, who is a careful observer, was unable to locate any other works than those here described from the town of Rushford.

In the civil war the Third Battery, Wisconsin Light Artillery, was organized in Berlin, Green Lake county, only a few miles from the town of Rushford, and received recruits by enlistment from this town. It was mustered into service October 10, 1861. The guns of the battery consisted of two six-pounder smooth bore guns, two rifled six-pounders, and two twelve-pound howitzers, all bronze. On arrival in Kentucky these were exchanged for two bronze twelve-pounded howitzers and four ten-pounder rifled Parrot guns. At the battle of Chickamauga, September 20, 1863, they lost twenty-six men, thirty-three horses and five guns, the sixth being dragged away by the men. Brigadier General H. P. Van Cleve reported the battery, saying "the officers and privates of the battery have my warmest thanks for the pertinacity with which they stood by their guns when surrounded by the enemy. I am happy to inform them that their praises are on the tongues of all who witnessed their conduct." The original number in the battery was 170 men. The state has erected a beautiful monument to commemorate the position of the battery on that fatal field. Following are the names of members of the Third Wisconsin Light Artillery enlisting from Rushford, Winnebago county: Ordnance sergeant, William H. Williams; platoon sergeant, Arza J. Noble; corporal, Hiram H. G. Bradt; bugler, Cyrus Weber; cannoneers, William Allen, Isaac Delaney, Lewis D. Masseure, William A. McMahon, Richard N. Noble, Jeremiah Rode, Daniel Robin, John E. Tracey. Hon. Hiram H. G. Bradt, of Eureka, secretary, treasurer and historian of the Third or Badger Battery association, has published a small cloth-bound book, detailing in an interesting manner the history of the battery, and has furnished the above information. Mr. Bradt writes: "For a rural section I think we have an interesting history of the militant type alone. From the earliest settlement of our town military blood has been much in evidence and is impressively apparent by the silent monitors of our cemeteries. The most numerous, of course, are of the Civil war patriots, of

which there are over forty graves. We have seven certain of the war of 1812; some think more. Then, too, our Indian wars are represented, and the blood of Revolutionary sires and dames is flowing in the veins of numerous families like a joy forever."

"Rushford has four public cemeteries, located in Waukau, Eureka, Rushford Center and North Rushford at Delhi. There is a family cemetery on the La Borde estate, in which Luke La Borde is buried. He was not an enlisted man, but in connection with Governor Doty transported by Durham boats provisions for the troops at Fort Winnebago during the Indian war. The goods were brought from Green Bay and Fort Howard. Mr. La Borde was a native of Green Bay. Governor Doty obtained the contract from officials at Fort Howard, and he and La Borde were partners in the venture. La Borde had married a very pretty and pleasing half-blood Menominee girl, and having a great influence among her kin, he had no difficulty in procuring all the help he desired to both "push and pull" the crafts. L. La Borde's brother-in-law, Louis Boprey, acted as a guide for our forces during the Black Hawk war, and though over seventy years of age, enlisted in the Thirty-sixth Wisconsin in the war of the Rebellion and was credited to Rushford, and I have been trying to ascertain if he was buried in Rushford, but as he was one of the disciples of Catholicism I think his remains lie at Poygan.

La Borde's wife was half French. Boprey half French. The latter's wife was half English, and it seems to me as I would come in contact with the hordes of the Menominees that were ever a substantial contingent at the La Borde homested that the whole tribe was very much mixed.

All but one soldier who engaged in the Indian wars and who formerly lived here went out of our town to die either with relations or seeking border countries otherwheres. This was Edward Dunn, of the Seminole war, buried in Eureka cemetery.

Names of soldiers of the war of 1812 buried in the town of Rushford: Waukau cemetery—Reuben Hurlbut, Vermont; Jacob Coffman, Pennsylvania. Eureka cemetery—Capt. Reuben Rounds, Vermont; Otis Ingalls, New York; John Boutwell Smith, Massachusetts. Rushford Center cemetery—Col. Edward Carpenter, New York; Capt. William King, New York; Henry Daggett, New York."[1]

Soldiers' graves of the Civil war of 1861: Eureka cemetery,

[1] From a private letter to the author, June 25, 1908, from H. H. G. Bradt, of Eureka.

to July 2, 1908—Henry H. Cole, Oscar Lathrop, Ansel Goucher, Herman Worden, Peter Bennett, John A. Everhart, Nelson Tittemore, James M. Stanton, Charles E. Johnson, Israel Dairo, Ira Fishbeck, Harvey Liddle, Buell Smith, David Allen, Ira D. Carpenter, Capt. O. Bailey, Orson W. Alderman, Albert Potter, Dr. Amos Lawrence, J. W. Vanderhoof, Milvern Estabrook, Alexander McGregor, George Gifford. Rushford Center cemetery—Col. Edward Carpenter, New York; Capt. William King, New York; Henry Daggett, New York.[1]

Soldiers' graves of the Civil war of 1861 in the Waukau cemetery up to July 1, 1908: George S. Maxon, Co. C, 14th Wis. Inft.; G. W. Christopher Jones, Co. B, 3d Wis. Inft.; Henry Reed, Co. B, 21st Wis. Inft.; H. S. Henry and M. Cottrell, Co. D, 13th Wis. Inft.; Isaac Brown, Co. K, 98th New York Inft.; Edgar Whiting, Co. I, 11th Wis. Inft.; Lusias Hoxey, Co. D, 23d Wis. Inft.; Richard M. Young, Co. H, 20th Regt. Wis. Inft.; G. W. Silsbee, Co. A, 1st Wis. Cav.; Constant Wills, Co. K, 4th Wis. Inft.; Wilmer Tuttle, Co. I, 10th Wis. Inft.; Allan Packard, Co. B, 21st Wis. Inft.; Henry Coffman, Co. D, 18th Wis. Inft.; David Seymore, Co. B, 21st Wis. Inft. Graves of other wars are: William Barker, Mexican war; Reuben Hurlbut, war of 1812; Jacob Coffman, war of 1812.[2]

Names of graves of Civil war soldiers in the Rushford Center cemetery July, 1908: John Baldry, Henry E. Hess, Steven Hess, Albertus Hoofman, Myron Henry, Mathias Haedt, Lorenzo Laper, Melvin Parcells, J. L. Read, Philo Sage, Israel Williams.

Names of Civil war soldiers' graves in North Rushford cemetery up to July 1, 1908: William Allen, Henry D. Bailey, Theodore Burdick, James Discon, Henry M. Douglas, Archie Worden.

Town of Utica.

The town of Utica is a most beautiful region of rich tillable lands, high and rolling. It was originally a rolling prairie, interspersed with oak openings on the divide between the prairie land south and wood lands of the north. Much new growth of forest timber and shade trees have appeared during settlement days. The soil is a deep rich loam, with a clay subsoil mixed with gravel. Below this the limestone at places comes close to

[1] From a private letter to the author, July 2, 1908, from H. H. G. Bradt, of Eureka.

[2] The above list was furnished by Hon. H. H. G. Bradt, of Eureka.

the surface and crops out at a few places. There are occasional gravel beds, which furnish good roadmaking material. There is a small stream crossing the town, which on the old maps was known as "Eight-Mile creek," but since known as Fisk's creek. In many places cool springs are found, which supply the farmer and his stock.

The farms in this town are generally large and under a high state of cultivation, with handsome dwellings and grounds and large barns. It contains a population of 943 people, of whom 780 are native born, ninety-five native to Germany and thirty-seven to Wales. The Welsh settlement is in the southeastern part of the town and extends into Nekimi. They are regarded as thrifty and prosperous farmers.

The Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul railway runs through the town and has stations at Picketts and Fisk's Corners. Shipments of farm products and stock are made from these stations.

Picketts Station was originally known as Welaunee, but since named for the late Hon. James G. Picketts, who with his father founded the town. It has a population of sixty, with a lumber yard, two general stores and an implement warehouse. The Reliance creamery, operated by the Ripon Produce Company, is located here. Mr. Jas. G. Pickett operated a cheese factory at one time.

Elo, formerly known as Utica Center, a postoffice hamlet, has a population of twenty-five, a general store, a school and church. Fisk is a postoffice hamlet and a station, on the railway from which is shipped the stock and farm produce of the rich farm lands surrounding. It contains a population of 180, and has a general store, blacksmith shop, an implement store, and grain elevator. Ring, a postoffice hamlet with seventeen people, has a general store.

Of the first settlement of the town the late Hon. James G. Pickett has left an interesting account. His father, Mr. Armine Pickett, came into the state in 1840, and his advent has been described by Judge Elisha W. Keyes in his reminiscence of Lake Mills, where he first settled on the opposite shore of the lake. The arrival was a "grand cavalcade passing along the road toward the mills and our log house, presenting quite a formidable appearance. There were a number of covered wagons, double teams, single wagons, mostly drawn by oxen; and a number of men, women and children, and between the wagons there were hogs, sheep and cattle. Mr. Pickett drove in a flock of sheep and

some fine Berkshire hogs, and a number of cows. Mr. Pickett presented a striking appearance; he was modeled after Daniel Webster. Every one had the utmost confidence in him. His wife, Mrs. Armine Pickett, is entitled to the credit of inaugurating the first co-operative cheese manufactory in the territory and whole country at Lake Mills in 1841. The inspiration of the work was wholly her own, and she carried it out successfully, aided by her husband and son, James G. Pickett. Full mention of this has been made in the leading papers."

Mr. Armine Pickett visited Winnebago county with Mr. David H. Nash in August, 1845, accompanied by their wives. Taking with them the conveniences for camping, they left Lake Mills and arrived at Oshkosh, where they engaged Mr. Webster Stanley to pilot them across the country to Ceresco, now Ripon. "It would be difficult to imagine a more beautiful and picturesque country than that lying southwest of Oshkosh," says Mr. James G. Pickett. "Following the Indian trail leading to Fort Winnebago, the party for eight miles passed through oak openings entirely destitute of underbrush and reminding them of the old orchards they had left at the east. Eight miles from Fox river they crossed the first stream of any note, shown on the map as Eight-Mile creek, but known after the settlement of the country as Fisk's creek. The stream divided the oak openings, and as beautiful a prairie country as ever was created; the most northern limit of the great prairies of the state. Four miles farther the party halted by a spring brook for dinner. They were charmed by their surroundings. There was not a sign to indicate that civilized man had ever traveled over this route, and the country was, in fact, just as it came from the hands of the Creator. They could not wish for anything nearer their ideal of a perfect country, and Mr. Nash decided to locate on the spring creek upon which they halted, which was in a strip of openings a mile wide, separating the two prairies. While dinner was being prepared Mr. Pickett went back half a mile and a few rods from the trail found another spring on the edge of the prairie, and there drove his stake for his future farm."

In March, 1846, Hon. Armine Pickett, Mr. Seth Heath, Mr. D. H. Nash and his son-in-law, Mr. Erwin Heath, arrived and commenced their improvements. At the rising of the Nash house, after the last log had been placed, Rev. H. McKee, who had arrived the day before, mounted the building and proposed that the town be named. The name adopted was Utica. Rev. Hiram

McKee, whose name frequently appears in the life of several surrounding towns, was the first settled minister and a typical frontier evangelist and powerful speaker, being "known far and near as the sledgehammer preacher." During the infancy of the Free Soil party he was nominated for congress against Governor James D. Doty, but was beaten.

At about the same time that the Pickett party was locating, another settlement was being made in the northern part of the town by E. B. Fisk, who commenced the erection of a log house the same month. He was followed by Mr. George Ransom and family, who settled near. John Thrall also came the same season. Among others of the pioneers of those days may be named C. W. Thrall, L. Hawley, L. J. Miller, George Miller, Henry Styles, J. M. Little, Wm. Hunter, Philo Rogers, W. S. Catlin, James Adams, and Walter Houston, D. R. Lawrence, Wm. Porks, James R. Williams, Ira Walker, W. H. Clark, A. B. McFarland, J. H. Maxwell, Wm. Griffith, Jas. Robinson, A. Stone, and F. J. Bean.

The late T. J. Bowles settled in the town in 1849, and for nearly thirty years was continuously re-elected its chairman and with great honor and integrity represented it in the county board.

The first school in the town was opened the first year of settlement, 1846, by Mrs. Alfred Thrall, near Pickett's. The first log school building was erected in 1848, near Fisk, and a school was taught by Miss Kimball. The Liberty Prairie Cemetery association was organized January 1, 1849, and a site donated by Hon. Armine Pickett. No spirituous liquors have ever been sold in the town and none of its citizens ever convicted of a capital crime. Eight-Mile creek, which runs through the town, takes its name from its length, contains numerous springs along its banks and it heads in a large spring. Near the line of Nekimi the creek is lost underground for a mile, when it reappears in a beautiful stream for three miles and again runs underground, until it appears near Rush lake, into which it flows. There are 20,000 acres in the town, of which 12,000 acres have been improved, and is valued at $1,200,000. The annual products are 3,500 bushels wheat, 134,000 oats, 72,000 barley, 33,000 corn, 8,000 potatoes, 2,000 apples and 4,000 tons hay. There is also raised 6,500 fowl, which produce 34,000 dozen eggs; and there are 700 horses, 2,500 cattie, 2,000 hogs. There are 3,000 sheep, which yield 34,000 pounds of wool. The 1,391 milch cows produce 48,000 pounds of butter.

Dr. Increase A. Lapham, in his "Antiquities of Wisconsin," says: "Near a small stream, called Eight-Mile creek, in the town of Utica, on the land of Mr. E. B. Fisk (northwest quarter of secton fourteen, township seventeen, range fifteen) there is a mound called the Spread Eagle. It is of small dimensions, the whole length being only forty-six feet. There are two oblong embankments in the vicinity, and the house is built upon another called the Alligator, but its form could not be traced at the time of our visit in 1851."

One forty-acre piece of land belonging to Mr. J. L. Hunter, in the northeast quarter of the southeast quarter of section twenty consists of prairie land which slopes gently northward to the O. F. Miller farm across the highway. "In 1846," writes Mr. Pickett, "these lands were in a state of nature. Extending diagonally nearly across both of these forties for a distance of 120 rods in a southwesterly direction was a row of about thirty round mounds, each about twenty feet in diameter and two feet in height. Approaching this line of mounds at right angles from section twenty-one to the east was a long tapering mound. Its near extremity came to within 250 feet of the line of mounds and extended back in a northeasterly direction for a distance of 400 feet over Mr. L. S. Hunter and Mr. J. Roberts' land in section twenty-one, and was cut in twain by the highway between the farms. It was two feet in height and twelve feet in width at the extremity nearest the mounds and gradually decreased in width until it disappeared in the surrounding soil."

A mound is located in the southwest quarter of section twenty. Mr. Pickett reports that it is located near the apex of a hill about 100 feet in elevation, the highest land in the vicinity and overlooking the country for miles in every direction. A road which ascends the hill winds past the mound. It is oval in shape, three feet in height, thirty feet in length and fifteen feet in width. It has not been investigated.

Mounds are located on E. Bean's property in the southwest quarter of the northeast quarter of section twenty-five, a few rods south of the road which crosses the land. There are two or three quite prominent mounds in this group located on land which has undergone but little cultivation. They were originally about six feet in height. When Mr. Pickett visited the locality about 1900 they were still about four feet in height.

The Thada mounds are located on a farm now occupied by Mr. John Thada in the northeast quarter of the southwest quar-

ter of section nineteen, about one mile east of the shore of Rush lake. There are four or five round mounds in the group, each about ten or twelve feet in diameter and at the present time not more than one foot in elevation. They are situated on rather low but ordinarily dry ground, still covered with timber. They have not been disturbed.

Town of Vinland.

The town of Vinland is fairly high above Lake Winnebago, at the shore, and gradually rising toward the west to about 150 feet elevation, presenting to the view toward the east the entire town with its clean, cultivated farms, handsome homes and the wide lake beyond with a panoramic view of the Clifton range beyond. The west part of the town was originally prairie and oak openings, entirely free from waste lands. The soil is a rich deep black loam, with clay subsoil, on limestone which outcrops toward the west at places. The eastern part of the town was originally a forest of hardwood, oak, maple, ash, hickory, elm, butternut and basswood. These lands are cleared now, except the wood lots, and contain a rich soil both for grain and vegetables.

The population of the town of Vinland is 1,007, of whom 804 are native born, 738 being born in Wisconsin. Among those of foreign birth there are 119 native to Germany, twenty-one to England, and the same number to Switzerland, while eighteen hail from Denmark. There are 18,400 acres of land in the town, of which 16,000 acres are improved and valued at one and a half million dollars. The average of land sales shows a value of $93 per acre. Of products there were raised in 1905, 2,000 bushels of wheat, 116,000 oats, 52,000 barley, 46,000 corn, 16,000 potatoes, 4,500 apples, and 5,000 tons of hay. Of stock there were in 1905, 700 horses, 2,500 cattle, 2,000 hogs, 300 sheep. From 1,913 milch cows are made 52,000 pounds of butter, and 7,500 fowl produce 47,000 dozen eggs.

There are more cheese factories and more cheese made in the town than in any other town in the county. The town contains ten cheese factories. These are the Vinland cheese factory at Allenville, Sam Boss factory at Clemansville, Schneider factory at Allenville, Germania cheese factory, the G. Hauter cheese factory, Allenville cheese factory at Allenville, Clemens Reuter factory, Faber cheese factory, Adolph

Grimm factory at Allenville, and Robie cheese factory. The postoffices are Allenville, named for M. T. Allen, a pioneer. It has a population of fifty and a general store. Clemansville, a post hamlet, named for Horace Clemans, a pioneer; has one cheese factory and is located just on the line of Oshkosh. Vinland is the name of a postoffice in the southern edge of the town.

The town contains the Free Will Baptist church on section eight, and another on section thirteen, and there is the Methodist Episcopal church at Clemansville. There are eight school houses and 400 children of school age. The interurban street car line runs down the side of the ridge road across the town from Neenah to Oshkosh. The Northwestern and Wisconsin Central both cross the town, with stations at Allenville and Snells. The town lies within a few miles of Oshkosh or Neenah, with splendid highways for travel in all directions.

The first settler in the town was H. P. Tuttle, who located in 1846, and soon after Horace Clemans located and founded Clemansville. He was made the first chairman of the town. The same year the colony was increased by the arrival of Jeremiah Vasburg, William W. Libbey, Charles Scott, Wakeman Partridge, William Swan, Silas M. Allen, Jacob and Walter H. Weed, William G. Gumaer, and Thomas Knott. Among the additions for the following year were Luther and Henry Robinson, I. W. Mears of Mears' Corners, Seth Wyman, George Clark, Charles Libbey, William Merriman, Lorin B. Bemis, and A. T. Cronkhite. Mr. Cronkhite subsequently was a pioneer tavernkeeper at Winnebago Rapids (Neenah) in the Winnebago hotel until 1855, when he returned to Vinland.

The first school house was a frame building erected in 1847 on section nine, and Miss Lucy Alden was teacher. The school at Gillingham's Corner was erected in 1849, and Miss Elizabeth McLean taught the first school in the summer of 1849. Divine services were held by the celebrated missionary, Rev. O. P. Clinton, of Menasha. Mr. Watson Brown was elected the second chairman in the town.

The town was the scene of an exciting time when the little son of Alvin Partridge, living in the north part of the town, disappeared and was never found. It was afterward supposed that the child of Nahkom, a Menominee woman, was the lost Partridge boy, but the trial had to settle its nativity determined the child was not the lost white boy. Afterwards there were many exciting events surrounding this child, who was stolen and never

returned to its Indian mother. Mr. D. C. Church became the owner of the Alvin Partridge farm, three miles west of Gillingham's Corner.

About one mile north of Allenville there were in an early day ancient garden beds. On Payne's Point there are several conical mounds and some cairns.

Town of Winchester.

The town of Winchester is rolling high, rich, tillable land, covered with wide, well cultivated farms. A village of 100 has gathered about the postoffice at Winchester, where there are two general stores, a blacksmith shop and hardware store. Rat river runs through the town. The southern line of the town is partly the shore of Lake Winneconne. The population is 1,003, of whom 795 are native born and 766 born in this state. Of the number born on foreign lands, ninety-four are native to Norway, thirty-one to Denmark and sixty-three to Germany. There are a total of 21,000 acres in the town, of which 12,000 acres are improved and valued at $974,000. The harvest yields 77,000 bushels oats, 8,000 barley, 3,000 rye, 34,000 corn, 30,000 potatoes, and 5,000 tons hay. There are on the farms 622 horses, 3,000 cattle, and 3,000 hogs. The butter from the creamery sold for $12,000, and the product of five cheese factories brought $40,000.

The average sale of lands show the worth per acre as $71. The Norwegian Evangelical Lutheran society erected two brick churches. The first settlement in the town of Clayton was made by Mr. Jerome Hopkins in the winter of 1847, followed in the spring by Mr. Samuel Rogers and family. Mr. James H. Jones came soon after, followed by Mr. Charles Jones, his father. Mr. James H. Jones was afterward honored with many town and county offices, and held the position of receiver in the United States land office at Menasha.

The school district was set off in 1849 and a log school erected. The first religious service was held by Rev. Frederick Partridge in June, 1850, and during the same year Rev. Mary became the first resident pastor, and his wife the teacher in the log school house.

At Clark's Point, and for several miles along the shore of Lake Winneconne, on the border of this town, the shore is an abrupt bluff about fifty feet high. On the top of this bluff at Clark's Point there are several effigies and round mounds located in the picnic grounds.

Town of Winneconne.

The town of Winneconne is cut into on one side by Lake Winneconne, formed by a broad expansion of Wolf river as it empties from Lake Poygan. It covers about six sections of the town and adds greatly to its charm of border, and its boating and fishing. The confluence of the Wolf river with the Fox river occurs in the southern half of the town where the river silt has formed the only real marsh in the county. It is overgrown with the Folles Avoine, or Indian wild rice, which entices swarms of water fowl at all seasons of the year, making it the resort of sportsmen. There is a good channel for navigation of steamboats on the Fox river. Its entire length from Green Bay to Portage, a distance of over one hundred and sixty miles, made possible over its entire route by dams and locks of the Improvement company and now maintained and improved by the United States government, whose engineers are in charge. The Wolf river is navigable for light draught steamboats as far up stream as New London, a distance of forty-three miles above Winneconne.

The area north of the river rises abruptly to a height of about fifty feet, and toward the north line of the town by continued ridges and incline to an elevation of about one hundred and twenty feet above the lake. The panorama here presents a picturesque view of lake and river, with the finely improved and cultivated farms of this rich country seen over the region far and near. Ball Prairie occupies the elevated plateau and stretches away into Vinland. The name is derived from a string of thirteen mounds, which appeared to the surveyors as large balls. They were about four feet high, conical in shape and could be seen at a long distance. On this elevation stands the Cross limestone outcrop. Fine springs are common in the town and flowing wells can be had by boring.

The lands of the town are everywhere a rich glacial loam, and the farms under a high state of cultivation, with large handsome dwellings and commodious outbuildings.

The old Tomahawk trail passed through the corner of the town and passed the Fox river at Big Butte des Morts, as described in another place in this work. The site was near the line of the town of Oshkosh, near Overton's creek, in that town. The first settlement in the county was made here at the site of the present village of Butte des Morts, as previously described, by the trad-

ing post of Augustin Grignon, the exact location of which may have been just over the line in the town of Oshkosh. This post was under a license from the United States factor at Mackinac island, as the lands were then Indian lands, and no land title could be acquired. Augustin Grignon owned a large tract of land on which Butte des Morts is located, and at one time secured the location of the county seat at this village, and it was a strong rival to Oshkosh. Winneconne village was the site of the government blacksmith shop of the famous blacksmith, Joseph Jourdain, a site which he sold in 1849 to John Lawe Williams, the only son of Eleazer Williams, the lost dauphin.

Until after the treaty of Poygan no settlement could be made west of the river. For this reason the first rush of pioneers was over the lands east of the river and lake. The first settlers in the town was Augustin Grignon and wife, and L. B. Porlier and wife, all of whom are dead anad lie buried just over the line at Butte des Morts. The pioneer of the east was led by Samuel Champion and his son John, who, with Samuel Lobb, located in the town March, 1846. The following May Mr. George Bell and family arrived from Toronto, Canada. Mrs. Bell was the first white woman to locate in the town; and in the fall, when her husband suffered from ague, she harvested the crop of wheat, cutting the grain with the old-fashioned scythe; and in September, when she was the only well person in the town, she yoked the oxen and, loading a grist into the wagon, drove it to Neenah, thirteen miles away, across the country, as there was no road. She returned the same night with the flour and grist, reaching home in the dark at midnight.

About three weeks after the advent of the Bell family, Mr. Greenbury Wright and family, and his brother, Dr. Aaron B. Wright, better known as "Little Doctor Wright," arrived from Ohio and selected a farm on the present site of the village of Butte des Morts. Greenbury Wright was born November 19, 1808, and died January 4, 1884. With his brother they were the second party of whites to settle in the town of Winneconne. He acted as first justice of the peace, elected in 1847, and was chairman of the first town meeting in 1848. The first religious meeting in the town was held at his house in 1846 by Rev. Dunadate, a Methodist. As justice he performed the first marriage ceremony in the town in 1847. He sold his land on which he first settled, which was a pre-emption in section twenty-four, and purchased his farm in section thirteen in 1865. Dr. Aaron B. Wright

moved to Oshkosh, where he was one of the foremost physicians until his death April 2, 1886.

In the year of 1846 a large colony arrived, consisting of Julius Ashby, Lafayette McConifer, Stephen Allen, William Caulkins, Edwin Bolden, George Snider and George Cross. In the spring of 1847 Mr. John Cross, and in 1848 Mr. William Cross and family, all brothers, took up lands as neighbors. William was killed a few years later by the kick of a horse. The Cross family has always held a high position in the town. Mr. George Cross was a surveyor, millwright and miller by trade, and in his travels had picked up a wide acquaintance among public men, having become acquainted with Stephen A. Douglas, Gov. James D. Doty, Bishop Chase, a brother of Salmon P. Chase, and many other public men.

The first school house of the town was erected at Cotton's Corners in 1848. Two years later the people at the village of Winneconne erected a frame shanty sixteen by twenty feet, in which the first schoolmaster was William Mumbrue. This school house was used for religious meetings and other gatherings. There were in 1878 six school houses in the town, with 800 scholars and eleven teachers, including those in the villages. The population of the town is 655, of whom 547 are native born and 69 native to Germany. The town comprises 13,625 acres, of which 10,000 acres are improved, valued at $928,000. The crops raised in 1905 were 2,700 bushels wheat, 78,000 oats, 16,000 barley, 45,000 corn, 10,000 potatoes, 2,900 apples, and 4,000 tons hay. Of live stock the town contained 494 horses, 2,200 cattle, 1,700 hogs, 803 sheep. Eleven thousand fowl produced 22,000 dozen eggs, and 1,394 milch cows yield 13,700 pounds of butter. The two creameries received $15,000 and the four cheese factories $21,000 for their butter and cheese.

The town is rich in archeological data, and exhibits much evidence of long residence by aboriginals. There was no great hill of the dead or Big Butte des Morts at the place by that name or at any place about the lake of that name, and the origin of the name for these places is a mystery. There were low mounds on the site of the village of Butte des Morts, which is almost a mile up the Fox river from the large lake of that name. These low mounds are described by Hon. James G. Pickett as being one oblong mound about 150 feet long by twenty wide, and about five feet high, surrounded by several smaller circular mounds. All of these could be seen from the river. There is no such

mound as described by Dr. I. A. Lapham in "Antiquities of Wisconsin," 1850; "near the head of this lake is the mound from which its name is derived on the north or left bank of the river." No such mound ever existed at any place about the shore of Big Lake Butte des Morts. The lake was first named, and the village was named from the lake several years afterwards. There was a graveyard on the site of the village of Butte des Morts, as the large amount of aboriginal artifacts unearthed in the gardens shows. Mr. Benedict of that place has recovered a fine collection of relics from these fields and gardens. It is not certain that the mounds from which Ball Prairie takes its name are artificial. No research report has been made on them.

The most interesting of all the aboriginal remains are the shell heaps which were about the shore of the lake and the river in the village of Winneconne, and extended and still can be found at intervals all around the east and north shore of Lake Winneconne as far as the boom. In this town those on the southwest quarter of section ten are the best preserved, on the lands formerly owned by Mrs. R. Lasley. These shell heaps are composed of sand and mussel shell native to the adjacent waters. The clams were eaten by the aboriginal and the shells dropped to the ground, and the circle or extent of the shell heaps is supposed to represent approximately the limits of the tent-shaped hoop and bark tepee of the native. As these shell heaps mark the floors of the living place of these ancient people, they now yield many lost implements and works of art once possessed by these stranger races. A limited search of these shell heaps has recovered a number of bone implements, decorated bones, fragments of pottery vessels, some decorated with cloth fabric, two ivory harpoons and several copper spear or lance points. Some of these heaps are still two feet high. Near these shell heaps are several cairns or stone heap burials, also stone circles, and the long aboriginal corn rows, and some artificial depressions.

Butte des Morts Hamlet.

The plat of the village of Butte des Morts was recorded in the office of the register of deeds at Oshkosh July 5, 1848, Augustin Grignon proprietor. In March, 1871, the village of Butte des Morts was incorporated by an act of the legislature. These were the flush days of the riverside hamlet. The first postoffice in the town of Winneconne was located at Butte des Morts, in June,



James L. Clark

1849, with Augustin Grignon as postmaster. Mr. F. F. Hamlin erected the first frame building in the town of Winneconne at Butte des Morts, and occupied it with a stock of merchandise. In the same village the first saw mill was constructed and operated by Smith and Bennett in February, 1850, their saw logs coming from the Wolf river. It was first operated in August, 1850. The machinery came from Detroit by boat. The village now has a population of 120, and contains two general stores, a blacksmith shop, and a country hotel, famous for its duck dinners.

The Village of Winneconne.

The village of Winneconne was first a blacksmith shop site, selected by the government under the Menominee treaty of 1836, in which it was spelled Wah-ne-kun-nah, at least that was the name given to the lake in the treaty, at the lower end of which the payments were to be made to the Menominee Indians of $20,000 per annum for the term of twenty years. This part of the treaty was subsequently modified. The place named was the site of the present village of Winneconne. It was on the west side of the river that Joseph Jourdain built his blacksmith shop as blacksmith at $400 per annum to the Indians. This was under authority of this same treaty, which reads: "Also to appoint and pay two blacksmiths, to be located at such places as may be designated by the said superintendent, to erect and supply with the necessary quantity of iron, steel and tools two blacksmith shops during the same term." Both of these shops were located on the west side of the Wolf river on the present site of Winneconne.

The writer has before him now what is possibly the first instrument ever made between white men dealing with property on the west bank of the Wolf river. The name of the village is given as Waynaconnah. This deed is written by F. J. Woutman, who long acted as the private secretary of Eleazer Williams, the Lost Dauphin. It is made and signed by Joseph Jourdain, the nestor among Wisconsin blacksmiths. It deeds lands to John L. Williams, the only descendant of Eleazer Williams, who, if he had his own, would have been the Duke of Normandy, and the Dauphin of France. It is witnessed by Eleazer Williams, the reputed Louis XVII, the lost King of France.

The deed gives to John Lawe Williams for $168.69 all the claim, right or title of Joseph Jourdain "to that parcel of land

lying and being at Waynaconnah (where the blacksmith shop of the Indians now stands) on the west side of the Wolf river, containing 160 acres, more or less, together with a dwelling house, outhouses and improvements on the same." This warrantee deed was made August 7, 1849. It was not acknowledged before a notary and was never recorded. These lands were held by John L. Williams for a good many years and platted as Williamsport. He sold the land for a handsome figure and moved to Oshkosh. In "Prince or Creole" the author has collected all the data relating to this celebrated family.

The first settlement on the east bank of the river on the site of the present village of Winneconne was made by Jeremiah Pritchett in 1847 by the erection of a log cabin. Two years later Mr. C. R. Hamlin converted the government blacksmith shop on the west side of the river into a residence and tavern. The same season of 1849 E. D. Gumaer erected a frame house, and at the same time Mr. Charles L. Gumaer and John Atchley were erecting frame houses. The Mumbrues erected a hotel the same season, and Mr. John Scott opened a general store, and Mr. H. C. Rogers opened a second store. The postoffice was established at the village in 1850, with Joseph Edwards as postmaster. This office was located by the aid of Gov. James D. Doty, who gave it the name of Wanekuna, or so he spelled the name, which was long before attached to the lake in the treaty of 1836. This same year Mr. C. Mumbrue built a chair factory run by horsepower, and the Hyde Brothers built a saw mill. The float bridge was put across the Wolf river in 1855 by a stock company under the management of Judge J. D. Rush. The present bridge was built in 1871 at a cost of $18,000.

The Hyde Brothers built a steam saw mill in 1850. It is said that as log cabins were all the style those days, the saw mills at Oshkosh, Algoma, Butte des Morts with this new steam mill overstocked the market and broke down the lumber business and caused a failure of the mill.

The land on the west side of the river came into the market in 1852. In 1850 the Presbyterian church was organized by Rev. Robinson. During the same year the Methodists organized under Rev. J. C. Simcox, an English Wesleyan Methodist.

The village has always had water navigation, and for many years it has been served by a stage route from Oshkosh both summer and winter. The C., M. & St. P. railway was built into the village in 1868, connecting it with the outside world. This

is the terminal of this branch of the road. The village plat of Winneconne was recorded October 15, 1849, by Hoel S. Wright and E. Gordon, proprietors. The plat of Williamsport was not recorded until 1866. A company of capitalists from Ripon purchased the land of John L. Williams, unplatted, and recorded the Ripon plat in 1868. The village of Winneconne now has a population of 1,042, and contains some handsome residences and numerous business and mercantile establishments. Mr. R. B. Crowe is the editor of the "Item." The Union Bank of Winneconne has a capital stock of $10,000. W. K. Ridiout, of Oshkosh, is president, and George H. Miller, cashier. There is also a flour mill and canning factory. The hotel is the resort of tourists, hunters and fishermen from the larger cities coming here for recreation and sport.

Town of Wolf River.

The town of Wolf River is named for the Wolf river, which runs through the town, cutting it in two parts, and remains unbridged in the town. Lake Poygan's shore borders the whole of its south line. The Rat river runs through its eastern sections into the Wolf river. The town is well watered and contains rich black soil yielding large crops. There is a postoffice at Orihula, the name formerly given to the town and the hamlet formerly known as Merton's Landing, named for the first settler of the town, whose place was at that point on the Wolf river. It has a population of fifty, one general store and a blacksmith shop. Its railroad station is at Weyauwega, twelve miles away. There is also communication with the outside world by steamboat on the Wolf river. There is also a postoffice at Zitteau, and at Zoar, on the boom, William Spiegleberg's old station, once a very promising place because of the boomage of logs in the bay fronting the site. The population of the town of Wolf river is 902, of which 212 are born in Germany, and although 678 were born in Wisconsin, they are mostly of German descent. Of the total of 16,000 acres in the town there are 7,000 acres improved and valued at $700,000. The town grows annually 46,000 bushels of oats, 11,000 barley, 6,000 rye, 29,000 corn, 40,000 potatoes and 4,300 tons of hay. The stock of the town is listed at 504 horses, 2,600 cattle, 1,600 hogs and 1,000 sheep. There are also 1,500 milch cows, which produce 28,000 pounds of butter, and 8,500 fowls, producing 28,000 dozen eggs. The sales of the seven cheese factories amount to $51,000.

The first settler in the town was Andrew Merton, who located at Merton's Landing, on Wolf river, in the fall of 1849. He was soon joined by Albert Neuschoeffer and Herman Page, who also came from Sheboygan county. Charles Boyson and family settled along the river the same fall. Their grist was taken in boats down the river to the mill of D. W. Forman & Co., at Algoma, in a home-made dugout or canoe carved from a solid log. In 1851 the steamer Berlin commenced regular trips up the river, and outside communication was more pleasant. There is no railroad in the town. The town was not settled very soon and it was 1858 before the first school was opened by Mary Hayers at her home, and the first public school building was erected in 1859. For many years there was only one Republican voter in the town and he was the postmaster. There are two German Protestant churches in the town. The United States mail rural delivery is extended into the town from Freemont and Larson.

At the old bay boom site, on the property of Mr. Charles Richter, there is the most extensive shell heap field in the whole state. It covers an area of 300 acres. The heaps are of various sizes from level with the soil to three and four feet high. On the residence site of Mr. Richter there is an ancient aboriginal burial ground. Many skeletons and a mass of relics have been unearthed in the garden, consisting of copper, stone and shell implements and pottery sherds.

Bay Boom.

In the southern part of this town the Wolf river enters Lake Poygan through a long sweep of marsh land seven miles along the river. Off to the south of the winding swirl of the river Bay Boom sets up into the marsh from the lake to almost within half a mile of the river. By cutting a canal through the sand from the river into this bay a land-locked, quiet place was secured for booming the millions of logs from the white pine forests which came sweeping down the river each season, the harvest of 2,000 woodsmen who had sawed and skidded all through the winter in the great forests along the river. From the graphic sketch of the booming and handling of these millions of logs, written by Charles G. Finney in the "History of Oshkosh," issued by Finney & Davis in 1866, we copy the following:

"Another prominent feature in our lumber trade is the 'Wolf River Boom Company.' This company was incorporated in 1857, J. H. Weed, president. It occupies that part of the Wolf river above Lake Poygan, a distance of three and one-half miles, the cutoff or canal one-eighth of a mile, and a bay at the northeast point of the lake (Poygan) now known as Boom Bay, and extending southwards from the cutoff two miles. In this bay the rafts are mostly made up, and to say acres of logs conveys but a slight idea of the magnitude of the company operations. This cutoff, the spiling and booming of the bay and the river above has cost the company $20,000 and has so systematized and facilitated the business of making up the 'fleets' of logs ready for towing that, compared to a former period, the business is now done at a less expense, a saving of time and a saving of logs to the owners. It has until a year or two since been the practice of the boom company to collect the logs and make up the rafts for those running logs to market, and receiving from 40 to 50 cents per thousand feet as a reimbursement; but that practice is mostly abandoned. Now each man or company owning the logs has men all along at the booms on the bay and river above for some miles to gather up the logs as they come along, turn them into their respective booms, where they are rafted, and hung outside the booms in the bay, and are there made up into what is called 'fleets.' For furnishing such facilities and conveniences the company receive 10 cents per thousand feet, amounting to a large sum in the season. The hardwood logs are cribbed above and brought down in that shape, when they are run directly through the cutoff without rafting, and pay toll of 25 cents per crib, or $1 per raft. But the greater part of the logs are gathered and rafted as before described.

"The canal or cutoff is one-eighth of a mile long and is 100 feed wide. It connects Boom bay, or the northeastern bay of Lake Poygan, with the Wolf river above, where the river takes a sharp turn to the southwest, and shortens the distance of navigation seven miles, two and one-half miles of river, and a round about trip through Lake Poygan, and making nearly a straight course with the river above through Lakes Poygan and Winneconne. Though the greater part of the rafting is done at the bay, the river above the cutoff and between that and the lake, comprising a distance of about three and one-half miles, is prepared for this purpose by a continuous boom some ten feet from the river bank, making a race through which all logs pass. Out-

side this boom the rafts are made up belonging to the different owners, and hundreds of men may be seen standing at their respective posts watching closely every log for the owner's mark and shoving it on its journey to the next when its ownership is not recognized. When their raft is full, made up in this way, it is shoved across the channel and 'hung,' to be taken through the canal in that shape, and to be made up into 'fleets' in the bay below. The river from its turn to the lake, some two miles, presents one solid mass of logs, which are also rafted and taken round through the lake to the bay aforesaid. It is difficult to convey to the mind of the reader a correct idea of this laborious process. It must be seen to be appreciated, and to take a view of the hundreds of small houses all afloat on the rafts, in which men, apparently happy, spend their lives, is but to impress the beholder with a full sense of the magnitude of the work and the mode of life of thousands of river men in the lumber trade.

"That there are two miles and a half of the river occupied in making up the rafts and two miles of Boom bay below the cutoff used for the same purpose. Sixty companies are engaged in getting out and running down logs. There are facilities for making up at the same time 150 rafts, which are made up and 'hung' outside the booms for 'fleeting.' Half a million of logs in number pass through the cutoff in one season. One hundred and fifty million feet of logs got out is a fair estimate for this year. Two thousand men are engaged yearly in the logging business. Three hundred men are engaged in rafting at the bay. Average wages per day is $2.

"Logs taken in fleets from this bay by tugs to Oshkosh cost 15 to 20 cents; to Fond du Lac, 40 to 50 cents; Neenah and Menasha, 40 to 50 cents. Fleets comprising from 2,000,000 to 3,000,000 feet are brought down by a single tug. The prominent appendage of a tug is her 'grouser,' which an old 'salt' would call a 'juy mast.' After the boat is attached to the fleet she is run out to the length of her tow line and this perpendicular fixture (grouser) is then let down directly through the forward part of the boat, and being armed with a steel point, sinks deep into the sand or mud and, like a kedge anchor, holds the boat fast; then the machinery for increased power, operated on by steam, winds up the line and moves the fleet so much. Then before the momentum is lost the boat has hauled up her 'grouser,' gone ahead and ready to give another pull—a somewhat slow but powerful method of moving logs. It is only through the

lakes that this is done. On the river the fleets have to be divided into rafts or cribs on account of the narrowness and meandering of the channel, as well as in order to pass through the bridges, after which they are regularly towed and not 'groused,' as in the case of the fleets. There is no 'tug' on the river with a draft and capacity adapted to the business that could move one of these 'fleets,' hence the 'grouser' is an important member.

"A crib of logs is nearly square and of a size according to the length of the timbers or poles used to fasten them together, the logs being only held in their places by such timbers, size usually about twenty to thirty feet square.

"A raft consists of several of these cribs, sometimes to the number of hundreds, generally rearranged and fastened together by traverse sticks or poles running across and holding the logs securely in their places, the length depending on the number of logs belonging to the party or parties employing the tug. Rafts half a mile in length are a common sight on the river.

"A 'fleet' is any number of these rafts that may be attached (temporarily) to save time in towing them through the lakes, covering thousands of feet square, according to the power of the tug employed. Cribs of timber, posts or ties are similar to a crib of logs in size and shape, but laid one course above the other consistent with the depth of the water."

XXIII.

CITY OF NEENAH.

Making the Menominee Treaty Under Which the Mission of Winnebago Rapids Was Founded.

When the first of modern pioneers appeared at Winnebago Rapids, the future Neenah, in 1843, they found there a deserted town containing thirty-four block houses, a sawmill, a grist mill, a wing dam and a canal, a blacksmith shop and a wealth of iron, plows, shovels and tools. The owls and bats lingered about the open windows, and all this phantom village lay quiet and abandoned like a ghost town along the forest shore of the wide river tumbling over the Puant rapids from broad Winnebago lake into the Little Lake Butte des Morts.

The history of how this all came about is one that reaches even back to those early days in pioneer New England, when Eliot translated the Bible into the aboriginal tongue and first preached to the natives in their own language, if one chooses to follow the study in missionary work so far away. It also reveals to us the noble names of Jonathan Edwards and the Sargeants and Occum and Fowler gathering the remnants of the broken tribes of the East into the missions of Brothertown and Stockbridge, and Eleazer Williams, the lost dauphin, sweeping in ten months the Oneida into the Christian fold. By 1820 this host of savage tribes known to history as the Pequots and Iroquois and the six nations were seeking a Western home, and their advance agent, Rev. Jedidiah Morse, father of the inventor, had selected the Fox river valley and advised them to settle there, "as they would never again be disturbed by white men, it was so far away." The delegates, led by the great missionary, Eleazer Williams, had arranged with the Menominee band of Winnebago for the five-mile ribbon of land crossing the river at Little Chute and extending from Lake Michigan to the Mississippi river. Later the Menominee had ceded to the New York Indians, as they were collectively named, a right as tenants in common to all their possessions for the value in goods of $2,000. Part of

the history of this interesting subject has been told in another chapter, and the student must be referred to other works for further details.

This was in part the situation of the affairs of the Menominee tribe when Col. Samuel C. Stambaugh, of Pennsylvania, came to Green Bay in 1829 to take charge of the United States Indian agency. "His advice to the Menominee was to repudiate entirely and at once all claim of the New York Indians; to repair to Washington, make a treaty with the Great Father for the sale of part of their country, and so secure large annual payments in money, as other tribes were doing, and have something to live on as well as clothe their women and children. It was unnecessary for him to repeat this advice. The whole tribe adopted it at once," says Gen. Albert G. Ellis. In the fall of the year 1830 Colonel Stambaugh, with the chiefs of the Menominee, headed by old Iometah, who took his wife with him, sailed from Green Bay for Detroit, where Governor Lewis Cass, of the Michigan territory, which included the territory afterward set off into Wisconsin, added Hon. R. A. Forsyth and Hon. John T. Mason, afterward Governor, to the party to represent the Government. Rev. Eleazer Williams and wife, with two Oneida Indians who had followed the Stambaugh delegation, were added to the delegation by Governor Cass. At Washington President Andrew Jackson named Major John H. Eaton, Secretary of War, and Colonel Stambaugh commissioners to treat with the Indians. A treaty was soon made in which the Menominee ceded to the United States more than half of their possessions in Wisconsin, taking but slight notice of the rights of the New York Indians. For this reason its ratification was opposed by the New York senators in the senate, as also the confirmation of Colonel Stambaugh as Indian agent. As a compromise an amendment was added giving the New York Indians an undesirable tract forty miles square in the northwest; but the opposition was not satisfied and the treaty was held up, while Colonel Stambaugh's nomination was defeated. This treaty, dated February 8, 1831, known as the Stambaugh, or treaty of Washington, was finally ratified by the senate July 9, 1832. That the reader may the better understand the subject and objects of this important treaty resulting in the founding of Neenah, the first village in this county, we give here a complete copy of the instrument, omitting the first three articles, the essential parts of which have been given in another chapter.

Stambaugh Treaty.

The Stambaugh treaty, concluded February 8, 1831; ratified July 9, 1832:

"Articles of agreement made and concluded at the city of Washington, this 8th day of February, 1831, between John H. Eaton, Secretary of War, and Samuel C. Stambaugh, Indian agent at Green Bay, specially authorized by the President of the United States and the undersigned chiefs and head men of the Menominee Nation of Indians, fully authorized and empowered by the said nation to conclude and settle all matters provided for by this agreement. * * *

"Fourth. The following described tract of land, at present owned and occupied by the Menominee Indians, shall be set apart and designated for their future homes, upon which their improvements as an agricultural people are to be made: Beginning on the west side of Fox river at the 'Old Mill Dam,' near the 'Little Kackalin,' and running up and along said river to the Winnebago lake; thence along said lake to the mouth of Fox river; thence up Fox river to the Wolf river to a point southwest of the west corner of the tract herein designated for the New York Indians; thence northeast to said west corner; thence southeast to the place of beginning; the above reservation being made to the Menominee Indians for the purpose of weaning them from their wandering habits, by attaching them to comfortable homes, the President of the United States, as a mark of affection for his children of the Menominee tribe, will cause to be employed five farmers of established character for capacity, industry and moral habits for ten successive years, whose duty it shall be to assist the Menominee Indians in the cultivation of their farms and to instruct their children in the business and occupation of farming; also five females shall be employed of like good character for the purpose of teaching young Menominee women in the business of useful housewifery during a period of ten years. The annual compensation allowed to the farmers shall not exceed $500 and that of the females $300. And the United States will cause to be erected houses suited to their condition on said lands as soon as the Indians agree to occupy them, for which $10,000 shall be appropriated; also houses for the farmers, for which $3,000 shall be appropriated, to be expended under the direction of the Secretary of War. Whenever the Menominees thus settle their lands they shall be supplied

with useful household articles, horses, cows, hogs and sheep, farming utensils and other articles of husbandry necessary to their comfort, to the value of $6,000; and they desire that some suitable device may be stamped upon such articles to preserve them from sale or barter to evil disposed white persons, none of which, nor any other articles with which the United States may at any time furnish them, shall be liable to sale or be disposed of or bargained without permission of the agent, the whole to be under the immediate care of the farmers employed to remain among said Indians, but subject to the general control of the United States Indian agent at Green Bay, acting under the Secretary of War. The United States will erect a grist and sawmill on Fox river for the benefit of the Menominee Indians and employ a good miller, subject to the direction of the agent, whose business it shall be to grind the grain required for the use of the Menominee Indians and saw the lumber necessary for building on their lands, as also to instruct such young men of the Menominee Nation as desire to and conveniently can be instructed in the trade of a miller. The expenses of erecting such mills and a house for the miller to reside in shall not exceed $6,000, and the annual compensation of the miller shall be $600, to continue for ten years. And if the mills so erected by the United States can saw more lumber or grind more grain than is required for the proper use of said Menominee Indians, the proceeds of such milling shall be applied to the payment of other expenses occurring in the Green Bay agency under the direction of the Secretary of War.

"In addition to the above provision made for the Menominee Indians, the President of the United States will cause articles of clothing to be distributed among their tribe at Green Bay within six months from the date of this agreement to the amount of $8,000, and flour and wholesome provisions to the amount of $1,000, to be paid in specie; the cost of the transportation of the clothing and provisions to be included in the sum expended. There shall also be allowed annually thereafter for the space of twelve successive years to the Menominee tribe, in such manner and form as the President of the United States shall deem most beneficial and advantageous to the Indians, the sum of $6,000. As a matter of great importance to the Menominees there shall be one or more gun and blacksmith shops erected, to be supplied with a necessary quantity of iron and steel, which, with a shop at Green Bay, shall be kept for the use of the tribe and con-

tinued at the discretion of the President of the United States. There shall also be a house for an interpreter to reside in erected at Green Bay, the expenses not to exceed $500.

"Fifth. In the treaty of Butte des Morts, concluded in August, 1827, an article is contained appropriating $1,500 annually for the support of schools in the Menominee country; and the representatives of the Menominee Nation who are parties hereto require, and it is agreed to, that said appropriation shall be increased $500 and continued for ten years from this date, to be placed in the hands of the Secretary of War in trust for the exclusive use and benefit of the Menominee tribe of Indians, and to be applied by him to the education of the children of the Menominee Indians in such manner as he may deem most advisable.

Sixth. The Menominee tribe of Indians shall be at liberty to hunt and fish on the lands they have now ceded to the United States on the east side of Fox river and Green Bay with the same privileges they at present enjoy until it be surveyed and offered for sale by the President, then conducting themselves peaceably and orderly. The chiefs and warriors of the Menominee Nation, acting under the authority and on behalf of their tribe, solemnly pledge themselves to preserve peace and harmony between their people and the Government of the United States forever. They neither acknowledge the power nor protection of any other state or people. A departure from this pledge by any portion of their tribe shall be a forfeiture of the protection of the United States Government, and their annuities will cease. In thus declaring their friendship for the United States, however, the Menominee tribe of Indians, having the most implicit confidence in their Great Father, the President of the United States, desire that he will, as a kind and faithful guardian of their welfare, direct the provisions of this compact to be carried into immediate effect. The Menominee chiefs request that such part of it as relates to the New York Indians be immediately submitted to the representatives of their tribes; and if they refuse to accept the provisions made for their benefit and to remove upon the lands set apart for them, on the west side of Fox river, that he will direct their immediate removal from the Menominee country; but if they agree to accept of the liberal offer made to them by the parties to this compact, then the Menominee tribe, as dutiful children of their Great Father, the President, will take

them by the hand as brothers and settle down with them in peace and friendship.

"The boundary, as stated and defined in this agreement of the Menominee country, with the exception of the cessions hereinbefore made to the United States, the Menominees claim as their country that part of it adjoining the farming country on the west side of Fox river, will remain to them as heretofore for a hunting ground until the President of the United States shall deem it expedient to extinguish their title. In that case the Menominee tribe promise to surrender it immediately upon being notified of the desire of the Government to possess it. The additional annuity then to be paid to the Menominee tribe to be fixed by the President of the United States. It is conceded to the United States that they may enjoy the right of making such roads and of establishing such military posts in any part of the country now occupied by the Menominee Nation as the President at any time may think proper. As a further earnest of the good feeling on the part of their Great Father it is agreed that the expenses of the Menominee delegation to the city of Washington and of returning will be paid, and that a comfortable suit of clothes will be provided for each; also that the United States will cause $4,000 to be expended in procuring fowling guns and ammunition for them; and likewise, in lieu of any garrison rations hereafter allowed or received by them, there shall be procured and given to said tribe $1,000 worth of goods and wholesome provisions annually for four years, by which time it is hoped their hunting habits may cease and their attention be turned to the pursuits of agriculture. In testimony whereof, the respective parties to this agreement have severally signed the same this 8th day of February, 1831.

"John H. Eaton.
"S. C. Stambaugh.
"Kaush-kau-no-naive, Grizzly Bear (his x mark).
"A-ya-mah-taw, Fish Spawn (his x mark) (Iometah).
"Ko-ma-ni-kin, Big Wave (his x mark).
"Ko-ma-ni-kee-no-shah, Little Wave (his x mark).
"O-ho-pa-shah, Little Whoop (his x mark).
"Ah-ke-ne-pa-weh, Earth Standing (his x mark).
"Shaw-wan-noh, The South (his x mark) (Shawano).
"Nash-ke-wet (his x mark).
"Pah-she-nah-sheu (his x mark).

"Chi-ni-na-na-quet, Great Cloud (his x mark).
"Ah-ke-ne-pa-weh, Earth Standing (his x mark).
"Sha-ka-cho-ka-mo, Great Chief (his x mark).

"Signed, sealed and delivered in presence of:
"R. A. Forsyth, Interpreter.
"C. A. Grignon, Interpreter.
"A. G. Ellis, Interpreter.
"Richard Prickett, U. S. Interpreter (his x mark).
"William Wilkins, of Pennsylvania.
"Samuel Swarthout, of New York.
"John T. Mason, Michigan.
"Rh. M. Johnson, Kentucky."

XXIV.

FOUNDING THE MISSION OF WINNEBAGO RAPIDS.

It was under this treaty that Winnebago Rapids was selected for the mission to the Menominee, in which they were to be instructed in civilized ways. Desirous of learning something of this settlement not found in the ordinary sources, Dr. Reuben G. Thwaites and Miss Louise Phelps Kellogg, of the Wisconsin Historical Society, were asked to assist in the search for the original records. The former advised a correspondence with Dr. J. W. Cheney, librarian of the War Department at Washington. His letter advises that "Upon the receipt of your letter of inquiry, dated October 2, immediate search was made in this library for the desired information, then application was made to the office of Indian Affairs, and there we struck considerable red tape, which has delayed definite results until now. The enclosed letter is self-explanatory and will put you in touch with the right man for any information not available in printed form."

This communication coming to the attention of the acting commissioner of Indian affairs of the Department of the Interior, elicited this following letter:

"Mr. James W. Cheney,
"Librarian, War Department Library,
"War Department, Washington, D. C.

"Sir—Through Mr. E. M. Dawson, chief clerk of the Interior Department, this office is in receipt of the request made of you on October 2 by Mr. P. V. Lawson for certain references in annual reports on Indian affairs from 1832 to 1844.

"He wishes references to published reports referring to a mission among the Menominees at Winnebago Rapids and the building there by the Government of the dam, mill and block houses.

"A search has been made through all the annual reports relating to Indian affairs published by the War Department from 1832 to 1842, and no mention of this subject is found. There is undoubtedly some unpublished matter in regard to it in the

office files, and if Mr. Lawson will say just what facts or dates he specially wants verified I will try and have them looked up for him. Yours respectfully, C. F. LARRABEE,
"Acting Commissioner."

Complete search of all published reports has thus failed to discover any reference to this mission at Winnebago Rapids. Further effort was made to obtain an examination of unpublished documents, and this is going on now and may result in finding the original reports on this mission. It was felt that this founding of the first real settlement of the second most populous county in the state was an important subject of history not only locally, but in the history of the state and the West, and for this reason unusual effort was urged on the department to search out the original documents. In this view of the subject Dr. Cheney concurred and kindly writes: "It seems to me that your letter of October 25 to Hon. C. F. Larrabee, office of the Indian Department, will elicit all the information desired. If, however, you fail in that direction, let me know and I will make further efforts, because I appreciate the historical value of your work possibly more than the average department official, who is likely to take a greater interest in routine duties than historical studies."

Failing to discover the original reports, the historical mention of the mission has been examined with the government surveys. The map of Winnebago Rapids is Captain Cram's survey made in 1839 shows a row of houses along the river bank on what is now Wisconsin street. They extended from the bay in front of the residence of John Stevens west along the street as far as the crossing of the Northwestern railway and were ten in number. At the foot of the rapids the grist and saw mill are indicated and the dwelling of the miller afterward occupied by Mr. Loyal Jones. The race or canal is shown on this map in its present location, and the wing dam extending into the river above about 900 feet and nearly half way across the stream, approximately on the location of the more substantial dam afterward constructed by Mr. Jones. The map of the United States Government survey made of town 20, range 17, on south side of the south outlet of Fox river and west of Little Lake Butte des Morts by Garret Vliet in 1839, sets down all the block houses of the mission of Winnebago Rapids. It locates the buildings above given and in addition ten block houses extending through

the present Riverside park, as Mr. A. Duane Clinton says, from the council tree through the forest and across the present Wisconsin street to Doty street on the south. At the head of Wisconsin street there was a double two-story building, which was afterward occupied by Governor Harrison Reed for eighteen years. Another two-story block house stood on the bank of Little Lake Butte des Morts on the site of the present stove foundry of Bergstrom Bros. On the west side of Little Lake Butte des Morts a row of nine block houses extended from the site of the present brickyard of Louis Hanke, formerly the home of Joseph Jourdain, who occupied one of the houses, north along the shore of the lake. A larger block house was located on the hill near the stone house built in 1861 by Mr. Blair at the Springs and was later occupied by Mr. Blair. Another block house was located further north at the Hill of the Dead, later occupied by Mr. Samuel Neff. This map locates the blacksmith shop on the shore at the foot of the rapids near the mills. This map also shows a "bridge" over the slough and names all these houses as "farm houses," and shows the "mill race" and "wing dam." These houses were called block houses, as distinguished from the common log house of unfinished logs, because they were made of hewn timbers, and though put up by locking the ends of the timber and with split shingle, yet they were regarded as a grade better than the common log house. Made in that way the interior could be finished and even plastered. Most of the buildings were sixteen by twenty feet in size. The larger buildings were for the teachers and farmers and the smaller houses intended as homes for the savages and to show them the method of building houses. But the Indians preferred their tepee, which they erected in the yard near the houses and, tearing up the floors of the block houses, stabled their ponies in them. There were thirty-five dwellings erected in manner above mentioned.

Contract to erect the buildings for the mission was let to Gen. William Dickinson, who had arrived in Green Bay with a stock of provisions and groceries in the fall of 1820, being the second American storekeeper, Daniel Whitney being the first, who arrived in the summer of the same year. In 1859 Mr. Whitney was still alive, but Dickinson had died in 1849. In 1827 during the Winnebago outbreak Gen. Dickinson and Col. Ebenezer Childs raised a company of sixty-two Oneida and Stockbridge Indians, which was mustered into Colonel Whistler's detachment at the Little Butte des Morts, from whence they marched to Portage,

where Colonel Childs received the surrender of Red Bird and his fellow murderers. In 1824 Gen. William Dickinson lived at Shantytown, Menomineeville, or Allouez, about two miles above Green Bay, as variously called, which was likewise the home of the English speaking colony, Governor Doty, Mr. Whitney, Robert Irwin, senior and junior, and their wives. Mr. Whitney and Mr. Irwin each had a store. About 1830 General Dickinson removed to Depere. He seems to have been the successful bidder for the construction of the mission buildings at Winnebago Rapids. Engaging a force of about forty mechanics, they set to work to construct the buildings for the mission—the sawmill with its up-and-down saw, grist mill with one run of buhr stone, the blacksmith shop, the wing dam and the canal. This was a large undertaking in those days and required a large amount of capital or a large credit, as $19,000 had been set apart for the work, and before the work was complete the contract was transferred to Daniel Whitney, of Green Bay. The accounts differ as to the date of the commencement of the enterprise, but 1834 seems to be the most correct date, and it was not finished in 1836 when Mr. Gallup passed that way, a few months before Governor Dodge made the treaty with the Menominee by which the mission was abandoned. Mr. Henry A. Gallup says when he passed through Winnebago Rapids there was "quite a village." "Here the Government had built a grist and sawmill and had commenced the building of a large number of small log houses for the Menominee Indians, which were in different stages of completion when the work was stopped by the Indians consenting to sell the lands to the Government. Some of the houses the Indians had taken possession of by tearing out the floors and pitching their tents on the ground inside the walls." The "farmers were the only inhabitants of the place, at the house of one of whom, Mr. Clark Dickinson, we were welcomed and furnished with our dinner."

The farmers appointed under the treaty to act as teachers of agriculture to the Indians were Henry Baird, Nathaniel Perry, General Ruggles, Rev. Clark Dickinson and Robert Irwin, Sr. A short character sketch of these pioneer residents of Neenah will be of interest at this late date. General Ruggles and Gov. James D. Doty both married sisters, two of the daughters of General Collins, of New York, and sisters of Judge Alexander Collins. General Ruggles settled in Fond du Lac in 1842. Nathaniel Perry, one of the farmers, moved into one of the

houses in 1834 with his family. He afterward remained a resident of the county and was one of the commissioners to locate a county seat. Clark Dickinson afterward took up land in Black Wolf in 1841 and held many important offices in the county in pioneer days. He died there about 1870. Rev. Clark Dickinson was the first Methodist divine in the county and preached nearly every week until his death. He preached in this county nearly a half century.

Henry Baird, an Irishman and long a resident of Dublin, came to America in 1802 in the same vessel with Thomas Addis Emmet and other Irish patriots, his wife and four children coming three years later. He had been engaged in manufacturing and mercantile business in Pittsburg, then in New Salem, Ohio. In a few years they located at Cleveland. In July, 1832. the father and mother located in Green Bay with their son, Henry S. Baird, who had located there in 1824, the first lawyer in Wisconsin and president of the first territorial council of Wisconsin, first attorney general of the state and in many other ways a very distinguished pioneer. Mr. Henry Baird died in Green Bay in 1842 when 83 years of age. Major Robert Irwin, Sr., was the father of Robert and Alexander J. Irwin, both merchants of Green Bay and much in evidence in its frontier days. Major Irwin was born in Ireland and was brought to this country by his parents in 1774 when he was three months old. Until reaching his majority he resided in Baltimore and then moved to Carlisle, Pennsylvania, where he married and remained until after the birth of the said sons. He next removed to Greensburg and entered the service in the War of 1812 as a lieutenant and promoted to adjutant. In May, 1813, he became assistant commissary, serving until June, 1821, and removed to Green Bay with his family in 1822. He died there in July, 1851, at the residence of his daughter, Mrs. E. W. Follett. His daughter married Gen. William Dickinson, who had the Government contracts at the mission of Winnebago Rapids.

The blacksmith shop was erected on the bank of the river at the foot of the rapids about where the lock was located on ground now partly covered by the "Neenah" paper mill of the Kimberly-Clark Company. The blacksmiths were Joseph Jourdain and one Hunter. The first blacksmith to locate in Wisconsin came into the Fox river valley 110 years ago, a prominent and necessary character in the romantic back woods life of the earliest pioneers, a Frenchman, and his name was

Joseph Jourdain. He was an expert at his trade and an artist in the smithy art.

In 1789 Joseph Jourdain arrived at Green Bay and was employed at gun and blacksmith work by Mr. Franks, a trader. Afterward he set up his own shop at Menomineeville. He married a daughter of Michael Gravel, whose wife was a daughter of a Menominee chief. There were born to them several sons and daughters, and some of these and many of their descendants are still living in this valley.

One daughter, the beautiful creole, Mary Magdalene Jourdain, was enamored of a handsome young officer, but was persuaded against her own wishes to become the wife of an Episcopal divine, Eleazer Williams, since discovered to have been the lost dauphin, Louis XVII of France. Their only son, John, is buried in Oshkosh, and his son, the heir to the French throne and in whose veins courses the blood of the most ancient and brilliant of French dynasties, is a resident of St. Louis.

Joseph Jourdain was a devout Catholic and is found in all the records as a subscriber to the several projected church buildings, the salary of priests and petitions for settlement of priests. He was treasurer of the church for several years. For many years he was armorer and smithy for the British detachment at Fort Howard, and in 1815 held that position at Prairie du Chien. In 1832 his salary under the United States Indian agency was $480 per annum. He was the most indispensable resident in all the valley. In 1834 he moved to Neenah, where the sub-mission was established for the Menominee Nation. He came as the mission armorer and blacksmith. His shop was at the foot of the Winnebago rapids on Little Butte des Morts lake, the site of which is now covered by a double machine writing-paper mill. He made his home over the lake (afterwards within the town of Menasha) in one of the log cabins erected by the Government. After the agency was closed in 1836 he remained and was the earliest permanent resident of the town of Menasha. He continued his shop at his home up to the time of his death, May 22, 1866. He was buried with his wife in Alouez Cemetery at Green Bay, where their graves are marked by two iron crosses. He was 18 when he located in Wisconsin and 86 years of age when he died. Though he came from Canada, he was of French parentage. He was five feet six inches tall, straight as an arrow, powerfully built and a handsome man. His deportment was kind and courtly, his manner pleasant and amia-

ble, and he was known and esteemed far and wide in all the West.

His wife, who was a creole, was a famous huntress. Her aim was sure and certain. No game ever escaped on which she drew her gun. This gun, with the shot-pouch made by herself of leather and the powder-horn are deposited in the museum of the Menasha Public Library.

Their son, Thomas Jourdain, came with them to Neenah and lived with them in the town of Menasha, and they afterward made their home with him. He was a large, powerful man, over six foot tall, and weighed over 250 pounds. He was for many years head constable and policeman and path master of the village and afterward of the city of Menasha. About seventeen years ago he was killed with fourteen others by the explosion of a rag bleach on the burning of the Whiting paper mills at Menasha. Complete history of the Jourdain family is given under "Town of Menasha."

Bishop Kemper mentions in his diary a conversation with Judge Doty in August, 1834, in which he writes of a rumor that Mr. Arndt and Mr. Perry were candidates for farmers. The good Bishop adds: "Arndt, who even now when a judge sells whisky, and Perry, who is said to be lazy and who when he wants to have a garden of one of the farms hoed, after waiting a week there doing nothing, made a bee and treated the Indians to whisky while they hoed the garden on a Sunday." The five farmers appointed to the position at the mission of Winnebago Rapids, it will be admitted, were of "established character for capacity, industry and moral habits." We do not find the names of the "five females of like good character for teaching young Menominee women in the business of useful housewifery," though doubtless these good women were the wives of the above named farmers, as they were all married, and their wives were capable of filling the position. The salary fixed for the farmer was $500 and for the women $300. In Kemper's **Tour to Green Bay** he says in his diary, under date August 5, 1834: "Five good farm houses have been erected on cleared land for the farmers who are to receive $500, and **their wives** $300." This is the only statement found to indicate who the women were.

The wing dam was completed and a shallow race or canal excavated to lead the water to the water wheels to propel the machinery of the saw and grist mills. The sawmill was completed and stood on the site afterwards occupied by the Neenah

paper mill, the old red paper mill, which was the first in Neenah, and now occupied by the "Neenah" paper mill of the Kimberly-Clark Company. The flour mill, or "grist mill," as named in the treaty, was built on the site of the present Winnebago paper mill, next to the old sawmill, and was operated for many years afterward. It was burned in 1874. Col. David Johnson was employed under the Government as miller in this frontier mill. This was the first flour and saw mill built in the county, as this was the first real settlement in the county.

Rolette told Bishop Kemper that the efforts pledged by the Government to aid in civilizing the Menominee would fail. The huts built for the Indians in the woods are useless, as the Menominee will not live in them. "A sawmill is erected and a grist mill, both of which it is feared will go to ruin, for no timber is cut and the Menominee have not yet learned, and it is supposed they never will learn to plow," and will not raise grain. Mr. Webster Stanley was employed in the building of these mills and when his services were no longer required ne took his family and all his belongings with a supply of provisions in a boat propelled by some men from this settlement and pushed out along the shore of Lake Winnebago into the Fox river and founded the city of Oshkosh in 1836. A dozen years later pioneers of Winnebago Rapids crossed the river and founded the city of Menasha.

The religious part of the mission was under Rev. Gregory, said to have been an Episcopal rector (which is possibly an error), and services are said to have been conducted regularly every Sunday. Rev. Whitford, of Milton College, says the mission school at Neenah was a branch of the Episcopal missionary school under the superintendence of Rev. Richard E. Cadle at Green Bay. Rev. Dr. Jackson Kemper came to Green Bay in 1834 under the Missionary Society of the Episcopal Church, and though he remained several weeks, he did not visit the mission of Winnebago Rapids. It is explained in the extracts given above that he was not pleased with it and gives no hint that his church had any interest in the mission.

Mr. Gregory, a brother of the minister, it is said, conducted the mission school. Some accounts say a school house was erected. The maps do not show this, and if there was a building set apart for a school it was one of the buildings marked on the maps as "farm houses." The teacher may have been Almon

Gregory, who had been a teacher in the Cadle school at Green Bay.

As the tribesmen were gathered about the mission in 1835 an epidemic of smallpox broke out among them which swept off about one-third of the tribe. Col. George Boyd, then Indian agent at Green Bay, sent to their relief a surgeon of the regular army, stationed at Fort Howard, to give them the benefit of vaccination. But Mr. Archibald Caldwell, a trader at the settlement, "benevolently took charge of the sufferers, nursing and nourishing the sick and watching by them night and day at the risk of his own life. He took the disease himself, suffered severely and barely escaped the fate of many of the unfortunate victims." He remained a resident and was still living in Winnebago Rapids many years after. He once lived in one of the block houses on Blair's farm, and once maintained a trading post on the sixty-acre island at the foot of Little Lake Butte des Morts, since known as Strobey island, but then and for many years known as Caldwell's island. He is said to have had six Menominee wives at the same time, but his Mormonism has been forgiven on the recollection of his heroic acts during the smallpox plague.

The mission of Winnebago Rapids was abandoned by treaty made by Gov. Henry Dodge at Cedar Point, opposite Kimberly, November 3, 1836. In the last days of October, Governor Dodge and his escort appeared at Stanley's Ferry, now in Algoma, on the south bank of the Fox river, and Mr. Henry A. Gallup, in the absence of the regular ferryman, took him and escort over the river. "They were mounted on six saddle horses," says Mr. Gallup, "the Governor armed to the teeth. He had two pairs of pistols and a bowie knife on his person and a brace of large horse pistols in his saddle holster" to impress the Menominee, as he once said to the Winnebago: "That he was as strong as a lion and as brave as Julius Caesar." Governor Dodge held the great council of Cedar Point, now one of the historic landmarks of the state, as here was made the important treaty conveying the lands to the Government on which stands the cities of Oshkosh and Neenah and Appleton and Kaukauna. This important council has been described in another place. It has been stated that the whole Menominee tribe had assembled there. All the traders were there and numerous visitors from Green Bay, Kaukauna and Winnebago Rapids. The treaty is signed by twenty-four "chiefs and headmen" of the tribe and by "H. Dodge" and

eighteen white witnesses. This treaty ceded to the United States 4,000,000 acres of land, which included all of the region afterward included in Winnebago county between the Fox river at Oshkosh and the Fox river at Neenah, and the Wolf river and Lake Winnebago, and expressly abandoned the improvements at Winnebago Rapids in these words: "The said Menominee Nation do agree to release the United States from all such provisions of the treaty of 1831 and 1832 aforesaid, as requires the payment of farmers, blacksmiths, miller, etc. They likewise relinquish all their right under said treaty to appropriation for education and to all improvements made or to be made upon their reservation on Fox river and Winnebago lake, together with the cattle, farming utensils or other articles furnished or to be furnished to them under said treaty."

The treaty of Cedar Point was ratified by the Senate February 15, 1837. Two years later these lands were surveyed by the engineer of the United States land surveys, Mr. Garrett Vliet, in 1839, but were not offered for sale until October 2, 1843, and of the lands now included in the city of Neenah 562 44-100 acres were marked off as reservation and not allowed to be sold by the land office. The lands now offered for sale was all on the south and west side of the Fox river or south outlet. The land on the Doty island and north of the south channel had been purchased from the Indians in 1831, surveyed in 1834 and sold in 1835.

When Mr. George Wright made the journey in September, 1836, to Brothertown to build the grist and saw mills there, he passed Winnebago Rapids, and the visit has been described by Mr. W. W. Wright: "My father and myself landed at the foot of the canal that conveys the water to the mills and factories now located thereon. It was a wilderness, excepting the families of Clark Dickinson, Nathaniel Perry and Robert Irwin, Sr., employed as teachers to the Indians. My father and I were on the way to Brothertown to construct a flour and sawmill for the Indians, engaged by the agent, Mr. Hotchkiss, who was with us on the journey, made in a large rowboat or lighter capable of carrying several tons and manned by seven stalwart Brothertown Indians, six at the oars and one at the helm.

The water power for these mills at Winnebago Rapids was made by a wing dam about one-third across the river near the location of the present dam, and a canal to the mills. A grist and sawmill had been erected; but not then in operation. Colonel Johnson, the miller, had a salary of $500, and lived

alone in a small log house, being a bachelor. The agent, father and myself, were invited to take dinner with him, of which he was the cook, and we accepted and had a well cooked and substantial dinner. My father asked the Colonel if he had ground any grain in the mill. He replied he had ground a bushel or two of corn in the two years he had been miller; but the mill got out of repair and there was no millwright to repair it. He also said the sawmill had cut several thousand feet of lumber; but was then out of repair. A blacksmith shop near by run by Mr. Jourdain was in full blast making spears and steel traps for the Indians, which kept the smith employed most of the time. Some twenty log houses had been erected for the Indians; but they preferred the wigwams. Some of the Indians set up their wigwams in the houses, and thus occupied it for a time, but would soon leave the house and set their wigwam outside. Every part of the site was as nature made it, except the wing dam and canal. While at dinner our boat crew had taken their dinner and with the help of a dozen or more Menominee Indians, were taking the boat up the rapids. We went on foot along a trail on the river bank, running along the present Riverside Park, to the old council tree near the lake, where we found several wigwams and the usual swarm of snarling dogs and pappooses. Here we boarded our boat and crossed the lake."

XXV.

SALE OF THE RESERVATION OF WINNEBAGO RAPIDS TO HARRISON REED—THE ARRIVAL OF THE PIONEERS—THE VILLAGE NAMED NEENAH.

The mission improvements and occupation of Winnebago Rapids ceased after the treaty of Cedar Point, made November 3, 1836, and its history during the period that intervened before the advent of Harrison Reed, in 1843, seems to be a seven years' interval in which the story is lost. The reservation of Winnebago Rapids was under the War Department and the large amount of personal property must have been left in charge of some responsible person. It was determined by the War Department to offer the village, its lands and improvements for sale; and the property was advertised in the western newspapers, to be sold at auction. The official record of the transaction says: "These lands were sold by the War Department under act of Congress authorizing the sale of the lands, with the improvements thereon erected by the United States, for the use of their agents, teachers, farmers, mechanics and other persons, employed among the Indians. Approved March 3, 1843." Mr. Harrison Reed had moved from New York to Milwaukee with his father, Seth Reed, in 1837, a biography of whom is given under the history of Menasha. Harrison Reed had founded there the Milwaukee "Sentinel," now the leading paper in the state; and in 1840 published it as a weekly supporting whig politics, which later became the Republican party. A contemporary says of him, he was "a good writer, and a patriotic and virtuous citizen." He is said to have sold out his interest in this paper to Elisha Starr in 1844. The advertisement of the sale of the Reservation of Winnebago Rapids was published in the regular course of business in his paper in Milwaukee, and attracted his attention, and he determined to investigate it. To this end he consulted Judge James D. Doty, then Governor of the territory of Wisconsin, with whom he was acquainted, and who knew the property very well, admitted its value and advised Mr. Reed to purchase it. Acting on this

advice and his own judgment that it was a good investment, he made a bid for the property at the sale in 1843. To his surprise his bid was accepted. The sale was made October 2, 1843. The property was the reservation of 562 44-100 acres of land, with thirty-four log houses, a blacksmith shop, a sawmill, a grist mill, and all the water power of the south outlet with the dam and canal; also the large amount of tools and implements purchased by the government for use of the mission. Among the personal property there was listed a stock of iron and tools at the blacksmith shop; and a quantity of sash, doors, nails, glass, lumber, carts, wagons, chains, tools, also logs and timber which had been cut and rafted to the mill. It was a whole village put up at auction and practically included the area of the present city of Neenah, and then sold to Harrison Reed on his bid of $4,760.

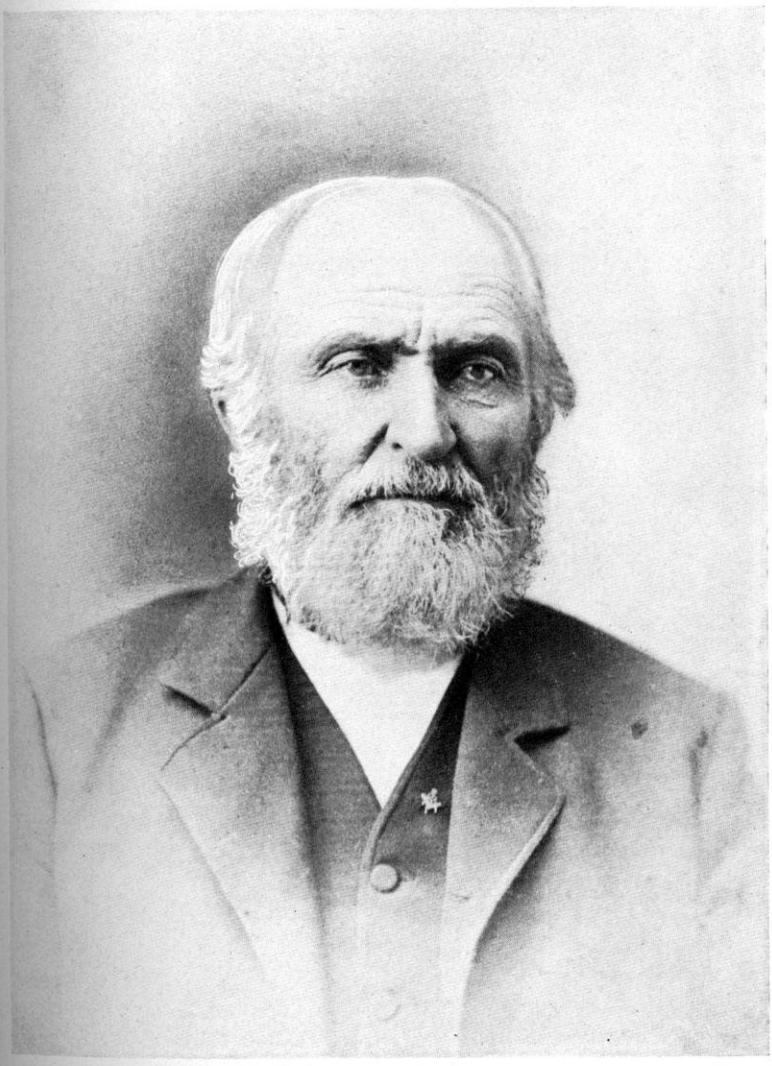
Mr. Reed is thus described as remembered by old settlers: "A man of ability, a tireless worker, a great organizer, and fertile in all manner of plans and schemes. He was sociable, attracting and making friends very easily." In personal appearance he was of medium size, thin featured, light complexion, blue eyes, thin hair, nearly bald, and being nearsighted, wore glasses. He was thirty years of age when he bought the town. He says himself in the "Conservator" that he came to Winnebago Rapids with his family in 1843, the first resident of the future city of Neenah. Mr. Reed was then with his family, almost the sole resident of Neenah. As soon as he was notified of the acceptance of his bid, Mr. Reed wrote to the United States land office to know who was in possession or care of the property, and what steps were necessary for him to take. He was informed that the property was deserted, and as the purchaser he had better take possession at once and look after it. He did not have the means to pay for it, but having filed bonds as required by the government in the usual form to accompany all bids over $500, he was allowed time in which to pay for the purchase; though in the meantime he could not dispose of the land, as title could not pass until the money was paid. He had taken possession of the property expecting that ways and means would be found to complete the purchase.

Mr. Reed moved to Neenah with his wife, a daughter of Captain Joseph Turner and one child in the winter of 1843, crossing Lake Winnebago from Fond du Lac, over the ice. He found Peter Pendleton in the large block house on the lake

shore, and moved in with him, and remained in this house for nearly eighteen years. It was afterward occupied by Mr. Redfield, and was torn down about 1880. In this house all of Mr. Reed's children were born, except one, and two of them died there, and were buried in the yard. During the following year he had the company of several traders. He found occupying the block houses on the point Smith Moores, a trader among the Indians; Colonel Fuller and Robert Irwin, also traders. Archibald Caldwell was living on the Blair place in a block house and trading among the Indians. Smith Moores afterward purchased land and built a house one mile west of the village, which was afterward sold and occupied by the Rev. Freeman. Mr. Moores was a man of great force of character, and died of smallpox in 1851, while at a Poygan payment. When Mr. Reed secured the post office in 1844, he had it named "Neenah." The office was at his house. Simon Quatermas was the mail carrier. On his first trip to Oshkosh he was lost in the wet lands near Mansurs. Travel was by water in summer and over the ice in winter. Mr. Reed employed Archibald Caldwell to build a scow or barge for use on the lake. It was forty-five feet long, named the Growler, and was in use many years. A daughter was born to Mrs. Reed in August, 1846, the first white child born in the village, and was named "Nina." Much of the career of Mr. Reed appears in this work; but as his later years were passed in Florida, we will add here that just after the war he went south to Jacksonville, Florida, where he published the "Semi Tropical," a magazine. Here he became an influential citizen and had high political influence, being at one time elected governor of the State of Florida.

When Mr. Reed came in the spring of 1843, he had with him Mr. Charles Wescott, from New York, who worked for him that season, and was succeeded by Mr. Gilbert Brooks in 1844, many years a resident of this county. Mr. Wescott left Mr. Reed to become the first settler of Shawano and Shawano county in May, 1843, with a company of mechanics destined to erect a sawmill on the Wolf river for Mr. Samuel Farnsworth.

In June, 1843, Mr. George H. Mansur left Buffalo with his family on the steamer Black Hawk, owned and commanded by Captain P. Hotaling. Arriving at Green Bay, they steamed up the Fox river, intending to run the rapids and enter Lake Winnebago. They got as far as the rapids at Kaukauna. Her stern wheel was taken off and placed on shore, a canvas thrown



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over it and the Mansur family moved into the wheel, where they resided for three weeks, during which time their daughter Esther was born to Mrs. Mansur, July 17. The attempt to draw the boat over the rapids failed. Mr. Mansur and Captain Hotaling made a trip around Lake Winnebago and met Mr. Reed at Winnebago Rapids, who prevailed on Mr. Mansur to locate there. A durham boat was obtained from Mr. Reed, and the Mansur family arrived in Winnebago Rapids August 9, 1843. Mr. Mansur set to work to repair the old mills, and managed them until the spring of 1844. Mr. Stephen Hartwell came in 1844 to run the grist mill, and at the same time one Johnson, or Jensen, a Dane, made a claim on lands afterward owned by Mr. Brien, in Sherrytown. He was mail carrier between Fond du Lac and Wrightstown. The post office was established in Winnebago Rapids, March 14, 1844, and Harrison Reed was appointed postmaster. In the summer of 1845 Mr. Gorham P. Vining, from Lowell, Massachusetts, arrived at Watertown and met Mr. George Harlow, and together they walked to Fond du Lac. Vining did not like the level country, and exclaimed that he "was bound to find some place where water ran down hill." He was advised to go to Winnebago Rapids. The means of travel was quite limited. The little steamer "Manchester," built under direction of Captain Peter Hotaling, the previous season by Stockbridge Indians, lay at the water edge, and Vining offered the man in charge $25 in gold to take him over to Winnebago Rapids; but in the absence of the Captain, he did not get the boat. They finally embarked in a large skiff. The first night out they camped near Stockbridge. Embarking again the next morning they crossed the lake, and landed at the residence of Harrison Reed on the lake shore at the end of the present Wisconsin street. Here they met Governor James Duane Doty, who with Mr. Reed piloted the visitors around the village. They were pleased with the prospects and returned to Watertown, where they procured provisions for the winter and came back to Winnebago Rapids overland with an ox team. They set up bohemian quarters for the winter in the log house at the grist mill. Leasing the grist and sawmills they ran them during the winter. This was the only flour mill in the county, and the only one for many miles that could run in the winter, and grists came to the mill from many miles away, as far north as Green Bay, from Stockbridge, and from beyond Oshkosh. It was not an uncommon sight to have 100 different grists in

the mill at one time. The settlers would bring their grain to the mill and return home waiting often several weeks for their grist to be ground. All the other mills were situated on small streams which were frozen in the winter; but the Fox river at the Winnebago Rapids never froze over. The agreement on which they operated the mill was to repair the dam and mills, and give Mr. Reed half the tolls received. Stephen Hartwell was engaged as miller. Mr. Reed had run the mills indifferently the previous season; but now they were run regularly. Both lived many years in Neenah, and became successful business men. Mr. Vining's old home, set back in the trees a mile west of the city on the Vinland road, still stands. Mr. Harlow was killed while leaving the cars at the Wisconsin Central depot in October, 1887. He was then sixty-nine years of age.

This season Mr. Ira Baird migrated to the site of Neenah, in the cold month of December, 1845, with his wife and child, in a farm wagon drawn by three-year-old steers, from Watertown. At Oshkosh, where they arrived at night, the river was frozen over, and there being no shelter, they were obliged to venture over the thin ice or freeze to death. The oxen froze their noses, and Mr. Baird's face and hands were frozen. The crossing was extremely dangerous, but there was no other way. Arriving the next day in Neenah they took possession of one of the block houses.

The origin of the name of "Neenah" has been explained in different ways. Pierre Pauquette, the giant half-breed porter at Portage, related to Mr. Michael Brisbois, of Prairie du Chien, the trader, that once Governor Doty was traveling with an Indian, and pointed to the Fox river, asked its native name. Supposing the Governor meant the element and not its geographical name, responded "Neenah," the Menominee name for water. Governor Doty, supposing this the aboriginal name of the river, endeavored to have it restored.[1]

Hon. Morgan L. Martin, of Green Bay, wrote of the origin of the name "Neenah," as applied to the Fox river, giving a similar origin. "Mr. John B. Pettival, a civil engineer, sent by Secretary of War J. R. Poinsett, during Van Buren's administration, to make a survey of Fox river, with a view to its improvement in 1837, gave it the name "Neenah" in his report. It had never before been known by that name. It is said that he found Indians, when making his exploration between Green

[1] 9 Wis. Hist. Colls. 300.

Bay and Lake Winnebago, from whom he got the word "Neenah," by taking water in his hand from the river, and asking them what it was. They answered that it was "Neenah," which was their word for water, and from this circumstance the name was derived and placed by him on the maps of that survey."[1] In the year 1844, when Harrison Reed secured the post office located at Winnebago Rapids, he had it, as he says himself, named "Neenah." This was before Mrs. Governor Doty arrived to reside in the Grand Loggery. The town of Neenah was not organized until authorized by the act of February 11, 1847. Mr. G. A. Cunningham in his "History of Neenah," supposes that Governor Doty "took a fancy to the name; or, more properly speaking, the word, and ever afterward applied it to this locality, and in time it became its only name." The origin of the application of the name to the village of Neenah has not come down to us; but if we may venture a guess, it may be supposed the name "Neenah," as given first by Pettival in his maps, and then by Captain Cram in his maps of 1839, to the Fox river, had been seen by Harrison Reed and led to his applying the name to the post office in 1844. There is no evidence that Judge Doty was concerned in attaching this name to the place.

[1] 9 Wis. Hist. Colls. 300.

XXVI.

THE COMING OF GOVERNOR JAMES DUANE DOTY—THE LOGGERY—A CHARACTER SKETCH OF THE STATE BUILDER.

One of the most important of the pioneers of Wisconsin was one of its earliest residents, Judge James Duane Doty. Coming to Wisconsin when the warrant of its only court was the jacknife of old Reaumeis, he established law and order; and in its council helped to form first the territory and then the state, and founded the cities of Fond du Lac, Madison and Menasha. Everywhere through the story of Wisconsin for half a century from its earliest settlement days until long after it became a state occurs the activity of Governor Doty, the state builder. During his life within its borders he saw its population grow from 700 to 1,500,000. He never neglected an opportunity to put it forth. No single man ever did so much to promote Wisconsin as Governor Doty. He was but forty-four years of age when he moved to Neenah, yet he had just closed his term of three years as Governor of the territory of Wisconsin. He had the Grand Loggery erected in the season of 1844, and moved into it in 1845.

The island made by the twin channels of the Fox river as it divides into two outlets of Lake Winnebago, and tumbles over the twin rapids into Little Lake Butte des Morts, is a beautiful tract of high land covered by large oaks and elms, of about one mile square in area. The cities of Menasha and Neenah now join on the center of the island at Nicolet avenue. This tract had been long known as Doty Island. The surveys of the river made in 1839, by Captain Cram, name it Doty Island, but when first so named is not known. The lands of the island, as well as north of the Fox river at this point, as explained elsewhere, were purchased from the Menominee in 1831, surveyed by the United States by General Albert G. Ellis in 1834, and offered for sale in 1835, eight years before Winnebago Rapids was sold, and eleven years before title passed to the village of Neenah on the south side. Daniel Whitney, of Green Bay, bought in

the property of the Doty Island plantation August 31, 1835. It has always been supposed that the purchase was for Judge Doty, as the patent was made out to Doty. Whitney also purchased ninety acres west of the railroad track, including the present home of Hon. Samuel A. Cook. Mr. Samuel W. Beall purchased 100 acres on the river bank east of the railroad track, including the north end of the present dam.

The "Grand Loggery," as built on the plantation of Governor Doty, is still standing, one of the historic landmarks of Wisconsin. It was a pretentious pile of buildings in those far-off days. It was a double log house, each house set off to form a hallway and vestibule between. This was roofed over, forming two upper rooms. A large kitchen log house was set sixteen feet in the middle rear, and the intervening space was subsequently framed into a large dining room. The cellar was up ground and made of earth covered logs. There was a lean-to made of clapboards at each end of the Loggery. The one on the south end was the china closet, and that on the north end was the library. After the death of the Governor someone came and tumbled his library of 1,500 books into carts, and sold it to the paper mills of Neenah to be ground up into pulp for making paper. His china is scattered among many families up and down the river. Governor Doty had a lattice work in front of the central vestibule entrance, and above this in his day there always reposed a great buck antler, with paddles crossed below it. The well curb near the house in the south angle was covered with a pretty and ornate pavilion. Governor Doty came to live in this home when he left the Governor's chair of Wisconsin, 1845, and left it twenty years later on being appointed by President Lincoln Governor of Utah.

Governor James Duane Doty was born in Salem, New York, 1799. At nineteen years of age he had mastered the study of law and settled at Detroit, where he at once became a favorite of Governor Lewis Cass. He was admitted to the Supreme Court of the territory of Michigan and made its clerk, and the same year appointed clerk to the Legislative Council, and on a visit to Washington was admitted to the Supreme Court of the United States. Governor Cass made him his secretary and appointed him to command one of the boats on his 4,000-mile canoe voyage around the lakes and through the wilds of Minnesota, Wisconsin and Michigan. President Monroe appointed him judge of the territory of Michigan west of the lake, Febru-

ary 11, 1823, at a salary of $1,200 per annum; and he thus became the first judge in the region since made into the states of Wisconsin, Iowa and Minnesota.

Judge Doty began an agitation for Wisconsin territory as early as 1824, by drafting a bill to erect the "territory of Chippewa" west of Lake Michigan to the Missouri river, and had interested Senator Thomas H. Benton in the bill. The agitation for the establishment was continued by Doty for a dozen years until finally successful. In 1827, Doty had changed the name to "Wiskonsan," in honor of the principal river, and this name prevailed in the bill introduced in 1834.

As soon as the first legislature was to meet in Belmont in 1836, Judge Doty, who had become convinced that the four lake region was the proper location for the beautiful capital of a beautiful state, had purchased lands, and secured power of attorney to control other lands, and joined by Governor Mason of Michigan, who had money, they became proprietors of a princely domain of 1,000 acres about the lakes. In October, Judge Doty formed one of a party of surveyors to lay out the beautiful city of Madison on this property. He brought little baggage, except a green shawl and a shotgun, lodging at night with a half blood St. Cyr. In the next few days they had meandered the lakes and obtained data from which to form the maps. He then hurried away sixty miles to Belmont, where the first territorial legislature was already in session, and commenced the agitation to make this paper town the future capital of this great state, and no matter how he did it, he succeeded. Doty had given the park on which the capitol buildings now stand. He located and named Madison, and donated the park on which the capital buildings stand and located them, and named Dane county in which the city is located.

Judge Doty was superseded after nine years as United States District Judge, and very soon after, in 1834, was elected by the people to the Legislative Council of the territory of Michigan, which met at Detroit, where he served for two years. After the territory of Wisconsin was organized, he was very soon elected a delegate to Congress, where he served until September 30, 1841, when he was appointed by President John Tyler as Governor of the territory of Wisconsin, a position he held for three years. In his first annual message, December 10, 1841, Governor Doty declared for and recommended the building of railroads, then unknown in the state. For many years he agi-

tated the subject of statehood, at first a very unpopular movement and everywhere voted down. It got to be called "Doty's Hobby." But by persistent effort it finally carried after the first constitution was voted down. He was a member of the first constitutional convention in 1846. As soon as the state was organized he was elected to Congress, and re-elected in 1851. He was appointed by President Lincoln, in 1861, Superintendent of Indian Affairs; then in the spring of 1864 he was appointed Governor of Utah, where he died June 13, 1865, and was buried in Salt Lake City.

While on the bench Judge Doty presided in the trial of the accomplices of Red Bird; We Kau, and Chic-hon sic, for the murder of Gagnier and Lipcap in 1828, in the Red Bird or Winnebago war, mentioned elsewhere. The prisoners were sentenced to hang; but there being no sheriff they were pardoned.

Mrs. Sarah C. Doty, his wife, was born in Whitestown, daughter of General Oliver Collins, a soldier of the Revolution and war of 1812. She was married to Judge Doty in 1823, and went with him to live at Green Bay, where he erected a frame dwelling house. She was a typical lady of the frontier, adapting herself gracefully to all its inconveniences, and learning to enjoy the life; frequently making long canoe voyages over the Fox and Wisconsin river between Green Bay and Prairie du Chien. She lived with Judge Doty in Washington, while he was in Congress many years, and afterward spent three years at Madison as the first lady of the Territory. The official life of the Governor did not take him away from home quite so much after the Grand Loggery became their home, and here they enjoyed real home life, keeping open house to all comers, and a friendly hospitable board, a memory of whose enjoyment long lingered with those fortunate enough to have visited there. After the death of the Governor, Mrs. Doty returned to the Grand Loggery, and then took up her residence with her daughter, Mrs. John Fitzgerald, in Oshkosh, where she died February 20, 1871. Her sons, Major Charles and James, both resided in Menasha, and were in part founders of the town. Major Doty married a sister of W. N. Webster and had his home on Broad street, where he raised a family; and in 1875, moved to Alton, Illinois. James never married, went out west in 1854, with Governor Stevens to lay out a railroad route to the Pacific and treat with the Indians. Arriving in Astoria he was drowned.

Governor Durkee, of Wisconsin, his successor as Governor

of Utah, said in his message to the Legislature that he was pleased "to hear testimony to his superior ability as a statesman, and his many virtues as a citizen." It was at his own request that his body should repose in Utah, where he was buried. General Albert G. Ellis, a long time friend, said of him: "He had the advantage of a fine commanding figure, open, intelligent and pleasing countenance, and most winning address. You were his friend at first sight."

Governor Doty is described to the writer by S. S. Roby, a pioneer with him in Menasha, as a tall, heavy man, with black hair and black eyes. He always wore a tall hat. Mrs. Doty had black eyes and hair. She was not as tall as her husband.

XXVII.

COLONEL HARVEY JONES BUYS THE VILLAGE OF NEENAH.

There has been much said of the Rev. O. P. Clinton in another place, and as the investment of Colonel Harvey Jones in the property composing the reservation of Winnebago Rapids was directly due to the missionary something more may be said of his movements. Of his life in Neenah he has said: "My first visit to the place was in December, 1845, when I was hospitably entertained by Harrison Reed, Esq., and his agreeable lady, at their block house during my short stay. I saw at a glance the importance of the locality, and at once interested myself in directing attention to it both by personal conversation and written reports. In the month of March, 1846, I removed my family from Lake Mills, Jefferson county, to Winnebago Rapids, occupying a block house on the point near the outlet of the lake, and the following Sabbath held religious services at my house, which was the beginning of religious meetings in Neenah. I then represented the American Home Missionary Society as a missionary for Northern Wisconsin. My preaching places for that season, regular and incidental, were Oshkosh, Rosendale, Springvale, Waukau, Rushford, Strong's Landing (now Berlin), Fond du Lac, and Neenah. To compass my circuit required four weeks, making my regular service at Neenah every fourth Sabbath, the intermediate Sabbaths being occupied with Sabbath schools and reading meetings. In the early part of the summer of 1846 we renovated an old block house, which we found without floor, door or windows, and appropriated it to church and school purposes. In this house the lamented Deacon Mitchell was married in a public congregation to his estimable wife, Miss Caroline Boynton, a former pupil of mine. Those were days of small things, of sacrifices, privations, and earnest work, and yet days of sobriety, friendship and peace. Our gatherings were seasons of warm, friendly greetings, with the pioneer grip which none but first settlers can appreciate.

"My first missionary year in northern Wisconsin cost me drives in all of about 7,000 miles, affording me the opportunity of preaching about 200 sermons. Nearly all the supplies for my family were hauled from Oshkosh in my buggy, on my monthly return trips, over horrible roads, always taking an axe along to chop around the seemingly bottomless mud pits. Little rest and no rust in those pioneer times.

In an early day one Jones, of Welsh extraction, or some other honorable nationality, dropped into our settlement and proposed to start a respectable brewery. Some questions arose between the proprietors of the soil and the would-be brewer, as to the site of such an institution. John Kimberly, Esq., had chosen Neenah as his home and he was thought to be a competent adviser in this grave matter. The question was therefore proposed in a business-like manner: 'Mr. Kimberly, where do you think would be the best site for a brewery?' The characteristic reply was, 'In h—l, sir!' But this opinion of Mr. Kimberly's was overruled by other counsel, who thought the machine could be run more successful in Neenah. And so it was erected upon the beautiful banks of the Fox river, in full view of Mr. Kimberly's residence.

"In the autumn of 1847, I moved into Governor Doty's house, on Doty Island. The following summer a bear put in an appearance on the opposite point. Taking a gun, I paddled my dug-out across below, and cut off his retreat. Discovering his danger, he artfully crept from my sight, took to the water and struck for the island, and Mrs. Clinton, seeing Bruin's prospects of escape, with stones and clubs, and terrific shouting, kept him at bay until an Indian reached the scene of excitement and dispatched his bearship. The Indian complimented Mrs. C. as best he could, calling her 'brave squaw.' One evening a hugh panther came prowling around our premises, uttering the most terrific screeches. Several shots were fired at him in the twilight, some of which evidently took effect, as a young panther, a short time after came out, moaning, in a starving condition, and was shot and killed by one Thomas McGhan, then in my employ. Deer were quite plenty, and the island was a favorite resort for them. I killed one near the present site of the Northwestern depot. We occasionally had a bear hunt on a small scale. On one occasion I had a fine sight of one and my gun missed fire, but he was soon halted by Lom Hart's sure fire. Judge Wheeler killed one with a shotgun. So you

see our fresh meat markets were flush, if somewhat scattered, consisting not only of deer and bears, but coons, squirrels, rabbits, pigeons, pheasants, etc., to say nothing of fish and water fowls, which were abundant.

"But I am taking your patience. I could tell you of our early navigation; of the little steamer "Manchester," which could run to Oshkosh, almost as soon as a boy could walk it. Also how we landed women and children from the sailboats in a brisk wind and storm, some on horseback and some on human back. Ask Mrs. Enos how she was taken from a boat in front of my house, when she was a young lady. I could also tell you of missionary tours to Oshkosh and Stockbridge in a dugout. But I hear you say enough such, and I am of the same opinion. Yours in remembrance of old times."

Rev. Clinton had made the acquaintance of Loyal H. Jones, who then lived at Prairieville, now Waukesha, engaged in mercantile pursuits. Knowing that Clinton was about to make a trip to the frontier settlements, Jones requested him to note any favorable opportunities for investing in new lands, and informed him that, should he find any good location, with water-power and other requisites for building up a town, he should like to know it, as his brother Harvey, who resided at Gloversville, N. Y., thought some of investing in western lands. Stoping with Reed on his first visit to the place, Mr. Clinton was soon made acquainted with the circumstances in which the former was placed, and upon Clinton's informing him of the requests and wishes of Mr. Jones, Reed at once made Mr. Clinton the bearer of a proposition to Jones. The time having nearly expired which had been allowed Mr. Reed to close up his bargain with the United States for the Reservation, and he being unable to do so, and not having found anyone to help him, he was exceedingly anxious, the more so, no doubt, as he had converted to his own use much of the personal property, and in consequence of failure to pay for the same, he or his bondsmen would be called upon to make good all which he had used or disposed of.

This was the condition of affairs when Mr. Clinton arrived, and Reed proposed that he should return and report to Jones, and to say that if his brother would furnish the purchase money he would deed to him one-half the entire property of Winnebago Rapids, with the exception of the farm then occupied by Reed, and the place now known as the Blair farm. These two places,

with an undivided one-half of the balance, Reed wished to keep as an offset to the advantages offered Jones.

Mr. Clinton returned to Waukesha and informed Loyal Jones of what he had found, and his description of the property and the advantages offered were such as to induce the latter to inform his brother of it, and urge upon him to secure the trade. Harvey Jones, being favorably impressed with the plan as proposed, sent Perrine Yale to accompany Loyal Jones, and the two acted as his agents to look the property over and get the best terms possible from Reed, and submit the same to him. In conformity with this plan, Jones and Yale came to Neenah in May of 1846, and being pleased with the site, and satisfied with the representations and propositions of Mr. Reed, they partially effected an arrangement, whereby Harvey Jones should furnish the money required to secure the property in due form of the government. Shortly after this Harrison Reed went to Gloversville, N. Y., the residence of Harvey Jones, and there, in the month of July, 1846, the trade was finally consummated, and the money furnished, with which Reed went to Washington, paid the amount of his bid on the property, with the interest which had accrued, and received his patents for the lands.

Colonel Harvey Jones was born in the village of Kingsborough, New York, June 22, 1805, son of Asa and Lucy Jones; farmer, of Connecticut parentage. After enjoying the advantage of the district school he entered mercantile pursuits and engaged in the real estate business, and being fairly successful, he had finally located in Gloversville, New York, where he engaged in manufacturing gloves, had a store and dealt in real estate. Colonel Harvey Jones made his first visit to Neenah in September, 1846, accompanied by his wife and son, Gilbert C. Jones. He remained until spring, and during most of the time boarded with Mr. Reed, and later moved into the block house near the mills, with Loyal H. Jones. Mr. Harvey Jones began at once on his arrival to make improvements on the property, by deepening the raceway to the two mills, working himself in the mud and water with the men. The grist mill was repaired under the supervision of Mr. H. A. Burts, Mr. Burdick and Mr. Nelson Danforth, who afterward ran the grist mill. Harvey Jones returned to Gloversville to close out his business affairs there, preparatory to moving west for good. He met here with the sad affliction of the death of his wife, and soon after his father died. In the fall he returned to Neenah and

was busy maturing plans for the development of the water power and other interests, repairing the old mills, and made plans for a new sawmill. He made generous offers to those who would build and improve property, in some cases giving the lots free, or selling at nominal sums. The Yale and Jones store was erected on land given them, and James Ladd had the lot on which the Winnebago hotel was built, the first hotel in town, and still standing, for $60. Mr. Harvey Jones took up his residence in a block house near the council tree, living with Mr. Charles Yale, a brother-in-law. Mr. James Ladd, Deacon Samuel Mitchell and Mr. L. S. Wheatley arrived in March, 1846, from Dodge county, traveling with a team to the south bank of the river at Oshkosh, crossing the river by the ferry and walking over the Indian trail to Neenah. This same year there arrived in the settlement Mr. Lucius A. Donaldson, Cornelius Northrup, Corydon P. Northrup, Philip and A. B. Brien, Milton Huxley and family, John F. Johnston, Henry C. Finch. Thomas and Joseph Jourdain were then living in the block house across the lake, and Archibald Caldwell was living on the Blair place with an Indian wife. Others who came this year were W. H. Scott, A. Jenkins, Salem T. Holbrook, D. C. Darrow, Alex. Murray, Wm. M. Stewart, Jud. Thompson, Ben Strong, H. Conrad, John T. Sanbourn, who lived in the block house that stood on the site of the John R. Kimberly colonial home on Wisconsin street.

XXVIII.

TOWN OF NEENAH ORGANIZED.

From the beginning of the settlement the people of Neenah had trecked over to Oshkosh to vote, and her citizens had been given office and treated very well. At one time Harrison Reed had made a strong bid for the county seat for his town, but was outvoted and then favored Butte des Morts. The political rights of the village were now to be exercised nearer home, for on February 11, 1847, the Legislature had passed a law erecting several broad towns in the county, and one of them was named Neenah. It comprised the region since set off into Vinland, Clayton, the present town of Neenah, and the town of Menasha. The village of Menasha did not contain any inhabitants at that time, but was settled very soon after. The first town meeting was called for April 6 of the same year at the mill house of Loyal H. Jones, in Neenah. As this was the very first civic gathering in this part of the county, we copy here the proceedings in full. These proceedings, with those of many succeeding years, in some manner came into possession of the city of Menasha, and are systematically filed by years, and can be readily consulted.

"Neenah, Winnebago Co., April 6, 1847.

"The citizens of the town of Neenah, assembled pursuant to the law at the house of Loyal H. Jones, and organized town meeting by the appointment of Cornelius Northrup as Moderator, and Harrison Reed as Secretary.

"On motion, Resolved that we now proceed to determination of the number of townships, and officers that shall be elected for the year ensuing.

"On motion, Resolved, that there be three Justices of the Peace, three Constables, and three Assessors elected for the ensuing year.

"On motion, Resolved, that there be a tax of one hundred dollars raised for roads and bridges for the year ensuing.

"Resolved, that a tax of twenty dollars be raised for the support of the poor for the year ensuing.

"Resolved, that a tax of two hundred dollars be raised for defraying the expenses of the town for the coming year.

"Resolved, that the compensation of the officers for the year be fixed at seventy-five cents per day.

"On motion, Resolved, that the overseers of highways be elected viva voce.

"The meeting proceeded to elect commissioners of highways, District No. 1, comprising town 20, Range 17, Matthew N. Bosworth. District No. 2, comprising Town 20, Range 16, Benjamin Strong. District No. 3, comprising the northwest quarter of Town 19, Range 16, Alvin Partridge. District No. 4, northeast quarter of Town 19, Range 17, George H. Mansur.

"On motion, the minutes now read and sanctioned by the meeting.

"On motion, adjourned.

"Cornelius Northrup, chairman."

As an evidence of the manner in which people had crowded into this region, the names of the people whose names are recorded as actually voting at this first town meeting is given as copied from the poll list of April 6, 1847.

Poll List of Actual Voters at First Election in Neenah, and Canvass of Vote.

J. Axtell, Phillip Brien, Albert B. Brien, S. G. Berdict, Luke Brien, Ira Baird, Jas. Beaty, M. N. Bosworth, Wm. M. Berry, D. Brownell, Gilbert Brooks, Burr S. Craft, Denial Church, John Clark, St. Clair Calder, O. P. Clinton, Archibald Caldwell, Jas. D. Doty, D. C. Darrow, Lucius A. Donaldson, George Dickinson, L. H. Dickinson, Wm. W. Frost, Henry C. Finch, P. J. Howe, Alford Hubbard, David Hewes, Thomas Jourdain, L. H. Jones, John Largest, Wm. Libby, Charles Libby, Jas. Ladd, Ebenezer Miller, David Montgomery, Alexander Murray, Geo. H. Mancer, Dan. Mitchell, Peter McClearand, Cor. O. Northrup, C. P. Northrup, Peter Pendleton, Alvin Partridge, C. M. Peters, Benj. Proctor, John Porter, Oliver B. Reed, Harrison Reed, David H. Robinson, H. H. Robinson, Seth Reed, M. A. Seymour, John T. Sanborn, Wm. Searles, Erastus Seymour, C. C. Shekel, Benj. Strong, Truman Thompson, Oleon Thompson, J. Thompson, Gor-

ham P. Vining, H. Wheeler, Solomon Willard, L. S. Wheatley, E. J. Wells, Perrine Yale.

We, the undersigned, having been duly elected inspectors of the election held on the sixth day of April, 1847, at the Mill house of Loyal H. Jones, in the town of Neenah, according to law, do hereby certify that on canvasing the votes given at said election it appeared that there were forty votes given for the constitution of the State of Wisconsin, and twenty-seven votes given against it. That there were thirty-four votes given for colored suffrage and thirteen votes against it. That there were forty-four votes given for a tax to construct a portage road from Winnebago Lake to the foot of the Grand Kaukaulau; and none against it. There were thirty-seven votes given against licensing the sale of intoxicating liquors, and fifteen votes given for it. That James D. Doty received thirty-nine votes as chairman of the Board of Supervisors of said town of Neenah. That Harrison Reed received twenty-three votes as said chairman; and that James Ladd received fifty-five votes as supervisor; Salem T. Holbrook received fifty-five votes as supersivor; Perrine Yale received fifty-six votes as treasurer; David M. Montgomery received fifty-six votes as town clerk; James D. Doty received fifty-five votes as commissioner of highways; George H. Mansur received fifty-five votes as commissioner of highways; Alexander Murray received fifty-five votes as commissioner of highways; Lucius A. Donaldson received fifty-nine votes as a justice of the peace; Samuel Mitchell received fifty-nine votes as a justice of the peace; Alfred Hubbard received fifty-nine votes as justice of the peace; Milton Huxley received fifty-five votes as a school commissioner; Erastus Seymour received thirty-seven votes as a school commissioner; Harrison Reed received eighteen votes as a school commissioner; John J. Sanborn received fifty-five votes as a school commissioner; John M. Filley received fifty-three votes as assessor; Cornelius Northrup received thirty-five votes as assessor; Loyal H. Jones received thirty-three votes as assessor; Lucius A. Donaldson received twenty votes as assessor; James Ladd received nineteen votes as assessor; Corydon P. Northrup received fifty-nine votes as constable; Gilbert Brooks received fifty-four votes as constable; Alvin Partridge received fifty-two votes as constable; Phillip Brien, George Arnold, William M. Berry received each fifty-three votes as fence viewers. Luke B. Brien received thirty-six votes as collector, and G. C.

Vining received ten votes as collector. All of which we do certify according to the statute, under our hands, the sixth day of April, A. D. 1847.

Cornelius Northrup,
J. D. Doty,
John T. Sanborn,
Inspectors."

Orlando B. Reed,
Michael A. Seymour,
Clerks."

Those who were assessed on the tax roll in the town of Neenah, as owning lands in and about the region afterward set off into the village of Neenah, were: H. Reed, on 656 acres, in sections 20, 27, 28, 29; Mr. Neff, 574 acres, all of section 16; James Ladd, 160 acres, in section 17; A. Caldwell, 160 acres, in section 20; Van Ness Potter, 80 acres, in section 20; Ira Baird, 120 acres; Harvey Jones, 59 acres, in five different sections; Thos. Jourdain, 43 acres, in section 21; estate of S. Hartwell, 40 acres, in section 28; E. Everett, 80 acres, in section 28; L. S. Wheatley, 160 acres, in section 28; H. L. Blood, 80 acres, in section 29; G. P. Vining, 80 acres, in section 29; P. Pendleton, 120 acres, in section 29; Wm. Frost, 80 acres, in section 30; Charles Doty owned nearly all the west half of Doty Island, 213 acres. James Doty owned forty acres now in heart of city of Menasha. The amount of tax certified to the treasurer to collect was $118, for county tax; $44 for territorial tax; $318 for town tax, making a total of $481, to be collected. There was no personal property tax, and there appears to have been no assessment for improvements, but all were assessed in equal amount per acre, which was $103 for every 40 acres, on which the tax to be paid was $1.68. The total tax paid by Colonel Harvey Jones in 1847, on the whole village of Neenah, with all the block houses, the two mills, and canal and dam was $25.12. As the lands surrounding Neenah had only come into the market in 1846, this assessment roll shows that the lands of the region comprising now the towns of Vinland, Clayton, Menasha and Neenah, were nearly all entered by actual settlers within the one or two years.

XXIX.

PIONEERING IN THE OLDEN DAYS—BEGINNINGS OF SOCIAL, MERCANTILE, CIVIC, SCHOOL AND CHURCH ACTIVITY.

Perrine Yale and Loyal Jones were given lots on Wisconsin street, corner of Walnut, to build a store, into which they moved their stock of goods. The upper floor was finished off and became the hall for amusements and long used for public worship on Sundays and for some time used as a public school room. These were the pioneer merchants who opened a store in one of the block houses near the mill in 1847.

The first white child born was Nina Reed, in August, 1845, and in October the same year the first white boy was born, Mr. Aleric Duane Clinton, son of Rev. O. P. Clinton. He was born in the block house near the council tree. Mr. A. D. Clinton is now the editor of the "Menasha Record." The first marriage occurred in May, 1846, in the block house near the council tree, when John F. Johnston married Miss Jeanette Finch, a sister of Mrs. Clinton, with all the settlement present to witness the ceremony, performed by Rev. O. P. Clinton. In the following year Henry Finch married Miss Brien, on July 4, under the council tree, when all the villagers again assembled, and Rev. Clinton said the words.

The little village was saddened one day by the death of two of the pioneers, Stephen Hartwell, the miller, and Johnson the Dane, the mail carrier. Hartwell was intending to visit the East and had arranged his affairs, leaving Gorham P. Vining in charge of his cabin. He was then quite ill. He started for the boat landing, but his malady was so severe that he died in a few days. The Dane died the next day. Both died of the ague. They were buried near the Hill of the Dead, on the opposite shore of the lake. The funeral procession, composed of the entire population, crossed in boats. In the absence of a minister of the gospel the services were conducted by Governor Doty and Gorham P. Vining. Governor Doty made the funeral address, and it is related by those present as being a most eloquent

tribute to the pioneer and the sacrifices he made to extend the frontier of empire. The first religious service was at the home of Harrison Reed, in 1845, by a Methodist minister bound for Green Bay, with only a few people present. The more regular services were commenced by Rev. O. P. Clinton in the spring of 1846 in a block house near the council tree, where Rev. Clinton resided. Very soon after Rev. Clinton, assisted by several good deacons, fitted up a log house, built by Smith Moores in 1845, for a chapel by replacing the floor and placing plank seats. This was also the first school house in town, and Miss Carolina Northrup was the first teacher. It was a private school. In the fall of 1847 the first public school was begun, taught by Mr. Lambert, an itinerant dancing, singing and school master. In about a month he was replaced by William Dennison, and the following summer Miss Northrup taught the school.

The first village plat was recorded by Harrison Reed, September 8, 1847, and the act was passed authorizing the building of the new dam, which was begun this year by Harvey Jones.

James Ladd was induced to build a hotel, as it was difficult to lodge the strangers coming to the village and there was no place for the workmen on the improvements to board. He first erected the barn on Walnut street and moved into it and took fifty boarders, besides keeping the travelers who came that way. He says: "We often had to bake a barrel of flour in a day." They used the barn during the summer of 1847 while the Winnebago House was being built on the corner of Walnut and Wisconsin streets, still standing, the first frame house in town. At one time there were thirteen different languages spoken under its roof. The work on the dam brought many laborers that year and travelers were constantly arriving to take up lands. For the lime used in the building of the hotel Mr. Ladd erected a lime kiln near the present library building and burned lime from stone taken out of the river. Afterward he erected a kiln on his farm near the Blair Springs, in which he burned lime from surface limestone and sold it. This was the source of the lime used in the erection of Lawrence University. For the brick with which he built the chimney of the Winnebago House he dug out enough from the remains of the old mission brickyard, opened on the foot of Doty island by the contractors under the Government in 1834, the first brickyard in the county. The lumber for this hotel was cut at the local mill from logs felled in the town of Menasha, and the shingles were shaved shooks and run three

feet to the weather. The first manufacturing industry in Neenah besides the Government mills was the first woolen mill in the county, set up in 1847 by Daniel Priest, which he ran for several years, then moving to Menasha, where his industry finally became the Menasha woolen mills, which, very much enlarged, are still in operation. The poll list for the town of Neenah in 1849 shows 191 names, and the tax levy for that year was $60 for general funds and $20 poor fund.

The city of Neenah, originated by its water power, was intended at the beginning for a manufacturing place. Its dam was constructed to raise a head of water for the double purpose of power and navigation. The steamboat will never pass its locks again; but its mills will run by water power perhaps forever. The extent of its manufacturing was long ago limited by the use of all its power, and steam was long ago added to supplement the water. In the pioneer days the water rushing down its broad river seemed inexhaustible, but the extensive enterprise of its people soon made use of all the power in the river and then sought other powers on which to build down the river and far away on other streams.

When one looks back into the manufacturing activities of the past there are three great industries that stand out beyond all others—lumber, flour and paper making. The saw mill flourished in its day and long ago passed on to the fleeting timber line to the north. The flour mill has only one representative where one day it led all its neighbors. The paper industry, originating here, has spread to other parts and developed into one of the great manufacturing enterprises of the state.

The first mill built in Neenah was a sawmill, the first in the county and the first on the Fox and Wolf river, that afterward gave up its wealth of timber to the relentless mills of Oshkosh, where wealth undreamed was cut out of pine timber and still is cut in millions and billions of feet. This little mill with its big wide-blade saw jogged up and down through the log and cut off slabs and plank too slow for anyone but the pioneer. The old wood water wheel that jogged the mill along was made by the wheelwright and the lumber was all hauled by hand, though the logs may have been snaked into the mill with a chain on a power shaft. When Col. Harvey Jones came to own the village the old mill, which had done little else but rot down, was so much out of repair he set men to work at once to rebuild and reconstruct it into a new mill. Mr. Charles Lindsley was a partner with him

in the mill in 1848, but before the mill was finished Mr. Jones purchased his interest. Mr. Robert Hold, in company with William L. Lindsley, having purchased it in 1850, conducted it for two years as a lath mill and furniture factory. Then Mr. Hold, as sole proprietor, continued the business up to 1864, when it was purchased and torn down to give place to the Neenah Paper Mill, the first of this industry in the city. The first new building on the water power was erected on the upper end of the canal bank near the abutment of the dam by Mr. Lucius A. Donaldson and John B. Lagest, in which they made sash and doors and ran a planing mill. Mr. S. R. Kellogg came in the spring of 1848, and having gone for his family, came back in August, bringing with him Mr. Benjamin Simmons. They owned machinery for making bedsteads and chairs, which was installed in the Lagest factory, the parties all joining their interests. Very soon Mr. Daniel Priest moved his carding machinery from another building into this building. This building was afterward converted into the Empire flour mill by Cronkhite, Burdict & Co. After having several owners it was torn down in 1874 to give place to the Patton Paper Mill.

Mr. Henry Sherry, who operated mills in Neenah but whose sawmill and lumber operations was extended into all the logging districts of the state, was born in Monroe county, New York, August 3, 1837, moved with his parents to Neenah in 1849, where he was first a merchant, then became interested in mills. He owned the sawmill burned in 1874. He annually had cut on his lands 25,000,000 feet of logs and was one of the very largest operators in logs, timber, lands and lumbering in the state.

In July, 1871, Mr. J. R. Davis and sons made tight barrel staves, making 6,000 staves daily on a Bishop patent stave machine. Henry Sherry was reported by the local press in 1871 to have cut 2,500,000 feet of lumber in his sawmill, and J. H. Hungerford & Co. to cut 75,000 shingle each day. In November, 1871, the local press mentions a partnership composed of J. H. Sanford, S. J. Maxwell and W. L. Maxwell, operating as J. A. Sanford & Co., a sash factory in the red mill near the shingle mill. These enterprises have all passed away. Henry C. Tait was a tailor in Neenah in December, 1854, and had the first sewing machine in town, "Which is worth paying it a visit," says the "Advocate."

XXX.

THE LOCK, THE CANAL AND THE DAM.

The lock down there at the bank of the Little Lake Butte des Morts, once the glad hope of the village, lays rotted away, dug out, filled up and covered over with great brick paper mills. Way back there in those days of the beginnings it was the center of the most intense interest, the ambition of the town, and its proprietors hung their life on its building. The enterprise absorbed every activity of the town. Men saw wealth flow in with its completion. It unlocked the river. It was the way to the outer world. It would be the making of the town. It was a cheap thing at best, yet with all the things of pleasure that have come to the good people of Neenah in after years there was no pleasure that thrilled them like the making of the old lock. Every shovelful of earth thrown out in its making was sacred. It filled the gossip of the country side in the long ago. It was only a deep hole in the ground, walled up with framed timbers and planked sides and bottom. There were great double gates at either end. When the gladsome day came that the two lower gates swung open and the brand new "Van Ness Barlow" was pushed into the great walled hole in the ground and then the gates were closed and the big lock began to fill up like a great tub, and the boat rose on the bosom of the flood until it stood upon a level of Lake Winnebago, ten feet above Little Lake Butte des Morts, then the upper gates opened and the boat pushed out into the old Government canal, made wider and deeper by the enterprise of Col. Harvey Jones, the great act was accomplished and the whole village watched with tingling thrills of delight. Their lock was completed and passed boats long before the lock at Menasha was completed. That was enough of glory, besides the trade in boating that now opened up in the throb of commerce.

The fall in the river as it ran over the rapids past the settlement was to be dammed up and made to furnish hydraulic power to run the mills to be built to bring out the wealth for a great city, with its thousand lights and the sounds and hum of busi-

ness; but all this could not come to pass without means of transportation. The easiest way was the means at hand—the water route. As early as 1844 Harrison Reed had cut out a road to Oshkosh under the authority of the primitive county board. Gilbert Brooks had assisted in this work. Mrs. Reed had followed up the sappers and choppers with a buggy. Mr. Reed's wagon was the first double wagon to cross the Fox river at Oshkosh, being ferried over on an old scow owned by Robert Grignon at Algoma.

Rev. Clinton has told of a trip to Green Bay: "In the summer of 1847 an exchange was arranged between Rev. J. Porter, pastor of the Presbyterian Church of Green Bay, and myself; but how to execute the arrangement with no roads or bridges was the difficulty. But the pioneer doctrine is, 'Where there is a will there is a way.' Well, by virtue of having a brother who was a blacksmith, I nailed some shoes to my horse's feet (it could not be called shoeing), took Mrs. C. and the little C.'s into the buggy, forded both rivers at the outlet, followed the beach of the lake to Clifton, often in rounding trees and logs plunging the horse into water nearly to his girth. At that time there were no settlers at Clifton. Having despatched our lunch upon the native grass, with axe in hand I led the way, following an overgrown road of black hawk antiquity, and cut our way through two miles to the military road, and then the way was clear to Green Bay."

Mr. James Ladd has told of the primitive fords and trails: "In October following I moved my family into a block house with Mr. Colwell, who lived with an Indian wife on the Blair place. Other families moved in that summer and fall. We had no way to cross the lower lake with teams but to ford it, going into the lake by the old mill and guiding our course by an old oak on the Jourdain place, the water coming up to the middle of the wagon box, so that we were obliged to place ourselves and effects on top of the box to keep dry.

"Some Frenchmen with a load of calico and trinkets going through to trade with the Indians at their annual gathering to receive their annuity from the Government, in attempting to cross just at night to stop with me, there being no place in Neenah to stop, got out of the right course into deep water with a muddy bottom. They called for assistance and I went to them in a skiff. The men and horses were rescued, but wagon and goods were left to soak over night. The next morning, by means

of long poles tied together and oxen, the wagon was drawn ashore. They dried their goods and resumed their journey, thinking they would be none the less valuable to the redskins for having been soaked.

"My house, which consisted of three rooms with low chambers, was the only stopping place for travelers that winter west of the slough and the lake. That fall the settlers that were here clubbed together, there being no town board to raise an extra tax, to hire the Indians to cut a road through to the Oneida settlement, a distance of fourteen miles. We were to furnish them with provisions while they did the work. That road connected with a road to Green Bay, which was the only way we could reach the bay with teams. The Indians camped in rude huts as they worked their way along, taking my house for the terminus of the road, which they reached one night, headed by their chief, Mr. Breed. We gave them (twenty in number) a good supper, after which each took his blanket and lay down before our old-fashioned fireplace. Before leaving in the morning they presented me with a cane with a snake's head neatly carved on the top of it. These Indians brought us our lumber for the first building in Neenah from their mills on Duck creek.

"We soon thought about some way to get across the Neenah slough. Some six or eight of the settlers agreed to pay me $100 to build a bridge, which I did by making cribs of logs, laying stringers from crib to crib and covering with poles. This bridge was completed in the spring and lasted a number of years. One of my family was taken sick that spring and I sent to Oshkosh for a physician, there being none nearer; but he did not understand the case and I sent to Stockbridge for Dr. Marsh. The only way to get there was to cross the lake in a skiff. Mr. C. Northrop, of Menasha, went across, a distance of fourteen miles, and returned with the doctor. We had to take him home, and sent for him a second time in the same way."

The transportation extended to more systematic facilities in those primitive days, effective for the purpose of the age, and developed the flush times on the river by the Durham boat routes, so well described by Mr. William N. Webster, a pioneer writer: "At this time and extending back as far as the memory of man, the great thoroughfare for all territory lying contiguous to the Fox, the Wolf and Wisconsin rivers was via Green Bay along the Fox river by Durham boats. These boats were from 80 to 100 feet in length, decked over for the protection of their

cargo, and would carry from fifteen to twenty-five tons. They were propelled usually by four but sometimes six men with setting poles and a helmsman. Tow ropes were used whenever occasion required the passage of any of the numerous rapids of the river, and in such cases they were unloaded and their freight rolled or hauled around the rapids; the usual way, however, being to run from Green Bay to Kaukauna, unload and return, leaving their freight to be transported around the rapids, when it was taken on another boat, which proceeded to the next rapids, unloaded, and loading with a cargo destined for the opposite direction, returned. William H. Bruce, of Green Bay, seems to have been the first to engage in this enterprise on private account, establishing a line from Green Bay to Fort Winnebago. Another line was eventually started by Daniel Whitney, also an early resident of Green Bay."

Then came Capt. William Ball. He was born in Southboro, Massachusetts, in 1816, moved to Boston in 1834, to Chicago in 1847 and to Neenah in the spring of 1848. He at once contracted with Mr. Bruce to run that section of the route from Grand Chute and Neenah, including the portage around the rapids at Neenah. Large quantities of flour were being sent at this time by this route from the mills at Wakeford, Dartford, Kingston and Neenah to the fisheries on Green bay and east via the lakes. A number of years later after the building of the plank road from Menasha to Appleton and Kaukauna, Ball became associated with Reuben Doud, who had been in the service of the Durham line with William H. Bruce and operated a horse train of 100 teams between the head of navigation at the Grignon flats at Kaukauna and the shore of the river at Menasha, where the Lake Winnebago boats took up the freight and continued its movement or brought it from up-river points.

The plank road to Kaukauna was completed by 1852, and the next spring Mr. Aaron H. Cronkhite, a lawyer, who came to Neenah in 1848, having abandoned the profession and engaged in different enterprises, now joined with D. C. Van Ostrand, who had settled in Neenah in May, 1850, and established a team line on the plank road route for transfer of freights between the termini of steamboat navigation at Menasha and Kaukauna.

The supervisors of the town of Neenah passed a resolution October 10, 1849, which is found now in the records in the handwriting of Governor Doty, directing the building of a bridge which was to cross the river from the council tree to the resi-

dence of Governor Doty. It was to be a "foot bridge" with the thirty feet of the bridge "over the middle of the stream to be high enough to enable Durham boats with decks to pass and contain a draw to pass other boats if required for navigation." This bridge was commenced in the winter and was carried out by the ice in the spring, when the project of a bridge so near the lake was forever abandoned. The following year the bridge across the river at its present location was first built and the road cut out through the woods across the island, afterward marked on the maps of 1856 as the "plank road."

On becoming proprietor of the village site of Neenah, Col. Harvey Jones had joined with the owners of the island and the rapids on the Menasha side, or north outlet, for the damming of both channels. They applied to the legislature and obtained rights to close the channel in the act of February 8, 1847:

"An act to authorize the construction of a dam across the Fox river—Be it enacted by the Council and House of Representatives of the Territory of Wisconsin:

"Section 1. That Harvey Jones, Loyal H. Jones, Harrison Reed, Charles Doty and Curtis Reed are and they are hereby authorized to erect a dam across Fox river at such point as they may deem suitable on section 27 and lots 3, 4, 7, 8, 9 and 10 in section 22, and the fraction of the said section 22 on the mainland, all in township 20, north of range 17 east, in said territory, and to make use of the water of said river for hydraulic purposes.

"Sec. 2. Said dam shall not exceed seven feet in height above high water mark of said river, and shall contain a suitable and convenient lock, not less than 120 feet long, between the gates, and not less than twenty-four feet wide in the clear of the chambers for the passage of boats, barges and water craft, and the proprietors of said dam shall maintain said lock and shall attend the passage of all such boats, barges and water craft through said lock, free of all charge to the owners thereof, and if the said lock shall not be kept in repair as aforesaid and suitably attended for the safe and speedy passage of any such boat or water craft navigating said stream, said Harvey Jones and his associates, their heirs or assigns, being in possession of the works hereby authorized, shall pay to any person or persons who may be injured by delay, all damages which such person or persons shall sustain thereby, together with all costs which may accrue in suing for or collecting such damages; provided, that said

dam shall not raise the water in Lake Winnebago above its ordinary level.

"Sec. 3. The said Harvey Jones and his associates, their heirs and assigns shall be subject to all the provisions of an act relating to mills and mill dams, approved January 13, 1840.

"Sec. 4. This act may be altered, amended or repealed by any future legislature.

"William Shrew,
"Speaker of House of Representatives.
"Mason C. Darling,
"President of the Council.

"Approved February 8, 1847. Henry Dodge."

Harvey Jones at the time of building this dam owned the land on which it abuts on the south shore of the south outlet. Charles Doty then owned the land on which it abuts on the north shore of the south outlet. Before building the dam Harvey Jones took from Charles Doty conveyance, as follows:

"Quit Claim.

"C. Doty to H. Jones.

"Know all men by these presents—That I, Charles Doty, of Fond du Lac and territory of Wisconsin, for and in consideration of the sum of $1 to me paid, have given, granted and quit claimed, and by these presents do give, grant and quit claim unto Harvey Jones, of the state of New York, and to his heirs and assigns forever, all of the right, title, interest and claim which I have in law or equity to the use of the waters in the Neenah or Fox river for hydraulic purposes, on or adjoining to fractions number 7 and 8 of section 22, in township 20 of range 17 east in the county of Winnebago, in said territory, and do authorize and empower the said Harvey Jones to the full extent of my power and authority as the owner of said fractions to make and construct a dam for the purpose aforesaid on the bank of said river, on said portions or either. To have and to hold the said right and privilege as aforesaid unto the said Harvey Jones, his heirs and assigns forever.

"In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal this 8th day of August, A. D. 1846.

"Charles Doty (L. S.).

"Signed, sealed and delivered in presence of:

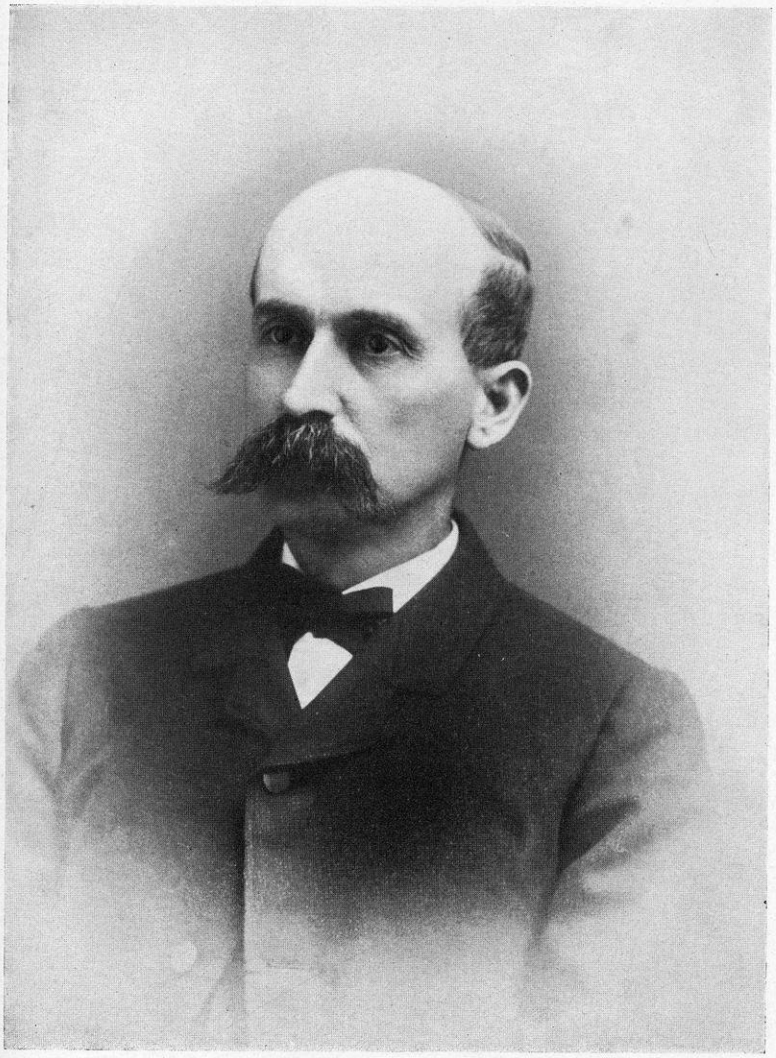
"J. Elliott.
"Henry C. Finch."

This conveyance was acknowledged on January 8, 1847, and recorded February 20, 1847.

The following year the associates of Colonel Jones became interested in the enterprise of building up a rival town at Menasha and obtained an act of the legislature which confirmed this act to Neenah alone and threw all the responsibility of the improvements on Harvey Jones. He employed a large crew of men to build a spar dam 450 feet long across the river on its present site and deepened the old canal or the original mill race, and set to work with great vigor and enterprise with all the means at his command to construct the lock. The enterprise was a great undertaking in those days on the frontier and was intended to supply the mills expected to be erected with power and the canal and lock for the water transportation, which would bring and carry for the millman and the settler.

In its natural state, as shown by the surveys of Captain Cram, the river was 7,720 feet long. The fall between the lakes was seven and a half feet. The depth of water at the mouth of the river was five feet, and at the lower rapids the deepest water was three feet. There were three stages to the rapids, as shown on the Government survey. The upper rapids was just below the Grand loggery, the middle rapids about at the present dam and the lower rapids at the entrance of the river into the lower lake. A wide bend and enlargement of the river bowed way into the land above the mills nearly to Wisconsin street. Near the library a small creek ran across the village, now nearly obliterated. On its banks there was a Menominee Indian village at the coming of the first white people.

At a very early time in the settlement of Wisconsin the subject of a transcontinental navigation by a system of dams, canals and locks between the Great Lakes and the Mississippi was advocated, and the historic Fox and Wisconsin river route was selected as the most economical and practical route as early as 1839, when Captain Cram made his survey. When the state was admitted into the Union in 1848 Congress ceded to the state one-half of three sections along either side of the river "for the purpose of improving the navigation of the Fox and Wisconsin rivers" and the Portage canal. The work was placed under the control of a board of public works, and a land office was located at Oshkosh to sell the lands, the money to be applied to the work. Captain Cram in his survey of 1839 had stated the falls to be overcome at Winnebago Rapids at ten feet, and estimated



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the cost for dam, lock and canal at Winnebago Rapids at $23,748.50 on the depth of five feet, as proposed by him, which the board of public works reduced to four feet, but increased the dimensions of the locks to 125 feet by thirty feet. From the report of the improvements made in 1849 by the board of public works it appears that contracts were made for improving both channels at Winnebago Rapids, but no work was done that year. From this report it seems the state had a hand in the improvements at both Neenah and Menasha, as both rapids were known by the same name. The reports of the board made during their administration from 1848 until 1852, when the work was taken over by the Fox and Wisconsin Improvement Company, shows that no money was expended for any work at either Neenah or Menasha. In the report of C. D. Westbrook, Jr., he gives the condition of the improvement of the channels to November, 1854. Of the Neenah channel he says: "At the Neenah or southern channel the canal lock and dams have been completed ready for use. The improvement here was executed without cost to the state in consideration of the use of the water power. The lock and canal, however, are of the original size. The canal is sixty feet wide on bottom and four feet deep. The lock is 140 feet long by thirty-five feet wide in the chamber." Of the dam he said it was bolted to the solid rock. The lock, he says, was made of timber filled with clay.

In September, 1849, the state board of public works met at Oshkosh. All the influential men of the settlement of Neenah and Menasha were on hand to press their favor on the board to have their channel officially declared the state channel. The Reed and Doty interests were now combined for the north channel at Menasha, as there was strong rivalry between the two near-by villages, both struggling to gain something over the other. Curtis Reed had been a member of this board, but resigned that he might put in a claim for his interests in Menasha. Harvey Jones offered to make all the improvements at Neenah required by the engineers in charge of navigation on the south channel at his own cost if they would establish a line of the state's canal officially on that channel. Curtis Reed offered the same and added $5,000 to be paid if called for. The Menasha channel was selected. This is said to have been a great disappointment to Col. Harvey Jones, as indeed it must have been, as well as to all the villagers. Colonel Jones died within two months of this decision—on November 8, 1849. Mr. Cunningham

says of him: "He was a man of untiring industry, rather nervous and exceedingly anxious concerning all matters wherein he was interested, and indeed it is the general belief among the early settlers that his anxiety concerning his matters here, more particularly the vexatious litigation with Harrison Reed and the disappointment in failing to secure the state canal on his side of the island, so wore upon him as to hasten his death." His sons, Gilbert and Willard Jones, say of his death in a biography of their father: "Early in the fall of 1849 he made a hasty trip to Michigan, returning all worn out and sick with cold, refused to remain at home and doctor, saying he had no time, until about the 1st of November, when his malady assumed a typhoid form, and November 8, 1849, he died, aged 44 years, just in the vigor of manhood and prime of life, even before he had fairly begun to realize his life's ambition."

Col. Harvey Jones was a typical business man and manufacturer, close, careful, methodical. He never returned at night until his books were balanced, and was a constant worker. He was a promising and successful business man. He commenced life as a poor boy in a country store and gradually worked himself up to become a man of affairs. It is related of him that as soon as his brothers had their crops in he would begin trading and buying from them, and generally by harvest time he owned all their crops. He is described as a man of medium height, slim and straight, weighing about 145 pounds, complexion light, hazel eyes with gray hair, his face always shaved. His manners were gentlemanly and he was always courteous in business. His death was a misfortune to Neenah and his estate.

Mr. Jones did not live to complete the improvements, but the administrators of the estate did complete the lock in 1852, and the canal and dam were finished and boats ran through for many years. It was a great event that raised the enthusiasm of the villagers in June, 1856, when the steamer "Aquilla" passed the Neenah locks on her famous trip from Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, to Green Bay. She met with an ovation all along the river. The Fox River Improvement Company had purchased the boat in Pittsburg and run her down the Ohio river, then up the Mississippi river, then up the Wisconsin river and through the Portage canal into the Fox river, then down the river through Princeton, Berlin, Omro to Oshkosh and over Lake Winnebago to Neenah, where she passed the river, canal and locks into Little Lake Butte des Morts on her celebrated trip to Green

Bay. "When that boat passed through Neenah it was a day of great rejoicing throughout the Fox river valley. Guns were fired, flags were hoisted, speeches made and uproarious rejoicings were indulged in at every landing. That was a great day for the Fox river valley."

The "Oshkosh Courier" announces, June 11, 1856: "The work on the lower Fox river has been completed. The 'Ajax' and 'Pioneer' have passed through the locks and canal from below Appleton. The steamer 'Aquilla' has for some weeks made regular trips between Oshkosh and Appleton through the locks and channels at Neenah. It is hardly possible to estimate the importance to Oshkosh of the completion and successful operation of this great enterprise." Many boats passed the channels and pioneer Neenah participated in the economy of transportation incident to navigation over the great water route. The coming of the railroads in 1863, requiring expensive swing bridges over the canals and the lake, discouraged the boat channel until at a very early day the navigation through the town yielded to the greater benefit of railways and steamboats ceased to run in 1863, as solid bridges were made to span the channels of access through Neenah.

Four sluiceways were made into the end of the dam in 1881, and the dam and water power came into control of the Neenah Water Power Company in 1890, composed of the users of hydraulic power on both races, and the same company controls the power at Menasha, bringing the ownership and control of the power of both channels under one control, as it should have remained from the beginning. The council tree point was cut away by the Government in 1890. No freight is now handled by boat at Neenah. The natural channel above the dam, improved by dredging, is extensively used in the summer months by pleasure yachts, operated by sail or run by steam, naphtha and gasoline. The finest of these yachts is the "Cambria," Capt. John Stevens, and "Tia Juana," Commodore William M. Gilbert.

In olden days the people of Neenah entered the competition in steamboating. The second steamboat on Lake Winnebago, the "Peytonia," a famous boat, was built at Neenah. The "Jenny Lind" was the next boat constructed there; then the "Van Ness Barlow," built on the lower lake, and the first boat to pass the Neenah lock in 1852. The experience of the "St. Paul," built to sell to the Government during the war, was the last of the early day experiences at boat building.

XXXI.

WHEN NEENAH WAS KNOWN AS THE "FLOUR CITY."

Among the very earliest of the manufacturing enterprises in Neenah was the making of flour, and at one time there were eleven mills operated at the same time, its product for a number of years mounting into many millions of value. It was recognized as among the leading flour mill centers. The original flour mill built by the government with its one run of stone, repaired and operated under lease of Harrison Reed and then by Harvey Jones, had by 1854 been taken over by Mr. John R. Davis, who improved and operated it until it was burned in 1874 and it gave place to the Winnebago Paper Mill.

The next flour mill erected and the first by private enterprise, long known as the Neenah Flouring Mill, was built by John R. and Harvey L. Kimberly in 1850. The timber was hewn oak cut on the north shore of Lake Winnebago and hauled to the site over the ice. The machinery came from a mill in Rensselaer county, New York, shipped by lake to Green Bay and up river in Durham boats, polled and towed by hand and lines against the current, unloading at the portages, the cargo carried and rolled around the rapids. Mr. H. A. Burts was the millwright and Mr. S. G. Burdick head miller. J. and H. Kimberly operated this mill for fifteen years, becoming closely identified with milling in the West. It is related that their flour sacks were very numerous, and a mother, having made some trousers out of them for her young hopeful, he walked the streets displaying in a prominent part of his person the well-known printed legend, "Kimberly's Best." When the partnership was dissolved Mr. Harvey L. Kimberly took the mill. It was once leased to Oborn & Stevens, and again the firm was Kimberly, Kurtz & Co., and afterward Mr. Harvey L. Kimberly operated it alone until it passed into the control of his son, Daniel Lucius Kimberly, by whom it was conducted until about 1883. The property was taken over by William Davis and in 1903 was nearly destroyed by fire, in which condition it remains, the oldest building on the water power.

Mr. Harvey L. Kimberly arrived in the settlement in June, 1848, and made an agreement with Mr. Jones, which gave him the privilege of purchasing two lots in each block of the plat of Winnebago Rapids. Mr. Kimberly then returned to his home in New Haven, Connecticut, and at once made arrangements accordingly. Forming a partnership with his brother, John R. Kimberly, then a resident of Troy, New York, their native place, and leaving their families behind, they arrived at Neenah in September, having shipped a stock of merchandise from Buffalo to Green Bay by schooner, which they chartered in connection with Jones & Yale for that purpose. On reaching Neenah they then announced their readiness to fulfill their agreement with Jones and carry out their business intentions, but here a difficulty arose. Whenever they made a selection of any lots they were either disposed of or reserved. At last, unable to obtain suitable lots for their purpose, they began to talk of accepting some very favorable offers proposed by Reed at Menasha, which soon produced its effect, and they were permitted to make their own selection for building a residence, a store and mill. It now became necessary for one of them to go to Green Bay to forward their goods shipped from Buffalo. Jones & Yale were also expecting the arrival of their goods at the bay. H. L. Kimberly and L. H. Jones accordingly started on horseback over the trail, a mere bridle path. Mr. Jones being obliged to return home immediately, Mr. Kimberly remained to look after the interest of both in the coming freight. At the end of a week's delay, the necessary arrangements completed, Mr. Kimberly set out on his return, accompanied by H. L. Blood, then proprietor of the Astor House at the Bay, bound for Grand Chute. Arriving at the present site of Appleton, they found John F. Johnston living in a board shanty, the only resident of the place. This being the point of Mr. Blood's destination and unable to find lodging for both, Mr. Kimberly was advised and, in fact, compelled to push on a mile and a half to a Mr. Murch's, near Lehman's Landing. Scarcely had he resumed his way when the sky became overcast and he found himself in almost total darkness, obliged to depend entirely upon the instinct of his horse, which at last brought him to a barway at the roadside. Opening this and unable to see anything, he again seated himself in the saddle with unlimited confidence in his four-footed companion and soon found himself at the house, where he was informed that they had no accommodation for man or beast, but pointing to a light at Mr. Craft's,

some half a mile across the field, he could probably find what he was in search of there. Making his way toward the light, he met with no better success, but was advised to make another effort at Murch's. Retracing his steps, he this time found Murch, who granted his request and entertained him with perfect pioneer hospitality.

On arrival of the goods they were displayed in a building erected for the purpose that year by Benjamin Paddock, who occupied the upper story as a residence, situated across the street from the present library building and which may be seen at the present time.

At that time what we now call the "upper end of town" was supposed to be the site of the business center of the future city, and the four corners near the present track of the Chicago & Northwestern railroad was considered the four most desirable corners in the entire plat. J. & H. Kimberly were exceedingly anxious to secure a building lot at or near these corners, and urged Harvey Jones to sell them such lots as they wished, but Mr. Jones, not wishing to dispose of the most eligible locations, refused and would offer them nothing with which they were satisfied. Finally the Kimberlys began to cast about and thought that they might perhaps do better elsewhere, and they had at that time a most favorable opinion of Depere, which location they had seen while coming up the river. Mr. Curtis Reed, of Menasha, just then interested in securing settlers and particularly business energy and experience as well as capital, made the Kimberly Brothers exceedingly favorable offers, all of which, becoming known to Mr. Jones and he seeing that they were determined to have what they wanted or nothing, finally concluded to give them choice of lots, and arrangements were soon perfected securing a location on which they shortly afterward built a brick store, still standing, and residence lots as well. The large white house, still standing, and one-half of it now occupied by J. A. Kimberly, Jr., was erected in 1849 and was then and for some years the finest house in the county and the admiration of all the early comers and still is a venerable colonial home. The brick store at the time of its building was a very fine store and for many years was the leading store of the town. In 1857 this store was taken over by Mr. J. Alfred Kimberly, son of John R. and Mr. Havilah Babcock, who formed the partnership of Kimberly & Babcock and continued the business in the brick

store until the winter of 1863, when they moved into the Pettibone block, on the corner of Wisconsin and Cedar streets.

Mr. Harvey L. Kimberly was born in Troy, New York, July, 1811. After his visit to Neenah he brought his family the following year and made it his permanent home, engaging in mercantile business and the flour mill enterprise with his brother, John R., as described above. Harvey L. Kimberly was married at New Haven, Connecticut, to Mabel Ann Hoadley. She died in Neenah, leaving two sons—Daniel Lucius and Augustus. Mr. D. L. Kimberly was born in New Haven, May 16, 1841, and came to Neenah with his parents, where he died in 1901. He had engaged in the drug business in 1861, which he continued to 1874, and re-entered in 1881 with Fred Elwers, the old firm being long known as Kimberly & Elwers. He became interested in the old Neenah mill, as mentioned above, in 1865. He was married in 1878 to Miss Frances J. Hewitt, of Menasha. Mr. Kimberly had been mayor, alderman, treasurer and held other offices. The Neenah mill as operated in his time is described in 1881 as having a capacity of 175 barrels of flour per day, containing five sets of corrugated rolls, three sets smooth rolls and three run of stone.

Mr. John R. Kimberly, who came to Neenah with his brother, was born in Troy, New York, January 1, 1801. At the age of fifteen he learned the carpenter trade with his father, Hazard Kimberly, and engaged in contracting and building, buying and selling lots and houses. He came to Neenah with $15,000 and engaged in mercantile and milling, as mentioned above, making great success by his untiring energy and close attention to details. He built with others the Reliance Flour Mills in 1868, his last milling venture. Mr. John R. Kimberly was married November 3, 1828, at Rochester, to Miss Aurelia Aldrich, born March 8, 1802, in Wrentham, Massachusetts. There were five daughters and one son born to them—Eliza R., Mary A., the wife of the late Judge J. B. Hamilton; Delia F., Susan A., S. Emma and J. Alfred Kimberly, so long known in the business life of Neenah.

The next mill erected was the long time Winnebago mill, located on Cedar street just at the end of the river bridge. It was erected by Edward Smith and H. Wheeler in 1852. While building Mr. Hugh Sherry was interested in the plan, but sold out before the mill was finished and erected the Fox river mills. Edward Smith retained his ownership from the beginning, and Mr. John Proctor became his partner in 1857, the firm known

so long as Smith & Proctor. It was a large frame building. Mr. Wheeler was a millwright and planned the mill, and Mr. Hugh Sherry, being a miller, was to run the mill. Smith & Proctor ran this mill for nearly forty years, when the property passed to Kimberly, Clark & Co., and the mill was removed to give room for the Badger Paper Mill.

Mr. John Proctor, so long identified with the milling industry of Neenah, was born in Rowley, Massachusetts, March 30, 1818, came to Neenah in 1857. He was once a member of the legislature. Mr. Edward Smith, who first engaged in mercantile pursuits in Neenah in 1850, was all his life closely identified with its business, financial and civic affairs. He was the first and second mayor and a stockholder and incorporator of the First National Bank, and a stockholder in the first paper mill. His death occurred in 1890 when 68 years of age.

The Fox River Flour Mill was built in 1856 by Hugh Sherry, the father of Henry Sherry, who had been connected with the old Government mill after he came to Neenah in 1849 and was one of the originators of the Winnebago Flour Mill, himself a practical miller. The mill was subsequently sold to William E. and J. R. Ford, who operated it until sold to Kimberly, Clark & Co., on the site of which they erected the Globe Paper Mill, which is still in operation.

Eben and John Welch built a sash factory on the east side of Cedar street, and in 1868 A. W. Patten converted it into a flour mill and sold it in 1877 to Howard & Davis. This mill was controlled and operated by Mr. Charles B. Howard and Mr. John R. Davis, Jr. Mr. Howard became sole owner and on the decline of milling traded the machinery for a farm and sold the land and water right to Kimberly, Clark & Co., then went over to Menasha and built a paper mill. Mr. Davis established the large lumber interests at Phillips.

Mr. C. O. Page and brother built a planing mill, occupied by E. F. Wickert, which was several years used as a flour mill. The Cronkhite & Burdick flour mill in the Lajest building was installed in 1854.

The brick or Atlantic mill, located on the upper race, was commenced by Mr. J. Mills in 1856 and before completion the next year E. W. Peet became interested in it, when it was finished and run several years by Mills & Peet. Burdick & Clements leased the mill in 1861 and ran it one year. Then Clement & Sherry ran it two years until 1864, when Clement &

Stevens began their successful career in this mill. This was J. L. Clements and John Stevens, the inventor of the roller mill. They first leased the mill, then purchased it.

The stone mill adjoining was erected and completed about the same time as the brick mill by James Smith. S. H. Lisk became interested in this mill and the mill was operated under Smith & Lisk. This mill had many leases and owners. First it was leased to Lisk & Patten; then Oborn & Stevens; next Lisk & Porter; then L. C. Porter; then Porter & Olmstead; then O. L. & L. O. Olmstead, and in 1873 was purchased by the firm of Clement & Stevens, then owner of the brick mill, and the brick and stone mills were then combined into the Falcon Mills, the most extensive milling concern in Neenah, with eight run of stone before changing over to the rolls. This was the first mill in the world to operate the corrugated rolls, now the universal milling practice over all the civilized world. The Stevens corrugated rolls were invented and set up in this mill. Mr. Stevens was a practical miller. Some of the millers who had charge of the work in this mill were James Jones, W. T. Patterson and W. W. Patterson. This mill was the first in Neenah to enjoy a railroad siding, having secured a side track six years before it was extended to other mills. The mills are now replaced by the paper mill of the Neenah Paper Company, an extension of the original Patten Paper Company's mill. Mr. J. L. Clement became a large furniture dealer in Milwaukee, and died in January, 1908.

The Reliance Flour Mill of J. A. Kimberly & Co. was a stone structure of original design, erected in 1868 by John R. Kimberly & Co., the firm including Mr. J. Alfred Kimberly and Mr. Havilah Babcock. It was run for ten years by this firm, when Mr. John R. Kimberly transferred his interest in April, 1877, to the partners. The mill was installed by H. A. Burts, millwright, and was forty by seventy-five feet and four stories high. It had six run of stone in the buhr stone days of milling. Some of its millers were James Martin, C. Kurtz, E. Evens and Will Kurtz. The mill was dismantled a few years ago and made into a part of the Badger Paper Mill of Kimberly, Clark & Co.

Mr. A. W. Patten purchased the Page building and substituted flour mill machinery, which he run for several years as the Keystone Mill and then sold to A. D. Gustavus, and it was subsequently remodeled into a planing mill.

The Island City Mills, built in 1867 by Carl Striddie and A. H. F. Krueger, is the only flour mill of all that long list of splendid

enterprises remaining in business in Neenah. Mr. Striddie died in 1877, after which the mill was operated by Mr. Krueger and J. R. Davis, Jr. Later it was organized into a stock company, and after the death of Mr. Krueger in 1906 it has been under the sole management of Mr. E. F. Lachman, who is also president of the Wisconsin Millers' Association. The building is stone and originally thirty-four by sixty feet, but has an addition in the rear. Mr. John Jamison, an old time millwright, had charge of its building. Mr. Krueger was born in Mecklenburg, Germany, 1823, and located on a farm in Clayton until he built this mill. He was nearly all his life while in the city retained in office either as county supervisor, mayor, alderman or other civic office, and was once an assemblyman. The mill is equipped with the roller system and improved machinery with capacity of 200 barrels. The stave making and flour-barrel making industry, which accompany the production of flour, was several times attempted in Neenah and carried on successfully by Mr. Theodore Brown, who commenced in 1866, doing a large business as long as the milling was extensive. The site of the factory on Wisconsin street is now occupied by residences and all trace of the enterprise has disappeared.

Wolf, Walker & Co. built a flour mill in 1879 on the site of the Sherry sawmill. This was the last flour mill to be built in Neenah, but it was abandoned after several years.

XXXII.

THE INVENTION OF THE ROLLER FLOUR MILL.

Wheat, the king of cereals, forms the principal source of the food of the race. The milling of wheat into flour is among the earliest industrial activities of men. It remained for a citizen of Neenah to make the greatest improvement in milling or the grinding of wheat and in the flour product, and in the reduction of cost, that had been brought about in all the history of the world. It is also to the honor of our county that the invention which is outlined in this paper must take rank with the greatest inventions and discoveries of all time.

Methods of milling up to about thirty years ago were approximately but refinements of the earliest primitive uses, a short review of which will best aid us to understand this invention. Mr. J. P. Schumacher, of Green Bay, has in his collection a log cut two feet long with a deep cavity worked into one end of it into which reposes a long pestle with a rounded head. This was used by the Menominee Indians to pound their corn in primitive days and wheat after white contact into a meal. On the Fox river bank at Neenah, on Doty island near the Governor Doty loggery, there is a green stone boulder with a slight polished cavity which was used by the Winnebago for the same purpose.

Similar artifacts have been recovered from the ancient lake dwellings in Switzerland, such as a rounded stone the size of the hand fitting a cavity made into another stone between which the wheat was pulverized. By fitting the upper stone for rotation the original primitive mill called the quern would be formed. In primitive times the preparation of the meal or flour was part of the domestic duties in times as remote as Abraham, as Sarah was asked to "make ready quickly three measures of fine meal." This also displays an early distinction in the product. Similar primitive milling devices are described by Livingston in Africa and exist in India to this day. In Deuteronomy it is laid down "That no man shall take the nether or the upper millstone to pledge, for he taketh the man's life to pledge." Among the Hebrews and Romans the women made both the flour and the

bread. It was not until 173 years before Christ that the first baker introduced the craft, and the first male baker was his own miller. Larger stones were introduced and horse power, then water power made to rotate one on the other. A pair of Roman millstones were found in Adel, in Yorkshire. In very early times in England the maid was the miller as well as baker, as King Ethelbert made a penalty for "any man who should corrupt the King's grinding maid." Sir Walter Scott has described the primitive water mills for Scotland, and Dr. Johnson mentions in his travels the crude water mills and that when they were far away the housewife ground their oats with the quern or hand-mill, which he describes. It was a toy mill consisting of a stone with a cavity into which fitted another stone, having a hole in the center through which the kernels of corn passed between the stones and a handle with which to rotate the upper stone. The lower stone had a spout below through which the meal fell to a basin.

Improvement in the art and increased demand brought out in very early times the millstone, or buhr stone as known for hundreds of years in milling practice. The best stone was found in France and made up of rubble blocks into a round wheel fifty inches in diameter and one foot thick, bound together with iron tires, dressed flat on one side and then dressed or grooved so that when one is rotated on the other the picked or grooved lines will act on the grain run through them like a pair of scissors, "and thus the effect of the stone on the grain is at once cutting, squeezing and crushing." As the kernel of wheat is composed of five parts with several hard and cellular coats and the germ, much of which is not wanted in the flour, this method of crushing and pulverizing all into a mixed mass of fine particles made it next to impossible to refine or separate a good grade of flour from the mixture of bran, middlings, dust and germ. In Hungary, the great milling center of the continent, they made black bread. There was a tax laid on each run of stone and the demand increasing, rather than add more run of stone they devised a cutting machine to aid the stone. It was a set of wooden or iron rolls having their faces fitted with numerous sharp teeth or knives through which the grain was passed, cutting it into shreds, which was then run through between the millstone and ground to powder, greatly increasing the product of the stones and saving the payment of the tax. This was a wheat sawmill used to aid the stone, the only roller mill devised in Hungary,

but was not the non-cutting roller mill invented in Neenah, now the universal milling method used in all the civilized world.

A finer taste in more refined England constantly urged upon the skill of the miller a whiter flour. The effort of the miller was put forth to the utmost to refine the pulverized mass that poured from between the millstones, but his highest effort had only resulted in about 20 per cent, or one-fifth good flour, or flour that was granular and light colored or white; but the bran and middlings were still rich in products not removed and there was crude milling. At this state of the art Rochester became a great milling center, and about 1868 to 1870 Neenah, Wisconsin, was a leading Western milling mart.[1] In 1860 Minneapolis was a sawmill town with a population of 5,809. In 1870 it had 13,066 people. Fifteen years later, after the introduction of the Stevens roller mill for grinding the hard spring wheat, she had a population of 129,200 and had sent a million people into Minnesota and Dakota to raise hard wheat.

The miller's difficult problem is best understood by a study of the wheat itself. After it had passed the primitive millstone his wits were worked overtime to separate the mass into its several parts. The hopelessness of success was in the mass made by the stones in so crushing the parts together, as to make it beyond the bolting cloth to separate the particles. This is best seen in a study of the wheat berry. The center is a fine starch. In the crease is located the germ, which is soft and oily. This makes the low grade flour. The outer coat is a hard, horny covering, called the bran. The inner coat is a finer covering called the middlings. Between these two there is a celular coat designed to keep the fruit from freezing. These cells in the winter wheat are dark; but in the spring or Minnesota red or hard wheat they are almost black, and in old process milling pulverized as fine as flour. Next beneath the middling coat is deposited the granular flour that is most highly prized as whitest and most nutritious, and sells for the highest price. There is more of this granular flour in the hard spring wheat than in the softer winter wheat. The winter wheat was largely raised in Wisconsin, Iowa, Kansas and Missouri, and St. Louis became a center for the milling in winter wheat, as even if particles of the coats and cells became mixed with the flour it

[1] In 1879, Mr. Richard J. Harney stated in "History Winnebago County," published in 1880, that there were seven mills in the city of Neenah in 1879, making 1,425 barrels of flour daily, making an annual output of $2,565,000.

still was the whiter flour, while the hard Dakota wheat, though richer in flour matter, was impossible as a profitable flour making berry, and sold for 30 cents less per bushel in 1870, than Wisconsin winter wheat. The hard northern wheat, which is the keystone of the flour milling world today, was rejected for want of mechanical devices to utilize it. Such in brief was the state of the art and industry when the invention of the Stevens non-cutting roller mill changed the whole milling practice and industry.

Mr. John Stevens, the inventor of the roller flour mill, was born in Llechryd, four miles out of Cardigan, in Cardiganshire, Wales, December 4, 1840, son of John Stevens and Elizabeth (Bowen) Stevens, natives of Wales. By trade the father was a landscape gardener, and was engaged on neighboring landed estates. With his family he early emigrated to Canada. Then in 1850, to Fremont, Ohio; and in 1854, to Neenah, Wisconsin, making the journey by the Michigan Southern Railway to Chicago, thence by boat to Green Bay, where they took the Fox river boat "Pioneer" to Kaukauna, and then by team to Neenah. With the father came the mother, his sons, Ebb, and John, and daughter Eliza. The daughter married Rev. R. W. Davis, a Welch pastor, and both soon returned to Wales, where she died. Ebb Stevens became a soldier and farmer. The father died in Neenah at 96 years of age in 1885.

John Stevens, the son and inventor, was thirteen years of age when he landed in Neenah, where he has made his home ever since. It devolved upon him at this early age to become the main support of the family, and he went to work in the flour mills. He was obliged to be self-supporting and maintain his parents, to be self-educated, and became in the broadest sense a self-made man. He commenced in the mills as a helper and sweeper, and in 1859, was elevated to flour packer at the mill of Smith & Proctor, and the next year went as miller with John Mills, in the brick mill on the upper race. Here occurred the events which changed the milling practice of the world. There came from the east at this time Mr. Tom Oborn, who Mr. Stevens regards as the best miller he ever knew, and he was engaged to peck stone in the brick mill, then operated by John Mills. Mr. Oborn was born in England, where he learned the trade of miller. After a milling career in Neenah of about ten years, he became head miller at Brandon, Fond du Lac county, where he died in 1874.

It was from Tom Oborn that Mr. Stevens learned how to peck or pick stone, and this was different from all milling practice then in use, and different from that taught in the books. It was the practice among all millers to pick the face of the stone in sharp-edged grooves, so that they would cut, slash and rip as well as crush and pulverize the mass between the stone. By this method the best bolting system devised could only separate twenty per cent of good flour. The practice discovered by Tom Oborn was not to peck the stone, but to leave it as smooth as possible. He merely pecked off the higher parts left by the wearing of the stone, and then when he started up the stone run water through them to aid in smoothing them down. By the stone pecking practice of Tom Oborn the mill was enabled to produce twenty-five per cent of good flour, or five barrels more out of every 100 barrels made, than any other mill. This flour was worth $2.00 per barrel more than the other grade. Mr. Oborn taught Mr. Stevens the secret of his methods, and thus assisted him to make a success as a miller. The stone mill had been erected by Smith and Lisk, and was operated under lease. Mr. A. W. Patton had leased the mill and engaged Mr. Stevens as boss miller. He was now twenty-two years of age, and the year before had gone into business with Oborn as Oborn & Stevens in a mill rented of Mr. J. and H. Kimberly, and in 1861 the firm bought the stone mill, and in 1864 he sold out his interest to Sam Oborn. In this year he commenced his career with Mr. J. L. Clements by forming a partnership and purchase of the brick mill mentioned as built by John Mills, and which adjoined the old stone mill of Smith & Lisk. Mr. Olmstead then owned the stone mill, and in 1873 this mill was purchased by Clement & Stevens and the stone and brick mills were joined, under the name of Falcon Mills. After the successful operation of these mills for seventeen years until 1881, Mr. Stevens sold to his partner and quit milling. It was during this partnership that he made the invention of the roller mill, demonstrated its superiority and obtained his patents. When Mr. Stevens sold his interest in the flour milling business, he was a wealthy man, having made a fortune at forty years of age, beginning with nothing, and having both to learn the language, the books, the science of milling, and all of which he accomplished and became a success as a miller and a business man. Asked where he obtained his mechanical ability he replied that his ancestors were all mechanics and in-

ventors, so he came by inheritance to the inventor cult, and every device required at once suggested itself to his ready mind. He invented a self-priming pump; an automatic paint brush for marking barrel heads; but his patented automatic and register scale he regards as among his most useful of millers' devices. This scale was sold to the trust with his patents on the roller mills in 1893.

Pondering over the reason why the smooth milling stone as taught him by Tom Oborn would make better flour and more good flour than the old method, it occurred to him that the reason was in lessened cutting and powdering of the husk of the berry. The wheat berry was rolled open and the flour separated without quite so much pulverizing of the husk or bran and the separation by the bolts resulted in a larger percentage of good flour. His mind was constantly employed to think out some mechanical device that would open the berry and leave the bran practically intact. It was hard to suppose any device possible to change a milling system that had existed in all the history of the world. Any radical change seemed impossible. However, the idea of the crushing between rolls occurred to him. He kept it constantly before him. Every new device that suggested itself repeatedly came back to the rolls. He made numerous drawings, then a crude model, then a wooden set; finally, he had, about 1870-72, some chilled rolls made about twelve inches diameter and two feet long. He sent them to Cincinnati to have a corrugation cut on their faces; but they could not cut the hard steel. He tried the Pusey & Jones machine shops at Wilmington, Delaware, but they could not cut his rolls. Finally he appeared at the famous Farrell & Sons, roll makers, at Ansonia, Connecticut, and they could not cut the chilled rolls; but they could make him a pair of rolls in which they could cut the corrugation in the face. He now obtained his rolls and had his frame made to actuate them, and then invented a device to feed the wheat evenly along the slight opening between the rolls, and began experiments to discover the difference in speed each should run as to the other. Both rolls were actuated in opposite directions to carry the grain through between them, but one roll ran faster than its mate. The adjustment of the mechanism was simply a matter of experiment. The device was successful. He reduced the size of the rolls to nine inches diameter, and set up several of these new devices in his mill. As their superiority over the

stone was at once apparent he threw out the stones and replaced them by roller mills. He could make by the buhr stone process in his mills, running to the highest capacity of his power, 200 barrels of flour each day. By the new process he did make with the same power 500 barrels each day. By the old stone process he could only obtain 25 per cent good flour, other mills only 20 per cent, while by his new process he had 90 per cent good flour. The significance of this can better be understood when it is stated that the good flour brought $2.00 a barrel more than the other grade, and thus Clement & Stevens were making a big sum of money each day over their competitors. They had more than doubled their output and quadrupled the quality without any additional mill or power or expense of operation, and were making 1,000 dollars a day over the ordinary profits of competition. No wonder it created excitement. The mill was securely locked, but people broke in and took plans. A watchman was placed, but they evaded him.

The experiments began in 1870, continued until the mill was successfully operated in 1874. Then Mr. Stevens applied to the oldest patent law firm in the United States to draw his specifications and obtain his patents. They filed the claim for the rollers and were refused a patent, as they would not grant a patent on rollers; they were very old, though never before used in this way. He finally, after two years' delay, sought Parkinson & Parkinson, a patent law firm of Chicago, who seemed to understand better what had been invented. They amended the claims and filed new ones and the patents were issued as allowed by the Patent Office.

Mr. Stevens' first patent is named "John Stevens, Neenah, Wisconsin, for Grain Crushing Roll." Application was filed December 28, 1877, on which patent was granted No. 225,770, dated March 23, 1880. This application is witnessed by his partner, Mr. J. L. Clement, and by Mr. A. W. Hart. The claim is: "In a grinding mill, the combination of rolls geared to revolve at different peripheral rates of speed, and having a dress composed of fine parallel grooves laid near together, with appreciable plane surfaces between and so as to cross each other on the contiguous surfaces of the rolls."

As stated in the specification, "The mill is employed for cracking wheat or other grain, and operating on the same, through the various stages of its reduction to flour and also for grinding and cleaning the bran," and the action of the spiral

grooves operated, as stated as specified, was "admirably adapted to strip adhering starch and gluten from the bran." These grooves, crossing each other in a manner as stated, leave "the husk and germ in the flakey or discoidal condition, most conducive to its effectual separation from the flour and middlings." This patent Mr. Stevens names "the fine scratch roll," and was the "foundation patent," and absolutely a new discovery in milling practice, the most profound in its results of any other device ever invented in the mechanics of flour milling.

In February 13, 1878, he made application for his patent issued May 25, 1880, No. 228,001, for "the Roller Grinding Mill," in which he claimed on the round rib in dressing the face of the roll, or washboard face. This application was witnessed by Solon C. Kemon and Chas. A. Pettit. As outlined in the specifications, the object aimed at in milling is to increase the proportion of middlings and pure flour, leaving the bran and germ in a condition most favorable to their removal. Smooth surfaced rolls would flatten the germ, and allow the bran to pass unpulverized, "and to this extent accomplish the object, but they also cause the middlings to cake or form into flakes or thin disks, that will not pass the meshes of the bolt, and therefore in the end not satisfactory. On the other hand, grooved rolls with sharp edges cut or tear the bran and germ into fine particles," and it gets into the flour. The round rib was "designed to overcome these objections," and is the system of dressing roller mills in universal use today the world over.

It was in this patent that the system of "gradual reduction" was outlined and described by Mr. Stevens, by which the grain was to pass in succession from one set of rolls through another, being bolted or cleaned between each set, and each set having a different degree of fineness to its corrugation. The usual number of sets in the system was six. The first or break rolls have ten ribs or corrugated lines to one inch. The second set or second break had twelve to fourteen ribs, the third set had sixteen to eighteen ribs, the fourth set had eighteen to twenty, the fifth set had twenty-two to twenty-four, and the sixth set had as many as thirty-two ribs to the inch, being mere scratches and intended for middlings rolls. He made a claim in this patent on this system, which was allowed, and reads as follows: "The process of reducing grain to flour, consisting in passing it through a series of sets of rolls, graded in respect to fineness of dress, and through bolts, intermediate between

each set, and the succeeding set of rolls.'' This system is now the universal practice in milling throughout the civilized world.

To offset a possible attempt to overcome his roller system operated in pairs, he devised and applied for a patent on December 16, 1879, for a ''Grinding Mill,'' having a single roll and a concave stationary face between which the grain was to pass. Patent No. 230,834 was issued to John Stevens for this on August 3, 1880. On November 4, 1880, he applied for a patent on a dial indicator devised so the operator could instantly adjust the rolls to each other. The patent issued the next month, December 28, 1880, numbered 236,104. The application for this was witnessed by the late Hon. Robert Shiells, and Mr. Alex. McNaughton. In December 16, 1879, he made application for a blunt non-cutting crest, dressing of the rolls to supplement his system; and later patent was issued January 24, 1882, No. 252,705. December 29, 1882, Mr. Stevens made application for a patent on his complete roller mill frame and housing with adjustments designed for single sets in one frame or double sets. This was witnessed by Mr. J. P. Shiells and the late Mr. Alex. McNaughton. Letters patent was issued September 2, 1884, No. 304,463.

These are the six essential patents Mr. Stevens obtained in the invention of the roller mill. The first two given are the basic invention, which places his name high in the annals of invention. As soon as his mill was fitted, and operated at fabulous profits by the new system, it was next to impossible to keep it to himself. Very soon all the local machine shops were engaged nights and Sundays in secretly trying to form roller sets. Other machine shops did get at the system and mill furnishing concerns vied with each other in devising roller mills. The issue of his patent hung so long in the patent office that by 1880, when the patent was finally issued, the system had been mentioned in the press and talked of for six years.[1]

In 1878 occurred the great flour mill fire in Minneapolis, the one that was attended with disastrous explosion of the flour mill dust, and loss of life. Governor Washburn and others re-

[1]In ''History of Winnebago County,'' by Richard J. Harney, published in 1880, he states under date of 1879, that ''these mills at Neenah are chiefly large substantial structures with all modern improvements in flour mill machinery, to which within the last two years has been added the new patent machinery for the manufacture of patent flour. Patent flour now constitutes about eighty per cent of their product.''

built at once and soon introduced largely of new devices and gradual reduction rolls.

As soon as the basic patent for the roller mill was obtained by Mr. Stevens he arranged with John T. Noye & Sons Company, of Buffalo, to manufacture on royalty, which was paid to him for thirteen years, and this great mill furnishing firm became very successful. As a contemporary word from one of the very well known flour mill firms of Milwaukee we quote their letter to John T. Noye & Sons Company, under date November 22, 1880: "In reply to your inquiry as to how we like the Stevens Rollers, are pleased to say thay exceed our most sanguine expectations, both in the quality of the work, and the percentage of good middlings. The corrugations being non-cutting, do not cut up the germ nor bran, like the sharp cutting roll, consequently the break flour is very white. The longer we use them the better the results. We only regret that we did not know of them before we commenced our improvements, that we might have had them on all our reductions.

"Yours very truly,

"S. H. Seamans & Co."

After thirteen years' operation, under a license to make, the Buffalo firm purchased in 1893, for the use of a syndicate of mill furnishers, which would now be called a trust, the entire rights of Mr. Stevens in all his mill patents, including patents on his automatic dumping and self-registering scale for weighing grain. In 1880, soon after obtaining his first two basic patents. Mr. Stevens visited the mills at Minneapolis, and twenty-two operators settled with him, being all except one, and took shop rights to run the patent rolls on 2,200 sets. Most other mills that had introduced his new system settled at once and took shop rights. Mr. John Stevens also took out patents in Canada, England, Germany and Austria, which included Hungary.

The useful results of the invention are numerous and we can only outline a few of the important ones. In milling it is desirable to have the granular grain or atoms of flour all the same size, as the smaller grain takes the yeast first, and turns it black. This makes heavy bread. The new process milling accomplished the regular, granular grain. And in the rolls the beard of wheat was not broken and pulverized into the mass, as in the old buhr stone system. The germ was so handled in the

new process as to be separated from the flour and passed off into the bran, though in the practice of some mills it is utilized into a low grade flour and sold to a cheap trade.

In the new process milling the husk or shell containing the black cells was crushed together and passed over the bolts with the bran, not pulverized into the mass as in the old process milling. This made it possible to use the hard wheat. Wheat grows only in the temperate zone and far north to a cold line, where it will not ripen. It is richest in nutritious parts useful as a food the nearest that northern cold line where it will not ripen. This wheat is characterized as hard or red spring wheat and grows best on the barren plains of the Dakotas, and throughout that almost unknown, but vast region of western Canada, now fast filling with wheat raising settlers. Under the buhr stone milling this wheat could not be used, and was sold for 30 cents less than winter wheat, as explained above. The roller mill has made it the head of the wheat grains and gives it the highest price, as it had the highest food value. Some day this invention of John Stevens will make Canada rival the United States in flour production. The introduction of the roller mills in the Minneapolis mills in 1880 added 100,000 people to the citizenship of that place in five years, and made it almost at a single bound the flour milling emporium of America, sweeping into its mills annually 33,000,000 bushels of wheat by 1886, that ten years before was almost worthless; and settling the bleak prairies with several millions of hardy pioneers, all raising wheat. This invention drove wheat raising from Wisconsin and the Middle West, which was replaced by the product of cows and corn, and closed the flour mills of his own city.[1]

Not alone did it affect the activities of vast areas of farm lands, it made it impossible and unprofitable to mill longer with the buhr stone. There was no market for the product. The in-

[1]That this movement is still going on is illustrated by the last state census. "The acreage of wheat has decreased from 417,163 acres in 1895, to 210,010 in 1905, and the value from $4,225,728, to $2,263,701." The tobacco crop of Wisconsin is valued at three hundred thousand dollars more than the wheat crop. During the same period of the last ten census years, the cheese and butter output has increased in value $20,401,000 in the state. The total increase in the value of all other farm products is one hundred and six million dollars, while wheat fell off one-half in product and value. In 1895, according to reports made to the Oshkosh "Northwestern," 1,500,650 bushels of wheat was raised in Winnebago county. By the census of 1905, on an acreage of 2,894, there was 35,215 bushels raised in the same county; and by this year's report made by the assessors to the county clerk, the acreage has been reduced in two years to 1,272, or less than one-half.

vention of the roller mill made a scrap heap of $500,000,000 invested in mill machinery around the civilized world. The writer was caught in the flood with two mills, and as no one would buy or sell the flour they made, though it was the good old flour of our childhood, his loss was $30,000.

Dr. Graham in the Graham or whole wheat flour was partly correct, as the best part of the flour was fed to cattle with the middlings; but, to use Dr. Graham's flour now would be a mistake. There is no nutriment in the bran. The middlings are reground on the finest or last set of rolls in the series and the flour resultant brings the highest price and has the highest food value. The new system has made it possible to obtain this result. This flour is richer than the wheat.

The term now so generally used, "Patent flour," came from these inventions.

The saving of power by the use of the roller mill was of great value in itself, as an economy in the art. The reason for this saving was in the short lever of the rolls, as compared to that of the old stone. From the center of the stone where the power of propulsion was applied to the edge where the power was expended, was twenty-five inches. In the roll the distance from the center to the edge was but four and a half inches. The relative value of energy saved was the difference between the shorter and longer lever. In reality it was much more because of the saving in power necessary to actuate the new bolting systems made possible by the character of materials delivered from the rolls, making it possible and desirable to discard the old and cumbersome system of reel bolts.

Mr. Stevens has traveled in every country on the globe, but his first return visit to Europe was not made until May, 1874, when he visited Scotland with the late Hon. Robert Shiells, two years after his invention of the roller mill. He did not visit Hungary until 1884, four years after his basic patents had been issued and three years after he had sold all interest in flour mills, and twelve years after his invention had been made. So there can be no truth in the current rumor that he found the roller mill in Hungary, and brought it home with him. By the time he reached Hungary the only roller mill ever devised in that country was a curiosity or sold for old iron. The system invented by Mr. Stevens was patented and adopted everywhere in that country and no one cares for black bread now. The old black bread mills of Buda Pesth now vie with each

other in a competition for the whitest bread. The wheat sawmill used in Hungary is described on a former page, and was not possible as a prior art defense to the Stevens non-cutting rolls. Some one has erroneously attributed Governor Washburn's success in milling to the introduction of the Hungarian system of gradual reduction milling. There was no such system in Hungary, only as described above, and if he had introduced the system in Minneapolis he would never have made a success of milling.

The annual wheat product of the United States is 700,000,000 bushels, which will make 150,000,000 barrels of flour, worth $900,000,000. The net cost of milling was reduced one-half by the inventions of Mr. Stevens. Supposing this saving in cost of production was partly, if not all, the property of the consumer, then the people of the United States save each year $40,000,000 because of this invention.

XXXIII.

WHY NEENAH IS CALLED THE PAPER CITY.

The earliest paper mill in the state was erected in Milwaukee in 1848, an enterprise of which there is nothing to be found in print; but of which the veteran librarian of the "Sentinel," Mr. Henry W. Bleyer, writes:

"I am not prepared to say that the first paper made in Wisconsin should be credited to Milwaukee, and yet we had a mill here as early as 1848, a four-story brick structure, 40x60, cost $10,000, located on the north side of the Menominee river, about a square west of West Water street bridge. This mill was built by Ludington & Garland, who set out well, though somewhat hampered financially. When their mill was fairly in operation, Milwaukee newspaper publishers were supplied with its product, much to their joy, as their supplies were then subject to the dangers and delays of steamboat and vessel transportation, which, aside from wagoning, was our only means of communication with the east.

"In March of 1849, D. E. Cameron, an attorney-at-law, succeeded Ludington & Garland. By midsummer he was employing ten hands on a pay roll of but $40 a week! Think it over! Paper makers working at $4 a week! He was then turning out newspaper stock at the rate of 110 reams a week, 'enough to supply the entire press of the state,' he said. As he was not supplying all the papers in Wisconsin, he had a ready market in Chicago, which so busied him that he never had spare stock in store. Later the establishment was sold to Noonan & McNab, who soon after moved the machinery to two large frame buildings, about five miles up the Milwaukee river, on the east bank of the stream. John J. Orton had a flouring mill near by, and his operations with those of Noonan & McNab settled and founded a village, which they named Humboldt. In 1864 the dam that furnished power to these mills was washed out by a freshet, and was not rebuilt. The plants remained idle for several years, and the village of Humboldt waned until it no longer had place on the local maps. There was some talk of

renewing operations, when on the night of July 6, 1869, the mills, including Orton's, were wiped out by an incendiary. Early in the 60s, owing to the scarcity of print paper and the consequent high price of the material, the civil war having crippled the mills, several Milwaukee publishers, headed by Jemain & Brightman, of the "Sentinel," incorporated themselves as the Wisconsin Paper Company, and built a mill on the south bank of the Milwaukee river, some distance below the dam. This establishment prospered until 1867, when, on February 20, it was blown to fragments by explosion of one of its boilers. As the paper market had by this time settled to a reasonable basis, the mill was not rebuilt. Beside these ventures in paper making, there was another, one devoted to straw paper and strawboard as specialties. This was situated along the Menominee river, near the Grand avenue viaduct. It was operated by Ernst Prieger & Company, for a while, and then passed into the hands of Winslow A. Nowell, later postmaster at Milwaukee. It continued in operation down to 1875, when it, too, was destroyed by fire. This is all I know about print paper manufacture in Milwaukee. There is nothing in print concerning it, at least I could not find anything, having scoured the files for the meager data that I have at command. I may add here that the late Chief Justice Ryan made the old Ludington & Garland mills the scene of his Jenny Lind club satire."

Of the paper making experience at Whitewater, Mr. B. M. Frees, now in lumber in Chicago writes:

"Dear Sir: I am in receipt of your favor of the 19th with regard to the paper industry at Whitewater. I have known more or less of it since 1863, but there may be something more in detail that President Salisbury, of the Normal school there, could tell you. I think the mill was built somewhere between 1857 and 1860, by J. M. Crombie and associates and manufactured print paper and tea paper for ten years or more, having a capacity of about three and a half tons per day. Dennison & Tanner bought out Crombie some time in the 70s and rebuilt the mill, which was afterwards destroyed by fire and again rebuilt and its capacity increased, I think, to about five tons per day, and they manufactured straw wrapping paper altogether. The mill then stood idle for a number of years and finally L. A. Tanner acquired the interest of Dennison and run it a few years, when it was sold to Allen & Crombie, and they in turn were succeeded by the Whitewater Paper Company, about 1890.

The mill was then largely added to and capacity increased and manufactured for a couple of years straw wrapping, building paper and strawboard, having a capacity of about fifteen tons per day. Along about 1893 it was merged into the Columbia Straw Paper Company, who run it but a short time when it was shut down and remained closed thereafter, was finally sold under foreclosure of the blanket mortgage of the Columbia Straw Paper Company, and dismantled. It is now owned by W. L. R. Stewart, of Whitewater, and myself, but there is no machinery there, and the main buildings are in ruins, but the machine room and warehouse are in a good state of preservation. The water power remains, but almost everything in the shape of machinery except the water wheel is gone. I do not know whether this will do you any good or not, but it is about all I know about it, except that my experience in the paper business cost me too large a sum of money to mention."

Mr. C. P. Richmond, associate with his brother, N. Richmond, came to Appleton in 1849, from New York state, and in 1855 built a paper mill on the upper dam, which burned in 1859. They then commenced the strawboard mill on the lower dam in 1860. Major G. M. Richmond took an active management in 1866, after the war. The mill made wrapper and manilla, about four tons daily. It was dismantled in 1890, by the Sulphite Investment Company who built their large paper mills on its site. This mill was erected by Fighting Bob Evans, and included in its stockholders President Cleveland and other notable men of national character.

Although the mills at Milwaukee, Whitewater and Appleton were built and operated and declined before Neenah got into the game, the real establishment of this great industry in Wisconsin was begun in Neenah, and from this it spread to other places, and became a leading industry until now the United States census places it fifth in its products in this country; the "Paper Trade Journal" gives it third place in number of mills and the "Paper Mill Directory" gives it second place in the United States, a country which produces many times more paper than any other country on the globe. The state census shows 52 firms, with a capital of $24,000,000, employing 6,000 people, who receive $3,500,000 in wages annually. They pay out each year $10,000,000 for material. There are 130 mills, and they make every grade from wrapper to the finest bond papers.

The industry was begun in Neenah with the building of the old red frame mill of the Neenah Paper Company in 1865-6, the first mill in Neenah and the mill whose success, small as it was, started the great industry on its successful career. This mill was erected on the site of the old government sawmill of the mission days, and afterward occupied by the sawmill of Colonel Harvey Jones, at the foot of the race, the site of the present Neenah mill of the Kimberly-Clark Company. It was erected by a stock company, composed of Hiram Smith and his brother, Edward Smith, Nathan Cobb, Dr. N. S. Robinson, John Jamison and Moses Hooper, with a capital stock of $10,000. It was organized with Nathan Cobb president, and Hiram Smith secretary and treasurer.

The machinery and processes in this old mill will be historically interesting, to compare with modern mills. There is something of its processes described in the "Winnebago County Press" under date of September 24, 1870, from which, with details obtained from those who knew the mill, this description is made up. The paper stock was rags; no wood pulp was then in use nor could it be mixed to more than 5 per cent for several years, or until the invention of the cylinder printing press. The rags came from Milwaukee and Chicago, assorted at the mill by women and girls, cut and dusted by the "devil." They were bleached in "lime bleach," holding enough for one day's run. The lime liquor and stock was steam boiled for fourteen hours. This vat was the open tub bleach. It was a wooden tub or tank fourteen feet in diameter. The steam was admitted through a perforated false bottom, forcing the bleach liquors up a central tube, which ejected it over the rags in the tub, and returning down through the rags it repeated its journey up the tube and was ejected over the rags, the tube erupting as often as the steam gathered head below. The boys nicknamed it "Vesuvius." The rotary bleach did not come into use until set up in the Winnebago mill by Mr. Whiting. The Neenah mill had two of these bleach vats to supply the night and day run of the mill. The chemicals used were chloride lime, sulphuric acid and aluminous cake. After the rags were taken from the bleach with pitch forks they were put through the "rag engine" and cut up, and the stock was dropped into "draining vats." One was filled, one emptied each day. They then passed through "beating engines" five hours and the pulp dropped into receiving tubs of 400 pounds capacity, from which the pulp was

pumped into "stuff chests," then over an "agitated screen" to the "former," a square oblong tub, in which revolved the "cylinder," seven feet long by thirty inches diameter, half submerged in the pulp. It was covered with a wire screen over which the pulp gathers on the surface. Another roll rested on this with a wool felt between them, to which the thin layer of pulp adhered and was passed along between other rolls to squeeze out the water, then over the five steam-heated copper drier rolls, which had superseded the charcoal heated drier. These were thirty inches diameter and fifty-four inches long, the width of the paper. There were two polishing rolls at the end of the machine. The paper was cut into squares, as all paper was in those days, and packed in bundles ready for shipment. This paper machine is known as the cylinder machine and stood on wooden posts. The mill made print paper from rags, which was sold at eleven and one-half (11½) cents per pound. When it was operated by Smith & Van Ostrand they advertised that they made "print, book, tea and wrapping paper," but the first real book paper was made by Mr. George A. Whiting in the Winnebago mill next door in 1878.

The old red Neenah mill made 2,500 to 3,000 pounds of paper each day, running twenty-four hours. They claimed the mill could make 3,500 pounds a day. This production seems small in the light of productions of ninety tons made in some Wisconsin mills today, and yet it was the wealth made in paper production under those conditions that gave an impetus to the business and started it in this state. The Globe mill was erected in 1872 to make one and a half tons of paper daily. As late as March 29, 1883, the following appeared in the "Menasha Press:" "Mr. Robinson, a machine tender in a Neenah paper mill, made a wager that he could make 4,800 pounds of paper in twenty-four hours on a cylinder machine. At the expiration of the time he required but one pound more to win the wager, having run off 4,799 pounds." Another press notice shows: "The Neenah Paper Company received an order for ten tons of paper for the 'Tribune,' made the order and shipped it inside of sixty hours." (In 1870.)

The old red Neenah mill used 1,000 tons of stock annually, employed forty persons, used 1,700 cords of wood for heating and used ninety tons of chemicals and required fifty horsepower to operate its machinery. The machine tender was paid $2.50



WILLIAM M. WALKER.

per day of twelve hours day shift and thirteen hours night shift.

Mr. Myron H. P. Haynes came over from the straw board mill at Whitewater to run this mill and remained here until his death in 1890. He was regarded as a skillful pioneer paper maker. After the mill was erected and ready to operate it was leased to Dr. N. S. Robinson for one year. He developed wonderful ability as a manager and made a great success of his venture. He was so successful that he attracted the attention of others to the possibility of the business and others became anxious to venture in this industry. Dr. N. S. Robinson was born and educated in Portland, Me., and came to Neenah in 1848 to practice his chosen profession, where he has been ever since a leading physician. He has held a number of civic positions and was a member of the assembly in 1874, introducing the bill for the Menasha city charter. He may be justly considered as the originator of profit making in paper making and the father of the paper industry in Wisconsin. The company concluded that its great success made it safe to operate the mill on its own account the second year and it was operated with Dr. N. S. Robinson as manager.

The third year it was leased by Hiram Smith and Edward Smith. On September 10, 1867, the "Weekly Times" of Neenah contained this startling item: "The fact that the Neenah paper mill has been leased for the ensuing year for a sum equal to its entire cost has set parties to talking up another mill here. We need manufactories the more, and Neenah will see this in time." The item is doubtless correct, as not long afterward Mr. A. W. Patten had said, "Any fool could make money in paper," and had told a reputable person that he made each year the cost of his mill, which was $60,000. But it must be understood that there never were a brighter colony of men engaged in any line of business anywhere than those then and afterward in paper making. They are far superior in business acumen to any other class of men in business in this country.

Before the expiration of the year Mr. Edward Smith had sold his interest to Mr. D. C. Van Ostrand and the firm became Smith & Van Ostrand, who took over three-quarters of the stock and operated the mill until it was sold to Kimberly, Clark & Co. in 1874, who continued to operate the mill until it was torn down to make room for the building of the great Neenah mill of

Kimberly, Clark & Co. in 1890, a double machine book mill, making an immense product of high grade paper.

At the beginning of 1872 a new firm was considered and a partnership was formed, composed of Charles B. Clark with one-third interest, J. Alfred Kimberly and Havilah Babcock with one-third and George A. Whiting and Frank C. Shattuck one-third. An option was secured on the Peckham foundry. In February the partnership was incorporated and articles of the incorporation of the Fox River Paper Mill Company was filed. Mr. J. A. Kimberly was president and Mr. George A. Whiting was secretary. The next month the incorporation was dissolved and the partnership of Kimberly, Clark & Co. was formed, composed of Mr. J. Alfred Kimberly, Mr. Charles B. Clark, Mr. F. C. Shattuck and Mr. Havilah Babcock, each with one-quarter interest. The Fox river flour mill of Mr. Hugh Sherry was purchased and removed in April, and work begun on the Globe brick mill, which was completed and in operation by October. This was the first mill and first paper mill venture of the firm who have since become the largest paper making concern in the world, with the head office still in Neenah. The mill was extended in 1876 to cover the site of the Peckham & Krueger foundry property, removed for that purpose. In 1906 its machinery was entirely rebuilt and replaced with the latest designs for making book paper. It was the first mill to be provided with a fourdrinier former for starting the paper and contained a number of additional driers to increase the speed. It was operated to make print originally, but subsequent development in the print making mills made print an unprofitable product of this mill. Print is now usually made on 140-inch machines running 600 feet per minute. Mr. Haynes was taken over by Kimberly, Clark & Co. with its purchase of the old red mill in 1874.

Mr. J. Alfred Kimberly was born in Troy, New York, July 18, 1838, and came to Neenah with his family in 1849. After attending school and college he entered the mercantile business, the firm being Kimberly & Babcock. The business in dry goods was originally conducted in the old brick store on Wisconsin street, built by J. & H. Kimberly, and afterward was removed to the corner of Cedar and Wisconsin streets in the Pettibone Block. They made a success of this business. While still in the dry goods line they projected and operated the Reliance flour mill and made a big success of this business. Mr. J. Alfred

Kimberly is still in active business and made a success in his three principal ventures as a merchant, flour and paper maker. Mr. Kimberly was a director in 1871 in the National Bank of Menasha and the National Bank of Neenah, both of which he helped to found and organize. For thirty years he has been on the school board of Neenah, and they have honored him by naming the new high school the Kimberly school. He is regarded as the brightest business man in the county.

Mr. Charles B. Clark was born in Theresa, Jefferson county, New York, August 24, 1844. When eleven years old his parents moved to Neenah. His parents were Luther L. Clark, who died in 1853, and Theda Clark, his widowed mother, with whom he removed to Neenah and took care of until her death at his home, February 16, 1871, aged 67 years. She was born in Jefferson county, New York, and resided at Theresa until she moved to Neenah in 1854. When he was sixteen years of age he went to work for Robert Hold at $2 per week in the furniture factory. Mr. Hold gives a lively sketch of his first acquaintance with the future successful paper manufacturer. The story is related in "Cunningham's History of Neenah:" "This old mill was also the scene of C. B. Clark's introduction to business in Neenah, he being first employed by Mr. Hold to work in this mill at the munificent salary of $7 a month. Mr. Hold gives an amusing account of his first interview with Clark, and inasmuch as the latter is now one of their most prominent and wealthiest business men and manufacturers, it will not be amiss to give it herewith. On the morning of Clark's arrival in Neenah, a penniless boy, he applied to Mr. Hold for a job, but was told that no more help was wanted. This was discouraging and the boy, looking around among the men and boys at work, said 'that he should think among so many he might find something to do.' Mr. Hold, as he expresses it, seeing that there was considerable 'git up and git' about the boy, consulted with the foreman and it was discovered that one of the boys was about to quit work and that a place might be made for the applicant. Therefore Mr. Hold returned and informed the waiting lad that he might commence work next morning. 'But,' says Charley, 'I want to commence now.' This was a poser, but it was finally decided that he should go to work at once, which he did, his first employment being bending chair backs."

When he was eighteen the Civil war broke out and he enlisted as a private in Company I of the Twenty-first Regiment, August,

1862. He was very soon promoted to lieutenant. He was long connected with the volunteer fire department and was several times elected mayor of Neenah. Tom Wall beat him for the State Senate by walking all over the district shaking hands and telling the people "he was poor and that was the best he could do, while he supposed Clark would beat him as he was rich and spending lots of money." The story had its effect and Tom Wall was elected. But soon Mr. Clark went to the Assembly, and when Wall went to bed with a bad case of fever Clark nursed him back to his place in the Senate again. In a few years Mr. Clark was nominated for Congress and elected by 10,000 majority. After his term was completed he was renominated and again elected by a large majority. The third time he was renominated the red school house issue was sprung in the state by the Democrats and the entire Republican party was defeated and Clark with the rest.

On his return to Neenah from the war he entered into a partnership with H. P. Leavens and A. W. Patten, under the name of Leavens, Clark & Co., as hardware merchants on Wisconsin street. In April, 1870, Mr. Patten withdrew and the firm became Leavens & Clark. In about two years Mr. Clark sold his interest in the hardware business and put all his means and energy in the new paper mill enterprise of Kimberly, Clark & Co., destined to rival all similar industries on the globe. This company was excellently composed for successful enterprise, as Mr. Clark was a tireless builder and manager, Mr. Kimberly a most excellent buyer of stock and seller of the product and Mr. Shattuck an expert accountant. So it was arranged at the beginning, but the developments of the business soon left much of the details to other hands. Mr. Clark died in 1891. It was at his funeral, which was attended by a host of people from all parts of the state, that Senator Sawyer had a conversation with Robert M. Lafollett, then practicing law at Madison, which was offensively interpreted, much to the surprise of good Mr. Sawyer, and it afterward became the cause of a bitter battle in the Republican ranks. The party divided into stalwarts and half-breeds.

Mr. Frank C. Shattuck was born in Coleraine, Franklin county, Massachusetts, January 3, 1839, son of Truman and Amanda Shattuck, natives of the same place. After attending school he was clerk in a store and postoffice and at the same employment for four years in New York City, then in Chicago

several years in the notion trade and in 1866 engaged in the notion trade on his own account until he entered into this partnership in 1872. The firm did business as a partnership under the name of Kimberly, Clark & Co., and in 1880 it was incorporated under the name of the Kimberly & Clark Co., and Mr. Shattuck was treasurer. Mr. Shattuck was married June 6, 1876, to Miss Clara A. Merriman, a native of this county.

The Globe mill as first constructed had a capacity of one and a half tons per day and employed about forty hands. The capital stock was soon increased to $400,000, which in 1889 was increased to $1,500,000. The growth of the concern was steady until from a one-machine mill in 1872 it today owns and operates nine mill plants, containing seventeen paper machines ranging in width from 67½ to 155 inches, making all grades of paper from coarse wrapping to fine writing papers. Its product at present is 450 tons of paper, 110 tons of sulphite and 70 tons of ground wood per day. It employs 1,500 persons, and the amount of its annual pay roll is $750,000.

The business of this company, the Telulah Paper Company and the Atlas Paper Company, was succeeded January 5, 1907, by the Kimberly-Clark Company, whose officers are: J. A. Kimberly, president; F. J. Sensenbrenner, first vice-president; J. C. Kimberly, second vice-president; S. F. Shattuck, treasurer; Charles B. Clark, secretary, and P. R. Thom, general superintendent.

The mills owned by this company are the paper mills at Appleton. The old Atlas, three machines, makes 58,000 pounds daily; the Vulcan paper mill, one machine, 12,000 pounds daily; Tioga paper mill, two machines, 25,000 pounds daily; Telulah mills, two machines, making 95,000 pounds book and writing paper daily. The Depere mill, built by this company, was sold to the American Writing Paper Company in 1900. At Kimberly the wrapper mill has two machines, making 20,000 pounds daily, and the writing mill operated by electricity has two wide machines making 90,000 pounds daily of book, writing and bond paper. At Neenah the Globe mill, one machine, makes 24,000 pounds daily; Neenah mill, two machines, makes 34,000 pounds book paper; Badger mill, one machine, makes 25,000 pounds writing and book, using all ground wood and fiber. At Niagara, where the company has a 72-foot head of water on the Menominee river, they have two 156-inch width machines, making 140,000 pounds of paper daily, news and manila fiber. The ground

wood pulp mills at Niagara make 160,000 pounds of pulp daily; the sulphite fiber mills at Kimberly make 100,000 pounds daily, and at Niagara 120,000 pounds daily.

Mr. A. W. Patten had come to Neenah in 1856 from Middlesex county, Massachusetts, where he was born in 1828, and engaged in making chairs, then flour, and dealing in pine lands and iron mining. In 1874 he cleared off the old shops on the head of the canal and built a paper mill with a daily capacity of three and a half tons. He went over to Appleton in a few years and had erected by 1881 the mills of the Patten Paper Company. In the mills at Neenah he made his paper from old paper stock only, making print, book and manila. He put in a rotary in 1879 and changed to rag stock. He did not claim a capacity over three tons for the mill, but by 1877 he had installed a four-drinier. James F. Gleason was head paper maker for some time, then Frank T. Russell, who had begun in the office as shipping and stock clerk, became manager in 1879. Hon. Samuel A. Cook had gone from Calumet county up to Unity into the forest of Northern Wisconsin, and having cut out a fair amount of wealth, sought more civilized surroundings and came over to Neenah and located. Very soon after, with Frank T. Russell, they bought the mill from Mr. Patten, and this was the beginning of Mr. Cook into the paper making business, in which he is still engaged. In 1900 the mill was sold to Mr. John A. Kimberly, Jr., and since then, rebuilt and improved, has been under his management. Under Mr. John A. Kimberly, Jr., the mill now has two wide machines and one pneumatic dried bond machine, making 50,000 pounds of bond, Government envelope and writing and high grade book.

In 1886 Mr. A. W. Patten, with Mr. Henry Hewitt, of Menasha, and Mr. A. W. Priest, bought the power on the lower rapids at Kaukauna and built a dam. The Outagamie mill was erected, a large and profitable enterprise. Mr. John, Alexander and Peter McNaughton, who had been with Mr. Patten in Neenah, became interested in these enterprises, and afterward Mr. John McNaughton extended his interests to mills at Oconto, Park Falls and on the Wisconsin river, and became one of the extensive paper makers.

Mr. John R. Davis, an energetic Welchman, born in Wales in 1817, came to America and finally to Neenah in 1849, a wagon maker by trade. He purchased the old Government flour mill in 1852 and ran it for all the output he could get until one night

in the winter of 1874 the mill took fire and burned with some saw and shingle mills of Henry Sherry near by. This cleared the ground for the Winnebago paper mill. He organized a company, composed of John R. Davis, president; John R. Ford, secretary, and H. Shoemaker, treasurer. The other members of the company were C. H. Servis, C. Newman, Mrs. E. A. Servis and S. M. Brown. The original capacity of the mill was six tons of print. Col. George A. Whiting got into the paper making business at this mill by the purchase, November, 1875, of the Shoemaker stock, and became secretary of this company. He tried the making of book paper in 1878, the first book paper made in the state. Mr. P. D. Squires had come on from an eastern mill and had charge of the Winnebago. He was a splendid paper maker, but at a moment when it was difficult to find anyone to take his place he died, June 21, 1876. Mr. Whiting was compelled to take his place. Some books can still be seen containing the paper he made then. One of them is the "History of Neenah," by Cunningham. Mr. Davis gradually took over the stock of this company, and after his death in 1885 Mr. William Davis had charge of the mill until the death of his brother, David, at Eau Claire, when he moved there and took charge of the Dells mills, in which the brothers controlled a large interest. The Winnebago was sold in 1905 to the Bergstrom Paper Company, of which D. W. Bergstrom is the head and his son, John N. Bergstrom, manager. The mill, many times added to and increased, now contains two machines, making daily 40,000 pounds of super calendar book, railroad manila and cover paper.

Col. G. A. Whiting went from this mill in 1882 to erect the mill at Menasha of Gilbert & Whiting. He was president of the first paper mill on the Wisconsin river below Grand Rapids. Afterward in 1889 he built the Conant dam and erected two mammoth mills below Stevens Point, inaugurating the great paper making industry of the Wisconsin river region. His residence is still in Neenah.

XXXIV.

VARIOUS MANUFACTURING, MERCANTILE AND PUBLIC ENTERPRISES IN BUSINESS AND SOCIAL LIFE— THE DOCTORS AND LAWYERS.

Bergstrom Stove Works, long known as the Neenah Stove Works, was founded by W. N. and A. K. Moore and B. W. Wells under the firm name of Moore & Wells in 1857. After several years Mr. Wells sold his interest to the Moore Brothers and the business was conducted as W. N. & A. K. Moore. The stove works were extended and enlarged and the business grew year after year to larger proportion. Mr. A. K. Moore succeeded to the entire business in 1870, and died in 1873. The enterprise then came into the control of Smith, Van Ostrand & Leavens, with Mr. H. P. Leavens in active management, until January, 1878, when the property was sold to Mr. George O. Bergstrom and Mr. D. W. Bergstrom, who conducted it under the firm name of Bergstrom Brothers, and in 1904 incorporated as the Bergstrom Stove Company. Mr. John Bergstrom, father of these owners, had established a plow works many years ago, which later came into possession of Mr. George O. Bergstrom, and after he purchased into the stove works he added the plow works to the enterprise for several years. There is now manufactured a full and complete line of stoves, ranges and furnaces in both steel and cast iron in all the latest styles and designs, and the product has a wide favor and sale over the Western states. They employ seventy-five skilled men, and their pay roll amounts to $60,000 per annum. The buildings are high and cover several acres of ground. It is a large manufacturing plant in a manufacturing town.

Aylward Sons Company was organized in 1905 with a capital stock of $20,000 and make sanitary iron catch basins and other castings. Their annual output is $50,000, employing twenty men, with a pay roll of $12,000 per annum. Mr. William Aylward, the founder of this business, was born in Ireland, May 4, 1838, came to America in 1844 and to Neenah from Corning, New York, in 1859. He established this foundry in 1871 and

made a large success with hollowware and stoves. Mr. Aylward died in 1904.

Neenah Brass Works was organized July 1, 1905, with a capital stock of $10,000 to make scréen plates, brass and bronze castings. They have recently moved into a new cement building near the St. Paul depot. Johnson Brothers & Wells have their machine shop on the power and have for many years been expert machinists. They make gasoline engines. Robert Jamison also has a machine shop on Cedar street for grinding rolls.

The Neenah Shoe Company has a brick factory between the canals, where it makes its celebrated Neenah shoes for men, women and children. It was organized in 1880 by Mr. Louis Oborn with a capital stock of $25,000. It makes 60,000 pairs annually and employs seventy-five people.

The Jersild Knitting Company was organized March 8, 1901, and reorganized September 9, 1903; the capital stock is $40,000. It makes boys' sweaters, cardigans and ladies' goods, with an annual output of $75,000, and employs 100 people. It is the originator of men's necktie sweaters.

Neenah Knitting Company organized 1904, with a capital stock of $25,000, to make knît goods, at which it employs twenty persons. It makes sweaters and cardigans.

Mr. E. F. Wieckert commenced the business of planing mill and inside furnishings in 1872 and has had a successful business ever since. He also operates a sawmill at Underwood. Mr. A. C. Sorenson has a boat building business on Wisconsin street. Mr. Alexander Billstein was for many years a part of the enterprise of Neenah. He was born in Darmstadt, Germany, October 5, 1831, and came to Neenah in 1856. He was a merchant for many years on the corner of Cedar street, but he was most extensively engaged in buying wool, hides, hops, grain, furs and pelts, doing a business in this line reaching $200,000 a year. Mr. Phillip Gaffney commenced with Mr. Billstein and in 1874, after many years as confidential clerk, was taken into the firm. Afterward he entered into a clothing and dry goods business on his own account, a business he has since pursued with great success.

Mr. William F. H. Arnemann was born in Hanover, Germany, October 14, 1850, moved to West Bend, Wisconsin, and settled in Neenah in 1872, where he engaged in the manufacture of soda water, a business he has continued ever since, together with the manufacture of ginger ale and cream beer and packing and deal-

ing in ice. Mr. Arnemann has been a member of the county board since 1870, mayor and alderman of the city and member of assembly.

Mr. William H. Hess, former proprietor of the Neenah Hotel, on Cedar street, has been alderman and mayor and ran for member of assembly. At present he is president of the county traveling library board and extensively engaged in gold mining at Nome, Alaska, and also in tin mining in Alaska. He visits his far-off possessions only in the summer months.

E. P. Marsh has been fifty years in drugs. He is the son of Rev. Hiram Marsh, a pioneer pastor of the Presbyterian Church.

H. J. Frank established himself in 1899 in fancy creamery butter making and handling butter and dairy products.

Hon. A. D. Eldridge has founded an extensive cheese warehouse business, taking the output of a great many of the factories of Winnebago and the surrounding counties.

Neenah Cold Storage Company was organized in 1887 and its brick buildings near the Central depot contain a floor space of 10,000 feet. Their business is dealing in the products of the farm, dairy, creamery and apiary.

As early as 1849 Mr. D. D. Dodge built the Dodge Hotel, on the site now occupied by the First National Bank, which was destroyed by fire in 1852. A large brick building was then built opposite in 1854, called the Weeden House, afterward known as the Dolsen House, and afterward refinished and known as the Russell House, built in 1875. The city voted $4,000 to aid in its erection. Pettibone Block and Russell House were burned early in the morning of January 14, 1883. The occupants of these and adjoining buildings included the First National Bank, the post-office, Philip Gaffney, dry goods; Kimberly & Elwers, drugs; Osiers, meat market; Clausen & Grams, general store; Judge J. B. Hamilton's law office, Dr. J. R. Barnett's office and others. The mail was saved, and the bank vaults preserved the contents, but most of the occupants lost everything. Nothing was saved from the Russell House, but Mr. Russell awoke all the guests, who were taken out safely. The Russell House and the other buildings were all rebuilt and still remain.

John Roberts, who had opened the National Hotel at Menasha, in 1870, purchased the Grand loggery and the lands adjacent on the bank of the river on Doty island, the old homestead of Governor Doty, and in 1877 erected near the loggery a handsome modern hotel for summer guests, which was very success-

ful, and continued until the death of Mr. Roberts in 1900, after which it passed into other hands and was discontinued as a hotel.

The Schuetzen Bund, an old German organization for recreation and benevolence, erected their large brick hall in 1875 on Cedar street. It was burned in 1892, and the basement built into a livery stable. The park on the lake shore road, so long occupied by the society for its summer outings and dances, was sold to the city for its waterworks plant in 1895.

The Neenah Theater was erected by popular subscription, costing $40,000, and opened December 26, 1902.

Mr. William Krueger, born in Mecklenburg, Germany, September 14, 1830, came to Clayton in 1851 as a farmer and remained until 1866, when he commenced the hardware business in Neenah, which has developed into an extensive business with a furniture store added to its stock. Mr. Krueger was interested in making stoves in the stove foundry of Krueger & Peckham, who in 1871 were employing twelve men and making 1,500 stoves annually. The business was closed in 1876 after an operation of ten years by sale of the property to Kimberly, Clark & Co., who tore down the buildings for the extension of the Globe paper mill.

The brewery of Adam Ergott & Brothers is located in the west limits of the city on the bank of the lake, where it was established nearly thirty years ago. The canning factory near by was run for only three seasons. Sindahl & Matheson's planing mill, formerly occupied by George Danielson, was started in 1907, after the burning of Mr. Sindahl's planing mill, near the Wisconsin Central depot. The carriage factory and garage of Mr. Charles H. Bergstrom is located on Cedar street.

Mr. George M. Schmid, who succeeded his father in the cigar making business, established in 1877, has built up a prosperous business, employing fifteen cigar makers.

Mr. Joseph Reek, the inventor of blackboards, who is of English ancestry, came from his old farm homestead near Lake Geneva, which he still owns, to live on the Deacon Mitchell place, just outside the city limits, a number of years ago. For many years he has been engaged in the invention of blackboards and his blackboard is now specified by school architects everywhere. The slate stone blackboard is undesirable because of its porosity, which cuts away the chalk, creating too much dust. The blackboards of Mr. Reek are made of a paste material, the

contents of which are a secret only known to him. It is plastered on to the wall, where it becomes hard as adamant plaster, and forms a black, hard, compact, polished surface, unequaled by anything ever devised for school room use. He has put on these blackboards in school rooms in half the states of the Union and in many of the finest school buildings, some of them costing over a million dollars.

The Equitable Fraternal Union, an insurance society, was organized in 1897, ten years ago, and has met with great success with 515 charter members from lodges at Neenah, Appleton, Green Bay, Winneconne, Little Chute, Omro, Waupaca, Manawa, New London, Hortonville, Kaukauna, De Pere, Iola and Menasha. F. T. Russell was the first supreme president. The order now has a membership of 19,000, and the territory covered embraces the states of Wisconsin, Michigan and Minnesota. Up to July 1, 1907, the society had paid 384 death claims, aggregating the magnificent sum of $463,371.37, and had accumulated a splendid reserve fund of $515,111.35. It is a particularly noteworthy fact that fully one-half the insured members carry no other insurance. The society claims to hold the record for payment of death claims, it requiring on an average less than six days from the date of the filing of the claim. There is no other society of similar age which has as low a mortality percentage. The records show that during the entire history of the society it has never closed a year with any interest due and unpaid or any principal due and unpaid. Furthermore, the society has never foreclosed a mortgage nor has it ever taken a piece of property in payment of a loan. The value of the real estate on which the society holds first mortgages is worth, upon a conservative appraisement, three times as much as the amount of money loaned thereon. All the supreme officers are under heavy bonds furnished by the National Surety Company of New York. The idea of holding an annual picnic was inaugurated the first year. Two picnics have been held this year, one at Waukesha Beach for the assemblies in the southern part of the state, and the other at Waupaca. Probably three picnics will be held next year.

The Chicago & Northwestern Railway, which had been building north from Janesville for a number of years, finally reached Neenah in January, 1861, the first bill of lading being 100 barrels of flour from Mills & Peet, dated January 15, 1861, but laid their line out on the west shore of Butte des Morts, about two

miles from the mills on the water power. The old cut and grade over which the road was built may still be traced along the fields. The reason of this was the great expense of building through the villages of Neenah and Menasha, requiring four long, costly bridges, the one over the lower lake being nearly a mile long. The business men held a conference and arranged to furnish the right of way, build the bridges and to join with Menasha in a joint cost of a bridge over the lake, so the road was established through the village without cost of roadbed or bridges; only the cost of rail and laying was paid by the railway company. The road was completed across the village on its present location in December, 1862. The depot, at first a wooden structure on the south side of Commercial street on the island, used for both cities, was in 1900 moved to the north side of the street and an elegant brick station erected as an ornament to the town and road. The road does an annual business at this station of $300,000.

The Wisconsin Central Railroad started on the center of the island for Stevens Point and north to Ashland and Minneapolis in 1871. The Milwaukee & Northern Railway was building to Menasha from Milwaukee and joined the Central. After the Central arranged to build from Neenah to Milwaukee and Chicago via Oshkosh and Fond du Lac, the depot was erected on the west side of town, as at present located, and the old depot in Neenah at the foot of Wisconsin street abandoned. The road does a business of $150,000 at this station for both cities. The Northwestern road constructed a side track back of the mills along the whole length of the water power in 1875, and the Milwaukee and Northern in 1879 ran a side track parallel, giving the mills car service at their doors.

The Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul Railway took over the Milwaukee & Northern road in 1890 and built a depot on the lower end of the island. This made three great trunk lines entering Neenah.

The horse street car line between Neenah and Menasha was constructed in 1886 by Mr. Lucius Clark, of South Bend, Indiana, promoter. This road subsequently came under the control of Mr. Schumacker, of Quaker oats fame, and sold to the present Fox river valley electric interurban line in 1896, and made a part of their system built to Kaukauna in 1905. The interurban street car line arrived in Neenah from Oshkosh in 1903.

The telegraph line reached Neenah and Menasha on a line projected from Fond du Lac to Green Bay in 1851. Their local office was located in the Jones and Yale store. This line ran through a dense forest and the wire was fastened along the tops of the trees, poles only being used in intermediate stretches in the absence of trees. The service was quite unsatisfactory. Mr. W. N. Webster has described his experience with the service: "The average time required for the transmission of a message being greater than by stage, with an even chance that it would remain tangled among the tree tops along the way, the writer, having occasion to communicate with Fond du Lac, endeavored for a whole day to get a message over the line. Failing in this, he took the stage at 2 o'clock the next morning at the old Winnebago Hotel, Neenah, 'Dud' Cronkhite proprietor, and reaching Oshkosh at 8 o'clock, went immediately to the telegraph office and asked the telegraph operator if he could get a message to Fond du Lac. He replied, 'Yes, if I can get the d—d machine thawed out.' The subscriber took his breakfast in time to continue his journey to Fond du Lac, deliberating upon the convenience and importance of telegraphy, for which he had ample time, arriving at Fond du Lac at dark. The machine was not thawed out when we returned, and the line became inoperative in 1852."

Since then the Western Union came in with the railroads, and later the Postal line opened an office. Mr. S. F. Henry was the first to introduce the telephone by a line from his drug store to the offices of Dr. James R. Barnett, Sr., and Dr. N. S. Robinson in 1877. Mr. Cunningham in "History of Neenah" says of it in 1878: "The telephone is now a subject of general curiosity, but we deem it probable that in the future it will become quite a common means of rapid communication between offices and manufactories, as well as between offices and residences." This prediction made thirty years ago very soon came to pass. The line was first extended by Mr. Henry to Menasha and to domestic and business places and very soon the Wisconsin Telephone Company absorbed it and continued to perfect the service. It was about five years ago made part of the toll line with extended connection over the entire country. During the last year the wires at Neenah and Menasha have been placed in underground conduits, and in 1908 the company will erect their own exchange buildings on Cedar street. The office for the service in Neenah and Menasha will be located in this building.

The city has always been fortunate in having good doctors and surgeons to attend the sick. Back in the beginning Dr. Ward, of Green Bay, occasionally visited the place. His son is still living on a farm in Kaukauna. Dr. Yale, a retired clergyman, settled as early as 1848 with Col. Harvey Jones. Dr. Fitch, an early physician, was drowned. Dr. Pugsley was connected with the army prior to 1848. Dr. N. S. Robinson came to Neenah in 1847 with its earliest pioneers from Maine, where he had obtained an excellent education. With his family he has been a splendid addition to its professional and social life. He was one of the founders of the First National Bank and the man who first made a success of paper making in the state, being the father of the great enterprise in Wisconsin. Drs. Robinson, Crane and Ayers, of Neenah, have been members of the state assembly, and Drs. Robinson, Barnett, Crane and Torrey were assistant surgeons in the civil war. Dr. Crane, being appointed United States examining surgeon, moved to Green Bay, the location of the office, where he died in 1875. Dr. Torrey died from disease contracted in the Civil war. Dr. Samuel Galentine commenced practice in Neenah in 1858, long connected with professional and civic life in Neenah, and died in 1880. Dr. James R. Barnett came to Neenah in 1871. His office, recently fitted, was burned in the great fire that destroyed the Pettibone Block. He has been an influential and leading citizen. His son, Dr. James R. Barnett, Jr., is now practicing in the city in partnership with his father. Dr. James R. Barnett was born near Waukesha, May 31, 1842. He enlisted from Fond du Lac in the First Wisconsin Cavalry, August, 1862, serving to the end of the war, leaving the services as first lieutenant of Company I. Resuming the study of medicine, he graduated from Rush Medical College in 1868, soon after removing to Neenah, where he has since engaged in the practice of his profession. He was married to Emma G. Scribner, of Fond du Lac. He has been superintendent of schools and president of the Wisconsin Medical Society. He is a Mason, a member of the Lewis Post, G. A. R., and a Republican.

Dr. Isaac Hendon Wright was born October 21, 1813, among the Allegheny mountains in central Pennsylvania, in the township of Union, near Huntington, Pennsylvania. His father, John Wright, was a farmer, and he was born on a farm, where his young life was spent, and in the neighborhood of which he at-

tended the country school. The following is a well written account of his life from the public press of Neenah, Wisconsin:

"In 1834, at the age of 21, he went to Ohio and entered the medical college at Newark, Ohio, where he remained some time, afterward pursuing his studies in Walloughby and Cleveland, graduating in the latter city. In 1848, fourteen years after entering upon a medical career, he came to Oshkosh and with his brother, A. B. Wright, who was also physician, formed a partnership for the practice of his profession. On September 1, 1855, he was married in Henderson, N. Y., to Rachel E. Finney. He continued to make his home in Oshkosh until the year 1875, when he with his family removed to Neenah, where he has since resided. Dr. I. H. Wright and his brother, the late Dr. A. B. Wright, were successful physicians in Oshkosh for many years and had a large and lucrative practice. Their faces and forms were familiar to everyone, especially the old settlers, and their lives were closely interwoven with the early history of that city and the county generally. In their capacity of physicians they ministered to the wants of the new-born infant, restored the sick to health and alleviated the sufferings of those about to die. Dr. I. H. Wright, being the larger of the two, was called 'Big Doc' to distinguish him from his brother, who was equally well known as 'Little Doc.' Dr. Wright continued in the practice of his profession in Neenah as long as his health permitted, as his active nature would not permit him to remain unemployed. In the death of Dr. Wright the county loses an old settler and one of its most historic characters and one who stood well up in his profession. Early day settlers can recall his erect and commanding figure and relate how they have seen him going at full speed, mounted on a fine horse, to answer an urgent call perhaps some distance in the county. Horseback was then the favorite means of transportation used by physicians, and they were often in the saddle for many hours out of the twenty-four, and a man needed for that profession a rugged constitution backed by a tremendous force of will. Such a man was the late Dr. Wright, and though a large share of his early associates and acquaintances have passed on before, he will long he remembered by the rising generation." In "Harney's History of Winnebago County" occurs the following excellent biography: "Among the early settlers of Winnebago county is Dr. I. H. Wright, now (1879) of the city of Neenah. He moved from Ohio to Oshkosh in August, 1847. There was at that time no passable road from

Fond du Lac to Oshkosh and he came in a rowboat. Shortly after his arrival in Oshkosh he commenced the practice of his profession, which he followed for over twenty-five years in that place, then went on a tour through the southwest, passing about two years in traveling and sojourning in that section, during which time he opened up a farm near Salina, Kansas. He traveled extensively in Texas, Arkansas, Missouri, Kansas and other sections, but found no locality so attractive and desirable as a place of residence as his much loved Wisconsin. His family resided in Oshkosh during his travels and he remained in that place about a year after his return, and in 1875 removed to Neenah, following the practice of his profession. There are few men more widely known in this county than Dr. Wright, who is highly esteemed by a host of friends who have known him for more than a quarter of a century.'' While in Ohio making his way by slow stages from town to town toward the West he put up at a hotel and while there the landlord's horse broke his leg. He remarked that he did not study for a veterinary surgeon, but might as well begin on a horse, and he went out and set the leg for the poor beast. On one occasion when diphtheria was epidemic in Oshkosh the doctors held daily meetings to discover a remedy. He made the discovery of a medicine which he prepared and which was as near a sure remedy as has ever been found. John R. Kimberly, a wealthy citizen of Neenah, always declared, ''When Dr. Wright died he would not live long afterward, as no one else could keep him alive.'' He had the most intense disgust for quack doctors and advertisers and would not speak to them. ''In the great fire in Oshkosh in 1871 the handsome home of Dr. Wright, in which his children were born, was burned with hundreds of others in that fire, which destroyed half of the city. It stood opposite the court house. All the family furniture, clothing, papers, pictures and heirlooms burned. In Neenah he had his home on the bank of the Fox river on the island side of the city, near the Northwestern railway. He owned several other houses and some city lots. He had a very large practice among the very best people. Great confidence was placed in his judgment and he was frequently called in consultation. He always had an office in the city, which he retained until a very old man. He was a poor collector and attended the poor without hope of reward, which was too often realized. He was a member of the Masonic Lodge. His family attended the Presbyterian Church. He died at his home in Neenah of apoplexy, November 23, 1893, at the age of 80 years,

1 month and 2 days, and is buried in the Oak Hill Cemetery of that place. He had been an invalid for nearly one year and all expectation of recovery had been abandoned by the family. Their ministrations had been limited to efforts in making his condition as comfortable as possible. The funeral was held from the residence on Friday, at 1:30 o'clock p. m., under the auspices of the Masonic fraternity. Rev. J. E. Chapin was the officiating clergyman."

The leading physicians and surgeons of the present time are Dr. James R. Barnett, Sr. and Jr., Dr. E. J. Smith, Dr. N. S. Robinson, Dr. F. B. Mitchell and Dr. Thomas Jasperson. Dr. S. Gordon Todd gives special attention to the eye, ear, nose and throat.

The lawyer has always held a peculiar place in every community connected with its social, business and civic life. Gov. James D. Doty was the first lawyer to locate here. At a very early day Mr. Cronkhite came as a lawyer, but soon entered its more active business life. Mr. Moses Hooper commenced as a very young lawyer here and soon moved to Oshkosh. Judge J. B. Hamilton held a high place in the profession for upward of half a century, engaging also in real estate and holding many offices in civil life, both local and state. Judge Hamilton opened his law office in Neenah, October, 1849, when the village had less than 300 inhabitants. He was district attorney of Winnebago county in 1852-53, chairman of the board of supervisors in 1856, president of the village in 1857-58, state senator in 1863-64 and 1880, and was appointed by Governor Lewis county judge of Winnebago county in 1864 and again in 1882.

Judge James C. Kerwin is the most distinguished of all the local bar. His celebrated cases are in the records of the Supreme Court, one of which is the telegraph pole case, in which he established the law that the owner of the adjoining lot could claim damage for setting of poles. Another celebrated case was the town of Menasha railroad bond case, mentioned elsewhere, in which he defeated the collection of the bonds. He is now associate justice of the Supreme Court of Wisconsin, having been elected in 1905 by the large majority of 14,000 over a strong railroad opposition. His term is for ten years. He was born in the town of Menasha, this county, May 4, 1850, his parents being Michael and Mary Kerwin. He lived at Menasha during the early part of his life, worked on his father's farm, attended the high school of that place, from which he graduated from a regular course, and his education was finally completed

at the State University. He studied law with A. L. Collins, of Menasha, and graduated at the law school of the university. Previously admitted to the bar at the circuit court of Dane county, he was admitted to the Supreme Court in 1875 and to the United States District Court by Judge Charles E. Dyer, July 10, 1878, at the Oshkosh term of that year. Since his admission he has applied himself with unremitted energy to the practice of his profession at Neenah, having no partner.

Mr. Merritt L. Campbell, lawyer, present member of assembly, came to Neenah in 1889 and has for a long time been secretary of the Fraternal Union. Mr. Jerry Mulloy commenced the law practice in 1899 and was several times elected city attorney.

On Tuesday, December 23, 1884, W. F. McArthur, district attorney, was walking on Main street, Neenah, and had just passed Paepke Brothers' store, when a poor old cripple, Paul Steindel, fired a shot at him from a revolver concealed in his coat pocket, the bullet taking effect in the victim's bowels. He was carried home and Dr. I. H. Wright summoned. In the evening Dr. Wright removed the bullet. The cause of the assault was not known. Steindel was placed in jail at Oshkosh. Five days later Mr. McArthur died. His assailant was reported as "An aged man, badly crippled and regarded by all as a crank." No cause is assigned for the murder. Mr. McArthur was a native of Canada and located in Neenah in 1875, from where he took a two years' course in the University Law School, was admitted to the bar in 1877, elected district attorney in 1882 and defeated by Silas Bullard in 1884.

XXXV.

BANKS, BANKERS AND BANK BUILDINGS.

Mr. Aaron H. Cronkhite, who came to Neenah as a lawyer, soon engaged in transportation, trade and manufacturing, opened a small exchange bank in 1852 with A. T. Cronkhite, a druggist, which later became a bank of issue and continued until 1861. This bank paid 5 per cent interest on deposits.

Hon. Robert Shiells, born in Edinburg, November 21, 1825, after receiving his education at Dollard College, had settled in Milwaukee in 1849. The railway project was then beginning and he commenced as assistant engineer at 50 cents a day and drove the first stake for the first railway in the state near the present Union depot in Milwaukee. After following the survey for several weeks he became head engineer and followed the road across the state to Prairie du Chien until its completion through, where, with Alexander Mitchell, he opened a bank. Mr. David Smith, also of that same famous colony of Scotchmen who came at an early day to Wisconsin, met Mr. Shiells and together they moved to Neenah, where they opened their private bank, September 1, 1861, as the Bank of Neenah. In 1862 Mr. Smith moved to Appleton and became the founder of the present Commercial Bank, while Mr. Shiells remained in Neenah, where he died full of honors and years, October 1, 1907. The Bank of Neenah was continued in that form with Mr. David Smith president and Mr. Robert Shiells cashier, which Dr. Shiells conducted alone until 1865, when he led the movement for the establishment of the National Bank of Neenah, organized November 12, 1865. The stockholders were Henry Hewitt, Sr., Alexander Syme, Henry Hewitt, Jr., of Menasha; A. W. Patten, Alexander Billstein, Edward Smith, Moses Hooper, W. P. Peckham, H. Babcock, J. R. Davis, Sr., J. Alfred Kimberly, J. W. Williams, Dr. N. S. Robinson and Robert Shiells. Henry Hewitt, Sr., was president, and Robert Shiells cashier.

Mr. Robert Shiells, the founder of this bank and banking in Neenah, became intimately associated with the Presbyterian Church and was one of the founders of the library and its presi-

dent for twenty years, and at one time took the position of postmaster after the death of John W. Williams and gave the salary of the office to his widow. He was a student and writer of history and an expert numismatist, possessing a large coin collection. He was a member of the Scottish Antiquarian Society and the only American member of the Scottish Historical Society, with a membership limited to 400, of which Lord Rosebery is president. His poem, "Our Old Wisconsin Home," has been extensively published. He published his book, "Story of the Token," in 1891, since reissued by the Presbyterian Board of Publication, Philadelphia. In every way Mr. Shiells was a most charming man, a splendid member of society, and his death was a great loss to Neenah.

The bank building was originally in the corner of Cedar and Wisconsin street in the Pettibone Building, then known as the Williams Block, and was burned at the great fire. The building was rebuilt with front and quarters specially adapted to banking purposes, and is still occupied by the bank. Mr. John P. Shiells, long connected with the institution and directing its affairs, is now at the head, and Mr. Frank T. Ballister cashier. The capital stock of this bank is $100,000 with surplus of $20,000.

Mr. Ansel Kellogg came over from Oshkosh in 1864 and opened an exchange office, which was discontinued after one year.

Mr. D. C. Van Ostrand had come to Neenah with the earliest pioneers and soon took up the business of transportation, then he engaged in hardware merchandising and for several years, with Mr. Hiram Smith, he was a pioneer paper maker, then engaged in the foundry line of making stoves and always making money. The old firm of Smith & Van Ostrand now opened a private banking and loan office on Cedar street in 1878, which was continued until they led a movement to organize the Manufacturers' Bank in 1885, of which they had the principal interest. The bank was reorganized November 30, 1901, as the National Manufacturers' Bank. In 1902 the bank rebuilt its chambers, fitting the front with New Bedford limestone pillars, giving an appearance of marble, and the interior was refitted in substantial manner. Mr. S. B. Morgan has been cashier almost from the beginning. Both Smith and Van Ostrand have died since the founding of this bank. Mr. William M. Gilbert is president. The capital stock is $75,000 with $15,000 surplus.

XXXVI.

THE NEWSPAPER IN NEENAH.

The press does more for its adopted town than any other one enterprise, and the editor has less return for his labor than most any other enterprise. The first newspaper in Neenah was "The Conservator," established by Harrison Reed, the founder of the "Milwaukee Sentinel." His first issue was May 21, 1856. It was a good weekly, well written, full of news, and boomed the village in every issue. It was a weekly and Whig Republican in politics. It was sold to B. S. Heath in 1858 and moved to Menasha. Established at the same time, almost the same date, was the "Neenah Bulletin," by W. H. Mitchell. It did not survive many weeks. It was succeeded by the "Neenah Democrat," published by D. Hyer, unfortunately located at the period in which it was published, the stirring days before the war, when there were few of that kind.

When Captain J. N. Stone came out of the civil war with an honorable discharge he located in Neenah and established the "Island City Times," the first issue appearing October 22, 1863, and continued to appear regularly until July 15, 1870, when Captain Stone sold out and moved to Appleton, the press and material were taken over by Mr. Tapley from the Green Bay "Advocate," and Mr. W. G. Rich from the Oshkosh "Courier," who changed the name to "Winnebago County Press." Mr. Tapley soon sold to W. G. Rich his interest in the paper and moved away. Mr. W. G. Rich continued the paper until 1871, when he sold the office to Thomas B. Reid, who moved the press and material to Menasha and changed the name to the "Menasha Press," who edited it until 1877.

The Verbeck Brothers commenced to publish a small sheet in 1871, which they called the "Neenah Times," and subsequently enlarged and conducted by them until February 6, 1876, when it was purchased by Brown & Maxwell and given the new name the "Teetotaller." This paper survived for eighteen months.

Captain J. N. Stone had meantime returned and commenced

the publication of the "Neenah News," October 15, 1875. As soon as the old name he had formerly used was available he changed the name, February 6, 1876, to the "Neenah City Times." This paper has been conducted since by Captain Stone, who still sits in the editorial chair, a veteran in two wars—the Civil war and the war of the press, also a civil war. Captain Stone was born in Rochester, N. Y., March 4, 1835, and entered a newspaper office when a mere lad. He had edited several newspapers and when the war broke out dropped the one he had at Gravesville in this state, and enlisted in the Fourth Wisconsin; commissioned Captain company G, Nineteenth Wisconsin, December 31, 1861. He served until December 31, 1863, when, owing to impaired health, he was honorably discharged. While in Appleton he also had a "Times." The "Neenah Weekly Times" was changed to a daily in 1882. He has held several civil offices, such as postmaster, president of the village, mayor of the city, alderman, and superintendent of schools.

When the "Winnebago County Press" was moved to Menasha, in 1871, Mr. Charles H. Boynton commenced the publication of the "Neenah Gazette." An interest was sold to Mr. Gus A. Cunningham, and in August, 1875, he became sole proprietor and continued the paper until May 25, 1878, when, on account of ill health, he sold the paper to Rev. H. K. Webster. Mr. Cunningham died in Neenah June 11, 1878, at 31 years of age. He had been postmaster in Neenah in 1874, and prepared and published an excellent "History of Neenah." After his death his wife conducted the paper in an able manner for some time, when the sale was completed to Rev. Webster. It was sold to C. F. Cole in 1880. Afterward this paper and office was taken over by Mr. H. A. Stone, in 1882, a son of Captain Stone, and conducted as a weekly for several years, when it was absorbed into the "Times."

Mr. Frank S. Verbeck moved his material from Winneconne in 1879, and established the "Herald," and discontinued it the following year.

The Twin City News, a daily and weekly, was founded June 20, 1881, by Potter & Brown, with an office on Commercial street, dated Neenah and Menasha. It was conducted in this manner for some time and the "News Publishing Company" was organized. Mr. L. H. Kimball took over the property October 20, 1884, and continued it for many years, until Mr.

J. R. Bloom came over from Menasha, where he had established the **Menasha Breeze,** and sold it and organized a stock company of the citizens of Neenah, who purchased the "Neenah News" in 1901, which he still conducts. Mr. Bloom learned the printer trade with Governor George W. Peck at La Crosse. He afterward conducted a paper at Fond du Lac. In 1894, he established the "Menasha Breeze," which he conducted for several years, until it passed into the hands of S. Elmer Smith, and subsequently became the "Menasha Record." Mr. L. H. Kimball was brought to Winnebago county when a small boy, and therefore a pioneer. Since selling his interest in the "News" he has been postmaster at Neenah.

XXXVII.

THE GROWTH OF THE CIVIC ORGANIZATION OF THE CITY OF NEENAH, TRACED FROM THE BEGINNING, AND THE PUBLIC IMPROVEMENTS.

When the first settlers came to Winnebago Rapids, the first name of the settlement in 1843, the people were compelled to go to Oshkosh to vote. Harrison Reed obtained the establishment of a postoffice at the Winnebago Rapids, March 14, 1844, and caused it to be named Neenah; but this was not a civil division or town, only the name of a post office. There were but few people in the settlement at that time. The town of Winnebago included the whole county by an act of the Legislature, approved April 1, 1843; and by a general act of the territorial Legislature of 1836, the three Supervisors of this town constituted the county board. The elections and town meetings were held at the house of Webster Stanley at Oshkosh. The next year, after Governor Harrison Reed located in the settlement of Winnebago Rapids, he appeared at an election, held in the house of Webster Stanley at Oshkosh, April 2, 1844, and was elected chairman of the town of Winnebago, which, as stated, included the whole county, and by virtue of the law became the first chairman of the county board of Winnebago county, which consisted of the three supervisors of the said town of which he was one and the chairman.

It was determined at a meeting of the Board of Supervisors of the said town of Winnebago, in January 23, 1846, that at next annual town election the polls be opened at the house of Ira Biard, section 20, town 20, range 17 (now town Neenah), and at other places named. This meeting was held by the board at the house of Joseph Jackson in Oshkosh, who was then chairman. This election was to be held on the first Monday in September, 1846, and was the first vote taken in the present town of Neenah and intended for the accommodation of the settlement of Winnebago Rapids.

There was at this time no county seat or shire town or village, established in the county, and the Territorial Legislature

passed an act February 22, 1845, providing for the election of three commissioners to locate the seat of justice in Winnebago county. The election was held at the annual town meeting of the town of Winnebago, April, 1845, held at the house of Webster Stanley in Oshkosh, resulting in the election of Clark Dickinson, who had been a farmer in the old government mission at Winnebago Rapids in 1835, and now resided south of Oshkosh; and Robert Grignon, one of the old Indian traders, who resided about Big Lake Butte des Morts, and Governor Harrison Reed was tied with Uncle Joseph Jackson, with twenty votes each for third place. At a special election held to determine who should have this place, Governor Harrison Reed had the highest number of votes, and was elected April 24. The three commissioners met July 16, at the house of Webster Stanley in Oshkosh. Harrison Reed made a verbal offer of land and support for the location of the county seat and court house at Neenah; Robert Grignon came in with a proposition from Augustine Grignon for locating it at Butte des Morts. Clark Dickinson presented a proposition from Mr. Chester Ford for locating it at Oshkosh. The commissioners then adjourned until July 31. On that day they came together again and located the county seat at Butte des Morts. The county seat was finally located at Oshkosh, though the settlers of Winnebago Rapids never lost an opportunity to have it located in their vicinity.

The Territorial Legislature passed an act February 11, 1847, authorizing the organization of four towns, one of which was Neenah, covering the territory now included in the towns of Vinland, Clayton, Neenah and Menasha. Until the town of Neenah was organized under this act all the town meetings had been held at Oshkosh. The full minutes of this town meeting of the town of Neenah have been given on a previous page. It was held at the mill house of Loyal H. Jones, April 6, 1847, and Governor James D. Doty was elected chairman, but it seems he did not care for these honors, and did not qualify. He was also elected a commissioner of highways, and the record does not show that he acted. Cornelius Northrup, who had been chosen chairman of the town meeting, continued to act as chairman of the town. A special election was held at the house of James Ladd, in the town of Neenah, September 18, 1847, at which Cornelius Northrup was elected chairman, and H. C. Finch, supervisor, to fill vacancies. There was a meeting of the

supervisors on September 30, 1847, at which the town was divided into five school districts. There was a building erected for a store out on the southeast quarter of section 20, near the present residence of William Tipley in 1847, but after one year was vacated and a school was opened, the first public school in the town proper, taught by Miss Caroline Boynton in 1848-9. She became the wife of Deacon Samuel Mitchell and gave up teaching. The post office kept by Harrison Reed at his house on the lake shore until April 1, 1847, and by John F. Johnston for six months, then by Loyal H. Jones, then Henry C. Finch had the office in 1848, when it was removed to the brick store of J. R. and H. L. Kimberly, when Earl P. Finch, afterwards a lawyer in Oshkosh, was a clerk in the store and deputy postmaster.

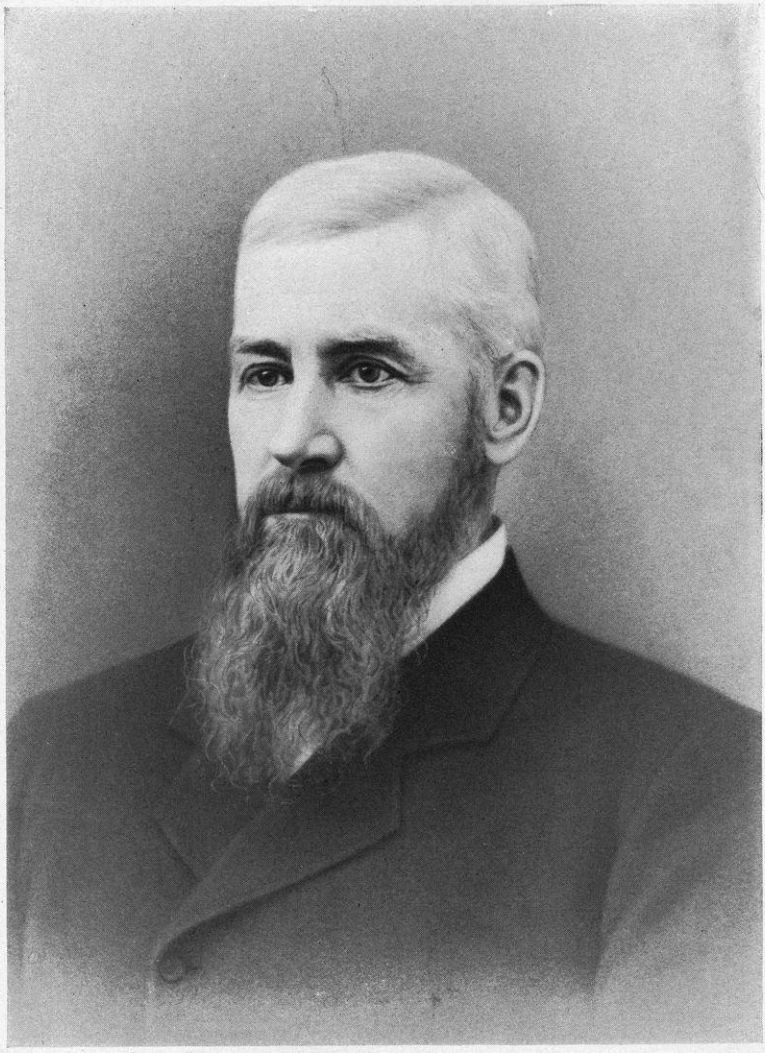
Governor Harrison Reed had caused to be platted a tract of land in the eastern part of the settlement on the lake shore, and recorded the plat in regular form in the Register of Deeds office, September 8, 1847, under the name of the village of Neenah. But this was only a descriptive location by which the lots could be bought and sold, and not a civil or political division. It was not a village because of the plat. Colonel Harvey Jones had caused to be surveyed a large tract of land along the south side of Wisconsin street in the center of the present city, and had the same platted and placed on record in the Register of Deeds office, January 6, 1848, as the village of Winnebago Rapids in the town of Neenah. This did not make it a village; it was only a descriptive name for the sale of lots in the plat.

The question of incorporation as a village came before the Circuit Court of Winnebago, and M. N. Bosworth, C. B. Ranney, and Captain Joseph Keyes, were appointed inspectors of an election to be held, at which the people could vote for and against the incorporation of the settlement into a village, under the authority of Chapter 52 of the Revised Statutes. The vote being favorable the village of Winnebago Rapids was incorporated by the Circuit Court, April 10, 1850, the order of incorporation being recorded in the office of the Register of Deeds at Oshkosh, in Volume H of mortgages, page 476, March 15, 1851. Smith Moores, the Indian trader, was elected first president; D. D. Dodge, who kept "Dodge's Hotel"; A. B. Brien, J. S. Bloom, Loyal H. Jones, and Harvey L. Kimberly were trustees. Judge J. B. Hamilton was elected clerk and Robert

Thompson marshal. At an adjourned meeting of the board of trustees Perrine Yale appeared and qualified as trustee, and was elected village treasurer. At their meeting, July 5, the American half dollar was adopted as the seal of the corporation. In 1851, Smith Moores was re-elected president. It was supposed the proceedings of the organic election had been irregular; but no advantage was taken of this and the election permitted to stand.

From the original records of the town of Neenah found in the office of the City Clerk at Menasha, the following information of interest at the present day has been picked out from the rubbish pile of documents, rich with the signatures, handwriting and laborious work of the pioneer builders of two cities.

At an election held at the school house March 13, 1848, there were 98 votes cast; 90 were for the constitution of the state and 8 against it. At the annual town meeting there were 91 votes cast. Officers elected were Burr T. Craft, chairman; Loyal H. Jones and David Murray, supervisors; Perrine Yale, treasurer; Wm. Denison, clerk. At the presidential election, November 7, there were 185 votes cast. Cass and Butler, electors, had 57; Taylor and Filmore, 69; Harrison Reed and Rufus King were two of these, and Van Buren and Adams, electors, had 50 votes. For register of deeds, G. W. Washburn had the highest number, and Eli Stilson had 57 for county surveyor. James D. Doty, for Congress, had 90 votes, and "Timothy O. How" had 41 votes. At an election held May 8, 1848, for the first state officers Nelson Dewey, who became the first governor, had 52 votes, and John H. Tweedy, the defeated candidate, had 62 votes. For Congress Mason C. Darling had 30 votes, and Alexander L. Collins 62. Warren Chase, "the lone one" of Ceresco, had 30 votes for the Senate and was the first state senator. There were 96 votes cast at this election. The treasurer's report for the year shows $261 taxes collected, and that the collector had 5 per cent for collection. Among the petitions for highways there is one in the clear handwriting of Governor Doty for a road across the island, since known as Naymut street, and in this petition appears the first use of the name Menasha, as it is dated "Menasha, Sept. 1, 1849," and the first signer is "J. D. Doty." At an election held April 3, 1849, there were 172 votes cast in the town meeting. Cornelius Northrup was elected chairman; H. C. Finch and Lucius Taft, supervisors; O. P. Clinton, superintendent of schools. There were seven candidates for Justice, and six



HIRAM W. WEBSTER.

candidates for constables. At a general election held in November, there were 191 votes cast. Nelson Dewey had 91, and Alexander L. Collins, 93 for Governor. At a town meeting held April 2, 1850, there were 243 votes cast. There was a special election called at the school house, but the school being in session it was adjourned to Wheeler & Emmons' office, and one Daniel Church stationed to notify the electors. The general election, November, 1850, was held at Dodge Hotel, and 377 votes cast, of which Governor James D. Doty had 293 and Harrison C. Hobart, 57 for Congress; Kendrick Kimball had 180 for sheriff; J. B. Hamilton, 155, and Edwin Wheeler, 119, Elbridge Smith, 95, for district attorney. At a town meeting, April 25, 1850, a motion was made to hold next meeting at Dodge Hotel in Winnebago Rapids. Amendment to hold at Menasha House, Menasha, lost. The special election notice of December 11, 1851, mentions the school room two doors west of the post office in the village of Winnebago Rapids. Another mentions that the meeting called to meet at the school house, was obliged to adjourn to the school room west of the post office. This shows there were two places in which school met and one of them was on Wisconsin street. The annual contest for place of holding the town meeting was provided for in the rules of order of business: No. 6, "Determine by vote on the place for holding next town meeting" (1851). At elections polls were closed at 5 o'clock and opened between 9 and 10 o'clock. At the town meeting April 1, 1851, Curtis Reed moved "that next town meeting be held at school house in the village of Menasha, and thereafter it be holden alternately at the village of Menasha and Winnebago Rapids." Carried. To offset this the settlers at Winnebago had the territory erected into a village by the Circuit Court, as mentioned above. The records show four acres purchased for a cemetery, from the estate of Harvey Jones, for $37.50. This is the older part of the present cemetery—the north end—and was surveyed in 1851. There were thirteen licenses issued for the sale of intoxicating drinks in 1851. At the election this year there were 338 votes cast. Mathew N. Bosworth, chairman; E. F. O'Connell and Smith Moores, supervisors; Elbridge Smith, clerk, and Edwin Wheeler, treasurer. The first election held at Menasha was November 1, 1851, when a poll was ordered opened there for the settlers to vote at a general election. Polls opened at the Decker House, and the first town meeting held at Menasha was April 6, 1852.

It appears that the organization of the village of Winnebago Rapids was held to be illegal, although it was ignored; but March 28, 1856, the village plats of Winnebago Rapids and Neenah were consolidated by change of the corporate name of Winnebago Rapids to Neenah, and the village incorporated by the county board, and this was the first legal use of the name Neenah as applied to the village. The following were the various village officers elected thereafter:

J. B. Hamilton, president; A. G. LaGrange, clerk; J. R. Kimberly, Jeremiah Cummings, Ed. Smith, D. R. Pangborn, H. O. Crane and A. H. Cronkhite, trustees. In 1857 the officers were: J. B. Hamilton, president; Samuel Roberts, clerk; J. H. Townsend, S. G. Burdick, J. R. Davis, E. S. Welch, Ed. Smith and H. O. Crane, trustees.

In 1858, D. R. Pangborn, president; J. Clitz Perry, clerk; George H. Clement, Ira Howard, James W. Weeden, I. H. Torrey, J. H. Peckham and J. E. Shattuck, trustees.

In 1859, D. C. Van Ostrand, president; Moses Hooper, clerk; John W. Williams, Newell Demerrit, Abner Smith, O. T. Walker, John A. Welch and L. Milton Marsh, trustees. Two hundred and sixty-one votes were cast at this election.

In 1860, D. C. Van Ostrand, president; I. W. Hunt, clerk; Charles A. Leavens, J. L. Clement, A. E. Cross, S. G. Burdick, Robert Hold and W. M. Moore, trustees.

In 1861, Edwin L. Hubbard, president; I. W. Hunt, clerk; C. J. Packard, P. R. Williams, Hugh McGregor, E. P. Marsh, James Smith and Charles A. Leavens, trustees.

In 1862, Charles A. Leavens, president; Samuel Roberts, clerk; I. L. Doton, Hugh McGregor, John Jamison, John Hunt, Hiram Shoemaker and Theodore Brown, trustees.

In 1863, Charles A. Leavens, president; H. P. Leavens, clerk; Hugh McGregor, John Jamison, I. L. Doton, Lovel Stowe, John R. Ford and Henry Wildfang, trustees.

In 1864, H. P. Leavens, president; J. N. Stone, clerk; I. L. Doton, Hiram Smith, S. J. Maxwell, John R. Ford, Joshua Kurtz and Loval Stowe, trustees.

In 1865, Wm. Pitt Peckham, president; R. D. Torrey, clerk; D. L. Kimberly, Hugh McGregor, W. R. Jones, Martin Gavan, U. C. Wheeler and J. L. Clement, trustees.

In 1866, Samuel Galentine, president; W. W. Daggett, clerk; Henry Clark, Alexander Billstein, R. D. Torrey, Robert Hold, C. B. Manville and Alexander Moore, trustees.

In 1867, Samuel Galentine, president; W. W. Daggett, clerk; W. B. M. Young, Newell Demerrit, G. C. Jones, John Bergstrom, S. E. Ford and A. E. Cross, trustees.

In 1868, J. N. Stone, president; W. W. Daggett, clerk; G. C. Jones, Henry Clark, Hugh McGregor, John Bergstrom, W. P. Peckham and A. K. Moore, trustees.

In 1869, Wm. Pitt Peckham, president; W. W. Daggett, clerk; D. C. Van Ostrand, Hugh McGregor, Alexander Billstein, M. Hayward, John Bergstrom and John Hunt, trustees.

In 1870, Alex. Billstein, president; W. W. Daggett, clerk; Hugh McGregor, John R. Davis, A. H. F. Krueger, A. E. Cross, Martin Gavin and Evan Johnson, trustees.

In 1871, Robert Shiells, president; D. E. Markham, clerk; Hugh McGregor, Theodore Brown, Franklin Pickard, D. L. Kimberly, A. E. Cross and Harold Nelson, trustees. Four hundred and thirty-two votes were cast at this election.

In 1872, Alex. Billstein, president; D. E. Markham, clerk; Martin Gavin, A. E. Cross, M. E. Sorley, Theodore Brown, Daniel Barnes and S. G. Kellogg, trustees.

The village had now outgrown the settlement days, and desiring wider authority for improvements and public utilities, applied for and obtained a city charter from the Legislature, March 13, 1873, by which the city was divided into three wards, since changed to four, and on the 31st of the same month was held the first charter election. The seal adopted was the council tree. The following is a list of city officers to date:

Edward Smith, mayor; William Kellett and John B. Russell, aldermen of the First Ward; Ansel W. Patten and Andrew Michelson, aldermen of the Second Ward; A. H. F. Krueger and John Bergstrom, aldermen of the Third Ward.

At the first meeting of the council, April 5, Carl J. Kraby was elected city clerk; J. B. Hamilton, attorney, and J. L. Mathews, chief of police. James Conlan was at the charter election, chosen police justice; George Donelson, treasurer, and Lovel Stowe, justice of the peace, for the First Ward.

In 1874, Edward Smith, mayor; Carl J. Kraby, clerk; H. P. Leavens, William Kellett, A. H. F. Krueger, J. O'Brien, A. W. Patten and M. E. Sorley, aldermen. The charter was now amended, providing for four wards.

In 1875, Alexander Billstein, mayor; Carl J. Kraby, clerk; G. C. Jones, H. P. Leavens, Hugh McGregor, J. O'Brien, Charles

Petzhold, William Robinson, M. E. Sorley and J. W. Tobey, aldermen.

In 1876, A. H. F. Krueger, mayor; C. J. Kraby, clerk; Martin Gaven, M. H. P. Haynes, Wm. Kettell, Hugh McGregor, William Pitt Peckham, Charles Petzhold, J. W. Tobey and G. C. Jones, aldermen.

In 1877, D. L. Kimberly, mayor; C. J. Kraby, clerk; John R. Davis, Martin Gavin, M. H. P. Haynes, J. W. Hunt, Andrew Jagerson, William Kellett, W. P. Peckham and Henry Sherry, aldermen.

In 1878, A. H. F. Krueger, mayor; C. J. Kraby, clerk; G. Christenson, J. R. Davis, J. W. Hunt, A. Jagerson, John Roberts, Henry Sherry, E. L. Sawyer and J. W. Tobey, aldermen.

In 1879, Wm. Kellett, mayor; C. J. Kraby, clerk; Andrew Michelson, treasurer; J. R. Davis, Sr., N. Demerritt, G. Bergstrom, G. Christenson, G. A. Whiting, John Roberts, A. Guldager, J. O. Tobey, aldermen.

1880—Mayor, C. B. Clark; clerk, G. W. Ladd; aldermen, (1) J. R. Davis, Newell Demerritt, (2) Geo. O. Bergstrom, C. W. Howard, (3) Geo. A. Whiting, A. J. Whitnack, (4) Fred. Guldager, Nels C. Jensen.

1881—Mayor, C. B. Clark; clerk, G. W. Ladd; treasurer, H. E. Coats; aldermen, (1) Norman Willard, Newell Demerritt, (2) Geo. O. Bergstrom, C. W. Howard, (3) Geo. A. Whiting, A. J. Whitnack, (4) Wm. Aylward, Nels C. Jensen.

1882—Mayor, C. B. Clark; clerk, G. W. Ladd; aldermen, (1) J. R. Davis, Norman Willard, (2) John Gerhardt, Geo. O. Bergstrom, (3) John Roberts, Geo. A. Whiting, (4) Geo. Danalson, Wm. Aylward.

1883—Mayor, A. H. J. Krueger; clerk, I. N. Stone; treasurer, S. A. Simpson; aldermen, (1) Norman Willard, J. R. Davis, (2) Andrew Jagerson, John Gerhardt, (3) Henry Clark, John Roberts, (4) Wm. Aylward, Geo. Danalson.

1884—Mayor, Geo. A. Whiting; clerk, J. C. Kerwin; treasurer, Bernard Johnson; aldermen, (1) C. B. Clark, Norman Willard, (2) Chas. Paepke, Andrew Jagerson, (3) I. W. Hunt, Henry Clark, (4) Geo. Jagerson, Wm. Aylward.

1885—Mayor, George A. Whiting; clerk, J. C. Kerwin; treasurer, Peter D. Kraby; aldermen, (1) Louis Weber, C. B. Clark, (2) Andrew Jagerson, Chas. Paepke, (3) I. I. Fish, I. W. Hunt, (4) Wm. Aylward, Geo. H. Jagerson.

1886—Mayor, Geo. A. Whiting; treasurer, Peter D. Kraby;

clerk, J. P. Rassmussen; aldermen, (1) Geo. E. Scott, Louis Weber, (2) Wm. Arneman, A. Jagerson, (3) Louis Hertzeger, I. I. Fish, (4) Geo. Jagerson, Wm. Aylward.

1887—Mayor, E. W. Clark; treasurer, Theodore Paepke; clerk, S. M. Sykes; aldermen, (1) Louis Weber, Geo. E. Scott, (2) Ole O. Myhre, Wm. Arneman, (3) John Roberts, Louis Hertzeger, (4) Fred Fritzen, Wm. Aylward.

1888—Mayor, Wm. Arneman; treasurer, Theodore Paepke; clerk, S. M. Sykes; aldermen, (1) I. E. Johnson, Louis Weber, (2) W. H. Hesse, Ole O. Myhre, (3) Louis Hertzeger, John Roberts, (4) Peter Baumgarten, Fred Fritzen.

1889—Mayor, S. A. Cook; treasurer, Gustave Kahlfas; clerk, S. M. Sykes; aldermen, (1) W. L. Davis, I. E. Johnson, Ole E. Myhre, W. H. Hesse, (3) G. H. Albee, Louis Hertzeger, (4) Fred Fritzen, Peter Baumgarten.

1890—Mayor, Geo. O. Bergstrom; treasurer, A. W. Kellogg; clerk, S. M. Sykes; aldermen, (1) Wm. Krueger, W. C. Davis, (2) Wm. H. Hesse, Ole O. Myhre, (3) J. F. Ellis, G. H. Albee, (4) Peter Baumgarten, Fred Fritzen.

1891—Mayor, W. H. Hesse; treasurer, A. W. Kellogg; clerk, S. M. Sykes; aldermen, (1) F. T. Russell, Wm. Krueger, (2) Carl Clausen, C. Kaelsch, (3) I. W. Brown, I. F. Ellis, (4) Theodore Nelson, Peter Baumgarten.

1892—Mayor, E. J. Lackman; treasurer, F. J. Baird; clerk, S. M. Sykes; aldermen, (1) Stephen Zemlock, F. E. Russell, (2) A. W. Kellogg, Carl Clausen, (3) John Stilp, Jr., I. W. Brown, (4) Geo. Jagerson, Theodore Nelson.

1893—Mayor, Wm. Arneman; treasurer, F. J. Baird; clerk, S. M. Sykes; aldermen, (1) K. Germanson, Stephen Zemlock, (2) Andrew Jagerson, A. W. Kellogg, (3) J. F. Ellis, John Stilp, Jr., (4) Theodore Nelson, Geo. Jagerson.

1894—Mayor, E. A. Williams; treasurer, T. E. Gallahan; clerk, T. T. Moulton; aldermen, (1) S. I. Chalfant, K. Germanson, (2) A. D. Eldridge, Andrew Jagerson, (3) I. H. Healy, I. F. Ellis, (4) E. Giddings, Theodore Nelson.

1895—Mayor, Wm. Arnemen; treasurer, K. Hermanson; clerk, T. T. Moulton; aldermen, (1) W. L. Davis, S. I. Chalfant, (2) Andrew Jagerson, A. D. Eldredge, (3) James H. Wright, J. H. Healy, (4) Geo. Jagerson, E. Giddings.

1896—Mayor, Geo. O. Bergstrom; treasurer, K. Germanson; clerk, T. T. Moulton; aldermen, (1) H. E. Coats, W. L. Davis,

(2) Andrew Jagerson, Geo. M. Schmidt, (3) J. H. Wright, L. H. Freeman, (4) Lauretz Nelson, George Jagerson.

1897—Mayor, Geo. O. Bergstrom; treasurer, August Striddie; clerk, T. T. Moulton; aldermen, (1) W. L. Davis, H. E. Coats, (2) Ole O. Myhre, Geo. M. Schmidt, (3) John Christoph, L. H. Freeman, (4) Geo. A. Jagerson, Lauritz Nelson.

1898—Mayor, J. N. Stone; clerk, S. M. Sykes; treasurer, Fred. Fritzen; aldermen, (1) C. W. Nelson, W. L. Davis, (2) Chas. Schultz, Ole O. Myhre, (3) Louis Hertzeger, John Christoph, (4) Wm. Aylward, Geo. A. Jagerson.

1899—Mayor, Thomas Higgins; treasurer, Fred Fritzen; clerk, S. M. Sykes; aldermen, U. L. Youmans, C. N. Nelson, (2) Ole O. Myhre, Chas. Schultz, (3) Gavin Young, Louis Hertzeger, (4) Geo. A. Jagerson, Wm. Aylward, Jr.

1900—Mayor, Gustave Kahlfas; treasurer, H. H. Clausen; clerk, Geo. H. La Tourneux; aldermen, (1) C. W. Nelson, J. L. Youmans, (2) I. F. Brown, Jr., Ole O. Myhre, (3) Louis Hertzeger, Gavin Young, (4) Geo. F. Thompson, Geo. A. Jagerson.

1901—Mayor, M. L. Campbell; treasurer, E. P. Marsh; clerk, J. P. Keating; aldermen, (1) Geo. Christoph, C. W. Nelson, (2) Willard Lansing, I. F. Brown, Jr., (3) L. H. Freeman, Louis Hertzeger, (4) A. Schoettler, Geo. F. Thompson.

1902—Mayor for two years, Charles Schultz; treasurer two years, Geo. A. Jagerson; clerk, J. P. Keating; aldermen, (1) Wm. Woeckner, Geo. Christoph, (2) Max Thurmanson, Willard Lansing, (3) Frank Mace, L. H. Freeman, (4) Geo. F. Thompson, A. Schoettler.

1903—Aldermen (1) Geo. Christoph, Wm. Woeckner, (2) E. R. Gleason, M. T. Thurmanson, (3) L. H. Freeman, Frank Mace, (4) Geo. Jagerson, Geo. F. Thompson; clerk, J. P. Keating.

1904—Mayor for term of two years, Charles Schultz; treasurer, two years' term, Geo. Danalson; clerk, J. P. Keating; aldermen, (1) Gilbert Neff, Geo. Christoph, (2) Max Thurmanson, E. B. Pratt, (3) John Stilp, L. H. Freeman, (4) J. H. Briehl, Geo. Jagerson.

1905—Clerk, J. P. Keating; aldermen, (1) George Christoph, Gilbert Neff, (2) E. B. Pride, Max Thurmanson, (3) L. H. Freeman, John Stilp, (4) Geo. Jagerson, Joe H. Briehl.

1906—Mayor for two years, Charles Schultz; treasurer, two-year term, Carl Clausen; clerk, J. P. Keating; aldermen, (1) Gilbert Neff, Geo. Christoph, (2) J. O. Robinson, E. B. Pride, (3) E. R. Williams, John Stilp, (4) Geo. Jagerson, I. P. Jensen.

1907—Clerk, J. P. Keating; aldermen, (1) F. A. Leavens, Gilbert Neff, (2) F. L. Haertle, I. O. Robinson, (3) Robt. Jamison, Jno. Stilp, (4) Geo. Jagerson, J. P. Jensen.

XXXVIII.

THE LOG SCHOOL HOUSE "NOT WORTH A RED CENT"—THE PIONEER TEACHER AT SIX DOLLARS A MONTH, AND THE NEW PALACE SCHOOL EDIFICES, WITH THEIR NORMAL CORPS OF PROFESSORS AND INSTRUCTORS.

It is mentioned by Rev. O. P. Clinton that in "the early part of the summer of 1846, we renovated an old block house, which we found without floor, door or windows, and appropriated it to church and school purposes. In this house the lamented Deacon Mitchell was married in a public congregation to his estimable wife, Miss Caroline Boynton, a former pupil of mine." This was a description of the oldest school house since the older mission of ten years before, and it stood on Doty avenue. The name of the teacher of the old mission was Gregory. This may have been Almon Gregory, who had been a teacher in the Cadle mission at Green Bay. Miss Caroline Northrup taught in this first log cabin school house, made into a church of a Sunday and school house of a week day, and a place for town meetings on Saturday or vacation days. Some one had erected a building for a store out on the Oshkosh road near the present cemetery, which being unused was occupied by Miss Caroline Boynton, with a country school in 1848 and 1849. Having been married to Deacon Mitchell she gave up the pioneer teaching to other people. There is evidence through the old records of continuous school. The school taught by Miss Caroline Boynton contained twelve pupils, her salary was $6.00 per month; but in a few years the teachers were paid $18.00 per month. The total cost of these early schools was very slight compared with the annual budget of the present day of $15,000, $6,000 of which is paid by the state.

Report for September 1 of school district No. 1, Winnebago Rapids, 1850, give the number of male children over 4 and under 20, as eighty-one, number female children same age, eighty-two. There were seven children under 4 years and three over 20 who attended school. Whole number in school during the year of

seven and one-half months, 115. Newell De Merritt taught four months, for $100.00, Mrs. E. M. P. Lindsley three and one-half months, for $56.00; Mrs. Emiline Brewster, four months for $64.00; Miss Louise Jones, three and one-half months, for $42. "The school house, built of logs not worth one red cent, for the use made of it." It has "one chair, one table." The next year there is evidence of two school buildings, one a room two doors west of the post office, which was then in the Kimberly store on Wisconsin street, and another school building also in use, probably on Doty avenue, as one town meeting, adjourned from a school house where school was in session, to the other, which seemed not to be in use that day. The report of the school superintendent of Winnebago Rapids for 1851 shows 139 children of school age, and 102 attending school. Edgar M. Paddock taught four months at $25.00 per month, and Miss Frances Ward four months at $18.00 per month. Under the village, ward schools were established in the third, fourth and first wards, mostly frame buildings. After the coming of the city charter and by the centennial year a sentiment had grown up for a higher and more efficient education, and a vote was ordered to be taken February, 1876, on the question of instituting a public high school system, which was favorable and the first class graduated from the new high school, held their commencement exercises in Schuetzen Hall on Cedar street, June 29, 1876. The class was composed of Jessie Cooke, Nellie Herrick, Minnie Gittins, Della Brown, Mamie Ford, Fanny Wheeler and Jackson Fuller.

Mr. T. T. Moulton was elected first superintendent of schools, under the new law, and Robert Shiells, Edward Smith, Jacob Bell, and Ephraim Giddings commissioners, composing the school board. The first meeting of the board was held July 10, 1875, at the council room and Mr. L. J. Dunn was elected clerk. At that time there were six school houses, two of them built of brick. Three of them were devoted to different grades of the high school department in the absence of a high school building. Mr. H. A. Hobart was principal, with twelve assistant teachers in the grades and primaries. There were 1,279 children of school age and 660 of them attended school. Within a few years a new brick school building was built in the fourth ward, and in 1898 this was replaced by the large commodious modern school building erected under Mr. Henry J. Van Ryne,

architect of Milwaukee, at a cost of $20,000. The schools are graded under a course that requires ten years to complete.

In the year 1879 the high school building on Doty avenue in the wide grounds covering the end of the block was erected, and took the place of our buildings then in use. "This is a fine brick structure, and will cost, with furnace and equipment, $25,000," says a contemporary. Dr. Barnett, then superintendent of schools, makes a full report on every detail of this building. It has eight class rooms, and was 100 feet square. It is heated by three hot air furnaces and the rooms are ventilated by a system, "I believe, as perfect as the present state of sanitary science will admit it." The attendance and requirements of modern education in a few years made this elegant building too small. In 1907 it was arranged to build a new High School building. The old location was made unpleasant, with the Northwestern Railway line in front by which the exercises were interrupted by the rumble of trains. Land was purchased on Cedar street, now South Commercial, and under plans made by Henry J. Van Ryne and Gerrit J. DeGelleke, architects of Milwaukee, a modern High School edifice is being erected to cost $100,000.

Prof. E. N. Beeman is principal and has greatly assisted in perfecting the plans of this structure, which is regarded as the most perfect school building ever constructed. The building has been named the "Kimberly High School," in honor of the thirty years' service of Mr. J. Alfred Kimberly on the school board. On the completion of the new building the older high school will be used by the primary departments. The old frame structure on Forest avenue on the island gave place about ten years since to a modern brick building of handsome architecture.

Mrs. J. Alfred Kimberly became interested several years ago in introducing in the public schools economic education, both in sewing, cooking and manual training. At first the work was taken up by parlor meetings and subscriptions, and a teacher provided and the range, dishes and tables furnished, by the generosity of friends of the movement. In this manner domestic science has been continued in the public school for many years. Mrs. Kimberly has extended her favor in domestic science, furnishing $5,000 of the $10,000 endowment of a chair in domestic science at Downer College, inspired by her; and later furnishing $500 of the $1,000 raised by the Federated Women's Clubs of Wisconsin as a loan fund for assisting worthy girls in obtain-

ing the special studies desired by them, a project strongly favored by Mrs. Kimberly.

The schools of Neenah have long been held in high favor, and for a good many years have been on the accredited list of the University of Wisconsin, and the several colleges of Wisconsin. Prof. W. W. Daggett, one of the principals of older days, has long been at the head of Daggett's Business College of Oshkosh; Prof. D. E. Gardner, his successor in the Neenah schools, was for many years an instructor in the Platteville Normal school. The grade of all the instructors has been high. This has been due largely to the special care observed by the council in appointing representative men on the school board.

XXXIX.

THE GAS AND ELECTRIC LIGHT PLANTS, WATER WORKS, POPULATION, LIBRARY, CITY HALL, FIRE COMPANIES AND PARKS IN THE CITY OF NEENAH, AND THE SAMUEL A. COOK ARMORY.

The Neenah and Menasha Gas Company, organized in 1878, obtained franchises from Neenah and Menasha and commenced at once the laying of gas mains. Messrs. Thomas and Henry Higgins came over from Dixon, Illinois, where they had a gas plant, and associating with Mr. J. D. Patton, formed this company, and their request for the favor of the two cities was responded to by granting the franchise necessary to inaugurate a lighting plant for domestic and public lighting. Before this the streets had been unlighted. The gas plant was erected on the island as near midway of the two cities as possible. It is still located at the same place, though very much enlarged. The city was lighted on December 25, 1878. This Christmas night, being the anniversary of the opening of Schuetzen Hall, the event was celebrated by a grand illumination of the hall. The charge made for corner street lamps was $1.50 per month. The plant was sold in 1888 to a company of which Mr. George Davis owned the largest number of shares, and became the manager. He extended and greatly improved the system. He very soon purchased the electric light plant installed at Menasha in 1888, by Hart & Harry, and moved it to the gas plant, and installed an improved system of lighting by electricity in each city. The price paid was $86.00 per year for each street arc light of 2,000 candle power. The entire system was sold to the company having their plant located at Appleton. They further extended the gas plant for use in cooking and lighting. The city is now lighted by electricity under contract with the Fox River Valley Interurban Company, who have also taken over the domestic lighting by electricity. Mr. Henry Higgins moved to Manitowoc, where he built the interurban street car line to Two Rivers. These improvements are not strictly under the head of municipal im-

provements, but as public service corporations they serve the same purpose.

The municipal water works is strictly a public enterprise, as it was built by the taxation of the citizens. The plant is located on the shore of Lake Winnebago in the former park of the Schuetzen Bund, and consists of a large brick building and an iron stand pipe. It has a double set of boilers and a double set of pumps, with steam engines attached. Its capacity is 2,500,000 gallons per day, of which 700,000 gallons are used. Hard coal is used for fuel, which is hauled by team from the depot. The water at first filtered from the lake is now obtained from a deep eight-inch well made at a cost of $2,000. The plant cost $100,000. There have been laid twelve miles of water mains and the system shows a slight profit each year by charging the city, public schools and library for its use. The public are not yet using enough water to pay for the operation.

The population of the village of Neenah in 1855 was 940. In 1905 the population was found by the state census to be 6,047. This was made up of 1,312 families, and there were a total of 2,870 males and 3,176 females, showing a difference in sex of 305 more females than males. There are in the first ward, 1,862; second ward, 1,444; third ward, 2,200; fourth ward, 541. The enumeration shows eight colored persons and four Indians. 4,662 were native born, 1,381 were foreign born, 4,113 were born in Wisconsin and 532 were born in other states. Of the foreign born 43 were born in Canada, 403 in Denmark, 33 in England, only 3 in France, 639 in Germany, 10 in Holland, 7 in Hungary, 41 in Ireland, 122 in Norway, 4 in Scotland, 21 in Sweden, 16 in Wales, 6 in Switzerland.

One of the most charming public institutions in the city is the public library, so nicely housed in the Carnegie library, erected in 1905. It contains 888 books of reference and 9,389 volumes in its loan department, total of books in the library 10,277. There are 2,419 cards issued showing that nearly half the people take out books, which is a good average. The total circulation for the year July 1, 1907, was 30,142 books issued. There were 872 books added during the year, 13,121 children's books were read during the year. The library is opened on Sunday afternoon. The teachers in the public schools have special cards and take out many books for use in the schools. The library is free to the country people and the county teacher. Miss Cora Isabella Lansing is librarian. Miss Malvina Charlotte Clausen assistant. The Board of Commissioners 1907 are L. H. Freeman,

president; Miss Madge Christie, vice-president; T. B. Blair, secretary; E. M. Beeman, J. J. Leutenegger, W. C. Wing, E. C. Aylward. The revenues amount to about $3,000.

The library was founded in 1870, by small subscriptions and lectures. One winter Mr. Charles B. Clark was on a lecture committee that realized about $150. Mrs. J. Alfred Kimberly favored the movement and led several projects for raising money. Mr. Robert Shiells became the president at an early day, and continued until several years ago, when he resigned. The private library so long established was taken over by the city in 1900, and maintained by the council and given rooms in the new city hall. Robert Shiells still kept up his interest in the work, and one day in 1904 wrote a letter to Andrew Carnegie suggesting that he furnish the funds for a library building in Neenah. The reply was that a town with so much wealth could well build their own building. Mr. Shiells replied, they were building public improvements, schools and churches, and therefore could with good grace call on Mr. Carnegie to furnish the library. But he still refused. There lives in Washington Mr. William R. Smith, the landscape gardener at the White House for the last fifty-five years. He is a great student of Robert Burns, and of course a Scotchman. He had gathered together a duplicate of the library used by Burns, many of them the very books used by Burns, and as near as possible the same editions. Mr. Andrew Carnegie is a great friend of Mr. Smith, and spends many days each year at his home in Washington. During this correspondence he was at the home of Mr. Smith, and asked him if he knew of a Scotchman out at Neenah, Wisconsin, named Robert Shiells. He said he did not know him personally, but was well acquainted with him by his writing, and thought a great deal of him, and if he ever went west he promised himself to call on Mr. Shiells. Then Mr. Carnegie told of the correspondence. Mr. Smith said, "Why, Andy, you made a mistake; give Mr. Shiells his library." Then Mr. Carnegie replied, "All right, Smith, I will do it." One day soon after, a little to his surprise, the letter came to Mr. Shiells offering the city $10,000, provided they would support it with $1,000 per annum. The offer was accepted. The citizens raised $15,000 in addition, of which Theda Clark gave $5,000, and the site where it is at present located. It cost nearly $30,000.

The council had met at various places about the city, and in 1886 took steps to erect a city hall. William Waters, of Osh-

kosh, was the architect, and the present very sightly city hall was erected at a cost of $40,000. There is a large auditorium room for public meetings on the third floor. The steam fire engine, once so useful in fire protection, and steamer teams are on the first floor, and the city offices on the second floor.

The fire department was organized almost with the coming of the village with their hand engines. In 1880 they purchased the Silsby, which did good service. The Rescue Hook and Ladder Company was organized October, 1875. These fire companies have always been efficient and have done good service.

The Riverside Park along the river bank, a most delightful strip of natural forest, almost a natural park in the city, has helped so much to give that caste of beauty and gentility to Neenah, that it has become one of its most important functions. The park was purchased by the village board in June, 1872, and since then gradually improved. Each year handsome flower beds are set out which add much to its charm.

The Driving Park on the island, not often used now, was originally purchased, and fitted up by a stock company organized in 1871 by citizens of Menasha and Neenah. It consisted of twenty acres along the shore of Lake Winnebago, and had a half mile track. For several seasons races were held there. It then fell into disuse, until in 1880, the property was mostly purchased by P. V. Lawson and sold to William Striddie. It has since passed into the hands of Mr. Charles R. Smith, and seldom used for driving.

The Samuel A. Cook Memorial Armory is a gift to the public for the use of the H. J. Lewis Post, G. A. R., of Neenah, the J. P. Shepard Post, G. A. R., Menasha, the Women's Relief Corps, of Menasha and Neenah, Company I of the state militia, composed of fifty boys from both Menasha and Neenah. It is erected on the site of the old Universalist church. Mr. Cook undertook to locate the building exactly over the division line between the two cities, with half of the building in each; but this being impossible because of land titles, it was located as close to the line as possible. It has cost $30,000 and was built in 1906, of red brick in armory style, and is a handsome ornament to the street and city. A large drill room with balcony is on the first floor, and the meeting rooms of the several organizations are arranged on the second floor.

Company I was organized ten years ago, and have maintained a good reputation at the annual encampments of the state mili-

tia. Captain J. B. Schneller has held that position from the beginning. The history of J. P. Shepard Post, G. A. R., is given elsewhere. H. J. Lewis Post, G. A. R., Neenah, was organized at the same time to keep up the love of the flag fought for by veterans of the Civil War. The Women's Relief Corps is made up of the wives and daughters of the soldiers of the Civil War, and belong to the home guard. Their object is patriotic benevolence.

Hon. Samuel A. Cook, himself a soldier of the Civil War and always deeply interested in the welfare of the old soldiers, was born in upper Canada, January 28, 1849, and removed with his parents to Wisconsin in 1855. They were wrecked on the Lady Elgin and his mother drowned. He was educated in the common schools and resided a number of years in Calumet county, when he went into the northern forests near Unity, where he was successful. About 1880 he removed to Neenah, where he soon made his first venture in paper making by the purchase of the paper mills built by Hon. A. W. Patten. After selling these mills, he purchased a mill at Menasha and organized the Cook Paper Company. After several years he sold this mill and built a large paper mill at Alexandria, Indiana, which he still operates. He also owns the old Kellogg patent inside concern at Chicago. He has retained his home at Neenah. He was mayor of Neenah, member of the Assembly two terms, member of Congress one term, refusing a second; a member of the national conventions that nominated Benjamin Harrison and the one that nominated William McKinley; candidate for the United States Senate, receiving almost enough votes to elect by the Legislature in 1898. In the state Republican convention composed of the highest political and business talent in Wisconsin for Governor of the state, one of the highest honors ever paid to a citizen. Speeches were made by Senator Spooner and others of the great men of national reputation. The regularity of the convention was contested for lack of notice; but the national Republican convention at Chicago admitted its delegates, although the Supreme Court of Wisconsin declared for the rump convention, and then Mr. Cook withdrew. He has now been requested by a host of signed petitioners throughout the state to be a candidate for the United States Senate before the next session of the Legislature, and is regarded as a very able and popular man.

XL.

THE CHURCH SOCIETY AND CHURCH BUILDINGS IN NEENAH.

The First Universalist Church Society of Menasha and Neenah was organized in 1866, with a membership of 49, under Rev. J. Hussey as pastor. The Church of the Good Shepard was erected the next year, near the dividing line on Commercial street, island. It was a handsome brick edifice with a steeple and memorial windows, and cost $8,000. For many years it was a very popular church and its pastors men of ability. Mr. Daniel and Joseph Barnes and families, Mr. Charles B. Clark and family, Mr. I. W. Hunt and family, Mr. P. V. Lawson and family, Mr. A. J. Webster and family, and many others were either members or participants. The pastors have been Revs. J. Hussey, 1866 to 1870; Thomas C. Druley, January, 1870, ordained pastor December 7, 1870, and was succeeded by Rev. S. W. Sutton. Miss E. Tupper was pastor in 1870, and after being married to Mr. W. A. Wielke moved to Rochester, Minnesota; Rev. J. S. Fall was pastor in 1872; Rev. Isa A. Eberhurt was pastor in 1874; Rev. H. L. D. Webster was pastor in 1876; Rev. C. B. Lombard was pastor in 1878; Rev. Arelup was pastor August, 1888. Mrs. Mary J. DeLong was pastor for many years. The church building was repaired and remodeled in April, 1896, and re-dedicated as a house of worship. The sermon was preached by Dr. Cantwell. Rev. Eddy was ordained pastor on Monday evening, April 13, Rev. A. C. Griese, of Racine, preaching the sermon. Rev. Olympia Brown Willis, of Racine, made bi-weekly visits to the church after Rev. Eddy left. The society turned the church building over to the general church society, and in 1904 the church building was sold to Samuel A. Cook, who tore it down, and built on its site the armory. They have a saying in New York city that "ill luck follows every enterprise erected on the site of an old church."

Rev. Hussey, the founder of this church, was an eloquent and powerful pulpit orator, and for several years had great success in his pastorate. Ill health compelled him to give up the work.

He died soon after, and was buried in the local cemetery. One of his daughters was married to Mr. Thomas Nash of Grand Rapids.

The Presbyterian Society is very old in Neenah. In 1876, the pastor, Rev. John E. Chapin, gave a series of splendid historical sermons, in which he detailed in his beautiful and eloquent way the story of this church, and these sermons have been copied to form the major portion of this history, using as closely as this limited detail would permit the good pastor's own words:

"The first Protestant religious service held in the place was by a traveling Methodist minister in 1845. The service was at the residence of Mr. Harrison Reed. The congregation was composed of all the white American population then here, and consisted of seven persons. There were only about 7,000 inhabitants in the entire region now comprising the State of Wisconsin. It is almost impossible to realize the marvelous progress here indicated; for in this brief space of time, a space which leaves the child then born still young, the population has increased to nearly a million and a half, and, of this population over 450,000 were born within the State. When many of this audience were infants all this was a trackless wilderness, peopled only by powerful Indian tribes.

The Rev. O. P. Clinton, then an exploring agent of the American Home Missionary Society, was the first Protestant minister that established himself on the ground. He still lives on our beautiful island, on the spot of land donated to him by Governor Doty, and prosecutes the Home Missionary work. (He died June 17, 1890.)

Through published correspondence and personal effort on his part, attention was called to the location, and emigration began to flow in. By the fall of the year 1846 the Jones, the Yales, the Briens, the Northrups, the Wheatleys, Deacon Mitchell, and others came. The second Protestant religious service ever held in the place was held that year by Mr. Clinton in a log house, which still stands on the point, near where Mr. Holbrook now lives. There were twelve persons present. (This house remains, in 1908, used as a barn.) The first movement towards a church organization was in response to a call issued to the "friends of religion" who desired to be "associated in the organization of an evangelical church." The meeting was held at the residence of Mr. C. Northrup, on the 22d of January, 1847, and consisted of the following persons: Rev. O. P. Clinton, L. A. Donaldson,

Mary L. Donaldson, Mary Cornelius Northrup, Caroline A. Northrup, Corydon P. Northrup, John L. Sanbourn, Lydia Sanbourn, James Ladd, Charity Ladd, Harrison Reed, Harriet Huxley, David M. Montgomery, George W. Sawyer, John F. Johnston, Phillip Brien and H. C. Finch. It was resolved to form themselves into a Church of Christ. A committee was appointed to examine and select a confession of faith for adoption at an adjourned meeting. At a meeting held February 9, 1847, this committee reported and their report was adopted. The **Congregational Church** polity was then adopted by a vote of 12 to 5. The following resolutions, adopted at that meeting, without a dissenting voice, is indicative of the Christian sentiment then prevailing. The first is on the Sabbath:

"Resolved, That the Christian Sabbath is one of the main pillars of our civil and religious institutions, and that the welfare of our country, the purity of the church, the prosperity of religion, and the salvation of souls depend greatly upon the perpetuity of its sacred observance; that the observance or desecration of the Sabbath is to a great extent governed by the precept and example of professing Christians; and that attending to secular business, indulging in conversation upon worldly subjects, or journeying upon the Sabbath is inconsistent with this sacred institution.

The second is on the subject of temperance, and is as follows:

"Resolved, That the traffic in, or use of intoxicating liquors as a beverage is a practice wholly inconsistent with Christian character and should be a barrier to Christian fellowship.

The third is as follows:

"Resolved, That in the opinion of this church American slavery is a sin; that the ministry and all Christians are bound in consistency with their high profession to rebuke all sin, and to use their influence to remove all oppression and to secure equal rights to all men; * * * that while we deprecate all harsh language and rash measures in attempting to remove this evil, we will nevertheless avail ourselves of all suitable measures according to our judgment, to enlighten and correct the public mind in regard to the abomination of slavery, and wipe the foul and disgraceful sin from our land."

The church was fully constituted on the Sabbath of the first communion, April 4, 1847. The preparatory lecture had been preached by the Rev. O. P. Clinton on the preceding Thursday,

from Romans 12:1, and J. L. Sanbourn was appointed to act as deacon. Twelve persons then presented letters, all from Presbyterian or Congregational churches, and on the day of communion gave public assent to the church covenant. Of that number Mrs. Harriet Huxley is now a member of this church. Deacon Mitchell died in communion with this church in July, 1873. Of the rest, Mr. and Mrs. Clinton live on the island, Mr. Ladd on his farm near this city, and the Northrups, or some of them at least, in Menasha, are members of the Congregational Church there. Several who had participated in the preliminary meetings did not see their way clear to unite at the last.

At the next church meeting the election for the office of deacon resulted in the choice of J. L. Sanbourn, Samuel Mitchell and C. P. Northrup to serve until the annual meeting in December. The church, thus constituted, was received by the Madison convention, which met at Waupun, August 1, 1847.

The regular place of worship at this time was in an old log building which stood toward the east end of Doty avenue, about opposite to the front of Mr. John Kimberly's residence. The Indian ponies were cleared out and necessary repairs made for the purpose. The only trace of the building now remaining is one of the cornerstones still in its place in the rear of the lot on which Mr. Wm. T. Patterson now lives. A storeroom which stood on Wisconsin avenue, somewhere between Mr. Theodore Brown's residence and the railroad track, was afterward rented and occupied till the brick church was built.

The Rev. O. P. Clinton was chosen from time to time to be the stated supply of the church, until he finally declined to serve in this capacity in the spring of 1851. He was assisted in his missionary labors for a short time in the fall of 1848 by the Rev. J. Whittlesey; and again in the summer of 1849 an effort was made to procure the services as an assistant of the Rev. D. Lewis, a Welsh Congregational clergyman, but it does not seem to have succeeded.

The memory of Mr. Clinton's labors, Christian kindness and faithfulness is still warmly cherished among the pioneers of this city. It seems that the records of the church were first examined and approved at the meeting of the Madison convention at Fond du Lac in August, 1848. The name there signed as moderator is a striking index to the marvelous growth of the Northwest. Jeremiah Porter is the name. He was the first Protestant minister in Chicago and organized the first church there. I met with

him in Marietta, Georgia, in 1864, where he was laboring in the hospitals, and remember him as a very active, pleasing and not yet an old man. He still lives somewhere in the West—the great city of Chicago and its surrounding empire having grown up within the compass of his manhood.

During Brother Clinton's pastorate the Congregational church at Menasha was organized. This settlement began later than ours. The first mention of preaching there was in August, 1849. The first communion was held here in July, 1850, this church seeming to have met there for that purpose. In January, 1851, a motion was carried at a church meeting to grant letters to those who wished to aid in forming a church at Menasha.

There were added to the original membership up to the close of Brother Clinton's pastorate twenty-eight members, six of whom are now members of this church, viz.: Deacon Enos, Mrs. Nancy Brien, Mr. and Mrs. Charles Shoemaker, Dr. Gallentine, Mrs. Mary Gallentine and Mr. Ranney.

The village burying ground was on the spot now partially occupied by the residence of Mr. Proctor.

In the August of 1848 the Rev. H. M. Robertson, a missionary of the Presbyterian Board of Domestic Missions, visited the place and the first attempt was made to collect a Presbyterian congregation. In the month of September following he began to preach statedly at the house of Loyal H. Jones. This was near the west end of Wisconsin avenue, not far from the old mill, now superseded by the Winnebago paper mill. He then lived in a log house. In this house, since destroyed, the service was held, according to the record, until November. During that month the service was held in what was called the log school house, the same building above named in which the Congregationalists worshiped. In December a large room was fitted up over the store of Yale & Jones and occupied until a church building was erected. This room still remains in what is now the Jensen House, just where the railroad track crosses Wisconsin avenue. Here the church was formally organized, December 15, 1848, by a committee of the Presbytery of Wisconsin. The committee consisted of two ministers, the Rev. Elias S. Peck, now residing at Waupun, and a member of the Presbytery of Winnebago, with which we are now connected, and the Rev. Thomas Frazier, now in California. It is styled the **First Presbyterian Church of Winnebago Rapids.** The original members were Rev. Milton Huxley, Osial Wilcox, Loyal H. Jones, Mrs. Matilda Jones, Asa

Jones, Mrs. Rhoda W. Jones, Robert Owens, Mrs. Mary Owen, R. M. Davis, Perrene Yale, Mrs. Sarah Yale, Miss Clarissa B. Yale, Mrs. Emiline Danforth, Mrs. Mary Ann Scott, Mrs. Lemisa J. Robertson, Mrs. Elizabeth Ann Weed and Miss Emily Gomar. On the following day, December 16, Miss Sarah E. Yale was received by examination, thus making the whole number eighteen.

The officers elected were: Ruling elders, Rev. Milton Huxley and Loyal H. Jones; deacon, Osial Wilcox. The church was first reported in Presbytery at its meeting in Milwaukee, April 25, 1849, when the Rev. A. L. Lindsay was moderator. Of the original members of this organization only one remains to us, Mrs. Mary A. Scott. In October, 1849, the session was enlarged by the election of William M. Lindsey to the office of ruling elder.

Steps were taken early in 1851 toward the building of a house of worship. In the month of May the site was selected and the trustees instructed to purchase. The spot selected and now occupied by this house of worship was once an Indian burying ground. Application was made to the board of church extension for aid to the amount of $300. The old church, now in the possession and use of the Methodist brethren, was thus begun and was finished and dedicated in the month of January, 1852, the father of the pastor, the Rev. Mr. Robertson, of Winneconne, assisting in the service. An insurance was then procured on the house of $2,000 and arrangements made for the appraisement and sale of slips. In March a meeting of the trustees, of which G. P. Vining was the chairman, was held in the vestibule of the church, and at this meeting Peter McLeod was employed as sexton at a salary of $45 per year—and this is a fair measure of all church salaries at that time. The ministers of both the churches seem to have received from $400 to $450 each per annum. It was the place of worship for that congregation for a period of eighteen years, and is hallowed by many dear and precious associations. It is a matter of satisfaction to all who toiled there and still love the place that it is in the hands of those who love the gospel and sing the songs of redeeming love. (This church was torn down in the summer of 1907.)

The Rev. Mr. Robertson closed his connection with the church in December, 1853, after a service of five years. He preached his farewell sermon on December 4 from 1 Sam., 7:12: "Then Samuel took a stone and set it between Mizpeh and Shem, and

called the name of it Ebenezer, saying, 'Hitherto hath the Lord helped us.' "

It was a day of much interest. Mr. Robertson, then young in years as in the ministry, was of an ardent and strong nature. He has since risen to considerable distinction as a preacher and is now the pastor of a strong church in central Ohio.

During his ministry here the following persons, now members of this church, were received into membership: In 1849, Mrs. Harriet Huxley, Mrs. Lindsley, Deacon Cooke and wife and Mrs. Aurelia Kimberly, who, though dead, is represented in the church by her children. Mr. Hiram Shoemaker, who still lives among us, though a member of another church, was received in this year. In 1850 Peter MeLeod and wife were received. In 1851 Mr. and Mrs. Jamieson and Mrs. Edward Smith, and in 1852 Mrs. Hamilton, Mr. and Mrs. DeMerritt and Mr. Edward Smith. In 1853 Mrs. McGregor.

The Rev. C. A. Adams, a devoted and useful man, succeeded Mr. Clinton as pastor of the **Congregational Church** early in the year 1851. He left the field near the close of the year 1852 and died ten days afterward at his father's house in another part of the state. During the two years of his labor the brick church, now occupied by a branch of the German Lutherans, was undertaken. It was not, in the first place, the particular enterprise of this church, but of a joint stock company. It was finally assumed in an incomplete condition by the church and so far finished as to serve the purpose of worship. It began to be used for school purposes in the fall of 1852. It seems to have been completed in the month of February, 1854, but there is no record of its dedication. It was reported to the convention in 1859 as costing $2,000, $208 of which was received from the church erection fund. The congregation worshipped here until the summer of 1864, a period of about twelve years, when the building passed into the hands of the Methodist brethren and was used by them until they sold it to a branch of the German Lutherans, its present occupants. (It is now the oldest church building in town.)

Mr. and Mrs. Squires are the only present members of this church, so far as appears, who were received under the pastorate of Mr. Adams. In January, 1853, the Rev. J. M. Wolcott was engaged to preach for one year to the churches of Neenah and Menasha. It was at this time that Mrs. Fred Wheeler, then Miss Caroline Ranney, became a professing Christian. The

statistical report of this period shows a total membership of twenty-five; average congregation, seventy-five; Sunday-school membership, forty-five. September of this year the Rev. A. Lathrop appears as the supply of the church and continued until the fall of 1854, and just as this pastorate closed in the Congregational Church that of the Rev. H. H. Rosseel began in the Presbyterian.

He entered upon his labors September 24, 1854, and was installed in 1857. The committee of Presbytery officiating on the occasion consisted of the Rev. R. Frame, the Rev. R. Smith and the Rev. L. C. Spafford. In the second year of this pastorate, viz., in 1855, Elder Lindsley died, an efficient member of the session, the superintendent of the Sunday-school and the leader of the choir—a loss which seems to have been deeply felt by the little church.

In the meantime the Rev. Hiram Marsh had become the stated supply of the **Congregational Church.** He began his labors in April, 1855. The statistical report for that year showed an increase of but three (3) members and a falling off in the congregation and Sunday-school. These at once revived both in numbers and interest. In December, 1856, the Rev. O. Parker, an earnest and able evangelist, came by invitation of Brother Marsh and began daily meetings, which continued four weeks. The meetings steadily increased in number and power, Christians of different denominations joining in them, until the house became too small. Then the Presbyterian brethren opened their house, which, though twice as large, was immediately crowded. As the result of this effort twenty-three were added to the Congregational Church, twenty-two to the Presbyterian and several to other churches. Of the number added at this time and the year previous to the Congregational Church there remain now to us Mr. Alden, Edward Marsh, Mrs. Fenton, Mr. Dunn, Mrs. Patten (since dead), Mrs. Mitchell, Mr. and Mrs. Wright, Mr. Stiles, Miss Jane Ranney, Mr. Webb, and a little later Mr. Marsh. Of those added in the same period to the Presbyterian Church there remain to us now John Loyd and Mrs. Loyd, David Blakely, Mrs. Jenkins, Mrs. John Brown, Mr. McGregor, Mr. and Mrs. Clement, Mr. Babcock, Mr. Stevens, Mr. and Mrs. Merriman, Mr. and Mrs. Fullerton, Mr. Kimberly, Miss Emma Kimberly, P. R. Williams and wife, Mrs. S. R. Moore and J. Proctor, in all thirty-four persons out of about fifty-five, after twenty years. Mr. Parker, whose labors were so blessed to this com-

munity twenty years ago, died last winter from a fall on a door-step while in the midst of a precious revival somewhere in New York. Mr. Marsh closed his labors with the church early in 1858, but continued to reside here, often assisting in the work of the gospel until his death, in 1874, at the age of 79. He was a good and wise man and his memory is blessed. In the latter year of his pastorate Father Millard, John Millard and wife and Mr. and Mrs. Johnston were added to the church. He left the church with a membership of 72, a congregation of 130 and a Sunday-school attendance of 75. They also reported contributions that year to the amount of $43.

While Brother Rosseel was still pastor of the Presbyterian Church the Rev. J. Evans Pond was called to succeed Father Marsh. He was the son of the distinguished theologian, Dr. Pond, of Bangor, Maine. He took charge in the early spring of 1858 and was installed pastor January 20, 1859, being the first installed pastor of that church. The service was held in the Presbyterian Church before a crowded house. The installation sermon was preached by Rev. C. W. Camp, of Sheboygan; the prayer was offered by Rev. Hiram Marsh; charge to the pastor by Rev. W. H. Marble, of Oshkosh; right hand of fellowship was given by Rev. H. A. Miner, of Menasha, and the address to the people by the Rev. W. L. Mather, of Fond du Lac. It was a deeply interesting and solemn service.

In the spring of 1860, the sixth year of Mr. Rosseel's pastorate and the second of Mr. Pond's, the question of a **New School Presbyterian** church began to be agitated between the Congregationalists and a portion of the Presbyterians. The result was the withdrawal by letter in June of twenty-four members from the Presbyterian Church to the Congregational and a change in July of that church to a **New School Presbyterian** basis. The resolution to change was carried at the appointed meeting by thirty-three votes, three declining to vote. The pastor and the old officers resigned. New officers were then elected, as follows: Oziel Wilcox and Samuel Mitchell, deacons; Rev. Hiram Marsh, Thomas Cooke, J. C. Enos, J. L. Millard and S. Roberts, elders, the latter declining to serve. It was then unanimously voted to request Mr. Pond to withdraw his resignation as pastor, to which he consented. The covenant was then reported by a committee composed of the session and deacons, with John Proctor and Samuel Roberts added, and unanimously adopted.

Thus formed the Second Presbyterian Church of Neenah. The church, however, continued in union with the convention until 1863, when it was received by the Fox River Presbytery, but does not appear in the minutes of the New School General Assembly until the year 1865. The Congregational Church has a history of thirteen years. When it was formed there was only one church on this side the Fox river. It had seen six changes in ministers and received about 125 members, about twice the number in connection with it at the close. It had received aid from the boards of home missions and church erection to the amount of $2,290.54. How vividly these facts bring out the early struggles and shifting fortunes of the pioneer churches.

The pastoral relations of the Rev. J. A. Rosseel with the First Presbyterian Church closed in May, 1861. Since the year 1858 there were added of those who are now in this church Mrs. Van Ostrand, Mrs. Proctor, Mrs. Matthews and Mrs. Coleman. The whole number admitted to the church up to this time was 140, more than half of whom had been dismissed or had died (all but fifty-five). Mr. Rosseel is still pleasantly remembered as a gentleman of culture, a good preacher, a firm adherent to conscientious conviction. He supplied this pulpit several weeks in the spring of 1872, and now lives at Portage City, employed to some extent in home missionary work. It is quite remarkable for a pioneer church to have but two pastors in the first twelve years of its history. The Rev. H. B. Thayer was called in the summer of 1861 to supply the pulpit for one year. He continued to labor here until the spring of 1864. Mrs. Meigs, Mr. and Mrs. Kurtz, Mrs. Gilbert Jones, Miss Isabella Brown, Mrs. Wheeler Babcock and Mr. and Mrs. Shiells are of those who became connected with the church at this time. Mr. Thayer appears to have been quite a disciplinarian, judging from the records, and is remembered as somewhat eccentric as well as an able preacher. He is now the pastor of the Presbyterian Church at Vincennes, Indiana, and has received the title of "D. D." from one of our Western colleges. It was during this pastorate that Elder Huxley, an estimable member of the session, died in 1862.

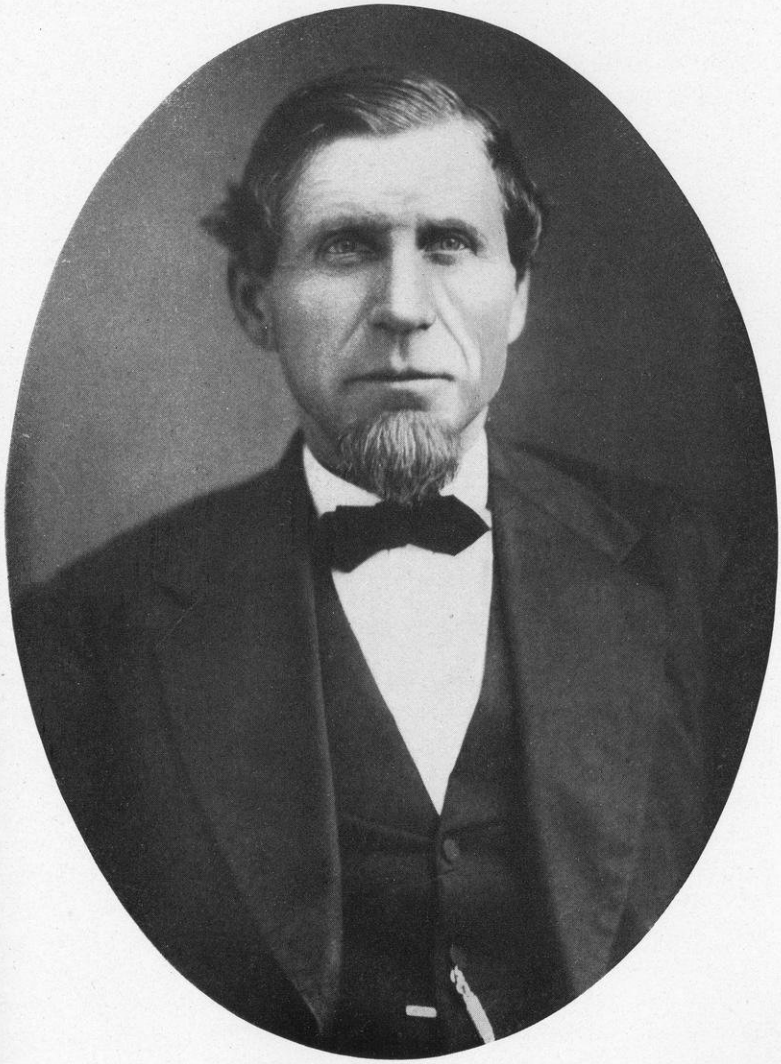
Turning now to the **second church,** we find that the Rev. Mr. Pond resigned the pastorate in November, 1861. Mr. Stiles and Mrs. Dr. Robinson were of the number at that time received. Mr. Pond was a man of sensitive nature, true piety and of thorough culture, and is now a pastor somewhere in the state

of Maine. Steps were soon taken to secure the services of the Rev. H. G. McArthur. He came in January, 1862, and was installed February 18. There were indications of revival at this time. It was during this year that Mr. Elbridge Williams, Mrs. Gleason, Miss Helen Cummings and Mr. and Mrs. Alexander Murray were received. Mr. McArthur resigned at the close of the year and the pulpit was again vacant. After leaving here he became the pastor of the Congregational Church at Oshkosh, then retired from the ministry awhile, engaging in business, but has since returned to the work. He was a bold and active man. He insisted on being free from home missionary aid, and this was the first year the attempt was made by this church. It was a hard struggle, though the salary was but $600. In March, 1863, the Rev. James Bassett was called at a salary of $600. In September of this year the church was received by the Fox River Presbytery (N. S.) at its meeting at Omro. In the spring and summer of 1864 a beautiful house of worship was built on this spot, a part of that in which we now worship. The cost was in round numbers $5,000. It was a great venture for the church at that time, but a remarkable unity of purpose and skill in management, together with some donations from abroad, one of special liberality by Mr. Phelps, of Lewistown, Illinois, of $500, and a loan of $500 from the board of church erection, the work was brought to completion without a debt. The dedication took place August 12, 1864. The scriptures were read by the Rev. Mr. Phelps; invocation by Rev. Mr. Brooks; sermon by the pastor; dedication prayer by the Rev. A. Bassett, now a professor in Wabash College, Indiana; benediction by the Rev. H. Miner. In December of this year (1864) Mr. Bassett resigned his charge of the church. He was especially efficient in pushing forward the church building and was regarded as a good preacher. He married Miss Abby Jones, of the First Presbyterian Church, and they are now engaged in the foreign missionary work at Teheran, Persia. Mr. and Mrs. John Ford were among those added under this pastorate. The brick church was sold to the Methodist brethren in the spring for $700, and possession being given before the new church was ready, the congregation worshipped for a time in Leaven's Hall. The Rev. A. A. Dinsmore appeared in the summer of 1864. The Rev. Dr. Paxton, of New York City, preached his ordination sermon as well as several others during his stay in the place, and left a deep impression upon the minds of the people. The church seems

to have made marked advance at this time, being thoroughly united in its pastor and receiving a considerable number of additions. They were enabled to become independent of the board and to pay a larger salary than ever before. Of those now with us there were received at that time Mrs. Jula Ladd (now living elsewhere), Mrs. Sophia Klinke, Miss Henrietta Fullerton, Mrs. Cordelia Palmer, Mr. John Brown, Mrs. Vining, Miss Fanny Oberlee, Mrs. Azel, Mrs. Webber, Father Philips, Mr. Albert Huxley, Mrs. G. Scott and Mrs. Alfred Kimberly. Mr. Dinsmore left the field, to the great regret of his people, at the close of the year 1866. He went to Des Moines, Iowa, where he labored until his health failed in 1872. He is now pastor of a church in one of the suburbs of Philadelphia. For more than six months there was a vacancy in the pulpit of the Second Church to September, 1865. In January, 1865, the Rev. John D. Potter visited the church. The Rev. J. H. Walker became the pastor of the church in September, 1865. He resigned in December, 1869, after a pastorate of a little more than four years, to take charge of a mission in Chicago, which has since become the Reunion Presbyterian Church and with which he is still connected. He was regarded by all as an interesting preacher and an open-hearted, earnest man.

Turning now to the other church, we find that the Rev. J. C. Kelly was called in the summer of 1867 to the pastorate. He was installed December 10, the Rev. Mr. Campbell, of De Pere, preaching the sermon; the Rev. Mr. Milligan, of Horicon, delivered the charge to the pastor, and the Rev. T. G. Smith, of Fond du Lac, the charge to the people. The relation thus formed was severed in December, 1869. The reason which led to it was the tendency at large both in the old and new school churches toward reunion and a desire to prepare the way for the union of the two churches in Neenah. Mr. Kelly devoted himself with all his soul to the accomplishment of the result. He labored not only to bring his own people to that mind, but voluntarily put himself aside that both parties might be free to act. Mrs. Deidrick Bergstrom was among those received during this pastorate.

We have now come to the end of these separate histories, for henceforth they are to flow as one stream. Let us linger a moment to gather up such facts and to express such observations as may be of value and interest. Up to 1870, when the union took place, one of these churches had existed in its two forms of Congregational and New School Presbyterian twenty-two



J. N. KIEL.

years. Nine ministers had served it for various periods, the longest being that by Brother Walker. The other had an existence of twenty-one years with five ministers, the longest period of service being that of Brother Rosseel. Thus fourteen ministers have labored at the foundations of this church in a course of twenty-two years.

The whole number of names gathered by the Congregational and New School Presbyterian churches in the twenty-two years of their existence was 236, of which there was reported as on the roll at the time of the union 160, a wastage of 76 names by the ordinary causes, removal, death and discipline. In the other church the whole number gathered in the twenty-one years of its existence was 199, of which there was reported in the year of the Union as on the roll 75, a loss of 124.

Aid was received in building the three houses of worship from the church erection boards and from the home missionary societies in supporting the pastors. Every minister who had labored with these churches had received about half his salary from these boards. From $200 to $250 were asked per year during at least thirteen years of their existence, thus making a total of $5,850 received. Add to this about $900 received in aid of the church building and you have a total of $6,751 obtained from missionary funds in planting these churches. How much did they return to these boards during this time? It has been impossible to obtain the statistics as to this, but we have a statement for the first thirteen years of one of these churches, and that will help us to judge of the other. The total of its contribution to the boards during all this time was $68.31. In the subsequent nine years of this church's separate history it was independent of missionary help and is reported as giving to the boards about $800, and it paid $300 received from the church erection board. This would probably be a fair standard for the other church, taking the whole history through, and so we would have a total given by both the churches of something over $1,700, leaving us at the time of the union, deducting the $300 returned by the New School church to the board of church erection in debt to the boards, about $4,800.

At a congregational meeting of the **First Church,** held December 28, 1869, it was resolved to appoint a committee to confer with a committee from the **Second Church** to fix, if possible, on a basis of union. The committee appointed consisted of the session, J. W. Whitenack, David Blakely, J. A. Kimberly, Robert Shiells

and three members of the church, N. De Merritt, William T. Merriman and John Fullerton. On December 29 a similar step was taken at a meeting of the Second Church. It was resolved by a unanimous and rising vote that a union with the First Church was desirable and a committee, consisting of the session, William N. Moore, J. C. Enos, Samuel Mitchell and Thomas Cooke, together with three members of the church, John Proctor, Dr. S. Galentine and J. L. Clement, was appointed to meet the committee of the First Church. The joint committee of fourteen met January 1, 1870, and after prayer and consultation appointed a subcommittee, consisting of J. L. Clement and Robert Shiells, to draw up articles of union between the two churches. This committee reported at a meeting of the joint committee, held January 5. The report was adopted and the necessary steps taken to submit it to the action of the churches. The Second Church at a meeting of the congregation, held January 5, adopted the reported conditions of union unanimously.

The First Church held their meeting January 17 and took the same action, with one dissenting vote. John Proctor and Robert Shiells were appointed a committee to secure the necessary legal measures to unite the two societies under the name of the **First Presbyterian Church of Neenah.** An act of the legislature of Wisconsin in 1870, legalizing the action of the churches and providing for the transfer of property, is the result of this committee's work. The uniting of the Sunday-schools of the two churches was left to the management of the superintendents, Mr. Proctor and Mr. Kimberly. Mr. Proctor had been superintendent of the First Presbyterian Church Sunday-school almost from the time of his coming to the place, and of the Second Church Sunday-school from the time of its organization to the union, a period of about fourteen years. Mr. Kimberly had been the sperintendent of the First Church Sunday-school for about ten years. By their arrangement the classes of the two schools were consolidated and Mr. Kimberly became the superintendent of the united school. There was a meeting of both congregations on January 19, at which the articles of union were fully ratified, and all officers having resigned, new ones were elected, as follows: Elders, Thomas Cooke, J. L. Clement, J. A. Kimberly, William N. Moore, Robert Shiells and David Blakely; deacons, Samuel Mitchell and Peter Johnson. It was then decided that the now united church should be put under the care of the Presbytery of Winnebago, which was carried into effect at the meeting of that Presbytery, held Feb-

ruary 8, at Fond du Lac, Robert Shiells acting as the representative of the church. After the Rev. Mr. Walker retired from the pulpit of the Second Church and during the process of union the two congregations worshipped together, mostly under the ministry of Rev. Mr. Kelley. The pastoral relations between him and the First Church was not dissolved by the Presbytery until January 4, 1870, at a meeting held in Neenah. During that week the present pastor, J. E. Chapin, came as a candidate to the Second Church and preached two Sundays, the 9th and 16th, to both congregations. The Rev. Mr. Kelley preached and declared the pulpit of the First Church vacant on the 23d, according to the direction of the Presbytery. Then the pulpit was supplied by various ministers, two, the Rev. Mr. Duncan, of Chicago, and the Rev. A. S. Dudley, of Ohio, preaching as candidates. At a meeting of the congregation, March 28, Mr. Dudley was chosen to supply the pulpit for one year with a view to a more intimate relation, but could not accept. A call was then extended to the present pastor and he began his labors the last Sunday in May, 1870, and was installed May 16, 1871, the Revs. H. L. Brown, T. G. Smith and George Spinning participating in the service. A very pleasant reception followed the service at Empire Hall.

The first work that engaged the attention of the session after the supply of the pulpit in 1870 was the examination of the records of the two churches and the formation of a new roll. It was found that instead of a membership of 235, which the rolls of the two churches promised at the time of union, there were really but about 170 known active members.

The work of enlarging this building began early in September, 1870. We worshipped on the second Sunday of that month in the old church and there continued until the work here was complete. The house was ready for rededication on the first day of the new year, 1871."

The First Presbyterian Society, having dwelt in the old frame church from 1865 and as rebuilt in 1871, in 1900 commenced the erection of their present brick edifice, which, completed the next year, was a palace church, costing nearly $60,000. It was dedicated June 2, 1901, with an elaborate ceremony in which local and neighboring pastors of other churches participated.

Rev. Dr. John E. Chapin, the grand old man of the church, was installed as pastor May 16, 1871, and for over thirty years gave the best of his noble life to its good work and cast all about him to aid, advise and help. Then a few years ago he felt the labors

were too great for his strength, and to lighten his burdens the congregation kindly made him pastor emeritus and called Rev. J. L. Marquis, a young man, as active pastor.

Methodist Episcopal Church.

The first Methodist to arrive on the future site of Neenah was Rev. Clark Dickinson, one of the farmer teachers, and doubtless held first services and preaching in Neenah and in the county. The next Protestant sermon preached in Neenah was by a traveling itinerant of this church in 1845. The church was organized by the Rev. William H. Sampson in the fall of 1849 with seven members. The probabilities are that Neenah was attached to some other charge for a few years. It appears from the minutes that Albert Baker preached here in 1856. C. G. Lathrop also served the church at an early day. The venerable Samuel Lugg was here in 1860. C. W. Brooks' name appears as the pastor in 1863-64, at which time the New School Presbyterian Church, on Wisconsin street, was purchased by the society for $700 and the little society felt as though they were gaining. T. C. Wilson served the church for three years, 1866-68, with great acceptability. He built a very convenient parsonage. The records show that he was very popular, marrying most of the marriageable folks and increasing the congregation. In the fall of 1868 Rev. George Fellows was appointed to the charge, but a change was effected by which he went to Menasha, and Rev. L. L. Knox served the Neenah church for that year. Thomas Walker was next appointed. J. H. Gaskell was sent to the charge in the fall of 1870 and served the people with acceptability. J. H. Waldron succeeded him in 1871, and by much energy, faith and perseverance added to the numerical strength. He also purchased an addition to the parsonage lot, repaired the parsonage and was quite successful in his labors. M. G. Bristol was sent to the charge in 1873 and served for one year. W. J. Olmstead was next sent to the charge and it was during his administration that the place of worship was purchased from the Presbyterians. It was a very commodious building. This fine church, by the aid of its friends and the very liberal offer of the Presbyterians to take $1,200, was secured and paid for. By additions it became valued at $2,500 in 1876 and the parsonage at $1,500. J. T. Woodhead was his successor and served the church for two years with hard work and success. N. J. Aplin was his successor in the fall of

1877. He came from the Clemansville charge, where he had been for the three previous years. He had been in the Wisconsin conference twenty-four years. The present pastor is Rev. M. A. Drew. In 1907 the handsome old church on Wisconsin street was torn down and the lumber was used in parts of the handsome brick church edifice on South Commercial street. In destroying the old church careless workmen allowed the ancient old bell to fall to the ground, cracking it beyond further usefulness.

A Baptist Church was first organized in Neenah in July, 1851, from which time regular prayer meetings and covenant meetings were held. Rev. Peter Prink assisted in its organization and acted as pastor about two years. He was succeeded in 1853 by Rev. James Andem, of Massachusetts, followed in turn by Revs. James Follett and Luke Davis, with intervals between each pastorate. Mr. Davis left in 1857, from which time the church was without a pastor.

The membership of this church at this period was over thirty. These were greatly scattered and by removals it rapidly decreased after Mr. Davis left till 1861, when but two or three families remained in town, and the total membership which could be counted was less than a dozen. Meanwhile the Baptists of Menasha had been holding prayer meetings and made proposals to them to unite in the support of a minister, to which they acceded. The Menasha church organized on April 24, 1860, adopting the declaration of faith known as the New Hampshire Confession and the covenant accompanying it. The church was reorganized and admitted into the fellowship of the denomination at a council composed of the churches of Omro, Oshkosh, Neenah and Appleton, on June 13, 1860. Its roll contained at that time about a dozen members. The first regular covenant meeting was held on July 7, 1860. On October 8, 1861, Rev. B. J. Boynton was ordained and assumed the pastorate, remaining one year. On November 30, 1861, the Neenah church voted to disband and grant letters to unite with the church in Menasha, or with other Baptist churches, as the members should choose. Eleven letters were granted, some to new residents. About six united with the Menasha church, namely, Mr. and Mrs. H. Shoemaker, William Sherry, Mr. and Mrs. J. Dolson, Mrs. E. Millard and Horace Baird. For several years meetings were held in Menasha with an occasional service in Neenah. The Sunday-school was started in December, 1861. In 1863 Rev. D. H. Cooley was called to supply the church, preaching a part of the time also in other places. This

arrangement continued till June 1, 1867, when Rev. O. W. Babcock, of Fayetteville, New York, became the pastor. With his pastorate a new era was inaugurated. Regular services were held in both Neenah and Menasha. Steps were taken to secure a house of worship, which resulted in the purchase of a building owned by the Norwegian Church and its removal to a lot secured for the purpose on Commercial street, which would be a central point for the members of both towns, its present location. They met in their church on November 2, 1867, and the name of the organization was changed to the "First Baptist Church of Menasha and Neenah." Rev. Mr. Babcock left on April 1, 1873, after a pastorate of six years. Rev. Benjamin Freeman became pastor in June, 1874, after a little more than a year's interregnum, resigning again August 29, 1875. There was a vacancy till February 27, 1876, when Rev. H. T. Gilbert, a student from the Theological Seminary, commenced preaching to the church on July 26, but was compelled, on account of the health of himself and family, to resign October 22 of the same year. In November, 1876, Rev. T. T. Potter visited the church and supplied the pulpit till February 1, when he was called to the pastorate. The present pastor is Rev. Alfred Goodwin.

Trinity Episcopal Church, Neenah, as an organization dates back to July, 1866. Previously, however, occasional services had been held here by the Rev. Simon Palmer, missionary at Appleton, and subsequently by Rev. George Gibson, who succeeded Mr. Palmer as missionary at that place. The Rev. William D. Christian, rector of St. Stephen's Church, Menasha, according to the above date, called a meeting of the congregation together with all those interested in the Episcopal Church in Neenah, when the organization was perfected by the election of the proper officers. George O. Strong and John A. Bryan were chosen wardens; D. L. Kimberly, W. P. Peckham, John N. Stone, John Burns and L. J. Matthews were elected vestrymen.

Two years later, November, 1868, the congregation resolved to build and a committee was formed for the purpose of facilitating the project. A lot was at once purchased of Mr. Gilbert Jones for the sum of $250, $100 of which Mr. Jones himself donated. A commencement was made on the church building in August, 1869, the plans and erection of the edifice being under the supervision of the Rev. E. Peake, minister in charge, who previously to his ordination had been a civil engineer. The building progressed slowly and surely and when finished in the spring of 1870 it was

free from incumbrances. Up to the time of occupancy the congregation had been worshipping in Peckham Hall. This comfortable place had been fitted up, kept in order and warmed by Mr. Peckham for three years.

Up to the present time the two parishes of Neenah and Menasha have had the services of a clergyman conjointly. The clergymen who have succeeded each other in the duties are the Rev. William D. Christian, who resigned in October, 1866; the Rev. George N. James was called in November, 1866, and resigned in February, 1867; in March, 1868, Rev. J. A. Davenport was called to the parish and continued to officiate till the following Easter; Rev. E. Peake, rector of Grace Church, Appleton, took charge of Neenah and Menasha church about May, 1869, giving them afternoon services, and continued the duties till March, 1870; Rev. H. M. Thompson succeeded Rev. Mr. Peake in May, 1871, who came as rector of the two parishes, residing in Menasha. He died October 8, 1872. From that date the two parishes had to depend on Appleton for a supply of services, and Rev. George Verner labored until the entrance of the Rev. Joseph Wilkins Tays upon his duties in October, 1876. He continued until August, 1877, when he received a call to Kentucky. Rev. George Gibson was called to the charge of the two parishes, St. Stephen's, Menasha, and Trinity, Neenah, October 1, 1877. In 1878 the organization was composed of Rev. George Gibson, rector; John A. Bryan and John N. Stone, wardens; D. L. Kimberly, W. P. Peckham, Norman Willard and N. D. Stanley, vestrymen. The wardens and vestrymen are elected yearly. Rev. Upholm came in 1879. Rev. George W. Lamb was rector in 1896; Rev. H. S. Webster in 1898; Rev. Delaney in 1900; Rev. T. W. C. Cheesman in 1903 to 1904; Rev. G. A. Cornell in 1907, in whose time services in this church were abandoned.

Emmanuel Church of the Evangelical Association. This congregation was the first German religious society in the city. In 1855 Rev. Jacob Hinnel, of the Illinois conference, served as pastor of the Oshkosh Mission and came to Neenah to ascertain the religious conditions of the Germans. Finding quite a German settlement without a church or pastor, he decided to come occasionally and preach the gospel to them. The services were held in a hall. In 1856 the newly organized Wisconsin conference sent Rev. August Huelster to this mission. This nineteen-year-old youth, of special zeal and earnestness, was received with cordial hospitality in the homes of Mr. Sherry (whose mother, a German

Pennsylvanian, was especially interested in the work), Mr. Mahnke and Mr. Brinkman. Rev. Huelster now organized the small band with Anton George as class leader and Fred Brinkman as exhorter. Besides these the following were charter members: Mr. and Mrs. Mahnke, Fred Brinkman and wife, John Brown, Sr., and wife, Mr. and Mrs. Baumgarten and Mrs. Henry Dietz. From now on the meetings were held in the home of Anton George, where quite a few visitors attended the services. In 1857 to 1859 Rev. William Zicherick (since the Civil war Rev. Captain Zicherick) was sent as pastor to the little flock, having in the latter year of this time Rev. G. Fritsch as a colleague. During these two years the work was blessed with quite a revival, which resulted in an increased membership and (in 1859) the organization of a Sunday-school.

During this year the congregation decided to build a chapel. Ex-Governor Doty, being interested in the work, showed his good will by presenting them with a lot for this purpose. On December 11, 1859, Presiding Elder Rev. J. G. Isher dedicated the building to the worship of the Triune God.

This building still stands on Forest avenue and is at present the property of the city, being used as a school house for the primary department of the Third Ward School and as an election booth in the time of the elections. In 1864 a home was purchased on the southeast corner of Church and Sherry streets, to be used as a parsonage. One room of the George residence had, up to the time the chapel was built, served as the place of meeting. After twenty years and during the ministry of Rev. L. F. Emmert this place was sold and a modern appropriate parsonage was built at 200 North Commercial street, where the present pastor has his home.

The beautiful and spacious building which now serves as the place of worship for the congregation, corner Bond street and Forest avenue, was built in 1890 under the labors of Rev. G. F. Kickhofer. Since its organization the congregation has experienced both difficulties and encouragements. At times, when the spirit of immigration to the Dakotas and other places prevailed, it lost numerically, but revivals at different periods of the congregation's history always got new vitality and increased membership.

At present Rev. W. G. Raddats is pastor of this congregation, who has served them four years. In the latter part of the first year of his ministry the congregation made per vote the im-

portant change of having all the Sunday evening services in the English language, which more than tripled the evening attendance. During this time in 1906 the congregation celebrated its fiftieth jubilee, having present as speaker Rev. A. Huelster, from Minnesota, who fifty years ago organized the congregation. In these last four years many new members have been added to the church and the congregation is in a flourishing condition, its finances resulting in a surplus for several years and its membership being the largest in its history.

Pastors who have served the congregation: Jacob Himmel, 1855-56; August Buelster, 1856-57; William Zickerick, 1857-58; William Zicherick and Gustav Fritsche, 1858-59; Peter Held and Jacob Banzaf, 1859-60; N. Schuck and Frederick Huelster, 1860-61; Henry Schelp, 1861-63; George Schafer, 1863-65; Frederick Kurtz, 1865-67; E. Bockemuhl and Frank Moser, 1867-68; E. Bockemuhl and Ferdinand Dite, 1868-69; G. Zellhoefer and A. Piepenburg, 1869-70; G. Zellhoefer, 1870-71; Henry Schelp and H. Clement, 1871-73; N. Schuck and J. G. Kern, 1873-74; N. Schuck and C. Oertli, 1874-75; A. Tarnutzer and Frank Illian, 1875-76; A. Tarnutzer, 1876-78; S. Kortemeyer, 1878-80; Frank Stroebel, 1880-82; L. F. Emmert and H. M. Schurrman, 1883-85; L. F. Emmert and F. A. Mundt, 1885-86; William Zicherick and E. Gassman, 1886-87; William Zicherick and R. Pflueger, 1888-89; J. G. F. Zimmerman and R. Pflueger, 1889-90; G. F. Kiekhoefer and H. Lutz, 1890-91; G. F. Kiekhoefer and G. Pfeffercorn, 1891-92; G. F. Kiekhoefer and M. Ubele, 1892-93; J. A. Siewert and W. Berg, 1893-94; J. A. Siewert and W. Joten, 1894-95; M. C. Werner and A. F. Wendorf, 1895-96; J. C. Kunst and H. Koten, 1896-98; Jacob Schneller and H. Koten, 1898-99; Jacob Schneller and W. Barnetzke, 1899-90; Jacob Schneller and William Dumke, 1900-01; Jacob Schneller and W. R. Schuelke, 1901-02; H. H. Brockhous and W. R. Schnelke, 1902-03; H. H. Brockhous and G. E. Zellmer, 1903-04; W. G. Raddats, 1904-08.

On the fiftieth anniversary of the congregation, where the clergymen who organized the congregation in 1856 were present as speakers, the pastor prepared a history and souvenir for the members, from which this list is taken.

Rev. W. G. Raddats was born September 20, 1876, in Milwaukee, where he received a public school education and afterward an academic training at Northwestern College, Naperville, Ill., and is a graduate from the College of Liberal Arts of Lawrence University. His theological training he received at Union

Biblical Institute, Naperville, Ill. He entered the University of the Wisconsin Conference of the Evangelical Association in 1900, and from 1904 to 1908 is serving as pastor of the local church. Mrs. Raddats is the daughter of Rev. G. Fritche, P. E. They were married April 4, 1900, and have two sons, Merlin A. and Stanley G. Raddats. (Signed) W. G. RADDATS.

The Scandinavian Lutheran Church, of Neenah, Wis., was organized by Rev. Hatlestad on January 29, 1861. The following were the signers of the constitution: Ole M. Sorlie, M. E. Sorlie, K. Bjoinson, H. Nelson, Even Johnson, E. Arnesser, A. Jorgenson, Loren Wilson, O. T. Torgerson, Mones Larson, John Bergstrom, O. O. Myhre, A. Ruge, Carl Ruge, Ole Olson, Chr. Rasmusen, Chr. Ruge and Lars Olson. The official name of the Congregation was the Evangelical Lutheran of Neenah and Menasha. Rev. Isaac Jensen was its first pastor. The first church was built in 1862 near the present site of St. Patrick's Catholic Church on the island.

In 1866 it was decided to sell the church property and build on the site where the present church stands, corner Cherry and South Commercial streets.

The following have served the congregation as its pastors: Isaak Jensen, I. Vidding, Johan Olson, J. C. Jacobson, H. L. Haakonson, O. C. Anderson, Sigord Olson, G. Gregonson, William Eckman, E. C. Tollifson, M. Mickelson. The present pastor, Rev. G. Kluxdal, was born in Mt. Morris, Waushara county, Wisconsin, August 21, 1866, was brought up on his father's farm, educated in a county school and at Wautoma High School. After his father's death he went to Northfield, Minnesota, where he entered St. Olaf College in the fall of 1887. After finishing his course at St. Olaf and a three-year course at the United Lutheran Theological Seminary at Minneapolis, he accepted a call as pastor of a small congregation at Ephraim, Wis. In 1900 he accepted a call to the Scandinavian Lutheran Church, Neenah. In 1903 the present beautiful edifice was erected and finished in time for dedication April 17, 1904. Rev. Kluxdal acted as solicitor for funds, chairman of the building committee, purchaser of material and treasurer. His advisors were John Olson, the builder of the basement, M. G. Madson and Arne Gunderson. Marew Bjornson, the mother of Mrs. H. F. Anspach, is the only survivor of the first signers of the constitution.

The Ladies' Aid Society, with Mrs. H. F. Anspach as president, Mrs. George Howe treasurer and Mrs. G. Kluxdal secretary, is in

a thriving condition. English is used in the Sunday-school, Young People's Lutheran League and Sunday evening services, although Norwegian is still the official language of the congregation. (Signed) G. KLUXDAL.

Neenah Mission. What is known as the Neenah Mission was first organized October 19, 1885 (at 3 p. m.), in what was known as the old Good Templars' Hall (over the present Home Trade Shoe Company), under the direction of Mr. and Mrs. Nels Matheson, assisted by Mr. Ed. Jorgenson, Miss Hannah Thompson, Mrs. N. DeMerritt, Miss Tilla Ruegie, Miss Charlotte Matheson, Mr. Louis Mickelson, Miss Lizzie Simmons, Miss Jennie Jenson, Mr. Peter Peterson and Mr. Hans Rasmussen. The reason for its organization was that a large number of children of different nationalities and belief was, for one reason or another, not reached by the churches, and therefore not receiving religious or moral instruction. The Mission, through its faithful corps of earnest workers, volunteered to furnish such instruction free of cost and without interfering with the child's or parents' faith or belief. Protestants and Catholics alike were encouraged to be faithful to God and their church, as well as obedient to their parents. With this motto constantly before us large numbers of children and adults received new inspiration for good, returning to their own church to live better lives. The attendance often numbered 150 and averaged over ninety. When children were not suitably dressed to attend services clothing was provided with parents' consent. In case of sickness among unfortunates, nurses, doctors, medicine and eatables were often provided. The work was extended to assisting at funerals and finding homes for small children. On March 15, 1896, the Mission was reorganized for greater work by widening out into cottage and mission prayer meetings, Sunday evening services as well as special revival meetings, as often as practical.

In 1898 the present Neenah Mission Chapel was built and dedicated January 2, 1899, at a cost of $1,500, including the lot. The money was supplied by public subscription through the efforts of Mrs. Nels Matheson in sums of 25 cents to $20. Sums thus raised amounted to nearly $1,000. The names of subscribers and amount given has been neatly framed and hung on the walls of the Mission. A debt of $500 was left on this chapel for a number of years, which was paid up in full in 1906 by Mr. H. Babcock, Mr. J. A. Kimberly, Mrs. J. A. Kimberly, Mrs. C. B. Clark and Mrs. Hiram Smith. Each paid $100.

The Neenah Mission is not a society like a church. It employs no salaried officers and takes no membership. It urges all its converts to join themselves to the church of their choice. Its helpers are volunteers of deep Christian experience from the different churches, all working by and through the love of God and for His approval. (Signed) NELS MATHESON.

The Danish Evangelical Lutheran. This society was organized September, 1872. The pastor in 1876, Rev. N. Thompson, was the editor of the "Church Gatherer," with a circulation of 700, printed in the Danish language. The present pastor is Rev. Jeppe Soe.

Danish Methodist Society has for pastor Rev. Carl H. Anderson.

Welsh Calvanistic Society commenced worship in 1848 with a congregation of ten persons and a membership of five, which was increased to fourteen. They had a small house of worship, but no resident pastor.

Welsh Congregational Society was organized November, 1861, with fourteen members. Both Welsh churches maintain a Sunday-school.

German Lutheran Trinity was organized December 26, 1865, Rev. Otto Hager, pastor, 1876-78, and September 29, 1897, Rev. H. Froeleke became pastor and served for ten years, an event recently celebrated by a meeting and presenting the pastor with a $10 gold piece for each year of his pastorate from 1897 to 1907.

German Lutheran was organized January, 1874, worshipping in the brick house on Oak street purchased of the Methodists and built by the Congregationalists in 1852. Rev. H. J. Haack was pastor 1876-78 and Rev. August Kleinhaus in 1908.

XLI.

HISTORY OF THE CITY OF OSHKOSH.

By

Charles Barber.

Webster Stanley is sometimes called the first settler of Oshkosh. While in the employment of the United States government, engaged in transporting supplies from Fort Howard to Fort Winnebago, in 1835, he observed the natural advantages of the present site for a settlement. The city of Oshkosh was settled in 1836 by Webster Stanley, Chester P. Gallup, Henry and Amos Gallup and George F. Wright. David and Thomas Evans, Chester Ford and C. J. Coon came a little later. They all took up lands on Lake Winnebago and Fox rixer except C. J. Coon, whose purchase embraced what is now the Sawyer and Paine properties and the Country Club near Lake Butte des Morts. Coon was a settler of Algoma rather than of Oshkosh.

David and Thomas Evans entered a tract of about one hundred acres of land on the shores of Lake Winnebago, forty acres of which comprise what is now known as North Park. They were undoubtedly attracted by the beauty of the tract, and, from the descriptions given, it must have been a perfect "Eden." Even in older days, with its grand old elms and towering cottonwoods, its vine-clad banks and flowery groves, it was regarded as one of the most beautiful spots in our city. Along its shores were high mounds covered with wild grape, plum and sumach. Tradition said that these grounds were the burying places of Indian warriors slain in battle.

The other colonists centered about the beautiful point at the mouth of Fox river, formerly known as Merton's, now Gruenhagen's point. The settlement was called "Sauk-eer." There was considerable discussion in an early day as to the name that should be given to the new settelment. For a time it went by the name of "Athens." The Wrights were champions of "Osceola"; "Fairveiw" and "Stanford" had their advocates. The Evans boys insisted on calling the new settlement "Galeopolis."

But in 1840 the question was left to a vote, and all parties interested, as far up the river as Butte des Morts, were permitted to express their choice. There were many, specially the traders, who were interested in retaining the good will of the Indians, and thy insisted that the little village should be named in honor of the great Menominee chief who had befriended the whites from the earliest days. This party carried the election, and ever afterwards it was known as Oshkosh. The name means "brave," and was given to the young warrior on account of his bravery at Mackinac in 1812. History tells us that these shores were very dear to the old chief, and even after his tribe had relinquished title to the land, Oshkosh, with his followers, was accustomed to come back to his old home and to linger around the haunts of his boyhood days. The early history of this little settlement is very interesting, but lack of space compels me to come down to a later date.

Upon the 25th day of March, 1853, the legislature passed a law incorporating the city of Oshkosh. The act is known as chapter 118 of the laws of 1853. In most respects it was like our present charter, although some of its provisions were unique. The mayor was a judicial officer and had the power of a justice of the peace. He also was keeper of the city's seal. We had a marshal instead of a chief of police, and the common council elected a warden instead of a chief of the fire department.

Upon the 5th day of April the charter was submitted to the people for approval and was carried by a majority of 177 votes. Upon the same day Edward Eastman was elected mayor, W. D. Luscher clerk, A. H. Reed treasurer, E. Neff marshal, and E. R. Baldwin superintendent of schools.

In territory the new city was much smaller than the Oshkosh of today. On this side of the river the north line of sections 23 and 24 constituted the north boundary line of the city; or, to be a little plainer, Oshkosh extended as far north as Irving street, the boundary line crossing Algoma street somewhere south of William Radford's residence and north of the Reeve property, and striking the river north and west of the Hollister mill. On the south side the city embraced what is known as the original Third ward, or the territory bounded on the west by what is now Ohio street, and on the south by what is now Sixteenth street. Lake Winnebago was the eastern boundary of the city, except that there was a little jog from Irving to Merritt streets, so as to exclude the Evans farm, for that beautiful spot did not

become part of the city until three years later. What is now Main street was called Ferry street. Washington, Broad, Waugoo and Merritt streets were in existence, but the Algoma street of today was largely a public highway known as the Winneconne road. Algoma was a separate village, and did not become a part of Oshkosh until 1856. Its postmaster fifty years ago was H. C. Jewell, who also was a member of the county board from the town of Algoma. It had an independent ferry and boasted of a saw and grist mill owned by Jewell & Co. Here, too, was located Philetus Sawyer, where for four years he had been engaged in the lumber business. The business center of Oshkosh was along the Fox river, in what is now the First, Second and Third wards of the city. It took in the old settlement known as "Sauk-eer," on the lands entered by Webster Stanley, Henry and Amos Gallup and George Wright in 1837, by Henry Stringham in 1838, and on the entries in 1840 by David and Thomas Evans.

The people of Oshkosh were very proud of their new charter, and one of the newspapers, the Oshkosh Democrat, said that "these are progressive days," and that it saw no reason why, "in an age when boys were young men at 15 and girls young ladies at 12," and "when everything around was decidedly 'fast,' that a 'burg' of 2,000 or 3,000 inhabitants could not shake off the reproach implied in the word 'village' and assume a place among the mature characters of the age." In the language of the Democrat no such reason existed, and therefore "the charter election has been held and 'Oshkosh is now a city.'"

At the time Oshkosh became a city Franklin Pierce was president of the United States, William E. Marcy was secretary of state, and Jefferson Davis, who had been stationed for many years at Fort Crawford, now Prairie du Chien, and at Fort Winnebago, now Portage, who had frequently passed by the site of our city on his way to these military posts, who began his military career in Wisconsin during the Black Hawk war, who knew every foot of this country, who rose to distinction afterward in our war against Mexico, was secretary of war. The administration was Democratic, but the appointment of Jefferson Davis in the cabinet was unsatisfactory to many northern members of the party, and the Oshkosh Courier, the leading Democratic paper of Oshkosh, published by Charles R. Nevitt

(recently deceased) and by George H. Read, sharply criticises Mr. Davis and speaks of him as a "nullifier" and "anti-unionist."

Oshkosh from the outset was a hustling city. We have no accurate figures as to its population at the time that it put on its municipal garments, but I estimate that its population at that time did not exceed 2,000 inhabitants, although it sturdily claimed more. In 1850 its population was 1,392, and in 1859 it had grown to a place of 4,121 inhabitants.

It is interesting to know that the year that Oshkosh became a city the Republican party was born at Ripon, Wisconsin, and history gives A. Bovay credit for starting the movement which resulted in the organization of the party which now controls the land. It is also interesting to know that the year Oshkosh became a city the state went prohibition by nearly 3,500 and carried Winnebago county by 1,217 for to 397 against. Mr. George Gary, by a close vote, was elected to the legislature on the prohibition ticket over his Democratic opponent, William R. Kennedy. Both of these gentlemen are alive at the time of this writing.

Although its population was small the fame of our fair city had traveled far. The Buffalo "Commercial Advertiser," in its issue of August 13, 1853, the year that our city was born, contains a description of Oshkosh. The writer says: "When Polk was inaugurated president an Indian trail ran through Oshkosh and 'when, six years ago, the patriotism of the few white people who had settled here prompted them to celebrate our nation's birthday, tall grass, hazel bushes and other shrubbery had to be cut in order to prepare a suitable place to erect the speakers' stand and prepare the table.' Where the wild grass then fell has arisen a city; where the Indian trail was is the path leading thousands to the happy homes of civilization and to the house of God. It became a city last winter. It takes its name from a brave old chief and warrior of the Menominee tribe, who only a few years since bade adieu to his hunting grounds, by national orders, and, with tears in his eyes, started for a new home beyond the Mississippi. He has recently returned to some lands which he is permitted to occupy in the northern part of the state. The city which will carry his name down to the end of the republic is a rival of Fond du Lac and is destined to become of portly dimensions. The Milwaukee & Fond du Lac railroad will be extended to that place on its way to Green Bay within two years. It is only eight miles from the junction of the Fox and

Wolf rivers. The latter running through a great timber country and being navigable for 150 miles, Oshkosh must necessarily become a great lumber market. Government lands have come into market and are now being improved, and soon the fruit of the soil to the northwest of Oshkosh will be floated in great quantities down to that port. I saw three or four steamers there at one time, and the number will increase every year. The American portion of the settlers are a generous, full-hearted, enterprising people, proud of their young city and bound to make something of her. Beautiful for situation, may she rise to meet their expectations and become the belle city of Winnebago."

It will be seen from this description that at its very birth Oshkosh was looked upon as a rival of Fond du Lac.

The fame of our beautiful lake over fifty years ago had reached London. In 1853 a description of Lake Winnebago appeared in an English magazine, and the writer especially referred to the delicious white fish and big sturgeon the lake contained.

At the time that Oshkosh became a city it had no railroad. It had telegraphic communication with the outside world as early as 1850. That year a line was run from Milwaukee to Green Bay through Oshkosh. Transportation was carried on by boats and stage lines. The first steamboat which plied these waters was the Manchester. At the time that Oshkosh became a city the Peytona, D. B. Whitacre, Jenny Lind, Oshkosh, Badger State, A. W. Knapp, John Mitchell and the Menasha were among the craft seen on the waters of the river and lake. The oldest living steamboat man today is Fred Zentner, who was mate on the Peytona. Only two years ago Kendrick Kimball passed away. He then was the oldest living county officer. Mr. Kimball was deputy sheriff way back when Oshkosh first became a city, and served the papers in the famous Partridge lost child case. At the time it became a city Oshkosh was very much interested in plank roads, and stock companies were formed and stock subscribed to build plank roads from Oshkosh to various parts of the country. Over $15,000 was subscribed for a road between here and Fond du Lac. The river was crossed first by ferries, afterwards by a bridge. Oshkosh and Algoma ran rival ferries. Tolls were charged on ferries, bridges and plank roads. The same year that Oshkosh became a city it established a free bridge over the river. Bonds to the amount of $2,000 were issued to buy the old bridge. This issue was the city's first bonded indebtedness. At the time Oshkosh became a city it had two private

banking houses, branch institutions from Milwaukee and Fond du Lac—the Oshkosh City bank and Darling, Wright, Kellogg & Co. It had three hotels, the Oshkosh House, M. Griffen proprietor; the Winnebago hotel, R. P. Edgarton proprietor; and the Brooklyn house, L. B. Reed proprietor. The legal rate of interest was seven per cent. but parties could contract to pay twelve, and banks paid five per cent on deposits.

At the time Oshkosh became a city the legislature passed a law abolishing capital punishment. Wisconsin was the first state to do away with the gallows. The next year a man in Waushara county by the name of Cartwright was lynched by a mob of 150 men, who hung their victim over his own door.

At the time Oshkosh became a city it made a start toward a public library. An organization met at Raymond's store and was known as the Young Men's Library association. In 1857 the library contained 245 volumes. "Uncle Tom's Cabin" was having a big sale all over the world, Oshkosh included. Eastman's book store advertised it, with a key to explain the story. In a few years millions of copies were sold.

At the time Oshkosh became a city the lumbering industry of Oshkosh was in its infancy. The first logging done on the Wolf river was in 1835 by David Whitney of Green Bay, who cut logs on the shores of Rat river, in this county, to be used in the construction of government buildings in Neenah. The first saw mill on the Wolf river waters was built at Shawano in 1843 by Samuel Farnsworth. His lumber was floated to Oshkosh and sold for five dollars a thousand. The first lumberman in Wisconsin was Jeff Davis in 1829, who got out logs for the government at Fort Crawford. The first saw mill in Oshkosh was erected in 1847 on the site of the old gang mill in the Second ward by one Morris Firman. Here, too, was the first ferry across the river, and was known as the Stanley ferry. Later the ferry was removed to the foot of Main street. On this same mill site Captain James Jenkins afterward operated the gang mill. The first flouring mill was built in the village of Algoma in 1848 by D. W. Foreman & Co. At the same place Foreman & Bashford operated a saw mill. Here, too, in 1849, Philetus Sawyer manufactured lumber. One of the earliest lumbermen in Oshkosh was J. H. Porter, who ran a mill near what was known as Jackson's point. Mr. Porter was mayor of our city in 1867 and 1869, and is with us here today. Stilson & Chase, Sheldon & Hubbard, Weed & Gumaer, Ripley & Mead also carried on lumbering oper-

ations. Asa Hollister, father of Colonel S. W. Hollister, was one of the pioneers in the lumber business in the city of Oshkosh, coming here in 1845. E. L. Paine, C. N. Paine, George Paine, Leander Choate, D. L. Libbey, Lyman O. Rumery, Carlton Foster, R. T. and John Morgan were all interested in lumbering operations soon after Oshkosh became a city. Mr. J. H. Weed, now living, is one of the pioneer business men of our city. In 1853 the first county building was erected. Court in those days was held in Marks hall, near the river. The same year our city boasted of a new bell, which was cast in an Oshkosh foundry, the only one in the state. At that time Oshkosh had a bell foundry and claimed to make as fine bells as anywhere in the United States. This is one of the industries we have lost. At the time Oshkosh became a city T. O. Howe was circuit judge, Edwin Wheeler was county judge, and Bouck & Washburn, Eighme & Kennedy, James Freeman, Col. Charles Wolcott, L. P. Crary, C. Coolbaugh, A. A. Austin and C. A. Weisbrod were among the lawyers of that day. C. A. Weisbrod was also editor of the German paper published in this city, and was one of the first aldermen of the city of Oshkosh. The first city attorney was T. L. Kennen, elected in 1854, when Joseph Jackson was mayor, on the munificent salary of $30 a year. Our city treasurer the first year handled less than $2,000. The physicians of an early day were Drs. A. B. and I. H. Wright, B. S. Henning, Christian Linde, T. P. Russell, and a little later Drs. C. D. Schenich, S. J. Osborn and A. P. Barber. Dr. Russell in 1857 was city physician, and is the oldest member of his profession in the city today. Dr. Kezertee, who died recently, was the oldest dentist. C. Ernst, who also recently died, was the oldest meat market man. The principal merchants a half century ago were A. H. Reed, Joseph Jackson, F. M. Powers, George Ames, Sam Eckstein, Peter McCourt, Edward Eastman, M. T. Reardon, L. M. Miller and S. M. Hay. Mr. Hay, until his death, which occurred in 1906, was the oldest living mayor, having served two terms, 1857 and 1859. J. H. Porter is the oldest living ex-mayor at the present time. Williams Brothers were the leading druggists. J. W. Scott and George Mayer, jewelers. Theodore Frentz was at one time the editor of the German paper, the "Deutsche Zeitung." Outside of the Indian missionaries the first religious service was held in 1841, under the auspices of the Methodist church, in the bar room of Stanley's hotel, where the National Union bank now stands. The sermon was preached by Jesse Halstead, a Metho-

dist circuit rider from Brothertown, across the lake. He was succeeded by John P. Gallup, in 1843, a regularly ordained Methodist minister. His wife is now living, and is the oldest resident of Oshkosh. In 1850 the First Methodist church, corner of High and Division streets, was built, and the same year the First Congregational church, organized in 1847, was erected. St. Peter's, Roman Catholic, was founded by Rev. Father Bonduel, for twelve years Indian missionary to lake Pau-way-gan, now Lake Poygan. The spelling of some of these Indian names has changed. In an early day Wisconsin was spelled "Ouis" instead of "Wis," and Outagamie "Ut" instead of "Out," and Oshkosh "Oskosh," accent on the last syllable, "kosh." St. Peter's society was organized in 1850, although divine services were held several years before, and the first mass was celebrated in a small house on Ceape street. Trinity Episcopal was organized in 1854, although religious services were held for several years earlier. Rev. Franklin R. Haff officiated at the first Episcopal service ever held in Oshkosh March 12, 1850, and was with us until 1906, the oldest clergyman of Oshkosh, both in years and service. In 1854 six persons met at the court house and organized the First Baptist church. There was a Welch Congregational society organized in 1849 with Rev. David Lewis as pastor.

Oshkosh has but little early school history. Up to 1851 it had but one school house and that cramped and badly arranged. There were numerous private schools. In 1871 the writer of this article began his education in a little school kept in Gill's hall, where the Athearn hotel now stands, by a Miss Robinson. Later was the Union school, corner of Merritt and Jefferson streets, and the First Ward school, built in 1859. The present school system of Oshkosh dates from 1868 when the old high school was built. The history of that institution is practically the school history of our city. The high school lot fronting upon Algoma and Church streets is a part of the tract of land formerly owned by George Wright, Sr. In 1837 Mr. George Wright, Sr., settled upon fractional lot one (1), containing thirty-seven acres. This tract included the beautiful grove of two acres now held by the city and extended from Polk street on the north to the river, and from Main street to Jackson street. Mr. Wright was the third white settler in Oshkosh and obtained his patent from the United States government April 2, 1840. As before stated, Webster Stanley, Chester Gallup, George Wright, Sr., and David Evans, with their families, are to be regarded as the found-

ers of our city. In 1841 George Wright, Sr., died. His will was admitted to probate in Brown county, for at that time Oshkosh was in Brown county and Green Bay was the county seat. The property passed to a son of George Wright, Sr., Mr. William W. Wright of this city, who died but a few years ago. In about the same form as it now is it was sold by Mr. W. W. Wright, and, after several transfers, in 1855 it came into the possession of T. A. Follett and Mr. George F. Wright, who was a son of George Wright, Sr. On December 18, 1855, this two-acre tract was sold by Messrs. Wright and Follett to School District No. 1 of Oshkosh, and on the abstract books today the title of the land stands in School District No. 1 of Oshkosh. For more than ten years this tract was used as a park by our citizens, as a common or playground by the boys of the city, and was the gathering place for the people on public occasions. It always went by the very appropriate name of "The Grove." About the time of the close of the Civil war the question of a new high school began to be agitated by our citizens. There was a crying need for such a structure, for an old abandoned church on Main street near the corner of Church street and a three-story brick building, known as "the Cottrell building," near the corner of Main and Algoma streets constituted the chief educational edifices of Oshkosh in those days. In 1866 definite steps were taken to erect a new high school building upon this property purchased ten years before. The school board of that year was composed of Mr. K. M. Hutchinson, its president and superintendent, Mr. E. R. Colton, Captain James Jenkins, Dr. Samuel J. Osborn, Dr. A. P. Barber and Mr. D. D. Whitney, who were the commissioners from the different wards of the city. April 27 a building committee was appointed, consisting of E. R. Colton, Capt. James Jenkins and Dr. A. P. Barber. On May 23, 1866, a resolution was adopted authorizing and directing the building committee to procure plans and specifications for the new high school building, and on July 17 of the same year the board of education authorized the building committee to let the contract for the construction of a new high school building. The contract was let and the corner stone laid in 1867. The same year Dr. H. B. Dale succeeded K. M. Hutchinson as superintendent of schools, which position he afterward held off and on for eleven or twelve years. The work of constructing the new building went on through the entire year of 1867 and in the spring of 1868 the structure, although in an unfinished condition, was used for

school purposes. In 1867 and while the school board was struggling with the problem of furnishing the pupils of our city with better school accommodations, a master mind had undertaken the task of grading our schools and instituting therein a definite course of instruction. To Mr. Arthur Everett we are largely indebted for the school system which now exists in the city. The high school constructed at that time was a model building for the times. It cost upward of $40,000, which was raised by special assessment. The population of the city at that time was only 10,000 souls and the assessed value of the entire city was only about $3,500,000. May 2, 1901, the old building, which for thirty years had been the principal institution of learning in the city, was destroyed by fire. In June, 1902, the corner stone of the new and more modern structure was laid. At that time the population of the city had reached more than 30,000 and the assessed value of the property of the city was upward of $16,000,000. It was stated at the laying of the second corner stone that, including the class of 1868, there had been graduated from the high school 465 boys and girls. The school system of the present time is a most excellent one and, in addition to the high school property, the city has numerous buildings scattered throughout the different parts of the city. Its school property is very large, and the excellence and high standing of the schools of our city have always been the pride of our citizens.

About the time that Oshkosh became a city its citizens were all stirred up over railroad projects. In 1853 two companies were formed, the Oshkosh & Portage City Railroad Company and the Winnebago Railroad Company. Among the directors were James Murdock, Charles A. Weisbrod, A. G. Lull, Peter McCourt, Joseph Jackson, G. F. Wright, Sam Eckstein, Edward Eastman, W. C. Knapp, W. H. Weed, L. M. Miller, T. A. Follett and B. S. Henning, the last two of whom were afterward mayors of our city. Gabriel Bouck was director in both companies. In 1856 the common council was authorized to extend railroad aid, but it was not until October 13, 1859, that what is now the Chicago & Northwestern Company ran a through passenger train from Fond du Lac. This was a great event in the history of Oshkosh. To celebrate the entrance of the iron horse into our city an excursion to Chicago was gotten up. Near Watertown the train was wrecked and five of our leading citizens were killed. Among the number were E. R. Baldwin, Charles Petersilea and John Lunt. Many persons, men and women, were injured. The dis-

aster plunged the entire community into the deepest grief. The same year, May 10, 1859, occurred the first great fire of Oshkosh. The fire started in an unoccupied barn in the rear of the Oshkosh House and swept everything on both sides of Ferry street from Ceape to Washington and Algoma streets. The entire business part of Oshkosh was in a few hours converted into a field of smoking ruins. But with characteristic pluck and energy the entire burnt district was rebuilt with a better class of buildings and Oshkosh resumed her place in the business world. Seven years later, in May, 1866, occurred another great fire. It commenced on the west side of Main street, swept the whole block from High to Algoma, and from Waugoo to the north side of Washington street and as far east as Jefferson avenue, destroying the postoffice and public halls. The fires of 1874 and 1875 are more modern and are within the memory of many of the citizens now living. To protect itself against the fire fiend Oshkosh at an early day took decisive steps. Under its original charter the city had power to form fire engine and hook and ladder companies. Service on the hand trucks in case of necessity was made compulsory. October 31, 1856, at a meeting held in Mark's Hall, near Ceape street, with Mr. Ossian Cook in the chair, Niagara Engine Company No. 1 was organized with William Wall as foreman, and February 4, 1857, it paraded the streets for the first time with its new hand engine, escorted by the Oshkosh City Band. A few days later Germania Fire Company No. 2, with Jacob Gruenewald as foreman and William Neuman assistant, forty members strong, exhibited its new machine to our admiring citizens. The service in those days was purely volunteer, and the young men who protected our property against fire were full of zeal and daring and were ever true and loyal to their calling. Of our fire department our city is now and ever has been justly proud, but it owes a debt of gratitude to the old volunteer companies who at the sound of the bell rallied to do battle against the dreaded and ever-threatening fire fiend. A few of the old members are with us today, but most of them have answered their last call.

But I now come to another era—the breaking out of the Civil war. April 12, 1861, Fort Sumter was fired upon, and two days later, after being reduced to a mass of ruins, surrendered. April 15 President Lincoln called for 75,000 troops. There were no more political differences then; no more Democrats and Republicans; everyone was a Union man. The heart of the Na-

tion was stirred and Oshkosh, true to herself, at once responded. Two days after the President's proclamation a war meeting was gotten up, the call being signed by John Fitzgerald, Democratic mayor of our city; S. M. Hay, W. R. Kennedy and others. In less than a week at a meeting held in Washington Hall, where now stands the old National bank, Company F, Second Wisconsin Regiment, was formed, with Gabe Bouck for captain and John Hancock for first lieutenant. I leave to others who took part in that great struggle the history of Oshkosh in those days. Our people had but one thought and that was to do their share in this great work. The city of Oshkosh sent to the front her best blood, and the glorious record of her brave and noble sons in that desperate conflict will never perish. In the fall of 1862 the property known as the "old fair grounds," a tract of land just west of North park, was converted into a military camp. Here was stationed the Twenty-first Regiment with its two Oshkosh companies, Captain Paine's and Captain Godfrey's. A little later the Thirty-second Regiment was in camp at the same place —Camp Bragg it was called—and with it was the Oshkosh company under Captain Freeman.

About the same time the people of Oshkosh had an Indian scare. It came during the dark days of the war when the cause of the Confederacy looked the brightest, when foreign powers were anxious to take a hand in the fight against the North, that we in Wisconsin were threatened with a domestic foe. In August, 1862, there had been a horrible massacre of whites by the Indians of Minnesota and the public mind was ripe for any rumors of an uprising here at home. About the first of September of that year the report went abroad that all the Indians of the west were being organized in favor of the Confederacy; that the South was furnishing ammunition of all kinds, and that the Menominees had agreed to join the coalition. "Dandy," an Indian chief, appeared to be at the head of the movement in Wisconsin. The people of the state were alarmed and Governor Solomon sent James Clark, of Winneconne, to Keshena to ascertain the disposition and intention of the Indians. Ah-co-ne-may, head chief of the Menominees, and Keshena, second chief of the nation, made speeches, assuring the people of Wisconsin that, as in the past, they were friendly to the North and true and loyal to the great father in Washington. Investigation afterward showed that, although they had been approached by "Dandy" and other emissaries of the South, the followers of

old Oshkosh could not be seduced from their ancient policy of friendship toward the government.

In 1868 the Oshkosh Yacht Club was organized, and in 1871 our second railroad was built by a connection with the St. Paul Company at Ripon.

In 1880 the city council secured connection with the Milwaukee, Lake Shore & Western Railway by a line from Oshkosh to Hortonville. This road afterward passed into the hands of the Chicago & Northwestern Railway Company.

In 1882 the Wisconsin Central Railway Company, by an organization known as the Milwaukee & Lake Winnebago Railroad Company, extended its line from Neenah south through the city to Oshkosh as far as Milwaukee and thence to Chicago, thereby giving Oshkosh its third railway.

In 1882 the Oshkosh Street Railway Company was organized with authority to operate a horse-car line in the city of Oshkosh. The line was operated by animal power until 1897, when the horse-car company sold its line to the Citizens' Traction Company, and thereafter the street car system was operated by electricity. In 1898 the interurban line to Neenah was constructed and in 1901 the Omro interurban line was built, and in 1904 the Eastern Wisconsin Railway & Light Company entered the city with its system from the south. The Citizens' Traction Company passed into the hands of another corporation known as the Winnebago Traction Company, and that corporation at the time of this writing (1898) has transferred its property to the Eastern Wisconsin Railway & Light Company, so that the entire interurban system centering around Oshkosh is operated under one management.

In 1875 the Northern Hospital, just north of the city, was completed ,and the same year the Masonic Temple was erected.

In 1877 the present paid fire department was organized, and two years later Alexian Brothers Hospital was built.

In 1880 and 1881 the city of Oshkosh and surrounding country suffered greatly from high water.

In 1883 the Oshkosh Water Works Company was granted a franchise, and the next year a new modern system of waterworks was installed. In 1883 the Grand Opera House was built. In 1884 the Electric Light Company was incorporated. In 1887 and 1888 the city hall was constructed, and in the latter year the First Ward school was built. In 1891 St. Mary's Hospital was opened.

In 1870 the Normal school, one of the principal institutions of learning in our city, was constructed, and its doors were first opened September 12, 1871. The school opened with an attendance of forty-six pupils, but in 1875 the whole number enrolled was 323. In 1900 the school had an enrolment of 701 pupils at a total cost of $56,725.44, and this year (1908) there are 950 pupils enrolled in that institution. The institution is one of which the citizens of our state have always been justly proud. At the present time (1908) a very substantial addition thereto is being constructed.

In 1892 the new Wisconsin avenue bridge was opened, and in 1906 the new magnificent structure spanning Fox river and connecting North and South Main streets was finished and opened to the public. In 1899 the corner stone of the Oshkosh Public Library building was laid. A history of this institution would be very interesting, but lack of space forbids details. To Marshall Harris and his wife, Abbie Harris, the citizens of Oshkosh are indebted for this structure. Mrs. Harris in her will left upward of $75,000 to the city of Oshkosh for the erection and maintenance of a public library on condition that the municipality raise a like sum within three years. The late Senator Sawyer contributed $25,000 of the required amount and the city raised $50,000. The bequest was accepted, and today Oshkosh has a beautiful structure with a well-equipped library upon a beautiful site on Washington street between Mount Vernon street and Jefferson avenue. The new library was opened up to the public September 1, 1900. The library was not conducted under the Harris will previous to that, but by an organization known as "The Oshkosh Library." The present officers are appointed under the existing state library act. They are: C. D. Cleveland, president; Thomas Daly, vice-president, and J. H. Jenkins, secretary and treasurer. The librarian until recently was Miss Maud Durlin, and the assistant librarian is Miss Mary A. Olcott.

The people of Oshkosh have always been proud of their city; they were so at the time of its organization and they are so today. Many changes, however, have taken place since Oshkosh first became a city. We have still our grand river, 600 feet wide, almost as broad and deep as the Thames at London. Lake Winnebago, with an area of 212 square miles, its waters covered with numerous craft, its shores dotted with beautiful cottages, is still here. But instead of two small banking houses we have

now four national banks—the old National, the National Union, the Commercial National and the German National—and three state banks—the German-America, the South Side Exchange and the State Bank of Oshkosh. We have also one trust company—the Oshkosh Savings & Trust Company. The deposits in our city banks today are upward of $6,000,000.

Oshkosh today, as in times past, is a lumber center. In 1907 upward of 70,000,000 feet of lumber were sawed in our city. With three modern mills the lumber sawed here each year is within 70 per cent of the output of the fourteen mills running in Oshkosh forty years ago. Our saw mills received about 4,800 cars of logs in 1907, and about 30,000,000 feet came down our river from the pineries of the north.

There are six sash, door and blind factories in our city, with an invested capital of upward of $4,000,000, doing an annual business of $6,000,000. These institutions turn out daily 6,000 doors, which means 600 an hour and ten every minute. In addition 10,000 windows are daily made, and there are employed in these institutions 3,000 laborers. Oshkosh has also the largest match factory in the Union. It requires more than $1,200 daily to pay the freight charges on the matches shipped out. There has been constructed in the past year a mammoth building on High street by the Diamond Match Company. This new structure was made necessary by the increased business of the company at this point.

There are numerous furniture factories in Oshkosh which do a business of about $1,000,000 a year. The combined output of carriages and wagons by the manufacturers of our city amounts yearly to $700,000. The output of trunks in 1907 amounted to $750,000. There are two trunk factories, employing about 750 men. Nearly 24,000 caskets and coffins were shipped from Oshkosh in 1907. Of this number more than 16,000 were manufactured here. The products of the machine shops and iron-working industries of Oshkosh in 1907 were nearly a million dollars. These industries employ about 500 hands.

Oshkosh has become possessed of a comparatively new industry within the past six years. This is the building of boats and boat engines. The two industries are conducted separately and the aggregate output is estimated at $300,000 annually. Marine gasoline engines made in Oshkosh possess a national reputation and represented last year a business much greater than a quar-

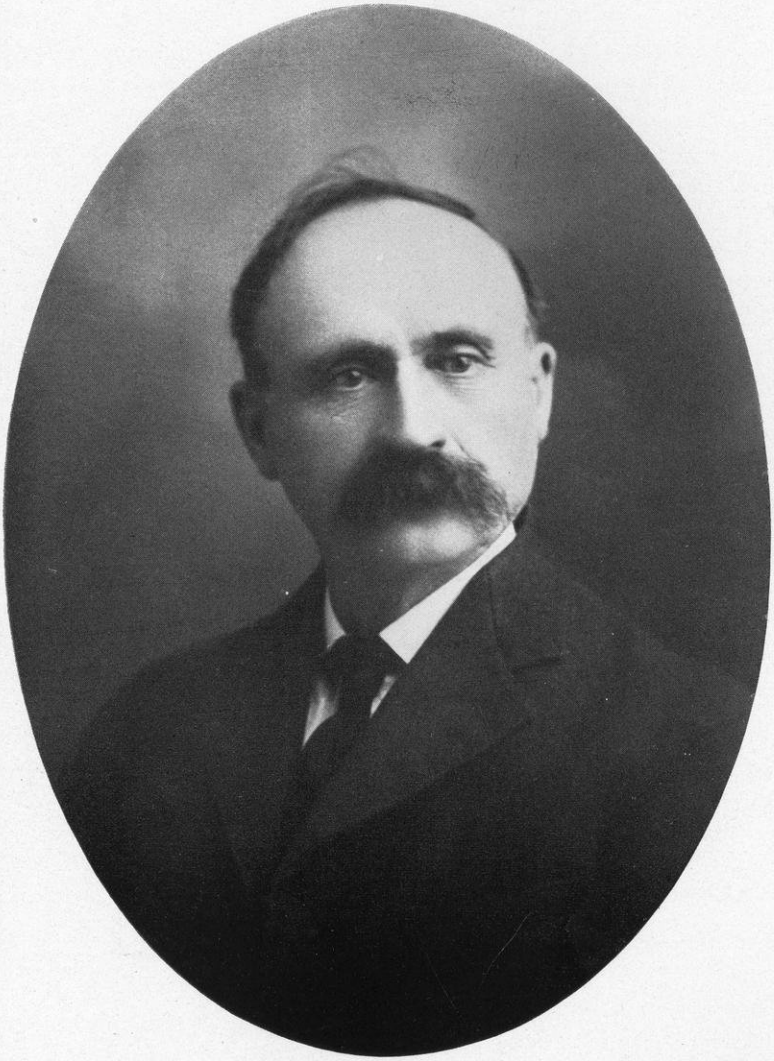
ter of a million dollars. Frequent shipments are made to foreign countries.

Three wholesale grocery houses carry stocks valued at $150,000 and do a business of about $900,000 yearly.

The three railroads centering at Oshkosh do a large business. Thirty-two passenger trains and forty-eight freight trains arrive and depart daily from Oshkosh. In 1907 the city shipped out 17,215 carloads of manufactured products. The daily cash receipts of these railroads is $6,900, the yearly receipts aggregating more than $2,000,000.

The volume of business done in the retail dry goods houses of Oshkosh last year in dry goods exclusively reached a total of $850,000. The retail grocery stores, numbering ninety, did a business of about a million and a quarter. Oshkosh in 1907 consumed 20,000 tons of hard coal and 30,000 tons of soft coal, valued at about $300,000.

Oshkosh today is a modern, up-to-date city—very different from the pioneer lumber town where people used to go "to have fun with the boys." Instead of plank roads the three great trunk lines of the state enter our city, and we have in addition interurban lines which connect us with surrounding cities. Instead of ferries, fine bridges span our river. The volunteer company has gone and a most efficient fire department has taken its place. A magnificent system of waterworks supplements our fire department and furnishes our citizens with an abundant supply of pure water. The ox team of the pioneer is no longer seen upon our streets, but over broad thoroughfares, paved with macadam, brick and asphalt, pass fine carriages, automobiles and electric cars. Even the horse railroad has come and gone and the electric railway with interurban connections has taken its place. Electricity furnishes light to our business houses and streets and power to our industries. Our homes are heated and lighted with gas. Fine public buildings, handsome churches and beautiful homes adorn our city. The magnificent public library above referred to has superseded the humble institution which existed at the birth of our city. Our system of public schools is one of the finest in the state, and with the Normal school located in Oshkosh the educational advantages of our citizens are unsurpassed. For recreation and rest our citizens have attractive and beautiful parks. The stores of our merchants are noted throughout northern Wisconsin. Our manufacturing industries are prosperous and flourishing and supply



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the world with their products. Our hotel accommodations are the finest in the state. Numerous new improvements are contemplated. Oshkosh has grown in the past and will continue to grow in the future. The men who laid the foundation of Oshkosh are gone, but their children are here today in their place. The blood of the old pioneer is in their veins; the example of their fathers is before them, and they cannot fail. And Oshkosh, fair city of the beautiful lake, will continue to grow and prosper, as was prophesied at her birth down to the end of our republic.

XLII.

MANUFACTURING IN OSHKOSH.

The Romance of Wood.

By

Edward Balch Barr.

The history of Oshkosh is a story of trees—giant pines, cedars and hemlocks, in early days floated and driven less than fifty miles down river from the deep forests to the mills; in later years carried hundreds of miles by water or farther even by train from all the corners of the hemisphere to feed the unsatisfied saws.

Oshkosh, the Sawdust City, was founded on sawdust.

The most important industries of this thriving community, the leader in the manufacture of lumber, are located on the marshes of its village days, which have become solid earth through fifty years' accumulation of slabs and sawdust.

Once not so very long ago nothing was good but pine, from the lumbermen's standpoint, and the immense clear logs were driven in from the contiguous territory of the lower Wolf, supplying thirty small mills which lined the river in the growing Oshkosh. All the slabs and odds and ends were refuse, fit only for the mill sites of a later generation.

But the timber line receded northward until the forests of the lower Wolf river were only memories; in place of the thirty small mills came three or four others, among them one which is the largest in existence. And while in the old days only the rough boards were used as the material came from the saws, now everything is utilized in the making of sash and doors and blinds and lath and shingles and everything else that may be worked from wood. And as the Wisconsin forests were still further diminished and the world called upon the state for more lumber, Wisconsin in turn demanded its timber of the West. It is still coming—perfect fir from the forests of Washington and Oregon, clean yellow pine from the Gulf states, big cedar from

all over the North and mahogany and rosewood from the Amazon country. The supply comes from two continents, but goes out again, transformed not only back to all the cities of the Western empire, but to every European and oriental people. Every second workmen in Oshkosh handle timber.

In spite of setbacks the city has grown in every direction, until in 1908 it is in a way to become not only a municipality of 40,000 inhabitants, but a metropolis of a thousand distinct interests. With the years it will rank in wealth and size according as it now takes position for strength and importance. After all, the sawdust foundation was secure.

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Ride an hour by rail northwest from Oshkosh until you cross the Wolf river at Gill's Landing. There, where now is good farming country bordered by river bottoms, were begun the logging operations which were to make Oshkosh. In an early day all the logging was done between Gill's Landing, Fremont and the little Oshkosh, and it was so thorough that none of the timber remains. At first nothing but white pine and a small amount of Norway pine was cut. The annual drive in the late fifties was probably 80,000,000 feet—splendid quality, all that timber. As the years went on the logging line was extended up the historic Wolf to Shawano, but it was not until the time of the Civil war that improvements were made on the upper river north of Shawano so that timber could be floated down from the northern forests.

The drive was not all rafted to Oshkosh. At Bay Boom all the logs were assembled and sorted, and there is a record in Harney's "History of Winnebago County" of rafts being towed up the Fox river. In the memory of old settlers large rafts were taken from Bay Boom through Lakes Poygan and Winneconne to the Fox river, thence towed to Portage and through the canal to the Wisconsin river and by that route to the Mississippi. Along the Fox above Oshkosh some lumbering was done early. The "Oshkosh Democrat" of July 6, 1849, says:

"In our tramp last week we passed through Omro, a new town started on Fox river five miles above the junction with the Wolf. It is not a town yet, but its proprietors tell us that it is a central place, that several new leading roads cross the river at that place and that it cannot fail to grow. Dean, Beckwith & Co. are building a steam sawmill there."

First Sawmills.

In 1847, shortly after the completion of the Fox river bridge at Ferry street (now Main street) by the Fox River Bridge Company, two steam sawmills were erected in Oshkosh at about the same time. One was built by Morris Firman at the mouth of the river on the South Side and the other by Forman & Bashford at Algoma. Algoma at that time was a separate settlement and the residents of Oshkosh, which centered east of Main street, regarded Algoma's separation by two miles as something of a stone wall. The rivalry between the two towns was spirited. Later Algoma boomed into a full-fledged town and an attempt was made to incorporate it as a distinct city. The dividing lines were imperceptible, owing to the growth between the two places, and in the end Algoma became West Algoma, which it is to this day. Now it is largely made up of residences and is a part of the city of Oshkosh.

It is stated by Harney that the mill of Forman & Bashford at Algoma sawed the first lumber. A third mill was built by Sheldon & Hubbard, and a fourth by Reed, Wyman & Co. Not long afterward mills were erected by J. P. Coon, Geer & Co., Stilson & Chase and Joseph Porter. The firm of Brand & Sawyer in 1848 came into ownership of the Forman & Bashford mill.

"This was the beginning," says Harney (1880), "of that vast lumber industry of Oshkosh that has since grown to such great proportions."

Most of the lumber was sold rough and the bulk of that was shipped away without further manufacture. Oshkosh had no railroad connection for a number of years, so that the lumber was loaded on scows and taken to Fond du Lac for shipment by rail. The scow and incident tugboat service was an industry in itself, while for thirty years following 1847 sailing schooners were used largely in transporting the lumber from Oshkosh to other points on these waters. It was no uncommon thing for a load to be sailed to Fremont, notwithstanding all the windings of the Wolf river, or down the Fox river to Green Bay.

The first grist mill was built by Forman & Co. in 1848 at Algoma, filling a want that had been felt by the settlers the preceding two years. Up to that time the grain had been taken across to Manchester, on the east shore of Lake Winnebago, for grinding, while at an early day it was packed all the way from Green Bay by the Indians following the canoe route.

While the manufacture of sash, doors and blinds did not de-

velop into the principal industry for years, these products were made in Oshkosh as early as 1849. Advertising in "The Democrat" in 1849 were Chapman & Abbott, proprietors of a sash, door and blind factory, and John J. Fort, operating a sash factory. This same year there were advertised in "The Democrat" G. D. Bullen's tannery, the Oshkosh Brewery (Scheussler & Freund), Barnes & Moody's wagon and carriage shop, Forman's flouring mill, Williams' foundry and G. S. Olin's Fox River Iron Works.

"The Democrat" files present a complete record of the early Oshkosh. Some items preserved by Harney are diverting, by the way. Witness an entry on September 6, 1850: "In all our experience we have never seen such long, uninterrupted, continued and excessively wet and cold weather for the time of year as we have had since the first of July. The whole country is a perfect ocean." The high water of 1850 and 1851 caused much damage and some fear of flood. Nevertheless, "The Democrat" editor says on April 25, 1851: "Prosperity seems to be the word with all."

Oshkosh early became a center. The call of the manufacturers for a railroad connecting Oshkosh with Milwaukee was summarized in the following argument in 1853:

"In the angle formed by the two rivers (the Fox and the Wolf) are the entire counties of Waushara, Waupaca and Shawano and parts of Marquette and Winnebago. These rivers are the outlet of this whole extent of country, and Oshkosh is the key and commanding mart of the whole."—"Milwaukee Sentinel."

The first beveled siding ever manufactured, it is believed, was made in Oshkosh. William Butterick and Ira Griffin operated a sawmill and planing mill under the name of Griffin & Butterick, and Mr. Thomas Roche states that in 1855 he "took away" beveled siding from a saw fed by Mr. Butterick. It is not thought that any of this kind of siding had been made anywhere before this time.

In 1856 the first steps were taken to afford fire protection to the city, which had left its village days three years behind. A volunteer fire engine company, then known as Pioneer No. 1, was organized. Later this company was named Niagara No. 1.

The next year "The Courier," dilating upon the prosperity of the young city, counts up the assets of Oshkosh in this way (May 1, 1857): "Our lumbering business is immense and in-

creasing each year. Acres and acres of logs are coming down Wolf river and are either used at our mills or disposed of for the mills below us. The amount of lumber manufactured and the capital employed in this city alone would astonish even our own citizens. There are eighteen sawmills, running nearly 100 saws altogether, besides shingle, lath and sash machines; two grist mills kept constantly going with custom work; two heavy foundry and machine shops; two large shops for the manufacture of agricultural implements, besides a host of other manufacturing mechanical establishments. Our population has increased from 4,184 on the first day of June, 1855, to over 8,000 at the present time, as ascertained by Messrs. Kohlmann & Brother, who have been engaged in taking the census preparatory to getting out a city directory. Take it all in all, Oshkosh is far ahead of any of its rivals and is bound to take its position as the second city in Wisconsin."

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Now let us see how the prophecy turned out. Oshkosh was to suffer by fire—once, twice, three times—most severely, and the test for the City of Sawdust would have been hard for any community.

Among the mills operating in 1857 were those of James & Stille, Joseph Porter, Philetus Sawyer (later United States senator), C. N. Paine & Co. (which was succeeded in later years by the Paine Lumber Company, Limited) and the partnership of D. L. Libbey and John Chase. What was known as "the old gang mill" was owned by Burnham & Knapp, and after some time it became the property of Capt. James Jenkins, the father of J. Howard Jenkins, now president of the German National Bank. This mill was located on the site of the present power house of the Winnebago Traction Company. One Sheldon had a mill on the South Side. A syndicate owned a mill standing where the Wisconsin avenue bridge now touches the south bank of the river, a place then known as "Jackson's Point." In the syndicate were Carter & Danforth, Barker & Preddyman, Jefferson Bray and William Bray. For a time they had a flouring mill in connection with it. Mr. Leander Choate was employed in this sawmill and later owned the plant. A planing mill, the predecessor of the great plant of the Morgan Company, was operated by John R. Morgan and his brother, Richard T. Morgan.

Fire on the night of May 10, 1859, destroyed all the buildings

on both sides of Ferry street from Ceape to Washington and Algoma streets, including the main business section. "Within six months the district was entirely rebuilt and the recuperative force of the city excited comment," says Harney, "and established the fact of the great strength of its resources and expansive power."

On October 13 of the same year the Chicago & Northwestern railroad was extended from Fond du Lac to Oshkosh and this marked another "boom" period, the results of which were all conserved in solid growth. A disastrous fire occurred in May of 1861, confined to the south side, but in a few months the work of rebuilding left no trace of the blaze. During the remainder of the Civil war period Oshkosh was fortunate in its commercial growth, but in 1866 once more in May fire swept the central portion of the city almost where it had gone in 1859. Not disheartened, the citizens went about rebuilding and by the end of the year substantial brick structures stood on the ashes of frame stores and offices.

At this period there were about thirty sawmills in the city, and for several years the cut of logs ranged from 150,000,000 to 200,000,000 feet. All the mills which were destroyed by fire were immediately replaced, for the lumber business was never so good. The average capacity of these mills is believed to have been 20,000 feet of lumber each day, while a record of 50,000 feet was made in 1868 by one. The season averaged 200 days, and in the winter the mill hands went out into the woods to "log it."

Failures were uncommon, as indeed they have always been, in Oshkosh. Lumber commanded a high price and was not expensive to market.

Fires came again in 1874 and 1875, just after the city had received a further impetus growing out of the opening in 1871 of the Oshkosh & Mississippi railroad to Ripon through a fertile and well settled country. These two fires succeeded in devastating nearly all the business portion of Oshkosh and many entire streets of residences. The establishment of many new mills and sash and door factories had resulted in the building of numerous fine homes, all of which were replaced after the different fires. While the damage seemed the greater because the city was at the full tide of prosperity, that very fact enabled the work of rehabilitation to go forward rapidly time and again. The fire of 1875 was regarded as a turning point in

the history of the city, and the quick recovery from the shock and heavy loss ($2,500,000) was looked upon as a good omen for the future—which, indeed, has been well fulfilled.

From that time on the city has grown steadily and uninterruptedly without hindrance from fire or appreciable delay at any period of so-called "hard times." Among the various mills and factories established more firmly after the last great fire were those of Jones & Foster (now the Foster-Lothman mills), Radford Brothers, Morgan Brothers, C. N. Paine & Co., Williamson & Libbey, who remained in business until 1906, and James P. Gould. The Gould interests are now under the name of the Gould Manufacturing Company. E. N. and George Conlee and Orville Beach were associated with Captain Jenkins for some time in a mill on the site of the present Chicago & Northwestern freight depot. In the eighties John Banderob's furniture shop was enlarged into a factory by the formation of a partnership between its owner and C. C. Chase. The Buckstaff-Edwards Company was a contemporary. The Schmit Brothers Trunk Company was organized in 1873 and was then one of the largest firms in the city outside of the lumber business. In 1879 the firm of Parsons, Neville & Co. established a carriage works, removing to Oshkosh from Chicago.

Harney notes as one of the features of the year 1879 the floating of a grist mill on barges from Winneconne to Oshkosh, probably one of the few instances of so large a building being moved in this manner.

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The ensuing period of growth was, of course, marked by changes here and there, most of them for the better. The additions to the industrial field, the retirement of one and another of the pioneers, make too long a list for this narrative. In the period of twenty years up to 1900 the names of Choate, Hollister, Paine, Doughty, Jenkins, Morgan, Libbey, Gould, McMillen, Radford, Foster, Beach, Buckstaff, Sawyer, Bray, Clark and Streich were only among the many identified with the development of the city into a notable manufacturing center as well as an important factor in state and national politics.

It was in the time between 1870 and 1880 that the greatest advances were made in the improvement of the upper Wolf river through the medium of dams and blasting operations, so that as the timber line was forced farther north the river still might serve the purpose of the loggers for the driving of the

timber to Oshkosh. These improvements are still being carried on, and at last some of the waterpowers along the upper Wolf are in prospect of development for the benefit of the surrounding regions. One of the largest projects is one involving a large sum to be invested in transportation of electric power from the lower rapids of the Little Wolf river, less than fifty miles to the city of Oshkosh, and the plan at the time of going to press is to utilize all the power for factories yet to be built in the district west of the river between West Algoma and Wisconsin avenue. In this gigantic plan a number of the best known men of the community are interested.

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This work would be incomplete without a tribute to the solidity of Oshkosh commercial institutions and the stability of its business men. When the money panic of October, 1907, forced nearly every bank in the United States to suspend specie payment and sent firm after firm to the wall, putting thousands of men out of work, Oshkosh set the example for the Fox river valley by laughing at the panic and continuing to pay in cash, with proper safeguards against the removal of the money from this district. As a result of the policy adopted by the financial and business community the city came unscathed through the stringency of the winter following, and conditions at the present time are exceptionally good.

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The Present Outlook.

At present the lumber industry in Oshkosh is flourishing, and there is little doubt that it will continue to be the principal feature of commercial Oshkosh for a long period of years. The manufacture of the raw material has been confined so far in this home city of logs, planks, sash and doors that now every conceivable product of the wood is made in Oshkosh.

The Paine Lumber Company, Limited, the largest concern of its kind in the world, owns a large tract of land bordering the Fox river on both sides where the river leaves Lake Butte des Morts. On the north side are the sawmill, which with its improved machinery is said to have a capacity of nearly a half million feet of lumber daily, and the factory proper, which for many years has held undisputed the distinction of being the largest sash and door factory on earth. Adjoining these are the incidental buildings and the extensive yards. On the south

bank is the veneer mill, a notable plant of its character. The Paine company is said to employ in an average season more than 1,800 workers in its local plant, its winter logging camps and its branch offices, which latter are scattered over the globe. This is regarded as a conservative estimate and it indicates the magnitude to which the industry has grown. Officers of the company, which is capitalized at $500,000, are as follows: President, Col. George M. Paine; secretary, Nathan Paine; treasurer, Charles Nevitt. Edward W. Paine is also associated with the company. For many years John W. Himebaugh was closely associated with the concern as manager and vice-president, until at the time of his death recently he was looked upon as one of the authorities in this line of business.

The Morgan Company, makers of standard doors and windows and builders' material, have several plants, the central one being located in Oshkosh, the scene of the foundation of the business. There are several branch offices in different parts of the country. Officers of the company are as follows: President, J. Earl Morgan; vice-president, Enos S. Richmond; secretary and treasurer, R. H. Edwards. The company occupies an important place in the lumber field and is widely known in the market. The plant is located on Oregon street close to the river.

Radford Brothers & Co., with an eventful history behind them, have come through the years with good fortune and are now prosperous. Besides the usual manufactures the company makes a specialty of hardwood doors. The company consists of Stephen, William and Charles W. Radford, while it is closely affiliated with the Radford Company of Chicago, and has several branches elsewhere. The local mills are on the river front east of Wisconsin avenue.

The McMillen Company, whose plant also fronts on the river between New York and Forest avenues, makes the staple sash and door products. Its officers are the following: President, John George Morris; vice-president, Ernest S. Smith; secretary and treasurer, H. N. Hart.

Hollister, Amos & Co. is the name of the firm of which Col. Seymour W. Hollister is proprietor. Sawmill products are handled almost exclusively by the company itself, while Colonel Hollister has always played an important part in the transportation to the Oshkosh mills of not only his own, but of all the logs from the upper Wolf river. Closely connected with the company is the F. E. Worden Lumber Company, whose warehouse

adjoins it on the east. The large Hollister sawmill and yards front on the river at Blackhawk street.

The Gould Manufacturing Company is another of the leading firms making the usual lumber products. Its plant is on the south side of the river at the corner of Tenth street and the line of the Chicago & Northwestern railroad. The officers of the company are: President, James P. Gould; secretary, Harry G. Gould; treasurer, George F. Wright.

The Foster-Lothman mills, making sash, doors and allied products, are on the south side of the river a short distance west of the Morgan plant. T. B. Waters, treasurer of the company, is in active charge of the business.

The Campbell & Cameron Company have, in addition to their sawmill and yards, a box factory which uses a large amount of lumber daily. The plant is on the South Side directly opposite the Hollister mill. Officers of the company are: President, D. N. Cameron; vice-president, Robert C. Campbell; secretary and treasurer, J. D. Campbell.

These eight firms comprise the strictly lumber industry. There are many others in associated lines which will be spoken of in their place.

Today Oshkosh uses more lumber than it ever did, because even the sawdust is manufactured into something useful before it leaves the mills. The total capital invested in these eight plants runs well into the millions, and the value of the rough lumber used by them will aggregate more than $2,000,000 yearly. The value of the finished produce could be estimated only in an indefinite way.

Allied Industries.

It is only a step to other lines in which the logs are further changed and reduced. Oshkosh has three industries—the making of furniture, caskets and cabinet goods, which are a development of the early sawmill and the handwork shop.

Among these the Buckstaff-Edwards Company is perhaps most important. The plant is one of the largest in the West and turns out a vast quantity of caskets and casket trimmings and chairs of varied patterns, all made from lumber sawed in the company's private sawmill. This mill was the first in the Fox river valley to be operated by electricity. It has a capacity sufficient to supply the Buckstaff-Edwards factory when the latter is operating with a complete crew. The officers: President,

George A. Buckstaff; vice-president, O. F. Crary, Jr.; secretary, J. H. Donnelly; treasurer, D. C. Buckstaff. The concern is located on South Main street, the yards beginning at Eleventh street.

If the foregoing company is named first, the Banderob-Chase Company surely has a right to the next place. It owns one of the largest furniture factories west of Lake Michigan, making all kinds of furniture. The officers: President, John Banderob; vice-president, Edgar P. Sawyer; secretary and treasurer, C. C. Chase. The plant is on the north side of the river west of the Chicago & Northwestern tracks.

The A. W. Schram & Sons Company make a kind of rocking chair which has become well known. A large building on Marion street east of Light street houses the plant, which is extensive. The officers: President, A. W. Schram; vice-president, W. F. Schram; secretary, A. M. Schram; treasurer, O. H. Schram.

The R. Brand & Sons Company confines itself to bank and saloon fixtures of a high grade. Although suffering a severe loss by fire in the current year, temporary quarters have served for manufacturing and a new building is in prospect. The officers: President, William T. Brand; vice-president, Robert Brand; secretary and treasurer, Carl G. Jensen.

The R. R. Starkweather Company is in similar business, making interior furniture and stairwork at its Marion street plant, south and east of the Radford properties. The death of the president of the company recently resulted in a slight change of management, the officers now being: President, C. W. Radford; vice-president, Joseph Johanson; secretary, Mrs. R. R. Starkweather.

Logging Tools.

One of the essentials in the production of lumber is the manufacture of suitable tools for handling the logs. The Oshkosh Logging Tool Company and the Sanford Logging Tool Company occupy together a large new brick building which stands in a conspicuous position at the south end of the Main street bridge. Their pike poles, peavies, cant hooks and larger tools go all over the lumbering world. The Sanford company is the older, its interests having been absorbed largely by the newer corporation, whose officers are: President, Elmer Leach; vice-president, Leander Choate; secretary and treasurer, C. A. Libbey. The plant has its own electric sawmill apparatus.

A factory which utilizes a great amount of lumber each year is that of the Diamond Match Company, the large combination which has mills in several cities of this country. The new plant in Oshkosh is one of the largest of them all, being in a four-story brick building 600 by 150 feet, entirely fireproof. L. Frank Gates is in charge as local manager. The plant covers the block bounded by High, Osceola, Pearl and Blackhawk streets, and the main building is one of the landmarks of the city. Material for match stems is imported in the form of blocks from distant states.

These firms are probably the largest users of lumber in its various stages. It will be noticed that there are now four sawmills doing general work of the most up-to-date kind. These belong respectively to the Paine Lumber Company, Hollister, Amos & Co., Radford Brothers & Co. and the Campbell & Cameron Company. There are also two electric sawmills, supplying the Buckstaff-Edwards and logging tool factories with material for their own use.

It is a significant fact that while Oshkosh has now but a scant six sawmills, the consumption and manufacture of lumber in the city has increased on account of the larger number of varied industries and the growth of the manufacture of sash and doors.

Not many years ago Oshkosh was known as the "home of sash, door and blind factories." The making of blinds has been rendered almost unnecessary by changes in the style of houses, but the phrase sticks. And in the production of windows and doors alone more men are employed today in using less than 50,000,000 feet of lumber than were needed for the simple sawing of 200,000,000 feet forty years ago.

But the extent of Oshkosh mills has not yet been told. There are at least fifty separate manufacturing lines in which companies are now engaged, aside from the sawmills and sash and door factories. One hundred and twenty-five different companies handle these different lines. I have resorted to John V. Bunn's 1908 City Directory for information concerning these. In fact, the names of officers are all given on the authority of that work.

Trunk Factories.

The making of trunks and bags has become important among the Oshkosh industries. Two large concerns, the Schmit Brothers Trunk Company the Oshkosh Trunk Company, are engaged in this business. The Schmit company has an extensive

plant on Broad street adjacent to North Park avenue. Its officers are as follows: President, George Bauman; vice-president, J. Howard Jenkins; secretary and general manager, David Lawson; assistant manager, H. R. Minors; treasurer, John Schmit. The factory of the Oshkosh Trunk Company, which has been in the field a shorter length of time, yet has done well, is on High street opposite the end of McKone avenue. Its officers are: President, Frank Percey; vice-president, N. C. Werbke; secretary, George Hilton; treasurer and general manager, C. H. Paxton.

Grass Twine Products.

To the west and south of Oshkosh, in the level plane of the Fox river basin, are wide marshes, apparently usable only as hayfields. But since grass twine became a commercial material these fields have commanded a high price until today their product is sought after by a half dozen companies. In this connection a bit of history is interesting. Not more than ten years ago the American Grass Twine Company, sometimes called the monopoly, was in complete control of the situation, holding tight all the patents covering grass twine machinery and fighting every presuming competitor with the most powerful weapons. Leander Choate and Emil H. Steiger, of Oshkosh, with whom were associated F. E. and O. T. Waite, also of this city, under the name of the Oshkosh Grass Matting Company, began the manufacture of similar products under patents which had come into the control of Mr. Steiger. They were defendants for years thereafter in a suit brought by the monopoly for infringement of patent, but won their case in one court after another until they secured recognition from the court of last resort. That ended the monopoly of the "American" company and threw the field "wide open." Independent manufacturers began operations at once, there being several in Minnesota as well as in Oshkosh. The main plant of the "American" company, located in Oshkosh, was closed down and is at present idle.

The Oshkosh Grass Matting Company is now in the hands of Messrs. Choate and Steiger. Messrs. Waite have withdrawn from the company and are manufacturing grass twine products under the name of the Waite Grass Carpet Company, incorporated in 1908. The former company has a plant on Wisconsin avenue at the north end of the bridge over Fox river, while the Waites are located in the building formerly occupied by the log-

ging tool companies at Pearl and Bond streets. F. E. Waite is president and O. T. Waite is secretary-treasurer of the Waite concern.

In a business much like these two is the Oshkosh Bottle Wrapper Company, which has grown from small proportions to one of the important industries during the last two or three years. A large building was erected this year at the south end of the Wisconsin avenue bridge. Here bottle wrappers are being made of marsh hay as fast as wheels can be turned over in the machines. The officers: President, William Dichmann; vice-president and treasurer, C. A. Wakeman; secretary, Erna Dichmann.

Machinery.

Quantities of machinery are made every year in Oshkosh. Much of it is for sawmill and woodworking purposes and consequently the local shops are represented in every lumbering center on the continent as well as in many farther away. Some of these companies, with their special lines and their officers, are as follows:

Challoner Company, saw, lath and shingle mill machinery; president, Samuel B. Everhart; secretary, T. R. Frentz; treasurer, Floyd S. Everhart, Jr.

Wilkin-Challoner Company, sawmill machinery; president, C. W. Radford; secretary and treasurer, John C. Challoner.

E. B. Hayes Machine Company, woodworking machinery; president, J. F. Hayes.

J. A. Barnes Machine Company; president, L. A. Barnes; vice-president, E. M. Phillips; secretary and treasurer, J. A. Barnes.

Pine-Ihrig Machine Company, wireworking machinery and coilers; president, R. H. Edwards; vice-president, W. J. Pine; secretary and treasurer, E. W. Ihrig.

Marine Motors.

Not far afield, when we have come to these lines, is the making of marine gasoline engines. Two of the Oshkosh factories are known favorably in the United States, Canada and twenty foreign countries. From small beginnings the Termaat & Monahan Company and the H. C. Doman Company have grown to comfortable proportions. In the present year the former concern increased its capital stock from $50,000 to $200,000.

The Termaat & Monahan Company has its plant between

River street and the Fox river east of the Chicago & Northwestern railroad. Its officers are: President, J. D. Termaat; vice-president, L. J. Monahan; secretary and treasurer, M. L. Cottrill. The company does a general machine and foundry business and makes gasoline locomotives.

The H. C. Doman Company is located at the corner of Fifth and Nebraska streets on the river. It makes Doman marine motors and steam engines exclusively. The officers of the company are: President, Edgar P. Sawyer; vice-president, Phil H. Sawyer; secretary and treasurer, Edward C. Doman; general manager, H. C. Doman.

Marine motors are also made by the U. S. Gas Engine Works, of 715 South Main street. The proprietor is G. Boek.

Boat Builders.

George D. Ryan, of Oshkosh, is well known as a builder of steam and other large boats. His craft have been the standard on the Fox river waters for many years. The Ryan shipyard is on the river bank east of the Radford plant.

Jones & LaBorde are leading makers of sailboats and launches, while the Oshkosh Boat Works makes launches, rowboats and canoes. J. H. Jones is president and treasurer of Jones & LaBorde, and George E. LaBorde is vice-president and secretary. The officers of the boat works are: President, G. H. O'Byrne; secretary, J. J. O'Brien; treasurer, Samuel B. Shirk; superintendent, Matt Mathisen.

Other boat builders are the Oshkosh Boat & Canoe Company (Peter L. Hansen) the Lewis Boat Works and W. E. Morrison & Son.

Carriages and Wagons.

Oshkosh has a number of carriage and wagon makers. Of the former the J. L. Clark Carriage Company and Thomas Neville are leaders. The officers of the Clark company are: President and treasurer, H. M. Clark; vice-president, S. F. Clark; secretary, E. M. Clark.

T. Neville & Co. (Thomas Neville) makes automobiles as well as carriages, ambulances, patrol wagons and the like.

Other carriage makers are Henry Augustin and the Johnson-Kimball Carriage Works.

A. Streich & Brother Company have a large South Side plant for the manufacture of wagons, especially for the logging in-

dustry. The officers: President, C. J. Streich; vice-president, Mrs. Anna Gustavus; secretary, Fred A. Streich; treasurer, Ida E. Streich. Gabriel Streich and Gillingham & Son are in the same line of business. The former has a large plant at the corner of Oregon and Sixth streets. John Mathwig has a shop on Sixth street.

Other Manufacturers.

I have perhaps seemed to devote too much space to firms now in business as compared with those gone by, but as a matter of permanent record these details are worth while. The following manufacturers are also recorded in Bunn's directory, some of them being of considerable importance:

The Oshkosh Brewing Company, the Rahr Brewing Company, the Baranowski Art Glass Works; the Wisconsin Art Glass Company; H. C. Johnson & Son (tents, awnings and sails); Reliance Boiler Works (E. R. Gustavus); Battis Brothers (Union Boiler Works); Louis Schneider (bottle wrappers); nineteen cigar manufacturers, among them H. C. Derksen & Sons, C. M. White and August Guenther; M. M. Kitz & Sons (cigar boxes); Oshkosh Cistern & Tank Company; A. Sperlich & Sons Company (cisterns and tanks); Joseph Laus (confectionery); Oshkosh Bedding & Couch Company; Electrical Manufacturing Company; Oshkosh Excelsior Manufacturing Company; Reliance Flouring Mills; H. P. Schmidt Milling Company; Ballard & Son (gas engines and bicycles); Standard Mirror Company (John Strange and A. J. Barber); H. F. Wenrich (granite and marble works); Woehler & Burr (a similar line); Oshkosh Grill & Novelty Works; John R. Jones (ladders); Cook & Brown Lime Company (lime and brick); Oshkosh Builders' Supply Company (lime and crushed stone); C. G. Dauber Machine Company; V. Adams Machine Company; Davis-Hansen Company (machinery and pumps); Knippenberg Manufacturing Company; Oshkosh Machine Company; Ransom Manufacturing Company (machinery); Walker-Challoner Company (machinery); Ira Parker & Sons Company (paint); Oshkosh Paper Box Company; A. J. Greenkorn, James Laing (pop); Gillen's Laundry & Dye Works (fluff rugs); Oshkosh Fluff Rug Company; C. F. Warning (sheet metal); Terwedo Manufacturing Company (sheet metal); Custom Shirt Company; Oshkosh Muslin Underwear Company; Forewarned Sleeve Protector Company; Oshkosh Soap Company (L. F. Thiessen); Theodore Last, Robert Lutz, Oscar Prautsch (quarried stone); A. H. Adams (store

fixtures); Bauer Trunk & Bag Company; Sweet & Bernhard (wagons); Chris Olsen (concrete blocks); the George A. Knaak Company (motion picture apparatus); the Coal Briquette Machine Company; the Badger Canning Company (Leander Choate).

The Oshkosh Clothing Manufacturing Company, a prosperous concern, has the following officers: President, Leander Choate; vice-president, James G. Clark; secretary, Ida H. Kremer.

The gas and electric light manufacturing interests of the city are combined in the two plants of the Oshkosh Gas Light Company, of which Edgar P. Sawyer is president and Phil H. Sawyer is secretary and treasurer.

The endeavor has been to make the list complete. Omissions or the giving of undue prominence to some will be found due to lack of information and not to the intent of the writer.

It is not too much to say that three-fourths of the factories now being operated in Oshkosh owe their existence to the fact that the city was in the beginning a center of lumber and woodworking. Its future in these lines as well as in the multifarious activities which have developed in more recent years is bright.

Occasionally someone asks, solicitously, after the logs are all gone, what will become of the Sawdust City?

And the answer is simple. It will grow and prosper, for though it be late in the day to preserve them, the forests are not utterly to be cut down. There will be timber enough left for the world's work, and there must be mills to handle it. Were there none saved, Oshkosh must expand anyway with its many industries, which each year become more widely diversified. Part of the city is builded on the sawdust, but its future rests on something more enduring—the energy and faith of a people undaunted by fire, unretarded by depression, undisturbed by the pessimists, strong in themselves and their work.

Oshkosh is no longer a city of sawmills, but a manufacturing center. Its growth through the timber to its substantial commercial position is romantic among all the cities. It reproduces fully the transformation of the wood.

XLIII.

BANKS AND BANKING IN THE CITY OF OSHKOSH.

By

J. Howard Jenkins.

The record of the banks in the city of Oshkosh is one of continuous development and progress, unmarred by a single failure. As financial demands increased with increasing volume of business, capital has stood ready to furnish the necessary funds not only for the city proper, but for a considerable territory adjacent thereto. During the years when Oshkosh was practically a city of logs and sawmills its banking capital was the very life-blood of an area reaching up through the pineries and helping to bring to "The Sawdust City" the pine logs, which were the main source of its prosperity and growing wealth. With the passing of the saw log other lines of business have taken its place, and the expanding deposits in the banks give evidence of thrift and increasing financial independence.

By far the greater proportion of the stock in the Oshkosh banks is held by residents of the city and is widely distributed among many holders. Through all the panics of the past forty years the banks of Oshkosh have firmly upheld their credit, and during the peculiar currency crisis of the fall of 1907 they refused to resort to clearing house certificates and honored all checks over their counters with ready cash when demanded. The record of the entire Fox river valley in this respect is one of which its bankers and stockholders may be proud.

Gradually the banks in Oshkosh are being housed in their own buildings. Already the Old National, the German-American, the National Union and the Commercial National own substantial and beautifully equipped structures.

Up to 1852 there appear to have been no organized banks in Oshkosh. At that time it was a small village and such currency as was needed was carried in the pocketbook or placed in the scarcely burglar-proof safes of the leading merchants. But

there was already talk of incorporation as a city, which really occurred in 1853, so that in August, 1852, the first bank was opened under the name of Darling, Wright, Kellogg & Co. with a capital of $4,000. In 1856 the business passed into the hands of Kellogg, Fitzgerald & Co. In 1857 this was changed into the Bank of Oshkosh, with a capital of $50,000. Again in 1863 this was reorganized as the First National Bank, with a capital of $50,000, which was later increased to $100,000. This in turn in 1883 became the National Bank of Oshkosh, with a capital of $200,000. On the expiration of its charter in 1903 its name was changed to the Old National Bank, with a capital of $300,000. Its present surplus is $100,000.

In 1856 Nelson Fletcher and Henry Strong organized the Commercial Bank of Oshkosh, which two years later was purchased by Thomas T. Reeve and G. W. Roe and was conducted by them till October, 1865, when it was reorganized as the Commercial National Bank, with capital of $100,000. In 1871 the national charter was surrendered and the business was continued by Messrs. Reeve & Roe as a private bank till September, 1880, when a state charter was taken out as the Commercial Bank, with a capital of $100,000. On September 1, 1900, it was reorganized as a national bank under the name of the Commercial National Bank of Oshkosh, with a capital of $200,000. It has a surplus of $50,000.

The Farmers' Bank was organized in 1870 by Mr. R. C. Russell and in 1871 was merged into the Union National Bank, with capital of $100,000. In 1891 this bank was reorganized as the National Union Bank with a capital of $200,000. It has a surplus fund of $50,000.

The German National Bank organized in 1890 with capital of $100,000; its surplus is $50,000.

The German-American Bank organized in 1890 with capital of $100,000, and reorganized in 1903 as the New German-American Bank with capital of $100,000; its surplus is $25,000.

The South Side Exchange Bank was organized in 1892; it has a capital of $25,000 and a surplus of $20,000.

The State Bank was organized in 1903; it has a capital of $75,000 and a surplus of $11,000.

The Savings & Trust Company was organized in 1903. It does no general banking, its functions being the care of estates, trusteeships, etc., besides the care and investment of savings. Its capital is $100,000 and surplus $3,186.

On July 15, 1908, the published statements of the seven banks of the city of Oshkosh show as follows: Total capital, $1,000,000; total surplus, $306,000; total undivided profits, $109,215.08; total deposits, $5,750,436.46; total cash and exchange on hand, $1,396,869.49.

In addition to this the Savings & Trust Company's statement was as follows: Capital, $100,000; surplus and undivided profits, $3,186; deposits, $183,288.28; cash, $24,134.

In 1906 the banks of Oshkosh joined in the organization of a Clearing House Association. As the banks are somewhat widely scattered, this has proved a great convenience in the interchange of checks. During the troublous times of the fall of 1907 it was the means of securing united action on the part of the banks and fully demonstrated its usefulness.

XLIV.

EARLY JUDICIAL HISTORY AND ORGANIZATION OF THE COUNTY.

By

Charles H. Forward.

It is only attempted in this article to cover the time up to the first term of the circuit court of Winnebago county.

The territorial government of Wisconsin was organized by an act of congress approved April 20, 1836, at which time the territory now known as Wisconsin was set off from Michigan territory. This act provided that the judicial power of the territory should be vested in a supreme court, district court, probate court and in justice of the peace, the supreme court to consist of a chief justice and two associate judges, the territory to be divided into three judicial districts, and the district court or courts to be held at each of the three districts by one of the judges of the supreme court.

At this time Brown county, which included the territory later organized as Winnebago county, was declared to be in the Third judicial district.

The present limits of Winnebago county are the same as was originally determined by an act of the legislature January 6, 1840, although later considerable territory was added from the north, but was afterwards detached. The description of the county as set forth in the act of the legislature is as follows: "That district of country bounded as follows, to-wit: North by the north line of township 20, east by line dividing ranges 17 and 18, extended through the middle of Lake Winnebago, south by the north line of township 16, extended into Lake Winnebago until it intersects the aforesaid line, and west by the line dividing ranges 13 and 14."

The county was organized for all purposes of county government, and the people therein to be entitled thereafter to all the bnefits and privileges for protection, as citizens of other counties organized for county purposes, by act of the legislature February 18, 1842.

The election of the county and township officers was held on the first Monday in April, 1842, the returns of which were made to the clerk of the board of commissioners of Fond du Lac county, whose duty it was to canvass the votes and issue a certificate of election.

At the same time it was provided that for judicial purposes Winnebago county should remain attached to Brown county, and pay eight per cent of all taxes collected in the county of Winnebago annually, into the treasuary of the county of Brown to defray the expenses of the courts. Also it was provided that the records of the county of Brown in regard to the conveyance of lands in Winnebago county should be transcribed by the register of deeds of Winnebago county and a certified copy of his record to be as good and sufficient evidence of such conveyance in any court of the territory as certified copies of the original record.

The jurisdiction of the judge of probate, justices of the peace and constables of the several counties of the territory, attached to other counties for judicial purposes, was to extend only to the limits of the several counties for which they might be appointed and appeals from the decisions of the probate judge and justices of the peace in any of the said counties so attached, were to be made to the district court of the counties to which they were attached for judicial purposes. The justice of the peace had the power to issue a warrant and commit persons brought before him for examinations to the jail of the county, to which such county was attached for judicial purposes.

Fond du Lac county was organized for judicial purposes by the legislature on January 22, 1844, and it was provided by section 15 of that act, that the legal voters of the county of Winnebago should on the day of the annual town meeting of April next vote for or against the annexation of the county of Winnebago to the county of Fond du Lac for judicial purposes. This election was held April 22, 1844, at which thirty votes were cast, twenty-five for such annexation and five in favor of remaining attached to Brown county.

February 22, 1845, the legislature provided that for the purpose of permanently locating a seat of justice in Winnebago county three commissioners were to be elected at the annual meeting in April next. Every white male person of the age of twenty-one years who had resided in said county one calendar month preceding the day of such election to be entitled to vote.

Clark Dickinson, Robert Grignon and Harrison Reed were elected as such commissioners. On July 16 the board met at the house of Webster Stanley (at a later date than was provided by the act of the legislature, but necessitated by the fact that at the first election only two commissioners were chosen, two others having a tie vote, and a subsequent election was held at which Harrison Reed was chosen). The board at that time received offers of proposed sites and decided on one offered by Augustine Grignon, by vote of two to one, Mr. Dickinson voting against the proposition; and later, on July 31, made a formal certificate accepting the land, which was described as being on "Great Butte des Morts lake at or near the point" (this was just east of the limits of the village of Butte Des Morts) and the district surveyor was directed to prepare a correct description. The surveyor, in making his description, described the land as in section 24, township 19, range 16 east, and the deed was executed by Mr. Grignon to the county and recorded October 1, 1845, covering that description. This was an error, as the village of Butte Des Morts is in range 15 east, and Mr. Grignon owned no land in section 24, range 16 east.

There is nothing to show that this land was ever used by the county. January 1, 1852, the county entered an order appointing E. A. Rowley agent of the county to re-convey the land conveyed to the county for use of county buildings. No such deed, however, is on record.

By the act of the legislature February 8, 1847, it was provided that from after the first day of January, 1848, the county of Winnebago should be organized for judicial purposes to form a part of the Third judicial district, and the courts thereafter to be held by the judge of said district, semi-annually in the county, at such times as the judge might determine, until otherwise provided by law. The election of the sheriff and such other officers as said county were entitled to was also provided for, whose term of service should commence on January 1, 1848.

It was provided that all writs, processes, appeals and recognizances or other proceedings which were pending undetermined in the district court of the county of Fond du Lac on the first day of January, A. D. 1848, which arose in the county of Winnebago in the courts of the justice of the peace, should be transferred back and determined in the courts of the county of Winnebago.

The county seat in and for said county for judicial and county

purposes, was established after the first of January, 1848, in section 24, township 18, north of range 16 east (in Oshkosh), provided suitable buildings should be furnished for holding the courts free of all costs of charge to the county for the next three years, after which provision was to be made for raising taxes for the erection of public buildings and provided that a good and sufficient deed of the land for the public buildings be obtained and recorded.

Different propositions were made to the supervisors, and after due deliberation, the board accepted the proposition of L. M. Miller and S. A. Wolcott, and made a location, and on April 2, 1847, L. M. Miller, Samuel H. Farnsworth and Sewell A. Wolcott presented a deed of ten lots, half of a block of land, which was accepted, and constitutes the present site of the court house grounds bounded by Court, Otter and Ceape streets.

Pursuant to this act of the legislature, on January 12, 1848, Judge A. G. Miller, of the Third judicial district of the territory of Wisconsin, issued an order for holding a term of court for Winnebago county on the 11th (being the second Thursday) of May, at 11 o'clock in the forenoon, at which time all writs were returnable. Edward Eastman, clerk of the court, was by the county board directed to furnish suitable rooms for convening court, and on the second Thursday, May 11, 1848, the district court was opened, but on account of the absence of Judge Miller, it was adjourned by the clerk for one day, and on the 12th of May the judge still not being present, and being unable to attend, the grand jurors who had reported the previous day, were released from service, and the cases pending in the said court were continued to the next term thereof, which was to be held in the following August.

I do not find that any other term of district court was ever held in this county.

On the 7th day of August, 1848, a special election for circuit judge was held, Wisconsin having been admitted as a state May 29, and Alexander W. Stowe was elected, and on October 16, the first session of the circuit court of Winnebago county was begun and held at the school house in the village of Oshkosh. The judge present was Hon. A. W. Stowe, stated in court proceedings as "chief justice"; N. P. Tuttle was sheriff, and Edward Eastman acted as clerk and was designated as "clerk of the late district court." The grand jurors who appeared and were sworn are as follows: Timothy Allen, Benjamin Strong,

Irvin Heath, John Monroe, William Luckey, Theodore Pillsbury, Luther M. Parsons, Abraham H. Green, David Chamberlain, Henry C. Finch, Samuel Clough, Josiah Woodsworth, James Woodruff, M. M. Moulthrop, Barna Haskell, James L. Schooley, Eli Stilson and John Nelson. Theodore Pillsbury was appointed foreman of the jury by the court.

Proceedings were held and adjournment taken at noon and in the afternoon D. C. Blodgett was appointed clerk of the court.

The petit jury sworn in on that day consisted of the following persons: Walter C. Dickinson, Wm. M. Forest, Otis W. Fenno, S. A. Gallup, Thomas Kimball, Hiram Bardwell, Elihu Hall, Wm. B. Cross, Unah Hall, Israel S. Clapp, Florence W. Doane, Ryason Wilks, George H. Mansur, Edwin B. Fisk, Henry Knapp, Alfred Thrall, Horace Clemens and Harvey N. Gee.

The following attorneys at law were sworn in as members of the court in the afternoon of the first day, to-wit: E. A. Rowley, A. A. Austin, W. J. Green, E. L. Butterick, Charles G. Hascum, I. I. Barnick, D. C. Blodgett, Alex. Spalding, O. B. Tyler, I. C. Truesdell, G. W. Washburn, J. S. Horner, C. E. P. Hobart, W. H. Butterfield and L. M. Miller.

The first case in point of time in the record of the circuit court is that of Anson N. Howard vs. Chester Ford, an appeal from the justice court, George F. Wright, justice of the peace, entered June 9, 1847. This was transferred from Fond du Lac county, where it had properly gone when the appeal was made to Winnebago county, and judgment of non-suit was rendered on the second day of the session of the circuit court, to-wit: October 17, 1848. The attorneys interested in this case were J. M. Gillett and T. O. Howe.

The first case in the record which proceeded to verdict, judgment and execution was that of J. T. Adriance vs. Henry L. Blood, Oscar Wilson and Amos Dodge. The attorneys in this case were C. E. P. Hobart and T. O. Howe.

W. H. Reed was elected judge of probate and took his seat at the beginning of January, 1848, and on the 7th day of January entered an order appointing Edwin A. Rowley register of probate.

The first matter in this court was the estate of S. R. Manning of the town of Rushford. Application for appointment of herself as administratrix was made by Lucina A. Manning, widow, on the 17th of January, upon which date her bond was approved and letters of administration issued.

XLV.

BENCH AND BAR.

By

Judge Geo. W. Burnell, Circuit Judge.

The Anglo-Saxon is a thorough believer in the reign of law. It is absorbed with his mother's milk and bred in his bones. He is himself the product of its development adown the ages. For long centuries past, his ancestors by slow and steady labor, have been building up the grandest system of law which the world has ever known, the common law of England. The brightest minds of that country, through generation after generation, for a thousand years, have added to, corrected and perfected that system until it stands today without a peer among all the races of mankind. When our forefathers came from there to plant upon the virgin soil of this continent the seeds of another mighty nation, they brought with them not only the language and customs of the mother country, but its laws as well. Transplanted here, the branch has grown and flourished side by side with the parent tree. Drawing its sustenance from the same traditions, the same inbred ideas, each has re-acted upon and aided the other.

If England had its Lord Bacon and Lord Mansfield, so America has had its John Marshall and its Story; if England had its Coke and Blackstone, America had its Kent and Webster; and while England produced its Magna Charta, America gave birth to the Constitution of the United States, which Gladstone has pronounced "The greatest instrument ever struck off by the mind of man at a given time." Each and all are the common heritage of the Anglo-Saxon race.

From Runnymede and Magna Charta it seems a far cry to the court house of Winnebago county, Wisconsin; and yet every step in that long reach has been an orderly and natural sequence; as the settlements and civilization were pushed over the Alleghanies into the western wilds the lawyer accompanied them. He was needed to set in motion the wheels of civil government.

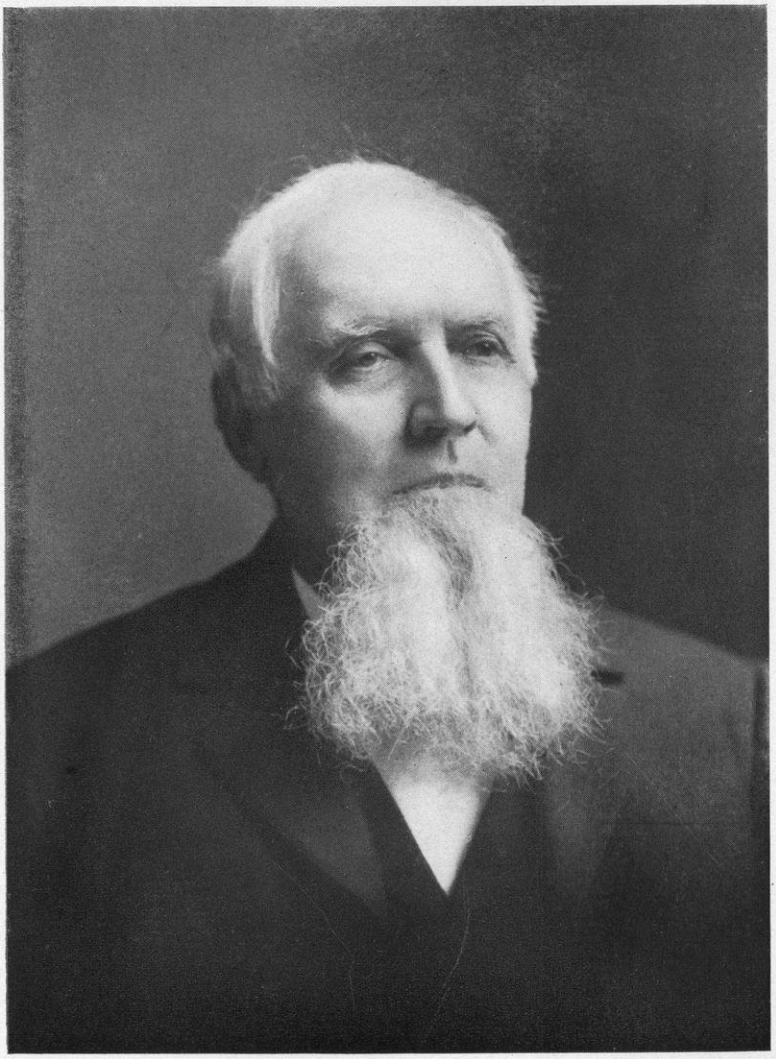
The Frenchman with his mayor and the Spaniard with his alcalde, might be content to run on indefinitely with these functionaries to settle all disputes. Not so the Anglo-Saxon. He knew that trial by jury was his time-honored heritage, and he forthwith made provision for it. A little later, as the settlements grew and the forests receded, the lawyer was required to draft new constitutions for the budding states, and organize new commonwealths. The supply seemed to equal the demand, and bright young men trained to the profession of the law in older states, ever kept pace with the advancing frontier. Filled with a strong and adventurous spirit, they took Horace Greeley's advice, and went west to grow up with the country. So it came about that this county at an early day had the full quota of lawyers, and from then until now it has been noted throughout the state for having an exceptionally strong bar.

Prominent among those early lawyers was Gabriel Bouck, who came to Oshkosh in 1849, and for more than fifty years practiced his profession actively at this place. The son of a governor of New York, and educated there, he, like many others, foresaw that the great west was to become the future seat of empire, and cast his lot in its domains. In 1858 he was attorney general of this state; later he was speaker of the assembly and a member of Congress for several terms. Of a rugged and eccentric nature and of strict integrity, he was one of the ablest lawyers of the state, and during his long and active career, maintained his position as one of the foremost leaders of the bar. Other lawyers came and went, but none remained and survived so long as he. The firm of Bouck & Hilton perpetuates his name.

Another of those early lawyers and strong men which this new country developed was Coles Bashford, of Oshkosh, who was governor of the state from 1856 to 1858. He was afterwards appointed territorial governor of Arizona, where he continued to reside until his death.

A contemporary of these men was James Freeman, another able lawyer, who resided and practiced in Oshkosh until his death in recent years.

Other early lawyers in Oshkosh, who are known only to the present generation by tradition, were A. A. Austin, for many years a faithful and upright district attorney; L. P. Crary, Mark Edmonds, Bradford Rexford and A. P. Hodges, and the firms of Lane and Boynton, Wheeler and Coolbaugh and Eighme,



FRANCIS GILLINGHAM.

Kennedy and Hancock. Of the latter firm Mr. Kennedy still survives.

Among the pioneer lawyers located at Neenah was J. B. Hamilton; and at Menasha were Elbridge Smith, George B. Goodwin and A. L. Collins. These were good lawyers and able men, all of them, who continued to reside and practice in those cities until their death. Judge Collins had been a circuit judge of another circuit.

Of the lawyers of a little later period who were located in Oshkosh, were Norman L. Whittemore and Charles A. Weisbrod (of the firm of Whittemore & Weisbrod), Moses Hooper, H. B. Jackson (of the firm of Jackson & Halsey), Charles W. Felker and Earl P. Finck. Of these Mr. Hooper and Mr. Jackson and Mr. L. W. Halsey still survive, the latter being one of the circuit judges of Milwaukee county, and the two former still in active practice in Oshkosh. The firm of Whittemore & Weisbrod was the leading firm in the early sixties. Norman L. Whittemore was a lawyer thoroughly grounded in the common law, of large experience, a good advocate, "rich in saving common sense," and a most dangerous antagonist in a lawsuit. He was a native of Vermont. Charles A. Weisbrod was a German by birth and thoroughly educated in the German universities. He was a careful and studious lawyer, and but few men in the profession understood the science of pleading as well as he. Mr. Felker was a brilliant lawyer and advocate, a man of great originality, and the keenest wit, and skilful and adroit in the trial of causes. He was born in the state of New York but came to the state of Wisconsin with his family at an early age, returning to that state to complete his education. He was equally forcible as a writer or a speaker and did much editorial work on newspapers from pure love of the thing. For several years he was chief editor of the Oshkosh "Times," and made his influence felt through his trenchant editorials. He will be long remembered as one of the ablest lawyers in Wisconsin.

Mr. Finch was another New York man, a graduate of Union college; he, like other ambitious young men, followed the "course of empire" westward. He was gifted with rare eloquence; Shakespeare was his model, which he knew by heart, and from that "well of English undefiled" he drew much of his inspiration. He was speaker of the assembly in 1883 and for long years prior to his death was at the head of the flourishing firm of Finch & Barber.

Albert W. Weisbrod was a son of Charles A., before mentioned. He received a most careful training, having graduated from the University of Michigan, and taken a course at a German university. He succeeded to the practice of his father and was a fine all-'round lawyer. He was postmaster of Oshkosh from 1885 until 1889, and was a member of the firm of Weisbrod & Harshaw, at the time of his death.

Otto Weisbrod, another young lawyer, was also a son of Charles A., and died at about the same time as his brother Albert.

Henry B. Harshaw probably had a larger number of personal acquaintances than any other lawyer in the county, and perhaps in the state. The fact that he lost an arm in the service of his country, added to his genial temperament, made him very popular wherever known. He was honored by the people with various offices, beginning with clerk of the circuit court in 1864; he held that position until 1877, when he was appointed postmaster of Oshkosh, occupying this place for four years; he was later elected state treasurer for two successive terms, from 1887 to 1891, and at the time of his death was a member of the firm of Thompson, Harshaw & Thompson.

Another most promising attorney who was cut off in his prime, or rather before he had reached his prime, was Walter Quatremas. He had a keen and well trained intellect, sound knowledge of the law and strong reasoning powers. For several terms he was district attorney of this county, and had he lived the psalmist's allotted span, there was doubtless a brilliant future before him.

Among other important official positions held by members of this bar are James C. Kerwin, a present justice of the supreme court; Emmett R. Hicks, attorney general of the state; M. C. Phillips, United States district attorney, and A. E. Thompson, for years special attorney for the government in the Fox and Wisconsin "overflow" cases.

It has furnished as circuit judges: Edwin Wheeler, of Oshkosh, who died in 1863, while in office. He was succeeded by Gainin W. Washburne, of Oshkosh, who presided over the court until 1870, when he resigned. Upon his retirement from the bench, the latter did not resume the practice of law, but engaged in other business and died during the past year. Both of these men were able and upright judges, and always held the scales of justice evenly poised before them.

Prior to 1870 this county from an early day had been a part

of the Tenth circuit, and some exceptionally able men had held the office of presiding judge. Among these was the Hon. Timothy O. Howe, of Green Bay, who was afterwards United States senator and postmaster general.

In the latter year the county was detached from the Tenth and made a part of the Third judicial circuit. D. J. Pulling, of Beaver Dam, was at that time the judge of the latter circuit, and thereupon removed to Oshkosh. He continued as judge until October, 1884, when he resigned and went into the practice of the law at Wausau, Wisconsin. After remaining there a few years, he removed to Florida, where he died at a ripe old age some two years ago. He was a well-read lawyer of keen discernment and rare ability, and quick to grasp the vital points of any litigation brought before him.

Upon the retirement of Judge Pulling, George W. Burnell, of Oshkosh, was appointed as his successor, and is the present incumbent. He came from Vermont, and settled in Oshkosh in 1865.

Of county judges, the earlier ones were Jedediah Brown, A. P. Hodges and G. W. Washburne; the latter, already mentioned as circuit judge, was also a pioneer at the bar, coming from Maine to Oshkosh at an early date. Then followed J. B. Hamilton, of Neenah; George Gary and Chester D. Cleveland, the latter still holding the office. The two former were natives of New York state, while Colonel Cleveland came from Connecticut to Oshkosh in 1867. Judge Gary is the author of a valuable work on "Probate Law," which is the standard authority in the middle west. All of these except Gary and Judge Cleveland have passed into the great beyond. It may be said of all of them that they were able, honest and conscientious men, to whom no breath of scandal ever attached.

That the old bar was a patriotic body is sufficiently shown by the large number of recruits it furnished to the Union armies. These were Col. Gabe Bouck, Col. John Hancock, Major Nathan Paine (killed in battle), Captain James Freeman, Captain Charles W. Felker, Captain Norman H. Whittemore (a son of Norman L.) and Lieutenants H. B. Jackson and H. B. Harshaw. Captain Whittemore having served through the war, emigrated to Kansas and died there shortly after. To these should be added also Captain Charles Morgan, who settled in Missouri after the war, and is still living and practicing there, having been a member of Congress from that state.

It is not the purpose of this article to eulogize the living lawyers of this county. They are still here, and the calendar of any term of court will give their names. They are well known to this community and throughout the greater part of the state. A goodly portion of them are "to the manor born," while there are still some who came from the parent hive—the East. It has been rather the purpose to record briefly the memories of the "Old Guard," of whom but few are left. Besides it is deemed that the proper time to transcribe the story of one's life is when that story is ended.

It must suffice from now to say of them collectively that the veterans are still in battle harness and doing valiant work, while the younger men are nobly maintaining the high standard set by their predecessors.

XLVI.

THE SCHOOLS OF OSHKOSH.

By

Lewis Atherton, Principal High School.

The first school within the present boundaries of Oshkosh was conducted by Miss Lucy Alden (Mrs. L. T. Enos, Neenah, Wisconsin) for three months during the summer of 1846 in a building near the foot of what is now Washington street upon the site of the present Yacht Club house. There were seven pupils enrolled, five whites and two half breeds. The whites were Ed E Finney, Newton S. Finney, Henry Stanley, Melinda Stanley and Flora Wright. The half breeds were two sons of Robt. Grignon. This school possessed two books, a speller and a mental arithmetic, which were used in common by the pupils. It was a private school and its cost was met by contributions from its patrons. Miss Alden was to receive $30 as salary and board around; but, at the close of the term, she was given $20 cash and $10 worth of furs. The school was held in the dwelling of Erasmus Darwin Finney, father of the two pupils of that name.

The first recorded step towards establishing a public school, although it is evident that it was not the initial action, was as follows:

"At a special meeting of the electors of district number one held at the store of Eastman and Townsend in the village of Oshkosh on the 27th day of Sept., 1847, Joseph Jackson was chosen moderator and Edward Edwards clerk."

The following proceedings were held:

"Resolved, That a tax be levied upon the inhabitants of this district to defray the expenses of building a school house in said district." (G. F. Wright mover.)

And the same was passed.

"Resolved, That the sum of $200 be assessed and collected from the taxable inhabitants of this district for the purpose of erecting such school house." (W. W. Wright, mover.)

And the same was passed.

"Resolved, That we apply the sum moved by Mr. W. W. Wright to the finishing of the frame now standing on the lot." (G. F. Wright, mover.)

And the same passed.

"Resolved, That we purchase the lot or lots on which the said frame now stands." (E. Edwards, mover.)

And the same was passed.

Joseph Jackson, Moderator."

Attest: E. Edwards, Clerk pro tem.

Trustees and clerk had been elected at a former meeting, but their apathy and indifference being apparent the electors took the matter in hand and the above were the proceedings consequent.

The lots and building alluded to were upon the southeast corner of the present Merritt and Jefferson streets and were used as a school site under the name of the "Jefferson Street School" and the "Union School" down to 1868, when the present Fourth ward site was secured on the north side of Irving street east of the corner of Mt. Vernon.

"First annual meeting, first Monday in October, 1847. Joseph Jackson, E. R. Baldwin, G. T. Wright, trustees; W. W. Wright, collector, and E. Edwards, clerk, were unanimously elected."

"At a special meeting of the trustees J. D. and A. C. Fisk were awarded the contract to finish the school house with furniture and portico for $198."

"At a special meeting October 10, 1848, John P. Gallup was employed as teacher of school for the term of three months at a salary of $20 per month, including board. Term to commence on Monday, the 23rd inst. Miss Cowdin, the former teacher having been indisposed for some time, made the above course expedient."

From the report of school district No. 1, town of Winnebago, August 31, 1850: "We learn that there were 335 children between the ages of four and twenty years in Oshkosh at that time. There were three teachers, Miss Cowdin, Miss Farnsworth, and Miss Roberts, who were paid respectively $55, $50 and $45 per quarter. The amount raised that year for taxes was $275, and the district owns one frame school house and lot; value $800. House 22x24, one story. The upper story of the court house, by permission of the county board, has been used as a school room and is in such use at present.

"Two select schools are in session in addition to district schools, both having about fifty pupils under tuition."

In 1853, the school population had increased to 603, of whom 371 were in attendance upon schools kept by five teachers, one of whom, I. E. Munger, was probably the first male teacher in Oshkosh; Mr. Gallup, before mentioned, being of the nature of a supply.

In 1855, there were 783 children, 474 in school, with only five teachers at salaries ranging from $16 to $20 per month.

From the record of December 15, 1855: "The board of directors were authorized to purchase the lot known as Wm. W. Wright's grove, containing two acres, in the First ward of this city for the sum of $4,400 for the purpose of erecting a district school thereon." This is the location of the present high school and it has been used for some public purpose from the time of its purchase.

The first recorded meeting of the Board of Education of the city of Oshkosh was held April 11, 1856, and at a meeting March 27, 1857, "Coms. Bashford, Ruggles and Wright were appointed a committee to receive sealed proposals for the building of school houses in all the wards of the city of Oshkosh." It would seem that things moved slowly in those days, for we read under date of June 7, 1859, "The committee recommended building in the First, Second, Third and Fifth wards."

In 1858, there were ten teachers conducting public schools in Oshkosh, as follows: "Union school, Court house, First ward, old school house in Third ward, school near Stroud's in the Third ward, Algoma and Fifth ward schools."

In the report of 1858 we note the first mention of a high school in the election of S. D. Gaylord to be its principal at a salary of $60 per month. This was not a completely organized high school until about 1867. The principals have been as follows: S. D. Gaylord, 1859-62; Ira H. Bates, 1862-64; J. W. Peet, 1864-65; Arthur Everett, 1865-73; S. W. Maltbie, 1873-74; E. Barton Wood, 1874-82; Charles B. Gilbert, 1882-83; Rufus H. Halsey, 1883-96; Buel T. Davis, 1896-99; Henry A. Simonds, 1899-1901; Albert B. O'Neil, 1901—.

The first class to graduate was in 1868, and consisted of Nellie Austin (Mrs. S. Palmer), Charles Barber, Timothy Lynch, and Mary E. Murdock. Including that class, the school has graduated 684 and numbers among its alumni many of local reputation, and some of state or even national fame.

During the last five years the school has increased over 100 per cent in enrolment and much more than that in the character of the work accomplished, until it now stands among the best in the state. It is surpassed in size only by the four Milwaukee schools and that of Madison.

The first building to be occupied by a high school was the "Old Congregational Church," which was rented for $100 per year from May 1, 1860, to January 1, 1867. It stood on the west side of Main street, a short distance south of the corner of Church. From January 1, 1867, to July, 1868, the school sessions were held in the Cottrill block on the west side of Main street north of the corner of Algoma. At this time the first building upon the Algoma street lot was completed. It was used for school purposes until its destruction by fire May 2, 1901. The present building was erected upon the site of the old and was occupied in February, 1903. It is a red brick building with red sandstone trimmings, three stories and a basement in height.

There are now twenty-three teachers and 445 students in daily attendance upon its sessions. The conventional school work is thoroughly done, and, in addition, a literary society, a school paper, a debating team, declamatory contests, and various athletic events are successfully carried on.

The history of the high school would be incomplete without especial mention of the work of Arthur Everett and Rufus H. Halsey, who for eight and thirteen years respectively presided over the welfare of the school.

The first superintendent of schools was Thomas P. Russell, and his successors are: Thomas P. Russell, 1856; M. A. Edmunds, 1857; A. B. Knapp, 1858; Samuel J. Osborn, 1859; Luther Buxton, 1860; Benjamin Granger, 1861; R. C. Russell, 1862-64; K. M. Hutchinson, 1864-67; H. B. Dale, Sr., 1867-75; Chas. W. Felker, 1875-77; George W. Read, 1877-83; H. B. Dale, Sr., 1883-86; Chas. R. Nevitt, Jr., 1886-87; W. A. Gordon, Sr., 1887-90; James H. Merrill, 1890-91; Rufus H. Halsey, 1891-96; Buel T. Davis, 1896-99; Henry A. Simonds, 1899-1906; Matthew N. McIver, 1906—.

Up to 1891 a non-professional man was employed as superintendent and of these the long and faithful service of Dr. H. B. Dale, Sr., deserves mention. He was a friend and patron of the schools and the teachers throughout a long and vigorous life. George W. Read during the six years of his administration contributed largely to the upbuilding and efficiency of the school

system. The place of these two men in the estimation of the citizens of Oshkosh is shown by calling two leading ward schools on the north side of the river after their names.

From 1891 to 1901 the offices of superintendent of schools and high school principal were combined. Rufus H. Halsey's work while holding this double position from 1891 to 1896 marks a distinct epoch in both the ward and high schools.

The ward schools of Oshkosh are eleven in number, and with their present principals and their years of service in the position are as follows: First ward school, John C. Graham (13); Dale school, Kirk Spoor (12); Eleventh street school, C. V. Nevins; Otter street school, Edwin G. Beardmore; Read school, W. T. Anderson (3); Sixth street school, D. H. Shepardson; Frentz school, Henry E. Polley; Smith school, Charles I. Yule (4); Punhoqua school, Mrs. Mary E. Quartermass; Merrill school, Daniel H. Wright (8); Park school, W. A. Owens (3).

Of these the First ward is longest established upon its present site, which was purchased by the city in three parcels, 1857, 1858 and 1863. The first building was erected upon this land in 1859. The other ward buildings have been erected and enlarged as the growth of the city required. There is now projected a school in the rapidly growing Eleventh ward.

There are now 140 teachers employed and about 4,800 pupils will be enrolled this present school year. There has been some falling off in the attendance upon the ward schools late years owing to a greater activity upon the part of the parochial schools of the city.

XLVII.

THE CHURCH, THE MANSE, THE PASTOR IN OSHKOSH.

First Presbyterian Church. In 1870 a number of men and women banded together as Presbyterians in this city. It is said that the first meeting rooms was in a hall over a saloon. Later the organization moved into the chapel on Jefferson avenue, and at a still later date purchased from the Methodists the church and parsonage on the corner of Church and Division streets.

On February 5, 1886, the United Presbyterian church, with the pastor and about sixty members, became a part of the First Presbyterian church. As the building and manse together occupied only as much ground as the present auditorium and lecture room, it was felt that a movement for a new building must be started. In 1893 the effort was made and despite the panic of that and following years the church was completed. In the year 1905 the property adjoining the church was purchased, and the residence, after considerable improvement, was set aside as the home of the minister. Again the spirit of progress stirred in the church and through the liberality of one family in the congregation an addition was made, costing in the neighborhood of thirty-five thousand dollars.

The present church property constitutes what is probably the most complete church in the state of Wisconsin.

The auditorium: This room seats about five hundred in the pews. The seating capacity may be increased by raising the doors into the Sunday school and lecture rooms. The Sunday school room: There are twenty-one class rooms in the main room, each furnished with blackboard, case of maps, table and chairs. The partitions between the rooms may be raised or lowered in a moment. The kindergarten room is on the second floor and is reached by a broad flight of stairs from the hall at the rear.

The Boys' club: The club rooms include the drill hall, the reading room furnished with five hundred books, and the current magazines and daily papers; the game room, where are to be found all forms of table games, and the toilet rooms, equipped

with shower baths. These rooms are opened every day from 4 until 10 p. m. and all day Saturday.

The dining room has accommodations for three hundred and twenty to be seated at the tables at one time. Monthly noon luncheons are served by the ladies of the church on the first Friday of each month, with the exception of July and August. The kitchen is large and so planned that six hundred people can be served with ease, and in connection a girls' cooking school has been successfully conducted. The pastor's home joins the church on the Church street side, and the office of the pastor is placed convenient to both the church and residence.

The following pastors have served the church since November, 1870: Alexander G. Eagleson, November 1, 1870, to March 23, 1872; Francis Z. Rossiter, June 23, 1872, to June 23, 1879; Samuel F. Bacon, October 15, 1879, to October 15, 1885; James W. McNary, February 5, 1886, to October 30, 1887; Lewis H. Morey, July 10, 1888, to May 7, 1890; Lowell G. Smith, October, 1890, to October 31, 1897; George D. Lindsay, April 15, 1898, to December 1, 1902; Alfred I. Badger, January 1, 1903, to June, 1904; Augustus M. Ayers, July 1, 1904—.

The Second Presbyterian Church. Located on the corner of Thirteenth and Ohio streets we have the Second Presbyterian church. This building has been recently moved from Knapp street and is well equipped for aggressive work, and its members are working loyally to build up the church on the south side of the city. They intend to carry on as many branches of practical work as the field requires, and it is expected that in a few years this church will become one of the most important factors in the betterment of Oshkosh.

German Emanuel Evangelical Church, located at the corner of Thirteenth and Michigan streets. In the fall of 1890 the German Evangelical Synod of North America sent a pastor to Oshkosh to organize a congregation, which was accomplished in the spring of 1891 with a membership of twenty-seven families, and Rev. Emil Albert installed as pastor.

In 1893 the church building was constructed, and in 1898 the parsonage was built, and in 1900 a school building was purchased and moved back of the church. In 1901 the membership had increased to ninety, and in 1906 Rev. Albert accepted a call to Canada, and Rev. William Suessmuth was installed as pastor in September of that year. He is still in charge of the congrega-

tion, which has grown until now it consists of one hundred and sixty families.

St. John's Evangelical Lutheran Church. The first services of this church were held in the Y. M. C. A. rooms Wednesday evening, May 15, by Rev. Dr. W. K. Frick, Rev. W. P. Christy and Rev. A. C. Anda, assistant superintendent of English Home Missions of the Lutheran General Council. Services were then held by visiting ministers in Good Templars' Hall on alternate Wednesday evenings till August.

August 11, 1907, the first Sunday service was conducted by Rev. C. B. Lindtwed, who had been called as resident missionary by the General Council of the English Home Mission Board, services being held regularly every Sunday, and after September 1, 1907, in the G. A. R. hall.

September 27, 1907, a congregation of thirty-seven charter members was organized and duly incorporated in December of this year. In April, 1908, two lots on the corner of Wisconsin avenue and Union street were purchased. The congregation on May 31, 1908, numbered seventy-five members.

Second Methodist Episcopal Church. Occasional services were held on the south side of the river in Oshkosh in the conference year 1867-8. At the conference of 1868 the place was made a pastoral charge, to which C. W. Brewer was appointed. A society was organized of thirty-five members. They entered promptly upon the erection of a church edifice, and dedicated the basement on December 6 following. The building was finished in 1872 during the pastorate of J. Anderson. Much embarrassment was experienced in its completion, but the energy and push of the pastor were equal to the emergency.

A parsonage was erected, which at different times has been improved and added to, until now they have a good ten-room parsonage with modern improvements. The present value of the church property is $10,000.

The following is a list of the pastors and the years they were appointed: October 5, 1868, C. W. Brewer; October 17, 1870, J. Anderson; October 22, 1873, T. F. Allen; October 19, 1875, W. Woodruff; October 11, 1878, J. W. Olmstead; October 22, 1880, George Fellows; October 3, 1882, D. O. Jones; October 13, 1885, M. Himebaugh; October 1, 1888, A. L. Whitcomb; September 29, 1890, Stephen Smith; September 28, 1891, William Bennett; October 7, 1895, A. R. Grant; September 27, 1897, Matt Evens; October 2, 1899, William Nervey; October, 1900, John Wills; the

present pastor, Rev. W. W. Wilson, was appointed September 12, 1904.

The First Congregational Church. On the eleventh day of July, 1849, a meeting was called for the purpose of organizing a Congregational or Presbyterian church of the village of Oshkosh. This meeting was held in a school house and there were present Joseph Jackson, Noadiah Sackett, Homer Barnes, William Anderson, Martha Anderson, Emeline Jackson, Fannie B. Kellogg, Hannah Sackett, Achrah Chapman, Eastorann Nickoli, Christiauma Ternouth and Sophia Ternouth.

Rev. C. Marsh and Rev. H. Freeman assisted in the organization.

A vote was taken as to whether the organization should be Congregational or Presbyterian, which resulted in ten votes for Congregational and two for Presbyterian.

They then adopted the confession of faith of the general convention of Wisconsin and elected Rev. H. Freeman Clark and Noadiah Sackett and Homer Barnes, deacons.

On July 15, 1849, another meeting was held and it was decided that Rev. H. Freeman having spent several Sabbaths in the village of Oshkosh and vicinity, preaching in the court house every Lord's day morning, that a subscription be circulated to obtain funds for his support the ensuing year.

This was done with the result that $150 was subscribed in the village of Oshkosh and $50 in Algoma with the understanding that Rev. Mr. Freeman preach at Oshkosh in the Sabbath mornings and in Algoma Sabbath afternoons. There was also appropriated at that time the sum of $225 by the American Home Missionary society.

Nothing of consequence seems to have occurred until Saturday, February 24, 1850, when at what was known as the preparatory lecture a lecture given in preparation of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, fifteen new members were admitted, as follows: Creighton Luce, Mary E. Luce, David Webster, Robert Webster and wife, Sarah Ford, John Cavert, Elizabeth Ternouth, William McNice and wife, James Dickenson, Mary M. Dickenson, John Whitney, Harriet Whitney and Catherine Fort.

During this period it appears that the meetings were held in the court house, which during the early part of the fifties became inadequate to accommodate the people, and it was deemed advisable to erect a place of worship. A subscription paper was circulated, but the amount subscribed was so small that the en-

terprise was delayed. However, efforts were resumed later on, and in the summer of 1850 Joseph Jackson donated a lot to the church and the erection of a building 25x50 feet was commenced. The building was not completed until about one year later, in June, 1851. The total cost was about $500, exclusive of lot and furniture. The building would accommodate about 200 persons, and in the first week of July the pews were all rented and it was found that the church was not sufficiently large to supply the demand for seats.

On June 20, 1852, the church was received into the Winnebago district convention at Stockbridge with a membership of fifty-three persons. In 1853 the church building was enlarged by the addition of two wings 15x27 feet each, giving the whole building the form of a cross and doubling its capacity at a cost of $400, $100 of which was contributed by what was known as the $50,000 fund for the aid of Congregational churches in the West.

The administration of Rev. Mr. Freeman lasted from the organization of the church on June 10, 1849, to January 15, 1856, a period of six and one-half years.

On April 6, 1856, Rev. W. H. Marble, of Columbia, Ohio, was engaged as pastor.

In January, 1857, the Winnebago district convention met in Oshkosh and continued for three days from that time up to April 3.

In the summer of 1857 the church property was sold. The old church, however, was occupied up to November 5, 1858.

On November 7, 1858, we find the following entry in the church records:

"Additional interest attaches to the commission today from the fact that today we hold the first services in the basement of our new church. One year ago last spring the society purchased a lot 70x120 feet on the corner of Main and Bond streets for the purpose of erecting a house of worship thereon. Work was commenced on the foundations in May, 1857, and progressed as far as the basement walls by the fall of that year. The society turned out and banked up the basement walls so as to preserve them from frost during the coming winter. Owing to hard times this present year it was found that we should not be able to advance our church building, but in the latter part of July a subscription was started to raise a fund and materials sufficient to enclose the building and finish off the basement."

Rev. Mr. Marble was succeeded by Walter Thorps, who acted

as pastor about four months, from April, 1862, to July of same year.

Rev. Henry McArthur was pastor from December 25, 1862, to April 5, 1865.

Rev. J. P. Poe, from September, 1865, to July, 1868.

Rev. F. B. Norton, from May, 1869, to May, 1870.

Rev. W. A. Chamberlin, from 1870 to 1874.

During his administration the church building was burned, July 10, 1872, and from that time until the present edifice was completed, December 24, 1873, services were held in the Harding Opera house, McCourt's hall and the old hook and ladder house.

Rev. Thomas Grassie, from May, 1875, to July, 1876.

Rev. K. C. Anderson, from December, 1876, to January, 1884.

Rev. F. M. Abbott, from 1884 to December, 1885, and on May 2, 1886, Rev. E. H. Smith preached his first sermon as pastor of the First Congregational church of Oshkosh.

First Methodist Episcopal Church. Oshkosh Methodism is a product of that genius of early Methodism, the pioneer circuit rider and his saddle-bags. In the fall of 1840 Rev. Jesse Halstead, a traveling Methodist preacher from Brothertown, formed what was called a Methodist class, one member of which was Mrs. George Wright, mother of the late W. W. Wright. Meetings were held from house to house, and Mrs. Wright's home was often open for preaching and prayer services.

The first regularly appointed pastor was Rev. J. P. Gallup, who was appointed to this circuit by the Rock River Annual Conference, which at that time included Wisconsin and northern Illinois. Rev. Mr. Gallup preached his first sermon April 11, 1841, and made regular visitations to Oshkosh every four weeks. His widow, familiarly known as Mother Gallup, has been for many years and is still (1908) a resident of Oshkosh and member of the church.

Rev. Henry Bronson succeeded Mr. Gallup, and was pastor during the years 1842-3. In 1850, during the pastorate of Cornelius Smith, Mr. Wright presented to the society the lot on the corner of Church and Division streets, where the Presbyterian church now stands, and thereon was erected, in 1851, the first Methodist church building, its dimensions being 30x42 feet. In a few years it became too small for the congregation; and twenty feet was added to the length, and a few years later it was raised and a stone foundation, basement and class rooms added and otherwise improved.

Rev. M. Himebaugh became the pastor of the little church in 1852, it being one of several preaching charges which Mr. Himebaugh visited, walking about fifteen miles and preaching three times each Sabbath. After fifty-one years of active service since then, Mr. Himebaugh is now a resident of the city, in fair health, and often honors us with his presence.

In the year 1875 the old church and grounds were sold to the Presbyterian society, and the present site, corner of Main and Merritt streets, was purchased, including the building then known as the Wagner Opera house. This building was only partially completed when purchased. The Rev. J. W. Carhart was pastor at this time. The building was remodeled, thoroughly furnished, a new pipe organ, the best in its day, installed, and the present church edifice completed, practically as it stands today, at a total cost of $32,375.

Our church records indicate that this charge was served from 1862 until 1878 by the following pastors in the order named: D. H. Muller, Geo. C. Haddock, J. M. Walker, Wm. P. Stowe, O. J. Cowles, J. W. Carhart, and G. A. Smith. Those of our members who were connected with the church during that period of its history speak of these brethren as able and faithful ministers of the Word.

The pastors from 1878 until the present time will be familiar to many: D. J. Holmes, Geo. W. Wells, H. Stone Richardson, C. B. Wilcox, J. S. Lean, G. H. Trever, Wm. Clark, B. F. Sanford, S. H. Anderson, J. Edwin Farmer, L. L. Hammitt, and Francis Asbury Pease.

Trinity Episcopal. Early in the year 1850 the Rev. F. R. Haff received from Bishop Kemper an appointment as missionary to Oshkosh and Neenah. Under that appointment on March 12, 1850, he held the first services of the Protestant Episcopal church in this city. The first services was held in the old court house, a wooden structure that escaped destruction, and for many years was used as a store house on the estate of John F. Morse. For the evening services the people brought tallow candles, holding them in their hands until the responses were finished, when they placed them on the judge's desk and the minister proceeded with his sermon in a blaze of glory.

The Rev. Mr. Sweet, of Fond du Lac, was next appointed as his successor and officiated for a year or two. He was succeeded by Rev. Mr. Callahan as missionary. During Mr. Callahan's time a parish was organized under the name of St. Peter. In 1854 the

Rev. Mr. Talford came, the organization of St. Peter was for some reason abandoned, and a new one effected—Trinity church.

During Mr. Talford's administration the property on which are the present church and rectory was purchased. The house which stood where the church now is was moved to the High street lot, and was used as a rectory. The church was built and consecrated in 1857. Mr. Talford resigned January 1, 1859.

The Rev. S. C. Millett supplied the services to April 1, when the Rev. Mr. Haff became the rector, and continued in charge till December 1, 1870. The rectory was burned July 3, 1859. The present building was erected in 1864. During the ministry of Mr. Haff at this time the debt on the parish was paid, and the church extensively repaired. The number of communicants, notwithstanding constant removals, increased from thirty to 175, and the salary of the rector raised from $750 to $2,000.

In 1868 Grace church was built, and in June, 1870, the Rev. John Blyman took charge of the same as assistant minister.

February 1, 1871, the Rev. R. N. Parke, D. D., entered upon the rectorship of Trinity, and remained until April 11, 1875. During his administration the church was very prosperous. St. Paul and Kempster chapels were built, and a small addition was made to the church for accommodation of the organ and choir.

July 1, 1875, the Rev. F. R. Haff became rector the second time. For two years the parish suffered greatly by removals. Grace and St. Paul's having organizations of their own, one as a parish and the other as a mission, the list of communicants was greatly reduced.

In 1876 the church building began to show rheumatic signs and a tendency to weakness in the upper portions was very observable. It was doctored up, however, and given a new lease of life at a cost of $3,000.

The asthmatic old organ that had ground out its discordant notes of lamentation to a suffering people for so many years was displaced by a new one at a cost of $2,000.

In 1882 the silver wedding anniversary of the consecration of the church was marked by procuring for the use of the parish a silver communion service.

In 1884 Grace and St. Paul's chapels having had several ministers during the past three or four years, were placed under the charge of the rector of Trinity, and the Rev. John W. Greenwood was chosen as assistant minister to take spiritual charge of them.

On account of failing health Mr. Haff resigned April 1, 1885,

and Rev. John W. Greenwood was chosen as his successor, and is still (1908) rector.

The construction of the present church was started in 1887 and was completed two years later. It is built of native limestone and cost $40,000.

Plymouth Congregational Church was originally a Welsh church, doing its work among the pioneers of that nationality who took up their residence in this city, and was continued in that language for almost forty years, but has been conducted as an English church since 1888.

Plymouth Congregational church (or Zion Welsh church, as it was then called) was organized December 19, 1849, at the home of Richard R. Jones, residing on what is now South Main street. It was organized by Rev. David Lewis, a graduate from Oberlin college, who came to Wisconsin, preaching at both Neenah and Oshkosh. Of the nine original members only one is still connected with the church, Deacon Richard Jones, of the town of Algoma, who has continued with the church from its founding.

The following is a complete list of the pastors who have presided over the church: Rev. David Lewis, 1849-1856; Rev. Griffith Griffiths, 1857-1859; Rev. Humphrey Parry, 1861-1865; Rev. John T. Lewis, 1868-1871; Rev. Owen M. Jenkins, 1872-1873; Rev. B. Isaac Evans, 1873-1880; Rev. Robert T. Evans, 1881-1888; Rev. Allison D. Adams, 1889-1893; Rev. William L. Demorest, 1893-1898; Rev. Henry F. Tyler, 1898-1899; Rev. George E. Farnum, 1899—.

Meetings were at first held in a school house, the first one erected on the south side and situated somewhere near the corner of Oregon and Thirteenth streets.

Shortly before the retirement of Rev. David Lewis, the congregation purchased a lot on the corner of Church and Franklin streets and erected upon it a brick church 40x28 feet at a cost of $2,000.

In 1876, during the pastorate of Rev. B. Isaac Evans, a more commodious building was erected. This was a frame structure, seating 225, and served to house the congregation until 1894, when it was torn down to be replaced by the present edifice.

The present building was erected in 1894 and cost $17,000.

After reaching a period of prosperity from 1873 to 1880, the membership began to decrease, and owing to the difficulty of holding the interest of the younger members in the language of

their fathers, it was decided in 1888 to conduct the services in English thereafter.

In October, 1889, Rev. A. D. Adams became the first English pastor. Upon him devolved the task of reorganizing the different departments of the church on an English basis, and the work was done with great thoroughness.

Rev. W. L. Demorest was called to the pastorate in June, 1893, remaining for five years, during which time the present handsome church building was erected, and the name of the church changed to the Plymouth Congregational. Mr. Demorest resigned January 15, 1898.

Rev. H. F. Tyler came in February, 1898.

Rev. George E. Farnam, called to the pastorate in 1899, is still in charge of the church. During the last six years about $4,500 of the building debt has been paid, leaving a small incumbrance at present. A $2,000 pipe organ has also been installed free of debt.

First Church of Christ Scientist. Christian Science in Oshkosh has had a history parallel to that in most other places. First a few met in private homes and held services, reading from the Bible and "Science and Health," by Mary Baker G. Eddy, the text book of Christian Science. Then, as the numbers grew, a studio for public services was rented; then a larger hall, and again the largest hall in the city, the Century Club house. The organization of the church was completed March 24, 1900, with a membership of thirty. The present membership is seventy-five. The Sunday services at Christian Science churches consists of similar services to that of other church denominations aside from the sermon, which in the Christian Science churches consists in readings from the Bible and the Christian Science text book, and the lesson sermon is uniform throughout the world. The Bible and the Christian Science text book is their only preacher. A reading room is maintained, where the public is welcome to read or inquire of Christian Science teaching. A lot has been purchased for the erection of a Christian Science church in the city, and it is expected to start building operations soon.

The Evangelical Lutheran Bethlehem Congregation, of Oshkosh, commonly spoken of as the New York Avenue Lutheran church, was organized on the 10th of February, 1901, with a membership of thirteen. Services were first held at the home of Frank Ville, 336 New York avenue. On December 15, of the same year, the present church building, situated on the corner of

New York and Oakland avenues, was dedicated. In the fall of 1902 a parochial school was founded. In 1904 the congregation built a modern parsonage at 22 Oakland avenue. Since the time of organization eight years ago the congregation has increased from thirteen male, or voting members, to sixty, or 250 souls. The present pastor and founder of the congregation is Rev. Ernest Schlerf.

Algoma Street Methodist Episcopal Church is the outgrowth of a small Sunday school that began in the Punhoqua street school house on the west side of the river on Sabbath afternoons.

Afterward, in the year 1870, at the request of E. L. Paine, Rev. J. M. Cowham and other local preachers of the First Methodist Episcopal church held alternate preaching services there immediately following the Sunday school sessions.

Such was the manifest interest in the services that we find on the records of the First Methodist Episcopal church a copy of a special report made to the church September 25, 1871, by its pastor, Rev. W. P. Stowe, eulogizing the action and generosity of E. L. Paine, advising support of the project, and predicting a self-sustaining church in this section in the near future.

Early in the summer of 1872 these services were transferred to the east side of the river and found convenient quarters in an "upper room" fitted up by E. L. Paine over the wagon shop of C. N. Paine & Co., where they were continued till October of that year under the care of Rev. O. J. Cowles, then pastor of the First Methodist Episcopal church. This building was destroyed by fire, together with the books, etc., belonging to the Sunday school, about the last of October, 1872, and was a severe blow to their future prospects, but temporary accommodations were found before the next Sabbath in the old Elm street school house, then on the grounds now occupied by E. C. Owens' residence.

E. L. Paine and other members of the First Methodist Episcopal church had often commented on the absence of any house of worship in this part of the city, and felt a strong desire to more thoroughly cultivate this promising field, and as a beginning a large tent was secured and located in a grove where now stands the home of B. H. Soper, on Algoma street. Here in the summer of 1872 daily meetings were held for some weeks under the guidance of Mrs. Maggie Newton Van Cott, seconded by the pastor of the First Methodist Episcopal church, Rev. O. J. Cowles. From these meetings came such additional impetus that very soon afterward a fine lot on the corner of Algoma street and James

street (now New York avenue) was purchased, over $2,000 in subscriptions for a church was pledged and a building committee appointed consisting of E. L. Paine, R. McMillen and B. H. Soper, with J. M. Cowham as their agent to give the work daily supervision. This building was speedily erected and was known as the Methodist Episcopal Chapel of the Fifth Ward. This chapel was appropriately dedicated by Rev. O. J. Cowles, assisted by Rev. Joseph Anderson, then pastor of the Second Methodist Episcopal church, the services occurring on the first Sunday in December, 1872. The chapel continued under the supervision of the First Methodist Episcopal church until September 28, 1874, when at the annual Wisconsin conference, which convened soon afterward, it was set apart from the "Mother Church" as a separate charge under the name of the Algoma Street Methodist Episcopal church, and Rev. W. F. Randolph was appointed as its first pastor in the fall of 1874.

The trustees of the First Methodist Episcopal church on December 26 deeded and transferred the Algoma Street Methodist Episcopal church property to the following trustees, who had been duly elected by ballot, as the law directs: Presiding elder, Rev. T. C. Wilson; pastor, Rev. W. F. Randolph; secretary of official board, J. W. Himebaugh; treasurer of official board, D. Dickinson; recording steward, L. G. Crawford.

Whatever work seemed necessary or wise has been accomplished with ease, and in 1880 Rev. J. R. Creighton was instrumental in the erection of a fine parsonage, located on the church grounds. In 1890-1, under the leadership of Rev. I. S. Leavitt, D. D., steps were taken toward the erection of a new church, subscription lists were circulated, and a building committee consisting of E. L. Paine, R. McMillen, J. F. W. Decker, James Doughty, G. M. Paine, E. P. Sawyer and E. R. Hicks was appointed, and the work started. The building was completed at a cost of $35,000, and the organ, a gift of R. McMillen, cost $2,600.

This church was dedicated June 5, 1892, Bishop W. X. Ninde officiating, assisted by Rev. W. P. Stowe, D. D.

The following is a list of the pastors who have served this congregation: W. F. Randolph, 1874-75; A. A. Reed, 1875-76; H. P. Haylett, 1876-77; George C. Haddock, 1877-78; A. J. Mead, 1878-80; J. R. Creighton, 1880-81; C. M. Heard, 1881-83; Henry Faville, 1883-86; H. P. Haylett, 1886-87; W. W. Stevens, 1887-89; I. S. Leavitt, 1889-92; A. J. Benjamin, 1892-96; E. W. Requa,

1896-1900; William Rollins, 1900-05; M. J. Trenery, 1905-07; Peter F. Stair, 1907—.

Evangelical Lutheran St. Paul's Church. On the evening of December 1, 1895, the first services of the German Lutheran Synod were held on the north side of the city, Rev. Paul Sperka officiating. On March 29, 1896, on invitation of Rev. Sperka, twenty-five citizens of Oshkosh held a meeting in the Good Templars' hall for the purpose of organizing a German Evangelical Lutheran church on the north side. After a short discussion an organization was effected, and on April 26, 1896, it was decided to purchase ground on North Park avenue, upon which the church building was erected, and on October 18 was dedicated.

On February 4, 1900, Rev. Sperka resigned, and on March 11, 1900, Rev. Gottleib Otto was ordained. One year later, on April 28, 1901, he died, and on June 16 of this year Rev. Theodore Irion was ordained and is still the pastor.

Salem Church of the Evangelical Association. The first missionary of this church came to Oshkosh in the early sixties, but a permanent organization was not effected till December 10, 1871. The first trustees were G. Koch, J. Enler, J. Schneider and C. Thon.

The present church building, a modern edifice, was erected in 1905 and dedicated by Rev. G. Haimniller, of Cleveland, Ohio, December 25, 1905.

The first church, situated on Bay street, was sold to build a larger one on Bowen street, dedicated by Bishop J. J. Esher, of Chicago. In the great conflagration this church was destroyed, and then the society bought the present location on Bay and Washington streets, which proved to be a wise selection for a church site. On this was built the third church, in 1875, which was used by the society till 1905, when the present church was erected. The present trustees are C. Thon, Walter and W. Kleinschmidt.

The following ministers have served the society in the order named: J. Koch, W. Zickerick, T. Nickel, A. Huelster, A. Tarnutzer, M. Hammetter, F. Dite, J. L. Stroebel, F. Huelster, S. Kortemeyer, R. Eilert, C. F. Reichert, C. W. Welso, and the present pastor, J. L. Runkel.

German Evangelical Lutheran Church, of Oshkosh, was established in 1861 by the Rev. Waldt, a missionary sent out by the Wisconsin Synod. He became their regular pastor, and remained

for more than five years; during his pastorate the membership increased greatly, and in 1862 a frame church was built and dedicated, and in 1865 a parsonage was built at a cost of $994. Rev. Waldt was called to a new field and was succeeded by Rev. A. Stark. At this time the congregation had increased to one hundred, and an addition to the church building was made necessary. On May 8, 1870, Rev. Stark resigned and was followed by Rev. Philip Brenner, who remained until 1881, when he resigned on account of ill health. During his eleven years' service the membership was greatly increased. The small school building bought under the reign of Rev. Waldt was replaced by a new one at a cost of nearly $1,500. In 1874 a new church was built and dedicated in the fall of that year. The tower was found to be faulty and was torn down, but in 1883 it was rebuilt, and a 2,000-pound bell, a donation from the young ladies of the church, was placed therein.

Rev. Brenner was succeeded by the Rev. Dowidot. At about this time, owing to some interpretation placed on the doctrine of predestination by Rev. Dr. Walther, a leading spirit of the Missouri Synod, a dissension occurred, and a part of the congregation withdrew and established a new church. On July 24, 1882, the old church still had two hundred members, and the Rev. W. E. Lembke was called as pastor. Rev. F. M. Koepplin was the pastor from 1890 to 1903, at which time Rev. W. D. Ahl was called and is still (1908) the pastor.

In 1902 a new school house was built at a cost of $18,000. The membership of the church at this time is twelve hundred.

German Evangelical Lutheran Trinity Church was founded by John F. Greenhagen in 1856. A meeting had been held in the court house for consultation in 1854, and in 1855 the Rev. Stephan was called as pastor and held services for a while in private houses. During his pastorate a frame church was built on the present site; part of the building was fitted up for school purposes and the upper part was used as a parsonage. Rev. Stephan resigned in 1859, and was succeeded by Rev. Ruhland. The following pastors have served the congregation since: In 1862, Rev. Edward Multanowoky; in 1865, Rev. Himmlar; in 1866, Rev. Rohrlack was called and was followed by Rev. Poff in 1872. Rev. Daib came in the same year and was succeeded by Rev. Nuetzel, who came in August, 1882. He remained till 1889, when he resigned and his place was filled by Rev. H. Erck, who has remained with the congregation up to the present time.

In 1868 a new parsonage was built, the upper floor being designed for a teachers' residence; this, together with the church and school, was destroyed in the great fire of January 30, 1875.

The congregation decided to rebuild at once, and on August 15 of this year the parsonage and school house were finished. January 30, 1876, they decided to rebuild the church, and the cornerstone was laid May 28 and the building completed in October, 1876. In 1884 a gallery was built on both sides of the church, and at the same time the interior was decorated. Other improvements in the heating and lighting and roof have been made, until now the church is modern in construction and appointments.

In June, 1905, the tower was struck by lightning, and was replaced at a cost of $762.27. There are now two hundred and sixty-seven voting members, seventy-two women, whose husbands are not members, in all 1,558 souls. There are two hundred and seven children in attendance at the school, and Rev. H. Erck is still (1908) the pastor.

German Methodist Episcopal Church. Over fifty years ago services were held by Rev. Henry Wiethorn at the home of Christian Zellmer. In 1856, after due consideration, it was decided to call a pastor to preside over their meetings, and the Rev. John Rinder was placed in charge, his field including Oshkosh, Black Wolf, Rush Lake, Clayton and Rat River. In 1866 they started to build a frame church on lots near the court house; the building was completed and dedicated in 1867 at a cost of $4,318.30. Six years later, in 1873, Oshkosh was made a separate appointment. On April 28, 1875, the church was destroyed by fire. At the third quarterly meeting, on May 24, 1875, it was decided to purchase the house and two lots at the corner of Tenth and Nebraska streets at a cost of $1,300. This was remodeled and used as a church until the new edifice which they decided to build was dedicated in November 21, 1875, at a cost of $8,000.

In 1906 the church was remodeled, a Sunday school room built on the west, and a dining room added, the cost of the improvements being $7,000. In 1900 a large new parsonage was built.

The following pastors have served the congregation since 1856; Rev. John Rinder, 1856-58; Jacob Haase, 1858-59; E. E. Keller, 1858-59; George Haase, 1859-60; Theodore Loins, 1859-60; Fred Kodrad, 1860-61; Henry Perewitz, 1860-61; Karl Buehner, 1861-63; William Kruckman, 1863-64; W. Meier, 1864-65; E. W. Roecker, 1865-68; Karl Ewert, 1866-67; Karl Weinrih, 1868-69;

Frederick Gottshalk, 1869-72; Ludwig Limper, 1869-70; George Dilling, 1871-72; Rev. John Rinder, 1872-74; Rev. Berngard Becker, 1874-76; William Hoehle, 1876-78; Rev. A. H. Kopplin, 1878-81; Rev. E. Berger, 1881-84; Rev. Jacob Shaefer, 1884-87; Rev. Charles Hedler, 1887-92; Rev. Charles Allert, 1892-93; Rev. E. C. Miller, 1893-98; Rev. Joseph Meck, 1898-1903; Rev. Herman Rev. E. C. Jannush, 1903-05; Rev. Herman E. Peters, 1905—.

The First Baptist Church of Oshkosh was organized in 1854 with a membership of twelve. On July 14 of that year Mr. Edwin C. Sanders, a member of the church, was ordained by a council composed of the following churches, viz.: Fond du Lac, Omro, Waupun and Nekimi. Mr. Sanders became the first pastor of the church and continued so until March, 1856. The records of this time show that the congregations averaged seventy-five persons. Mr. Sanders was succeeded by Rev. Abner Lull. The church at this time held its meetings in what was known as Mark's hall, but changed in 1857 to a more commodious building and met in McCourt's hall, located on Main street near the bridge. The rental for this hall was $75 per year. During this year a small house of worship was erected on Jefferson avenue; the lumber used in its construction was secured by the labors of some of the members of the church, who went into the pine forest and cut the logs and run them down the Wolf river to the mills of Oshkosh.

Mr. Lull continued as pastor until 1859; the church having a membership of about eighty. Early in this year twenty of the members withdrew to form the Second Baptist church on the south side of the river.

With varying prosperity the church continued under the pastorates of Revs. J. I. Hoile, J. L. Morrison and W. W. Whitcomb. The pastor's salary, which was at the organization $200, had increased to $850, an indication of prosperity in the little church.

In 1868 Rev. W. W. Moore became the pastor, new members were received and the church took on new life. He was succeeded by Rev. Perley Work. In the great fire of 1875 the church building, which had been enlarged and improved, was destroyed. During the following year there was erected a commodious building on the site where the present beautiful temple now stands. At the time this was considered one of the most complete and handsomest church buildings in the state outside of the city of Milwaukee. This building stood until 1901, when in turn it, too, became food for the flames. During these years the pastors were

Revs. N. W. Miner, H. O. Rowlands, L. A. Clevenger and James P. Abbott. Dr. Abbott had been pastor less than a year, when the church building was burned. It was under his pastorate that the stone temple now standing at the corner of Church street and Central avenue was erected—a beautiful, stately edifice, complete in all its appointments. Dr. Abbott remained eight years with the church and was followed by the present pastor, Rev. John William Bailey, Ph.D., a graduate of Chicago university. The present membership of the church is 416. The congregations are large and the work prosperous.

Universalist. In 1866 the First Universalist society of Oshkosh was organized by the Rev. J. C. Crawford, with Messrs. Jefferson Bray, B. F. Prosser, S. B. Lawrence, Judge Austin, Lucus Alcott, Judge Washburn, M. Harris, M. Edwards, Searls, Dickson Woodards, Spencer and Morgans as charter members. The Rev. Crawford was succeeded by the Revs. Rogers and Livermore.

The first church, which stood where the postoffice now stands, was burned in 1874. The society was then disbanded and no further attempt was made to have services until the fall of 1885, when the Rev. Olympia Brown came to Oshkosh, gathered the scattered forces and held services. In April of the following year the state and general conventions sent Rev. Edgar Leavitt to take charge of the work. The society was then reorganized under the name of St. John's Universalist church, in conformity to the laws of the state of Wisconsin, with twenty-three members. Jefferson Bray, A. D. Buck, B. F. Prosser and John Tate were chosen as a committee to draft articles of incorporation. One month they perfected their parish organization, and the following persons were chosen as officers: Jefferson Bray, B. F. Prosser, Miss Carrie Lamb, A. D. Buck, E. M. Lull, Mrs. A. Bowen, Mrs. A. Allen and C. B. Hewitt.

The society held services in the old United Presbyterian church building on Church street. In 1887 they changed their place of meeting to a hall at 160 Main street. The success of the mission was assured by an increased membership. In 1880 the society purchased the lot at the corner of Church and Union streets. Soon after Rev. Leavitt resigned the pastorate and Rev. John R. Carpenter became his successor. Under his leadership the present church was built, the Masons laying the cornerstone. Rev. Carpenter remained the pastor until 1890. During the fourteen years following the pastors were the Revs. Baldwin, Critchette,

Hammond, Gossow and York. The church was then without a pastor for two years, but in 1904 the Rev. W. H. McGlauflin, D. D., put his strong shoulder to the wheel and the church began again. He served as pastor for two years, preaching monthly, or as often as his obligations as tri-state superintendent would permit. Under his influence the membership was increased. In June, 1906, a call was extended to the present minister, Rev. R. D. Van Tassel, and he began his pastorate the following August. Under his leadership the church has been remodeled and made more commodious and convenient. The membership has been doubled and the church takes its place as one of the great forces for good in the community.

The Free Methodist Church, of Oshkosh, was organized in 1883 under the leadership of Rev. J. A. Murray. A church building was erected the same year on Merritt street, which was used by the society for thirteen years, when the First Free Methodist society and the Elm Street Free Methodist church, which had been in existence since 1891, and was first led by Rev. J. H. Flowers, effected a consolidation of the two congregations. Shortly after this event the Merritt street church building was sold, and the proceeds used in improving the Elm street property.

The congregation at present numbers fifty-five, and the pastor is Rev. E. J. Roberts.

Oshkosh Young Men's Christian Association. In the fall of 1882 Messrs. R. McMillen, R. T. Morgan, George W. Williamson, A. H. Bartlett, D. M. Beals, E. R. Hicks and F. W. Houghton met for the purpose of organizing a Young Men's Christian association for the purpose of improving the spiritual, mental, social and physical condition of the young men of Oshkosh.

The first meeting for the election of officers and directors was held in the Beckwith building Thursday evening, December 21, 1882. The first officers elected were: E. R. Hicks, president; R. T. Morgan, treasurer; C. W. Harned, general secretary; A. H. Bartlett, recording secretary.

The association first occupied rooms in the Beckwith block, or the old Beckwith hotel. They now occupy their own building on the corner of Algoma and Bond streets.

St. Vincent de Paul's Church. This parish was established in the year 1868, at which time it was visited by the Rev. Nicolaus Stehle. The Rev. M. Marco attended to these people from July of that year until September, 1869, and it was during his administration that the first church was erected. The Rev.

George Willard, his successor, remained with this congregation until September, 1870, and during his short term he built a very comfortable parsonage. The next pastor was the Rev. John Gmeiner, who was a resident of South Oshkosh, from October, 1870, until March, 1871; then the Rev. John Reindl became incumbent, continuing as such until December 13, 1891, when he died very suddenly. Father Reindl was also active in making improvements to the property, and among other things veneered the entire church structure, redeemed the church property from the hands of the sheriff, added a steeple to the church, built a school house and bought several lots. His successor was Rev. M. Joerger, D. D., who remained from 1892 to 1893, when the Rev. A. Wibbert took charge, and it now has a large congregation. Several school sisters from Notre Dame convent, Milwaukee, are in charge of the parochial school, which has an attendance of between five and six hundred scholars. Of Catholic societies connected with this congregation there are the St. Vincent de Paul Men's Society, St. Joseph's society, St. Boniface society, a branch of the Catholic Knights of Wisconsin, Schutzgesellschaft society, a court of the Catholic Order of Foresters, St. Mary's Married Ladies' Society, St. Mary's Young Ladies' Sodality, St. Aloysius Boys' society, and St. Agnes' Girls' society.

The Rev. A. Wibbert was born in Stadtlohn, Westphalia, Germany, in 1844. Acquiring his ordinary education at the parochial and common schools of that country, he pursued his classical studies in the university at Muenster, Westphalia. He then came to the United States and completed a course in philosophy in Cincinnati, Ohio, and also in theology in Montreal, Canada. He was ordained to the priesthood April 16, 1876, at Leavenworth, Kansas. He occupied the pulpit at various places in Kansas, and in the St. Michael's at Dotyville, in the archdiocese of Milwaukee. From there he was transfered to Platteville and thence to Oshkosh, where he assumed the pastorate in November, 1893.

St. John the Evangelist's Church. The Church of St. John the Evangelist, at Oshkosh, was duly dedicated on June 13, 1897, the services being conducted by Rev. Father A. Schinner, of Milwaukee, private secretary to Archbishop Katzer. The sermon was delivered by the Very Rev. James J. Keogh, of St. John's Cathedral. This church is located on Thirteenth street between Iowa and Michigan streets. The building occupies an area of 92x66½ feet and has a seating capacity of about four hundred. The height of the building is eighty-eight feet; height of the audi-

torium is twenty-nine feet; gallery is eighteen feet in width and runs across the rear of the auditorium. The entire cost of the structure, exclusive of interior finishings, was about $11,000. The organization of this church is the result of a division among the people belonging to St. Vincent's church, which, until 1893, comprised a parish of both English and German-speaking people. In that year, however, the English members obtained permission to erect a church of their own, of which Father Morissey became pastor and preached his first sermon on the first Sunday in August, 1893, on which occasion he occupied also the pulpit of St. Vincent's, as he did, in fact, until the new church was built. In October, 1894 the parsonage was erected, and the congregation of St. John's soon numbered in the hundreds.

The Rev. J. Morrissey was born near Appleton, Wisconsin, in 1859. In 1873 he entered the seminary of St. Francis and was ordained to the priesthood after completing the regular preparatory course, and after ordination he filled the chair of English literature and mathematics in the Seminary of St. Francis for two years; then accepted the pastorate of St. John the Evangelist's.

XLVIII.

THE CITY OF OSHKOSH AND WINNEBAGO COUNTY IN THE CIVIL AND SPANISH WARS.

By

General Charles R. Boardman, Adjutant-General of Wisconsin.

The following data concerning the part taken in the wars by citizens of Winnebago county is taken entirely from the records and reports on file in the office of the adjutant-general at Madison, Wisconsin. In each case where the officers or men came in part at least from the county a brief history of the organization is given:

Co. "E," Second Regiment of Infantry. This company was recruited from Winnebago county by Capt. Gabriel Bouck during the months of April, May and June, 1861; was mustered into the service of the United States June 11, 1861; and was mustered out of the service at Madison, Wisconsin, on the 28th of June, 1864, by reason of expiration term of service. The company contained 120 officers and men. It took part in the following engagements: First Bull Run, Second Bull Run, Blackburn's Ford, Gainesville, Fitzhugh's Crossing, Chancellorsville, Gettysburg, expedition to Westmoreland Court House, South Mountain, Antietam, Fredericksburg, Wilderness, Laurel Hill, expedition to Cone River and Lower Machodoc, and Beverly Ford.

In view of so many of the Second regiment coming from

[1] "I am enclosing the war data for the history of Winnebago county. It is in crude form, and, as I have stated, is taken almost entirely from the official records. Because of state encampment duties I have not had time to write such an introduction as I would like or to round the matter out so as to give it any literary finish. As it stands it is a bare statement of facts, and I hope you will have time to fix it up in better shape. I may not have been happy in my choice of individuals whose records are given, still I think the list comprises most of those who attained prominence, and it has seemed to me that they as well as the organizations are deserving of some special mention. This work, short as it is, represents a large amount of time in searching the records and in the effort towards compilation.

"Signed, C. R. Boardman."

Winnebago county the following from the division commander of the Fourth division, Fifth Army corps, may be of interest:

"Headquarters Fourth Division Fifth Army Corps,
"June 10, 1864.

"The Second Wisconsin Volunteers having served their full term of three years in this army and being about to leave for their homes, the general commanding deems it proper for himself and in behalf of those of their comrades who remain behind to address to the officers and men a few parting words.

"Three years ago you entered the service one thousand strong. You now leave us with 153 all told. Where are they? O'Connor, Stevens, Colwell, Randolph and many others, both officers and men, are mustered with the hosts on high. Others are disabled for life. Others still are in rebel prisons. Among all these things you have always been true to your flag and your country. You have never failed in any duty required of you. You have a right to be proud of your record. The state has reason to be proud of you. You leave with the best wishes of all your comrades, and to that I wish to add my most cordial desire for your future honor and prosperity, collectively and individually.

"(Signed) L. Cutler,
"Brig. General Comdg."

The following from "Colonel Fox's Regimental Losses" has reference to this regiment: "This regiment sustained the greatest percentage of loss (killed and died of wounds) of any in the entire Union army. In proportion to its members this brigade sustained the heaviest loss of any in the war." Losses of Co. "E," Second regiment: Killed in action, 16; died of disease, 5; died of wounds, 66.

Cos. "B" and "G," Third Regiment Infantry Volunteers. These companies came largely from Winnebago county and responded to the first call for troops. They rendezvoued at Camp Hamilton, Fond du Lac, about June 15, 1861. The organization of the regiment was soon completed and they were mustered into the United States service June 29, 1861; and left the state for active duty in the field July 12 under orders to report at Hagerstown, Md. On September 12, 1861, they marched to Frederick, Md., and surrounded the city and arrested the legislature, which convened there on the 17th. The regiment took part in many engagements. At the battle of Winchester they acted as rear guard

and secured the retreat of the army through Winchester. "As a rear guard of an army they had to contest the advance of an enemy in overwhelming numbers and flushed with victory, but obeying the orders of their officers with the coolness of men on parade and taking advantage of every spot where a stand could be made, their determined bravery infused new spirit into the broken columns and secured the escape of the army." In this engagement the regiment lost three killed, fifteen wounded and seventy-nine missing in action.

They took part in the battle of Cedar Mountain, losing twenty-five killed, sixty-five wounded and eighteen prisoners. In General Gordon's official report of the battle he paid a high compliment to the regiment for their coolness and bravery. At the battle of Antietam they had 335 men engaged, and twenty-seven were killed and 171 wounded. At the battle of Chancellorsville Captain Scott, of Co. "B," was killed. The regiment also took an active part at the battles of Beverly Ford, Gettysburg and Dallas. On December 21, 1863, three-fourths of the regiment reenlisted as veterans. The regiment took part in Sherman's "march to the sea." Cos. "B" and "G" were mustered out with the regiment near Louisville, Ky., July 18, 1865.

Co. "K," Eleventh Regiment Wisconsin Infantry Volunteers. This company was originally organized by Capt. Calvin J. Wheeler at Neenah, Wisconsin, in the month of October, 1861, and was mustered into the United States service at Madison, Wisconsin, October 18, 1861, for three years. Eighty-nine of the 156 members of the company came from Winnebago county, the first officers all being from Winnebago county and were Capt. Hiram J. Lewis, First Lieut. Ira J. Hunt and Second Lieut. Robert P. House. Captain Lewis enlisted August 23, 1861, and pryor to that time had been first lieutenant of Island City Guards, Wisconson State Militia. He did some recruiting in Wisconsin; was detailed as aide de camp to Colonel Harris at Brashear City; also acted as assistant provost marshal at New Orleans. Was mustered out January 3, 1865, by reason of expiration of term of service. He was afterward commissioned lieutenant colonel of the Fifty-second Regiment February 24, 1865, and mustered out July 28, 1865. Lieut. Ira W. Hunt enlisted August 23, 1861, at Neenah; commissioned first lieutenant November 2, 1861; commissioned regimental adjutant August 11, 1863; rank July 28, 1863; resigned June 14, 1864. Lieut. Robert P. House enlisted August 23, 1861, at Neenah; commissioned second lieu-

tenant October 14, 1861; resigned on account of ill health November 27, 1862. The company took part in General Curtis' Arkansas campaign in 1862, General Davidson's Missouri campaign and General Grant's Mississippi campaign. In action at Port Gibson, Champion Hill, Big Black river bridge and siege and capture of Vicksburg. The company was mustered out September 4, 1865, at Mobile, Ala.

Co. "C," Fourteenth Regiment, Wisconsin Infantry Volunteers. This company was in part enlisted from Winnebago county during September, 1861, and mustered into the United States service January 30, 1862, at Fond du Lac, Wisconsin. The company was officered by Capt. W. W. Wilcox, First Lieutenant Colin Miller and Second Lieut. Alfred Carfee, all of Omro. Captain Wilcox resigned March 16, 1865. Lieutenant Miller was wounded at a charge on the enemy's works at Vicksburg and died May 23, 1861. Lieutenant Carfee resigned April 15, 1863.

The battle of Shiloh was the first battle the regiment took part in and for their determined bravery on this their first field of battle, their comrades in arms gave them the sobriquet of the "Wisconsin Regulars." The total loss of the regiment in this battle was fourteen killed and seventy-nine wounded and missing. The following from the official report of Colonel Oliver, commanding the brigade at the battle of Corinth, may be of interest: "Colonel Hancock and his regiment, the Fourteenth Wisconsin, there was no discount on—always steady, cool and vigorous. This regiment was the one to rely upon in any emergency. Though suffering more loss than any other regiment in the command, they maintained their lines and delivered their fire with all the precision and coolness which could have been maintained in drill."

The company took part in the siege of Vicksburg, Atlanta campaign, Columbia, Tenn.; Tuscembria, Westerford, Shiloh, Sherman campaign to Atlanta, Nashville, and siege of the Spanish fort, battle of Corinth.

The company was mustered out at Mobile, Alabama, October 9, 1865. Co. "C's" loss was: Killed in action, three; died of wounds, five; died of disease, sixteen.

After the surrender of Vicksburg, on July 4, when the brigade marched into the city, to the Fourteenth Wisconsin was assigned the right as the position of honor. General Ransom compli-

mented the regiment by saying, "Every officer and man of the Fourteenth is a hero."

Co. "F," Eighteenth Regiment. Company organized in February, 1862, and mustered into service in March, 1862. The company was officered by Capt. Joseph W. Roberts, Lieuts. George Stokes, William A. Pope, George A. Topliff and Francis M. Carter. Took part in the battle of Shiloh, Altoona and Corinth, and had killed in action, three; died of wounds, three; died of disease, twenty-five. Mustered out July 18, 1865, at Louisville, Kentucky.

Co. "B," Twenty-first Regiment. This company was recruited from Winnebago county by Capt. C. N. Paine during August, 1862, and consisted of 163 officers and men. It was officered by C. N. Paine as captain; Hiram Russell, first lieutenant, and James H. Jenkins as second lieutenant. The company took part in the battle of Chaplin Hills, Jefferson Pike, Stone river and Chickamauga; the Sherman campaign from Chattanooga, Tenn., to Goldsboro, N. C.; Raleigh, N. C., and Washington, D. C., 1864-65; Mission Ridge, Resaca, Dallas, Ga.; Kenesaw mountains, Peach Tree creek and Atlanta. Lost in action, five; died of wounds, two; died of disease, twenty-eight.

Co. "C," Twenty-first Regiment. This company was partially recruited from Winnebago county by Captain Godfrey and consisted of 155 officers and men. It was enrolled in August, 1862, and mustered out at Washington, D. C., June 8, 1865. The company was officered during its term of service by the following officers: Captains, Alphonso S. Godfrey and William Wall; first lieutenant, Robert W. Jackson; second lieutenants, David W. Mitchell, Julius P. Bissell and William C. Hubbard. The company took part in all the engagements of the regiment and lost in action, five; died of wounds, six; died of disease, twelve.

Co. "I," Twenty-first Regiment, was recruited largely from Winnebago county during August, 1862, by S. B. Nelson and A. B. Smith. Were mustered into the service at Oshkosh and took part in all the engagements of the regiment, and was mustered out at Washington, D. C., June 8, 1865. The officers of the company were: Captains, S. B. Nelson, A. B. Smith and Albert B. Bradish; first lieutenant, Charles B. Clark; second lieutenants, Edmund Delaney and Gustavus Jeager. Lost in action, five; died of wounds, seven; died of disease, twenty-two.

The several companies of the Twenty-first were ordered to rendezvous at Camp Bragg, Oshkosh, on September 1, 1862.

They were mustered into the United States service September 5 and on the 11th left the state for active service under orders to report at Cincinnati, Ohio, at that time threatened by the advance of the rebel forces under command of Gen. Kirby Smith.

Co. "D," Forty-first Regiment. This was one of the "100-day" companies. Was enrolled under Captain Hart and Lieut. Jackson during May, 1864, and was mustered into the United States service June 8, 1864, at Camp Washburn. Discharged at Camp Washburn September 23, 1864.

Co. "C," Forty-sixth Regiment. This company was from Winnebago county and was enrolled during January and February, 1865, for one year by Lieut. W. R. Kennedy. Mustered in at Madison, February 23, 1865. The officers were: Captain, William R. Kennedy, Oshkosh; first lieutenant, Milo C. Wilson, Oshkosh; second lieutenant, John M. Hoaglin, Omro. The company left Camp Randall, March 5, 1865, under orders to report at Louisville, Ky. Were engaged in guarding the Nashville & Decatur railroad until September 27, when they were mustered out at Nashville, Tenn.

Co. "A," Forty-seventh Regiment. About one-third of this company came from Winnebago county and was enrolled in February, 1865, for one year by Lieut. A. Sorenson; mustered into the United States service February 21, 1865, at Madison; left Camp Randall February 27, 1865, under orders to report at Louisville, Ky.; mustered out September 4, 1865, at Nashville, Tenn.

First Cavalry. There were 104 in this regiment from Winnebago county, so the history of the service of this regiment is a part of the military history of Winnebago county. The rendezvous of this regiment was Camp Freemont, Ripon, and later Camp Harvey, Kenosha. At the latter place the organization of the regiment was perfected, the last company being mustered into the United States service March 8, 1862; they left the state March 17, 1862, for St. Louis, Mo. At Nashville, Tenn., on June 14, 1862, they were assigned position in the Cavalry Corps of the Army of the Cumberland and took part in the battle of Chickamauga; were also in engagements at Campbelltown, Ga.; L'Anguille, Ark.; Chalk Bluffs, Ark.; West Point, Ga.; Cape Girardeau, Mo.; Varnell Station, Ga.; Bloomfield, Mo.; Scatterville, Ark.; Whitewater, Mo.; Doudridge, Tenn.; Mossy Creek, Tenn.; Pulaski, Tenn.; Popular Springs, Ga.; West Prairie, Mo.; Jonesboro, Ark., and Centerville, Ala. The regiment lost in ac-

tion, 54; died of wounds, 18; died of disease, 293; died by accident, 8; total, 373. A detachment of this regiment under General Harnden was sent in pursuit of Jefferson Davis and party and took part in the capture. The First Wisconsin Cavalry was mustered out at Edgefield, Tenn., July 19, 1865.

Number Enlisted by Towns in Civil War.

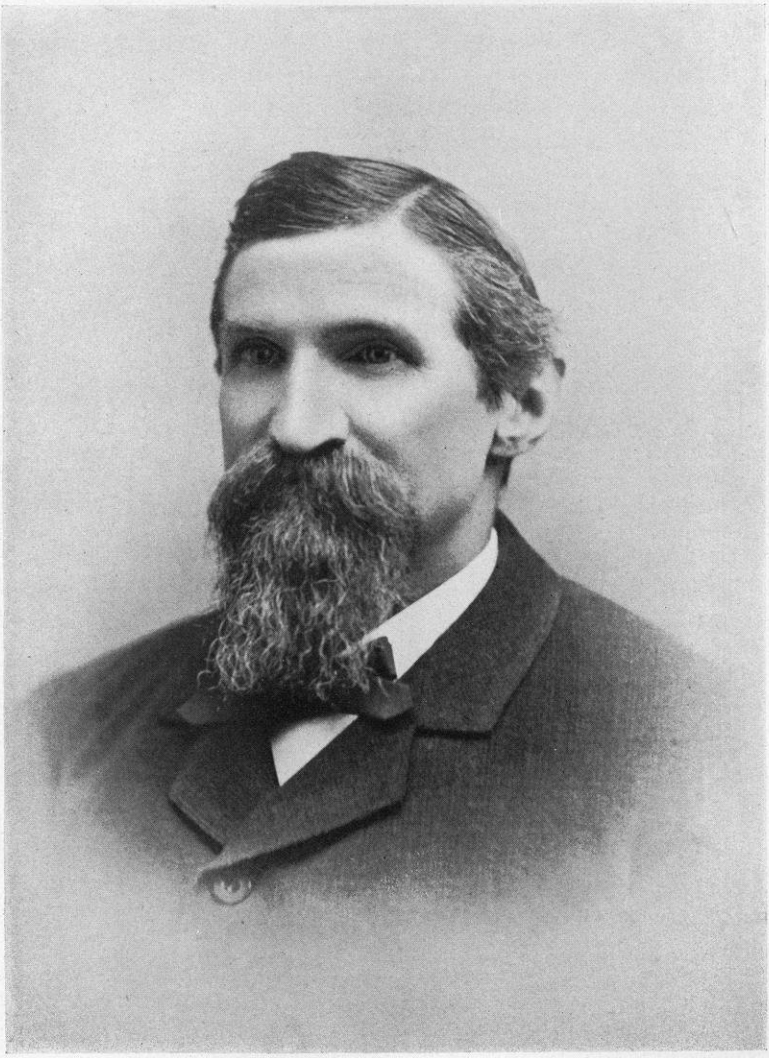
The state records show the following credits to Winnebago county for men enlisted for the Civil War: Algoma, 54; Black Wolf, 46; Clayton, 79; Menasha, 153; Neenah, 110; Nepeuskun, 87; Nekimi, 64; Omro, 134; Oshkosh, first ward, 120; second ward, 96; third ward, 93; fourth ward, 82; fifth ward, 51; town, 24; city at large, 50; at large, 1; Poygan, 17; Rushford, 116; Utica, 65; Vinland, 59; Winchester, 58; Winneconne, 83; Wolf river, 15; total, 1,657.

Some of the Officers from the County.

The following are the military records of some of the prominent men of Winnebago county who served in the Civil War:

Thomas S. Allen enlisted at Mineral Point, Wis., April 26, 1861, at the age of 35, in Company "I," Second Wisconsin Infantry Volunteers; commissioned captain of his company May 7, 1861; to rank April 27, 1861; commanded his company at Blackburn's Ford and first Bull Run; wounded in the neck and wrist at Gainesville, August 28, 1861; was in command of regiment at Antietam, September 17, 1862, and was wounded in right arm severely; promoted lieutenant Second Infantry, September 8, 1862; to rank, August 30, 1862; served at South mountain and battle of Fredericksburg. Col. Amasa Cobb having been elected to Congress, his place as colonel of the Fifth was supplied by the promotion of Lieut. Col. Allen, of the Second Wisconsin, who was commissioned colonel January 4, 1863; to rank, December 25, 1862, and assumed command of the regiment on January 26, 1863.

The Fifth Regiment was assigned to the "Light Division," organized under General Platt, February 2, 1863. "In the celebrated charge of Marye's Heights, Colonel Allen commanded the right wing of his regiment, deployed as skirmishers about fifty yards in advance of and covering two other regiments of the division, the left wing being farther to the rear, forming part of the third line of battle. His men were ordered to depend



AUGUST IHBE.

entirely on the bayonet and thus allow the enemy no time to reload their discharged pieces. At the signal the skirmishers darted forward on the run and before reaching a stone fence which formed part of the enemy's line of defense, distance about 400 yards, twenty-six of their number were killed and seventy-three wounded, but our Wisconsin troops did not falter. Clearing the stone fence under a heavy fire of artillery and musketry, they bayoneted such of the enemy as still resisted their advance, rushed forward and captured the heights, taking possession of the rifle pits and batteries. Lieutenant Brown, who commanded the famous Washington Battery, surrendered with his men to Col. Allen in person." Upon the reorganization of the Fifth Regiment, Colonel Allen was recommissioned colonel. Colonel Allen was again wounded in action at Rappahannock Station, Va., November 7, 1863; was on department service in Washington, D. C., in March, 1864, examining applicants for appointment to colored troops, and was mustered out with the field and staff of the Fifth Regiment, August 2, 1864.

Henry B. Harshaw enlisted at Oshkosh, Wis., April 20, 1861, in Company "E," Second Regiment, Wisconsin Infantry Volunteers, at the age of 19. He was promoted sergeant-major September 8, 1862; promoted second lieutenant March 19, 1863; rank, March 3, 1863; acting adjutant from June 17 to August 14, 1863; commanded the company in August, 1863; detailed in Ambulance Corps, First Division, October 9, 1863; rejoined regiment April 15, 1864; wounded May 8, 1864, at Laurel Hill, and left arm amputated; took part in battles of Fitzhugh Crossing, Chancellorsville, Gettysburg, Laurel Hill and the Wilderness; mustered out with the company June 28, 1864, at Madison, Wis.

Gabriel Bouck enlisted in Company "E," Second Regiment, Wisconsin Infantry Volunteers, April 20, 1861; commissioned captain April 23, 1861; to rank, same date; did recruiting in Wisconsin, having recruited Company "E"; was discharged April 21, 1862, to accept commission as colonel in Eighteenth Regiment, Wisconsin Infantry Volunteers; commissioned colonel of the Eighteenth Regiment, April 22, 1862; rank, April 18; mustered out at Washington, D. C., April 25, 1862; commanded the First Brigade, Third Division, Fifteenth Artillery Corps, in February, 1864, at Huntsville, Ala.; resigned January 4, 1864; notice of acceptance of resignation not received until March 16, 1864. Colonel Bouck took command of the regiment on May

12, 1862, the regiment at that time numbering only 250 effective men. The regiment lost very heavily at Shiloh and suffered severely from diseases incident to the change of climate. Their loss at Shiloh in two days' conflict was 24 killed, 82 wounded and 174 prisoners. The official report contains the following allusion to the conduct of the Eighteenth Regiment at the battle of Corinth: "Colonel Bouck, cool and sagacious, with his gallant Eighteenth Wisconsin, while with us did most effectual service. Was detached to guard Smith's bridge, which he afterward, by order, destroyed, and brought his command into the division in excellent order." The regiment sustained a loss of twenty-five men killed and wounded.

Colonel Bouck took part in the following engagements: Blackburn's Ford, Va.; Bull Run, siege of Corinth, Jackson, Champion Hill and siege of Vicksburg and Chattanooga.

Nathan Paine, Oshkosh, Wis., enlisted in Company "G," First Regiment, Wisconsin Cavalry Volunteers, August 6, 1861, at Appleton, Wis.; commissioned first lieutenant October 31, 1861; promoted captain January 6, 1862; to rank, November 16, 1861; commissioned major First Battery, Third Cavalry, October 9, 1863; to rank, September 28, 1863; did recruiting service in Wisconsin; badly injured by fall from horse May 9, 1864, at Varnell Station; killed in action July 28, 1864, near Campbelltown, Ga.

Capt. John W. Scott, of Oshkosh, was commissioned captain of Company "B," Third Infantry, July 2, 1861; rank, April 23, 1861; promoted major Third Infantry, July 17, 1862; rank, June 1, 1862; promoted lieutenant-colonel March 17, 1863; rank, March 10, 1863; was severely wounded in arm and shoulder at Cedar mountain, Virginia, from which he had not recovered when he went into the battle of Chancellorsville, where he was killed May 1, 1863. He was also in the battle of Winchester.

James H. Jenkins came to Company "B," Twenty-first Regiment, Wisconsin Infantry Volunteers, from Company "A," Twelfth Regiment, Massachusetts Volunteers, at the age of 21; commissioned second lieutenant Company "B," Twenty-first Regiment, August 7, 1862; rank, same; acting adjutant of regiment October 15, 1862, to February 4, 1863, when he was commissioned first lieutenant and adjutant Twenty-first Regiment; was in battles of Chaplin Hills, Stone river and Chickamauga, where he was taken prisoner; discharged on resignation April 12, 1865, to date March 24, 1865.

Capt. C. N. Paine was commissioned captain of Company "B," Twenty-first Regiment, August 26, 1862; rank, same; acted as lieutenant colonel in June, 1863; resigned because of disability December 2, 1863.

Capt. Charles W. Felker was commissioned captain of Company "A," Forty-eighth Regiment, Wisconsin Infantry Volunteers, February 16, 1865; rank, same date; in command of his regiment July 22, 1865; mustered out with company December 30, 1865, at Fort Leavenworth, Kan. Company "A," Forty-eighth Regiment, was largely recruited from Winnebago county by Capt. C. W. Felker and consisted of eighty-seven officers and men. C. W. Felker was captain of the company and Henry Felker was first lieutenant.

Lieut. George Bauman enlisted at Racine in Company "F," Second Regiment, Wisconsin Infantry Volunteers, April 23, 1863, age 21; did recruiting service in Wisconsin; appointed corporal June 11, 1861; sergeant August 8, 1861; commissioned first lieutenant Company "A," Twenty-second Regiment, February 20, 1863; rank, February 6, 1863; commanded the company during December, 1863; resignation accepted January 26, 1864.

Winnebago County in the War With Spain.

Second Regiment Infantry, Wisconsin Volunteers, in Spanish-American War. For this war Winnebago county furnished two full companies, B and F of the Second Infantry. Therefore, the history of this regiment covers about everything that can be said on the subject.

"In compliance with the orders from Governor Scofield, the twelve companies constituting the Second Regiment, Wisconsin National Guard, left their armories for mobilization under the command of Col. C. A. Born at the state rendezvous, Camp Harvey, April 28, 1898. During the stay of the regiment at this encampment regular drills were held for the purpose of preparing the men for possible active service on the field of battle, and before the regiment left this rendezvous great progress had been made on regular army lines. After a vigorous physical examination of the officers and men, those who had successfully passed were mustered into the United States volunteer army May 12, 1898, and the organization was designated 'The Second Regiment, Wisconsin Volunteer Infantry.' "

The Second Regiment left Camp Harvey, Wisconsin, May 15,

1898, for Camp George H. Thomas, Chickamauga Park, arriving there May 17, going into camp and being brigaded as Third Brigade, First Division, First Corps, with the Sixteenth Pennsylvania and 157th Indiana, later the Indiana being withdrawn and the Third Kentucky substituted. Remained at Chickamauga Park until July 5. During the month of June the regiment was recruited up to the maximum strength allowed by law—fifty officers and 1,276 men.

July 5 thirty-six officers and 844 men left Chickamauga Park for Charleston, S. C., being transferred to the First Brigade, First Division, First Corps. The Second Wisconsin was one of the first regiments ordered from the park for foreign service. Arrived at Charleston July 7 and were quartered in three large cotton warehouses, remaining at Charleston until July 19. There were fourteen officers and 434 men left at Chickamauga Park, this number including all the sick and the recruits. July 13 all officers and men left at the park, except the sick, joined the regiment at Charleston.

July 19 forty officers and 1,138 men went aboard transport "La Grande Duchesse," bound for Porto Rico.

July 26 transport arrived at Guanica, P. R., lay at anchor until morning of 27th, when she steamed to Ponce, P. R., and regiment disembarked and went into camp about one mile outside of city limits of Ponce. August 7 ten companies of regiment broke camp and marched ten and one-half miles on Ponce and San Juan road and went into camp between Juana Dietz and Coamo, two companies, "C" and "H," having been previously ordered on detached service, "C" to Adjuntus for outpost duty and "H" to Juana Dietz to guard supplies. August 8 regiment left camp in light marching order at 6 a. m. and proceeded across country toward the Saint Isabella road. About one-half mile from camp the first battalion was formed as a firing line, with second and third battalions in rear as a reserve. In this formation, after the destruction by a battery of a block house, which checked their advance, they reached the Saint Isabella road. The regiment was then reformed and proceeded to Coamo and went into camp just beyond the city. Remained in camp near Coamo until August 27. Companies "C" and "H" rejoined the regiment August 12.

August 12 Companies "I," "K," "L" and "M," comprising the third battalion, were detailed as advance outpost between Coamo and Aibonito. They returned to Camp August 19.

August 27 the regiment broke camp and proceeded toward Ponce, arriving at Juana Dietz and bivouacing for the night, and on the 28th marched to the old camp near Ponce, going into camp under orders to board the transport "Obdam" as soon as ready to go to the United States to be mustered out. August 31 nine companies of regiment boarded Obdam, there not being room for the whole regiment, and Companies "F," "G" and "H" were left in camp to take transport later, under command of Major Gruetzmacher. Nine companies with commanding officers aboard the "Obdam" arrived in New York September 7, went aboard trains and arrived in Milwaukee September 9.

Companies "F," "G" and "H" boarded the transport "Alamo" September 8 and arrived in New York September 16 and in Milwaukee September 18.

The various companies of the regiment were mustered out between November 5 and 15 at their home stations, and the field and staff at Sheboygan on November 15. The Second Regiment lost thirty-eight enlisted men by death from disease during their term of service of a few days over six months.

Roster of Company "B," Second Regiment, Wisconsin National Guard, War With Spain.

Company "B," Oshkosh, Wis. Captain, W. A. Marden;[1] first lieutenant, Henry Tyriver; second lieutenant, George O. Sanders; first sergeant, Charles A. Wellnitz; quartermaster sergeant, Charles Eilers; sergeants, Joseph Blau, George Alger, William Zwicky and Henry Thenee; corporals, Ernest Hauer, Arthur J. Cone, Harvey Sargent, Adolf Hoffman, Thomas Carroll, Jesse Mead, John N. Field, Nicholas Buschette, William Koehn, Elmer C. Todd, Leo Haben and Robert Moore; musician, George R. Hay; wagoner, John Bowker; artificer, John Kearney; privates, Joseph J. Ainsworth, Henry Albrecht, Joseph

[1]Before and during the Spanish war and ever since, General Charles R. Boardman, of Oshkosh, the author of this paper, has been adjutant general of Wisconsin by appointment of the several governors who have served during that time.

[1]Gen. Charles R. Boardman was born in Fond du Lac, Wis., in 1860. His father, a native of New England, was a captain in the Civil War, and his mother was the eldest daughter of N P. Tallmadge, the third governor of the territory of Wisconsin, and before that a United States senator of New York. General Boardman graduated from the University of Wisconsin in 1884 and has been in the Wisconsin National Guard since 1880, and was appointed adjutant general of Wisconsin January 7, 1897, a position he has held ever since under every administration. His home has been in Oshkosh since 1884.

W. Atkins, William F. C. Arndt, Burchard H. Baker, Ernest Baumann, Everett Bethe, Sewall Bethe, Emil Bettenhous, William Bieber, Norman I. Blake, Mathew Blau, E. A. Branchaud, John Brauhn, Leslie Briggs, George Brooks, Charles E. Buchanan, Walter J. Colies, John Chamberlain, Charles S. Church, Frank Daum, Ray Decker, William Delaney, Charles A. Dimpsey, John Donovan, John Dopson, Michael Erban, Harvey Finch, Christian E. Fogtmann, John Franey, Charles Froelich, John Gallotin, Edgar A. George, Jesse Gokey, Silas A. Groescheck, Henry Grogan, George B. Gustin, Henry Hansen, John Harney, Louis H. Hassing, Otto Hennig, Ernest Holdorph, Harry Horton, Lonia Jensen, Guy Kelsey, Martin Kenney, Fritz Kienast, John A. Kircher, Orrie Knapp, Albert Kreutzer, John O. Lee, Guy M. Leamann, Joseph H. Lindsey, Edward W. Look, Herman Mailahn, Arthur Malone, Alvin H. Mantz, Harley A. Mantz, Ellis Marden, Jacob J. Marx, Frank McGuire, H. W. L. Neimeyer, Horace Pierce, James J. Philpot, Robert B. Repe, Guy J. Reynolds, Percy R. Rice, Norman I. Richmond, William J. Ross, Julius Ruchel, William A. Shepard, Alvin L. Skidmore, Monroe V. Smith, Roman I. Straudenraus, Henry Stracey, Dade Swain, Frank Teska, Oscar F. Thiel, Raymond S. Tonneson, Frank J. Vosburg, John Wilson, George Wright and Thomas B. Young.

Deaths. Private Edward E. Bills, of Omro, aged 22 years, died at Chickamauga Park, July 1, 1898, of appendicitis; buried at National Cemetery, Chattanooga, Tenn. Edward Fenstermacher, of Oshkosh, aged 23 years, died at Charleston, July 13, 1898, of cholera morbus; buried at Oshkosh. Carl E. Shipman, of Omro, aged 19 years, died at Charleston, S. C., of typhoid fever; buried at Charleston. Musician Charles Clemens, aged 25 years, died at Ponce, Porto Rico, August 16, 1898, of typhoid fever; burial at Ponce.

Roster of Company "F," Second Regiment, Wisconsin National Guard, War With Spain.

Company "F," Oshkosh, Wis. Captain, U. G. Carl; first lieutenant, Henry L. Lenz; second lieutenant, Godfrey Fritz; first sergeant, Charles W. Boelter; quartermaster sergeant, John N. Taddy; sergeants, John Plies, William E. Papke, Emil Kraning and Samuel H. Sutton; corporals, Herman Hilke, William Lears, Emil Philipp, William Reedy, Walter B. Ward, John Strich, John Blake, Fred J. Mathwig, Albert C. Zeilke, James Fitz-

gerald, William Shell, Frank Donner and Albert Ott; musicians, Charles F. Potratz and Reinhold Bathke; wagoner, James Robinson; artificer, William W. Farrow; privates, Alfred B. Anklem, Arthur Bachmer, Henry Barsch, Peter J. Bessler, Herman Biedermann, John Blechel, William T. Brady, Charles Butt, Charles Burt, Alfred B. Carey, Charles W. Chamberlain, Bert G. Curtis, Wallace H. Daggett, John Daley, Henry Drews, Robert Farrow, Benjamin B. F. Fogg, Elmer A. Fullerton, Frank Gehrke, Edward Getke, Arthur R. Grandy, Bert Greenwood, Edward Grose, Ernest Heide, John Hiller, Herman Holft, Henry Holgknecht, Elmer James, Charles O. Jones, George H. Johnston, Herman Kamrath, George Keefe, James P. Kelsch, Irving Kelsey, Joseph Kimgil, John Kreutzer, Marshall LaBarran, Thomas Lannen, Clifford Lansing, Richard Malchow, Joseph Mathe, Jacob C. Mayer, Ernst Moersch, Fred Morris, Ernst Mueller, Fred Munthe, Frank Navotri, Herman Nayle, John Nelson, Jr., Peter Nye, Michael J. O'Brien, Gustav Pahlow, William Pendergast, Maurice Peck, Jordan Phillip, Robert Pringel, Fred Renner, Frank Scheuer, Peter Schild, Leonhard Schmidt, Peter Schmidt, William Seal, James Stanley, Harry Stearns, Ernst Stoll, William Sutton, Frank E. Thompson, Jacob Tremont, Richard Voegler, Nicholaus Wagner, Martin Walter, Walter Wilde, Martin C. Wolf, Joseph Wymen, Fred Zentner, George Zerbel, Otto Zibbell, Paul Zilake, Louis A. Zuilke and Ralph Zwickey.

Deaths. Private William H. Hook, of Oshkosh, aged 28 years, died at Camp Harvey, May 15, 1898, of typhoid fever; buried at Oshkosh. Private Theodore Celucy, aged 23 years, died at Chattanooga park, June 11, 1898, of typhoid fever; buried at Chattanooga. Color Sergt. William H. Pingel, of Oshkosh, aged 25 years, died at Fort Thomas, Ky., July 14, 1898, of typhoid fever; buried at Oshkosh. Corp. Otto Kandt, of Oshkosh, aged 30 years, died at Charleston, July 20, 1898, of malarial fever; buried at Oshkosh.

Winnebago "County Press," February 12, 1870: "Four veterans of the war of 1812 met by chance a few days since in the office of Buckstaff Bros. in Oshkosh. They were Ephram Durfee, aged 85; Andrew Bunton, aged 82; William Kane, aged 84, and John Buckstaff, aged 71, all of Oshkosh. The first two were in the American army under General Scott; the last two were in the British army, and all were in active service at the battle of Lundy Lane. Kane was taken prisoner by the Americans."

XLIX.

STEAMBOATING IN THE EARLY DAYS ON LAKE WINNEBAGO, THE FOX AND WOLF RIVERS.

By

By Thomas Roche, Electrician, Oshkosh City.

The early days of steamboating on these waters carries us back very nearly to the origin of steamboating on any waters. Denys Papin demonstrated the value of steam for propulsion of boats as early as 1707. James Rumsey, John Fitch, John E. Stevens and others made various attempts during the following years to construct boats to be propelled by steam, but it was not until Robert Fulton built the "Clermont" in 1806 that the problem was satisfactorily solved. The "Clermont" was the first steamboat built on any waters that was mechanically and commercially a success. She started on her trial trip on Friday, August 7, 1807, from New York for Albany, made the voyage successfully, and on September 7, 1807, began making regular trips between those two points. The price of passage from Albany to New York was $7; intermediate distances up to twenty miles $1, and no fare less than $1 would be collected.

The steamer "Walk-in-the-Water" left Detroit July 31, 1821, for Mackinaw and Green Bay and arrived at Green Bay on or about August 6, having on board a large number of passengers. Thus a period of fourteen years only had elapsed between the trial trip of the first successful steamboat ever built and the arrival of the first steamboat on the Fox river. At that time the Fox river was navigable only from its outlet into Green Bay to the Rapids at Depere, a distance of about six miles.

For a number of years succeeding the above date (1821) steamers would at irregular periods arrive from the lower lakes and depart from Green Bay, but no regular line of steamboats was established until about 1850. The first steamboat to navigate the Fox river above the Depere Rapids was the "Black Hawk," an Erie canal boat. In 1843 she was hauled over the Rapids and fitted up with steam power and a propeller wheel.

She was in command of Captain Hotelling. At that time the river was navigable but for a short distance above the Depere Rapids. An attempt was made later to haul the "Black Hawk" around the Kaukauna Rapids and get her up on Lake Winnebago, but was abandoned as being impractical. During the year 1844 Captain Hotelling and James Worden had a new boat built on the east shore of Lake Winnebago and fitted her up with the machinery taken out of the "Black Hawk." This boat was named the "Manchester" and came out during the season of 1844 with Captain Hotelling as master, James Worden mate and Enoch Brooks engineer. The "Manchester" was the first steamboat and the only one on Lake Winnebago previous to 1850. In that year she was rebuilt and named the "Badger State," and in 1853 she sunk on the upper Wolf river. Of those pioneer boatmen on Lake Winnebago I know of but one survivor. Captain Hotelling has long since passed over the "great divide." James Worden transferred his field of usefulness to the Mississippi river and in 1862 and 1863 was master of the steamer "Key City," one of the largest and finest of the vast fleet of palatial steamers on that river in those days. Enoch Brooks still survives. He was a welcome visitor in this office last January (1908), and his recollections of those early days is very distinct. He is a veteran of the Civil War and is now a resident of the Soldiers' Home at Milwaukee. The new lock and dam at Depere were completed in 1850, and the steamer "Indiana," Capt. William O. Lyon, commenced making regular trips between Green Bay and Kaukauna.

During the winter of 1849 and 1850 the steamer "Peytona" was built at Neenah by a stock company. She was a side-wheel boat, one hundred and fifteen (115) foot keel, eighteen (18) foot beam, single engine with couplings on main shaft so that either wheel could be worked separately. She came out in the season of 1850 with Capt. James B. Estes as master, and was put on the route between Fond du Lac and Menasha, touching at Oshkosh on each trip. She was a splendid sea boat, not very speedy—probably could make about ten miles an hour—but very regular, varying but little in the time of her arrival and departure, regardless of weather conditions. She was cut in two by the ice on Lake Poygan, March 26, 1859, and her hull remains where it sunk at that time. A stock company was formed during the summer of 1850 to build a steamer suitable for the passenger traffic on Lake Winnebago. She was much the finest steamer

ever built on these waters. Her length over all was 165 feet, breadth of beam forty feet, side wheels and double engines. She was named "Menasha" and went into commission about August 1, 1851, in charge of Capt. Peter Hotelling, with Fred Zentner, who is now a prominent citizen and banker of Oshkosh, as mate. She was put on the lake route in opposition to the "Peytona," but was not very successful, being so long she could not turn around in the Fond du Lac river, necessitating her backing out of the river into the lake, a distance of about three-fourths of a mile. The "Menasha" failed to pay expenses and was laid up at Fond du Lac during the season of 1852. In 1853 she came out again and attempted to tow logs across the lake, and being unsuccessful in that business, she was hauled out at Oshkosh and stripped of her machinery and upper works and converted into a tow barge. The hull was used for that purpose until 1860, when she was hauled out again and cut in two amidships with the intention of making two barges so that they would be small enough to pass through the government locks. The stern half was fitted with a new bow and was taken onto the Mississippi river in 1861 and used in the wheat trade between Prairie du Chien and upriver points. The bow part of the barge was not used to any extent and now lies covered up in the mud near the south end of Main street bridge in Oshkosh.

The side-wheel steamer "D. B. Whitacre" was built at Oshkosh by James Harris during the summer of 1851. She was later purchased by the company that owned the "Peytona" and her name was changed to "Oshkosh." In 1853 she was sold to some parties from the South and taken to the Tennessee river.

The "Jenny Lind" was built at Neenah by Dr. W. Peake and Capt. Patrick Tiernan in 1851. She was taken to the Mississippi river the following year and was the first steamboat to pass through from these waters down the Wisconsin river to the Mississippi. She was run on the Illinois river that season. In 1865 the writer saw the "Jenny Lind" in a grewsome occupation at Memphis, Tenn. It was a few days after the explosion and wreck of the steamer "Sultana" a few miles above Memphis that caused the death of over 1,900 people. Their dead bodies had come to the surface and were floating down the river. The "Jenny Lind" and several other boats were engaged in gathering up the floaters.

The sidewheel steamer "Van Ness Barlow" was built at Neenah and came out in the spring of 1851. She was put on a

route between Neenah and Appleton, forming a connecting link as far as navigable waters would permit between the Lake Winnebago steamers and the "Indiana," at that time running between Green Bay and Kaukauna. Passengers and freight were transported by teams between those two points (Appleton and Kaukauna) until the Improvement Company had its work completed and steamboats could run through from Lake Winnebago to Green Bay. In the spring of 1852 the Improvement Company completed the lock at Menasha, and the "Barlow" was the first boat through the new lock and was put on a new route between Oshkosh and upriver points. On August 7, 1854, one of her boilers exploded just as she was leaving Main street dock in Oshkosh. Two of her crew were killed and the upper works of the boat were badly shattered. A part of the boiler was blown through the upper story of a large warehouse that stood on the shore near by. The hull was not injured and she was repaired and went into service again. In the Spring of 1857 she was condemned, her hull was made into a barge, and later was taken to the Mississippi river, which appears to have been the final destination of most all our boats. Her machinery was put in a new boat that was being built.

The side-wheel steamer "Eureka" was built at Eureka, on the Fox river, by Rounds & Co. in the year 1854. She had a single engine and was 110 feet long and 16-foot beam. The "Eureka" was nicknamed the "Pickerel on account of her long, narrow hull. She had a fine painting of a pickerel on both of her paddle boxes and was rarely ever called anything else but the "Pickerel." She came out the next spring (1855) under the command of Capt. E. F. Drummond and was put on the route between Gill's Landing and Fond du Lac. The writer, a young boy, commenced his steamboat experience as cabin boy on board of her that season and was one of the crew that took her over on the Mississippi river in 1861, under the command of Capt. E. M. Neff. She was used in the wheat trade on the upper Mississippi for one season and was sold to go on to one of the smaller rivers of the South.

The side-wheel steamer "Lady Jane" was built at Eureka in 1854, by Eric McArthur & Co. She was ninety feet long and eighteen foot beam. She was used as a passenger and tow boat on various routes commanded by Captain Chas. Tucker. After several years' service on these waters, she was taken onto the

Mississippi river, where she was wrecked in 1867, at Rock Island bridge.

The side-wheel steamer "W. A. Knapp" was built in 1854, and supplied with machinery taken out of the "Badger State." She was commanded by her owner, Capt. W. A. Knapp, on the Fox and Wolf river route. In the spring of 1860, she was taken to Lake St. Croix and run between Prescott and Taylor's Falls. In 1861, she was chartered by the Milwaukee & Prairie Du Chien R. R. Co. to tow barges from McGregor to Prairie Du Chien, and in the spring of 1862, she was sold and taken to the Illinois river.

In 1855, Captain Garrett and Captain Tarbox rebuilt an old catamaran house boat and converted her into a steamboat by attaching deck timbers across both hulls and building upper works thereon. She might be called a stern-wheeler, as her paddle wheel was located aft of amidships between the stern end of the two hulls. She was named "Sampson," and was put on the route between Oshkosh and the east shore of Lake Winnebago. Some time about midsummer of that year, whilst lying in Calumet harbor, her boiler exploded and a son of Captain Tarbox was killed. The hull was towed to Oshkosh and the next year was improved by having a new bow built on to include both hulls. She was then named "Winnebago" and put on the route between Oshkosh and Portage and worn out in this service.

The side-wheel steamer "Oshkosh City" was built at Oshkosh in 1855, by Abel Neff and Alonzo Leach, and excepting the steamer "Menasha" she was the largest and finest steamboat ever built on these waters. Her length of keel was 146 feet, beam over all 40 feet, two engines 17x54 inches. The two fire-box boilers were built in Chicago, I think. However, they came by the way of Lake Michigan to Sheboygan and were hauled by teams over the old plank road from there to Fond du Lac and the unfinished hull of the boat was towed to Fond du Lac by the steamer "'Peytona" and the boilers loaded on board of her and she was towed back to Oshkosh and completed. Her trial trip was made June 29, 1855, under the command of Captain Vardine Truesdal. The "Oshkosh City" for several seasons ran from Fond du Lac to Menasha. In 1861 she was hauled out at Oshkosh and her hull cut down in size so that she could be taken through the government locks at Portage. She was renamed "Arizona" and taken up the Fox and down the Wisconsin river to the Mississippi in the spring of 1862. The "Ari-

zona'' was used in the wheat trade between Prairie Du Chien and upriver points for the rest of that season and then went onto the Illinois river. She was later taken over by the Government, fitted up with new machinery, made one of the speediest small boats on the Mississippi river, and used as a packet boat for the upper Mississippi squadron until that river was opened through to the Gulf. She was then placed on a freight and passenger route from Carlton just above New Orleans to Galveston on the Gulf of Mexico. Of her ultimate fate I have no record.

The stern-wheel steamer ''Aquilla,'' built at Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, 133 foot keel and 16 foot beam, came over on to these waters in June, 1856, under command of Capt. John Nixon. She was the first steamboat to make the through trip from the Mississippi river to Green Bay. She was sold by Captain Nixon to the local boat company and he returned to Pittsburg. On June 30, 1857, the ''Aquilla'' and ''Oshkosh City'' left Fond du Lac for Oshkosh. There was a stiff breeze blowing, and after getting outside the harbor the boats encountered a heavy sea. The Ohio river methods of steamboat construction was not suitable for the rough waters of Lake Winnebago. The ''Aquilla'' sprung a leak when off Long Point and commenced to fill with water. She headed for the west shore about a mile away blowing signals of distress. She sank before reaching shore in about ten feet of water. The ''Oshkosh City'' came alongside and rescued the passengers and crew from the sunken steamer and carried them safely to Oshkosh. The ''Aquilla'' was raised and repaired and remained in commission on these waters until 1859, when she was abandoned and her machinery was placed in the new steamer ''Ellwood.''

The ''Appleton Belle,'' 130 feet long, 20 foot beam, with two boilers, two engines 15x54 inches, was built by Captain John Nixon and others in the winter of 1856, and arrived on these waters in the spring of 1857, and run on the route between Oshkosh and Green Bay, a very popular boat, seaworthy and quite speedy, and continued on that route until the year 1860, when she was taken back to the Mississippi river, and was burned at Gallipolis on the Ohio river in 1863.

The steamer ''Pearl,'' 105 feet long, 19 foot beam, was built at Oshkosh in 1856, by Sherwood Bros. & Foote, coming out that season under the command of Captain Life Sherwood. She was purchased by the firm of Neff & Leach and remained on the

Wolf river route until 1861, when she was taken onto the Mississippi river and sold to the Northwestern Packet Company and used by them as a tow boat until worn out.

The side-wheel steamer "Fannie Fisk," built in Green Bay, arrived on Lake Winnebago in the spring of 1857, commanded by Captain Daniel Whitney. She drew too much water to be successful on these waters, and in 1863 she was taken to the Mississippi under the command of Captain Tom Hawley, with Captain E. M. Neff as pilot. She was purchased by the Government and her name changed to "General Quitman." She was in New Orleans in 1865, and was then used by the Quartermaster Department of Gen. Canby's Division.

The side-wheel steamer "Menominee" was built at Shiocton on the Wolf river in the summer of 1856. She was 100 feet in length, 16 foot beam, one boiler and one engine, 14x40 inches. She was the daintiest little steamer of her size that ever floated on these waters, remarkably quick to answer her helm and her speed was limited by the amount of steam that her engineer would dare to carry. She was purchased by the firm of Neff & Leach in 1857, and put on the route from Oshkosh to Appleton. In 1860 she was bought by Hart & Fuller, of Pepin, Wisconsin, and was taken onto Lake Pepin by Captain W. W. Neff and ran on the lake from Wabashaw to Red Wing, Minnesota, for a part of that season. She was then chartered by George De Haven to carry his circus on the river; we went to Shakopee on the Minnesota river and there took the troupe on board. There were about thirty-five people in the troupe, and, with their tents, baggage and horses they made a good load for the little boat. We took them down the river, showing at the various cities on the way to what is now known as East Dubuque, where they left the boat and started inland. The "Menominee" was then chartered by L. O. Place, of Lansing, Iowa, and towed wheat barges from there to Prairie Du Chien until late that fall. She then started for the South about the last of October, her destination being Galveston, Texas. We had in tow two large flat boats, one loaded with wheat and the other with vegetables, and, arriving at Montrose at the head of the Keokuk Rapids, were delayed several days waiting to lighter over the rapids. We finally got started but grounded soon after entering the rapids on the reef known as the Spanish Chain on the evening of the 22d of November. It was intensely cold, and the next morning the ice was running down the river in immense cakes one-

half an inch thick or more. The sharp ice soon cut away the planking of her hull at the water line and an ice breaker of heavy timber was built fan shape over her stern to protect the hull. The "Menominee" remained on that reef over a month until the ice formed a gorge below and backed the water up so that she was floated and hauled in shore on the Iowa side of the river. When navigation opened in the spring the boat was put on a route from Ft. Madison to Burlington, Iowa. It was soon demonstrated that she would not pay expenses there, and at the request of Captain Hart, one of her owners, the crew sold her at United States Marshal's sale for their wages. She was purchased by a man named Anderson to go on some river in Missouri.

The "Queen City" was built at Oshkosh in 1857, and fitted out with machinery of the old steamer "Barlow," and came out under the command of Captain George Pook. She was employed on these waters for one or two seasons and then sold to John Jacobs, of Green Bay, and run on the Bay shore route and worn out in that service.

The "Berlin City" was built at Berlin, Wisconsin, on the Fox river in 1857. She was put on the route between Oshkosh and Berlin in command of Captain John Lynch. On the 3d day of July, 1857, her boiler exploded at the head of Lake Butte des Morts as the boat was crossing the sand bar at the mouth of the river, while she was racing with the steamer "Pearl." The "Pearl" returned to the rescue of the passengers and crew and, after picking up all of the living and some of the dead, the "Pearl" returned to Oshkosh in order to obtain medical aid for the injured. The total casualties were nine persons either instantly killed or died soon after from their injuries. Sam Anthony, the engineer, was instantly killed. Ike Dicky, the fireman, was seriously injured, but finally recovered, and always stoutly maintained the explosion was not caused by low water in the boiler. The writer was assistant engineer to Ike Dicky subsequent to that explosion and has often heard him state that he had the instant before the explosion tried the water in the boiler and found two full gauges of water. The "Berlin City" later on was raised, and after being repaired, was sold to Tom Wall, Ruben Doud and Captain John Lynch, and ran from Oshkosh to Green Bay under command of Captain John Lynch. She was burned November 4, 1870.

The sidewheel tub "R. C. Evans" was built at Berlin in 1857

by Captain R. C. Evans, of the United States Navy. She was eighty feet long, eighteen foot beam, one boiler, two engines 8x20 and geared 3½ to 1. She was sold to Rich & Company, of Horicon, in 1859, who placed upper works and a cabin on her and she came out as a passenger boat under the name of "Shawano City." In 1863, she was sold to Abel Neff and Captain Hank Johnson. They converted her into a growser tug and named her "Oshkosh," and she continued in commission towing logs until 1871. She was then dismantled at Winneconne and her hull burned up at that port.

The stern-wheel steamer "Wolf," built at New London, 110 feet long and twenty foot beam. She came out in 1858, under command of E. F. Drummond, ran on the Wolf river route for some years and was destroyed by fire in 1863.

In 1859, a large steam barge named the "Peshtigo" came here from Chicago, under command of Captain Robert Booth, a veteran of the big lakes. She was owned by the Northwestern Railroad Company and was used to ferry cars across the river at Oshkosh until the railroad bridge was completed in 1860. She was then taken to Menominee on the Bay shore and finally abandoned as worthless.

The side-wheel steamer "Elwood" was built at Depere by D. M. Loy and Mr. Sorrenson in 1860. She was 130 feet long and 33 foot beam and was supplied with the machinery taken from the old stern-wheel steamer "Aquilla." Her model was a peculiar one. The intention was to have the hull as large as possible and permit it to pass through the locks on the lower Fox. The paddle wheels were placed in a recess cut into both sides of her hull. She was slow and unweildy to handle, but an excellent freight carrier. The "Elwood" in one of her trips from Green Bay up the Fox arrived at the lower lock at Appleton about midnight and was locked through. There was a short level from the lock up to the dam and as the "Elwood" went out of this level she took a shear and went over the dam broadside. The water was high and the boat received no injury, but two of her deck crew were drowned. She came back and whistled for the lock, much to the surprise of the lock tender, who had not seen the disaster, whilst Captain Brooks stoutly maintained he had not been there before that night. It was a serious matter with the lock tender, whose habits were not the most temperate, and the incident had a reforming influence over him for some time. The "Elwood" went to the Mississippi, and in 1863

she was taken to Cairo and used as a floating hospital, and in 1886 she was sunk and abandoned, a total loss.

The season of 1860 saw two new steamers, the "Bay City" and "Fountain City," placed on the Oshkosh and Green Bay route. They were of the same size, each 130 feet long and 22 foot beam. They were built at Omro by E. A. Buck & Company, and were intended to connect with the propellers "Rocket" and "Comet," running between Buffalo and Green Bay in the interest of the New York Central Railroad. They did a successful freight and passenger business for three seasons, but when the Northwestern Railroad reached Ft. Howard they were put out of business, all passengers and freight going to Green Bay by rail. In 1864 the "Bay City" was taken to the Mississippi river. I have no further trace of her. In 1865, the "Fountain City" was sold to some southern people and taken down on the Red river, where she was sunk and abandoned that season.

In the spring of 1862 the side-wheel steamer "Union" was built at New London by Captain M. Stimpson, length 105 feet, beam 18 feet. She ran between Oshkosh and Berlin for one season and in 1863 she was taken to the Mississippi river, but later disappeared on some tributary to that river.

In 1862 a small steamboat was built at Neenah by Freeman Brown & Co. She was named the "H. P. Leavens," and was used on these waters for a short time and then taken to the Mississippi. Her name was changed to the "St. Paul," and in March, 1865, she was burned on the Hatchie river, Tennessee, under the following circumstances: The Mississippi had been opened for commerce on its eastern shore at the time, and the interior portion of the adjoining states had been swept bare of all kinds of merchandise and provisions by the contending forces, the smaller steam craft were taking desperate chances to supply the pressing needs of the interior inhabitants. The "St. Paul" (formerly the H. P. Leavens), the "Annie Everdon" and another small steamer (I have forgotten her name) started up the Hatchie river loaded with all kinds of merchandise. About forty miles up the Hatchie in the vicinity of Rialto they were captured by Nat Luxton's famous band of guerillas. The boats were looted of everything valuable and burned. The entire crews were murdered with the exception of one deck hand and a colored chambermaid, who managed to escape and made their way overland to Fort Randolph on the Mississippi river. I was serving on board the United States Gunboat "Siren,"

Acting Master James Fitzpatrick commanding, and we were lying at Fort Randolph, when those two refugees came on board and told their horrible tale. We immediately got under way and conducted them to Memphis, Tennessee, where the matter was reported to General Washburne, who ordered seven companies of a colored regiment of cavalry to proceed up river and capture or drive the guerrillas out of the state. The "Siren" convoyed them to Fort Randolph, where they were disembarked and deployed by companies and started inland. The second day after they had started out one of the squads returned, having captured the famous guerilla crief. He was found alone in a farm house practically helpless on account of sickness and surrendered without any show of resistance. He was imprisoned on the bow of one of the transport barges and two of the cavalry men placed on guard. The "Siren" lay alongside of the barge and our men could stand outside the casemating and be within ten feet of the prisoner, no objections being raised by the guards or our own officers we talked freely with him until the return of General Osborne with the rest of the force. Upon the return of General Osborne a drum-head court martial was immediately convened and in less than an hour the trial was concluded and the prisoner was sentenced to be hung. The sentence was promptly executed and the body remained suspended from a cottonwood tree for two days, when two of his sisters arrived on the packet "Graham" with a permit from General Washburne to get possession of the remains. It was a terrible sight for those two young ladies, and their grief was pitiable to behold.

The side-wheel towboat "Portage" was built at Eureka in 1862. She was intended to be used for towing barges between Green Bay and Portage, commanded by Captain Clint Stevens. She was owned by the Portage Steamboat Company. She was sold to the United States Engineering Department and used on the improvement of the Wisconsin river. In 1891 she was purchased from the United States Engineering Department by Talbot, of Berlin, Wisconsin, and placed on the route between Oshkosh and Berlin, and in 1898 was hauled out at Berlin and dismantled.

In the winter of 1864-1865 the side-wheel steamer "Northwestern" was built at Winneconne by Captain John Lynch, Ruben Doud and Tom Wall. She was placed on the route between Oshkosh and New London under command of Captain Jack Anson

and continued in that trade until she was abandoned in the fall of 1883.

During the spring of 1863 the side-wheel towboat "76" was built at Berlin. She was eighty feet long and twenty foot beam. She was later sold to Captain Stimpson of New London, was hauled out and lengthened and her name changed to "A. N. Lincoln," and then ran on the Fox river route. In the summer of 1863 she was rebuilt and named the "E. P. Weston." In the spring of 1869 she was put on the route between Montello and Berlin on the Fox river in connection with the St. Paul Railroad. In the fall of 1886 she was abandoned as worthless and her machinery placed on the barge "Bismarck," and this craft was then called the "T. S. Chitterton." In the fall of 1888, the "Chitterton" was abandoned and the same machinery was transferred to the hull of the steamer "Leander Choate" that had been burned. This craft was placed in commission in 1869, and was called the "C. S. Morris."

The side-wheel steamer "L. W. Barden" was built at Berlin in 1864 by the Portage Company for the purpose of towing barges in that company's lumber trade. She was about ninety-five feet long, twenty foot beam. In 1868 she was sold to Webster & Lawson, of Menasha and her name changed to "P. V. Lawson." She was employed in the lumber trade for several years, and was then sold and taken to Dubuque, Iowa.

The side-wheel steamer "Winnebago," 130 feet long, 25 foot beam, was built at Green Bay by J. F. Kirkland in 1865, and was placed under the command of Captain James Brooks, and in 1867 she was purchased by the Lake & Railroad Transportation Company, and came out commanded by Captain E. M. Neff. She was later purchased by W. Hart of Green Bay, and in 1879 she was condemned as a steamer and her hull made into a barge.

In 1865 the boating firm of Neff & Leach built the stern-wheel steamer "Brooklyn," 135 feet long and 28 foot beam, and under the command of Captain W. W. Neff, ran from Oshkosh to Green Bay. In 1867 the "Brooklyn" started on an experimental trip with a cargo of coal and other merchandise from Green Bay to St. Paul. She left Green Bay June 4, and arrived at St. Paul June 16. Taking on a return cargo she arrived in Green Bay June 22, making the first and only round trip ever made between those two ports. In 1873 she was sold to McKenzie & Crawford, and was put on the route between Oshkosh and

Green Bay, under the command of Captain John Crawford, and in 1883 she was dismantled and her machinery placed in a new steamer built by the same firm and named the "Evelyn."

In 1865 the side-wheel steamer "L. W. Crane" was built at Berlin by McArthur & Co. She was 100 feet long, 20 foot beam, had two boilers and two engines that were geared to main shaft at the ratio of two and one-half to one. In 1886 she was purchased by a stock company and taken over onto the Allegheny river. She returned to the Mississippi river and was used there for towing logs under the ownership of Abner Conro of Oshkosh. She was brought back to this city in 1874, and in the summer of 1880, whilst she was laid up in the St. Paul R. R. slip at Oshkosh, she caught fire and burned to the water's edge.

In the winter of 1866-1867 the side-wheel steamer "Tigress" was built at New London, 115 feet long and 20 foot beam, and went into commission on the Wolf river route, commanded by Captain M. Stimpson. She was purchased by the Wolf River Transportation Company and came out the next spring in charge of Captain Tom Golden. The "Tigress" and "Northwestern" formed a daily line between Oshkosh and New London for several years. The "Tigress" was dismantled in 1873 and her machinery was placed in a new stern-wheel steamer named the "Tom Wall."

In 1865 a steamboat about eighty foot keel, sixteen foot beam was built at North Port on the Wolf river by Reuben Doud and J. P. Morse & Co. She was first named "Reuben Doud" without that gentleman's knowledge or consent. When he first saw his name painted on the paddle box of this nondescript he was furious and immediately ordered the name erased or the boat destroyed. He did not care a —— which. The name was changed to "Montello" and she was run on the upper Fox river as a passenger and towboat under the command of Captain Elias Peterson. In 1874 she was dismantled and her machinery placed on the barge "Bismarck." The hull was sold to Captain Robert Booth and by him rebuilt and made into a side-wheel pile driver, and has been in commission from that time up to the present date, 1908.

In 1867 the Lake & R. T. Co. built a large barge as a consort for the steamer "Portage." This barge was later transformed into a twin screw propeller named "Cornucopia." She came out the next summer under the command of Captain Sam Neff. In 1873 she was purchased by the United States Engi-

neering Department, remodeled somewhat and her name changed to the "Crawford." In 1879 she was condemned and her hull converted into a barge.

In 1867 the stern-wheel steamer "Lumberman" was built at Oshkosh by the late Senator Philetus Sawyer and Captain Barney Dougherty. She was 130 feet long, 22 foot beam, and built for the purpose of boating lumber from Oshkosh to Fond du Lac. In the spring of 1871 she was taken onto the upper Mississippi and remained there.

In 1868 the stern-wheel steam barge "Energy" was built at Winneconne by Wall & Williams. She was 135 feet long and 26 foot beam and came out commanded by Captain Mike Golden as a general freighter. In 1872 she was converted into a tow barge and her machinery was placed on the "Lady Allender."

In 1869 the stern-wheel steamer "Northport Belle" was built at Northport on the Wolf river. She was 120 feet long and 24 foot beam, intended as a heavy freight boat. In 1882 her hull had become worthless. She was then stripped of her machinery and abandoned.

The stern-wheel steamer "Island City" was built in 1868 by Plummer & Moulton at Menasha. She came out in May of that year under the command of Captain Hollis Thurston. She was 124 feet long and 24 foot beam. She was put on the Menasha and east shore route of Lake Winnebago and remained on that route until 1872, and then sold to Day & Cook and was put on the route between Oshkosh and Clifton on the east shore under the command of Captain W. W. Neff. In 1877 she was dismantled and her machinery placed in the new boat "B. F. Carter." The hull of the "Island City" was later fitted up with machinery, and in 1882 was taken over on the Mississippi.

The side-wheel steamer "Milwaukee" was built at Winneconne by the Wolf River Transportation Company in 1869. She was 115 feet in length, 22 foot beam and was intended to run in connection with the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul R. R. Co. from Winneconne to Gill's Landing on the Wolf river. She was in charge of Captain Stimpson. In 1872 she was transferred to the route between Oshkosh and New London under the command of Captain Tom Golden, and remained on that line until the fall of 1884. She was then stripped of her machinery and her hull made into a barge.

The side-wheel tugboat "L. P. Sheldon" was built at Oshkosh in 1869. She was 90 feet long and 18 foot beam and came

out commanded by a son of the owner, Captain Ed Sheldon. She was lengthened out and had a cabin built on her in 1871, and ran for a while in connection with the S. and F. R. R. Later she established a route between Oshkosh, Neenah, Menasha and the east shore of Lake Winnebago. She was sold to some Fond du Lac parties, and by them sold and taken to Green Bay and her name changed to the "City of Styles." She was finally abandoned in 1884.

In 1871 the side-wheel steamer "Diamond," 120 feet long, 17 foot beam, was built at Oshkosh by Morse & Paige. She was placed on the Berlin route on the Fox river and on the 22d of June that same year her upper works were burned down to her main deck. New upper works were built on the hull and she came out again that fall. In 1878 she was laid up and her machinery was taken out and sold to Captain Hart of Green Bay, and her hull was sold to Captain Sam Neff, who placed the machinery of his steam barge "76" into her and she came out under the name of "76." In the fall of 1879 she was remodeled into a propeller and the next season she was purchased by Lew and John Day and placed in the wood and lumber trade from Chambers Island on Green Bay. She changed owners several times and finally, under the ownership of W. L. Miller, of Winneconne, she was stripped of her machinery and her hull mad into a barge.

The twin screw steamer "Abel Neff," 90 foot keel, 16 foot beam, with two boilers and two engines 10x12 inches, was built in Oshkosh in 1871. She came out in the fall under the command of Captain Jim Stanton. In the fall of 1872 she was taken to Green Bay. She continued to run on the waters of Green Bay for several seasons, and was then sold and taken to Isle Royale in Lake Superior to run from that island to the mainland, and was wrecked on Island Royale in 1885.

The "Flora Webster," a double-wheel propeller, was built at Menasha by Webster & Lawson in 1871. She was 125 feet long, 29 foot beam, had one boiler, four engines 9x12 and two hoisting engines 6x8. She was built for the purpose of transporting logs and heavy timber from upriver to their mill at Menasha. In 1875 she was taken to Ft. Howard and sold. McKinzie & Crawford later on became her owners, and in 1880 they sold her to Burnham & Son of Milwaukee. She was then hauled out at Green Bay and rebuilt, being very much enlarged and then taken to Milwaukee. Finding her steam-power insufficient she was put

in dry dock and again rebuilt and changed into a single wheel propeller and new boilers and engines of greater power placed on board. Several years later she burned at the McCormick docks at Green Bay.

In 1872 the steamer "Lady Allender" was built at Belle Plains on the Wolf river. She was 80 feet long, 18 foot beam and was fitted out with the machinery taken out of the steam barge "Energy." She was put on the route between New London and Shawano, commanded by Captain Tom Allender. In 1877 she was sold to the Trow Brothers of Eureka, and her name changed to "Isabella" and run from Oshkosh to Berlin. In 1878 she was taken onto the Illinois river.

The double-wheel propeller "Neptune" was built at Oshkosh in 1872. She was 137 feet long and 28 foot beam. She came out under the command of Captain Herman Hitz, and was put on the route between Oshkosh and the east shore of Lake Winnebago in the brick and stone trade, and sold to the Green Bay Iron Company in 1873, after being rebuilt by that company, and used in the iron ore trade between Escanaba and Depere, her name was changed to "W. L. Brown." In 1886, whilst bound from Escanaba to Depere loaded with iron ore, she sprung a leak and sunk just north of Sturgeon Bay in about eighty feet of water. She was commanded by Captain F. W. Stafford at the time.

The stern-wheel steamer "Tom Wall" was built at Winneconne by the Wolf River Transportation Company in 1873. She was 126 feet long and 24 foot beam and was supplied with machinery from the steamer "Tigress" and came out with Captain Jack Anson in charge on the Wolf river route. The "Wall" proved too expensive for this route, and in 1877 she was laid up and was replaced by the new steamer "John Lynch." The "Wall" was later chartered by Captains Sam and W. W. Neff and remained in commission for excursion business. Finally, being purchased by parties from Fremont and employed in the wood trade, under command of Captain Mike Golden. She was snagged and sunk on the Wolf river on August 2, 1888. Her machinery was recovered, but the hull remained a total wreck.

The stern-wheel steamer "Edna" was built in Oshkosh in 1873, by the United States Engineering Department. She was 115 feet long and 20 foot beam. In 1876 she was fitted with new and larger machinery, and her name was changed to "Neenah." She was commanded by Captain Barney Dougherty.

After several years' service for the Government she was condemned and dismantled.

The stern-wheel steamer "76," owned by Captain Sam Neff, had been made over from a barge bought from the Appleton Iron Furnace Company. She was 110 feet long and 30 foot beam. The "76" did general freighting for some years and was dismantled and reduced to a tow barge for Captain Neff's new tug "Ajax."

The stern-wheel steamer "John Lynch" was built at Oshkosh in 1877, by Captain John Lynch and Tom Wall. She was 115 foot keel and 18 foot beam, and ran from Oshkosh to New London. In 1883 she was purchased by L. B. Reed to run from Oshkosh to Tustin on Lake Poygan. In 1885 the Lynch was sold to Clark & Lefevre and run on the same route under the command of Captain Paul Lefevre, and on May 2, 1902, she was burned to the water's edge in Lake Poygan near the mouth of the Wolf river.

The stern-wheel steamer "B. F. Carter" was built at Oshkosh by the Cook & Brown Lime Company in 1877. Her length over all is 125 feet, breadth of beam 24 feet. She was built by this company to run between Oshkosh and the east shore freighting lime, brick and stone from their quarries on the east shore to Oshkosh. She came out under the command of Captain Herman Hitz, and he remained in continuous command for twenty-eight years, when the veteran Captain retired from service by reason of age. The "Carter" has been rebuilt several times and is still in active service, always being the first steamboat to get under way in the spring and the last boat to be laid up in the fall.

The stern-wheel steamer "Gussie Girdon," built at Burlington, Iowa, came over on these waters and ran between Berlin and Portage for one season, then purchased by H. Steadman, of Berlin, and run between Oshkosh and Berlin. In 1880 she was hauled out at Berlin and dismantled.

The steamer "K. M. Hutchinson" was remodeled from a barge in 1880, and converted into a stern-wheel boat, 118 feet long 22 foot beam. In 1886 she was hauled out and lengthened to 135 feet over all, and run on the Oshkosh and Green Bay route, under the command of her owner, Captain Bangs. A series of misfortunes attended her career. She was sunk a number of times and once was beached near Fond du Lac and on August

31, 1895, she was burned to the water's edge just below Lake Poygan.

The twin screw steamer "Ossian Cook" was built at Oshkosh in 1880 by the Cook & Brown Lime Company. She was 115 feet long and 24 foot beam, commanded by Captain Frank Schlissing, and was used by the Cook & Brown Company in their lime and stone business between Oshkosh and the east shore until 1895, when she was abandoned as worthless.

The stern-wheel steamer "Fashion" was built at Berlin, in 1881, by H. Steadman. She was 110 feet long, 20 foot beam and was fitted out with machinery taken out of the "Gussie Girdon" and then placed on the Oshkosh and Berlin route, and remained on this route for a number of seasons, and was finally sold to the Clark & Lefevre Company, and by them used on various routes wherever business demanded. She was sold to the Oshkosh Steamboat Company in the spring of 1908.

The propeller barge "Sam Neff" was built at Oshkosh by Captain Sam Neff in 1881. She was 140 feet long and 30 foot beam, and was supplied with machinery taken out of the tug "Ajax." She was run on these waters for one season and then taken onto Lake Michigan by Captain Neff, and ran there several seasons. She was transferred to several different owners, and the last known of her she was owned in Cleveland, Ohio, and was used in the sand trade on Lake Erie.

The stern-wheel steamer "Evelyn" was built in 1883 by McKinzie & Crawford. She was 143 feet long, 28 foot beam, and supplied with machinery taken out of the steamer "Brooklyn," and under the command of Captain John Crawford, was placed in the coal trade between Oshkosh and Green Bay. She was overhauled and rebuilt in 1898, and came out commanded by Captain Mike Golden. She was later sold to the Oshkosh Steamboat Company, and in the fall of 1907 she was dismantled of her machinery and her hull is to be used as a hunting lodge on the marsh at the head of Lake Butte des Morts.

The side-wheel steamer "Leander Choate" was built by Bergstresser and the Spaulding Brothers at Oshkosh in 1884. She was 132 feet long and 22 foot beam. She was intended for the Oshkosh and New London route and came out under the command of Captain Mike Golden. She was burned at Northport on the Wolf river July 19, 1888. Her hull was towed to Oshkosh and her machinery removed and the hull was then sold to

Nick Garrow, who rebuilt her upper works and placed the machinery of the old steamer "E. P. Weston" in her and named her the "C. S. Morris," commanded by Captain Nick Garrow. In 1899 she was sold to Bergstresser, of Fremont, and again overhauled and her name changed to "City of Fremont," under the command of Captain John Welta. She was at last worn out and abandoned.

The side-wheel steamer "O. B. Reed" was built at Oshkosh the winter of 1885, from a model designed by the noted yacht builder, Robert Brand. She was 118 feet long, 18½ foot beam and was supplied with the machinery taken out of the old "Northwestern." She was no doubt the speediest steamer ever on these waters. She came out in the spring of 1885, and ran from Oshkosh to Tustin, Freemont and the east shore of Lake Winnebago. In the fall of 1893 she was sold to go to Toledo, Ohio. Her name was changed to "Idler." She was sunk and abandoned at Toledo in 1896.

The propeller "M. E. Neff" was built at Oshkosh in 1887 for Captain Sam Neff. She was 140 feet long, 28 foot beam, and intended by Captain Neff for the big lakes, and sold as soon as completed to Chicago parties, her name changed to "Ida E."

The steam propeller "M. C. Neff" was built in Oshkosh by Captain Sam Neff in 1888, 141 feet long and 28 foot beam, built for the big lakes and when completed was taken there and added to the small fleet of boats owned by Captain Neff on those waters. Later she was sold to Chicago.

The stern-wheel steamer "W. B. Hopkins" was built at New London in 1899, 100 feet long and 18 foot beam. Her machinery was supplied from the tug "Eagle" that was originally the old tug "Fond du Lac." In 1890 she was sold to C. C. Paige and in 1894 was sold to Detroit, Michigan, and by them taken onto the St. Claire river.

The side-wheel steamer "Lefevre" was built at Oshkosh by Clark and Lefevre in 1901, and under the command of Captain Paul Lefevre, run on the Oshkosh and Lake Poygan route for several seasons. She was speedy and a reliable sea boat. In 1906 she was sold to D. E. Cleary and taken to Sandusky, Ohio.

The stern-wheel steamer "Paul Lefevre, known as the "Paul L.," was built at Oshkosh in 1907, by Clark & Lafevre. She was designed for and still is running on the Oshkosh and Lake Poygan route, commanded by Captain Paul Lefevre. She is

123 feet long and 22 foot beam, quite fast, seaworthy, and very suitable for the trade on these waters.

The stern-wheel steamer "Leander Choate" was built at Oshkosh by the Oshkosh Steamboat Company in 1908, is 146 feet long, 30 foot beam and 7 foot deep in the hold. This boat is the largest and best steamer on these waters. She was completed and put in service about May 1, 1908, under the command of Captain Mike Golden, on the Green Bay route, and will also be used in the excursion business.

The tugboat history of these waters is deserving of especial mention, inasmuch as the grouser tug was originally designed in this locality, flourished and grew up to perfection during the palmy days when the lumbering interests were paramount. The design of the grouser tug could hardly be improved upon when one takes into account the conditions and necessities of the business they were engaged in. They were built for the purpose of towing logs from the rafting place to the sawmills on the lower Wolf, Fox river and Lake Winnebago. This work was at first done with horse-power boats, but the lumbering interest soon increased beyond their capacity to handle and the grouser tug was developed.

The description of one tug will serve as a description of them all, as they were identical in design, except that some of the tugboats were larger and more powerful than others. The first steam tugboat built on these waters for the purpose of towing logs was named the "Active." She was built by Rudrick & Company, of Berlin, in 1854.

The grouser tug hull was usually from 80 to 100 feet in length and about 20 foot beam, and built very strong in order to withstand the strain while towing logs. On the forward deck was located what was known as the grouser box. This was built of oak timber and projected from about four feet above the main deck clear through the bottom of the hull, and it was of sufficient size to permit the grouser to pass through it freely. The grouser was made out of a stick of selected oak timber about forty-five feet in length and about twelve by sixteen inches diameter. The lower end was sharpened and a large iron shod point attached to it. A chain cable attached to the foot of the grouser passed up through the grouser box and then carried back through the hold of the vessel to a reel or spool operated by the machinery for the purpose of hoisting the grouser.

The machinery consisted of two engines connected at right angles to a short section of shafting located just forward of the main shaft and to which it was connected by a core wheel and pinion at the ratio of three to one. The main shaft was fitted with couplings so that either or both paddle wheels could be detached at will. The central portion of the main shaft was provided with a spool upon which was wound the tow line when towing logs. The tow line was heavy hemp cable about 2,000 feet long. The tug would run out the length of the tow line from the fleet of logs, then drop the grouser, the paddle wheels would then be uncoupled from the main shaft and the spool would then be engaged to the power shaft by a movable clutch and the tow line wound up on the spool by the engines. By this means a fleet of log rafts consisting of one and a half to 2,000,000 feet of lumber would be propelled at the rate of about three miles an hour in good weather. The grouser was a novelty to the steamboat inspectors inasmuch as it seemed to be a panacea for about all the troubles that a tugboat might be afflicted with.

The late James Guthrie, an old-time steamboat inspector, was examining Captain James Little, one of the early tugboat men, for a license. To nearly every question the inspector would ask, Captain Little would reply that he would drop the grouser. The inspector said, "You people seem to do everything with the grouser. What would you do if you were out in the lake in a storm and your fleet was drifting ashore?" "Drop the grouser and endeavor to hold it," replied Captain Little. "Yes," said the inspector. "Now, what would you do if your boat should spring a leak and commence sinking?" "Climb the grouser," promptly replied the Captain.

The list of tugboats that once plied these waters were at one time quite numerous, consisting of the "Active," "Johnny McClean," "Oshkosh," "Fond du Lac," "Huntress," "Winneconne," "Hercules," "M. D. Moore," "S. W. Hollister," and others. The decline of the lumbering interest has caused all of those tugboats to disappear except the "S. W. Hollister." Some were worn out and never rebuilt. The "Hercules" went to Florida. The "Active" went to the Mississippi river. The "Winneconne" was purchased by the Government and taken to Rock Island and used to work on the improvement of the rapids of the Mississippi and Wisconsin rivers. The "Johnny McClean" was taken to Oconto on Green Bay.

At the present date (1908) the "S. W. Hollister" is the only survivor of the once numerous fleet of grouser tugboats on these waters.

In conclusion, I desire to give credit for valuable data obtained from the late Captains W. W. and E. M. Neff, two of the earliest boatmen on these waters, for the very complete records kept by these two veteran boatmen.

L.

COMPLETE RECORD OF YACHTING, RACING AND YACHT CLUBS ON THE ADJACENT LAKES.

By

Robert Brand.

Deputy U. S. Revenue Collector.

"The object of yachting clubs is to promote seamanship and the improvement of sailing vessels."

For over 200 years the waters of Lake Winnebago had borne the bateaux of the voyagers and the durham boats of the traders. The first contest for speed between boats used for amusement and pleasure dates back half a century. The yacht "Mayflower," built in Menasha in 1859, by Noricong for Mr. Charles Doty, son of Governor Doty, was 20 foot water line, and had a great record as a racer. A yacht for D. J. Pulling, built in 1859, by Noricong, was 20 foot water line, modeled after the yacht "America," a ballast boat, was open for racing at all times. The "White Squall," owned by John Nugent, of Menasha, contended in these early races. "Petrel," built in Fond du Lac for Mr. Rowland, clerk in Foster Hotel in the early 60s, joined the sport. The yacht "Falcon," built at Fond du Lac for Joubert Brothers in the early 60s, afterwards bought by E. W. Viall and Charles Riordan, of Oshkosh, and sold to Ebenezer Stevens, of Neenah, long held the lead in races. Several boats were owned by parties in Oshkosh, who were in for racing at the drop of the hat.

In 1860 a yacht race took place off Oshkosh for a cup offered by citizens, open to all comers. Three boats from Green Bay, owned by John Williams, Samuel Neff and Hank Johnston. The race started in a northeast gale and was won by a Green Bay boat of the deep ballasted type.

The war, with its excitements, put an end to racing for a time, but in 1865 racing was again in vogue at Neenah and Menasha between the "Falcon" and "Mayflower," racing captains being

E. A. Stevens, Davis and Jones, and others. In 1868 the yacht "Lady Maud," 22 foot water line, square tuck, was built for John H. and William H. Crawford (whose father, John Crawford, had owned a racing yacht in Toronto, Canada, of the deep cutter type, where the sons had acquired their love of the sport.) She was tried out at Neenah at a race between the "Falcon" and "Mayflower." Start was from outside the lighthouse, Menasha to a buoy off Clifton, then to Garlic Island and return to Neenah buoy, running down the wind to Clifton under all light canvas. The yachts were suddenly struck by a thunder squall from the northwest, requiring in some cases lowering of all sails and close reefing to work off the Clifton shore, the rain falling in sheets, so that the boats could not see each other nor the east buoy. The next move was to work out and try for a lee under the island. The boats, under snug reefs, gradually made the lee of the island as the sun broke through the clouds. The race was declared off, not finding the eastern buoy.

1869. During the winter, Commodore Dodd and Captain Dudley, of Fond du Lac, had a yacht built by Pierce Brothers, of Boston, to represent Fond du Lac, which proved a very fast, seaworthy boat for both racing and cruising. The spirit of yachting gained strength under the leadership of Col. H. B. Harshaw, John Hancock, E. W. Viall, Judge Burnell and a host of others, including Charles W. Felker.

The Oshkosh Yacht Club was organized, with H. B. Harshaw as Commodore.

Racing between the "Falcon," of Neenah, E. A. Stevens, Captain; "Mayflower," of Menasha; "Daisy," of Fond du Lac, Commodore Dodd, skipper Captain Dudley; "Lady Maud," of Oshkosh, W. H. Crawford, skipper, were held at Neenah, Oshkosh and Fond du Lac during this season for cups, spy glasses and pennants.

1870. During this year a regatta was held at Oshkosh on July 4, in which the "Falcon," of Neenah; "Daisy," of Fond du Lac, and "Lady Maud," of Oshkosh, were the competitors for champion pennant of Lake Winnebago, which was won by the "Lady Maud." On September 15, a meeting of the O. Y. C. was called to meet at the office of John Hancock, for the purpose of reorganizing the Yacht Club, at which a constitution, by-laws and sailing regulations were adopted. At the annual election the following officers were elected: Commodore, J. Hancock; vice-commodore, H. B. Harshaw; secretary, N. M. Strong;

treasurer and measurer, Robert Brand. The constitution was signed by fourteen members present.

At this meeting it was resolved that this O. Y. C. have a regatta in October during the county fair, and committees appointed to superintend the same. The Commodore's pennant won by "Lady Maud" in the Fourth of July regatta, was presented to Capt. W. H. Crawford, of "Lady Maud," the winner of the second annual regatta of the O. Y. C. Invitations were extended to the Madison Yacht Club and to owners of yachts in Neenah, Menasha, Winneconne and Fond du Lac to attend our fall regatta on October 6, 1870, at which regatta the "Daisy," Captain Dudley, of Fond du Lac, was the winner on time allowance.

During this year many new boats of the 22 foot and 18 foot water line were built at the cities on the lake and a large fleet participated in the above races.

1871. At the first meeting of the O. Y. C., March 16, 1871, it was resolved that the club have three regattas and two cruises during the summer. First Commodore's cruise was to commence on May 31, leave Oshkosh at 10 a. m., sail to Neenah and Menasha, stopping at Garlic Island en route, camping at Neenah Park, joined by the Neenah and Menasha fleet; June 1, sailed to Clifton, and down the east shore to Stockbridge, at which place the yachts had to be beached on account of a thunder squall from the northwest, making a lee shore. The night was passed with song and story in the warehouse. June 2, morning clear, the rays of the morning sun gilded the steeples across the lake in Oshkosh with a blaze of glory. Cruised to Fond du Lac and along the west shore of the lake and camped for the night at Morley's Point, where, on the morning of June 3, the cruise broke ranks, each squadron going to their home station, and ending one of the most enjoyable times ever known on Lake Winnebago—so declared by visitors from Madison, Milwaukee and Chicago.

On June 12, the O. Y. C. held their annual meeting, at which the following officers were duly elected: Commodore, H. B. Harshaw; vice-commodore, Robert Brand; secretary, H. E. Rounds; treasurer, Louis Bridge. The thanks of the O. Y. C. were tendered to Commodore Ashbury, of the English contesting yacht for the Queen's Cup, for the beautiful photograph of his yacht "Cambria" tendered through M. C. Woolett, of Chicago.

It was resolved that the Fourth of July be set for the annual

regatta, and that all yachts in the state under 28 foot water line and all professional yachtsmen be invited to participate. Prizes offered were: First prize for first class boats, $50.00; second prize, for first class boats, $25.00; prize for second class boats, $25.00.

The Commodore and Vice-Commodore of the Madison Yacht Club were elected honorary members. Judges for regatta were Matt. Lancaster, J. H. Porter and G. M. Paine. Yachts entered for regatta: First class, "Daisy," of Fond du Lac, Capt. Dudley; "H. B. Harshaw," Oshkosh, Capt. R. Brand; "Lady Maud," Oshkosh, Capt. W. H. Crawford; second class, "K. M. Hutchinson," Oshkosh, for owner, E. A. Stevens; "Dauntless," Oshkosh, for owner, C. Christiansen.

Judges awarded prizes as follows: First prize to "Daisy," of Fond du Lac; second prize to "Lady Maud," of Oshkosh; second class prize to "Dauntless," of Oshkosh.

By request of the Madison Yacht Club, the yacht "Harshaw," 18 foot, was sent to Madison, accompanied by a large number of members to participate in their regatta on August 9, 1871; the "Harshaw," of Oshkosh, winning the first prize of $40.00 in light airs. The Madison boys said she must have had a screw underneath her to go so fast in a calm sail. All the boys reported having had a splendid time with the boys of the Madison Yacht Club.

Tuesday, August 29, 1871, was set for Fall regatta, at which time cups valued at $15.00 and $10.00 each were put up as prizes and won by "Lady Maud," and the "Nautilus," Capt. W. W. Tolman.

1872. Annual Commodore's cruise commenced on the 12th of June. Yachts and owners from Winneconne, Fond du Lac, Neenah, Menasha, Madison and Green Bay participated. Sailing south, stopped at Long Point for lunch; sailing to Pipe Creek, camped first night. Second day: sailing down the east shore, lunched at Clifton; cruised to Doty's Island and camped for the night. Third day: cruised to Garlic Island and lunched. Each squadron sailed for home, ending a three days' cruise—one of the enjoyable times of our lives, never to be forgotten. During these cruises, squadron sailing by signal, the different evolutions were performed in splendid form, doing credit to Winnebago yachtsmen.

At the annual meeting of the O. Y. C., held June 2, 1872, the following officers were elected: Commodore, H. B. Harshaw;

vice-commodore, Robert Brand; fleet captain, A. M. Horr; secretary, Charles Christiansen; treasurer, H. B. Jackson; measurer, E. A. Stevens.

The O. Y. C. resolved to hold their fourth annual regatta to be sailed at Fond du Lac on July 4, 1872. The committee of arrangements at Fond du Lac having made arrangements for the club to participate in the procession, and, having a large yacht, mounted on wheels, the O. Y. C. manned the yacht in full uniform, making a fine appearance which was greatly appreciated by the citizens of Fond du Lac. At 1:30 p. m., the following boats were at the starting line: First class: "Daisy," of Fond du Lac; "Penequa," "Maud" and "Harshaw," of Oshkosh; "Minnie Graves," of Menasha. Second class: "K. M. Hutchinson" and "Dauntless," of Oshkosh; "Shoo Fly," "Fairy" and "Belle," of Fond du Lac.

On account of calm, start was delayed until 2.30 p. m. The wind being light and flukey, the "Harshaw" got the lead, rounding the first buoy in advance and maintaining the lead during the race, making the twelve-mile course in 3h. 50m., winning the silk pennant and $40.00 for first prize. The second class "Dauntless" made the twelve miles in 3h. 56m., winning second class prize of $20.00. "Maud," first class, made the course in 3h. 54m., winning second prize in first class. The "K. M. Hutchinson," second class, won second prize of $10.00 in 3h. 54m. Squadron sailed for home, ending a very enjoyable outing.

At the second regatta of the O. Y. C., held August 22, 1872, the following yachts were entered: First class: "Minnie Graves," of Menasha; "Penequa," "Maud" and "Harshaw," of Oshkosh; "Daisy," of Fond du Lac. Second class: "Dauntless" and "K. M. Hutchinson," of Oshkosh; "Shoo Fly" and "Gen. Grant," of Fond du Lac. Start was made at 3:25 p. m. "Penequa" rounded the home buoy in 2h. 45m., twelve-mile course; "Maud" made the course in 2h. 47m. 18s.; "Daisy" in 2h. 49m. 30s. "Penequa" won first prize, "Daisy" second prize on time allowance over "Maud," and "Dauntless" won first prize in second class. This regatta was one of the most exciting races yet held on Lake Winnebago. After the yachts came into the harbor, the club and their guests were escorted to the Revere House for refreshments. The "Penequa" won the challenge silver cup held by the "Daisy," and $20.00 in money. The "Daisy" won

second money, $15.00; the "Dauntless" won the challenge silver cup and $15.00 in money.

1873. Rufus B. Kellogg, of Green Bay, offered a cash prize of $200.00 for first class yachts to be sailed for at the fifth annual regatta of 1873. Annual election of O. Y. C. was held June 2, 1873, and the following officers were elected for the ensuing year: Commodore, H. B. Harshaw; vice-commodore, Gib. Lane; fleet captain, A. M. Horr; measurer, Louis Bridge; treasurer, Wm. P. Taylor; secretary, R. E. Daniels.

The third annual cruise was set for June 10, 1873; general camping place to be at Garlic Island, from which place cruises were made daily, making another of the bright spots on memory's page, joined in by the effects from Fond du Lac, Winneconne, Neenah, Menasha and Green Bay, and guests from Milwaukee and Madison.

The Oshkosh Yacht Club raised $200 to be distributed for other prizes, the Kellogg prize being first prize for first class yachts. The following yachts were entered for same: First class, "Daisy," of Fond du Lac; "Minnie Graves," of Menasha; "H. B. Harshaw," of Green Lake; "Maud," "Peerless" and "Penequa," of Oshkosh. Second class, "Liberty," of Fond du Lac; "Mayflower," of Neenah; "Dauntless," "Foam," "Grant" and "White Cap," of Oshkosh. Elapsed time in making the twelve-mile course is as follows: "Minnie Graves," Menasha, 2h. 29m. 35s., first prize $200 and pennant; "Penequa," Oshkosh, 2h. 34m. 25s., second prize $100; "Peerless," Oshkosh, 2h. 38m. 30s., third prize $50; "Harshaw," Green Lake, 2h. 47m. 4s. Second class, "Dauntless," Oshkosh, 2h. 47m. 25s., first prize $50; "Liberty," Fond du Lac, 3h. 12m. 11s., second prize $15. Prizes were distributed at the club rooms, followed by refreshments at the Revere House. The attendance at this race from yachting centers was large and the greatest enthusiasm prevailed. Several races at Neenah closed the season of 1873.

1874. At the annual meeting of the O. Y. C., April 1, 1874, the following officers were elected: Commodore, H. B. Harshaw; vice-commodore, Gib. Lane; fleet captain, Robert Brand; secretary, John Hancock; treasurer, E. W. Vaill; measurer, Louis Bridge.

Committees appointed and commodore's cruise set for June 10, 1874. This cruise sailed for Garlic island, making that place their camping ground for the three days' cruise, from

which place races were held each day with camp fires burning at night, with song and story and good fellowship, participated in by all the yachts and yachtsmen on the lake and guests from distant cities.

July 4, 1874, the Neenah Yacht Club put up prizes for regatta to be sailed in the bay over the Neenah Club's course. The day was beautiful and there was a large attendance of excursion steamers. The race started at 2 p. m., standing for Clifton buoy. When well down this course a thunder squall from the northwest came down and enveloped the yachts, which were covered with light sails, each yacht carrying on until the last moment when lost to view from the judges' steamer by the rain. Old seamen were astonished when the squall cleared to see the yachts under close-reefed canvas, showing fine seamanship. Race won by "Albatross." Resolutions of thanks were passed to the Neenah Yacht Club and the ladies of Neenah for their hospitalities during the Fourth of July regatta.

The sixth annual regatta was held on August 26, 1874. The following boats were entered: First class, "Daisy," Fond du Lac, elapsed time of race; "Gypsie," Fond du Lac; "Albatross," Neenah, 3h. 12m. 30s.; "Minnie Graves," Menasha, 3h. 12m.; "Penequa," Oshkosh, 3h. 5m., first prize $60 and champion pennant; "Maud," Oshkosh, 3h. 11m.; "Peerless," Oshkosh, 3h. 10m., third prize $25; "Niobe," 3h. 6m. 30s., second prize $40. Second class "Foam," Oshkosh, and "Woodcock," Fond du Lac, did not finish.

A race for the commodore's challenge cup held by the yacht "Penequa," challenged by yacht "Niobe," sailed September 3, 1874. Race started at 2:37 p. m. "Niobe" upset at home buoy first time around. "Penequa" completed the race of twelve miles in 2h. 38m. 30s., "Penequa" still retaining the cup.

1875. O. Y. C. reëlected same officers for 1875. The annual cruise commenced June 2, 1875, with headquarters and camps at Garlic island. Racing, baseball and other athletic sports were indulged in.

Mr. M. W. Lancaster, of Oshkosh, offered a cup prize to be known as the "Lancaster prize cup" for first class yachts, to be won three times in succession to retain the prize. August 10 the annual regatta was sailed, at which prizes were offered as follows: First prize, $40 and Lancaster cup; second prize, $35. Second class boats, first prize, $25. Races for the challenge cups filled out the year 1875.

1876. The following officers were elected in the O. Y. C.: Commodore, H. B. Harshaw; vice-commodore, G. W. Burnell; secretary, John Hancock; fleet captain, John Dickinson; treasurer, Frank Heilig; measurer, S. P. Gary.

Mr. Edwin Clifford offered a cup to be sailed for during the regatta season of 1876. M. W. Lancaster also offered two cups to be sailed for during the season of 1876. A regatta was held on July 4, which was declared off by the judges on account of violation of rules, etc. Commodore's cruise and challenge cup races filled out the season of 1876.

1877. April 16 the O. Y. C. elected the following officers for the ensuing year: Commodore, H. B. Harshaw; vice-commodore, J. H. Porter; fleet captain, Robert Brand; secretary, R. P. Finney; treasurer, Frank Heilig; measurer, S. P. Gary.

June 19, on invitation of Commodore Henry, Neenah Yacht Club, the O. Y. C. joined in cruise, which was held in due form. Invitations were issued by the O. Y. C. to the Milwaukee, Chicago, Neenah, Fond du Lac and Green Bay Yacht clubs to participate in our July 4 regatta over yacht club course at foot of Washington street. Yachts competing were: First class, "D. J. Pulling," actual time 1h. 42m. 5s., corrected time 1h. 42m. 8s., second price; "Maud," actual time 1h. 54m. 53s., corrected time 1h., 48m. 24s.; "Penequa," actual time 1h. 42m. 50s., corrected time 1h. 38m. 28s., first prize. Second class, "Daisy," actual time 1h. 44m. 55s., corrected time 1h. 44m. 55s., first prize; "Madeline," actual time 1h. 56m. 25s., corrected time 1h. 55m. 42s., second prize; "Pilot," actual time 2h. 2m. 47s.; "Sapho," actual time 1h. 57m. 19s., corrected time 1h. 56m. 38s.

On July 6 a regatta was held for the purpose of giving the "Lucy," of the Chicago Yacht Club, a chance to try her speed with the Lake Winnebago yachts of her size. The following yachts entered the twelve-mile course: "Penequa," Oshkosh, actual time 1h. 58m. 29s.; "Niobe," Oshkosh, actual time 2h. 3s.; "Maud," Oshkosh, actual time 2h. 11m. 25s.; "Myra Bell," Neenah, actual time 2h. 3m. 36s.; "Albatross," Fond du Lac, actual time 2h. 27m.; "Lucy," Chicago, actual time 2h. 15m. 2s. Second class for challenge cup, "Sapho," short course, 2h. 4m. 41s.; "Pilot," short course, 2h. 3m. 59s.; "Madeline," short course, 2h. 8m. 30s. "Penequa" won first prize. "Pilot" won challenge cup second time. August 9, 1877, the annual regatta with same yachts participating. The yacht "D. J. Pulling" won large class pennant, the "Penequa" second class pennant

and "Lancaster" challenge cup. The "Sapho" won third class pennant and Clifford challenge cup held by yacht "Pilot."

April 1, 1878. The following officers were elected by the O. Y. C. for the ensuing year: Commodore, G. W. Burnell; vice-commodore, George F. Stroud; fleet captain, John Dickenson; secretary, R. P. Finney; treasurer, Frank Heilig; measurer, S. P. Gary.

May 22 the commodore's cruise started from yacht dock at 9 a. m., sailing to Morley's point to meet Fond du Lac fleet, in command of Commodore Dodd. The three days' cruise was very enjoyable and called at all the points of interest on each shore, and Neenah and Menasha joined by their squadron, under Commodore Henry. Cruise ended at Garlic island—another of those happy times that makes life enjoyable.

June 26 the steamer "Lady Franklin," Capt. P. V. Lawson, Menasha, was secured to tow the fleet of the Chicago Yacht Club, under the command of Commodore Munger, from Green Bay to Oshkosh. The fleet was met by the squadron from Neenah, Fond du Lac and Oshkosh. The cruising of the week was participated in by the Oshkosh Yacht Club as host, in which the following yachts participated: O. Y. C., Commodore G. W. Burnell—"Flora," "D. J. Pulling," "Athena," "Restless," "Venaroth," "Niobe," "Carrie Morgan," "Beatrice," "Madeline," "Goodenough," "Peerless," "Penequa," "Sapho," "Vulcan," "S. M. Hay," "Anna Lee," and "Mackinaw." Chicago Yacht Club, Commodore Munger—"Cora," "Lucy" and "Goodenough." Neenah Yacht Club, Commodore Henry—"Myra Bell" and "Minnie Graves," Menasha. Fond du Lac Yacht Club, Commodore Dodd—"Daisy," "Albatross" and "Sylvia." The week was spent in cruising, the squadron sailing by signal, each squadron forming column and the different evolutions, making the finest yachting display ever seen on inland waters. Dances and general entertainments were given at the different cities visited, making one continuous round of entertainment. The O. Y. C. was escorted to Menasha on its return and "Come Again" was signaled from the flagship.

The annual regatta sailed August 20, 1878, was won by the yacht "Carrie Morgan," at which time she won the Lancaster prize and pennant for the first time. On October 9, 1878, the "Carrie Morgan" was challenged by the fleet for the Lancaster

prize, the "Carrie Morgan" winning the cup the second time in succession.

1879. April 7 the following officers for the O. Y. C. were duly elected: Commodore, G. W. Burnell; vice-commodore, George F. Stroud; fleet captain, John Dickenson; secretary, Frank Clark; treasurer, Frank Heilig; measurer, S. P. Gary.

The commodore's cruise began on the 4th day of June, invitations having been sent to all yacht clubs to join. The camp was at Garlic Island and each day's program was made and carried out from the island.

A regatta was held on June 18 during the editorial convention, at which all the yachts on the lake were at the start, which, with the large fleet of steam yachts and steamers, made a feast for the eyes of the visitors. Annual regatta was sailed July 23 for money, prizes and pennants, joined in by the Neenah and Fond du Lac clubs. The Geneva Club extended an invitation to Lake Winnebago yachtsmen to compete at their regatta, which was open to all yachts twenty-six foot water line and under. The yacht "Niobe," Captain Dickenson, was sent to represent the O. Y. C. The night before the race after the "Niobe" was brought to the water and ready for launching in the morning, the Chicago and Geneva experts viewed the "Niobe" before selling pools. Capt. John Prindeville and Bussey thought Oshkosh must have poor judgment to send such a tub to compete with "Pat" McGehan's crack yachts, New York winners, and bought on the records made by them as racers. Also the Chicago yacht "Goodenough," a fine lined yacht and larger, seemed to be too fast for the Oshkosh tub, as the "Niobe" was dubbed at the sale of pools. The "Niobe" did not get an honorable mention from anyone except Commodore H. B. Harshaw. The "Niobe" was designed after the discovery by Froude's steam lines, and looked as if she would draw the lake after her with her low-lying bustle. Next morning before the regatta she was launched and was sailed over the course, which the Yacht Club had charted, in the form of a boot. Her sailing and work astonished the critics, as she seemed to handle so lively. The race started at 2 p. m. The Geneva cracks crossed the line, followed by the "Goodenough," of Chicago, manned by the yachting captains of Chicago Yacht Club, carrying all her kits and save-alls, and looked like a seventy-four under stun sails, the "Niobe" crossing last, letting the home yachts show the way. Time was taken for each yacht

from start to finish, correcting elapsed time. "Niobe" was carrying jib and main sails and spinaker; wind from southwest and very puffy on account of high shore, so the "Niobe" followed the procession so as to profit by the handling of the other yachts. It was soon apparent that the "Niobe" was gaining, the Geneva yachts luffing under the heavy puffs, while the "Niobe" slacked sheets and held her course. The "Niobe" kept to the leeward of the fleet and as we were passing the "Geneva" to leeward one of her crew, looking under the main sail dragging in the water, sung out, "See that tub from Oshkosh," the "Niobe" going by standing up like a church. After rounding at the heel of the boot and standing for the toe and gaining slightly on the "Goodenough," a heavy puff carried away the "Niobe" jib topsail, blowing the topsail into the water, which was quickly handled; as we were near the outer buoy we could not have carried it much farther; but the "Goodenough" carried gaff and jib topsail after rounding and going on the wind, which sagged her to leeward, and the "Niobe" soon crossed her bows on the windward tack. The "Niobe" ended eight minutes in the lead, winning the first prize. She also won first place in the second day's race. When the race was ended Capt. John Prindeville said he would have to unlearn all he ever knew of yacht designing, as the "Niobe" did not drag water enough behind her to bring in any of the other cracks anywhere near her.

September 22, 1879. The fall regatta was held and a challenge to the "Carrie Morgan" for the Lancaster cup, which she had won twice in succession, joined in by all yachts on the lake. "Carrie Morgan" won first prize and Lancaster cup the third time and, taken out of competition, is now held by Judge George W. Burnell, owner of the "Carrie Morgan."

February 21, 1880. Delegates to the National Yachting Association, to be held in the city of New York, from the Oshkosh Yacht Club were: Commodore George W. Burnell, Secretary G. M. Hasbrouck and Treasurer Frank Heilig, and $15 in dues was voted. April 5 the O. Y. C. elected the following officers: Commodore, G. W. Burnell; vice-commodore, G. F. Stroud; fleet captain, John Dickenson; secretary, G. M. Hasbrouck; treasurer, Frank Heilig, and measurer, S. P. Gary.

Commodore's cruise was commenced May 26, joined in by Neenah and Fond du Lac squadrons. Annual regatta was held July 5, 1880. Prizes were offered as follows: First, $30, $20,

$10 and $5; second, $15, $10 and $5; which were won by "Carrie Morgan," "Penequa," "Myra Bell" and "Mermaid;" second class by "Madeline," "Beatrice" and "Sapho," this ending the season of 1880.

1881. The same officers were reëlected by the O. Y. C. for this season. Prizes were offered as follows: First, $25 and $15; second, $15 and $10; which were run for on July 28.

The grand regatta held August 11 and 12. The following prizes were offered: First day, $100 and $50; second class, $50 and $25. Second day, $50 and $25; second class, $20 and $15; which were carried off by the crack yachts on the lake.

1882. Officers elected for the year were: Commodore, G. W. Burnell, vice-commodore, John Dickenson; fleet captain, Al Woodworth; secretary, G. M. Hasbrouck; treasurer, Frank Heilig; measurer, S. P. Gary. Annual regatta took place July 27, at which the following prizes were offered: First, $25, $15 and $5; second class, $10 and $5. Won by "Peerless," "Madeline," "Mermaid," "Penequa" and "Beatrice."

1883. Same officers elected for this year as last. Regattas were held as usual with usual prizes.

1884. Same officers reëlected. Prizes for first class yachts were $15 and $10, and for second class $10 and $5, which were won by "Carrie Morgan," "Minerva," "Pinafore," "Beatrice" and "Athena."

1885. Officers elected for this year were as follows: Commodore, C. W. Felker; vice-commodore, John Dickenson; fleet captain, A. Woodworth; secretary, G. M. Hasbrouck; treasurer, Frank Heilig; measurer, S. P. Gary.

The commodore's cruise was begun August 7, with headquarters at Garlic island. Commodore Felker offered a perpetual challenge cup, to be known as "The Felker Cup," to be sailed for yearly on the O. Y. C. course at foot of Washington street in Oshkosh. This cup may be competed for by all yachts in the United States owned by members of any yacht club and no others. All yachts competing for said cup must come under the classification of the first class of the O. Y. C. and to sail under their rules. During the cruise many scrub races were held outside of the island and a general grand good time was had.

August 29 a regatta for Felker challenge cup was held, the following yachts competing: "Hattie," elapsed time 2h. 20m.

5s., wins Felker cup first time; "Carrie Morgan," elapsed time 2h. 28m. 30s.; "Pinafore," elapsed time 2h. 45m. 56s.

September 4 the annual regatta was held, the following yachts entering: First class, "Hattie," elapsed time 2h. 11m. 10s., prize $15 and pennant; "Carrie Morgan," elapsed time 2h. 21m., prize $15; "Pinafore," elapsed time 2h. 33m., prize $10. Second class, "Mary," elapsed time once round 1h. 27m. 20s., prize $10; "Sylvia," elapsed time 1h. 29m. 12s., prize $5; "Cat," elapsed time 1h. 32m. 20s., ruled out.

1886. June 29 the following officers were elected for the O. Y. C.: Commodore, W. B. Felker; vice-commodore, John Dickenson; fleet captain, Henry F. Meyer; secretary, W. T. Griffith; treasurer, Frank Heilig; measurer, S. P. Gary. Commodore Felker set July 15, 16 and 17 for annual cruise. Flagship schooner "Molly." On July 17 the Felker challenge cup was run for off Garlic island, six miles to windward and return, which was won by the "Pinafore," of Fond du Lac, on time allowance. Yachts competing: "Hattie," Oshkosh, Captain Heilig, actual time 2h. 39m. 35s.; "Carrie Morgan," Oshkosh, Captain Woodworth, actual time 2h. 40m. 3s.; "Pinafore," Fond du Lac, Captain Whitton, actual time 2h. 50m. 39s.; "Minerva," Fond du Lac, Captain Dittmar, actual time 2h. 45m. 18s. After the race the different squadrons sailed for home, ending one of the most enjoyable cruises held by the club—thanks to the flagship "Molly."

August 14 the annual regatta was held, at which the above yachts competed. "Carrie Morgan" won first prize, "Hattie" the second and "Pinafore" the third prize.

The Felker challenge cup won July 30, 1887, by the "Carrie Morgan;" by "Minerva," of Fond du Lac, July 28, 1888, and on August 9, 1889; by "Marguerite," of Menasha, July 25, 1890; by "Corona," of Neenah, September 12, 1896; by "Corona" again, August 21, 1897; by "Adris," Oconomowoc, August 9, 1898; by "Aderyn," of Neenah, August 14, 1899; by "Caroline," of Oshkosh, August 2, 1900; by "Anita," of Neenah, August 21, 1901; by "Adelade," August 15, 1902; by "Comet II," of Milwaukee, August 22, 1903, and August 20, 1904; by "Winnebago," Nodaway Y. C., Neenah, August 16, 1905; by "Troubador," White Bear Y. C., August 12, 1906, and August 12, 1907.

This is the list of names inscribed on the Felker cup, each won by hotly contested races against whole squadron.

1894. The Nodaway Yacht Club, of Neenah, was organized and the following officers were elected: Commodore, J. C. Kimberly; vice-commodore, J. H. Wright; secretary and treasurer, E. P. Sherry; measurer, L. K. Henry.

The purpose of this organization was to promote pleasure sailing and racing under equal conditions on Lake Winnebago. All boats to be built to a certain size and model, designed by J. W. Hepburn, of Toledo, Ohio, of the following dimensions: Length over all, 21 feet; load water line, 15 feet 9 inches; beam, 5 feet 6 inches; rig, cat yawl. No professional yachtsmen to be allowed to sail or to be part of a crew. The owner, a member of the club, to sail his boat, intending to promote seamanship. As boats being alike, the winner would usually be the best sailed boat. This club fostered a fine class of sailors, whose records in after years showed their early training. A list of these follows: "Ysita," W. Z. Stuart and J. C. Kimberly; "Vinita," J. A. Kimberly, Jr.; "Ina," J. W. Orbison and W. L. Conkey; "Nethla," L. J. Pinkerton and H. B. Hewitt; "Wingra," E. P. Sherry; "Verona," J. H. Wright; "Uarda," S. F. Shattuck. Special class of odd sizes: "Nirvana," W. Z. Stuart and J. C. Kimberly; "Wa Wa Taysei," J. P. Roberts; "Yosida," H. K. Babcock; "Viola," H. B. Hewitt.

Many fine regattas were held by this club with varying success, showing the difference in handling boats, which were exactly the same in every respect.

1896. The Felker cup was sailed for in light wind, the "Corona" taking a favorable tack into Miller's bay, getting a shift of wind which made her an easy winner. J. A. Kimberly, Jr., owner and skipper.

1897. The old officers of the O. Y. C. having held over for so many years, new blood from another generation was wanted. Commodore Felker called a meeting of the O. Y. C. at the Athearn Hotel on February 18, 1897, at which meeting the following officers were elected: Commodore, L. Frank Gates; vice-commodore, H. L. Battis; fleet captain, William Brand; treasurer, Fred J. Luhm; secretary, Th. Lampel; measurer, R. Brand. A vote of thanks to the retiring officers was given, followed by remarks by ex-Commodore Felker, charging the new generation to uphold the club as well as it had been for thirty years by the retiring silver grays. The regattas for this season were held as follows: At Neenah, July 5 and July 31; at Oshkosh, July 17 and August 21. The following yachts entered these regattas:

"Corona," of Neenah, J. A. Kimberly, owner and skipper; "Kathleen," Neenah; "Gleaner," Oshkosh, L. Frank Gates, owner and skipper, and "Wasp," of Oshkosh. "Kathleen" won. Will Davis, owner and skipper.

The Green lake race for challenge cup was sailed August 7 and was won by the "Elk," of Oshkosh, Frank Libbey, owner, brought from White Bear lake. August 21 two races were held. The morning race was for prizes of $20 and $10, and won by "Elk" and "Corona." "Gleaner" capsized.

Felker cup race yachts entered were: "Gleaner," Oshkosh, L. Frank Gates; "Elk," Oshkosh, Frank Libbey; "Corona," Neenah, J. A. Kimberly; "Kathleen," Neenah, William Davis. "Corona" won Felker cup second time.

The O. Y. C. built a fine club house this season, costing $20,000, and made good harbor and measuring docks and railways for hauling out yachts for cleaning.

1898. April 4 the O. Y. C. elected the following officers for the ensuing year: Commodore, H. L. Battis; vice-commodore, F. H. Libbey; fleet captain, William Brand; secretary, C. D. Cleveland; treasurer, A. Henning; measurer, Herbert E. Cornish. April 28 the O. Y. C. voted to join the Inland Lake Yachting Association. It was decided to have a week of racing for the Green lake cup August 6, 8 and 9; the Felker cup race on August 10, and trophy cup race August 11, to be property of winner. Yachts competing August 6, 1898: "Iota," P. Sawyer, Oshkosh, elapsed time 2h. 43m. 20s.; "Pistakee," "Gadfly," "Avis," Thompson, Chicago, elapsed time 2h. 29m. 50s., won race, and "Pleasant Point."

Yachts competing August 8, 1898: "Iota," Sawyer, Oshkosh, elapsed time 2h. 48m. 37s.; "Pistakee," 2h. 33m. 29s.; "Avis," Thompson, Oconomowoc, 2h. 29m. 40s., won race; "Pleasant Point" retired; "Gadfly," 2h. 43m. 59s.

Felker cup race August 9, 1898. Competing yachts: "Elk," Libbey, Oshkosh, elapsed time 2h. 11m. 12s.; "Gleaner," Gates, Oshkosh, 2h. 5m. 48s.; "Wasp," retired; "Iota," Sawyer, 1h. 55m. 10s.; "Tarpon," 1h. 59m. 53s.; "Kathleen," Neenah, 2h. 7m. 27s.; "Avis," Thompson, Oconomowoc, 1h. 54m. 44s., won Felker cup; "Pistakee," 2h. 9m. 56s.

August 10, 1898, Oshkosh trophy cup race. Yachts competing: "Gleaner," time 2h. 8m. 51s., corrected; "Elk" retired; "Tarpon," 1h. 59m. 12s.; "Wasp," retired; "Kathleen,"

2h. 5m. 24s.; "Avis," 1h. 52m. 42s., won cup; "Pistakee," 2h. 5m. 54s.; "Cuttysark" retired.

August 11, 1898, the Nodaway Y. C., of Neenah, held trophy cup regatta. Yachts competing: "Gleaner," Gates, Oshkosh, corrected time 2h. 4m. 23s.; "Tarpon," J. C. Kimberly, Neenah, 2h. 3m. 42s.; "Kathleen," Davis, Neenah, 2h. 5m. 33s.; "Iota," Sawyer, Oshkosh, 2h. 2m. 20s.; "Avis," Thompson, Oconomowoe, 1h. 59m. 53s. "Avis" won race, carrying everything to Oconomowoc, making a clean sweep.

1899. Annual meeting of the O. Y. C., April 3. The following officers were elected for the ensuing year: Commodore, F. H. Libbey; vice-commodore, G. W. Athearn; junior vice-commodore, Philip H. Sawyer; fleet captain, L. Frank Gates; secretary, Chester D. Cleveland; treasurer, A. Henning; measurer, H. E. Cornish. Trial races to get representative yacht for inland lake yachting contest at Oconomowoc was won by the "Argo." Green lake cup sailed for at Oconomowoc was won by the "Ariel." "Argo" withdrew. The Duepee cup sailed for at Oconomowoc was won by the "Magic" by two minutes over "Argo," which was second.

Lake Winnebago regatta week commenced August 14, the following yachts participating: For Felker cup, "Argo," Oshkosh, 2h. 46m. 19s.; "Iota," Oshkosh, 2h. 49m. 18s.; "Patricia" retired; "Aderyn," Davis, Neenah, 2h. 46m. 18s., won Felker cup; "Harpoon," Kimberly, Neenah, 2h. 47m. 37s.; "Momo" retired; "Algonquin," 2h. 46m. 20s.; "Cherokee," 2h. 50m. 55s.; "Carite," 2h. 46m. 55s.; "Rajah" retired; "Lassie," 2h. 48m. 54s.

Race for inter lake cup at Oshkosh, August 15, 1899: Yachts "Argo," elapsed time 2h. 23m. 17s.; "Iota," 2h. 26m. 36s.; "Patricia," 2h. 44m. 47s.; "Aderyn," 2h. 44m. 2s.; "Harpoon," 2h. 42m. 50s.; "Momo," 2h. 40m. 31s.; "Algonquin," 2h. 31m. 23s.; "Cherokee," 2h. 31m. 25s; "Casita," 2h. 29m. 14s.; "Rajah," 2h. 50m. 2s.; "Lassie," 2h. 25m. 9s., first class. "Argo" won first race. Second class: "Nightingale," 2h. 11m. 34s.; "Xenia," 2h. 16m. 18s.; "Flying Fox" disabled; short course. "Nightingale" won first race.

Race for inter lake cup August 16, 1899: Yachts, elapsed time: "Argo," 1h. 59m. 12s; "Iota," 1h. 59m. 56s.; "Patricia," 2h. 12m. 43s.; "Aderyn," 2h. 1m. 8s.; "Harpoon" withdrawn; "Algonquin," 2h. 4m.; "Cherokee," 1h. 59m. 29s.; "Carita," 2h. 36s.; "Lassie," 2h. 15m. 45s. "Argo" won first class. Sec-

ond class: "Nightingale," 1h. 40m. 9s.; "Xenia," 1h. 44m. 32s.; "Flying Fox," 1h. 39m. 27s; short course. "Flying Fox" won.

Oshkosh race for inter lake cup August 17, 1899: Yachts, elapsed time: "Argo," 2h. 1m. 22½s.; "Iota," 2h. 8m. 42s.; "Patricia" withdrew; "Aderyn," 2h. 4m. 45s.; "Harpoon" withdrew; "Algonquin" withdrew; "Cherokee," 2h. 6m. 23½s.; "Carite," 2h. 8m. 43s.; "Lassie" disabled. "Argo" won first class prize and inland lake cup. Second class, short course: "Nightingale," 1h. 57m. 49s.; "Xenia," 2h. 2m. 53s.; "Flying Fox," 1h. 59m. 17s.; "Nightingale" won second class prize.

Race for Oshkosh cup, Oshkosh, August 18, 1899: Yachts, elapsed time: "Argo," 3h. 59s.; "Iota," 3h. 15m. 56s.; "Aderyn," Davis, Neenan, 3h. 9m. 36s.; "Harpoon," 3h. 21m. 47s.; "Algonquin," 3h. 5m. 19s.; "Cherokee," 3h. 8m. 14s.; "Lassie" withdrew; first class. "Argo" won Oshkosh trophy cup. Second class: "Nightingale," 2h. 39m. 56s.; "Flying Fox," 2h. 42m. 34s. "Nightingale" won second class.

1900. April 2 the O. Y. C. elected the following officers for the ensuing year: Commodore, F. H. Libbey; vice-commodore, Philip H. Sawyer; junior vice-commodore, Louis Schriber; fleet captain, J. H. Jones; secretary, C. D. Cleveland; treasurer, O. F. Crary, Jr.; measurer, H. E. Cornish.

Yachts in races of July 30 and 31 and August 1, 1900, were as follows: First class—"Seeress," "Macatawa," "Alberta," "Kite," "Moki," "Pats," "Calumet," "Maris," "Apachi," "Aderyn," "Comet II," "Peshtigo," "Kayoshk," "Creole," "Caroline," "Harpoon" and "Highlander." Second class—"Spray," "Argo," "Pluto," "Venture," "Sox," "Tramp," "Flying Fox II," "Reliance," "Nokomis" and "Columbia."

The yacht "Caroline," Frank Libbey, won Felker cup in 2h. 23m. 12s. The yacht "Caroline," Frank Libbey, won first race, club trophy cup, in 2h. 11m. 20s. The "Harriet H.," Commodore Hertz, second race for club trophy cup, in 2h. 56m. 46s. The "Caroline" and "Harriet H." sailed once around course for ownership of cup. "Caroline" won in 1h. 18m. 53s., winning by 2m. 44s., winning the Felker trophy cups. The yacht "Caroline" was selected to represent the O. Y. C. at the I. L. Y. C. at Lake Geneva. The "Argo" of O. Y. C. accredited to Oconomowoc. This ended the season of 1900.

1901. April 4 the O. Y. C. elected the following officers: Commodore, Frank H. Libbey; vice-commodore, Philip H. Sawyer; junior vice-commodore, Louis Schriber; fleet captain, L. H.

Jones; secretary, Chester D. Cleveland; treasurer, Oscar F. Crary; measurer, Fred Luhm.

Regatta week for Lake Winnebago was held at Oshkosh, August 20, 21, 22, 23 and 24, as follows: Lake Winnebago regatta, August 20, 1901, for Green lake cup, corrected time, yachts—"Highlander," 2h. 11m. 8s.; "Caroline" disabled; "Minnizitka," 2h. 11m. 5s.; "Anita," 2h. 11m. 35s.; "Asperaut," 2h. 12m. 4s.; "Aderyn," 2h. 12m. 42s. The "Minnizitka" won cup.

Lake Winnebago regatta August 21, 1901, for Felker cup, corrected time, yachts: "Highlander," 3h. 10m. 24s.; "Caroline," 3h. 11m. 47s.; "Minnizitka," 3h. 5m. 16s.; "Anita," 3h. 2m. 34s.; "Asperaut," 3h. 10m. 37s.; "Aderyn" withdrew. "Anita," of Neenah, William Davis, won Felker cup.

Lake Winnebago regatta August 22, 1901, for Green lake cup, corrected time, yachts: "Highlander," 3h. 45m. 40s.; "Caroline," O. Y. C., 3h. 45m. 18s.; "Minnizitka," White Bear, withdrew; "Anita," Neenah, 3h. 27m. 10s.; "Asperaut," Pewaukee, 3h. 27m. 25s.; "Aderyn," Pine lake, and "Meteor." "Anita" won cup.

Yachts resailed for Oshkosh trophy cup, August 24, 1901, corrected time, yachts: "Minnizitka," 1h. 53m. 15s.; "Anita," 1h. 53m. 50s. "Anita" won the trophy cup. "Minnizitka" fouled, "Anita" disqualifying her for this race. "Minnizitka" won two races for Green lake cup, this ending the season of yachting on Lake Winnebago.

1902. April 16 the following officers were duly elected for the ensuing year: Commodore, P. H. Sawyer; vice-commodore, L. Frank Gates; junior vice-commodore, Louis Schriber; fleet captain, J. M. Jones; secretary, C. D. Cleveland; treasurer, O. F. Crary, Jr.; measurer, Fred Luhm.

Felker cup regatta August 13, 1902, elapsed time, yachts: "Adelaide," Pewaukee, 2h. 41m. 33s.; "Challenge," 2h. 41m. 47s.; "Caroline," Oshkosh, F. H. Libbey, 2h. 42m.; "Anita," Neenah, W. R. Davis, 2h. 45m. 7s. "Adelaide" won the Felker cup for 1902.

First race for Oshkosh trophy cup, August 14: "Caroline," Oshkosh, F. H. Libbey, 2h. 25m. 48s.; "Challenge," 2h. 23m. 57s.; "Adelaide," Nunnemacher, Pewaukee, 2h. 17m. 8s.; "Anita," Davis, Neenah, 2h. 20m. 49s. "Adelaide" won first race. Second race for trophy cup, August 16: "Adelaide," 2h.

13m. 12s.; "Caroline" broke down; "Anita," 2h. 15m. 53s. "Adelaide" won cup.

Inland Lake Yachting Association held the races at Waukesha Beach. Won by "Aderyn," formerly of the Neenah Yacht Club, ending the year 1902.

1903. The O. Y. C. elected the following officers for the ensuing year: Commodore, F. H. Libbey; vice-commodore, W. J. Hay; junior vice-commodore, John West; fleet captain, L. Frank Gates; treasurer, Oscar F. Crary, Jr.; secretary, Henry Bass; measurer, J. H. Jones.

This year the O. Y. C. opened their new $30,000 club house to properly entertain their guests, the I. L. Y. A., who had decided to hold their races on Lake Winnebago hereafter.

Felker cup races August 12, 1903, elapsed time, class A yachts: "Commet II," Milwaukee Y. C., 1h. 59m. 50s.; "Kayoshk," Oshkosh Y. C., 2h. 4m.; "Seeress," White Bear Y. C., 2h. 5m. 40s.; "Highlander," Excelsior Y. C., 2h. 7m. 55s.; "Mokai," Nodaway Y. C., 2h. 9m. 40s.; "Aderyn," Pine Lake Y. C., 2h. 9m. 50s.; "Alberta," Neenah Y. C., 2h. 7m. 54s.; "Patts," Chicago Y. C., 2h. 9m. 23s.; "Mavis," Pistakee Y. C., 2h. 10m. 20s.; "Kite," Oconomowoc Y. C., 2h. 13m. 28s.; "Calumet," Pewaukee Y. C., 2h. 13m. 20s.; "Creole," Fond du Lac Y. C., 3h. 9m. 10s.; "Harpoon," Oshkosh Y. C., 2h. 16m. 25s.; "Peshtigo," Lake Geneva Y. C., 2h 16m. 30s.; "Apache," Fox Lake Y. C., 2h. 16m. 30s.; "Caroline," Oshkosh Y. C., 2h. 15m. 2s. "Comet II" won. Yachts, class B: "Pluto," White Bear, 2h. 17m. 15s.; "Venture," Oconomowoc, 2h. 20m. 34s.; "Nokomis," Lake Geneva, 2h. 20m. 42s.; "Reliance," Pine Lake, 2h. 21m. 10s.; "Flying Fox II," Fox Lake, 2h. 21m. 4s.; "Argo," Council Bluffs, 2h. 23m. 10s. "Pluto" won trophy cup.

First meeting called at new yacht club house, August 21, 1903, inland lake regatta.

Class A Yachts— Club.	Elapsed time. Aug. 25, 1st race.	Elapsed time. Aug. 27, 2d race.
"Mokai," Nodaway	2h 12m 56s	2h 12m 07s
"Comet II," Milwaukee.....	2h 17m 56s	2h 02m 07s
"Kayoshk," Oshkosh	2h 21m 10s	2h 01m 59s
"Kite," Oconomowoc	2h 23m 30s	2h 12m 21s
"Aderyn," Pine Lake.....	2h 32m 57s	2h 20m 17s
"Seeress," White Bear.....	2h 34m 13s	2h 05m 15s

"Alberta," Neenah	2h 36m 14s	1h 59m 56s
"Highlander," Excelsior	2h 39m 03s	2h 14m 17s
"Peshtigo," Lake Geneva.....	2h 42m 45s	2h 19m 47s
"Patts," Chicago	2h 43m 10s	2h 15m 12s
"Mavis," Pistakee	2h 44m 45s	2h 20m 14s
"Calumet," Pewaukee	2h 58m 24s	2h 22m 12s
"Creole," Fond du Lac.....	withdrew	2h 25m 42s
"Apache," Fox Lake.....	3h 20m 50s	2h 28m 20s

First race won by "Mokai" and second race by "Kayoshk."

Class B

Yachts— Club		
"Pluto," White Bear.....	3h 17m 37s	2h 34m 43s
"Flying Fox," Fox Lake.....	3h 20m 08s	2h 47m 40s
"Venture," Oconomowoc	3h 45m 18s	2h 35m 54s
"Sox," Neenah	3h 21m 55s	
"Argo," Council Bluffs.....	3h 22m 16s	2h 39m 53s
"Nokomis," Lake Geneva.....	3h 23m 10s	
"Columbia," Oshkosh	3h 25m 50s	2h 43m 54s
"Reliance Jr.," Pine Lake.....	withdrew	2h 40m 43s

Both races won by "Pluto."

Class A	Aug. 27, 1903.	Aug. 28, 1903.
Yachts— Club.	Third race.	Fourth race.
"Mokai," Nodaway	2h 36m 42s	
"Comet II," Milwaukee.....	2h 28m 33s	1h 58m 15s
"Kayoshk," Oshkosh	2h 32m 36s	1h 58m 35s
"Kite," Oconomowoc	2h 37m 06s	2h 04m 53s
"Aderyn," Pine Lake.....	2h 33m 17s	2h 18m 53s
"Seeress," White Bear.....	2h 33m 15s	
"Alberta," Neenah	2h 21m 55s	
"Highlander," Excelsior	2h 36m 14s	2h 17m 31s
"Peshtigo," Lake Geneva.....	2h 36m 40s	
"Patts," Chicago	2h 31m 03s	2h 03m 34s
"Mavis," Pistakee	2h 43m 28s	2h 20m 30s
"Calumet," Pewaukee	2h 37m 10s	
"Creole," Fond du Lac.....	2h 44m 30s	
"Apache," Fox Lake.....	2h 48m 16s	2h 06m 06s

Third race won by "Alberta" and fourth by "Comet II."

Class B

Yachts— Club.	
"Pluto," White Bear.....	2h 43m 45s

"Flying Fox," Fox Lake.....	2h 54m 47s	
"Venture," Oconomowoc	2h 40m 30s	2h 31m 07s
"Sox," Neenah		
"Argo," Council Bluffs.....	2h 54m 36s	2h 41m 06s
"Nokomis," Lake Geneva.....	3h 01m 02s	2h 58m 36s
"Columbia," Oshkosh		
"Reliance Jr.," Pine Lake.....	2h 55m 10s	

Third race won by "Pluto" and fourth race by "Venture."

Inland Lake Regatta, August 29, 1903.

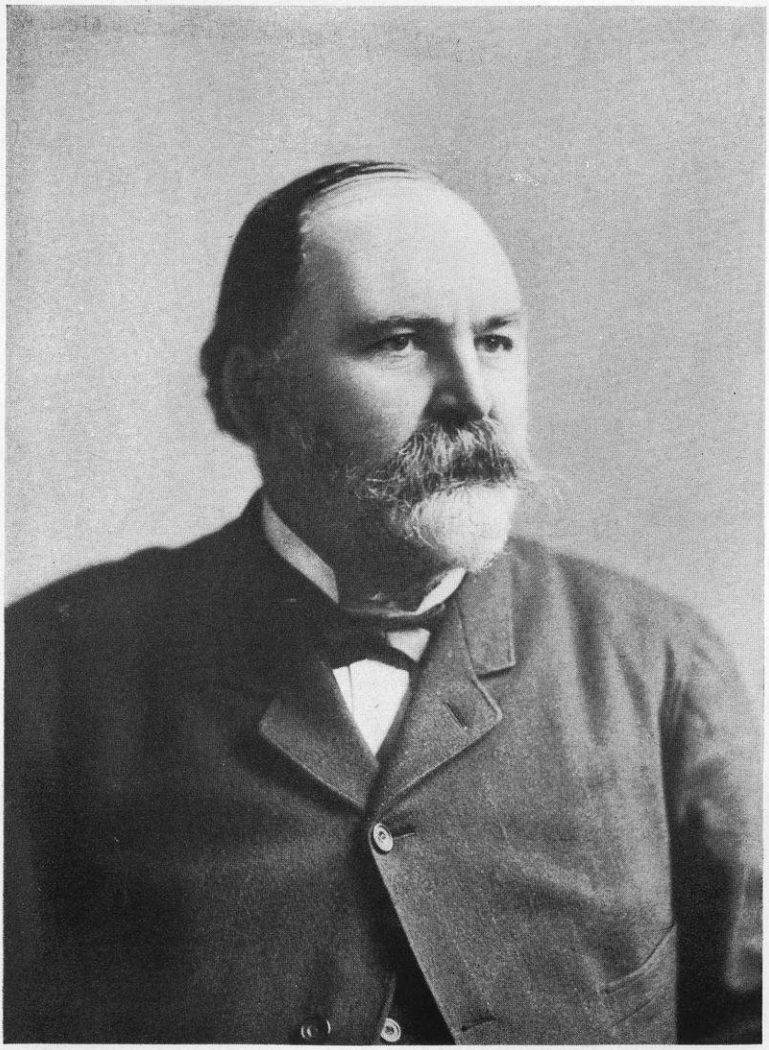
Class A Yachts— Club.	Elapsed time. Fifth race.
"Mokai," Nodaway	2h 10m 11s
"Comet II," Milwaukee.....	2h 18m 57s
"Kayoshk," Oshkosh	2h 16m 22s
"Kite," Oconomowoc	2h 29m 03s
"Aderyn," Pine Lake.....	2h 37m 00s
"Seeress," White Bear.....	
"Alberta," Neenah	2h 25m 10s
"Highlander," Excelsior	
"Peshtigo," Lake Geneva.....	
"Patts," Chicago	2h 22m 00s
"Mavis," Pistakee	
"Calumet," Pewaukee	
"Creole," Fond du Lac.....	
"Apache," Fox Lake.....	2h 33m 04s

Race won by "Mokai."

Class B Yachts— Club.	
"Pluto," White Bear.....	2h 59m 25s
"Flying Fox," Fox Lake.....	3h 08m 00s
"Sox," Neenah.....	.....
"Argo," Council Bluffs.....	2h 59m 25s
"Nokomis," Lake Geneva.....	.....
"Venture," Oconomowoc.....	2h 53m 45s
"Columbia," Oshkosh.....	.....
"Reliance, Jr.," Pine Lake.....	.....

Race won by "Venture." "Comet II," class A, won championship on points. "Venture," class B, won championship on points.

1904. The O. Y. C. elected the following officers for the ensuing year: Commodore, H. M. Clark, followed by John West, dur-



E. S. RICHMOND.

ing year; vice-commodore, W. J. Hay; junior vice-commodore John West; fleet captain, Rex Hollister; secretary, F. P. Gillen; treasurer, O. F. Crary, Jr.; measurer, James Jones.

Felker and Trophy cup races, held August 20 to 24, as they finished:

Class A.

Yachts— Club.					
Class A, Y. C.	20	22	23	24	26
"Alpha," White Bear	3	2	2	2	3
"Alberta," Neenah	4	4	5	1	5
"Comet II," Milwaukee	1	1	4	4	1
"Charlotte," Pine Lake	..	3	7	..	4
"Handy Andy," Oconomowoc	..	..	..	..	..
"Lady Inez," Fox Lake	5	7	8	6	2
"Oshkosh," Oshkosh	..	6	3	..	7
"Palto," Pistakee	..	5	9	3	..
"Challenge," Oconomowoc	..	..	..	..	..
"Panargus," Green Lake	..	8	10	..	..
"Wihuja," Minnetonka	2	9	1	1	8
"Warrior," Lake Geneva	..	10	4	..	6

Class B.

Yachts— Club.					
"Buttinski," Pistakee	2	2	no race	..	no race
"Wanderer," White Bear	..	1	"	1	"
"Kewaydin," Fox Lake	1	6	"	..	"
"Klikitat," Lake Geneva	6	3	"	..	"
"Manawa," C. Bluffs	4	4	"	..	"
"Oshkosh, Jr.," Oshkosh	7	5	"	2	"
"Reliance," Pine Lake	..	..	"	..	"
"Picket," Oconomowoc	5	..	..	..	..
"Tiger," Minnetonka	..	7	"	3	"
"Water Boy," Spring Lake	..	..	"	..	"

"Alpha" won I. L. Y. cup.

"Comet II" won Felker cup.

"Wanderer" won Class B trophy.

1905. O. Y. C. elected the following officers for the ensuing year: Commodore, John West; vice-commodore, H. M. Clark; junior vice-commodore, H. I. Wall; fleet captain, Rex Hollister; secretary, J. O'Brien; treasurer, O. F. Crary, Jr.; measurer, James H. Jones. Regatta committee: L. Frank Gates, Leo Eaton and F. E. Waite.

Races to determine the O. Y. C. champion for I. L. Y. A. races was won by the "Glyndor," class A, and "Oshkosh, Jr.," class B.

I. L. Y. A. RACES.

Class A Yachts.

Aug. 14. 1st Race.	Aug. 15. 2d Race.	Aug. 16. 3d Race.	Aug. 17. 4th Race.	Aug. 17. 5th Race.
"Winnebago," Nodaway Y. C.				
1h 50m 55s	2h 41m 16s	2h 10m 51s	5	2h 06m 51s
"Glyndor," Oshkosh Y. C.				
1h 49m 36s	2h 32m 35s	2h 05m 19s	2	2h 19m 40s
"Albatross," Pewaukee Y. C.				
1h 54m 06s	2h 41m 47s	2h 07m 10s	3	2h 09m 17s
"Patts," Pistakee Y. C.				
1h 57m 59s	2h 49m 05s	2h 09m 29s	4	2h 38m 59s
"Alpha," White Bear Y. C.				
1h 58m 24s	2h 34m 35s	2h 08m 09s	1	2h 11m 29s
"Warrior," L. Geneva Y. C.				
2h 02m 02s	2h 48m 08s	2h 09m 09s	..	2h 15m 12s
"Charlotte," Pine Lake Y. C.				
2h 02m 24s	2h 46m 21s	2h 10m 24s	6	2h 13m 55s

Winners: First race, "Glyndor; second race, "Glyndor"; third race "Glyndor"; fourth race, "Alpha"; fifth race, "Winnebago."

Class B Yachts.

"Baraconta," W. Bear Y. C.				
2h 19m 43s	2h 49m 27s	2h 19m 43s	1	1h 58m 45s
"Pathfinder," Minnetonka Y. C.				
2h 24m 03s	2h 50m 59s	2h 18m 19s	2	1h 56m 20s
"Priscilla," C. Bluffs Y. C.				
2h 18m 09s	2h 54m 39s	2h 23m 09s	..	2h 05m 54s
"Oshkosh, Jr.," Oshkosh Y. C.				
2h 22m 59s	2h 06m 31s	2h 26m 07s	..	2h 00m 54s
"Leneothia," Mendota Y. C.				
.....	3h 06m 41s	2h 27m 45s	..	2h 08m 22s
"Flying Fox III," Fox Lake Y. C.				
.....	3h 10m 17s	2h 27m 23s	..	2h 00m 22s
"Klickitat," Lake Geneva Y. C.				
.....	.....	2h 31m 23s	..	.....

Winners: First race, "Priscilla"; second race, "Baraconta"; third race, "Pathfinder"; fourth race, "Baraconta"; fifth race, "Pathfinder."

For Felker cup, August 16, 1905. Elapsed time, Class A yachts: "Winnebago," Nodaway Y. C., 2h 05m 13s; "Glyndor," Oshkosh, 2h 05m 31s; "Albatross," Pewaukee, 2h 08m 49s; "Patts," Pistakee, 2h 11m 23s; "Alpha," White Bear, 2h 08m 03s; "Warrior," Lake Geneva, 2h 10m 10s; "Charlotte," Pine Lake, 2h 07m 32s. Class B—Yachts: "Baraconta," White Bear 2h 07m 03s; "Wakikita," 2h 08m 39s; "Glyndor," Oshkosh, Class A, Captain W. H. Bray, won championship I. L. Y. A. on points. "Baraconta," White Bear, Class B, won championship I. L. Y. A. on points. "Winnebago," Nodaway, won Felker cup.

1906. The O. Y. C. elected the following officers for the following year: Commodore, Louis Schriber; vice-commodore, D. D. Harmon, Jr.; vice-commodore, G. A. Buckstaff; fleet captain, Rex Hollister; secretary, J. J. O'Brien; treasurer, O. F. Crary, Jr.; measurer, James Jones. Regatta Committee: D. D. Harmon, Leo Eaton and E. J. Phillips.

The Butte des Morts Y. C. was organized this year, and gave two races, August 24, 1906, for Clark-Hollister challenge cup. Class B—Elapsed time: Yachts: "Gopher," White Bear, 2h 13m 55s; "Sylvia," Iotos, St. Joseph, Mich, not taken; "Rapid Water," Oconomowoc, 2h 30m 45s; "Terrier," Minnetonka, 2h 14m 12s; "Twenty-three," Butte des Morts, 2h 14m 22s; "Pottawatomie," Council Bluffs, Omaha, not taken; "Ohiyesa," Minnetonka, not taken. "Gopher" won the challenge cup. August 25, 1906, for Sawyer challenge cup. Class A, elapsed time. Yachts: "Troubadour," White Bear, 2h 06m 54s; "Glyndor," Oshkosh, 2h 07m 58s; "Skiddoo," Butte des Morts, 2h 10m 37s; "Minnetonka," Minnetonka, 2h 11m 30s; "Alberta II," Nodaway, 2h 14m 37s; "Patts II," Pistakee, 2h 15m 45s. "Troubadour" won challenge cup.

August 27, 1906, race for Felker cup. Class A, elapsed time. Yachts: "Glyndor," 2h 15m 06s; "Minnetonka," 2h 11m 56s; "Skiddoo," 2h 13m 21s; "Troubadour," 2h 10m 56s; "Alberta II," 2h 19m 51s; "Patts II," 2h 22m 32s. "Troubadour" won Felker cup.

Class A, I. L. Y. A. Association Races.

	Elapsed Time.		
	Aug. 29.	Aug. 30.	Aug. 31.
Yachts.	1st Race.	2d Race.	3d Race.
"Troubadour"	2h 06m 50s	1h 27m 37s	2h 12m 10s

"Glyndor"	2h 13m 28s	1h 29m 11s	Not taken.
"Minnetonka"	2h 22m 11s	1h 31m 28s	2h 13m 41s
"Patts II"	2h 29m 23s	1h 37m 50s	2h 27m 54s
"Skiddoo"	2h 15m 13s	1h 31m 25s	2h 10m 43s
"White Heather"	Broke down	1h 36m 11s	Capsized
"Alberta II"	3h 02m 11s	1h 36m 52s	.....

Winners: "Troubadour," first and second race; "Skiddoo," third race.

Class B Yachts.

	Aug 27. 1st Race.	Aug. 28. 2d Race.	Aug. 29. 3d Race.	Aug. 30. 4th Race.
"Twenty-three"	1h 55m 54s	2h 16m 33s	1h 39m 49s	2h 06m 19s
"Gopher"	1h 57m 44s	2h 15m 56s	1h 40m 27s	1h 57m 31s
"Terrier"	1h 58m 35s	2h 20m 42s	1h 41m 05s	1h 59m 43s
"Pottowatomie"	2h 53m 00s	2h 19m 52s	withdrawn	.....
"Rapid Water"	2h 08m 37s	did not start	"	.....
"Ohiyesa"	2h 09m 00s	2h 23m 08s	"	1h 59m 48s
"Silvia"	2h 17m 14s	2h 27m 52s	"	.....

Winners: "Twenty-three," first and third races; "Gopher," second and fourth races.

"Troubadour" won in Class A on points; "Gopher" won in Class B on points.

1907. The O. Y. C. elected the following officers for the ensuing year: Commodore, W. M. Bray; vice-commodore, D. D. Harmon, Jr.; vice-commodore, G. A. Buckstaff; fleet captain, W. G. Maxey; secretary, J. J. O'Brien; treasurer, O. F. Crary, Jr.; measurer, Jas. H. Jones. Regatta committee: W. J. Maxey, E. Phillips, C. Hollister, Jos. Fitch and F. F. McNichol.

August regattas—Felker cup and I. L. Y. A. as they finished.

Class A Yachts.

Yacht. Club.	Aug. 19. I.L.Y.A.	20th. I.L.Y.A.	21st.	22d.	23d.
"Black Point," L. Geneva	6	No race.	5	3	2
"Minnetonka," Minnetonka	2	"	2	2	4
"Oodiko," Neenah	1	"	1	6	..
"Glyndor," Oshkosh	3	"	7	7	..
"Patts II," Pistakee	5	"	6	5	..
"Troubadour," White Bear	4	"	4	1	1
"Clhosa," Butte des Morts	7	"	3	4	..

Class B Yachts.

"Show Me," Lotus Y. C.....	5	5	No race.	3	..
"Buccaneer," Minnetonka....	1	1	"	4	2
"Gopher," White Bear.....	3	4	"	2	1
"Twenty-three," B. D. Morts..	2	3	"	..	4
"Virginia," Oshkosh.....	4	2	"	1	3

"Troubadour," of Whilte Lake, won Class A on points. "Gopher," of White Bear, won Class B on points.

The Power Boat Club of Oshkosh was organized in 1907, with the following officers: Ed. Ihrig, vice-commodore; Arthur Ehrmann, secretary; H. L. F. Gibson, treasurer. There are over 150 power boats in the fleet on Lake Winnebago, and some of them attain a speed of twenty-five and thirty miles an hour.

LI.

GOVERNOR COLES BASHFORD OF OSHKOSH, AND THE CELEBRATED CONTEST OVER ELECTION FRAUDS FIFTY YEARS AGO.

One of the historic incidents which once threw the whole state into the most intense excitement and over which war was barely averted, was the contest of the new Republican party, then barely a year old, to win the state election in the fall of 1855, over the ancient and firmly seated Democratic party.

The Republican party originated at Ripon, Wisconsin, only a few miles from the line of Winnebago county. Pursuant to a call published in the "Ripon Herald," a mass meeting was held at the old Congregational church, February 28, 1854, to discuss the "Nebraska Swindle," resulting in vigorous resolutions against the passage of the "Kansas-Nebraska Bill" by Congress, and in favor of organizing a new political party. "Such an one as the country has not hitherto seen, composed of Whigs, Democrats and Free Soilers," to accomplish its repeal if passed. Three days previous to this meeting, Hon. Alvan E. Bovay, its moving spirit, wrote Horace Greeley, suggesting a new party under the name "Republican." It becoming evident that the bill would pass Congress, a second meeting was held at the little brown school house, still standing opposite the High School, but now a residence. Here resolutions were passed forming a new party, but no name was given to it, as, acting on the advice of Bovay, it was thought the meeting was too small to name a party. Soon after effect was given to the purpose of the meeting by the mass meeting held at Madison. At all the elections held afterward in the state the party placed candidates in the field for election, with unusual success. The excitement of these days before the war helped to its success.

The Republican state convention met at Madison September 6, 1855, and nominated Hon. Coles Bashford of Oshkosh for Governor. The Democratic convention had met in August and renominated William A. Barstow for a second term as Governor. After the election the state board of canvassers had given the

certificate to the whole Democratic ticket; and William A. Barstow a majority of 157 votes over Coles Bashford. The canvassing board found that 72,598 votes were cast for Governor, of which William A. Barstow received 36,355, Coles Bashford 36,198. This represented the followers of each banner as quite equal and exhibited a vigorous following for the young party. The notorious frauds perpetrated in counting in William A. Barstow as Governor was bound to be resisted and rebuked by a mass of voters, who were equal to half of the people of the state.

Hon. Coles Bashford was a resident of Oshkosh and practiced law there, during his whole life in this state. His old home still stands in Algoma, long since occupied by the late Robert McMillan. Coles Bashford died in Tucson, Arizona, April 25, 1878, at 63 years of age. He was born in Putnam county, N. Y., January, 1816; educated at Wesleyan Seminary at Lima, N. Y.; admitted to practice law in 1841; and served as District Attorney of Wayne county, New York, 1847-50, when he resigned and moved to Oshkosh, where he was elected to the state senate of Wisconsin 1852-5, when he resigned, and in the fall of 1855 was elected Governor of Wisconsin. In 1863 he removed to Arizona, where he was elected to Congress, and thereafter held the high offices in the Territory of Attorney General, again Delegate to Congress, and Territorial Secretary, all with distinction and honor.

It is apparent now that the administration forces were aware of the election of Coles Bashford as Governor, though the balance of the Democratic ticket was elected, and for this reason the canvassing board accepted a series of illegal "supplemental reports and statements, in order to declare Barstow elected Governor, and he was given the certificate of election. In the meantime before the inauguration evidence of the frauds perpetrated came to Bashford from many quarters, and the press made use of it to publish the news broadcast, creating great excitement.

By the vote actually cast for Coles Bashford, as shown in the exhibit made out from the evidence by E. G. Ryan, of counsel for him in the case his majority was 1,009. Some of the frauds may be mentioned. Of the supplemental returns, Mr. Ryan says: "From the middle of November till the state canvass on the 15th of December, the great question was, "Who is elected Governor?" It was nip and tuck between the candidates. It would have puzzled our old friend in Milwaukee, now dead,

to say whether the dog was ahead or not. On the 13th and 14th of December, the two days next preceding the canvas, after all the official returns had been in some days, lo and behold a shower of supplements comes in—a most providential supplementary shower! We at our homes were in doubt. You and I and this audience here were at our respective homes in doubt. Some were confident that one man was elected, some the other. Some were "backing up their opinions," as the phrase goes. But there was one of the parties to this contest who know precisely how the matter stood. He saw the returns as they came in. He was not in doubt. Was it not most intensely providential, or is it not most intensely suspicious, that this shower of supplements came in on the last two days, and changed the entire result?

Gilbert Mills, Dunn County.—The whole vote of the county of Dunn, as returned by the county canvassers, was 27 for Barstow, 28 for Bashford. Attached to this was a statement made by fictitious persons, purporting to show an election at Gilbert Mills, Dunn county, which gave Barstow 53 votes and Bashford 14 votes. No election was held there, though three families lived there. This was read in connection with a supplemental return from Spring Creek, Polk county. Also attached was a supposed return from Menominee, Dunn county, two miles distant from Gilbert Mills, purporting to show Barstow received 41 votes and Bashford 1. The original was filed with the secretary of state November 28, the supplement December 14. This also was a fraudulent return, falsely made.

Spring Creek, Polk County, gave Barstow 107, Bashford 13. It was in the same handwriting as the Gilbert Mills return. The paper on which the two were written was the same kind, a peculiar small white cap, stamped "Plymouth," the water mark exactly corresponded, and the peculiar phraseology of the certificate was identical where it departs from the language of the statute. The two half sheets matched, showing they had originally been one sheet and torn apart. All the names on both were fictitious. The original return from Polk county gave Barstow 42, Bashford 7. By this false return Barstow had 149 and Bashford 20. The Spring Creek and Gilbert Mills return, though purporting to be written 100 miles apart, had scratched out the word "inspector" and inserted the word "clerk" in the same handwriting. There was no such place as Spring Creek, and no election held there.

Bridge Creek, Chippewa County.—The original return of the county canvassers gave Barstow 24, Bashford 54. Attached was a supplemental certificate from Bridge Creek, giving Barstow 97, Bashford 23. This was written on the same kind of paper as the fraudulent Spring Creek and Gilbert Mills returns, and all in the same handwriting. There was from one to four people in the whole Bridge Creek country. There was no such town, only a creek crossing the county. No election there, no town organization or people to make one.

Town 25, Range 10, Waupaca County, gave Barstow 83, Bashford 7, filed with secretary of state one day before state canvas. This was also made out on the same kind of paper as the fraudulent returns from Spring Creek, etc. The evidence of witnesses who knew the location of the township show it was an uninhabited forest, without roads, town organization or voters, or houses, and no election was held there.

"These returns are mere papers. They bear upon their face throughout plain, palpable, unmistakable evidence of fraud and forgery, three of them are in the same handwriting, two of them were clearly written by some man at the same desk, upon the same quire of paper with the same pen, copying one from the other," says Mr. Ryan.

The county canvassers of Waupaca county claimed the vote for Waupaca town gave Barstow 543, Bashford 59, though only 521 votes were cast. The paper on which the vote was set down by the clerks as the ballots were counted was left by the clerks on the table in the hotel where they canvassed the vote and was picked up by the hotel keeper, who kept it, and offered it in evidence. It showed the vote to be Barstow 288, Bashford 219. "The evidence was conclusive. The frauds were the most gross, glaring and barefaced that ever came under his notice. The total vote for Governor was increased 95 votes. The witnesses are Waupaca men. They would not be likely to under-estimate the population of their village. They estimate it at from 800 to 1,000, and the aggregate vote is 507. The old rule used to be one vote to five people; in Waupaca it seems to be five votes to one people. This is the largest proportion of free white adult males that I have ever heard of in any community. The people of Waupaca village 'brag' 507 votes, and the state canvassers, not content with this, go 95 better! This raised the aggregate vote for Governor from 507 to 602. This increase, however, is comparatively moderate—only about 20 per cent. Moderation

itself when we compare it with the entire unkindness of the division. They raise Mr. Barstow's vote from 288 to 547, and diminish Mr. Bashford's from 219 down to 59. I do not know what per cent this is—I have not figured it up, but certainly it is most enormous; and the proof of it is of the most positive character, the testimony, under oath, of witnesses present at the election and the town canvas."

"The state canvassers had reduced Bashford's majority in Outagamie county sixty. They went from the written statement of the vote, from the legal return to the unauthorized tabular statement on the back, and finding there some clerical error, by which Bashford's vote was reduced from 474 to 414, they adopted it. The footings of the tabular statement when added fall just sixty short of the written statement in the authorized return of the aggregate vote of the county, and those sixty votes were deducted from Mr. Bashford's majority. They went from the legal evidence to that which was no evidence. That one act—and I say it solemnly and earnestly—wears the worst aspect of any act of the state canvassers."

"But it is a great insult to the moral sense of the people for a man to walk abroad, clothed with the ermine of office, stinking and rotten, and reeking with corruption and foul with vermin like this," says Mr. Ryan.

Most of the above information, with a mass of other evidence of fraud and forgery committed in that election, was spread broadcast in the public press, and the excitement ran high. It was the general expectation that force would be used by the friends of Coles Bashford to prevent the inauguration of Barstow. Barstow was then in the office and, determined to be seated, he had called out the militia companies to patrol the grounds about the capitol. On January 7 Governor Barstow and the newly elected state officers were sworn into office. Elaborate preparation had been made to have an imposing celebration on the occasion. A large delegation came on a special train from Milwaukee. The Governor called to his guard five companies of the Milwaukee battalion and two companies from Watertown. On their arrival, with friends of the Governor, they marched in procession to his residence. Here the governor and state officers entered a barouche and were driven to the state capitol, where he was met by 2,000 people, and there, in the senate chamber, they took the oath of office administered by Judge Alexander L. Collins. He and his adherents presumed

that if he was sworn in and assumed the office no court had jurisdiction to enquire into his election. No force was used or thought of to prevent his assuming the office. It was, however, intended to use force to obtain the office after the court had declared Coles Bashford's right to it, if not yielded peaceably. For that contingency the forces were organized under Nat Dean and the guns were in storage ready for instant use. But the occasion for civil war happily was averted by peaceable acquiescence. During the same day Coles Bashford, with a few friends, went to the Supreme Court room and took the oath of office of Governor before Chief Justice Whiton. Three days later he called at the executive office and made a formal demand on Mr. Barstow for recognition as Governor, which was rejected. The Legislature, in session, acknowledged Barstow as Governor. The senate was seven Republican and twelve Democrats; the assembly forty-four Republican, thirty-one Democratic and seven Independents.

The next day after Coles Bashford had called on Mr. Barstow, he waited on the attorney general and requested him to file an information in the nature of a quo warranto. It was supposed he would refuse, when under the statute Coles Bashford could proceed on his own relation; but the attorney general asked him to make his request in writing. Soon after a draft of such a pleading as was desirable to have filed in the court was delivered to the attorney general, who in a few days filed a more general information, and on which the summons was issued from the Supreme Court and served on Mr. Barstow.

The Supreme Court was composed then of three judges. Chief Justice Whiton, originally a Whig, was now a Republican. Justice Smith was an anti-slavery Democrat, but his opinion on the question of the rights of the voter rendered in this case is the very best text book on the fundamental principles of our form of government ever written. Justice Orsamus Cole, who afterward became Chief Justice, was an old-time Whig and then a Republican. The final decision of the case was unanimous. The attorney general, William R. Smith, was elected on the ticket with Barstow, and was a Democrat. History will not give him a high place in this case either for tact or ability. The counsel for Coles Bashford were the late Chief Justice Edward G. Ryan, one of the greatest lawyers of his time; Judge Timothy O. Howe, afterwards for eighteen years United States Senator; Hon. Alexander W. Randall, afterwards the war governor of

Wisconsin, and the renowned and eloquent James H. Knowlton. The council for the respondent Barstow were Matt. H. Carpenter, the eloquent senator and advocate; Jonathan E. Arnold, the old-time eloquent lawyer; and Judge Harlow S. Orton, one of the most forceful speakers who ever swayed a Wisconsin jury, afterward a justice of this court. The counsel for Coles Bashford appeared in court and moved the discontinuance of the information of the attorney general, and for leave to file one on the relation of Coles Bashford, because of prejudice of the attorney general, and to give them leave to control the case. This the court refused, but held that Coles Bashford was a party and his rights would be respected. At the time fixed for the respondent Barstow to plead, his counsel moved to dismiss the proceeding for want of jurisdiction, claiming the court, being a co-ordinate branch of the government, could not interfere with the Governor. But the court held they could enquire into his election. To a stipulation made by all the counsel asking the court to say if it would hold it had the right to go behind the canvassers' certificate to enquire into the election, the court refused to reply, as there was no issue presented. The plea of Barstow was the certificate of election, to which counsel for Coles Bashford demurred. The court held they could go behind the canvassers' certificate and sustained the demurrer. The respondent Barstow, being required to answer over, his counsel came into court and announced they had been directed by the Governor to withdraw from the case. At the same time he handed up a savage defiance of the Supreme Court written by Mr. Barstow, which they refused as impertinent. The dilatory action of the respondent Barstow had dragged the case along for two months; but on March 11 the counsel for Coles Bashford moved judgment of ouster against Barstow by default and for judgment that Coles Bashford was elected Governor. In a few days the attorney general dismissed the case; but the court held this did not prejudice the rights of Coles Bashford, who was a party in interest as relator. The court came in and made its decision that, according to the usual practice, default was equivalent to judgment of ouster and in favor of the relator; but because of the importance of this case they felt it proper to exercise their discretion and require the relator to show evidence of his right to the office. The next day after taking of testimony was begun in the Supreme Court, Governor Barstow resigned, supposing he could hand down to Lieutenant Governor

Arthur McArthur a clear title to the office. The Supreme Court moved unruffled and relentlessly on taking testimony, and all those startling frauds and forgeries were dragged into court with the documents to show the shameful acts, and witnesses called from the forests to prove the negative evidence of the forests, where no settlement existed. Some of this has been mentioned above. The final judgment was rendered on March 24 of ouster against Barstow and in favor of Coles Bashford. The next day, with his counsel, E. J. Ryan and T. O. Howe, Coles Bashford entered the executive chamber, and demanded of acting Governor McArthur possession of the office. On being advised that force would be used if required, he vacated and Coles Bashford became Governor. His message to the Legislature was finally recognized, and as far as the official life was concerned the incident was closed. That the press was free and caustic in its comments on all concerned in the affair during its progress may be gathered from frequent reference of council in their argument before the court. That the court was not spared in these comments can be gathered from their expression of sentiment here and there in rendering their decision. The argument of counsel for the respondent, Governor Barstow, will not be recognized as good law. It too often fell below the well known rules of old and well established principles; a position they may have felt justified in assuming as they had paid $1,000 for an opinion from Rufus Choate that the court had no jurisdiction. The historian and the lawyer may read to this day the several opinions of the court without finding anything to criticise except their length, which was justified by the knowledge they possessed that they were also talking to the whole state, as all the press published the whole proceedings. That the court was fair and impartial will be admitted now by all who read the case. Coles Bashford conducted himself admirably during the whole contest. No criticism seems to have been made on the returns from Winnebago county, although it gave Bashford a handsome majority, and there was no charge made that his friends sought to make up fraudulent returns at any place.

P. V. L.

LII.

CITY OF MENASHA.

By

Publius V. Lawson.

The Famous Menasha Dam.

The site of the future manufacturing city of Menasha was in 1846 a dense hardwood forest. Mr. Samuel Neff, who then lived in one of the mission block houses, on the opposite shore of Little Lake Butte des Morts, and very close to the Hill of the Dead, crossed the lake to this forest for the purpose of exhibiting to his brother, who was visiting him from the east, a real forest, and to hunt black bear, which then ranged through the woods. There were some blazed trees by which Mr. Samuel Neff could trace his way, without danger of being lost. His brother insisted they were going in the wrong direction. Mr. Samuel Neff, to satisfy him, let him take the lead to find the place where they had beached their boat. After traveling for half an hour he brought up at the very place they had started from, and was obliged to admit he was lost. Mr. Samuel Neff then took the lead, and they very soon arrived at the place where their boat was moored.

It was in April, 1848, that Cornelius Northrup entered this forest, made a clearing and built himself a slab house. The slabs were hauled over Doty Island and into the unbroken wilderness from the old mission mill at Neenah, two miles away. The house was formed by placing the slabs upright or verticle and the ragged edges battened with another up and down course of slabs, placed flat sides together. This slab dwelling stood in the center of what is now Milwaukee street, where now intersected by Sixth street, at the southwest corner of the southeast quarter of the northeast quarter of section fifteen, in the area of the plat of Reed's first addition to the city of Menasha, at lot 16 of block 2 of that addition. This frontier cabin, the first to be

raised and occupied within the limits of the city of Menasha, has long since rotted away. Deacon Cornelius Northrup, the builder and occupant of this first home in the wilderness, had been a pioneer resident of Neenah in 1846, where he was engaged in millwright, mill building and carpenter work. He had lived there with his wife and family of children, one of them Coridon P. Northrup. He moved to the site of unnamed Menasha with his whole family.

While the site of the future village of Menasha was a wilderness and the Fox river ran wild over the rapids, John L. Kimberly bought all the lands on which the mills and stores are now located north of the river for $100, on which the town was platted six years later, and sold it to Major Charles Doty for $838. Not being possessed of so much money, he gave a mortgage for $550 in part payment. This transaction occurred in 1847, one year before any house was built in the town.

The original title to part of the territory now covered by the limits of the city of Menasha was purchased by Hon. Morgan L. Martin, of Green Bay, a cousin of Gov. James D. Doty and the founder of Milwaukee, a man who gave much and saved very little from the improvement of the Fox and Wisconsin rivers; also Hon. Charles R. Brush, a land speculator and enterprising man of that period, and James and Charles Doty, sons of the Governor, as well as the Governor himself, who took title to lands formerly owned by Charles R. Brush. This land had been surveyed in 1834 by Gen. Albert G. Ellis for the United States government after the purchase of the region from the Indians, and laid off into sections according to the system of land surveys adopted. This survey included the Doty island and all the land north of the lower Fox river. The land south of Fox river at Menasha, on which the cities of Oshkosh and Neenah are mostly built, was not surveyed until 1839. Very soon after this survey of 1834 a United States land office was opened at Green Bay for sale of these lands, and they were first offered for sale August 31, 1835. The sections on which Menasha stands was entered by the parties named above not as settlers or occupants, but for speculation.

*Cornelius Northrup was born in Greene county, New York, in 1800; son of Enos Northrup, of English and Dutch descent. He married Mary E. Porter, of Welch and English descent, born in Onondaga county, New York, whose parents were James and Polly (Bullard) Porter. Caroline Northrup, daughter of Cornelius, taught the first school in Neenah in 1847, a private school, and the following summer she was teacher of the only public school in the hamlet. Mr. Northrup had the contract to erect the first Congregational church in Menasha in 1859. He resided in Menasha until his death.

The real inducement to the settlement and building up of a town was the development of the hydraulic power for the operation of milling and manufacturing industries. Before these enterprises could be erected it was necessary to improve the river by damming back the water and excavation of a canal to carry the increased head of water to the mill site. The water forming Lake Winnebago is gathered by upwards of 5,000 miles of rivers and creeks on the eastern drainage slope of Wisconsin. This great lake discharges through two channels, one at Menasha and one at Neenah. The channel at Menasha is about two miles long, connecting Lake Winnebago with Little Lake Butte des Morts below. In its descent there is a change in level of eight feet, forming a rapids, which since the earliest times have been called Winnebago rapids or Puant rapids. As early as 1813 Col. Robert Dickson was writing letters from "Puant rapids." Lake Winnebago had often been referred to by engineers and enterprising voyagers as a great reservoir or storage basin to regulate the flow of floods, prevent freshets and store water for water powers. It is still so regarded, and its storage capacity is esteemed by financiers interested in the water powers of the lower Fox river as of great value. Because of the comparatively low cost of improving the water powers at Menasha and Neenah, then jointly called Winnebago Rapids, they were early considered as fair financial investments. By an act of the territorial legislature approved February 8, 1847, Harvey Jones, Loyal H. Jones, Harrison Reed, Charles Doty and Curtis Reed were empowered and granted a charter to "erect a dam across Fox river at such point as they may deem suitable" on their lands on both channels and "use the water of said river for hydraulic purposes."

The association of these men for combining the power interests of the two channels was, unfortunately, not a pleasant relation, and consequently a separation was arranged and the interested associates took separate interests on each channel.

By an act of the legislature of the territory of Wisconsin, approved March 10, 1848, Curtis Reed and associates were authorized to construct a dam across the north channel or outlet of Lake Winnebago at some point in section 22 and use the waters of said river for hydraulic purposes. At the time of the passage of this act Charles Doty owned the lands on both banks of the river on which the dam would be constructed. He resided then in Fond du Lac. Very soon after the passage of this act in June, 1848, Curtis Reed arrived in the forest on the shore of the Fox

river on the site of the future Menasha and erected a log dwelling and store near the head of and on the site of the future canal. When completed it was occupied by Mr. Clark Knight as a tavern and boarding house.

Hon. Curtis Reed was born near Lowell, Massachusetts, March 26, 1815. His father, Seth Reed, a native of the state, was born in Middlesex county in 1781, and married in 1804 Miss Rhoda Finney, of Vermont. Born to them were eight children—George, Julia Ann, Orson, Augusta, Harrison, Curtis, Martha and Herbert. Seth Reed was a farmer in his native state. In 1823 he moved to Vermont, where he became a cattle dealer and hotel keeper. He moved to Milwaukee in 1836, where he opened a hardware store and very soon took to farming in Summit, Waukesha county, where he died July 15, 1848. His wife survived him until 1874, when she died and was buried at Menasha at 94 years of age. This family became somewhat distinguished in the history of Wisconsin. The son, Judge George Reed, was a lawyer of distinction at Milwaukee and Manitowoc, and promoter of the Wisconsin Central railway and its first president, a member of the first constitutional convention, a state senator several terms, judge of Manitowoc county, promoter of the Menasha & Manitowoc railway and builder of the plank road from Menasha to Kaukauna. He perished in the Newhall House fire in 1882. Hon. Orson Reed was a farmer and served several terms in the state senate. Governor Harrison Reed was the founder of Neenah and one of the founders of Menasha, founder of the "Milwaukee Sentinel" and five years governor of Florida. Augusta Reed became the wife of Judge A. D. Smith, a prominent lawyer of Milwaukee and judge of the Supreme Court of Wisconsin. Martha Reed became the wife of Hon. Alexander Mitchell, the great financier of Milwaukee, owner of the St. Paul railway, founder of the great Marine Bank and the Northwestern Life Insurance Company, and their son was United States Senator John Mitchell. Julia Ann Reed became the wife of Dr. Thomas Jefferson Noyes, of Milwaukee, who followed Curtis Reed to Menasha and took part in its earliest enterprises, and who will be mentioned at another place.

Curtis Reed, educated in the district school, began at sixteen a clerkship in a Vermont store and then entered a store in Troy, New York, until he emigrated to Milwaukee in the winter of 1835, making the entire trip by stage coach to Detroit, where they took a stage sleigh to Chicago and from there to Milwaukee

by lumber wagon, arriving December 28, 1835. Here Mr. Reed boarded with Solomon Juneau and acted as clerk in his store. In July, 1836, on the organization of the Wisconsin territory, Gov. Henry Dodge made him a deputy sheriff of the territory about Milwaukee. He was chairman of the committee sent to escort Governor Dodge to Milwaukee from Iowa and made the address of welcome, and subsequently he was made a lieutenant of state militia and a member of the governor's staff. Having taken the census of Milwaukee county in 1837, he soon after took up lands in the county, where by 1848 he had cleared 200 acres into a valuable farm in Summit, Waukesha county, and served as a member of the county board. In 1846 he was elected to the territorial council, where he served two years. Mr. Reed was part proprietor and sole proprietor of a large tract of land on the site of the future village of Menasha and platted over 300 acres into town lots.

In the same year that Mr. Reed moved to the site of Menasha he caused to be erected another log building on the site now occupied by the library on Mill street, which he occupied as a store, and commenced work on the dam. The plan of construction was what is known as a spar dam. Timbers felled on the banks of the river were laid transverse to each other on the bed of the stream and pinned together with oak nails, forming a succession of pockets or cribs to hold the stone and boulders gathered along the shore. On the top spars or piles were laid closely side by side and covered with brush, on top of which was piled gravel and stone. Extra large piers at the ends, built into the bank and secured to the timbers of the dam, formed abutments. This dam, though substantial, did leak and waste much water. From the bank on the north end of the dam a canal was dug along the shore, which ended at the present site of the Menasha Woolen Mill, about half way down the present canal. A large amount of work was accomplished the first year, although the work was not completed for several years.

Among those who came with the first pioneers under Curtis Reed was Dr. Thomas Jefferson Noyes, the very first physician in the town. He was from Vermont and studied medicine in New Hampshire, where with some fellow students, having been found out in procuring subjects for study, was obliged to flee out of the state and came to Milwaukee in 1836, where he married the sister of Mr. Curtis Reed, Miss Julia Ann Reed. In August, 1848, he followed the argonauts to help hew a town out of the wilder-

ness on the site of future Menasha, and then named Waupakun. Later in the same year he wrote a letter to his daughter, Frances Noyes, who he always called Frank and who was the late Mrs. Francis Crosby, of Milwaukee, the first white girl born in that place. She was nursed by Mrs. Solomon Juneau when a child and in after life became a leader in philanthropic work, founding the Girls' Industrial School, the Woman's Exchange and, after repeated failures, secured the cooking school and domestic training for all the schools in the city. She died in 1906. The letter she always preserved reads as follows:

"Waupakun, November 20, 1848.

"My Dear Frank: . . . It is now 3 o'clock in the morning, our usual time of getting up. . . . We are driving ahead smoothly, raising a new house most every day. When I came here we had but one family— now we have eighteen; seven moved in yesterday."

Soon after writing this letter Dr. Noyes became infected with the gold fever and started overland with the rush for California. Just at the foothills of the Rocky mountains he wrote his last letter and disappeared, never to be heard of afterward. His wife died in Milwaukee, October 25, 1881, aged 75 years.

When the state was admitted into the Union the Congress of the United States gave to the state about 500,000 acres of land to be sold to raise means with which to improve the Fox and Wisconsin rivers for navigation of the river boats then in general use to connect the Great Lakes by boat lines for commerce with the Mississippi.

The improvement was by law placed in charge of a board of public works. The first members, appointed in 1848 by the legislature, were James B. Estes, Curtis Reed, Albert S. Story, John A. Bingham and H. L. Dousman. They determined on a four-foot navigation and the size of locks as 125 by 30 feet, which was larger than those of the Welland or Erie canals. Their report for 1849 says, "The work at Winnebago Rapids (which would include both Neenah and Menasha) was not begun this year." But their report for 1850 says the dam was completed and the canal two-thirds excavated.

The "True Democrat," of Oshkosh, of October 26, 1849, says: "The board of public works met here last week. All present, together with Governor Dewey. The work at the Rapids (Win-

*The total of land granted for the improvement of the Fox-Wisconsin waterway was 639,000 acres.

nebago Rapids, the name then known for Menasha) was let to Curtis Reed. The conditions of the contract are that Mr. Reed binds himself in good and sufficient sureties to build the work without charge to the state, and to pay the state in addition $5,000 for making it. In consideration of this the board permits the work to be made on the north channel." This contract was made October 23, 1849, at Oshkosh, where the board met. Five members constitute this board, to be elected by the legislature, and Mr. Curtis Reed was not now a member of the board, having resigned so he could bid on this contract, his place being filled by Mr. Erastus W. Drury. By this agreement Mr. Curtis Reed bound himself to excavate the canal, construct the dam and locks and do all things at his own cost, like specifications furnished him, for the improvement of "the north channel of Fox river at Winnebago Rapids as located by the chief engineer under direction of the board of public works." The work to be commenced within ten days and completed by October 1, 1850. Any increase in size was to be paid for by an agreed scale. He agreed to perform the work and furnish all material without cost to the state "in consideration of the location of the line of canal upon said north channel, and also agrees to pay to the state the sum of $5,000, or when required by the state for superintendence and repair of said work when completed." An excise clause was inserted in this agreement, which may be regarded as the first law ever enacted for the regulation of spirituous liquors in the town: "And that the work shall be performed without the use of ardent spirits; that none shall be given or sold to the workmen or other persons, nor brought on or near the line of canal by himself or any workman or agent in his employ," on penalty of having the contract taken away. The next day Mr. Curtis Reed furnished a bond to the state of Wisconsin in the sum of $25,000 for the performance of the agreement, signed by Harrison Reed, James Doty and Charles Doty, approved by the signatures of the whole board of public works. The canal contemplated by the specifications of the engineer was to be 44 feet on bottom and 4 feet deep, with "a towing path bank 10 feet," indicating it was contemplated to operate the canal with horse power. He was to raise and complete the dam already commenced, excavate as much as necessary of river bottom above the dam to insure 4 feet of water, 200 feet wide. The lock was to have 9-foot lift. The line of canal to commence just above the dam was surveyed and staked out in August, 1849. It was to be excavated to Little

Butte des Morts lake and was 4,500 feet long, while the whole channel from Lake Winnebago to the Little Lake Butte des Morts was 11,800 feet long, or two miles.

The story is told by the old resident that there was a strong effort made by the owners of the lands and water power on both channels of Winnebago Rapids for the location by the state of the line of canal improvement for navigation through their respective channels, the friends of each channel being arranged on their side and all the political influence each could command was enlisted for each side. The contest for the location was warm and active. The influence of Governor Doty and all the Reeds was for the north channel. A boat was chartered for the engineers, interested parties and the members of the board of public works to run down each channel for a personal inspection. The captain of the boat, made friendly to the north channel, as he ran his boat down the south or Neenah channel caused his boat to constantly strike boulders and snags and imperiled the safety of his passengers; but when he ran down the north or Menasha channel he ran smoothly and safely, never finding a boulder or obstruction of any kind. This decided the issue of the best channel and the line was ordered to run through the north channel. In 1853 the state transferred the improvement to the Fox & Wisconsin Improvement Company, and the reports of expenditure of the state in the work to that date show that no part of the half-million dollars used on the work had been for work on either channel of Fox river at Winnebago Rapids. The work was so far advanced that the editor of the "True Democrat," of Oshkosh, of date November 9, 1849, said: "Last week we were down to those growing towns at the foot of the lake, after an absence of little more than two months, and things new and strange met our gaze on all sides. New houses and new stores going up at Neenah, and since the letting (of the contract) a new rush is setting in to Menasha. Two sawmills are already in operation there and two more about commencing, and other manufacturing establishments are to be commenced immediately. These two towns will soon eclipse all around them." The sawmills then in operation were the Norman Clinton mill, on the north end of the dam, and the William Duchman mill, on the south end of the dam. The sawmills being completed were Armstrong's and Porter & Slocum's.

By the report of C. D. Westbrook, Jr., made November 15, 1854, he says: "At Menasha, where the second and northern

channel issues from the lake, the dam is erected and the canal excavated. The lock pit was excavated and the foundation in progress the first of November. The contract time for completion extends to July. Here, as at Neenah, the contract for the execution of the work without cost to the state was taken in consideration of the use of the water power. Subsequently it was determined to enlarge the canal to 100 feet and to a depth of 5 feet, and the locks to 160x40 feet. This change of contract will cost $16,734, more than the original plan, of which $10,916 is yet to be expended." Mr. Henry Hewitt, Sr., afterward the founder of the Bank of Menasha, had the contract to enlarge and complete the work at Menasha on the new plans, which he had accomplished by June, 1856, when navigation from Green Bay to Lake Winnebago was opened. The Fox & Wisconsin Improvement Company on July 24, 1855, made an agreement with Charles Doty, Harrison Reed and Curtis Reed by which they gave to the parties named all the water power on the north channel, and were given a right of way for the navigable canal over the strip of land on which it was located, and a fee simple to the land on which the lock was located, and for sixty feet each side. and a grant of the dam, with the proviso that it must be forever maintained. The company also covenanted to "proceed to finish and complete the said lock and canal, the said canal to 100 feet wide at the bottom." Two days after this agreement the parties thereto made their deed defining the rights of each to the ownership of the water power in "the village of Menasha," by which it was agreed that Charles Doty had the undivided one-half and Curtis Reed and Harrison Reed each the undivided one-quarter. About 1857 the dam was further improved by Mr. Henry Hewitt, Sr., by contract with the Fox River Canal Company by the building of a row of cribs across the whole front of the dam about ten feet wide, filled with stone and covered with a planking to serve as an apron to shed the water.

A half interest in the entire water power at Menasha was purchased by P. V. Lawson, Sr., in 1876, of Maj. Charles Doty, then of Alton, Illinois, and in 1879 the other half of Mr. Curtis Reed, including the lands and water power lots still owned by them. The property was then paying in rents a very small sum. After some little litigation was cleared away and Mr. Lawson's death in 1881, Mr. P. V. Lawson, Jr., took charge and by clearing off many old leases and making new leases, the property was made a good investment and very much increased in value. The Lawson

estate constructed in 1886 the Lawson canal, 4,500 feet long, on the south bank for water power purposes. Mr. George Danielson, of Neenah, had the contract for this work. After the water was let into this canal private dredges were employed to make a water depth of eight feet, excavating most of it through the limestone rock with steel-pointed dippers.

The banks of the canal near the lock gave way in May, 1858, but it delayed navigation only a few days, when it was closed. Frequent breaks occurred at other points about the flumes, doing great damage to mill property. At one time the Fred Lamb mill, which stood about on the site of the present band sawmill of the Woodenware Company, was undermined by a break in the canal bank around the flume and carried on the floods out into the river. The mill was still unfinished. At another time the Armstrong Bros. sawmill was wrecked by breaks in the canal banks at their flume. These breaks in the banks were caused by frost in the spring and high water rushing around them, or muskrats boring through the banks. The banks are all wide and firm now. No break has occurred since 1880, when the banks broke out near the lock at the foot of the canal, where a sluiceway or waste-weir had been built to draw off the flood water. Mr. P. V. Lawson, Sr., was given a contract February 8, 1860, by the Fox & Wisconsin River Improvement Company to construct at the head of the canal, at which is now Mill street, a guard lock for use in case of floods or breaks in the canal banks to close off the water from entering the canal. Mud sills were sunk into the bed of the canal and tight piers filled with stone located at each bank for abutments, and one long, tight pier in the center of the canal. In case of a break a boom was swung across, resting against the piers and plank set vertically, packed with shavings. The center pier is still in the canal, but the mud sills have been dredged out to deepen the channel. During the high water in the spring of 1864 the manufacturers on the water power met at the office of Mr. E. D. Smith, April 8. Henry Hewitt, Sr., was made chairman. A. N. Lincoln, then clerk for Mr. Smith, was made secretary. The meeting was to confer on measures to prevent damage to the banks of the canal, then endangered by high water. A committee was named, consisting of Mr. P. V. Lawson, chairman, Mr. R. M. Scott and Edward Ward, empowered to improve the banks and keep a watch on them and to man the guard lock. On April 9 all the manufacturers signed a paper to share the expense, and Mr. P. V. Lawson, Sr., was given charge of the work.

He had teams and men at work, placed on the dam and banks 270 yards of earth, set a watch on the banks and kept the guard lock ready for instant use, thus preventing any damage to the work that year. The accounts show that all the signers except one paid.

There had always been a natural ledge of rock across the north channel at the entrance to Lake Winnebago, over which the earliest settler forded the river. It was an obstruction to navigation and during a drought or dry season only boats drawing two and one-half feet of water could cross it. The Canal Company about 1867 made a coffer or temporary dam across the river 992 feet long, closing off the water completely from the whole north channel, and Alonzo Granger, who had charge of the work, blasted out this ledge, making a channel 200 feet wide and about 300 long, two feet deep. At the same time the boulders and gravel bars were removed from the channel. The channel below the lock into Little Lake Butte des Morts was first dredged out by the United States in 1874, making a deep channel 940 feet long. Since these dates further and extensive dredge excavation has occurred at different times. Steel teeth were devised for the dipper, by which the rock layers at the mouth of the river were lifted out and the channel deepened and made wider.

The great floods of record began in September, 1850. By reference to the Oshkosh "True Democrat" of September 6, 1850: "In all our experience we have never seen such long, uninterrupted, continued and excessively wet weather. The whole country is an ocean." The floods extended into the next spring, and May 29, 1951, reported in the same journal: "Flood! flood! Excessive rain, constantly raining. The river is many feet higher than we have ever seen it. The whole country is afloat." Mr. Richard J. Harney remembers this as the first great flood. He sailed a boat drawing three feet of water up to the platform of the Oshkosh House, which occupied the site of Stroud's oil store in Oshkosh (of 1880), several blocks up Ferry street, where the water stood from two to four feet deep. The people at Oshkosh supposed the floods due to the dams at Menasha and Neenah and held public meetings to abate them." Mr. S. S. Roby, the late veteran relic collector of Menasha, remembers that the villagers kept watch with shotguns for the coming of a boat load of up-river people to attack the dam. At the same time a cannon obtained from old Fort Howard, now known as Old Ben of Yorktown, was mounted on the bank of the river, loaded with gravel,

and the old settler says it would have been discharged if any injury had been attempted to the dam.

In October of 1881 the water began to rise and reached its highest stage in November, after which it fell. This was the great flood. The water stood twenty-three and a half inches higher on the gage at Oshkosh than at any previous time, according to Capt. E. M. Neff, and at Menasha eighteen inches above every recorded high water mark, according to government reports. From the report of Col. D. C. Houston, made January 9, 1882, in response to an inquiry from Robert T. Lincoln, secretary of war, because of a resolution made by both branches of Congress making inquiry to what extent the dam at Menasha "caused the extremely high stage of water in Lake Winnebago," Colonel Houston said: "The cause of the high water was the unusual rainfall which prevailed in this section during the past fall, and which caused floods in the Wolf and Upper Fox rivers and the Wisconsin river, which overflowed its banks and discharged a large quantity of water into the Fox river. Since the floods have subsided in these streams water has fallen in Lake Winnebago and the Lower Fox river, showing that the high water was the result of the unusual discharge of water from the tributary streams. A comparison of the records since 1857 shows that the water at the foot of Lake Winnebago was about eighteen inches higher in November, 1881, than at any previous date," and concluded, "the high water was not caused" by the Menasha dam.

The United States purchased the improvement July 6, 1872, but the owners of the water power had retained control over the dam up to 1882, when the engineer corps of the United States War Department first assumed control under an act of Congress to provide waste-weirs. Prior to that time each year since the erection of the dam posts had been driven across the top of the dam and flush boards consisting of two 8-inch boards one on top of the other had been placed all across the dam, backed by shavings and compost to keep them tight. These flush boards were always placed on the dam soon after the spring rise of water, when it had lowered to six inches on the dam.

The United States engineers, Col. C. A. Fuller, assistant United States engineer in charge of the improvement on Fox river, Capt. N. M. Edwards and Mr. Charles Cole, both of Appleton, took possession of the dam in the spring of 1882 and cut down the top eighteen inches below the average height of the old dam, replacing it with a set of movable flush boards eighteen inches high.

There was a solid embankment on the north end of the dam from the Coral mill (flour mill), which stood in midstream, to the A. Syme flour mill, on the north bank of the river. This solid part of the dam closed off about 100 feet of the river from spilling over and was made so in 1857 by Mr. Henry Hewitt, Sr., from clay excavated from the canal. Colonel Fuller caused this solid embankment to be cut down and added to the spill of the dam, making the total length of the spill or area over which the water of the river could flow 270 feet, while it had only 182½ feet spill before, all on the south end. This dry embankment had been used as the north extention roadway of the village bridge over the river, and the city was now compelled to build a bridge over the gap. An injunction was served on the engineers by Mr. Alexander Syme, owner of both the Coral mill and City mill on the dam, as the changes in the dam would absolutely ruin his water power by which he ran these mills. The United States engineers proceeded under acts of Congress and the state to condemn his property for public use and took testimony of the value, which was regarded as the full worth of the property, which was sworn in the testimony to be worth $70,000. The amount of the damages was arranged by agreement and paid to Mr. Syme. The government then removed these mills entirely and nothing remains to mark the spot of a fine 400-barrel roller flour mill and elevator but the bridge-tender shanty of Johnny Jones. The next year, under an act of Congress and an order of the War Department, a new dam was constructed the whole width of the river 350 feet long, containing four 16-foot sluiceways with rolling gates, cut down to bedrock. The dam was laid just below the old dam, which still remains in place, and was founded on the rock and raised to the height of the original dam, six and one-half feet above the bed of the river, with a spill the entire width of the river, excepting the place of the waste-weir. The abutments on either end and the sluice partitions and abutments are heavy stone walls with wing walls set far into shore ends. It is a substantial, handsome structure. About 1900 the secretary of war consented to the request of the mill owner to place flush boards on the dam twelve inches high, but in 1907, yielding to the pressure of complaints of riparian occupants, they were ordered to remain permanently removed, although Captain Jenks explained that the government records showed that the flush boards did not

cause the high water, as they were only used in low and falling water.

Notwithstanding the constant litigation and complaints because of the maintenance of this dam, there has grown up about it and solely because of it a flourishing city, great manufacturing industries and property values of many million dollars. There has been more printed about this dam and more testimony taken because of it than of anything else in the county. In one of the numerous cases arising out of this dam Capt. E. M. Neff, who had run the Fox river then for thirty-three years, was a witness. His reply is worthy to stand with the famous remark of Robert Stevenson as to what would become of the "coo" if she got on the railroad track. A United States engineer had reported the Menasha dam as not necessary to navigation. Mr. Charles Felker asked the question of Captain Neff: "If the Menasha dam was taken out, would there be any navigation in that channel?" Captain Neff: "Not in low water." Question: "How far would you run?" Answer: "You would run aground."

LIII.

THE PIONEER IN THE HAMLET—THE MILLS OF THE PAST—THE FLUSH DAYS ALONG THE RIVER.

The arrangement of the manufacturing industries along the water power, in a long row of mostly handsome brick structures alive with busy life, presents today an imposing and picturesque picture. It was not always so grand and modern. Formerly these structures were all frame buildings and much smaller, yet in their way as pioneers the mills of the past have had their influence on the flush days of energy and hope with which the new scenes and activity inspired the newcomers from the east, who were seeking to make their fortune in the west. Many of these shops of the olden days were the nucleus of great plants of today, while others are out and the shop with its machinery gone into the scrap heap.

On the coming of the Reeds in June of 1848 the rough town was begun to be carved out of the wilderness. Before the close of the year there were located in hastily made log huts and crowded into them, some single and others with their families, an increasing number of strong, young people, full of health and vigor. Among these were Curtis Reed, speculator; Dr. T. J. Noyes, physician; Cornelius Northrup, carpenter; Coridon P. Northrup, wheelwright; Philo Hine, cabinet maker; George Stickles, Thomas and William Brotherhood, Henry C. Tate, hotel man; I. M. Noricong, carpenter; William Geer, tailor; J. H. Trude, Norman Clinton and sons, Urial P. Clinton and Luman Clinton, all millwrights; Rev. O. P. Clinton, missionary; Henry Alden, merchant; John B. Lagest and family, carpenter; Jeremiah Hunt and family, merchant, and in October Hon. Elbridge Smith, from Maine, an attorney. The following year a host of others came and settled into their different avocations. There was work and a place for all. Mr. Elbridge Smith built the first frame house in the hamlet. It still stands on Water street between Clay and Mill streets. This was the first law office and the first school house. The building was so far completed by Christmas of 1848 that a dance was held in it.

The first divine service was conducted in the fall in the log tavern by Rev. O. P. Clinton, the bar and sitting room being thrown open for the service. During the meeting several came into the barroom for drinks, but while they waited Mr. Clinton prolonged their anxiety by a lesson in patience, extending his discourse for their benefit.

In the fall of 1848 Mr. Henry C. Tate began the Tate Hotel or tavern, afterward under Mr. Eldredge, so long known as the Menasha House, completed in the spring of 1849, and stood on the corner of Water and Clay streets. Some time after this Mr. Tate moved on to an island at the foot of the rapids, ever since known as Tate's island. He enlisted for the war and died of a gunshot wound received in the battle of Gettysburg. His daughters were prominent members of society in Menasha in after years. One was married to Mr. R. P. House and one was the wife of Dr. Lex Potter; Nellie was a school teacher and died in 1890. Rev. O. P. Clinton, who had arrived in Neenah with his family in 1846 and occupied one of the old mission block houses on the point under the council tree, had been living in 1846 in the log cabin home of Governor Doty on the island, when in 1848 he obtained a ten-acre tract of land in a beautiful location on the east end of the island and commenced his log cabin dwelling, into which he moved with his family in the fall of 1848. This was in a few years replaced by the gothic colonial frame dwelling he occupied so many years in the center of a wide orchard and nursery, where the splendid old preacher lived his active and useful career and where he died June 17, 1900, beloved and lamented by a very wide circle of friends. The brothers, O. P. Clinton, Edmund Clinton, Norman Clinton and Allen Clinton, all settled at Prairieville and founded the town since known as Waukesha about 1844. In 1846 Rev. O. P. Clinton, wife and one daughter, Katharine, afterward married to Capt. A. B. Bradish, and adopted daughter, Hattie, afterward married to Warren Meeker, together with Norman Clinton and his sons, Urial P., Luman and Bowman, all located in Neenah. As soon as the improvements were commenced in the north channel of Winnebago Rapids, Mr. Norman Clinton, with his sons, came there and very soon secured the lots on the north end of the dam, where Mr. C. Northrup and Harrison Reed had started to erect a sawmill. They had the assistance of the newcomers and Mr. Cornelius Northrup in its completion. It was a frame building, one story high, about thirty feet wide and

much longer. The saw was of the pattern then in use—an up-and-down jig saw. The flume or intake at the forebay, cut through the dam, was planked on its floor and sides, and the water let out on to the wheel curb through a tube about two feet square. The wheel was made by the millwright and consisted of a dozen paddles firmly attached to an oak upright shaft. This wheel was actuated by the impact of the water against the paddles as it was forced through the tube from the forebay or river above. All about the wheel there was a heavy planked chamber to keep the water to its work against the paddles until it was released into the wheel pit below and into the tail race. Most of the machinery of the sawmill of that day was made by the millwright on the spot from logs cut near at hand. The first logs for this sawmill were cut on the site of the town growing up about it. This sawmill was started before November 9, 1849, and the head sawyer was Mr. Daniel Wallace Pierce, who was married to Francis Adeline Finch, of Jay, New York. It was in a gang mill at Perue, nine miles from Jay, that Mr. Pierce learned the trade of head sawyer. His wife, afterward Mrs. Lang, still resides in Menasha, at the age of 83, with a memory of olden days unimpaired, having been over the ground two years before a house was built in the present city limits. Many of their descendants reside in the present city. Mr. Norman Clinton, with his son, Urial P. Clinton, moved to Clintonville about 1856 and erected saw and grist mill and dam on the Pigeon river and founded the thriving city to which they gave the name of their family. This property afterward came into possession of Mr. P. V. Lawson, Sr., in 1879, who greatly enlarged and improved it. Mr. S. S. Roby and William Graves, a relative, as pioneer boys were employed in the Clinton sawmill, and Mr. N. C. Bronson was in the flour mill attached the following year.

Other sawmills began and completed about the same time were the Porter & Slocum, on the site now occupied by the sash factory; Potter & Duchman's mill, built on the island end of the dam about the same time, and also that of Armstrong Bros. and the Keyes sawmill, on the site afterward of the Webster & Lawson sawmill. By the end of the year 1849 the new arrivals included Capt. Joseph Keyes and his son, Abel Keyes; Mr. A. D. Page, who took the Clinton mill to run by the thousand in 1850, and afterward moved on to a fine farm north of the city, which remains in his family; S. Lom Hart, the gunsmith, with

his brother, A. H. Hart, and their parents; William Hughes, Edward O'Connell, Henry Axtel, Mr. L. D. Donaldson, a millwright, moved from Neenah with his family, including their son, Mr. Charles V. Donaldson, a soldier of the Civil War, who died this year (1908); Lyman Fargo and Joseph W. Thombs, J. A. Sanford, carpenters, William Prentice Rounds and Edward Decker.

The site of the village was platted by Charles Doty and recorded May 28, 1849. This year also the Decker House was built, so long standing on the north side of the triangle of Main and Chute streets, torn down in 1899 by Adam A. Tuchscherer to give place to the large brick block then erected by him, still standing. The Decker house was built by Mr. Edward Decker and Henry Axtel, commenced in 1849 and completed in 1850. The first birth occurred February 22, 1849, when Lydia M. Hunt was born, daughter of Jeremiah Hunt, and in July a daughter was born to the family of Murray McCallum, and the previous May the first death occurred in the same family of a Fannie McCallum. The cemetery then used was in the Fourth ward, then known as Little Prairie, where the prehistoric aboriginal mounds mentioned in a previous chapter were used for interment, now on Second and Manitowoc streets. In the year 1849 a second store was opened by Mr. John McCune with a stock of general merchandise. In the fall of 1849 the postoffice was established and James R. Lush appointed postmaster. "The office was carried in Jimmy's hat, and it was not a large hat."

The application for the location of a postoffice required the adoption of a name. Just how it was accomplished has not been recorded. The first letter written out of the building hamlet was dated from Waupekun. We find on Captain Cram's map of 1839 this name with H. S. Wright at the location down the Fox river since known as Wrightstown. It is possible this double use of the name was discouraged by the Postoffice Department. It is evident no permanent name had been adopted on October 23, 1849, the date of the establishment of the line of navigation on the Fox river through the north channel, as the contract with Mr. Reed names it, "The improvement of the north channel of Fox river at Winnebago Rapids." The earliest use of the name Menasha is found in a petition for laying out a highway in the town of Neenah, since known as Naymut street, in Menasha, across the island, which is dated "Menasha, September 1, 1849," and is written in the hand-

writing of Governor Doty, who also signed it. This highway ran from the ford across Fox river at Neenah, above the Doty log house, over the island to the dam at Menasha. The next month the records show an order of the supervisors in the handwriting of Governor Doty, dated October 10, 1849, for the building of a "foot bridge" across the river at the same points "in the highway where the same between the village of Neenah and Menasha cross said stream."

On June 19, 1850, nine months after this, the 50 per cent note made by Beckworth, Sanford & Billings was dated at "Menasha," and the letter of Governor Doty mentioned below, dated April 18, 1851, to Col. J. M. McCarty, was dated at "Menasha, Wisconsan." Mr. William N. Webster says that the wife of Governor Doty gave it the name of "Menasha," signifying an "island." Mr. Curtis Reed told the writer it meant the name of the Indian village on the island. Its true etymology in the Indian language cannot be restored. It is doubtless an English spelling of a Winnebago pronunciation, and its true orthography is from the Siouan words "Mini" "haha," or laughing water, referring to the twin falls which ran around their island home. An echo of the same meaning was very early in use by reference to the rapids or waterfall of both channels as Puants Rapids, or the falls of the Winnebago, a name which had clung to the location from the earliest times and only revived in the new form by changing to Menasha from Minnihaha, meaning the same thing. The name Menasha was adopted in the winter of 1849-50 and then first used as a post-office name only. The hamlet had not yet assumed village relations. This winter was also instituted the first public school. It was taught by Mrs. Henry Alden, the first public school teacher.

Mr. H. A. Burts came in February of 1850 and began at once the building of a one run of stone flour mill attached to the Clinton sawmill, a very necessary improvement in the hamlet. About the same time the Fargo & Thombs foundry and machine shop was projected on Tayco street, afterward made into a sash factory and occupied by P. V. Lawson, Sr. This same year there were four sawmills in operation. Mr. S. S. Roby opened a grocery store on Main street at the end of Mill street, on a site still occupied by the building then erected of hewn timbers, three stories high. Mr. E. D. Smith and Dr. J. B. Doane opened a general store on Water street near Tayco, and afterward re-

moved to the corner of Main and Mill streets, now occupied by the "Hotel Menasha." Charles Roeser opened a grocery store on Tayco street near the canal. John Potter, Jr., the second attorney, came here from Pennsylvania. In the year 1850 the now extensive Menasha Woodenware Company had its very small beginning, and Mr. Ira C. Eldridge established a furniture factory and Capt. Joseph Keyes erected their sawmill on the site last occupied for a sawmill by Lawson & Strange. This same year Carlton and Cleveland B. Batchelder located here and commenced the construction of a kiln for burning pottery and inaugurated the extensive pottery, which, until transportation made competition too strong for them, was a great success. They made brown stoneware of local clays with Ohio clay for a slip. George Cameron, afterward of Oshkosh, and L. M. Taylor began a mercantile business.

As the record of the residents in the village of Menasha is mingled with those of the village of Winnebago Rapids (later Neenah), the only record of actual pioneers is the tax list of road district No. 1, which covered the territory of Menasha, excluding Neenah. As each male resident is bound to pay 75 cents poll tax, the list will be complete of citizens. This list shows for 1850 the following names:

Armstrong & Stickel, Thomas Armstrong, Reuben Armstrong, C. R. Alton, E. A. Alden, Henry Alden, E. A. Bates, N. Beckwith, S. Brotherhood, Carlton Batchelder, Cleveland Batchelder, ——— Batchelder, N. Bronson, C. W. Billings, J. L. Bishop, George Blin, U. P. Clinton, ——— Chappe, O. P. Clinton, L. B. Curtis, George Colburn, Charles Doty, Doane & Smith, A. F. David, J. B. Doan, M. A. Donaldson, L. H. Donaldson, Henry Dietzen, H. H. Ermsting, Ira Eldredge, H. B. Ellinger, Isaac Fargo, L. Fargo, A. Foley, L. G. Floyd, Nois Fratt, George Gillet, William Graves, James Gambell, S. Galentine, A. H. Hart, C. D. Haven, E. Horton, William Hughes, A. Hoeffel, A. Hawley, P. Hansen, P. Hine, E. Hunter, Catharine Drietzen, C. D. Haverns, I. Hough, Walkin A. Hakes, John Harbeck, John Hale, Iviso Hale, A. Groves, N. P. Graves, Leuke Gates, O. Jones, William Jeffries, Daniel Jones, Joseph Keyes, C. Kimball, John Kruger, C. S. Kimball, James Kimball, Abel Keyes, J. K. Lush, J. P. Lockwood, Franick Lamon, Peter Lang, Clark Lang, C. Northrup, I. M. Narricong, C. P. Northrup, S. McKuh, W. G. McSpadam, H. Morgan, John A. McKeon, A. McKeon, D. McGinnis, J. Montgomery, D. O'Hara, Thomas Price, Charles

Price, Charles Puffer, Courtney Puffer, Isaac Puffer, John Porter, A. D. Page, J. S. Redfield, Charles Rocson, S. Robinson, E. Ramona, L. D. Rice, Slocum & Porter, Stocking & Blin, William Slocum, A. K. Spring, Joseph Sanford, William Smith, E. Smith, William Slocum, J. T. Sanborn, Hugh Sells, A. Spaulding, G. Sly, Temple & Hale, Thombs & Co., J. W. Thombs, H. C. Tait, S. H. Trude, E. Temple, S. Tassee, James Underwood, Bishop & Scott, Norman Wolcott, Amos Warner, Nathaniel Wolcott, G. W. White, L. Williams, Thomas N. West, S. Walch, C. C. York, Chapman & Whitney, E. F. O'Connell, Reuben Scott, Joseph Nugent, Thomas Reynolds, Julius Reynolds, Andrew Stevens, Francis Stocking, George W. Stickle, C. C. Stickle, Mr. White, Nathaniel Priest, Hanson Hard, J. G. Potter & Co., B. F. Brown, E. D. Smith, W. Duchman and John Potter, Jr.

The only means of travel then was by boat or team. This place became then a boating point for the Lake Winnebago and upriver traffic, and boat yards were established for the construction of boats and barges. A dredge was constructed here under direction of the state of Wisconsin by the board of public works during this season and placed in commission on the Fox river.

This dredge was taken upriver to Portage and used in the construction of the canal across to the Wisconsin river. The dredge propelled herself upriver, taking several weeks, dredging a channel for herself. She was engaged on the Portage canal for four years and then returned down river. The dredge went to pieces after some twenty years on the east shore at Clifton, where the wreck lay for many years.

In 1850 the steamboat John Mitchell was built on the banks of the river at Menasha by Capt. James Harris. This was the first steamboat to run up the Upper Fox river as far as Fort Winnebago, which she accomplished in the spring of 1851. This same year (1850) Mr. Melancthon Burroughs established that ancient hotel which was so long the leading home of strangers coming to the place. He had been landlord of the Winnebago Hotel in Neenah the year before. As he was getting out the timber for a warehouse to be located at the foot of Appleton street up the river, he moved into the Decker house June 15, 1850. He erected the first warehouse in the hamlet. It burned down in 1852. Adler and St. John had erected a large building on the corner of Appleton and Broad streets, which Mr. Burroughs purchased and opened his famous hostelry, where

he was the tall, smiling boniface for almost a half century of the Burroughs House until it burned, October 20, 1889. At first he drew the town around him and most of its activities lined up and down Broad street near this place. The town which had at first centered about its present central activity now moved toward the Fourth ward. Churches and schools and residences were begun in that direction and continued to move upriver until after the war, when the tendency was again to center about the bridges crossing the river, where it has since remained. In the absence of bridges the only means of crossing the channels was by boat. Teams could cross at the fords near the lake on the ledge of rock across the north channel or at a low bar across the lake end of the Neenah channel. Capt. Edward P. Lull established a ferry from Menasha to Neenah through Lake Butte des Morts around the foot of Doty island, which was in operation two years. Mr. Lull afterward passed through successive promotions up to captain in the United States navy and finally became Commodore Lull of the navy. He died at Pensacola, Florida, March 5, 1887. There was no bridge over the canal until about 1856, when a float bridge was laid across. During the season 1851 the mail was carried to Appleton by sailboat in command of Gabe Capron, which was also used as a passenger boat on Lake Butte des Morts, and the only transportation line to that embryo city which, beginning up at Tecos point at Grignon's rapids back in 1838, was now grubbing out the stumps on College avenue. Later in the season (August 1) the steamer "Van Ness Barlow" was put in commission on Little Lake Butte des Morts and run the balance of the season from Menasha to Grand Chute in connection with the steamer "Menasha," which ran above Menasha on Lake Winnebago from Menasha to Neenah, Oshkosh and Fond du Lac. The distance from Grand Chute to below Kaukauna, eleven miles, was made by stage, and thence by the steamboats ran to Green Bay. The steamer "Menasha" was built at Menasha during the past winter and spring of 1850-51 by Doty & Reed to run on Lake Winnebago. The inducement to build was to have regular uninterrupted communication between Menasha and the towns about the lake. The "Peytonia," which had this line, could not be depended on for regular trips. As soon as the "Menasha" was placed in commission, then the "Peytonia" began regular trips and boating became lively and

prosperous. Curtis Reed and James Doty then erected a dock and warehouse east of Appleton street.

The first effort at bridging the north and south channels is found in the following order of the board of supervisors of the town of Neenah, filed with the early records in the clerk's office of the city of Menasha, in the handwriting of Governor Doty, who doubtless inspired the action:

"It is hereby ordered by the supervisors of the town of Neenah, acting by authority of law as commissioners of highways, that a foot bridge be constructed across the south branch of Fox river in said town, in the highway where the same between the villages of Neenah and Menasha cross said stream, thirty feet of said bridge over the middle of the stream to be high enough to enable Durham boats, with decks, to pass, and to contain a sufficient draw to pass other boats if required for the purposes of navigation.

"Also that a foot bridge be constructed across the north branch of said river on the dam where said road also crosses said north channel.

"Lucius Taft,
"H. C. Finch,
"C. Northrup,
"Neenah, Oct. 10, 1849. Supervisors."

This bridge was to cross from the council tree to the "Grand Loggery" of Governor Doty and over the dam at Menasha.

An attempt was made in 1850 to construct this bridge over the Neenah channel near Governor Doty's log cabin. The cribs had been placed in position and the stringers laid, when a jam of ice going out of the lake demolished the whole structure. In the following year (1852) the Neenah people laid a bridge over the river at its present site on Commercial street. The people of Menasha then laid a crib bridge over the river on the same road, where it is still maintained at Washington street on the island to Tayco street on the mainland. A road was cut through the dense woods on the island, making a highway to connect with these bridges. This highway, at first quite impassable, was first made of planked surface, but was eventually paved with cedar blocks and this year is being partly paved with brick, being now one of the finest streets in the two cities. Capt. Laughlin B. MacKinnon, of the English navy, came to Menasha in 1852 and purchased a wide area of real estate and furnished the means to build a plank road to Appleton.

Along the plank roads to Kaukauna and Appleton there existed toll gates, and a gate keeper's shanty at intervals, where toll was collected from foot and carriage travelers. One small box of a house still stood as late as about 1868 at the corner of the highway to Manitowoc, where the Interurban crosses now, on the town line. Hundreds of teams, saddle horses and foot travelers passed over this only highway each day. One day at the time of the cholera scare in 1856 twenty-six teams were in one train. Some wag among them put up a joke to beat the gate keeper out of his toll. They had the teamster of the last team lay down in his wagon and roll and cry out as if in great pain. Then all the teamsters leaned forward and urged their horses to a high speed and as they approached the gate yelled to the keeper to "Open the gate quick and let us pass, the last man had the cholera." The frightened keeper swung open the gate and took flight across the fields. The Menasha end of the plank road was the same for both routes, branching off at the town line of the town of Harrison. This part of the road is still commonly known as "the old plank road." The plank road to Appleton was first constructed and by September, 1854, the route of the plank road to Kaukauna had been graded to meet a plank road built from Green Bay to that point the same season.

The next year (November, 1850) a bridge was built over Little Lake Butte des Morts, connecting the hamlet with the rich farming country west of that lake, which brought to the town a big trade with the enterprising farmers. A festival was given by the villagers at the Decker House to celebrate the opening of this bridge. On April 18, 1851, Governor Doty wrote a letter to Col. J. M. McCarty at Alexandria, Virginia, dated at "Menasha, Wisconsan," requesting some disposition of certain land titles and added, "Many houses are being built along the northern outlet of Winnebago lake, and your lands there are becoming valuable. There will soon be a village there.

"(Signed) James Duane Doty."

Colonel McCarty had purchased a large tract of land in Menasha and vicinity as early as 1837. His daughter, Mrs. Sally McCarty Pleasants, still resides on part of these lands on Naymut street, on Doty island, in Menasha.

The United States land office was removed from Green Bay to Menasha in 1852, bringing in its train a constant stream of strangers seeking lands. A lighthouse was erected at the mouth of the river and the hamlet was alive with the hum of

business and energy. By an act of the legislature dated July 5, 1853, the "village of Menasha" was incorporated, divided into two wards and an election authorized, at which Mr. Curtis Reed was made the first president of the village. Leonard Williams, Isaac Hough and Urial P. Clinton, trustees of the First ward; Lyman Fargo, Walter Cranston and Carlton Batchelder, of the Second ward; Mr. James W. Thoms was elected clerk.

Girls were scarce in those early days and, hearing that a maid was coming to her aunt, the possessor of eighty acres of land visited the house and informed the aunt that when she came he wanted to marry the girl. One day she came in a snowstorm. Hearing of her arrival, he hurried to the house and told her he wanted to marry her. She was willing and soon a justice had said the legal words and the successful swain bore her home on a hand sled.

Mr. C. T. Kimball, now of Jesup, Iowa, wrote December 31, 1903, this account of his experience in Menasha at the beginning of things: "In the fall of 1846 Brother H. C. Kimball and I left home, three miles north of Oshkosh, for Winnebago Rapids (now Neenah) to make a start in life. My brother engaged to work for Loyal H. Jones in the old government sawmill at Neenah, his first work being to assist in making lumber for James Ladd for the first frame building erected in Neenah, called the Winnebago House. I secured a boat below the old mill and rowed across the lake, around the foot of the island and up the river, where I found men building a log house to be used for a boarding house for men building a dam. I went to work carrying brush into the river and underbrushing the newly surveyed streets of Menasha, thus getting material for the dam. The log house was completed and Mr. Knight installed as landlord. Cheap houses were erected for newcomers and a little village soon sprung into existence. E. F. O'Connell was the first proprietor of a grocery store. The writer was furnished a stock of goods by a relative in Watertown and a second store was started. These goods were hauled by wagon from Watertown. Good trade for about two years reduced the stock, but my account book was so full of bad debts that I was obliged to abandon the enterprise, with the consolation of being a benefactor and helping to build a town for a people in the woods. In the early settlement of Menasha we had to ford the two rivers crossing near Governor Doty's house. There was a rapid current and the river was shallow and easily forded near

Governor Doty's house. I have often forded there and the water would not come into the wagon box. The ford was good below the old mill on the Neenah side to the island and good below the dam on the Menasha side. But we soon got a cheap bridge on both sides, Neenah and Menasha, and were glad to abandon the fords. The road across Doty's island was bad for many years.

The first death was that of Mrs. Tait. She was buried in grounds called Little Prairie, near the outlet of Lake Winnebago, where it empties into the north branch of the Fox river. I remember the wedding at the home of Governor Doty when his daughter Mary married John Fitzgerald. They were charivaried at the time, the principals of the party being Lyman Fargo, Joseph Tomes, Pete Long, Christopher Ladd, Lom Hart and others.

Rev. O. P. Clinton often held church service in Menasha in private houses, this being before the day of churches.

The first mail contract was made by the writer from Menasha to Manitowoc, from Menasha to Keshena (where the government paid the Indians) and from Menasha to Waupaca Falls. The mail was to be carried on foot once a week through an unsettled, lonely, timbered country. William Hughs and Robert Johnson carried it for two years. Their only route was by Indian trail and was often perilous and unsafe. The last two years it was carried on horseback. I received $1,800 per year for the three routes for the service rendered. Jerey Crowley was postmaster at Menasha a portion of this time.

Elisha D. Smith, from Woonsocket, R. I., built and equipped with machinery a pail and tub factory. The output of this factory was transported by team to Footville, in the southern part of Wisconsin, Pete Long, Christopher Ladd and myself doing the hauling. Each load contained sixty-five dozen pails, and on the return trip we brought hoop iron for the factory. It took about seven days to make the round trip. There were no railroads in Wisconsin.

There seemed to be a demand for a livery about this time. Having three horses and one buggy, I opened up a stable opposite Joslyn's blacksmith shop. There were scarcely any roads except the new plank road to Appleton. I made quite a success of this business and after two years closed out, having sixteen horses and carriages to correspond, a good livery outfit for a new town. While in the business I had a call for a three-

seated carriage, team and driver. I was honored by distinguished persons for about ten days. Erastus Corning, ex-Governor Seymour, of New York; Morgan L. Martin, of Green Bay; S. Park Coon, of Milwaukee, and Governor Barstow, of Madison, comprised the party. We went to Green Bay and returned, then to Portage City, stopping at Berlin and other points en route. They were inspecting the proposed route of the Fox & Wisconsin River Improvement Company, which was afterward surveyed and completed.

Later on a plank road from Menasha to Kaukauna was built by Reeder Smith, of Appleton, and others. Freight arrived from Green Bay and was moved by team from Kaukauna to Menasha over the plank road. A temporary wharf was built above the dam in Menasha, where the steamer "Little Wolf" landed daily with its cargo of freight and passengers. Frink & Walker ran a stage line in connection with the steamer from Menasha to Kaukauna daily. The first boat built in Menasha was a steam dredge boat at a contract price of $12,000. Mr. Hawley, of Milwaukee, was the contractor. Afterward Durand & Sons started a shipyard and built several fine boats. They removed to Manitowoc and continued in business for several years. A survey was made for a plank road from Manitowoc to Menasha. I remember having a contract for grubbing and grading two miles of the road near what was then known as the Coop, near Clifton. George Reed, a brother of Harrison and Curt Reed, was the originator. The road was never completed, and contractors suffered some losses in the scheme of a plank road through an unsettled country.

I bought a sailboat from Milwaukee parties, which was sailed from Milwaukee to Wrightstown on the Fox river. I hired fifteen Oneida Indians to get it over the rapids at Kaukauna, Little Chute and Appleton, as there were no dams to interfere, but rapid waters into Little Butte des Morts Lake, then over the Menasha rapids to Lake Winnebago. It was a sloop of about twenty-five tons burden and was run as the first sailboat for freight between Fond du Lac, Oshkosh and Menasha. It was loaded with rock from Clifton to Menasha for building purposes, and on the last trip it was sunk with its cargo of lime rock near the bank on the island side in the river not far from where it was to land in about ten feet of water and never was raised. Its hull and cargo doubtless lie there now, what there may be left of it, after a lapse of fifty-five years.

This derelict has for thirty years lain in the water against the dam, and can be seen in clear water of the winter season. In 1850 this sailboat was run as a ferry from Menasha to Neenah, landing at the council tree as Curtis Reed refused a permit for the regular line boat from Fond du Lac to land at his wharf in Menasha. When Mr. E. D. Smith arrived with his young bride they were landed at the council tree from the Fond du Lac boat, and took passage on this small sailboat for Menasha. Lake Winnebago was very boisterous and cold that day. A. H. Hart, or better known as "Alex," who relates the circumstance to the author, was the chief cook and mate of the craft, and had a stuffy little cabin in which the work was done. He invited Mrs. Smith to take shelter from the winds in the cabin; but on sight of it she preferred the upper deck.

I had occasion to paint a buggy, and as there was no paint kept in Menasha I went over to Neenah, went into a painter's shop, got a can of black paint and brush, and asked the painter the price. "Oh, nothing," he replied; "it is too bad you have to do the work." I thanked him and bade him good bye, when he said, "Good bye, Reverend Robinson." Robinson was the Presbyterian minister of Neenah for many years. The painter evidently took me for the reverend gentleman. I never returned the paint in person, but sent it back. On my return to Menasha I was called "Elder" by every one who knew me, a title I was not worthy of.

The second marriage in Menasha was that of McSpadden to Miss Noricong. I was selected as captain to honor the newly married couple, and, armed with bells and horns, I marched my company up in front of Noricong's house, gave orders to commence our musical tirade. McSpadden came to the door and fired several shots. I ran across the newly made garden, and landed in Dewitt Clinton's well, which he had begun in the fall and left unfinished. In my hurried flight I found myself in mud and water up to my waist. After remaining there for a long time, trying to extricate myself from my prison, my company, or a portion of it, came with a ladder to my relief. My command ended, being sadly demoralized, the captain, covered with clay and water, did not much resemble an officer of bravery and rank."

In a sermon of the Rev. H. A. Miner, October 6, 1907, at the Congregational church, Menasha, he said in part: "Fifty years

ago I first stepped on Menasha soil, from a steamer on its way to Green Bay. Rev. O. P. Clinton had invited me to be his guest for a few days. He did not divine to me his purpose, and I took it to be an expression of genuine western hospitality, of which I had heard not a little. I afterwards discovered that he had in mind the possibility of securing a pastor for the Congregational church, then some six months vacant. From the landing Mr. Clinton rowed me across the river to his island home. It was a beautiful October day. We walked across his large garden, where the grapes were growing in abundance; they looked inviting to me, so did the apples that hung thickly upon the young trees. The greeting extended to me by Mrs. Clinton and the family was very cordial, and I at once felt at home. The next day I was introduced to several business men, who seemed very friendly. Indeed, I found that was the way all strangers were received. I was shown about the water power, and its great possibilities opened up. I began to think of a Manchester or a Lowell springing up here in the valley of the Fox, with all Lake Winnebago for a mill pond. I was taken over on the mainland, where ten years before was a thickly wooded forest, now a town of about 1,500, with stores and shops, offices, dwelling houses, and a large brick school building near completion, which especially attracted my attention. It occurred to me that this meant more than an ordinary interest in the education of the young, for I saw no other building for which so much had been expended, unless possibly some of the mills on the water power, for most of the homes were cheaply built, some without stone foundations, and often with stove pipes running up through the roof, instead of brick chimneys. I discovered a small brick church scarcely completed, which the Methodists had built, which I was told was occupied once in two weeks. There was not then a resident clergyman in town in active service.

The next day, Wednesday, Mr. Clinton suggested a visit to Stockbridge, where a county fair was in progress. He said he would show me a specimen of Indian farming, as the Stockbridge tribe had been there for many years, the descendants of the old Massachusetts Stockbridges, to whom the great Jonathan Edwards, afterwards president of Princeton College, ministered for several years. I was offered a ride on horseback along the Winnebago shore, and an Indian trail a portion of the way, which he said was still used. This was an attraction, and

I readily accepted the invitation. My visit to Stockbridge occupied two days. It was then too late for me to think of leaving for the East that week, and being invited to preach on the coming Sabbath, I decided to stay over and leave early the following week, and I was the more inclined to do so, since I was told there would be no service in the M. E. church, and it seemed to me that a town as large as Menasha ought not to be without a religious service on the Sabbath. It was in Mr. Roby's hall we met. It had been the meeting place under Mr. Cook's ministry, but there had been no service for many weeks. The congregation was small but orderly and attentive, all young people, not a gray head, which was a noticeable thing to my Eastern eyes. It was during the following days that I faced a question that decided the place of my life work, whether East or West. With a call from a church in Maine, and another in Massachusetts, came a call from this church (Menasha). A subscription had been circulated on Monday, and on that evening three men called at my room to see me. They were E. D. Smith, Henry Decker and Philo Hine, trustees of the church. Said Mr. Smith, "We are not either of us members of the church, but it is a shame for a town as large as this to be without a resident pastor, and unless we take the matter in hand, we shall have no minister, for the church members don't seem to move, and we want you to stay. We'll do our best for your support." In reply I said: "I had decided to go back East and accept one or the other of the calls I had received. I feel the urgency of your case, and can see the wide opening for work here, but my thought has been setting toward the East." Various arguments were presented why this was the place for a young man to start in. A rosy future was portrayed which nearly upset me. I promised to give the matter consideration. It was thus that I began my half century of work here and in the state, that has seemingly so quickly passed.

Go back with me to those days. But ten years remove from a dense forest, stumps and logs in the streets, except along the main thoroughfares. Boats passing through the canal but recently opened to and from Green Bay. A stage coach in winter taking the ordinary travel. Float bridges and a road famous for the depth of its mud led through the woods to the south to Neenah and along a once plank road on the north to Appleton. Streets had been laid out and opened on the island with

visions of brown stone fronts and elegant turnouts in the near future; there was scarcely a steel spring carriage or covered buggy in either town. A weekly paper published by Harrison Reed, "The Conservator," bearing date at Neenah and Menasha, a seven-column folio, all home printed (it was before the day of patents), brought the news from the outside world, and chronicled the doings of the twin cities to be. Not very harmonious were these sisters. There was, however, a sort of truce declared now and then, as when on July 4, 1857, a procession from Neenah and one from Menasha, led by bands of music, met midway on the island for a patriotic celebration, with John A. Bryan for president, Rev. J. A. Russell chaplain, and George B. Goodwin orator. In the railroad enterprise each town was alert to secure the most favorable location, even to the great disadvantage of the other, the greater the better. It is manifest that had the two towns pulled together, identified and concentrated their efforts for the building of one city here at the foot of the lake, with the many natural advantages of location, water power, timber, splendid farming country round about, it would have been second to no interior city in the state.

In the ads of that day you get a view of the business done. In July of 1857 is an ad of Henry Hewitt's new store, opposite Bishop Hall. All sorts of merchandise, a department store on a small scale. Mr. Hewitt was engaged as a contractor. S. M. Bronson calls attention to his grocery store in the Roby building, inviting customers, with flour at ten shillings per hundred, and wood at $1 per cord. We managed to live and keep warm through the winter.

About this time was the dedication of the Union school building, said to be the best in the county. It was a great occasion. The building was illuminated. Captain Joseph Turner presided; Geo. B. Goodwin and Dr. Cooke made addresses; then followed short, enthusiastic talks in praise of Menasha's enterprise and a rebuttal of the depreciatory sayings of rival towns. I remember Col. Samuel Ryan was especially emphatic in denouncing the false reports circulated, saying: "Even my son in the Appleton Crescent, has told a pack of lies about Menasha." Of course his speech was loudly applauded.

But what of the church of that period? To Rev. O. P. Clinton belongs the honor of founding this church. He began preaching at first in Knight's tavern, and soon after in a school

house. A union Sunday school was started. In February 16, 1851, this church was organized with twenty-one members. Rev. J. W. Walcott assisted in the organization, having begun preaching the preceding November. Rev. Hiram Marsh, of Neenah, and Rev. Theodore Cook, from Rhode Island, had been employed as pastors up to about six months of my coming, when on Mr. Cook's resignation, services were suspended. Of course the congregation had scattered. The Sunday school, I think, had suspended, or had but a feeble life. The only thing that remained was a band of praying women, who met each week, and as I was told, the burden of their prayers was, "Lord, send us a minister." I remember almost the first word of greeting that came to me from Mrs. Clinton was, "The Lord has answered our prayers." Great is the faith of a pious womanhood. What would the world be without it?

A very important event which found little or no space in the village newspaper was the religious interest awakened during the winter and spring of 1858, which resulted in doubling the membership of this church, and led to the erection of the first Congregational house of worship. The winter of 1857 and 1858 is remembered as one of the most disastrous in the financial world—failures without number, and commercial distress, but in the religious world, one of marked interest and progress. Revivals of great power east and west. Daily meetings for prayer started almost simultaneously in the great cities, and in the smaller ones, too. But little extra preaching the power of prayer and song was most marked. The testimonies of newborn souls seemed everywhere to attract attention and result in numerous conversions. A house of worship was built during the summer and fall, and dedicated in January of the next year, at which time the Winnebago District Convention met, and the young preacher was ordained as pastor. Rev. W. H. Marble, of Oshkosh, preaching the ordination sermon. The building of that house of worship, where now the Catholic church stands, called for and was met by a marked spirit of self-sacrificing devotion and zeal for the Lord's work. The people were poor, living in unfinished cottages, money was scarce, as also remunerative employment. One man living in a log house said, "We must have a church. I will put off the building of a new house, and give $100." Another said, "I've no money, but I'll give $100 in work." And so the contributions came in. There was stone, lumber and labor of various kinds promised. Nails and glass and paint must be purchased from

outside, and of this money $300 came from the Church Building Society. It could not come from us, for we had it not. And so we wrought and builded for "every man had a mind to work," and the walls went up; though the cold of winter, even zero weather, shut in upon us before the work was completed. January 17, 1859, was a glad day, when at night, after a sermon from the text, "What are the names of the men that make this building." Father Clinton, who preached the first sermon in Manasha years before in a log building used for a saloon, had helped to organize this church and had been the chief mover in the building of the house, as was eminently fitting, made the dedicatory prayer. I doubt if ever a people, not even the ancient Jews at the dedication of the temple, were happier or were filled with greater joy, than were the men, women and children who had worked so self-denyingly, and now saw their work crowned with success. And not even Solomon's temple, that exceeded in grandeur the temples of the Orient, looked so beautiful, as did this first Congregational house of worship to the people of Menasha.

There are some events that led up to the building of this church that deserve notice. As usual, the good women had not a little to do with it. Soon after my coming there was a social organized called "The Corban" society, which during the winter planned a course of six lectures, one by Rev. B. B. Parsons, of Ripon; two by Chas. G. Finney, a son of President Finney, of Oberlin, and Mr. M. Hary, of Oshkosh; another by our townsman, Colonel Geo. B. Goodwin. The names of the other lecturers do not occur to me. The course was well attended, and was the starting of a building fund, which was added to during the years by festivals and a sale that was a success."

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