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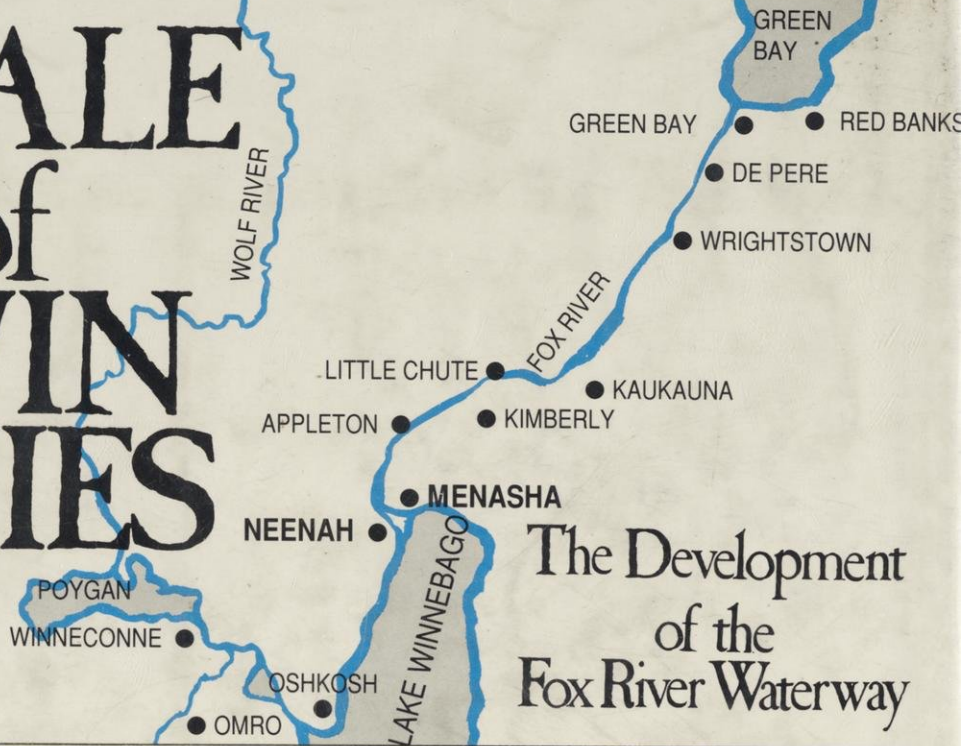
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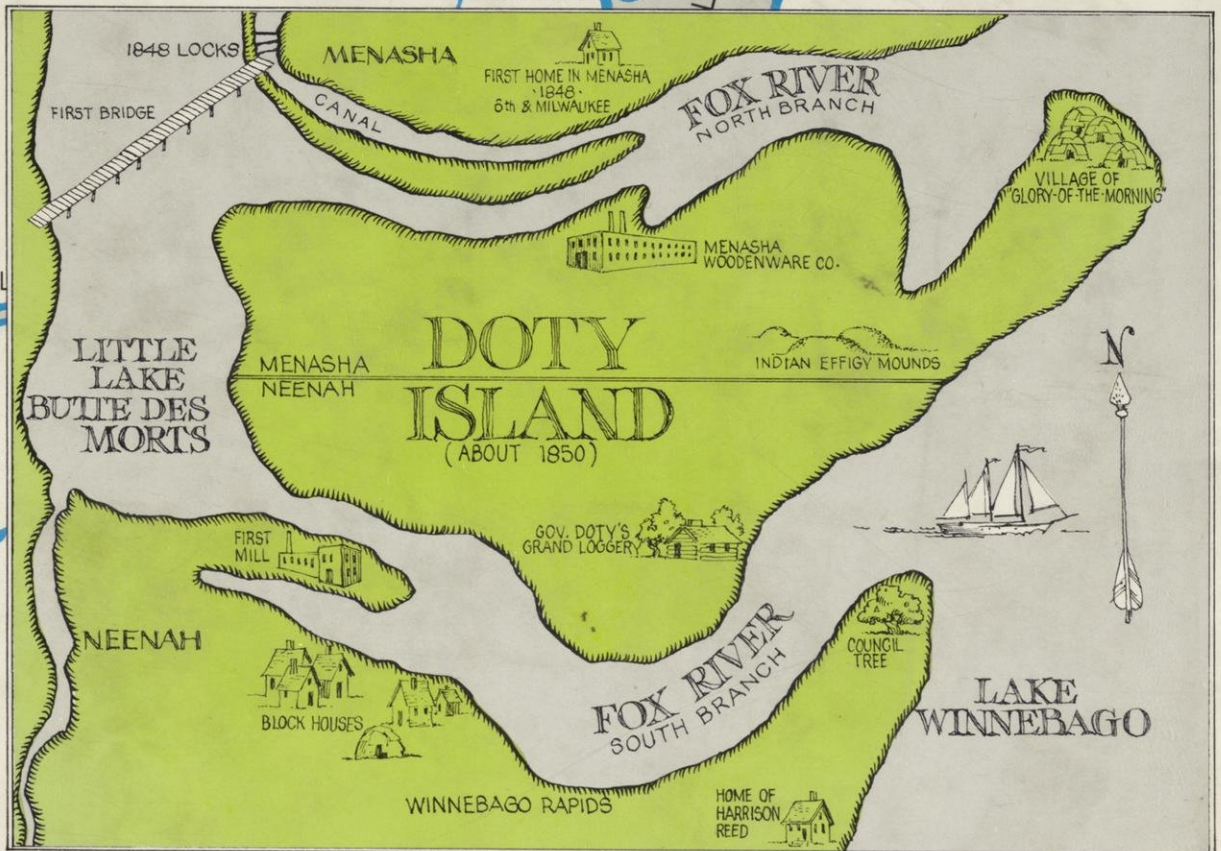
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A TALE of TWIN CITIES



The Development of the Fox River Waterway



When the United States Government lands were offered for sale in 1836, the way was opened for speculators to invest in the desirable land along the Fox River where it exited from Lake Winnebago.

Dreamers and schemers envisioned a settlement which could become Wisconsin's premier city. In their efforts to outsmart each other, five men, James Doty, Harrison Reed, Harvey Jones, Curtis Reed, and Charles Doty, became embroiled in a struggle for leadership. Their conflicting interests resulted in the creation of two dams, two canals, and two cities.

By 1856 the die was cast and the two cities emerged. Former dreams began to fade as railroads started to replace the canals which the leaders had fought over for two decades.

Today the canals have again become the center of attention as the effort continues to keep them open and useable for the Communities on the Fox River.

*Cover design by
Russell Mueller
Nathan Wauda*

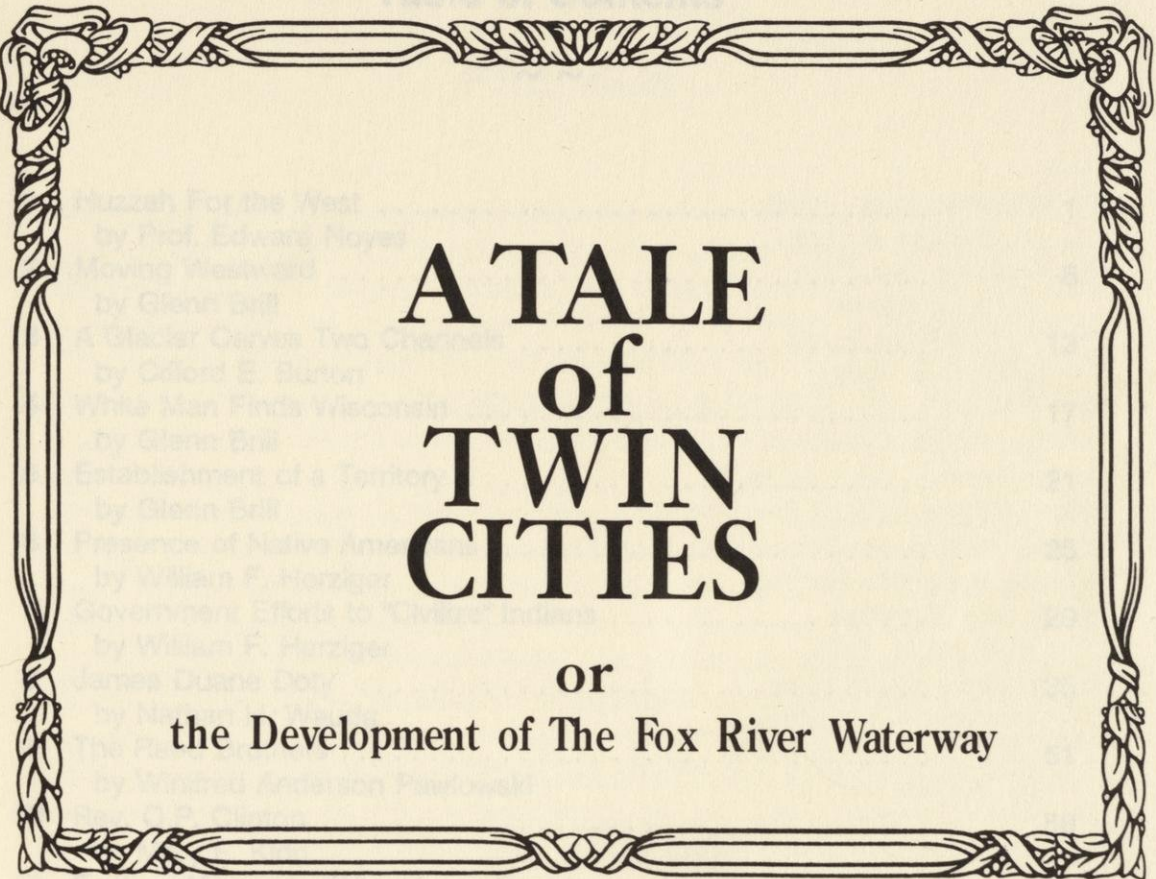
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A TALE
of
TWIN
CITIES

THE HISTORY OF THE TWO SISTER CITIES

BY
JAMES M. HARRIS
Author of "The Story of the
Twin Cities"





**A TALE
of
TWIN
CITIES**

or
the Development of The Fox River Waterway

Editors:
Arva Luther Adams
Caryl Chandler Herziger
Winifred Anderson Pawlowski

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Arvo Luther Adams
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PREFACE

Every year cities large and small across the country celebrate their place in the history of the founding and development of the United States. These landmark experiences provide insight, education, and inspiration from the past. They are the reference points in the progress of culture, government, and human values.

Each region has its unique role in the spotlight of history. The East claims the birthplace of independence; the West, the frenzy of the gold rush; the South, the tragedy of the Civil War; and the Midwest, the pioneers who set out to conquer the wilderness.

It was in frontier days that the twin cities, Neenah and Menasha, were founded and the Fox-Wisconsin waterway was built. One story cannot be told without the other. They are woven together by the people who came here with the desire to get-rich quick by land speculation.

A docu/drama, "A Tale of Twin Cities", was presented by the Neenah Historical Society in 1987. Valuable research material had been gathered for the writing and production of that drama. So that this collection of historical material might not be lost or dispersed, it was deemed advisable that it be incorporated into a permanent record in the form of a book.

This book is dedicated to a better understanding of the history of the Twin Cities and the Fox River canal and locks up to 1856.

TO THE READER:

In 1973, the Wisconsin Taxpayers Alliance prepared a feasibility study concerning the possibility of the consolidation of the cities of Neenah and Menasha. The study concluded that the creation of separate municipalities was the result of "historical accident rather than logical planning" and that consolidation would mean the "loss of historical identity". The movement to become one city failed, as had a number of previous attempts.

It was a search for the source of this "historical identity" which led twenty-one writers to become involved in the writing of this book. The authors elected or were assigned to write on some phase of the intriguing story of these communities to the year 1856. Many were "naturals" for their assignment. Peter Geniesse, as a newspaper man wrote about the role of the press; Mary Kidd wrote on Rev. O.P. Clinton, the subject of her master's thesis; Don Mitchell was the author of a book on steamboats; Phyllis Krueger previously had transcribed the Jothan Lincoln letters; Howard Healy and Edmund Arpin, as attorneys, wrote chapters involving legal matters; Nate Wauda played the part of James Doty in the docu/drama and became enamored of that character. Other authors had similar reasons which influenced their decision to write on their subject. Most were first-time writers and all spent countless hours in research and writing.

As the authors' interests varied, so did their styles of writing. From simple expositions to biographical sketches, to flamboyant praise; from a sympathetic approach to a critical one, the authors viewed their research material as leading to their own conclusion. It was an editorial decision to make only minor changes in the style or content of the chapters.

The reader will be captivated by the varying viewpoints on any subject. This is especially apparent in the matter of the actual feud and its causes. One author wrote from the viewpoint of the Joneses, another from that of the Reeds, and still others as they touched upon their own subject matter.

The book was not designed to be merely a chronological report of the times. A horizontal picture was to emerge as well. The world around the feuding cities was incorporated into this book. The plan was to include the transportation, the

economics, the canal systems, the daily living, and other areas which directly or indirectly affected the citizens of the twin cities.

The miracle is that the book was written at all. Ordinary citizens from both sides of the Fox River, from two diverse communities came together and produced a book telling of the foundations of the circumstances which have separated them for over 150 years.

By this book, it is hoped that the reader will also come to appreciate the "historical identity" of each community - Neenah and Menasha, Wisconsin.

Acknowledgements

We acknowledge the assistance of:

Peter Adams, Suzanne O'Regan, and Gretchen Maring, who pioneered the interest, the idea, and the research behind the development of the docu/dramas and ultimately this book. Their contributions were numerous and far-reaching.

Arva Adams, who was the author and spirit behind most of the ten Neenah Historical Society docu/dramas and who co-authored "A Tale of Twin Cities". She spearheaded and coordinated the writing of this book.

Marilyn Doughty of the Neenah Library who assisted in research by finding long-forgotten material in out-of-the-way places.

Rosie Mathison who classified all the research material and prepared it for use by the writers.

Caryl Herziger, who co-authored the docu/drama, "A Tale of Twin Cities", worked for over six years on the book project, and who edited and supervised the typing of the manuscript.

Winifred Pawlowski, who, as co-editor, was with the book project for over six years and has kept the records and done most of the verification research.

The writers, most of whom are amateur authors, who researched material and wrote the chapters.

Theresa Juedes, who typed the manuscript and spent many hours in conference with the editors.

Phyllis Krueger, who prepared the bibliography.

Russ Miller and Nate Wauda who designed the book jacket.

Don Mitchell, Kathryn Greenwald, and Eileen Payne, and Munroe Hjerstedt who formed the book committee of the Neenah Historical Society in the last stages of publication. Don also acted as contact person with the printers. Munroe of the Munroe Studios prepared the illustration for printing.

May 1st 1843 -

Meeting of Messrs
Winnebago County

Supervisors of Winnebago

Board met as County Board in special session at the house of Robert Smith, present Mr C. Still Chairman and Chester Ford Supervisors, they being a quorum

Mr W. Wright County Treasurer appeared, filed his bond with C. Still and Edward Binman as Sureties. approved

George A. Wright was appointed Clerk of the Board of P. M. 1843

Adjourned to meet again on Saturday the 6th inst at our O. C. 3 P. M.

May 6th

Supervisors with assent to adjournment present then Henry C. Still Chairman and C. Ford Supervisors

Veto. to raise by tax for County purposes fifty dollars.

Veto. to grant the Seal! Since: An Eagle holding in his Claw a serpent.



Adjourned to the

signature Mr C. Still Chairman
Chester Ford Supervisors

(A Copy) the original on file in the office
attest
G. A. Wright Clerk

Winnebago County adopts a seal showing an eagle holding a serpent in his claw.

An Eagle
Thus



~ 1 ~

Huzza for the West!

"Huzza for the West!" - countless men and women seeking a better way of life on the frontier have responded to the promise contained in those words. For, the frontier offered hope of better things to come. It was a time when the western world was harvesting the fruits of a prosperity created by the age of discovery and exploration; when the proportion of land and valuable metal to the number of people stood high above its level prior to 1500; and when there were more good things for common folk to enjoy than had been the case long before the discovery of the New World. Of course, the change in things did not mean that there were no longer poor people on the earth or that everyone owned all the land or all the material goods that he wanted. But it did mean that for individuals driven by ambition, hard work, sweetened by good luck, they just might become comparatively well off. From the advantage of hindsight, it is not difficult to apply this principle both to the founders of Neenah and Menasha as well as to the settlers who followed them.

Illustrating the mood of hustle and bustle coming to life in frontier Wisconsin is the following statement from a letter addressed by "a respectable citizen" to the Green Bay Intelligencer in 1834. Admittedly, the letter focused on Green Bay, but might not its sentiment be applied to the Fox River Valley, the theater of expansion to the south? The "respectable citizen" wrote:

There are few places within my knowledge where I should think a man of activity and industry would be better rewarded for his exertions than here. The money thrown into circulation by the Army, the Indian Department, and some public works going on here gives an impetus to business that puts the abilities of all into constant requisition.

Moreover, the 'citizen regarded transportation from Ogdensburg, New York, (whence he had come) to Green Bay as being neither costly nor time consuming. All that stood between a family of six and their belongings on one hand and

A Tale of Twin Cities

Green Bay on the other was a twenty-day sail by lake schooner and \$100 to pay their fare.

Various agencies urged community development on the Wisconsin frontier. One handy tool for transmitting the message of earnest effort to build up the region was the infant newspaper press containing informative editorials along with letters addressed either to the editor or to the public. In addition, there were lively reports about crop yields, boat landings and departures, business activities, and land transactions. Indeed, when Andrew Jackson issued a proclamation announcing the opening of "A great portion of the Public Lands in Wisconsin" to sale in 1835, the Green Bay Intelligencer promised to spare no pains "to present the characteristics of this interesting portion of the west" and to keep people "at the east" fully informed about what was going on. Colonel Samuel C. Stambaugh's descriptive survey of the Menominee Cession of 1831 was another "document of interest"; in fact, the Intelligencer deemed it to be worth printing twice. To sum up, these sources reflected the steps leading to frontier settlement - encouragement of population growth by advertising regional attractions and calling for better roads and bridges while improving existing waterways. Added to such promptings was the pacification of the frontier by elbowing the Indian from the white man's path; or, as in the case of the Menominees, attempting to provide selected adults with vocational training while making church-sponsored education available for young Menominees.

There were certain inducements which the Far West of the 1830's held for migrants - either Europeans or Americans - who hoped to better their lives by pulling up stakes and heading say, in connection with the story of Neenah and Menasha, for the Fox River Valley. For example, take the land policy of the United States which permitted the purchase of eighty acres from the public domain for only \$100; or, as the Green Bay Intelligencer enthusiastically observed, 160 acres for only \$200. The government's generosity was further evident in its preemption policy which gave a squatter first chance to buy at the minimum price the land he had been occupying when it went up for sale. Of this, the Intelligencer remarked:

Hundreds of families not possessed of the means of purchasing, may settle on the public lands, cultivate them and live unmolested, till able from the proceeds to purchase. Those who have a small capital to commence with have peculiar advantages. Moreover, who among migrating farmer-folk could easily resist the persuasions of journalistic

From the Buffalo Journal, Oct. 12, 1831.

Letter to the Editor, dated—
Green Bay, Sept. 5, 1831.

Dear Sir—Col. Stambaugh has been appointed the agent of the United States, to examine the country ceded by the Munomonees to the government in the month of February last. In one of his excursions I had the pleasure of accompanying him by his invitation; a brief account of which I take the liberty of giving you.

A tract containing 500,000 acres of land is offered by the treaty to the New-York Indians, for their use. We embarked in a birch canoe, and proceeded up Fox River, 8 miles from Green Bay, when we landed on this tract, not far from its southern boundary. After ascending a bank which rises gradually from the river one hundred feet, we walked back through an "oak-opening" about one mile, to an extensive natural Meadow, which lies parallel to the river, and upon the same level with the top of the bank. These Meadows are of the richest soil, and must be immediately of great value to those Indians who select their farms along the border of this stream. The timber in their vicinity is white, black, and red oak, and the cherry, in the narrow valley of the Fox River, in which "the spiral tops of the pine" may be seen rising above the lighter foliage of the beech and sugar maple.

The main roads, leading from Green Bay to Chicago, to the Wisconsin Portage, to the Lead Mines and to Galena, will, it is presumed pass this point and it is on this account, a very eligible and desirable site, and will be among the first to attract the eye of the emigrant.

We walked along on the edge of the Cliff, which we had ascended in an Indian path, about three miles, and began our descent to the water (Winnebago lake,) through another fissure which was from two to 4 feet in width, and one hundred feet in depth. The sides of the mountain is covered with blocks of limestone, which may be used without any preparation.

From the point where we re-embarked in the canoe, the mountain recedes three or four miles from the shore of the Lake, between which is a valley, fifteen miles in length, of as fertile land as can be found in the United States. The timber in this valley is oak, hickory, butternut, maple, beech, basswood and elm.

This valley and mountain terminate to the south in a dry prairie, which is called the

Cass Plains. The plains contain 26,000 acres of rich land, free from under-brush upon which the farmer would not be required to bestow any expense in clearing for the plough.

On their western border, and on the shore of the Lake, is the Calumet village, occupied by Munomonees, who raise large quantities of corn. On the 25th day of August they had, at this village, gathered their corn and we saw at least 600 bushels braided in rows and swung upon poles to dry.

The plains extend to the Manitowoc river, which is six miles distant from this village, and which runs north-eastwardly into Lake Michigan, and is navigated by the Indians with canoes. It is computed to be forty-five miles from Winnebago Lake to Lake Michigan.

At the Fond du Lac, we entered the mouth of a river. The water at the entrance is 8 feet in depth; but after passing the flat it is ten feet. Thon begin the prairies, which may be followed almost without interruption by timber, to the Mississippi river. They lie entirely around the head of the lake; and to the east they extend half way up a high ridge of land, six miles distant from this point, the summit of the ridge upon which they intend to have their houses erected, according to a stipulation of the treaty. Their selection was a very judicious one, as the land which they are to occupy and cultivate in the vicinity, is rich, and may be easily tilled, being a mixture of loam and sand. The government has promised to assist them in their agricultural efforts, by placing farmers near them for a certain number of years.

After descending the river to the Lake, we followed the shore 20 miles to the outlet, at Doty's Island, and passing down the river with great rapidity, reached the Bay in the evening of the same day on which we left the Butte; having travelled that day 75 miles, and during our absence from this place more than 100 miles.

Yours, &c.

*Eyewitness account of Stambaugh's travels
through the Fox River Valley.*

Huzza for the West

columns describing a climate so favorable and a soil so rich that it would take only 'a small amount of labor' to improve a place to the level of agriculture in the 'middle states,' a farmstead where, happily, one's livestock could 'run upon the range, and be subsisted without expense a great part of the year'.

Nor did the Intelligencer ignore skilled mechanics when it called for all kinds of productive laborers to come west, particularly young men and persons belonging to the construction trades. Work was available "for any number", and in Wisconsin the rewards for their labor would be generous for mechanics would receive wages amounting to as much as \$2.00 per day. And there was more to consider. The newspaper stated, "In a very few years they will, by steady and persevering industry amass a handsome property . . ." But on the other hand, the Intelligencer cautioned those same mechanics "not to expect to grow suddenly rich". It explained, "The great secret to the accumulation of property in. . . the 'West'", is "in the gradual rise of property by the advantageous application of manual labor". In other words, what a man accomplished was what counted in early Wisconsin.

This reasoning also related to the exercise of individual initiative within the framework of frontier democracy. In his new surroundings, the European migrant could make his mark without bowing to the old world scheme of state churches; nor did he have to pay obeisance to hereditary aristocracy fattening on his labor and that of his family. And, the American migrant could breathe more freely as he tapped the unexploited wealth of natural resources on the frontier. In short, the migrants of the period - whatever their origins - were free to share the ideals of strive and thrive in the attempt to profit from what the Far West of the time had to offer.

An event occurring in 1831 and having importance for the historical background of Neenah and Menasha was Colonel Samuel C. Stambaugh's negotiation of a treaty which provided for the Menominee Indians to cede a whopping 3,000,000 acres of their lands a portion of which would become a home for certain New York tribes with the remainder to go to the United States. The arrangement permitted the Menominees to reserve lands opposite to where Neenah and Menasha would stand some day. Moreover, the treaty authorized the establishment of a farming-milling-domestic arts program intended to school the tribe for a new way of living by "attaching them to comfortable homes". For, this was a time when some Americans regarded the achievement of peace and

A Tale of Twin Cities

quiet on the frontier as being more readily obtainable through civilizing - that is, educating and Christianizing - the native occupants of the land so as to assure the United States of "their friendliness if not . . . lasting gratitude".

The Stambaugh Treaty also assigned the islands of Green Bay and the lower Fox River to the United States; thus, the stipulation included the island historically called Four Legs Island after the Winnebago chief and situated between the channels formed where Lake Winnebago flows into the Fox. During the treaty ratification process, the Menominees tried to present the island to politician James Duane Doty whom they thought an especial friend, but the United States Senate said, "No". Yet despite this setback, Doty was destined to become the island's best known resident, and as will shortly be seen, he appears to have given the place his name.

Although Colonel Stambaugh had succeeded in negotiating the treaty with the Menominees, a political snarl cost him his job as Indian Agent at Green Bay. Nevertheless, Secretary of War John Eaton instructed the officer to "traverse" the lands awarded to the New York Indians and to make besides, "a partial examination of the lands ceded between Lake Michigan and Green Bay". Stambaugh complied, and the result was his "document of interest" which included comments on what was to be known as "Doty's Island". True, the Colonel did not mention the island by that name, but someone who was the Colonel's guest did; that someone was none other than James Duane Doty then hopeful of acquiring the island by the treaty route. In any case, Stambaugh wrote:

This island is about a mile in length, and contains about 400 acres of land, which, for depth and richness of soil is equal to any in the Territory of Michigan. It is covered with a heavy growth of hickory, oak, butternut, and bass wood, with the exception of about 40 acres at the upper end of the island which is a fine clear field, ready for the plough.

Colonel Stambaugh reported on something else. He noted the presence of "strong rapids on both sides of the island" and in addition, many "excellent sites for any kind of water work". Perhaps as good a testimonial as any to the soundness of the Colonel's estimate were tabulations appearing in a Wisconsin Gazetteer of 1853 and listing no fewer than fifteen industrial concerns of various kinds in Menasha and another eight in Neenah with "an immense hydraulic power

Huzza for the West

yet unoccupied". The Gazetteer further stated, "Some think that time will ultimately connect the two . . ., including the large island between, in one large city, possessing advantages of location and water power rarely equalled".

What kind of countryside could the emigrant expect to discover when he arrived at the future site of Neenah and Menasha? For reply, take the assertion of the Green Bay Intelligencer: "The beauty of the country about the Winnebago Rapids, has been remarked by all travelers for its fertility, central and commanding position, and romantic scenery". This conviction persisted. In 1851, Captain Lauchlan B. MacKinnon, R. N., wrote, after strolling about on Doty's Island, that he thought "a more beautiful location . . . impossible". Adding a certain wonderment to the scene was a number of the mysterious earthworks built by native Americans at an unknown time in the past. The most outstanding of these was the Little Butte des Morts mound standing on the west bank of the Little Butte des Morts Lake; the geologist Increase A. Lapham recorded that eight others from "forty to fifty feet in diameter" stood near Menasha "in the southeast corner of section fourteen, township twenty, range seventeen," while an elongated mound "quite high at the end" stood in Menasha itself. A similar one stood on Doty's Island.

A significant testimonial to the desirability of the Winnebago Rapids locale occurred in 1833, when Michigan Territorial Governor George B. Porter decided to fix along the left channel of the river the place for the proposed educational venture for the Menominees. In early 1834, the Intelligencer announced that Governor Porter, acting as commissioner to implement the agreement, had chosen for the site of the undertaking "the beautiful point of land on the west side of Fox River, at the Winnebago Rapids". Viewing the Governor's selection as being "the most eligible that could have been found in the country," the newspaper noted the presence of "A large island in the rapids, . . ., called by some Hunt's Island - by others Doty's Island". In its opinion, the place had "been coveted by every person of judgment and enterprise" for it was "truly the most valuable piece of land in the cession".

Yet as promising as things seemed, the experimental program to assist the Menominees failed. The story of the venture will be told in a later chapter; but in any case on September 3, 1836, by the Treaty of the Cedars, the tribe handed over to the United States the land, buildings, and equipment associated with the undertaking. The transfer was only a part of a much larger cession.

A Tale of Twin Cities

Much has been written concerning the reasons for the failure of the educational experiment with the Indians taking a goodly share of blame. It has been argued, for example, that they were not genuinely appreciative of the instructional help given them; that they did not adapt to the white men's type of housing; and that the males thought manual labor to be demeaning. Nonetheless, it may be of interest to suggest that Brigadier General George M. Brooke, acting Indian agent, cited lack of effective leadership as a basic cause of unhappiness with the work being done at Winnebago Rapids. Following a visit there, Brooke wrote the Commissioner of Indian Affairs at Washington:

This forming [sic] business has been very injurious, . . . , instead of beneficial to the Indians. The whole establishment having no head directly, . . . , and every person, . . . , contending, for independence, of each other, has produced nothing else, but quarrel & disscomfort [sic] - . . . the place has become one of perfect intrigue, . . . , as the grandest political arena.

Even earlier, Commissioner of Indian Affairs Elbert Herring had complained to Wisconsin Territorial Governor Henry Dodge that the distance between Green Bay and the farming operations made "it difficult to extend to them a proper personal supervision". To sum up, when the Green Bay Intelligencer wrote that the Menominee experimental farming scheme was about to end, it put the best possible face on the matter by observing that the arrangement "would have formed a colony as beneficial to the Indians, as creditable to the government".

However, the foregoing may be judged, the treaty of 1836 - along with Jackson's land sale proclamation of 1835 - did open the door more widely to those men "of judgment and enterprise" who had looked longingly toward Doty's Island and the mainland opposite. They could now step forward with plans to acquire and develop. From this perspective, the years 1835 and 1836 represent a turning point in the backgrounds of Neenah and Menasha. Of course, there remained the disposal of the buildings and equipment which had been part of the Menominee experiment; as will be seen, this would end in a twisty - but no less interesting - tale.

Because of Jackson's proclamation opening the public lands to sale, it seems proper to suggest that things began to move more rapidly in frontier Wisconsin. For example, the Green Bay Intelligencer prophesied in December, 1835, that "ere another year has rolled by, a torrent of emigrants will have poured into this

Huzza for the West

one of the finest portions of the Far West". Moreover, in a letter appearing in the Intelligencer of February 3, 1836, the Genessee (New York) Gazette asserted:

The Wisconsin Territory is attracting the attention of emigrants and although it is but six months since the public lands were offered for sale, the tide . . . is so great that probably in 1840, the Territory of Wisconsin will be admitted into the Union.

This was not all. In March, 1836, the Green Bay newspaper stated:

The last twelve months have produced changes in Wisconsin which no eye could have foreseen. What the next will bring forth is yet to be known - but from the indications (numerous as summer flies,) we predict the story is scarce began [sic].

For the purposes of the pages to follow, one part of the story to unfold will deal with events and changes occurring at the Winnebago Rapids and, of course, on Doty Island.

~ ~

Prof. Edward Noyes

~ 2 ~

Moving Westward

Many of us have moved or will move in our lives. Perhaps our move will be across town to a different house, to another city or state, or to go to college. Perhaps it will even be to a different country. Moving today is fairly easy. Find a place to live, rent a truck or hire movers, have the post office forward your mail, and off you go. Imagine how it would be to move to a place that really does not exist. There are no roads to this place, no stores around it, no schools or hospitals, no power plants or post offices. In fact, there are not even any houses in this place.

Few people today would accept the challenge of that kind of move. In the 1830's, many people did. Many left the civilized eastern United States and headed west. Some came to Wisconsin. A small number of them settled in a northeastern part of the state in a place then called Winnebago Rapids. Eventually, they renamed the site, calling the two cities they created out of the wilderness, Neenah and Menasha.

Our book will tell the story of these pioneers. In it, we will attempt to explain why Neenah and Menasha developed into two cities separated by an imaginary line.

Before the settlers could develop Neenah and Menasha, they had to get here. This first chapter is about westward movement. We want to know why the settlers came, how they got here, and what they faced after arrival.

In 1823, the United States was a young country. Less than 50 years before, in 1776, it began fighting the war that won its independence from Great Britain. Later, in 1812, the country fell into another war with Great Britain.

James Monroe was president. He wanted to tell the world's powers to keep their hands off the United States. He issued the Monroe Doctrine which said, in part:

Moving Westward

. . . we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system into any portions of this hemisphere, as dangerous to our peace and safety.

Those were strong words, but that is all they were - words. The United States had no great navy to protect its sea lanes and no army large enough to repel an invasion.

The Monroe Doctrine did, however, serve to make Americans feel protected and secure. The strong words of the president led them to strike out from the east coast and explore the vast interior of the continent.

In 1820, a quarter of this nation's population lived in "the west" which at the time was defined as any part of the country west of Pennsylvania. By 1830, it had jumped to one-third.

To more graphically demonstrate the westward movement of people as it relates to this book, examine the changes in Wisconsin's population from 1836, when it was made a territory, to 1850, two years after it gained statehood.

| | |
|------|---------|
| 1836 | 11,683 |
| 1840 | 30,945 |
| 1850 | 305,389 |

Also, consider this: In 1850, of the 305,000 plus people living in Wisconsin, only 63,000 had been born here. The table below shows that in 1850, a significant number of Wisconsin's residents came from the east coast:

| | |
|--------------|--------|
| New York | 68,000 |
| Ohio | 11,000 |
| Vermont | 10,000 |
| Pennsylvania | 10,000 |

What drove these people to pack up their families and belongings and come to Wisconsin? What encouraged these people to move to a place that was, in 1836, about as rough and as uncivilized as could be found? There were four major reasons for such a move.

First, the Erie Canal in New York State had opened in 1825. This had drastically cut travel time. It opened up the Great Lakes system to easterners

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wanting to head west. Milwaukee and other cities along the Great Lakes saw large increases in population. These cities became the entry points for easterners. In 1841, it cost ten dollars to go from Buffalo to Milwaukee on a steamship. The trip took just five days, compared to three to four weeks on a sailing ship. The Great Lakes became the "highway" many people took in their journey west.

A second factor in the move west to Wisconsin was a depression which began in 1837. The depression was caused by banks suspending specie payments. Specie was paper used for money in those days. The suspension in payments led farmland values to fall, building to stop, and factories to close. Within five months, 90 percent of the factories in the east had shut down. This generated a tidal wave of migration west because people lost much of what they owned and chose this time to start anew. The west was just developing and there were many prizes to be won. Anyone migrating here had a great chance to better their lives.

A third factor in the move west to Wisconsin was the amount of land owned by the federal government. Huge tracts of land in the territory were put up for sale at \$1.25 per acre. This was quite a lure since the United States in the 1830's was mainly agrarian, and new land meant new farm land. The easterners knew the mechanics of land sales so they were able to buy up the best sites in Wisconsin for farms. They also knew what to look for in waterpower sites and bought land surrounding those, too. The government land sales increased as fast as did the number of people moving west. In 1836, the government sold 20 million acres of land, compared to just 3.8 million acres in 1833.

The first three factors influencing the move west were very concrete and easy to measure. The fourth factor really had neither documentation nor statistics to back it up, but it was as important as the first three. It had to do with the spirit and mind-set of the western pioneers. Almost everyone coming to Wisconsin had the "pioneer spirit". For some, this would be the second or third time they had helped to develop a new land. Some had participated in the development of the northeastern states. Others had taken part in the first great move west to Ohio or Indiana.

Regardless of how many times they had moved before, these people were pioneers in every sense of the word. They left what they had established in "civilization" in search of something new, challenging, and rewarding. As Edwin Bottomley wrote to his relatives back east in 1842 concerning life in Wisconsin:

Moving Westward

Better you must be aware that a new settler in this country has to struggle with difficulties but hopes of future reward gives him strength to persevere.

It was the nature of Wisconsin and other western lands that led people to move again. It was a desire for the wilderness that Wisconsin offered that led people who had already moved west to come to Wisconsin. There were opportunities to amass wealth and land holdings. Many newcomers were merely adventurous, but the lure of permanent and prosperous living attracted many more.

In frontier America, most men, regardless of background, could rise to the top. Making money became a great and exciting game everyone wanted to play. The chances of making money in an undeveloped place like Wisconsin were far greater than in the east.

The pioneers were optimistic that they could reap the benefit of their daring. The "pioneer spirit" became part of the fabric of American life at the time. "The public opinion was that it was the duty of every man to help in the development of the nation."

Not only were the pioneers in Wisconsin happy with their decision to move, they told their friends and relatives back east what they had found. This brought still more people pouring into the state. In 1846, Uriah Hall wrote his cousin in Vermont, "We can raise three bushels of wheat easier than one in Vermont". He added, "It is as healthy here as in Vermont (and) the water is as good".

Those moving to Wisconsin were coming to a basically undeveloped land. The difficulties they faced, not only in getting here, but in scratching out a basic existence, makes the story of Neenah's and Menasha's development even more remarkable.

Once pioneers arrived in a port like Milwaukee, it was all overland on wagons or on foot to the interior of the state. There were no highways, just rough Indian trails. Fredricke Bremmer traveled from Milwaukee to Madison in 1849. Of the road she wrote to a friend: ". . . a succession of hills, holes, and water-pools. . . sometimes the carriage came to sudden standstill, half over-turned in a hole".

Sometimes, there were no roads to follow. Of his trip in Wisconsin in 1837, Elisha Keyes wrote: "After crossing the river we struck across the opening, with no road, not even an Indian trail, seeing no human being, nor even a shanty".

Once the pioneers found a place they wanted to call home, they had to build a shelter. However, in Winnebago Rapids, there were the abandoned mission

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houses and a few crude cabins erected by French traders. Most pioneers had first to erect a cabin, simple and rustic. Edwin Bottomley, again writing of life in Wisconsin in 1842, said:

Our house is not one of the best for keeping the snow out and frost for we get snowed on in bed. . . when we get up in the morning we have to pull our shoes off the floor by main force for they freeze to the floor very soon with having nails in them.

Building a shelter was just the first of many things the settlers had to provide for themselves. Most cooked over an open fire and many fires were kept going year-round. Pioneers had to make their own clothes, furniture, and grow their own food. Most families took just one bath a week, often together in the same tub. Women had to wash clothes by hand in a stream. There were no gas or electric lights, so most work had to be done during the daylight hours. During the winter, houses got very cold since there was no heat, except from the open fireplace, and the houses were cold and drafty.

While there were some doctors on the frontier, many pioneers had no access to one. Consequently, disease was another deadly factor with which to contend. Measles, diphtheria, mumps, fevers, and whooping cough took a large toll. Even when a doctor was available, his training was limited. Before 1840, three-quarters of all doctors in the midwest learned their skills by apprenticeship. The doctors made their own pills and concocted their own cures for ills of the frontiers. Skunk oil was a favorite cure-all, as was gun powder. The favored cure for a wart was to tie a knotted string over it.

What makes the development of Neenah and Menasha so incredible is this basic fact: much of the settler's time was taken up by just surviving. A family's survival during the winter depended on how much food they grew during the summer and how much fuel they could store up for heating. This was time-consuming and basic to existence.

The pioneers who came to this small section of Wisconsin, first called Winnebago Rapids, were a hardy and enterprising group. About the only thing they had in common was the "pioneer spirit". It was that spirit that led them to create the communities of Neenah and Menasha.

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Glenn Brill



Relief map of Wisconsin.

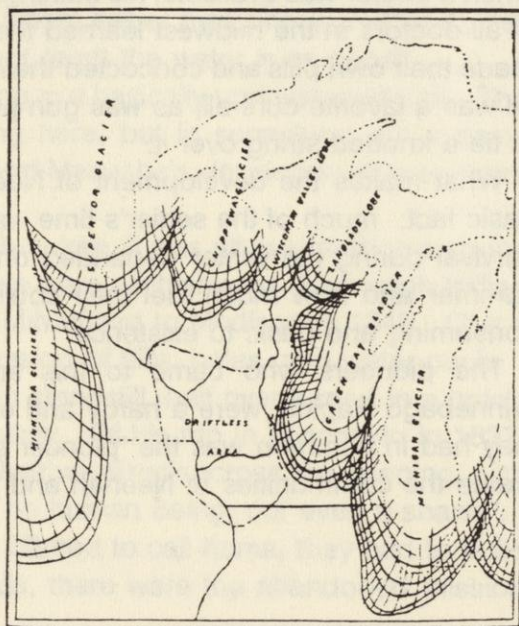


Fig. 2. Sketch map showing the various tongues or lobes, of the glacier in Wisconsin at one period of the Ice Age.

Glacier Carves Two Channels

There has always been a geological and a geographical location for Neenah and Menasha. Geology deals with the history of the earth and its life. Geography is the science of the earth and its life, generally the land, sea, and air - specifically, plant and animal life. If one looks at the world, locates the North American continent, finds the Great Lakes, then Lake Michigan - along its western shoreline lies Wisconsin. About 45 miles southwest from the southern end of the bay, bordering on the large peninsula protruding into Lake Michigan, there are two geological and geographical sites - Neenah and Menasha.

There have been drastic physical changes on the surface of the earth during the various geologic time periods. Ancient mountains were first covered by seas and later by glaciers which altered Wisconsin's face. Thousands of years ago, when Wisconsin was undergoing an ice age, the Continental Glacier was receding northward toward Appleton, past Menasha and Neenah. A glacier is nothing more than a huge accumulation of snow, and this particular one advanced in the form of large 'tongues' called lobes. Giles Clark in his Lake Winnebago describes the result of the glacial movement:

One of the lobes, known as the Green Bay lobe, sculptured out Green Bay, and Fox River Valley, Lake Winnebago, Horicon Marsh, and other lakes in this area. A geological formation called the Niagara Escarpment caused the advancing ice to split at the tip of Door County. An escarpment is described as a wall or cliff, and this one runs along the east side of Lake Winnebago, up through Door County, then continues under Lake Michigan and appears again where Lake Erie flows into Lake Ontario, causing the well known Niagara Falls.

When the last Wisconsin ice sheet began its steady melting, it receded slowly northward. Much of the glacial melting was caused by a general warming of the

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earth, but much was also due to the friction caused by the sheer weight of the glacier itself. Run-off water was dammed by the glacier on one side and the water became caught up into lakes until the overflow reached some kind of outlet.

There were many glacial lakes in Wisconsin, large and small. Two of the largest (in addition to the Great Lakes which are also the result of glacial action) were Glacial Lake Wisconsin and Glacial Lake Oshkosh. The former once covered much of the central part of the state. Glacial Lake Oshkosh was formed, drained, and re-formed several times, and at its peak it covered the area from Green Bay to Lake Winnebago and to the Fox and Wolf rivers. While drainage to the northeast was blocked by the Niagara Escarpment and by glacial debris, Glacial Lake Wisconsin made its first appearance. It was about 65 feet higher than the present level of Lake Winnebago, which is a remnant of that glacial lake.

As the ice continued to melt, the outlets to the old lake changed often. As the lake lowered, it sought new levels to drain it. One outlet drained into Lake Michigan and formed the Manitowoc River. Another flowed toward Portage and eventually into the Mississippi River. Many other rivers were formed by glacial run-off. Among these was the Fox River which could have flowed on a short course and gone directly into Lake Michigan. Instead, it cut through glacial drift or deposits until it reached bedrock at the Niagara Escarpment in the northeast corner of Lake Winnebago. As the Fox moved west from Lake Winnebago to Little Lake Butte des Morts, glacial deposits caused it to divide and form the two channels which brought about the problems that arose during the development of Menasha and Neenah. Falling over the hard rock accounts for the steep drop of the Fox River from Lake Winnebago to Lake Michigan. In 1915, Ray Hughes Whitehead, a professor at the University of Wisconsin, said:

Among American rivers it is true that the Fox ranks only as a small river and its valley as a small valley, yet for more than 200 years the river and valley occupied one of the commanding positions of the Northwest. The Fox will always hold a place in history far out of proportion to its size.

The Fox and Wolf rivers, coupled with the formation of Lake Winnebago, provided the Neenah-Menasha area with a great economic resource - water power and a waterway. The relatively flat land, although with gentle, rolling hills, provided a tillable surface for crop development, and for forest lands - both

A Glacier Carves Two Channels

hardwood and coniferous trees. An immense amount of clay was deposited in the Neenah-Menasha area after the recession of the glaciers. This was the time when forests and shrubs developed, wild flowers and fruits flourished, grasslands appeared, waterways - including lakes, rivers, and streams - emerged and were used as transportation with rafts, canoes, and keel boats. The four seasons, as we know them, cycled the year, although calendars were unknown.

When the settlers had their first glimpses of the Fox River Valley, it was with happy astonishment that they viewed a sea of solid foliage. That green "sea" represented one of the finest collections of hardwood trees in the world - oak, elm, beech, maple, ash, hickory, birch, sycamore, walnut, cherry, and butternut. In the warm months of the year sunlight barely reached the forest floor an hour a day.

The availability of wood for shelters, heat, and other necessities was not the only amazing thing these new people saw. There were also grasslands and prairies which might have appeared after sections of the forests had been burned to the ground after having been ignited by lightning.

Among the wonderful plants were wild plums, crab apples, and many kinds of luscious berries which could be preserved to last through the winter. Meat was also plentiful and easy to bring home - rabbits, buffalo, deer, bear, and elk. Skins of these animals, plus those of the beaver, wolf, and badger, were important to be used for clothing, boots, and warm coverings. Countless kinds of fish were in the lakes and rivers, and birds such as pigeons, ducks, and geese filled the skies.

Several kinds of rock and stone were found which were valuable for building and for roads, streets, and sidewalks. The red clay, which has been more recently considered a curse by many builders and gardeners, was at one time used for brick and pottery making. All of these things, together with the fact that the soil was rich and ready for tilling and planting, made many of the potential settlers decide immediately that this area was the place to stay. It seemed to have everything necessary for a good life if one was not afraid to work and take advantage of the natural resources available.

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In Wisconsin, and particularly in Neenah and Menasha, the impact of the Indians was strongly felt. They were generally protective of the environment and resources. They consumed chiefly to survive, and they did not reap any resource to sell. The women planted corn and used irrigation and good farming practices. Here again, everything grown was used. The white settlers began to change the environment. Removing trees for home building, plank roads, and manufacturing, they opened the land for farming. Grain was grown for selling, and agriculture became a business. Wisconsin itself took steps toward becoming an agrarian state.

After the Revolutionary War the challenge to settlers here was to maintain peace with the Indians, organize the remaining settlers into communities, and detach the hostile Menominees and Winnebago from their British fur trade connections. The United States Army was not an impressive force to help control disruptive forces in the territory. Their total number in 1835 was 6,000 men. There were frontier garrisons built in Green Bay and Prairie du Chien which dispatched companies to aid troubled settlers in Menasha and Neenah on several occasions.

The opening of the Erie Canal in 1825 opened up the eastern shore of Wisconsin, and then to Neenah and Menasha via the Great Lakes and the Fox River systems. It put Wisconsin in touch with world markets for lumber, furs, minerals (lead), and agricultural products. Property was a priceless commodity, but sales were slow and delayed until official surveyors from Green Bay and Mineral Point could work up property lines and plat landmarks.

Earlier changed by the forces of nature, earth movement, erosion, flooding, and glaciers, the face of the land now became changed by the presence of man.

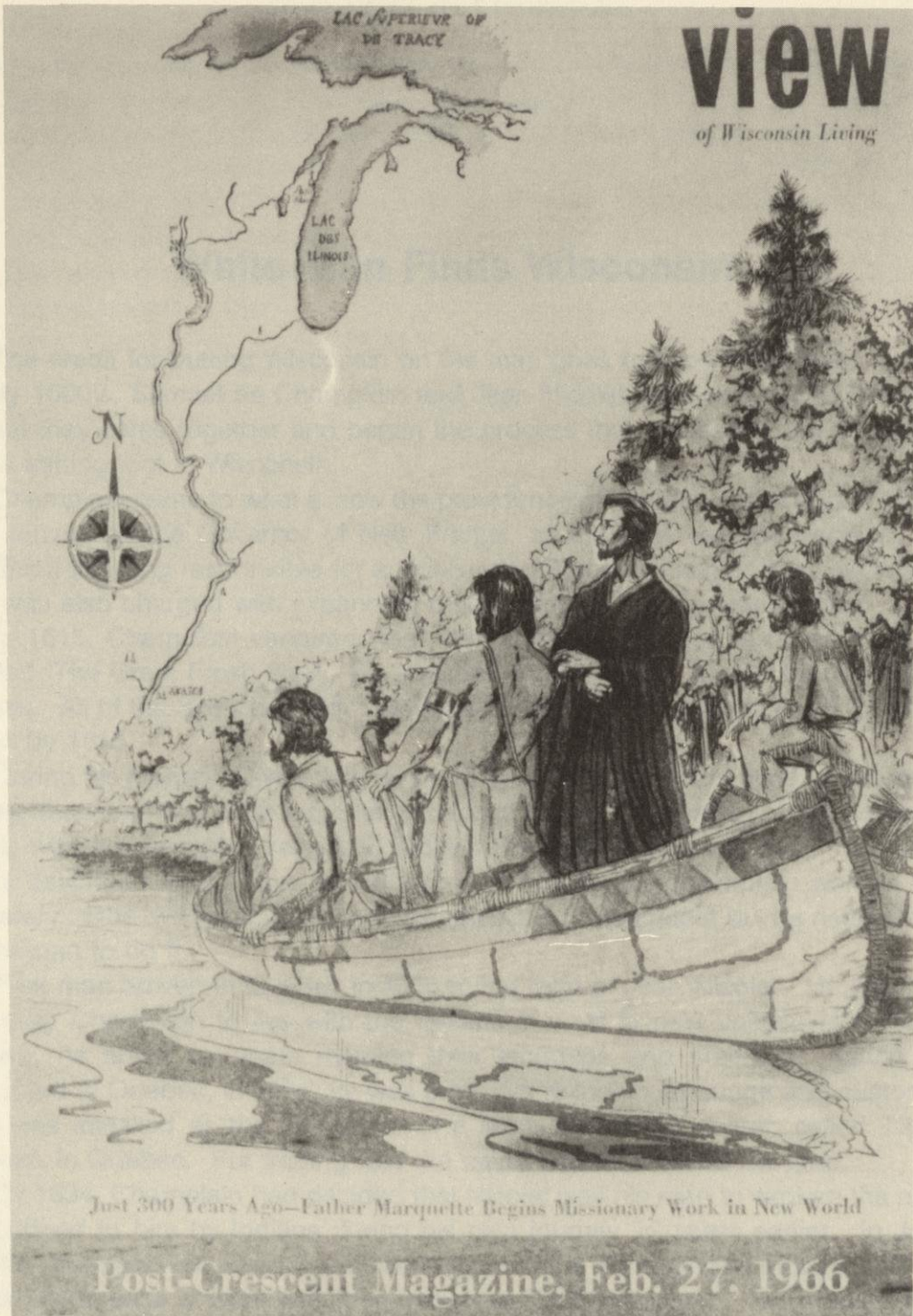
Man's construction of the locks and dams where the Fox River exited Lake Winnebago, backed the water, making it overflow the banks and expanding the size of the lake. Wild rice beds, once covering much of the lowlands along the banks, disappeared as they became swamped. Land owners saw their property inundated. Residents of Fond du Lac and Oshkosh threatened to march on Neenah-Menasha. A resolution by the Board of Public Works in Oshkosh ordered their secretary to "gather information about the overflowing of land around Lake Winnebago. Eventually, the lake level was established and through the years it has been regulated by the local dams.

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Clifford B. Burton

view

of Wisconsin Living



Just 300 Years Ago—Father Marquette Begins Missionary Work in New World

Post-Crescent Magazine, Feb. 27, 1966

Birch bark canoe was the common method of water travel by fur traders and missionaries who learned its use from the Indians.

White Man Finds Wisconsin

The credit for putting Wisconsin on the map goes to two Frenchmen. In the early 1600's, Samuel de Champlain and Jean Nicolet were both far from home when they came together and began the process that resulted in the first white man setting foot in Wisconsin.

Champlain came to what is now the providence of Quebec in Canada in 1608. He arrived as the Governor of New France, as the area was then known. In addition to being responsible for administering France's claim in the new world, he was also charged with expanding those holdings through exploration.

In 1615, Champlain ventured west from Quebec. He got as far as what he called "The Great Fresh Sea". We now call it Lake Huron, one of the five Great Lakes. All of the lands beyond "The Great Fresh Sea" were unexplored by white men by 1615.

During his journey, Champlain was told by Indians he met of what lay beyond. They described two other large lakes beyond Huron. They also told of a smaller lake, with a river outlet, settled by Indians they called "Winnepegou". The area they described is our Lake Winnebago and Fox River. Champlain wanted the mystery of the two large lakes and one small one investigated, but he needed the right man to do it.

That man arrived in Quebec in 1618 in the form of Jean Nicolet. He was first sent by Champlain to live with the Indians in what is now upstate New York. There, he spent six years learning their language and customs. When he returned to Quebec, in 1624, he was proficient in Indian language and customs. He was installed as the interpreter of a large fur trading center, called Three Rivers, in Quebec. Fur trading was the major activity there at the time.

By 1634, Champlain had decided that Nicolet was his man to explore the area described to him by Indians during his own journey 19 years earlier. In July, 1634, Champlain commissioned Nicolet to visit the Winnepegou Indians and the fresh water seas of what was then known as "The Northwest". His mission was also to instruct the Winnepegou in the benefits of religion and the fur trade.

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Nicolet's journey was risky. There was no way of knowing how the Winnepegou would receive him, or if he would even make it to the land alive. Nicolet's method of transportation was a birch-bark canoe, powered by his own paddling. The birch-bark canoes were very light, and were easily battered by even mild storms.

Nicolet, who was 36 years old at the time, was confident of his ability, and set out on the Ottawa River, heading west, as part of a trading convoy. He broke away from the convoy upon reaching a Huron Indian settlement down river. There, he used his Indian language and custom skills to enlist seven Indians to join him in the voyage of discovery.

Nicolet and his band headed west, along the north shore of Lake Huron. Several severe storms turned the lake into a boiling caldron, forcing them to beach their canoes and take shelter in the vast forests which came right down to the edge of the lake. Some of the storms forced them to stay on land for days at a time, since using their canoes on the stormy lake would have meant certain death. To sustain themselves, Nicolet and his band lived off of what they caught in the lake or hunted on land.

Eventually, Nicolet arrived at what is present-day Sault Ste. Marie, Michigan. There was a settlement of Algonkin Indians on the site. When Nicolet set foot on the land, he became the first white man to visit what, 150 years later, would be known as the Northwest Territory.

From Sault Ste. Marie, Nicolet's party headed south. They passed through the Straits of Mackinac into what is now Lake Michigan. The group followed the lake's north coast, along present-day Upper Michigan. They camped each night on the edges of the virgin forests which covered the land like a green blanket.

Nicolet made his next important landing at the mouth of the present-day Menomonee River on the Wisconsin-Upper Michigan border. Here he encountered a band of Menomonee Indians. From them, he learned about the land and Indians to the south. He sent one of the Indians from his party ahead to herald his approach to the Winnepegou Indians, who were settled at the mouth of the Fox River in present-day Green Bay.

As Nicolet came upon the mouth of the Fox, he sighted vast marshes of wild rice swaying in the breeze. Nicolet expected to see Chinese people on the shore. At the time, it was thought the China Sea was very near the Great Lakes since the vast size of the North American continent was unknown. His hopes were further reinforced by talk he had heard from the Menomonee Indians of the strange people who lived at the mouth of the Fox.

White Man Finds Wisconsin

After Nicolet's canoe was beached just below the Fox River's mouth, he put on a brightly colored ceremonial gown, expecting to meet the Chinese. You can imagine his surprise when he was greeted by a large number of Indians. They were impressed with Nicolet's manner of dress and were further awed when he fired his pistols into the air. They had never seen a firearm before and soon dubbed him "Manitou" or wonderful man.

Word of Nicolet's arrival quickly spread through the Winnepegou villages, and soon thousands of Indians had gathered to view Nicolet. A great feast ensued in which dozens of beavers were consumed. Nicolet smoked a peace pipe with the Indians and exchanged gifts.

From Green Bay, Nicolet then pushed upstream along the Fox. At the time, the Fox was a wild and untamed river. On both sides of the river, Nicolet saw large fields of maize (corn) which the Indians used to barter with other Indian tribes. He had to portage the rapids at DePere, Grand Chute, and Winnebago Rapids. Nicolet encountered another Indian settlement when he landed on the north shore of a large island, now known as Doty Island.

From here he entered Lake Winnebago. He continued his journey south, entering what is now the upper Fox River at Oshkosh. He was in search of what the Winnepegou called the "Mascoutins" or Fire Nation. He found the Indian village near present-day Berlin. This was where Nicolet ended his voyage. Had he pressed on just a little further, he would have come upon Portage and the Wisconsin River. The great river would have led him to an even greater one, the Mississippi. But the honor of being the first white man to discover the Mississippi was not to be Nicolet's.

Nicolet returned to Quebec, reported his findings to Champlain, then resumed his duties at Three Rivers. It would be more than 20 years before two other French explorers ventured back into the wilds of Wisconsin and discovered what Nicolet had missed.

These men were Pierre Radisson and his brother-in-law, Medard Groseilliers. In June, 1658, the pair traveled west to Lakes Huron and Michigan. Unlike Nicolet, Radisson and Groseilliers followed the western shore of Lake Michigan, spending the winter of 1658-9 with the Indians in the area. In the spring of 1659, the pair entered the Fox River at Green Bay and followed it all the way to the Mascoutin village where Nicolet ended his voyage.

The Mascoutins told Radisson and Groseilliers about the Sioux Indians, a tribe to the west. Apparently, the Frenchmen and the Mascoutins ventured west. Radisson, in his diary, talks about traveling on some great rivers during this time. Some historians believe his description of one river is that of the Mississippi.

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Even though Radisson and Groseilliers did not travel the Mississippi, it was not long before other French explorers did. LaSalle claimed to discover the river in 1670, and Louis Joliet and Father Jacques Marquette in 1673.

The explorations of Nicolet, Radisson, Groseilliers, LaSalle, Joliet, and Marquette served to pave the way for more white men to come to Wisconsin. French missionary, Father Claude Allouez, arrived in Green Bay in 1669. In 1671 he established the first permanent settlement by white men in the Fox Valley, the mission of St. Francois Xavier at DePere. The door was now open to the white man in the Fox Valley.

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Glenn Brill

Establishment of a Territory

Wisconsin became a territory in 1836 and a full-fledged state 12 years later in 1848. What made this all possible was an event that took place 1,000 miles away in 1787. The place was New York City and the event was the United States Congress' writing of the Northwest Ordinance. It was the document that served as a blue print for establishing five midwestern states, including Wisconsin.

The ordinance provided a framework for settling the wild midwestern section of the new nation. Seven of the original 13 states had claims to lands in the midwest. It was the other six states, which had no land claims in the area, that pushed for creation of the Ordinance. It resulted in the undeveloped land being ceded to the federal government.

When passed by Congress on July 13, 1787, the Northwest Ordinance was a plan "by which the nation could grow in freedom, through the addition of new states, each equal to those already in the union". It opened a vast area to settlement. The Ordinance governed 275,000 square miles of land - all of the lands north of the Ohio River and east of the Mississippi River.

At the time, the lands were a sparsely settled wilderness. If one could travel back to Wisconsin in 1787, he would find seas of solid treetops in the virgin forests. There would be hardwoods of all types - oak, beech, maple, and hickory. The forests were so thick, the sun had trouble reaching the ground. Where there were no forests, there were vast prairies where the grasses grew 12 feet tall in summer.

Populating the area were some Indians and fur traders; but they were far outnumbered by the myriad of animals - deer, elk, buffalo, bear, and wolf. The flocks of passenger pigeons were so large they blotted out the sun as they flew past. Eagles nested along the banks of raging rivers feeding on the fish in them.

The Northwest Ordinance contained six articles. Article 4 had a particular impact on the development of the area that became Neenah-Menasha. It read, "The navigable waters leading into the Mississippi and St. Lawrence, and carrying places between the same, shall be common highways and forever free".

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Waterways were the interstate highways of today to people in 1787. They were the quickest way to travel and transport goods. As you will read later in this book, waterways had a huge impact on the development of Neenah-Menasha.

Article 5 of the Ordinance allowed for the development of Wisconsin. It said not less than 3, nor more than 5 states, would be formed from the Northwest Territory. It went on to say that when a territory had 60,000 people, it could become a state on equal footing with the original states. Five states were created out of the Northwest Territory - Wisconsin, Michigan, Illinois, Indiana, and Ohio.

With the framework for development in place, settlers began to move west from the east coast. What is now Indiana was their first stop. When it became a territory, in 1800, the area that is now Wisconsin became part of the Indiana Territory. When Indiana achieved statehood in 1809, Wisconsin was made part of the Illinois Territory. In 1818, Illinois became a state, and Wisconsin was attached to the Michigan Territory.

During the time Wisconsin was being shuffled from one territory to another, it was attracting settlers. By 1824, large numbers of miners were flooding what is now southwestern Wisconsin to extract the rich lead deposits discovered there. These miners did not bother to build houses. They dug caves into the hillside near the mines. Some people observed that they behaved like badgers. Ever since, Wisconsin has been known as the Badger State.

1824 also saw the first push to create a Wisconsin Territory. James Duane Doty, a territorial judge from Michigan Territory, whose jurisdiction included Wisconsin, started to lobby to the U.S. Congress for a Wisconsin Territory. Despite continual pressure from Doty, Wisconsin did not become a territory until July 3, 1836. President Andrew Jackson appointed Henry Dodge as the first Territorial Governor.

Dodge's first duty was to hold elections for the Territorial Legislature. The Northwest Ordinance stated one representative would be elected for every 500 men over the age of 21 in a territory. Dodge did not waste any time, and Wisconsin's newly elected Territorial Legislature met for the first time on October 25, 1836, just three months after the Wisconsin Territory was created.

The Legislature met in Belmont, in southwestern Wisconsin, the first territorial capitol. Its first job was to pick a permanent capital. Green Bay, Racine, and Portage were among the locations in the running. Madison, which was then better known as Four Lakes, was also being considered. It had James Doty's backing. He owned 1,300 acres of land in Madison. Through gifts of some of that land to legislators, Doty succeeded in having Madison selected as Wisconsin's permanent capital.

Establishment of a Territory

With Wisconsin's permanent capital selected, the process of becoming a state began. The Northwest Ordinance said a territory needed at least 60,000 people to become a state. The industries that developed in the Wisconsin Territory lured thousands of settlers not only from the eastern United States but from foreign lands as well. Besides mining in southwestern Wisconsin, large lumbering, farming, shipbuilding, and furniture-making industries began to develop in the territory. The growth of these industries helped Wisconsin's population increase tenfold, from 30,000 in 1840, to 305,000 in 1850.

Attempts to make Wisconsin a state began in 1841 when the state had 60,000 people. In September of that year, James Doty, who succeeded Dodge to become Wisconsin's second Territorial Governor, asked for a vote of the people on becoming a state. The proposal was rejected, as it would be three more times by September, 1844.

There were two reasons the people were against it. Number one, Doty belonged to the Whig political party. The majority of the territory voters were Democrats and Doty, being a Whig, was unpopular with Democrats. The second reason concerned the state's proposed southern border. Doty favored extending it to the southern tip of Lake Michigan. This would have added northern Illinois and its large public debt to Wisconsin, and the voters did not want that.

In 1844, Doty was succeeded by Nathaniel Tallmadge as Territorial Governor. He had no better luck than Doty in convincing the people to vote for statehood. In May, 1845, Henry Dodge was appointed for a second time as Governor. His appointment restored political harmony to the territory since he was a Democrat. When Dodge's statehood initiative was put before the voters in April, 1846, it was approved by a large margin. The U.S. Congress shortly thereafter passed an enabling act for admission of Wisconsin as a state.

With the approval of the voters and Congress, Dodge wasted little time in getting to work on the state's constitution, the next step in statehood process. A Constitutional Convention was convened in Madison on October 5, 1846, but the document it developed was rejected by voters in 1847. Three items in the constitution led to its defeat. It gave blacks the right to vote; it allowed state banks; and it permitted married women to own property. Women did not even have the right to vote at that time.

Governor Dodge was not going to give up on statehood. He called a second Constitutional Convention. It met from December, 1847, to February, 1848. When the second draft of the constitution went before the voters in March, 1848, it was approved.

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With its constitution in place, Wisconsin could now apply to the U.S. Congress for statehood. Congress gave its approval to making Wisconsin a state in May, 1848. President James Polk signed the bill on May 29, 1848, making Wisconsin the 30th state in the Union and the last state formed from the Northwest Territory.



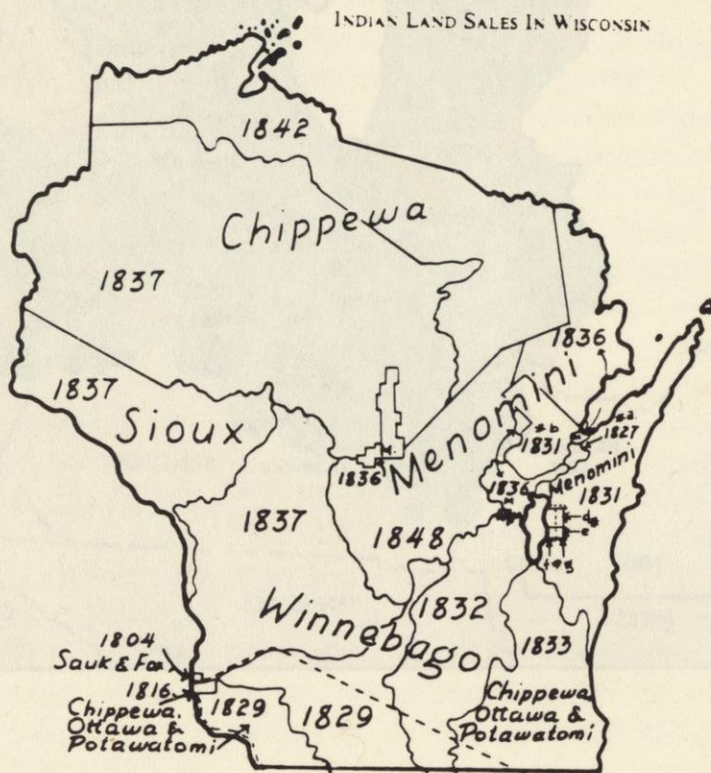
Glenn Brill

SETTLEMENT OF THE OLD NORTHWEST





Winnebago Indian encampment.



Presence of Native Americans

The glaciers advanced and receded, and in their recessions the directions of the Menasha's and Neenah's histories were set. By 10,000 B.C., great glacial deposits of rich soil and rocks covered Wisconsin, including the Fox River Valley. The course of the branches of the Fox River, flowing through the channels of Lake Winnebago and Little Lake Butte des Morts, had been established. Wild fowl and game were attracted by abundance of food-bearing vegetation. All of this lured the first human beings to the area.

Probably the first inhabitants of Wisconsin were the Paleo Indians who had discovered the Wisconsin paradise even before the recession of the last glacier had been completed. These primitives wandered in small groups, hunting such big game as mastadons, wooly mammoths, and giant beavers. Their only weapon was the projectile stone spear. Gradually the Paleo Indians gave way to the Archaic People who had attained a higher level of culture by 5000 B.C. which included food gathering and food preparation.

Artifacts date the presence of the Late Woodland Indians in the Neenah-Menasha area about 2000 years ago. It is these natives who probably built the Indian mounds found on Doty Island and on the north shore of the Fox River in Menasha. Known as effigy mounds, they were erected in the shapes of animals, fowl, and reptiles. They were believed to have been used for burial as well as for ceremonial and religious purposes.

The Mississippi People, who later co-existed with the Woodland Indians probably were the ancestors of the Winnebago, living in the area about 300 to 1100 years ago. They were the first farmers of the Fox Valley area. Since they no longer were as dependent on the hunt, they remained in permanent villages living in wigwams. Although the Woodland Indians introduced pottery, it was the Mississippi Indians who developed a distinctive form. Stone tools became more refined and sophisticated.

It is told that when Jean Nicolet landed on Doty Island in 1634, he was met by the Winnebago Indians, the dominant tribe in the Fox River area. Using a map, previously drawn from the description of visiting tribesmen, Nicolet had sent by

A Tale of Twin Cities

Samuel de Champlain, the governor of New France in Canada. His mission was to make peace with the Winnebago and Huron Indians in order to open the area for new fur trading sites and Jesuit missionary activity. Holding council with "5000 natives", Nicolet's mission was successful.

However, Indian life would never be the same. Eventually trading hatchets and guns would replace stone weapons; cloth would replace animal hides; and iron pots would replace clay pots. As the Indians became more dependent upon trade items for furs, ancient skills for survival were lost. Obtaining furs became paramount in the lives of Indians.

The name "Winnebago" was a corruption of other synonymous words meaning "filthy water" or "sea water". The tribe was known by 28 different names, the most common ones being "Winibagos", "Puans", "Puants" or "stinkers". It is believed that the tribe had migrated centuries before into the Fox Valley from the eastern shores of the country, escaping the pursuit of enemies and locating new hunting grounds.

The Winnebago Indians were known as an unfriendly and warlike people who frequently ate their captured enemies. Rarely bathing, they lived up to their name "stinking people". However, they were knowledgeable farmers, clearing land of stones, planting corn in hills, and even irrigating.

The first settlement of Winnebago Indians, located at the present site of Garfield Avenue, Menasha, was on Dendo Island where they had a fort. The fort and village were burned by the invading French in 1728. Later a second village and fort were built on the eastern end of Doty Island.

When Jonathan Carver, an English explorer, visited the Winnebago village in 1766, there were 50 houses and a strongly built fortification. The village was ruled by "Glory of the Morning", a Winnebago princess. Married to a French trader, Joseph De Kaury, she became a leading figure in her tribe. She bore three children including two sons who played vital parts in later peace treaties with the United States government. Glory of the Morning's branch of the Winnebago became known as the Decorah clan when they were moved to the Iowa Territory. The last Winnebago chief was Hootschope or "Four Legs". All Winnebago lands in the Fox River Valley were ceded to the United States government in 1827. Well known "Four Legs" died three years later, thus ending the succession of ruling Winnebago chiefs in this area. The remaining Winnebago Indians moved on to a tribal settlement in Portage, Wisconsin. Following the treaty of 1837 in which all remaining Winnebago lands east of the Mississippi were ceded to the government, reservations were established for them

Presence of Native Americans

in Iowa, in Minnesota, in the Dakotas, and finally in Nebraska. A few of the tribe's people refused to leave and wandered around this area for a number of years.

A second tribe of Indians in this area was the Fox. They probably were the most aggressive of the Indian tribes residing in the Fox River Valley. An Algonquin tribe, they arrived in Wisconsin some time after the Winnebago. For one hundred years the Fox harassed and fought their bitter enemies, the French and their Indian allies.

The name "Fox" was the nickname given to them by the English. The French called them "Renard". The Fox called themselves "Meshkwahug", a word meaning "red earth people". Other Algonquin tribes referred to them as the "Utugamig" or "Outagamie", meaning "people of the other shore".

It is believed that the Fox Indians migrated from Michigan in order to find a more protective site away from the warring Iroquois. One of the major Fox villages in the Fox River Valley was on the west side of Little Lake Butte des Morts.

The Fox practiced polygamy and were skilled traders. Evidence of European goods brought here before the arrival of the white man may have been the result of the Fox Indian trading arrangements with other tribes in the east. Some have described the Fox Indians as arrogant, quarrelsome, and aggressive.

After the arrival of Jean Nicolet in Wisconsin, other exploration followed and trading with the French began along the Fox River. Furs were the Frenchman's gold in the New World. However, Samuel de Champlain, Governor of Canada, foresaw the need for new trading sites if the fur market were to continue. The Fox and Wolf rivers as a water route and the abundance of fur-bearing animals in the area, provided an ideal setting for further French fur-trading expansion. Although explorers and traders made contact with Indian tribes along the Fox River, no French missions nor trading posts were established in the Menasha and Neenah vicinity.

The Fox Indians soon discovered that the French would challenge their dominance of the Fox River and disrupt their trading arrangement with other Indian tribes. Following a long period of harassment in which the Fox charged tolls or duties or raided the cargoes of French boats along the river, the French decided they must use military force. A series of battles took place, beginning in 1716 and finally ending in 1737, when the Fox decided to move to southeastern Wisconsin. French dominance of the Fox River area ended about the same time.

The Menominee Indians came early to the Fox River Valley and presently remain a tribal unit in Wisconsin. Although the tribe's origin is undocumented,

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it is believed they migrated from Canada to the upper Michigan peninsula and to the Menominee River area between Michigan and Wisconsin.

Descendants of a prehistoric woodland culture (800 to 1000 A.D.), the Menominee tribe wandered into Wisconsin and the lands of the Winnebago Indians with whom they were friendly. It is reported that the Menominee were the first tribe that Jean Nicolet met upon his arrival in Green Bay in 1634. Prior to the Great Council of 1825, held at Fort Crawford in Prairie du Chien, the Menominees controlled all the lands between Lake Michigan and Lake Winnebago and from the lower Fox River south to the Milwaukee River.

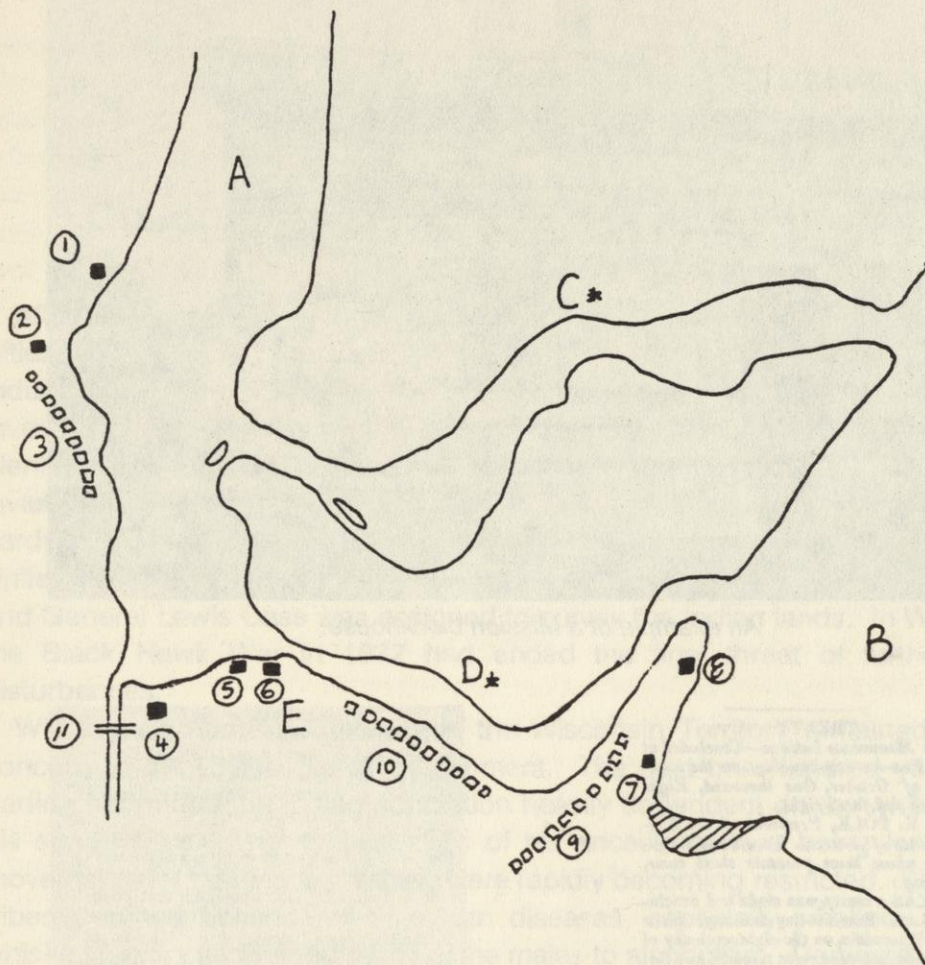
The Indians were known in the Chippewa tongue as "Menominee" or "wild rice people". The French referred to them as "folle Avione" or "wild rice eaters". The first European contact with the tribe was favorable for they were handsome, neat, agreeable, peaceful, and ornamentally dressed. Reports of the Menominee's light skin, different from other tribes, may have given cause for Nicolet to believe that, as he ventured into unexplored lands, he may finally have located the century-sought route to the Orient and that the Menominees were indeed Asiatic people.

During their ninety-year rule in the Fox River Valley, the Menominee tribe thrived. Skilled in hunting and trapping, they proved to be favorable trading partners, especially with the Grignon family who dominated the fur-trading enterprises in Wisconsin during the early part of the nineteenth century.

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William F. Herziger

Proposed plan of the Indian Mission.



O L D M A P Dated September 28, 1839
 Surveyor General Office
 Dubuque, Iowa

[A] Little Lake Butte des Morts. [B] Lake Winnebago [C] Menasha Dam *
 [D] Neenah Dam * [E] Winnebago Rapids (*) Dams built in 1850.

- (1) Farm House. (2) Farm House. (3) 9 Block Houses. (4) Farm House.
 (5) Mill. (6) Blacksmith Shop. (7) Farm House. (8) Farm House.
 (9) 10 Block Houses. (10) 10 Block Houses. (11) Bridge.

Traced from original February 28, 1992
 Neenah Historical Society



An example of a Mission blockhouse.

TREATY

With the Menominee Indians—Concluded at Lake Pow-aw-hay-kon-nay, on the eighteenth of October, One thousand, Eight hundred and forty-eight.

JAMES K. POLK, President of the United States of America. To all and singular to whom these presents shall come, Greeting:

WHEREAS a treaty was made and concluded at Lake Pow-aw-hay-kon-nay, in the State of Wisconsin, on the eighteenth day of October, one thousand eight hundred and forty-eight, between the United States of America, by William Medill, a commissioner duly appointed for that purpose, and the Menominee tribe of Indians, by the Chiefs, headmen and warriors of that tribe; which treaty is word for word as follows—to wit:

Articles of a treaty made and concluded at Lake Pow-aw-hay-kon-nay, in the State of Wisconsin, on the eighteenth day of October, one thousand eight hundred and forty-eight, between the United States of America, by William Medill, a commissioner duly appointed for that purpose, and the Menominee tribe of Indians, by the chiefs, headmen, and warriors of said tribe:

ARTICLE I.

It is stipulated and solemnly agreed that the peace and friendship now so happily subsisting between the Government and People of the United States and the Menominee Indians, shall be perpetual.

ARTICLE II.

The said Menominee tribe of Indians agree to cede, and do hereby cede, sell, and relinquish to the United States all their land in the State of Wisconsin, wherever situated.

ARTICLE III.

In consideration of the foregoing cession, the United States agree to give, and do hereby give to the said Indians for a home, to be held as Indian lands are held, all that country or tract of land ceded to the United States by the Chippewa Indians of the Mississippi and Lake Superior in the treaty of August 2 1847, and the Pillager band of Chippewa Indians, in the treaty of August 21, 1847, which may not be assigned to the Winnebago Indians, under the treaty with that tribe of October 1, 1846, and which is guaranteed to contain not less than six hundred thousand acres.

Treaty of Oct. 18, 1848, by which the Menominee Indians relinquished their land to the U.S. Government.

Government Efforts to "Civilize" Indians

After 1830, a mass emigration to the United States from Europe took place. Cities in the new nation became overcrowded and slums sprang up. The Industrial Revolution was gaining momentum on the country's eastern coast. Investment opportunities were becoming limited and natural resources were less plentiful. The Northwest Territory had become ripe for Yankee and immigrant invasion. Water power was unharnessed; the lands were unplowed; the hardwood forests were virgin; and many natural resources were abundant. The United States government began to open the territory for settlement in the 1830's and General Lewis Cass was assigned to survey the Indian lands. In Wisconsin, the Black Hawk War in 1832 had ended the final threat of further Indian disturbances.

What to do about the Indians in the Wisconsin Territory remained a major concern to the United States government. The past one hundred years of fur trading had made the Indian population heavily dependent on the white man for his subsistence. The survival skills of his ancestors were being lost and his movements for hunting and fishing were rapidly becoming restricted. Sizes of the tribes declined because of European diseases, especially smallpox. Trading whiskey for furs had turned many of the males to alcoholism. Demoralization and hopelessness were becoming increasingly evident among Indian people.

Indian matters were left to the Indian Commission of the United States War Department. The Commission was guided by two policies: to remove the Indian tribes to the west side of the Mississippi River or to teach them the art of Christian civilization so that they might become assimilated into the "White Man's Society".

The House Committee on Indian Affairs in 1818 had stated:

Put into the hands of their children the primer and the hoe, and they will, naturally, in time take hold of the plough and, as their minds become enlightened and expand, the Bible will be their book, and they will grow in habits of morality and industry, leave chase to those whose minds are less cultivated, and become useful members of society.

A Tale of Twin Cities

It was this philosophy which would form the basis of the mission experiment at Winnebago Rapids, now Neenah.

In 1831, a treaty was concluded with the Menominee Indians in which one of the provisions was that the United States government would provide for a project which would attempt to "civilize" the Indians after a suitable place had been located for such an experiment. A government grist mill and a saw mill would be built and dwellings for the Indians would be erected. The treaty also provided that five farmers would teach the skills of farming at a salary of three hundred dollars per annum. Five females, probably the wives of the farmers, would be employed to teach school for sixty dollars a year. An unlimited amount would be spent for mechanics, tools, and farming implements. Because it had all the physical characteristics needed, Winnebago Rapids was selected as the site in 1834. Nathaniel Perry arrived that year to become the first farmer and government employee.

William Dickinson of Shanty Town and David Whitney of Navarino, both from the Green Bay vicinity, contracted to build the structures named in the treaty. Approximately twenty-five workmen began the construction of the buildings in 1835 and forty men of various trades were employed by 1836.

To supply water power for the mills, dams were needed on the Fox River. A nine-hundred foot wing dam (which stretched nearly across the river) was constructed near the present Neenah dam. A mill race was dug along the side of the river to the mills. At the foot of the rapids and in the area of the present mills, the grist and sawmill were constructed. The sawmill had one upright saw and the grist mill had two runs of stone. A blacksmith shop was also erected at the foot of the rapids. Nineteen thousand dollars had been appropriated for the construction of the mills, the blacksmith shop, and the dam. Near the mills were the log houses of miller, Colonel David Johnson, and the blacksmiths, Thomas Jourdain and a man named Hunter.

During the year of 1835, four two-story log houses or block houses were built for the teaching farmers. The dwellings were made of hewn timbers assembled by locking the ends of the timbers. The interiors of the houses were finished and even plastered. The house just south of the present Fritzie Park on the west side of Little Lake Butte des Morts was occupied by Nathaniel Perry. A second dwelling, near Blair Springs and located at the intersection of present Lake Street and Winchester Road, was occupied by Clark Dickinson. A third house was on the "Council Tree Point" near what is now Riverside Park. Robert Irwin lived there. Later Rev. O. P. Clinton was to occupy this home and to hold the first Protestant services and perform the first wedding there. The fourth block house was used

Government Efforts to "Civilize" Indians

by squatter, Peter Pendelton, and was located at the east end of present-day Wisconsin Avenue. It is in this house that Harrison Reed and his family resided for eighteen years following his purchase of Winnebago Rapids in 1843.

Thirty-three log houses were contracted to be built for occupation by the Menominee Indians as part of the mission experiment. They were to include one-story common log houses and smaller two-story block houses. Most structures were to be twenty by sixteen feet in size. Each Indian family was to be allotted two and one-half acres of land as well. The buildings were to be used as models for the Indians when they built their own homes. The houses were to be constructed in three rows with ten houses in each row. One row was charted to be built on the west shore of Little Lake Butte des Morts stretching from Fritzie Park to the south end of the lake. A second row was to be built along what is now Wisconsin Avenue from the present Valley Inn to Riverside Park. A third row of houses was scheduled to be distributed from the "Council Tree Point" to present Doty Avenue. By the time the mission experiment was abandoned, only the teacher-farmers', the millers', the blacksmiths', and a few Indian demonstration houses had been completed.

The effort to persuade the Menominees to live in the houses was futile. The Indians built fires in the middle of the rooms, as had been their custom in their wigwams. During the severe winter months several of the Indians erected their wigwams inside the buildings. The floors were ripped up for firewood and, eventually, they used the buildings to stable their horses.

Since the Menominee women had, for centuries, tilled the soil and the males had done the hunting and fishing, the men adapted poorly to farming. Planting and harvesting were usually done too late. What harvesting could have been done was destroyed by their horses who were allowed to pasture in the fields. Cattle and oxen, provided by the government, were thought to be better used for food than as beasts of burden or for milking.

The education of the young had been the responsibility of the elders who passed on traditions, skills, and oral folklore. The children roamed in and out of the school and seldom prepared their lessons. So little success did the five women teachers have in maintaining discipline in the classroom that they gave up their efforts.

United States Indian Affairs reports or other documents do not indicate whether the mission experiment was also an effort by either Roman Catholic or Protestant missionaries. However, according to an account by P. V. Lawson in his book,

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The History of Winnebago County, he states that the religious aspect of the mission was under Rev. Gregory, an Episcopal rector, and that services were conducted by him regularly. Lawson further reports that the mission school was under the superintendency of the Missionary Society of the Episcopal Church in Green Bay. Father Gregory's brother is said to have conducted classes in religion and morality. Other reports stated that Rev. Theodore Vanden Brook traveled from Little Chute in order to serve mass to Catholic government employees.

The Winnebago Rapids Mission Project among the Menominees was destined for failure from the very beginning. The project took far too much time in getting started and it was plagued with mismanagement. For example, David Whitney, one of the contractors, had about one hundred thousand feet of logs cut on the Rat River for the construction of the grist mill. They were never used.

It was naive to believe that the Menominees, who by their history, were wanderers, could or would want to have their life-style changed so quickly. Their own culture had been ingrained for centuries. During the summer of 1831, a smallpox epidemic hastened the end of the project. Nearly every member of the more than thirty Indian families was stricken and many died. When the agency surgeon at Kaukauna heard of the epidemic, he delivered medicine to Archibald Caldwell and quickly left the settlement so as not to fall victim to the disease. Caldwell, an unsuccessful Virginian trader who had arrived in Winnebago Rapids in 1837, had a rapport with the Menominees. He and his Indian consort faithfully administered the medicine to the ailing Indians. Finally both became ill with smallpox themselves. Caldwell survived. His consort did not. The high fever so frightened the stricken Indians that many rushed to the river and were swept away. The few who survived moved to other locations, probably to the Lake Poygan area.

By 1838, all attempts to instruct the Indians had ceased; however, salaries continued to be paid to the government employees. Declaring the social experiment as a total loss, the white men deserted Winnebago Rapids and left the abandoned houses as refuge for an occasional wandering Indian trapper or trader.

During the final days of the Winnebago Rapids Project, the Treaty of the Cedars was signed in 1836. The United States government and the Menominee Indian Nation had little difficulty in reaching an agreement in this treaty or others

Government Efforts to "Civilize" Indians

to follow. The treaties usually referred to the President of the United States as the "Great White Father who has affection for his Indian brothers".

After the Treaty of 1831, Wisconsin became the Wisconsin Territory and was no longer a part of the Michigan Territory. The settlement of the white man into Wisconsin Indian lands was much faster than had been anticipated. The government was pressuring the first territorial governor, Henry Dodge, to call another treaty meeting with the Menominees. Chief Oshkosh, also known as "Os Koss the Brave", was the respected leader of his tribe. A patient man, who was realistic about the changing times, he agreed to meet with Governor Dodge in 1836 on the banks of the Fox River west of what is now Kimberly.

It took only six days until the treaty was ready to sign. The Menominee Nation ceded to the United States four million acres of its lands between Green Bay and the Wolf River for \$700,000 - about 17 cents per acre. The government also agreed to pay an annual sum of \$20,000 for a term of twenty years. It also stated it would deliver \$3,000.00 worth of provisions including 2,000 pounds of tobacco, 30 barrels of salt, and \$500.00 for farming utensils. The government would pay the wages for two blacksmiths and would furnish them with iron and steel. Past Indian debts amounting to \$99,710, incurred mainly at fur-trading posts, would be paid by the government.

Following the treaty most Menominees in the Fox River Valley area moved to the south shore of Lake Poygan where payments were to be made at the paygrounds. Their wigwams extended for six miles along the shore.

In the book A Merry Briton in Pioneer Wisconsin, an unknown British author described his visit to the Poygan paygrounds. What he witnessed seemed to be the final, pathetic demoralization of a once proud and courageous people. A settlement of merchants sprang up like mushrooms on the edge of the paygrounds. The dealers made an effort to exploit the Indians after the payment had been made to them. Forbidden to make sales until the payments were completed, the unscrupulous merchants wasted little time in stripping the Indians of their allocations. Watered-down whiskey was sold at inflated prices; useless trinkets and beads enticed the drunken and naive Indians; and traders waited at the exit door for payment of past debts. Hooting and shouting took place throughout the night while many of the young males wallowed in the mud in their nakedness. Rowdiness prevailed in the camps for days after the payment officers had departed leaving the Indians little to subsist on until the next payday.

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Continued pressure from Washington and the failure of Indian programs and dealings opened the matter of again negotiating with the Menominees for more of their lands. The government proposed that the Indians be given 600,000 acres of land in Minnesota and a payment of \$350,000 in exchange for the remaining Menominee lands in Wisconsin. Following a visit to the offered area, Chief Oshkosh returned violently opposing the exchange. In 1854 the tribe was settled in a fair-sized timber reservation in Wisconsin on the Wolf River, where they remain today.

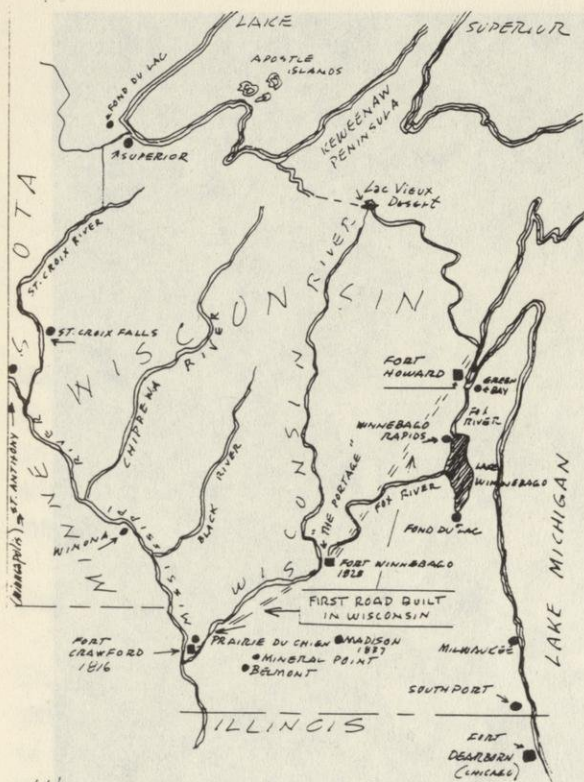
Alice Smith, Wisconsin historian, wrote concerning the plight of the Indian here:

For the Indian, the future lay in trying to adapt himself to the conqueror's ways dragging out a precarious existence among his people, a ward of the federal government, a resident of Wisconsin, but disassociated from its citizens in school, church, and government.

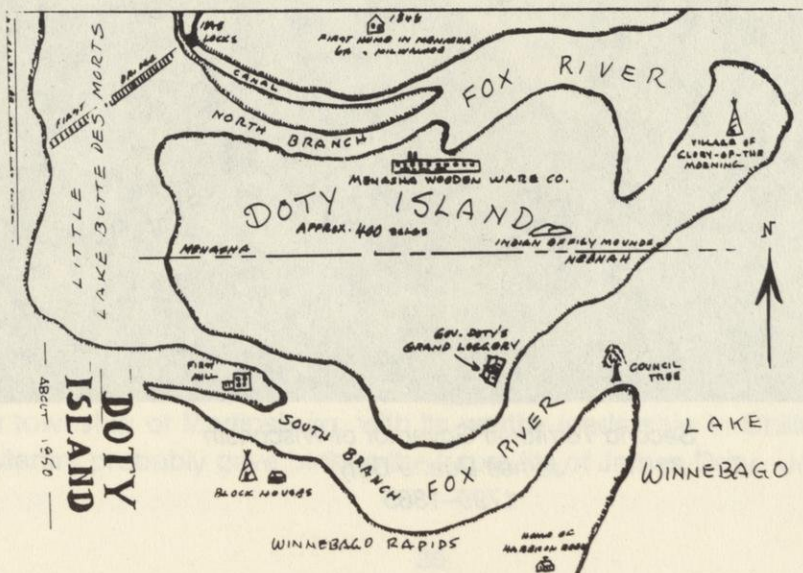
In Neenah-Menasha the last remnants which indicate that Indian life existed here at one time, are the Indian mounds in Smith Park, the Olen Exhibit in the Neenah City Hall, displays at the Doty Cabin, and the private collections of artifacts found by local residents in their yards and fields.

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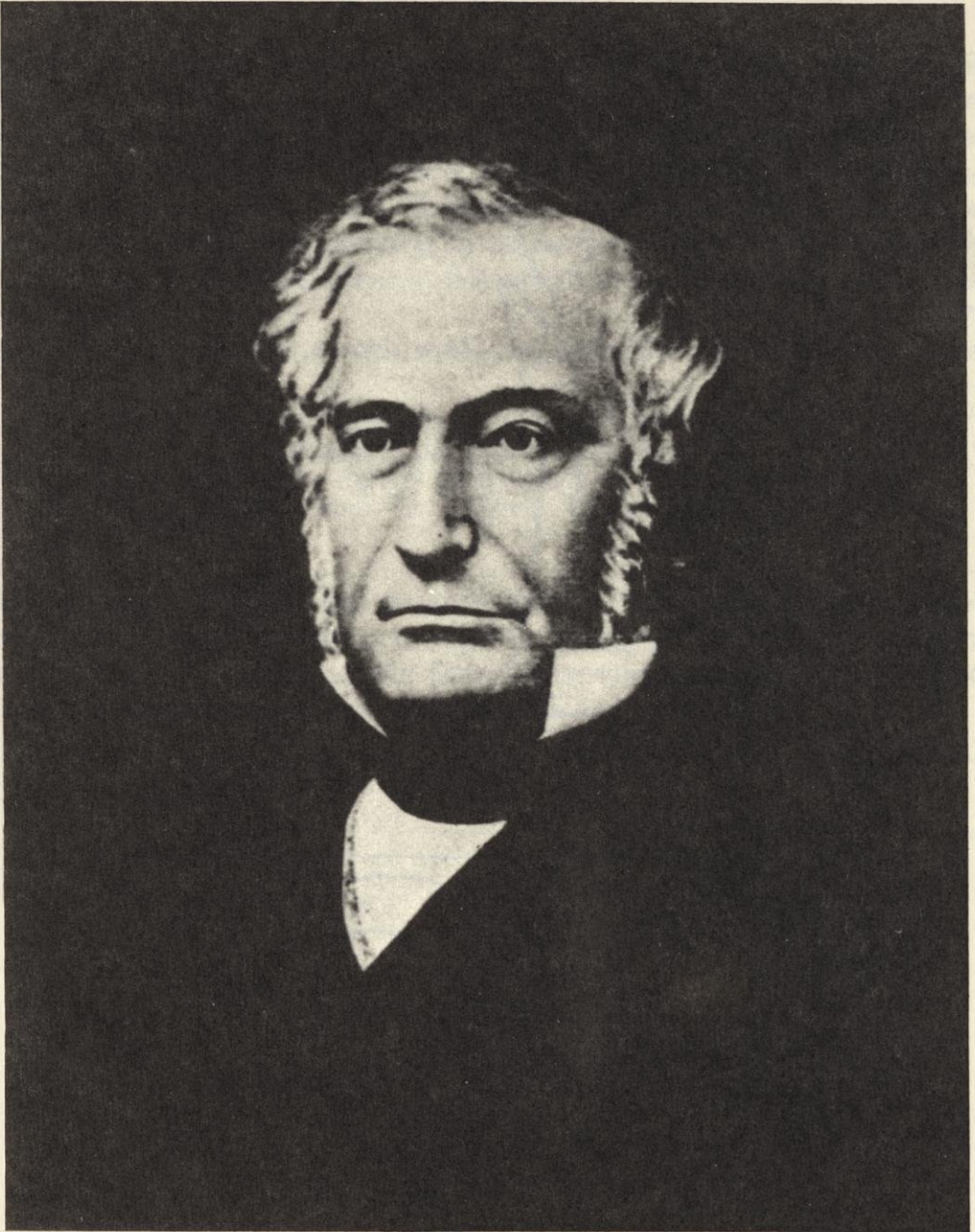
William F. Herziger



Wisconsin in 1836 Became a state in 1848



Sketch by Nate Wauda of Doty Island about 1850.



Second Territorial Governor of Wisconsin
James Duane Doty
1799–1865

James Duane Doty

One hundred and seventy-nine years after the Mayflower landed in Massachusetts on November 5, 1799, James Duane Doty, was born in the village of Salem, New York. His great grandfather, Eduard Doty, had been a passenger on the Mayflower. From that small hamlet, just miles from the Vermont border and near the Hudson River Valley, came a boy destined to become great in maturity with the qualities of a fighter without sword and dagger.

In the story that follows is a portion of James Doty's biography narrated as a champion of another sort, perhaps.

The story of James Doty begins in the time-frame of America's struggle with England for independence on land and sea. Among the early patriots were many stout-hearted believers in freedom and the building of a new nation. This group of brave colonists included members of the Doty family. Chillus (pronounced Kee-lus) was born in Salem, New York, in 1770, and was married in 1790 to a very lovely young woman, Sarah Martin. They had three children: son, Baron Steuben Doty, born 1795; son, James Duane Doty, born November 5, 1799; and daughter, Lanada born in 1803, but who died in infancy.

Sarah Martin's brother was General Walter Martin, hero of the War of 1812. Perhaps the fighting spirit of the man who became Wisconsin's territorial governor was genetically related to that strain of vital spirit in his father and his mother's brother.

General Martin had two sons, one of whom was Morgan L. Martin, who would travel a parallel path with James Doty in the years to come.

Chillus Doty moved his family to Martinsburg about 1803. This village would be the home of the future governor of Wisconsin through his adolescent years. Chillus was much involved, in the growth of Martinsburg and held several important positions in the government of the Town and the State of New York. The key township of Martinsburg, with its worthy leadership in Chillus Doty and Walter Martin, probably gave birth to the future life of James Doty. James keenly

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observed the actual function of politics so well demonstrated in the frequent meetings of area governmental sessions held at the tavern. He would later say, "I learned what politics was in the Doty Tavern in Martinsburg, New York".

Formal education was scarce everywhere early in the 1880's and particularly in New York State, but James attended the Lowville Academy where geography became his prime interest. Eager for higher learning and impatient with the seemingly inadequate teaching available at Lowville, James sought private teaching.

Having achieved a recognizable social standing in the community, young Doty fell into a valuable relationship. This was the beginning of his entry into the fundamentals and executions of the law. One Ela Collins in Lowville, one of the leading lawmakers of New York, was district attorney for Lewis County and a member of the United States Congress. Baron Doty, brother of James, much interested in the legal profession, followed the traditional pattern of preparation by serving as an apprentice to some of the most outstanding jurists in the Mohawk Valley. His brother then opened the door of introduction to the Collins family. Maria Clinton, daughter of the Rev. Clinton who was the main instructor at Lowville Academy, had married Ela Collins from Oneida County when he was rising to fame in law and politics. Maria Collins perhaps contributed the most to the education of James Doty. Being much accomplished in teaching at the academy, her areas of knowledge in the fields of higher education were just those that young Doty needed.

He was impressed by this attractive and friendly woman several years his senior. His attainments from that relationship were described in broadening abilities in public speaking, the protocol of the political arena, and qualitative research into the annals of law and governmental administration. From his pleasant association with Maria Collins he learned the fine points of social interaction. Truly, this was a woman for whom he had the highest regard.

During his frequent visits to the Collins home another figure appeared that captivated his attention of another sort. Sara Collins was a beautiful and talented daughter of Ela and Maria. She was of slender form with dark hair and brown eyes. Her voice was gentle and her lovely manners most gracious. It was not difficult for young Doty to admire her in ways far beyond the ordinary.

During the times when events placed James Doty away from his home in Martinsburg and the Collins home in Lowville, Sara Collins became an inspiring thought. Long before a courtship began, the grass roots of a permanent joy and

James Duane Doty

happiness in his life were formed. The early relationship for both James and Sara was reciprocal in its genuine stability. The meetings between them became cherished in actuality and in memory. James Doty, not yet embarked on his destiny down the years, came to the realization that Sara Collins was the woman he wanted for his life partner.

The year 1818 arrived. James Doty, 19, had absorbed enough of the formative years in upper New York State. He was on a threshold. Impatient, he scanned his geographical maps looking westward. Beyond the western borders of his home state were the great inland lakes and the untracked wilderness of a new land waiting for exploration and development. Waiting for him, "the amber waves of grain and the purple mountain majesties", beckoned his fiery spirit. He loved the canoe, the horseback and the saddle, the nights and days in the great out-of-doors.

Known for his habit of self-analysis, James Doty assessed his character and personality. He counted the positive qualities and he did not refuse his negative faults. He had learned that he was impressionable, possessed natural ability, outgoing, at ease among people, friendly, somewhat charming, aggressive. He resolved that whatever goal or goals he developed, he would achieve at all costs. Strongly opposed to liberalism, he was addicted to the sense of justice. He never compromised his serious way of life. He could not be a follower. He must lead and acquire strongholds of whatever kind. James Doty fully realized that he had a few flaws in his nature. He was blunt and he was arrogant at times. He made the best of it.

It was July in the hot summer of 1818. The curtain closed on the life and times of James Duane Doty in his native New York. With pack upon his back he moved westward toward Michigan. Part of the journey was made by steamer over Lake Ontario and Lake Erie and then afoot over the road west toward Detroit. Upon arrival there he struck up an acquaintance with Supreme Court Justice George McDougall who took a liking to this sharp young man. McDougall encouraged him to present himself to the bar. On November 20, 1818, just after his nineteenth birthday, he was admitted to practice law before the bar of Wayne County and the Supreme Court of Michigan Territory.

One of the most important people with whom Doty became friendly was Lewis Cass, Governor and Superintendent of Indian Affairs for Michigan Territory. Cass, like Doty, was an avid student of unexplored territories and very able in geographical and geological matters. Both the governor and the young lawyer

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of the Supreme Court, unbeknown to each other, were studying with concentration the vast land of the Northwest Territory that lay beyond the great lake to the west and the mighty river which flowed thousands of miles from near the Canadian border to the Gulf of Mexico - the Mississippi.

In 1819 it became known to Lewis Cass that considerable amounts of food, clothing, and ammunition were being put into the possession of the "red men". Very concerned about the alarming trade situation between the British and Indians on the Canadian border, Governor Cass took action. He was apprehensive about the growing problem in that great area between Lake Michigan and the Mississippi River and wanted to know precisely what was going on in that unexplored area.

Governor Cass proposed to Secretary of War John Calhoun a plan to explore the lands of western Michigan. He asked for the authority and the funding to proceed. The authorization was granted, and the purposeful journey which followed would be best known as the Cass Expedition. At other times in history it was called the Schoolcraft Expedition.

Cass selected top-ranking personnel for the long and treacherous journey. The topographer was a West Point expert, Captain David R. Douglass. The geologist chosen was Henry Schoolcraft, accomplished research and engineering stalwart in the field of mining. A physician and Indian agent at Chicago, Dr. Alexander Wolcott, would make the trip. A fourth individual was needed. This person would perform the extraordinary tasks of guide, navigator, personnel manager, and secretary. The governor investigated carefully and confidentially the men who had become familiar to him at the capitol and whose abilities had become well known. He liked the tall, handsome, friendly young man serving Michigan's Supreme Court. Almost an automatic selection by Cass was the man of destiny, James Duane Doty.

The morning of May 24, 1820, came with fair weather and a good degree of excitement at Grosse Pointe, a suburb of the capital on the Detroit River. Governor Cass with his staff, his navigator and secretary and about three dozen men, including a small detachment of soldiers familiar with the French language, said their farewells. Off to the side and ready to board the three large canoes were Canadian voyagers and Chippewa Indian guides. With hundreds of people cheering and waving, the long and heavily loaded canoes pointed northward in Lake St. Clair past Port Huron and Sarnia, Ontario, into Lake Huron, third largest of the five great inland seas. Within days the mariners eased past Drummond

James Duane Doty

Island, through the estuary of Sault Sainte Marie into Whitefish Bay. Here they rested. Ahead lay the largest, coldest, and roughest inland sea in all the world, Lake Superior. Westward they must struggle against cold northwest winds along the scores of miles of this great lake. Canoeing was rough. Fatigue from the difficulties of man-powered transportation, such as it was, at times brought rumbles of discouragement among the voyagers. It was during these times that young Doty, visibly strong in mind and body, became a psychological leader.

If Governor Cass had admired and respected Doty earlier, now in this mixed party of professionals, soldiers, and seasoned Indians, his true leadership triumphed. Cass, in his memoirs of the expedition in later years, composed a eulogy of praise for this man who gave the early impression that nothing would ever stand in his way when responsibility and power urged him onward.

One day the canoes headed south into Keweenaw Bay on the east shore of the peninsula having the same name. Heading twenty miles northwest, they crossed the peninsula, passing the present-day cities of Houghton and Hancock, and once more entered Lake Superior.

In early July the Cass Expedition, still intact with men, canoes, and supplies, went ashore into Minnesota and began its longest portage westward to that greatest of American rivers, the Mississippi.

From the bay shore of the western-most beaches of Lake Superior, the expedition began its toilsome overland movement. They would travel about seventy miles west to what is known as the Savanna Portage and rest near the smaller Sand Lake. The group reorganized at Sand Lake and again with four canoes, somewhat lighter now, began the long and most exciting journey southward on the great river. They had a destination in mind, Fort Anthony, Minnesota.

The travellers had the view of both sides of the river. There were rapids and there were sand bars. At times they had difficulty. Once or twice minor accidents occurred. Canoes overturned and supplies were lost. One day the shores began to reveal habitations. Rounding a bend in the lead canoe, James Doty shouted with joy at seeing a waterfall that identified the village as St. Anthony. Here was the first corner-post of the expedition's boundary. Here the Cass Expedition would establish a governmental segment of the Northwest Territory for Michigan.

By chance, while in the Fort Anthony vicinity, Doty visited Camp Coldwater and discovered that Lt. Col. Henry Levenworth, an acquaintance from Detroit, was

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garrisoned there. The acquaintanceship was renewed and Doty became interested in Indian affairs. With the resident Indian agent, he presided over a solemn ceremony. The Chippewa Indians of the expedition and a number of the Sioux from the area declared a peace that was "lasting as the sun". Perhaps this incident where the Sioux Nation was represented, was the origin of a much greater achievement with that nation at a later time in Doty's life.

The second cornerstone geographic outpost location in the plan of the Cass Expedition lay farther south on the river at a considerable distance. It was Fort Crawford, adjacent to a city of French settlers prominent in the early days of Wisconsin history. Here the Governor established a second boundary point. It was the southwest corner of the new Michigan Territory and Fort Crawford was its official location.

A revised plan for the continuance of the expedition occurred during the stop-over in Prairie du Chien. The entire group would move north and east on the Wisconsin River to a point near the headwaters of the Fox River. Fort Winnebago was the settlement. The countryside changed. Evergreen forests gave way to hardwoods and broad meadows along the Wisconsin River. Farms began to appear. Upon arriving at Fort Winnebago, Governor Cass and several of the group moved overland to establish a third corner post of the boundary at Fort Dearborn, Illinois. Doty, with the Chippewa guides and soldiers, portaged north to the headwaters of the Fox at the place where the city of Portage now stands. Doty knew that the Fox River emptied into a rather large inland lake to the northeast and then continued north toward a bay of Lake Michigan. This he wanted to see.

It was late in July, 1820, when the two canoes moved through the small Indian settlement of Oshkosh and into the blue waters of the lake that would be named after the Winnebago Indians. Skirting the west shore of the lake early, after a night of camping ashore, Doty was thrilled at the site of the forest-lined shore of the lake. Occasionally wild deer appeared. Looking eastward he observed a rather long ridge that formed the east shore of the lake.

In the afternoon of that eventful day in his life, James Doty, again in the lead canoe, rounded a point and entered the inlet of the Fox River. His geographical research had told him that a large island was bordered by two branches of the river at this point. He paused a moment and gazed with pleasure at the very picturesque east shore of that island. An open meadow extending to the river's edge and flanked by tall trees, some hardwood and some evergreen, became

James Duane Doty

indelibly implanted in his mind. For the months and years that would follow, he would resolve that this was where he wanted to build a home. A quarter of a century would pass in his life, however, until that home would become a reality.

The canoes passed the rapids of the south branch of the Fox without incident. Overnight camp was near another rapids area in the river near the village of Kaukauna. On the next day the canoes entered the wider mouth of the Fox River at Fort Howard. There the fourth and last corner post of the territorial boundary was established.

Doty busied himself exploring the area. He had drawn conclusions about what he had observed along the entire Fox River route. He was impressed. These lands had a potential of greater importance than just a spot on the map.

James Doty returned to Detroit and was placed on the government payroll in 1821 as secretary to the legislative board in Michigan. Within a year he was required to travel to Washington, D. C. While in Washington, on May 13, 1822, he was admitted to practice before the Supreme Court of the United States. At twenty-three years of age he was making another major stride forward in his dreams and ambitions.

Two months later he had to return to Detroit. First, however, he traveled north to his old stamping ground in Martinsburg, New York. Sara Collins was most certainly the main reason for the diverted route. It was much better to see her in person than the letter-writing courtship of the many months of time and distance that had separated them.

When spring arrived in 1823 things were looking much brighter for Doty. He was a recognized member of the legal profession in Michigan and was serving as a federal judge in the western sector. He had become engaged to Sara Collins and in the Presbyterian Church at Whiteboro, New York, on April 14, 1823, the couple was united in marriage by the Reverend Coe. The first schooner leaving Buffalo that spring landed the Dotys safely in Detroit. Sara, who was not interested in climbing the social ladder, tolerated the fast life-style and dissipation of Detroit's society, but she was very happy when James received his directive to move into the Western Michigan Territory at Mackinac where he would begin his career as judge.

There was a vast Indian country north and west of Lake Michigan. There were many crimes and offenses in Indian relations to be judged and resolved in the court of this man who had developed a special concern for Indians, but he dealt

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fairly with all cases. In a way he was thrilled at the opportunity to make America a better place for her natives.

In July, 1823, the court adjourned. Doty had kept a 233-page volume of "Notes of Trials and Decisions". He had kept it for nine years while serving as the additional judge, and the valuable notebook became part of his archives. These notes, so great for reference in future cases and litigations, covered court rules, many of his decisions, some of his charges to the juries, and sometimes a complete case digest. Beyond the ordinary formal writings, documents and necessary legal papers, these notes of Judge Doty remain a solid treasure of information on the first decade of judicial history of Upper Michigan and Wisconsin.

While in Mackinac and between sessions of his court, Judge Doty started and maintained another movement that would be forever a significant milestone in the development of the West. He originated the canvassing and recording of claims to the land of every settler in the West.

Continuing as the additional judge for another seven years he made an annual canoe circuit in western Michigan Territory. This 1360 mile route traversed the area between Prairie du Chien, Green Bay, and Mackinac. Green Bay was only a village. It was known as Fort Howard. Doty built two homes there. One of these was the very first brick residence in the territory. He also founded the first protestant church west of Lake Michigan in this village.

He became intensely involved studying the Sioux, Winnebago, and Chippewa to develop what was called a "native code". This system included laws based upon Indian values rather than American values. Doty's concern for the Indians was now reinforced by the native code and their tribal limits, which provided territorial identity in a land blossoming with promise.

A law was passed that required the territorial judge to live in one of the counties. James Doty convinced his lovely bride to travel across Lake Michigan by canoe into the bay village of Green Bay in August of 1834. After their arrival his earlier friendship with John Jacob Astor was resumed.

In January, 1834, Doty was elected to the Michigan Territorial Legislature. This was a step upward which would allow him further implementation of his skills in the evolution of exploration and territory. About this same time, Governor Cass required someone to lay out and complete the very first road across the area from northeast to southwest. A military road from Fort Howard to Fort Crawford, with a third connection to Fort Dearborn, was planned. Cass appointed James

James Duane Doty

Doty with the same automatic sense of confidence that he had when the young lawyer became his most effective leader in the expedition that bore his name. Doty established this first and only military road in western Michigan Territory. Today, over a century and a half later, Wisconsin still identifies the importance of the thoroughfare and the man who made it possible.

As 1835 came, new exploring and developing, ending in land claims in the areas on both sides of this over two-hundred-mile-long road, grew at a steady pace. Doty found himself in a familiar element. Land claims were old friends to him. His friendship with Astor proved to be an advantage when he became the land agent for the prosperous friend. With the skill of an expert, Doty laid out the City of Astor. That name prevailed for a time until its geographical location on the map was named Green Bay. Doty originated the first land office of the territory. The functions of that agency had a progressive effect on the lands within fifty miles of its site.

But all was not to be sunshine. In 1837 a severe economic depression fell upon the entire area of the growing United States. Many individuals, including James Doty, had made large investments in land claims and holdings. John Jacob Astor, because of his great wealth, was able to weather the storm. Doty, following the aspiration of land development and territorial acquisition, had invested quite heavily. Almost a quarter of a million dollars of his resources were threatened to be lost. James Doty would never beg for a hand-out. He was determined to subdue this impending catastrophe, really the first in his lifetime, by whatever means possible. A high quality of friendship prevailed. Doty appealed to Astor for financial assistance, offering his enormous land-held values as collateral.

James Doty entered into exploration that took him south of Astor (Green Bay). The region of the Fox River and Lake Winnebago had features of a natural flowage system. The upper Fox, flowing from Portage to the northeast, had a long tributary flowing south for nearly two hundred miles through pine forests. This tributary was the Wolf River whose headwaters were formed in the northern waters. The Wolf drained a great land area of forests and high ground from the far north. The upper Fox flowed lazily through terrain of small lakes and marshes until its major tributary joined it near the village of Oshkosh. Doty, alert to geographical conditions in the years that had brought him from New York State to the Northwest Territory, realized that the Fox River was uniquely alone in its course of flowing north. All other rivers known to Doty flowed to the south.

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A shallow reservoir, twenty-eight miles long and a dozen miles wide and quite shallow, received the abundant flowage of these two Wisconsin rivers. This thirty-eight thousand acres of water was named Lake Winnebago. Although unclaimed and primitive when Doty explored this region, his interest would be released into the founding of important settlements along Lake Winnebago's shores.

Doty was attracted to the area around the southern-most tip of Lake Winnebago. At this place the Fond du Lac River flowed into the big lake and provided excellent fishing and trapping, the very first industries of the region. Doty and a business associate in Green Bay purchased thirty-five acres of land and a new town was born. James Doty liked the name that meant "End of the Lake", and so the new village was called Fond du Lac.

Doty had chosen Fond du Lac because he envisioned many future commercial opportunities, land development, and transportation routes by land and water. Here was a focal point of commerce in all directions: south to Milwaukee and Chicago by road and canal; east to Sheboygan and the shipping advantages of the great inland sea, Lake Michigan; north through Lake Winnebago and the lower Fox River to Green Bay and farther; and, of course, the wide area of potential development west and southwest toward the Wisconsin River basin. Somewhere in that region to the south or southwest might possibly become a place for a capital for the state that was to be.

Doty would linger for several years near the southeastern tip of Lake Winnebago. There a village of Winnebago Indians had been formed. They named the place Taycheedah. Away from the marshy land surrounding the mouth of the Fond du Lac River into the lake, the village sat upon a gentle slope of the limestone ridge that marked the eastern shore of the lake. With an excellent water shed, the land was very fertile. James Doty discovered this. Standing one day on a high elevation, he gazed northward at the entire expanse of the lake. The sight warmed his heart. A farm was selected. A good house, barn, and out-buildings comprised a new home. For the Dotys this quiet retreat from the ever increasing political battles marked a significant haven of peace. With this farm Doty had established residences at the northern end of the Fox River Valley and at the valley's southern boundary on Lake Winnebago.

Although Green Bay was the center of activities for James Doty, he found himself looking south beyond the environs of Fond du Lac. Small villages were developing. Larger cities such as Chicago and Milwaukee, growing in population,

James Duane Doty

were showing the needs for the implements of progress: transportation, communication, and government.

Transportation by water and by wagon trains was being joined by a newly designed system called railroads. Already ties and rails, wooden ones, were laid north of Chicago toward Milwaukee. Before very long these same roadbeds of travel branched out to the west of Chicago and to the north and west of Milwaukee. A second long route was established from Chicago to Janesville in the southern border of the state and then north to Fond du Lac. The latter railroad became known as Wisconsin's very first, Chicago, Janesville and Fond du Lac. Doty would be a major influence for that railroad to become one of the largest in all of the United States by the turn of the century. The day would come when the Chicago and Northwestern Railway would boast nearly ten thousand miles of roadbed. The very word "Northwestern" had significant meaning in the mind of Doty.

Competing now for his attention to ties and rails, paddle-wheels, and steam boilers was the Rock River. It would provide, with the help of man-made canals, transportation passage through Wisconsin and northern Illinois to the Mississippi and the Gulf of Mexico. Doty began planning intensely for the establishment of control for this large area with great potential. His unpublished but thriving desire to see this region become the State of Wisconsin became stronger with every turn of the road.

One of his most outstanding achievements was born on a cold October morning in 1836 when he mounted his favorite Indian pony and rode south. He approached the threshold of a new and exciting land of opportunity. His destination was the little village of Belmont, situated deep in the southwest corner of the state. People, legislature, and lobbyists were in a heated frenzy to cause Belmont to be the capital of the state. At this time legislation and territorial governmental affairs were conducted in a temporary building in Belmont. Doty took a few days to visit the site. Poorly arranged quarters and inadequate heating facilities made him shudder at the possibility that Belmont might become the capital. The big push was for Belmont. James Doty went to work using some of the political tactics he had learned along the way in his career. First he purchased, without fanfare, all the land in the isthmus in Madison. The shoreline areas of two large lakes were high and desirable for development. Doty skillfully laid out choice lots along the shores of both lakes. He envisioned a place in the

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very center of the area where the capitol building itself would be highly favorable in all respects.

As November arrived in that year and the legislators were trying to finalize Belmont as the capital, Doty purchased very substantial buffalo robes as gifts for the legislators' families. A second move, just as devious as the first one, was Doty's making available to each legislator a choice lake-side lot on the isthmus, with titles to ownership available at once and at a very modest cost. It became obvious that the legislators were directing their interest toward Doty's land. James Doty, with his eloquence in public speaking and the charm of his personality, presented very strongly and without pause, his proposal to locate the capital between the two lakes. He added that he would select the name of Madison for the city in honor of the recent passing of President James Madison. Other villages were being considered: Dubuque, Cassville, Mineral Point, Portage, and Fond du Lac. Larger settlements like Milwaukee, Racine, and Green Bay also ran. The legislators, pleased by the gifts and the real estate value offered them, were leaning toward the strong recommendation from Doty that Madison was strategically located and was inviting, with its natural beauty.

Late in the afternoon of November 23, 1836, the upper house voted 7 to 6 to make Madison the choice. It was not yet decided. In the next five days, activists on both sides of the question kept the session's chambers exciting in political discourse. On the fifth day, a marathon session of the House of Representatives entered the final hours of deliberation. One by one all the large settlements and the villages were eliminated and, near sundown on November 28, by a majority vote, Madison was selected as the capital of Wisconsin.

James Doty was thirty-seven years old. He built a home in Madison and planned even greater milestones in the territory he loved. Bigger challenges and more aggravating disappointments lay ahead. He was to enter a decade of his life marked by a high office to be attained and bitter struggles with those who opposed him.

A matter of importance in the nation's history was approaching. The very theme of the actions and efforts to be put forth pertained to something that had always been close to Doty's heart. It was the Indian situation. Thousands of Indians had become the unwilling victims of governmental pursuits. Their great long lines were moving westward across the Mississippi. Over seventy treaties had been written swiftly and perhaps without humane concern to cause this movement en masse. Doty was aware of this and disapproved of it entirely.

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West of the Mississippi was the land of the great Sioux Nation. Their territory extended west to the Missouri River. The nations entering Sioux territory were the Winnebagos, Fox, Sauk, and Potawatamis. In the far north on the Michigan border and south of the shores of Lake Superior, there was another Indian nation - the mighty Chippewa.

The President and the Secretary of War realized all too well how qualified their negotiating agent must be. John Tyler was President. John Bell from Tennessee was Secretary of War. Bell had a magnificent dream. His plan would establish an Indian Territory in the northwest. In this place set aside exclusively for the many tribes, an Indian state could be developed and like all other states it would become a member of the Union. His plan allowed the Indians to develop their villages, their hunting and fishing areas, and their farms for the subsistence they would surely need. Bell's plan allowed the Indians to work out their own form of government. Someone very familiar with the native Americans would indeed be required to organize the plan. James Doty was a very likely candidate for the state's first governor and Superintendent of Indian Affairs. These two positions were arranged and classified as a dual responsibility of leadership no matter who was chosen to fulfill them. Doty had long suggested that the Indians should have a permanent home beyond the Mississippi. John Bell had the same conviction. The choice by the President and the Secretary of War was made almost automatically for Doty to be the negotiating agent for the entire Indian situation.

The main item on Doty's agenda was the authorship of a treaty for the Sioux Nation of Indians. At the assembly place for all the Sioux tribes and chieftains, a conference was called. In a primitive building at Traverse des Sioux, Doty, the sole negotiator, explained what the government proposed. The Sioux chieftains were heartily in agreement with the propositions. Within a week the four main tribes fully accepted the proposed treaty in its entirety. Quickly, a masterfully written document by Doty, was finished and sent post haste to the Secretary of War in Washington. In spite of things to come, this remarkable treaty would remain in the archives of American government as the greatest one ever written.

During the ensuing months, the Sioux Treaty was an embittered matter in the U.S. Senate. Dissention in the Tyler administration was possibly the underlying cause of its demise. Indeed, James Doty was drawn into the battle. Vigorously he would not swerve from his absolute conviction about the total rights of the Indian to share as equally as possible the rights of the white man. He was rudely opposed. On August 29, 1841, the Senate rejected the Sioux Treaty by a vote

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of 26 to 2. James Doty's gallant attempt at treaty-making in the Mississippi Valley was infamously ended.

There was another high office becoming a reality in Wisconsin government, that of territorial governor. James Doty, largely responsible for Wisconsin's becoming a territory in 1836, was most interested in the position. His campaign was swift. He was elected delegate to congress from the Wisconsin Territory on September 10, 1838, but Colonel Henry Dodge, the war hero seventeen years older than Doty, was appointed as the first Territorial Governor of Wisconsin by President Jackson.

In the beginning of Doty's term as delegate he approached action with three favorite projects. Measures were passed allowing the funding of roads to the Mississippi River from Racine and to the Wisconsin River from Fond du Lac. Smaller sums were appropriated for the Fox-Wisconsin Canal and for Wisconsin's very early railroad from Milwaukee to the Mississippi. He also introduced in the House of Representatives a resolution for a survey and report of the Fox River.

Henry Dodge stepped down as territorial governor in 1841 at a time when another president, a Whig, John Tyler, had researched the accomplishments of James Doty enough to find him qualified to take Dodge's post. So it was that James Duane Doty was appointed the second Territorial Governor of Wisconsin. The Doty family moved into residence in Madison in the fall of 1841. James bought a house close to the shore of Lake Monona and near Capitol Square. Four children had been born in Astor, later known as Green Bay. The oldest, Charles, was born in 1824 shortly after the family's arrival from Detroit. The second son, James Duane Doty, Jr., arrived in 1827. Charles became out-going like his father and James was unlike him - quietly reserved. The first girl, Amelia, was born in 1829. Never strong physically, she died in 1831 before becoming three years old. The fourth child, Mary, was born in 1832 and was much like her mother in looks and personality.

Charles began his career. He was educated in surveying and assisted in the surveying of the Michigan-Wisconsin boundary line south of Lake Superior. His father had taught him how to manage real estate. Charles advertised himself in Madison newspapers as "Charles Doty - General Land Agent".

The first message that the Governor delivered to both houses in the Wisconsin House of Representatives on December 10, 1841, concerned Wisconsin's becoming a state. He proposed now from his high position as Governor that statehood be officially achieved without delay. Wisconsin became a state in the



Grand Loggery as seen from the Fox River.

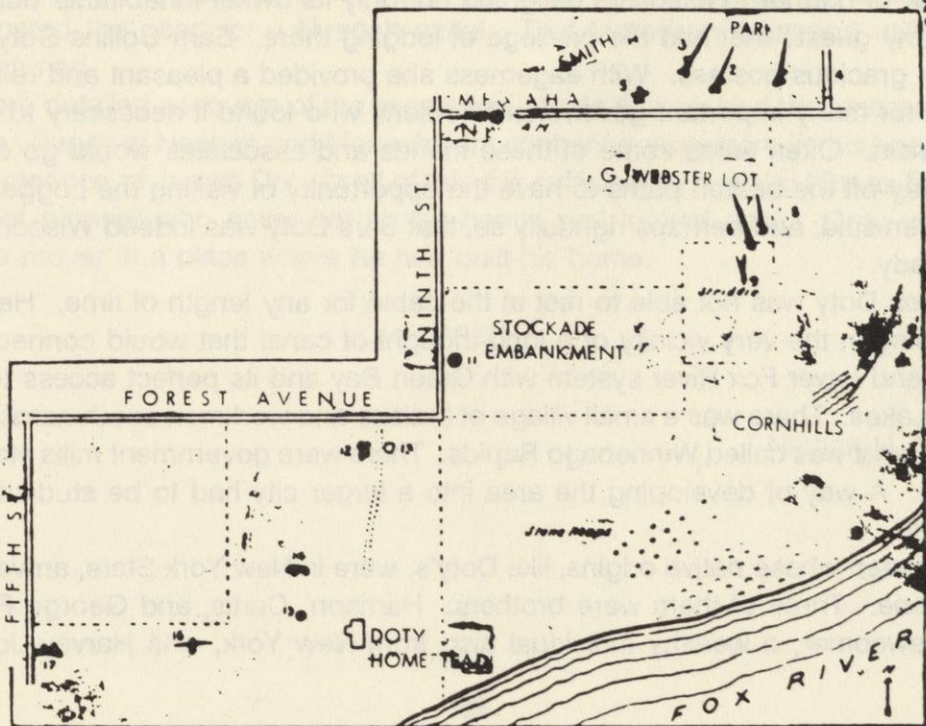


Fig. 5.

A later sketch of the Doty property and its surroundings.

James Duane Doty

Union in 1848. Much credit for that milestone in the territorial history of the United States must remain in James Doty's unswerving dedication to it.

After three years as Governor, 1841 to 1844, it was said among those who knew, that real progress had been made. In spite of the negative words of criticism, James Doty had finished his career having made Wisconsin a much stronger territory than it was when he took the Governor's chair.

In 1835 Doty had explored the beautiful island between the two branches of the Fox River. On its east shore was a spacious meadow that ended at the river. This was surrounded by a thick forest of hardwood and evergreen trees, and he fell in love with the place. In 1845 he finalized the purchase of the four hundred acres on that island. In that same year, with the help of his son, Charles, the plans for the buildings were laid out. Ultimately a well-constructed log building, with adjacent out-buildings, took its place in commanding posture on the east shore of Doty Island. Sara Doty, noted for her excellence in language and conversation, would name it "The Grand Loggery".

The cabin itself of two-story construction could accommodate several overnight guests. Its solid log framework housed several spacious rooms for dining, utility work, library, and an entertainment room, the parlor. Its comfort in inclement weather of northern Wisconsin delighted not only its owner-inhabitants but also the many guests that had the privilege of lodging there. Sara Collins Doty was a most gracious hostess. With eagerness she provided a pleasant and relaxing abode for many important government persons who found it necessary to be in Wisconsin. Often times some of these friends and associates would go out of their way off the beaten paths to have the opportunity of visiting the Loggery. It has been said, and perhaps rightfully so, that Sara Doty was indeed Wisconsin's First Lady.

James Doty was not able to rest at the cabin for any length of time. He was now living in the very vicinity of a long-thought-of canal that would connect the upper and lower Fox River system with Green Bay and its perfect access to the Great Lakes. There was a small village of Indians and workmen south across the river in what was called Winnebago Rapids. There were government mills starting nearby. A way of developing the area into a larger city had to be studied and explored.

Four men whose native origins, like Doty's, were in New York State, arrived on the scene. Three of them were brothers: Harrison, Curtis, and George Reed. One newcomer, a wealthy individual also from New York, was Harvey Jones.

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Harrison Reed had begun efforts to incorporate the Village of Winnebago Rapids. His brother, Curtis, stood by anxiously ready to establish an urban situation. George Reed had arrived in the area but chose to take residence on the shores of Lake Michigan in Manitowoc. These men would play major roles in the action that produced its final act, the Twin Cities of Neenah and Menasha.

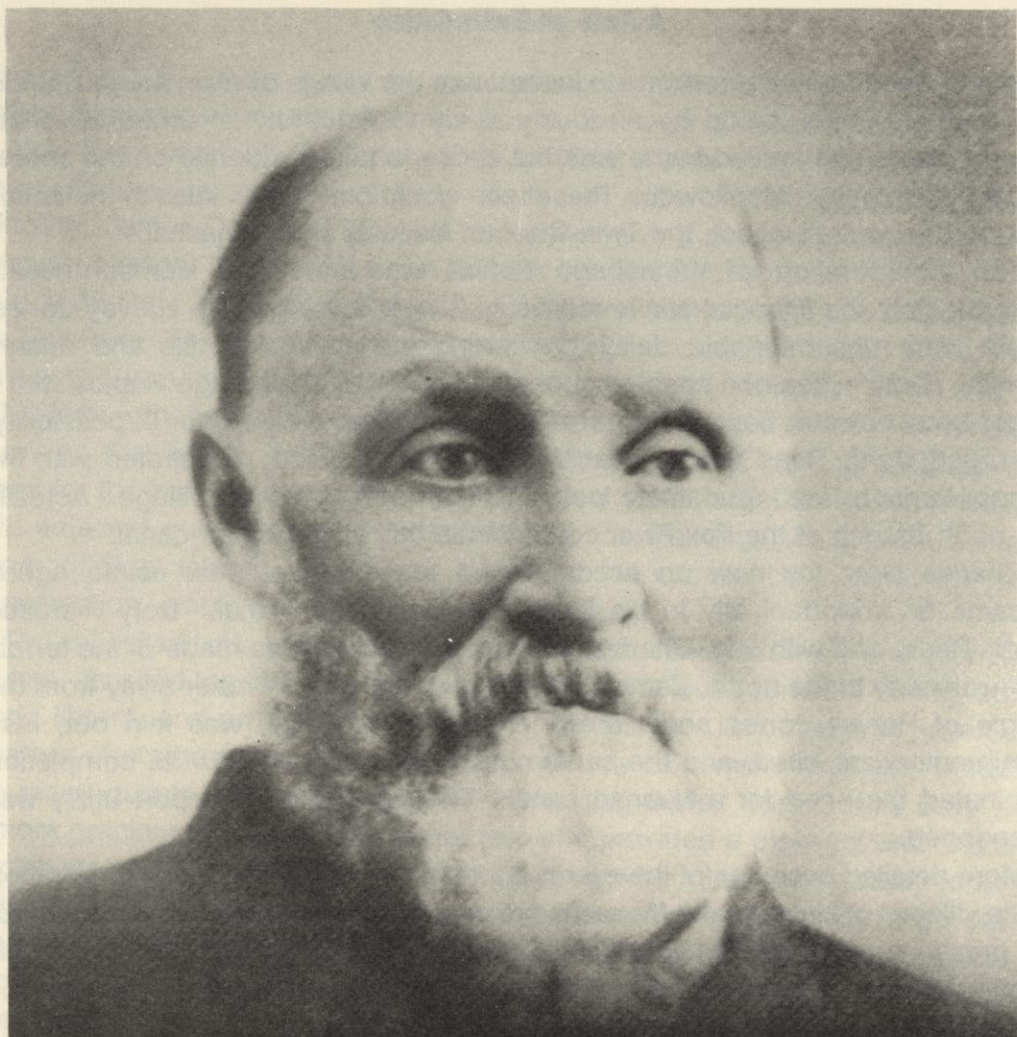
The incorporation of Winnebago Rapids was made by Harrison Reed. Unfortunately the financial affairs related to it were involved with Harvey Jones. There were uncomfortable delays in settling the claims by title and related monies. Doty's idea of a canal to connect the river at Winnebago Rapids with a larger body of water beyond the rapids was pounding on the door of possibility. He urged Curtis Reed to dig a canal north of Doty Island. Frustrated with the Jones-Harrison Reed feud, Doty looked to the north at a small village. Actually the north branch of the Fox River could locate this all important canal.

Charles Doty, by now an accomplished surveyor and real estate agent, became an important ally to his father concerning the canal. Doty recruited Curtis Reed, and with son, Charles, an immediate study was made of the terrain and waterway to the north. James Doty found things much easier away from the tangle of Harvey Jones and Harrison Reed. The village was laid out, Irish immigrants were hired, and the canal construction proceeded. Its completion eliminated the need for a Neenah canal. That temporary transport utility was abandoned.

More detailed accounts of the events and efforts that caused the incorporation of the villages of Neenah and Menasha are contained elsewhere in this book. For the presence of James Doty in all of this it is sufficient to acclaim him as the vital frontier pioneer who never sat on his hands and looked back. Doty was the prime mover in a place where he had built his home.

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Nathan H. Wauda



Curtis Reed

By Wynn Pawlowski

Curtis Reed, often known as the Father of Menasha, was born in Massachusetts on March 16, 1815. When he was eight years old, his family, which included mother, father, and eight children, moved to Vermont. In December of 1835, they made a more significant move. This time it was into the west, i.e. Wisconsin. From Troy to Buffalo, New York, the trip was made by stage. From Buffalo, they took a stagecoach to Detroit, by way of Cleveland. A stage-sleigh took them to Chicago, and finally Milwaukee was reached by private lumber wagon which had been hired especially for the purpose.

The name, "Father of Menasha," is truly a very well-deserved and distinct honor. Nearly every good thing that happened during the early development of the city can be credited to his efforts.

Photo courtesy of Menasha Historical Society.

*"Father of Menasha" Curtis Reed
1805-1895*

The Reed Brothers

The Reeds were among the most distinguished and highly respected people in the State of Wisconsin during its early development. Seth and Rhoda Reed came to the state with their eight children - George, Julia Ann, Orson, Augusta, Harrison, Curtis, Martha, and Herbert - in 1836. Seth was born in 1781 in Middlesex County, Massachusetts, and had married Rhoda Finney of Vermont in 1804. He was then a farmer. In 1823, the family moved to Rhoda's native state, and her husband became a hotel keeper and seller of horses, sheep, and cattle, shipping mainly to Boston.

When the family moved to Milwaukee, Seth opened a hardware store, a first-time venture. However, it was not long before he began farming again, this time in Summit, Waukesha County, where he died July 15, 1848. Sons, Harrison and Curtis, are the most important members of the Reed family to the story of the Twin Cities.

Harrison Reed, who bought the government property in Winnebago Rapids (later Neenah), had been a popular and well-known personage in the Milwaukee and Madison areas for some time before beginning his building of a city on the south branch of the Fox River between Little Lake Butte des Morts and Lake Winnebago. He was described as being a thin, light complected, small featured man of medium height. His hair was sparse and colorless; his beard was longish and thin, and because of his near-sightedness it was necessary for him to wear spectacles. His calm manner and careful speech confirmed the impression of wise deliberation. Later in his life he was easily identified by his black broadcloth Prince Albert coat and tall silk hat. The coat was always the same cut and texture with the only variation being the improvement in quality on Sundays and state occasions.

Harrison started the first Sunday School in Milwaukee, became the superintendent and always led the Wednesday evening prayer meeting. He was

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a Christian man who had great compassion for others. At one point he tried to raise money for a monument to Emanuel Pannen, a young orphan boy who refused to tell a lie and was beaten to death by a foster father. Sufficient money was collected for a plain marble shaft, but younger brother Herbert thought a more expensive monument should be erected. The additional money could not be raised, so the project was abandoned, much to the consternation of Harrison.

The panic years of 1837 and 1838 were not the best time to begin a business venture, and Harrison had his share of trials and tribulations with management of the Sentinel, a Milwaukee newspaper. He was forced to bargain for a barrel of flour and a barrel of "mess pork" in order to sustain his mother and siblings through the winter. The arrangement was to trade the flour for \$12 worth of printing and advertising. In Gregory's History of Milwaukee, Reed told of his problem:

It was during this period that The Sentinel met with the severest trials. Its income would not afford much hired force, and consequently I had to be editor, printer and purveyor, and was obliged to labor about eighteen of the twenty-four hours to meet daily necessities ...

In carrying out my contract for printing I was required to print an eight-sheet handbill, to do which I worked all night as type-setter, roller boy and pressman, while enduring the cursing of my landlord, whose rest in a room below was so disturbed by the clatter of the press that I was compelled to vacate the premises.

But Harrison was courageous and resourceful; he was never short of ideas - just short of money - and was not too proud to accept commodities from patrons who could not pay in cash. This announcement appeared at the head of his editorial columns at the time:

WANTED -- If some of our friends who are indebted would send us a few barrels of good FLOUR, we would take it kindly.

By the time the notice appeared in the paper for sale of some government lands on the Fox River, Reed was ready for a change in his occupation. It had become necessary for him to borrow money from his sister's husband-to-be in order to set up housekeeping when he married Ann Louisa Turner in 1840. He was also in debt for newsprint which he had bought on credit to keep the newspaper going.

The Reed Brothers

The Sentinel had supported the policies of Governor Doty who had become a friend of Harrison, so Doty was consulted by Reed as to the advisability of purchasing the approximately 542 acres at Winnebago Rapids. It was after serious consideration and after receiving a strong recommendation from Doty that a bid was placed. Thus, Harrison Reed came into possession of Winnebago Rapids without having any cash. Harvey Jones provided that elusive material, and Neenah was on its way to becoming a prosperous city.

Harrison Reed was the first white man to be closely identified with Neenah, having become Neenah's first postmaster in 1844, with the office being held in his home and the mail being carried in his hat. He also cut the first road between Neenah and Oshkosh and built the first barge, The Growler, on Lake Winnebago. Then he was elected chairman of the County Board of Supervisors. In 1847 it was he who went as a Whig delegate to the convention which drew up a constitution for the State of Wisconsin and who continued to participate in all areas of politics. Harrison had much influence with his associates, and in 1848 he was a presidential elector on the Taylor ticket.

Reed was one of the founders of the Republican Party in Wisconsin, and when he began the publication of the Neenah Conservator in 1856, the newspaper became an outlet for expressing Whig attitudes and policies and was Doty's political echo.

When Harrison and his partner, Harvey Jones, had so many misunderstandings and disagreements, Harrison sided with his brother, Curtis, and the others who were promoting the building of a dam and canal in Menasha.

Curtis Reed was born in Westford, Massachusetts, on March 16, 1815, and had made the trip overland by stage from Vermont to Milwaukee with his family in 1836. His education had been stopped at age 15 when he began clerking in a store in Castleton, Vermont.

The first thing Curtis did upon arriving in Milwaukee was to find employment as a clerk in Solomon Juneau's trading post. Being intelligent, capable, and active, the young man soon became a well-known figure among the area pioneers.

Because of the poor economy in 1837-38, the family moved to Summit in Waukesha County and Curtis purchased 200 acres of farm land. At the first fair in Waukesha County in 1842 he took a prize for best milch (sic) cows.

Soon Curtis was becoming more and more political and was chosen to be a supervisor and later served in the upper house of the Territorial Legislature. The



Curtis Reed home near the Fox River on Manitowoc Street in Menasha.

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story is told about his pushing his way into the lime-light in the spring of 1838 when he heard that Governor Dodge was on his way to the village to organize county government and to make official appointments as were necessary. Reed recognized the importance of the visit and hurriedly organized a small party and rode out to meet the Governor who was making the trip on horseback. Curtis made an address of welcome four miles from town and completely captivated Dodge with his initiative and self-assurance. From that time on Governor Dodge took a great liking to the bright and enterprising young man and appointed him to a county office.

In 1846 Curtis had been appointed contractor for the United States Government to supply the Menominee Indians with beef, pork, and farm implements. His experience with cattle and his political connections made it logical that he be appointed for this choice position. The paygrounds where the distribution was made was at Grand Butte des Morts. This brought him near the area where brother Harrison had made his historical purchase of Winnebago Rapids.

Although Curtis was not the flamboyant person his brother was, he did not take a back seat to him when it came to ambition and drive to make his fortune in land speculation and politics.

Together with Charles Doty, Curtis owned about 300 acres of land where Menasha now stands. Charles platted the village, with Curtis acting as his attorney. Both sold and gave away lots. Curtis was the first white man to reside there after Wisconsin had been organized as a state; indeed he is appropriately called the "Father of Menasha".

Curtis was similar in build and coloring to his brother, but he did not have whiskers until later years. He was indifferent to his appearance and could be seen around town at all hours. He hated mean men and had bitter enemies and warm friends. He was a good debater and had untiring energy and a strong will to further the prosperity of Menasha. He was a strong Democrat and his opinions influenced the townspeople. Even today, the Reed opinions prevail - Neenah usually favors the Republican candidates and Menasha the Democratic.

Menasha's Reed never attended church except on funeral occasions when he went with family and servants. That did not mean, however, that he was not a compassionate Christian man. He was liberal to all denominations, although not a member of any church, and gave generously to all. He donated land on the island to the Baptist Church (his mother was a Baptist), but the church was never

The Reed Brothers

built. He was also known to give land to other religions which wished to build churches.

Reed continued to buy land on the north side of the river, and Doty bought what is now downtown Menasha (66 acres) for \$838 besides the greater share of the island. The entire area was in Doty's name, and the section between the two branches of the river was called Doty Island.

Downtown Menasha was laid out by Reed with a town square where Main, Chute, Mill, and Milwaukee Streets later converged, and there was a flagpole in the center. Over the years, different factions which were in control of the city from time to time disagreed over whether or not the flagpole should be there. One time it would be there, and after the next election it would be removed. Presently there is no "center", but a flagpole has been placed to the west and a fountain has been installed on the northeast corner of Main and Milwaukee Streets, which partially retains the idea of a town square as Curtis Reed remembered from the East coast towns. In deference to him, the area has been designated as "Curtis Reed Square".

It was because of Reed's efforts that the government canal was built in the Menasha branch of the Fox River instead of the south branch. He also built a sawmill, a grist mill and the steamer, Menasha. His first home, which he built in June, 1848, was a log house at the head of the canal. He also built a store nearby. Knight's Tavern, a two-story building about 30 feet wide and 50 feet long, where the early church services were held and which served as a boarding house for the workers on the canal, was just north of the store. All three were in the proximity of the intersection of Mill and Water Streets where the first Elisha D. Smith Library stood.

Curtis Reed himself related that in this same tavern several distinguished gentlemen were gathered one evening talking at random on different subjects. As the conversation proceeded, one of the parties proposed that they find a name for the settlement in which they were sitting. Up to this time it had been called everything and anything that happened to come into the mind of the party speaking of it. Several letters which had been written to people on the east coast in 1848 had called it Waupakun.

Because Indian names were very popular at that time, it was learned that the exact name for the village on the island was "Menashay". Everyone seemed to like that, except that they cut off the letter "y" which had given the last syllable the

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pronunciation of "shay" and just called it "Menasha". Then and there this new settlement was sent into the world with a name.

Doty appears to have given the city of Neenah its name which in the Winnebago language means "water". G. A. Cunningham, in his book, History of Neenah wrote:

On one occasion Governor Doty met quite a band of Indians here, and during their talk he asked one of the chiefs, pointing to the river, "What is that?" meaning to ask the name of the river. The Indian answered, Nee nah, supposing that Doty was asking him what he called the water. Doty took a fancy to the name, or more properly speaking, the word, and even afterwards applied it to this locality, and in time it became its only name.

In 1850 Curtis married Augusta Lydia Ripley in Jefferson County, New York, and they made their wedding journey to Menasha on horseback. He had faithfully corresponded with her while he was developing Menasha, and the letters describe the struggles he had. In one letter he said:

I have had to watch over this place as a fond mother would watch over her newborn babe for fear of approaching ill and thus far have I got it safely on and the hopes of its enemies fast coming to naught, I am yet Captain of the craft and cannot leave it for a moment until safe in port or fair sailing ahead.

. . . he who thinks it an easy task to oversee the building of a city in the woods better try it and learn his mistakes.

It is difficult to mention all of the positions which Curtis Reed held in service for Menasha. He was elected as the first village president in 1853. He represented the northern district of Winnebago County in the State Legislature for eight years when Wisconsin first became a state and also served on the County Board of Supervisors. He was a member of the State Board of Public Works which was appointed to conduct the improvements in the Fox and Wisconsin Rivers. In 1855 Reed was appointed postmaster for Menasha (during Cleveland's first term), and served for five years. He was later elected mayor for 2 terms.

The Reed Brothers

Both Harrison and Curtis Reed came to this area with vision and hopes. They became the outstanding figures in the development of both Menasha and Neenah, although Curtis was the most durable and served the locality for the longest period of time. Nearly every good thing that happened in the development of the village and city could be attributed in some way to him.

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Winifred Anderson Pawlowski

Rev. O. P. Clinton

Orson P. Clinton was born on November 22, 1808, in Ferrisburg, Vermont. The ninth of ten children, he was not able to leave the family farm and begin life on his own until he was twenty years old. Although up to this point he had only a meager education, he possessed the experience of a rugged pioneer life and the determination which went with it. Although trained as a teacher, his interest in church work led him to consider a new direction for his life's work. In 1835, at the age of twenty-seven, Clinton was ordained as a pastor in the Congregational Church and began his ministry in Lewis, New York.

Seven years later, Clinton responded to a plea from the American Home Missionary Society (A.H.M.S.) for ministers to go West and establish churches in new settlements. In 1842, Clinton left for the Wisconsin Territory with his wife and two daughters. The mission of the Society to assist weak congregations and carry the Gospel to people without churches was supported in 1842 by Congregationalists and New School Presbyterians. During his first three years, Clinton served congregations in Southport (now Kenosha), Atkinson, Aztalan, and Lake Mills. Between 1840 and 1845, the number of Presbyterian churches in Wisconsin increased from twelve to twenty-one and Congregational churches from nine to fifty-two. Religious leaders in the east as well as the west felt a deep obligation to lay a firm foundation for upholding Puritan values, thus saving westerners from their preoccupation with personal gain, attitude of worldiness, superficial piety, and religious error. "Satan", declared Clinton, "desires this country for an ornament, and unless under God the benevolence, piety, and courage of the church keep it from him he will have it".

In 1845, Clinton was appointed general missionary for northern Wisconsin to serve in much the same manner as a Methodist circuit rider. This was highly unusual for the A.H.M.S., but the appointment came in direct response to an increasing need for religious development in the Territory and too few ministers

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to meet the demands. At thirty-seven, Clinton was considered one of the religious leaders of great influence in Wisconsin.

The new territory charmed Clinton; indeed, he thought it unsurpassed in the western country and very inviting to immigrants. It had good soil which was easy to till and cultivate with all the advantages of the prairie and better timber than he had ever seen before. Lake Winnebago, which lay thirty-five miles west of Lake Michigan, was a "fine sheet of water 30 miles in length and 10 miles in width". Clinton viewed the country around the lake and along the river as being essentially attractive to settlers, it seemed so beautiful a place to live that it would no doubt be taken within a year. In recounting all the advantages, Clinton hoped the facts might reach some of the "pious" who were planning to migrate west so that a fair degree of religious influence might come to an area destined to become densely populated.

Clinton attacked his mission with zeal. During the first three months from January to March, he traveled over seven hundred miles preaching at twelve different localities in five counties. Armed with an axe, a shovel, and a few feet of rope, Clinton traveled by horse and buckboard. The going was not easy as he had to wade through marshes, ford rivers, drive over ice-covered bridges, and find his way through long stretches of timberland, often with only the aid of marked trees to guide him. It seemed to him that he had been preparing all his life for this pioneer ministry.

In December, 1845, Clinton visited Winnebago Rapids, now Neenah, where he was a guest of Harrison Reed and his wife, Ann Louisa, in their blockhouse home on the shores of Lake Winnebago. During his visit, Clinton held a service in Reed's cabin for a small congregation composed of seven white men and a few Indians. One of the first pioneers on the scene, Reed enthusiastically shared with Clinton his dreams to develop the site and attract people who shared his vision.

Throughout the winter months of 1846, Clinton made his missionary calls with diligence. He preached in his new territory except for one Sabbath when he returned to his former pastorate at Lake Mills where his family still lived. Early in the spring of 1846, Clinton decided to move his family to a permanent residence in Neenah, about eighty-five miles north of Lake Mills. There were two reasons for this decision. Although the settlement was at the northernmost boundary of his territory, Clinton was convinced that the vicinity was the most important point for his labors. Secondly, Clinton reasoned that the area had thus far been kept by Providence from being occupied by "anti-gospel influences" and was

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accessible to the "lovers of the elevating principles and institutions of a pure Christianity". He was concerned that there was a Catholic settlement of considerable influence about eleven miles north toward Green Bay and another on the Wolf River twenty miles west, the latter inhabited mainly by Indians, French, and half-breeds. The land between these outposts of the Roman Catholic Church was very inviting to settlers and to Clinton it was a question of great interest as to who would occupy it, for the area was surely destined to "bear great responsibilities". "If Romanists should occupy this ground", Clinton wrote, "or infidels who are often employed as the most successful agents of the man of sin great will be the loss to the church of Christ". Thus he concluded that his presence might help to bring a morally healthy population into the area. To this end, Clinton became a self-appointed immigration agent and expressed his convictions orally and in writing to both friends and acquaintances.

He was enchanted by the beauty of the setting and described a beautiful island of about one hundred acres lying between two outlets from Lake Winnebago where Governor Doty had built a residence which he hoped to occupy when he retired from public life. The water power and building improvements offered a distinct advantage, although the latter was run down due to abandonment of the property. The reason for the failure of the Indian project Clinton was not entirely able to learn, but he was satisfied that when the facts were fully known, "it will be seen that it was an attempt to turn wild men without Gospel and a failure would be a matter of course".

In March, 1846, Clinton moved his wife, Caroline, daughter Katie, and adopted daughter, Hattie, to Neenah where they planned to move into one of the blockhouses near the point where the land on the south shore of the channel projects into Lake Winnebago in what today is Riverside Park. Six year old Katie (Catherine) was delighted that the dwelling they were soon to inhabit had a lake nearly at the back door. A marvelous tree known as the "Council Tree" where Indians had counseled together and whose limbs stretched over the top of the house was ideal for climbing. The house needed some renovation since the Indians who had occupied it previously had chosen to live outside and stable their ponies inside after removing the floors. The two-story log house had two rooms on the second floor and three on the first. After an initial tour, Katie and her father decided a floor would be the first order of business.

The Clinton home also served as a meeting place for the Neenah congregation. Twelve people attended the first religious service including

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Governor and Mrs. James Duane Doty. In May, 1846, the first marriage took place between Jeanette Finch, sister of Caroline Clinton, and John Johnston. When the Clinton and Finch families moved to Neenah, John, who was also from Lake Mills, followed and immediately proposed marriage to Jeanette. The ceremony was to take place under the Old Council Tree, but because of rain had to be moved inside the Clinton's house. It was a very important occasion and nearly every settler in the community attended the wedding. Clinton's move to Neenah coincided with the beginning of his second quarter as itinerant missionary. He assessed the area and determined the most promising settlements in which to establish local churches. During a month long circuit, he planned to visit each settlement once for a sermon either on Sabbath or a weekday evening. In each locality he could count on a group of twenty or more to hear his Gospel message. Clinton also planned to preach at Neenah every fourth Sabbath and have the intermediate Sundays in his absence occupied with prayer meetings, reading meetings, or Sunday School. The other settlements on his itinerary were Oshkosh, Rosendale, Springvale, Waukau, Rushford, Strong's Landing (now Berlin), and Fond du Lac. By June, Clinton decided the way was prepared for the organization of three churches, although more labors would be needed if any of them was to become self-sustaining. People "professing the Faith" were urged to obtain their letters in preparation for forming a church of the denomination they preferred, either Presbyterian or Congregational, in accordance with the policy of the A.H.M.S. Clinton's duty was to encourage the congregation to plan for the support of a future minister and to help it continue to do everything possible to maintain worship, prayer, and Sabbath schools.

Clinton's circuit required extensive travel. Although his health remained good, the pace was enough to try the most hearty individual. For an example of the strenuous nature of his work, on one Saturday Clinton paddled ten miles in his canoe and then walked seven miles to preach. On Sunday, he administered the Lord's Supper, preached three sermons, and returned on Monday the same way he had come. On his return trip to Neenah from Oshkosh, which was the last stop on his monthly tour, Clinton hauled nearly all the supplies for his family in his buggy. Due to the rains, the roads were often nearly impassable, forcing him to cut a path around "seemingly bottomless" mudholes with an ax. Often his daughters would accompany him on his missionary visits. The little girls would ride quietly next to their father and refrain from asking questions or talking unless he initiated conversation, for he used the time to compose his sermons.

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In October, 1846, the first year of Clinton's commission as traveling missionary came to a close. He spent most of his time in those settlements which demanded his immediate attention, while breaking new ground elsewhere as quickly as possible. In the first year, he formed no churches since there was no prospect of them being regularly, or even occasionally, supplied with a minister. There was immediate need he told his superiors, for at least four or five ministers in northern Wisconsin. Both Neenah and Oshkosh wanted him on a full-time basis, but Clinton was reluctant to leave the other settlements without a minister. There was always the matter of salary, for the minister's expenses had to be met and his stipend from the Society was sent only after his quarterly report was submitted. The men of Neenah had raised seven dollars which left a balance of ninety-three dollars due from the Society for the quarter. If he were to continue in the same capacity he said, the Society would have to compensate him for travel expenses. One hundred dollars a quarter was no longer enough for his family to subsist on with the "wear and tear" of traveling. He had been forced to ask for an advance on his draft each quarter. Clinton estimated that in his first missionary year he traveled about seven thousand miles, preaching nearly two hundred sermons.

Early in the summer of 1846, the Neenah congregation took possession of another of the old blockhouses which they planned to use for a church and school. Since the structure had also been used as a shelter for Indian ponies, which was a common practice, it lacked floors, windows, and doors. With a united effort, the membership cleaned and refurbished the dwelling. Many of the seats were nothing but slab benches with no backrests, for lumber was at a premium. During the winter of 1847, the Cornelius Northrup family occupied the Neenah church free from rent, and in exchange it was always warm and in readiness for church and Sunday School. Early in January, Clinton held one of his monthly "concerts" - a service in which he preached a sermon and then took up a collection for the A.H.M.S. The ten dollars received from people with scarcely the basic accommodations of pioneer life was regarded as more generous than any gift given by a city congregation in the "favored East".

In February, 1847, Clinton wrote to the Society that he decided to supply the church in Neenah on a full-time basis and not continue as a traveling missionary. He believed Neenah was important enough to warrant a church with a full-time minister, particularly with the Catholic influence close at hand and the rise in immigration. Besides, during the fifteen months of his itinerant ministry, several

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new missionaries had appeared in his territory. In March, 1847, a committee from the congregation drafted a letter to the Executive Committee of the A.H.M.S. formally requesting Clinton as their full-time supply or minister. With groundwork completed, the formal organization was planned for the first Sabbath in April. Composed wholly of residents of Neenah, the congregation numbered from fifty to seventy-five with a Bible school of twenty and a Sabbath school of fifteen. "Mr. Clinton", they wrote, "is loved and respected...[his] services...we cannot but feel will tell favorably upon the future destiny of this place".

On April 4, 1847, the Neenah church came into being. Twelve members united by letter and one by profession. The Lord's Supper was administered and the first male white baby born in Neenah, Aleric Duane Clinton was baptized. "This part of the exercises were so solemn and impressive", Clinton wrote, "that almost the whole congregation were affected to tears". Yet the organization was not accomplished without difficulties. Although there was a variety of religious affiliations in Neenah, most of the settlers were connected with either the Congregational or Presbyterian church. Clinton labored to make the organization harmonious and prevent discord by holding preparatory meetings in which views and feelings could be aired. There had been strong opinions about the form of government the church would embrace, but there was also a stated willingness to go with the majority. Throughout the sessions, Clinton acted as moderator, never taking sides. The Congregational form of government was adopted by a majority of eight, but the Presbyterian faction then decided not to unite. Clinton remained hopeful that the dissenting group would affiliate as its members had continued to attend church and besides, treated him with kindness and respect. He hoped that the union would occur at the next Communion which was set for the first Sabbath in July.

In his quarterly report written during October, 1847, Clinton expressed deep concern over the state of the church at Neenah. "We have suffered numerous embarrassments", he wrote, "occasioned by the collision into which some of the businessmen in town have fallen". Clinton's remarks alluded to a business venture, for on February 8, 1847, the Legislature had chartered a company to construct and maintain a dam across each channel for the production of water power. The company consisted of Governor Doty, his son Charles Doty, Curtis and Harrison Reed, and Harvey Jones. Amicable relations within the group soon deteriorated and the dissension and litigation which followed greatly affected business and social relations in the community. Clinton used his sermons to

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preach on the importance of "uprightness", the nature and consequence of controversy, and the healing which comes from reconciling all difficulties upon Gospel principles. He was hopeful that matters would soon be amiably settled. However, secular difficulties among the villagers kept many from coming forward to receive the sacraments.

Early in the autumn of the same year, the Clinton family moved into Governor Doty's home on the east end of the island. Named the "Grand Loggery" by Mrs. Doty, it was a roomy house built in 1845 in full view of Neenah to the south. The land had been a favorite camping ground of the Winnebago and Fox Indians and still retained remnants of their corn fields. In any event, Governor Doty had taken an interest in Clinton. He attended church in Neenah regularly and offered to help in establishing more churches. When Doty learned that he would be away from Neenah for an extended period of time, he offered his house to Clinton rent free. Clinton gratefully accepted the offer. In 1849, Charles Doty, son of Governor Doty, presented Clinton a gift of ten acres on the island where Clinton built a log house of his own in 1854.

Pioneer life in Neenah required resourcefulness and ingenuity. The minister was often out in the morning before breakfast with his fishing pole. Provision for the family meals was always made before the need arose. The nearby forest provided wild fruits; the garden, under the minister's hoe, yielded vegetables, while fruit from his orchard supplied the ingredients for sauce and other delicacies. From Indian friends, the Clintons purchased the grain known as wild rice and maple sugar which was used as a sweetener. "Forest fresh meat markets were very flush", recalled Clinton, who on occasion hunted bear, raccoons, squirrels, rabbits, pheasants, and water fowl. He was the master of every situation and possessed an unerring ability to apportion meals evenly when unexpected guests arrived, knowing there were no reserves in the kitchen. The Clinton family was rarely half the household, for the pastor's house was open to all who came in need of shelter or care, and much of the credit for accommodating those who called was due to Caroline who, despite her delicate health, was a wonderful mother and manager in the most difficult situations. There was often not room at the first table for the children as it seemed that everyone was traveling west in the early days. Strangers with no place to go and no money for room and board were housed and fed; if they were ill they were nursed until they were well.

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The missionary's home was a haven for those in need, but even in the most trying times, there was rarely discord between mother and father nor was there impatience in the discipline of the children. And, family worship continued unabated. Each morning the whole family gathered immediately after breakfast for devotions. After Clinton read the first two verses of the chapter, the Bible was passed to the right and two more verses were read and so on around the table until the chapter was completed. In the evening when the family gathered for worship, a copy of the hymnal was given to each person present and everyone joined in the singing. Both parents were fine singers and their voices enhanced any gathering. At bedtime, the minister read from the Scriptures and then offered a prayer of thanksgiving. An atmosphere of love, respect, and harmony enveloped the Clinton family. True, mother and father often joked and had light conversation, but there was never disrespect, sarcasm, or faultfinding between them. They did their best to show by example, a life of love and "Christliness", as Katie called it many years later.

During the summer of 1847, Clinton and Reverend Porter from the Presbyterian Church of Green Bay arranged to exchange pulpits for a Sunday. Since there were no roads or bridges Clinton anticipated rough going; nonetheless, he set out with Caroline and his infant son in a buggy on the Friday preceding. After fording both branches of the river at the head of the island, he followed the beach of the lake to Clifton. Logs and downed trees provided obstacles which forced the horse into the water up to his flanks at times. When the Clintons reached Clifton, there were no inhabitants to be found and so the family ate their lunch in a clearing. Forging ahead, they cut their way to the military road, a two mile stretch partly following an old, overgrown Indian road. By the time they reached the beach, evening had fallen and the Clintons rested for the night. On Saturday they were able to complete the trip with relative ease.

When his commission at Neenah ended in January, 1848, Clinton decided to renew his labors as itinerant minister for the following year. He traveled as before, supplying destitute churches in his territory as well as the Neenah church, but his territory was in such need of ministerial services that he was scarcely able to answer all his calls. There was still the problem of the adequate compensation. The Neenah church had raised twenty-five dollars for the quarter to help meet Clinton's salary. Currency, however, was not the only way of paying the minister. When the larder was empty, it was time for the pastor and his wife to make calls on the parishioners. When they returned home, there was always

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evidence of the congregation's generosity in the cutter - ham, eggs, butter, and baked goods. On occasion, there were donation parties after which the family would feast for days on the leftover pies and cakes. At one such party one hundred fifty parishioners visited the Clinton house. Boxes from the A.H.M.S. also brought goods and used clothing collected for the missionaries in the west.

By January, 1849, Clinton had added Menasha to his regular list of appointments, but his commission as traveling missionary was not renewed for the following year. His successor was Cutting Marsh who came to Wisconsin in 1830 as a missionary to work with the Stockbridge Indians who had been transplanted from Oneida County, New York. Both Presbyterians and Congregationalists conducted the evangelizing of Indians under the auspices of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. Clinton's supervisors thought that he was confining himself too much to one area and desired a man who would form a circuit composed of many preaching points.

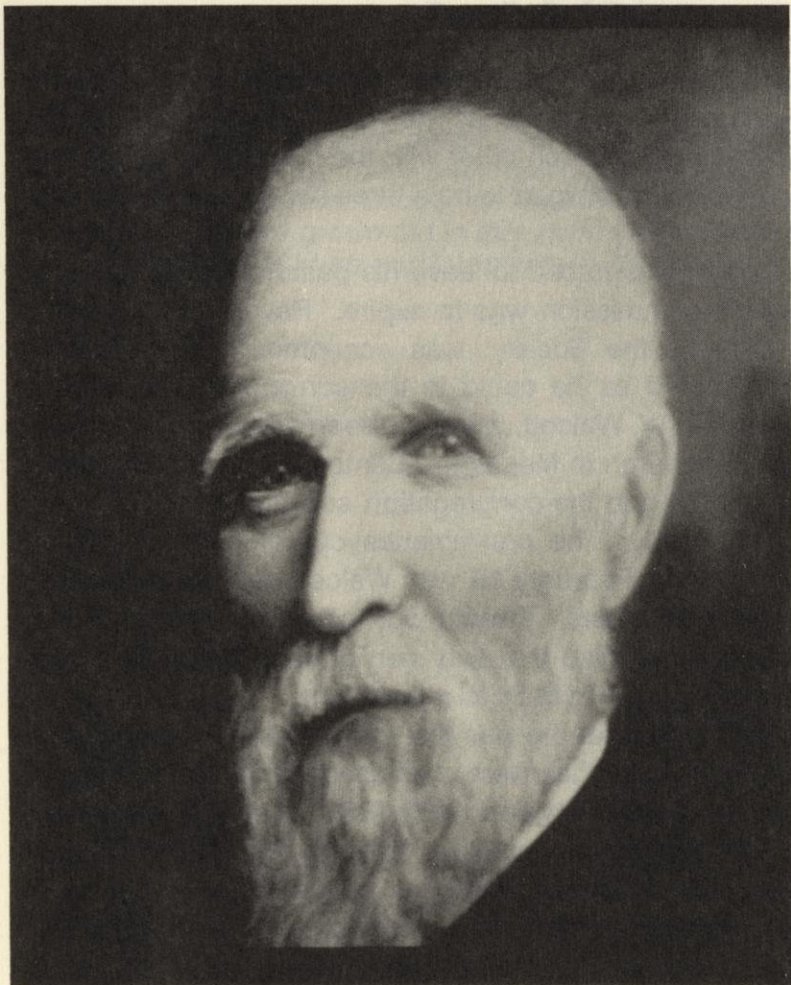
The congregations of Neenah and Menasha were very anxious to re-hire Clinton and seized upon the opportunity to invite him to return as full-time supply. Equally to the point, they raised two hundred dollars toward his salary. The A.H.M.S. commissioned Clinton to the Congregational churches of Winnebago Rapids (Neenah) and Menasha which commenced on April 1, 1849, for twelve months. A committee from the Neenah church drafted a letter to the Society Executive Board in May, 1849, expressing regret that they had had to release Clinton in 1848 and were delighted to have his services as they had literally been without a supply for a year. His services, they continued, would be equally divided between Neenah and Menasha; attendance at both places was good even with the recent organization of an Old School Presbyterian Church in Neenah. Local differences over community development affected religious life in the area. In the spring of 1848, Cornelius Northrup and his son, C.P. Northrup, moved to the wilderness on the north side of the Fox River where the only sign of civilization was an Indian trail following the river bank. In 1849, the Sanborns and the Donaldsons followed. Clinton had high expectations from these developments. He predicted growth for both communities as settlers were appearing at a more rapid rate than ever before. Unhappily, the population growth did little for the religious strength of the settlements although it increased Clinton's responsibilities and his work. Religious indifference, worldiness, and freedom from the restraints of the east were obstacles which faced missionaries in the west. In both localities the congregations were chiefly composed of

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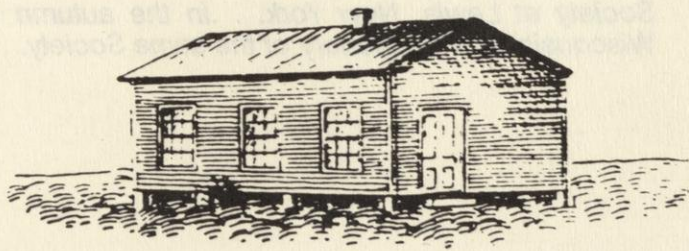
laboring men with limited "pecuniary means" who were widely scattered in the villages and the surrounding countryside. "We are", Clinton wrote, "in the midst of wickedness, worldiness, and the spirit of speculation are [sic] carrying the masses on through life, caring little for God or for anything that pertains to the soul". Still, he said that he was laboring to maintain the institutions of the Gospel and to guide the people in the teachings of Christ.

By 1849, the Neenah congregation was as large as the building would hold, and the members were strong and united. The Menasha congregation met in a tavern. Clinton hoped that soon a school would be built where the services could be held. Once the first families were settled in Menasha, Clinton consulted the foreman of public improvement about holding Sunday services. The foreman curtly replied, "No time for the Sabbath yet. Our work is too urgent to be interrupted". Undaunted, Clinton applied to Mr. Clark Knight, the hotel keeper, for permission to use his facility which was a huge log cabin for church services. The largest room in the house was the barroom with a well-stocked bar in one corner. The proprietor was somewhat taken aback and embarrassed at the request, but Clinton assured him that the atmosphere was unimportant because he could preach as well in a bar as in a church. However, he did insist that the customers wait to be served until the finish of the services. When thirsty men dropped in during a service and had to wait patiently until it was over, it was not uncommon for Clinton to take the opportunity to lengthen his message. His youthful experience with his father's addiction to liquor coupled with the church's strong stand on the evils of alcohol, made Clinton an earnest advocate of temperance. As it turned out, the barroom services lasted but a few weeks. The congregation moved several times before it could take advantage of the Clinton Schoolhouse.

By 1850, Wisconsin had thirty-five Presbyterian ministers, fifty-eight Congregational ministers, and seven Welsh Congregational ministers. Winnebago County with a population of 10,167 located in thirteen townships, had five ministers and six churches. With the increase in population, the flock at Neenah outgrew the blockhouse and in October, 1849, relocated in a room which it leased for six months. A generous donation provided the means to ready the room for worship and to provide seating. The Menasha congregation met in a small building erected by private enterprise which was to be used for educational and religious purposes, the present site of St. Mary's Church. The building was about sixteen feet wide and thirty-six feet long. A center aisle divided two rows



Rev. Orson P. Clinton, first Protestant missionary in central Wisconsin (1808–1890).



1851

Small frame building erected by Rev. Clinton for the dual purpose of church and schoolhouse stood on the northwest corner of Broad and Milwaukee Streets, Menasha.

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of seats made from rough boards. The pulpit was constructed of two boards standing upright with a wide plank nailed across the top. On either side of the pulpit, the choir sat in two rows facing each other with the men on one side and the women on the other. Clinton was obliged to hold three services each Sunday in the two towns.

On January 15, 1851, Clinton was forced to leave his pastorate because of ill health, five months before his commission was to expire. Reverend Charles L. Adams, who had been sent by the Society, was accepted by the Neenah congregation and Clinton labored as he could in the surrounding area as a missionary at large. Reverend J. W. Walcott, who had been sent from New York by the A.H.M.S., took over the church in Menasha. Clinton worked diligently to effect the formation of the church and the congregation adopted a resolution of organization on January 18, 1851. The preliminaries completed, the formal organization took place on Sunday, February 16, with Walcott as the new pastor. There were twenty-five original members. Twenty-four joined by letter and one by profession. Clinton was well satisfied that two men of such deep piety and marked ability had been sent by the A.H.M.S. to relieve him.

During the years between 1846, when he was first commissioned as itinerant missionary and 1857, twenty-one churches were organized within the bounds of Clinton's field. Except for the years between 1862-1865 when he served as chaplain to the Twenty-First Wisconsin Volunteer Infantry Regiment, Clinton remained with the A.H.M.S. He retired in 1885, but continued to serve as a supply pastor and at eighty years of age, still preached twice each Sabbath at the Congregational Church in Menasha. He estimated that during his long missionary career he had traveled as many as ninety thousand miles and preached more than four thousand sermons. In 1871, Clinton reminisced in a letter to Secretary Badger at the A.H.M.S.:

More than 35 years ago I received my first commission from that Society at Lewis, New York. . .in the autumn of 1842, I came to Wisconsin as a missionary of the same Society. . .with the exception

Rev. O. P. Clinton

of four years that poor health kept me from active labors, and nearly three years in the army, I have been doing pioneer missionary work... I can never cease to love the Society for its efficient and persevering work for the Master. I have grown old in this work; I love it; and it is trying to be obliged to leave the field so much remains to be done.

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Mary Kidd

Eastern Money for Winnebago Rapids

Three family groups played an important role in the early development of Neenah and Menasha, the Reeds, the Dotys and the Joneses. The early history of Neenah was shaped to a great degree by the fates and fortunes of the Jones family. Colonel Harvey Jones' initial role in the founding of Neenah was to provide financing for the purchase of the abandoned Winnebago Rapids Indian Mission. His ultimate fate would be to seriously retard development in Neenah for more than a decade.

In 1805, Thomas Jefferson was President of the United States. Lewis and Clark's Corp of Discovery was blazing a trail across the unexplored western wilderness to the Pacific Ocean. Also in that year, on June 22, Harvey Jones was born in the Village of Kingsborough, New York (another historian lists his birthday as June 23, 1805, and the birthplace as Johnstown, New York). He was the fourth son of Asa and Lucy Jones, farmers of Connecticut parentage. Harvey would be one of nine siblings, seven of whom would attain adulthood. Young Jones obtained his education at the district school. He began his career as a poor boy clerking in a country store. Upon completion of his schooling, at age 16, he taught school for two years. For the next two years, Harvey clerked in the store of W.A. Wells in Mayfield, New York.

After purchasing a quantity of lumber with money from his savings, Harvey, now 20 years old, went to New York City. There he clerked for a dry goods merchant named Vorhees for one year. During this time he had his lumber forwarded to New York where he sold it for a large profit. When his year had expired, he left Mr. Vorhees' employ and, using the capital from the lumber sale, started his own dry goods store on Maiden Lane near Broadway. He also speculated in real estate. In 1828, Harvey, along with his brother Asa, effected a trade with a Mr. Root and Mr. Leonard, merchants from Johnstown. In exchange for his store, other city property and some Canadian land belonging to Asa, Harvey took possession of Root and Leonard's Johnstown store and

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stock. Harvey soon bought out his brother Asa's interest and moved the Johnstown stock to Kingsborough, New York, where he went into partnership with his good friend, Lucius Potter. Soon after Asa sold out, he and another brother, Loyal, moved to a farm in Kalamazoo, Michigan. Asa had been a captain in the state militia, and his departure created a vacancy. Harvey was appointed to take his place and was soon promoted to Colonel. Harvey would hold this commission until he moved west to Neenah. The firm of Jones and Potter continued for about six years. It was during this period that Harvey, about four months shy of his 28th birthday, married Sally D. Gilbert on February 26, 1833. Sally was the daughter of Judge Samuel and Abigail Gilbert of Cranberry Creek, Fulton County, New York.

After the firm of Jones and Potter dissolved by mutual consent, Jones moved on to Gloversville, New York. As one might surmise, the principal industry of Gloversville was the manufacture of gloves and mittens. Harvey Jones was proprietor of a glove factory, had a store, and dealt in real estate. He continued in business in Gloversville until 1846. By the age of 41, he had gradually worked himself up to become a man of affairs. As he reached the threshold of middle age, Harvey Jones was financially secure. Even so, he was looking westward. Like thousands of other easterners at the time, he sought to invest in new lands on the western frontier. Harvey's brother, Loyal H. Jones, would be the one who would lead him to Neenah.

The Reverend O.P. Clinton, an early Neenah pioneer, had made the acquaintance of Loyal who was living in Prairieville, now Waukesha, working as a merchant.

Knowing that the Rev. Mr. Clinton was about to make a trip to the frontier settlements, Jones requested him to note any favorable locations for building a town. Loyal explained that his brother, Harvey, was interested in investing in western lands. Clinton, on his first visit to Winnebago Rapids in December, 1845, enjoyed the hospitality of the new owner, Harrison Reed. Clinton was soon made aware of Reed's financial problems. Upon learning of the investment interests of Harvey, Reed immediately made Clinton the bearer of a proposition to him. Reed proposed that Clinton should return and report to Loyal that if his brother would furnish the purchase money, he would deed to him an undivided one-half of the entire property of Winnebago Rapids with the exception of two farms that Reed wished to retain. Clinton returned to Prairieville and informed Loyal Jones of what he had found. Loyal relayed the proposal to Harvey, who was sufficiently

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interested to send his nephew, Perrine Yale, to accompany Loyal Jones to Winnebago Rapids. There the two men, acting as Harvey's agents, investigated the property and made an agreement with Mr. Reed. Shortly after this, Harrison Reed went to Gloversville, New York, and there in the month of July, 1846, closed the deal with Harvey Jones. It should be noted that the final trade between Reed and Jones differed greatly from the initial proposal made by Reed. Reed would deed to Jones the bulk of the Winnebago Rapids property. Taking the money that Jones furnished, Reed went to Washington and completed his bargain with the United States. Harvey Jones was poised to become one of the "founders" of Neenah.

Harvey Jones was infatuated with the idea of building a town in the west. It must be remembered that this was a period of time in American history when a man of means could buy large tracts of land with relatively little capital. If the land had natural advantages, such as water power, that man could, through mutually advantageous land sales, attract industry, settlers, and merchants. In short, he could "build" a town where none had existed before. This is what Jones hoped to do in Winnebago Rapids.

The founding families: Reed, Doty, and Jones were all remarkably similar in heritage and personal traits. Alice E. Smith of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin notes that all were of Anglo-Saxon origin, Protestant faith, and middle class respectability. All were originally from New England. They each had had some measure of formal education, and they had built upon that base through individual study and experience. Each was adaptable, versatile, ambitious, and willing to take a chance. Also, each was aggressive and at times could even be ruthless. Contemporaries describe Jones as "a man of untiring industry, rather nervous, and exceedingly anxious concerning all matters wherein he was interested . . ."

Upon arrival in Neenah, Jones at once commenced to make improvements on the property by deepening the raceway to the two mills. Such was his level of industry and commitment that Jones himself worked in the mud and water alongside the men hired to do the job. Jones was a typical New England businessman and manufacturer; close, careful, and methodical. He never returned home at night until his books were balanced. He apparently developed his business skills at an early age, as evidenced by the following story. Jones's father, a farmer, would give each of his boys a piece of land which they cultivated for their own profit. No sooner would the other boys get their crops in the ground

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than Harvey would begin to buy and trade with them. Generally, by harvest time, he would own or control the product of each boy's bit of land.

Physically, Jones was described "as a man of medium height, slim and straight, weighing about 145 pounds. His complexion was rather light, with hazel eyes and grayish hair. His face was always cleanly shaven. His manners were very gentlemanly and he was always courteous in business." His "gentlemanly and courteous" ways notwithstanding, Jones is characterized by some historians as "prickly" and "difficult to work with", especially when it came to real estate transactions. The story is told of Harvey L. Kimberly's arrival in June, 1848. He quickly appreciated the potential of the location and offered to purchase two lots in each block of Winnebago Rapids. But Jones haggled contentiously and offered him nothing satisfactory. Only when Kimberly threatened to buy lots in Menasha from Curtis Reed did Jones agree to give him his choice of lots. In defense of Jones, it must be remembered what he was trying to accomplish when laying down terms of sale to prospective buyers. It was necessary that he balance his short term need to make sales with his long term goal of profiting on the increased value of his unsold lots. Kimberly wanted the most valuable locations and Jones naturally wanted to hold on to them. There is evidence that Jones made quite generous offers to others who would build and make improvements. James Ladd, who built the Winnebago Hotel, bought the lot on which it stood for \$60. Perrine Yale and Loyal Jones were given lots on the corner of Wisconsin and Walnut Street to build their store.

Whether he was "prickly" or not, there can be little doubt about Jones' total failure to develop a spirit of cooperation and accommodation. This trait would ultimately be the ruin of most of his plans. He had apparently decided quite early in his transactions with Harrison Reed to try to eliminate any claim Reed had to the Winnebago Rapids property. Charles Yale, Harvey's brother-in-law, would state, "Before I left Gloversville, Harvey Jones had expressed to me his anxiety to get rid of Reed in that property." The complications that this "anxiety to get rid of Reed" would cause for Neenah's early development would last for many years after Harvey Jones' death.

In the fall of 1846, all of Harvey Jones' troubles with Reed were still ahead of him. He made his first visit to Winnebago Rapids that September accompanied by his wife, Sally, and their son Gilbert C. Jones. Two of Harvey's brothers, Loyal and Asa Jones, and a nephew, Perrine Yale, also seem to have settled here sometime during the winter of 1846-47. Harvey Jones remained until spring and

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during most of that time boarded with Harrison Reed. He later moved into the blockhouse near the mills with Loyal H. Jones. He immediately plunged himself into making improvements to the property. He deepened and widened the raceway to the two old mills. He also had the grist mill repaired under the direction of H.A. Burts, Mr. Burdick, and Nelson Danforth. Danforth then ran the mill for Jones. The old grist mill had been run indifferently by Reed in 1844. The next season, Reed had Gorham P. Vining and George Harlow put the mill into operable condition and run it for him during the 1845-46 milling season.

In a brief initial display of harmony, Harvey and Loyal Jones, Harrison and Curtis Reed, and Charles Doty formed a corporation to dam both the north and south channels of the Fox River. They applied to the Territorial Legislature and received the rights to close the channels in the act of February 8, 1847. Harvey Jones owned the mainland property on which the south channel dam would abut. Charles Doty owned the south Doty Island property that would anchor the other end of the dam. On August 8, 1846, Doty had issued a quit claim deed that transferred all rights and privileges to the use of the south channel water for hydraulic purposes to Harvey Jones. The conveyance was recorded February 20, 1847. The water power produced by the Neenah dam would be controlled by Harvey Jones!

Other Jones family members were also putting down roots in Neenah. Asa Jones, another brother who would become a prominent resident, laid claim to a farm near the west shore of Butte des Morts Lake. Loyal H. Jones and Perrine Yale opened the first store in Neenah in 1847. In November, 1846, William Johnson and Henry Finch contracted to haul from Green Bay to Neenah the stock of goods for the Jones and Yale store. The stock of general merchandise and Indian goods was a great convenience to the early settlers. The store was located in one of the government blockhouses. A dispute arose over occupancy of the location, however, and lawsuits were filed. Albert B. Brien claimed he had made, in November, 1846, a verbal lease of the blockhouse to Jones and Yale for a term of 5 or 6 weeks. Upon expiration of that term, Jones and Yale had refused to surrender occupancy. Brien brought legal action to force Jones and Yale out. It appears that the "lease" may have been arranged by Harvey Jones, acting as agent for his brother and nephew, through Luke Brien, acting as agent for his brother, Albert. Whether Loyal Jones and Perrine Yale had knowledge of Harvey's action is uncertain. At any rate, they felt Brien had no legal claim to the blockhouse and consequently refused to move. A jury of their peers felt

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otherwise and Justice of the Peace Lucius A. Donaldson ordered Jones and Yale to surrender the building. Jones and Yale appealed the verdict to the Circuit Court in Oshkosh. Whatever the final outcome in the case, it apparently spurred Harvey Jones to give Loyal and Perrine lots on the corner of Wisconsin and Walnut to build a new store. The upper floor of this building was finished off and became the hall for amusements and was long used for public worship on Sundays. It was also used for some time as a public school room.

In the spring of 1847, Harvey Jones returned to Gloversville to close out his eastern business affairs preparatory to moving west. While there, in the month of May, his wife Sally died after a short illness. Soon after, Jones would receive another emotional blow when his father, who had been living with Harvey's family for some time, died at 81 years of age. Unfortunately, these personal tragedies were a prelude to the further loss of his loved ones and the bitter business disappointments to come.

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Daniel Haase

The Partnership

In 1831 Winnebago Rapids was basically a reservation under the jurisdiction of the United States War Department. A plan had been devised for assisting the Menominee Indians in becoming 'civilized' - to instruct them in the arts and sciences of white civilization, sort of a vocational training establishment. On the mainland, just across the river south of Doty Island, a 'mission' or agricultural experiment known as 'the farm' was begun in 1835-36. It included a wing dam built for water power (which later became the first in the United States to apply water power to drive machinery), a grist mill, a sawmill, a blacksmith shop, and several block houses. This had been agreed upon by the treaty of February 8, 1831.

Because it was a government project, no expense was spared. The bid which was for \$19,000 for the construction of this 'farm' was accepted. Five teachers were hired to instruct the Menominees in scientific agriculture, run the mills, and preach the gospel. Their salaries were \$800 per year which was to be paid from the Indian reserve fund. Their wives were to share the salary by teaching the Indians housekeeping arts.

However, the Indians were not at all interested in learning the farming techniques offered. They were perfectly satisfied and happy in doing things their own way. They were not inclined to learn mill work or different farming methods. The first summer, there was barely enough grain raised to feed the staff. A smallpox epidemic in 1835, which took the lives of nearly one-third of the Indian population, was the last straw.

The utopian dream of training the natives to farm, live in the houses, and act like the white men became a nightmare. The powers in Washington soon realized that they had a complete failure on their hands and began looking for a way to get out from under the responsibility. It was, like many other government enterprises, abandoned before it got into full swing. The Treaty of the Cedars provided that the Menominees would sell all their lands west of Lake Winnebago

The Partnership

to the United States. Thus, when the treaty was ratified in 1837, the project at Winnebago Rapids was promptly abandoned.

As might be expected, everything that could be carried away soon disappeared from the abandoned government mission. Appeals for permission to buy the mill parts were at first turned down because no one seemed to have the authority to sell them. However, on February 25, 1843, by permission of the Indian Department, James Doty, who was Superintendent of Indian Affairs in Wisconsin at the time, sold the mills, gearings, water power, and buildings to Harrison Reed for \$600. Acting Secretary of War Porter harshly criticized Doty for selling so cheaply and without authority, and the sale was soon nullified.

On March 3, 1843, an Act of Congress approved authorization of the sale of "all such dwellings, houses, church, etc. belonging to the United States as have been erected for the use of their agents, teachers, etc., no longer necessary for the purposes aforesaid". Soon thereafter, a notice of an auction sale of "certain land and improvements belonging to an Indian reservation at the outlet of Lake Winnebago" appeared in the Milwaukee Sentinel. The list of items included in the sale was extensive: "About 560 acres of land situated along the south channel, and about the shores of Little Lake Butte des Morts, together with a dozen or more log and block houses, a blacksmith shop, a sawmill, a grist mill, with a wing dam and a canal to operate them". Wagons and carts, tools, a stock of iron, a quantity of sash, doors, nails, chains, glass, logs ready to be sawed into lumber, and everything left over from the 'civilizing experiment' were also mentioned. The wording of the advertisement implied that the property was to be sold as a package without being divided in any way.

One of the many who read of this opportunity was an ambitious young journalist named Harrison Reed. At the time, he was publishing the Madison-Wisconsin Enquirer and the Milwaukee Sentinel, the newspaper in which the notice appeared. He no doubt, had been on the lookout for just this kind of new adventuresome way to develop his business aspirations. He had already visited the area twice. The first time was in the winter of 1842-43 when he was favorably impressed with the advantages offered, and again in the spring when he hoped to choose a site for a permanent home.

Upon learning of the opportunity offered in Winnebago Rapids, Reed consulted with Judge James D. Doty, then governor of the territory of Wisconsin. The headquarters of Doty's judgeship was in Green Bay, so he was well aware of the speculation into land sales in the Fox River area, and he and his two sons, James

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and Charles, had already purchased parcels on the island. Therefore, without any hesitation, he advised the purchase. Reed continued to consider the possibilities which were available to the owner of such a collection of land and buildings and proceeded to put in a proper bid.

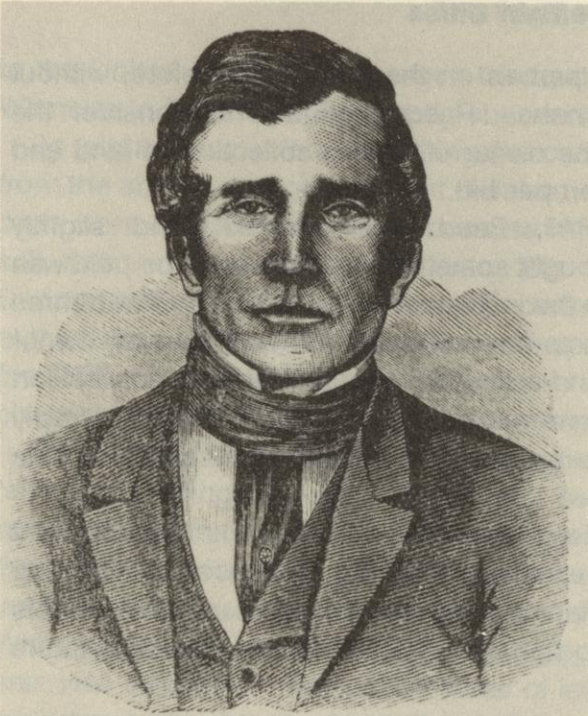
The morning of October 2, 1843, Reed was amazed, and slightly uncomfortable, to learn that he had "bought something". The sum to be paid was \$4,760 for 562 and 44/100 acres, plus the incidental items, on a bond with three years to pay at 10% interest. As soon as the notification arrived, the new owner wrote to the United States land office and asked who was presently in possession or care of the property and what steps were necessary for him to take. The reply came back that the property was deserted and that it was his obligation to take possession at once and look after it.

By this time, Reed was beginning to realize what a bargain he had acquired and was becoming more and more excited in thinking of himself as the sole owner of the village of Winnebago Rapids. He had heard of monied people going together and building a city, so he had good reason to dream of future wealth and influence.

There was only one problem that needed to be solved. He did not have enough money to cover the bonds he had filed on the bid, and he could not sell any portion of his new acquisition until he had clear title. Fortunately, however, he had the necessary nerve and ambition to forge ahead. He disposed of his interest in the newspapers and made immediate plans to move his family onto their new property and take possession, hoping to find the ways and means to complete the purchase.

Harrison Reed and his family arrived at their new home in the winter of 1843-44, the only white family within a radius of many miles. The following summer, the Mansur family arrived and later Gorman P. Vining and George Harlow decided to become permanent residents. In December, Ira Baird and his wife came, and Rev. O.P. Clinton definitely decided to take up residence close by. Mansur was persuaded to begin repairing the old mills, and Vining, Harlow, Charles Westcott, and Gilbert Brooks were also employed making the mills and wing dam useable.

While working to improve the physical appearance of the village, to establish a post office, and to cut a road to Oshkosh, Reed kept looking for an answer to his financial dilemma. Rev. Clinton arrived with the solution. While he was in Waukesha (formerly Prairieville), he had become acquainted with Loyal Jones who was engaged in mercantile pursuits. Knowing that Clinton was planning a



Col. Harvey Jones

Harvey Jones who provided the financing for the purchase of Winnebago Rapids (Neenah). (1805–1849).



Harrison Reed who submitted a successful bid to the U.S. Government for the purchase of land which later became Neenah (1813–1895).

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trip to the frontier settlements, Jones asked him to watch for investment possibilities for his brother, Harvey, who was especially interested in investing in land with water power where a town could be built. The minister suggested to Reed that something might be worked out with the Gloversville, New York, financier.

Because the time which had been allowed for Reed to close his bargain to purchase had nearly expired, he was becoming anxious. He had already illegally converted to his own use much of the personal property he had obtained and had been unsuccessful in finding financial help. With no apparent alternatives, Reed immediately sent a proposition to Loyal Jones through Clinton. The offer stated that if his brother would furnish the purchase money, he would be deeded one-half of the entire property of Winnebago Rapids with the exception of the farm on which Reed resided at the east end of Wisconsin Avenue and the place later known as the Blair Farm. Reed reasoned that these two places, plus the undivided half interest in the balance would offset the advantages offered to Jones.

Clinton carried the proposition to Loyal in Waukesha, along with his description of the property and its benefits. Loyal, in turn, passed the information on to his brother, Harvey, and encouraged him to clinch the deal. The potential buyer was favorably impressed and sent Perrine Yale to proceed with Loyal to serve as his agents to inspect the property and obtain the best deal possible from Reed. Their visit was in May, 1846, and, being satisfied with both site and offer, they effected a preliminary agreement in which Harvey Jones would furnish the money required to secure the property in due form from the government.

Shortly thereafter, Harrison Reed traveled to Gloversville, New York, and the partnership was formally established. Jones gave the cash to Reed who then went directly to Washington, and on July 23, 1846, paid the amount of his bid with the interest which had accrued. Finally, he received his patents for the land. The deed was recorded on April 9, 1847.

After closing the deal, Reed returned to Neenah, and Jones followed soon after. In August, Harvey stopped for a short time in Waukesha to look after some business interests which his brother, Loyal, had been handling for him; and in September, Col. Harvey Jones made his first visit to Neenah. He was accompanied by his wife, Sally, and son, Gilbert.

Harvey was a typical New England businessman - "close, careful, and methodical in all business arrangements". He was a slight man but an untiring

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worker. He began at once to make improvements on the property by deepening the raceway to the two mills, working in the mud and water with the men. The grist mill was repaired.

Jones remained in Neenah until the following spring, boarding most of the time with Reed at his home on the lake shore. Late in the winter, the family moved to the old mill house with his brother, Loyal. In February, 1847, Harvey and his wife and son returned to Gloversville and stayed for the summer, during which time his wife died. He spent the next winter in Neenah, and in the spring of 1848 he moved to Neenah permanently, determined to spend his life and any money necessary to build a home, a town, and a fortune.

For a very brief period of time there was harmony between the partners, but they were so different in their personalities and attitudes that there was little chance that they could ever be successful together. Reed was a man of ability with a mind full of plans and schemes. He was well-liked, even though his friends were aware of his lack of financial management skills and ready cash. Jones was an astute businessman with money.

The two were to hold the site in undivided shares. The purchase effected, each began to develop the property by platting a village, making the acquisition of lots a precarious proposition for any would-be purchaser. On September 8, 1847, Reed recorded the village plat of Neenah. Harvey Jones, as the proprietor, and Charles Yale, as his surveyor, formally platted the area from Pine Street to Church Street and from Walnut Street to Pine Street (a section four blocks in length). This was recorded on January 6, 1848, as Winnebago Rapids, Jones having completely ignored Reed's previous action. These competing claims to the same town site, together with his ineptness as a real estate salesman, almost wrecked Jones' plans.

The original agreement between Harrison Reed and Harvey Jones was made in New York where the law required that only a one year term for a contract was available. But orally, the two men agreed that when they got to Wisconsin they would abide by that state's law of allowing a three year term for such contracts. The very first dissension between the two men occurred upon their arrival in Wisconsin and they met for a business conference. Jones refused to extend the time to three years.

There was obvious animosity between the Joneses and the Reeds, and their followers acquired the same outlook. There were many pranks of 'unknown' origin which occurred from time to time that indicated the strong feelings in

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Neenah against Menasha and vice versa. They polarized the communities against each other. There is little wonder that the descendants of the first local settlers, their friends, and present inhabitants still carry an inherent attitude against each other.

On February 20, 1847, Charles Doty gave Harvey a quit claim for \$1.00 for use of water for hydraulic purposes adjoining fractions of 7 and 8 and Section 22, Township 20, Range 17E. The following fall, Jones began to plan the building of the dam which had been approved. At that time, he owned the land which it abutted on the south shore of the south outlet. Charles owned the land which it abutted on the north shore of the south outlet.

On March 8, 1848, Charles Doty and Curtis Reed secured a second charter which threw all responsibility for a south dam on Jones. The result was a long series of lawsuits between the Jones brothers on one side and the Reeds and the Dotys on the other.

In June, Curtis built a log house near the northern channel, began construction of a dam (which was completed in 1850), and sought the contract to build the canal. Because of Harrison's differences with his partner, Harvey Jones, Neenah's founder threw his influence with his brother, Curtis, and Governor Doty. It was obvious that each man had his own bit of land and wanted this water power development where it would benefit him the most.

However, the chief cause of the rivalry and bickering between Harrison Reed and Harvey Jones was the location of a proposed canal. The first move toward utilizing the water power was made on February 8, 1847, when a company consisting of Charles Doty, Harrison Reed, Curtis Reed, Harvey Jones, and Loyal Jones was chartered by the Territorial Legislature to construct a dam for water power. As might be expected, squabbles among the incorporators began almost immediately, and before the undertaking could go into action, the five-way partnership broke up.

With all of the problems Harrison Reed and Harvey Jones were having over the building of a dam (or dams) and a canal, they also had their private troubles over the money which was still due Jones from the advance which he put up in order to obtain Winnebago Rapids as it was in 1844. Reed was to pay at least one-fourth of the purchase price and in return would receive title to one-fourth of certain lands involved in the purchase.

On April 12, 1847, Reed gave Jones the power of attorney to sell land to apply to the purchase price of 1/4 of an undivided lot for \$1250. By doing this, Jones

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admitted to Reed's claim to 1/4 of the property. On May 15, this power of attorney was revoked when Reed made a conveyance to Perrine Yale whereby Yale agreed to pay the amount due to Jones for half of Reed's 1/4 interest.

The developers on both sides of the river were anxious to get on with the digging of the canal and the construction of the dam. So bitter was the contest between the two factions, that it became a game of strategy. Every movement was watched and discussed by the opposing side. It is told that spies and eavesdroppers were on duty twenty-four hours a day. At one point, an entire Menasha machine shop was put onto a flatboat and floated to Neenah. The next night Menasha retaliated and took it back.

On May 28, 1848, Wisconsin was taken into the Union, and as a birthday gift Congress gave the state 500,000 acres of land to be sold to raise money to improve the Fox and Wisconsin rivers for navigation. A five-man "Board of Public Works" was established, and Curtis Reed was appointed one of the members to handle sales and grant the canal and navigation rights. Curtis soon resigned from the Board and entered a bid to build a canal along the Menasha side of the river. Harvey Jones offered to build a lock and ship canal and proper dam himself on the south side at an estimated cost of \$24,000. Reed then offered to pay all costs plus \$5,000 to be expended for repairs when needed if the Menasha side would be the selection.

When the Board had difficulty agreeing on the location, the proposal was made that the Board should view both channels before making a final decision. Reed conveniently hired the steamer which was to carry the members along the two forks being considered for improvement. When the steamer went up the south side, it found every snag, sandbar, and rock in the channel, and the Board had a bumpy ride proving the danger of that channel. The trip on the Menasha channel was a smooth, comfortable ride. The choice was obvious. However, it was later determined that it would have been a mistake to choose the south channel. Bedrock would have made it more difficult and costly because of the necessity for blasting.

The Partnership

Work was begun on the Menasha canal within ten days of the letting of the contract and was to be completed by October 1, 1850. One clause which was put into the contract prohibited the use of "ardent spirits" by the workmen, nor could liquor be brought to or sold to any of the workmen or brought by them to the canal, or the contract would be taken away. This may be regarded as the first law ever enacted for the regulation of spirituous liquors in the town.

Harvey Jones, of course, was angry because he had been refused the canal, so he began building his own. A canal was excavated and a lock completed so that boats were running between Oshkosh and Appleton several seasons prior to the completion of the work along the north channel. Early maps show a lock at the place where the south channel of the river joins Little Lake Butte des Morts.

In the midst of all this pandemonium, on November 8, 1849, Harvey Jones died unexpectedly of typhoid. Much to the consternation of everyone, this methodical, systematic, detail-conscious businessman had overlooked one very important technicality. He had three minor children and had left no will.

This fact put the businessmen in the two cities in even greater turmoil. The progress of Neenah was put on hold for fifteen years, until the minor heirs of Col. Jones reached their majority and came into possession of their property. The administrators of the Jones estate secured permission to complete the improvement which he had started and made his main ambition, but they mismanaged other phases of the legalities which caused many complications. It was not until June of 1855 that the Supreme Court finally settled the title to the property and awarded 1/4 of the Village of Neenah to Harrison Reed. This put him in possession of property which had been withheld from him.

It has been the general belief that the growth and prosperity of the area would have been greatly increased if the years of weary and vexing litigations could have been avoided. People came in large numbers to settle and invest in industry but were unable to secure title to property or power except by lease. Thus, many moved on to other communities. Cunningham, Neenah historian, said, "It is a dark page in the history of Neenah, for had the property here been spared the years of needless litigation, during which no one could, with safety, purchase, there is no question but what the growth and wealth of Neenah would have been increased thousands of inhabitants and millions of dollars".

~ ~

Winifred Anderson Pawlowski

D. 2003

United States } Whereas by an act of Congress approved 10
10 } 23^d 1842 entitled "An act authorizing the Sec
Harrison Tract } of Lands with the improvements thereon erected
} "the United States for the use of their Agents
} Teachers farmers mechanics and other Persons employed
} among the Indians" The Secretary of War is
} authorized
} "to cause to be sold all such dwelling houses Churches
} belonging to the United States as have been or shall be hereafter
} erected for the use of their Agents Teachers &c when the
} land on which the same are erected shall have become the
} Property of the United States and are no longer neces-
} sary for the purposes aforesaid" and also "to cause to be sold
} in his discretion with each of such buildings &c a quantity
} of land not exceeding one section and on the payment of
} the consideration agreed for into the Treasury of the United
} States by the purchaser the said Secretary shall make
} presents and deliver to the said purchaser a title in full
} compliance for such Lands and Tenements" and according
} to the provisions of said act Instructions having been
} given to Capt. Wm. H. Russell of the United States Army to sell cer-
} tain land with the improvements thereon reserved for
} the use of the Indians by the Treaty of February 8th 1831 and as
} provided by said Indians to the United States by the 3rd article
} of the Treaty of September 1836 and the said Capt. Wm. H. Russell
} having proceeded to fulfill said instructions and a return from
} him for said lands and tenements which proper return was
} forwarded to the Department of War and upon examination
} the disposal of Harrison Tract for a portion of said lands and
} tenements having been accepted and approved by the Secy of
} War on the 16th day of August 1844 and the said Harrison
} having paid into the Treasury the sum of four thousand
} seven hundred and sixty dollars (\$4760) in consideration of the
} Now Know all Men by these presents That the United States
} of America by William Brown
} Secretary of the Department of War in consideration of the money
} above recited and the sum of four thousand seven hundred
} and sixty dollars paid into the Treasury of the United States by the

Deed of the Territory of Wisconsin hath granted and conveyed and by these presents hath granted and conveyed and assigned unto the said Harrison Reed his heirs and assigns forever the following tracts or parcels of land situated in the Territory aforesaid at or near the Winnebago reservation and out let of the Winnebago Lake heretofore known as the Wisconsin Reservation - viz Lot number one (1) section twenty one (21) and the north west quarter of the north west quarter of said section fractional section twenty two (22) that part of fractional section twenty six (26) which contains twenty two acres and sixty eight hundredths of an acre (22 1/100) the north half of fractional section twenty seven (27) Lot number four (4) of fractional section twenty seven (27) the north west quarter of the south west quarter of said section

(and the north half of of the south west quarter of said section - all in Township twenty (20) of Range fourteen (14) East of fourth (4th) Meridian containing five hundred and sixty two Acres and forty four hundredths of an acre. (562 1/100) Lake Survey more or less together with all and singular the hereditaments buildings and improvements thereon erected and belonging or in any wise appertaining and all the right title interest & estate of the United States of us and to the same -

So have and to hold the said tract or parcels of land and the hereinaforesaid premises unto the said Harrison Reed his heirs executors administrators or assigns forever fully and fully in fee simple in the United States hold and possess the same

In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the Department of War to be affixed at the city of Washington this eighteenth day of July in the year one thousand eight hundred & forty six and in the Independence of the United States twenty first

A. L. Parney
Secretary of War

Recorded this 9th day of April 1867 at 12 noon
St. Paul
Register

Deed from the Department of War to Harrison Reed
for Mission property dated July 18, 1846.

Arrival of Hopeful Settlers

After the failure of the Indian mission and the sale of the land to Harrison Reed, the stage was set for the creation of a new village. With the help of promoters and speculators like Doty and Captain Lauchian B. McKinnon, a naval captain, the people out East were notified of the wonderful land and business opportunity which existed in the wilds of the Wisconsin Territory along the Fox River. Aids like The Emigrant's Handbook and Guide to Wisconsin by Samuel Freeman helped those attracted to the possibility of a new life. "There is something highly exciting and grateful to youthful daring and independence in traveling onward in search of a future home and having found some sweet encouraging spot in the bosom of the wilderness, in rearing everything by his own handwork." The final push was probably given by a member of the family, a neighbor or a close friend who had already settled and was praising the beautiful and productive land of opportunity.

With this understanding of the westward movement into the Fox River Valley, we can examine the motives and the people who chose to come to establish a new life for themselves and their families.

Advertisements praising the virtues of the region abounded. One only has to read a published letter in the Green Bay Evening Star of June 12, 1839, to realize that the propaganda must have affected many a discontented soul struggling in the East.

The tide of western emigration is now pouring its mighty volume into the fertile regions of Wisconsin. Every steamship that plies upon our lakes. . . is crowded with emigrants, who quitting the less fertile and more expensive lands of the older states, have, with all their earthly goods, come to the more promising regions of the West. . . Here, a fertile soil and a salubrious climate allure them; here the forest welcomes the axe, and the prairie invites the plough share and here,

Arrival of Hopeful Settlers

breathing the atmosphere of republican liberty, the honest emigrant by the labor of his hands, under equal laws and free institutions, can attain wealth and independence. Here no system of myths, conceived in fraud and enforced by power, can deprive industry of its reward. . . Here every man is permitted to worship God according to the dictates of his conscience.

On and on the propaganda proclaims the virtues of this unmatched land of opportunity. In 1839, the picture of this land was highly exaggerated but certainly alluring.

The first settlers to Winnebago Rapids represent all the usual reasons for coming to an undeveloped area. Some were consciously seeking a better life; others were trying to remove themselves from uncontrollable events like depressions and poor depleted farm land; still others were merely swept along by friends, relatives, and neighbors. However, the circumstance of an entire settlement with its improvements being offered for sale made it unique. Furthermore, it was obvious that the waterway would produce abundant power for the future development of industry. The speculators, led by James Duane Doty, soon advertised in the East the desirability of the place for future enterprises.

The majority of the early settlers were single men, adventurous spirits, looking for any good livelihood. Jothan Lincoln was one of this type. We have his letters to his friend back in Hingham, Massachusetts, about his attempts at acquiring land and making a living on it by farming. Men who brought their families along into Wisconsin quite often did not have their homesteads picked out. The family members more likely stayed in Watertown, Waukesha, or Milwaukee, while the men explored the wilderness land to the north. This was true of Gorham Vining. In some cases, the destination was known and the head of family, while establishing a business, also prepared a residence for his family when they would arrive at a future time. The Kimberlys purchased property for a store, a mill, and a residence and ordered supplies for the store all prior to the time of their families' arrival. Just about every man who came with a special skill was immediately sought after. The most useful man in the early days had to have been Joseph Jourdain, who had been hired to run the blacksmith shop during the Indian mission days. Even during the years when the mission was in decline, he kept the smithy going full blast making spears and steel traps for the Indians.

A Tale of Twin Cities

Seeking a better life was certainly the essence of westward fever. George Mansur arrived in Winnebago Rapids with his family shortly after Harrison Reed. He stayed in the settlement about a year helping Reed repair machinery, then settled on what he considered choice farm land on the lake shore south of the settlement. He was the first permanent settler. Present day Mansur Bay on Lake Winnebago marks the location of his farm. Other farmers who discovered the choice farm land around Winnebago Rapids and who stayed to make contributions to the Town of Neenah were Gorham Vining and Ira Baird. Upon arriving at the Rapids, Vining was received with open arms by Reed and was offered one of the government houses near the grist mill as his lodging. He stayed until the next year running the government mill. The rapid flow of the river prevented the water from freezing, so this was the only mill in the area that could operate all winter long. Thus, settlers for miles around came to have their wheat ground during all seasons. This was the start of the flour milling business in Neenah.

Getting in on the ground floor and establishing a business in a community which had a most promising potential certainly drew the attention and action from entrepreneurs with capital. The Kimberly brothers, John and Harvey, were the best examples. They came with that precious commodity - cash. Theirs was an educated move carefully planned, ending with the establishment of a new mill and a store on the main street of a future Neenah. Even before their site was established, they had a shipment of goods arriving from the East via the Great Lakes waterway.

The government employees for the mission could have become the nucleus for the new settlement. The important group were the teachers, but it is interesting to note that none of them was suited for teaching or even farming, but all of them qualified because of having character and moral habits and for being industrious. All of them had "connections" or had made names for themselves in some past endeavor.

Residents who remained and whose names appear in early histories were Peter Pendleton and Archibald Caldwell. Although Pendleton's contribution is not stated, there remains a town road bearing his name. He was a squatter in the big block house on Lake Winnebago at the end of the future Wisconsin Avenue. He stayed there and shared residency with Harrison Reed for eighteen years. Caldwell was a trader with the Indians; he was a noble person. During the smallpox epidemic in 1835, he stayed with the Indians to nurse and nourish them

Arrival of Hopeful Settlers

until he contracted the disease himself. He remained in Winnebago Rapids for many years and maintained his trading post on a 90 acre island in Little Lake Butte des Morts. This island later became the property of Joseph Stroebe and now is known as Stroebe's Island.

One name that stands out prominently as a doer was a builder, James Ladd. Arriving in 1846 and choosing land on the west side of Little Lake Butte des Morts, he soon realized some kind of bridge would have to be built to avoid crossing a slough with a team and wagon in water almost to the top of the wagon. He solved the problem with the help of his neighbors, each paying him \$100 to build a bridge. This he did by making cribs of logs and laying stringers from crib to crib and covering with poles. In 1847 when the Neenah dam was being repaired, "there was no place to board the men, Ladd built a barn back of Winnebago House which was built on the corner of Wisconsin and Walnut, moved into it, and took fifty boarders, besides keeping what travelers came along". Ladd was definitely a man who made a difference in helping young Neenah get started.

One of the real leaders in guiding the new communities through some of their problems was a man who stepped into the area at precisely the right time as a spiritual leader, namely O. P. Clinton. A congregational minister later said: "He brought together strangers in a strange land in a dozen towns each worshipping together the God of their fathers. In doing so, he linked together lonely hearts who were longing to hear a friendly voice and to feel the handshake of a man who had come to bring messages of love from the World's Redeemer". This was a service that was without price to the new settlers. The story of his contribution has been described in an earlier chapter.

No matter what the reason the pioneer had for wanting to face the future in western lands, the routes available were fixed. The Rev. Mr. H. A. Miner's story of the Clinton family's journey in 1844 to the Fox River Valley described a typical route taken:

It was for the Clinton family by stage and canal, and rail and steamer to Detroit, and again by stage to Milwaukee and a ride in an express to Waukesha where after 18 days Rev. O. P. Clinton, wife and two children arrived at the pioneer home of his brother, E. Ed Clinton who had preceded him by a few years.

Then Miner told about the overland trip Clinton took in 1845 traveling north to investigate the situation at Winnebago Rapids:

A Tale of Twin Cities

No parlor car door opens to receive him and his baggage, just a simple buckboard (wagon) and horse constitute his traveling outfit. It is not over macadamized roads he is to travel, nor is it over a beautiful prairie or through oak openings he is to pass, but here and there he'll find a marsh or slough to walk through, or a corduroy bridge to ride over, unless perchance it may be bridged with ice at this season of the year, and long stretches of timber lands through which he must find his way by the aid of blazed trees to guide him along. Knowing this he completes his outfit with an axe, a shovel, a few feet of rope and begins his journey.

In this way, he ultimately reached his destination - Winnebago Rapids.

Travelers coming from the north through the port of Green Bay had similar experiences. Mary Aurelia Kimberly, in her account of her trip, vividly describes the hazards encountered:

Next morning a lumber wagon drawn by two horses came to the door. Everything was piled in and we started south. The roads were miserable, sand or mud to the hubs and although it was a state road (Military Road) leading to the fort at Green Bay, it was little more than a trail through dense forest of pine, or elm and oak hardwoods.

Using a river waterway for a family to complete a journey carrying all their worldly goods would seem like the best way to go. However, the course on the Fox River between Green Bay and Lake Winnebago was the most difficult route to cover in all the state with a series of rapids with which to contend. Traveling south from Green Bay, the George Mansur family with all its possessions trusted Capt. Peter Hotaling to transport them in his steamer through the treacherous river. When they reached the most difficult rapid at Kaukauna, they were forced to find a way to get through. The paddle wheel was removed and placed on shore. It became their canvas-covered home for three weeks. When the men failed at running the rapids in a stripped-down craft, they had to return it to land to try to haul it around the rapids. Again their efforts failed. Then it became time for the arrival of a new baby. Polly Mansur had the baby in this temporary shelter near the Grignon home. In the meantime, the men proceeded to Winnebago Rapids where they engaged a Durham boat with seven Indians to transport their belongings the rest of the way.

All of the former examples have been rough, but manageable. Consider the story of Ira and Amy Baird traveling north to Neenah in December from Watertown when they were faced with a life and death situation. They arrived at

Arrival of Hopeful Settlers

the river in Oshkosh about nine o'clock at night in below zero temperature. Baird's face and fingers were frozen and Amy and their child were very close to freezing in the wagon. They were faced with a dilemma. If they did not get to shelter, they would all perish. To reach shelter on the other side meant that there was the chance that the ice on the river would not support the loaded wagon, the three steers, and themselves. Fortunately, the temperature had dropped low enough to freeze the open water in the river. With nothing left to do but take the chance of crossing, Ira is quoted as saying to his faithful wife: "There is no other way, Amy. We must cross the river. If the cattle go through, the wagon and all we have on earth will go with them and I shall follow you. We will cross to the other side or go to the bottom together". The rest of the story is that the ice supported the load and they found shelter at one of the few cabins on the other side. The next day, they reached their destination of Winnebago Rapids following the route known as Lake Shore Road (now County Trunk A) and took up residence in a house near the mill. Fortunately they all survived the experience, and after reaching their destination they soon dismissed it as they confronted all the problems they were to face in building a new life.

To arrive in an existing community was one thing, but to come to one which was in the process of being created was something else. This wonderful account by Mary Aurelia Kimberly, fresh out of an eastern finishing school, cannot be equaled to get the feeling of what a raw, primitive, and uncouth place Neenah was at the time of the Kimberly family's arrival in 1849. Years later, recalling it to her daughter, she remembered it well:

About sunset we reached Appleton which consisted of one tavern built from a barn and a few huts. At Little Chute we met a sailboat coming from Neenah. As it began to rain, we hired the boat at double fare, sailed and rowed up the Fox River. . . A sailor described Neenah as 'two lights - one a saw mill, the other Neenah.' This was not very consoling. I felt I would just as soon go to the bottom of the lake, as Neenah. It was pouring rain when we reached the dock. Slipping in the red mud, stumbling over stumps we found the hotel - a two-story wooden building minus paint. . . there was not a bed left to rent in the house. The kitchen was full of squaws and bucks. . . Two beds were made up in the parlor across the hall from the bar-room for us two girls, Father, and Alfred. There we girls cried ourselves to sleep for very homesickness. All my world was Troy (New York) and this was so different. Torn away from everything desirable and taken out West where I did not want to go! Never,

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never was I so miserable! In the morning. . . to find Aunt Ann I went up the stairs guiltless of a rail, down the hall where the doorways were hung with Indian blankets in lieu of doors. She sat looking out of the window and at my 'Good morning,' she turned with, 'Heavens, Mary, what a place!' She sat gazing over the swamp of rushes and stumps. . . The stream was bridged by a log corduroy road as far as where the library now stands. Many times when the river was high, I have jumped from one rolling log to another going down the street.

This was the way Neenah was when it was just getting started - certainly not a place for a refined young lady.

Not everyone who came to this locale had a story of danger and hardship. The coming of Joseph and Frances Stroebe to their island was more like a fairy tale. They found their dream home and lived there happily ever after. An article in the Milwaukee Journal reporting an interview with the couple in their late years tells how one family came and survived the first year in their wilderness home. It tells so much about the conditions of the lands and the way they set up a new home that it is worth quoting:

When Joseph, hunter, trapper, and lover of the out-of-doors, discovered the perfect spot for his future life with his young wife, they quickly packed their belongings and journeyed forth from Milwaukee by oxcart to the beautiful spot.

The island was like a bit of fairyland. Everywhere there were wild flowers and splendid old trees; wild birds abounded. A small band of Indians were camping there and welcomed them. The Indians canoed them and their belongings from the mainland to their new home. They soon had a log hut constructed which answered their simple needs. Outside Mr. Stroebe built an oven of precious bricks carried from Milwaukee for the purpose. Inside, the big fireplace was fitted with hooks for kettles; dishes, tables and chairs were put in place, animal skins spread upon the floor; the spinning wheel, loom and cording machines were set up and life began in earnest for the young pioneers.

Their first real meal consisted of venison, shot by Joseph the day of their arrival. Berries were found ripe on a thousand bushes and wild rice was plentiful and promised many a goodly dish when it should have ripened in the late summer. They hoped that when their fields were under cultivation and wheat and corn were raised, they never need to leave the island for food.

From Buffalo to Shelbygon by Steamboat Cabin
 Passage \$18. - Deck 1/2 price - This was last year
 the advertisement for this year not out yet - It is usually
 as cheap to take Cabin Passage as you get board includi
 From Shelbygon to Faychedak 40 Miles by
 Land - Stage ^{fare} not known but I presume about
 \$13. From Faychedak to Keenah by Steamboat
 50. / 2nd. Expense & different routes - The expense as you
 see above by the Shelbygon route would be about \$112 -
 3rd. The Green Bay route - Steamers run to Green Bay
 but last year there was only one no competition to the
 then same was \$12 from Buffalo to Green Bay. Keenah
 is about 95 Miles from Green Bay and is on the river -
 Small boats freight merchandise down at 37 1/2 per hour
 The route this way will be best when the river is improve
 to that. Steamboats can run to Keenah but now it would
 not be advisable to take that route. If a man was a coming
 alone without any baggage and wanted to see some of the
 best looking places God has made in this World as well
 as some of the worst he had better come by way of Green Bay
 & look it down the bank of the river -

4th. Why I prefer Woodland? In the 1st place, because I like
 the Woods to live in - The birds of the Woods & the beasts there
 are for eating to say nothing of the excitement of hunting.
 The Woods are full of beauty & comfort. The Prairies are
 cold & cheerless in Winter - That is dry in Summer.
 The Prairies are all seen at a glance, the 1st crop is al
 most always the best - The Wood is always improving
 in value - fencing & stuff, timber & Wood are always as
 land - A man in the Woods has a good many things
 to sell which the Prairie man has to buy - The way
 I look at it from what I have seen it does not appear to
 me that anything in the shape of permanent improve
 ment can be made on a Prairie - You can leave Wood
 land alone for years & it will continue increasing in value.
 You will always be at great expense in fencing Prairies -

Jothan Lincoln 1840

Excerpt from a letter of Jothan Lincoln
 describing three possible routes of travel
 from the east to Wisconsin.

Arrival of Hopeful Settlers

Joseph went about the necessary task of clearing five or six acres of heavy timber, building shelters for the animals - cows, horses, sheep, and hogs - which they had driven ahead of them from Milwaukee. Occasionally, his wife joined him in his work outside.

It is a popular misconception to this day that after the Treaty of the Cedars all the Indians were moved away. Not so! There were many Menominees who remained and camped all around for a long time. They may have been startling at first to the white population. Because of their child-like curiosity, they were often found peeping in windows at the white man's strange goings on. Sometimes in bad weather, they were invited into the white man's home. They simply came into the kitchen and bedded down in front of the fireplace, leaving quietly the next morning. Mr. Stroebe recalls such an incident when two Indian friends were fishing on a terribly cold winter day and were preparing to bed down on the ice without any protection except some animal skins and a blanket. They were invited into the Stroebe home that night; the Indians never forgot this kindness. Often the Indians were called on to help in portaging freight around the rapids. Indians certainly were permanent fixtures around the countryside and in the village throughout this period of development. They loved this part of Wisconsin and many were reluctant to leave it. While among the white men, they often proved to be good neighbors.

For Jothan Lincoln, life in the new land was not easy. When he staked his claim on farm land south of the settlements, he came without any possessions and, of course, without cash. There is a valuable set of letters, dated 1848-1852, to his friend back home telling in much detail what life was like on his quarter section. From this letters we learn first-hand what a struggle it was for him to get his land into full production of a cash crop. He tells about his first year:

The land in Wisconsin is Prairie, openings and wood. The Prairie can be ploughed right up and planted. . . Some of the wood land is heavy timbered, some light. . . About 12 acres of mine is meadow hay yielding wild grass in profusion which makes much better hay than meadow hay east. The rest is woodland. I have cleared a little and am at it now clearing. If it is good weather in Spring for burning I shall get a crop in next season. I have built a shantee. It is about 10 ft. square, with a free space that I can roll wood into without measuring the length. . . I have been at work for 2 or 3 days just on the big oaks. I cut down one yesterday measuring over four ft. in diameter. In leading this life in the woods I enjoy myself well. . . I

A Tale of Twin Cities

believe by swinging the axe I have made room for heart and lungs to play easy.

In another letter he continues: "After entering my land last fall, I shipped for a Fall and Winter Campaign at Lumbering expecting by this time to have cash in my pocket ready to commence farming or something else on my hook." However, he explains the mill owner had failed so he (Jotham) had gotten no cash. In a couple of years he did get a start at farming. In 1851 he wrote about it:

I have got a small crop of corn, potatoes, beans all small on account of the wet Spring. . . For six weeks nothing in the nature of logging, burning, ploughing or planting could be done. . . Corn is undoubtedly the best crop that can be raised. Immediately on the shore of Lake Winnebago one of my neighbors last year raised 80 bushels of shelled corn to the acre on new land - once hoeing - no manure.

Year by year he improved at his farming and was contemplating starting in with hogs. Suddenly the letters stop. Some opportunity must have presented itself and according to records in Hingham, he moved further west. His letters have been preserved by someone in his home town. They are a tremendous testimony to the pioneer struggle in a new land.

It is hard for us, living in an advanced civilization with all the comforts and conveniences, to comprehend how these settlers managed to do what they did 150 years ago. To leave their comfortable homes, relatives, and friends in a stable world and head out to an unknown wilderness home; to brave the dangers of travel unguided through lands with Indian trail only; to make a choice of where to settle gambling on it for a future life; to subsist through difficult winters with little food, and not know what one could do to make a living - all could only be answered in the character of the pioneers. They came, first of all, with a burning desire to make for themselves a better life, along with a determination to succeed at it. They came with the confidence in themselves to meet the challenge and were willing to accept the risks while putting up with temporary inconveniences. They came and stayed in spite of all their trials because they developed a strong faith in the future prosperity of the area. With this strong resolve to achieve their goals, all came with an added industriousness and used their talents to quickly resolve the most pressing problems. A sense of community prevailed. It was the only way to build a future.

Arrival of Hopeful Settlers

The new arrivals had one thing in common. They were first strangers to one another, then they soon became neighbors. The wilderness experience and the strangeness of a new place affected almost everybody in the same way. They each became extremely hospitable and helpful to newcomers. This meant they took them into their homes when needed, probably shared their food and helped them get acquainted with the resources of the community. No one has recorded how many babies were born in the Doty Grand Loggery on the Island. Out of gratitude for these kindnesses, it was only natural that they responded in kind to their future neighbors. Neighborliness was the order of the day. Most all had lived through the same kind of experiences and all needed one another.

The settlers coming from the New England states during this early period were, for the most part, educated people of English descent. They came with the vision of duplicating their lives back home. The architecture of early homes, mills, and churches reflect this fact. Examples still remaining are the Kimberly double house on Wisconsin Avenue, Neenah, along with the Vining farm home on Oakridge Road west of Neenah. Harrison Reed even reserved land in his early plat for a possible village green. To this day, Columbia Park is referred to as "The Green".

For the pioneer family, the first concern had to be shelter. This was not too much of a problem at first, with all of the unoccupied government mission buildings. In the village, James Ladd was quick to respond to the need for shelter. For those who were homesteading a piece of land, a few months of hard work felling trees gave them plenty of logs to erect a log shack, as in the case of Jothan Lincoln.

In most cases, a proper dwelling had to wait until more building resources and more cash were available. This, however, was not true in the case of the Kimberly brothers who could afford to buy property and build a sizable house for the family members who were arriving later. When finished in 1849, it must have looked like a mansion in the woods alongside the usual log cabin. It was built as a double house to accommodate the two Kimberly families and was located on the river between the fast growing business area and Lake Winnebago. It still stands today as the Visiting Nurse Headquarters, a reminder of an elegant eastern lifestyle transported to the wilderness.

A Tale of Twin Cities

Through the early years, every family must have struggled with the problem of having food for the table. It did not take long before the supplies which they brought along were exhausted. These were usually the staples salt, flour, sugar, etc. They soon had to turn to hunting, fishing, and foraging. The next step was to grow some necessary crops - wheat, potatoes, cabbage, root crops - which could be stored or preserved for the winter months. Barter was the rule of the day. Even where there was money, it probably would not be used for food. To obtain needed cash or food, hiring out to cut down trees or preparing their own cut lumber for sale was a common system. This was one way to get such food as flour, pork, sugar, or tea.

Raising some livestock certainly was the answer toward becoming self-sufficient. A cow could provide the all-important source of milk, butter, and possibly cheese; the calves produced were barterable products. On the frontier, it was common for Indian neighbors to bring wild rice, corn, or game to exchange for dairy products. Almost everyone with property had a flock of chickens for a source of eggs and one for the pot every now and then. In those days there were few fences, so it was common for livestock of all kinds, including pigs, to be roaming in the streets. This was such a nuisance that very early it became necessary to enact an ordinance to require the containment of such "critters".

The early settlers were in a hurry to develop a community very similar to what they were used to and a church usually came first. Competing for members were the two newly organized church bodies, the Congregationalists and the Presbyterians. According to Mary Aurelia Kimberly's account, whenever a new family settled, there was a rush to call by both church leaders to influence the newcomers to join their respective church. She writes delightfully about her first Sabbath in Neenah, June, 1849:

The day was filled with the charm of early summer, made musical by bird songs and fragrant with budding leaf and flower. . . (the meeting place) was a large wooden building painted white, standing at the southeast corner of Wisconsin Ave. and Walnut Street. The lower story was occupied by stores. . . in an upper room were gathered for worship those seeking in the faraway West to renew sundry ties and vows. . . The floor, woodwork, benches, pulpit and choir rail were of unpainted pine; the walls of rough brown plaster. . . The pulpit was occupied by Rev. H. M. Robertson. . . At the opposite end was an elevation of two steps where the musical members of the community. . . rendered in an energetic, if not artistic, manner the songs of Zion.

Arrival of Hopeful Settlers

Between, the benches were more or less filled with men, women, and children. . . The strength of robust manhood was here. Each profession and various callings found a representative in the audience here gathered for service. Occasionally the sharp crack of the sportsman's gun in the woods nearby suggest another way of spending the Sabbath!

As soon as there was the semblance of community, there were community activities. It was natural to want to enjoy the company of other human beings. Lonesomeness was characteristic of the pioneer, and it was common to bring along the same social activities of the eastern towns. The church, being an existing organization, naturally became the center of many social doings. The women were quick to organize a sewing circle. Mary Aurelia Kimberly tells:

The ladies (of the Presbyterian Church) formed a Sewing Society, meeting to sew in the afternoon. They made flour bags, blue hickory shirts, white shirts, aprons, needle books, and knit woolen socks. As the method of living was plain, there was little call for anything merely ornamental. The life each day was earnest work.

These ladies stayed to tea and in the evening their husbands and the young men would drift into the kitchen where they would play various games with forfeits redeemed by penalties. . . But should any perchance to indulge in a social dance, the next prayer meeting was made blue by long faces, deep sighs, and groans of the Elder brethren, who offered sharp admonitions as to the danger of such worldly amusements. . . This often caused more wrath than penitence in these youthful members, leading to anything but a desire to emulate their would-be-sainted censors.

In Jothan Lincoln's letters, he tells of being invited to a New Year's Eve ball preceded by a sleigh ride. A ball in the wilderness?

When we read the description of the first Fourth of July celebration in Neenah as recalled by Mary Aurelia Kimberly, we would never guess it took place in undeveloped Wisconsin:

The town of Neenah celebrated the ever glorious Fourth by listening to an address by the minister, and the choir sang America. Then everybody marched to a bower made of saplings and branches, cut in the nearby woods, where the ladies had spread a long table, with a feast for all. It was opposite of our house, so we went over to see the tables. The centerpiece was a three story cake dipped in frosting. Aunt Ann had invited the Jones family to dine with us on

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green peas and roast lamb so we did not see the tables cleared. . . In the evening a few of us young people walked to Dr. Yales and went for a picnic supper on the island, rowing down the Menasha channel, where a few shacks stood on the bank. A stroll by moonlight through the woods brought us home.

From these accounts, we can conclude that although life in the community was hard, people of all ages still managed to have fun.

So far all settlers mentioned have been from Neenah. However, on the northern branch of the Fox River were the beginnings of another town-Menasha. The land there had been on the market earlier and had been bought by speculators. As a result of the Treaty of the Cedars, the U.S. Government had acquired this property. It was not a part of the Menominee Indian Reservation, as was a portion of what later became Neenah. By the end of 1848, a rough town had been formed by a dozen vigorous young people.

The first permanent residents were Cornelius Northrup and his family. In 1848 his son, Corydon, erected a slab house located at the intersection of present-day Milwaukee and Sixth streets. Cornelius was a carpenter, as was his son, and self-educated. He always kept himself informed on the leading issues of the day, and his sterling worth had led him to be the people's choice for many local offices. He had the implicit confidence of his fellow men, and his word was as good as his bond. This family continued to serve the community for a number of decades. Lucy, his daughter, was one of the first librarians in Menasha and was the last of the Northrups in the area.

More than any other man, Elisha Dickinson Smith was responsible for making Menasha what it was to become. He was born in Brattleboro, Vermont, March 29, 1827, where he grew to manhood. At age 17, he left school and became a clerk in a general store. When he was 21, he accepted a position in Woonsocket, Rhode Island. Here he met his future wife, Julia Ann Mowry, the daughter of a banker. Three years later, after checking out business opportunities in Georgia, a friend urged him to move to Menasha. He and Julia were married on October 24, 1850, and the following day they began their arduous journey to their future home.

Fortunately, his new bride was willing to share his pioneering spirit and his courage to face new frontiers. When they arrived in Menasha, he opened a dry goods store in partnership with his friend, Dr. J. D. Doane. This enterprise failed so that when Doane pulled out, Smith was pressed to gamble on the natural

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resources at hand. He then bought a pail factory from Keyes, Wolcott & Rice. In a few years the equipment was replaced, the products increased, and market expanded. It progressed and grew because the management had the sense and ability to adjust its products to the changing conditions of the country. The company began by making wooden pails and later paper and corrugated containers. Starting as the Pail Factory, it was incorporated as the Menasha Wooden Ware Company in 1875, and the business was continued by Elisha's two sons, Henry and Charles R., their sons and grandsons. In 1962, it became the Menasha Corporation.

As a young man, Smith had operated his business with the belief that everyone was as honest as he. After much money was lost on non-payment of some accounts, he declared, "No credit will be given for any amount. No exceptions will be made". His time was well organized and he could attend to a variety of tasks at the same time, always being systematic and thorough. He could take on a problem of business and arrive at a reasonable solution. He was prompt in keeping his business promises. His relations with his employees were that they were just men, not human machines, who should be justly rewarded for their services rendered. He always encouraged them to build homes by providing the necessary lumber.

As he grew older, he spent more and more time promoting the betterment of the community. Later in life, he made generous contributions which included a public library and a park. Although not a member of the church, he served on a committee to construct a new Congregational church in 1855. He then proceeded with financial support, and four years later he became a member. He also assisted the pastor in many ways. Believing in the value of religious training for youth, he actively participated in supervising a mission school west of Lake Butte des Morts. Out of the school came many useful and religiously inspired men and women.

Today, as we look back at what our communities have become, we cannot give enough credit to the first settlers who came and started them. They came with a vision and they had the right qualities to turn it into a reality. By 1850, the settlements of Menasha and Neenah were well on their way to becoming full-fledged villages due to the industrious nature of their citizens.

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Phyllis Herziger Krueger

Daily Living in a New Land

When we think of the food, clothing, and medicine of the early settlers, we think of the Wisconsin woman, for it was she who "manufactured" most of it. From her body came the children and from her heart, mind, and hands came the food, clothing, nursing, and medicine to sustain the entire family. If she remained healthy, optimistic, and was lucky, all prospered. If she became lonely, depressed, ill or had poor judgement to die, her family usually suffered in ways beyond imagining.

The food of the settlers bore much similarity to that of the Indians. Indians ate most wild life except dogfish, mink, otter, eel, weasel, and gophers. Wild rice and maize were important grains as were acorns and other nuts, often made into breads. Fruit was eaten as found - wild grapes, blackberries, blueberries, wild plums, etc. Indian vegetables were squash, potatoes, beans, peas, melons, cucumbers, watermelon, pumpkins, water lily roots, squash blossoms, and corn silk. Indians often drank cranberry juice and wintergreen tea. Interestingly, little or no salt flavored their food and apples were absent. Honey and maple sugar were used whenever available.

Indians cooked over open fires. Large meats were barbecued, roasted, or boiled. Smaller pieces were economically used in soups and stews. Cooking stones were heated and dropped into clay pots and animal stomachs to make the stews. Later, the Indians traded with the white settlers for iron cookware. The early settlers foraged for food like their Indian neighbors. The intense physical labor inherent in being a settler meant hardy appetites and bellies grateful for whatever could be found to put in them. Typically, the first year, the settlers located fresh water, built a shelter for the family and animals, cleared land, and planted crops. They hunted game and ate whatever food they had brought with them onto their new homeland. Year two, they planted a second crop and vegetable garden and bartered the first year's crop for animals such as poultry, cows, sheep, and pigs. From chickens, ducks, and geese came eggs and meat; from cows' milk, butter and cheese; from sheep, wool and candle tallow; and from pigs, ham, bacon, and lard.

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A poor harvest meant six months of hunger or starvation. A good harvest meant having enough to eat. A great harvest meant having enough to barter for food, tools, and cloth to ease the hardships of settler life. Little money was used in transactions. Instead, crops like corn, butter, eggs, pelts, hides, or feathers were traded for luxuries like white sugar, white flour, salt, coffee, tea, spirits, spices, and tobacco. Some foods could be bought on the frontier - whole carcasses of meat (largely uncleaned), crackers, vinegar, molasses, salt pork, dried legumes, rice, oatmeal, etc. - but settlers rarely could afford to trade for foods they could make themselves. Children were of paramount importance in food production in the kitchen, the field, and the forest. Their free labor was vital to the family's table. They chopped and hauled wood, brought in water, milked cows, fed chickens, collected eggs, gathered apples, and helped make candles and soap. They also hunted for wild berries, mushrooms, onions, celery, dandelion greens, and leeks. Children walked behind the plows and planted beans and squash between the rows of corn. The settlers ate an Indian dish called succotash, made from corn and beans.

The early homes of the settlers were crude log huts. Cooking was done in huge pots in fireplaces. As cook stoves were introduced, pots got smaller but settlers never had many utensils or much cookware. Many pioneer "casseroles" reflect this. In summer, as much cooking as possible was done outside. This kept the house cooler and the cook's temper down.

Apple saplings were planted by arriving settlers and became an important source of food. Apples were eaten raw, dried, cooked, as jam butter, sauce, and cider. Maple syrup was another important forest product for flavoring.

Meat was rarely eaten fresh. Butchering was done in early winter. Scraps were made into sausage. Larger pieces of meat were preserved by drying, smoking, pickling, or potting. Dried meat - domestic or wild - was called pemmican. It was dried in sun, wind, or fire and sometimes pounded into a powder. Fish was often prepared in this way. Both were used like modern bouillon cubes, to flavor other dishes, especially grain porridges.

Meat was pickled in sugar, salt peter and salt. Potted meat was pounded into paste, spices added and sealed with melted butter. Often pickled meat was taken out of its brine in the spring and smoked for one week using green hardwood, like oak or hickory. Before the smokehouse could be built, settlers hung meat in the chimney and smoked it over the winter. Foods like cucumbers, onions and melons were preserved in a brine of water, vinegar, salt, and spices.

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Fruits were made into jams and jellies and the jars were sealed with melted mutton fat and a lid of leather or animal bladder to keep out dirt.

When there was an abundance of milk, butter and cheese were made. Fresh milk was put into a stone crock in a cool place for a day or two. The cream rose to the top and was skimmed off and put into a clean churn. The cream was beaten with a stick until pieces of butter separated from the liquid. The liquid or buttermilk was strained from the butter. The butter was washed over and over until the water remained clear. It was then salted, and sometimes a drop of carrot juice was added for color.

To make cheese, the milk was heated to body temperature. Rennet from the inner lining of a calf's stomach was added. In about thirty minutes the milk turned into curds like jelly. The remaining liquid was whey. This was drained from the curds and fed to the animals. The curds were cut into small pieces and heated again. Salt was added and the mixture was packed into a cheese press where the curd was formed into a hard round cheese. This was stored in a dark room and rubbed regularly with butter. The longer it was stored the stronger the taste.

Root vegetables like potatoes, turnips, carrots, etc. were kept in root cellars under the house or dug into the side of a hill below the frost line. Eggs were also stored here in summer, coated with fat or melted wax and packed in ashes, sawdust, or straw.

Some settlers had springhouses and ice houses for cool storage. The springhouse was a shed over a cold running spring. Crocks of butter and cream were put directly into the water. Sometimes the well was used for this purpose. Ice houses were built half above and half below the ground with good drainage. Ice was cut in winter and packed in sawdust; this insulation kept it frozen throughout most of the summer.

Early food production was an immense chore beyond our modern imaginations. Most jobs during harvest had to be done quickly or the crop was lost. Families needed help beyond their own resources and to address this, they invented the work party or "bee". Early settlers joined together to harvest crops, prepare food, build shelters, make clothing and bedding, or for any necessity that could not be done by one family alone. Harvest work was hard but "bees" were generally viewed as fun. You came as invited guest and were expected to bring your entire family, your own eating utensils, tools, and animals. The host family organized the work to be done, cooked the feast for all in attendance and often

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supplied music for the party that followed. There were corn-husking "bees", threshing parties, maple-sugaring-off parties, apple bees, taffy pulls, barn raising, and quilting bees.

Food played at least two important roles in the settlers' lives, besides basic nutrition. First, it was a symbol of Christian behavior to offer a meal to a traveler at your door. In a time when settlers were few and far between and there were few public houses where food and shelter could be bought, the settler had to have enough for the unexpected guest. Second, for many European immigrants, food was an important link to homeland and loved ones they would never see again. Culinary traditions helped ease homesickness, especially during the holidays. The following menu is as much about memories as it is about eating:

- Irish soda bread
- Dandelion greens salad (from the Indians)
- French pea soup
- German cod and potatoes
- Ukrainian cabbage rolls
- Dutch apple pudding
- English plum pudding
- Johnny cake & baked beans

While settlers tried to eat well at Christmas, most meals were meager and unbalanced by today's standards. Their main meal was dinner, served at noon; supper was the evening meal and consisted of cold remains from noon.

While the Wisconsin wilderness was not on the cutting edge of fashion, women tried to follow trends back East and in Europe. Many settler women used basic pattern books from which they expertly altered patterns to fit each member of the family. Most settlers had but two sets of clothes. Aprons were important. Clothing was very durable, in part because it was not laundered as often as today. It was altered, patched, and worn until it fell apart. Scraps of new and used fabric went into the scrap bag for quilts and clothing repairs. Nothing was thrown away. The frontiersman wore anything he could make or find to keep himself modest and/or warm.

The clothing of some settlers was made from the hides of animals with the fur left on for warmth or from the tanned hides, i.e. leather. To tan leather the skins were stretched out to dry in the sun. They were soaked in a solution of hemlock

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and oak bark for a few weeks until the flesh and hair came off. The raw hide was then pounded with sticks and kneaded by hand for a soft texture.

Sheep were an important source of clothing, providing both wool and linsey-woolsey, a combination of linen and wool. First, the animals were washed in a creek with a tobacco solution to kill the bugs in their wool. Then they were sheared and the wool was greased, rolled up and carded to untangle the fibers. Carded fibers were spun into yarn, the yarn wound into skeins and the skeins dipped into hot dye. Red color came from mader, waxwood, onion skins, and horseradish leaves. Yellow came from goldenrod flowers, brown from walnut husks or butternut bark, but blue had to be purchased. It came from the West Indies, hence the name, indigo. Dyed skeins were ready to be knitted or woven on a loom. Woven cloth was soaked in a soap solution and then "fulled". In this process the wet cloth was pulled and pushed into shape to make it thick and soft. Finally, the finished cloth was ready to be cut and sewed by hand into clothing.

Linen was made from a plant called flax. Flax was ripe in July and pulled up by the roots. Seeds were combed out with a ripple. The plant was then soaked in water and dried. Bundles of stalks were pounded with a paddle-like "brake". The hard part of the flax broke off, the good silky thread was separated from the tougher fibers on a brush of nails called a hackle. The fine fibers were spun into linen threads, dyed and woven into fabric in a process like the wool.

Cotton was a luxury. The cloth had to be purchased because it could not be grown locally. It was very soft, not durable and caught fire easily.

Clothing of the early settlers was usually of rough, homemade cloth fashioned very differently from garments worn in the cities. On the occasion that silk, velvet, and soft cottons could be had, they were welcome reminders of the civilized world that the settlers had left behind.

The medicine of the settlers owes much to the Indians. For example, the Chippewa of the Great Lakes used 56 plants which are now part of modern pharmacopeia.

The Indians taught the settlers how to treat fevers, intestinal worms, dysentery, and other disorders of the stomach and intestines. They discovered that chewing the inside bark of the willow tree made their pains less severe. Today, our aspirin is made from this substance. The bark of the slippery elm tree, an Indian discovery, is still used in medicines made for relief of stomach upset.

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Roots from yellow water lilies, after being dried and powdered, were used as poultices for cuts and bruises. The root of a white flower known as blood root, was chewed by savages as a relief for indigestion. Furry leaves of the great mullein were pounded and dried, preparatory for use in soothing respiratory disorders. Inner bark from a slippery elm tree was used to draw pus from a wound. A pike-fish tooth was used by Indians in pricking the skin and then working into the blood-stream some medicine of their own making. This proved that an uncivilized race was able in its own inherent way to develop many benefits in the art of healing.

A bitter calcium, made from a rare Wisconsin plant called jack-in-the-pulpit, was a relief for sore eyes; the best treatment for swollen eyelids was a medicine made from the roots of the large flowered trillium - a north woods beauty in spring. This same flower became useful as a tonic for women. Finally it was a modern antiseptic for use in obstetrical care. Leaves from skunk cabbage, too, were fitted into our Indian's medical scheme being used for poultices.

While the Indians had an impressive knowledge of cures, they did not look upon medicine as science. It was an art, performed in four acts: First there was the prayer, then a song, then an act of magic to make the illness go away, and finally, a fetish presentation. The fetish was an object such as a stone or feather where the evil spirit of illness could reside, outside the patient's body.

If Indian medicine sounds primitive, pioneer medicine was not much better. It was one part common sense, one part pure nonsense and one part dangerous superstition. For example:

For a chest cold, mix together goose grease and turpentine; rub a large amount of it onto the patient's chest. For whooping cough, the father of the family should place the head of the sick child into a hole in a meadow for a few minutes at dusk. No other family member should be present. To ward off diphtheria, wear red flannel and remove the dead through the windows in the middle of the night. To treat rheumatism, rub in goose grease, bear grease, or skunk oil; and avoid salt pork. Red thread around the neck will ward off mumps. Induce childbirth with a puff of snuff. Heal cuts with a mixture of coal oil, cobwebs, and urine. For snakebite, drink plenty of whiskey.

Pioneer medicine came in two forms: patent and herbal. Patent medicines were usually billed as cure-alls, made from secret formulas, contained 35% alcohol and were dangerous. Some herbal remedies worked and are used today, but many other followed the Doctrine of Signatures. In this doctrine, plants

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were supposed to cure that part of the body which they resembled. For example, poppy seedheads look a little like the human skull and were supposed to cure diseases of the head; walnuts were used for the brain; rose petals for the blood; almonds for the eyes and so on.

Children most often suffered from mumps, measles, chicken pox, scarlet fever, whooping cough, poliomyelitis, and diphtheria. Many got cholera, typhus, typhoid fever, small pox, and tuberculosis.

And where was the doctor while the settler was suffering?

Physicians were few and far between at the start of western settlement. Hence the first settlers, particularly those in the isolated farming districts had to depend largely upon their own personal knowledge, abilities, and resources when sick or injured.

As a rule, pioneers at large were wise in the lore of herbs, brews, and ointments, meeting ordinary situations and emergencies with much skill and success.

Minor forms of surgery were resorted to by them, while extractions of teeth by farm forceps generally was common. Necessity was the mother of invention.

Many professions led naturally to "doctoring": minister, school teacher, butcher, apothecary, and innkeeper. A medical education was most often experience and apprenticeship.

If we examine the four medical treatments used by doctors for all illness, we can understand why the mid-1800's have been called the age of pills and powders, not the age of medical practice. The four treatments were bleeding, plasters and poultices, blistering, and amputation.

Bleeding or phlebotomy was done to rid the body of "bad blood" and restore the balance of body fluids. It was accomplished in one of three ways: Leeches could be put on a vein; a knife or lancet could pierce a vein; or a heated cup could be inverted over an incision creating a vacuum to draw blood. Patients were bled until they fainted. Nothing was ever sterilized. Plasters were a paste applied to the chest or back for colds or internal pain. For example, bronchial congestion might be treated with a plaster of warm manure, chopped onions, or mashed potatoes. Poultices were a concoction of bread and milk placed on cuts, bites, wounds, and boils.

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Blistering was burning the body with acid or a hot poker. The "medical" theory was that the body could contain only one illness at a time. Burns were supposed to replace fevers, arthritis, cholera, etc. The new pain did sometimes take the patient's mind off his present suffering.

Amputation was commonly used for broken limbs; it was the only remedy for compound fractures. The patient was intoxicated, the limb sawed off, the veins and arteries cauterized, and hot tar applied to seal the limb. Even as the territory grew and more doctors came, poor transportation and communication made medical practice difficult. "If a doctor in the French settlement at Green Bay wished to serve a sick member of the Grignon family at Kaukauna, he had to travel either by horseback or canoe." Medical supplies, such as they were, came from Chicago and overland that took several weeks if the weather was good.

By 1848, the State Medical Society had been formed, indicating that the medical profession was keeping pace with the settlement of the Territory. They urged statehood and petitioned the U.S. Congress to enact a pure drug law to help eliminate quackery. Legitimate drugs sold by doctors included quinine, cough mixture, calomel, ipecac, morphine, paregoric, etc.

Daily living in a new land was indeed difficult.

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Charlotte H. Newby

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Frontier Education

Education and schooling - what was it like in the early pioneer days in Wisconsin and particularly in Neenah and Menasha?

When a pioneer family moved into a new wilderness area there were no schools. Children stayed at home and were taught by their parents or a neighbor or not at all. There was always so much work getting settled - clearing the land for farming, building a log house, planting, weeding, harvesting the crops, caring for the farm animals, and a myriad of other chores that there was little or no time left for schooling. However, as soon as a number of families settled in the area the parents got together and made plans for teaching their children. They either built a new log or frame structure or occasionally adapted an existing building for school purposes.

Schools were usually only one room and were very sparsely furnished. There was a wood-burning stove for heat. The teacher had to build the fire and keep it burning while school was in session. Pupils sat on benches made of unpeeled oak slabs with rough wooden pegs for legs. Some schools had table-desks for the students. The teacher had a table and chair which sometimes sat on an elevated wooden platform. Near the door on a bench was a bucket of drinking water with a single dipper. Most early schools did not have a blackboard, maps, nor world globe. There was so little paper available that each child had a slate to write on. Textbooks were so scarce that the children brought to school whatever books they could find around the house. They might be a dictionary, history book, almanac, story book, or rarely a math book. Frequently the only book available was the family Bible. Since the class was made up of students of many different ages and abilities, the teacher had to individualize the instruction and older children were frequently enlisted to help the younger ones. The year was divided into two short sessions, one from April through June and the other from November through January.

Frontier Education

If money was available the McGuffey Readers could be purchased. These readers were widely used between 1836 and 1857 and 120 million were sold. The stories in these readers taught the value of honesty, piety, charity, patriotism, temperance, cleanliness, and the virtue of good hard work. William McGuffey was a minister, professor, and philosopher who was very interested in education. He and his brother, Alexander, wrote 6 levels of illustrated McGuffey Readers. Included was help with word usage and pronunciation. These books are credited with shaping the minds and morals of the young readers for the rest of their lives.

Classrooms were loosely divided into grades with many subjects to teach to a wide range of ages. The teacher had to hear many recitations. Because all students were together in one room, there had to be very strict discipline and those not reciting were not allowed to talk. Failure to obey the rules could result in a student standing in the corner, wearing a "dunce cap", balancing on blocks of wood, or wearing a sign around his neck. The students, especially the older unruly boys, were often whipped when they disobeyed the rules. Men were hired as teachers in the winter session because the older boys usually attended school during the winter term when there were fewer farm chores to be done at home. Therefore the whippings usually fell to the lot of the men teachers.

The "3 R's", reading, writing and arithmetic were emphasized. For older students American history, geography, and grammar were given special attention. Much stress was put on memorization of Bible verses, rules of grammar, spelling, history dates, and arithmetic tables. Reading aloud and spelling bees were frequent activities. At the end of the term a special program was put on for the benefit of the parents and neighbors. The students recited poems, rules of grammar, and math tables, sang or played musical instruments, read aloud and had a spell-down. It was actually quite a festive affair.

During recess the open fields offered many opportunities for curious children to study insects, spiders, butterflies, birds and small animals. Tree climbing, ball games, tag, and other chasing games were popular. If, by chance, the school was near a stream, pond, or lake there were endless chances to catch tadpoles, frogs, or crayfish. In summer the students could go wading and in the winter they could skate or slide on the ice. The teacher rang a bell to end the recess.

Many children had long distances to walk to school. A few lucky ones had a horse to ride. Students all carried their lunch, usually in a lard or tobacco pail. Lunches were plain. Some dogs followed their masters to school and waited outside until school was over. Students attended only when the weather and

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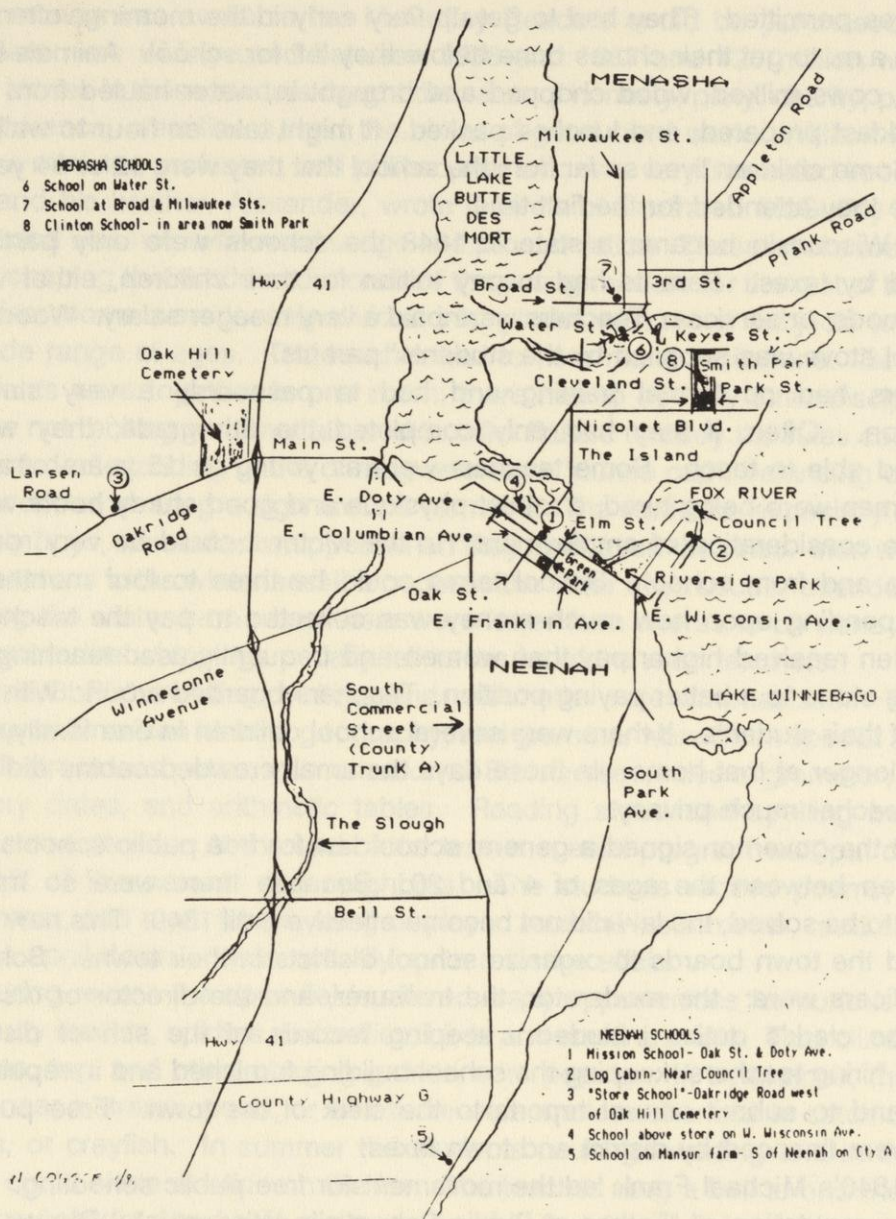
farm chores permitted. They had to get up very early in the morning, often as early as 4 a.m. to get their chores done before they left for school. Animals had to be fed, cows milked, wood chopped and brought in, water hauled from the well, breakfast prepared, and lunches packed. It might take an hour to walk to school. Some children lived so far from the school that they were 12 or 14 years old before they attended for the first time.

Before Wisconsin became a state in 1848 the schools were only partially supported by taxes. Parents had to pay tuition for their children, either with money, goods, or services. Teachers were paid a very meager salary. Wood for the school stove was supplied by the students' parents.

Teachers had no formal training and had to pass only a very simple examination. Often, if they had only completed the 8th grade, they were considered able to teach. Some teachers were as young as 15 years of age. When women were being hired, a robust physique and good sturdy boots were part of the consideration of employment. In the winter it could be very rough walking to and from school. School terms could be three to four months in length depending upon how much money was collected to pay the teacher's salary. Men received higher pay than women and frequently used teaching as a stepping-stone to a better-paying position. Teachers boarded around with the families of their students. If there were several school children in one family, the stay was longer at that home. In those days the small crowded cabins did not give the teacher much privacy.

In 1848 the governor signed a general school law for free public schools for the children between the ages of 4 and 20. Because there were so many problems to be solved, the law did not become effective until 1849. This new law authorized the town boards to organize school districts in their towns. School district officers were: the moderator, the treasurer, and the director or district clerk. The clerk's duties included: keeping records of the school district meetings, hiring teachers, keeping the school building furnished and in repair as needed, and to submit annual reports to the clerk of the town. Free public schools were financed by district and town taxes.

In the 1840's Michael Frank led the movement for free public schooling. He gained the reputation of "Father of Public Schools in Wisconsin". During the territorial period before Wisconsin became a state, the supervisory authority was assigned to the school commissioners of the town boards. Under the new state law, as passed in 1848, this authority was centralized in a single official, the town



Locations of early Menasha and Neenah schools.

1

Jan. 1, 1855

DEED

HARVEY JONES

to

SCHOOL DISTRICT NO. 1

Four Lots - 11, 12, 13, 14
Block M -

ny

Dred

*abstracts
7/17 -
9/18/74
11-27-74*

School District No. One

*Registry of Deeds
(Cahoon Win. Co. Wis.)*

*Recorded Apr. 9th 4 PM
1855 In Vol. V of Deeds
Page 249 and examined*

*F. H. Rowley Regt
By Ansel Jones Depy*

Cover of deed to property donated by Harvey Jones to the Neenah School District.

Frontier Education

school superintendent. The state school superintendent was given general supervisory authority over the schools of the state.

The main explanation of the general acceptance of the free public schools idea in Wisconsin is the fact that many of the settlers were from the East and were convinced of the value of free schooling for all. This accounts for there being some free schools prior to 1848.

Now what about the schools in Winnebago Rapids (Neenah)?

The old log mission school was built in 1835-6 by the federal government in its project to "civilize the Indians". This log school was located near Neenah's oldest park, the Green, on land now occupied by the Immanuel Evangelical Church on the northeast corner of Oak Street and Doty Avenue. The teacher was a man named Gregory. In 1847 this school became a public school and continued for a short period of time.

Reverend O. P. Clinton lived in a block house near the Council Tree where the Fox River leaves Lake Winnebago. There was a smaller house close-by which was empty and had no door, windows, or floor. In 1846, with the help of his church congregation, he fixed this cabin for use as a school, church, and meeting house. Since glass was not only scarce but also very expensive, oiled paper was probably used for windows and rough plank benches for seats. This cabin served as a private school with Miss Caroline Northrup as teacher for the first term. In the fall of 1847 this school also became a public school taught by Mr. Lambert, an itinerant dancing and singing schoolmaster but after a month he was granted an extended furlough and was replaced by William Dennison. The following summer Miss Northrup resumed as teacher.

The next school was located on the William Tipler farm, Section 20 on the north side of Oakridge Road, west of Oak Hill Cemetery, and just east of the intersection with Larsen Road. The building had been erected as a store but was unoccupied at that time. Miss Caroline Boynton taught there in 1848 and 1849 being paid \$6.00 per month. She had 12 pupils. A few years later teachers received \$18.00 per month.

There is evidence of a school in 1851 on Wisconsin Avenue "two doors west of the Post Office" which was then in the Kimberly store. It probably would have been in a room on the second floor.

A Tale of Twin Cities

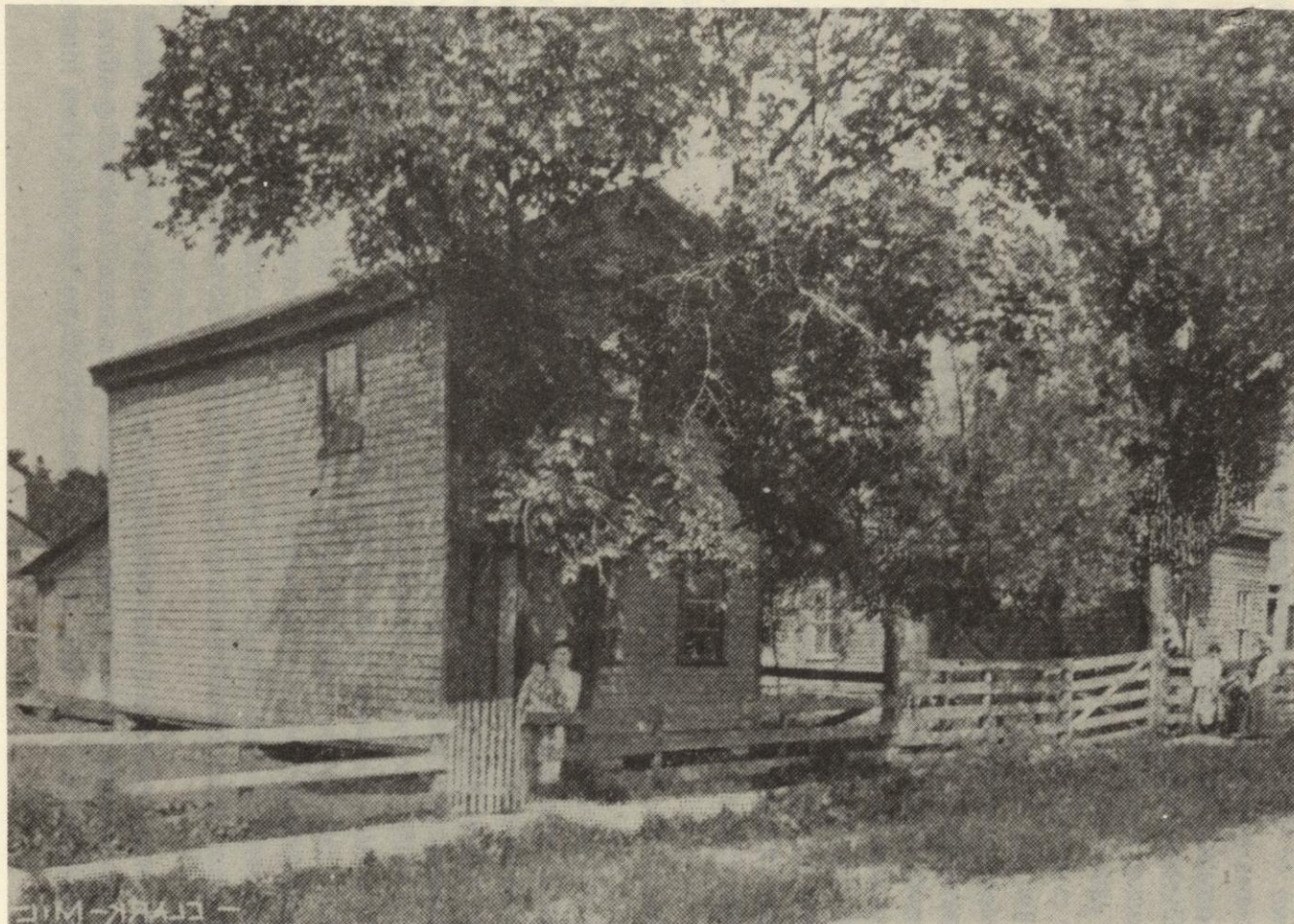
In 1856 the town school superintendent formed a new School District No. 3 of the Town of Neenah because there were then 43 students in the district. Meetings were held to decide the criteria for the new school. Taxes would be raised to pay for the 18 foot by 24 foot structure that would also house the teacher. The teacher's pay would be \$7.00 or \$8.00 per month. There would be a stove, desks, and other items for learning. Two "privies" (outdoor toilets) were to be built with rules: girls on the north side and boys on the south. Other rules were: no swearing or profanity and no playing in the school building. The children must pay for anything broken or damaged. It was the teacher's duty to see that rules were strictly kept.

In the meantime a temporary school was set up in a building on the Mansur property south of Neenah along the Lake Road (County Trunk A). The first 3 1/2 month-term was taught by Lucinda Coats and the second by Kathie Mansur. They each received \$3.50 per week. The 13 students used the McGuffey Readers and the Sanders Spelling Book. A new school was finally built on the Mansur property in 1857. This structure was moved in 1862 to the Pope property, the present site of Lakeview School.

Now take a look at the schools in Menasha.

The first school was established in 1848 by Elbridge Smith, a lawyer from the East. It was a frame building which housed his home, law office, dance hall, and school. It was located on Canal Street (now Water Street) at the southeast corner of the present First National Bank parking lot. It was a private school taught by Miss Hettie Frost who was paid a salary of \$16.00 per month. Each student paid tuition of one shilling per week. When public schools were instituted by the state, Mr. Smith's school became a free public school for all grades. The female teachers, Mrs. Henry Alden and Mrs. E. A. Alan received \$16.00 per month and Mr. Elbridge Smith \$20.00. The town paid \$73 per year and the district \$200.00 for school expenses. Rent was \$24.00 per year and firewood was 88 cents. In 1850 there were 100 students in school out of a total of 120 school age children in Menasha.

The turnover of teachers in the early schools was a major problem. Most stayed only a term or two since teaching was considered merely a stepping-stone to better employment. By 1851 men received \$30.00 per month. Two men



Elbridge Smith home on Water Street in Menasha which was used as the first school.

Frontier Education

teachers were Mr. Leonard King and Mr. John Potter. The new female teacher, Miss Amanda McMillen, however, still only received \$16.00.

In 1851 the first real school building was constructed. It was located on the northwest corner of Broad and Milwaukee Streets, across from the present Evangel Community Church. In 1857 this structure was replaced by a brick two-story building that served for both grade and high school on the northwest corner of First and Racine. Mr. A. J. Richardson was the first principal of this school. He later left to become a partner in the Webster and Lawson Company.

There were no high school graduation exercises until 1876 so when students completed school they just left without any ceremony.

The first school on Doty Island was established after a petition was submitted late in 1851 by Reverend O.P. Clinton, Mr. H.A. Burts, and Mr. O.R. Jaycox. The Island District erected a red brick school building in the area that is now Smith Park. It was commonly known as "Clinton School". Mrs. Alden was the teacher and had a class of 11 children. This original structure was eventually moved to 508 Nicolet Boulevard. The bricks were removed and used to make a new foundation for a house. The original log beams can be seen in the basement.

Both communities have realized the importance of education for true progress and have continued to live up to and have surpassed the goals set by our pioneer forefathers.

~ ~

Helen Cogger

BRIDGE AT NEENAH.

☞ A petition is in circulation for a charter for a bridge across the southern outlet of the lake at Neenah, to bring Menasha in travelling connection with this part of the country, the northern outlet we understand being already bridged by Reed's dam so as to afford facilities for passing.

About the location of the bridge we have nothing to say. The wants of the whole people in that vicinity should be regarded in this thing, and wherever the bridge will do the most good and the least harm there it ought to be made.

But we think that there ought to be a bridge across there somewhere. The connection of this vicinity with Green Bay is certainly very wretched. We are told that a direct road from Menasha to the Kaukauna shortens the distance very much, and that the route is eligible.

All this section of country is interested in having a direct passable road to Green Bay. With so many large, thriving villages all along the way, it is a shame that all the southern travel should go from Fond du Lac down on the east side of the lake, and so shun this place, Neenah, Menasha, Grand Chute, Kackana, &c., and all because we have no road.

If a bridge across the outlet will better the evil any, let them have a bridge we say, and let the bridge be located according to the best interests of those immediately concerned.

Editorial comment regarding building of bridge between Menasha and Neenah.

DAVIS'

One Price Cash Store.

ON hand and for sale at all times, any quantity of

Dry Goods,

Groceries, Hard Ware, Stone Ware, Boots and Shoes, PORK, HAMS, LARD,

And all kinds of Goods usually kept in a Country Store. The above Goods will be sold for ready pay only, and very cheap.

J. DAVIS.

Winnebago Rapids, Feb. 1, 1849.

Winter Arrangement.



DAILY LINE

From Fond du Lac, by Oshkosh, to Winnebago Rapids.

To GREEN BAY every Friday morning, by the way of Oshkosh, Winnebago Rapids, and the Grand Chute. Arrives at Green Bay on Saturday at noon.

Office at the Badger Hotel, Fond du Lac. JAMES HARRIS, Proprietor.

Advertisements from the Oshkosh True Democrat in 1849.

Communication and Transportation

The pioneers in their wildest imaginations could not have envisioned today's technology with our massive communication systems.

There were only a few books and papers describing the pioneer venture at that time. Most of the settlers had to rely on others to tell them what to expect and to give them advice and information. Word of mouth was the primary way to communicate.

With only a few people around to talk to, conversation with anyone was of great interest and a major means of gaining the information. Incoming settlers brought news from the outside world that brightened their lonely existence. The new settlers were told of the development of the village.

However, there was nothing as precious as a letter from home. It did not matter whose family the letter was from, the contents were shared with all persons around them. The letter was saved and kept in a secure place and re-read often. This was a link with their loved ones and all they left behind. Some letters survived generations and have become family treasures.

Writing materials were not plentiful. A letter from home was often folded into a blank piece of paper with the address on it. This blank paper was meant for the recipient to use for the reply. Paper and writing materials were scarce and highly prized by the settlers. There are no remains of these early days that put us more closely in touch with the men, women, and children who moved and lived in these shadowy times than the letters they wrote.

The postal service to the frontier took a long time to develop. One of the first things Harrison Reed did was to establish a post office in his home. The efforts to create a post office began when George Washington took over the presidency of the newly formed United States. President Washington was

Communication and Transportation

aware of the importance of the postal service in the new democracy. He said, "These settlers are on a pivot and the touch of a feather would turn them away. Let us bind these people to us with a chain that cannot be broken".

It is not hard to see how important the postal service was to make the settlers willing to take their chances going far away if they knew they did not have to cut all their ties with family and friends.

The opening of post offices was not denied any settlement, no matter how small or remote. During this time the stamp and envelope were developed which aided the sender in securing the contents. It was not unusual for letters to take several months to reach their destination.

Just as today, legal documents and contracts were required and needed to be written. Writing is considered by many scholars to be the most miraculous of all things man has devised. The handwriting on the old letters and legal documents was often difficult to read. This created a need for a more readable system of penmanship.

The need to correctly read all letters and documents was instrumental in the creation of the first business school in New York in 1841. The Hartford Commercial Academy incorporated penmanship and rapid writing in their classes. Whether intended for social or business uses, the styles of writing could only be described as ornate with many flourishes and shadings.

Some of the trouble that occurred between Harvey Jones and Harrison Reed was caused by a lack of written statement regarding the change in their contract.

Taking into consideration the great difficulty in transportation and communication during the period of the founding of Neenah and Menasha, we have a certain sympathy for the problems that arose that would have been influenced by the scarcity of recording materials to implement the business dealings. Undoubtedly, lack of communication played a large part in the confusion and misunderstanding between the communities.

Once a man would spend a week patiently waiting if he missed a stagecoach. Now he often rages if he misses the first section of a revolving door.

It is almost impossible today to visualize the problems of getting from one place to the other in pioneer days. Let us take a look back to get an idea of how it was.

The two principal means of transportation were by water and by land. Until the introduction of wagon roads, interior travel followed Indian trails which were deep and well defined in soft ground. On hard and stony soil, only an experienced eye

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could discover the way. Losing the trail was a common incident, with an element of danger to the novice traveler.

The Indians had footpaths in many places through the woods. The narrow streams could be crossed on natural fords or on rude bridges of fallen trees. These paths were good, though only about two or three feet wide. Some of the old paths are famous in our history. When new paths were cut through the forests, the settlers "blazed" the tree. They chopped a piece of the bark off tree after tree standing on the side of the way. The "blazes" stood out clear and white in the dark shadows of the forests, like welcome guideposts for the traveler.

Shoes or boots were a very important part of a successful journey. Much of the day was spent walking over rocks and ground-cover for miles and miles. Imagine walking from Milwaukee to Neenah. One pair of shoes could hardly make the entire trip. The travelers very likely used a piece of hide, leaves, or woven grasses wrapped around their feet. Sandals are known as the oldest shoe type. The great cloak not only kept the traveler warm but was used as a blanket when he slept.

Although maps were drawn, they might not have been available to the average settlers. Maps were simple drawings showing the waterways and lakes, mountains, and known Indian villages. From these maps, the settlers set out in the general direction of their destination.

Naturally the trip would be easier if the traveler could afford to have a horse. More supplies could be brought along. In the event one of the party became sick, was overcome by exhaustion, or became disabled, the horse provided a means to continue on.

The weapons that were carried by the pioneers were often ineffective as it was almost impossible to keep the ammunition dry. If the gunpowder was kept dry when traveling on land, the chance of dry powder was greatly diminished when crossing the lakes and streams. Often all the goods being carried were wet when they got to the other side, including the clothing that was worn.

While en route, it was up to the traveler to keep his eye open for anything edible. Along the trails, anything that crawled, walked, or flew was considered for a meal. Hopefully, the gunpowder was dry, their aim was good, and the dinner pot would be filled with meat. Wild berries and rice were found along the trail, adding substance to their meals.

While the traveler was going along the trail, he had not only to find his way but protect himself from wild animals and other hazards. He also had to provide his

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own food and shelter. These needs were compounded if he traveled with his family. These courageous pioneers did not hesitate to bring their families to the new lands.

Shelter on the trail was improvised by whatever could be found along the way, in addition to what they brought along.

Land travel was almost impossible during the rainy season. Many pioneers felt that traveling in the winter was easier as the ground and waterways were frozen. The cold temperatures also had to be considered when planning the journey.

Harrison Reed was one of the pioneers who preferred winter travel. In 1843, he brought his wife and baby to Neenah, by way of Fond du Lac on the ice.

Nothing has been said about the trials and tribulations of such a trip. There were many: insect bites, sore muscles, sprained ankles, broken bones, sore feet, changes in temperature, lack of appropriate clothing, not feeling well, unfamiliar surroundings, unmarked territory, hunger, exhaustion, and anxiety. A real incentive and goal would be required in order to put up with this stressful journey.

Roads were desperately needed when the pioneers started arriving here. Harrison Reed and Gill Brooks (from Oshkosh) cut a road from Neenah to Oshkosh. Mrs. Reed followed them in a buggy.

By the late 1840's, the Oshkosh Democrat of February 9, 1849, felt it necessary to caution the settlers on the proper method to cross the frozen waterways.

We observe that many persons in crossing the river here whip up their teams under the impression that in going fast, they go safely. This is a mistaken idea. The jarring of a trotting horse will break the ice when a walk would not.

Later when the pioneers had established themselves, rental horses were available for those who could not afford to own one. Directions for managing the horses also appeared in the newspaper.

By the mid-1850's, stagecoaches and steamships were available to the settlers. When the Aquila came through the channels, the settlers were overjoyed. Trade and transportation were now readily accessible and created the stimulus of growth to the cities of Neenah and Menasha.

The Territory of Wisconsin had hardly been created when its governor, Henry Dodge, a dashing, romantic fellow who had come into eminence from the lead-mining country around Dodgeville and Mineral Point, appeared before the legislature assembled at Belmont in 1836, and stressing the need for internal improvements in Wisconsin, recommended the construction of a railroad

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commencing from a "suitable point" on the Mississippi River and terminating on Lake Michigan's shore.

Most businessmen in Wisconsin were astute enough to realize that the railroads would not come until the territory had been settled more widely, and that could not be accomplished, at least initially, without roads over which the immigrants might travel. So the plan for transportation moved readily from one level to another - from wagon roads to plank roads, from canals to railroads.

Yet the success of plank roads was a limited one, for the enterprising citizens of Wisconsin did not think only in terms of their immediate counties or even of the territory, but rather of all the vast unpopulated lands west of the Mississippi. It was obvious that plank roads, however serviceable for a short distance, would never do for such commerce as these men envisioned.

The primary impetus toward the building of canals to further waterway travel was the success of the Erie Canal, by way of which a great many pioneers had come into the Wisconsin Territory, and by which a great many more were still coming. The initial agitation was for the improvement of the Fox-Wisconsin waterway. The necessary portage between the Fox and Wisconsin rivers at Fort Winnebago (Portage) had long been a source of irritation to the users of the waterway. The irritation grew in direct proportion to the rise in population of the territory, so that the construction of a canal to connect the two rivers was inevitable. Out of this immediate need rose a movement to improve the entire route from Green Bay to Prairie du Chien.

Immigration to Wisconsin offered the key to the proposed waterway improvements, for the initial influx of immigrants had come by way of the Fox-Wisconsin route. The enthusiasm for improvement of the Fox-Wisconsin waterway began in 1829.

Despite the imminence of statehood in 1848, the Territory of Wisconsin still had but two principal avenues of commerce. The military road from Fort Crawford to Fort Howard (Green Bay to Prairie du Chien) was not too frequently in condition to bear anything but military traffic. It actually had only one avenue - the great waterway up the Fox River from Lake Michigan at Green Bay and down the Wisconsin from Portage to Prairie du Chien. This waterway connected the Territory of Wisconsin through Mackinac on the north with the east, and through the Mississippi to New Orleans and the Gulf. Even this avenue of commerce was necessarily subject to weather, and it was principally useful to the fur traders. As the 19th Century moved toward its latter half, the fur trade had declined and the

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pioneers on the land were turning more and more to agriculture and the products of agriculture. Northern Wisconsin was still largely a wilderness. Some of the towns along the Fox and Wisconsin rivers were already old towns, as towns were old in a new country.

As long as the fur trade was dominant, the Fox-Wisconsin waterway did very well. Waterways were of commercial value only as long as products could be brought to the shores. The opening of the land to agriculture diminished the importance of waterways as commercial avenues. The first overland routes were made when Indians followed the animal trails, making networks of narrow paths over the face of the land. The pioneers followed the same trails on foot or on horse. Roads thus formed sufficed for the early stragglers into the territory. After 1840, pioneers came into Wisconsin Territory like a tidal wave. They came up the Mississippi from New Orleans; they came overland to St. Louis or Chicago and up into Wisconsin; they came by water through the lakes, past Mackinac to Green Bay.

By 1843, the farmers complained. There they were, occupying one of the finest agricultural sections of the Union, and they had no opportunity to dispose of more of their produce than they might sell or barter. There were difficulties attending Mississippi River navigation and the all but impassable trails to the lake outlet and to eastern markets.

If any citizens of Wisconsin were to take the lead in bringing a railroad into being, it was the people of Milwaukee, the territory's largest settlement.

From the first, the citizens of Wisconsin were fully aware of the importance of rail transportation. The railroad meant a new and swifter means of travel. It also meant an outlet for the products of the farms, mines, and sawmills. The "Iron Horse" ushered in a new era of expansion.

The moving of supplies and equipment to construction sites was quite often a major problem. The lack of good wagon roads and the difficulty of transporting equipment handicapped the builders. Sometimes extreme weather delayed the laying of track. Sometimes the troubles were financial. In later years, the iron rails were shipped by water from Green Bay.

An old-timer, remembering the early days of the railroads, said:

Swamps and bogs, that's all there was. We had to cross one swamp after another. Soft and tricky land too. We couldn't place ordinary filling material, no sir, not unless we put in something to spread out the load over a larger bearing area. But we did it, and this is how we did it. We

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cut long trees, hauled 'em out on the ice, and put 'em down at right angles to the track, close together and on top of each other to make a kind of mat. Then we put earth, sand, and gravel on top of that, and it got pressed down and down into the swamp until it hit a firm foundation. Then we put on more earth and sand and gravel, and then the ties and the rails.

Early in 1851 the laying of the rails to Waukesha was completed and the company had fulfilled the obligation fixed by the territorial legislature to "locate and construct a single or double-track railroad between Milwaukee and Waukesha".

Trains and railroad buildings were always news of great local interest. The Milwaukee Daily Sentinel for September, 1850, hailed the beginning of Wisconsin's pioneer line, the Milwaukee and Mississippi, and the arrival of the first locomotive in the State. It had no official name when it reached Milwaukee, so the editors promptly dubbed it The Wisconsin. It was later named Old Number 1.

The train was an exciting success. It was the first train to travel in Wisconsin, and all along its comparatively short route, the people stood beside the line and cheered its passage. Enthusiasm for the first railroad in Wisconsin was widespread and infectious. The Madison Argus said:

No State in the Union, and no country in the world has ever heard the snorting of a locomotive at so early a period of its settlement. We once thought, should we live to a good age, we might, possibly, ride across Wisconsin in a STAGE COACH, but before we have begun to get old, the locomotive is at our heels. No wonder the editors throw up their caps and make a joyful noise. Had we been there, we would have thrown ours so high that it never would have come down.

The coming of the railroad to Wisconsin was the beginning of a new era. The arrival of the first train at any time along the line was a great event and the signal for an all-day celebration, complete with band music, dinner, and oratory. Railroad songs were composed. Railroad marches, waltzes, and polkas quickly became part of the music of the times. Excursion trains offered a great thrill to passenger and spectators alike as the engine "sped on amidst the pealing of the bell and the screaming of the whistle" as one observer in 1850 described it.

At first the railroads were not thought to be long distance carriers, merely the means to get the produce to the waterways. But once the possibility of cross

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country lines was made feasible, a general hysterical interest in railroad building took over the country.

Both Neenah and Menasha were very interested in obtaining rail service to the communities.

In June 1856, there was a railroad meeting in Appleton, about the same time as the Aquila came through the Neenah locks. The meeting was for the purpose of eliciting and expressing views in reference to obtaining a railroad connection with Oshkosh, Fond du Lac, and Chicago. A resolution was adopted by a standing vote:

Whereas, it satisfactorily appears to the citizens of Appleton that it is for the mutual interest of this section of country and the railroad company which shall obtain the Grant of Lands just made by Congress for the construction of a railroad from Fond du Lac, on Lake Winnebago, to the copper and iron regions of Lake Superior, to have said road built to Neenah and Appleton, inasmuch as these towns will be almost in the direct line of the main trunk road, thus touching at points which promise to be the two greatest manufacturing points in Wisconsin, they having as is everywhere confessed the largest water powers in the West, thus providing immediate and permanent business for the road.

It was not until 1861 that the Chicago & Northwestern tracks were laid from Fond du Lac to Neenah, making this a significant year for Neenah.

George Reed of Manitowoc, brother of Harrison and Curtis Reed, had been vainly trying to promote and build a railroad from Manitowoc to Menasha which would connect it with Lake Michigan. As early as 1850 he envisioned a line to the Mississippi via Menasha. A few miles of rails were actually laid on the Manitowoc end, but Reed could not secure the necessary cooperation from Manitowoc people to put it over.

Menasha wanted a railroad of its own. The Reeds joined with a lumberman of Stevens Point, secured the land grant, and then went to the money mart, which was in Boston, to secure the financial assistance to put their plans into being. These plans were not completed until the creation of the Wisconsin Central Railroad in 1881.

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Rosie J. Mathison

Importance of Canals

During the first 100 years of existence, the United States experienced transportation problems almost unimaginable to its early European settlers. First there was physical space - a vast, undeveloped land mass. Then, there were mountains lining the entire Atlantic coast and barring further entry. Travel by road was uncomfortable at the minimum and, often, outright dangerous. What roads existed were rutted, bumpy, and dusty during dry periods. When the rains came, they frequently disappeared into a morass of mud that could sink a coach or wagon up to its axles.

Initially the settlements clung to the coast where, with relative ease, people could travel by boat from city to city. In the New England area, they sailed on the "Apple Tree Fleet", schooners whose captains took their bearings from the numerous orchards near the shore. From Boston or New York it was far easier to reach a city in Europe than to travel to a town west of the Appalachians.

As the settlers left the coastline, the easiest routes were the natural waterways, the rivers and lakes. These had been the main avenues of trade long before the arrival of the Europeans. Indians had used these waterways for centuries for travel, trade, and war. Initially the Europeans used river craft with which they were familiar. On large rivers and lakes they used sloops, scows, and barges propelled by sails and oars. On smaller streams the rowboats, skiffs, and piroques were used. The early explorers, however, quickly switched to the Indian invention, the birch-bark canoe. This craft was swift, maneuverable, lightweight to carry on the frequent portages, and surprisingly tough. When damaged, it could be easily repaired using materials available along the waterway.

While canoes were excellent for initial exploration and travel, they had one major limitation, size. Even the larger freight canoes of the fur traders could carry a load of only a few hundred pounds. As more settlers moved inland, the demand arose to carry larger, heavier loads in and out of the areas. Many of the rivers and streams flowed smoothly for long distances. Rapids and waterfalls could necessitate frequent portages and large boats and scows could not be

Importance of Canals

taken around some of these obstacles. Also, the natural waterways did not always flow directly to the areas where settlements arose. Usually it was necessary to transfer from one river or lake to another to continue a journey to a given destination. There was an answer of how to utilize the larger craft and to connect the waterways - build canals.

Although some sea captains and businessmen along the Atlantic seaboard may have discussed canals to shorten the distance between ports, the first recorded advocate of a canal on the continent was Louis Joliet. In 1673 he was appointed to lead an expedition to explore the Mississippi River and possible waterways to reach it. Accompanying him were Father Jacques Marquette and five coureurs de bois. Their well-chronicalled journey led them down the Mississippi to Memphis. On return, they travelled up the Illinois River to the Des Plaines River. After about 50 miles, the river started bearing away from their destination. Heading north, they came to the Chicago River and continued on to Lake Michigan. While they were camped on the Chicago River, Joliet pointed out to Marquette how, by digging a short canal, a water route could be achieved. This was recorded in the official Jesuit report written by Father Pierre Dublon in 1674. When Illinois finally built the Illinois and Michigan Canal in 1827, it followed Joliet's course.

Most of the early canals were short - two to three miles in length. One of the earliest canals was chartered by Massachusetts's governor, John Hancock, in 1793 to the "Proprietors of the Middlesex Canal Company" to construct a canal from Boston Harbor to Chelmsford on the Merrimack River, to collect tolls, and to sell stock in the company. Completed in 1803, it was one of the first to be built and one of the last to yield to competition by the railroad.

One of the early proponents of canals was George Washington who had recognized the importance of tying the western regions to the coast. He worked diligently to develop an early canal on the Potomac River.

The first federal grant for canal construction was made to the state of Indiana in 1825. Undoubtedly the most famous of American canals was "Clinton's Ditch" - the Erie Canal built in 1825. The Mohawk River was the only water-level pass through the Appalachian chain between Canada and the Gulf of Mexico. From its source in the Great Lakes until it reached the Hudson, the Mohawk was over 400 miles long and dropped over 500 feet. Almost all American canals up to this point were relatively short, usually just a few miles, bypassing a local barrier. No canal on the scale of the Erie had been envisioned before.

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Digging was started in the easiest sections, a sixty-nine mile long level on either side of Rome, New York, and another sixty-five mile stretch around Rochester. After these the digging became much more complex. Above Buffalo, the Lockport Five had to be cut through solid rock for two miles to descend the Niagara Escarpment, the same rock formation which protrudes at High Cliff and Door County.

Most of the labor force was Irish, recruited right off the boats as the workers arrived. The Tammany Hall group would meet the ships, march the immigrants directly to a local tavern where, over a few rounds, they would be lectured on voting "right" and then would be hired for work on the canal.

The 220-mile section between Rochester and Schenectady was opened for traffic in 1821, before the completion of the rest of the canal. In a short time, traffic had become so heavy that one could almost walk the canal from barge to barge. As the canal was built, another feature came into existence. To fulfill a pledge to farmers whose lands had been divided by the canal, "occupation" bridges were constructed for cattle and pedestrian crossing. These were so low that a person standing on a packet boat had to stoop to go under them or risk being knocked off. The passengers rapidly learned to listen to the captain's warning cry, "Low Bridge! Everybody down!"

On October 25, 1825, the Erie Canal was finished and its full length opened for traffic. In spite of the change to steam and then diesel and the growing competition from railroads, the Erie Canal is still a functioning and heavily used route.

The longest canal built in America was the Wabash and Erie Canal. Stretching from Toledo, Ohio, to Evansville, Indiana, it was 458 miles long. Few other canals were as ill-conceived, poorly organized and managed, and had as many problems in construction as this one. In 1832 the ground was broken for the canal. At the time, the ground was frozen and covered by a foot of snow. The proposed canal had not even been surveyed or proposed costs of construction determined. From that point on it experienced nearly every problem that was possible: floods, drought, outbreaks of cholera, fierce inter-city rivalries between towns on the canal, and financial shenanigans by those in control that bankrupted the company and nearly caused the bankruptcy of the state. Despite all these problems, the entire canal was opened for traffic in 1856. But the disasters continued - locks destroyed, channels washed away - and navigation from end to end lasted only four years.

State Land Office,

OSHKOSH, March 28, 1849.

Notice to Pre-Emptors-

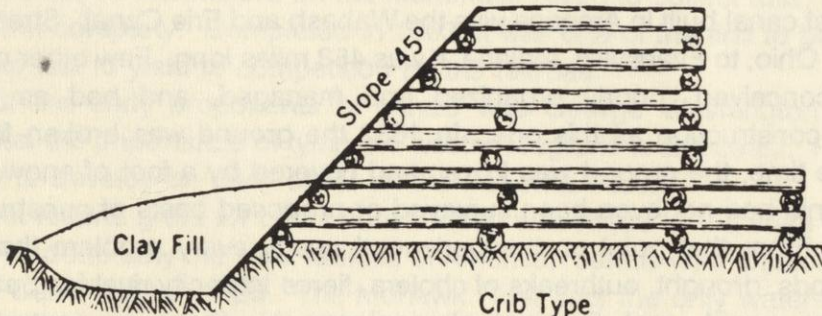
THE LAND OFFICE will be opened on the 2d of April next, for the purpose of receiving DECLARATORY STATEMENTS FROM CLAIMANTS under the act entitled "an act to provide for the Improvement of the Fox and Wisconsin Rivers, and connecting the same by a Canal," approved Aug. 6th, 1847.

No sales of Lands will be made until official notice is received at this office, of the approval of the President of the United States to the selections made by the Governor of this State, as received by him from the United States Land Office at Green Bay.

JEDEDIAH BROWN,
Register.

Driving dams were not all built the same way. The most permanent of these dams, as well as the most expensive, was the crib dam, which was built in such a fashion that the logs framing the wings resembled a baby's crib. The crib was then filled with rocks, stones, or earth. This was a reasonably durable structure with a life expectancy in excess of eight years. It rarely failed, and when it did it usually affected only a small, easily replaceable portion of the dam. The crib dam was a good dam for holding large heads of water. The crib dam, nevertheless, also had its disadvantages. The major drawback was the expense of excavating and hauling the rock and stone fill to the site.⁴⁰

CRIB DAM CONSTRUCTION

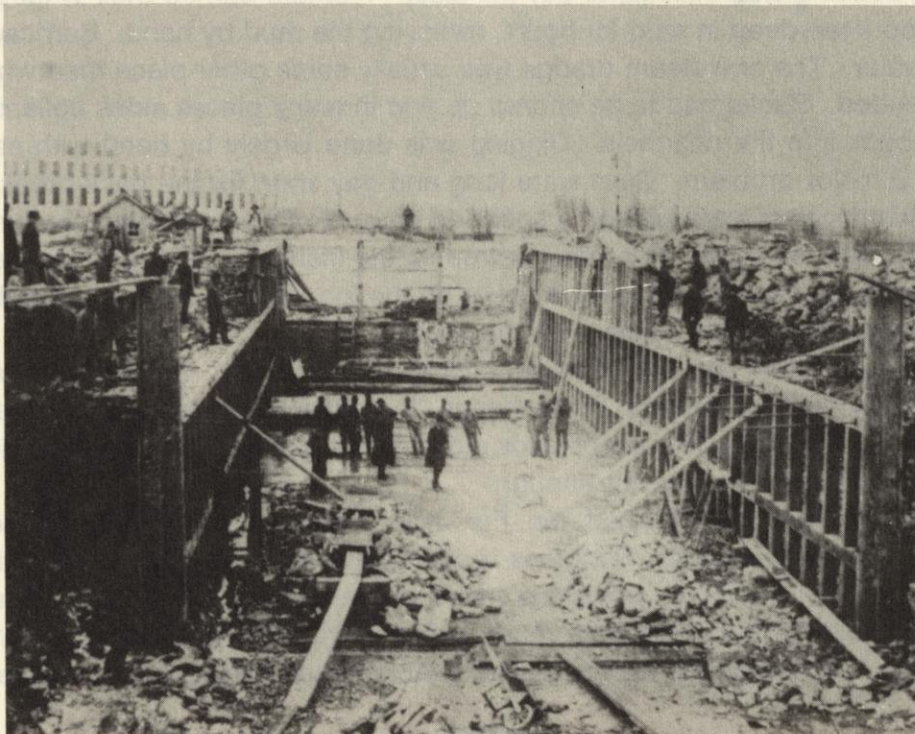


Crib dam.

WH(X3)39396



Menasha canal under construction, early 1856.



Rebuilding of original Menasha lock, 1884.

Importance of Canals

Wisconsin was involved in the great canal era by two systems funded by the federal government, Byron Kilbourn's Milwaukee and Rock River and Morgan Martin's Fox Improvement Company. James Doty, as governor in 1840, developed his own "canal scheme", to connect the south end of Lake Winnebago with the Rock River. Neither Kilbourn's nor Doty's plans came to fruition. The Fox-Wisconsin waterway, backed by Martin, who had traveled the route in 1828 with his cousin, James Doty, did, however, become a reality, not without many difficulties. What appeared on paper to be feasible and, in fact, desirable proved to be more difficult than planned.

The Fox River was only about a mile from the Wisconsin River at Portage where both meandered at a slow pace. First a short canal was proposed to be dug between the two. It was cut through lowlands and marsh. Planks worked themselves loose and the canal walls caved in. From Portage the upper Fox wandered 104 miles to cover a 54-mile compass length. This meant frequent dredging and often the dredge got stuck. The problems in the lower Fox were just the opposite. There the numerous locks leaked, malfunctioned, or washed away.

Canal building was difficult, to say the least. Workers earned their wages as they stood knee-deep in mud for hours, removing the mud by hand. Barricades leaked water. The one steam dredge was usually some other place than where it was needed. Banks had to be shored up and in many places sides collapsed and fell back into the channels. Digging was done largely by hand with earth removal a major problem. Days were long and pay short for the back-breaking work. Most diggers were allotted a specified amount of liquor at intervals during the day to ward off ague. This was not true for the Irishmen digging in Menasha for Curtis Reed. He refused to have liquor on the job. The wonder is, probably, that he could get anyone to work on the canal.

By 1850 the state ran out of funds and Martin proposed that he take over responsibility for the project in exchange for collecting the river tolls and proceeds from sale of government lands along the waterway. Martin went in debt \$100,000 but even this was not enough.

In 1853 several men formed the Fox and Wisconsin River Improvement Company. They persuaded Congress to increase the land grant to half of five sections in width similar to provisions made in the Indiana grant. Work finally proceeded and in 1856 the Aquila made passage from the Mississippi River to Green Bay. The company, however, was unable to sell bonds or stocks due to

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general disinterest and had to be reorganized. As with many of the canals, with their maintenance costs and limited transit season, they could not compete against the new railroads. The lower Fox River system continued in operation until recent times. However, the heavy traffic volume anticipated to the Mississippi River never occurred. Continuing from as far back as the 1700's, water transit still proves to be the most cost-effective method of moving bulk goods from point to point. Many feel that when we allowed the 4,000 plus miles of canals to disappear, we lost a very valuable economic asset as well as a nostalgic one.

~ ~

William Hortsch

By the President



Martin Van Buren
by A. Van Buren Sec

Sp. of Wilson acting
Records of the General
Land Office, admission

Record 443
Page 11. B.

Recd for Record
February 25th 1843
at 3 o'clock P.M.

Public Field
Register

United States by Gov.
James O. Doly, Sub-Agent
of Indian Affairs.
D. C. To
Harrison Reed.

Be it known that on this twenty-fifth day of February, 1843, on the one part with hundred and forty three to the United States of America by

James O. Doly as Sub-Agent of Indian Affairs (the said James being through duty authorized and empowered by instructions from the Department of War at Washington City) has bargained and sold and by this present do give grant bargain and sell unto Harrison Reed of the County of Cass and Territory of Wisconsin and his assigns for and in consideration of the sum of Six hundred Dollars, All those certain Grist and Saw-mills Mill grazing and mill ponds and every thing attached or belonging thereto with personal improvements houses and buildings and all of the material, belonging to the House erected and being at the Grange, Rapids at the outlet of Minnetonka Lake in Township Twenty North of Range 1st East in the following numbered sections quarter and fractions in said Township and Range to wit in section 16. on fractions 1, 2, 3, and 4, and the south east part of section 21; on the south west fractional part (on the main land) of section Twenty two on the west and south east fractional quarter and fractions 2, and 3, of section 27, and the fractional section 26, all in the above said Township according to the attachments of a plat of the premises and a sketch bearing date

Harrison Reed deed for purchase of Mission property from the Bureau of Indian Affairs dated February 25, 1843, which was later voided.

Why Not One City?

In 1846 the five men who were involved in opening this area for settlement were in the prime of their lives. Harrison Reed was 33; Curtis Reed was 31; James Doty was 45; Charles, his son, was 25; and Harvey Jones was 41. Like all human beings of any age they differed widely in personality. Harrison was described as friendly and easy-going, Curtis as peculiar and persistent, James Doty as aggressive and calculating, Charles as agreeable and quiet, Harvey as intense and exacting. They all were considered gentlemen and had a great many things in common except for money. Harvey had lots of it and the Reeds and Dotys had none.

At this time, they were wholly united in a common cause, that of being on the ground floor of a developing, dynamic new land. They believed that big money was to be had in land speculation, and they all wanted to be rich and powerful.

Then what went wrong that their efforts resulted in two rival cities plagued by jealousy and antagonism? Recognized historians have made reference to this unhappy situation but none have figured out what happened. For example:

Publuis V. Lawson - HISTORY OF WINNEBAGO COUNTY - "There was strong rivalry between the two villages both struggling to gain something over the other".

Richard J. Harney - HISTORY OF WINNEBAGO COUNTY - "Disagreements soon sprang up between them. Jones and Harrison Reed were unable to work together for their mutual benefit. Jones on one side and the Reeds and Dotys on the other were soon arrayed in perfect hostility".

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Gustav A. Cunningham - HISTORY OF NEENAH - "Misunderstandings arose almost immediately between them which was never amicably settled and did much to retard the growth and prosperity of the place in early days".

Alice E. Smith - JAMES DUANE DOTY - "The strife that characterized the founding of the twin settlements grew steadily more bitter as the two factions competed with each other over the critical issue of the boat canal".

Cunningham also stated: "The exact conditions of the bargain between Jones and Reed are difficult to ascertain". Reuben Gold Thwaites in his HISTORY OF WINNEBAGO COUNTY added: "At this late date the writer has found it impossible with such limited means of inquiry as are at his service to ascertain the exact business".

Having gathered pertinent material from books, records, newspapers, personal letters, and the accounts of the court trials, the picture begins to come together. With a reasonable analysis of the material, the sequence of events falls into place.

Looking back through preceding chapters we know that James Doty was a vigorous, courageous wilderness explorer. He was particularly successful in dealing with the Indians, so the government sent him out to negotiate with them when problems arose. In May, 1841, Doty received a letter from Hartley Crawford, Commissioner of Indian Affairs in Washington. It instructed him that the abandoned Indian mission on the lower Fox River must be sold and empowered him to use his judgment in disposing of it.

Doty knew the area well. As a young lawyer he had been judge of the circuit court between Fort Howard and Fort Winnebago. He frequently paddled up and down the river. He fell in love with the island at the end of Lake Winnebago. Having acted as counselor for the Indians who lived there, he often told them how he felt about the place.

Although the Indians had sold their land to the government, they did not hesitate to request that their friend, Doty, be allowed to occupy the island, to cut the timber, and to erect mills on the water as he chose. Even though the government paid no attention to their request, it was called Doty's Island from then on. It was said the Indians gave it to him.

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Doty may have wished to buy the mission property, but he was already overextended financially in land speculation. So, following the order from Crawford, he put an advertisement in the Milwaukee and Madison newspapers asking interested parties to send sealed bids for the land and improvements.

At the time, Harrison Reed was the young editor of the Milwaukee Sentinel. Through his involvement with the Whig party and after successfully promoting Doty's campaign for territorial governor, he had gained a measure of recognition for himself and the newspaper. He needed to go to Buffalo to buy paper stock. He took out a mortgage on the Sentinel in order to make the purchase. While he was away the men who loaned him the money seized the paper for the debt in order to shape its political policy to suit themselves. When Reed returned to Milwaukee, he found that he had been tricked out of his legal rights to the ownership of the paper. He said, "My life mission was ended so far as it had been mapped out at the time of my marriage, and my ruin was complete. I resolved never more to have to do with politics or newspapers".

Looking for a new opportunity, Harrison saw the ad for the sale of the mission. He asked his friend Doty if the property was worth making a bid on. Doty assured him that it was. Knowing that Harrison had no money, Doty first tried to help his friend by interesting his political associate, Nathaniel Tallmadge, in putting up the necessary funds using Harrison as a "front", but this did not work out.

Doty then suggested that three or four hundred dollars would be enough to offer as Harrison's credentials would be easily accepted by federal officials. Finally, Doty sold Harrison the property for \$600, but the deal was promptly nullified in Washington and "Doty's knuckles sharply wrapped". In the end, Harrison submitted a bid on October 2, 1843, for \$4,760. This was accepted. The terms for the purchase were based on a 3-year period with 10% interest. Harrison expected he would find a way to pay off the debt when it came due.

He persuaded his wife to bring their child and come with him to make a lakeside home in the wilderness. With blockhouses that had been built for the Indians already there, they chose the largest one and moved in. This was a great moment for Harrison. He probably thought of himself as the sole owner of one of the most valuable pieces of land in the territory.

In the meantime, Doty had finished his term as territorial governor. He had not been popular in office. Hardly a session of the district court was held that he was not charged with some offense or other. His appetite for investment had

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exceeded his good judgment, and he had been accused of manipulating government funds. He had gained the reputation as a "wheeler-dealer and the chief of the corrupt men in politics". He moved to his beloved island and built a fine log house. He was broke, bitter, and beaten but not defeated. He would start over again.

It was the spring of 1846 and Harrison Reed realized that the three years of grace would expire in October. He would have to come up with the money to satisfy his debt to the United States Government for the purchase of the mission property. He was exceedingly anxious and even more concerned because he had converted much of the materials and equipment to his own use and he had not paid for them yet.

Harrison mentioned his concern to the Rev. O. P. Clinton who came from Waukesha to conduct services for the settlers. The latter told him that he had an acquaintance who had a wealthy brother in the East who was looking for western land investment.

This sounded like a real solution because Harrison felt that "he did not have the knack of making and keeping money. His financial management always seemed to bring his plans to naught". A partnership with someone who could handle the finances would be an asset.

Obviously the report of Rev. Clinton was favorable, because it was not long before Harrison Reed was summoned to Gloversville, New York, to consummate the deal with the wealthy manufacturer, land owner, and merchant, Harvey Jones. Harvey was willing to buy the property sight unseen. It was generally known that in Washington it had been declared that the Fox-Wisconsin waterway was "the most important natural resource of the entire continent".

Harrison was a likeable person and did not have trouble winning the confidence of Harvey who gave him the necessary \$5,000 to take to Washington to pay off the debt. This accomplished, he returned to Gloversville with the deed, and he and Harvey worked out the details of a contract for sharing the purchase. Harrison was to have one-quarter of the undivided tract on a 3-year term at 10% interest. He would be able to pay Harvey after selling the land. When they went to register the contract at the Fulton County Courthouse, they were told that these terms were not legal in New York State. If they wanted the contract registered there, it would have to be a 1-year term at 7% interest to conform with the laws of New York.

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With prime lots selling for \$10 an acre and lesser ones for \$6 and under, it would take more than a year for Harrison to raise the required amount. So between them they agreed that when Harvey came to Neenah, they would change the term to a 3-year contract at 10% and register it in Wisconsin. Harrison Reed was eager to get the deal settled, so he offered Harvey Jones an added attraction. He promised the help and support of his influential friends in the area to get behind the project of turning the abandoned mission into a thriving city. This agreed upon, they went back to the courthouse and registered the contract under New York law. Harvey promised he would be coming out soon to inspect his purchase. It was the end of July, 1846.

Things were looking good in September when Harvey arrived in Neenah with his wife and oldest son, Gilbert. Harrison introduced Harvey to his brother, Curtis Reed, and to James Doty and to Doty's son, Charles. These were the men that Harrison promised would help Harvey in this great undertaking. They were all eager and full of ideas and visions of what could be done and were ready to go. They agreed on the tremendous potential of the water power in this one river, calculated to be greater than that in then entire state of Massachusetts.

They all knew that the Fox River was a part of the plan for a great water highway that would join the Atlantic Ocean with the Gulf of Mexico by way of the Mississippi River. This would provide an avenue of commerce and transportation unequalled anywhere in the world.

Harvey was tremendously impressed and took charge immediately. He began by deepening and widening the raceway of the mill. He amazed all of them by getting down in the mud and water and working like a common laborer. There is no record that the rest of them joined him, but what Harvey did was noteworthy enough to have been recorded in history.

We know that the five men were still on good terms with each other when, on February 2, 1847, the territorial legislature granted Jones and Company a charter to build a dam across the south channel. On February 11, the Town of Neenah was organized, and James Doty was elected chairman. On February 20, Charles Doty issued Harvey Jones a Quit Claim Deed for the use of the water for hydraulic purposes as it related to the north bank of the river, which land he owned. This was the high point in the relationship of the five men who united to found the new city.

At this time, Harvey Jones announced that he was so impressed with the potential of the place that he was going back to Gloversville to close out his

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business interests there and that he would be coming back to make Neenah his permanent home and his number one project. He also stated that he had decided to plat the undivided tract as the Village of Neenah which he would do when he returned.

Early in the spring of 1847, the Joneses bade the others farewell and started back to New York. As far as we know, they were all friends and were looking forward to the future, working together with enthusiasm for their mutual benefit.

What happened that turned the Reeds and Dotys against Harvey Jones? Harvey was the person who had saved the day by supplying the money to purchase the mission property. Nothing was said as to how Harvey would reward them for their efforts. It is possible that they felt their chance of getting a fair share of the profits from the venture were uncertain. However, there is no record that accounts for the hostility they felt against Harvey Jones. Historians tell us that James Doty's spirit "permeated the place and dissention seemed inevitable when he had a finger in a project" - "that he was endowed with a 'black magic' that influenced the course of events".

In April, Harrison Reed gave Harvey Jones the power of attorney to sell lots for him which established the fact that Harvey acknowledged Harrison's claim to a share of the property. However, in May Harrison revoked it and sold six lots on his own. There is no record whether Harvey kept his promise to Harrison to change the contract to the 3-year term of Wisconsin law or that Harrison asked for it. Now left at the 1-year term of New York law, Harrison would have barely five months to pay up his debt to Harvey. This would be an impossibility. They all would be aware of Harrison's desperate situation.

We know that James Doty was a land speculator. He knew first hand that transportation was critical to land development. Early efforts to chop roads through the forests were hopeless. In a matter of a few weeks the overgrowth left no trace of them. However, it had been decided that if the numerous lakes and rivers could be joined by canals and locks, they could become a water highway.

Doty championed this idea while governor and when the territorial governors met in Chicago they officially voted that it was the responsibility of the federal government to provide transportation routes. The idea floundered for lack of money, but it was still the most practical solution if the means could be found.

Up until now the south channel had been the accepted route by the early explorers, the fur traders, the government's mission project, and as the means of moving supplies and munitions from Fort Howard to Fort Winnebago. Its low

Why Not One City?

rocky shoreline made portage over the rapids possible while the steep, heavily wooded banks of the north channel were impassable.

However, there was an available river in parallel position on both sides of the island which could be developed into the major waterway. Doty began buying land on the shore of the north channel gambling on the chance that the federal government would find the money and by careful steering he could manage to get the official canal located there. This would make land along the waterway tremendously valuable. It was worth taking the chance and if he won, he would not have to share the advantage with Harvey Jones. By Doty's political maneuvering of the legislature, a choice of north or south channel was held open while the solution of financing was found.

What happened that caused these four men whose work and support had been promised as Harrison's down payment in lieu of actual money in the purchase of the mission property, to pull out of the agreement without notice?

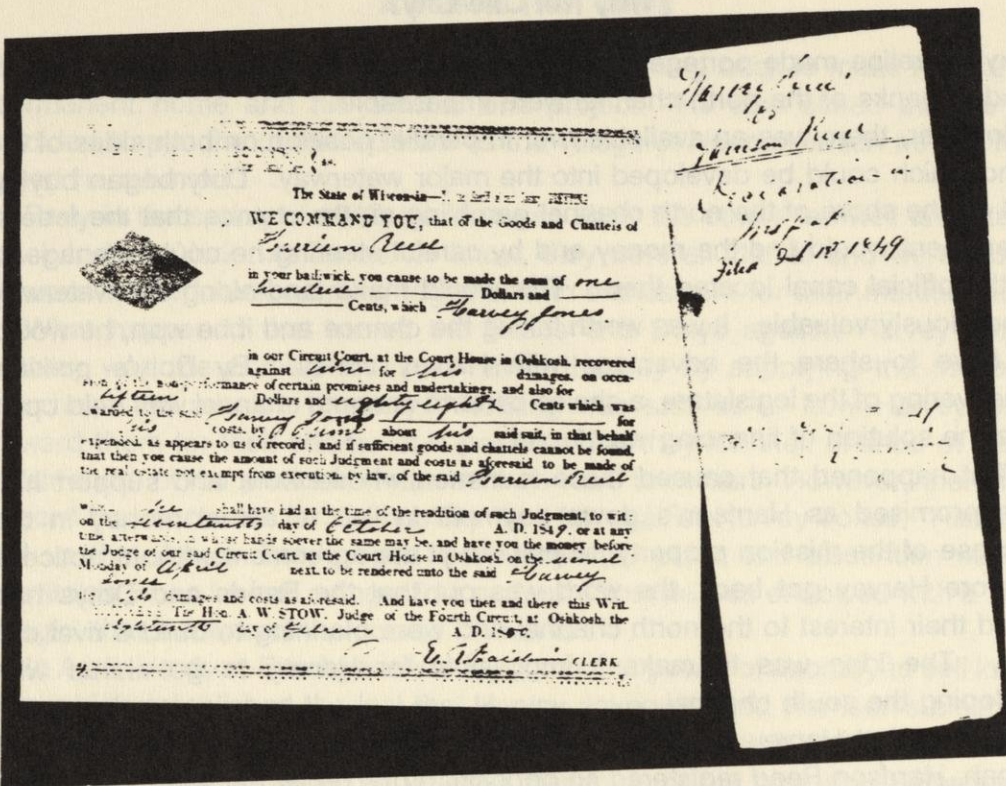
Before Harvey got back, the word was out that the Reeds and Dotys had shifted their interest to the north channel and were planning to build a rival city there. The idea was to make it impossible for Harvey to go ahead with developing the south channel.

Knowing that Harvey intended to plat the mission property as the Village of Neenah, Harrison Reed registered an opposition plat under the same name and recorded it before Harvey Jones returned. This forced Harvey to plat his land as the Village of Winnebago Rapids. This would put a crimp in Harvey's ability to give a clear title to his property.

Curtis Reed became the leader of the rival village which was called Menasha. He canceled Harvey Jones' charter for the dam on the south channel and applied for one for the north channel in his own name. He attempted to lure settlers away from Neenah offering special land deals and outright gifts of property. He had no trouble persuading the Rev. O.P. Clinton to join on his side with a gift of 10 acres on the island.

Summer came and went and the time for Harrison Reed to pay his debt to Harvey Jones was passed. The one-year contract had expired. Harvey was still in Gloversville. He had gone back to prepare to move to Neenah permanently. While he was there he suffered great personal tragedy. In May, after a short illness, his wife died, followed by the death of his 4-year-old daughter.

Few people can follow the story to this point without a touch of sympathy for Harvey. It seems heartless to let him go down in history as irascible, edgy, nit-



Notice of Trespass by Jones against H. Reed,
February 18, 1849.

To all whom it may Concern :

NOTICE is hereby given, that a suit in Chancery is now pending for the recovery of one equal undivided fourth part of the following described tracts of land, to wit: the north half of fractional section 27, containing 242 92-100 acres; fractional section 22 (on the main land) containing 40 34-100 acres; and that part of fractional section 26, containing 22 28-100 acres; in all 305 94-100 acres of land—lying in the town of Neenah, and upon which are situated the Neenah Mills, and the town plat of "Winnebago Rapids;" and that I shall enforce my claim to the extent of the law against all persons occupying the same by virtue of conveyances or contracts from Harvey Jones.

HARRISON REED;

Neenah, April 30, 1849.

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Notice by Harrison Reed
to Winnebago Rapids land
owners, April 30, 1849.

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picking man considering his unfortunate circumstances. Harvey set out for Neenah in the fall of 1848 with a heavy heart and a lonely future ahead.

Once Harvey Jones arrived in Neenah, Harrison Reed took it upon himself to harass Harvey who was his neighbor living in a blockhouse near the Council Tree. He tore down Harvey's fence and let his cows out into his fields where they destroyed his crops and ate up his corn and potatoes. He broke the young fruit trees and took some of the fence away. He cut timber and took it for his own use. Harvey won a judgement against Harrison for trespassing. Harrison countered by putting a notice in the paper warning anyone who bought land from Harvey Jones that they had better beware as he (Harrison) had a claim on the property as well.

More settlers arrived and it was not long before they had taken sides against each other, the north against the south, lined up in "perfect hostility". On the whole, the newcomers were young and easily excited to retaliate with schemes, pranks, tricks, and outright vandalism. Law suits resulted between Harrison and Harvey which clouded the title to the land on the south channel and depressed the sale of Harvey's property and the growth of his village. This gives a picture of the troubled feelings between the leaders of the two communities which polarized the settlers.

Left alone, Harvey had to do his own figuring. He plodded along and made progress in getting things done. He hired Marvin Babcock from Waukesha as engineer to build the dam and canal and Harvey built a hotel to house the workmen. He repaired the old mill and prepared to build a new one.

There is little record of his feelings nor details of what he did other than that he was exacting, edgy, and irascible. He was demanding in his requirements in developing the downtown specifying the kind and height of the trees that should line the streets and outlining the type of structures he would permit to be built.

By now the federal government had developed a plan that they estimated would provide money for the state to develop the water highways. By selling alternate sections of land along the rivers, funds could be raised to build the necessary canals and locks. The word was out that the project could begin.

So it was that the Twin Cities faced the greatest conflict of all. The time was at hand for choosing the channel for the government locks and canal. Because both cities had rivers with equal potential, the contest was on as to which one would be chosen.

Why Not One City?

In view of the progress Harvey Jones had made in developing a waterway on the south channel using his own money, it is possible that he assumed there would be no question as to the location. Harvey was financially able to pay for the development of the canal required for larger boats and offered to do so without any assistance from government funds. The fact was that the south channel was already serving a modest amount of traffic.

History records that Jones totally underestimated the scheming and manipulating of the Reeds and Dotys to trick the Committee of Public Works into believing that the south channel was unsuitable for the construction of the improvement which was later proved to be true.

It was arranged to take the committee down the south channel, hitting every rock and snag possible. Then the committee was taken to the best part of the north channel avoiding anything that would jar the boat. After this, Curtis Reed stepped forward and offered to build the canal and locks without cost to the government and to add a \$5,000 bonus as well, even though there was no money behind it. With this incentive, the committee officially chose the north channel as the government waterway.

Although "the hopes of many a frontier village soared to dizzying heights only to be dashed when not chosen for the government improvement", in the case of the village on the south channel, the loss of the coveted waterway was intensified by the pall of ill-will and enmity hanging over it.

Before coming here, Harrison and Curtis Reed had become good friends of James Doty. Not only had he charmed them as a man of power and influence but had employed them at the capitol when he was governor of the territory and they were indebted to him. Doty desired to become rich and powerful. He was not beyond using his friends to achieve his purpose.

Usually time has a way of erasing the details of historic events, leaving a mere skeleton of what happened. However, in the case of the feud between the Reeds and Dotys against Harvey Jones, a most remarkable record remains in the love/hate letters Curtis Reed wrote to his fiancée at the height of the conflict. He leaves a graphic picture of his intense feelings and involvement as the leader in the founding of the rival city, Menasha.

Curtis describes how he is caught up in the unpleasantness of the situation and in a youthful way openly admits that he is involved in the fracas in order to obtain glory for himself. The following excerpts from these letters tell their own story.

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There is much unpleasant feeling and I can only have patience to endure it in hopes that it will be of short duration. Everything here goes on prosperously as ever. We have almost daily new arrivals and our place is certainly on the high road to distinction. This accomplished and the measure of the cup of my glory will be full.

Menasha is getting to be the place of places, "all the go" and there is now every prospect that our highest expectations will be fully realized. If so I ask no more glory in this world in this thing. I had much controversy and reproach heaped on my friends for my sake and the feeling in consequence had taken hold on my very life and the end is now near at hand and I am satisfied. I have often almost trembled at the thought of how completely I was bound up in this thing but it is now nearly over and on that point I have relief of body and mind.

Once the choice for the location of the canal was made, he wrote:

By the way my dear, rejoice with me that Menasha has been successful and obtained the location of the Improvement. I had staked my all upon and have won. It is glorious indeed. You never knew half the feeling on that account. I would not make you suffer thereby. I knew you could not help me but I would that you could have heard half of the congratulations I received after I had accomplished that purpose that you might more truly rejoice with me while it is first in my mind.

Curtis seemed totally absorbed and delighted with his successful role in the conflict.

All here seem to be happy and elated with the prospects of our young city and it is fast getting able to go alone but in helping it to do so few can appreciate the exertion of mind...it has cost me. I placed everything on the die and have won but the collision between this place and Neenah was terrible indeed and they have yet the blues awfully and what is worse they are incurable. You will pardon me my dear for seeming to exalt at the calamities of others but I am willing to confess it is indeed so and did you know the thousandth part of the abuse which has been heaped upon me and my friends in that behalf you would think it just. I have succeeded in my undertakings of late beyond my most sanguine expectation and daily receive congratulations on every corner on that account but how futile the idea of the enjoyment from such a success I never did expect it.

Why Not One City?

Curtis continued to repeat his need for personal glory as a result of his role in the conflict.

Time passes on most rapidly and cheerfully with us here. The calamities of Neenah seem to come upon them thick and fast. This past week Jones has died, the main man there and they are scattered like sheep without a shepherd. It is truly awfully blue with them and I think they will never get fully over it. Harrison is likely to succeed in his suit for a portion of the property in which Neenah is situated.

It was obvious that the glory he had achieved was found in the eyes of his friends.

The game is now up and the fate of Neenah and Menasha is now fixed. I have but one more year to live to accomplish fully my purpose to make an end of Neenah and to place Menasha ahead of any inland town in Northern Wisconsin and that state of things I have full confidence is now near at hand a purpose you have already learned was near my heart and I must confess it had taken a strong hold of me as I would ever allow any matter of the kind not that I desire mainly to make money out of it. It was not so. It was almost entirely with me a matter of feeling taken hold of at first in behalf of my friends and had I succeeded in building up the place successfully and not made a dollar out of it I should had been fully satisfied.

I was born for luck. All goes well with me. I am bound reap my full of glory. Its course is onward and upward and is perfect death on its rival Neenah and I am satisfied I have sought not neither do I seek for wealth or personal aggrandizement but I have sought and not in vain to vindicate the cause of my friends who have confided to me their dearest intent, feeling that I was better able than they to defend them. This being so was it strange my love I gave it a place near my heart but the thing is over. I have fought and won.

After sifting through the events of this troubled period we are left with the basic elements of the relationship of the five men from which to draw our conclusion. Harvey had succeeded handsomely in land speculation. James Doty was a charismatic leader particularly of the unhappy disgruntled segment of society. He had a record of rabble rousing in the political arena. He had failed in his main objective, that of becoming a rich and powerful land owner in Wisconsin. Doty had a history of using other people and their money to his own benefit. In this he was unscrupulous. His son Charles was an aide to his father but did not

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emerge as an independent individual. Harrison Reed was obligated to James Doty for the opportunities that had come his way through their relationship. He had won the favor of this powerful man through his political involvement in the latter's successful campaign for the territorial governor. Curtis Reed, the younger brother, openly stated that he wanted his share of the glory. Doty owned the land that Curtis was so vehemently promoting as the rival city. Therefore, Curtis' primary source of glory would be in the eyes of James Doty.

As a final touch, it was rumored that it was Doty who took the map to Washington to General Bragg of the War Department for his approval. The general was unfamiliar with the location and too busy to come out to inspect it. By turning the map upside down, Doty gave the general the idea that he was viewing the south channel which was the site of the original government canal and so with his signature the north channel was officially approved as the location.

With the north channel officially chosen, Menasha won the coveted improvement. Harvey was deeply disappointed but went on with his work. He traveled to check on his farm in Michigan and then went to Chicago to get the gears for the new mill. Upon his return to Neenah, he was exhausted. He refused to rest and pressed on with the work at the dam and canal and at the mill. He became ill and suddenly died.

So it was that with the death of Harvey Jones, the personal conflict between him and the Reeds and Dotys was ended. Nevertheless, by now the settlers of the two communities were established with an attitude of hostility and a spirit of bitterness toward each other.

This is how it happened that "two cities were built where the geographical plat was ideal for the development of one large industrial center". "Twin cities were born amidst rivalry, confusion, obstinacy, and foolish pride." It was at this time that the seeds of enmity were sown that have plagued these communities for almost 150 years. This was the work of five men in the space of three years.

None of them profited in the venture in the grand way they had hoped for. In the founding of the Twin Cities, the Reeds and Dotys and Harvey Jones, intelligent, educated, respectable gentlemen in top hats and waist-coats left a tragic legacy to a beautiful land.

September 8, 1847, Harrison Reed platted the Village of Neenah.

January 6, 1848, Harvey Jones platted the Village of Winnebago Rapids.

Why Not One City? A

May 29, 1849, Charles Doty platted the Village of Menasha with Curtis Reed as Attorney.

Harvey Jones died in Neenah November 8, 1849. He lived in Neenah only two and one-half years.

Harrison Reed died May 25, 1895, in Jacksonville, Florida. He lived in Neenah fifteen years.

Curtis Reed died May 18, 1895, in Menasha where he lived all his life.

James Doty died June 13, 1865, in Salt Lake City, Utah. He lived in Neenah sixteen years.

Charles Doty died in 1918 in St. Andrew, Florida, after living in Menasha for 39 years.

~ ~

Arva Adams

The Death of Jones

Harvey Jones had first arrived in Neenah in September, 1846, anxious to view the property in which he had invested. He was accompanied by his wife, Sally, and his eldest son, Gilbert. While there he boarded with Harrison Reed at his lakeshore house and began to take an active part in making improvements on his property.

The following spring, the Jones family returned to Gloversville to close out affairs there in preparation for a permanent move to the west. During the summer, Sally Jones died. His father also died before Harvey returned to Neenah to spend his second winter. In the spring of 1848, Harvey returned to Gloversville to gather his remaining family and bring them to their new home. During his absence, his father-in-law, Judge Gilbert, died. His youngest daughter, age 4, died in April. So it was with heavy heart, having lost his wife, father, father-in-law, and daughter, that Harvey undertook the final long and arduous journey.

The widowed Harvey Jones returned to Neenah with his three minor children, Gilbert, Willard, and Abigail, to take up permanent residence. He was accompanied by his sister, Mrs. Charles Yale, and her two daughters. After Harvey's wife's death, Mrs. Yale and her family had made their home with Harvey and had taken care of his children. Mrs. Yale's husband, Charles, and their son, Perrine, were already residing in Neenah.

The party arrived in June and took up residence in the old blockhouse near the Council Tree with Mrs. Yale's husband, Charles. While living there, Harvey had Newell Dermitt design and build as his residence a separate building adjoining the old blockhouse. This was the second frame dwelling erected in Neenah and was built in 1848.

While Jones had been away in Gloversville, the association between Doty, the Reeds, and the Jones brothers disintegrated. On March 10, 1848, Curtis Reed got a new charter from the territorial legislature which gave him and his associates authority to build a dam across the north channel of the Fox River. The act also threw all responsibility for the Neenah improvements onto Harvey Jones. Harvey did not let the splintering off of his erstwhile associates deter him in the least. He threw himself into advancing his plans for the development of the water power and the building of a village. Jones hired Marvin Babcock as contractor to build the spar dam, widen and deepen the canal, and, in order to permit navigation, construct a lock. A large crew of

Death of Jones

men was employed to carry out what was, in those frontier days, a huge undertaking. The spar dam stretched for 450 feet across the river and was bolted to solid rock. The canal, when finished, would be sixty feet wide on the bottom and four feet deep. The lock would be 140 feet long by 35 feet wide in the chamber.

Harvey Jones also furthered his plans for a new saw mill. The old government saw mill had done little else but rot since the mission had been abandoned. Jones set men to work to rebuild and reconstruct it into a new mill. Charles Lindsley was a partner with Jones in this venture but before the mill was finished, Jones purchased his interest.

In order for Jones to capitalize on all of the improvements he was making, he needed to sell real estate. To facilitate that objective, he had a plat of the village of Winnebago Rapids, in the Town of Neenah, recorded on January 6, 1848. This plat covered a large tract of land along the south side of Wisconsin Street in the center of the present city. Before this, Harrison Reed had surveyed, platted, and recorded on September 8, 1847, a tract of land in the eastern part of the settlement on the Winnebago shore. He recorded this plat under the name of the Village of Neenah. It should be noted that in both cases the names were only descriptive locations by which the lots could be bought and sold. These were not civil or political divisions and the fact that Reed and Jones called their plats "Villages" did not make either of them a true village. The question of incorporation as a village was decided by a special election ordered by the Circuit Court of Winnebago. The vote being favorable, the Village of Winnebago Rapids was incorporated by the Circuit Court on April 10, 1850. In 1856 the village plats of Winnebago Rapids and Neenah were consolidated by change of the corporate name of Winnebago Rapids to Neenah. Neenah would have its current name forevermore.

The already murky condition of clear title to Neenah real estate would become hopelessly clouded when, on April 17, 1849, Harvey Jones was sued by Harrison Reed for the title to 1/4 undivided section of the Winnebago Rapids tract. The lawsuit would drag on for years, long past the death of Harvey Jones. Luckily for Neenah's future industrial development, Harvey L. Kimberly had arrived in June, 1848, nine months before Reed's lawsuit. Prior mention has been made about Jones' contentious haggling over the sale of lots to Kimberly. Jones had no way of knowing, of course, but his final acquiescence to the Kimberly sale virtually guaranteed the industrial future of the village.

In September 1849, the Board of Public Works met in Oshkosh to make its decision. The \$5,000 offer by Curtis Reed apparently swung the Board to his side and the Menasha channel would become the state's official canal. This was a bitter disappointment to Harvey Jones, as indeed it must have been to all of Neenah. Jones would be dead within two months of this decision. Given Jones' anxious nature, there is a belief that the series of problems and disappointments that befell him contributed to his early death. Cunningham says:

PUBLIC MEETINGS.

The death of Col. HARVEY JONES, being known to the citizens of Neenah, a meeting was forthwith convened at the house of D. D. Dodge, in that place, whereupon GEORGE W. EDWARDS, was appointed Chairman, and A. H. CRONKHITE, Secretary.

The object of the meeting being feelingly stated by Wm. L. LIMOSEY, on motion it was

Resolved, That a Committee of five be appointed, to confer with the friends of the deceased, and in connexion with them, to make and carry into effect such arrangements for attending the funeral of the deceased, as were proper and becoming the sad occasion. The Chair thereupon appointed as such committee, Messrs. S. L. Barnes, D. D. Dodge, M. B. Bosworth, Nathan Aldrich, and J. B. Hamilton.

On motion of S. L. Moores, it was further

Resolved, That another Committee of five be appointed to draft resolutions expressive of the sense and views of the meeting. The Chair and Secretary appointed Messrs. J. R. Kimberly, A. P. Ralph, Nathan Aldrich, D. C. Ayres, and A. H. Cronkhite.

On motion it was further

Resolved, That business be suspended in the village as far as practicable, until after the burial of the deceased.

The meeting was then adjourned till Friday evening, the 9th inst., then to hear the report of the Committee on resolutions.

On the 9th instant the meeting again convened in the village Hall, pursuant to adjournment. Mr. G. W. Edwards resumed the Chair, and J. B. Hamilton was chosen Secretary.

The Committee on resolutions by A. P. Ralph, Esq., submitted the following preamble and resolutions, which were unanimously adopted:

Having heard with feelings of deep regret of the sudden and unexpected decease of Col. HARVEY JONES, an estimable and highly respected citizen of our village, and the original proprietor of the place. Therefore

Resolved, That we sincerely sympathize with the friends and relatives of the deceased in their bereavement by this unexpected dispensation of Divine Providence, and that as citizens of this place, who were in the habit of daily associating with the deceased, we entertain a high appreciation of his moral worth, and deeply lament his loss.

Resolved, That by the death of Col. Harvey Jones our village has lost one of its most enterprising citizens, and one whose loss will be greatly felt, and long and sincerely lamented.

Resolved, That the proceedings of this and the former meeting, and the preamble and resolutions be published in the Oshkosh Democrat and New York Observer, and a copy thereof be presented to the relatives of the deceased.

On the following Sabbath the funeral services of the deceased were attended at the Village Hall by an unusually large concourse of people, who listened to an able, feeling and impressive discourse from Rev. Henry R. Weston, from the particularly appropriate text selected from James vi. 13.

Few were the eyes that were dry, and all looked, and seemed to feel as if they had just

G. W. EDWARDS, Chm.

A. H. CRONKHITE, Sec'ys.
J. B. HAMILTON.

*Death of Harvey Jones as reported in the
Oshkosh True Democrat, November 23, 1849.*

A Tale of Twin Cities

. . . indeed, it is the general belief among the early settlers that his exceeding anxiety concerning the matters here, more particularly the vexatious litigation with Reed, and the disappointment in failing to secure the Improvement on this side of the Island, so wore upon him as to hasten his death, which occurred November 8, 1849.

His sons tell of his death, "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".

Despite Harvey Jones' reputation as a meticulous businessman, he died leaving no will or at least none that was ever admitted to probate. Loyal H. Jones was appointed guardian of the three minor children. Jones was also chosen as administrator of the estate along with John R. Kimberly. Kimberly refused to serve and the court appointed Erastus W. Drury, of Fond du Lac, to replace him. The death of Jones would be a final blow to early Neenah's real estate development. As an old settler expressed it four or five years after the death of Jones, the outlook for business was "almighty blue". Nearly all the real estate was in hopeless litigation with no prospect of settlement until Jones' heirs should come of age. In addition Loyal Jones and Drury apparently mismanaged the estate rather badly. This combination of circumstances prevented capital from locating upon and improving the water power and almost entirely put a stop to any further business enterprise in the village. Neenah was at a standstill. Abigail Jones married the Rev. James Bassett, and in 1863 he resigned his pulpit to devote himself to untangling the mess. This he apparently did by 1864 and in the succeeding five years, Neenah made more substantial growth than in the whole 15 years preceding. Curtis Reed was reported to have said that had Harvey Jones lived, all their differences would have been amicably settled.

Harvey Jones was buried in Oak Hill Cemetery which had been set aside in 1848 when Neenah residents voted to buy four acres for a burial ground from Harvey Jones himself. Little did he realize that he would be one of its first occupants! As a final epitaph to his brother, Loyal Jones, as administrator, completed the work on the dam, canal, and lock. In 1852, to the great pride of

Death of Jones

all Neenah, the steamer Van Ness Barlow traveled from Little Lake Butte des Morts to Lake Winnebago via the Neenah lock and canal. This was four years before the work at Menasha was completed. Thereafter, Neenah would enjoy the increased commerce the river navigation would bestow. Somewhere, Harvey Jones was smiling.



Daniel Haase

BRISK BUSINESS.

Our town is growing finely, and business was never better. Our Mechanics have more then they can do, and the number of new settlers that are daily arriving here gives quite an impetus to all kinds of trade.— During the past week we have heard of several more sales of real estate, among which is the property of Mr. TEMPLE for \$1,000, and a lot owned by Mr. MCGINNIS for \$260. The last named was purchased three years ago for \$25! We have given up all hope of recognizing any of the "old settlers" among such a multitude of "new comers," as the latter continually meet us in our office, in the stores, and in the streets—and appear to be increasing every day. The fact is, that the advantages of Menasha are becoming known to Eastern people, and they rush on to get the first chance. There is plenty room in Menasha for any number of Manufacturers, Mechanics, and Merchants, and every inducement is offered them for comfortable homes and profitable business. Our Water-Power alone is the most extensive in the West, and to-day affords employment to 200 men. Let those who are seeking a location visit Menasha.— Town Lots are cheap, and plenty employment can be had.

Important Suit Decided.

We see that the Supreme Court of this State has finally settled the title to the property of the village of Neenah, and awards one quarter of said village to HARRISON REED, Esq. This will make him one of the wealthiest men in this section of the State, and puts him in possession of property which has been wrongfully withheld from him.

SUPREME COURT.—Judge CRAWFORD has retired from the Bench, and Judge COLE has entered upon his duties. The Madison Democrat says that within a few hours after the retirement of Judge CRAWFORD he had been retained in a number of important cases.— The change cannot but be to his pecuniary benefit, as no man in this State stands higher for professional ability, and none has enjoyed a more extensive or successful practice than he.

CLOTHING STORE.—We were surprised a few days since, on calling in at WILLIAM SMITH's store, on Water street, to find there one of the largest stocks of Ready Made Clothing, Hats, Caps, Boots and Shoes, that we ever laid our eyes on, and fearing that others may be as ignorant of the fact as we were, we make it public. Mr. SMITH is a public benefactor, and we are astonished that some people go so poorly dressed when he has so large a stock to select from. SMITH says his trade averages \$50 per day, and we don't wonder at it when he sells so cheap.

REMOVALS.—Judge BRYAN, Register, has removed his office to his new building, near the steamboat landing. This will make it very convenient for passengers on the boats. The Exchange Bank of DARLINO, FITZGERALD & Co., has also been removed, and will now be found in the new Bank building, adjoining the Register's office.

MEAT MARKET.—Mr. HUCK has again commenced Butchering, and announces by advertisement that he is on hand with fresh meat. It is a hard matter to procure cattle at the present time, and we hope our citizens will award him that patronage which his energy deserves.

PATRICK HUGHES, a brother of the Archbishop, died a few days since, at LaFargeville, Jefferson county, N. Y. He was an independent and intelligent farmer, 60 years of age, and was very much respected by his neighbors.

THE EASTERN WAR.—For their proposed new plan of operations, the Allies are said to now have in the Crimea a total of 143,000 infantry and artillery, and 7,500 cavalry; and Russia 120,000 infantry and artillery, and 20,000 cavalry.

Note the variety of information provided in a newspaper. This page includes an article on a decision made for H. Reed. However, this decision was later appealed and reversed.

H. Reed vs. H. Jones in State Supreme Court

In April, 1849, Harrison Reed filed a lawsuit against Harvey Jones. Reed claimed that Jones had failed to honor a written agreement to give Reed a one-quarter (1/4) interest in 305 acres of land.

Previously, in June, 1846, Reed had made a verbal agreement with Jones. Jones agreed to advance \$5,000 to Reed. Reed went to Washington, D.C., to secure title to the land. Reed agreed that if he were successful in getting the land that he would convey one tract to Jones, and if he was not successful he would return the money. Reed and Jones also agreed that if Reed secured the land, then Jones would give Reed a one-quarter (1/4) interest in all of the land for \$1,250. Reed also agreed to pay the \$1,250 within three years at 10% interest.

Reed had purchased the land from the War Department and obtained the title to the land. He returned to Gloversville, New York, and gave the deed for the land to Jones. Jones claimed that he could not make a contract to give the land to Reed because a contract to pay 10% interest was illegal in New York State. Reed and Jones amended their contract agreement and agreed that Reed could repurchase the land for \$1,250 with 7% interest if he made payment in one year. Reed was to receive an undivided one-fourth (1/4) part of all of the 305 acres.

Jones and Reed also reached an agreement concerning improvements. They agreed that each of them should bear their proportionate share for the expenses of necessary improvements. If either one paid more than his share of the expenses, he would receive 12% interest for any advances until paid. Any unpaid amount for expenses would be a lien on the property. The deed from Reed to Jones was duly recorded.

Reed returned to Wisconsin. He managed the property until November of 1846 when Jones arrived in Wisconsin. From June until November, 1846, Reed had invested approximately \$300 in improvements.

Disagreements between Reed and Jones began almost immediately upon the arrival of Jones. Reed claimed that Jones had orally agreed that when Jones

H. Reed vs. H. Jones in State Supreme Court

came to Wisconsin the agreement to pay \$1,250 with interest at 7% in one year would be amended to provide for a 3 year period at 10% interest.

The underlying cause for the disagreement between Reed and Jones was Jones' belief that he had been duped into paying too much for the land. Reed had also used part of Jones' money to purchase other land from the government which he kept for himself. Jones and Reed also quarreled about improvements and expenses. Jones wanted to improve the property and develop a town.

Jones repaired the saw mill and grist mill. He widened and deepened the channel, erected a new saw mill, and built a new dam. By April of 1849 he had spent \$15,000 for improvements. He also had receipts from the sales of real estate, rents and profits of \$5,882.20. Jones did not share any of the profits with Reed. Although Reed was entitled to one-fourth (1/4) of the profits, rents, and receipts from the sale of real estate, he was also responsible for one-fourth (1/4) of the \$15,000 spent to improve the property. Jones kept Reed's portion of the profits because Reed had not paid the \$1,250, plus interest, nor paid his share of the expenses.

In May of 1847 Reed had attempted to sell his one-fourth (1/4) interest in the 305 acres to a man named Charles Yale. The agreement between Reed and Yale was signed on May 15, 1847. Yale never paid Reed the money due for the sale of the property.

On April 4, 1849, almost three years from the date that Jones and Reed had signed the agreement in Gloversville, New York, Reed went to the house of Harvey Jones' brother, Loyal H. Jones, with two men named James Blood and Cornelius Northrup. Harvey Jones was at his brother's residence and Loyal Jones was also present at the meeting. Harrison Reed told Harvey Jones that he had come to pay the \$1,250 and receive his deed for the one-fourth (1/4) interest in the 305 acres. Harvey Jones told Reed that he did not have any claim on the 305 acres; however, he offered to take the money to pay other claims which he had against Reed for the improvements that had been made on the property. Reed told Jones that Mr. Blood would count out the money and demanded the deed. When Blood started to count the money, Harvey Jones opened the door and told Reed there was a hole in the wall which the carpenter had left and that he should walk out through it.

The next day Reed, Northrup, and Blood went to the office of Harvey Jones. Reed said that he wanted to pay Jones the \$1,250. Jones again told Reed he no longer had any interest in the property.

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On April 6, 1849, at 2:00 p.m. Harvey Jones recorded three (3) documents at the Winnebago County Courthouse. The first document was the agreement of sale between Harrison Reed and Charles Yale which gave Yale all of Reed's interest in the property. The recorded agreement stated:

'B'-316 Agreement May 15th 1847 Harrison Reed to Charles Yale. 'To deed all interest of said Reed, being an undivided 1/4 of several tracts mentioned in a contract between Harvey Jones and said Reed dated July 23rd 1846, which undivided 1/4 is described in said contract as the undivided 1/4 of 305.94 acres of land described as follows, - North Fract '1 1/2 of Sec 27 - 20 - 17, and other lands; said Yale is authorized to receive the conveyance of the above lands from said Harvey Jones, as said Jones is bound by said contract to said Reed; said Yale to pay to said Harvey Jones \$1,250.00 at 7% interest from July 23rd 1846, on or before July 23rd 1847, in same manner as said Reed is bound to Jones.' Record Apr 6th 1849 2 P.M.

The second agreement was an assignment to Jones of the agreement between Reed and Yale. The third agreement was a quit claim deed from Charles Yale to Harvey Jones. These two recorded agreements stated:

*'B'-317 Assignment of the above agreement - - - - -
Charles Yale (L S) to Harvey Jones.
'All interest &c.'
Record Apr 6th 1849 2 P.M.*

*'D'-13 Quit Claim Deed Apr 4th 1849 Charles Yale to Harvey Jones.
\$100.00 An undivided 1/4 of,- North Fract'1 1/2 of Sec 27 - 20 - 17;
also other lands.
Ack Apr 4th 1849.
Record Apr 6th 1849 2 P.M.*

The agreement between Harrison Reed and Charles Yale gave all of Reed's interest in the property to Yale. Yale assigned and quit claimed his interest to Jones. Jones claimed that he owned all the property.

Yale never paid Reed. When the case went to the Supreme Court, the Supreme Court decided that since Yale had not paid Harrison Reed, Yale could not deed or assign any interest to Jones. Jones and Yale were good friends. If Jones had persuaded Yale to pay Reed, the case would probably have been decided differently by the Supreme Court.

After Reed had gone to Jones' home and office, Jones began a trespass action against him to stop Reed from coming on to his property. Reed responded by

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filing the lawsuit against Jones claiming a one-fourth (1/4) interest in the land. A temporary injunction was granted by Chief Justice Stowe of the Winnebago County Court on April 17, 1849.

The injunction prohibited Jones from pursuing his trespass lawsuit, from bringing any other lawsuits against Reed, from selling or encumbering any of the 305 acres and from expending money to improve the property. Reed's lawsuit stopped development of this land until August 23rd, 1862.

On April 30 Harrison Reed published a notice in the Oshkosh True Democrat newspaper which stated:

To all whom it may concern notice is hereby given that a suit in chancery is now pending for the recovery of one equal undivided fourth part of the following described tracts of land, to wit: the north half fractional section 27 containing 242 and 92/100 acres, fractional section 22 on the main land containing 40 34/100 acres and that part of fractional section 26 containing 22 28/100 acres; in all 305 94/100 acres of land lying in the Town of Neenah and upon which are situated the Neenah Mills and the Town Plat of Winnebago Rapids and that I shall enforce my claim to the extent of the law against all persons occupying the same by virtue of conveyances or contracts from Harvey Jones. Harrison Reed

The Court system in the State of Wisconsin in 1849 was quite similar to the Court system which exists today. The American Court system developed from the English system of law. Under the English system of law there were two types of Courts, Law Courts and Courts of Chancery. Today, Trial Courts exercise both legal and equitable jurisdiction.

In the law courts a successful litigant received a legal remedy which is an award of money damages. Courts of Chancery provided equitable remedies. An equitable remedy supplied a specific or preventive remedy other than money damages. Equitable remedies included orders to prohibit or require a person to perform an act (an injunction), the power to reform deeds, order specific performance of a contract and other remedies. Reed's lawsuit was for specific performance.

A lawsuit for specific performance asks the court to order a person to perform a specific act. In this case Reed requested specific performance of his agreement with Jones. Reed could have asked the Court to award him money damages equal to one-fourth (1/4) of the value of the 305 acres after subtracting

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the \$1,250 which Reed owed Jones under the agreement and after subtracting Reed's one-fourth (1/4) share of the expenses and improvements.

Reed wanted the land. Reed knew that if the Court required Jones to perform the agreement that Jones would be unable to sell any of the 305 acres without Reed's approval. Jones could only sell a three-quarter (3/4) interest in each acre or part of each acre because Reed would own the other one-fourth (1/4) interest. Until the lawsuit was resolved Reed was able to tie up 305 prime development acres in Neenah. He stopped improvements and the sale of land at no cost, except the cost of the lawsuit.

On November 8, 1849, Harvey Jones died. Loyal H. Jones and Erastus W. Drury were appointed the administrators of the estate of Harvey Jones.

For some unexplained reason, the case was transferred from Winnebago County to Marquette County in April of 1851. The case was tried on October 13, 1853. On May 2, 1854, Judge Charles H. Larrabee issued a written decision. Reed won the lawsuit. Judge Larrabee ordered that the heirs and personal representatives of Jones to deed a one-fourth (1/4) interest in the 305 acres to Reed. The full text of Judge Larrabee's decision was as follows:

'R'-458 In Circuit Court Marquette County Wisconsin In Chancery. Harrison Reed vs. Loyal H. Jones & Erastus W. Drury administrators of the estate of Harvey Jones deceased, Gilbert Jones, Abigail Jones & Willard Jones heirs of the estate of Harvey Jones deceased. This cause having come on to be heard at the October Term 1853 of this Court, and been argued by counsel and submitted and the same having been held under advisement by said Court until the present May Term 1854,

Now therefore, it satisfactorily appearing to the said Court that the said Harvey Jones deceased did in his lifetime, by an instrument in writing duly executed by him and the said complainant bearing date at Gloversville July 23rd 1846, contract and bind himself and agree to sell and convey to the said complainant, one undivided 1/4 of 305.94 acres of land situate and being in the Territory of Wisconsin, described as follows, to-wit, -North Fract'1 1/2 of Sec 27 - 20 - 17, and other lands, for the consideration of \$1250.00, payable with interest in one year from the date of hereof; and it further appearing to the Court that within the year allowed and agreed upon by the said contract for the payment of said purchase money, to-wit, on the 12th day of April 1847, the said complainant executed and delivered a

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power of attorney to the said Jones for the purpose of enabling him to make perfect sale and conveyances of town lots, parts of said tracts of land, &c., and so many thereof and at such prices as the said Jones might deem best, &c., thereby ratifying and confirming whatever the said Jones as such attorney should lawfully do; and it further appearing to the Court, by the answer of said Harvey Jones that he has, up to the date of his answer, to-wit, Apr 27th 1849, received from the leases and sales of lots the sum of \$5882.20, the 1/4 part thereof and interest belonging to said complainant being more than sufficient to pay the said sum of \$1,250.00 and interest thereon from July 23rd 1846.

It is therefore, in consideration of the premises, ordered and decreed that the said Harrison Reed complainant is equitably entitled to a legal conveyance and title to the one undivided 1/4 part of the lands and premises in his said bill and the Gloversville contract mentioned, deducting what has been sold and conveyed by the said Harvey Jones prior to April 27th 1849; and it is therefore further ordered and adjudged and decreed that said heirs and personal representatives of the said Harvey Jones deceased, within 30 days from the date of this decree, make, execute and deliver to the said complainant a legal conveyance in the law, of one undivided 1/4 part of the said lots, lands and premises in said bill, and Gloversville contract mentioned, and remaining unsold and unconveyed by the said Harvey Jones deceased on Apr 27 1849, and in default thereof, that this decree operate as such conveyance, with the like force and effect as though the same had been executed by all the heirs of said estate.

It is further ordered, adjudged and decreed that the said complainant do have and recover from the said defendant his costs in this suit expended to be taxed and execution issue therefor.

Dated May 2nd 1854.

By the Court,

Record May 8th 1854 5 P.M.

Chas H. Larrabee, Judge.

The personal representatives of Jones appealed the decision of Judge Larrabee to the Wisconsin Supreme Court.

At the present time Wisconsin has 3 levels of courts, Trial Court, a Court of Appeals and the Supreme Court. In 1854 when this case went to the Supreme

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Court, Wisconsin had only Trial Courts and a Supreme Court. All appeals went directly to the Supreme Court.

The procedure for appeal to the Supreme Court required that the appellants file a petition for review to the Supreme Court. The petition stated the issues. A party who initiates an appeal is called the Appellant. The other party is called the Respondent. The Appellant files a brief which contains argument and law. The Respondent files a response brief. The Appellant, then files a short reply brief. After the briefs are filed the Supreme Court schedules oral argument. After oral argument, the Supreme Court issues a written decision.

At oral argument, the attorney for Jones argued that Reed had been an unscrupulous businessman. He claimed Reed had misrepresented the value of the lots. Reed had claimed that he had the power to influence development through influential friends. Reed said these friends would aid and promote the growth of the town. The one-quarter (1/4) interest in the land was payment for Reed's help to secure the friendly aid and cooperation of influential people. Jones' attorney also claimed that Reed had failed to pay the \$1,250 on time. Reed had waited until the property had increased in value and then attempted to claim twenty-five percent (25%) of the land.

Reed's attorney took a very straight forward approach. He pointed out that the contract did not require payment within one year. The documents provided that Reed was to receive his one-quarter (1/4) interest upon payment of \$1,250 plus interest. He pointed out that Reed had attempted to pay Jones, but that Jones had refused payment.

On May 30, 1855, the Supreme Court ruled that the written contract between Jones and Reed was enforceable. The Court found no evidence of fraud. It stated that Jones appeared to have entered into the contract without very much investigation as to the value of the land. The Court saw no reason to relieve Jones from his bargain and ordered that Jones should be held to the strict performance of the contract. Reed had tried to pay the \$1,250, and the contract did not require payment on time. The Court ruled Reed should receive his one-quarter (1/4) interest in the 305 acres. The Court also recognized that Reed had an obligation to pay certain money to Jones.

The Supreme Court sent the case back to the Trial Court. The Trial Court was ordered to appoint a referee. The referee was ordered to receive proof as to the necessary improvements upon the land, to decide whether the improvements were reasonable and to determine how much money was owed to Jones. Reed

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was obligated to pay the purchase price of \$1,250 and one-fourth (1/4) of all expenses for the necessary improvements on the property.

The referee was a lawyer named Satterlee Clark, a Court Commissioner for Marquette County. He reviewed the record of expenditures from July, 1846, through February 27, 1856. These accounts included accounts for the saw mill, the grist mill, the Neenah mills, the water power account and other expenditures. These accounts occupied forty double columned printed pages. On March 24, 1856, Clark concluded that Reed owed Jones \$13,343.55. He reached that conclusion using the following calculations:

| | |
|--|-------------|
| To balance of expenditures over receipts due defendants by Neenah Mills, | \$48,840 36 |
|--|-------------|

To make this sum there is charged in the general account ----

| | |
|--|-------------|
| To paid Harvey Jones for his services, | \$ 1,933 34 |
|--|-------------|

| | |
|---|----------|
| To paid Loyal H. Jones, for his services from Nov. 8, 1850 to March 1, 1856 | 7,600 00 |
|---|----------|

| | |
|--|----------|
| To paid taxes on said property | 3,414 31 |
|--|----------|

| | |
|--|----------|
| To paid attorney's fees, witness fees, costs and expenses in several law suits against Neenah Mills, | 1,502 90 |
|--|----------|

| | |
|--|-----------|
| To whole amount of interest allowed, computed as above state from the date of said contract to March 1st, 1856 | 33,621 93 |
|--|-----------|

The other items of said account appear to be for constructing improvements and making repairs on said property, and expenses incident to the running the mills, purchasing stock, &c.

| | |
|---|-----------|
| Bal. of expenditures over receipts, | 48,840 36 |
|---|-----------|

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| | |
|--|-------------|
| Amount due complainant for expenditures on said property, \$300,000, int. 326.75--- | 625 75 |
| | \$48,222 61 |

| | |
|---|-----------------------|
| One fourth of this sum is, | \$12,055 65 |
| To which add purchase money, | 1,250 00 |
| Interest on the same, | 236 30 13,541 95 |
| From which deduct the amount of Judgement record and interest, (see transcript) | 198 40 |
| | 13,343 55 |

Amount to charge complaint, 13,343 55

After Referee Clark filed his report with the Trial Court, the attorneys for Reed and Jones objected to certain parts of the report. On September 17, 1856, Judge Larrabee issued his written decision. Judge Larrabee disallowed certain amounts which represented personal services of Harvey and Loyal Jones. He reduced the amount payable by Reed to \$9,172.01. He ordered that this amount be paid within one year from the date of the decree with interest at 12%. Judge Larrabee calculated the \$9,172.01 as follows:

H. Reed vs. H. Jones in State Supreme Court

STATEMENT REQUIRED BY THE DECREE OF SUPREME COURT.

1. The amount of necessary improvements on the lands from the 23d day of July, 1846, to the 17th day of April, 1849, \$16,182 66
2. The amount of improvement required for the due use and preservation thereof, since the 17th day of April, 1849, 45,943 71
3. The amount received by defendants from the sale of lots previous to the filing the bill, April 14th, 1849, 1,858 75
4. The rents, issues and profits (including proceeds arising from sales), received by defendants, 51,426 87
5. The whole amount of interest upon the expenditures by defendants, 48,784 82
6. The whole amount of interest charged defendants upon receipts, 27,412 13
7. The whole amount allowed defendants for all expenditures to the time of closing the taking proofs, 62,127 37
8. Interest on the above last sum, 48,874 82

A Tale of Twin Cities

| | | |
|-------|--|-------------|
| 9. | The whole amount for principle and interest, | 111,002 19 |
| 10. | The whole amount of rents, issues, profits, &c. | \$51,426 87 |
| 11. | Interest on rents, &c. | 27,417 13 |
| | | 78,639 00 |
| 12. | Balance of expenditure over receipts, | 32,163 19 |
| 13. | Amount allowed complainant for expenditures, principal and interest, | 626 75 |
| | | \$31,536 44 |
| ----- | | |
| 14. | One-fourth to the complainant, .. | 7,884 11 |
| 15. | Amount of purchase money and interest, | 1,486 30 |
| ----- | | |
| 16. | Whole amount to charge complainant, | \$ 9,370 41 |
| 17. | Amount to be deducted, paid by complainant on transcript of judgment for trespass, by stipulation, | 198 40 |
| ----- | | |
| 18. | Amount for complainant to pay, | \$ 9,172 01 |

H. Reed vs. H. Jones in State Supreme Court

This time Reed appealed the Trial Court's decision to the Supreme Court. Reed objected to the Court relying on the books of account. He argued that expenditures had been made without his approval and that certain expenditures especially the erecting of a new dam, saw mill, grist mill, and log houses were unnecessary. He claimed they were a source of "ruinous expenditure". Reed asserted that the new dam was an extravagance and that he should only be required to pay "what a good permanent dam would cost". He stated that the new saw mill was private speculation and that some of the improvements had been made after the action had been filed in violation of the injunction.

Reed's attorney claimed that he was entitled to receive \$8,766.42 from Jones. His attorney calculated the amount claimed by Reed as follows:

| | |
|---|-------------|
| Grist Mill, 9 3/4 years, at \$1,500 per annum | \$14,625 00 |
| Interest on \$1,500 annually, for 9 3/4 years, 12 per cent | 8,376 00 |
| Old Saw Mill, 9 3/4 years, at \$450 | 4,387 00 |
| Interest as above | 2,648 00 |
| 5 log houses, at \$125, same time | 1,218 75 |
| Interest as above | 775 25 |
| Two point houses, at \$72 each | 702 00 |
| Interest as above | 452 70 |
| Mill house, 8 years, at \$48 | 384 00 |
| Interest as above | 197 00 |
| New saw mill, 7 years, at \$1,200 per annum | 8,400 00 |

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| | |
|--|-------------|
| Interest annually | 4,032 00 |
| Sales of lots to time of filing bill | 1,858 75 |
| Interest as above | 1,561 00 |
| Rent of upper part of new saw mill | 60 00 |
| Interest since 1850 | 44 64 |
| Water rent, \$30 per annum, 5 years | 150 00 |
| Interest annually | 54 50 |
| | \$50,815 72 |

One-fourth of this amount is \$12,703 93

To this add amount of judgment
against complainant 124 99

Interest 74 40

\$12,902 33

We think the expenditures sworn to by Yale,
too much, to wit:

\$3,000; but taking his testimony and
Northrup's together, which is \$1,800,
and averaging the same, it amounts to \$ 2,400 00

H. Reed vs. H. Jones in State Supreme Court

Interest 9 years 2,592 00

Complainant claims that he is not liable for a new dam at all; but if the court should think differently, then he claims that all he should pay is what a good dam should cost, and not more at the outside than 3,000 00

Interest on this amount from 1849 2,520 00

Total \$10,512 00

One-fourth of this is \$ 2,628 00

To this add purchase money 1,250 00

Interest at 7 per cent, 2 years and 10 months 257 91

Amount with which complainant should be charged \$ 4,135 91

Amount to be credited to Reed \$12,902 33

Amount to be charged to Reed 4,135 91

Balance due Reed from defendants \$ 8,766 42

The Trial Court had disallowed \$1,933.34 for the services of Harvey Jones and \$7,600 for the services of Loyal Jones and interest. The attorney for Jones argued that Jones had been a hard working and prudent manager, and claimed that the expenses were reasonable and that the Trial Court should not have disallowed the expense for the personal services.

A Tale of Twin Cities

The attorney for Jones also attempted to reopen the issue of Jones' obligation to convey the one-quarter interest to Reed. He recited many of the facts that were set forth in the first lawsuit. He defended the bookkeeping procedures used by Jones and claimed that all of the expenditures were necessary. He claimed that Jones and his brother were entitled to be paid for the services that they had been performing and believed that the amount determined by the Referee was the correct amount.

Attorney Drury who represented Jones argued that:

. . . the dam could not be kept up without building the lock, the citizens of Neenah paid part of the expense so that a lock large enough for navigation by steamboats might be built, and all these improvements made by Jones and his estate without the aid of Reed, have rendered this property valuable.

As far as the transfer of 1/4 interest to Reed, Attorney Drury again stated that Reed should not be owner of one-fourth (1/4) of the lots. He stated:

There would have been no growth of the Town and consequent advancement of this property from \$50,000 to \$150,000 if it had not been for the sale of lots and water powers, thereby drawing in citizens, causing the erection of large flowering mills, machinery shops, stores and dwelling houses. It would be unjust to all parties and to the citizens of Neenah to compel those who have erected these mills to buy them again of Reed at their present enhanced value.

The Supreme Court said that the improvements were reasonable and necessary and that Reed must pay his proportionate share of the expenses.

The Supreme Court determined that necessary improvements would include improvements of a public character that would attract settlers to the town, even though the improvements themselves might not be profitable. The collateral advantages resulting from the investment to other property and the town were such that a prudent man would make the improvements.

The Supreme Court found that improvements that were made after the commencement of the lawsuit should not be included except for the use and preservation of the property. It found that the manner in which Jones had kept the accounts was confusing and ordered that the records be reviewed more carefully. The court also determined that Reed was to receive his proportionate

H. Reed vs. H. Jones in State Supreme Court

share of the rents and profits from the mills buildings but that he should pay his share of the investment.

The attorney for Reed also asked the Supreme Court to make a final decree. The court stated that valuable improvements and repairs had been made on the property and it could not ascertain the costs of improvements and repairs. It stated that it wanted to avoid doing an injustice to both parties and therefore the case was once again sent back to the Trial Court.

When the case went back to the Trial Court, Referee Clarke reviewed the second decision of the Supreme Court and revised his calculations. The Trial Court adopted the decision of Referee Clarke. Reed again appealed.

On appeal Jones' attorney, for a third time, attempted to convince the Court to change the decision that Reed was entitled to one-quarter interest in the 305 acres. The Supreme Court flatly refused. It stated that the issue had been fully settled when the case was previously decided.

The Court then considered Reed's objections. Reed objected to the allowance of costs for the new saw mill as part of the necessary expenditure on the property. The Court stated that the saw mill, the main dam and other improvements were properly allowed because the parties had contemplated the building of a town and it was important to have improvements. Reed also objected to the allowance of a lock that was built after the suit was commenced. The Court noted that although it had established a different rule for improvements made before and after the filing of the lawsuit, the lock in question, though somewhat expensive, was a sufficient improvement to render it desirable if any lock at all was to be built. The Court stated that the lock should be considered an improvement necessary for the use and preservation of the property.

The Supreme Court ordered that Reed pay Jones \$30,035.98 within thirty (30) days from July 22, 1862.

The case of Reed versus Jones came to a conclusion on August 23, 1862, at 8:00 a.m. At that time G. W. Robinson, Clerk of the Circuit Court for Marquette County, certified that Reed had not paid Loyal Jones and Erastus W. Drury, administrators of the estate of Harvey Jones, the \$30,035.98 required by the decision of the Supreme Court. Reed's complaint was dismissed. He never received his one-quarter interest in the 305 acres in Neenah, Wisconsin.

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Howard Healey

Legislative Intervention

The 1849 decision of the State Board of Public Works to integrate Curtis Reed's north channel into the Fox-Wisconsin Improvement did not end the dispute between the forces of Reed and those of Harvey Jones, et al, backers of the south channel. By early 1851, work on the north channel had bogged down. Apparently, Reed decided to renege on his promises to construct the north channel at his own expense and, in addition, pay a \$5,000 bonus to the state. He turned on his erst-while benefactors on the Board. He demanded that Jones be ordered to clear the south channel of all pending improvements, including the lock and dam. He also demanded that the Board release him from the completion deadline of November, 1851. Upon the Board's refusal, Reed, in early 1852, filed a claim for damages with the Wisconsin Legislature alleging the Board had breached its contract with him relating to the acceptance and completion of the north channel.

Reed's ploy backfired. The Legislature was so unimpressed by his contentions that it reversed the Board's selection and mandated, instead, the acceptance of the south channel as the connection between Lake Winnebago and the lower Fox. By Joint Resolution approved April 14, 1852, the Board was:

... authorized and instructed to adopt the south channel of the outlet of Lake Winnebago and the works thereon . . . provided the same shall be done free of cost or charge to the state . . . and that the owners . . . shall give good and satisfactory security that they will erect a guard lock of the same width of the main lock, and dredge out the channel below said lock by aid of the steam dredge which shall be furnished by said commissioners free of charge . . .

What appeared to be a victory for the south channel proved to be otherwise thanks to a change of heart by the Board which simply blocked carrying out of the legislative directive. Its reasons for so doing were set forth in the Board report to Governor Farwell, dated January 1, 1853, stating:

Legislative Intervention

. . . We are fully satisfied that it is for the interest of the state not to surrender the Menasha channel as a part of the improvement as there is no probability that the opposite channel could be made equally valuable for the purpose of navigation . . . (or) will ever be made navigable without great expense to the state.

Declaring its own reasons for failing to act on the Joint Resolution to be "entirely satisfactory", the Board contended that the steam dredge thereby ordered to be provided to clear the south channel was not available because of being engaged in the Portage area and was not suited for the required work. Regarding the south channel, the Board was particularly critical:

. . . the lock was too small to be suitable and opens into a channel too shallow for the purposes of navigation for some 2,300 feet below and where the current of the river runs rapidly over the falls at an angle of about 45 degrees.

. . . the south channel is indirect and by it the distance is much greater than by the opposite channel which is . . . direct and deeper.

. . . the Neenah channel being above the other and most natural one for the passage of water from Lake Winnebago . . . and to build a dam on it sufficiently high for all purposes of navigation would raise the water above so as to occasion much damage to the lands at many points upon the lake.

As a clincher, the Board declared that the security bond of \$2,000 offered by Loyal Jones (who had succeeded his recently deceased brother Harvey) in accordance with the legislative directive was "entirely too inadequate to the purpose for which security is required . . .", concluding,

. . . We consider that to make good navigation by this channel, and to indemnify the improvement against all damages that might arise from its adoption as a part of the improvement, good and sufficient bond should be filed to the amount of at least \$100,000.

Loyal Jones, frustrated by the tactics of the commissioners, promptly responded to the report in a communication addressed to the Wisconsin Senate and Assembly, recorded March 9, 1853, beginning:

. . . The undersigned would respectfully represent that injustice has been done by the report of the late Board of Public Works . . . in regard to the Lock and Improvement which has been commenced and nearly completed at Neenah . . .

A Tale of Twin Cities

Concerning the Board's summary rejection of the \$2,000 bond, Jones explained that he had,

. . . applied to said commissioners repeatedly to know what sum should be inserted in said bond, and that said commissioners replied that the amount was immaterial and declined naming any sum . . . in regard to the bond, it was filled with an amount which men of good judgment as well as myself thought amply sufficient, as the guard lock was nearly completed of the size required by said resolution, and said bond was delivered . . . with the understanding that (if the commissioners) . . . should think the amount not large enough would notify me and give an opportunity to increase it.

Jones went on to advise the Legislature that the guard lock had been constructed and canal enlarged, requiring only the steam dredge, which the Board neglected to summon, to complete the channel in the manner prescribed by the Joint Resolution of 1852.

His petition concluded:

. . . And the undersigned would further represent that said commissioners have fallen into several erroneous mistakes in regard to the south channel which must have occurred from the representative of those whose interests are adverse to the south channel. . .

The "representative" referred to by Jones may have been either Curtis Reed himself, who had been a former member of the Board or perhaps Charles Doty who was assistant to the Board's chief engineer.

In a final effort to sort out many conflicts besetting the project along the Wisconsin and Fox Rivers, including, if only incidentally, the north-south channel dispute, a Joint Select Committee composed of members of both houses was appointed to visit the site during the spring recess of the 1853 session. Under date of June 15, 1853, said Committee submitted its report, saying in regard to the competing channels:

Your Committee visited the works to improve the navigation around the Winnebago Rapids. At Neenah a canal has been opened with guard and lift locks to connect Lake Winnebago with Lake Butte des Morts. The insufficient depth of water in the latter at this place, as stated in the report of the Engineer in Chief, renders navigation impracticable without excavating the channel from one to two feet for several hundred feet, which in the opinion of the Board and Engineer,

Legislative Intervention

cannot be effected by the working of the steam dredge owing to the hardness of, and the presence of boulders upon the bottom. The same officials concede it also requisite, if this channel is adopted, that a protection work of a substantial character be built. In the opinion of your committee, a different location of the present canal and locks might have remedied many serious difficulties in the way of navigation now existing. The work at Menasha has been prosecuted to a considerable extent, much of the excavation made and the timber delivered for the lock, and the Engineer in Chief informed your Committee that, as now located, upon completion of locks and canal, boats would pass with facility into navigable water. The estimated cost of completion and enlargement, about \$17,000.

The tenor of the report suggests that the Select Committee's preference for the North Channel was based on the previous findings of the Board and its chief engineer which it echoed without hint of independent investigation. In any event, the Legislative mandate of 1852 directing development of the South Channel was officially undercut. However, in short order, the channel dispute became a moot political issue when the Legislature abandoned state sponsorship of the Project by act of July 6, 1853, transferring ownership and control of the Fox-Wisconsin Improvement to a private concern chartered by the state, "The Fox and Wisconsin Improvement Company". The fate of the competing channels was returned to private interests. In the end, the advocates of the North Channel prevailed, but, by then, the stakes had been markedly reduced from the flow of commercial shipping envisioned by the Improvement Project to a relative trickle of traffic, mainly recreational, originating from and just below Lake Winnebago through the lower Fox Locks maintained, until recently, by the Army Corps of Engineers.

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Edmund P. Arpin

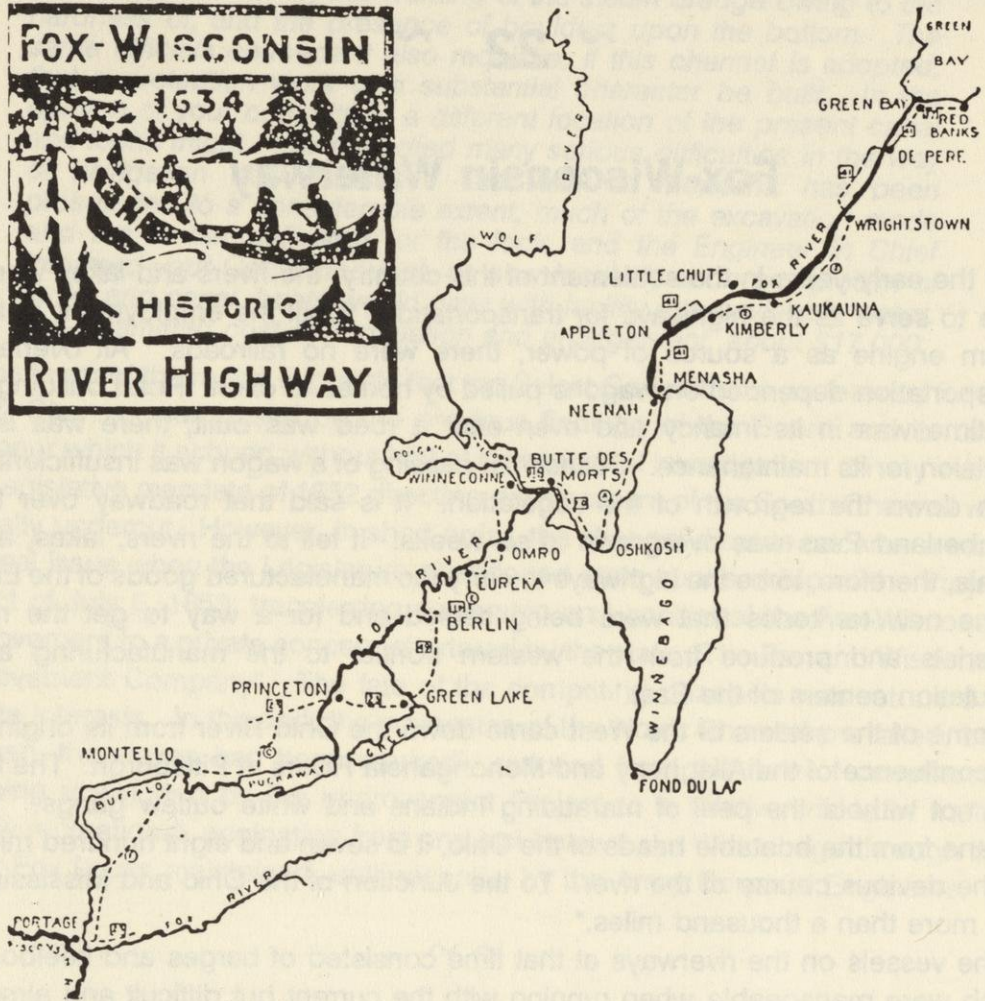
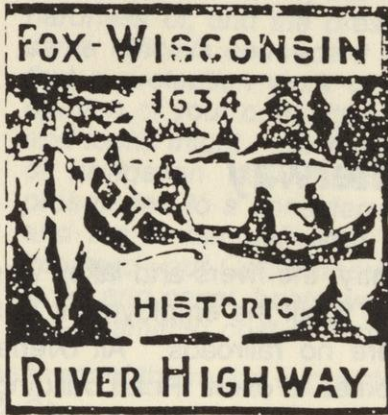
Fox-Wisconsin Waterway

In the early years in the settlement of this country, the rivers and lakes would have to serve as the highways for transportation. Until the employment of the steam engine as a source of power, there were no railroads. All overland transportation depended on wagons pulled by horses or oxen. Road building at the time was in its infancy and even after a road was built, there was little provision for its maintenance. Occasional passing of a wagon was insufficient to keep down the regrowth of the vegetation. It is said that roadway over the Cumberland Pass was overgrown in six weeks. It fell to the rivers, lakes, and canals, therefore, to be the highways to carry the manufactured goods of the East to the new territories that were being settled and for a way to get the raw materials and produce from the western frontier to the manufacturing and population centers of the East.

Some of the settlers of the West came down the Ohio River from its origin at the confluence of the Allegheny and Monongahela Rivers at Pittsburgh. The trip was not without the peril of marauding Indians and white outlaw gangs. "To Indiana from the boatable heads of the Ohio, it is seven and eight hundred miles by the devious course of the river. To the Junction of the Ohio and Mississippi was more than a thousand miles."

The vessels on the riverways at that time consisted of barges and keelboats which were manageable when running with the current but difficult and almost impossible to move against the current. It took anywhere from three to four months to go from New Orleans to the trading towns at the head of the Ohio. It was not until the addition of a steam engine to a boat of very shallow draft, that the waterways expanded so as to transport the large variety of goods that was needed. In the 1820's such products as pine logs of southwest New York floated down the Allegheny and Ohio to New Orleans. From another direction whiskey, tobacco, hemp, bagging and baled rope came from Kentucky. From Illinois and

FOX WISCONSIN HISTORIC HIGHWAY



Fox-Wisconsin Waterway

Missouri came cattle, horses, and corn. Other boats were loaded with potatoes, dried apples, and peaches. The boats from Tennessee carried cotton.

When the early settlers arrived in the Neenah-Menasha area, they were impressed with the amount of water power that existed there. The current was swift, and if they were to receive and send goods, it would be necessary to use the river and lakes for transportation as well as for a source of power. In the new territories, vast virgin forests existed. There was a need for a route to transport troops and munitions destined for the western frontiers of the United States and an inland waterway for transportation in the event that war should break out and result in the blockading and loss of ocean ports.

By 1835, the idea of an internal improvement project to develop the waterway between Green Bay and the Mississippi River was discussed. James Doty had purchased a large tract of land on an island and by 1838 had a promise from the Secretary of War of waterway improvements which would be the responsibility of the United States Government. In 1839 John B. Petival made a survey of the Fox River. He was followed in 1840 by Capt. Thomas Cram of the Bureau of Topographical Engineers, whose plan for the improvement of the Fox-Wisconsin waterway was to become the blueprint of the project.

These surveys revealed that the Fox River of Wisconsin begins in the northern part of Columbia County, runs southeasterly to Fort Winnebago (Portage), makes a turn around the Fort, and flows in a northeasterly direction into Lake Winnebago. This portion is referred to as the upper Fox. The Fox River continues on from Neenah and Menasha through two outlets from Lake Winnebago and flows in a northerly direction to Green Bay and is referred to as the lower Fox. This portion of the river is interrupted by several rock ledges over which the river falls nearly 170 feet in a distance of thirty-five (35) miles. The upper Fox from Portage to Lake Winnebago has a further fall of about 65 feet. After a portage to the Wisconsin River, the descent to the Mississippi River is about 200 feet. Having access to Lake Michigan would result in access to other Great Lakes and the St. Lawrence riverway. The Wisconsin River would also provide access to Pittsburgh by way of the Mississippi River and then up the Ohio to that city. The proximity of two navigable streams running in opposite directions through the state afforded a convenient route from Lake Michigan into the Mississippi River.

The surveys also revealed the necessity to construct eight dams and locks on the lower Fox, which, considering the technology of that time, would be a

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formidable undertaking. The upper Fox from Oshkosh to Portage would require the removal of the projections of bottom land at a few crooks and elbows in the river and the dredging of accumulations of mud and sand at several places within nine miles of Portage along with the removal of some trees. The canal connecting the Fox and Wisconsin rivers would be approximately 7,739 feet long. A guard-lock at the Wisconsin River end of the portage would be constructed to prevent a rush of water directly into the canal since the water level in the Wisconsin River was generally 1-1/2 feet above the surface of the water in the Fox. The total cost for this work was estimated to be \$448,470.18.

The Territorial Legislature had already established a Board of Public Works in 1839, and even though they had the two surveys of 1839 and 1840, there is very little action that took place by the federal government on the request for assistance by the Territorial Legislature until 1846. In that year, a grant of lands was made for the purpose of improving the rivers and constructing a canal between them and consisted of one-half of the land for three miles on each side of the canal, the Fox River and the lakes through which it passed. The grant was made in alternate sections, according to the principle adopted by the government in its grants in aid of canals and railways, with the price of the land remaining to the government doubled so that there would be no loss to the treasury. On February 8, 1847, the Territorial Legislature approved the formation of a company consisting of Harvey Jones, Loyal Jones, Harrison Reed, Curtis Reed, and Charles Doty. They were to erect two dams across the Fox River at the two outlets of Lake Winnebago and as they deemed suitable.

The Oshkosh True Democrat of March 23, 1849, reports a dredge was to be constructed. The paper of April 20, 1849, advised contractors to submit sealed proposals at the Astor House at Green Bay for the construction work at various sites on the lower Fox and that monthly estimates would be paid for the work as it progressed, reserving 25 percent of the amount until completion.

Due to a falling out between Harvey Jones and Harrison Reed, the Reeds joined with the Dotys in Menasha and purchased large tracts of land. They were determined to develop the northern outlet of Lake Winnebago as the site of choice for the canal to enhance the value of their land. By August 8, 1848, an act was passed in the state legislature to provide for the improvement of the Fox and Wisconsin rivers and to connect the two by canal, and to provide for the election of five commissioners to be called the Board of Public Works. One of the five commissioners was Curtis Reed. It is likely that the appointment of Curtis Reed

Fox-Wisconsin Waterway

came about through the influence of James Doty who was a prominent political figure in the state.

In September of 1849, the State Board of Public Works met in Oshkosh. Curtis Reed had resigned his membership on the Board so that he might represent Menasha's interest. Both he and Harvey Jones offered to build their respective canals at no cost to the state, but Reed also offered \$5,000 for the right to the northern canal. The Board selected the Menasha canal. This decision was reached even though Harvey Jones had spent considerable time, effort, and money to dam the river and had started building a canal and lock at Neenah. The Dotys and Reeds were happy with the decision because it would benefit their large investment in Menasha.

The Oshkosh Democrat of June 7, 1850, reports that ". . . wherever the Improvement is located the land and property contiguous and adjoining thereto is greatly enhanced in value. Wherever the Work creates a Waterpower or a Landing, a very eligible site for a town and future city is made, and speculators are keenly watching these opportunities to seize upon them and turn them to advantage. And as the river has two sides all the way down, and as upon which side the several improvements are located, there property holders are enabled to avail themselves of these opportunities of speculation, great competition has resulted in bidding for the Work upon one or the other side..."

The Board of Public Works went on the principle of improving the easiest part first so as to bring the Mississippi and Lake Michigan into as close connection as possible with the first available funds to benefit the most people. If the funds fell short for completing the whole project, the shortest distance of the worst and most expensive part would remain uncompleted.

The Oshkosh True Democrat in July, 1849, stated that the whole line of improvement on the Fox from Lake Michigan to the Mississippi would be completed except for ten miles. This was the section of the Fox from Lake Winnebago to Grand Kakalin (Kaukauna). It was the most expensive strip and when completed would assure farmers of the movement of their products. The Board was limited by action of the legislature to the expenditure of \$100,000 for the year of 1849. It was supposed this would confine the Board to work already contracted for. Sale of land that year amounted to \$59,500 and in 1850 to \$53,161 but in the next year it was another story. By then land sales seemed to have reached their limit and as this was the only source of revenue, work on

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Grand Chute and Cedar Rapids had to stop for lack of funds. Word of mismanagement was also being heard.

The Oshkosh Democrat reported on June 7, 1850, as follows: "At Menasha, Mr. Reed is progressing rapidly with the canal. The Dam, a fine substantial structure, is completed, and all the timber for the Lock and other portions of the work has been procured, and all things indicate that it will be completed this fall".

In an October 11, 1850, issue, a story reported that certain capitalists indicated that they could be induced to complete the work at Grand Kakalin and Little Chute. These were the only remaining obstacles in the way of continuous navigation from Green Bay to the Mississippi after contracts already made were completed. If these proposals were accepted, it would ensure the entire completion of the Improvement in 1852.

According to an article in the Oshkosh Democrat of January 17, 1851, a convention was called there on December 22, 1850, to take into consideration measures for more speedy completion of the Improvement. The editorial comment was that they had no sympathy for the convention inasmuch as it was concerned with giving to a private monopoly at the expense and injury to all who wish its benefits and they gave as an example the "Erie Extension Canal" in Pennsylvania. The work was initially undertaken by the state. When it was about half completed, it was overwhelmed in debt and a private company was created to finish the work. The company had the benefit of all the state had done, and then exercised full control over it. It was finished with the least possible expense and shortest time. The result was that work was badly done.

By 1850, Morgan L. Martin came forward with a proposition by which the Improvement could soon be finished. His offer was as follows: He would do the remainder of the work at the same rate as the contract price for Cedar Rapids, to be paid for out of the sale of the land. If this proved insufficient, the deficit was to remain as a debt against the Improvement at 12 percent interest to be paid whenever the state wished. This plan was approved by the legislature and a contract entered into with Martin, and the Fox and Wisconsin Improvement Company was established.

When Governor Farwell came into office the next year, he stopped the issuing of scrip to Martin, some \$26,000 of which had been paid, giving as his opinion that the contract was both contrary to the granting act because it anticipated the sales of the lands, and contrary to the state constitution because it created a debt for an internal improvement. As he refused to issue further scrip to Martin, the

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Legislature passed an act directing the Secretary of State to do so. This Governor Farwell refused to sign, but the Legislature, with the support of a favorable opinion from the Attorney General, passed the act over the veto.

Governor Farwell was not in favor of the whole Improvement, and in a special message to the legislature in 1853, he advised that it be turned over to private parties. The results up to that time were certainly unsatisfactory, with the estimated cost of the completion of Improvement at \$500,000 and the estimated value of the unsold lands only \$230,000. In accordance with the Governor's advice, the Fox and Wisconsin Improvement Company was given all of the rights of the state in the Improvement and all unsold lands were conferred on it. The state, however, retained the right to purchase the Improvement at any time after twenty years at its actual cost over the value of the lands.

A lively interest in the development resulted in numerous articles on the waterway. A sampling of the articles in the Oshkosh Democrat reflects this interest.

February 28, 1851: Time for finishing the contract at Winnebago Rapids was extended by the Board from October, 1850, to the first day of May, 1851, and it is likely to suppose from the amount already finished that it will be ready to use early next season.

March 21, 1851: The Fox River is navigable for small class steamboats from Oshkosh to Fort Winnebago (Portage) a distance of 100 miles by river and 80 by land. There are a dozen small thriving villages along the river and almost every month a new one is laid out. Oshkosh appears to be the natural mart for all of this section of the country.

July 25, 1851: The new lock at Neenah for the passage of boats from the river above the dam, into Little Lake Butte de Morts below, is in progress of completion, and it is sanguinely expected to have it in operation this season.

October 17, 1851: The lock at the foot of the canal is nearly completed. It is expected to be able to pass boats in a couple of weeks at the farthest.

December 5, 1851: Resolution of Board of Public Works that the secretary be directed to obtain all the information possible in reference to the overflowing of land around Lake Winnebago caused by the dams at Neenah and Menasha.

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In a letter to the Board, dated July 24, 1851, Curtis Reed informed the Board that he was abandoning the work in Menasha because they had encouraged Loyal H. Jones in the construction in Neenah. Reed felt the Board should have put a stop to Jones' efforts because Reed considered his contract was for the exclusive development of a channel in the Fox River. He stated he would commence suit against the state for damages. The Board's position was that nobody on the Board of Public Works gave any encouragement to Jones. Further, the Board never took any action with respect to the Menasha contract except to urge employment of a larger work force which had been promised. The Board passed a resolution that stated that unless Reed complied with the requirements of the Board, the work would be declared abandoned, the contractor in violation of the stipulations of the contract. The Board felt that the parties to the agreement, both the contractor and bonding parties, were liable for damages to the state, but the action on this subject was for the Legislature to decide.

A joint legislative resolution, in 1852, to have the action of the first Board of Public Works reversed and the south channel made the official one was nullified by the Board of 1852-53. This restored the northern channel as the preferred route. The Legislature elected a new Board to proceed with the work. There were large quantities of land to be sold but nobody was buying.

The state had not received the entire amount of land contemplated in the original act as many of the alternate sections covered by the grant had been previously disposed of by the U.S. Government. In 1854, the passage of the act was secured authorizing the selection from any public lands in the state then subject to entry at \$1.25 an acre to make good this deficiency. The selection was to be made on the same principle as under the grant to Indiana for the Wabash and Erie Canal. The grant for this canal had been for five miles on each side and the claim was at once set up that the intention of Congress had been to increase the Fox-Wisconsin grant to an equal amount. The next year Congress declared by a resolution that the act of 1854 had given Wisconsin land "equal mile for mile of its improvement to that granted Indiana".

This additional land was claimed by the Fox and Wisconsin Improvement Company under the act of incorporation. The State also set up a claim to it on the grounds that only the lands originally granted to the State had been conferred on the company. In a controversy of this sort the State had the upper hand, and in 1856 the company was required to reconstruct a portion of the Improvement.

Fox-Wisconsin Waterway

The Improvement itself, as well as the lands then unsold, were placed in the hands of trustees who were to pay the indebtedness which the State had already incurred and after that the bonds of the company.

Under these conditions, and with its capital stock increased to \$250,000, the company went on with the work. But the available capital in the young state was insufficient to carry on the enterprise. Assistance from New York was requested, and prominent capitalists agreed to give their support to the work. This aid, however, proved too much for the Wisconsin backers. The affairs of the company were soon in such a condition that the trustees were forced to sell the Improvement and the remaining lands passed into the hands of the New York capitalists. The sum received from the sale was sufficient to pay the expenses which had been incurred in the execution of the trust, the indebtedness which was then outstanding against the State, and to leave an amount equal to the estimated cost of the remainder of the Improvement. The State thus retired from the field without financial loss, even if it had but little to show for twenty years of effort.

While Congress was debating the granting of more land to the Fox-Wisconsin Improvement Company, work had progressed sufficiently in the spring of 1856 in hopes that a boat would be able to make the entire trip along the waterway. To this end, two Green Bay investors purchased the steamboat Aquila in Pittsburgh. Even before the Aquila made its first trip from Neenah to Green Bay, the Neenah Bulletin of June 11, 1856, carried an article in which it reported that a large and enthusiastic meeting of citizens was held at the court house in Appleton for the purpose of obtaining railroad service with Oshkosh, Fond du Lac, and Chicago.

After 1856, seasonal traffic was fairly heavy, but failure of eastern interests to provide regular freight boat service to the East from Green Bay and the extension of C.N.W. Railroad to Green Bay by the end of 1862 greatly limited the long range usefulness of the waterways.

Those who had purchased the assets at the sale organized as the Green Bay and Mississippi Canal Company. The sincerity of their intentions to carry on the Improvement may well have been doubted. At any rate, the work did not long remain in the hands of the company. The intercession of Congress was secured and an appraisal ordered of the improvement, water power, and lands of the company. The Board appointed for this purpose found that there had been expended on the work in the twenty-five years since the land grant had been

Notice to Contractors.

FOX & WISCONSIN RIVER IMPROVEMENTS.

Sealed proposals will be received at the State Land Office at Oshkosh, until Monday the 22d day of October, at 12 o'clock M., for the improvement of both channels of the Fox River at Winnebago Rapids.

The Improvement of the South Channel, to be as follows:

1st. The construction of a good and sufficient brush and gravel or spar dam, across the channel at such point as may be designated by the Chief Engineer. The dam to be raised to the level of ordinary low water in Lake Winnebago.

2d. The dredging and improvement of the channel of the river above the dam, so as to obtain a depth of four feet for a width of not less than 200 feet, with a proper general direction, so that boats would meet with no obstruction in passing from the lock to the commencement of the canal.

3d. The construction of a canal from a proper point on the river above the dam, following as near as may be the line of the present hydraulic canal, to the margin of Little Lake Buttes des Morts. The dimensions of the canal to be as follows: 44 feet width at bottom, with slopes on the sides of 2 to 1, banks 8 feet high, and a sufficient depth of excavation to ensure 4 feet of water.

4th. The construction of a lock of 81-2 feet lift at the connection of the canal with Little Lake Buttes des Morts. The lock to be built with timber in accordance with the plans and specifications that may be prepared by the Chief Engineer, and to have a capacity equal to 140 feet in length between gates, and 35 feet in width in the chamber.

5th. The extension of a line of pier work formed of timber and filled with stone, 2500 feet in length; 8 feet in width, and 6 feet in height, from the foot of the lock into Little Lake Buttes des Morts, and the excavation of a sufficient channel along the west side of the pier work for the free passage of boats. The channel to be not less than 60 feet in width, and to have a depth equal to 4 feet at the ordinary low stage of water in the Lake.

The Improvement of the North Channel, to be as follows:

1st. The raising and completing the dam already commenced to a height equal to the surface of Lake Winnebago, at an ordinary stage of low water.

2d. The excavation and removal of so much as may be necessary of the bottom of the channel of the river, between the dam and the Lake, in order to insure a depth of 4 feet water, at the ordinary low stage of the Lake, for a width of at least 200 feet, with a proper general direction so that boats would pass with facility from the Lake to the commencement of the canal.

3d. The construction of a canal commencing a short distance above the dam, and following the line of surveys of August, 1849, to Little Lake Buttes des Morts. The dimensions of said canal to be as follows: 44 feet width at bottom, with slopes on the sides of 2 to 1, banks 8 feet high, and a sufficient depth of excavation to ensure 4 feet water at an ordinary low stage in Lake Winnebago.

4th. The construction of a lock 8 feet lift, at the connection of the canal with Little Lake Buttes des Morts. The lock to be of timber in accordance with the plans and specifications to be prepared by the Chief Engineer, and to have a capacity equal to 140 feet in length between the gates, with a width of 35 feet in the chamber.

5th. The extension of a line of pier work formed of timber filled with stone, 3000 feet in length; 8 feet in width and 6 feet in height from the foot of the lock into Little Lake Buttes des Morts, and the excavation of a sufficient channel along the north side of the pier work for the passage of boats. The channel to be not less than 60 feet in width, and to have a depth equal to 4 feet at the ordinary low stage of water in the lake.

Gov. Doty and the Improvement.

The first and only reason that we have heard urged against Gov. Doty, by the Old Hunter Democrats, other than his refusal to vote for Cobb, we heard from a gentleman from Winnebago last week, and that was, that the Governor had done nothing to aid the Improvement. As the best reply to him, and any others who may happen to hear of this objection, we re-publish from the Fond du Lac Journal the following letter from Gov. Doty. We do not give the correspondence of the Secretary of the Interior, because it is long, and only details what the Governor gives briefly.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Washington, Aug. 9, 1850.

The enclosed letter from the Secretary of the Interior, is in answer to an application which I made some time ago, for authority to locate lands which, I conceive, were granted to the State for the improvement of the Neenah and Wisconsin rivers.

The claim which I made in behalf of the State was; that each alternate section, three miles in width, from the mouth of Fox River to the Portage canal, was granted by the act of '46; and that if any of these lands had been previously sold, the State is now entitled to locate them elsewhere.

Secondly, That this act also granted the alternate sections for this improvement, on the north side of the river, from Wolf River to the Portage; and that since the extinguishment of the Indian title, the State is now entitled to make her selections there.

You will perceive that the Secretary admits that both of these claims are just; and that an act of Congress only is necessary to authorize these selections to be made.

I consider this decision of great importance, as, by settling two very doubtful questions, enough land will be granted to certainly complete the Improvement of these rivers.

Congress, I have no doubt, will pass the law giving the authority to locate the lands required by the department.

Yours very truly,

JAMES DUANE DOTY.

James Doty's answer to criticism of his actions regarding the improvement of the waterway.

A Tale of Twin Cities

made, over two million dollars. The value of the property of the company was fixed at \$1,048,070, and the law directed that there be deducted the amount raised from the sale of the lands, or \$723,000, leaving \$325,000 to be paid the company. It was further provided that the Secretary of War might elect to purchase the whole property, or either the water power, the Improvement or the personal property. The Secretary decided that only the Improvement should be bought and for this \$145,000, the sum fixed by the appraisers, was appropriated by Congress.

The Fox and Wisconsin Improvement thus passed into the hands of the federal government, and since that time has been treated as any other piece of river improvement.

During its construction, the project had been hampered by:

1. Inadequate planning and financing.
2. Contractors submitting low bids to secure the work which resulted in large cost overruns.
3. Shoddy workmanship.
4. Changes in specifications for the size of the locks and the width and depth of the canals.
5. Actions of elected representatives who wanted the work done in their districts.
6. Land speculators who wanted the work done on their particular side of the river.
7. Intercession of various governmental bodies.

In some ways it is a wonder that the project ever was completed at all.

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Robert R. de Wet

The Improvement Scrip—the Game.

FOX AND WISCONSIN RIVER IMPROVEMENT SCRIP.—A despatch dated New York Dec. 31st, announces the sale of \$9000 of the Improvement Scrip, by Simeon Draper, at \$1.10, and interest. The scrip bears 12 per ct. interest, promptly paid, and is a good investment even at the above high rate.—*Sentinel*.

This is an advertisement that the Improvement Scrip is excellent stock, and a good investment. Will the *Sentinel*, before it continues longer to lend itself to helping puff this stuff, listen to a few facts?

The law of last winter makes all moneys received for Improvement Lands to be deposited at Madison, except ten per cent. From the State Treasury nothing draws the money but this scrip. The Land Office at this place is continually issuing orders. *These orders are not paid.* The Treasurer alleges that the ten per cent. is all absorbed. He refuses to take these orders in payment for lands, because he says he is directed to demand money, for it is necessary to meet the interest coming due on the Scrip.

So the numerous holders of these orders can get no pay, until some future time, if at all.

The game is this. It is for the interest of the speculators in this Improvement, Mr. Martin and Simeon Draper, to raise a breeze and sell off this scrip. For this purpose the first accruing interest must be promptly paid, so that a credit can be raised in Wall Street, and the Scrip shoved off into other hands. Laborers for the Board of Public Works, and poor holders of warrants on the State Land Office Treasurer, are thrust aside, their just and hard-earned dues withheld from them, to enable the big workers in this game to carry it on successfully.

*Editorial of January 14,
1853, in Oshkosh True
Democrat condemning
the "scrip game."*



Copies of scrip used.

Money Shortage

The economy from the Revolution through the Civil War was uncertain and troubled. At the time of the Revolution, most of the gold and silver was owned by the British and, of course, was taken abroad during the war. Paper money, called "greenbacks", was printed during the Revolution, but there was much suspicion and distrust. The creditor feared being paid off with money that had no specie (gold and silver) to back its value. Merchants and shopkeepers felt unable to trust the value of the greenbacks. Men who were able to accumulate quantities of the notes worried about the future purchasing power of the money.

With stable money in short supply, barter became common. Land was seen as the only true source of wealth, the only way to pass one's wealth from one generation to the next. After the Revolution, the lands to the west were divided between the states and parcels were given to soldiers as payment for their services. Vast quantities of land were purchased for speculation, with considerable investment by Europeans as well as Americans.

In 1792, Alexander Hamilton established a mint in Philadelphia. Its gold and silver coins were to be the basic money of the country. Paper currency issued during the Revolution was redeemed at one cent on the dollar.

Banks were established to issue credit at an interest rate that rewarded the owners of the bank. The credit allowed the borrower to purchase land, buildings, tools, raw materials, etc., necessary to set up industries and farms or to purchase inventories and buildings in which to open shops. It allowed for an equalization of wealth.

There were 75 banks in operation in 1805 - all in the East. Alexander Hamilton proposed the establishment of a central bank as a place of deposit for government funds and as a way of transferring money from one part of the country to another. The bank would issue notes redeemable for gold or silver. It would also serve as the lender of last resort by making loans to banks that were in financial trouble.

A Tale of Twin Cities

The second bank of the United States was established and chartered for a period of 20 years with capital of \$10 million, \$2 million being invested by the government. Its headquarters was in Philadelphia and it had 25 branches around the land. Stock was sold, with no individual allowed to own more than 1,000 of the total of 25,000 shares. Foreign investors could own shares but could not vote them.

The bank was initially a success. Because of the government support, it was well regarded and trusted by the public. Other banks, however, began to see it as a competitor and as a master. Discipline was imposed on banks, requiring them to back notes with hard money. Resentment by the banks was then communicated to customers.

The number of state banks multiplied, with the greatest expansion occurring in the Appalachians and the West. After the War of 1812, banks outside of New England suspended specie payment. A set of discounts was established which came into effect when notes were used for buying goods or paying debts, based on where the notes had been issued. There was a 50% discount on the face value of notes issued in the West.

Nicholas Biddle became head of the Bank of the United States in 1823. The bank was then serving as a restraining force on the state banks. Payments were accepted only in notes from banks which backed them in gold and silver. Note circulation was limited.

Opposition was most severe by banks in the west with a need for easy credit. It was widely felt that the Bank of the United States exerted total control over the state banks, the country's currency, and the nation's economy. It became an important issue in the election of Andrew Jackson. Jackson was determined to end what was seen as the bank's monopoly and vetoed the renewal of the charter. In 1833 Jackson removed the government deposits from the bank, which accelerated the trend toward inflation. The bank called in its loans and credit tightened. State banks flooded the country with their notes. In the west, note issue doubled between 1833 and 1836. There was extensive land speculation, with speculators purchasing land with bank notes of little or no true value.

Four banks opened in the Northwest Territory in 1837 - in Green Bay, Milwaukee, Dubuque, and Mineral Point. Green Bay was the first. It had obtained its charter from Michigan early in 1835. It was financed by the sale of \$100,000 of capital stock, which sold for \$50 a share - one-tenth of the amount

Money Shortage

was to be paid down in specie, and the remainder was due on call of the board of directors. There were nine directors with extensive powers, including the ability to increase the amount of capital stock outstanding. The bank was permitted to issue notes in denominations of one dollar and above. The total amount of indebtedness by the bank was limited to three times the capital stock outstanding and actually paid for. Indebtedness was classified as bonds, bills, notes, and contracts.

The Bank of Wisconsin was the only bank west of Lake Michigan and it had an excellent chance of success. Business was booming. Land originally bought at \$1.25 per acre sold for high resale values. Everyone wanted credit and was willing to pay high interest rates for it. The Green Bay bank was soon to have competition. The Bank of Milwaukee was opened in 1836 and shortly afterward the Miner's Bank of Dubuque and the Bank of Mineral Point opened. All three banks had identical charters. Each bank was opened with a capital investment of \$200,000 at \$100 per share. Each share was to be paid for at one-tenth down and the remainder on call. The banks could not go in debt in excess of 3 times the amount of capital actually paid in, nor issue bank notes of denominations under \$5. There were no safeguards built into any of the charters - no provision for safety reserves or government control over printing of notes.

On July 11, 1837, Jackson issued the "Specie Circular", forbidding public land offices to accept anything but gold and silver in payment for land. An exception was made for settlers who purchased a limited quantity of land. The circular's issuance caused purchasers to withdraw specie from banks and buy less land. The banks' loss of gold and silver reserves led to restriction of credit and bank failures. Widespread panic occurred when every bank in the country suspended specie payments. The payments were resumed in 1838, but the depression lasted until 1843.

In May, 1837, the Bank of Wisconsin was forced to suspend specie payment and never resumed redeeming notes. They did, however, continue to issue notes at a depreciated value.

In November, 1838, Governor Dodge recommended an investigation into the condition of banks in the Wisconsin Territory. He became increasingly outspoken in his attacks on paper money and banking excesses. Two legislative committees were formed to accomplish the investigation and issued their reports in January of 1839. The charter of the Green Bay bank was annulled in March.

A Tale of Twin Cities

The bank had assets to pay only 50¢ on the dollar in the redemption of their bank notes.

The Bank of Milwaukee's charter was annulled in March, also, leaving the Bank of Mineral Point the only bank in Wisconsin. In 1841, that bank suspended specie payment and in 1842, the legislature repealed the charter. The investigation had concluded that the bank's officials were irresponsible, that its capital reserves were insufficient in amount and that it had over-reported the amount of gold and silver it had on hand.

Public reaction to the closing of the banks was severe, creating revulsion and distrust. Miners in the Mineral Point area would accept nothing but specie, or its equivalent, for their mineral.

On February 25, 1839, the legislature incorporated the State Bank of Wisconsin. It furnished the majority of the paper currency for commercial transactions. The Wisconsin Marine and Fire Insurance Company was chartered for a 25-year period, beginning business in Milwaukee in May, 1839. The charter gave the company the power to insure buildings and ships, to receive money on deposit and lend it at interest, to purchase and sell stock, mortgages and real estate. It was not, however, to be considered a bank.

The banking and bank note situation continued to worsen. States revoked bank charters and refused to authorize new ones. For almost twelve years no legal note-issuing banks existed in the upper Mississippi Valley area of Iowa, Illinois, and Wisconsin. There was widespread hostility toward banks.

The Wisconsin Marine and Fire Insurance Company started to issue "certificates of deposit" which were redeemable at all times and circulated as paper money. The notes were actually backed by funds invested by stock sold in Scotland. The company was investigated in 1843 and the charter was rescinded in 1846. The charter did not allow the issuance of bank notes, no matter what they were called by the company. The company, however, continued in business after the repeal of its charter and continued to issue certificates bearing the signatures of company officers.

Democrats, suspicious of all banks and banking, tended to favor the outlawing of all banking corporations. Harrison Reed, the editor of the Milwaukee Sentinel and a leader of the conservative contingency, favored the establishment of a national bank with branches or with state banks that could regulate the banking and currency of the country.

Money Shortage

By the early 1840's the depression was ending and the economy was improving. It was impossible to conduct business without an acceptable currency or credit regulations. Reliable banks were also necessary to the government as a way to extend credit where necessary to territorial governments until money arrived from the national government and to transmit funds between the various governmental agencies.

Further suspicion of banks prevented them from permanently establishing themselves in Neenah, Menasha, and the rest of Wisconsin, until the mid-1850's. This made credit hard to obtain. Large loans were uncommon and long payback periods were unheard of due to high interest rates. In 1850, John Fitzgerald of Green Bay charged 25-30% interest for the use of his capital. More common, however, were loans arranged through friends and relatives remaining in the East. These loans typically involved interest rates of 10% per year. The state legislature, in 1851, set a 12% cap on interest rates. However, those who needed money badly enough often paid more than that.

Neenah-Menasha's first bank was organized in 1855 in Neenah. Aaron and A. T. Cronkhite named their enterprise the Winnebago County Bank. It circulated bank notes and offered a liberal loan policy. By 1860, the bank had made loans totalling \$77,000.

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Lynn M. Brill

MENASHA ADVOCATE

April 19, 1856

THE LAW OF NEWSPAPERS.

1. Subscribers who do not give express notice to the contrary are considered as wishing to continue their subscription.
2. If subscribers neglect or refuse to take newspapers from the office to which they are directed, they are held responsible until they have settled the bills and ordered them discontinued.
3. If subscribers remove to other places without informing the publishers, and the newspapers are sent to the former direction, they are held responsible.
4. The courts have decided that refusing to take newspapers from the office, or removing and leaving them uncalled for, is *prime facie* evidence of intentional fraud.
5. The U. S. Courts have also repeatedly decided that a postmaster who neglects to perform his duty of giving seasonable notice, as required by the Post Office Department, of the neglect of a person to take from the office a newspaper addressed to him, renders the Postmaster liable to the publisher for the subscription price.

Old Winnebago Store! COMMERCIAL BLOCK, Winnebago Rapids.

We keep constantly on hand a large and well selected assortment of

GOODS,

adapted to the wants of the people, which we are selling at reduced prices for CASH.

Our Stock consists of

Dry Goods,

GROCERIES,

Crockery,

Hardware,

Boots & Shoes,

Drugs & Medicines,

Nails, Glass, Sash, Putty, Earthen Ware,

Paints, Oils, Dye Woods, Sole and Up-

per Leather, Clocks, Hats & Caps,

Also, a large assortment of

Ready Made Clothing.

Also, for sale 50,000 Shingle, Corn, Flour,

Pork, Butter, Dried Fruit &c. &c.

We buy most kinds of Produce at the highest market prices, and would invite the Farmers to give us a call.

JONES & YALE

Winnebago Rapids, February 26, 1852.

*Advertisement of Jones
& Yale General Store.*

Influence of the Press

Newspapers in the 1850's were rambunctious sheets which without shame promoted their causes and their friends and bad-mouthed the "other guys", their schemes, and anything else that threatened their own interests.

It was an era of personal journalism where those who owned the press used its power. They did not let facts stand in the way of their opinions. Objectivity and fair play were not in most editors' stylebooks.

Their subscribers became acquainted with only one side of the issues - the side the editor and his backers decided was best for their financial interests and their town. Newspapers rose and fell with the success and failure of their political and financial cronies during those tumultuous times.

Harrison Reed, Neenah's founder, knew how to pick his friends. He was a promoter of Judge James Duane Doty, who wielded the most political and economic clout of the era. Some labeled Doty "a consummate political manipulator, a master of chicane." But those words would not likely appear in Harrison Reed's Conservator, the most successful of the region's newspapers in the mid-1850's.

Reed was considered Doty's political echo when Doty served as the state's second territorial governor. Reed was one of the governor's staunchest allies when he ran the Milwaukee Sentinel and later the Madison Wisconsin Enquirer.

It was the Judge who enticed Reed, at age 30, to come to Winnebago Rapids in 1843. The federal Indian civilizing experiment had failed and there was money to be made from the spoils.

Doty, in his capacity as Indian agent, greased the sale of 562.44 acres for his friend at a bargain price of \$600. The deal did not survive government scrutiny, however, and Reed had to find a backer to help pay the negotiated price of \$4,760.

No, Reed would not badmouth his benefactor in print in Neenah's Conservator. But others would.

Influence of the Press

Each community on the grow spawned its own newspaper. It did not take a heavy capital investment to put out a publication and there were plenty of backers ready to put up money to promote their causes. Most of them had moved in from eastern states like New York and Pennsylvania, and many had the "moxie" and the drive to reap rewards in the developing territory that did not reach statehood until 1848.

The first newspaper west of Lake Michigan was the Green Bay Intelligencer, established in 1833 by Gen. A.G. Ellis, who had learned the printer's trade at Old Herkimer, N.Y. He declared as its purpose "the advancement of the country west of Lake Michigan". However, he did reserve the right to use the power of his press to "support old-fashioned democratic principles" while proclaiming he was "wedded to no faction, in bondage to no ambitious intrigant". He added, "An independent freedom is left us of speaking of men and measures according to our conception of their merits". His goal was in the highest of pioneer journalistic traditions, but even though he tacked the Wisconsin Democrat to the Intelligencer masthead, he only put out 26 editions in two years and ended up selling the paper in 1836.

By that time, another Green Bay newspaper, the second in the territory, already had risen and fallen with its cause. The Wisconsin Free Press was begun to advance the political ambitions of Morgan L. Martin, a rival of Judge Doty. The Judge, however, prevailed to become the territory's representative in Congress and the Wisconsin Free Press died three months after it was born.

The next newspapers were established in Milwaukee, the Advertiser in 1836, followed by the Sentinel a year later. The Wisconsin Enquirer made its debut in Madison in 1838. Neenah's founder, Harrison Reed, served as editor of both the Sentinel and the Enquirer, converting them to become proponents of Gov. Doty's causes.

When Doty moved his land developer's acumen and his power base to Winnebago Rapids (Neenah), Reed was not far behind. But it took more than a decade before Reed had established another political voice for Doty in the Conservator, established in Neenah in 1856.

In the early 1850's, spurred by competing developments and population booms, with newcomers streaming in from the eastern states, newspapers suddenly sprang up all over the new state of Wisconsin. Some were short-lived, like the Winnebago Telegraph, the Oshkosh Delegate, and the German-language

A Tale of Twin Cities

Phoenix aus Nordwestens. But others lived on, many forming the parentage for today's daily newspapers.

The Oshkosh True Democrat was established in 1849 and three years later the Courier gave Oshkosh readers another opinion option. Both soon went to daily publications and their rival editors carried on a bitter warfare until they both folded and the Northwestern was formed.

In Menasha, Jeremiah Crowley, at age 24, established the Advocate in 1853. Crowley noted a few years later that "newspapers are getting as thick as mosquitos on the Wolf River". He made special mention of the Neenah Bulletin, run by W.H. Mitchell, "a regular red-mouthed Abolitionist. We cannot say much for its appearance or for its editorial ability".

The Advocate editor noted that Sam Ryan's Crescent in Appleton would have competition from the Democratic Free Press although he pointed out that the new paper was "Shanghai in politics and the editor disavows being a Know-Nothing".

The stage was set for campaigns of personal journalism, where each newspaper in the region cheered its people and projects and railed against the others. When the Winnebago County Board cut the Town of Neenah into two parts, splitting off the Town of Menasha to the north, Crowley and his Menasha Advocate denounced it as "one of the most rascally acts ever perpetrated". The Crescent applauded the move, saying the two communities had nothing in common and should be divided. The Democrat remained neutral but reportedly was both amused and annoyed at the "excessive jealousies" exhibited by the twin settlements.

"We are accused alternately by the one and by the other of favoring the opposite place," James Densmore, editor of the Democrat, wrote. "The truth is that we are not conscious of having a preference for either place," he said. "The rivalries between them are things with which we have nothing to do. As public journalists we have no right to meddle with them."

On slow news days, the editors would attack each other, sometimes with overtones of their political affiliations. Harrison Reed was one of the founders of the Republican Party in Wisconsin at Ripon in the mid-1850's and his political allegiance was unquestioned.

Menasha's Crowley was fond of attacking Reed with faint praise. "Mr. R. is one of the oldest editors and best writers in the state and cannot fail to publish a tip top paper. Although a gentleman in every walk of life, he is a 'blooded Shanghai', and we presume will publish a paper that will suit most ultra of that

Influence of the Press

breed," he wrote. "We wish him all the success in the world, except in his politics."

Later, the Advocate warned its Democratic readers of inroads being made by the Know-Nothings.

We have it from the best authority that the Know-Nothings of this town organized on a certain night of this week, and nominated a ticket of their own stripe to be supported by themselves, and their allies, the Black Republicans, at the coming election. They also selected a committee to slink around the corners of the streets and saloons to belie and slander the prominent Democrats of Menasha. We say to our friends - be on your guard! Do not believe them!

Crowley also had a dig for Appleton's Sam Ryan, editor of the Crescent. Said Crowley, "Very modest is Sammy, who left the Whig party but a little more than a year since, to become the toady of a petty clique who furnished him his bread and butter upon condition that he quit drinking".

Ryan would take pot shots at both the "Menasha clan and the Oshkosh clique". The Oshkosh Democrat also jumped in the fray on both parochial and political issues.

The Neenah Bulletin and its editor W. H. Mitchell showed its colors on prohibition in the attack on Appleton, saying it was "no worse than very many other places. There are but few if any villages in northern Wisconsin but what are more or less cursed by the low filth and scum of the earth in the shape of grog shops". "Thank God we have not many of them in our village, and we hope ere long to have the pleasure of seeing the last one banished from our midst," he wrote. "There is perhaps no village in the West with the same number of inhabitants that can boast of more moral community than ours."

Some editors challenged others to keep up their end of the deals, especially when it came to advancing their interests. When Menasha's plank road was built up to the river, Reed chided, "Now, Brother Crowley, hurry up your end and let that bridge across the river be completed and our two villages will be as one".

Editors were wont to use exaggeration to make their points - for example, Crowley's Advocate celebrated the giant Williams Building by claiming "it was big enough to hold the entire village of Appleton and still leave room to operate a two-stone flour mill".

A Tale of Twin Cities

Reed was a booster and a boaster without parallel in his Conservator for Neenah and Menasha. While Crowley had considerable influence when he established the Advocate in Menasha - and at one time ran the Oshkosh Courier - he left Menasha after three years and was off to edit the Manitowoc Pilot.

Reed's Conservator was the leading newspaper in 1856, with a reported circulation of 843 at a subscription rate of \$1.50 a year. It was considered a lively weekly with a strong promotional and political tinge. The Menasha Advocate charged \$2 per year for home delivery but apparently had trouble with advertiser and subscriber deadbeats. "Once for all, we call upon those owing us to pay up. If not settled immediately, we shall be obliged to resort to harsh measures, and we shall make no distinction," Crowley's notice read. "We hope, too, that our subscribers are aware that our terms are in advance, and that it is necessary all payments should be immediately made for the coming year."

Crowley often went public with his financial problems. In 1855, he lamented the lack of loyalty for the hometown paper. "There is certainly ten times the amount of money paid out of this town for foreign papers than is applied for the support of the Advocate." He added, "We have paid out over \$500 more than our receipts to keep the Advocate from sinking. No wonder that newspapers die out. We know men here who receive weekly through the post office at least half a dozen newspapers - unfit for the eyes of their wives or children - who have never paid one cent for the support of their own paper, and yet they are the first to whine at its non-appearance," Crowley wrote. "If the devil don't catch such men, we see no use for the creation of that individual."

Newspapers did offer a vital means of communication within a community and sometimes editors offered a peek at what neighbors were doing, especially along the waterways. The editor of the Oshkosh True Democrat seemed to be a frequent visitor to Neenah and Menasha, periodically giving his readers an update. "Last Saturday we made a visit to Neenah and Menasha. Houses were going up on all sides and even to us who are somewhat used to such things, the change that has taken place in three months was somewhat astonishing," James Densmore wrote. Six weeks later, the Oshkosh editor again took to the waterways to inspect the twin communities. "At Neenah (or Winnebago Rapids) things are progressing so fast that we shall not try to chronicle them," adding that eight or ten new buildings had been raised since his last visit.

Newspapers offered a potpourri of information. They told of the steamships plying the waters of Lake Winnebago and the Fox and Wolf rivers, especially the

Influence of the Press

Peytona which recouped its \$9,000 cost in the first three months of freight and passenger service. It offered daily (except Sunday) trips from Fond du Lac to Neenah, a seven-hour cruise, and claimed the best service in the "eating department and saloon".

The Oshkosh True Democrat ran brewery advertisements where the Oshkosh owners claimed "a superior article - better than is obtained from abroad under the title of 'Detroit Ale' and 'Milwaukee Beer'".

Republican Harrison Reed took out ads in the True Democrat, before he established his own paper, offering a \$30 reward for the return of three mares which strayed from his estate in 1849. The next summer he offered his horse Lara one day each week throughout the area. "All who wish to improve their stock will do well to call and see Lara as he is one of the best bloods in the state."

Newspapers kept their citizens apprised of the progress taking place in the region, the new mills, factories, stores, and housing, the building of plank roads and the building of dams, canals, and locks along the Fox River.

Newspapers told of crime and of scofflaws who smoked cigars in court and of the improper dress of ladies at formal balls. "There were some ladies there - very pretty ones - whose dresses were cut extraordinarily low in the neck and bosom and were entirely without sleeves," the Oshkosh True Democrat reported of the 4th of July ball at the Oshkosh House. "Some of these were shocked at the want of modesty of the lady with the short skirt and openly treated her with contemptuous rudeness. She quietly remarked that if they would pull up their dresses about the neck as high as they ought to be, their skirts would be as short as hers", the editor wrote.

Ads were offered for physicians, dry goods, and machinery. Newspapers presented poetry and essays on such things as the perfect wife. They told of the criminal and social goings on, never failing to add editorial comments to the news.

The dominant theme in most newspapers along the Fox River was community promotion. They never failed to boost local efforts to draw attention, people, and money to their towns, instead of their rivals on the waterways.

Even 15 years after Harrison Reed came to Neenah, he was still hyping the area and hoping for outside investors. He kept his rosy outlook for Neenah and Menasha. "We believe the present state of things permanently advantageous to all our industrial interest, in that it will prove a salutary check upon the insane

A Tale of Twin Cities

tendency to overtrading and inflation, and will drive from our towns and villages a class of unproductive and loafing speculators, whose subsistence has been gambling and trading in lots and land - in paper towns and prospective cities."

The Menasha Advocate was no less a promoter for its community. According to Crowley:

No town in the west has grown so rapid as Menasha, and yet no town has met with more opposition from jealous neighbors. Its natural advantages and commanding position has aroused the envy and malice of those towns possessing neither, and like biting at a file, they have only brought ruin upon themselves. From a perfect wilderness six years ago, it has grown to be one of the most busy, populous and commercial places in the north part of the state, while its manufacturing business far exceeds any other town, except, perhaps, Milwaukee. That Menasha is destined to be one of the largest towns in the Northwest cannot be doubted by anyone who will take the trouble to examine its position, and it needs but a small amount of capital and labor to prove this statement.

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Peter A. Geniesse

OSHKOSH DEMOCRAT.

DEVOTED TO THE DISCUSSION OF EVERYTHING RELATING TO THE PUBLIC GOOD.

3.

OSHKOSH, WIS., FRIDAY, MAY 30, 1851.

NO. 13

Lake Winnebago Steamboat Co.

STEAMER PEYTONA.

THIS splendid Packet, having undergone a thorough repair, under the superintendance of Capt. Estes, will run during the season on Lake Winnebago, every day. Sunday excepted, as follows:

Leave Fond du Lac and Taycheedah at 9 a. m.
Neeah and Menasha at 3 p. m.

Touching at Oshkosh each way. Passengers' Fare and Rates of Freight same as last season.

Passengers arriving in the evening by stages and express line from Milwaukee, Watertown, Sheboygan, &c. will get this Boat in the morning, and those arriving on the Boat at Fond du Lac in the evening, can leave by stage and express in the morning for the above places.

Passengers will find Boats running from Neeah to the Grand Chute in connection with the Peytona and the Stages, forming a perfect line between Fond du Lac and Green Bay, and the intermediate places.

The Company has been at considerable expense in refitting and furnishing the Boat in a handsome manner, and have spared no pains in order that the Traveling Public may enjoy every comfort.

Arrangements have been made with Mr. JACKSON, recently of the "E. S. Cottage," Fond du Lac, who will take charge of the Eating Department and Saloon. With this part of the arrangements we have no doubt the Public will be well pleased. The Saloon has also been fitted up in a neat and comfortable style, and gentlemen will find in it everything to be desired. George Lewis, the well known Prince of Cooks, having been engaged by Mr. Jackson, is again at his post. We need scarcely add that the table will be furnished with every luxury of the season.

E. W. DRURY, President.

Fond du Lac, April 4, 1851—5

THE IMPROVEMENT.—We learn from the Neeah Bulletin that the steamer *Aquila*, Capt. HORTALING, intends making the attempt to steam it down to Green Bay. The *Crescent* has gone crazy over the fact that a steam tug from Green Bay has succeeded in working its way up to Appleton. We hope for the *Crescent's* sake that nothing will happen to run all its bright hopes of regular communication between Green Bay and Appleton, into the mud. Favored as we are with so many advantages of going far ahead of our neighbors, we can afford to let them crow over such a matter as the arrival of a steam tug from Green Bay.

A NEW STEAMBOAT ROUTE.—The fine little steamer *Knap* has commenced making regular trips between Menasha and New London, on Wolf River. She is commanded by Capt. JOHN MOODY, a clever fellow and good sailor. This is an important route, and will draw a considerable share of the up river trade to Menasha.

Three steamers arrive at and leave our docks daily, which is a sure sign of our increase in business and population.

Steamer Accidents.

On Tuesday last, as the *Dadger State* was coming down from Berlin, at Sacramento a hole blown out of its boiler. No serious damage was done, only causing a delay of a few days. It is expected here again to-day or to-morrow.

On Wednesday, as the *Peytona* was coming over from Fond du Lac, when within about five miles of here, the main crank broke. It was pushed in shore by hand, and is lying there now. There were about forty passengers, and the mail on board. Capt. Estes promptly despatched one of his men to this place to get some one to go for the passengers and mail. All the steamers being gone, Capt. John Williams, with his little schooner, *Star of the West*, immediately went over, and returned just at evening with the mail and about half the passengers. It being very rough, and the wind blowing severely, the others preferred remaining on board the *Peytona*. The next morning Capt. Williams went after the balance of the company. The passengers gave him and his little craft many compliments, for skill, courtesy, good sailing, &c.

The injury is hoped to be repaired in a few days. Mr. Williams, of the foundry at this place, is at work with his whole force making a new crank. By Moody next, it is hoped to get the boat sailing again.

The passengers speak very highly of Capt. Estes' good nature, courtesy, and efforts to accommodate those who remained with him.

These newspaper articles indicate the importance of steamboats.

Navigation on the Fox

To the newly arrived settlers in 1843, the Fox River stretched south from Green Bay, promising an easy route to their new homeland in east central Wisconsin. However, it was a false promise, for lurking beyond the tree-grown banks were a series of rapids of dangerous proportions. The waters of the Fox roared northward through Grand Kakalin (Kaukauna), Little Chute, Grand Chute (Appleton), and Winnebago Rapids (Neenah), on their journey from the placid waters of Lake Winnebago. These rapids had for centuries blocked passage on the river for the Indian canoe, the bateaux of the French trappers, and now the canoes and Durham boats of the new settlers.

Something was about to be done to alleviate the laborious portages around the rapids. Two events brought a movement for change. First, in 1829, the Supreme Court ruled against the steamboat monopoly of Fulton in the case of Gibbons vs. Ogden, thus removing the ban on steamboat construction by anyone but the Fulton group. The second was the opening of the Erie Canal. Steamboat construction flourished in the East and along the Ohio and Mississippi rivers, while in the midwest territories a cry for the building of canals came from the populous. In the 40's this movement reached Wisconsin and the first steps to open the route from Portage on the Wisconsin River to Green Bay began. About the same time, a steamboat captain from New York area arrived in Green Bay in a reconstructed canal boat. The date was 1843, and the man was captain Peter Hotaling. Steamboating had arrived on the Fox River.

Hotaling's boat, the Black-Hawk was a crude side-wheel vessel (a former Erie Canal boat hull) of some 80 feet in length, 15 feet in beam, with a "newfangled" steam engine. During the summer of the year 1843 he carried newly arrived immigrants up river against the current as far as Grand Kakalin. Here the rapids prevented further passage to the south, and the passengers had to portage, and continue their voyage in Durham boats (a scow-like boat of some 30 feet in length poled and rowed against the current, and when favorable, sailed with the

A Tale of Twin Cities

aid of a single mast and square sail). With the coming of winter, Hotaling pondered his next move.

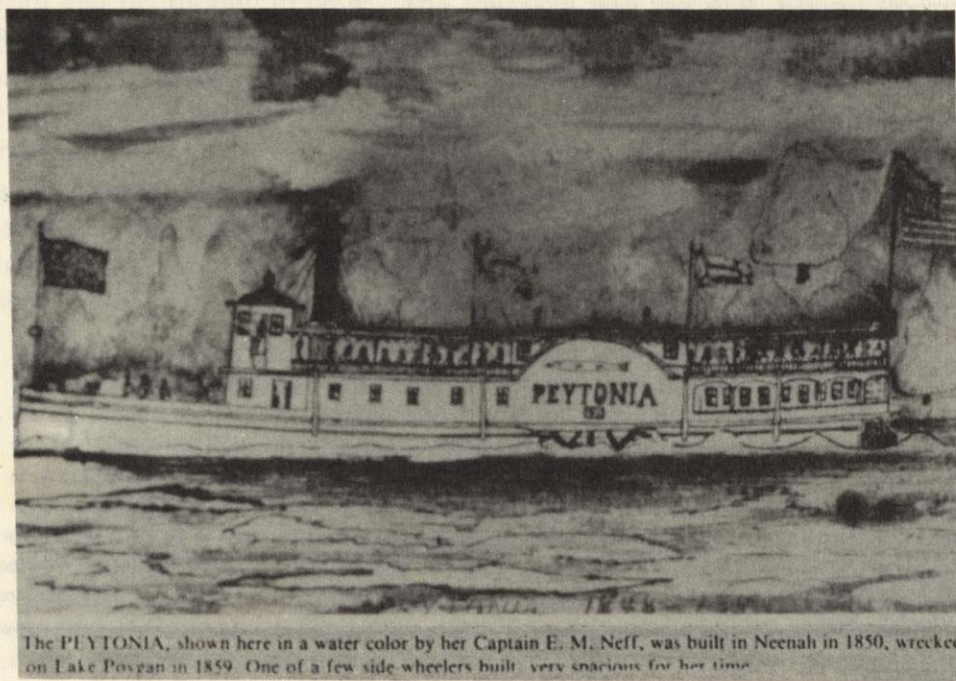
Lake Winnebago lay seven miles south of the rapids. Here was an opportunity for additional commercial business as many new settlers came overland to Taycheeda at the southeast corner of the lake, looking for passage north and west. Hotaling, therefore, determined to strip the hull of the Black-hawk of all useable fittings and engine parts and set out on a journey to the shore of Lake Winnebago. Using sleds and oxen, the heavy cargo was pulled to the ice-covered lake, and thence skidded down the east shore to the small community of Manchester (near Brotherton). Using green wood, which was plentiful in the region, he constructed a sternwheel craft 85' x 13' with a hull of 3', and called her Manchester after the port in which she was built. The Manchester sailed the waters of Winnebago, from Taycheeda to Oshkosh, Fond du Lac, Winnebago Rapids, and Menasha. It also traveled up the Wolf River via Lake Butte des Morts and down the Fox, when the water was available, to trading posts near Appleton. These voyages continued until 1849 when a new steamboat combine was put together in Oshkosh by Morgan L. Martin along with M. C. Darling, Capt. A. B. Bowen, J. Bannister, T. Conkey, J. Jackson, Augustine Grignon, and as "Admiral", Captain Peter Hotaling. The fleet was captained through the years by Messrs. Estes, Harris, Bowen, and Warden. The company's first vessel was the Manchester which was lengthened 20 feet and rebuilt into the Badger State. She blew up in 1853.

To the north in Green Bay, Morgan L. Martin had the Pioneer constructed (a 100' X 14' side-wheel). This vessel worked the waters of Green Bay and De Pere. At the same time, Martin built the Indiana (of the same size as Pioneer but a stern-wheeler). She was the first vessel through the locks at De Pere, and ran regularly to Kaukauna. Before the Portage-Green Bay locks were completed, she interchanged cargo and passengers with the steamboats from the south. Kaukauna was the last unit in the Portage-Green Bay canal system to be built.

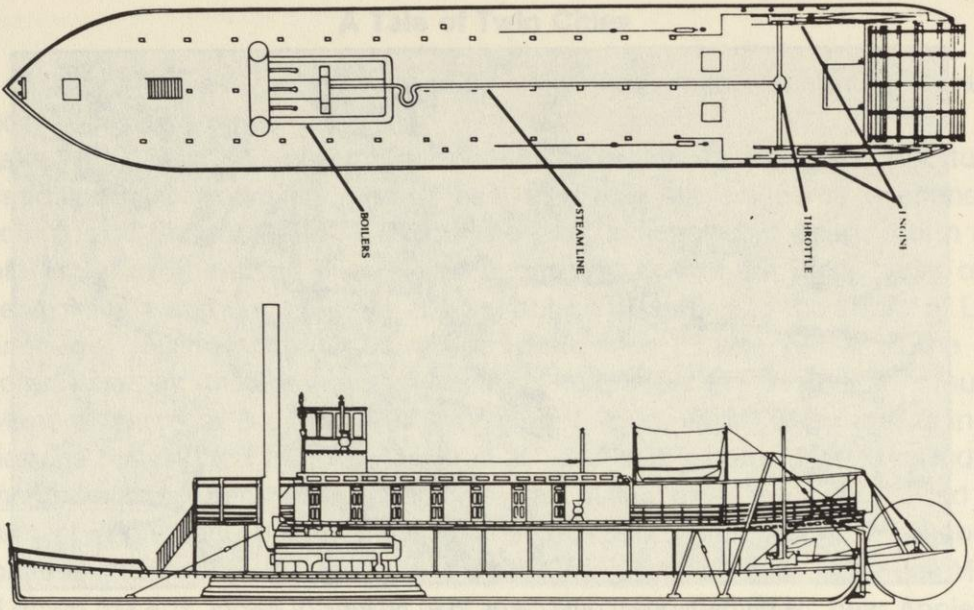
Meanwhile, builders in Neenah and Menasha were constructing steamboats. In 1850, a hull was cut in two at Kaukauna and worked over the rapids to Neenah. Here it was rebuilt into the Peytonia, a lovely side-wheeler captained by James Estes for the Oshkosh combine. The work took place at the boatyard near the site of the present Neenah Library. She ran on the Neenah, Oshkosh, Wolf River passage. The Peytonia sank in Lake Poygan in 1859 when sheet ice cut through her hull. At one time she was captained by E. M. Neff who painted



A durham boat could carry 15 to 50 tons of freight. Pointed poles were used to propel the vessel. When water was too deep, a sail was hoisted.

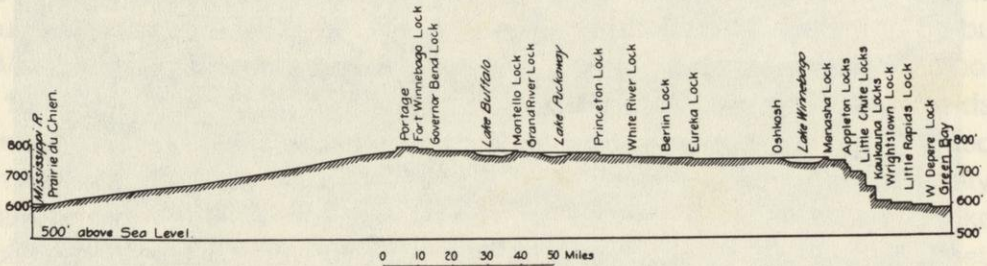


The PEYTONIA, shown here in a water color by her Captain E. M. Neff, was built in Neenah in 1850, wrecked on Lake Poygan in 1859. One of a few side-wheelers built very spacious for her time.



TYPICAL FOX RIVER STEAMBOAT

UPPER and LOWER FOX RIVER



PROFILE OF FOX-WISCONSIN WATERWAY FROM PRAIRIE DU CHIEN TO PORTAGE TO GREEN BAY

Navigation on the Fox

a fine watercolor of her which is in the possession of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. In Menasha in 1850, Curtis Reed and James Doty had a large side-wheeler, the Menasha, built for them in a yard at the end of Cedar Street. She was too big for the new locks (165' X 40') and after a year of unprofitable voyages on Lake Winnebago, she was cut and made into two barges for wheat shipment. The stern section went to the Mississippi, while the bow sunk under the Main Street bridge in Oshkosh.

In 1851, a Menasha boat company built the John Mitchell, a large stern-wheeler that traversed Winnebago for one season, but was unprofitable. She was sold to Mississippi sources and became the first boat to make the westbound trip to Portage and beyond in 1852. The Jenny Lind was built for Dr. M. Peake of Menasha at the yard at the foot of Cedar Street. She, too, was a big vessel of 150' X 22' and proved unprofitable just as the Mitchell had been. She was sold to Mississippi buyers in 1852. Charles Velte, in his book, Historic Lake Poygan, quotes W. A. Titus in his article "Early Navigation on the Fox River and Wolf Rivers and Lake Winnebago," as saying, "It seemed that anyone with a little cash wanted to build and run a steamboat, and it may be said that every one of these investors lost his money in time". The Peytonia and the W.A. Knapp (formerly The Badger State and Manchester) continued to operate for the combine.

Meanwhile, two boats were built in Oshkosh in 1851, the D. B. Whitacre (renamed the Oshkosh in 1852 and sold to the Tennessee River trade in 1853), and the Berlin. The latter was a side-wheeler later owned by local business man Elisha D. Smith who became the largest industrialist in Wisconsin with his Menasha Wooden Ware Company. Smith was a better maker of pails than a steamboatman. He trusted a rogue by the name of Mr. Malbourn. Smith gave the following narrative on "business experience" to an "Old Settlers" meeting.

My early experience here in storekeeping was exceedingly trying, when in my ignorance I supposed everyone was honest. During the winter, the steamboat Berlin was being rebuilt for the 1852 season, and the owner persuaded me to take his orders for merchandise with a promise of payment in the spring. But the spring came and brought no money, and I was obliged to take up several liens on the steamboat in order to secure myself. In doing so, I became the owner of the steamboat at the cost of over \$5,000. I then arranged with a Mr. Malbourn of Neenah to take my boat through to La Crosse by way of Portage and the Wisconsin River, the Portage Lock having been completed, with a view of making a sale of the boat. He sold

A Tale of Twin Cities

the boat, but no money came to me, Mr. Malbourn having appropriated the proceeds of the sale. I instituted suit against him in La Crosse. It was an expensive affair. My La Crosse lawyer got full judgement in the amount of \$2,500, which he stole, and died soon after! Thus ended my first steamboat experience.

Neenah interests built the big Vanness Barlow on the shore of Little Lake Butte des Morts near the present Bergstrom Paper Mill of the Gladfelter Company. She barely cleared the lock with her length of 150' and width of 25'. John Stevens II in his papers reported that she was the first boat to traverse the Neenah lock in 1852. She ran Neenah to Appleton where her freight was teamed to Kaukauna to connect with the Indiana. On August 7, 1854, her boiler blew up in Oshkosh. Two were killed and her upper works destroyed. Repaired and rebuilt with new upper works, she worked the Valley and Winnebago system until she went to the Mississippi in 1857.

The Portage-Green Bay Canal System was soon to be completed, and in 1853 Peter Hotaling went east to purchase machinery for a new boat he was building to run on the system. Unfortunately, he died of lung hemorrhage in Detroit at the age of 54. Later, his son, Stephen, would carry out his father's dreams.

There was a spurt of boat building in 1854 and 1855. Two boats were built at Eureka, the Eureka and the Lady Jane. Meanwhile, in Oshkosh, the Oshkosh City was constructed (renamed the Arizona). She ran the route until she was sold to service on the Mississippi in the Civil War.

Final work on the locks and dams on the Fox River was completed, and the system opened in 1856. New boats were being constructed up and down the river to take advantage of the new commercial waterway. The Menominee was built at Shiocton on the Wolf, the Sampson and Pearl at Oshkosh, and the Morgan Martin and Ajax at Green Bay. Most of these were of the side-wheel variety as the machinery of the time favored that type of construction. However, the beam of the craft caused by the side wheels took up valuable cargo and lock space. Thus, the stern-wheel type of construction began to take over. Each variety was built of local pine and hardwood which was readily available. Some of it was green and caused trouble and gave short life to the craft. There were no naval architects, and the local boat builder built by line of sight and imitation. The results were surprising and were of good lines with a nice balance. The drawing shown in this chapter is a composite of many but is a representation of the type.

Navigation on the Fox

The boats carried local produce, new settlers, manufactured imports from the east and bagged wheat, the principal crop of the region. The busy traffic served a vital link in the settlement of the northeastern area of Wisconsin, and until the arrival of the railroads had the field to itself. Even with the coming of the rails, the boats still had a wide area to cover filling in the gaps in the rail system. Neenah and Menasha in the center of the northern part of the system grew to be industrial centers using the river for raw materials, and shipping of finished goods, and wheat flour to the nation.

As a fitting climax to the year 1856, the steamboat Aquila piloted by Stephen Hotaling, son of Peter Hotaling who had started the steamboat parade, made the journey from Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, via the Ohio River to Cairo on the Mississippi, thence up the river to the Wisconsin at Prairie du Chien and on to Portage. At Portage, the gala celebration began and continued at each river hamlet along the Fox. Bands, military salutes, artillery, and official welcomes awaited the Aquila at each stop. Velte describes it as "the noisiest, merriest and longest parade and celebration ever in the history of the State of Wisconsin!"

Once the celebrating was over, the Aquila left Green Bay and joined the fleet of steamboats operating on the Fox, Lake Winnebago, and its tributary streams. She was a frequent visitor to Neenah and Menasha. Worn out, she was dismantled in 1860.

The communities in the Fox River Valley saw a continuous stream of steamboats plying the river on their working trips. On the weekends, the same boats became the source of recreation as they hauled fraternal, church, and sports groups on excursion trips. Steamboats were an integral part of early life of the river communities. "Steamboat round the bend", was a common cry.

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Donald Mitchell

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HUZZA! HUZZA! HUZZA!
— — — — —

Green Bay Steamers in Appl ton.

On Wednesday, June 4, 1856, the Steam Tug *Ajar* arrived at Appleton from Green Bay, having 'worked her way' through Fox River and the Locks and Canals built by the Improvement Company around the Rapids, at Kaukauna, Little Chute and Cedar Rapids, as well as one of the Lower Locks at Appleton; and on Thursday, the *Pioneer* came thro' with colors flying, and landed at the 'Island' amid the cheers and shouts of the multitude. The *Aquila* came down from Berlin about the same time, and their steam whistles joining in unison made merrier music to the ears of those who have labored and hoped on for years in anticipation of this hour than the spirit stirring strains of the most exquisite band to which we have ever listened. Our River Pioneers may exult; they will exult; it is right they sho'd: **HURRAH!**

Neenah Bulletin June 11, 1856

MOCKSNIKE.—Our friends of the Green Bay *Advocate* and Appleton *Crescent* are making a great a-do about the fact that the steamer *Aquila* has made trips to Appleton through the Neenah lock; and from this they attempt to make people abroad believe that the Improvement is completed. So far from this being the case, the steamer *Barlow* made regular trips between here and Appleton four years ago. The *Aquila*, nor no other boat, can run through that lock in two weeks hence, and could not now were it not on account of the extreme high-water, which is now falling rapidly. Try another ruse to gull folks, gentlemen!

Menasha Advocate May 31, 1856

The Improvement Company are entitled to the congratulations of the People; and they will receive them. And in the general jubilee which will soon follow, let us not forget that much, very much, is due to J. KIR ANDERSON, the Engineer to whom most credit belongs for the success of this stupendous Work. The work of his hands, the creation of weary hours of thought, and care, and calculation, is crowned with success. It speaks for itself. May his future life be one of profit to himself, and usefulness to his race.—*Appleton Crescent.* ¶

Just what we expected. That the Appletonians would be making themselves merry, and holding general jubilee when two Boats, one from the North, the other from the South, meet there to greet each other. And when the only remaining lock is completed and they can make their regular trips, Neenah will join her voice with Appleton in a longer, louder and more triumphant shout. **Hurrah!**

"Mud Tub" Steams Through Neenah Lock

"Huzza! Huzza! Huzza! Our river pioneers may exalt; it is right they should. Hurrah."

With that kind of enthusiasm the Appleton Crescent of June 7, 1856, greeted the news that the tug, Ajax, had worked her way through the lock system from Green Bay to Appleton. It was not, however, until nine days later that the Ajax, the Pioneer, and the Aquila made their historic voyage through the lower Fox River into the waters of Green Bay. It was the voyage of the Aquila which captured the fan-fare and the plaudits of the pioneers living along the Fox waterway. She it was who had travelled all the way from Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, to Green Bay, Wisconsin, and to the Great Lakes via water. She it was, therefore, who fired the imaginations and hopes of the citizens along the great Fox system.

It was the Aquila, an ungainly and unhandsome two-stacked side-wheeler which had made the astonishing voyage from Pittsburgh, where she had been created. She had sailed across the middle of the United States and on to Lake Michigan. From there she could travel to the Gulf of Mexico and the Atlantic Ocean carrying manufactured goods from eastern states and returning with materials from the heartland.

It is difficult for us in times of rapid and easy transportation to fathom the importance of making waterways accessible to trade. Since the beginning of time, water "highways" had furnished the quickest and easiest way to move from one place to another. The New World and especially the newly opened West were no exceptions. One of the chief reasons for the existence of cities like Neenah and Menasha was their location at the juncture of lake and river.

With the construction of the Erie Canal in 1825, a water route from the Atlantic to the Mississippi via the Ohio or the Illinois rivers shortened the trip to New Orleans and opened the midwest to the trade centers of the eastern and southern United States. Some men envisioned another cross-country route which would

"Mud Tub" Steams Through Neenah Lock

bisect the interior of the central United States and open Wisconsin to a portion of the East-South trade. It became their dream to create a waterway from the Great Lakes to the Mississippi across this state. The people of the Fox River Valley joined in this dream as dams and canals began to spring up along their river. "Oshkosh to Appleton - a short eighteen miles - and our 'Woodland Home', with its mighty power, its educational facilities, and its agriculture resources, will be next-door-neighbor to the wealthy and populous cities of the East", predicted the Appleton Crescent of May 10, 1856.

Perhaps they, too, could be a part of the profitable water commerce. Perhaps they no longer would have to suffer the long and arduous trip via rutted roads, dusty in summer and almost impassible with mud holes in spring and fall. Perhaps they would no longer have to portage where bridges were non-existent. For them almost anything was preferable to being landed where they had to travel by carriage.

A Green Bay newspaper of October 1, 1844, stated twelve years before the reality of the Fox water system:

For who would have conceived a half a century (sic) ago of seeing a steam boat, some forty-five miles in the interior from any outlet, navigating a Lake and River nearly one hundred miles in length. But, it will be asked, what is expected such a craft will find to do way up there in the woods without any outlet? . . . and the only reason why there is not (navigation), is because there are rapids to overcome, and when this is accomplished, it will be one of the greatest throughfares the mind of man is capable of imagining . . . when there will be an uninterrupted chain of steam communication from New York City to the city of New Orleans.

Such a dream filled the hearts of people along the Fox River and they watched hopefully as, for 10 years, construction on the waterways faltered, stopped and began again as politicians battled over where, when, and how the canal should be built.

"No work of public nature, within our knowledge," stated the Green Bay Advocate of April 17, 1856, "has been carried along as fast and as far as this with such a bitter hostility to contend with; and it is a proud thing to point to, that, in spite of all this enmity, and enough palpable mismanagement to have killed any other enterprise, its manifest value and importance have carried it along, proof against every attack. We are beginning to believe that it will complete itself in spite of either friends or foes".

A Tale of Twin Cities

By June of 1856, it began to appear that the predictions of the Green Bay papers were correct and that the Fox River would, indeed, open the interior of the country to the rest of the world. Citizens of the day heralded the remarkable journey of the Aquila as a forerunner of many thousands of boats which would open the area to settling and commerce and industry. Little did the pioneers realize how soon their dependence on waterways would change with the invention of the railroads and, eventually, of the automobile and airplane.

For now, their dreams had been fulfilled with the sailing of the rather unromantic little boat, the Aquila, which gained her fame not through her beauty or grace but purely through the happenstance of being at the right place at the right time. Built in 1855-56 for Charles H. and W.J. Green of Green Bay, the Aquila was steam-powered and had two smoke stacks which protruded only slightly above the big side-wheeler paddles. Jerry Crowley, editor of the Menasha Advocate, referred to her as a "mud tub" and said she was nothing more than a steam-powered barge. It was her shape and construction, however, which enabled her to take her place in the history of the area. She was able to ride down the Ohio, up the Mississippi and across the state on the Wisconsin River to Portage. There the Aquila passed through a canal to the upper Fox River and on to Lake Winnebago. Here her trip came to a temporary halt. The portion of the Fox River through which she had passed, known as the upper Fox, was filled with turns but the water there was slow-moving and navigable. The lower Fox into which she must pass on her way to Lake Michigan, on the other hand, was fast flowing and filled with rapids. It had required the construction of 17 dams and canals in the 35-mile course from Lake Winnebago to Lake Michigan. It was the non-completion of these canals which kept the Aquila from moving on down river.

Reaching Lake Winnebago, the boat traveled for several weeks, making tri-weekly runs carrying people and supplies from Appleton to Berlin, Oshkosh, and Fond du Lac passing through the Neenah canal and locks. The Conservator of June 4, 1856, notes that the Aquila "brought down 1300 bushels of wheat from Berlin last week for the Empire Mills of Messrs. Cronkite and Burdick". Harvey Jones by now had used his own funds to develop the south channel of the Fox River at Neenah which had been put into use. Curtis Reed, meanwhile, after having won the government contract to build the north branch canal, was unable to carry out his side of the bargain. Construction of the north locks had been transferred to the Fox and Wisconsin Improvement Company and work on the Menasha locks was not yet completed.

"Mud Tub" Steams Through Neenah Lock

On June 12, 1856, the Green Bay Advocate predicted that in a few days the river improvement would be completed and on Saturday, June 14, 1856, the Appleton Crescent ran a column which stated, "The Aquila will, we learn, make a Pleasure Excursion on Monday and return Tuesday. She will leave here in the morning, run to Neenah, take on passengers there, return here and stop awhile, then pass thro' to Green Bay, whence she will return on Tuesday morning. It is expected that the 'Appleton Concert Band' will accompany her. Tickets \$2.00. Give the Aquila a bumper."

With that brief announcement, the word began to spread that an historic event was about to happen. On Monday morning, June 16, the Aquila steamed from Appleton to Neenah to the mouth of the Fox River where she was to begin the last part of her journey from Pittsburgh to Lake Michigan, a voyage of 2300 miles.

Piloting the Aquila was Steven Hotaling who had brought her from Pittsburgh through the winding Wisconsin River and who looked forward to sailing her through to Green Bay. He was especially anxious because years before, in 1841, his father, Peter, had brought the first river steamer, the Black Hawk, from Lake Erie to Lake Michigan and the Fox River but had failed to bring her through the rapids to Lake Winnebago.

At the first stop in Neenah, the lucky citizens who had time and \$2.00 to spare boarded the vessel in anticipation of the 35 mile trip down the Fox River. On the banks, waving flags and cheering, stood most of the rest of the community. Many had stayed on shore by choice, noting the heavy freight load and the crowd on board. Capt. Hotaling sounded his steam whistle and took off with his clerk, Mr. Doud, at his side. "The morning was beautiful. The sun rose in its splendor, and the Aquila's brilliant colors floated in the gentle morning breeze", wrote one observer. On board were Neenah citizens and "dead heads". This, apparently, is a reference to those who did not pay but received special passes.

The water in the channel was higher than usual and this should have assured the captain of an easy trip. Such was not to be the case. The "Pleasure Excursion" was to experience delay. Just below the Neenah lock, the boat became stuck on the bottom and for three hours it looked as though the trip was doomed. Removal of some of cargo and passengers, along with much prodding and pushing, released the boat and the "game of scratch gravel" was over and they were on their way again.

Next, the Aquila stopped at Menasha below the canal and took on passengers, the Menasha Brass Band, and Mayor Joseph Turner. He was later to make a

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speech at the Green Bay celebration representing the people of the Fox Valley beyond Green Bay. His presence caused consternation among some Menashans who were bitter because the Aquila had used the Neenah channel while the "official" canal was not to open until July 30th at Menasha. The Appleton Crescent of June 21, 1856, relates the following:

One of the most beautiful sights we have seen was the meeting of the Steamer Pioneer from Green Bay and the Steamer Aquila from the Upper Fox on Monday morning just above the Locks and Dams at Appleton.

The Pioneer had just left the last Lock as the Aquila came around the point into the basin; both boats swarming with people; hundreds lining the banks of the Canal shouting and cheering, a Band on each boat was discoursing eloquent strains, flags and banners flying, steam whistles screaming most lustily - altogether it was quite a sight; the marriage of the waters of the Mississippi with Lake Michigan.

Both boats stopped to exchange greetings; the Menasha Brass Band and the Appleton Sax Horns, heading delegations from Appleton, Neenah and Menasha, were soon comfortably located on the Aquila, wending their way down the beautiful waters of the Lower Fox.

All along the banks, crowds appeared in festive mood. Time after time Capt. Hotaling sounded the boat whistle and cheering crowds shouted back. Men left their work places; women abandoned their washing (Monday was always wash day); and barefoot children on their summer vacation ran along the banks with joyous abandon. Church bells pealed out. Stops were made at Kaukauna, Kimberly, and DePere, but the major celebration was to take place in Green Bay.

There feverish preparations were being made. Mayor Eastman posted a proclamation urging citizens to gather at the U.S. Hotel at noon to make plans for the reception of the Aquila. A committee was hastily appointed to meet the boat at DePere and escort her. A platform was erected in front of the hotel and bunting was draped.

By 4:30 the Aquila neared DePere. Here the mayor's delegation had managed to arrive a half hour before the boat made its appearance. As the boat approached, young men began to pound on furnishings from two blacksmith shops. The din equalled that of any cannon. Pressing on, the Aquila neared Green Bay. Bells of churches pealed, whistles of sister steamers and of the steam mills sounded and, as she passed Fort Howard, its big guns roared out a

"Mud Tub" Steams Through Neenah Lock

welcome. By now Fort Howard had been abandoned but the fort's caretaker, Major Ephriam Shaler, thoughtfully recruited gun crews to load and fire the fort's guns.

Landing at the docks of Messrs. Haywood, and Goodall and Whitney, the citizens from "up river" joined the Green Bay crowd which had gathered. Among those greeting the guests were the Germania Brass Band, the Germania Fire Co., and the Society of Turners in their uniforms. A procession formed and marched its way a few blocks to the hotel. Here speeches ensued. The Green Bay mayor opened with a brief greeting, followed by an eloquent speech by the Hon. James H. Howe, Esq. It opened with the following quote: "Hail to you, men of the Neenah valley! Hail to you, Messengers, telling us of a new and prouder era in the history of our glorious State! That broad and ample river, that is destined while time shall last, to bear on its capacious bosom, many a rich and generous freight, will never bring to us a more noble burthen than she has this day yielded to our hearts." It continued with: "But above all and beyond all this, the Fox River Valley shall be the nursery and the home of freemen. Side by side dotting all over its rich landscape, shall be those twin agencies of civilization, the School House and the Church of God."

Judge Cotton and Mayor Turner completed the roster. Morgan Martin, now an old man, was seated on the platform but was unable to speak because of the great emotion he felt. It was he who had been personally urging the state legislators to complete the passageway and it was he who had invested his own money in the Improvement Company to the point of "exposing his declining years to poverty in behalf of the great enterprise".

With the ending of the program, the day was not yet complete. Music by the bands filled the air. There were some fireworks and finally a dance was held at the Astor House and also aboard the Sultana. Captain Appleby and his boat had just arrived from Buffalo with the first goods passed through the Erie Canal that season. At midnight a feast was spread at the hotel. Who could ask for any more or any better celebration?

Truly this was an occasion to long be remembered even by the Appleton and Neenah-Menasha citizens who had difficulty getting home again. On Tuesday afternoon, as the Aquila headed back up the river, she was met by a portion of the lock at Kaukauna having given way. There was a delay as the lock was repaired. Built and dug by hand, they also had to be maintained and repaired by hand. Most of the celebrants ended up coming home by stage coach from

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Kaukauna. The 70 mile trip had taken them 56 hours; but even this could not have dampened the spirits of the happy travelers.

In the annals of history the journey of the Aquila may not have seemed like much to remember; but the rejoicing of the people over the completion of their dream of a waterway for transportation and commerce was genuine. Their ambition, energy, frustration, and determination ended in the "marriage of the waters of the Mississippi with Lake Michigan". Past difficulties over the canal, its location and construction, were suppressed and forgotten, at least for the day. Howe, in his stirring speech summed it up by stating; "I know you will remember without bitterness and that the festivities of the hour (will not be) darkened by a single reflection."

Little did James Howe realize that his words concerning further cooperation over the coming railroads would also be the death knell of the water system. ". . . but (we will) join hands with you again and again in behalf of all enterprises calculated to hasten our material or our moral prosperity - nor stop until the iron horse upon the land shall answer back to the voice of his sister upon the water - until your homes and ours shall be bound together with bands of iron -and the interchange of thought between us, though far softer than thunder, shall yet be rapid as lightening".

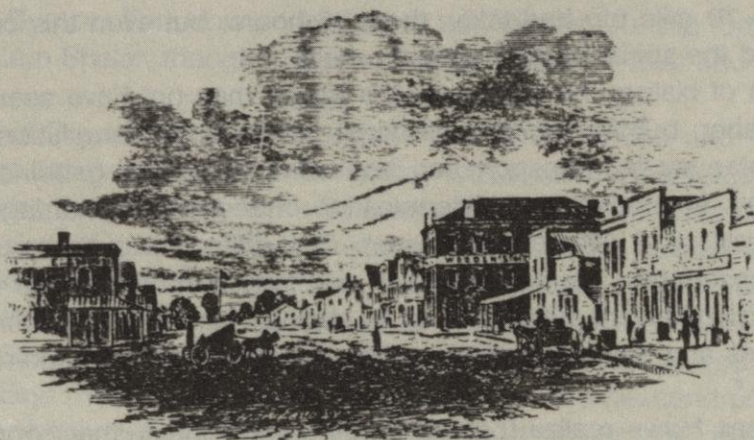
Even as the Aquila was making her debut and even as the people of the Fox River were rejoicing in her accomplishment, the dream of the "corridor" being the great connector of commerce was being destroyed. As the Aquila plied her trade, in the spring of 1856, an event occurred which would cause the decline of the use of waterways. A railroad bridge was completed across the Mississippi River at Rock Island, Illinois, which assured that the dominion of river trade would fall to the superiority of railroad travel.

As the "iron horse" began to reach the Fox Cities, it began to overshadow the river commerce, until today those same locks and canals whose creation had been so celebrated, are threatened with extinction.

The Aquila herself met an early demise as she was dismantled in 1860. Still the Aquila and her voyage were, for "one brief, shining moment", the pride of the Fox River Valley citizens.

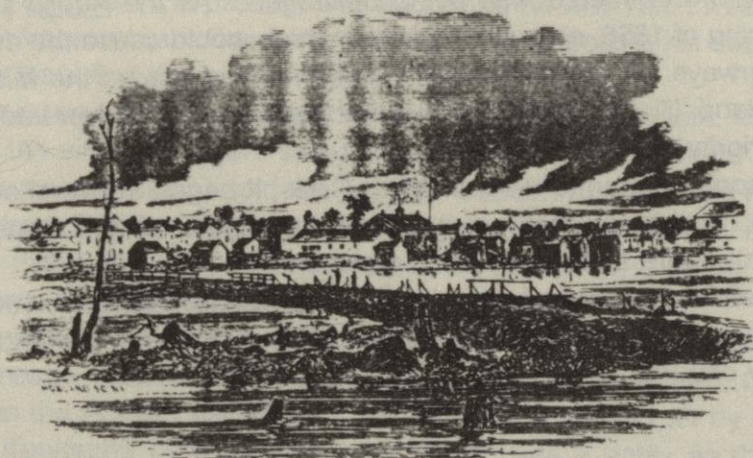
~ ~

Caryl Herziger



From daguerreotype by J. F. Harrison

Neenah in 1855



From daguerreotype by J. F. Harrison

Menasha in 1855

Neenah-Menasha in 1856

Residents of Neenah and Menasha were jubilant as they celebrated the arrival of the year 1856. The twin villages had reached a level of growth which far exceeded their founders' expectations. Some thought that the canal diggers had brought with them the "wee people" from Ireland whose magic caused the two communities to mushroom out of the virgin forests and prairies of the Fox River valley. It was difficult to visualize the area having been "Indian land" only two decades before.

On January 14, 1856, Rhoda Bowen married Aaron Cronkhite at the Neenah home of her parents, Mr. and Mrs. A. B. Bowen. Although primitive by today's standards, the life style the newlyweds faced in establishing a new home, would be less difficult than had been that of Jeannette Finch and John Johnston who had been married ten years earlier in one of the government blockhouses in May, 1846.

The changes in the commercial development of Neenah-Menasha within ten years were amazing. Most of the recent home-making conveniences found in the villages of New England were available in 1856. The Cronkhites would have been able to start married life in a story-and-a-half frame house instead of a drafty log cabin. Even the then modern outhouse with its fashionable decor would be more comfortable than the crude makeshift ones of the past.

Rather than cook and bake in an open fireplace, Rhoda would have been able to prepare meals on a cast iron stove, probably manufactured at the Neenah Stove Company. Aaron would keep the fire going in a parlor iron stove. Both would provide more efficient heat than the fireplaces of the past.

Although house and garden tools continued to be handmade, the Cronkhites now could purchase most of the needed ones at one of Neenah's fifteen general stores or one of the five in Menasha. Some household items were manufactured locally, such as pottery crocks or jugs and wooden pails, tubs, and barrels.

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The rationing of basic cooking essentials was no longer necessary, since boats regularly delivered these items to the villages. Flour was plentiful as Neenah had four flour mills and Menasha had two in 1856. The Cronkhites may have had chickens, a kitchen garden, later an orchard, and perhaps one cow which would be pastured in the Neenah Green, on Doty Island, or in the woods on the north fringe of Menasha. They could depend on farmers who peddled milk, eggs, meat, vegetables, and wood.

Although Rhoda and Aaron would continue to use a mail-order catalogue, ready-made clothes could now be purchased at the two Menasha and the two Neenah clothing stores. Most general stores stocked shoes and dry goods. Rhoda could be dressed in the latest eastern fashions if she made her own dresses using a pattern obtained at a general store.

Most furniture no longer had to be shipped from Green Bay or the east coast since Menasha had three cabinet and chair factories. As was the custom, Aaron could construct some simple furnishings. However, the cabinets and immigrant trunks brought west by the Cronkhite parents and grandparents would be treasured for generations.

Citizens' needs were provided for, from midwife to undertaker. If Rhoda had babies, she would not have to depend on family members or neighbors to assist in the delivery, as had been the earlier practice. Now, experienced midwives were available. In the event of serious difficulties, physicians A. E. Bates, V. A. Baker, or I. A. Torrey could be summoned.

Home remedies were popular and, during the summer, weeds and herbs would be gathered and dried for winter cures. Dr. Bates' Drug Store provided special medicines. In case of serious illness, accidents, or epidemics, which were frequent, one of the three doctors could be in attendance.

If Rhoda and Aaron were members of a church, and if it were Protestant, in Menasha they would have attended a German Lutheran church, a Congregational church or a Methodist Episcopal church. In Neenah, they would go to a Presbyterian, Baptist, Welsh Calvinist, or a German Lutheran church. The latter was a recent split-off from the Menasha congregation. If the Cronkhites had been Roman Catholic, they would have attended the only church of that denomination, St. Charles Borromeos in Menasha. Clergymen of these churches would have baptized their children and performed marriages. Non-religious wedding ceremonies could have been conducted by I. M. Maricong, Justice of the Peace.

Neenah-Menasha in 1856

The early Neenah-Menasha pioneers had been well-educated individuals and the promotion of good education for their children was a priority matter in the development of the communities. This ambition was highlighted in Menasha in 1856 with the construction of a modern brick schoolhouse on the corner of Racine and First streets. The structure, containing all the latest school furnishings, including blackboards, was dedicated the following year amid much fanfare. The Cronkhites' relatives of school age would attend either of the two ward schools in Neenah or the two in Menasha.

The Cronkhites were fortunate to have been married in 1856. It was a good time for Aaron to select a career, find employment, or make successful investments. Neenah and Menasha had become "boom towns" with bright futures. The underlying reason for their prosperity and tremendous growth was the water power supplied by the Fox River.

The need for new businesses in the merchandizing centers of both Menasha and Neenah had not seemed to have reached its peak. New opportunities were available for Aaron if he wanted to go into business for himself or to obtain land. If that were the case, either one of the banks in Neenah or Menasha would readily make the loans to him. If not the banks, within the communities were numerous individuals looking for a place to invest. Credit was easily obtained. If Aaron purchased land, the US Land Grant Office, moved from Green Bay to Menasha in 1851, would register the property and take care of whatever legal needs he had. Aaron could use the services of any one of several law offices, four in Neenah and five in Menasha.

The work week of the Cronkhites would be tedious and long. Rhoda would have certain chores assigned to each day of the week, except Sunday. Whether Aaron worked in a store or a mill, he would work as many as ten hours a day, six days a week. However, Rhoda could look forward to the time when there would be more hands to share the housework. A large family and perhaps an extended family of grandparents or single siblings might become a part of the household.

Any surprise interruption of the daily routine was a cause for delight. Letters were anxiously awaited, and traveling guests were well received. In 1856 the mail arrived daily at the Decker Hotel in Menasha and at various locations in Neenah, depending on who was postmaster. Stage coach schedules were regularly announced.

The Menasha Advocate was the only newspaper in the two villages until Harrison Reed added the Conservator in September, 1856. Both newspapers were the leading form of entertainment in which every page was conscientiously

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read. Each issue not only covered international, national, state, and local news but an assortment of other welcomed information: church sermons, speeches of prominent officials, and book serials. The newspapers were leading solicitors for encouraging new businesses and industries to invest. Announcements and advertising were invaluable to residents. Since neither of the communities had public libraries, home libraries were usually available to those who wanted to read more than they could get from newspapers.

It is likely that the Cronkhites were not yet concerned about the youth at this period in their marriage. However, others were, as indicated in an article in the Advocate, March 3, 1856: "Our town is getting its 'fast boys'. A party of them, a few nights ago took it into their heads to raise Cain. Signs were torn down and changed. Our worthy mayor's sign hung over the post office door. Sidewalks were built and plank roads were constructed in several places. Where is the night watch?"

Although very limited by today's standards, opportunities for sports and recreation did exist. Fortunately for Neenah, park land had been donated by Harvey Jones as early as 1846 for a village green. In 1856, the Bigelow addition provided four acres for public use. The park acres have had a variety of uses, mainly as a place for villagers to meet.

Sports were not organized except for a boat club formed in March, 1856. Informal baseball games were played in open spaces and swimming probably took place with or without bathing suits wherever there was a good beach on Lake Winnebago. The Advocate, December 27, 1855, reports: "Scrub horse races took place on Tuesday on the ice. Twelve horses entered the race. Jockeys had an excellent supper at the Clifton House after the race".

Outside of church societies, most organizations included only the male population. The Irish had the Sons of Erin and the Germans had the Concordia Society. Although it is unlikely that Aaron qualified for membership in either of these organizations, an opportunity for membership in fraternal societies was available in the Odd Fellows Lodge, established in 1849, or the Masonic Lodge, organized in 1855. Both societies added to the social life of the communities with suppers, dances, and festivals on national holidays.

Men here were no different than those of other times and places. They liked to gather at local saloons, not only to drink, but to socialize; to brag about their hunting and fishing conquests; to gossip about the "unspeakable" happenings in the villages; to express opinions about local projects and developments; and to

Neenah-Menasha in 1856

debate politics. The latter was especially timely in 1856, a presidential election year in which James Buchanan, a Democrat and a compromise on the slavery extension issue, was elected. The Menasha Advocate, the local voice of the Democratic Party and the Conservator, the defender of the newly-formed Republican Party, intensified arguments over political issues. To no one's surprise, Neenah usually voted Republican and Menasha Democratic in elections. Neither of the villages was lacking places for men to meet as Menasha had four saloons and Neenah probably had a similar number. A local brewery could well supply these enterprises as O. J. Hall had established a brewery in Menasha.

On that January day when Aaron and Rhoda were married, they probably dreamed of a prosperous and happy future. However, the life they would live out would not be without traumas nor sorrows. Death was always present. No family went long without being touched by it. The pain of death probably was less brutal in 1856 than it was in 1847 when Rev. O. P. Clinton performed the first funeral service. The burden of building a coffin and preparing the body for burial now could be the task of the undertaker, Gottlieb Laemmrich and his son, William. Gottlieb had arrived in Menasha in 1852 from Germany. A furniture and altar carpenter, he began building coffins. He and his son later began the Laemmrich Funeral Home.

Almost from the beginning the two villages had a joint cemetery, Oak Hill, which is often claimed to be the first public cemetery in the United States. Occasionally individuals were interred on family property, especially if they were infants. Several years ago such burials were discovered in a vacant lot on Winnebago Avenue in Menasha.

If James Doty were to picture his journeys through the Fox River Valley as a young circuit judge in 1824, he would describe the beautiful scenery he encountered: the heavily timbered virgin hardwood forest; the river flowing freely and undisturbed; Indian canoes floating downstream so easily; the natural prairies heavily covered with seas of grass and peppered with wild flowers; and the groves of wild plum and crab apple trees. It is little wonder he purchased Doty Island in 1835 and the lands on the north side of the Fox River, now Menasha. As early as 1824 he planned to build a retirement home on the island.

If Doty were to describe that same area in 1856, he would give an entirely different picture. The blade of the plow had now turned over the sod of the prairie lands in Neenah and the relentless saw had taken its toll of the hardwood forests in Menasha. Only the spots of virgin pastures and sprinklings of stumps

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were reminders of what had been. Streets and roadways had emerged in a pattern with some following old Indian trails. Harrison Reed had laid out a village plan to direct the growth in Neenah, as had Curtis Reed in Menasha. The latter's design included a village square similar to those of east coast towns.

In the beginning houses were scattered throughout the communities, but by 1856 definite neighborhoods began to appear. An ad in the Menasha Advocate, May 31, 1855, offered thirty by fifty foot lots for \$150.00 to \$500.00. The first neighborhoods in Neenah centered around West Doty, Church, and Caroline streets, and in Menasha, near the boat landing at the intersection of Appleton and Broad streets, close to the vicinity of Main and Mill streets, and along the canal. Residents tended to cluster around the mills and marketing centers. It was easier to walk to these places than to hitch up the horse and wagon.

The neighborhood streets were muddy with side paths beside them. Yards were enclosed with board fences. Dogs and fowl freely roamed the streets. Occasionally a cow which had broken loose would wander down the road. A Menasha ordinance in the 1850's forbade dead animal carcasses from being left on the streets. Houses were built close to the road in order to give maximum use of back yards for barns, sheds, gardens, and orchards.

A few small farm plots remained in the village but, because of the rapid migration into the villages in the 1850's, the empty areas along the street began to fill and new streets began to be added to the original plats. The Advocate reported October 11, 1855, that in the past year, 300 lots had been sold in Menasha; 500 people added to its population; and 60 buildings erected. Later in the year, the paper stated that building would continue in the off-season because sawmills and carpenters could not keep up with building demands.

The first settlers who migrated here had built log and simple slab houses. As sawmills began to produce finished lumber, plain frame houses began to be built. Usually they were painted white, brown, gray, or even left unpainted.

The first frame home in Menasha was that of Elbridge Smith, the village's first attorney. The residence, located on Water Street in 1848, was also used for public meetings and the first school classes. The first frame house in Neenah was erected by James Ladd in 1848 next to the present site of the railroad tracks on Wisconsin Avenue. For four years it was known as the Winnebago House, Neenah's first hotel. Near the old Council Tree, Harvey Jones, one of Neenah's founders, built the second frame house in 1848 adjoining the government blockhouse.

Neenah-Menasha in 1856

One of the first frame houses in Neenah was that built by John and Harvey Kimberly, New York merchants who arrived in 1848. The residence was not typical of the frame houses to be seen in Neenah at that time. It was considered the finest in the area and perhaps the first double-house in Wisconsin. Legend claims that neither of the Kimberly wives would move to Wisconsin unless they could live under the same roof because of their fear of Indians.

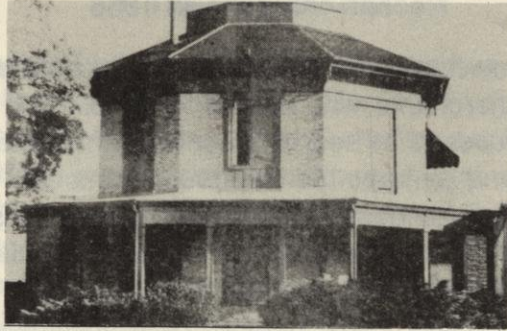
Very early in their development, the Greek Revival style of architecture was used in the two communities. Just prior to 1856, Italianate and Gothic forms began to appear. Only a few of these styles were built and usually by prosperous citizens who wanted to make a statement about their own success and that of the community.

Probably the most unique home during the period was the Octagon house. Built on Main Street by Hiram Smith, a well-known Neenah merchant, the style of architecture was an experimental form in the East and had been adopted in several Wisconsin communities. It should be noted, that the home was one of the few brick structures here in 1856.

Ideally a retail center serving both villages should have been on Doty Island. A Neenah bridge to the Island had been built in 1850. A bridge was constructed in Menasha in 1852 and a plank road joining the two bridges was built in 1851. Now the communities had direct access to each other. What might have been, did not happen. Each village developed its own merchandizing district. They were not entirely planned but emerged at the points of best marketing advantage mainly to accommodate neighborhoods and farmers bringing wheat to the flour mills.

Neenah's business section stretched straight for three blocks on Wisconsin Avenue. A crude slough bridge, built much earlier by James Ladd, gave the surrounding farmers access to the main street. The bridge had been constructed of cribs of logs covered with poles.

Menasha had three marketing centers: At Appleton and Broad streets, adjacent to Burroughs steamboat landing; at Mill and Water Street next to Curtis Reed Square and along the canal; and at Tayco and Water streets next to both the Tayco Street bridge and the Butte des Morts bridge. The latter bridge was constructed in 1856 near the Menasha locks and connected the village with the rural areas on the other side of the lake. Menasha became a leading marketing center because of its accessibility to farmers who brought their wheat to the millers and purchased from the merchants items they could not make or produce.



Octagon House built by Hiram Smith in 1855.

Menasha Advocate.

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 11, 1855.



Democratic Ticket.

FOR GOVERNOR,

WILLIAM A. BARSTOW.

FOR LIEUT. GOVERNOR,

ARTHUR McARTHUR.

FOR SECRETARY OF STATE,
DAVID W. JONES.

FOR STATE TREASURER,
CHARLES KEUHN.

FOR ATTORNEY GENERAL,
WILLIAM R. SMITH.

FOR STATE SUPERINTENDENT,
A. CONSTANTINE BARRY.

FOR BANK COMPTROLLER,
WILLIAM M. DENNIS.

FOR PRISON COMMISSIONER,
EDWARD MCGARRY.

The Growth and Prosperity of Menasha.

During a residence of fourteen years in the West, we have never known a town in its infancy to grow so rapid, or improve so fast, as Menasha. When we located here, two years ago, the town contained but few inhabitants, and it was a rare sight to see anything like business in the streets of the village—rarer still the sale of a lot or the erection of a building. But what a change has taken place. Within the last year over three hundred Village Lots have changed hands, fifty or sixty buildings have been erected, nearly five hundred people have been added to our population, large and expensive stocks of merchandise have been brought in, all kinds of mechanics have located here, and the town has spread out in every direction. It is safe to say that our business has quadrupled, and our population doubled within the past two years, and still the tide continues. Every steamer that lands at our docks adds to our population largely, and every new comer is an actual benefit to the town, for he procures a home and erects a castle, and by his industry and means adds to our wealth and prosperity.

If such has been our progress in past times, what may we not expect in the future. With the Fox River improved, and Menasha the transshipping point between the Lake and River—with our Railroad completed to Manitowoc, and Menasha the great milling and business depot for the whole country bordering on Lake Winnebago and the Fox and Wolf Rivers—with our magnificent Water Power (the best in the Union) in successful operation—what may we not expect the coming year. The advantages which our town possesses are but just beginning to be known abroad, and when they are known by those looking for a home in the West, Menasha must become the great town of Northern Wisconsin. Our position on the map will prove it.

A Tale of Twin Cities

A plank road, built in 1850 from Kaukauna to Menasha, made it more convenient to deliver produce to the village than through the rapids and by boat. Shipping regularly took place from Fond du Lac, Oshkosh, and Berlin to Menasha. Regardless of their locations the centers grew rapidly. Factories in the Valley claims that the combined number of retail businesses increased from eleven stores in 1851 to thirty-five in 1860.

The retail center of the villages had an appearance of western frontier towns with framed wood structures; some with a simple version of Greek Revival architecture. Many of the buildings had high front facades with large show windows with square panes. The most pretentious store was the brick building of John and Harvey Kimberly located on Wisconsin Avenue and Cedar (now Commercial) Street. In front of the stores were wood sidewalks and wood hitching posts at intervals. The roads were muddy in wet seasons and dusty in dry periods. Neenah's main street was unusually wide in order to accommodate heavy farmer wagon traffic to the grist mills.

The business traffic included mainly horse or oxen-drawn wagons. An occasional horseback rider or a carriage could be seen. Carriages were usually owned by the well-to-do or rented for weddings and funerals from one of the four livery stables in either settlement. Factories in the Valley best summarizes the marketing activities in 1856:

Periodically the farmer came to town...General merchants provided the goods that he could not produce himself. Mechanics and blacksmiths made and repaired his simple agricultural instruments. Gristmillers ground his grain and sawmillers cut his lumber. Commissioned merchants marketed his surplus. Speculators sold his land. Tavernkeepers, and in some cases, prostitutes, furnished a share of his recreation.

Warehouses, such as the one near Burroughs Landing, stored flour, wood products, and other commodities before shipping to national markets.

The mills in both Menasha and Neenah were the heart of the community. Built along the canals and the Fox River, they were evidence that water power was the communities' hope for the future and the direction their economy would take. It became evident by 1856 that these two villages would become industrial powers. The combined number of industries increased from ten to forty in a decade. Neenah became more prominent in flour milling with four mills and Menasha led

Neenah-Menasha in 1856

in wood products with three saw mills. Both had several wood-related as well as other factories.

During the first decade, people came in droves to the new Fox River settlements. They were speculators, farmers, merchants, professionals, canal diggers, carpenters, mechanics, laborers, and penniless immigrants who had gone west to look for new opportunities.

First to arrive in significant numbers were the Yankees who had money to invest. Next came the Irish to dig the canals and to farm on the west side of Lake Butte des Morts. Finally a small number of Germans and Welsh, as well as a smattering of Norwegians and Danes, most of whom were laborers, came to the area.

The Yankees made up the majority of the population in 1860. They had migrated from the mid-Atlantic states, especially New York, or from other former Northwest Territory states. The Yankees dominated the economic and social life of the two communities during the first decade.

During the 1850's there were no distinct ethnic neighborhoods except for the Irish who tended to live on Doty Island, near what is now St. Patrick's Catholic Church. As new immigrants arrived they integrated well into the life of the community, limiting the preservation of their language and cultural practices to their homes, churches, and the ethnic organizations to which they belonged.

The Yankee English traditions were maintained mainly through ten Protestant churches and much of their social life centered in those churches. The Irish had established St. Charles Borromeos Roman Catholic Church, which later became St. Patricks after the first church burned. Through the church strong family ties remained within the Irish community. In the two German Lutheran churches, services were held only in German and children were confirmed in that language. Because of strong religious convictions, the German churches offered little social life. The Concordia Society, and later the Turnverein provided the Germans with benevolent, athletic, social, and community service activities.

During this time the Yankees, through their Protestant churches, dictated the morals and promoted support of moral issues from the pulpit, especially in temperance and abolition. Both the Menasha Advocate in its 1856 issues and the Conservator in its 1857 issues, continually featured articles relating to the abolition activities and stories of individual drunkenness within the communities.

Class distinctions were minimal in the villages. The residential Yankees were only seventy years from the time of the American Revolution and continued to

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uphold the equalitarian ideals of Thomas Paine. The Irish and the Germans were recent arrivals from the Old World where they had abhorred the remaining ties with pseudo-feudalism. The work ethics were strong among most of the settlers. Few were afraid to "pitch in and get their hands dirty". Therefore, it was not uncommon for a merchant or a mill owner to work side-by-side with his employees. Nor was it unthinkable for owners to live within the same vicinity as their laborers.

As January, 1857, approached, Aaron and Rhoda Cronkhite could reflect on the changes that had taken place during the first year of their marriage. Not only might the Cronkhites look back at the happenings of the past year, but the other residents might look back over an even longer period. One of the significant changes they might note is that of the leadership in both communities. The settlements were founded and their beginnings directed by James Doty, his son, Charles, Harrison and Curtis Reed, Loyal Jones and for a short period, Harvey Jones. These original promoters profited little from their enterprises and as they remained in the area their influence dwindled or went in other directions.

By the mid 1850's, it had become obvious that the leadership would switch to those people who had arrived earlier with little capital but willing to risk it in the future. These were the individuals who achieved a certain degree of wealth in their lifetime, but even more prominence in the economic, political, and social life of the communities. They were such men as Henry Hewitt, a contractor; John R. Davis, a wagon maker; Andrew J. Webster, a machinist; Dewitt Van Ostrand, a hardware merchant; Reuben Scott, a land speculator; Edward Smith, a flour miller; Hiram Smith, a merchant; Henry Sherry, a speculator; Publius V. Lawson, a carpenter; O. J. Hall, a brewer, and others. Most of these men invested their profits from their original ventures into flour mills, foundry products, equipment manufacturing, sawmills and wood products, banking, railroads, and later paper mills.

The parents of future millionaire barons had settled in the villages prior to 1856. They included John and Harvey Kimberly, who invested in a general store upon arrival and later built the Neenah Flour Mill; John Bergstrom, a blacksmith, whose sons later founded the Bergstrom Bros. Stove Company; Charles B. Clark, factory laborer, later a hardware business owner; and Elisha D. Smith, general store operator and later founder of the Menasha Wooden Ware Corporation; Marvin Babcock, a contractor in dam building whose son, Havilah, became one of the founders of Kimberly Clark Corporation.

Neenah-Menasha in 1856

During their first year of marriage, Aaron and Rhoda probably believed they had a good financial start as a young married couple. That would suddenly come to an end the following year, when the Panic of 1857 brought the Menasha-Neenah boom to a halt. Businesses failed, unemployment increased, building activities declined, and a railroad between Menasha and Manitowoc did not materialize. The rate of population growth in the village greatly slowed down and never again would it reach the rate it had in the 1850's.

If the Cronkhites read their newspaper regularly, they should have realized that as early as 1856, the clouds of war were brewing. Talk of secession was becoming more frequent in the South and the Abolitionists were becoming more vocal in the North. The Civil War finally came in 1861. After the war, Neenah and Menasha would never be the same. An era had come to an end and another history book would have to be written.

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William F. Herziger

A Tale of Twin Cities Continues

That the two cities, Neenah and Menasha, should co-exist was perhaps pre-ordained. The geography, the kind of men who settled here, even the time in the history of the country when the cities were created, seem to preclude that twin cities would be established and continue to grow as separate entities.

When two branches of the Fox River exited Lake Winnebago in post-glacial times, they left between them the large island, later named Doty Island. It is little wonder that one settlement began on the south banks and another on the north. This was a typical pattern for "river cities". It was the presence of Doty Island between the mouths which made this settlement pattern different. As matter of fact, a third community, to be known as Island City, was envisioned by James Doty but never became a reality.

In the short period covered in this book from the first sale of government land in 1836 until the completion of the canal system in 1856, new towns were being established everywhere in the former Northwest Territory and most of them were on the banks of a river system. River travel, being the easiest and fastest means of transportation, decreed that cities grow where there were water power and water connections to other parts of the country. Many communities like Chicago, Milwaukee, Green Bay, Oshkosh, and innumerable others began as two small towns which came together as one when bridges and railroads connected them. Neenah and Menasha were a different story. For one thing, each of them had its own source of water power and was not dependent on the other.

Besides the geographical presence of two mouths of the river and intervening Doty Island, the human element also entered the picture to separate the two developing communities. When one considers the contrast in personalities of the early founders, combined with their differences in reasons for settling here, it is little wonder there came to be two communities.

A Tale of Twin Cities Continues

Harvey Jones and Curtis Reed, considered by historians as the founders of Neenah and Menasha, respectively, both moved from the East and felt they had located the ideal spot to put down roots and establish their future.

The reader has already encountered Harvey Jones, the wealthy investor from Gloversville, New York, and Curtis Reed, who had a dream of establishing his own city. They, along with James Doty, the schemer and developer who had his own plan for the way things should go, had differing personalities and reasons for settling here. Jones, Reed, and Doty were all land speculators.

Many of the first settlers were the kind of men who held within themselves the seeds of discontent. It was these seeds which had moved them from the East to the newly opened territory of Wisconsin. Young and aggressive, these new settlers tended to overlook the development and operation of government in their competition over land acquisition.

Americans of the early 19th century in general were certain their country would develop into a role of world leadership. They had watched their country grow from its foundling position to one of leadership in only a few short years. Americans worked eagerly to improve their own lot. They felt it was their mission to carry to the world "the idea of the equality of all men". They also felt theirs was a "call" to cast off old community ties and move elsewhere to establish a new order, which frequently was anything but orderly. In the course of a few short years, newly formed villages and towns began to spring up across the American continent with little direction and little precedence. They mushroomed so rapidly that public services were, for all practical purposes, left to the "gods to provide".

When an American town felt its growing pains, it could have turned to Europe for models because England, Holland, and Germany had by that time developed well-governed municipalities. The European countries themselves were separated and struggling for creation of some form of unified government which did not depend on the whim of a prince or king. European cities, on the other hand, were largely self-governing communities and, while corruption was rampant, each city was chartered and had legal powers of government locally.

American cities, by contrast, had little local autonomy. They operated on the basis of grants from the territorial, and later the state, government. This government chartered private businesses to build bridges, dams, plank roads, canals, steamboats, and other enterprises, rather than leave those responsibilities to local government. A city was a corporation, a creature of the state legislature. Authoritative control was not in the city but in the state, so that local self-

A Tale of Twin Cities

government barely existed. Prior to 1850 there were almost no cities. Cities came upon the new west unawares and prior to the Civil War people took little interest in public administration.

As new cities were incorporated in the West, they paid little attention to the town government established in the East (anything Eastern was suspect) and even less to city governments of Europe. The only concepts western towns incorporated into their government was the idea of township division and the idea of free public education. The promise of self-government preceded the westward movement and self-government it would be, although this would often create chaos and conflict.

Optimism was the spirit of the day in this young country astonishingly close to its origin. This spirit sprang up especially strongly in two types of men: those filled with the love of adventure and those filled with the desire to make money on speculation in the West. Thus began the movement of enterprising men into the newly opened territory of Wisconsin.

This was a period of unquestionable speculation in the new land. Real estate was the speculator's dream in the 1830's. Three-fourths of Wisconsin land went to developers. Among the most active was James Doty who was planning and promoting town sites, most notably Madison as the state capitol. Also among his plans was the area at the mouth of the Fox, including what has come to be known as Doty's Island.

The promise of western land sold on easy terms with low taxes, safety of investment, and the spirit of adventure lured young men of all kinds. Any man could own a piece of property - a place of his own. The lure was irresistible for men like Jones, Reed, Doty and others who came to this particular spot at this particular time in history.

The success of speculators' dreams depended on their aggressiveness and the availability of capital. Also their success hung largely on the locations they had chosen. Here they had an ideal spot which included a source of both water power and water transportation. These would inevitably result in growth in numbers of people and value of the land. Enterprising men moved into the newly opened territory looking for a good return and/or a position of leadership.

It would be well to pause here to think about changes which had taken place in the ruling of the territory. One of the provisions of the Northwest Ordinance of 1787, out of which the state and, eventually, the counties and townships emerged, was the copying of the eastern plan to create divisions of government.

A Tale of Twin Cities Continues

By the survey of 1787 townships were laid out six miles square. Each township was divided into sections, each containing 640 acres and readily divisible into half-sections, quarter sections or smaller. The Ordinance set up a Territorial Legislature and provided for the admission to the union as a state, which in Wisconsin was not to occur until 1848.

While divisions of land into counties and townships were established by the Northwest Ordinance of 1787, Winnebago County was not set apart from Brown County until January 6, 1840. With the creation of Winnebago County, the matter of location of the county seat became important. Butte des Morts, Oshkosh, and Neenah all had their advocates. The matter was not decided until 1850, when Oshkosh was confirmed as the county seat. Meanwhile the township of Neenah was defined and organized February 11, 1847, by an act of the Territorial Legislature. It embraced the present Town of Neenah, plus the present Towns of Menasha, Vinland, and Clayton. Two years later the towns of Vinland and Clayton were split off and given independent status. In 1855 the present Town of Menasha was taken from the original Town of Neenah. The Village of Menasha was constituted by the county government on July 5, 1853, while still within the township of Neenah. This arrangement created problems of where town meetings were to be held. Menasha objected to the practice of always holding meetings in Neenah and organized to refuse to appear at a town meeting. "Neenahites" then objected to having to cross muddy roads to appear at the meetings in Menasha.

The separation of the four townships was guided by section lines. When it came to Doty Island, the division along section lines would have meant either Neenah or Menasha getting the biggest portion with only a sliver for the other. It becomes easy to follow the thinking of the legislators to follow a half-section line which almost evenly divided the island. There was no Nicolet Boulevard then but merely a wagon road connecting Neenah's bridge (1850) and Menasha's (1852).

One of the acts that seemed to clinch the division of the two communities was the action of the Winnebago County Board in 1855. An interesting editorial in the January 18, 1855, Menasha Advocate cites objection to the action of the board and further illuminates the tension between the two growing communities.

Beginning in 1851, periodic attempts had been made by politicians and some office seekers to divide the remaining part of the Town of Neenah into two townships. The underlying cause of this seemed to be to allow the Town of

A Tale of Twin Cities

Neenah to tax its citizens in order to improve roads and bridges. Taxation came through the county and funds were distributed to the various townships. Neenah felt it was not getting its share and would like to do its own taxing for its own use. Menasha had raised its own funds to pay for its roads and bridges and did not feel the need for county funds. It resented what it feared would be greater taxation.

The excuse given by the backers of the separation was that "the two sides of the river were rival interests and to allay the excitement growing out of such rivalry, it was necessary to divide the town". By dividing the two rivals they would end the fighting once and for all, proponents argued. It is difficult to justify such reasoning. The public turned down the idea at the polls. Instead of ending the conflict it would merely move them to a wider scene.

In January of 1855, without public notice, meetings, or consultation, a petition was initiated and within 12 hours of its inception, was presented to the County Board. The power behind the petition was J. B. Hamilton, who was Neenah's first village president after it was legally incorporated. He was accused by the Menasha Advocate of generating strife, exciting jealousy, and forming a bone of contention. According to the article of January 18, 1855, the writer states, "A more high-handed act of oppression - a more unauthorized and illegitimate exercise of power, we have never known". It does seem that there was little or no public input into the decision. Hamilton is reported to have stated that the people of the town were not competent to determine their own destiny. The Menasha Advocate called him the "King of Pettifoggers", a name of derision. The County Board, tired of hearing of the concerns of the two towns, declared it would solve the problem by legally separating the townships. The board passed the division and the former Town of Neenah became the towns of Neenah, Menasha, along with the already formed towns of Vinland and Clayton. They continue this pattern today.

While Menashans objected to the division because they feared the County Board would impose greater taxes on them, they could feel good about one correction of the Board. Menasha had frequently complained that they had very little representation. With the new arrangement, each town would have equal numbers on the Board. The old complaint of where town meetings were to be held would disappear as well. Each would hold its own town meeting. The villages and towns were to continue their separation into the future. The act of

A Tale of Twin Cities Continues

dividing the townships of Neenah and Menasha perhaps cemented, for all times, the division between them.

When one considers the lack of precedence in establishing civil government, especially at a town or village level; when one sees men of good intentions but no experience in self-governing; when one looks at the newness of the westward movement and the opening of undeveloped lands with the attendant concerns, it is little wonder that errors, bickering, and even dishonesty were prevalent in the development of the two cities. The land of opportunity was the land of competitiveness as well.

The bickering took place at town meetings and in newspaper columns. The scrapping was really "small time". There was no bloodshed and most controversy was civilized. No one was killed in the struggle for power between the communities. There were "tricks" of meanness like the letting of cows out of pastures and the removal of a machine shop on a barge one night. (The same shop was stolen back a short time later.) There do not seem to have been mean-spirited attempts by either side to stir up the citizens to angry action. Each seemed to accept the presence of the other.

Fault cannot be found with our ancestors. One can actually applaud their resourcefulness and even the conniving which went into the development of these individual cities. The cities' history in the early days was rugged and stormy by modern standards, but the end product was two cities which have managed to grow and live side by side, each with its own personality.

History turns on a decision, an action, or a series of accidental happenings. Frequently one can contemplate what might have been. What if Doty's strong personality had not been associated with Menasha? What if he had not been such a conniving person? What if Harvey Jones had lived instead of dying so young and what if he had left a will? What if Curtis Reed had not succeeded in getting the government canal in Menasha? What if J. B. Hamilton had not been able to influence the County Board to divide the towns? What if a retail center had not developed in each community but instead one business district had sprung up in Doty's proposed Island City? What happened in reality was that Neenah and Menasha were destined to become one in many aspects; but they continue to be two in history, government, and even individuality.

A Tale of Twin Cities

Thus the tale of twin cities continues - even as all history continues. The citizens of these communities must be grateful to the men of vision who saw that this was a place of beauty and opportunity and struggled here with a sense of purpose to establish the cities of Neenah and Menasha, Wisconsin.

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Caryl Herziger

Neenah vs Menasha.

We cannot but feel amused when we reflect seriously upon it, yet it is a source of exceeding great annoyance, at the excessive jealousies and envyings between these two places. We are accused alternately by the one and by the other, of favoring the opposite place. Each one accuses us of intriguing for, and doing all we can to favor the other. When we are at Neenah, complaints are continually made to us about what we are doing for Menasha; and when we are at Menasha the same complaints are made in regard to Neenah.

The truth is, that we are not conscious of having a preference for either place. Pecuniarily we get about as much support from one as from the other. Personally our friends in the one place number as many as in the other. They are rival towns, possessing similar and like advantages, and we certainly have, and can have

no desire to see one succeed over the other. The rivalries between them are things with which we have nothing to do. As public journalists we have no right to meddle with them. We will do all we can legitimately for the prosperity of both places, but nothing for one as against the other.

We wish your friends in these two places would look at this matter as it is.

These remarks are called out at this time, because the County Board is in session this week, and both Neenah and Menasha are applying for Platted Charters, reaching to Omro. We have been charged by each with lobbying with the members in favor of the charter of the other. Neenah is applying for a division of the Town to be set off in a Town by itself, disconnected with Menasha—and Neenah friends have charged us with intriguing with the members in opposition to the application.

Editorial in a Menasha newspaper of the day.

EPILOGUE

The two communities now faced each other across a dividing line - a line drawn by Winnebago County edict - right down the center of Doty Island.

Menasha had the Fox-Wisconsin waterway with its promise of growth as a commercial and trading center. Neenah had water power with its promise of flour and paper mills, and both cities looked forward to stable industrial growth.

The Menasha Woodenware grew into one of the world's largest wood products facilities. Neenah came to be known as the "Paper City" and saw the beginnings of the world famous Kimberly-Clark Corporation.

Over the years, each city grew and prospered. Each built fine schools. Benefactors gave each a public library. Churches of varying splendor and denominations dotted their avenues. New industrial growth in a foundry, in chemicals, packaging, printing, and allied services brought increased job opportunities and prosperity.

But old animosities die hard. The cities were divided now by a physical entity - Nicolet Boulevard - but also by their differences in politics, religion, ethnic backgrounds, and history.

Now, though, in the last decade of the twentieth century, those differences pale as we find that the old Twin Cities' idea is being replaced with the larger, more comprehensive Fox Cities' concept. The Fox River waterway is still operational and the future is bright for a take-over by state and local governments. It is still a link to the past and a shining path to future use for recreation and tourism. The Twin Cities face new challenges and opportunities as the fastest growing area of the state, and the Tale of Twin Cities becomes a landmark on the road to future community development for the whole northeastern part of Wisconsin.

A TIMELINE

1829-1856

What went on in the world, the state, and in the Fox Valley

- 1829 ...Garrisoning of Ft. Winnebago at Portage...Campaign to improve Fox River passage...Extensive dependable waterway out of Lake Winnebago is noted by explorers.
- 1831 ...Wisconsin considered refuge for displaced East Coast Indians...Under Stambaugh Treaty mission school for their civilization is to be established...U.S. buys land between Menasha and Appleton...Wisconsin part of Michigan Territory.
- 1834 ...Mission school is established on south channel.
- 1835 ...Menominees cede land to the government...Doty buys a large tract of land on the island - \$5-\$10 per acre...Land investors begin to come...Idea of an internal improvement project is discussed.
- 1836 ...Treaty of the Cedars - opens land in Neenah and Oshkosh by purchase from the Menominees by U.S. government...Government gives up Indian Mission - abandons the site...Bill passed to set up development of territories when 60,000 inhabitants can form permanent constitution and government and apply for statehood.
- 1838 ...Doty gets promise of waterway improvements from Secretary of War...Wisconsin becomes a territory separate from Michigan...Set up government under Organic Act...Improvement of internal waterways to be the responsibility of the U.S. government Doty's achievement...Henry Dodge becomes first territorial governor...Madison capital...Board of Public Works established by territorial legislature.
- 1840 ...Democrat Martin Van Buren is eighth president...Henry Dodge is governor of Wisconsin Territory...James Duane Doty is state's representative to Congress.
- ...Winnebago tribe is being forcefully removed from Wisconsin...State population is 30,945; Winnebago County, 135...An engineer's report says it will cost \$1 million to make lower Fox River navigable...Captain Thomas Cram of the Bureau of Topographical Engineers makes report on the Fox-Wisconsin waterway which became the blueprint for the project.

- 1841 ...William Henry Harrison is ninth president; he catches pneumonia during the inauguration and dies April 4, 1841; John Tyler becomes president...Horace Greeley starts New York Tribune...First large wagon train reaches California over Oregon Trail.
...Doty is elected territorial governor; Dodge goes to Congress.
- 1842 ...Mexican soldiers invade Texas Republic and capture San Antonio...Canal between Cincinnati and Toledo is completed...P.T. Barnum opens his American Museum in New York.
...Copper discovered near Lake Superior; Chippewa Indian land claims affected...Winnebago County organized - Population 732.
- 1843 ...World Peace Conference held in London...Daniel Webster resigns as Secretary of State...Second Seminole War ends after years of deliberate massacres in Florida.
...Harrison Reed purchases Winnebago Rapids settlement for \$4,760.
- 1844 ...First treaty between U.S. and China opens five ports to trading...Samuel Morse transmits first message between Washington and Baltimore over a telegraph line.
...Nathaniel Tallmadge is elected governor...Green Bay investors draw up comprehensive plan of waterway system from Mississippi to the Great Lakes...Doty names settlement "Neenah", the Winnebago word for water...Reed secures a post office, and cuts a road from Neenah to Oshkosh.
- 1845 ...President Tyler annexes Texas in March...James Knox Polk is elected 11th president...Florida becomes 27th state, joining the Union as a slave state...Drive for general waterway improvements abandoned because of depression.
...Morgan Martin is elected to Congress from Wisconsin...Gov. James Doty builds his Grand Loggery on the Neenah Island.
- 1846 ...Mexican-American War starts; Congress authorizes \$10 million and 50,000 troops...Irish potato crop fails again, produces famine.
...Fox River is to be developed by the state as a waterway...Harvey Jones provides the cash to purchase Winnebago Rapids...Morgan L. Martin, Green Bay, gets passage of bill for alternate sections 3 miles deep entire length of the Fox.
- 1847 ...Brigham Young and Mormon followers settle in Utah...Congress approves adhesive postage stamps...John Tweedy is Wisconsin's congressman.

- ...Gov. Doty gets state approval for two dams off Island...Lawrence Institute chartered...First brewery is erected on banks of Fox River in Neenah...Harrison Reed builds stone barn in Neenah.
- 1848 ...Karl Marx issues Communist Manifesto...Gold rush is on at Coloma, California...Treaty of Hidalgo ends war with Mexico; U.S. gets Texas and what will become California, Nevada, Utah, and parts of four other states. ...Wisconsin becomes the 30th state on May 29...One-third of state's 13.5 million acres sold at average of \$1.27 per acre...Nelson Dewey is elected governor...Harvey Kimberly arrives in Neenah, buys two lots and opens general store.
- 1849 ...Whig Zachary Taylor is inaugurated as 12th president...Transatlantic ships make it from Liverpool to New York in 33 days.
...Jones dies of typhoid at age 44...Neenah and Menasha clash over the site of a lock making the Fox River navigable to Green Bay. Menasha gets the official channel but Neenah builds its own anyway...Menasha Wooden Ware Co. established...Menasha establishes post office.
- 1850 ...Millard Fillmore becomes president upon death of Taylor...Leaders of nine southern states meet in Nashville to discuss slavery and states' rights...Nathaniel Hawthorne writes The Scarlet Letter.
...Wisconsin population is 305,390; Winnebago County, 10,167...Elisha Smith opens a dry goods store in Menasha; Kimberlys build flour mill.
- 1851 ...U.S. population estimated at 23 million...Move to annex Cuba via revolt with Spain fails...Stephen Foster publishes "Old Folks at Home". Herman Melville publishes Moby Dick.
...One of Wisconsin's first railroads goes into operation at Menasha...Reed and Doty build The Menasha, largest vessel on Lake Winnebago...Waterway open to Mississippi from Lake Winnebago.
- 1852 ...Commodore Perry is sent to Japan to open trade...Know-Nothing Party comes into power...Harriet Beecher Stowe writes Uncle Tom's Cabin.
...Leonard Farwell is elected Wisconsin governor...Federal land offices are transferred from Green Bay to Menasha...The telegraph is installed in Neenah...Government locks started in Menasha...Jones' lock and canal operating (south channel)...Script issued to finance north channel not authorized by State, debt greatly increased.
- 1853 ...Democrat Franklin Pierce is inaugurated as 14th president...Rail connection is established between New York and Chicago...Norwegians settle in Wisconsin, form Evangelical Church of America.

- ...Menasha is incorporated as a village...Jeremiah Crowley, at age 24, establishes Advocate newspaper in Menasha; Appleton Crescent, a Democrat paper, starts with 88 subscribers...North channel project given to new investment company...Finances continue to flounder.
- 1854 ...American William Walker establishes himself as president of Sonora, which includes two Mexican states...Republican Party is formally established at Ripon by anti-slavery proponents.
- ...Wisconsin Supreme Court declares Fugitive Slave Act unconstitutional...William Barstow is elected governor...Court orders deed given to Reed and court expenses for Village of Neenah (1/4 interest).
- 1855 ...Some 400,000 immigrants arrive in New York City...William Walker declares himself dictator of Nicaragua, rules for two years...The opening of the Soo canal between lakes Superior and Huron leads to cheap transportation of iron ore and to the development of the steel industry...Great objection by legislators to give private enterprise public lands - subject to misuse and private profiteering.
- ...Winnebago County Board cuts the township of Neenah, with its bickering settlements, into two parts...
- 1856 ...Massachusetts Sen. Charles Sumner gives anti-slavery speech, is beaten unconscious with a cane by congressman from South Carolina...Democrat James Buchanan defeats John Fremont for president.
- ...Neenah's incorporation as a village is recognized by the state...Stockbridge Indian band moves from east shore of Lake Winnebago to southwestern part of Menominee reservation...The steamship Aquila was the first from Mississippi River to Green Bay, via the Wisconsin and Fox rivers...Railroads develop as the major means of transportation...A single road stretched between the two communities - along what was to become Commercial St...Bridge across the north channel completed but road is a sea of stumps and mud...Village plats of Neenah and Winnebago Rapids consolidated to become Neenah.

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About the Authors

Arva Luther Adams

Chapter 18

Arva Luther Adams was born in Sebastopol, California. She was taught at home through the grades and graduated from Berkeley High School and the University of California in Berkeley, California. Art was her college major.

She married Henry Adams, a Presbyterian minister and professor at the San Francisco Theological Seminary. They are the parents of five boys and one girl.

Before moving to Neenah 20 years ago, they lived in New Jersey and Minnesota. While living on the road used by George Washington to move his troops in Wycoff, New Jersey, she became interested in local history. After moving here, her historical interest continued and she has been actively involved in the Neenah Historical Society since that time. Arva has served as producer of many of the docu/dramas presented by the Society.

Edmund P. Arpin

Chapter 21

Edmund P. Arpin was born in Ladysmith, Wisconsin, in 1923 and graduated from Neenah High School. He attended the University of Wisconsin-Madison and received B.A., L.L.B., and S.J.D. degrees from there.

During World War II, Ed served with the Army Air Force in the Southwest Pacific Theater between 1943 and 1946.

He had a law practice in Neenah from 1954 to 1970, at which time he was elected Circuit Court Judge. He served in that capacity until his retirement in 1982.

Edmund married the former Nancy Draheim of Neenah, and they have six children.

Glenn Brill
Chapter 2, 4, 5

Glenn Brill was born in Philadelphia, and moved to Neenah with his family in 1975. One of the first things that struck him was the city's wonderfully preserved historic buildings. This, coupled with his interest in history, led to his involvement with the Neenah Historical Society. He worked in several of the Society's annual plays, directing two of them and even met his wife while doing one! He has also chaired the Society's nominating committee. When not delving into local history, Brill works as Sales Director for the Fox Cities Convention & Visitors Bureau. He also serves as a Neenah Alderman and is president of the Board of Directors for Youth-Go, a drop-in and counseling center for Neenah-Menasha teenagers.

Lynn M. Brill
Chapter 23

After leading a rather unsettled childhood, including going to ten grade schools, Lynn has lived in the Fox Valley for about 15 years. She is extremely glad to have finally laid down some roots and is delighted to be a resident of Neenah.

Lynn is involved in various community activities, as a member of the Historical Society and Neenah/Menasha Red Cross boards and as a former member of the Youth-Go and Friends of Riverside boards. She has been an actress in two of the Historical Society plays, "Charlie's Best Girl", where she met her husband, Glenn, and "Song of Life".

Additional interests are decorating, cooking, gardening, and needlecrafts, particularly quilting.

Lynn works for Kimberly-Clark Corporation as a secretary. She has an associate degree in Accounting.

Clifford E. Burton
Chapter 3

On December 5, 1990, a short time after Clifford E. Burton had completed the writing of the chapter on "Geology", he passed away.

Cliff was a graduate of Appleton High School and Lawrence University. During World War II he served with the United States Navy in both the Atlantic and Pacific Theaters.

For thirty-five years Cliff was an employee of the Kimberly-Clark Corporation, and after his retirement he taught at Fox Valley Technical College.

His other writings were books entitled Traveling the Rustic Roads of Wisconsin and Porch Swing Tales.

Helen Cogger
Chapter 15

Helen Cogger is a 1939 graduate of Wayne State University, Detroit, Michigan, with a Bachelor of Science Degree in Elementary Education. She has been married to her husband, William, for 51 years and is the mother of two sons and two daughters and has seven grandchildren. She was an elementary school teacher for 18 years.

She had received the Neenah Fellowship Award for writing the curriculum for Transitional First Grade, a pilot program, and the Neenah Teacher of the Year Award.

Helen has been an officer and has served on many committees of American Association for University Women, First Presbyterian Church of Neenah, Tuesday Club, and the Neenah Historical Society.

She and her husband travel extensively and spend as much time as possible with their children and their families, but she still finds time to give slide shows to school and adult groups on the history of Neenah and on their travels. Working actively on props and costumes for the Historical Society's docu/dramas and style shows keeps her always on the go.

Robert R. de Wet
Chapter 22

Born - Niagara Falls, New York

Family moved to Appleton, attended grade school through high school in Appleton, entered the Army following graduation. Served 27 months, of which 10 months was in the European Theater with a rifle company, 95th Infantry Division.

After service family moved to Neenah.

Attended Lawrence College for two years and then attended Northwestern University Dental School. After graduation established practice in Neenah.

Married with three children.

Retired and currently living in Neenah.

Peter A. Geniesse
Chapter 24

Peter A. Geniesse is a native of Green Bay and a graduate of the University of Notre Dame.

In 1968 he became the Managing Editor of the Twin City News-Record and maintained that position until 1981 when he was promoted to Weekend Editor of The Post Crescent.

Peter lives in Neenah with his wife and child. One of his many hobbies and interests is the history of this area, which has been helpful in several of his writing assignments.

Daniel Haase
Chapter 11, 19

Daniel Haase was born in Neenah and raised in Menasha, graduating from Menasha High School. He attended the University of Wisconsin, Fox Valley Center, and the University of Wisconsin-Oshkosh, receiving a Bachelor's Degree from the latter. He earned his Medical Technology Degree from Mercy Medical Center in Oshkosh.

Dan worked as a Medical Technologist at Theda Clark Regional Medical Center for 13 years before moving to West Bend after accepting a position as a crime laboratory analyst at the State Crime Laboratory in Milwaukee.

He is married and has two daughters.

Caryl Chandler Herziger
Chapter 26, 28

Caryl Chandler Herziger was born in River Falls, Wisconsin, and raised in Ames, Iowa, Milwaukee, and Wauwatosa, graduating from Wauwatosa High School. She is a graduate of the University of Wisconsin-Madison.

Caryl taught English in Oregon, Wisconsin, and Sheboygan North high schools. After raising four children, she returned to school to receive certification as a Reading Specialist. She taught Remedial Reading - Chapter I at Jefferson and Gegan schools in Menasha.

Since her retirement, she has assisted in writing scripts for Neenah Historical Society docu/dramas "A Tale of Twin Cities", "Charlie's Best Girl", and "Song of Life". She is a member of the Menasha Historical Society, serves on boards of the American Red Cross and her church, St. Timothy Lutheran Church.

William F. Herziger
Chapter 6, 7, 27

William F. Herziger is a native of Neenah where his family had resided for several generations. He is a graduate of the University of Wisconsin-Madison and received his Master's Degree at Northwestern University. He taught Social Studies at Sheboygan Central and Menasha high schools.

Prior to his retirement William had served as Director of Curriculum for the Menasha Public School System for several years. He has been active in many community organizations and committees. He is a charter member and past-president of the Menasha Historical Society.

Bill Hortsch
Chapter 17

Bill was born in Fort Worth, Texas, and raised in various parts of the Midwest. He is recently retired after 30 years service with the Kimberly-Clark Corporation in the logistics areas. Currently, he is teaching Business Statistics and Business Ethics in the Marion College and Cardinal Stritch College outreach programs.

Initial interest in canals came while he was working at Kimberly-Clark's Niagara Falls Mill. While there he was able to observe the operation of the New York State barge canal (which incorporates many sections of the original Erie Canal) and the Welland Canal connecting Lake Erie and Lake Ontario. Other interests include cross-country skiing, reading, and general enjoyment of the outdoors.

Mary F. Kidd
Chapter 10

A lifelong resident of Wisconsin, Mary Kidd has lived in Neenah with her husband, Howard, and their three grown children since 1970.

She has a master's degree in United States History, with particular interest in local and Civil War history. Active in Neenah's Landmarks Commission and other civic organizations, she also enjoys reading, gardening, and needlework.

This chapter is taken in part from her master's thesis entitled, Orson P. Clinton: Pioneer, Pastor, Patriot available in both the Neenah and Menasha public libraries.

Phyllis Herziger Krueger
Chapter 13

Phyllis Herziger Krueger is a Neenah native, having been brought up on the Island where her family owned and operated a truck farm on Nicolet Boulevard, across from Smith Park. She attended Roosevelt Elementary School and graduated from Neenah High School. Two years at Lawrence College, a B.A. degree from the University of Wisconsin-Madison, and a year at Wisconsin Library School followed.

Her first job was as librarian at the Eager Free Public Library in Evansville, Wisconsin, where she spent two and one-half years. Next she moved to West Allis and worked as

a cataloger at the public library. She was married to Harland Krueger her first year there. After 25 years in West Allis, Phyllis accepted a position as a cataloger in the Neenah Public Library. While there she created the collection of copied photographs of old Neenah as a circulating collection, Mrs. Krueger being the photographer of the negatives. After fifteen years there, she retired from the library profession.

Local history became her prime interest during Neenah's centennial year, and it has continued. She is a member of the Neenah Historical Society, has served in various positions with that organization. She was instrumental in encouraging the society to rent rooms in the Horace Mann School building (when it was no longer used as a school) for its meetings and in establishing an archive.

Rosie J. Mathison Chapter 16

Rosie J. Mathison was introduced to the world of research almost ten years ago by Arva Adams. With her guidance and direction, she became a member of the team creating the award-winning historical docudramas for the Neenah Historical Society. She finds it very gratifying to be part of a team that creates original works - be it on a stage or in a book.

Her interest in research has also been directed toward various independent projects. Her deep respect for the officers of the Neenah Police Department compelled her to document their history. She also made a photo collage of the officers which was displayed during Communityfest in the lobby of the police station.

In 1984 Rosie researched the history of the Neenah library and wrote "The Book and the Candle", which was performed by members of the Neenah Historical Society during the library's 100th anniversary festivities. Her current project is a compilation of historical documents on Glory of the Morning and the Winnebago Indians through 1835. She also assisted in researching the history of the Neenah Theater and was responsible for organizing all the material on the theater.

Rosie has been a secretary at the Neenah Police Department for 25+ years having the primary responsibility for processing arrest reports. Because of the pressures and deadlines, she finds it necessary to have a tranquil home and social environment; sewing, handcrafts, and reading being her favorite pastimes. She has lived in Neenah for 25 years, at her current address for 15, and looks on her two cats as her "kids". One of her immediate goals is to spend more time with her family and friends, the people who are so special to her.

Don Mitchell

Chapter 25

Inspired as a child by the excitement and beauty of the steamboats in his hometown of Neenah, Wisconsin, it is no wonder that Don Mitchell turned his first love into a life-time hobby. His collection of information, history, and pictures of the Fox River and the travelers on it, was a driving force in his life, culminating in the publishing of a book entitled Steamboats on the Fox River.

A graduate of the University of Wisconsin, Don joined the USCGR and was commissioned in 1942, training on the full-rigged ship Danmark with Captain Knud Hansen. He worked in the paper and packaging industry with the same vigor in sales, marketing, advertising, and public relations. He and his wife, Jane, have four children.

But it was the call of the sea, the boats, the river, which has lasted since Don was a little lad. He served on the Governor's Task Force on the Fox River Locks, is chairman of the Fox River Management Commission, and was chosen Volunteer of the Year by the Chamber of Commerce and Industry of Fox River Valley. Retired since 1982, he is working full steam ahead on the problems of keeping the locks open and will lecture on steamships or the Fox River anytime or anywhere.

Charlotte H. Newby

Chapter 14

Charlotte H. Newby earned an M.B.A. in 1982 from Xavier University and a B.A. from Kent State University in 1968. She worked for the Procter & Gamble Company in Cincinnati and then for Kimberly-Clark Company in Neenah.

She is currently a full-time wife, mother and homemaker. Her children are 7 and 10 years of age. She is president of the American Association of University Women, a docent at the Paine Art Center and Arboretum, and teaches in the Junior Great Books Program at Washington Elementary School.

Her first hint that Neenah was unique among small towns was when she attended the Neenah Historical Society docudrama, "They Came and Got It".

The Newby family had called Neenah its home for nine years until the spring of 1992 when it moved to England - a great loss to this community.

Edward Noyes

Chapter 1

After graduation from high school, Edward Noyes worked for six years in the furnace room of the former A. H. Heisey Company, manufacturers of fine table glassware at Newark, Ohio.

In 1935, Noyes became a student at the Ohio State University, and after completing his undergraduate and graduate programs, received the Ph. D. degree in history in 1945.

During his thirty-eight teaching years in higher education, of which twenty-seven were spent at the University of Wisconsin-Oshkosh, Professor Noyes pursued a diversity of interests associated with his classroom assignments. Besides being a participant in numerous conferences devoted to the profession, he has spoken before a variety of other organizations including the Civil War Roundtables of Madison and Milwaukee. In addition he has been a contributor to a dozen professional publications and to two books. He has written a number of feature articles for newspapers, and an in-depth study of the University of Wisconsin-Oshkosh.

Outside the classroom, Professor Noyes has been active in the work of several organizations and agencies related to the field of history. He is a past president of the Lincoln Fellowship of Wisconsin; the Wisconsin State Genealogical Society; the Wisconsin-Northern Illinois Chapter of the American Studies Association; and the Winnebago County Archeological and Historical Society. During America's Bicentennial celebration, he was vice-chairman of the Winnebago County Bicentennial Committee and Executive Secretary of the Bicentennial Committee of the University of Wisconsin-Oshkosh. When the University observed its Centennial in 1971, he served as Centennial Historian. He is presently completing a second term as chairperson of the Oshkosh Landmarks Commission.

The recipient of several research awards including a grant from the Wisconsin Civil War Centennial Commission, Professor Noyes has also received an Award of Merit in State and Local History from the State Historical Society of Wisconsin; a Certificate of Appreciation from the Wisconsin State Genealogical Society; and a Certificate of Award from the Winnebago County Archeological and Historical Society in recognition of his work in historic preservation.

Professor Noyes's address to the Lincoln Fellowship of Wisconsin in 1985 is an outgrowth of his interest in the Civil War and the story of the black Wisconsinite. It is also a testimonial to his interest in editorial opinion as a source of history.

Winifred Anderson Pawlowski
Chapter 9, 12

Winifred Anderson Pawlowski, a native of Indiana, moved to Menasha in 1925. She graduated from the old high school on Racine Street in 1933 and then attended Oshkosh State Teachers College for four years, graduating with a Bachelor's Degree in Education.

After teaching for two years in an elementary school in Wausau, Wisconsin, she moved to Elgin, Illinois, and attended Ellis Business College. She was hired as a legal secretary by a young attorney in Elgin, where she worked for ten years, taking a break to work for the Army Air Force in Mississippi while her husband, R. W. Sorensen, was stationed there. After his death, she and her children returned to Menasha. When she went back into the work force, she became secretary to Chief of Police Lester D. Clark, as the first woman employee in the Menasha Police Department. She later worked as secretary to Judge James G. Sarres in the Winnebago County Court House.

Winifred retired in 1983 and since that time has been active in area historical and genealogical societies, doing considerable writing of articles on historical topics which she has researched.

Her two sons and one daughter do not live close, so she frequently visits them and her six grandchildren.

Nathan H. (Nate) Wauda
Chapter 8

Nathan H. Wauda was born on Doty Island in Neenah in 1912 and has lived on that island all his life. He attended the old Third Ward School from 1917 until it was replaced by the new Roosevelt Elementary School in 1923. He graduated from Neenah High School in 1930 and attended Davidson College in North Carolina.

Early in 1941, nine months before Pearl Harbor, he entered military service at Fort Sheridan, Illinois. Exactly five years later, to the day, he was discharged from military duty at that same post.

Nate was employed by Kimberly-Clark Corporation for forty-five years, retiring for the fourth time as a consultant in 1990.

His hobbies include amateur theater, oral history, photography, and vacation living in his log cabin in northern Wisconsin. In earlier years he was extensively involved with youth services and activities, principally with the Boys' Brigade with forty years of service.

His interest in drama began during his sophomore year in high school. In 1929 he became a charter member of the Winnebago Players and later joined the Lawrence University affiliate drama group known as the Little Theater in the Fox River Valley. He was involved with producing plays and having acting roles. Highlights of those years included his producing "I Remember Mama" and "Blythe Spirit" and then playing a leading role in Robert Sherwood's "Idiot's Delight".

Nate's most recent play involvement was the role of the gravedigger in "Charlie's Best Girl", and in 1987 his cherished role as Governor Doty in "A Tale of Twin Cities". Both of these plays were produced under the excellent skills of Arva Adams for the Neenah Historical Society.

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Researched and written by twenty-one local authors, this book is the result of the coming together of two communities in a joint effort to understand their "historical identities." The reader will be captivated by the variety of approaches and styles the writers display. Varying perspectives from which history is viewed emerge as well. An editorial decision was made to retain the style and content of the work of the authors, most of whom are nonprofessional writers.

The book is not merely a chronological account of events which formed and shaped the twin cities of Neenah and Menasha. It is designed to include the world around the feuding settlements and to show how pioneer life affected the early inhabitants.

Funded by the Neenah Historical Society, the book is the result of many citizens from both sides of the Fox River uniting to search for explanations for why they are, indeed, two cities. Events which occurred in years to 1856 sealed their fate and today they continue as "friendly rivals."

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