

INTRODUCTION

OVERVIEW

Between 1836 when the Wisconsin Territory was created and the turn of the century, Wisconsin was populated by massive influx of immigrants. Between 1836 and 1850 the population of Wisconsin increased 2,514 percent, from 11,683 to 305,390. Some of these settlers came from other parts of the United States, others came from Europe; in 1850, roughly one-third of the state's population was foreign-born. The following study units on immigration and settlement examine the major ethnic groups which populated Wisconsin throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, their patterns of settlement, and their contributions to the state's history. The first influx of settlers tended to occupy the southern tier of counties, settling in present-day Milwaukee, Waukesha, Jefferson, Rock, Washington, Dodge, Racine, Dane, and Grant counties.

Prior to the Black Hawk War in 1832 which opened the way for white settlement in the territory, Wisconsin, like other areas of the western frontier, was inhabited primarily by Indians. Much of the recorded history of the area prior to the mid-nineteenth century concerns the French and British fur trade with these Indians. By the mid-nineteenth century, indigenous tribes had been induced to cede most of their lands to the Federal Government. Some, like a few groups of Winnebago and Potawatomi, were relocated west of the Mississippi River. Thus, the history of immigration in Wisconsin was preceded and made possible by coerced reduction of tribal estates and even forced removal of some Indian populations.

Of the 106,695 foreign-born in Wisconsin in 1850, only 48,000 could claim English as their native language. Of these 48,000 nearly one-half (21,000) were Irish. Constituting one of the largest foreign-born groups, they tended to settle along the shores of Lake Michigan in Milwaukee, Racine, and Kenosha counties. Approximately 19,000 English immigrants also settled in Wisconsin in 1850, chiefly congregating in Iowa, Grant, and Lafayette counties. There was a significantly smaller immigrant population from Scotland and Wales, numbering roughly 3,500.

Of the non-English speaking immigrants, the Germans were by far the most numerous. In 1850, there were approximately 38,000 of them, accounting for roughly 12 percent of the state's total population. They tended to congregate in Washington, Ozaukee, Milwaukee, Jefferson, and Dodge counties; and, in fact, constituted one-third of the population of Milwaukee County and one-half the population of Washington County.

Norwegians were the second largest non-English speaking immigrant population in the state in the mid-nineteenth century. Wisconsin's 8,600 Norwegians accounted for nearly one-third of all Norwegians in America in 1850. Nearly 3,000 of them settled in Dane County during this period, and there were also considerable Norwegian populations in Washington and Racine counties (Smith 1973:490-492).

In 1850, Canadians, primarily of French descent, were nearly as numerous in Wisconsin as Norwegians, numbering 8,277 in 1850. Canadians had settled in places strategic for trading, such as Prairie du Chien and Green Bay, in the years before Wisconsin became a territory. During the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, there were also a number of French-Canadians living in the areas of present-day Fond du Lac, Dodge, and Milwaukee counties. It is from France's early domination of the fur trade that Wisconsin derives many of its French names; actual French settlement in the state was minimal, however.

For a very brief time, from the creation of a Commission of Emigration in 1852 until its

demise in 1855, Wisconsin actively encouraged new settlement, both foreign and native-born. During this period the chancellor of the University of Wisconsin, John Lathrop, authored a pamphlet extolling the state's virtues. Over 30,000 of these pamphlets, published in German, Norwegian, Dutch, and English, were distributed throughout Europe, in eastern port cities, and on ships sailing to New York. Advertisements were placed in over 900 newspapers throughout New York, New England, and Canada. By 1855, however, the rise of anti-foreign feelings (nativism) resulted in the dissolution of the Commission of Emigration (Current 1976:45).

Between 1850 and 1890, Wisconsin's foreign-born population increased five-fold, due in part to the efforts of the Commission of Emigration, propaganda distributed by land speculators, and letters written by foreigners who had already settled in the state to family members in Europe, encouraging them to come to the new land. Political, social, and economic situations in Europe was a motivating factor for many immigrants to leave their homeland for Wisconsin.

While not technically an "immigrant" group, black settlers constituted a small, but significant contribution to the diversification and enrichment of Wisconsin's population. As both a territory and a state Wisconsin was a free, although in 1835 27 of 91 blacks living in Wisconsin were slaves. By 1850, however, there were 635 blacks in the state, none of them slaves. The first free blacks in Wisconsin were French-speaking mulattos who settled in Prairie du Chien during the fur trade era. The largest pockets of rural black settlement in Wisconsin were in the Cheyenne Valley in Vernon County and in Pleasant Ridge in Grant County (Cooper 1977:3,5,26). There were considerable increases in the black population in Wisconsin after the 1861 Emancipation Proclamation and after World Wars I and II.

By 1910, the five most numerous ethnic minorities in Wisconsin were Swedes (five percent), Austrians (seven percent), Poles (ten percent) Norwegians (11 percent), and Germans (39 percent). Immigrant groups claiming Czechoslovakia and Russia as their homelands each accounted for five percent of Wisconsin's foreign-born population between 1920 and 1950. By the turn of the century, Wisconsin's population had become increasingly urbanized. By 1920, over half the state's population lived in urban areas; a clear majority of the urban population was foreign-born (Borowiecki:1980:42-43).

Although not numerically significant in the overall population, there were pockets of other ethnic groups that left their mark on the Wisconsin landscape, among them the Finns in Douglas County, the Icelanders on Washington Island, the Danes in Racine County, and the Italians in Kenosha. Ethnic groups varied, of course, in the degree to which they held fast to traditional values and customs. Their assimilation into the mainstream of American life was determined, in part, by when and why they immigrated and the extent to which they were accepted by American-born and other immigrant groups. The following study units examine some of the immigrant groups that settled in Wisconsin, their patterns of settlement, the institutions they created (or re-created), and their contribution to the diverse cultural heritage of the state.

SOURCES:

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1977 Black Settlers in Rural Wisconsin. State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison.

Current, Richard N.

1976 The History of Wisconsin (vol. 2): The Civil War Era, 1848-1873. State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison.

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PROTECTION

Threats to Resources

Properties associated with ethnic groups that settled in Wisconsin face a variety of threats, including age, neglect, unsympathetic re-use, abandonment, and misguided "modernization." One of the most persistent and serious threats to these properties, however, has been the assimilation of all ethnic groups into the mainstream of American life. As these ethnic groups became "Americanized," historic ethnic traditions faded and structures related to those traditions, such as social halls, schools, and publishing facilities, became obsolete. This obsolescence often resulted in their abandonment and demolition.

As a result of the assimilation process, entire ethnic communities have disappeared. In some cases, urban neighborhoods were vacated by one ethnic group only to be populated by another. In Milwaukee, for example, the Italians occupied the old Irish neighborhood shortly after the turn of the century. More recently, the blacks have moved into the old German neighborhood on the city's west side. The accompanying changes in ethnic traditions and building use can pose threats to the historic integrity of resources located in these historic neighborhoods.

Shifting urban patterns and urban development present another serious threat to ethnic associated properties in the state's urban centers. This is particularly apparent in Milwaukee where the area of early German settlement has been obliterated by development in the central business district, while nearly all traces of the historic Italian neighborhood have been erased by interstate highway construction.

Increasing urbanization and suburbanization threaten ethnic associated resources in rural areas as well. Green Bay's urban sprawl to the south and southeast poses threats to Belgian associated properties in Brown County, while the suburbanization of Milwaukee and Ozaukee counties threaten resources associated with historic German and Luxembourg settlements.

Over the past few decades agricultural resources associated with historic ethnic settlement have been threatened by the introduction of modern farming methods, a decline in family farming, and the subsequent rise of corporate farming. Family farmsteads may be altered or abandoned, and structures may be either demolished to make way for newer or larger facilities or left to deteriorate. Some structures from the early pioneer farming period are especially susceptible because of their construction methodology; they often lack a foundation and are built of wood.

Many resources associated with the French and British fur trade and French missionary work were constructed early and in many cases by primitive methods. As a result, they deteriorated easily and today are archeological sites. These sites are threatened by the

same factors that affect other archeological sites, discussed in the Historic Indian theme.

The tenuous nature of some ethnic communities may signify a lack of interest by later residents in the preservation of associated resources. In a few instances ethnic communities were established only to be abandoned a short time later. A small contingent of Milwaukee's Russian Jewish population, for example, became involved in a unique rural colonization scheme in the vicinity of Arpin (Wood County) around the turn of the century. They remained only long enough to build a synagogue and effect the beginnings of a farm economy in the area, dispersing to various urban areas. The Dutch agricultural community of Franklin Prairie (Milwaukee County) provides a similar scenario. Established in about 1847, by 1851 the community had a population of between 700 and 800. Yet, despite its suitability for agrarian pursuits, it never became a permanent Dutch settlement. Several settlers moved to Milwaukee to take advantage of greater employment opportunities, while others relocated to larger Dutch communities in Michigan.

Since mid-century, Wisconsin's growing recreation and tourist business has threatened ethnic associated resources throughout the state. Historic French associated resources along the Mississippi River, notably archeological sites, have been particularly threatened by modern waterfront development. Increasing tourism and its accompanying commercial development in Door County have created serious threats to Belgian associated resources over the past few decades. The deliberate "Swissification" of historic Swiss associated properties, and the distorted recreation of so-called "Swiss" forms in an attempt to cater to tourism, threatens to destroy the integrity of a number of Swiss resources and obliterate authentic Swiss ethnic building traditions.

Guidelines for Evaluating Significance

To be a good representative of the settlement theme, properties must have strong ethnic associations and possess integrity. Types of resources associated with this theme can include churches, synagogues, meeting halls, commercial buildings, agricultural buildings, and private homes.

Within the settlement theme, a property may be eligible for the National Register of Historic Places if it has made significant contributions to broad patterns of a particular ethnic group's history: Turner Hall, 1034 N. Fourth St., Milwaukee (German, NRHP 1976), Hague Log Church, Town of Perry, Dane County (Norwegian, NRHP 1974), St. Josaphat Basilica, 601 W. Lincoln Ave., Milwaukee (Polish, NRHP 1972); or if it is associated with the life of a significant person(s) within a particular ethnic community: Karel Jonas House, 1337 N. Erie St., Racine (Czech, NRHP 1982); Jens Naeset House, 126 E. Washington St., Stoughton (Norwegian, NRHP 1985); John J. Suhr House, 321 S. Hamilton St., Madison (German, NRHP 1980); or if it embodies the distinctive characteristics of a type or method of construction associated with a particular ethnic group: Albin Johnson Log House, Town of Spirit, Price County (Swedish, NRHP 1978); Koepsel House, Old World Wisconsin, Waukesha County (German, NRHP 1973); Lutze Housebarn, Town of Centerville, Manitowoc County (German, NRHP 1984); Davidson Windmill, Town of Lakeside, Douglas County (Finnish, NRHP 1979).

Survey Priorities

Completion of thematic surveys in the Milwaukee, Dane, Dodge, Ozaukee, Washington, Walworth, Rock, Racine, Sheboygan, Fond du Lac, Manitowoc and Kenosha counties, to identify historic German associated resources, such as Turner Hall, breweries, and schools.

Intensive surveys of New Amsterdam (La Crosse County) and Friesland (Columbia County) to identify Dutch associated resources.

Thematic survey of historic Dutch related resources in the Fox River Valley.

Thematic survey of Luxembourg associated resources in Ozaukee County with special emphasis on the city of Port Washington.

Intensive survey of Prairie du Chien, to identify architectural and archeological resources associated with historic French fur trade era settlement.

Thematic surveys of rural Sauk and Lafayette counties to identify Swiss associated resources.

Surveys of historic Norwegian settlements at Muskego (Waukesha County), the Town of Koshkonong (Jefferson County), Stoughton (Dane County), and Blue Mounds (Dane County), Winchester (Winnebago County), and Coon Valley (Vernon County).

Rural surveys of the Towns of Gale, Etrick, Preston, and Pigeon in Trempealeau County to identify Norwegian associated resources.

State-wide thematic survey of traditional Finnish rural architecture.

Thematic survey of Finnish cooperative structures.

Intensive survey of Washington Island (Door County) with special emphasis on Danish and Icelandic resources.

Intensive surveys of the historic Swedish rural communities of Stockholm (Pepin County) and Trade Lake (Burnett County).

Thematic survey of historic Danish rural communities, including Withee (Clark County), New Denmark (Brown County), and West Denmark, Luck, and Bone Lake (Polk County).

Intensive survey of the historic Polish settlements of Pine Creek, Independence, Arcadia, and surrounding agricultural region (Trempealeau County).

Intensive survey of the communities of Polonia and Stevens Point (Portage County) to identify historic Polish associated resources.

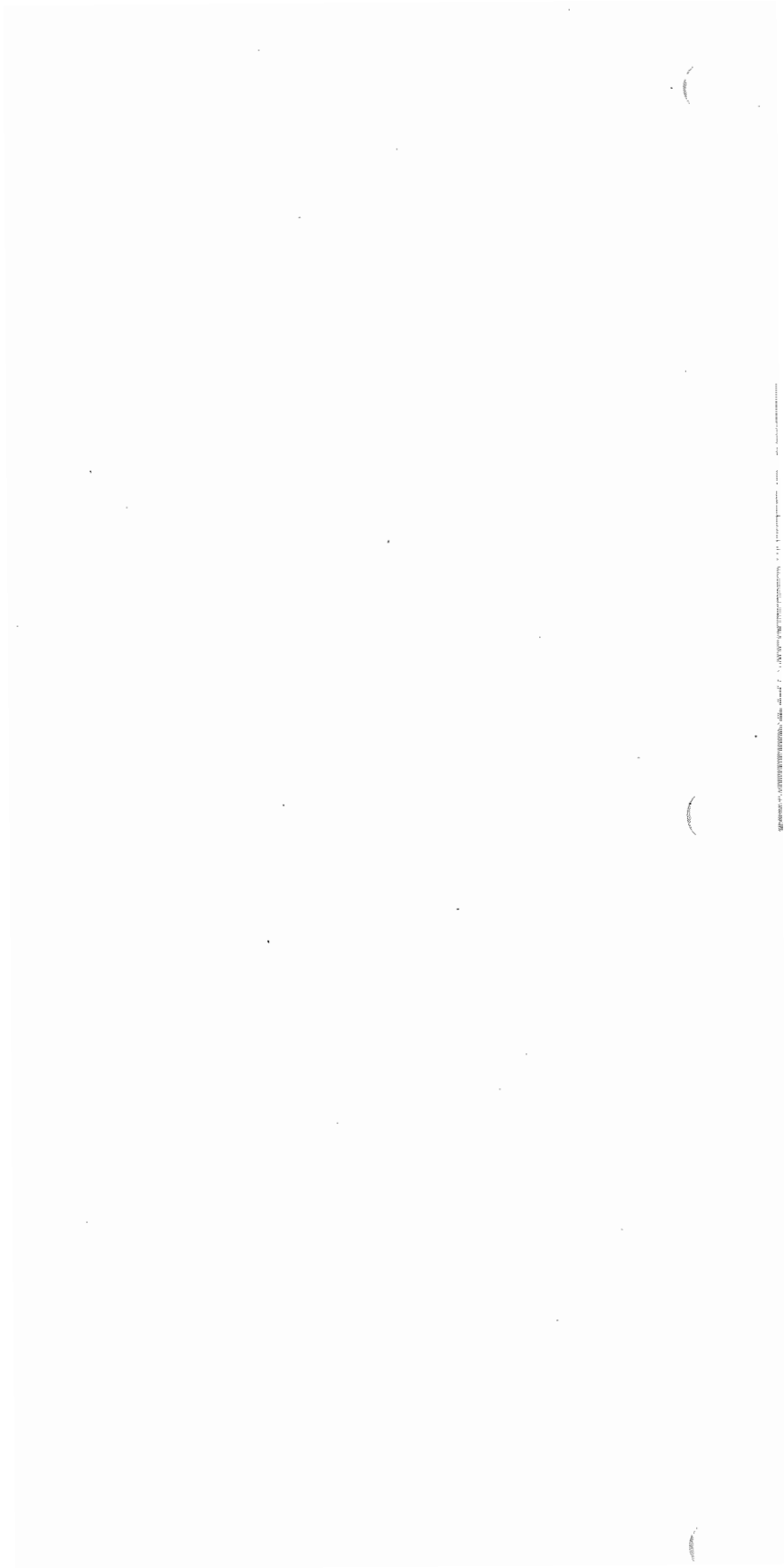
Thematic survey of Brown, Shawano, and Oconto counties to identify historic Polish related resources.

Thematic survey of Clark County to identify the rural Slovenian resources, particularly the Willard area.

Intensive surveys of the historic Slovakian communities of Boyceville and Connorsville (Dunn County).

Registration Priorities

- German: Significant German associated resources in the historic settlement of Friestadt, Ozaukee County
- Belgian: Significant properties identified in the Belgian-American Thematic Resources survey
- Swiss: Swiss United Church of Christ, New Glarus, Green County
Zwingle United Church of Christ, Monticello, Green County
- Danes: Dania Hall, Racine, Racine, Racine County
Dania Hall, Kenosha, Kenosha County
- Finns: Agen Block (housed Finnish Tyomic Society), Superior, Douglas County
Severson Block (historic Finnish Meeting Hall), Superior, Douglas County
- Polish: Polish Hall, Racine, Racine County
Holy Family Church, Ashland, Ashland County
- Eastern European: Slovenia Hall, Willard, Clark County
Estonian Lutheran Church, Town of Merrill, Lincoln County
- Italian: Roma Hall, Racine, Racine County
Church of the Blessed Virgin of Pompeii, Milwaukee
Italian Workingmen's Club, Madison, Dane County
- Greek: St. Spyridon Greek Orthodox Church, Sheboygan, Sheboygan County



Temporal Boundaries: From about 1820 through the First World War, with peak immigration in the periods 1846-1854 and 1881-1884.

Spatial Boundaries: Heavy statewide distribution in both urban and rural settings.

Related Study Units: Lutheran Church, Reformed Church, Catholic Church, Jewish Congregations, Temperance Movement, Women's Suffrage Movement.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Among all Western European nations sending immigrants to the United States in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, Germany contributed the largest non-English speaking element. About 5.5 million Germans immigrated to the United States between 1820 and 1910. Ascertaining the exact size of the German immigration is difficult, however, since German speaking ethnics came from a wide variety of national and provincial backgrounds. For instance, some came from Holland, Belgium, France, Switzerland, and Austria, while others came from Poland, Russia, and the Baltic states. Until federation in the latter half of the nineteenth century, Germany existed as a great number of feudalistic and loosely bound administrative units with extensive differences in culture, economy, and religion. These national and provincial distinctions were not uniformly registered in port or census records. Moreover, the fact that many migrants entered the country two or three times each further complicated the situation (Zeitlin 1977:3).

German immigration to the United States before 1845 was fairly insignificant, but shortly thereafter, the numbers increased rapidly as three major waves of German immigrants arrived in America before the end of the century. A high point for the pre-Civil War years was reached between 1845 and 1855 when 939,149 immigrants, 97 percent of them from the southwestern states of Nassau, Hesse, the Rhineland, Pfaly, Baden, Wurtenburg, and Bavaria, entered the United States. A second wave, bringing a combined total of 1,066,333 Germans, began at the close of the Civil War and continued at high levels until 1874. Most of these emigres originated in the states of Schleswig-Holstein, Ost Frisland, Hanover, Oldenburg, and Westphalia in the northwestern region of Germany. Due primarily to adverse economic conditions in the United States, an abrupt and marked decline in immigration occurred between 1874 and 1880. But beginning in 1880 and continuing through 1893, a third large wave of immigrants brought a record breaking 1,849,056 German immigrants to the United States. These people came principally from the states of Prussia, Pomerania, Upper Silesia, and Mecklenberg in northeastern Germany. Although many Germans, together with people from eastern and southern Europe, continued to cross the Atlantic in the 1890s, the number decreased annually until the turn of the century when a small wave of Germans migrated to the United States in the pre-World War I period (Zeitlin 1977:4-5) (See Zeitlin for map and explanation of areas discussed in the major waves of German immigration).

German immigrants dispersed rapidly across the United States, principally over the North Atlantic and North Central States. They congregated in and around major cities that skirted the southern shores of the Great Lakes and along the banks of the Ohio, Mississippi, and Missouri rivers. By 1900, more than 1,461,000 of 2,666,990 Germans immigrants to the United States lived inside "a crescent outlined by the Missouri river valley and the Mississippi to the mouth of the Ohio, the Ohio Valley, the southern shores of the Lakes, central Wisconsin back to the Mississippi, and the Minnesota valley" (Binder-Johnson 1951:4).

In the homeland, a myriad of forces, including agricultural reforms, industrialization, an expanding population, potato blight, and crop failures, converged in the period between 1846 and 1853 to create a dispossessed rural class ripe for emigration. The group that emigrated in 1839 did so for religious reasons. Some of those who came in the late 1840s came to escape the contemporary political upheavals that were plaguing Europe. But most emigrants came in hopes of material betterment. Of those who migrated after mid-century, the majority were farmers, artisans, and laborers (Zeitlin 1977:4).

Many Germans settled in Wisconsin in the 1840s, and German settlement was propelled to great heights in the decades of 1840-1850, 1850-1860, and 1880-1890. Settlement was particularly heavy in the years between 1846 and 1854 and between 1881 and 1884. In 1850, the federal census recorded 38,064 Germans in Wisconsin. Besides the British, the Germans were the most numerous foreign element in Wisconsin at this time. The German population grew so rapidly in the 1850s that by 1860, with a population of 123,879, Germans achieved numerical primacy among all foreign-born groups in the state. In 1870, 162,314 Germans lived in Wisconsin; 184,328 in 1880; and 259,819 by 1890. By the turn of the century, German born residents constituted approximately ten percent of Wisconsin's entire population and 47 percent of its foreign-born population (Faust 1969:469; Smith 1929:111-112).

Wisconsin's German born population peaked in 1900 at 268,384. After this point, it began to decline. In 1910, there were only 201,572 German born people in Wisconsin, and the number further decreased to 151,250 by 1920 (Smith 1929:110-112). Both deaths among original German immigrants and the lack of immigration from Germany during World War I stimulated the decline. Yet, the numerical downslide was not accompanied by a comparable reduction in either the group's cultural and economic influence or their relative strength among foreign-born in the Badger State. In 1950, Germans were the predominant foreign stock in 41 of Wisconsin's 72 counties. Norwegians dominated 12 counties, Swedes dominated seven, and Poles were the most numerous foreign element in six counties. Among Wisconsin's urban centers during the same period, Germans were the primary foreign stock in Green Bay and Milwaukee. They ran second to the Danes in Racine, to the Italians in Kenosha, and to the Norwegians in Madison (Borowiecki 1980:58-65).

The fur trade provided the initial stimulus for the movement of people of German extraction into the Wisconsin territory. As early as 1819, Germans settled in Fort Howard (Green Bay) and Fort Crawford (Prairie du Chien), established trade relations with the local Indians, and mixed and intermarried with the French in the region. These early immigrants, who came primarily from the German communities of eastern, southern, and central Pennsylvania, also participated in the discovery and development of southern Wisconsin's lead mines, a process that began in the 1820s. In the 1830s, German miners drifted into the southwestern counties from Kentucky, Indiana, Ohio, Tennessee, and Illinois.

But the promise of cheap, virgin land in the territorial period also held great appeal for the Pennsylvania group. Farming was thus also an early activity, especially in Rock, Green, Walworth, and Lafayette counties. "They were poor," writes Lyman Draper of the group, "owning little more than their cabins, the scanty clothing they wore, a few rough tools, teams of scrub horses or yokes of cattle and some barnyard stock" (Dundore 1954:58).

While economic factors were paramount in drawing Germans to Wisconsin, some came because of contemporary religious circumstances and dissatisfactions. On the 300th anniversary of the Protestant Reformation in 1817, King Frederick William III of Prussia, a member of the Reformed Church, united the Prussian Reformed and Lutheran churches. As a result, many strictly conservative Lutherans who opposed the union chose

to leave the kingdom. With the permission of the civil authorities and following the imprisonment of several key churchmen, groups of these dissatisfied Lutherans, called Old Lutherans, from Pomerania and Brandenburg called on Erfurt minister Johannes Grabau to assist them in emigrating to America. Grabau and his Old Lutheran contingent were joined by Captain Heinrich von Rohr, an ex-military officer from Prussia who had forfeited his commission by refusing to support the monarch's decision on church union. While half the group subsequently settled with Grabau in Buffalo, New York, doctrinal differences drove von Rohr and the remainder of the group to Milwaukee. They later went to Mequon where they established the Freistadt colony, the site of the first Lutheran congregation in the state (See Lutheran study unit).

Opposition to the union of the two sects brought an estimated 3,000 Old Lutherans to Wisconsin from 1839 to 1846. The majority settled on farmsteads in rural Ozaukee, Washington, and Dodge counties. Immigration en masse, or the transplantation of entire congregations led by their pastors, characterized Old Lutheran migration to Wisconsin and ultimately gave rise to a common pattern of tightly knit and contiguously settled communities. Among the most successful colonies were the towns of Kirchhayn in Washington County, Lebanon in Dodge County, and Ixonia in Jefferson County. Grabau and von Rohr returned to the Lutheran areas of northern Germany and disseminated glowing descriptions of their experiences in America. As a result, a second group of Old Lutherans immigrated in the period between 1854 and 1860 (Suelflow 1965:55; Quaife 1924:162-163).

By the time that the Old Lutheran colonies developed, four German Catholic missions, which had already expended considerable missionary effort, existed in eastern Wisconsin. In 1854, Reverend Ambrose Oschwald, a German priest, transplanted an entire Catholic parish from the Black Forest to eastern Wisconsin to form the St. Nazianz colony in Eaton Township, Manitowoc County. One hundred fourteen persons, all of whom had suffered under Protestant domination in the state of Baden, established this utopian colony based on self-sufficiency through shared property and common life. Internal disputes following the death of the group's leader in 1873 and a court order to divide all common property led to the eventual demise of the experiment (Zeitlin 1977:8).

Even more so than the early missions or the St. Nazianz colony, the able and magnetic Reverend John Martin Henni, the first bishop of Milwaukee, stirred the interest of prospective Catholic migrants in the German homeland. Through his efforts, many German Catholic clergymen were successfully established in parishes across the state (Quaife 1924:160-162). When Henni was appointed to the bishopric in 1844, there were approximately 8,000 Catholics in Wisconsin. By 1867, the number rose to 250,000, attributable in part to his efforts. Catholics constituted about 30 to 36 percent of the German migration to America, but their numbers were proportionately greater among Germans in Wisconsin (Kuyper 1980:17). (See Catholic study unit).

Religious strife and economic hardships were not the only reasons for immigration. A small number of German liberals, dissatisfied with the outcome of the unsuccessful Revolution of 1848, emigrated to Wisconsin shortly afterwards. Thus a small fraction of the state's earliest German settlers can be identified with the abortive Revolution of 1848 (Nesbit 1973:155). Perhaps the most famous of the "48ers" was Carl Schurz who fled Germany in 1849 because of his revolutionary activities. He moved to Wisconsin in 1855 and settled in Watertown. Schurz immediately involved himself in politics and the anti-slavery movement and was an unsuccessful candidate for lieutenant governor in 1857 (State Historical Society 1969:320). In Abraham Lincoln's presidential campaign of 1860, Schurz was a tireless crusader and traveled throughout the midwest persuading German Americans to vote for the Republican ticket. Thereafter, Schurz left Wisconsin for higher political offices. He was appointed minister to Spain (1861), elected United States Senator from Missouri (1869-1875), served as United States Secretary of the Interior (1877-1881), and was editor of the New York Evening Post (1881-1884).

The contours of heaviest German settlement in Wisconsin ultimately embraced the great maple forest areas in the southeast and the pine forest areas along Lake Michigan, south of Green Bay. These people were drawn principally from the heavy waves of immigrants that came in the mid-nineteenth century. Settlement of the two southern tiers of Wisconsin counties was already in its advanced stages by the time the German immigration began in earnest in the mid-1840s. Consequently, German settlers moved north and west after arriving in Milwaukee, the chief port of entry and "roadhouse" for the German movement into the state.

In general, German settlement of Wisconsin began along the entire eastern lakeshore south of Green Bay, although scattered settlements existed elsewhere in the southern sector. A large company of Germans settled at an early date in Sauk and Dane counties and created the layout for Sauk City. In 1847, settlement stretched west to Mineral Point, although the prime movement after 1848 was into Manitowoc, Sheboygan, and Calumet counties as well as into the region immediately surrounding Lake Winnebago. From the shores of Lake Winnebago, settlement spread between 1848 and 1860 into Green Lake and Outagamie counties and into the upper and lower reaches of the Fox River Valley. After 1860, Germans moved from the prairie lands into the heavily forested north-central counties. The greatest numbers congregated in Shawano, Marathon, Lincoln, Wood, Taylor, Price, and Ashland counties. Railroad and lumber companies played a particularly important role in attracting Germans to this latter region, since labor opportunities in lumber or section gangs was a great incentive to the potential settler (Everest 1892:325-330).

Apart from the role of personal linkages and information flows, Wisconsin's promotional programs and generous land policy were perhaps the greatest inducements for settlement. Wisconsin offered plentiful and relatively inexpensive farmland. Its Commission of Immigration, established in 1852, vigorously undertook a program of immigration promotion and extolled the state's virtues through the dissemination of German language informational leaflets. The Commission ceased operation in 1855 but reopened in 1867 with the onset of the second major influx of immigrants from Germany. With a generous land policy and ongoing offers to facilitate both the journey and the procurement of land, Wisconsin held clear advantages over neighboring states in its ability to attract German settlers.

Furthermore, contacts with family and friends and the favorable accounts offered in the German language newspaper Banner all encouraged potential immigrants. Books and articles, many of them aimed at distinguishing Wisconsin as a German state, circulated widely in Germany, especially in the 1840s when the notion of immigration was still new and relatively untested. Der Nordamerikanische Freistaat Wisconsin, a detailed evaluation of the state written by Gustav Richter of Manitowoc, was published at Wesel (Germany) in 1849. Four years later, Friendly Advice for All Who Would Emigrate to America and Particularly to Wisconsin, a guide book to adjustment in the American milieu by Christian Traugott Ficker, came off the press in Leipzig (Baensch 1938:40-41; Zeitlin 1977:7). "Thus both in Germany and America, Wisconsin was 'booming' at the period when discontent in the fatherland and the consequent flood of immigration were approaching their climax, which occurred in the year 1854" (Everest 1892:319).

Private companies, especially rail lines, were also instrumental in luring German settlers into the state. The Wisconsin Central Railroad, for example, attracted many Germans to Wisconsin. The rail line's European agent actively promoted immigration to Wisconsin and convinced a large number of people to leave Bavaria for north-central Wisconsin. Most of the newcomers acquired railroad land along the line from Stevens Point to Ashland for five dollars per acre. Under the plan, prospective immigrants could purchase land before they left their homeland if they chose to do so. As a further incentive, the price of their train fare from New York to Wisconsin was automatically deducted from the

purchase price of their land. In addition, migrants were granted half fare to transport their belongings. An immigrant house, built by the railroad company at Medford, Taylor County, was at the disposal of newcomers; everyone was permitted to stay for two weeks after their entry into the state. The company's strategy proved highly effective, for by 1890, it had sold 250,000 acres to German newcomers.

Like the Wisconsin Central Railroad, the Wisconsin Valley Railway also encouraged Germans to come to Wisconsin. The company used both informational leaflets and traveling agents and ultimately sold thousands of acres in Marathon and Lincoln counties to Germans. Similarly, the Chicago, St. Paul, Minneapolis, and Omaha Railroad disposed of most of its lands in Washburn and Barron counties through sales to German immigrants (Everest 1892:300; Holmes 1940:342-343).

The stage was thus set for attempts at full-scale and structured colonization which would ultimately effect both economic and social changes in Wisconsin. Several economic conditions and circumstances proved favorable to colonization. For instance, the availability of inexpensive or even free land, the "land hunger" of the immigrants, and the opportunities for seasonal labor in the nearby logging camps all favored colonization in northern Wisconsin. The Rietbrock Land and Lumber Company, which nurtured the development of a thriving farming community around Athens in Marathon County, experienced one of the classic successes of German colonization in northern Wisconsin. While many of the colony's settlers came directly from Germany, many others were lured from their homes in Milwaukee and its environs. The German communities of Calumet (Calumet County), Fond du Lac (Fond du Lac County), and Lebanon, Hermann, Williamstown, and Theresa (Dodge County) provide further examples of successful colonization schemes (Helgeson 1952-53:119).

The Germans purposely sought out thinly populated areas with ample vacant land where they could build the foundations of strong and cohesive German communities. The immigrants' choice of destination was also influenced by their Old World farming expertise which led them to avoid virgin forests to seek out more open and favorable locations along natural transportation arteries. Germans often settled on or adjacent to reservation lands and apparently "lacked any consistent fear of Indians" (Binder-Johnson 1951:40).

The Germans typically acquired small farms which ranged from 40 to 80 acres. In most cases, many years passed before the acreage produced a surplus beyond the basic needs of the farmer and his family. In addition, it was common for an immigrant farmer to buy a farm that was already operative in hopes of improving and expanding upon the holdings through careful and advanced scientific practices. This approach contrasted with that of many Yankee settlers who exploited their property and then moved west in search of more fertile, unturned soil.

In the formative period between 1850 and 1890, German farmers played a pivotal role in the transition from a grain based economy which relied heavily on wheat cultivation to a dairy based and more diversified agriculture. Possibly because the Germans had to travel great distances to Milwaukee and Chicago markets, they preferred cheese over milk production. They sold much of their produce at nearby towns and hamlets. Milwaukee's "Jahrmarkt", chiefly a vegetable fair held regularly on North Market and Juneau Streets, and Watertown's "Der Viemarkt", a stock fair, were two early and highly popular marketplaces (Zeitlin 1977:11-12).

Both religious and provincial distinctions influenced German settlement patterns, and newcomers tended to cluster according to their place of origin and, to a lesser extent, according to their religious preferences. While sometimes coincidental, this clustering was usually intentional and formalized. The reservation and settlement of unoccupied forties by sons, sons-in-laws, nephews, and close acquaintances afforded the settlers the opportunity to choose their neighbors and ultimately led to closely knit and highly cohesive

communities. The 1890 annual report of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin entitled "Preliminary Notes on the Distribution of Foreign Groups in Wisconsin" furnishes ample testimony of this segregated arrangement. According to the report,

Lomira, in Dodge County, was settled almost entirely by Prussians from Brandenburg, who belonged to the Evangelical Association. The neighboring towns of Hermann and Theresa, also in Dodge County, were settled principally by natives of Pomerania. In Calumet County there are Oldenburg, Luxemburg, and New Holstein settlements. St. Kilian, in Washington County, is settled by people from Northern Bohemia, just over the German border . . . while Oldenburgers occupy the German settlement at Cedarburg. Three fourths of the population of Farmington, Washington County, are from Saxony. In the same county Jackson is chiefly settled by Pomeranians, while one half of the population of Kewaskum is from the same German province. In Dane County there are several interesting groups of German Catholics. Roxbury is nine tenths German, the people coming mostly from Rhenish Prussia and Bavaria. Germans predominate in Cross Plains . . . the German families of Middleton came from Koln, Rhenish Prussia, and so did those of Berry, a town almost solidly German (Thwaites 1890:58-59).

The extreme population density of the German born in these counties is also detailed in the 1890 report. For example, 75 percent of the population of Taylor County was of German extraction with similarly high figures tabulated in Dodge (65 percent) and Buffalo counties (55 percent). Not surprisingly, the Germans occupied every Wisconsin county. In addition to the peak densities listed above, high concentrations were recorded in Milwaukee, Ozaukee, Washington, Sheboygan, Manitowoc, Jefferson, Outagamie, Fond du Lac, Sauk, Waupaca, Dane, Marathon, Grant, Waushara, Green Lake, Langlade, and Clark counties. (See accompanying map).

The city of Milwaukee, aptly called the "German Athens," served as a microcosm of the larger German community in Wisconsin, and as such, provides a suitable focus for the discussion of the major features of German social and religious characteristics. Milwaukee's German community was unique among other ethnic neighborhoods in the city in its concentration and economic diversity. The early patterns of congregational and residential differentiation occurred in a decade (1850-1860) when Germans flowed into the city at a faster rate than either the Irish or native-born Americans. For a city of its size, Milwaukee ultimately hosted a disproportionately large share of German immigrants in relation to those who came from elsewhere in the United States and from other foreign countries.

Milwaukee's growth might best be described as "a byproduct of the great influx to the farming frontier", for it served as the major outfitting center for immigrants arriving via the Great Lakes on their way to wilderness acres in the west (Conzen 1976:18). Yet, at the same time, the city was able to retain the majority of craftsmen, professionals, common laborers, and tradesmen who entered its harbors. The native born occupied the highest echelons of the city economy. The Germans clustered disproportionately in the skilled trades but nevertheless held many prominent positions as early as 1860.

German settlement in Milwaukee commenced in the late 1830s. Most of the newcomers were Catholics from the states of Rhenish Prussia, Bavaria, Baden, and Saxony. Some Old Lutherans settled in the city, but most bypassed Milwaukee in favor of the city's hinterlands. Milwaukee's German community was given a substantial boost between 1843 and 1844 when 1,000 to 1,400 German immigrants arrived each week throughout the summer (Faust 1969:470). After the mid-1840s, German immigration was at a high level and reached a peak in the early 1850s. From that point onward, the Germans were the city's dominant ethnic group. Excluding the initial settlement of Old Lutherans on the west side in 1839, the earliest German neighborhood appeared on the east side, north of

the central business district. While the Yankee element moved to the surrounding bluffs or "Yankee Hill", German Town formed in the low lying areas. It reflected the larger cityscape with its social ecology of "mixed shops and residences, its exclusive sections, and its extensive suburbs of small wooden homes and shanties" (Conzen 1976:145).

Milwaukee's first permanent priest, Irish-born Patrick O'Kelley, was unable to minister to the early German community due to language difficulties. But his successor, Swiss-born Martin Kundig, successfully provided for both the English and the German speaking elements of his parish. Kundig is also credited with the establishment of a wide range of organizations which ultimately "drew every class of parishioner into close contact with the church and with one another" (Conzen 1976:160). These organizations and activities included girls' and boys' schools, an association for women, a men's church fund-raising project, and Sunday schools in English, German, and French which began in 1842. In the same year, Kundig founded the Wisconsin Catholic Total Abstinence Society. While it initially had only limited appeal for the German community, it did attract some German participation and led indirectly to the appearance of Milwaukee's Germans in the first annual temperance "Harbor Parade" in 1843.

Due to German Bishop John Martin Henni's appointment to the Milwaukee Diocese in 1844, some German members of the predominantly Irish St. Peter's congregation withdrew in 1847 to found St. Mary's, the first exclusively German Catholic congregation in Milwaukee. As German Catholics increased in number, other German national parishes appeared. Holy Trinity formed on the south side in 1850, and St. Joseph's emerged on the west side in 1855. (Old St. Peter's was replaced by a new English-speaking parish, St. John's, in 1853) (Conzen 1976:160-161). Institutionalized religion among the Germans was thus an early and binding characteristic of life in German Town. Not unexpectedly, a wide array of support organizations, such as mutual aid associations, parochial schools, women's altar and rosary societies, and literary clubs, emerged with parish organization. Through Henni's initiative and influence, the Catholic Church added several institutions to its care. These included a hospital, founded in 1846 by the Sisters of Charity, as well as parochial schools, a seminary (St. Francis), and several orphanages. (See Catholic study unit).

German Protestants, hindered by the lack of a central organizing authority, were slower to organize in Milwaukee. In 1847, "when the Catholics were already well organized, German Protestantism numbered only a small membership organized in three congregations of the splintered Old Lutheran community. . . ." (Conzen 1976:165). The German Lutherans developed some social organizations, especially in the form of parochial schools and a small teacher's seminary (1855), but the church, poor and weak like other Protestant congregations, was not as influential as the Catholic Church during the formative years.

Aside from the Catholic and Lutheran churches, Germans in Milwaukee were active in the development of other denominational associations. The Zion congregation of the Evangelical Association was established in 1846. By 1850, German Episcopal and Baptist churches existed. Another German Baptist church developed in 1855; a German Old School Presbyterian church appeared at the same time (Conzen 1976:166). Only Milwaukee's Yankee element developed greater religious variety than the Germans whose spirit and ethnic consciousness equalled that of no other group in a contemporary North American city (Conzen 1976:172).

The religious diversity of Milwaukee's German community was reflected on a smaller scale in communities across the state. The German religious experience throughout Wisconsin was characterized by both a high degree of denominational variety and by a well organized network of institutional development. The majority of Wisconsin's Germans were Catholics. In 1896, 172 of 382 Catholic parishes in Wisconsin were of German origin, and slightly more than half of them (87) belonged to the Milwaukee

Diocese (Rummel 1976:125). The German element in the Lutheran church, the largest Protestant denomination in the state in 1924, was also significant. At this time, Germans dominated the Wisconsin synod of the Evangelical Lutheran Synodical Conference (Quaife 1924:163). Large numbers of Germans also belonged to the Evangelical Association, the Methodist Church, and the native German Reformed Church. Smaller groups of Germans belonged to the Moravian (approximately 4,000 members, chiefly of German stock in 1924) and Jewish congregations. (See related study units).

Other forms of associational activity were established in the state's German community in the mid-nineteenth century. Among the earliest formalized activities in Milwaukee were the German fire company (1844), a militia unit (1844) whose Military Hall served as a pivotal point of German community life, a German Democratic Association (1844) that focused on both political debate and the preservation of group interests, and a German Association for Entertainment and Education (1845) that evolved into an independent benevolent association. Following the Yankee's example, the Germans established a fraternal association, the American branch of the Sons of Hermann, in 1848. By 1860, the Milwaukee Germans also established a Masonic lodge, three Druidic lodges, two Odd Fellows lodges, two lodges of the Sons of Liberty, one Harugari, and seven Wise Men. Similarly, a number of special interest associations such as hunting and shooting clubs, music corps, and singing groups developed during this period. A horticultural group, Garten-Verein, also grew out of the social and cultural activity of the mid-1850s. The Deutsche Unterstutzungs-Verein (Relief Society) emerged in 1846 to assist destitute newcomers and to eradicate the "professional begging which plagued the city". In 1855, the German Society replaced the Relief Society (Conzen 1976:169). Similar organizations were established by Germans throughout the state.

In virtually all Wisconsin communities containing large numbers of Germans, "Turnvereine" or Turner Societies, existed. These societies advocated both physical and social well-being, and most built and maintained specially designated Turner Halls for their activities. In 1852, a strong and well organized Turner Society emerged in Milwaukee. In some communities, Turner societies shared meeting places with socialist or "free-thinking" groups who opposed the authoritarianism of established religion. Groups of free-thinkers were scattered throughout the state. In 1852, for example, "there were 31 free-thinking congregations, mostly in small towns near German settlements in the eastern part of the state" (Zeitlin 1977:24). A more radical association, the German Union of Radicals, was also active in Milwaukee.

Other examples of the liberal strains in German culture included the establishment of a women's newspaper in Milwaukee, founded by Mathilde Anneke who published the first women's newspaper in Germany (Currant 1976:123). Margarethe Schurz, wife of Carl Schurz, established what has been called America's first kindergarten at Watertown in 1856 (State Historical Society 1960:321).

While musical societies or "Musik-Vereine" were popular in both large and small communities, Milwaukee blossomed into the Germans' musical and literary hearth in the 1850s. The first German singing society originated in Milwaukee in 1847. The famous Milwaukee Musik-Verein developed three years later and was joined by a theater group in 1852 (Faust 1969:472). Ubiquitous and informal, the German beer halls also played an important function as a socializing and solidifying force in the state's German communities.

Similarly, the foreign language press functioned as an important vehicle for preserving German identity and helping immigrants assimilate into their new environment. The press flourished in virtually all communities where Germans were numerous. Moritz Schoffler founded the first German weekly (later a daily) paper, The Wisconsin Banner, in Milwaukee in 1844 (Faust 1969:470). The most significant German publisher in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century was George Brumder (1839-1910) who first

published Die Germania, a Milwaukee German Lutheran newspaper, in 1873. He united it with Milwaukee's Abend Post in 1897 and after 1906 controlled the Milwaukee Herold, thus publishing all of the city's German language newspapers. (Brumder also owned German language papers in Chicago and Lincoln, Nebraska as well as in several smaller Wisconsin communities) (State Historical Society of Wisconsin 1960:55).

In general, Germans contributed significantly to Wisconsin's industrial and commercial development, but their achievements were most conspicuous in Milwaukee.

Their breweries, tanneries, tobacco storehouses, banks, hotels, their trade in iron, lumber, and drugs, built up the wealth of Milwaukee, and gave the state a commanding position in the commerce of the Great Lakes and the Northwest. . . . The industrial, agricultural, and commercial prominence of the state is due more largely to the Germans than to all other foreign elements combined" (Faust 1969:473, 481).

But Milwaukee and other cities were not the only arena of German accomplishment. Through their scholarly and careful stewardship, the Germans progressed slowly towards success on the rural landscape. German farmers introduced crop rotations and the generous use of fertilizer to the Wisconsin countryside. Similarly, the group figured prominently in dairy industry's development, particularly in the area of brick and limburger cheese production. The Germans also initiated a wide variety of secondary agricultural activities, such as the cultivation of barley and hops, truck gardening, and viticulture. Further, both Wisconsin's landscape gardening and its public park system mirror the strong German influence in the state (Quaife 1924:171).

German immigrants had a strong impact on the political complexion of the whole state. As Wisconsin's largest and most distinct ethnic group in the nineteenth century, Germans were courted by Republicans and Democrats alike, and German Americans appeared on the statewide ticket of both parties. Most Germans in the nineteenth century voted Democratic, although Carl Schurz ran unsuccessfully for Lieutenant Governor on the Republican ticket in 1857. Nevertheless, for much of the century the Republican Party was associated with temperance, abolition, and other issues that generally held little appeal for the German community. When, for example, the Graham Law, a stringent liquor control measure, was passed in 1873 and endorsed by Republican Governor C.C. Washburn, it was viewed by Germans as a "direct assault upon German cultural values, originating in the religious and ethnic prejudices of the Yankees" (Nesbit 1973:383). Republican governor William Dempster Hoard's defense of the Bennett Law (passed in 1889), which required compulsory school attendance as well as the use of English in schools, led to a Republican defeat in 1890 and further alienated German voters.

The "rise of socialism" in Milwaukee in the 1870s is "correctly ascribed to the heavily German character of the city's work force" (Nesbit 1973:389). German laborers as early as the 1850s had organized unions, and in the first years of the new century, Milwaukee's Victor Berger led the local socialist movement to political victory in city government. Berger, an Austrian, was first elected to the United States House of Representatives in 1911 and served several terms between that year and 1929. Berger, the first socialist to be seated in Congress, helped found and lead the Socialist Party nationally.

World War I seriously divided the state and was particularly traumatic for the German community. Strong anti-German sentiment was fanned during the war effort, and German-American culture was often associated with the enemy cause. The war precipitated renewed efforts towards prohibition and an anti-communist reaction, movements that often led to political attacks on elements of the German-American community. In addition, Wisconsin Germans were targeted for harassment under national and state loyalty acts. Victor Berger himself was convicted in 1919 for conspiring to

violate the Espionage Act.

Although Germans were the dominant stock numerically by the turn of the century, they never exerted their influence politically in proportion to their numbers. Independent-minded Germans did not form the same strong partisan ties that native-born Americans or other ethnic groups established. Rather, Germans voted according to candidates and their stands on issues. While much of the older German population in the state placed a high priority on retaining their ethnic identity and therefore voted for German candidates regardless of partisanship, the younger generation of German voters favored assimilation over cultural separatism.

Despite individualism and generational splits, there are a few generalizations which can be made about German voting patterns. Germans divided politically according to religious preferences, places of origin, and the time period that they emigrated. The majority of Germans in Wisconsin were Catholics and voted overwhelmingly Democratic. The Protestant minority, except for Lutherans, voted Republican, as did German Jews. Lutherans were less partisan than most Germans, and their voting patterns fluctuated according to issues.

There was also a considerable population of German "free thinkers," who shunned the authoritarianism of established religions. Many of these came to Wisconsin in the aftermath of 1848 revolution in Germany. Accordingly, some of these cast their votes for Socialists, who in Milwaukee enjoyed a considerable following among Germans (Wyman 1970:529-531).

Wisconsin Germans affected the balance of power during the Progressive Era (1900-1920). The fact that Germans, as a group, were non-partisan meant that they had to be wooed, issue by issue, rather than by a party platform. Many Germans supported the economic reform advocated by the progressives, such as labor and anti-trust legislation, but opposed political reforms, such as woman suffrage and prohibition (Korman 1957:168). Wisconsin's most prominent Progressive, Robert M. La Follette, won considerable support from German-Americans for his otherwise extremely unpopular opposition to United States involvement in World War I.

For a brief period, La Follette was martyred for his pacifism, but the German-Americans who supported him were politically, socially, and culturally crucified. The issue of prohibition, which German-Americans had consistently opposed, was the issue through which anti-German sentiment was carried. The patriotic and nativist Anti-Saloon League seized on the fact that German cultural organizations, such as Nation German-American Alliance received substantial financial contributions from the brewing industries, many of which were also German owned. The patriotic hysteria created by the war translated into a virulent vigilantism against Germans. The fact that Socialists, many of whom were German-American, were also pacifists simply added fuel to the flames. Leading Socialist Victor Berger, a German-American, was convicted on charges of conspiracy under the 1912 Espionage Act, and his newspaper, the Milwaukee Leader, was denied a second class mailing permit, on account of its anti-war content (Nesbit 1973:449-450). (See Central European Immigration Study Unit).

In the aftermath of the war, German-American culture continued to be equated with the enemy cause. According to the American Defense Society, anyone with a German name "unless known by years of association to be absolutely loyal, should be treated as a potential spy." In Wisconsin, there were 92 indictments under the Espionage Act--mostly coming from small towns--for such "crimes" as criticizing United States policy or expressing pride in one's German heritage.

IDENTIFICATION

Resource Types. Churches, chapels, seminaries, primary and secondary schools, Turner halls, beer halls, social halls, breweries, studios, business blocks, publication facilities, agricultural buildings and house-barns (especially Fachwerk structures), entertainment facilities, homes of prominent German immigrants.

Locational Pattern of Resource Types. German settlement in Wisconsin began along the Lake Michigan shore, south of Green Bay, although scattered settlements existed elsewhere, particularly in Rock, Green, Lafayette, and Walworth counties. After 1848, Germans moved into Manitowoc, Sheboygan, and Calumet counties as well as the region surrounding Lake Winnebago. Between 1848 and 1860, settlement spread into Green Lake and Outagamie counties and into the upper and lower reaches of the Fox River Valley. After 1860, Germans moved into the heavily forested north-central area of the state, especially Shawano, Marathon, Lincoln, Wood, Taylor, Price, and Ashland counties. By the turn of the century, virtually every Wisconsin county possessed a German population.

Previous Surveys. No specific thematic survey has been undertaken in regards to German settlement in Wisconsin. However, the "Immigration and Settlement" chapters in many intensive survey reports provide information about German settlement in specific localities. The intensive surveys of Sturgeon Bay, Reedsburg, Oshkosh, and La Crosse are particularly informative.

Survey and Research Needs. German-American rural architectural traditions of the mid-nineteenth century as well as nineteenth century high style traditions need to be evaluated in greater detail. Particular attention should be paid to the special contributions of German architects and the continuation of German building traditions in Wisconsin. An attempt also should be made to identify the varieties of German-American agricultural outbuildings and to link specific types with specific German subcultural groups, e.g., Pomeranians and Saxons. The significance of the German ethnic press in Wisconsin should be investigated as well.

EVALUATION

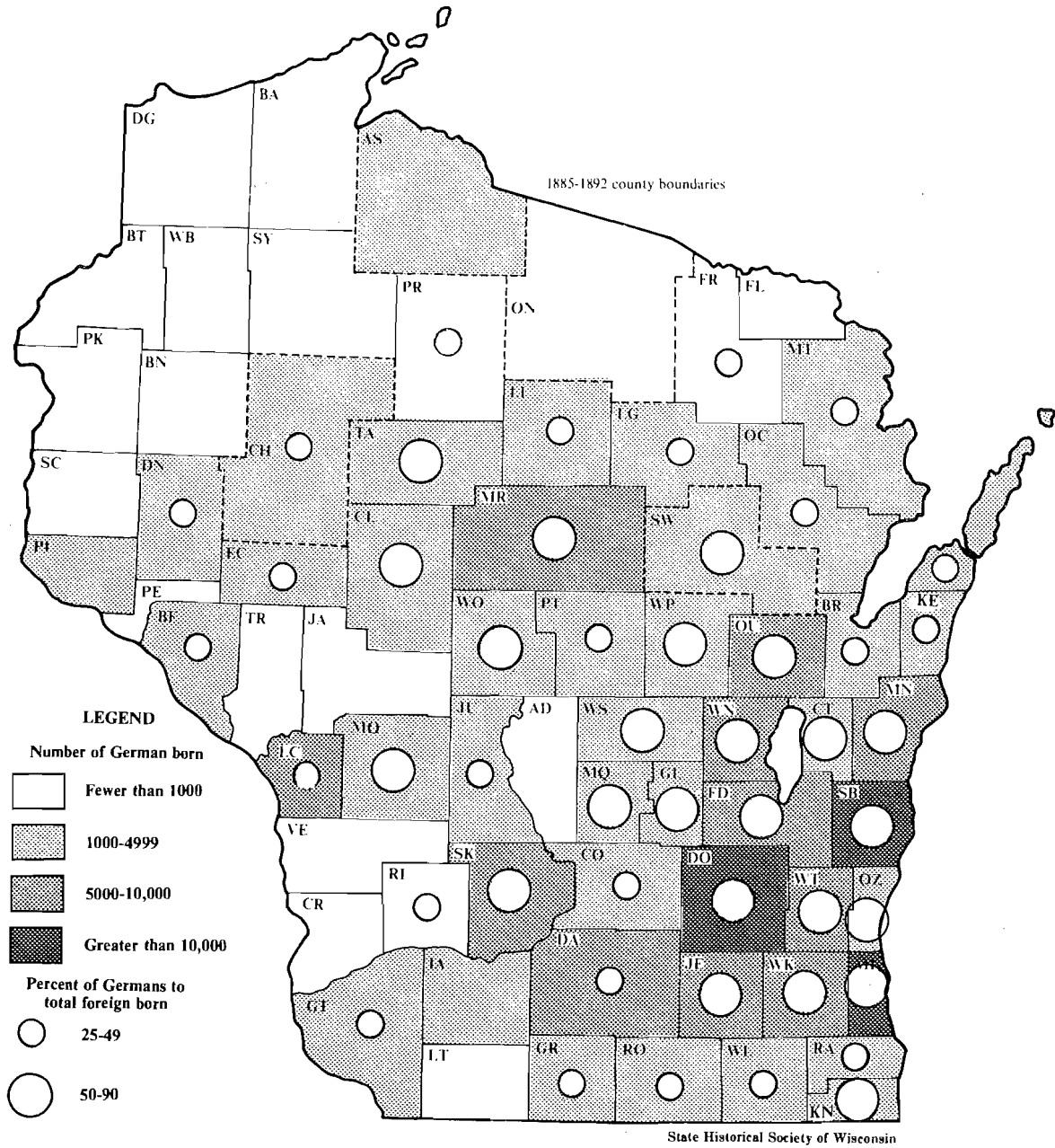
National Register Listings and Determinations of Eligibility

Friederich Kohlman House (1867), Town of Berry, Dane County (NRHP 1974)
John J. Suhr House (1887), 121 Langdon St., Madison, Dane County (NRHP 1982)
St. John the Baptist Catholic Church (1857), Town of Taycheedah, Fond du Lac County (NRHP 1980)
Lutze Housebarn (c.1850), Town of Centerville, Manitowoc County (NRHP 1984)
St. Gregory's Church (1864-1868), 212 Church St., St. Nazianz, Manitowoc County (NRHP 1982; Colony of St. Gregory of Nazianzen Thematic Resources)
Loretto Shrine Chapel (1870-1872), St. Nazianz, Manitowoc County (NRHP 1982; Colony of St. Gregory of Nazianzen Thematic Resources)
St. Mary's Convent (1865-1866), 300 S. 2nd Ave., St. Nazianz, Manitowoc County (DOE 1982; Colony of St. Gregory of Nazianzen Thematic Resources)
German-English Academy (1890-1891), 1020 N. Broadway, Milwaukee, Milwaukee County (NRHP 1977)
Germania Building (1896), 135 W. Wells St., Milwaukee, Milwaukee County (NRHP 1983)

Pabst Theater (1895), 144 E. Wells St., Milwaukee, Milwaukee County (NRHP 1972)
 Frederick Pabst House (1890-1892), 2000 W. Wisconsin Ave., Milwaukee, Milwaukee County (NRHP 1975)
 Old St. Mary's Church (1846-1847), 844 N. Broadway, Milwaukee, Milwaukee County (NRHP 1973)
 Turner Hall (1882-1883), 1034 N. 4th St., Milwaukee, Milwaukee County (NRHP 1977)
 Baasen House/German YMCA (1874), 1702 N. 4th St., Milwaukee, Milwaukee County (NRHP 1984, Brewer's Hill MRA)
 Valentin Blatz Brewing Company Office Building (1890,1945), 1120 N. Broadway, Milwaukee, Milwaukee County (NRHP 1983)
 Blatz Brewery Complex (1891-1906), 1101-1147 N. Broadway, Milwaukee, Milwaukee County (NRHP 1986)
 St. Joseph's Roman Catholic Church (1870), 705 Park Ave., Oconto, Oconto County (NRHP 1980)
 Temple Zion and School (1883-1884), 320 N. Durkee St., Appleton, Outagamie County (NRHP 1978)
 Hamilton Historic District, Town of Cedarburg, Ozaukee County (NRHP 1976)
 Meyers-Newhoff House (c.1848), 121 N. Parker Dr., Janesville, Rock County (NRHP 1979)
 Koepsel House (c.1860), Old World Wisconsin, Town of Eagle, Waukesha County (NRHP 1973)
 Christian Turck House (1846), Old World Wisconsin, Town of Eagle, Waukesha County (NRHP 1973)

Context Considerations. Because of the large number of Germans within the state, most nominated sites and structures will merit local significance. However, statewide or even national significance should be considered for unusual, rare, or early examples of German associated properties. Resources associated with German immigration and settlement should be evaluated within a local context as well as in relationship to the broader patterns of German settlement within Wisconsin. Resources representing identifiable German building traditions or that are directly associated with individuals, groups, or activities that played significant roles in the perpetuation of German ethnic traditions should be given greater priority than those sites or structures with only general association to German culture in the state. Those properties with only general association to German settlement should retain a high degree of architectural integrity and/or be shown to be one of the only remaining sites or structures associated with the Germans in a particular locality.

GERMAN SETTLEMENT



Native Germans in Wisconsin, 1890

Source: *Eleventh Census of the United States, 1890: Vol. I, Part I, Population*, pp. 667-668.

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CENTRAL EUROPEAN

Ethnic Groups: French, Austrians, Swiss.

Temporal Boundaries: French: 1673-1850; Austrians: 1880-1910; Swiss: 1840s to the 1920s, with emphasis on the period before the turn of the century..

Spatial Boundaries: French: Cities on major waterways: Prairie du Chien, Fond du Lac, and Green Bay; Austrians: Milwaukee and a few other scattered concentrations; Swiss: A few scattered concentrations, primarily rural and small town settings.

Related Study Units: French: French Fur Control, British Fur Control, and American Fur Control; Austrians: German Immigration and Eastern European Immigration; Swiss: Reformed Church.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

FRENCH

While a number of Wisconsin's towns bearing French names would logically indicate a considerable French influence in the state, actual French settlement was minimal. It is from the years of fur trade with native Americans that French place names are derived; Green Bay, Prairie du Chien, La Pointe, and Fond du Lac were the locations of French trading posts or forts during the state's French fur regime. These cities were located on major waterways such as Lakes Superior and Michigan and the Mississippi River in order to facilitate transport of furs and other goods; they were likely areas for major urban areas to develop. Most of the French who remained in North America when the British began to dominate the fur trade in 1763, settled in Canada. French-Canadians, however, constituted a significant percentage of the Wisconsin's foreign-born population in the mid-nineteenth century. In 1850, there were over 8,000 people of French and French-Canadian descent in Wisconsin; they were concentrated in Prairie du Chien and Fond du Lac, where the French fur trade had been located.

A number of areas have records of French fur traders and missionaries passing through or settling in very small numbers. Jane and Francis Bresette were known to have lived near Wausau's Big Bull Falls. There also, in 1845, John Le Messurier and his wife and three daughters established the Lake Superior Hotel (Norton and Malaguti 1984:143-144). The Lake Michigan community of Oconto appears to have also had a sizable French population, but much later in the century.

In La Crosse, a French trader named La Batt tried unsuccessfully to establish a fort in 1840. "French Island," a small community of French, developed outside of La Crosse, living in shack-like buildings during the same time period (Rausch and Zeitlin 1984:192). In the late 1700s, French fur trader Jean Du Charme and his son Dominick made frequent trips through the areas surrounding current-day Kaukauna. In 1793, they purchased several hundred acres of land from the Indians. They paid several barrels of rum in installments for the entire tract of land (Betz and Kellogg 1983:III-4). Twenty years later in 1818, Augustin Grignon from Green Bay and his son also purchased land near Kaukauna. In 1838, they built the house that is currently owned by the Outagamie County Historical Society (Charles A. Grignon House, NRHP 1972). During that same time period, a small community of French farmers lived in the Kaukauna area, among them individuals named James Portier, Joseph Lamure, and Paul Beaulieu. In Trempealeau County, Frenchmen Rene Godefroy and Sieur de Linctot temporarily established a trading center in 1735. Also, Nicholas Perrot wintered there as early as

1685 (Zeitlin 1982:2).

French heritage in the state is most extensive in Prairie du Chien, where the Wisconsin River flows into the Mississippi; the town was also a central locale for trade. Prairie du Chien had its beginnings in the small French trading post, Fort St. Nicholas, built in 1685. Louis Jolliet and Father Jacques Marquette travelled from Green Bay by canoe down the Fox River, passing through Prairie du Chien as early as 1673. From then on, the area served as a major trade and transportation center serving the upper Mississippi River Valley. The city's name means Prairie of the Dog, in honor of a Fox Indian Leader.

The French lost control of the area to the British in 1763. Evidence of French wealth generated during the French fur period still exists in Prairie du Chien, most notably in the mansion of Hercules Dousman, an agent for John Jacob Astors' American Fur Company. Also, there are remnants of Fort Crawford and Indian burial mounds, reflective of the struggle required for European settlement of the area. After 1832, with the defeat of the Black Hawk, settlement of the Wisconsin Territory began in earnest. By that point, the French had been directly involved in the territory for over half a century. (See French Fur Control).

Very little has been written about the later immigration of the French and French-Canadians into Wisconsin. Information regarding the French is especially sketchy, since so few immigrated in the first place. Between 1820 and 1950, only 633,807 French people settled in the United States; of those, only 18,398 immigrated to Wisconsin. The majority of those tended to settle in Milwaukee and Dane counties, with lesser concentrations in Douglas, Brown, Walworth, and Pepin counties (U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1952:43).

Only slightly more is known about the French-Canadians who immigrated to Wisconsin during the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries. It has been estimated that French-Canadians probably made up more than one-third of the total of 3,177,446 immigrants from Canada between 1820 and 1950. Specific figures are difficult to ascertain, since both the United States census and Canadian immigration records did not make any distinction between English and French Canadian immigrants until 1890. It is probable that at least 500,000 French Canadians entered the United States between 1865 and 1890, and perhaps a half a million more immigrated between 1905 and 1929 (Giguere 1981:3:40). Of those, very few settled in Wisconsin. According to United States census figures, only 40,045 French Canadians immigrated to the state between 1890 and 1950; by far the largest number of these entered between the years of 1890 and 1910. The counties that attracted the largest number of French Canadians are Marinette, Milwaukee, and Chippewa. A number also settled in Bayfield and Douglas counties (U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1952:43).

AUSTRIANS

Very little has been written regarding Austrian immigration to the United States. In large part, this is due to confusion over the definition of an "Austrian." The Austrian Empire (1804-1867) included a wide variety of ethnic and nationality groups, among them Poles, Czechs, Croats, Slovenes, Magyars, Bulgars, Serbs, Rumanians, Italians, Dalmatians, Bosnians, and Herzegovinians, as well as German-Austrians.

United States immigration and census officials were so confused by the multitude of nationalities that statistics for Austrian immigration are almost useless. According to one source, these records are so opaque that the puzzle will never be solved. Germans born in Prague before 1918, for example, might have reported they were born in Austria-Hungary, Austria, Bohemia, or Czechoslovakia; and a Transylvanian could have claimed his country of birth was Austria-Hungary, Austria, Hungary or, for that matter,

Rumania or Transylvania (Spaulding 1968:4). As a result, the immigration and census figures referred to in this report are, for the most part, mere approximation of the facts.

Figures for what the Bureau of the Census termed Austria-Hungary were first reported in 1861. Since 1890, Austria and Hungary have been separately reported. The Austrian Republic has been separately reported since World War I, except for the years 1938 through 1945 when it was incorporated into the Third Reich. Bohemia, including Moravia (both located in the northern region of the old empire and now part of Czechoslovakia), with their large colonies of ethnic Germans, were also separately listed in the census records between 1870 and 1900. Faced with such complexity, it is no wonder historians and statisticians have tended to shy away from the problems of Austrian immigration.

For the purposes of this report, the term "Austrian" will basically refer to German-Austrians who were Germanic in language and culture and who looked to Vienna and other Germanic centers within the empire for cultural leadership. But even this relatively narrow definition of the term cannot eliminate certain statistical problems. In United States census and immigration records, many of these German-Austrians were no doubt confused with German immigrants from the German states, and, in fact, Austrians seemed quite content to be counted as Germans throughout most of the nineteenth century (Spaulding 1968:1). These Austrians were also confused with other nationalities within the multinational empire. The United States Census of 1930, for example, reported that nearly 31,000 immigrants from Czechoslovakia listed German as their native language as did some 48,000 Hungarian-born immigrants, and over 23,000 people from Yugoslavia (Spaulding 1968:5-6). There is simply no way to determine how many of these people were really German-Austrians in origin or how many were ethnically Czech, Magyar, Slovak, or Serbian.

Immigration from the Habsburg domains was inconsequential throughout the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Austrian rulers generally frowned on the matter of immigration, and a decree by Emperor Joseph II in 1768 made immigration virtually impossible. The Napoleonic Wars of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries further curtailed Austrian immigration.

No statistics were recorded for Austrian-born immigrants until 1850; in that year the census reported only 946 of them entering the country. Of those, 61 settled in Wisconsin. The 1860 census reported 7,081 Austrian immigrants in the state, while in 1870, 15,056 more came. Throughout the remainder of the nineteenth century, the number of Austrian immigrants in Wisconsin grew steadily. The peak year for Austrian immigration in the state, however, was 1910, when 33,645 settled here (U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1952:43). These figures are far from precise because of the Census Bureau's very vague ideas about what an Austrian was, but they can be used to indicate a general trend--a major increase in the number of Austrians who immigrated to the United States during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Unlike their German cousins, Austrians tended to settle in cities and towns rather than farms. (See German Immigration study unit). In fact, they were among the least agricultural of all newcomers; according to census reports, only eight percent turned to agriculture for their livelihood. Instead, Austrian immigrants seemed to prefer employment as domestic servants, miners, peddlers, and laborers (Spaulding 1968:70,75). In Wisconsin, the largest number of Austrians settled in and around Milwaukee. After 1848, they established a sizeable colony there, although it was smaller than those of the Germans, Irish, Bohemians, British-Americans, and Dutch (Still 1948:131). The Austrians established important colonies in Racine and West Allis as well.

the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries are Milwaukee, Racine, Sheboygan, Pepin, and Winnebago. It should be emphasized, however, that the number of Austrian immigrants in Wisconsin was relatively small. They were completely outnumbered by other ethnic/nationality groups such as the Germans, Poles, and Norwegians. In 1910, for example, the Germans outnumbered the Austrians by over six to one, and in 1940 by four to one (Wyman 1970:785).

Despite their relatively small numbers, the Austrians did produce a number of important figures in Wisconsin's religious, cultural, social, political, and industrial history.

The vast majority of Austrians have always been associated with the Roman Catholic Church, so it should not be too surprising to learn that some of the earliest Austrian immigrants to Wisconsin were Catholic priests. One of the earliest to arrive was Father Adelbert Inama, a Tyrolese. He came to Wisconsin in 1845 and founded a settlement of Roxbury, on the Wisconsin River. He had originally hoped to establish a self-supporting monastery there, but it never materialized. Father Inama continued his duties as priest until 1873 and remained in Roxbury until his death in 1879 (State Historical Society of Wisconsin 1960:185).

Another Catholic cleric was Father Joseph Salzman (b. Munzbach, Austria 1819--d. Milwaukee 1874). He immigrated to Milwaukee in 1847 and established Holy Trinity Church. In 1856, he founded the Saint Francis Seminary in Milwaukee and served on its faculty until his death. Following the Civil War, Salzman concentrated on establishing the Catholic Normal School next to Saint Francis Seminary, hoping to promote better education for lay teachers. He was also a major promoter of fraternal insurance and is regarded as one of the progenitors of the Catholic Family Protective (State Historical Society of Wisconsin 1960:314, Spaulding 1968:33).

Another Austrian, Vienna-born George Peter, made important contributions to Milwaukee's artistic heritage. He immigrated to Milwaukee c.1885 and was soon employed as a scenic artist for the Pabst Theatre. A leading figure of the Milwaukee panoramic school, Peter was among a group of artists that painted the cyclorama of the Battle of Atlanta; he also worked on the cyclorama of the Battle of Manila and assisted in the creation of the panorama of Jerusalem for the St. Louis Exposition of 1903. In later years, he served as the art director of the Milwaukee Public Museum (State Historical Society of Wisconsin 1960:285, Spaulding 1968:216).

Hans Balatka (b. Moravia 1827--d. Chicago 1899) made significant contributions to Wisconsin's musical heritage. He came to Milwaukee in 1849 and by 1850 had established a Musikverein, one of the first in the West. Extremely successful, Balatka served as director of the Milwaukee Musical Society between 1850 and 1860 and also served as the director of the German theater, from 1855 to 1859. In 1860, he was made conductor of the Chicago Philharmonic Society, but returned to Milwaukee between 1871 and 1873. Balatka was a prolific composer of songs, cantatas, quartets, and transcriptions for orchestra (State Historical Society of Wisconsin 1960:23, Spaulding 1968:109).

Perhaps the most prominent of all Wisconsin's Austrian immigrants is Victor Berger. A nationally recognized labor and political leader, Berger was born of German-speaking parents in Nieder-Rehbach, a small village on the Austrian-Hungarian border. He dodged the Austrian draft and immigrated to the United States in 1878. Two years later, he moved to Milwaukee, where he became involved in journalism and politics. Drawing strength from the large German speaking population and a strong labor element, Berger organized Milwaukee Socialists into an extremely successful political organization. By 1910, the Socialists controlled the city and county government and Berger was the first Socialist representative to be elected to Congress, serving during the years 1912-1913 and 1923-1929 (Gara 1962:222-224; State Historical Society of

years 1912-1913 and 1923-1929 (Gara 1962:222-224; State Historical Society of Wisconsin 1960:33-34; Spaulding 1968:236).

Few Austrian immigrants have established significant family dynasties in America. One of the most successful, however, is the Kohler family of Wisconsin. The family originated in Bregenzerwald, a mountain valley in the Vorlarberg province of western Austria. In 1854, Johann Michael Kohler, a weaver, left Austria with his family after authorities denied him permission to dam a stream and erect a mill (Spaulding 1968:163). After living briefly in Galesburg, Illinois, the Kohlers settled on a farm near St. Paul, Minnesota. A son, John M. Kohler, moved to Chicago in 1862, and within a few years he was selling furniture for a Chicago manufacturer. Through this job, he became acquainted with the city of Sheboygan. In 1871, he settled there and married Lille Vollrath, daughter of a well-to-do German manufacturer. In 1872, Kohler joined his father-in-law's business, and by 1873 had bought him out. In 1883, Kohler's company began manufacturing plumbing fixtures, and by World War I had become a nationally known producer of plumbing products. In addition to operating one of Wisconsin's major industrial concerns, the Kohler family became involved in public service, furnishing the state with two twentieth century governors (State Historical Society of Wisconsin 1960:212, Spaulding 1968:163).

In 1929, Marie Christing Kohler, daughter of Johann M. Kohler, decided to build a memorial to her father. An Austrian architect, Kasper Albrecht, was brought over to design and supervise the construction of the Waelderhaus, a community building and headquarters for the town of Kohler's Girl Scouts. The building is strongly reminiscent of the traditional architecture of the Alpine province of Vorlarberg and serves as a reminder of the Kohler family's national origin (Limmerhirt 1973:36).

SWISS

Although the Swiss arrived in Wisconsin throughout the nineteenth century, census figures reveal that the most significant period of entry for the Swiss was the period before 1870. The number of foreign-born Swiss in the state nearly tripled in the 1850s, from 1,244 to 4,722, and increased by a third to 6,069 by 1870. Growth slowed in the 1870s, but the numbers were propelled to new heights by the en masse phenomenon of the 1880s, the late 1890s, and the first decade of the new century. The absolute number of Swiss-born in Wisconsin peaked in 1910 at 8,036 (116 percent of the total foreign-born population), although the group recorded higher percentages of the total foreign-born in the period between 1860 and 1870 (1.7 percent) and after 1920 (2.0 percent in 1930 and 2.1 percent in 1940). The Swiss migration into Wisconsin constituted a trek to the countryside and small towns, with Milwaukee and its sizable Swiss neighborhood furnishing the only notable exception. All Wisconsin counties recorded persons of Swiss-birth in the census of 1920, with Green (54.1 percent), Lafayette (18.6 percent), and Sauk (4.4 percent) counties at the forefront (U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of Census, 1943:567). Four contiguous counties, Dane, Rock, Iowa, and Lafayette, known as the "heartland" of Swiss settlement in Wisconsin and bearing the nickname "Swissconsin," emerged as "the largest center of Swiss agriculture and dairy farming in the United States" (von Gruening 1940:32). Only California houses a higher percentage of Swiss stock in its population than Wisconsin.

The Swiss movement to America was true to the pattern of other north and central European "old immigrants," with the economic factor the most compelling. Switzerland was bulging with a population that could no longer be sustained by its infertile soil; in the wake of profound changes wrought by the agricultural and industrial revolutions, the Swiss readily left the countryside and relinquished their ancestral dwellings for greater liberties and economic opportunities in America. The economic stagnation of 1844 stimulated movement into Wisconsin. The demand for Swiss goods had dropped markedly, casting people from factories and the lesser trades onto their own resources.

the countryside, the value of his personal real estate, together with the value of his share of the common property, was paid to him in cash. Political upheavals also propelled migrants across the sea. The Crimean War (1853-1856) in particular spurred a large immigration to the agricultural lands of the Upper Mississippi Valley around mid-century.

Agitation and unrest pervaded Swiss society and "culminated in the idea that an organized emigration, under the care and control of the government, would be the best, surest, and most reliable method of affording the necessary relief" (Thwaites ed., 1892, vol. 12:342). The canton of Glarus financed a search for a suitable colonization site in America, and an emigration society was formed to lay out the ground rules for the use of common funds and property once the site was located and acquired. Aside from a few Swiss who had drifted into the territory in the 1830s and early 1840s, Swiss settlement in Wisconsin took root in the organizational efforts of the Glarus authorities. One hundred and eight of the 193 colonists who left their homes on the headwaters of the Rhine arrived in Wisconsin in August of 1845. They founded the New Glarus communal experiment in Green County on land that had been purchased a month earlier (July 17, 1845) by canton representatives, Nicholas Duerst and Fridolin Streiff. The Glarus Emigration Society (Switzerland) was to hold all landed property (1,280 acres) until the agreed upon sum could be advanced by the colonists. Land was to be drawn by 20 acre lots with shared rights to timberlands, streams, and springs; money for provisions was to be supplied by the Society; and all colonists were to share the natural obligations of mutual aid and assistance. The communal plan naturally included much rough and worthless land, and not unexpectedly, colonists quickly abandoned the rules and regulations of the Society when they learned the practicality of independent, large-scale ownership. By the mid-1850s, all federal lands in the area had been alienated, "and the colony as a mutual institution under the control of directors had ceased to exist" (Thwaites ed., 1892, vol. 12:380; Emery 1926:42).

With the founding of the New Glarus community, the seed of the state's Swiss cheese industry was planted, for the Swiss' Old World experience in cheesemaking led naturally to the development of cheese factories and creameries on the heels of the wheat frontier. Until 1870, wheat furnished the principal source of farm income, but the growth and transformation of the cheese industry from home to factory production after 1870 was speedy. By 1898, Green County alone boasted 200 cheese factories and creameries, with an output per annum (in cheese) of 10,000,000 pounds. The cheese was chiefly of the "foreign or fancy" variety rather than the standard cheddar, and moreover, "nearly all of those engaged in making this cheese, and in buying and selling it [were] Swiss or of Swiss origin" (Luchsinger 1899:227). N. Gerber, J. Regez, and J. Karlen were the central figures in the development of the factory production system among the Swiss in the state (Luchsinger 1899:230).

The Glarus migration was followed by several independent migrations to widely scattered sections of the state. In 1847, a group of Swiss immigrants settled on the southwestern shore of Lake Winnebago, and their colony spilled east and south into Washington County as the influx continued up through the end of the Civil War. A third rural colony was planted in Sauk County in the townships of Troy, Honey Creek, and Prairie du Sac, which by 1870 numbered more than 600 persons. In the 1850s, the Swiss poured into Buffalo County, settling along the Mississippi in a line from Tell to Alma to Fountain City. In the census of 1870, the community numbered about a thousand persons and claimed distinction as the second most important Swiss farming district in the state, although there has been a progressive decline in population in every subsequent census. Only the core of Swiss settlement in the state--Dane, Rock, Iowa, and Lafayette counties, which were the natural outgrowth of the Glarus colonization effort--received considerable accessions to its population after the pioneer period. These counties were the benefactors of a new wave of migrants to the southern part of the state after the turn of the century. Milwaukee's Swiss neighborhood, estimated at 1,400 persons in 1930, was also

primarily a product of the later influx (von Gruening 1940:31-34).

The Swiss transplanted their ecclesiastical leanings to the New World in the form of their native church, the Reformed Church. The Glarus colony organized a Swiss Reformed congregation and built their first church in 1849, a log structure which was succeeded by a stone church in 1858. As early as 1850, the Glarus community received a missionary from the Basle Mission House in Switzerland, and among the churchmen who came to Wisconsin in the 1850s, was Dr. J.J. Bossard who helped establish Mission House college and seminary near Plymouth, Wisconsin. (See Reformed Church study unit). With their knowledge of the presbyterial system and their dedication to the tenets of the Christian faith, the Swiss played a leading role in the upbuilding of the Reformed and German Presbyterian congregations and schools in the state. The Winnebago Indian School at Neilsville, for example, bears unmistakable evidence of the influence of Swiss traditions and values in its physical layout, and moreover, greater than half of the institution's teachers and employees have been of Swiss descent (von Gruening 1940:126-137; Thwaites ed., 1892, vol. 12:370).

IDENTIFICATION

Resource Types

French. Residences, commercial properties, and farmsteads associated with significant French individuals, fur trading posts, fur trade rendezvous sites, halls, churches, and fort sites.

Austrian. Residences, commercial properties, and farmsteads associated with significant Austrian individuals, schools, churches, halls, studios, and theaters.

Swiss. Residences, commercial and agricultural related properties, cheese factories, creameries, churches, schools, and halls.

Locational Patterns of Resource Types

French. Due to their association with the early fur trade the French (or more specifically the French Canadians) were among the earliest immigrants to Wisconsin. They tended to establish small settlements along major water systems, including the southern shores of Lake Superior, Lake Michigan, and Lake Winnebago as well as the Fox, Wisconsin, and Mississippi rivers. Originally concentrated at Prairie du Chien and Green Bay, by the 1850s they had moved into Fond du Lac, Dodge, and Milwaukee counties, while retaining footholds in their former settlements. In none of these counties did their numbers exceed ten percent of the total population.

Austrian. Austrian immigrants were generally urban settlers. Resources associated with their settlement in Wisconsin tend to be concentrated in the communities of Milwaukee, Racine, and West Allis. Lesser numbers of Austrians also settled in the areas of Sheboygan, Pepin, and Winnebago counties during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Swiss. As rural settlers, the Swiss were historically strongest in the rich farming areas of the south-central counties of Green, Lafayette, and Sauk, with sizable but smaller concentrations in Dane, Iowa, and Rock counties. The only sizable urban centers likely to yield extant resources associated with Swiss settlement are late nineteenth century Milwaukee, Madison, and La Crosse. The towns of New Glarus, Washington, Mt. Pleasant, and Monroe in Green County are likely to yield the strongest concentrations of Swiss-related resources.

Previous Surveys

French. No specific sites or properties associated with French immigration and settlement have been noted in any previous intensive surveys, although French settlement patterns are discussed briefly in the Kaukauna, Wausau, Chippewa Falls, La Crosse, and Trempealeau County intensive survey reports.

Austrian. No specific information documenting the existence of resources associated with Austrian immigration have been uncovered in previous intensive surveys. The Milwaukee West Side and North Third Street intensive surveys, however, contain large segments on German immigration which may upon further analysis reveal Austrian connections.

Swiss. While no extensive research has been undertaken to identify resources associated with Swiss immigration to Wisconsin, important resources of both a rural and urban nature have been identified in the La Crosse, Darlington (Lafayette County), New Glarus (Green County), and Monticello (Green County) intensive surveys. A number of rural

sites and properties are also outlined in the Green County Intensive Survey.

Survey and Research Needs

French. Further research and intensive study of the St. Croix County community of Somerset may provide worthwhile information concerning the significance of French settlement in that area. The same is true for the Prairie du Chien area, where architectural and archeological field surveys combined with documentary research could better disclose the possible existence of extant resources. Documentary research should be conducted to identify the possible location of early French sites, such as Jesuit missions, fort sites, and trading post sites. This documentary research should then be followed up with archeological surveys to verify the locations. (French and Canadian archives contain much valuable and as of yet untapped reference materials available for research purposes).

Austrian. Research should be conducted to see if extant resources exist. Such resources might be associated with important individuals or sites such as Fr. Adelbert Inama and his Dane County settlement in Roxbury; Fr. Joseph Salzman of Milwaukee; or artists such as George Peter and Hans Balatka, both of Milwaukee. Further research is needed concerning the Austrian immigration into rural Pepin County in order to evaluate the possible significance of this unique Austrian rural settlement.

Swiss. A thematic study, including documentary research and field surveys, of Sauk and Lafayette counties, with particular attention to rural properties, is necessary to further identify the extent and significance of Swiss settlement in the region. Further research is also warranted concerning both the work of Switzerland native Jacob Rieder in the New Glarus region and the possible significance of his architectural commissions. As noted in the Green County Intensive Survey, site specific research involving the Babler, Freitag, and Voegeli farms and their possible connections to the early development of the Swiss cheese and dairying industry in the state should be undertaken to clarify their roles and to evaluate the potential historical importance of the properties. Little is known at this time surrounding the level of importance of urban settlement to the Swiss in Wisconsin. Research into the historical roles played by the Swiss neighborhoods of Milwaukee and La Crosse could provide useful insight into the possible significance of urban settlement to the ethnic group.

EVALUATION

National Register Listings and Determinations of Eligibility

French

- Strange Powers House (c.1800), 338 N. Main St., Prairie du Chien, Crawford County (NRHP 1979) (French-Canadian)
- Island of St. Friole Archeological and Historical District, St. Friole Island, Prairie du Chien, Crawford County (DOE 1979)
- Joseph Rolette House (1842), Water and Fisher Sts., Prairie du Chien, Crawford County (NRHP 1972) (French-Canadian)
- Michael Brisbois House (c.1840), Water St., Prairie du Chien, Crawford County (NHL 1966) (French-Canadian)
- Brule-St. Croix Portage (1680,1766,1832), Town of Solon Springs, Douglas County (NRHP 1970)
- Gratiot House (1835), Town of Shullsburg, Lafayette County (NRHP 1980)
- St. Peter's Roman Catholic Church (1899), 516 Brazeau Ave., Oconto, Oconto County (NRHP 1980)

Charles A. Grignon House (c.1836), Augustine St., Kaukauna, Outagamie County
(NRHP 1972) (French-Canadian)
Frenchside Fishing Village Historic District, Two Rivers, Manitowoc County
(NRHP 1987) (French-Canadian)

Swiss

John George Ott House (1873-74), 754 Jenifer St., Madison, Dane County (NRHP 1982)
Jacob Regez House (1901), 2121 Seventh St., Monroe, Green County (NRHP 1980)
Turner Hall (1937), 1217 17th Ave., Monroe, Green County (NRHP 1982; Monroe
Commercial District)

Austrian

Holy Trinity Roman Catholic Church (Our Lady of Guadalupe) (1849-50), 605 S. 4th St.,
Milwaukee, Milwaukee
County (NRHP 1972)
Victor and Meta Berger House (1901), 2576 N. 1st St., Milwaukee, Milwaukee County
(NRHP 1984; North First Street Historic District District, Brewers Hill MRA)

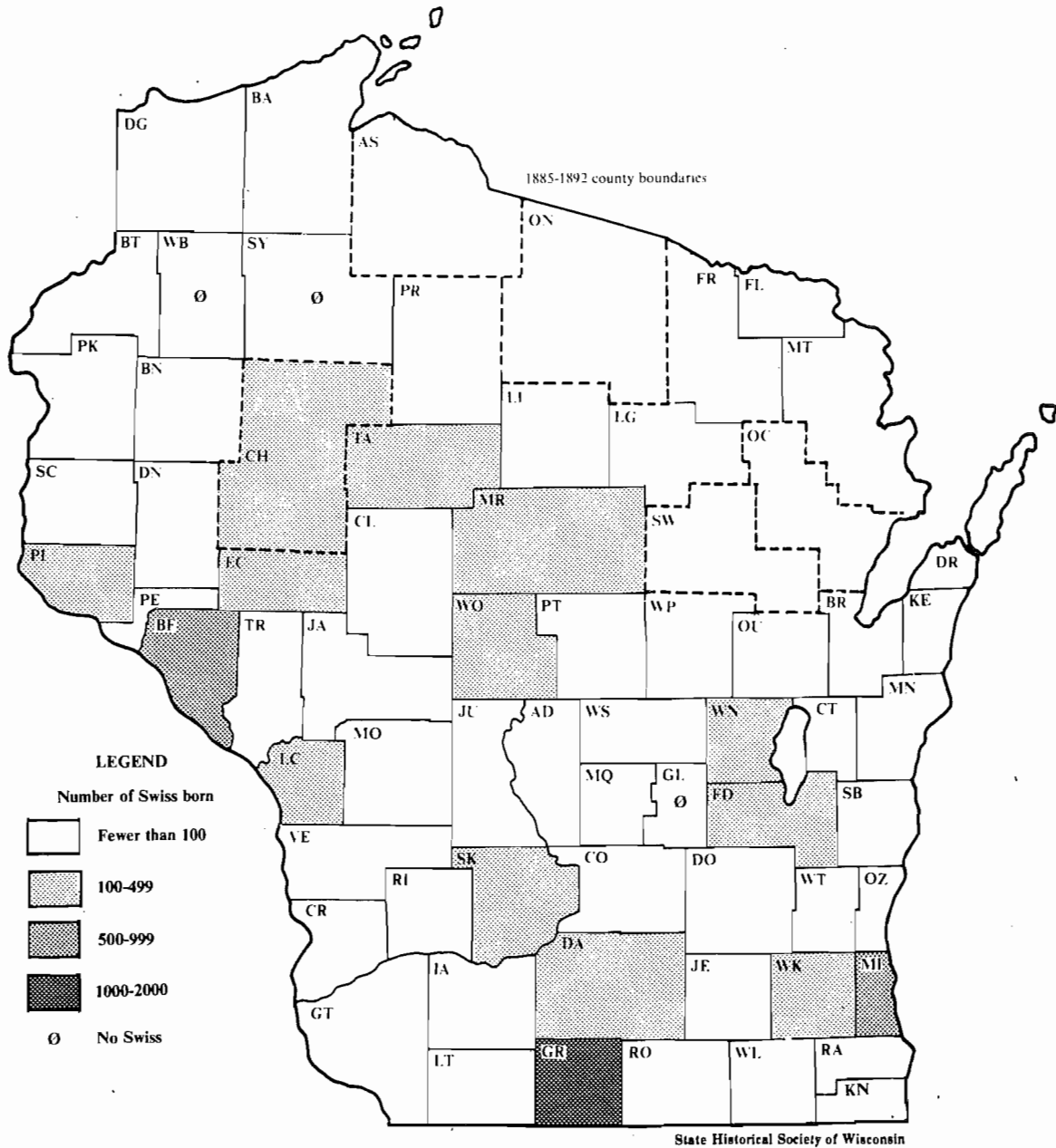
Context Considerations

French. Because of the limited extent of actual French settlement in the state, resources associated with early French immigration should be evaluated in relationship to their roles in the overall patterns of seventeenth, eighteenth, or nineteenth century French settlement in the entire state. Evaluations should also consider the relative importance of the site within its specific region, such as the Lake Superior settlement area, the Fox River Valley, or the Mississippi River region. Properties exhibiting specific building construction methods clearly attributed to French craftsmen and French building traditions should be given special priority. Those sites associated with specific individuals or groups known to have had a significant local impact on French ethnic development should receive secondary consideration. Lesser properties or sites which can only show general historical associations to French development must retain a high degree of integrity and/or be shown to be one of the only remaining resources associated with that particular locale or developmental period of French settlement.

Swiss. Resources associated with Swiss immigration and settlement in Wisconsin should be evaluated within the context of both local development and the broader patterns of regional Swiss settlement in the state. Particular attention should be given to those resources associated with the earliest years of Swiss immigration to Wisconsin, prior to the Civil War, with secondary consideration given to later nineteenth and early twentieth century resources. Those resources which clearly represent identified Swiss building traditions or are directly associated with significant individuals or activities which played important roles in the promotion and development of Swiss cultural traditions in the state should be given priority over sites of only general Swiss association.

Austrian. Resources associated with Austrian immigration and settlement should be evaluated within the context of the general patterns of Austrian settlement in both the state and the local region. The largest percentage of resources will be of local significance. Clear distinction should be made that the resources represent specifically Austrian associations, as opposed to German immigration in general. Properties clearly associated with specific individuals or organized groups known to have had historically significant roles in the development of Austrian ethnic settlements or traditions in the state should be given priority over resources which can only represent general ethnic patterns.

CENTRAL EUROPEAN SETTLEMENT



Native Swiss in Wisconsin, 1890

Source: *Eleventh Census of the United States, 1890: Vol. I, Part I, Population*, pp. 667-668.

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LOW COUNTRIES

Ethnic Groups: Dutch, Belgians, Luxembourgers.

Temporal Boundaries: Mid-1840s to the turn of the century.

Spatial Boundaries: Light statewide distribution.

Related Study Units: The Reformed Churches, The Catholic Church.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

DUTCH

Between the mid-1840s and 1890, Wisconsin was a major center for Dutch immigration. Only the states of Michigan and New York could claim a larger number of Dutch settlers during those years. By the 1890s, however, Wisconsin began to lose its appeal for Dutch immigrants. United States Census figures for the years 1890-1950 reveal that while the Dutch continued to favor Michigan and New York as major centers of settlement, Wisconsin's popularity was supplanted by such states as Illinois, Iowa, New Jersey, and later California. Yet despite this decline in popularity, the census figures also reveal that the largest single group of Dutch immigrants (7,473) entered the state in 1920 (Lucas 1955:Appendix, Table II).

Dutch immigrants to the United States, and in particular to Wisconsin, can easily be divided into two basic groups based on religious affiliation--Protestants and Catholics (Mulder 1947:172). The vast majority of Protestants came from the provinces of Gelderland, Zeeland, and Friesland, while the Catholics tended to immigrate from the provinces of Noord-Brabant and Limburg, and to a lesser extent from Gelderland, Noord-Holland, and Zuid-Holland (Lucas 1955:213-218). The Protestants were the first to arrive in Wisconsin, principally settling in the counties of Sheboygan, Fond du Lac, Columbia, and La Crosse. The Catholics preferred the Fox River Valley; they were led there by Father Theodorus Van den Brock, a Dominican priest. Irregardless of their religious affiliation, the majority of these Dutch immigrants shared a similar economic background; most came from the lower-middle and lower classes in the Netherlands and were either simple laborers, craftsmen, or tradesmen (Mulder 1947:172-174).

Although there are reports of a few Dutch settlers living in Milwaukee during the late 1830s and early 1840s, the first general influx of Dutch immigrants into the state began in 1844. These early immigrants were made up of "Seceders," so-called because they had broken away from the state controlled Reformed Church of the Netherlands. Problems within the Reformed Church began in 1816, when King William I reorganized the church with more government control. In 1834, several congregations began leaving the church in protest. This led to direct conflict with the Dutch government and convinced many "Seceders" to seek religious freedom in America. In 1848, the king relaxed government controls over religion, but by that time, a significant number of "Seceders" had opted to leave the country. (See Reformed Church study unit for a complete listing of Dutch Reformed Congregations and splinter groups).

The first group of "Seceders" came from the province of Gelderland in the east-central region of the Netherlands. This group established the town of Alto, in Fond du Lac County in 1845. It was one of the first communities in the Middle West to be founded by Dutch immigrants. The area was fertile and far enough away from Milwaukee to escape the magnetism of that city's growing economy. As a result, the Alto community grew and

prospered; a congregation was established as early as 1848 and was ministered to by Gerrit Baay. By 1859, the town could boast a population of 800, and in 1897 that number had risen to 1,400. By that time, a few families had broken away from the original congregation to form another at Waupun.

In the mid-1840s, a number of Dutch immigrants from the southwestern province of Zeeland, as well as other Zeelanders who had been living in New York and New England, began laying the foundations for sizeable Dutch colonies at Cedar Grove and Oostburg in Sheboygan County. Jan Zeeveld, who entered his land claim at the government land office at Sheboygan Falls in 1845, was the first Netherlander to settle in the area that would become Holland Township (1848). He was soon joined by other Zeelanders from Milwaukee under the leadership of Dominic Pieter Zonne, a Dutch Presbyterian minister, and by a subsequent stream of settlers from New York and the Netherlands.

In their earliest years, these two communities competed with a small fishing village known as Amsterdam, located at the mouth of Bark Creek, in attracting Dutch settlers. But when the Chicago and Northwestern Railway extended its lines through Cedar Grove and Oostburg on its way to Green Bay, the Amsterdam community faltered and disappeared. About the time of the Civil War, the small satellite community of Gibbsville was established three miles west of Oostburg and soon received a large influx of Netherlanders from the northeastern province of Groningen. As early as 1854, Sheboygan County listed the Dutch as its largest foreign group. Shortly thereafter, Dutch settlers from Holland Township began flooding into the neighboring townships of Lima and Wilson, while others settled in Sheboygan Falls and the city of Sheboygan (Lucas 1955:205-209).

In 1847, a few Zeelanders established the small farming village of Town Eight (Ton Acht) approximately eight miles north of Milwaukee. This group was soon joined by a number of families from several Dutch provinces. Rev. Dominic Hubertus Jacobus Budding, who was widely known throughout Zeeland, joined the community soon after its establishment and began organizing a congregation; by 1849, that congregation numbered 16 families. Despite its early success, Town Eight failed to grow. People of other national origins moved into the community and eventually caused the original Dutch inhabitants to disperse (Lucas 1955:198).

At approximately the same time that Town Eight was founded, another group of Netherlanders, made up almost entirely of Zeelanders, began to settle at Franklin Prairie, 15 miles south of Milwaukee. By 1851, it had a population of between 700 and 800. Yet, in spite of its suitability for agrarian pursuits, the community failed to sustain its early growth and never became a permanent Dutch settlement. Many of its settlers succumbed to the economic opportunities posed by the Milwaukee labor market or relocated to larger Dutch communities in Michigan, which seemed to offer better business opportunities. By the turn-of-the-century, Franklin Prairie had ceased to exist.

As stated earlier, there were a few Dutch settlers living in Milwaukee as early as the 1830s-1840s. But for the majority of Dutch immigrants in Wisconsin, Milwaukee was only a temporary stop on their way to the rich agricultural lands of the interior. Enough Netherlanders remained in the city, however, to create a sizeable Dutch community. In 1851, Gijsbert Van Steenwijk, a Dutch insurance man in Milwaukee, estimated that out of a total population of 6,000, nearly 600 were of Dutch extraction. These Netherlanders tended to cluster together on the northwestern outskirts of the city in an area called Hollandsche Berg, "Dutch Hill." This area lay just beyond the low land along the Milwaukee River and north of the Menominee River, a branch of the Milwaukee, and extended from Tenth to Eighteenth Streets in the neighborhood of Walnut, Galena, and Reservoir Avenues. By 1857, the Sixth Ward of the city was inhabited entirely by the Dutch; and by 1897, the Dutch element was represented in nearly every branch of the city and county governments as well as in the professions, businesses, and trades (Lucas

1955:196-205).

Another group of Protestant Netherlanders, Friesians from the northwestern province of Friesland, also immigrated to Wisconsin in significant number during the nineteenth century. They often immigrated in the company of other Netherlanders, but the Friesians actually constituted a separate group or at least a subgroup because of their distinct language and culture and because, unlike the "Seceders," they remained loyal to the Reformed Church of the Netherlands.

One of the earliest Friesian settlements in Wisconsin was New Amsterdam (originally known as Frisia), located approximately 12 miles north of La Crosse. Their leader was Oepke H. Bonneman, a well-to-do grain dealer and social humanitarian. Depressed by the poverty he witnessed around him in Friesland, he decided to help as many of his fellow Friesians immigrate to America as possible. A group of 92 left the Netherlands in February 1853 and began their community at New Amsterdam in July of that same year. A small village was platted on the east bank of the Black River. Apparently Bonneman never intended to establish a large town; the place was to be a community of and for Friesians (Lucas 1955:211).

The settlement grew slowly but steadily, and in the end, the Netherlanders practically controlled the entire countryside surrounding the village. Within a short time, the community possessed a general store, post office, school, and a sawmill. New Amsterdam prospered for several decades. By the 1880s, however, the sawmilling operations had exhausted the area's forest reserves and an economic decline set in. By 1917, fewer than 70 families inhabited the village (Lucas 1947:42-59).

Another colony of Friesians settled in Columbia County in 1861, and founded a settlement that later became known as Friesland. These settlers were able to establish a prosperous farm economy which made its greatest strides in the 1880s with the arrival of the Chicago and Northwestern Railway. Within a short time, these Friesian immigrants had also established themselves as a major force in the nearby town of Randolph Center. For their spiritual needs, the members of these communities attended the First Reformed Church in Alto between 1869 and the early 1890s. In 1890, however, there was a major influx of Friesian immigrants to the town of Friesland, and the community was able to organize an independent Reformed congregation in 1893. The community retained a Friesian character in language and cultural life, and in 1928, it registered more than 240 families (Lucas 1955:201-205).

An early promoter of Dutch Catholic immigration to Wisconsin was Father Theodore Johannes Van den Brock, a Dominican priest. Beginning in 1848, he was responsible for the immigration of approximately 40,000 Catholic Netherlanders from the provinces of Noord-Brabant and Limburg and other Catholic centers throughout the Netherlands (Lucas 1955:32).

Father Van den Brock had originally come to the Wisconsin area in 1834, and in 1836, he began to minister to the Menominee Indians at a place along the Fox River known as Little Chute. By the mid-1840s, he began to seriously consider the establishment of a Dutch-Catholic settlement in Wisconsin, and in 1847, he returned to the Netherlands to promote his dream. Once there, he popularized Wisconsin in a small booklet and was able to attract several hundred interested people. A group of approximately 350 under the direction of Father Van den Brock set sail in the spring of 1848. Of these, a large majority settled at Little Chute, in the Fox River Valley. A few years later, another group of 200 Brabanders arrived. For the next several years, a steady stream of Brabanders and Limburgers flowed into the Fox River country, giving the area a decidedly Dutch tone (Lucas 1955:220).

Little Chute grew rapidly. By the autumn of 1848, a telegraph line had been installed,

and shortly thereafter, a plank road linked the village to Green Bay; construction was also begun on a canal as well as saw and gristmills. By 1849, a Catholic church, St. John Nepomucen, was built. As the Dutch immigrants continued to pour into the valley, nearly every town and city built at least one Catholic church (Rummel 1976:106-107). During the first half of the 1850s, the population of Little Chute doubled, and by 1856, it was considered a "purely Dutch town" (Lucas 1955:222). Living in close proximity, however, were other ethnic groups, among them Irish, English, French, and Germans.

Most of the Dutch immigrants to the Fox River Valley followed the Erie Canal-Great Lakes route; i.e., they traveled from New York City to Albany, took the Erie Canal from Albany to Buffalo, and then sailed across the Great Lakes to Green Bay. A considerable number of Netherlanders remained in Green Bay where there was ready employment. By 1864, there were enough Netherlanders living there to establish the parish and church of St. Willibrord (with the support of the Flemings).

Over the years, these Catholic Netherlanders became a major influence in the Fox River Valley. The village of De Pere, approximately five miles upstream from Green Bay, attracted a number of Dutch settlers. This village was located at the head of navigation of the Fox River and offered excellent opportunities for business and employment. A dam had been constructed there, and abundant lumber resources fed a burgeoning lumber industry. Charcoal and brick kilns also served as effective drawing cards as did the fertile soil. Between 1869 and 1883, three Catholic parishes were established in the area, but it was the Church of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary (established 1869) that principally served the Dutch and Flemish speaking population.

Other areas in the Fox River Valley that experienced Dutch influence were Wrightstown and Hollandtown, founded in 1848 by a Father Godhert. At various other places, there were lesser invasions by the Dutch. In Howard Township, they established colonies at Freedom and Velp; and by the 1860s, some Dutch families had also settled east of Green Bay, at a place known as Bay Settlement. Such were the Dutch communities of the Fox River Valley by the close of the Civil War. As Catholics, these Dutch immigrants readily mingled with other Catholics, whether French, German, or Irish. Except for Little Chute and Hollandtown, therefore, they created no compact communities like those of the Protestant "Seceders" (Lucas 1955:223-225).

Later Dutch settlements in Wisconsin were generally small agricultural communities. Among them was a small community near Brinamword in Marathon County, founded by the Holland Presbyterian Church in Milwaukee in 1902, as well as Baldwin in St. Croix County, founded in 1887 by a group of Dutch farmers from Sheboygan County, and Brandon, an extension of the Alto settlement. During the 1890s, communities were founded at Vesper, in Wood County; at Clinton, in Rock County; and at Darien and Delavan in Walworth County. These communities were successful but remained small, the Netherlanders living scattered among other ethnic groups who knew little about Dutch customs or traditions. In addition, a number of Netherlanders lived in the cities of Beloit, Racine, and Kenosha, but were unable to retain their distinct customs for a long period of time (Lucas 1955:359-360).

BELGIANS

Belgium is a land of both ideological and linguistic contrast, with Walloon, "an ancient French Patois," spoken in Walonia (the South), and Flemish spoken in Fleming (the North). The Walloons, Catholic in denomination, are the offspring of Romanized Gauls while the Flemish are Teutons and a near kin of the Dutch (Milwaukee Journal October 31, 1966). The Belgians in Wisconsin, the majority of them Walloons, are tightly massed in a strip running north from Green Bay to Sturgeon Bay. They constitute the largest Belgian rural settlement in the United States. Green Bay was the mecca that drew the group to eastern Wisconsin, and the point from which they dispersed, chiefly into the

towns of Gardiner, Union, and Brussels in Door County, and the communities of Red River and Lincoln in northern Kewaunee and Brown counties. In 1920, there were 3,444 Belgian-born inhabitants in the state, 38 percent or 1,319, of them concentrated in Brown County, and the remainder spread lightly over 63 other counties. Among Wisconsin cities, the Belgians were most heavily represented in Green Bay (790), Superior (319), and Milwaukee (109). The total number of Belgian-born in Wisconsin reached an early peak at 5,167 in 1880, 20 years before the Scandinavians, indicating their early and short-lived movement (1853-1858) into the state (U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1922:1135-1136; 1943:567).

Father Hennepin, who "plied the uncharted waters of the Great Lakes to Washington Island about 1679," is reputed to be the first Belgian to enter Wisconsin territory. Although he may have attracted his associates to the mission fields and other Belgians may have joined the territorial fur traders, there is no documentation to support the presence of any Belgians from the farming districts in either America or Wisconsin until 1853 (Holland 1933:9-10). In that year a Belgian farmer and "pathfinder", Francois Petinoit, led a company of Catholic Belgians to the shores of Milwaukee, where after a time, they proceeded to Sheboygan and ultimately to Kaukauna.

Upon the urging of Father Edward Daems, a Belgian Crosier Missionary in Bay Settlement, the company left Kaukauna to take up lands adjacent to Daems parish in Township 24. Called "Aux Premier Belges," or "The First Belgian Settlement" (now known as Robinsville), it was the lure for an estimated 15,000 Belgians in the years 1854 to 1856, the majority of whom settled in Brown, Door, and Kewaunee counties. Thousands, principally from the province of Brabant, arrived in 1856 to claim vacant tracts in the backwoods of northeastern Brown County, and in adjoining townships in Kewaunee and Door counties. They were representative of a sad and oft-repeated experience in the saga of land alienation on the frontier, for they entered claims at the Land Office in Menasha for "lands unseen," or more specifically, marginal agricultural properties which eventually forced many to supplement their paltry incomes by seeking temporary work in Milwaukee, Green Bay, Oconto, Marinette, and Chicago.

Another large migration in 1857 signaled the close of the mass movement from the Belgian rural districts, a phenomenon that terminated as abruptly as it had begun (Metzner 1943:283). Economically disadvantaged and isolated, the group in eastern Wisconsin did not share in the expansion of county roads, schools, and other benefits accrued by a tax-supported system in the first years, but in the late 1850s they effected a sort of "Belgian coup" of Bay Settlement, thus assuming the upper hand in local township affairs (Holland 1933:48). By this time the settlement had spread beyond its original core at Bay Settlement, with new clusters formed at La Riviere, Rouge, La Sucrierie, La Misere, Rosiere, Walhain, L'Union, Brussels, and Thiry Daems.

The Belgians were devoutly Catholic and did not delay in the establishment of both congregations and religious shrines; the first, the Chapel of the Holy Virgin, appeared in 1858 at Champion in Kewaunee County. "Within five years a new chapel was built on the spot, also a church, a larger schoolhouse, and a convent in which boys and girls were educated and boarded for a nominal consideration" (Holland 1933:71). By the 1890s, real prosperity had been achieved in the Belgian community, and the one parish at Bay Settlement (Holy Cross) had grown to 14 almost exclusively Belgian parishes in the surrounding districts. The Brown County parishes included St. Hubert's of Sugar Bush and St. Peter and St. Paul's of Green Bay. In Kewaunee County, there was St. Joseph's of Champion; St. Martin's of Tenet; St. Amand's of Walhain; St. Louis' of Dyckesville; St. Odiles of Thiry Daems; and St. Peter's of Lincoln. Three parishes extended across the boundary of Door and Kewaunee counties, namely, St. Hubert's of Rosiere, and St. Francis de Paul of Marchand. And lastly, in Door County there were the parishes of St. Michael's at La Misere; St. Mary's of Fairland; and St. Francis of Brussels (Holland 1933:99-100). (See study unit on the Catholic Church.)

With the arrival of Joseph Rene Vilatte in the 1880s a rift appeared in the Catholic communities. Ordained into the Old Catholic Church at Berne, Switzerland, he took up work for the Episcopalian Diocese of Fond du Lac in what was known as "the Belgian woods". He was successful in converting considerable numbers to the Old Catholic faith, and ultimately, he established a parish of that denomination in Door County at Little Sturgeon Bay with the financial backing of the Episcopalian Church. Conversions among the Belgians also occurred in Kewaunee County, and a cathedral of the Old Catholic persuasion was later constructed at Green Bay. When the Episcopalians withdrew their support Vilatte was deserted by several of his congregations, and his fate was sealed when three Norbertines, Fathers Pennings and Broens and Brother Servatius, undertook to retrieve the lost flock. Following five years of reconversion attempts (1893-1898), "Vilatte was left flockless, churchless, and landless" (Rummel 1976:108).

LUXEMBOURGERS

Luxembourgers joined with the Germans, Dutch, Belgians, Bohemians, and Poles in populating Wisconsin's lakeshore from Milwaukee to Sturgeon Bay. The "cradle" of Luxembourg colonization in the United States, and the largest and most permanently rooted community of that group, frames and engulfs the city of Port Washington in northeastern Ozaukee County. The colony grew from a core group of six Catholic families who arrived in 1848 and settled in a predominantly German farming population. In the beginning, the Luxembourgers were reluctant to preempt more than 40 acre tracts, but they cut and carved their way to prosperity, laying the foundations of the large and productive farms that are in existence in Ozaukee County today. They founded a congregation, St. Mary's, and built a church on the hill at Port Washington, one of a string of Luxembourg Catholic colonies on the state's eastern fringe. Members of the group added to the ethnic mix in Lake Church, Fredonia, Dacada, Holy Cross, and Belgium in Ozaukee and Sheboygan counties and at Luxembourg in Kewaunee County (Holmes 1944:81-88; Current 1976:316). With the exception of Ozaukee County, which according to the 1900 census housed 257 Luxembourgers, the group made a feeble showing elsewhere in the state, with figures less than a tenth as large in any other Wisconsin county, i.e. Sheboygan (23), La Crosse (22), and Price (22) (U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1901:794-795).

Immigrants from the Low Countries followed suit with their immigrant neighbors in the establishment of sick and benefit societies, lodges, athletic associations, choral and instrumental groups, ladies' clubs, and church-related societies. Likewise, their need to celebrate a national heritage was universally recognized, for the Dutch in the form of "Holland Festivals," the Luxembourgers with St. Nicholas Day, and the Belgians with "Kirmiss" or the harvest festival.

IDENTIFICATION

Resource Types

Dutch. Churches, agricultural buildings, publishing facilities, homes of prominent Dutch immigrants.

Belgians. Churches, chapels, roadside chapels, halls, schools, agricultural buildings (including distinctive types such as bake ovens), homes of prominent Belgian immigrants.

Luxembourgers. Churches, halls, homes of prominent Luxembourgers.

Locational Patterns of Resource Types

Dutch. During the mid-nineteenth century, Dutch Protestants immigrated to Sheboygan County (particularly the communities of Oostburg and Cedar Grove), Milwaukee County (particularly the cities of Milwaukee and Franklin), southwestern Fond du Lac County (particularly the towns of Alto and Waupun), La Crosse County (particularly the community of New Amsterdam), and Columbia County (particularly the village of Friesland).

Dutch Catholics preferred to settle in the Fox River Valley, especially the area between Green Bay and Little Chute. Dutch Catholics also settled in the cities of Milwaukee and Green Bay.

Other communities with important Dutch populations include Birnamwood in Marathon County, Baldwin in St. Croix County, Vesper in Wood County, Clinton in Rock County, and Darien and Delavan in Walworth County.

Belgians. Belgians principally settled in an area between the city of Green Bay and Sturgeon Bay, including the towns of Gardner, Union, and Brussels in Door County; the towns of Red River, Lincoln, and Luxembourg in northern Kewaunee County; and the towns of Green Bay, Scott, Humboldt, and Hobart in Brown County.

Luxembourgers. Luxembourgers settled in scattered areas along Wisconsin's lakeshore between Milwaukee and Sturgeon Bay. Their largest concentration was in the city of Port Washington in northeastern Ozaukee County.

Previous Surveys

No surveys dealing with either the Dutch or Luxembourgers have been undertaken to date. A Belgian-American thematic survey focusing on Door County is now in process.

Survey and Research Needs

Dutch. Survey the "Dutch towns" of Alto (Fond du Lac County), New Amsterdam (La Crosse County), Friesland (Columbia County), Little Chute (Outagamie County), and Oostburg and Cedar Grove (Sheboygan County).

Belgians. When the Belgian-American thematic survey is completed, the Historic Preservation Division will be better able to determine survey and research needs for that ethnic group.

Luxembourgers. The imprint of Luxembourg settlement in Ozaukee County needs to be determined.

EVALUATION

National Register Listings and Determinations of Eligibility

None.

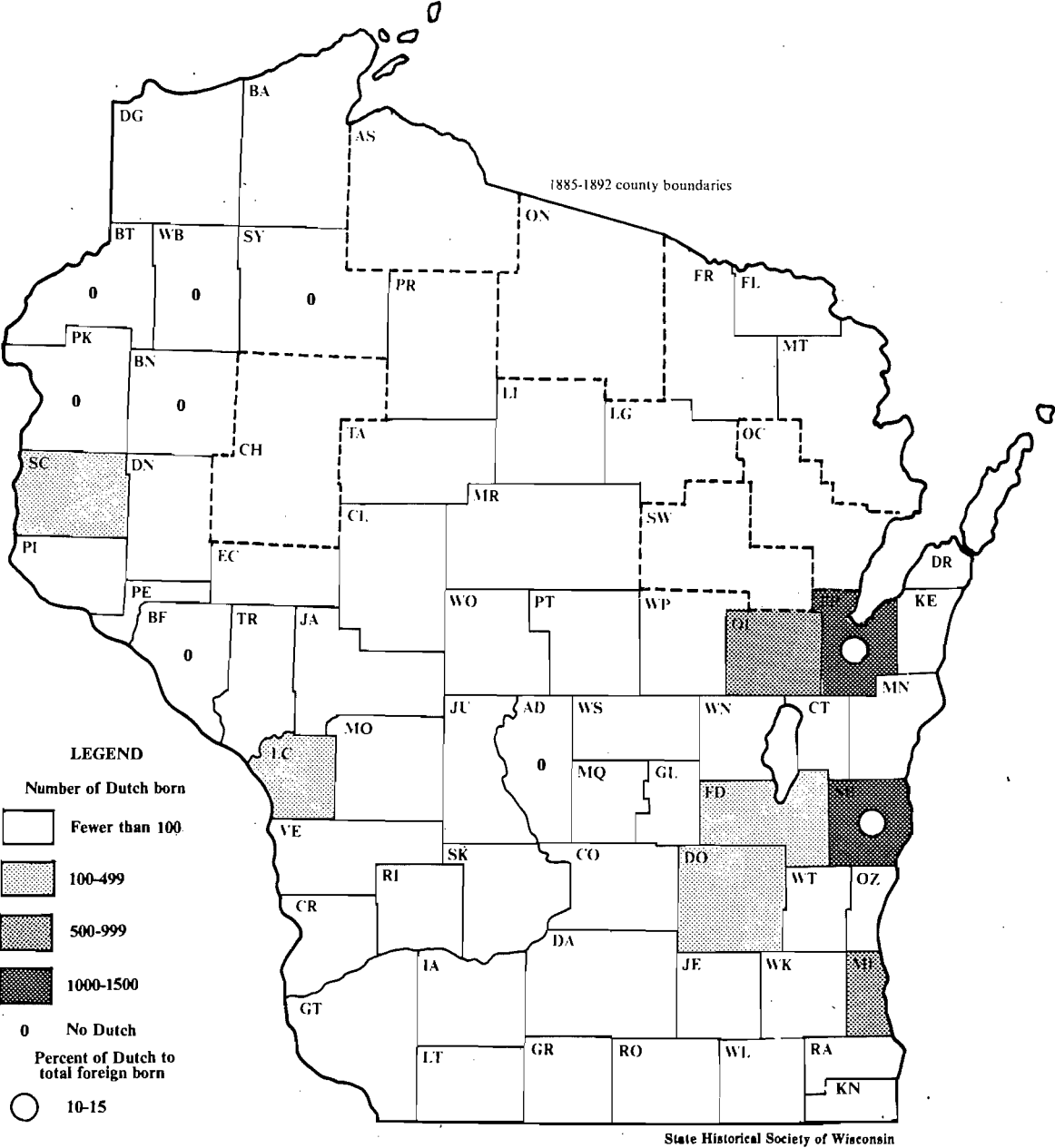
Context Considerations

Dutch. Because there are no Dutch related properties in the National Register and so little is known about Dutch associated resources within the state, it is difficult to access contextual considerations. When evaluating resources, those that are directly associated with individuals, groups, or activities that played significant roles in the perpetuation of Dutch ethnic traditions should be given a greater priority than those sites or structures only generally associated with Dutch culture in Wisconsin. Properties with only general association to Dutch settlement should retain a high degree of architectural integrity and/or be shown to be one of the only remaining properties associated with the Dutch in a particular locality.

Belgians. Most nominated sites and structures associated with Belgian settlement will merit local significance; however, some sites and/or structures may merit statewide or even national significance. Resources representing identifiable Belgian building traditions or that are directly associated with individuals, groups, or activities that played significant roles in the perpetuation of Belgian ethnic traditions should be given higher priority than those sites or structures only generally associated with Belgian settlement within the state. Those properties with only general association to the Belgian presence in Wisconsin should retain a high degree of architectural integrity and/or be shown to be one of the only remaining sites or structures associated with the Belgians in a particular location.

Luxembourgers. Because Luxembourg settlement within the state was limited, statewide significance for some structures should be considered. Resources that are directly associated with individuals, groups, or activities that played significant roles in the perpetuation of Luxembourg ethnic traditions should be given a greater priority than those sites or structures only generally associated with Luxembourg settlement in Wisconsin. Those properties with only general association to the Luxembourg presence within the state should retain a high degree of architectural integrity and/or be shown to be one of the only remaining sites or structures associated with the Luxembourgers in a particular locality.

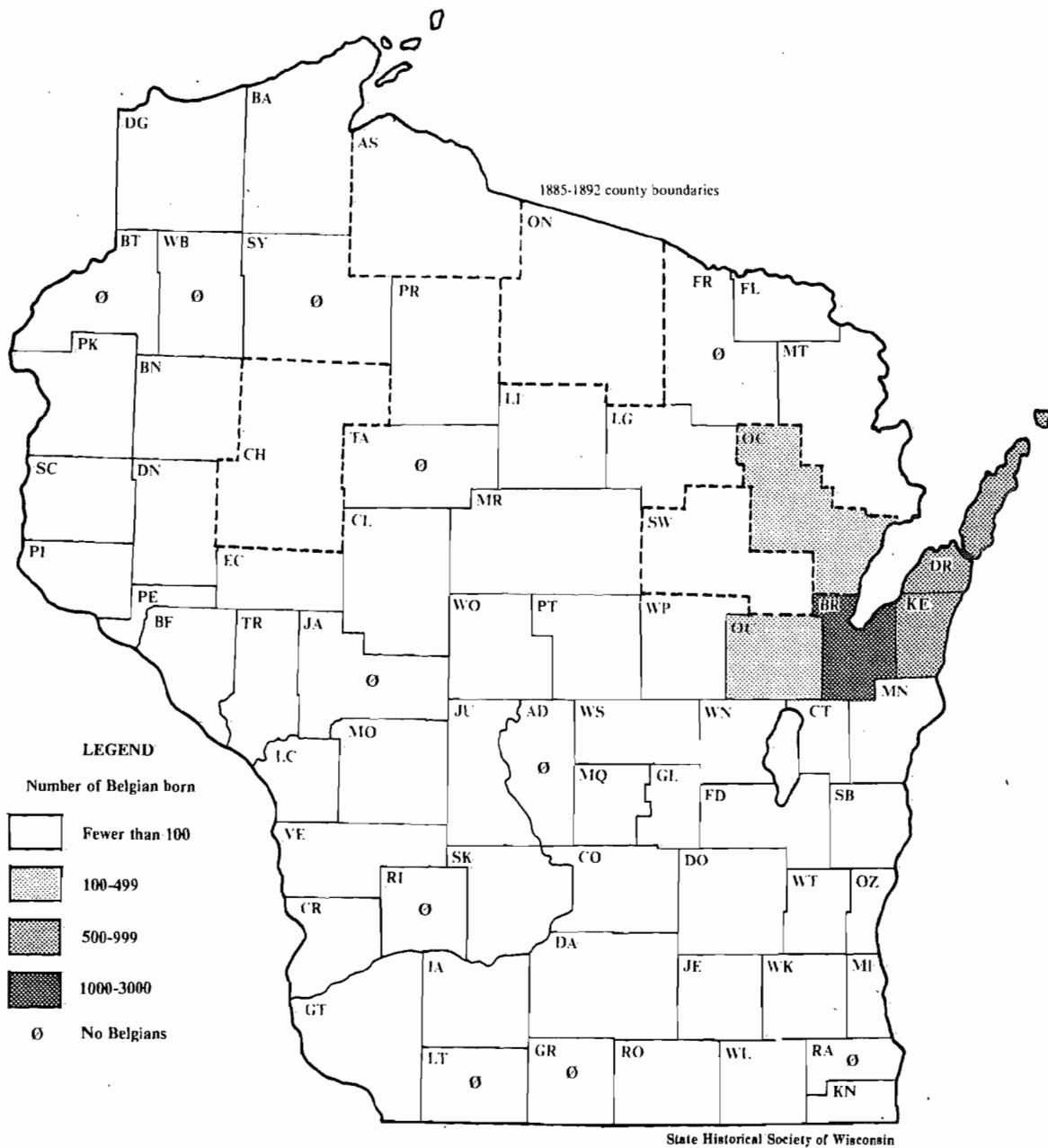
LOW COUNTRIES SETTLEMENT



Native Dutch in Wisconsin, 1890

Source: *Eleventh Census of the United States, 1890: Vol. I, Part I, Population*, pp. 667-668.

LOW COUNTRIES SETTLEMENT



Native Belgians in Wisconsin, 1890

Source: *Eleventh Census of the United States, 1890: Vol. I, Part I, Population*, pp. 667-668.

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NORWEGIAN

Temporal Boundaries: 1838 through World War I, with peak influx in the 1880s.

Spatial Boundaries: The entire state, especially the southern and western counties.

Related Study Units: Other Scandinavian Settlement, Lutheran Church, Baptist Church, Seventh-Day Adventist Church, Moravian Church, Specialty Agricultural Production (tobacco).

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Between 1836 and 1935, 875,000 Norwegian immigrants settled in the United States. Only Ireland sent a larger share of its native population to North American shores. For most of those years, Wisconsin was a principal destination for the immigrants and an important center of Norwegian-American life. "Although it did not have the first settlement of Norwegians in the country," writes Quaife, Wisconsin "nevertheless contained those Norwegian settlements that did the most significant things and harbored those Scandinavians who first achieved distinction in their new home" (Quaife 1924:111).

Fewer than 1,000 Norwegians lived in territorial Wisconsin until the early 1840s (with the earliest settlers arriving at about the time that the territory first opened for settlement). But by 1850, 8,600 Norwegians lived in the state (7.8 percent of the state's total foreign born population), comprising fully two-thirds of America's Norwegian population. By 1860, this figure had grown to 44,000 (15.9 percent of the total foreign born population in Wisconsin) or nearly half of the Norwegians in the United States. Indeed, the Norwegian settlements in the Rock River Basin between Madison and the Illinois state line formed the core of Norwegian settlement in the United States from the 1840s until the 1860s.

By mid-century, the Mississippi and Wisconsin rivers, together with expanding rail lines, provided a link between the older Norwegian settlements in southeastern Wisconsin and the fertile hills and valleys of western Wisconsin. As Norwegian immigration to the United States expanded in the 1860s (especially after the passage of the Homestead Act of 1862 which encouraged settlement by providing cheap, quality land to settlers), Norwegian settlers increasingly followed the wheat frontier to those western settlements and by 1870, one-fourth of the Norwegian population in Wisconsin resided in a strip from Crawford County north to Eau Claire and St. Croix counties.

The Panic of 1873 stemmed the flow of immigration briefly but by 1879, heavy streams of Norwegian immigrants once again arrived in the United States. For each of the next 14 years, America drew off two-thirds of Norway's population increase, and Wisconsin continued to attract many of those immigrants. By the turn of the century, 25 percent of Norwegians in the United States lived in Wisconsin.

The great number of Norwegian immigrants in the nineteenth century altered the complexion of the state's population. In 1897, for example, one out of seven persons in Wisconsin was of Scandinavian extraction (260,000). Of that number, roughly 70 percent were of Norwegian extraction (the second largest foreign born group in the state behind the Germans), 16 percent of Swedish extraction, and 14 percent of Danish extraction. In the new century, only Minnesota was home to a greater number of Norwegian Americans (Nelson 1900:112-113, 125-126). (A depression in the early 1890s slowed the movement, but by 1899, a fourth great wave, a pre-war urban exodus, began. This wave bypassed Wisconsin for the land and agricultural opportunities of western states or for the established ethnic communities in large port cities like Brooklyn, New York, and Seattle).

Throughout the history of Norwegian immigration to America, the prime factor in the movement was economic. In the 1750s, the birth rate in Europe increased dramatically, while the death rate decreased. The ensuing population boom placed unprecedented pressure on available land and food resources. By the 1860s, Scandinavia, and especially Norway, was in a state of staggering overpopulation. The population increased 60 percent between 1801 and 1865. But less than three percent of the land was cultivatable at this time, and large landholdings were breaking up into smaller units. Younger sons and daughters who could neither expect to acquire part of the family property nor find employment in the pre-industrial economy found America an attractive alternative.

Simultaneously, reports of abundant land and almost unlimited personal opportunity in America pulled many from the small, bleak farms of the Norwegian countryside. Moreover, Norway was in the midst of a reawakening at this time, spurred in part by the great religious revivals, especially Haugean, that not only shook the foundations of Norway's ancient religious structure but which also created general social unrest. Against this backdrop of dwindling opportunities and a society in transition, the mass movement of predominantly agricultural people began.

Westward movement began in 1825 when a group of seven sailors and 45 religious dissenters, or "Norwegian Quakers," arrived in New York from Stavanger on the Norwegian "Mayflower," Restauration. Their leader, Cleng Peerson, was a vibrant and magnetic personality who did much to sell the idea of American freedom and economic advantage to Norwegians. Dissatisfied with the conditions of their first agricultural settlement in Kendall Township, New York, the "sloop" folk in 1834 followed Peerson to the unoccupied lands of north central Illinois where they caught up with the frontier just before it expanded around the southern tip of Lake Michigan. Thus, the famed Fox River Valley settlement of LaSalle County, Illinois, emerged.

With each new shipload of arrivals, the Illinois settlement grew, and for more than a decade (from the mid-1830s to the 1840s), it functioned as the core of Norwegian American life. Adverse conditions of climate and disease in some of the incipient Illinois settlements, together with the increasing pressure for new, cheap land, diverted some people into Wisconsin's territory. Ole Nattestad, reportedly the first Norwegian settler in the state, settled initially in Illinois but located in what is now Clinton Township (Jefferson Prairie), Rock County in 1838. In 1838 and 1839, the first groups of Norwegian settlers arrived in the Jefferson and Rock Prairie settlements.

Owing largely to the journal recordings of Nattestad, published and circulated widely in Norway, interest in the Jefferson Prairie colony grew and exerted a powerful influence on Norwegian immigration. Ansten Nattestad, brother of Ole, led a modest following of immigrants from the brothers' home parish of Numedal in 1839. These people took land to the west of Jefferson Prairie in an area known as Rock Prairie. "By 1850, the entire Rock Prairie settlement boasted of a population of 180 families totaling 942 persons" (Fapso 1977:13). Thus, as the mechanism of trial and error established a main course of migration, prospective settlers moved through Illinois on their way to new settlements, following the agricultural frontier, first to Wisconsin and later to Iowa and Minnesota. In this movement, both Jefferson and Rock Prairies served as critical junctures or depots in the dispersion process. Between 1840 and 1850, Wisconsin's Norwegian settlements flourished to a greater degree than had the older enclaves in Illinois. By mid-century, more than one-half of all Norwegians in the United States lived in Wisconsin (Qualey 1938, chapters 2 and 3).

By 1840, Norwegian settlers were coming directly to Wisconsin, bypassing the Illinois settlements entirely. The first shipload of immigrants who came directly from Norway to Wisconsin embarked at Skien in 1839. Hailing from Upper Telemark, the group travelled by way of the Erie Canal and the Great Lakes to Milwaukee.

Hoping to avoid the malaria outbreaks erupting in the Illinois settlements, the group took land in Waukesha County near Lake Muskego. The Muskego settlement expanded from southeastern Waukesha County into northwestern Racine County. For a time, large numbers of Norwegian immigrants flowed through Muskego. The majority were bound for Koshkonong or "Kakseland" in eastern Dane County. Muskego was important as the center of the first important religious, political, and educational activities within the Norwegian group, and several of its most distinguished leaders helped establish and develop the foundations of Norwegian culture in America. Those who took a leading and formative role in the Norwegian Lutheran Church, ministers Claus A. Clausen (Danish born), Elling Eielsen, J.W.C. Dietrichson, and Hans Stub, were first active in Muskego. In 1844, the first Norwegian Lutheran church in America was built in Muskego. (See unit: "The Lutheran Church"). The first Norwegian American newspaper, Nordlyset, was published in Muskego from 1847 to 1849 by James Denoon Reymert.

But costly outbreaks of malaria in the mid-1840s, followed by deadly cholera epidemics in 1849, 1850, and 1852, undermined the Muskego settlement which "never assumed the significance its location and eminent leaders would seem to have warranted" (Fapso 1977:14). It shrank from preeminence as settlers searched for more advantageous locations to the west. Koshkonong in Dane County emerged as the largest, strongest, and most prosperous of the early Norwegian settlements. Migration to the area, beginning in 1840, continued with accelerating numbers throughout the territorial period. The initial settlers located on Koshkonong Creek in southeastern Dane County. But the settlement eventually stretched in all directions from the banks of Lake Koshkonong as immigration increased. It expanded, for example, into the adjacent townships of Jefferson County. Koshkonong attracted excess population from the earlier colonies in Illinois, Rock Prairie, Jefferson Prairie, and ill-fated Muskego. By 1850, the Koshkonong settlement "covered over 12 townships in the two county region, with a population of 543 Norwegian families totaling 2,670 persons" (Fapso 1977:14).

Moreover, at a time when Norwegian immigration was quite significant, Koshkonong, the richest and foremost Norwegian colony in America during this period, served as a crucial "stopover" or "outfitting" center for movement to the north and west. Sharing the role as "indgangsporter" or ports of entry were Rock and Jefferson Prairies and Muskego, although the prairies were more important than Muskego in their accomodation of new arrivals. Many personages, well known in their home locality or "bygd," came to Koshkonong and further stirred and directed the movement from Norway to Wisconsin (Semmingen 1942:263-283).

In the latter half of the 1840s, these core areas began to overflow to the north and west. The process was so rapid that by 1850, Norwegians were in all but three Wisconsin counties. With land prices soaring in Koshkonong, many sought wilderness acres elsewhere. An overflow of settlers from Koshkonong stimulated the rise of Norway Grove (northern Dane County) in 1845 and 1846. Similarly, several sizable colonies, most notably Spring and Bonnet Prairies, appeared in Columbia County at this time. Some of the poorest land in the state was taken by Norwegian settlers as they moved into the Moe and Portage communities in northwestern Columbia County in 1843 and 1844. In 1844, the first Norwegian family located in Lodi Township, Sauk County. Together with a trickle of other Norwegian newcomers, this family preceded hundreds of immigrants of common parish origin. Ultimately, Columbia and Sauk counties included more than 3,000 Norwegians spread among a half dozen colonies.

Between 1838 and 1840, Norwegians from the Illinois settlements, including Ole Nattestad and his brother Ansten, ventured into south central Wisconsin and established a settlement that would eventually encompass approximately 8,500 Norwegians and develop into a swath 40 miles long, from Gratiot in Lafayette County to Black Earth in Dane. This swath was settled by two streams of immigrants. Migrants moving through Rock

Prairie settled in the southern portion which included Wiota and Yellowstone Valley in Lafayette County. By 1843, Norwegian miners from Galena were the largest immigrant group active in the lead mines near Wiota, and, not surprisingly, it was here that many of the state's early Norwegian settlers received their start.

Established in 1844 by some of the miners from Galena, Blue Mounds in Dane County became the focus of the northern portion of the swath which ultimately included about 6,000 Norwegians in a stretch from Mt. Horeb to Black Earth to Spring Dale, Perry, Primrose, York, and Adams in Dane County. The Blue Mounds settlement expanded when settlers came from Muskego. Eventually, the colony attracted large numbers of settlers directly from the homeland. Minor extensions of this colony - Otter Creek and Castle Rock--emerged in Iowa and Grant counties. The founding of the Blue Mounds settlement was the beginning of a band of Norwegian settlement that would eventually envelope a 17 county area, with Crawford and Dane counties on the south and Polk and Barron on the north (Holland 1908:123-195).

Although Swedes arrived in Pine Lake-Ashippun (30 miles west of Milwaukee in Waukesha County) before Norwegians and formed a loose colony under the leadership of Gustaf Unonius, approximately 50 Norwegians settled there in 1843. Most lived for a time among the Swedes before moving to Portage and Waupaca counties or to the Root River Valley in Pierce County. Exploring as far north as St. Paul in the late 1840s, a pioneer of the Rock River settlement established the colony of Biringer (people from the parish of Biri, Norway) on the border between St. Croix and Pierce counties. Two hundred miles from the nearest Norwegian settlement, Biringer developed slowly. In later years, many immigrants preferred Iowa's St. Angsgar colony to the more distant Biringer. Nevertheless, by the turn of the century, the Root River colony contained approximately 9,000 Norwegians and stretched in a band from Red Wing, Minnesota almost to Glenwood City (St. Croix County) and from River Falls to Spring Valley in Pierce County.

Norwegian settlement in northeastern and north central Wisconsin fell outside the general pattern of Norwegian immigration to the state. Lured west-northwest from Lake Michigan by reports of both abundant woodlands and rich unturned prairie, the stream of migrants did not rapidly occupy the byroads of the north and eastern quarters of the state. The pattern of Norwegian settlement in these areas, in contrast to the large and mutually exclusive settlements to the south and west, was one of small and loosely defined communities. The spatial arrangement of Wisconsin's Norwegians had been rather firmly fixed by the late 1860s, and subsequent waves of migrants served mostly to expand and consolidate existing enclaves.

One of the largest offshoots of the Muskego colony, Winchester in Winnebago County, was established in 1847. From older settlements in Waukesha, Dodge, and Jefferson counties, the community of Scandinavia was founded in Waupaca County in 1850. The newcomers named the area "Indilandet" or Indianland, and it grew into "the largest area of Norwegian settlement in north central Wisconsin" (Fapso 1977:15). Included in the enclave were the townships of Amherst, New Hope, and the city of Stevens Point in Portage County. In Waupaca County, Scandinavia, St. Lawrence, and Iola towns were included. A group of Telemarkinger (immigrants from the Telemark culture region in Norway) from Muskego founded a colony between Wild Rose and Mount Morris, 20 miles south of Scandinavia in 1850. A spattering of Norwegians were also in Marathon, Green Lake, and Marquette counties, and small ethnic islands arose in Adams and Juneau counties. In 1850, Rock-a-Cree or Arkdale in Adams County received settlers from Koshkonong and in adjacent Juneau County, the Lemonweir settlement developed around 1854 (Holland 1908:196-228).

In Manitowoc County in 1846, the oldest Valdres (a Norwegian culture region) colony in America, Valdres-Gjerpen, emerged. "Concentrating mostly in Manitowoc and the

townships of Cato, Eaton, Liberty, Rapids, and Rockland, the Norwegian population grew from 203 in 1850 to 2,468 in 1870" (Fapso 1977:15). As a mother colony ideally centered in a port city, it functioned as an immigrant depot from which many subsequent settlements of fellow Valdrisser (residents of Valdres) developed throughout the Northwest (Qualey 1938:chapter 3). Osul Torrison, an immigrant to Manitowoc in 1849, "founded the largest mercantile establishment in the city."

Due to Norwegian knowledge and manpower, the city soon possessed the largest shipbuilding industry in the state. Elias Sorenson, Peter Larson, John Thorson, and the Sorenson brothers (Lars, Peter, and Christ) were the chief developers of the industry (Jarstad 1943:431-432). Between 1850 and 1851, Norwegian Moravians Nils Otto Tank and Andrew M. Iverson initiated the first Norwegian communal experiments on the west bank of the Fox River near Green Bay and at Ephraim in Door County. (See Moravian study unit). Norwegian settlers mixed with Danes and Icelanders on Washington Island, and in southern Door County, more than 2,000 Norwegians were distributed among Sturgeon Bay, Haynesville, and Clay Banks (Holand 1908:229-249).

The western tier of counties also received Norwegians from the Koshkonong colony. Coon Prairie, which included a 50 by 20 mile strip with Coon Prairie and Coon Valley on the north and Kickapoo, West Prairie, and Utica on the south in Vernon County, attracted the surplus from the Koshkonong, and to a lesser extent, the Muskego settlements. The first Norwegian scout to reach Coon Prairie, Even Gullord, trekked north from the Galena (Illinois) lead region in 1848. Upon his urging, a large contingent of his fellow Biringer settled at what is today the town of Westby. Coon Prairie, which ultimately included approximately 13,000 Norwegian Americans, claims to be the "most distinctly Norwegian settlement in western Wisconsin" (Fapso 1977:28).

A swath of settlement embracing approximately 42,000 Norwegian Americans and extending from La Crosse and Black River Falls on the south to Menomonie and Eau Claire on the north, was distinguished in the early twentieth century as the "greatest concentration of Norwegians in America" (Holand 1908:284). Immigration to the region commenced in the early 1850s, although most of the land was not purchased from the government for another 20 years. The surge north brought Norwegian settlers to the port city of La Crosse in 1850, and for a period of several years, the rush for land was the main activity in Bangor, Barre, Farmington, Greenfield, Holland, Neshonac, Onalaska, and Washington towns in La Crosse County. More than 2,000 Norwegians eventually occupied La Crosse County, distributed among La Crosse Valley, Lewis Valley, and Halfway Creek which became the site of the first Norwegian Lutheran college in America. Established in 1862, Luther College later moved to its present site in Decorah, Iowa. Settlement expanded into Jackson and Monroe counties, bringing the total number of Norwegians in the La Crosse area to more than 3,300 by 1870 (Fapso 1977:28).

A few settlers from Vernon County (Coon Prairie) left to search for new country, and in 1854, came to the Trempealeau Valley, today the site of the oldest Norwegian Lutheran congregation north of the Black River (established 1857). Migrants traveling via Koshkonong and Lodi came to North Beaver Creek, south of the Trempealeau Valley, in the period 1857 to 1859. In 1861, they established the first known Norwegian Lutheran church in "all of western Wisconsin" in North Beaver Creek (Holand 1908:295).

The Norwegians displayed a marked tendency to consciously settle in tight and distinctly Norwegian enclaves, yet nationality alone did not account for the formation of these communities. "A remarkable aspect of the tendency of the Norwegian immigrants to flock together," notes Theodore Blegen, "was that it was not enough for them to seek out fellow Norwegians. They went further and associated themselves with people who had come out of the very valley, the very 'bygd,' from which they themselves had hailed in the old country" (Blegen 1940:75). A myriad of settlements based on a common parish origins formed within the chain of western counties in the 1850s and 1860s, including Black River

Falls (Jackson County), Trempealeau Valley, and Menomonie (Dunn County). Only a few Norwegians extended beyond the western chain of counties until the 1870s when settlement of the Chippewa Valley in Eau Claire, Chippewa, and Dunn counties. Norwegian immigration to Eau Claire area lumber camps did not begin until the 1860s but continued at such a rapid pace that by the turn of the century, the Eau Claire area was home to the largest Norwegian Lutheran congregation in the United States. New counties where small groups of Norwegians settled in the 1870s and 1880s included Barron, Polk, St. Croix, Dunn, Douglas, and Bayfield. Settlers in these communities came primarily from older settlements in the south and followed the lumber and farming frontier northward.

Many Norwegian immigrants firmly believed that a Christian education was necessary, and from the outset, pioneer communities provided instruction in the rudiments of Christian faith at special parochial schools. In the late 1860s, the President of the Norwegian Synod, H.A. Preus, spearheaded an effort to develop a statewide system of parochial schools as a substitute for the state's system of public education. Preus was met with considerable opposition, particularly from Kund Langeland, editor of the nation's first Norwegian language newspaper, Nordlyset (Northernlight), and Rasmus Anderson, a teacher at Albion Academy. They advocated, instead, training Scandinavians as teachers of Norwegian history and language in the public school system and a greater role for Norwegians on school boards and as common school teachers. Despite both persistent efforts by the Norwegian Synod and the fact that virtually all Norwegian American church-centered communities supported some school programs, no Norwegian Lutheran parochial school system ever supplanted the public system. Nevertheless, several institutions of higher learning emerged in Wisconsin by the turn of the century (Nelson 1900:129). (See Lutheran Church and Private Schools study units). The following chart lists Norwegian Lutheran academies established in Wisconsin before 1940:

**Norwegian Lutheran Academies in Wisconsin
1851-1938**

| <u>Name</u> | <u>Years of Service</u> | <u>Location</u> |
|---|-------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| Tank Academy | 1851-1853 | Green Bay |
| Luther College Preparatory | 1861-1928 | Halfway Creek (county unknown) |
| Augsburg Seminary (Academy) | 1869-1872 | Marshall (Dane Co.) |
| Marshall Classical School (Augustana College/Seminary) | 1870-1881 | Marshall |
| Monona Academy | 1876-1881 | Madison |
| Luther Seminary | 1876-1889 | Madison |
| Coon Valley Lutheran High School | 1878-1879 | Coon Valley (La Crosse Co.) |
| Wittenberg Normal | 1887-1890 | Wittenberg (Shawano Co.) |
| Stoughton Academy | 1888-1900 | Stoughton (Dane Co.) |
| Albion Academy | 1890-1900 | Albion (Dane Co.) |
| Scandinavia Academy | 1893-1920 | Scandinavia (Waupaca Co.) |
| Mt. Horeb Academy | 1893-1898 | Mt. Horeb (Dane Co.) |
| H.A. Preus (Albion) Academy | 1901-1918 | Albion |
| Gale College (Academy) | 1901-1937 | Galesville (Trempealeau) |
| Gale Junior College | 1937-1938 | Galesville |
| Wittenberg Academy | 1901-1913 | Wittenberg |
| Central Wisconsin College | 1920-1932 | Scandinavia |

SOURCE:

Narveson 1944:184-226.

The three dominant synods in Norwegian-American Lutheranism in 1880 were the Norwegian Synod, which represented the "high" church point of view, the Conference, which promoted the "broad" church, and the Haugean Synod, which disseminated revivalist opinions. Only the broad church extended across ethnic boundaries, and its membership included Danes and Swedes. The Norwegian Synod, on the other hand, remained almost exclusively Norwegian in composition. Of the three synods, the orthodox Norwegian Synod enjoyed a preeminence that was essentially unrivaled until internal dissension over the predestination issue fragmented its membership in the late 1880s. The Coon Valley Lutheran Church was torn in two by this schism, which resulted in the formation of the Scogdalen Congregation further up the valley. By 1900, the Norwegian immigrant population founded at least 14 synodical bodies. Many of these represented a short-lived fusion of several existing religious units. Organic union within Norwegian-American Lutheranism was not achieved until 1917. (See Lutheran Church study unit).

Norwegians did not join other Scandinavian or ethnic churches to the same extent that other Scandinavian groups did. But while Lutheranism prevailed, some preferred other denominations. "For example, the oldest Scandinavian Methodist Church in the world was established among the Norwegians at Cambridge, Wisconsin, in 1851. At Pine Lake, Wisconsin, the famous Swedish pastor, Gustaf Unonius, persuaded many Norwegians to join his Episcopal church in the 1840s" (Fapso 1977:35). Other immigrants joined the Adventist, Baptist, and Moravian churches in considerable numbers. (See religious study units).

Norwegian-Americans founded more varieties of fraternal and cultural societies than can be traced in this discussion. For example, nearly all of Wisconsin's Norwegian Lutheran congregations established women's, mission, debating, and young people's societies. After the 1870s, many singing societies formed. In 1886, the federation of United Scandinavian Singers of America was established. Most centers of Norwegian settlement also contained associations which involved literary and dramatic interests, sports, gymnastics, and in particular, skiing, folk dancing, and fiddling. A unique organization of people from the same districts in Norway known as the "bygdslag" multiplied after the turn of the century, and by 1914, there were 38 such associations throughout the country. "Vestlandslag," whose membership includes descendants of the parishes of western Norway, is one of several bygdslag still active in the American Midwest.

The observance of the Norwegian national day, "Den Syttende Mai" or the Seventeenth of May, is an annual festival in a number of Wisconsin communities, most notably in Stoughton and more recently in Westby. The largest and most enduring of the Norwegian-American associations, the Sons of Norway, formed in 1896, modelling itself on American fraternal lodges. Today, the group maintains local branches in most major centers of Norwegian settlement. Beginning as a mutual aid society, the Sons of Norway later developed a large insurance program and is presently in the forefront of ethnic cultural and linguistic preservation. There were also distinctly Scandinavian labor organizations, insurance companies, cooperatives, temperance groups, and lodges within the International Order of Good Templars (Semmingsen 1975:130-148). Norwegians also played a role in the overall development of state politics, most notably Nils P. Haugen of River Falls, who was elected to the State Assembly in 1878 and later elected to Congress. He was a prominent political figure during the Progressive Era. Norwegian-American welfare organizations, commonly tied to the ethnic church, included orphanages, nursing homes, Indian missions, and hospitals. The Midelfart in Eau Claire and the Gundersen in La Crosse are among Wisconsin's most well known private clinics established by

Norwegian physicians..

The Norwegian ethnic press was highly developed and functioned to familiarize the pioneers with their new home. Sometimes stressing quality and sometimes content, Norwegian language papers appeared in virtually all major centers of Norwegian population. "This development was part of a more general process that occurred among all immigrant groups but at different speeds, depending on the pattern of settlement and the time span of mass immigration," (Semmingsen 1975:158). Between 1865 and 1914, no less than 565 Norwegian American papers and magazines emerged in America. In 1847, James Denoon Reymert established the first Norwegian-American journal in the United States, Nordlyset, in Muskego.

Among the Scandinavian groups, the Norwegians "were by far the most exclusive group in the marriage market." The Danes were least so, while the Swedes occupied an intermediate position. Up to 1920, approximately 90 percent of the Norwegian born married fellow Norwegians or those who were part Norwegian. More than 50 percent of the marriages outside of the Norwegian national group from 1890 to 1920 were with Swedes (Semmingsen 1975:132). The early and compact patterns of settlement, together with a flourishing ethnic press and a highly developed organizational life, did much to preserve ethnic and cultural identity through the generations. Today, Norwegians remain one of the most spatially segregated and "ethnocentric immigrant groups" in the country (Fapso 1977:39).

IDENTIFICATION

Resource Types. Churches, parochial schools, academies, colleges, publishing facilities, halls, orphanages, nursing homes, missions, hospitals, clinics, log buildings, farm buildings, homes of prominent Norwegian settlers.

Locational Patterns of Resource Types. Norwegian settlements are spread throughout the state. Early Norwegian immigration was concentrated in the Rock River Basin between Madison and the Illinois state line. Between 1845 and 1860, Norwegian settlement moved to Columbia, Sauk, Winnebago, and Waupaca counties. Later settlement was concentrated in the western and southwestern counties, especially between Menomonie and Eau Claire on the north and La Crosse and Black River Falls on the south.

Previous Surveys. The Ephraim Intensive Survey concentrates on Norwegian settlement in Door County while the Summary Report for Trempealeau, Galesville, Blair, and Whitehall, Wisconsin discusses Norwegian settlement in Trempealeau County. The "Immigration and Settlement" chapters of the La Crosse, Eau Claire, Superior, and Ashland intensive surveys examine Norwegian settlement in those communities.

Survey and Research Needs. The Norwegian ethnic press was highly developed in Wisconsin. More research is needed to understand the press' role in promoting further immigration and familiarizing the immigrants with their new environment. More research is also needed to understand the role Norwegian-American associations, such as the Sons of Norway, played in promoting a distinct Norwegian cultural identity. Important Norwegian community leaders, e.g., immigration promoters, politicians, publishers, and businessmen, should be identified as well.

EVALUATION

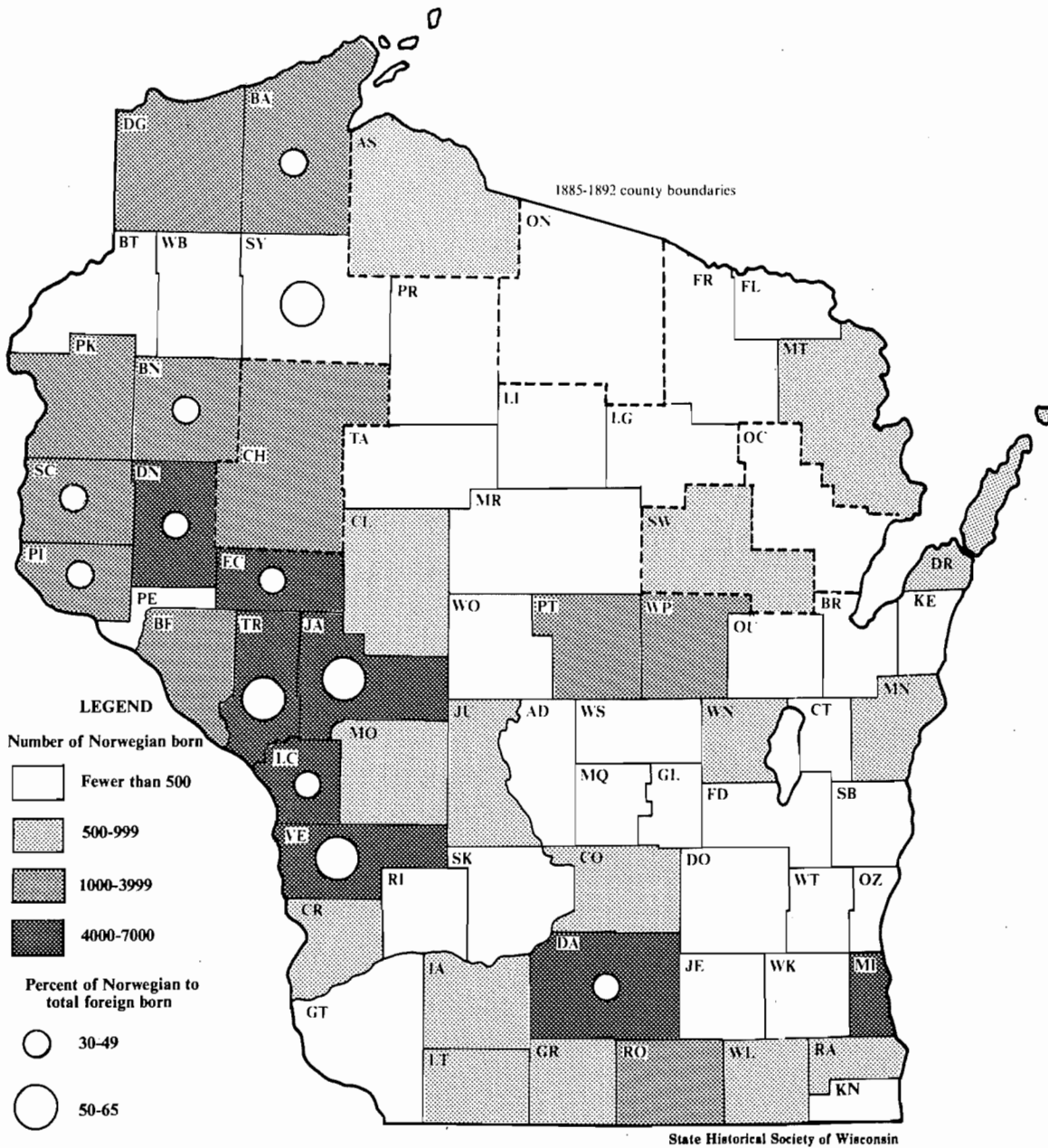
National Register Listings and Determinations of Eligibility

Hauge Log Church (1852), Town of Perry, Dane County (NRHP 1974)
Jens Naeset House (1878), 126 E. Washington St., Stoughton, Dane County (NRHP 1985)
Ole K. Roe House (1891-1892), 404 S. 5th St., Stoughton, Dane County (NRHP 1984)
Gale College Historic District (1859-1934), Galesville, Trempealeau County
(DOE 1984; Galesville MRA)
Ephraim Moravian Church, 9970 Moravia St., Ephraim, Door County (NRHP 1985;
Ephraim MRA)
Free Evangelical Lutheran Church (1882), 3028 Church St., Ephraim, Door County
(NRHP 1985; Ephraim MRA)
Norwegian Buildings at Heg Park, Heg Park Rd., Town of Norway, Racine County
(NRHP 1980)
West Luther Valley Lutheran Church (1871-1872), Town of Spring Valley, Rock County
(NRHP 1980).
Norwegian Evangelical Lutheran Church and Cemetery (1909-1910), Town of Viroqua,
Vernon County (NRHP 1986)
Gaute Ingebretson Loft House (ca. 1844), 1212 Pleasant Hill Road, Stoughton, Dane
County (NRHP 1987)
Aslak Lie Cabin, 3022 County Trunk P, Mt. Horeb, Dane County (NRHP 1986)

Context Considerations. Most nominated sites and structures associated with Norwegian settlement will merit local significance; however, because the Norwegians constituted one of the predominant ethnic groups within the state, some associated sites

and structures may merit statewide or even national significance. Resources representing identifiable Norwegian building traditions or that are directly associated with individuals, groups, or activities that played significant roles in the perpetuation of Norwegian ethnic traditions should be given a greater priority than those sites or structures only generally associated with Norwegian culture in Wisconsin. Those properties with only general association to Norwegian settlement should retain a high degree of architectural integrity and/or be shown to be one of the only remaining properties associated with the Norwegians in a particular locality.

NORWEGIAN SETTLEMENT



Native Norwegians in Wisconsin, 1890

Source: *Eleventh Census of the United States, 1890: Vol. I, Part I, Population*, pp. 667-668.

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OTHER SCANDINAVIAN

Ethnic Groups: Danes, Finns, Finland-Swedes, Icelanders, Swedes.

Temporal Boundaries: 1840s to about 1920, with immigration heaviest between 1880 and 1900.

Spatial Boundaries: Spatial patterns varied by ethnic group. Swedes were concentrated in the western and northwestern counties. Danes were concentrated in the eastern half of the state. The Finns settled most heavily in the northern tier of counties. Icelanders concentrated in a colony on Washington Island.

Related Study Units: Norwegian Settlement, Lutheran Church, Baptist Church, Adventist Church, and Methodist Church.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

DANES

Danes came to America for much the same reasons as immigrants from other Nordic nations: mainly because of economic necessity. In the face of Denmark's mushrooming population (a 39 percent increase between 1800 and 1840) and the deplorable condition of an increasingly large rural proletariat, economic opportunity in the New World beckoned. The most notable aspect of Danish migration was the predominance of the working class. Sixty nine percent of Danish migrants belonged to the rural proletariat. Contemporary industrialization of Danish cities did not provide enough work to employ jobless rural laborers, and thus "for thousands of Danes, Danish cities served only as inhospitable roadhouses on an odyssey that ended in North America" (Hale 1981:5). More than 300,000 Danes landed on American shores through the post World War I years. Their numbers were, however, well behind the numbers of Norwegians (875,000) and Swedes (1.2 million).

Immigrant destinations varied distinctly in the course of Danish migration. The first Danes remained in the port cities. New York and Louisiana had the largest number of Danish-born in 1850. The Mormon migration to Utah and the California Gold Rush, both of which included large numbers of Danes, made those states home to more Danes by 1860 than any other states. But Danes in Wisconsin exhibited an early increase, from only 146 settlers living in at least six eastern counties in 1850 to 1,160 in 1860, and 5,212 in 1870. The large migration of Danes to the Midwest, beginning in the 1860s, brought many Danes to Wisconsin in the following decades. By the century's end, with the exception of Iowa, there were more first and second generation Danes in Wisconsin than in any other state (35,000 of Danish birth/parentage in 1897) (Nelson 1900:107). Iowa, Wisconsin, Nebraska, Minnesota, and Illinois "remained the heart of the 'Danish belt' until internal migration, especially to the Pacific coast, disrupted the pattern and the flow of northern European immigrants was drastically reduced in the 1920s" (Hale 1981:22). The number of first generation Danes in the United States peaked in 1920 with 189,154.

The Danes who came to Wisconsin were significant in the larger picture of Danish migration to America because they were the first non-Mormon Danes to generate a chain movement into the country. Though they ultimately played only a minor role in the state's settlement process, the Danes founded one of the first distinctly Danish settlements in America at Hartland in 1846. They also established the first Danish Lutheran congregation in America, Emmaus in Racine (1851), as well as the first Danish-American

newspaper in Waupaca in 1859 (Vig 1899:250-282). To a greater extent than the other Nordic immigrants, the Danes took jobs in American factories. In addition, many used their experience in Old World dairying to make a solid contribution to dairy specialization in the state, and a small group shared their knowledge in the brewing industry.

Several Danes played a vital role in influencing Danish migrants to come to Wisconsin. Claus Clausen was the first promoter-publicist. He was a Danish clergyman who became pastor of several early Norwegian settlements, including the famed Muskego in Waukesha County. Another publicist, Lauritz J. Friberg, who lived for a time among the Swedes at Pine Lake (Waukesha County), compiled a guidebook filled with glowing descriptions of life in the New Land. It was published in Norway in 1847. In the same year, Rasmus Sorensen (1799-1865), a noted defender of the Danish farming class, published a synopsis of Friberg's book in Denmark. In his book, he repeated Friberg's glowing praise of Wisconsin life and encouraged his countrymen to seek their freedom and fortune there. Sorensen himself arrived in Wisconsin with a party of immigrants in 1852 and remained in Dodge County for nine years. In the 1860s, he returned to Denmark to lead larger parties of immigrants to Waupaca. Sorensen died in Denmark in 1865 (Hale 1981:6-7). More attention was directed toward the state by Lars Jorgensen Hauge who drew a group of Danish Baptists, some of whom had only recently arrived, from Pennsylvania into Wisconsin in the 1850s and 1860s. (See Baptist unit).

Though never large, Hartland in Waukesha County, established in 1846 by Christian L. Christiansen, was among the first Danish settlements in America. Its Lutheran congregation, founded in 1867, still exists. Hartland emerged as a center of Danish-American life and as the destination of many visiting nobles. Hundreds of prospective migrants were inspired to settle there.

A group of 50 Danes arrived in Milwaukee in 1848 in search of cheap federal lands. One group broke away for the wilderness acreages of Brown County (settling New Denmark in 1848), while another sought land in the Neenah area. A third group settled in Racine. Within a few years, most of the settlers had abandoned New Denmark, also called Copenhagen, in favor of newly opened lands to the west, and today only the name remains to remind one of the community's Danish heritage.

As with New Denmark, Neenah was not a "designated goal" for the Danish immigrants, but rather a "secondary settlement where Danes congregated after they tried other areas." For many, it was a stopover point on their movement to the west. Although most became landowners, many worked at the Oconto sawmills to generate extra income. The most substantial increases in Racine's Danish population came after the Civil War; it ultimately grew to become the "most important Danish center in the United States" (Hale 1981:16). Racine's Danish population continued to grow until 1930 when the city tallied 3,494 Danes. Both the J.I. Case Company, which recruited in Denmark for workers, and the Mitchell Wagon Company employed Danes almost exclusively. Even though Racine could not claim the large Danish population of its neighbor, Chicago, it had "the greatest per capita concentration of any city outside of Denmark," and thus, it is often called "the most Danish city in America" (Nielsen 1981:104-105). One neighborhood in West Racine bears the title "Kringleville," and annually observes a Kringle Festival.

From the 1850s to the 1880s, Danish settlement stretched to outlying areas of the state, particularly to the southeastern and central portions. In the earliest period, the Danes occupied only a "swath extending roughly from Kenosha to Waupaca to just east of Green Bay. Between these two poles, concentrations were evident in Racine, Waukesha, Winnebago, and Brown counties" (Hale 1981:23-24). The list of settlements added during the latter decade is long and included the following communities:

Some Nineteenth Century Danish Settlements in Wisconsin

| <u>Community</u> | <u>County</u> |
|--------------------------------|------------------|
| Oregon and Brooklyn | Dane County |
| Raymond | Racine County |
| Poysippi | Waushara County |
| Oconto | Oconto County |
| Orange Township | Juneau County |
| Pleasant Valley (near Baldwin) | St. Croix County |
| Waupaca (and nearby areas) | Waupaca County |
| Ashippun | Dodge County |
| Big Flats | Adams County |
| Rosholt | Portage County |
| Shennington | Monroe County |
| Clinton | Rock County |
| La Crosse | La Crosse County |
| Neenah and Oshkosh | Winnebago County |
| Washington Island | Door County |

SOURCE:

Christensen 1928:19-40.

In addition to these communities, predominantly Danish settlements emerged in western Wisconsin along the Minnesota border. Foremost among these was West Denmark in Polk County, founded during the early 1860s by a group of Danish Baptists. The colony's growth was somewhat stunted until a larger and more steady immigration of Danish Lutherans began in 1869. This migration distinguished West Denmark as the "most important center for Danes in western Wisconsin" (Hale 1981:24). In 1901, an area of Polk County, including West Denmark, Luck, and Bone Lake contained about 3,000 Danes. Although the overwhelming majority came directly from Denmark, a group of Danish Lutherans from Neenah initiated a large movement of Danes to this area from other areas in Wisconsin. In the earliest years, subsistence farming was supplemented by income from sawmilling, hunting, and fishing, all of which later gave way to specialized modern agriculture (Nielsen 1981:106).

Danes also settled in Douglas County, worked in sawmills in Marinette County, and were employed in rugged lumber camps along the state's northern rim. During this phase, Marinette "flourished as a center of Danish culture on Wisconsin's northern border" (Hale 1981:24). The final major rural Danish settlement in Wisconsin was founded at Withee in Clark County in 1893. A local lumber company agreed to donate land for a church, build a parsonage, pay the pastor's salary for a year, and sell land to Danish settlers for \$8 to \$12 an acre. The offer lured Danes to the area from around the Midwest, including Chicago. No new Danish settlements emerged in Wisconsin after 1893, but West Denmark and Withee continued to make population gains until the first World War (Nielsen 1981:107).

The preservation of "Danskhed" or Danishness was a central concern to the newcomers, although relatively few sought to work through the mechanism of the Danish churches. The Danish Lutherans accomplished little in the formative period, for they were numerically weak. Moreover, the Norwegian Lutheran leadership took the initiative at an early date to supply the Danes' religious needs. The Racine Lutheran Church, founded in 1851, was the first Danish Lutheran organization in the United States, and other Danish Lutheran churches were organized by Norwegian ministers at Hartland and Oshkosh. It was not until 1872 that the Danish Evangelical Lutheran Church, an American version of the Danish State Church, was organized by a group of four pastors at Neenah,

Wisconsin. (See Lutheran unit). The Baptists were particularly effective in penetrating Danish American communities, and by 1900, Danish Baptists outnumbered those in the Scandinavian American Lutheran churches. Others joined the Episcopal Church. A few became Adventists, while more joined the Methodist Episcopal Church. Several Norwegian Danish Methodist congregations formed across the state. Among these was the first Scandinavian Methodist Church in the world which was established in Cambridge in 1852. In 1861 the first Scandinavian Adventist Church in the country was founded in Oakland, although the Danes were in the minority in this church as they were in most mixed memberships. (See religious study units for further discussion).

The Danes patterned their fraternal organizations after American secret societies in the form of Danish Brother and Sisterhoods and Danish United Societies. The Dania Society, founded in Racine in 1867, was active in the promotion of Danish music, dance, and language study. With a comparatively weak Lutheran church (except in heavily Grundtvigian areas), parochial school programs did not inspire great interest and met with only temporary success until their disappearance in the 1890s.

A similar and more successful project was the organization of folk high schools, including Wisconsin's West Denmark facility located on the banks of Little Butternut Creek. Organized in 1884, it operated for only one year before dissolving and becoming a seminary for the Danish Lutheran Church (1887-1893). In a related venture, the United Evangelical Lutheran Church founded Luther High School in Racine in 1902, but it folded a decade later. In general, the influence of Danes in institutional development in the state was not great, although their supporting role in the programs and institutions of other Scandinavian groups should not be underestimated. Nearly all Scandinavians, including Danes, were strongly Republican and supported Robert LaFollette. A decline in Danish immigration to the Wisconsin communities accompanied the first World War. Because the number of Danes was proportionately small, the preservation of a cultural identity through ethnic associations was virtually impossible (Hale 1981:30).

FINNS

Beginning in the second half of the nineteenth century, overseas migration promised relief for many members of Finland's struggling population. Moreover, obligatory military service in the Russian army, religious bigotry, and an increased Russian influence in general were significant non-economic factors which precipitated migration from the Finnish countryside to the United States. Eighty five percent of Finnish emigrants had agrarian backgrounds. Most were either unlanded offspring of landowners, cottagers, or laborers. Prior to 1880, most Finns who immigrated to America came from the mining districts of northern Norway (beginning in the 1860s) or from the impoverished provinces of northern Finland, particularly Ostrobothnia (beginning in the 1870s) where population growth had been rampant. Immigration from Ostrobothnia began in the 1870s and continued into the new century. Emigration from southern Finland began much later (c.1900), at a point when migration was already well advanced (Kero 1974:56-60, Kolehmainen 1944:394-396).

In the period up to 1893, more than 40,000 Finns applied for passports to the United States. Forty years later, 350,000 Finns resided within United States borders, with the largest and most successful settlements in Michigan, Minnesota, and the New England and Pacific Coast states. The Finnish exodus was not large compared to the other Nordic countries, but it represented more than one-tenth of Finland's population at the time.

Wisconsin's Finnish population increased 160 percent between 1900 and 1940 (from 2,198 to 4,715), and one of the unique features of the Finns' geographical distribution in the state was the degree to which they were concentrated in 13 counties. (None of the remaining 59 counties had more than 100 Finnish born). In particular, two-thirds of Wisconsin's Finns settled in Douglas, Iron, Bayfield, Ashland, and Price counties, with the

first three counties accounting for half of the state's total Finnish population. In 1940, more than 70 percent of Wisconsin's Finns (3,411 of 4,715) lived in rural areas, although small Finnish communities existed in the cities of Superior, Milwaukee, Ashland, Kenosha, Racine, and West Allis (Kolehmainen 1944:391-393).

A comparatively short period of settlement characterized Finnish experience in Wisconsin, with the greatest number of settlers arriving between 1890 and 1910. "Significantly, between 1890 and 1910, most were forced to take temporary jobs as laborers in order to save enough to purchase a farm. They found work in the copper and iron mines, in factories, and on the railroad. Some tried fishing, sailing, and others labored as dockhands. Most of the Wisconsin Finns tried logging at some time or the other. Many who later turned to farming continued to work in the woods to provide wintertime income." Thousands "went almost directly from the trains" into the copper mines of northern Michigan, the Mesabi Range in Minnesota, and Wisconsin's Iron and Marinette counties. Finns first settled in Montreal (Iron County) in 1887, and shortly after, Hurley and Iron Belt boomed with a flurry of Finnish miners (Knipping 1977:13). The quarries of Amberg (Marinette County) and Redgranite (Waushara County) invited young muscle, and the Finns were among those who answered the call, moving there especially in the 1890s. The quarry boom came to a close at Amberg in 1902. The Italians came to Redgranite in the early twentieth century to compete for the dwindling number of quarry positions, prompting Finnish workers to turn their attention to opportunities in the lumber industry at an increasing rate.

Due to growing competition in the job market from other ethnic laborers along with an overall dissatisfaction with lumbering conditions, the Finnish "rural spirit" prevailed. After 1900, many Finns moved from the Gogebic Range to the submarginal farms of the Wisconsin Cutover around Marengo, Minersville, North York, and High Bridge in Ashland County. Around 1893, iron miners broke land at Arland and Turtle Lake in Barron County. Unemployed miners from Sparta, Minnesota moved to the Washburn vicinity in Bayfield County in 1903. Finnish lumberjacks took land on the Bayfield County peninsula at Bark Point in the mid-1890s and were joined by their countrymen from Duluth and Ely in the next decades. The Mesabi Range strikes of 1907 and the Copper Country strike of 1913-1914 led a wave of jobless settlers to move to rural Oulu and Iron River in Bayfield County. Other "little Finlands" emerged at the turn of the century at rural locations in several counties such as the following:

Some Early Twentieth Century Finnish Settlements

| Community | County |
|---|----------------|
| Owen | Clark County |
| Maple, Brule, Waino, Poplar, Lakeside | Douglas County |
| North Hurley, River Branch, Saxon, Van Buskirk | Iron County |
| Westboro | Taylor County |
| Brantwood, Clifford, Omega | Price County |
| Phelps, Eagle River | Vilas County |

SOURCE:

Kolehmainen and Hill: 1951:1-40.

Finns brought with them traditional ideas of farm construction, often building many function-specific structures rather than a few multipurpose ones. A typical Finnish farm might consist of 12 to 16 small buildings. Among those that were uniquely Finnish or Scandinavian were windmills and saunas, or bath houses. Saunas, built primarily for

bathing, were believed to (and perhaps do) have healthful qualities. Finnish midwives preferred saunas in child-birthing because they were heated and therefore relatively sterile. The warmth also aided pregnant women's muscle relaxation and facilitated delivery. Saunas were also used to dry farm products and to smoke meat (Knipping 1977:28).

The second phase of Finnish immigration to Wisconsin, from 1910 until 1925, included intensive efforts to convert woodland acres in northern Wisconsin into cultivatable and productive farmlands. By the end of World War II, however, farm failure and abandonment had largely removed the Finns from the agricultural scene. Other job opportunities for Finns in northern Wisconsin in the early twentieth century included employment on railroad section gangs with the Duluth, South Shore, and Atlantic line, the Duluth, Mesabi, and Iron Range road, and the Northern Pacific. Superior, like Iron Belt and Redgranite, was able to retain its Finnish population by offering them sufficient work on the coal and iron ore docks and with the railroads and shipyards. Some Finns were also seamen; some operated on Lake Superior, while others worked out of the lake ports of Herbster, Cornucopia, and Port Wing (Knipping 1977:14-16).

An increasing number of Wisconsin Finns settled in urban areas after 1891. By that date, Finnish machinists and common laborers had moved to Milwaukee, and in approximately 1910, some moved to West Allis. The majority found jobs at the Nordberg Manufacturing Company, established in Milwaukee by a Swedish Finn. Some of them came directly from Finnish cities, but others joined their comrades from the Upper Peninsula of Michigan and from communities in northern Wisconsin and Minnesota. From the late 1890s, Finns were in Kenosha and Racine, working initially in the tanning industry and later in the automobile plants. But Finnish population in those cities has all but disappeared in recent decades.

It was during the second period of Finnish immigration (1910-1925) that Finnish cultural and social activity blossomed in Wisconsin with the establishment of a full range of neighborhood institutions, cooperatives, temperance societies, singing groups, and workers and religious organizations. The Finns belonged primarily to the Lutheran Church in their homeland, and they carried their church traditions to Wisconsin. In 1936, 25 Finnish congregations with a collective membership of 2,000 existed in the state. Only a handful of Finnish-born were members in nearby Baptist and Pentecostal bodies. (See Lutheran Church unit).

Temperance societies were one type of social organization created by Finns in Wisconsin. In 1910, there were temperance societies in Hurley, Iron Belt, Maple, Van Bushkirk, Redgranite, Turtle Lake, and Waino, with a combined membership of perhaps 500. Temperance groups provided social functions beyond fighting alcohol consumption; they sponsored choral and dramatic groups, debating clubs, and bands. They organized festivals and dances, debates, and established libraries. Workers associations, like those located in Allouez, Iron Belt, Maple, Racine, Brantwood, and Clifford served similar social functions. After 1906, with the increased strength of the socialist movement, many workers associations were transformed into locals of the Socialist Party. Such changes occurred in places such as Hartford, Highbridge, Iron Belt, Kenosha, Maple, Marengo, Milwaukee, Oulu-Iron River, Phelps, Racine, Redgranite, Allouez, Bark Point, Brule, Clifford-Tripoli, Silver Creek-Ogema, Superior, Turtle Lake, Van Bushkirk-South Carey, and Washburn. Membership in these locals ranged from 10 to 60 people, most averaging 30 to 40 members. Superior, by far the largest socialist stronghold, enjoyed a membership of 157 members (Kolehmainen 1951:156-160).

Virtually all the communities mentioned above also supported cooperative enterprises, which were often creameries and stores. The object of cooperatives was to eliminate the "middlemen" between producers and consumers and to run businesses collectively on a non-profit basis. Many Finnish cooperatives were started in the 1930s, perhaps as an

effort to minimize the effect of the Great Depression; a good number of them are still operating.

Some Finnish radicals found expression in newspapers and journals, including the socialist-leaning Lapatossu and Punikki, the Cooperative Builder (with a circulation of 30,000 in the late 1940s), the feminist Tyolaishainen (published from 1930 to 1936), and Tyomies, a communist newspaper founded in 1914 and still being published in Superior.

Finnish socialists were plagued with the same factionalism that divided the movement nationally. In 1914, they were divided over supporting the radical Industrial Workers of the World, which attracted a considerable following in Superior, led by Lea Laukki. They were again split in 1919-1920 when the left wing of the Socialist Party defected, forming the Communist Party in 1921. Also, many of the more radically-minded socialists were critical of cooperatives, the most indigenous expression of Finnish radicalism, for not being sufficiently "revolutionary" and alleviating only people's misery rather than compelling them to rise up against it.

FINLAND-SWEDES

Bearers of Finnish culture from a Finnish homeland, but emigrating from homes in Sweden's northern provinces, the Finland Swedes constituted about 20 percent of the total Finnish immigration to North America from 1871 to 1929, or about 73,000 persons. The vast majority, estimated at as many as three-quarters, came from a single province, Osterbotten, on the border of northern Finland. The Finland-Swedes began filtering into the Great Lakes region, or more specifically into southern Michigan, in the 1880s and 1890s. Most became loggers and sawmill laborers. As the number of migrants to the area increased, prime timber was quickly exhausted. Consequently, the migrants followed the lumber frontier across the northern edge of Michigan to the northern tier of counties in Wisconsin and Minnesota. When the best timber again dwindled, the pioneers turned to other trades, including work on the ore-loading docks bordering the western lakes, employment in the private building trades, and work in the large iron ore mines. Many also turned to the "stump land" of the "cutover district," complementing their summer cultivation with winter labor in the lumbering camps until they could afford to farm fulltime.

By the early twentieth century, the contours of their spatial distribution on a national scale were easily discernable, with major clusters along the eastern seaboard, in the Rocky Mountain states, the state of Washington, and the several states, including Wisconsin, bordering the western Great Lakes. While some cultivated productive acreages or prospered as building contractors and preferred to stay in Wisconsin, many others moved from the older mining and lumbering regions to new areas in the Far West. Following the first World War, the immigrant routes shifted to New York, and in even greater numbers, to Canada and the west coast of the United States. Today, the greatest proportion of Finland Swedes now reside in the Pacific states (Myrhman 1980:17-25).

As a group, the Finland-Swedes displayed little occupational diversity, tending to concentrate in a few large industries, including lumbering, mining, the building trades, and agriculture. Clearly defined and sizable Finland-Swedish agricultural settlements in Wisconsin included those at Conover (Vilas County), Siegel (Chippewa County), and Wentworth (Douglas County). Smaller enclaves settled in Commonwealth (15 miles west of Iron Mountain, Michigan), Marinette, Merrill, and Rhinelander. Others found work in the ore loading docks of Superior, Ashland, Duluth, and Escanaba, MI. Those who took up residence in Milwaukee were often employed in the technical trades, and as such, were not typical of the group as a whole. A sizable neighborhood grew up in Kenosha following the first World War, predominately from pre-established settlements elsewhere in the Midwest. For the most part, these settlers found employment with the Nash Company (Myrhman 1972:232-242).

Like their Scandinavian neighbors, the Finland-Swedes were inclined to cluster on the basis of common parish or provincial origin, although few of these enclaves lasted long. Economic necessity and the ease of movement intervened to disperse them across the continent. The Finland Swedes generally cooperated with their Swedish neighbors in establishing Lutheran congregations, with twice as many Finland Swedes belonging to Swedish congregations as to their own. As a result, most were affiliated with the Swedish-American Augustana Synod. Nonetheless, in 1930 there were 38 independently organized Finland-Swedish churches in the nation. Twenty of these were Lutheran, and the remainder were Congregational and Baptist. In the post World War II period, the majority of Finland-Swedish churches fused with Swedish bodies or dissolved completely.

The spirit of cooperation between the Finland-Swedes and the Swedes also carried over into the organization of fraternal societies, including the Vasa lodge and the Order of Runeberg. In 1921, 30 local branches of the Order of Runeberg were active in the Midwest, but with the shift of the ethnic core to the west coast after World War I, activity in the Midwest declined sharply. The Finland-Swedes had two benefit societies unique to their group: the "Sjukhjælpsforbundet Finland av Amerika" and "Nykterhetsforbundet av Amerika" (Myrhman 1972:395-415).

ICELANDERS

Milwaukee was the focal point of all Icelandic immigration to the United States; the first Icelanders arrived in the city in the early 1870s. Some stayed in Milwaukee, supporting themselves as dock hands, factory workers, or by cutting cordwood during the winter. Others relocated to Door County's Washington Island, where a predominantly Icelandic community was established. Another community was established near Pulcifer in Shawano County in 1875 by one Pall Thorlaksson (Walter 1953:52). Four years later, the Icelandic community of Shawano County moved westward to the Dakota Territory where the land could be more easily cultivated (Eaton 1972:16).

Of the approximate 10,000 Icelanders in the United States in 1924, more than 1,000 were located in northernmost Door County, chiefly on Washington Island where one-sixth of the island population was of Icelandic origin. Founded in 1870, the Washington Island colony is the oldest Icelandic settlement in the United States. Moreover, it served as the precursor for Icelandic colonies near Marshall, Minnesota, in the Red River Valley district, and on the western shores of Lake Winnipeg in Canada. The island settlement developed when a Milwaukee Dane, William Wickmann, after living for some years in Iceland, encouraged an Icelandic contingent to come to the area. The fishing industry, already well established by a small Danish population at the time of the Icelandic arrival, was continued on a combined basis by the newcomers who supplemented it with lumbering and agriculture.

Icelanders were Lutheran by birth, although their churches never drew broad support. There were no known affiliates of the Icelandic Synod in Wisconsin. Nevertheless, the islanders developed a solid reputation for their "successful social experiments in cooperation and [their] good schools" (Quaife 1924:123, White 1898:337-340, Jackson 1928:110-111).

SWEDES

In nineteenth century Sweden, social, economic, and political dissatisfaction covered to stimulate an exodus of Swedes to America. Intense land subdivision, aggravated by a series of crop losses in the 1860s, created an unstable agricultural economy. Unless surplus farm population left the countryside, a static or declining economic situation was imminent. Although the first handful of migrants who left in the 1840s did so largely for idealistic reasons, the story of Swedish emigration in general is one of mass movement

from an ailing agrarian economy. Immigration of rural Swedes, covering roughly the period between 1860 and 1890, was the largest and most significant wave of Swedish immigration to Wisconsin (Hale 1983:11). Of approximately 1.2 million Swedes emigrating between 1850 and 1920, only one in four came from a town (although in 1910, 61 percent of Swedes in America resided in American cities). Even though American cities became home to most Swedish immigrants, Swedes ranked second to Norwegians among Scandinavians in their affinity for the land. They often became independent landholders rather than agricultural laborers. In 1930, 40 percent of Wisconsin's Swedes were classified as farm residents, a higher figure than for Swedes in neighboring states. But Swedish males concentrated in American cities and towns as laborers in saw and planing mills, or as tailors and carpenters; relatively few worked in commerce, on clerical jobs, or held factory positions. Swedes bound for Wisconsin either traveled by railroad from Chicago (in 1900 Chicago had the world's third largest concentration of Swedes) or sailed the Great Lakes to Milwaukee and other port cities.

Chicago is frequently referred to as the "capital of Swedish America," and played an important role for both those who chose to live there and for the thousands who continued their trek north and west. Although a trickle of Swedes entered Chicago as early as the 1830s, organized group migrations did not begin before the next decade. The religious dissenters, or Eric Jansonists, who came to Chicago in 1846, were the most notable of these migrant groups. The Swedish movement to America during the years between 1846 and 1850 was dominated by 1,500 Jansonists, most of whom passed through Chicago and its northside enclave on their journey to the Bishop Hill colony in Henry County, Illinois. As early as 1818, two Swedes were employed by the Astor Fur Company, but only four Swedes were counted in the state census of 1840 and only 88 in 1850. A handful of Swedes arrived in Milwaukee in 1841 under the direction of Gustaf Unonius. Their subsequent settlement along the eastern shore of Pine Lake in Waukesha County (30 miles west of Milwaukee) signaled the beginning of the first phase of Swedish immigration to Wisconsin. Called New Uppsala, it was Wisconsin's first Swedish settlement. The second distinctively Swedish enclave in Wisconsin emerged along the banks of Lake Koshkonong where a number of Swedish gentlemen of nobility settled near the Norwegians in 1843. With the exception of a few influential personalities, neither the Swedes nor the Danes played a leading role in the initial Scandinavian settlement of Wisconsin even though some Norwegian colonies established early in the process, such as that at Koshkonong, contained a sprinkling of other Scandinavian settlers. At the time of the Civil War a small number of Swedes were interspersed among the Norwegians in Sheboygan, Waupaca, Douglas, and Portage counties (Nelson 1943:118).

Immigration from Sweden increased significantly in the late 1850s. Following the passage of the Homestead Act in 1862 and the Swedish crop failures of the late 1860s, Swedes streamed into the United States in an almost continuous movement until the 1880s. Wisconsin received its heaviest flow between 1880 and 1900. But Swedish immigrants in Wisconsin ultimately constituted only a relatively minor part of Wisconsin's foreign born population. In 1930 the Swedish born or descended made up only two percent of the entire state population, while Norwegians were twice as numerous and the Germans 10 times as numerous.

The fact that the Swedish immigration began after the most productive acreages had already been selected served to deflect Swedish settlers to Minnesota and farther west. Thus Wisconsin "ended up being sandwiched between heavily Swedish northern Illinois and eastern Minnesota" (Hale 1983:30). Further, Minnesota followed the example set by Wisconsin and its Immigration Board by organizing an early promotional program. The activities of Colonel Hans Mattson, an ardent advocate of immigration to Minnesota, helped his state receive "the greater share of all immigrants arriving before 1880" (Quaife 1924:120). Private investments by Caleb Cushing and his associates who planned several mining ventures in northwestern Wisconsin also lured Swedish settlers to that part of the state (Smith 1944:7-19). More than the Danes and the Norwegians, the Swedes settled in

the northwestern sector of the state. By 1890, nine out of 10 Wisconsin counties containing the largest Swedish born populations were in the northwest. Persons of Swedish birth and descent were thus concentrated in the northern Mississippi Valley which held more than half of the total number of Swedes in America. Minneapolis, St. Paul, and Chicago emerged as the group's great urban centers.

"The St. Croix Valley had begun to emerge as a distinctly Swedish area as early as the 1850s, but mostly on the Minnesota side. Fertile and to a considerable degree still forested, the Wisconsin side began to attract growing numbers of Swedes during the 1860s, especially Polk and Burnett counties," and to a lesser extent St. Croix, Pierce, and Pepin counties. Settlers in Pepin County in the 1850s formed the large Swedish colony of Stockholm, a 20 mile stretch of settlement on the terraced valley of the Mississippi. The largest influx of people to the settlement arrived following the 1868-1869 crop failures in Sweden, although movement to the area continued until the 1880s and eventually embraced Pepin and Frankfort townships in Pepin County and Maiden Rock Township in Pierce County.

Another large settlement of Swedes in Wisconsin, Trade Lake in southeastern Burnett County, developed when a small stopover point for the area loggers was opened in 1854. In approximately 1865, the first Swede settled there. Eager for his comrades to join him, he wrote in a Chicago Swedish newspaper of his experiences on the lumbering frontier. Settlers began to drift in from Chicago as well as from Peshtigo, Wisconsin, and eventually directly from the homeland to establish farmsteads in this good agricultural district. In 1869 the first Swedish Baptist Church in Wisconsin emerged in Trade Lake. It was followed at intervals by Swedish Lutheran, Methodist, and Congregational bodies. Swedish communities in the northwest counties, founded in the 1870s and 1880s, included Lund (Pierce County), Falun (Burnett County), Karlsborg and West Sweden (Polk County). Others, bearing less obviously ethnic names included villages in Burnett County (including Trade Lake, Grantsburg, and Sand Lake), Polk County (including Centuria, Dresser Junction, Clayton, and Amery). By 1890 35 percent of Burnett County was of Swedish birth or descent.

In addition to settling on the farms and in the villages of the counties bordering the Mississippi and St. Croix rivers, a smaller number of Swedes settled in the northernmost regions of Wisconsin. As early as the 1850s, Swedish settlers had arrived at the Lake Superior shore and on the Michigan border. Swedish migration to the city of Superior was largely one of young and unattached males who intended to capitalize on work opportunities in this thriving port city. The Panic of 1857, however, undermined this movement. Swedes did not resume their trek to the city in considerable numbers until late in the century. By 1930 one-seventh of the population of Superior was of Swedish extraction.

The northerly geographical distribution of the Swedes was both promoted and reinforced by the lumber industry. Well defined Swedish quarters developed in and around Hayward, Marinette, and other towns throughout the northern counties, with Marinette emerging as the most "distinctively Swedish." Heavy industry did not lure the Swedes, and comparatively few settled in the state's leading cities. In 1930 only .2 percent of the population of Milwaukee was Swedish, and only slightly greater percentages existed in Kenosha (.5 percent) and Racine (1.2 percent). "Indeed, the industrial southeastern counties of Wisconsin never had more than a quarter of the state's Swedes after 1870. Only after the turn of the century did Kenosha, Racine, and Milwaukee counties have Swedish populations of much significance, and then only because of internal migration by immigrants who had initially settled elsewhere" (Hale 1983:22).

Devotion to church activities among the Swedish population in Wisconsin was most pronounced during the formative period of early settlement. But interest waned as immigration drew heavily from an increasingly secularized Swedish society. Nevertheless,

denominational competition accelerated throughout the last century, as Swedish Lutherans, chiefly in the Augustana Synod, joined the Baptist, Methodist, Evangelical Covenant, Evangelical Free churches, and a few other mainstream American denominations.

The relatively low percentage of churchgoers among the Swedish population did not prevent a broad spectrum of social, fraternal, and cultural organizations from developing. Swedes belonged to a wide range of organizations, including fraternal societies, such as the Masons and Odd Fellows, literary and dramatic societies, independent fraternal and aid societies, lodges (especially Vasa and Svithiod), temperance societies, political clubs, marching and rifle groups, and singing clubs. "Svea," a Swedish literary and benevolent organization owned the largest Swedish book collection in the Midwest before it burned in the Chicago fire. "Norden," a Swedish male dramatic society, emerged in 1870 as the Minneapolis Scandinavian Dramatic Society which functions to the present day as a benefit program. Today's fraternal organizations are aimed less at benevolence, however, than at maintaining some sense of heritage by reinforcing cultural contacts with the Swedish homeland. Some provincial societies or "hembygdsforeningar," are of more recent vintage and are primarily intended to preserve links with local regions of the homeland. Most, however, have only a fleeting existence. In spite of the flourishing Swedish press on a nationwide basis, the influence of resident Swedish journalists in Wisconsin was relatively weak. Superior and Marinette, however, had notable Swedish newspapers.

IDENTIFICATION

Resource Types

Danes. Agricultural buildings, halls, churches, schools, folk high schools, seminaries, homes of prominent Danish immigrants.

Finns. Churches, log buildings, halls, cooperative stores, publishing facilities, agricultural buildings, saunas, windmills, homes of prominent Finnish immigrants.

Finland-Swedes. Churches, halls, homes of prominent Finland-Swedish immigrants.

Icelanders. Schools, cooperatives, churches, structures associated with the fishing industry, homes of prominent Icelandic immigrants.

Swedes. Churches, halls, publishing facilities, agricultural buildings, homes of prominent Swedish immigrants.

Locational Patterns of Resource Types

Danes. Early Danish settlements were located in an area running roughly from Kenosha to Waupaca to just east of Green Bay, with major concentrations in Racine, Waukesha, Winnebago, and Brown counties. During the later nineteenth century, Danes spread into central, far northern, and far western Wisconsin. The community of West Denmark (Polk County) became the major Danish community in the western part of the state, while Marinette (Marinette County) became the center of Danish culture in northern Wisconsin. Large Danish populations also located in the cities of Racine and Neenah as well as the community of Hartland.

Finns. Finnish immigrants tended to congregate in the rural areas of Douglas, Iron, Bayfield, Ashland, and Price counties. Small Finnish populations also located in the cities of Superior, Milwaukee, Ashland, Kenosha, Racine, and West Allis.

Finland-Swedes. Very few Finland-Swedes settled in Wisconsin. Their most important settlements include Conover (Vilas County), Siegel (Chippewa County), and Wentworth (Douglas County). A few settled in the cities of Kenosha and Milwaukee as well.

Icelanders. Most of Wisconsin's Icelandic immigrants settled on Washington Island (Door County); a small number settled in the city of Milwaukee as well.

Swedes. Swedish immigrants tended to settle in the northwestern sector of the state, especially in the northern Mississippi Valley, and to a lesser extent in the far northern counties. The cities of Superior, Marinette, and Racine possess sizeable Swedish populations as well.

Previous Surveys

Danes. No specific thematic survey has been devoted to Danish settlement in Wisconsin. However, several intensive surveys, e.g., the Hartland Intensive Survey, the Architectural and Historical Survey of the City of Racine, the Neenah Historical and Architectural Survey Project, and the Hudson and North Hudson Intensive Survey, deal with Danish settlement in Wisconsin.

Finns. No specific thematic survey has dealt with Finnish settlement in Wisconsin. The Superior Intensive Survey and the City of Ashland Historical-Architectural Intensive Survey do, however, examine the Finnish population of those communities.

Finland-Swedes. None.

Icelanders. None.

Swedes. No specific thematic study of Swedish settlement in Wisconsin has been undertaken to date. A few intensive survey reports, e.g., the Superior Intensive Survey Report, the Hudson and North Hudson Intensive Survey Report, and the City of Ashland Historical-Architectural Intensive Survey, do examine Swedish settlement in those localities.

Survey and Research Needs

Danes. Determine if any specialized building traditions can be associated with the Danes in Wisconsin. Identify important Danish leaders, e.g., immigration promoters, ministers, publishers, and businessmen. More information is also needed on the Danish ethnic press and its role in perpetuating Danish culture within the state. A thematic survey of Racine's Danish associated resources should be undertaken as well.

Finns. The Finnish cooperative and communist movements in Wisconsin need to be examined in greater detail, as does the Finnish ethnic press, especially the radical press, and its influence among the Finnish population. Important Finnish leaders, e.g., labor leaders and publishers, also need to be identified. More detailed research is needed to determine what elements, if any, characterize a distinctive Finnish barn type.

Finland-Swedes. The principal Finland-Swedish agricultural settlements of Conover (Vilas County), Siegel (Chippewa County), and Wentworth (Douglas County), should be researched and surveyed to identify any Finland-Swedish associated properties. Important Finland-Swedish community leaders also should be identified.

Icelanders. The area around the community of Pulcifer (Shawano County) should be surveyed to identify resources associated with the small Icelandic settlement there (c.1875-1880). An attempt should also be made to determine if there are any distinctive Icelandic building and cultural traditions, specifically how they might differ from their Danish counterparts. Important Icelandic community leaders should be identified as well.

Swedes. The Swedish communities located in the northern Mississippi and the St. Croix river valleys should be researched and surveyed to identify any Swedish associated resources. Important Swedish community leaders should be identified as well.

EVALUATION

National Register Listings and Determinations of Eligibility

Danes

Danes Hall (1894), 303 N. Main St., Waupaca, Waupaca County (NRHP 1980)

Finns

Davidson Windmill (1905), Town of Lakeside, Douglas County (NRHP 1979)
Matt Johnson Log House (1898), Town of Knox, Price County (NRHP 1978)

Icelanders

Chester H. Thordarson Estate Historic District (1910-1935), Rock Island State Park,
Door County (NRHP 1985)

Swedes

Albin Johnson Log House (1885), Town of Spirit, Price County (NRHP 1978)

Context Considerations

Danes. Most nominated sites and structures associated with Danish settlement will merit local significance. Resources representing identifiable Danish building traditions or that are directly associated with individuals, groups, or activities that played significant roles in the perpetuation of Danish ethnic traditions should be given greater priority than those sites or structures only generally associated with Danish settlement in Wisconsin. Those properties with only general association to Danish settlement should retain a high degree of architectural integrity and/or be shown to be one of the only remaining sites or structures associated with the Danes in a particular location.

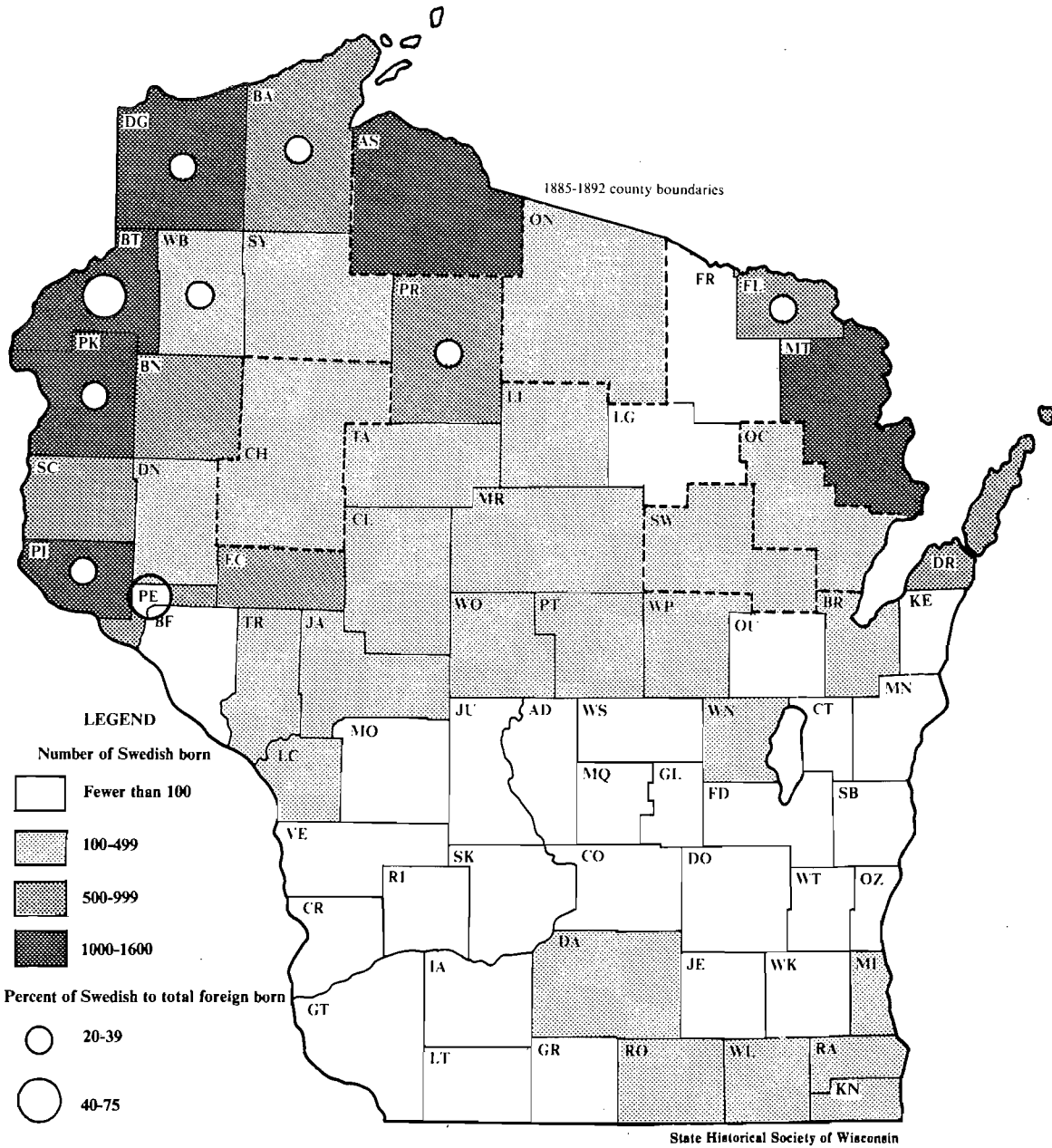
Finns. Most nominated sites and structures associated with Finnish settlement will merit local significance. Resources associated with Finnish immigration and settlement should be evaluated within a local context as well as in relationship to the broader patterns of rather limited Finnish settlement within the state. Resources representing identifiable Finnish building traditions or that are directly associated with individuals, groups, or activities that played significant roles in the perpetuation of Finnish ethnic traditions should be given greater priority than those sites and structures with only general association to Finnish culture in the state.

Finland-Swedes. Most nominated sites and structures associated with Finland-Swedish settlement in Wisconsin will merit local significance. The Finland-Swedes were often closely associated with both Finnish and Swedish immigrants, but an attempt should be made to distinguish their resources from those of the Finns and Swedes. Sites and structures clearly associated with individuals, groups, or activities that played significant roles in the developments of Finland-Swedish communities should be given priority over those resources only representing general ethnic associations. Resources should be evaluated within a local context as well as in relationship to the broader patterns of an extremely limited Finland-Swedish settlement within the state.

Icelanders. Most sites and structures associated with Icelandic immigration and settlement in Wisconsin will merit local significance.

Swedes. Resources associated with Swedish immigration and settlement should be evaluated both within a local context and in relationship to the broader patterns of the rather limited Swedish settlement within Wisconsin. Resources representing identifiable Swedish building traditions or that are directly associated with individuals, groups, or activities that played significant roles in the perpetuation of Swedish ethnic traditions should be given greater priority than those properties only generally associated with Swedish settlement in the state.

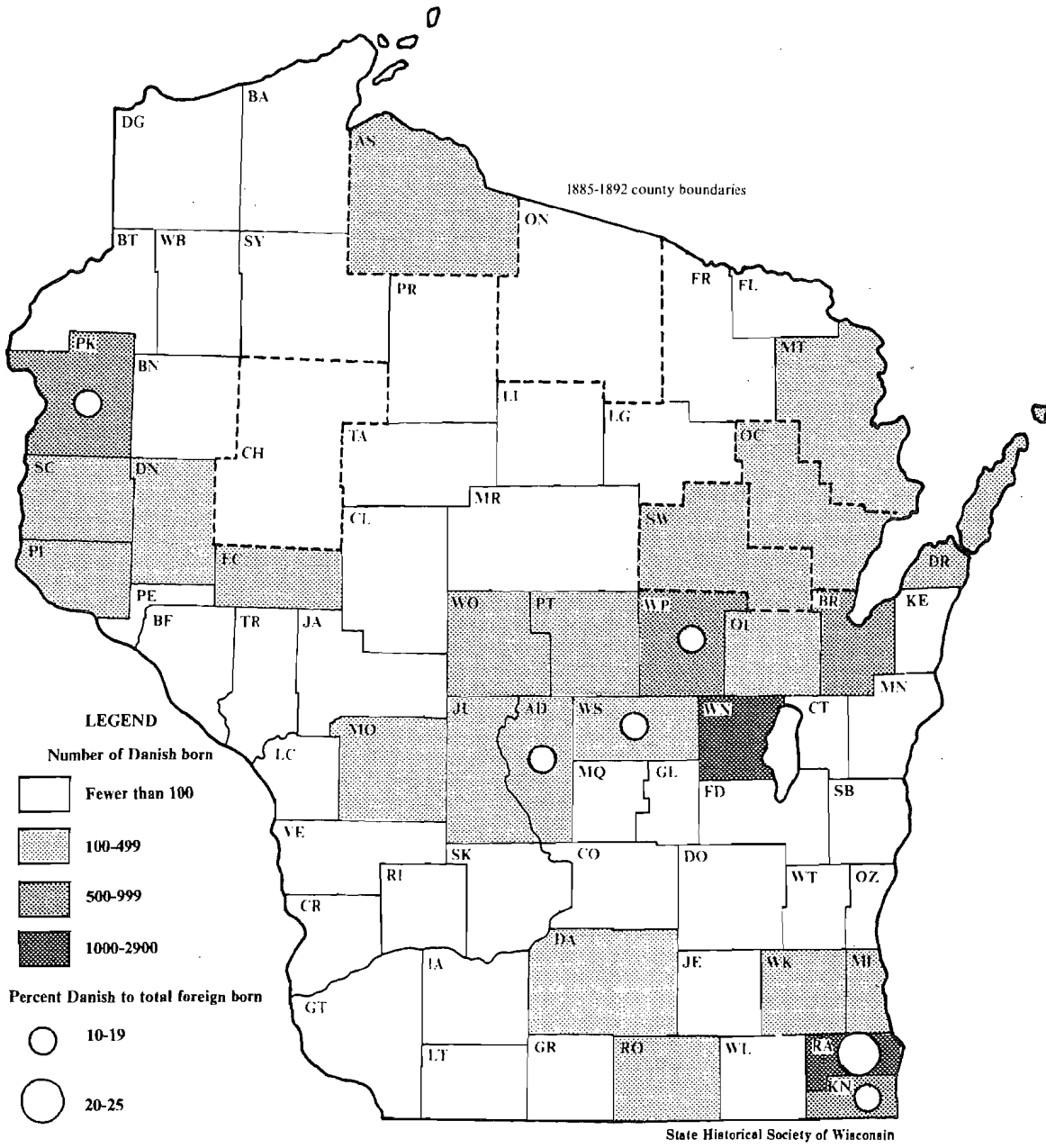
OTHER SCANDINAVIAN SETTLEMENT



Native Swedish in Wisconsin, 1890

Source: *Eleventh Census of the United States, 1890: Vol. I, Part I, Population*, pp. 667-668.

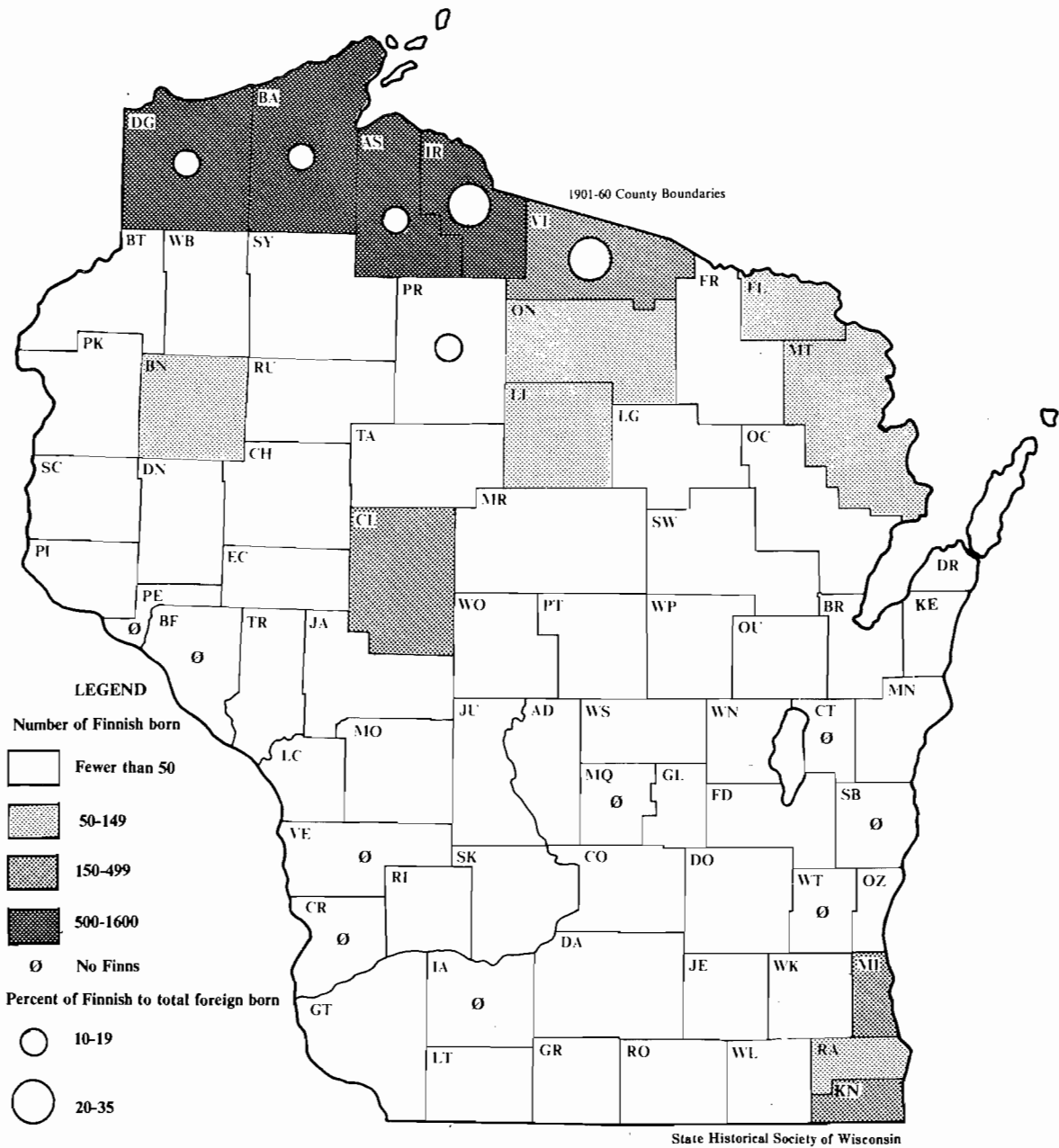
OTHER SCANDINAVIAN SETTLEMENT



Native Danish in Wisconsin, 1890

Source: *Eleventh Census of the United States, 1890: Vol. I, Part I, Population*, pp. 667-668.

OTHER SCANDINAVIAN SETTLEMENT



Native Finnish in Wisconsin, 1920

Source: *Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920: Vol. II, Composition and Characteristics of the Population*, pp. 1135-1136.

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Temporal Boundaries: 1840s to 1920s, with emphasis on the period before 1890.

Spatial Boundaries: Concentration in major cities, with the greater Milwaukee area containing nearly half of the state's Polish population in 1900; also a few scattered rural settlements.

Related Study Units: Catholic Church, Shipbuilding.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The Polish experience in Wisconsin exhibits several characteristics which distinguish it from the norm of other Polish communities in the United States. Indeed, the first Wisconsin Poles were "singled out as the example to be emulated" by Polishmen throughout the country (Kuzniewski 1980:18). While usually considered part of the immigrant exodus of 1880-1920, the main current of Polish immigrants arrived in Wisconsin before 1890. By the turn of the century, they were a "relatively settled, organized, and self-conscious" group and had already claimed favorable economic and social niches. Originating almost exclusively from the German ruled areas of Poznan and West Prussia, these immigrants displayed a remarkably high degree of cultural homogeneity.

According to the 1900 census schedules, 80 percent of Wisconsin's immigrant Poles came from Germany, 11 percent from Russia, and nine percent from Austria or unknown locations. These figures contrast markedly with national figures for the period which indicate that only 39 percent of non-Wisconsin Poles in America were from Germany, while 40 percent came from Russia and 15 percent from Austria. In the first years of the twentieth century, the Dillingham Commission's study of ethnic stock in the U.S. reported that 81 percent of Milwaukee's Polish community had roots in German Poland, while the figures for Chicago were more evenly divided among the various countries of origin. Even though Russian and Austrian Poles emigrated en masse after the turn of the century, the census figures show that they were not settling in Wisconsin in numbers large enough to offset the numerical primacy of the German Poles.

German political primacy and the "kulturkampf" of the homeland had imbued the Polish with a strong national consciousness which was generally more emphatic in the German ruled segments of Polish society than it was in others. The desire to transmit one's Polish cultural identity, especially via the Polish Catholic Church, was particularly strong in the Wisconsin communities. "The possibility to cooperate or clash," writes Kuzniewski, "was nowhere stronger than in Wisconsin, where Germans and Poles encountered one another with particular intensity as Catholics" (Kuzniewski 1980:7). By insisting that Polish national bishops be integrated into Wisconsin's Catholic hierarchy at a time when such requests usually prompted excommunication by presiding bishops, the Wisconsin Poles wrote a unique chapter in American Catholic history.

Although most immigration promotion efforts in Wisconsin were directed towards prospective German and Scandinavian settlers, the bilingual Poles of eastern Germany were readily infected by the America fever and joined the migratory streams along with their German neighbors. In 1920, the Poles constituted 11 percent of Wisconsin's foreign born population; their numbers were second only to the Germans as far as foreign groups were concerned.

During this period in Europe, many ethnic groups, such as the Poles, lived in several

different countries. Consequently, it is difficult to estimate the number of people of ethnic Polish origin who came to Wisconsin during this time. A fairly reliable source, the Kuryer Polski or Polish Currier, founded in Milwaukee in 1888, estimated that there were 115,000 first and second generation Poles in Wisconsin in 1896 and 225,000 by 1915. According to the Currier, Milwaukee County, the pivotal center of Polish urban life in Wisconsin, had 30,000 Polish American residents in 1890, 58,000 in 1902, and 100,000 in 1915 (Kuzniewski 1980:19).

In 1900, the size of Wisconsin's Polish population ranked fourth nationally behind Illinois, New York, and Pennsylvania's. Twenty three percent of Wisconsin's Poles worked in agriculture. In no other state in the United States did so many Poles work in agriculture. In 1950, the Poles still constituted approximately 11 percent of Wisconsin's foreign born population. They dominated other ethnic groups in Clark, Forest, Marinette, Portage, Rusk, and Taylor counties. At the same time, they were the leading Slavic group in Milwaukee, Kenosha, and Green Bay and ran a near second to the Czechs in Racine (Borowiecki 1980:42-43;58-60;64-65).

Driven largely by their passion to be independent landowners, entire families of Poles emigrated from German Poland between the 1850s and the 1870s. While many brought their Old World experience in agriculture with them, others possessed abilities in the skilled trades. In the agricultural provinces, polarization along class lines was the defining feature of life. In the homeland, landholding aristocrats, or junkers, and prosperous peasants stood in sharp contrast with the expanding rural proletariat which constituted four-fifths of the agrarian populations of Poznan and Pomerania. Most German or Prussian Poles immigrated in the 1880s and made up three-fourths of all Poles in the United States at that time. In the next decade, however, their numbers were overshadowed by mass immigrations from Austria and Russian Poland. Ultimately, the German Poles composed only eight to 10 percent of the American Polish community. "Nevertheless," writes Golab, "their migration was vital to the whole; as the initial phalanx they founded the first churches, parishes and organizations, developed channeling for disseminating work information and established patterns of distribution, thereby easing the way for Russian and Austrian Poles to come" (Golab 1977:77).

Thaddeus Pienkowski, who claimed an 80 acre parcel near Bristol (west of Kenosha) in 1840 was probably the first Polish farmer in Wisconsin. Wisconsin's first sizable and distinctly Polish settlement, however, was at Poland Corner, Portage County, approximately six miles east of Stevens Point. Poland Corner, or "Polonia", grew from four or five Prussian Polish families who had followed some German immigrants to Marathon County in 1857. The following year, Jan Polak, a Polish priest, directed the Poles to the less heavily timbered farm lands of the Stevens Point area where they became farmers. In the winter, they supplemented farming by labor in lumber camps or in railroad gangs.

By 1905, the contours of Polish settlement in central Wisconsin were readily discernable with at least 15,000 Poles residing in Portage and Marathon counties. 5,000 of this group lived in Stevens Point, the economic and cultural focus of the area. Like the Polish markets, the ethnic press flourished in Stevens Point. In 1892, the weekly newspaper Rolnik (The Farmer) appeared, and Gwiazda Polarna emerged in 1908. In 1863, Polonia established a Polish Roman Catholic church; it was the second such church in the United States. Before the turn of the century, approximately a dozen Polish parishes had been established throughout Portage and Marathon counties.

In 1864, a band of immigrants from Popillon and Swolkowice in Upper Silesia drifted into Wisconsin's western border counties. They settled across the Mississippi River from Winona, Minnesota, in Dodge Township, Trempealeau County. In the next 30 years, nearly half of the Villages of Popielowo and Sialkowice emigrated to Wisconsin farmlands in a strip running from Arcadia to Independence in western Trempealeau County.

Eventually, they founded four Polish Catholic parishes (Pawlowski 1948:104).

In contrast to the Portage and Trempealeau County settlements, the Polish farmers who populated the timbered regions of the north and eastern sectors of the state did not come directly from the homeland. Most had lived and worked elsewhere in the United States as miners, quarrymen, or steel workers.

The farming areas northwest of Green Bay in Brown, Shawano, and Oconto counties contained the third and last sizable rural colony of Poles established in Wisconsin. Many who congregated in this area came from previously settled areas in the east. Polish occupation of this area coincided with the promotional efforts of Norwegian land agent John J. Hof who began selling land to Polish immigrants in 1877 and continued to do so until the first decade of the present century. The preponderance of Poles in the area gave rise to ethnic villages such as Krakow, Sobieski, Pulaski, and Hofa Park in the 1880s.

Hof designated land for a church in each village. In 1888, the Polish Franciscans founded a monastery on 100 acres in Pulaski. The order opened a boarding school at the monastery in 1901. Six years later, it established a printing press. Miesiecznik Franciszkanski (The Franciscan Monthly) and later an almanac (1912) were two of the press' more ambitious productions. "Pulaski never became as important a commercial center as Stevens Point, but the friary and the influence of the monks in parish work and publications gave Pulaski a constant and important role in the religious development of the state's Poles" (Kuzniewski 1980:21).

Crivitz in Marinette County represented "one of the biggest colonization projects in the history of the Polish hegira to Wisconsin" (Pinkowski 1978:327). In the 1890s, a shrewd lumberman in Crivitz, Mr. Zech, collaborated with land agents in Polish neighborhoods in Milwaukee and Chicago to sell 20,000 acres of "stump land" properties in Crivitz during a three year period. A small group of Poles organized the Polish Industrial Association, a colonization agency which bought most of Zech's property. But within a few years, the association went defunct and settlement continued without the agency's services. Polish Catholic parishes appeared in Crivitz, Marinette, and Pound, and a Baptist church was established in Pound in 1908 (Pinkowski 1978:327).

The Poles did not make considerable efforts to follow the byroads to upper Wisconsin until the closing years of the nineteenth century and the advance of the rail lines. At this time, they skipped over the marshy wastelands in Wood County and went to Clark and Taylor counties and eventually to Chippewa and Rusk counties. In Weyerhaeuser in Chippewa (Rusk) County, Poles settled into the lumber industry. In 1897, they established a Roman Catholic parish. Later, they established a mission at Strickland (Pinkowski 1978:328). Construction work on the Chicago and Northwestern Railroad brought Poles to the Cable area in the early 1900s. At Lublin, they poured into the sawmilling and lumbering camps before turning to farming on a full scale. In the 1890s, some Poles appeared at Chetek, Hayward, Hurley, Montreal, Philips, Washburn, Dedham, and Hawkins in response to lumber and mining opportunities (Siekaniac 1958:13).

With nearly half of Wisconsin's Poles residing in the greater Milwaukee area in 1900, Polish urban concentrations held a numerical edge over Polish agrarian communities in the state. The first Pole arrived in Milwaukee in the 1840s; 75 lived in the city by 1850. Their numbers mounted slowly, with most of the immigrants residing on the south side at Walker's Point. Polish neighborhoods did not become clearly defined until the post-Civil War period when Poles entered the steel, leatherworking, and other developing industries. In 1866, St. Stanislaus Church, the first Polish parish in the city, was founded in the southern quarter. In 1871, St. Casimir's emerged on the north side. St. Josephat's Church, established in 1901, ultimately became the largest Polish Catholic church in the United States. Eventually, the colonies in Milwaukee enveloped the first, eighteenth, and thirteenth wards on the east side, and the eleventh, twelfth, and fourteenth wards on the

south (Tomkiewicz 1901:148-152).

There were few entrepreneurs and less than a handful of professionals among the Poles of Milwaukee. In 1895, only two Polish doctors and two Polish lawyers lived among 40,000 Poles in the city. The steel mills and tanneries were the overwhelming recipients of Polish labor in Milwaukee. 1,597 Poles worked in Milwaukee's iron and steel industry. There were more Poles in Milwaukee's iron and steel industries than in any other city's. (36.3 percent in Milwaukee, 23 percent in Chicago, and 16 percent in Pittsburgh) (Pinkowski 1978:357). In addition to these Poles, a 3,000 member contingent of Polish Kashubes, immigrants from the area north of Danzig on the Baltic coast, settled offshore on Jones Island (Lake Michigan) where they resumed their traditional livelihood as fishermen.

The number of Polish Catholic churches in Milwaukee grew rapidly; there were 14 by 1920. Indeed, the number of Polish Catholic churches in Wisconsin was disproportionately high. In 1901, the state housed 45 of 300 Polish Catholic churches in the country (Tomkiewicz 1901:148-152). But the Poles were divided in their allegiance to Catholicism. In 1904, the Polish National Catholic Church, the only significant schism of the Roman Catholic Church in America, was founded as an independent and self-governing synod. Approximately 20 percent of the Polish churches in the United States were affiliated with the Polish National Church; the remaining 80 percent remained within the established Roman Catholic hierarchy (Zawistowski 1978:423). (See the Historical Records Survey Project for complete list of Polish National Catholic churches in Wisconsin).

Small Polish islands emerged in Green Bay and Manitowoc. The Poles in Manitowoc founded a parish by 1870 and built an orphanage and a home for the elderly before the century ended. By the early 1920s, one-sixth of the population of Manitowoc was Polish. A considerable number of which had migrated from Milwaukee between 1867 and 1875. They were principally engaged in lumbering and shipbuilding. Many of Manitowoc's Poles reside in the city's "hill" area, which prior to 1891, was a separate community from Manitowoc proper.

In the first years of the twentieth century, Racine and Kenosha became hosts to the Polish newcomers. Poles in Kenosha created a diversity of social institutions which both maintained their cultural identity and eased the process of assimilation. Among these groups was a Polish-Lithuanian Mutual Aid Society and a Turner Society. In 1905, Poles in Racine formed a chapter of the Polish National Alliance which served to maintain their cultural identity by, among other ways, raising money to send their children to Alliance College in Cambridge Springs, Pennsylvania. Most of the Polish organizations of Racine shared the facilities of the Polish Hall at Mead and Dekoven Streets. Fifteen different Polish organizations, with a combined membership of over 4,000 coalesced in 1932 into the Polish American Central Committee. The Committee aided resident Poles in obtaining naturalization and citizenship, coordinated local political activities, and provided an avenue for airing community grievances and combatting juvenile delinquency. Societies also sponsored dances, picnics, and cultural events.

Poles had entered Ashland as early as the 1880s. In 1899, the Ashland Poles founded the Holy Family Congregation, the oldest Polish Catholic parish in northern Wisconsin. A fraternal lodge, Kosciuszko, emerged in 1888, and the city also hosted the Polish St. Michaels Society (fraternal) and the Holy Rosary Society for Women. Superior, which received its Polish population somewhat later than Ashland, was the site of two Polish Catholic parishes: St. Stanislaus, founded in 1901, and St. Adalbert, founded in 1902 (Siekaniac 1958:10-17).

Milwaukee's Polish population founded many ethnic newspapers. Before World War I, they established at least a dozen daily, weekly, and monthly titles. Most of these either folded or dissolved into union with their competitors. Founded in 1888, Kuryer Polski

was the "first successful Polish daily in the United States". Founded in 1919, Głos Polek (The Voice of Polish Women) was the national organ of the Polish Womens' Alliance, and Zgoda (Harmony), which was the organ of the Polish National Alliance, was printed in Milwaukee for a period of time beginning in 1883. The Kosciuszko Armory, a national guard unit established in 1874, was solidly Polish and a unique sidelight of the Polish experience in Milwaukee. In 1886, Poles constructed Kosciuszko Hall, an armory on the south side. Polanki, a Polish cultural club, also became part of Polish life in Milwaukee (Kuzniewski 1980:23).

The church parochial school emerged as the primary socio-cultural unit in Polish America. "The school served above all," writes Kuznicki, "as a factor of unity and continuity through successive generations ... this brought the group territorially together, but also led to the development of densely populated Polish neighborhoods" (Kuznicki 1978:436). St. Stanislaus parish opened the first formal Polish parochial school in the United States in 1868. Established in the Green Bay diocese after the turn of the century, the Sisters of St. Joseph of the Third of St. Francis administered and staffed 22 schools with 8,500 students by 1901 (Kuzniewski 1978:411). Another prominent Polish parochial school in Milwaukee, St. Hedwige, was founded in 1873. St. Hyacinth followed it in 1884 and St. Vincent de Paul in 1888. St. Stanislaus in Berlin, Wisconsin was established in 1890 (Nobilis 1947:1-5). Founded in 1873 as a mutual aid organization, the Polish Roman Catholic Union was closely tied to the educational work of the church and ultimately became the "foremost society for laypeople" among Polish Americans (Kuzniewski 1978:413).

The Poles complemented their parochial school system with institutions of advanced learning. The Junior College of St. Joseph was established in Stevens Point in 1945 and was affiliated with St. Norbert's College in De Pere, Wisconsin. Both were dedicated to the preparation of teachers in the Sisterhoods (Radzialowski 1978:475).

IDENTIFICATION

Resource Types. Churches, chapels, missions, monasteries, parochial schools, seminaries, halls, armories, publishing facilities, agricultural buildings, homes of prominent Polish immigrants.

Locational Pattern of Resource Types. A number of Polish immigrants settled in the rural areas of Portage, Marathon, Brown, Shawano, Oconto, and western Trempealeau counties. However, the majority of Wisconsin's Poles preferred to settle in urban environments; nearly half resided in the greater Milwaukee area. Smaller Polish contingents settled in Green Bay, Manitowoc, Ashland, Racine, Kenosha, and Stevens Point.

Previous Surveys. No thematic survey dealing with Polish immigration and settlement in Wisconsin has been undertaken. The "Immigration and Settlement" chapter in the Stevens Point and Ashland intensive survey reports provides some information on Polish settlement in those areas.

Survey and Research Needs. Rural Polish settlements need to be investigated in greater detail, with special attention paid to Polonia (Portage County) and Crivitz (Marinette County).

EVALUATION

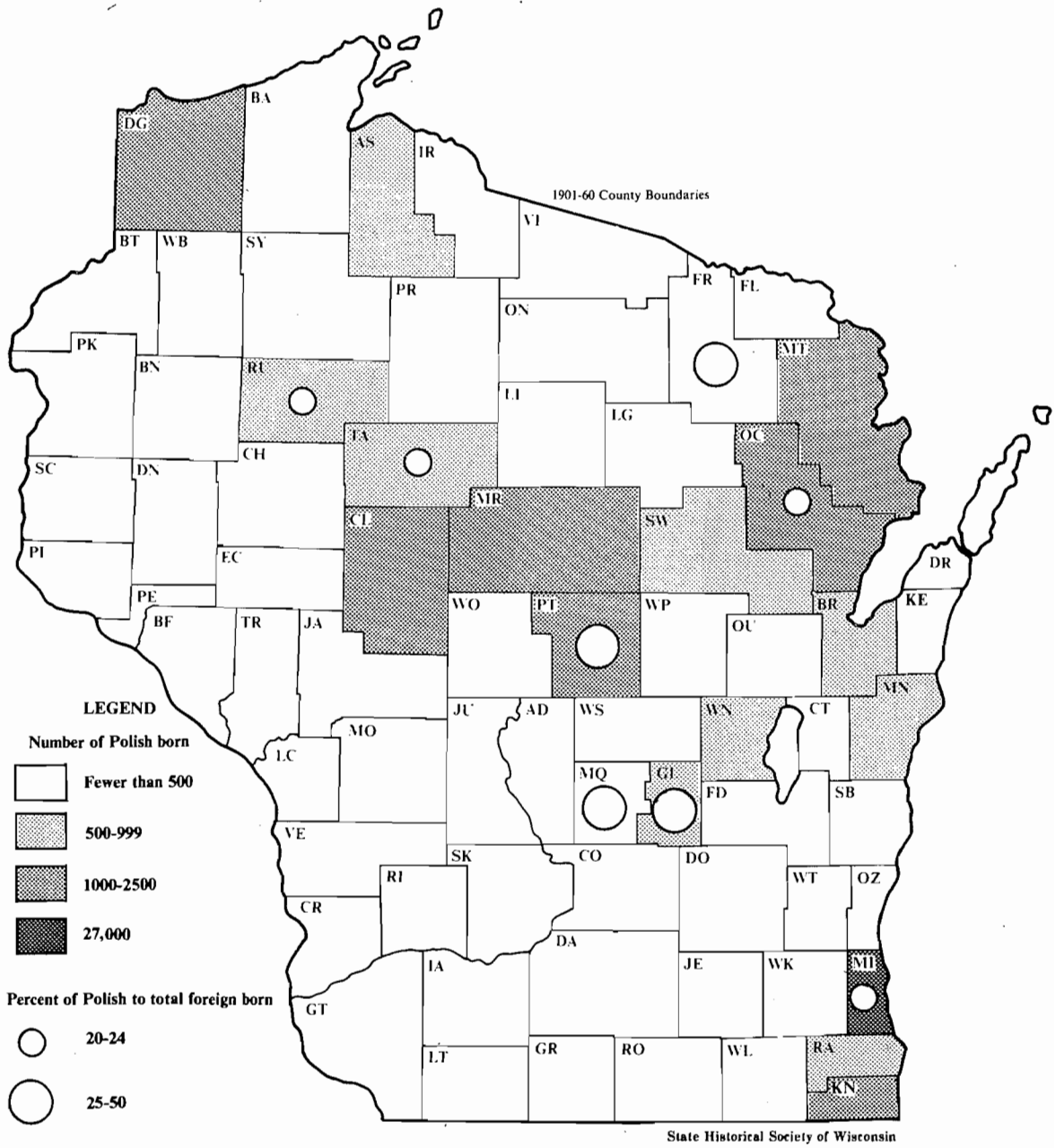
National Register Listings and Determinations of Eligibility

St. Josaphat Basilica (1896-1901), 601 W. Lincoln Ave., Milwaukee, Milwaukee County
(NRHP 1973)

Mathias Mitchell Public Square, Main Street Historic District, Stevens Point,
Portage County (NRHP 1986)

Context Considerations. Most nominated sites and structures associated with Polish settlement will merit local significance; however, because the Poles constituted a predominant ethnic group within the state, some associated sites and structures may merit statewide or even national significance. Resources that are directly related to individuals, groups, or activities that played significant roles in the perpetuation of Polish ethnic traditions should be given a higher priority than those sites or structures only generally associated with Polish culture in Wisconsin. Those properties with only general association to Polish settlement should retain a high degree of architectural integrity and/or be shown to be one of the only remaining properties associated with the Poles in a particular locality.

POLISH SETTLEMENT



Native Polish in Wisconsin, 1920

Source: *Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920: Vol. III, Composition Characteristics of the Population*, pp. 1135-1136.

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EASTERN EUROPEAN

Ethnic Groups: Latvians, Lithuanians, Estonians, Hungarians, East Prussians from Russia, Yugoslavians (Serbians, Slovenians, Croatians), Czechs, Slovaks, Russians.

Temporal Boundaries: 1840s through the early decades of the twentieth century.

Spatial Boundaries: Light to moderate representation; heaviest in cities and at various sites of rural colonization.

Related Study Units: Eastern Orthodox Congregations, Catholic Church, Jewish Congregations, Lutheran Church.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

LATVIANS

Throughout the nineteenth century, Latvian immigration to the United States was miniscule. By 1900, only 4,600 Latvians were recorded nationally, most of them residing in Eastern cities.

Paralleling a national phenomenon, much of the Latvian immigration to Wisconsin in the twentieth century occurred in two distinct phases. The first began around the turn of the century and continued through 1908. It involved an agriculturally oriented population which located in the northern portion of the state, especially Lincoln and Langlade counties. The second migration began around 1949, involving a primarily urban population which tended to prefer settlement in Wisconsin's urban centers, particularly Milwaukee.

The so-called "old" Latvian settlers of the early twentieth century left their homeland to avoid the Russian draft during the Russo-Japanese War or to escape persecution following the abortive Baltic Revolution (1905-1906) against the landed nobility and Russian administration. It is estimated that as many as 1,500 Latvians, mostly single men, immigrated to northern Wisconsin between 1901 and 1908, though only a settlement of 500 remained (Veidemanis 1962:252). These immigrants had to clear much of the land of forest before undertaking agricultural pursuits, and work in sawmills outdistanced farming as a major source of family revenue for many years.

The Latvians were overwhelmingly Lutheran in religious orientation, although a small number were affiliated with the Baptist church. In the town of Schley in Lincoln County, the Latvians invited their Estonian neighbors to pool their resources toward the construction of a Lutheran church. The relationship went smoothly at first, but was soon "superceded by dissensions and conflicts on the just sharing of the church building and financial maintenance" (Veidemanis 1960:9). After a period of often turbulent association, the Estonians were banned from using the building. The first welfare association in Lincoln County, the Latvian Welfare Society, was organized in 1905, but internal dissension rocked the community and the hall containing the society's headquarters was burned. After 1906, cleavage within the Latvian community was clear and lasting.

The terms of the Displaced Persons Act of 1948 and the Refugee Bill of 1950 set the stage for the largest concentrated immigration to the United States in the twentieth century (October, 1948 - March, 1952), and of the 50,000 Latvians who have immigrated to the United States since the Second World War, 45,000 of them have come as "displaced persons." Approximately 7,500 displaced Poles, Ukrainians, Lithuanians, Estonians, and

Latvians were offered resettlement status in Wisconsin, and of this number about 1,500 were Latvian, coming directly to the state "chiefly under the sponsorship of denominational agencies and more than half on job and housing assurances calling them for farming or related work" (Veidemanis 1962:251). The "new" Latvian communities in Wisconsin swelled when some of their compatriots, in search of better opportunities and the familiarity of the national group, migrated north from Mississippi and other colonies, or new migrants joined under the quota system.

Under the displaced persons program about 40 percent of the Latvians enjoyed resettlement opportunities in Wisconsin, and of the 2,800 currently in the state, 2,000 reside in Milwaukee. The second largest concentration of Latvians is found in Fond du Lac, followed by Madison, with lesser numbers in Ripon, Janesville, Wisconsin Rapids, Green Bay, and Beloit. Half of Milwaukee's "new" Latvian community immigrated directly from Europe, the remainder were settled temporarily on farms where most newcomers stayed only long enough to fulfill their obligations to sponsors. A 1930's emigre, Mrs. Lauma Kasak, was "personally responsible...for arranging the assurances of two-thirds to three-fourths of all Latvians who came to Wisconsin from 1949-1955 and was also instrumental in moving Latvians from Mississippi, where a number had been placed as underpaid cotton laborers" (Veidemanis 1962:253). Through her efforts the Wisconsin Latvian Association was founded in 1951, and though its chief mission of aiding the new arrival ceased almost altogether after 1955, it has maintained its role in interlacing the separate state and nationwide Latvian communities.

Close to 90 percent of the new arrivals were Lutheran so, not surprisingly, the majority were sponsored by Lutheran agencies, and in 1958, to facilitate resettlement and to better coordinate religious activities among Latvians, the Union of the Latvian Evangelical Lutheran Church in America was formed (Veidemanis 1961 (vol.II):388-389). Congregations followed on the heels of the "new" Latvians, just as they had done among the "old" settlers of the north, so that by the close of the 1950s, Lutheran churches were operative in Milwaukee and Fond du Lac, and service groups organized in Ripon, Madison, Janesville, and Appleton. In 1974 the following Latvian congregations were recorded: The Latvian Evangelical Lutheran Church of Martin Luther at Fond du Lac; St. John's Latvian Evangelical Lutheran Church of Milwaukee (1952); the Latvian Evangelical Lutheran church of Christ in Milwaukee (1950); and the Milwaukee Latvian Catholic Community (1955) (Karklis 1974:135). Since only a small proportion of the Latvians were Catholic (10 to 12 percent), they usually sought membership in other ethnic Catholic parishes, or in the case of the Milwaukee group they secured the services of a nearby non-Latvian priest. Milwaukee Latvians, to a very limited extent, were also drawn into Russian or Greek Orthodox churches, and a handful gathered in 1955 to organize a Latvian Baptist communion (Veidemanis 1961 (vol. II):390-301, 455-467).

The Latvian "old settlers" of Northern Wisconsin regarded the newcomers with a measure of animosity, and it was in the realm of education and vocational background that the groups differed most distinctly. The old settlers were poor farm hands from southwest Latvia, while the newcomers were better educated, many of them professional people, and they came chiefly from urban areas. Both physical and cultural distance thus kept the groups separate and distinct. The old settlers were rural, isolated, and politically naive; the new settlers were active and eager to maintain ties with other newly displaced Latvians and to protect and perpetuate their Latvian heritage. Wide-ranging organizations were the fruits of their labors, several renewed from the homeland, and nearly all of them organized on a general local level. Adult and children's theater clubs, veterans groups, a Latvian relief fund, Saturday schools, chorus and art associations, athletic clubs, and fraternities and sororities were among the groups which drew upon the time and energy of the Latvian population. The Latvian House of Milwaukee, Incorporated, serves as the coordinating organ for many of the social and cultural activities (Karklis 1974:135).

LITHUANIANS

The Lithuanians were classified separately from their Russian neighbors for the first time in the immigration records of 1899, when an estimated 275,000 of them resided in the United States. Searching for an escape from Russian persecution, they arrived in greatest numbers somewhat later, particularly in 1907, 1910, 1913, and 1914. While Pennsylvania had the largest Lithuanian population between 1899 and 1914 (70,000), Wisconsin was home to 4,045 Lithuanians during the same time span (Budreckis 1976:151-155). From the Old World they brought with them agrarian experience, yet very few Lithuanians entered the farm economy in America, and industrial Chicago emerged as the numerical and cultural center of the Lithuanian-American population, with an estimated 25,000 by the turn of the century (Fainhauz 1977:40). In 1930, foreign-born Lithuanians numbered 4,109 in Wisconsin, at least a dozen times more numerous than the Latvians, and almost seventy-fold over the number of Estonians (U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1943:567).

The largest and most active colonization within Wisconsin occurred at Sheboygan, which in recent times (1960) recorded 2,000 Lithuanian-Americans, but "Little Lithuanias" were also established at Kenosha (1,000 in 1960), Racine (800 in 1960), Milwaukee (750 in 1960), and Three Lakes (Oneida County), all before the onset of the Second World War. Gutleba Gerulaitis, who came shortly before the turn of the century, was probably the first Lithuanian arrival in Sheboygan, although the major migration did not commence until 1901 when 25 families and as many single men entered the city. Unlike the majority of their Baltic compatriots, those who settled at Sheboygan were exclusively Roman Catholic, and by 1913 they had built their own Lithuanian Catholic Church. Catholic parishes of a Lithuanian character also appeared in Milwaukee (St. Gabriel), Racine (St. Casimir), and Kenosha (St. Peter's), for a total of four Lithuanian churches in the state by the mid-twentieth century (Rummel 1976:109).

Like their Baltic cousins, the Lithuanians also immigrated en masse to the United States under the Displaced Persons Acts in the period 1948 to 1952, and for the most part joined the populations of existing Lithuanian communities. The group did not establish large and well-defined communities elsewhere in the state, yet in 1960 Lithuanian stock was recorded in all but three Wisconsin counties, the exceptions being Trempealeau, Pepin, and Buffalo counties in west-central Wisconsin (Milwaukee Journal April 5, 1967; Holmes 1944:298).

ESTONIANS

Prior to 1922 the Estonian immigrants, originating on the northeastern shores of the Baltic Sea, were classified as "Russian," which, coupled with the scarcity of published sources on the group in America, precludes an accurate accounting of the size and timing of their early immigration, though it is believed that the first immigrants set sail for North America in 1855. Estimates place the number of United States residents of Estonian ancestry at 5,100 in 1890; 44,900 in 1910; and 69,200 in 1920 (Pennar 1975:vii).

The Estonian experience in America breaks naturally into three distinct phases, including the period up to 1922, from 1922 to 1945, and the post-World War II era. Large numbers of rural settlers, many who came via temporary homes in the Russian Crimea and other parts of Europe, characterized the movement up to 1922. At the turn of the century, colonies arose in Wisconsin and the Dakotas, which were followed eventually by a larger movement to the Rocky Mountain states and the Pacific Northwest. But from 1922 to 1945 the Estonian movement was a mere trickle (only 3,100 for the entire period), and the development of the Estonian colonies stagnated for a time. After 1945, the Displaced Persons Acts brought approximately 14,000 Estonian refugees to the continent, most of them staunchly anti-communist and possessed of a highly developed ethnic and national

consciousness, and thus in sharp contrast to the more socialistic immigrants that had preceded them. As the newcomers entered America, the rivalry between socialist and nationalist-oriented factions grew increasingly sharp, aggravating and accentuating already existing rifts within the Estonian immigrant communities. With this last influx came a flurry of organizational activity, including the establishment of the Estonian Society of Milwaukee, and today the approximately 20,000 first and second generation Estonians in the United States have in excess of 300 ethnic organizations.

Two Estonian enclaves, sandwiched between the more numerous Latvian settlements of Lincoln and Langlade counties, took shape at Gleason and Irma (Lincoln County). In the spring of 1900, Estonian-born Gustav Sommi and his family arrived in Bloomville, Lincoln County, by way of their temporary home in Samara, Russia. By 1911, the Estonian population of Lincoln and Langlade counties had grown to 82. Two Estonian-born ministers, Hans Rebane and Conrad Klemmer, were the key figures in directing new arrivals to the area, for both had close connections with the Wisconsin Valley Land Company, the firm responsible for land sales to many of the earliest Estonian settlers. Rebane also bore the major responsibility for the spiritual care of the group, bringing the Latvians and Estonians together in Lutheran congregations. At Gleason in 1914, he led in the organization of the first Estonian Lutheran Church in the United States. At that time, the Lincoln-Langlade colony was the second largest Estonian concentration in the country. But since the First World War, the rural to urban flight, coupled with assimilation and other factors, has caused group numbers to wane. Only a few Estonians remain in the Gleason-Irma area, though the church still functions "during occasional midwestern Estonian get-togethers." In 1940, the census indicated that only 83 Estonian-born persons resided in the state (Pennar 1975:6).

In 1906, Estonian immigrants were also involved in a rural colonization scheme in northwestern Wisconsin, called Estonia, near Hayward in Sawyer County. A large tract of Cutover property was to be the prospective settlement site, but the idea never bore fruit, as several Estonian families, discouraged by the difficulty of making a living in the Cutover, abandoned their efforts within a year (Pennar 1975:9).

The Displaced Persons Act allowed a number of Estonians to enter the country after the Second World War; a total of 7,500 political refugees from Poland, the Ukraine, Lithuania, Estonia, and Latvia entered Wisconsin. Specific information on this recent group of Estonians is not readily available, although it is plausible that the most recent immigrants exhibited settlement patterns similar in nature to their Latvian cousins, concentrating especially in Milwaukee and other southeastern cities.

HUNGARIANS

The Hungarians, or Magyars, also contributed to Wisconsin's European complexion, although a myriad of problems, including the difficulty of distinguishing Hungarians from Austrians in the immigrant and census records, makes it virtually impossible to arrive at an exact figure for the size of the Hungarian population in Wisconsin before the First World War. In 1920, the Hungarians numbered 4,803 in the state; in 1940, 6,500; and in 1960, 14,492 (5,787 foreign-born), making the state roughly tenth in the nation in numbers of Hungarian-born or descendants (Konnyu 1967:40).

An exiled leader of the liberal wing of the Hungarian assembly and a distinguished member of the aristocracy, Count Agoston Haraszthy de Moksca, entered Wisconsin in the company of his associates in 1840, a sort of advance guard for later streams of Hungarians to the territory. The count founded the town of Haraszthy on the banks of the Wisconsin River. Its name was later changed to Sauk City, and since it was founded prior to the main influx of Hungarian immigrants, he invited newly arrived Germans to establish themselves in the area. In 1844, he authored a double volume, Journey in North America, which dealt with the benefits of life in the New World and found wide

circulation in his homeland. He was joined by a few members of the aristocracy, and though the mass movement had not yet gotten underway, his experiences in Wisconsin proved to be a potent factor in the introduction of "immigration fever" to his native Hungary. In Sauk City, the count supposedly owned several firms, including a brickyard and sawmill, planted the first hopyard, and initiated ferry service across the Wisconsin River. While in Wisconsin, he also experimented with viticulture, but following a run of disasters, he transplanted his expertise to California, where he earned the reputation as "the father of modern California viticulture" (National Register of Historic Places - Nomination Form, Kehl Winery, Dane County, Wisconsin: January 2, 1976). Through his roles as promoter of immigration, city founder, and organizer of the "Humanist Society" in 1842, the count made a significant impression upon Wisconsin history. A decade after its formation, the "Humanist Society" was incorporated as "Freie Gemeinde," a free thinker society which spread rapidly throughout the state. Sauk City became known in Europe as "Free Thinker Heaven," and its appeal to migrants of that persuasion was both natural and expected (Milwaukee Journal January 25, 1967).

Though it is difficult to pinpoint the first appearance of non-aristocratic Hungarians in Wisconsin, there is evidence to support their presence in the 1850s and 1860s as political refugees from the abortive Revolution of 1848. Beckoned and uprooted by the call of economic opportunity in the New World, Hungarians arrived in substantial numbers after 1890. Even though many came from rural backgrounds, they tended to settle in Wisconsin's industrial sector. Milwaukee was their principal destination, and ultimately, the center of their social and cultural life in the state. The Austro-Hungarians settled on the east side, occupying a block in the predominantly Irish Sixteenth Ward as well as in the Fourth Ward. There was a marked sex imbalance in the early migration, for most of the newcomers were single males, and boarding houses, generally operated by individuals of the same nationality, emerged as the nuclei of the city's early Austrian and Hungarian communities. By 1910, some 5,000 Hungarian-born called Milwaukee their home (Still 1948:276). More than 13,000 Hungarians sought refuge in the United States under the Displaced Persons Act of 1948, the majority of them professionals with a good use of English, and thus their transition to America was comparatively rapid. They were joined by more of their countrymen following the Hungarian Revolution of 1956, though no resettlement figures specific to Wisconsin could be located for either of the two periods.

Church life figured prominently in Milwaukee's Hungarian enclaves, as the majority turned to their native Catholic or Reformed congregations for both spiritual and social solace. The St. Emery Hungarian Roman Catholic Church was formed in 1919, and the Hungarian Reformed Church in 1926, the latter having since entered into the communion of the United Church of Christ along with other Reformed groups in 1957 (Konnyu 1967:40; Szeplaki 1975:124). The Hungarians in Milwaukee were also bound by a number of athletic (especially soccer), fraternal, and benevolent societies, with all of the major national organizations having branches in the city. A Hungarian sport association, the "Hungarian National Guard," was formed in 1906, and a decade later (1916) the Athletic Club and the "Milwaukee Tigers" appeared. About the same time the Hungarians assumed a sharper national profile by the establishment of "The Grand Committee of the Milwaukee Hungarian Societies." The Hungarian weekly, Wisconsin Magyarsag (Wisconsin Hungarians), maintains its publishing office in Milwaukee, where it was founded in 1924 (Szeplaki 1975:108). An annual Hungarian harvest (grape) festival is a time-honored tradition in the Milwaukee community, and folk fairs are a popular recreation in most Hungarian neighborhoods (Holmes 1944:296).

For the most part, the Hungarians took low paying, manual labor jobs in railroad construction, mines, and factories; in Milwaukee and other southeastern communities, class lines were virtually nonexistent. They immigrated as farmers (67 percent), unskilled workers (12.5 percent), and factory workers (12.4 percent), but did a turn-about from farm to factory living in American cities, for in 1930, 82 percent of them were classified as urban. The denominational breakdown remained roughly equivalent between the Old

and New Worlds. Approximately two-thirds of the Hungarians were either of the Roman or Greek Catholic faith, 21 percent belonged to the Reformed Church, seven percent to the Lutheran, and six percent to the Jewish (Konnyu 1967:21).

Far behind Milwaukee (4,803) were Racine (687), West Allis (169), and Kenosha (110) in Hungarian-born stock (1920), with "Little Hungary's" also recorded in Cudahy, South Milwaukee, Carrollville, and Sturtevant (Milwaukee Journal January 25, 1967). The Racine and Milwaukee communities coalesced at roughly the same time, and over the years the residents have shared in many common social and cultural pursuits. The Racine group also founded a Hungarian Reformed congregation (date not available) (Konnyu 1967:40). In Wisconsin counties, the Hungarians made a modest showing in Dodge (330), Waukesha (134), Winnebago (122), Barron (126), Marathon (115), and Marinette (111) in 1920 (U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1922:1135-1136).

EAST PRUSSIANS FROM RUSSIA

East Prussia is bound by the Vistula and the Niemen Rivers and runs most of the length of the corridor between Europe and Asia from the Baltic to the Black Sea. Since the Second World War, it has been divided politically, its northern stretches a part of Soviet Russian territory, and its southerly portion located within Poland. Following the Thirty Years War (1618-1648), the territory known as East Prussia and containing a distinct cultural group known as "Prusi" or "Prussians," became an area of mixed races, e.g. Germanic, Prusi, Slavic, Lithuanian, Bohemian, and an array of others. In their migration to North America, the East Prussians referred to themselves not as Germanic or Slavic but as "Prusi" or "Prussians" (Anuta 1979:106).

A group of East Prussians were attracted to the Pound-Coleman area in Marinette County beginning in the 1890s by the establishment of the local lumber industry, first at Braultville, and then at Little River and neighboring Peshtigo, Marinette, Menominee, Goodman, and Wausaukee. The East Prussian immigration, which coincided with that of a number of other national groups, including the French Canadians, Irish, Bohemians, Poles, Germans, and Scandinavians, abated by 1905. Most East Prussians engaged in farming, though they took up work in the sawmill and lumber camps between the planting and harvesting seasons, and particularly, during the winter months. Even if they did not seek employment in the camps, most cut hardwoods for cordwood, either to fuel the furnaces or to produce charcoal (Anuta 1979:112). In the first years, the main cash crops were cordwood or sawlogs, but when a cucumber processing plant was established at Pound, and a sugar beet factory in neighboring Menominee, Michigan (1901), farmers diversified their operations. Potatoes were also an important cash crop, and those farmers who had dairy cows sold to the nearby cheese factories and creameries.

Prussian church life at Pound and Coleman included membership in both Roman Catholic and Protestant congregations, chiefly, St. Leo's Catholic Church at Pound, St. John's at Coleman (originally Union, 1890), and the Section Eight and First Baptist churches, respectively, formed in 1901-1902 and 1910. Most of the organizers of the Seventh-Day Church at Pound were East Prussian, and smaller numbers of the group joined the Assembly of God and several German Lutheran congregations (Anuta 1979:112-136).

SLAVIC PEOPLES

The Slavs are ordinarily grouped geographically into the Southern, Western, and Eastern tribes, and occupy a homeland which stretches from the Ural Mountains in Russia to the Adriatic Sea. The Slovenians (the smallest tribe), Croatians, Serbians, Macedonians, and Bulgarians constitute the Southern Slavs, while the Western Slavs include the Czechs (Bohemians), Moravians, Slovaks, and Poles. The Russians, Byelorussians (White Russians), and Ukrainians compose the Eastern Slavic group. Collectively, these tribes

numbered approximately 250 million in 1960 (Tannyu 1967:21-24).

YUGOSLAVIANS OR SOUTHERN SLAVS

The Southern Slavs, which include the Slovenians, Croatians, and Serbians, share a common language but differ markedly in religion and group temperament. The Serbians accepted Christianity from the Byzantine Empire, in the Orthodox rite, and eventually evolved toward their own national Orthodox Church--the Serbian Orthodox Church. In contrast, the Slovenians and Croatians have been affiliated with the Roman Catholic Church. The Serbs, furthermore, have kept up a continuing struggle to maintain their independence and a separate cultural identity, while the Slovenians and Croatians tended to assimilate much of the culture of their German neighbors to the north (Holmes 1944:288).

Among the Southern Slavs, as among other immigrants, the chief motivation for immigration was often economic. A majority of them were poor peasants occupying small plots of land, and were at a distinct disadvantage in trying to compete with the great landowners. The small land holdings of peasants led to overpopulation in some districts, further heightening economic distress. Wages were extremely low in the country and only slightly higher in the urban areas. High taxation rates were also creating economic chaos by the late nineteenth century.

Slovenians saw little opportunity for economic improvement in their mountainous country with its poor agriculture and little or no commerce and industry. Serbians from Serbia proper immigrated to the United States but only in small numbers. That group's immigrants were mainly from territories under the control of Austria-Hungary, and included a large number of miners, farm laborers, and peasants. A major economic factor behind the immigration of the Croatians can be attributed to the breakup of the zadruga (a household cooperative), which in turn led to the excessive subdivision of land.

Political considerations promoted immigration as well. During the period of heaviest immigration to the United States, present-day Yugoslavia was a part of the Austro-Hungarian empire; only the kingdoms of Serbia and Montenegro were politically independent. Following the creation of the Dual Monarchy (Austria-Hungary) in 1867, the Slovenians were placed under Austrian control, the Serbians (in Croatian territory) under Hungarian, while the Croatians were subject to both. All three groups were treated as second class citizens and were contemptuously referred to as *Volksplitter* (ethnic fragments) or *Volkerdung* (ethnic manure) by their Habsburg overlords. This oppression and humiliation led to mounting political unrest. Some Southern Slavs began a campaign for Yugoslav unity; many others sought escape from the political and social turmoil through immigration to America.

Conditions improved only slightly with the dissolution of the Dual Monarchy after World War I. The majority of Southern Slavs were incorporated into the newly created nation of Yugoslavia. But this turned out to be nothing more than an enlarged Kingdom of Serbia, and the Croatians and Slovenians remained an oppressed minority. Other Croatians and Slovenians living in the region of Trieste, at the northern edge of the Adriatic Sea, were placed under Italian control. As a result, many Slovenians and Croatians continued to look to immigration as a solution for their political problems.

Religion must also be listed as a factor behind Southern Slav immigration to America. A number of Slavic Roman Catholic missionaries, for example, came to the New World between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries primarily to convert the Indians. But religion was not a major motivation in the general mass migrations of the Southern Slavs during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. This can be attributed to the fact that these people were generally allowed to pursue religious beliefs and practices with little interference from their Habsburg rulers.

Thousands of young Southern Slav men also fled to the United States to escape compulsory military service in the Austro-Hungarian armed forces. Other Southern Slavs were influenced and assisted in their immigration efforts by friends and relatives who had already arrived in America (Govorchin 1961:4-7).

Once in the United States, the Southern Slavs preferred to live in the North, especially in the Middle Atlantic and North Central States. According to the Sixteenth Census of the United States, the state with the largest number of Yugoslavians was Ohio, followed by Pennsylvania, Illinois, Michigan, California, Minnesota, and Wisconsin. Slovenians tended to congregate in Ohio and Pennsylvania, although a significant number of them (10,120) did settle in Wisconsin. Croatians seemed to prefer settlement in the states of Pennsylvania, Illinois, Ohio, Michigan, and Wisconsin; the report shows that 5,820 of them immigrated to Wisconsin in 1940. Serbians were found in significant numbers in only a few states; only a small number settled in Wisconsin.

The census data also reveals that the Yugoslavians, while coming from a rural environment in Europe, flocked to the industrial opportunities of American cities. Of the three ethnic groups mentioned in this report, only the Slovenians pursued farming to any noticeable extent. In Wisconsin, Milwaukee and its environs, from Kenosha north to Sheboygan, received the largest number of Southern Slav immigrants between 1920 and 1950. By 1940, the city of Milwaukee was home to 300 Serbians, 2,400 Croatians, and 4,100 Slovenians, and these Southern Slavs ranked second only to the Poles among the city's Slavic stock (Govorchin 1961:67-71 and Borowiecki 1980:58-60, 64-65). Among the Wisconsin counties absorbing the largest influx of Southern Slav immigrants between 1920 and 1950 were Milwaukee with 24,457, Sheboygan with 3,008, and Kenosha with 1,361.

Serbians

Serbians immigrated to the United States in very small numbers. It has been estimated that by the first decade of the twentieth century, only 200,000 were residing in North America. Of those, 50,000 settled in New England, 20,000 in the northern Middle states, 20,000 in the Northeastern states, 15,000 in the Southwestern states and territories, 5,000 in the Southern states, and another 5,000 in Alaska, Canada, and British Columbia (Prpic 1978:174).

Approximately 4,500 Serbian families have scattered in and about Milwaukee since the turn of the century. More specifically, they have made their homes at Butler, South Milwaukee, Wauwatosa, Silverdale, Racine, Cudahy, Mayville, Kenosha, Carrollville, and Tippecanoe. The Serbians in Milwaukee founded St. Sava's Serbian Orthodox Church in 1912; in 1958 it was consecrated their first Orthodox cathedral. "Vidovdan," the day in history when the Serbs were crushed by the Turks, is observed annually in Milwaukee with ethnic music and dance, church services, and community festivities. St. Sava's Day, also an annual event (January), serves to recognize the contributions of the first archbishop of the Serbians, who was also the founder of their homeland's school system and the driving force behind the development of a Serbian cultural life (Holmes 1944:288, 291).

Slovenians

The Slovenians sent a number of prominent missionary leaders to America during the mid-nineteenth century. Of these, Father Frederic Baraga was the most exceptional. Born in 1797 to an aristocratic family in lower Carniola, a Slovene province then under Austrian control, Baraga was educated in Ljubljana and Vienna. He arrived in America in 1830 and spent the next four years as a missionary among the Ottawa Indians in the Michigan Territory. In July 1835, he arrived at La Pointe to minister to the Chippewas

and soon had established St. Joseph Church there. In 1843, Baraga left La Pointe to establish a new mission in Michigan. The remainder of his life was more closely associated with Upper Michigan, of which he was made bishop in 1853 (Govorchin 1961:32-22 and Dictionary of Wisconsin Biography 1960:32-22).

In addition to the early missionaries, a few other Slovenians also immigrated to the United States at a relatively early date. During the 1840s and 1850s, a number of them arrived who had learned about America while working as peddlers throughout central and eastern Europe. In this country, many of them pursued the same trade, using the growing town of Chicago as their base of operations and selling their wares in the neighboring states of Illinois, Iowa, Michigan, Minnesota, and Wisconsin. These businessmen, in turn, encouraged their friends and relatives back home to immigrate. During the 1860s and 1870s, their letters brought an influx of Slovenian immigrants into the North Central states (Govorchin 1961:38).

The greatest number of Slovenians entered the United States during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Approximately 130,000 immigrated before the outbreak of World War I, and by 1950 there were 300,000 naturalized and American-born Slovenians in the United States. Most settled in urban centers rather than continuing their traditional agricultural pursuits. By 1950, the largest Slovenian community in this country was located in Cleveland, where 65,000 made their home. Next in size was the Milwaukee-West Allis area with a Slovenian population 25,000. The second largest Slovenian community in Wisconsin was located in Sheboygan; it numbered approximately 2,600 (Prisland 1950:265-270).

The first Slovenian settlers came to Milwaukee around 1872, and by the turn of the century a sizeable community had already emerged. More than half of these found work at the Pfister and Vogel tannery. A number of Slovenian communities were established throughout Wisconsin during the late nineteenth century: Sheboygan in 1889, Cudahy in 1894, Kenosha in 1897, and Port Washington in 1899. Later settlements occurred at West Allis, Racine, Belgium, Grafton, Ashland, and Willard. The settlement at Willard in Clark County was the only Slovenian agricultural community to be established in Wisconsin. A Slovenian real estate agent, Ignatz Cesnik, in cooperation with the Foster Lumber Company began selling land to Slovenian immigrants in 1907. Today the community consists of approximately 100 farm families (Prisland 1950:271-272).

By 1900, there were a thousand Slovenians in Milwaukee, chiefly in the Fifth, Seventh, and Twenty-second Wards, and quite naturally, they saw the utility of establishing fraternal and benevolent associations. In 1903, St. John Society, which was geared to covering the cost of illness and death, was founded. Five years later the Sloga Fraternal Life Insurance Society appeared, and in 1914, a Milwaukeean published the first Slavic language newspaper in Wisconsin, Slovenija. A singing club, Zvon, came together in 1905, and it in turn gave root to other societies, including the Tamburitza Club, Adrija, and the Educational Club, which maintained its own Slovenian library. The Arcadian Park, owned and controlled by the United (Slovenian) Lodges, emerged as the social and cultural focus of the Milwaukee Slovenian community, and in the 1920s, the Slovenians could lay claim to more than 200 city businesses. At mid-century the South Slavic Benevolent Society, with headquarters in Milwaukee, functioned as the focal point of Slovenian fraternal organization in Wisconsin.

The Slovenian Roman Catholic churches did not follow closely on the heels of the immigrant population, so Slovenians were forced to satisfy their religious needs in other ethnic churches until after the turn of the century. Distinctly Slovenian churches were established in Milwaukee (1904), West Allis (1907), Sheboygan (1909), and Willard (1912); parochial schools were established in West Allis and Sheboygan as well. In 1908 the Slovenians founded St. Mary Help of Christians (Catholic) Church in West Allis, which supported a mission church in Milwaukee, St. John's, until 1929 when the two became

one. The congregation relocated in the mid-1960s in the form of the Church of St. John Evangelist at Greenfield (Prisland 1968:138-141).

The Allis Chalmers Manufacturing Company drew Slovenians to West Allis from Milwaukee and surrounding communities. In 1906, the first Slovenian lodge, St. Joseph, was established; by the late 1960s, 15 benevolent, cultural, church, and social societies had been organized in West Allis. Of the hundred or so Slovenians at Cudahy in 1902, most were employed in the meat packing plant. Two tannery artisans founded the Slovenian colony in Kenosha in 1897, and after a time their numbers were great enough to found the "Singlemen's Craftsmen's Club". A number of Slovenians in Sheboygan were employed at the Roenitz Leather Company and in several furniture factories. In Sheboygan, as elsewhere, there was a rapid proliferation of social, fraternal, and benefit societies, such as "Germania," and the first benefit society, "Illyria," appeared in 1901. Fifteen more benefit and church societies were added in the years up to 1968, in addition to choral, band, and drama clubs. In 1911 the first mass was read in the Sheboygan Slovenian church, SS. Cyril and Methodius, and a parochial school was added in 1918.

Croatians

The Croatians were the largest group of Southern Slavs to immigrate to the United States. Very few settled in Wisconsin, however. Most entered the country between 1890 and 1914, but a substantial number did immigrate earlier in the nineteenth century. The Croatians, like the other Southern Slavs, tended to settle in the large industrial centers of the Midwest and Middle Atlantic states. Chicago, Cleveland, and especially Pittsburg became home to thousands of Croatian immigrants. The majority of these urban immigrants worked as unskilled laborers in steel mills, heavy industry, construction, railroads, and mining (Prpic 1978:73, 136).

The largest urban Croatian colony in Wisconsin is found in Milwaukee, where in the 1940s there was an active Croatian women's association and a Croatian Catholic parish, Sacred Heart. The Croatians also came together to form two rural enclaves of under 25 families apiece, one in eastern Sawyer County and the other at Moquah in Bayfield County (Holmes 1944:294, and Rummel 1976:109).

CZECHS

Czech-speaking immigrants from the Habsburg controlled territories of Bohemia and Moravia in Central Europe were both pioneers in Wisconsin's farmland and principal factors in shaping the feature of Czech-American institutional life which flourished between the 1880s and 1920s. Most Czechs settled in the state between 1848 and 1880, attracted by numerous propaganda tracts distributed throughout the Austro-Hungarian empire and through the efforts of Wisconsin's Board of Immigration.

Czech settlement in Wisconsin (and elsewhere in the United States) was the earliest of any of the Slavic language groups and roughly coincided with the main body of German rather than Slavic immigration. It consisted largely of farmers and skilled tradesmen, although several refugee intellectuals entered the state as well.

The Czechs generally settled in two distinct parts of the state: the eastern lakeshore region, particularly in the counties of Racine, Milwaukee, Manitowoc, and Kewaunee, and in the bluff and coulee region of the west-central and southwestern portion of the state, in the counties of La Crosse, Vernon, Grant, and Crawford. All of the major Czech settlements within Wisconsin were established before 1860, although during the late nineteenth century a few groups, often after a period of residence in Chicago, established colonies in the Cutover from Antigo to Ashland.

Most Czech settlements, except those in Milwaukee and La Crosse, were agriculturally

oriented, and the state is considered the first center of Czech-American rural life in this country. While the earliest Czech immigrants came to Milwaukee in 1848, the first agricultural community was Tabor, located in the township of Caledonia in Racine County. With the city of Racine as its economic focus, Tabor prospered and acted as something of a developmental model for later Czech lakeshore settlements (Bicha 1970:194-195).

Within Milwaukee, the Czechs congregated in the Second Ward, a neighborhood they subsequently shared with their Slovak kin. By the 1870s, the Czech element constituted two percent of the city's total population (Still 1948:131). The Milwaukee community, one of the oldest Czech centers in America, made its influence felt in many social and cultural spheres, particularly as a major Czech publishing center. Indeed, Czech-American journalism, which experienced a renaissance between 1860 and 1910, owed its success to early efforts in the Milwaukee and Racine communities. One of the earliest Czech papers in Milwaukee was Flug-Blatter, a radical German-language publication, edited and published by Vojta Naprstek between 1852 and 1854. The first Czech-language paper in the state, Slowan Amerikansky (American Slav) made its appearance in 1860 in Racine. This paper soon gave way to the Slavie (1861-1918), often referred to as the dean of American Czech-language papers. The Slavie, a weekly paper of (usually eight pages), served a national audience, although its subscribers never exceeded 4,000. Its advertising was national in scope, and its news content was national and largely international, with sections devoted to nearly all major European nations. The Slavie did more than provide news, however. It also operated a message service, Mala Posta (Little Post Office), and at times it attempted to acquaint its readers with federal and state politics.

For nearly 30 years, Slavie was edited by Charles (Karel) Jonas, one of the leading Czech immigrants to nineteenth century America. In addition to editing Slavie, he was actively involved in Wisconsin Democratic politics, serving as state assemblyman (1878), state senator (1883-1886), and lieutenant governor (January 1891-April 1894). He was also United States Consul at Prague (1886-1889) and St. Petersburg (1894) (Bicha 1970:199-200). In addition to these activities, Jonas made notable contributions to the field of linguistics. As early as 1864, he authored Spelling Book and First Reader for Czech-Slavic Youth in America, and in 1865 he followed this with the adult oriented publication, The Bohemian-American Interpreter. This was a pronunciation guide and modified grammar with a practical format, which included chapters on letter writing and appropriate expressions. Of greater significance, however, was his lexicographical work, the Czech-English Dictionary with Full English Pronunciation Guide, which first appeared in 1876; it was the first known Czech-English dictionary published in the United States (Bicha 1979:129).

Another influential Czech editor/publisher was Antonin Novak. He arrived in Milwaukee in 1866 and shortly thereafter established his own publishing company. Some of the longest-lived Czech publications came from his firm, notably Domacnost (Household), published semi-weekly between 1879 and 1930, and Rovnost (Equality), which appeared daily in 1892 and weekly from 1896 to 1919.

Besides Milwaukee and Racine, only La Crosse and Kewaunee sustained Czech-language papers. La Crosse was served by Vlastenec (Patriot), published between 1898 and 1909 and again very briefly in 1927, and Svata Rodina (Holy Family), which appeared briefly in 1904. Kewaunee was home to Listy (Kewaunee Paper) from 1892 to 1917; it was supplemented briefly in 1902 by Kewaunsky Obzor (Kewaunee Horizon) (Bicha 1970:200-201).

Czechs began establishing rural settlements in Manitowoc County in 1851, and by 1855 had settled, and in some cases, created the villages of Kossuth, Cooperstown, Francis Creek, Melnik, Tisch Mills, and Two Creeks. By 1870, 2,000 Czechs were settled in the county.

Czech settlement in Kewaunee County began in 1854, with a small group of settlers from Milwaukee forming the original Czech population. From the beginning, the Czechs constituted the largest ethnic group in the county. The village of Kewaunee and the hamlets of Stangelville, Krok, Pilson, and Slovan represented the areas of heaviest concentration. Like the earlier Manitowoc and Caledonia settlements, these colonies were originally established in heavily forested areas and were transformed into productive farming units. Kewaunee County was home to some of the most notable members of the early Czech-American community--John Karel was an influential banker and active in Wisconsin politics until his appointment as United States Consul at Prague, and Voclav Pohl was an organizer of early Czech-American fraternalism.

Czechs filtered into the western tier of counties in smaller numbers, forming more widely dispersed centers of population. Fifty percent of the Bohemians in Vernon and Richland counties arrived between 1850 and 1869, the main body of them coming directly from the motherland. At Muscoda and Castle Rock in Grant County, the Bohemian colonies date from the mid-to-late 1850s. Here, the pioneers were forced to settle on the ridge and rougher properties, since the Germans and Scandinavians before them had selected the choicest lands. Yuba in Richland County became populated almost exclusively by persons of Bohemian birth or parentage. As a note of interest, the Muscoda colony was partitioned along religious lines at a very early date, into Czech Catholic and evangelical Protestant factions, which was, in the words of Bicha, "an uncommon fragmentation for a Wisconsin Czech community" (Bicha 1970:197). The town of La Crosse received Czech settlers as early as 1855, though the surge did not come before the 1870s, and in Crawford County to the south, the village of Prairie du Chien and several nearby townships developed into another major Czech settlement (1857). The Czech settlers in Price County, centered at Phillips, appeared on the scene considerably later (1890-1909), having lived for a time in Milwaukee or Chicago; they were lured to the countryside and "land unseen" by unscrupulous Czech land agents (Taggart 1948:13-15).

With the exception of a few groups from the Chicago area who sought Cutover lands in the northern portion of the state at the turn of the century, the flow of Czech immigrants into Wisconsin had largely abated by the late 1870s. Instead, they began to settle the Nebraska prairie using the newly passed Homestead Act to acquire relatively inexpensive parcels of land. There was even a significant number of Wisconsin Czechs, particularly from Grant and Manitowoc counties, who relocated to Nebraska. Czechs nonetheless were represented in 187 Wisconsin communities and all but three counties in 1900 (Bicha 1970:197-198). In 1920, the Czechs constituted five percent of the state's ethnic population, a figure that has held relatively steady to date. In 1950, the Czechs were the dominant foreign stock population in Kewaunee and Price counties; they placed second to the Germans in Adams, Grant, and Langlade counties, second to the Polish in Rush County, and second to the Norwegians in Vernon County. That same year, they were the largest Slavic element in the city of Racine and ranked second behind the Russians in Madison (Borowiecki 1980:42-43, 58-60, 64-65).

Although Catholic in heritage, Czech immigrants often rejected the church and sought community through fraternal organizations. As one of the two highly industrialized centers of the Austrian empire in 1850, Bohemia was a hotbed of anti-clericalism, free-Masonic tendencies, and Marxist doctrine. The Bohemians offered firm resistance to the heavy hand of both the Austrian Empire and the Roman Catholic Church; anti-Catholicism and anti-Austrianism were one and the same and, not surprisingly, a large proportion of Czechs in America (estimated between 50 and 70 percent) defected from the Church in favor of organized fraternalism. Shortages of clergy and problems inherent within the Catholic community, especially a failure to respond with parish-oriented fraternalism, exacerbated the situation to the point that freethought had become "the most characteristic feature of Czech-American life" by 1880. The cleavage in the Czech-American religious community between Roman Catholics and the Freethinkers

was the overriding factor in the "profusion of fraternal societies and the flowering of lodgelifelife..." and the chief source of hostility within the immigrant communities (Bicha 1970:202). The Freethinker faction, dating from the arrival in 1869 of Ladimir Klacel, a former Augustinian monk, represented a phenomenon with no parallel among other immigrant groups.

Ordinarily the Czechs, skeptical of organizational activities, were not enthusiastic joiners, as Taggart found in his study of selected Czech communities in Wisconsin. For example, only 13 percent joined lodges, 26 percent cooperatives, and three percent educational associations. Further, the Catholic Church opposed the fraternal lodge movement, a factor which gave rise to ongoing friction in those communities where Catholic and non-Catholic elements co-existed (Taggart 1948:46-50). Chief among the fraternal societies was Slovanska Lipa (Slavic Linden Tree), a social organization named after a Czech revolutionary society. It was brought to Racine in 1861 and was instrumental in the establishment of the newspaper, Slavie, and later became part of the Sokol movement--a gymnastics-physical culture movement with patriotic and liberal religious overtones, akin the ther German Turnverein. The society focused on immigrant concerns and communality; it created language schools in Racine and Milwaukee, burial societies in smaller communities, and amateur theatrical groups (Bicha 1970:202). In 1895, the dream of the Milwaukee fraternal societies was realized with the opening of the Bohemian-American Hall, a facility which evolved into the cultural and recreational center of Milwaukee's Czechs and Slovaks (Still 1948:131). Foremost among schools for the preparation of Czech-speaking clergy was St. Francis Seminary in Milwaukee, but for the most part the Czechs worked in cooperation with non-Czech elements, particularly the Germans, in the support of religious establishments. Czech parochial schools and parishes were nevertheless a reality, for in Milwaukee the parishes of St. John Nepomuc (1872) and St. Wenceslaus (1884) spoke to the spiritual needs of the group.

SLOVAKS

Related to the Czechs (Bohemians), but often antagonistic toward them, the Slovaks began to trickle into Wisconsin in the early 1880s, for the most part propelled by both economic and political oppression at the hands of the Magyars (Hungarians). By experience they were agricultural, but a lack of individual wealth coupled with the high price of land forced them to seek their livelihoods in the factory and mining economies. Approximately three-fourths of the Slovakian immigrants to America took jobs in the Pennsylvania coal and steel district before dispersing to other parts of the country, including the cities of Wisconsin's southeastern lakeshore.

Imrich Kusich, a peddler of wares and one of the first Slovaks in Milwaukee, arrived in 1881; he was followed by the Guzo family who took up residence among the Czechs in the Second Ward, and about 1890 a large number of Slovaks joined the Guzo family, thus establishing the first and most active Slovakian neighborhood in the city. Most took unskilled, low paying jobs in the tanneries, breweries, and foundries, while some opened saloons or worked as ticket agents for their migrating countrymen (Still 1948:275-276). The principal rural Slovakian settlement was established in northwestern Dunn County, focusing on Boyceville and Connorsville, where a Slovakian Catholic parish is still maintained. Approximately 350 persons constituted the colony in the 1960s (Milwaukee Journal December 11, 1966). The greatest Slovakian influx was recorded in the years 1905 to 1907; by 1920, Slovaks in Wisconsin numbered 4,808, placing the state seventh nationally (Miller 1922:50; Tybor 1976:8). In recent decades Wisconsin, at 50,000, has maintained its seventh place showing in persons of Slovakian extraction, with Milwaukee housing 20,000, Racine 10,000, West Allis 4,000, and Cudahy 4,000 (Stask 1974:41); Milwaukee Journal December 11, 1966).

A note of progress within the Milwaukee community can be found in the early establishment of fraternal organizations. Unlike their Czech cousins, the Slovaks were

intense in their loyalty to Roman Catholicism, adamantly opposed to the "free thinker" tradition, and assimilated into the American mainstream at a substantially slower pace. Clashes between the Czech and Slovak elements in Milwaukee, as elsewhere, were frequent and, not surprisingly, the two maintained separate fraternal organizations, building and loan associations, and to a lesser extent, ethnic churches (Still 1948:469-470). In short, the Slovaks were fiercely nationalistic, always stressed the importance of their own ethnic identity, and sought to perpetuate group unity by the formation of distinctly Slovakian fraternal organizations. A lodge, the Knights of St. Mary, appeared in Milwaukee in 1890, and a branch of Our Lady of Lourdes, a Catholic Slovak ladies' union, appeared in 1895. By 1920, there were 50 active Slovakian clubs and organizations in the city, with only a few crossing ethnic lines. The Slovak American House, a facility which includes a dining area, meeting halls, and recreation area, was established and owned by the group (date not provided), and a Slovak Summer Camp was set up at Potter Lake (Milwaukee Journal December 11, 1966). "From 1930 onward," wrote Still, "the Slovaks participated in an annual Slovak Day; in 1937 the organization of the Federation of Milwaukee Slovak Societies emerged to coordinate the activities of the more than 50 Slovak groups in the city" (Still 1948:470).

Ninety percent of the Slovaks were Catholic, and though many were satisfied to worship with their non-Slovak neighbors, they did found at least 11 Catholic parishes in Wisconsin, namely, Milwaukee's St. Stephen's (1907; reputed to be the largest Slovak church in the United States), Racine's Holy Trinity (1914), Cudahy's St. Joseph's (1909), Kenosha's St. Anthony (1910), Superior's SS. Cyril and Methodius (1911), Bennett's St. Benedict, Ino's St. Florian (1909), Mellen's Holy Rosary, Phillips' St. Mary, Iron River's St. Michael (with missions in Port Wing and Herbster), and Moquah's SS. Peter and Paul (1914) (Slovak Catholic Parishes and Institutions in the United States 1955:90-92, 150-151).

Because the Hungarian Lutheran Church made no provision for the spiritual care of its Slovakian brethren in America, the group turned to other Lutheran sects, and thus to non-Slovakian pastors, for their spiritual sustenance. Some Slovak Lutherans joined the Slovakian and Hungarian Reformed churches, especially in those cases where they were too weak to sustain a distinctly Slovakian church. Organized at Connorsville, Pennsylvania in September 1902, the Slovak Evangelical Lutheran Synod finally provided the organizational familiarity desired by the Slovak Lutherans in the United States. According to the 1926 census of religious bodies, the Slovaks operated three affiliates in the state of Wisconsin. They were at Boyceville, Cudahy, and Racine and collectively numbered 650 parishioners. In addition, the Historical Records Survey Project listed an affiliate of the Slovak Zion (Lutheran) Synod in Kenosha (Historical Records Survey Project 1941:167, 172). (See units on the Catholic and Lutheran churches).

RUSSIANS

The Russians, part of the group of Northern Slavic peoples, are distinguished internally by differences in geographical location, cultural background, and language. "Russian" properly refers to either the Great Russians or Muscovites, or the White Russians, who reside in the western sector of the present-day Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and within the bounds of Poland and the Baltic states of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania. Commonly referred to as Little Russians, the Ukrainians constitute another branch of the Slavic family and include the residents of the southwestern corner of the Soviet Union. Those Ukrainians who lived across the border in Galicia and were subjects of the Austro-Hungarian Empire until 1919, were known as Ruthenians.

In 1920, Russian-born immigrants constituted about five percent of the foreign-born in Wisconsin. In 1950, Wisconsin could claim between nine and ten thousand Russian-born immigrants; they constituted approximately six percent of the total foreign-born population. Taken as a whole, the Russians have never attained the status of "dominant foreign stock" in any Wisconsin county, but in 1950 they ran second to the German-born

in Fond du Lac, Sheboygan, and Winnebago counties, and counted a distant third in Oconto County. In 1950, they were the leading Slavic foreign-born in Madison, and came in second among the Slavs in Milwaukee, Kenosha, and Green Bay (Borowiecki 1980:58-60, 64-65). (See Eastern Orthodox Congregations study unit.)

The first Russians to add to Wisconsin's ethnic patchwork were Jewish; a group of about 100 arrived in Milwaukee on October 13, 1881. They were joined in 1882 by a company of 350, aided in their settlement by a benevolent society and a Milwaukee citizens' committee. Milwaukee received another influx of Russian Jews in the early 1890s, bringing the number to 2,500 in 1895 and about 7,000 in 1900. In the years up to 1910, hundreds of Jewish Russians added to Milwaukee's population, most of them congregating in the city's inner core, an area framed by Walnut, Chestnut, Third, and Eighth streets. The latecomers, who helped place the Sixth and Tenth Wards under Russian control, were "engaged in much humbler pursuits than their fellow Hebrews of the earlier migration," and thus, in their structural assimilation, lagged well behind (Still 1948:277-278). At one point, according to the Milwaukee Journal, Milwaukee's Jewish population was involved in a unique rural colonization scheme, in which arrangements were made for the purchase and development of farmland near Arpin in Wood County. The land was to be bought on credit, and although the venture attracted many Jewish Russian families, they stayed only long enough to build a temple and effect the beginnings of a farm economy (Milwaukee Journal November 22, 1966).

While Russian immigrants tended to favor the cities of Wisconsin's lakeshore district, they also took to the land in considerable numbers, with the largest Russian rural colonization project located at Clayton in Barron County. Most of the colonists migrated from the vicinity of Lwow (Lemberg) in the foothills of the Carpathian Mountains to Minneapolis shortly before the turn of the century. They were a group of Carpatho-Russians, a branch of the "Little Russians" commonly called "Ruthenian," who originated in Galicia, a region which prior to the end of the First World War was under the control of the Austro-Hungarian Empire but passed to the Soviet Union in the German-Soviet pact of 1939. They were Uniates, still in the fold of the Roman Catholic Church. In 1897, these Uniates, newly arrived in Minneapolis and under the guidance of Father Toth, were attracted by advertisements in an ethnic newspaper, The Russian-Orthodox Messenger, to a prospective Russian colonization effort in Wisconsin's Barron County. A company of 50 families ventured west into Polk and Barron counties around the turn of the century, eventually taking land in the Town of Vance Creek (Barron County), southeast of the village of Clayton. As Uniates, they were shunned by their Catholic brethren, in particular for their Slavic rites and married priesthood, and thus consciously sought to establish well-defined and exclusive communities and to perpetuate their ethnic character by a rural and somewhat segregated existence. They turned to the soil for their livelihood, but their incomes were often supplemented by work in the lumber camps and sawmills. These colonists came together in 1909 to establish Holy Trinity Orthodox Church, the first Russian Orthodox Church to be formed in northern Wisconsin. Growth came through increased immigration, aided by the promotional efforts of the Minneapolis community, and was sustained well into the 1920s by migratory streams from Slovakia (Holmes 1944:269-270).

A group of Uniates out of Chicago came to the Cutover on the south shore of Lake Superior at Siskiwit Bay just after the turn of the century, relying heavily on nearby fishing opportunities and, to a lesser degree, on their modest farming operations for a livelihood. In 1910, an Orthodox Christian Church, St. Mary's, was established to accommodate the spiritual needs of additional numbers of Russians seasonally employed in nearby lumbering operations. The ethnic blend included Czechs, Croatians, Galicians, Moravians, and Russians, and most joined with each other in spiritual fellowship. The years 1911-1915 were the "golden years" for both lumbering and church activity in the colony as illustrated by the membership in St. Mary's, which slipped from a high of 50 during that period to 11 by mid-century. At that point, a priest traveled from Clayton to

conduct divine services only on holidays (Holmes 1944:273; Plesko 1980).

Similar events and circumstances promoted and guided the flow of Eastern Europeans to Lublin in Taylor County and Huron in Chippewa County. Emigres from the foothills of the Carpathians, some from Galicia, and others from northeastern Hungary, entered Chippewa County in the 1890s. Many had come first to the Pennsylvania mines and then settled the timberland of northern Wisconsin via Minneapolis. Though the first church to be founded by Russian Orthodox Christians in northern Wisconsin was at Clayton, the Huron group built the state's first Orthodox house of worship in the years 1906-1907 (St. John's).

Poles, Slovaks, and Ukrainians began trickling into Taylor County (Lublin) in the 1890s, and quickly entered into a cooperative ministry, organizing an Orthodox congregation in 1908 and building their first church (Holy Assumption) in 1923. All the Russian Orthodox congregations of northern Wisconsin were initially included in the Archdiocese of Minneapolis, and though long affiliated with the Catholic Church as Uniates, they had since returned to Orthodoxy by joining the Russian Orthodox Church in America. Since 1970, the Orthodox Church in the United States has had complete autonomy from the Patriarch of Moscow. At mid-century, the Russian Orthodox Christians in the state were concentrated at Huron, Lublin, Kenosha, and Milwaukee, with the greatest number living in Taylor and Kenosha counties respectively (1936) (Holmes 1944:273). (See Eastern Orthodox Congregations study unit).

IDENTIFICATION

Resource Types. Churches, synagogues, parochial schools, halls, publishing facilities, agricultural buildings, homes of prominent Eastern European community leaders.

Locational Patterns of Resource Types

Latvians. Wisconsin's small Latvian population located in two distinct areas. The earliest Latvian immigrants preferred the northern portion of the state, particularly the rural areas of Lincoln and Langlade counties. Later arrivals tended to settle in the urban areas of Milwaukee, Fond du Lac, Madison, Ripon, Janesville, Green Bay, and Beloit.

Lithuanians. The largest Lithuanian settlement in Wisconsin occurred at Sheboygan, with smaller concentrations at Kenosha, Racine, Milwaukee, and Three Lakes (Oneida County).

Estonians. Estonian immigration to Wisconsin was very small. Early settlement was concentrated in Lincoln and Langlade counties, especially the rural communities of Gleason, Irma, and Bloomville. Later arrivals preferred locating in the urban areas of the lakeshore region.

Hungarians. Hungarian immigrants chose Milwaukee as their principal focus of settlement in Wisconsin, establishing a neighborhood on the city's east side. Much smaller Hungarian settlements were established in the cities of Racine, West Allis, and Kenosha. The village of Sauk City (Sauk County) was founded by an early contingent of Hungarian immigrants led by Count Haraszthy, c.1840.

East Prussians from Russia. East Prussian immigrants preferred to settle in the rural areas of Marinette County, particularly the Pound-Coleman area.

Serbian. Most of Wisconsin's Serbian immigrants settled in and around the city of Milwaukee, including the communities of Butler, Wauwatosa, Silverdale, Racine, Cudahy, Mayville, Kenosha, and Carrollville.

Croatians. Wisconsin claims only a miniscule Croatian population centered in Milwaukee. Two rural enclaves were also established; one in eastern Sawyer County and the other at Moquah in Bayfield County.

Slovenians. Slovenian immigrants to Wisconsin preferred urban to rural settlement. Their largest community was located at Milwaukee, while smaller colonies were established at Sheboygan, Kenosha, Cudahy, Racine, Port Washington, and Ashland. In most instances, these urban Slovenian immigrants congregated in distinctive ethnocentric neighborhoods. The only Slovenian agricultural settlement in the state was established at Willard (Clark County).

Czechs. The Czechs tended to settle in two distinct areas of the state: the eastern lakeshore region, particularly the counties of Milwaukee, Manitowoc, Racine, and Kewaunee, and the bluff and coulee region of the west-central and southwestern areas, particularly La Crosse, Vernon, Grant, and Crawford counties. Nearly all the Czech settlements, except those in the cities of Milwaukee and La Crosse, were agriculturally oriented. In Milwaukee, the Czechs and Slovaks tended to congregate in the Second Ward.

Slovaks. Milwaukee was the principal focus of Slovak immigration in Wisconsin. Later urban communities were established in Racine, West Allis, and Cudahy. The most important Slovak rural settlement was established in northwestern Dunn County, focusing on Boyceville and Connorsville.

Russians. Russian immigrants preferred to settle in the urban areas of Wisconsin's lakeshore region. A sizeable Russian Jewish settlement was established at Milwaukee in an area framed by Walnut, Chestnut, Third, and Eighth streets. A few rural settlements were established as well: a short lived Russian Jewish settlement was created near Arpin (Wood County) and other small Russian communities were established at Clayton and Vance Creek in Barron County, Siskiwit Bay (Bayfield County), Lublin (Taylor County), and Huron (Chippewa County).

Previous Surveys. During the summer of 1985, the Historic Preservation Division conducted a thematic survey of Russian Orthodox churches throughout the state. To date, no other thematic surveys relating to Eastern European immigration or settlement have been undertaken. However, information concerning Czech settlement can be found in the "Ethnic Association" chapter of the City of Ashland Historical-Architectural Survey and the "Ethnic Groups and Neighborhoods" chapter of the La Crosse Intensive Survey Report. Information regarding Russian and Slovak settlement in Kenosha is located in the Kenosha Intensive Survey Report.

Survey and Research Needs. Intensive and thematic surveys of historic ethnic neighborhoods in Milwaukee and other communities should be undertaken to identify resources associated with specific ethnic groups discussed in this study unit. The role of ethnic associations and presses in maintaining and promoting cultural identities and traditions needs to be investigated as well. Significant ethnic leaders, e.g., politicians, publishers, labor leaders, and businessmen, should also be identified.

Specific research and survey needs include a survey of the community of Willard (Clark County), the only Slovenian agricultural settlement established in Wisconsin; a thematic survey of Czech agricultural settlements throughout the state, with concentration on the community of Tabor (Racine County); a survey of the rural Slovakian colony located in the area of Boyceville and Connorsville (Dunn County); an intensive survey of the community of Sauk City (originally known as Haraszthy); and a thematic survey of the rural Russian communities in Barron, Taylor, and Chippewa counties.

EVALUATION

National Register Listings and Determinations of Eligibility

As of the summer of 1986, there are no National Register Listings or Determinations of Eligibility associated with Latvian, Lithuanian, Estonian, Serbian, Croatian, Slovak, Hungarian, Russian, or East Prussian from Russia settlements within the state.

Slovenians

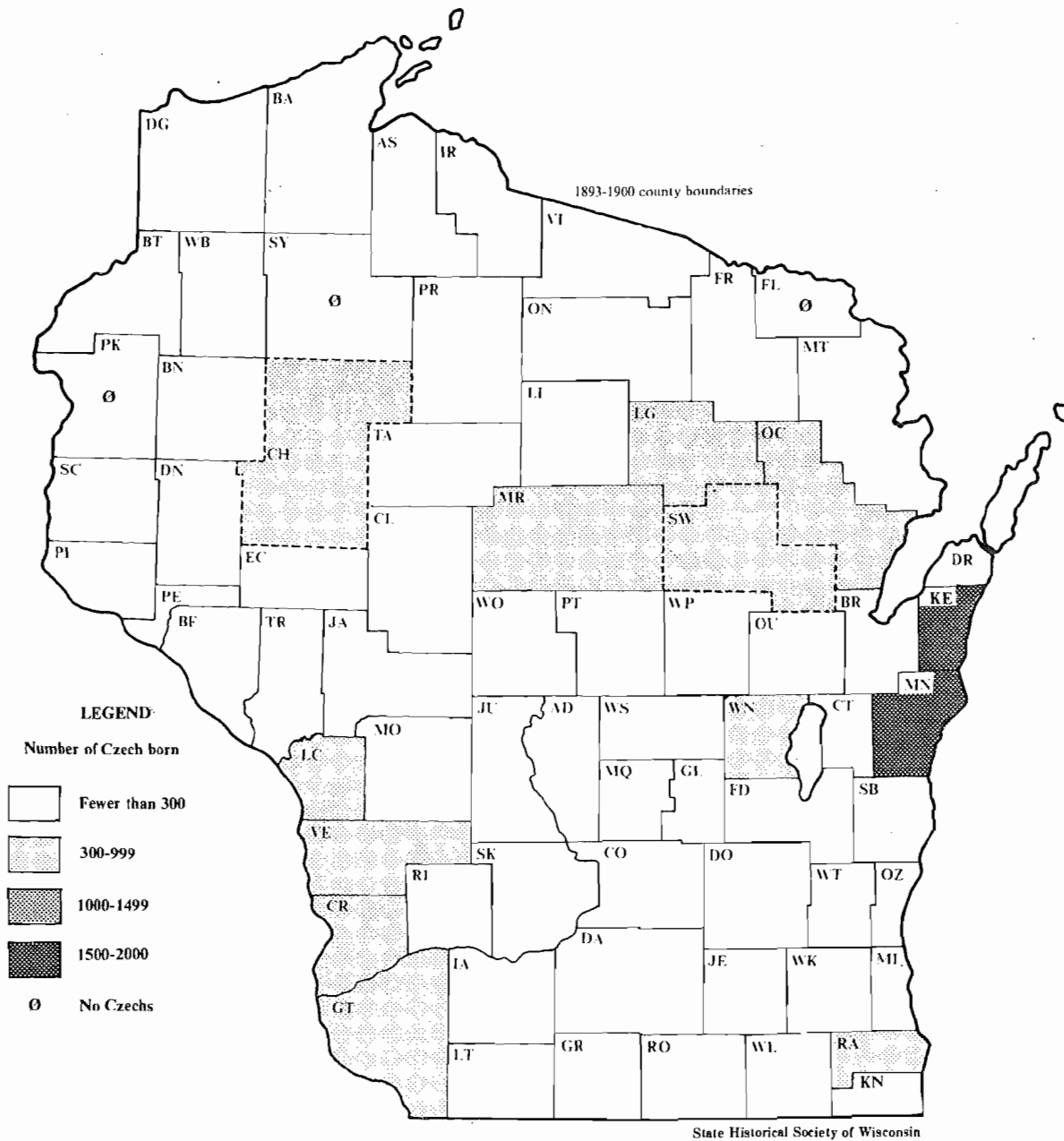
Marina Site (Father Baraga Mission Ground), Town of La Point, Ashland County (NRHP 1978) (Although the site is not associated with Slovenian settlement per se, Father Baraga is one of the only Slovenians to have had an impact on early Wisconsin history.)

Czechs

ZCBJ Hall (c.1913), 320 W. 3rd St., Haugen, Barron County (NRHP 1985)
St. Wenceslaus Roman Catholic Church (c.1863), Town of Waterloo, Jefferson County (NRHP 1975)
Karel Jonas House (1878), 1337 N. Erie St., Racine, Racine County (NRHP 1982)

Context Considerations. Sites and structures associated with most Eastern European ethnic groups will merit local significance, but some will merit statewide or national significance, particularly if associated with leaders in these ethnic groups whose influence extended beyond the state's boundaries. Properties should be evaluated within both a local context and in relationship to broader patterns of the group's settlement in the state. Factors that should be considered in any evaluation include size of the immigrant group, extent of settlement, and length of stay in Wisconsin. Resources clearly associated with individuals, groups, or activities that played significant roles in the development of ethnic communities should be given priority over those properties only representing general ethnic associations.

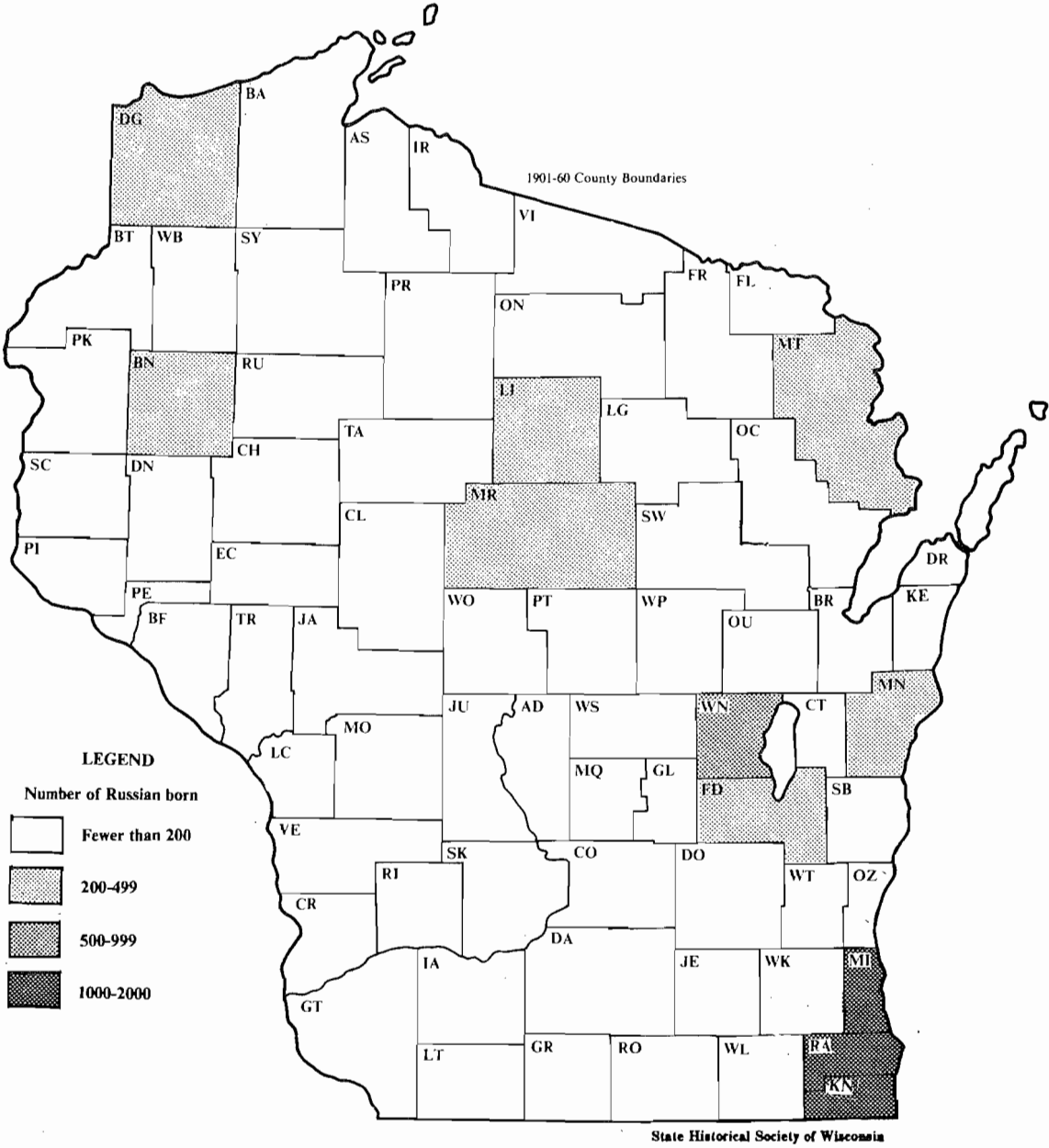
EASTERN EUROPEAN SETTLEMENT



Native Czechs (Bohemians) in Wisconsin, 1900.

Source: *Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900: Vol. I, Part I, Statistics of Population*, pp. 793-794.

EASTERN EUROPEAN SETTLEMENT



Native Russians in Wisconsin, 1920

Source: *Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920: Vol. III, Composition and Characteristics of the Population*, pp. 1135-1136.

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SOUTHERN EUROPEAN

Ethnic Groups: Italians, Greeks

Temporal Boundaries: 1860s - especially 1880 - 1920.

Spatial Boundaries: Sparse statewide distribution; heaviest in the cities of the southeastern quarter and a few pockets of rural colonization.

Related Study Units: The Eastern Orthodox Congregations, The Catholic Church.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

ITALIANS

Although Italians arrived in Britain's American colonies after the founding of Jamestown (1607), the deluge did not begin until the late nineteenth century. Some northern Italians arrived prior to 1880, but they were only a prelude to the mass migration from the South (1880-1920). As the northern Italians melted into the mainstream of American life after 1880, the southern Italians replaced them as "the focus of both humanitarian concern and racist polemics. . ." (Iorizzo and Mondello 1971:37). More so than their northern kin, the southern Italians were shackled to their native land by poverty. The supply of labor far exceeded demand in the Italian countryside, and regional centers had little to offer as an alternative. The problem was exacerbated by the damaging effect of foreign competition on Italian industry.

The flow to America was further encouraged by the work of travel and steamship agents and "padroni" (labor agents) who spread across the Italian countryside seeking potential workers for the American labor market (MacDonald and MacDonald 1964:86-87). By 1900, the "new" immigrants from southern Italy were the principle source of common railroad, mining, lumbering, and construction labor in the United States. Understandably, the immigrants followed the trail of letters and remittances to the best work opportunities, and in particular, to America's industrial core (Iorizzo and Mondello 1971:49-53). As a consequence, the Italians made a strong showing in both city and rural communities, although the migration generally moved from agricultural settlement in Italy to urban America, with New York, Philadelphia, and Chicago the most common destinations. In 1880 only 44,230 Italian-born resided in the United States, but in the years between 1881 and 1910, more than three million Italians reached American shores (Rummel 1976:112).

In Wisconsin, Italian communities were established in both urban and rural settings. Serial migration or that based on bonds of kinship and information flows played an integral part in the coalescence of the settlements. Not until 1890 did the Italians number more than a thousand in Wisconsin (1,123), but the figure had doubled by century's end. The number of native-born tripled to 9,273 between 1900 and 1910 and leveled off in the next two decades before peaking at 12,599 in 1930 (Iorizzo and Mondello 1971:220).

The Italians settled statewide, but their stronghold was clearly in the southeastern quarter where late nineteenth century urbanization provided ample employment opportunities. Milwaukee (4,351), Kenosha (1,921), and Racine (1,015) counties boasted the largest Italian-born populations in 1920. In proportion to total foreign-born, however, the Italians exhibited their greatest strength in the northern counties where mining and lumbering opportunities beckoned, specifically in Iron (22.8 percent), Barron (5.1 percent), Washburn (5 percent), Florence (4.1 percent) and Waushara (6.7 percent) counties (see accompanying map) (Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920: Composition and Characteristics of

the Population by States, 1135-1136). By 1930 the Italians constituted 3.4 percent of Wisconsin's foreign population, a figure which has remained steady over the decades. In 1970 the Italians were still the dominant foreign stock in Iron County, although the Finns were not far behind them in numbers. They were second to the Germans in Kenosha County (Borowiecki 1930:44, 58-65). In 1960 Milwaukee was unchallenged for the lead with 11,143 Italian-born; it was trailed by Kenosha (5,045), Racine (1,898), Madison (1,484), West Allis (1,052), Waukesha (650), Beloit (591), Wauwatosa (469), Shorewood (356), and Cudahy (266) respectively (U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1963:232-234).

Italian settlement in Wisconsin, however, predates the mass immigration of the twentieth century. Samuel Mazzuchelli, son of a wealthy Roman banker, was the precursor to the 12,000 Italians who eventually made Wisconsin their adopted home. As a Dominican priest, aptly called the "gentle apostle for whites and Indians alike," Mazzuchelli traveled widely throughout Iowa, Illinois, and Wisconsin in the 1830s. A philologist as well as a Catholic missionary, Mazzuchelli published an almanac of the Chippewa language in 1833. His book is reputed to be the first book published in Wisconsin. Ministering diligently to the unchurched trappers, traders, and Indians of the territory, for many years he was the only cleric from Lake Huron to the Mississippi (Rosse 1968:68; see unit on the Catholic Church). An amateur architect of considerable skill, Mazzuchelli designed several churches in the southwestern lead mining district.

The first considerable flow of Italians to Wisconsin was deflected from the cities to the countryside. But the precise number and location of the Italian rural communities is difficult to document, since many were short-lived and escaped proper registration. The leading Italian rural enclave was in the Town of Genoa, Vernon County. The first arrivals came via Galena, Illinois. Genoa was selected for settlement because the surrounding terrain resembled that of their Piedmontese/Lombardian homeland. The colony grew relatively slowly; there was no major colonization effort and no large number of settlers at any one time. By 1890, however, a thriving agricultural community had become established (Moquin 1974:85-88).

This group, some of whom had worked previously in the mines of South America and Galena, has been heralded as the most socially advanced Italian agricultural colony in America. As homesteaders, they were a rarity among the Italian-Americans, yet they displayed a strong capacity to diversify their operations from grain to dairy and livestock as the years passed. Some observers considered them "more highly skilled in farming" than perhaps any other group in Wisconsin (Rolle 1968:121). Moreover, they comingled well with neighboring ethnic groups, especially at religious observances, and there was a high rate of intermarriage with Germans and Americans in the area.

The southern Italians who sought out the Cutover district of Cumberland in Barron County were less successful and less well-received than their countrymen at Genoa. The group, descended mainly from Catania and Aquila, came in the 1880s as railroad strike breakers, though they took on assorted tasks until farmland and implements could be secured. Again, there was no formal attempt to colonize the area. Yet within 20 years, the settlement grew to 250 families. Most settled eventually into farming the timberlands. Dairying and cheese production became their prime source of revenue even though they were hampered and discouraged by shortages of capital, inclement weather, and a limited growing season. A few abandoned their operations before the turn of the century (Rolle 1968:121-122; Holmes 1944:323).

Through their ready market and labor, the Italians played a prominent role in the development of Wisconsin's cheese-making industry as is illustrated by the Italian experience in Marinette County. A group of northern Italians undertook a rural colonization effort near Pound and Coleman and extended it into the communities of Crivitz, Athelstane, Wausaukee, and Middle Inlet in the last decades of the nineteenth

century. Initially, they concentrated on green vegetable growing rather than dairy agriculture, but they also became involved in the manufacture of a special variety of Italian cheese. Fond du Lac County, which developed the first cheese plant in the state (Ladoga-1864), became the focus of the Italian cheese-making industry by the 1930s. A decade later, it was producing one-third of the state total. At that time, less than a dozen factories were producing five primary Italian cheeses. Among these factories were the Stella Cheese Corporation at Campbellsport, Tolbia of Fond du Lac, Belmont of Mayville, the S. & R. and S. Pasini firms of Plymouth, and Frigo Brothers of Pound (Holmes 1944:323-324).

Unlike these early northern Italian immigrants, later Italian and Sicilian immigrants arriving in Wisconsin in the late nineteenth century were a poorer group seeking work in urban factories. Intense recruiting efforts launched by the New York Labor and Construction Company led to the founding of an Italian colony in Milwaukee in the 1880s. Most of the colonists were Sicilians who came from the Chicago colony, and for the most part, they clustered around the yards of the Chicago and Northwestern Railroad. In the years ahead, the vast majority emigrated directly from Sicily and settled in the city's predominantly Irish Third Ward which the Irish subsequently abandoned to the influx of southern Europeans. A smaller colony, composed principally of Italians from central and southern Italy, was founded on the south side in the industrial suburbs of Bay View. Several minor clusters, chiefly composed of northern Italians, also dotted the cityscape (LaPiana 1910:5; Still 1948:454).

The federal census of 1910 registered 4,685 Italians in the City of Milwaukee. 3,554 of them were native born, but the large influx in the next half decade swelled the total to 9,000. At the time, Milwaukee's Italian population was predominantly Sicilian (65 percent), with smaller proportions from southern Italy (20 percent) and the central and northern provinces (15 percent). The Sicilians were made up of three distinct groups which were differentiated by provincial loyalties. The oldest and largest element in Milwaukee was from the Province of Palermo, chiefly from the small coastal towns between Palermo and Termini. The second group came primarily from the Province of Messina, especially from the coastal towns between Tusa and Milazzo. The last group was composed mainly of migrants from the Province of Trapani and the island of Marettimo (LaPiana 1910:6).

The Milwaukee Italians were children of a rural economy. In their homeland, most worked in fruit gardens, vineyards, or grainfields or as highly-skilled herdsman. Smaller numbers were coastal fishermen. A small percentage were professional people, and many of those from northern Italy were tradesmen. In American cities, Italians were reduced to laborers and took jobs declined by the "old" immigrant groups. In Milwaukee in 1910, 75 percent were classified as "common laborers," and only 15 percent found their niche in the trades and professions. Their numbers were proportionately high in foundries and steel works, and a few performed specialized or highly skilled factory tasks. The Allis-Chalmers Company, Falk Manufacturing, and the Bay View Rolling Mills were important employers of Italians. Other Italians sought jobs in tanneries (especially the Pfister and Vogel plant) or on electric car lines. An even greater number fell into jobs on the railroad, coal docks, and public road construction projects.

Two Catholic parishes, Church of the Blessed Virgin of Pompeii (1892), the largest Italian parish in Wisconsin, and Church of St. Rita (1926) were established to minister to the Italian population in Milwaukee (Schiavo 1975, vol. 2:1052-1056; Holmes 1944:331). Together with a number of lay societies, the Catholic churches offered both humanitarian assistance and an outlet for the group's social yearnings. Among the societies established toward those ends were Liberta Siciliana, Vespri Sociliani, Christoforo Colombo, Vittorio Emmanuelle III, Santa Croce, and Tripoli Italiana (Still 1948:277).

Centers of Italian population also emerged outside of Milwaukee. Ten Italians, destined to work in railroad section gangs, entered Madison from Chicago around 1900 and formed the

core of Madison's "Little Italy," an area bounded by Regent and Brooks Streets and West Washington Avenue and commonly referred to as "Greenbush" or simply "The Bush." Up to 1900, only a handful of Italians resided in the city. But a sizable influx between 1905 and 1910 brought the number to 1,100 in 1916, and by 1920, the Italians were the third largest ethnic group in the city behind the Germans and Norwegians. The immigrants, 99 percent of them from Sicily, including some Albanian Sicilians, were largely illiterate and poor. Faced with economic struggles in their new home, most were forced into hard manual labor and worked as "Madison's ditch diggers, quarry workers, railroad hands, and hod carriers." They also left their imprint on the skilled trades as marble cutters, cobblers, bakers, and barbers and participated in a host of other occupations as well (Mollenhoff 1982:425).

As with other ethnic groups, the Italians of Madison founded their own institutions, including St. Joseph's Catholic Church which dates from 1915. In 1912 a group of 42 Madisonians founded a mutual benefit society, *Lauocator Italia di Mutero Soccolio en Beneficeiga*, to assist local Italian and Albanian communities. The club, which constructed a clubhouse in 1922, is still in existence, although it is presently dominated by the Albanian population. The *Societa Bergaglieri Alessandro La Marmora* for Sicilians and the *Tripoli Italiana Club* were also active (Mollenhoff 1982:425; Italian Working Men's Club, Madison Intensive Survey Form 1983).

Attracted by industrial jobs, immigrants from the provinces of Tuscany and Marsala began arriving in Beloit soon after the turn of the century. St. Paul's Catholic Church (edifice dating from 1914) was founded to accommodate their spiritual needs (Beloit, Intensive Survey 1981). As they had done in Beloit, the Italians entered the factory economy in Racine around 1910. The immigration continued until the early 1920s. They took residence on the south side in an area framed by Lake Michigan and the Chicago and Northwestern Railroad tracks. Here they brought at least one ethnic association into being, the Italian American Brotherhood, a "benevolent, civic, athletic, and cultural" club for which they constructed a meeting place, Roma Hall (Karr 1979:116-117). Similar tides brought Italians to Hurley, Kenosha, and Waukesha, each colony with its own provincial origin and dialect, i.e., Lombardian, Sicilian, Albanian, and Ambrusian. A fifth Italian Catholic parish in Wisconsin, Our Lady of Rosary's, was constructed in Kenosha.

But not all Americans greeted Italian immigrants with enthusiasm. According to one history of Ku Klux Klan activities in Madison in the 1920s, "probably the Klan's most effective lure was its promise to 'clean up' Madison, and in particular, Little Italy." Associating the city's Italian community with violence and crime (especially bootlegging during Prohibition), the Klan's promise of vigilante-like activities proved popular among some native born (Goldberg 1974:34-36).

GREEKS

Wisconsin's eastern lakeshore was the principal destination of Greek emigres. The earliest phase of colonization began just after the turn of the century and centered in the city of Sheboygan. The furniture-making industry offered attractive employment opportunities, and ultimately, the city grew to be the third largest cluster of Greeks in the state. With the surge in Greek migration after 1905, additional Hellenic islands became apparent in Milwaukee (sharing the Third Ward with the Italians), Racine, Kenosha, Waukesha, Fond du Lac, Oshkosh, Green Bay, and to the west, in Madison and La Crosse. By 1920 the Greeks numbered 3,833 and were spread between 62 Wisconsin counties. Milwaukee (1,940 Greeks) was the leader over Racine (369), Sheboygan (238), Rock (226), and Fond du Lac (198). With minor exceptions, cities were "home" to the Greeks, with Milwaukee (1,815), Racine (340), Sheboygan (230), Beloit (183), Fond du Lac (175), Superior (122), and Waukesha (75) embracing the greatest numbers (U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1922:1135-1136). The Greeks never rose to dominance among the foreign-born of any Wisconsin county, although in 1950 they

ranked third behind the Germans and Russians in Fond du Lac County (Borowiecki 1980:58).

The largest and most permanently-rooted Greek colony in Wisconsin was situated in Milwaukee where at least 1,100 or slightly less than half the state's Greek population had congregated by 1910. Most of the Milwaukee Greeks were sons and daughters of Peloponessus, coming primarily from Arcadia, and to a lesser degree, from Sparta, Messenia, Elias, and the islands of the Aegean and Ionian Seas. While some came directly to Milwaukee, many others lived temporarily in eastern cities. There is scant evidence to support the contention that the outlines of Milwaukee's Greek neighborhood existed prior to the turn of the century, although it is quite probable that a small number of Greeks were present in the 1890's and that their letters and remittances fed the emigration fever in the homeland districts to the point that the migratory streams were set in motion. In any event, the flow to Milwaukee commenced in earnest in the first years of the new century. In 1906 Sheboygan counted 410 persons of Greek extraction, while Milwaukee trailed with 314. But by 1920, the Greek population of Milwaukee far outdistanced the Sheboygan colony and reached its pinnacle of between 4,000 and 5,000 (Saloutos 1970:175-176).

Though marginal soils, crop failures, and a general decline in the farm economy were important "push" factors in the Greek voyage to America, the Greeks abandoned their farm experience in their new home. In Milwaukee, they were attracted to a great extent by the wage labor of the German-owned tanneries, with a proportionately small numbers settling into the business and professional classes. Many ethnics took advantage of the employment opportunities afforded by the city tanneries. First the Germans had done so and then the Irish, Englishmen, and Scotsmen followed suit. "By 1910 about 18 nationalities were working in the tanneries, including Poles, Russians, Italians, Croatians, Slovaks, and Lithuanians." The Greeks were among the last to find employment in this sector (Saloutos 1970:177). Because the Greeks, as "new" immigrants, tended to take jobs refused by the "old" immigrants, there were large numbers of Greeks in heavy industry (iron and steel), hotel and restaurant services, railway construction, shoeshining, and bakery, grocery, and confectionary enterprises, with the shops and trades catering especially to the needs of the national group. The migratory stream to Milwaukee was dominated by young, unattached males, who quickly established themselves in "cooperative housekeeping arrangements," or boarding houses run by either Italians or their Greek compatriots. Matrimonial matchmaking was the order of the day, and regularly scheduled "bride shipments" arrived in Milwaukee from the motherland. After the initial period of adjustment, marriage and family life brought an aura of permanence to the Greek enclaves (Saloutos 1970:181).

Milwaukee's Orthodox churches emerged as the pivotal point of community social and spiritual communion among Greeks. The first parish, the Church of the Annunciation, was formally organized in 1906. Old Annunciation Church was constructed in 1914, and for a time, a Greek school functioned within the parish. The successor edifice, designed by Frank Lloyd Wright and completed in 1961 in the Milwaukee suburb of Wauwatosa, has drawn worldwide architectural renown and is listed on the National Register of Historic Places (Perrin 1964:324; National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form-Annunciation Greek Orthodox Church, Milwaukee County, Wauwatosa, 1974).

Regarding religious practice, the Greeks were among the most homogeneous of the immigrant groups. As their experience in Milwaukee illustrates, they were always ready to extend their ministry to other national groups such as the Russians, Romanians, Serbians, and Bulgarians. But the intimate connection between the Milwaukee church and the state Church of Greece which oversaw the spiritual needs of its displaced countrymen thrust the Milwaukee community into the political strife of the pro and anti-Constantine factions at the time of the First World War. The disputes had a paralyzing effect upon the Milwaukee community and threatened to divide its ethnic organizations. In 1922 a

second Greek Orthodox parish, St. Constantine and Helen, emerged from the struggle (Saloutos 1970:185,188-190). (For further information on the Greek Orthodox churches in Wisconsin see The Eastern Orthodox Congregations study unit.)

The Greek coffeehouse, said to be "one of the most ubiquitous of Greek institutions," was immediately a focus of community life. It often doubled as a puppet or shadow-show house, cinema, and the setting for popular "strong-man" exhibitions. By the outbreak of the First World War, 13 served Milwaukee neighborhoods. Fraternal and benevolence societies were also founded and flourished within the Milwaukee community. Among these were the Corinthians, the Olympiakon, and the Stereoladiton (Saloutos 1970:182-184).

Beginning around 1905, the Greeks also gathered in Beloit, and a sizable colony emerged after only six years of immigration. Its residents established a local chapter of the American Hellenic Society and a Greek Ladies' Club (Beloit Intensive Survey Report, 1981).

IDENTIFICATION

Resource Types

Italian. Residences, commercial properties, and farmsteads associated with significant Italian immigrants; cheese factories; halls; churches; schools; publishing houses; boarding houses.

Greek. Churches, schools, halls, boarding houses, coffeehouses, residences and commercial properties associated with significant Greek immigrants.

Locational Patterns of Resource Types

Italian. Resources associated with Italian immigration and settlement in Wisconsin tend to be centered in the major urban centers of the southeastern portion of the state. Minor rural settlements, particularly those in Vernon, Barron, and Marinette counties may also reveal some extant resources.

Greek. The largest and most significant centers of Greek immigration and settlement in the state were concentrated in the major urban centers of the Lake Michigan counties, predominantly Milwaukee, Sheboygan, and Racine.

Previous Surveys

Italians. The intensive survey reports for the communities of Racine, Kenosha, and Beloit have identified resources associated with Italian settlement in their respective cities. The Milwaukee intensive survey reports outline general settlement patterns, including Italian, within that city, but do not identify significant Italian associated resources.

Greek. The intensive survey of Beloit has identified extant resources associated with a small Greek settlement in that community.

Survey and Research Needs

Italian. Additional documentary research and field surveys of the Italian agricultural communities in the Town of Genoa area (Vernon County), the Cumberland region (Barron County), and the southern half of Marinette county could provide valuable information concerning both the patterns of early, small-scale Italian settlement in the state and the existence of any specific building traditions attributed to Italian immigrants. More research is also needed concerning Protestant Italians in Wisconsin, historically centered in Madison.

Greeks. More research needs to be focused on Greek social societies and their roles within Greek ethnic communities.

EVALUATION

National Register Listings and Determinations of Eligibility

Greek

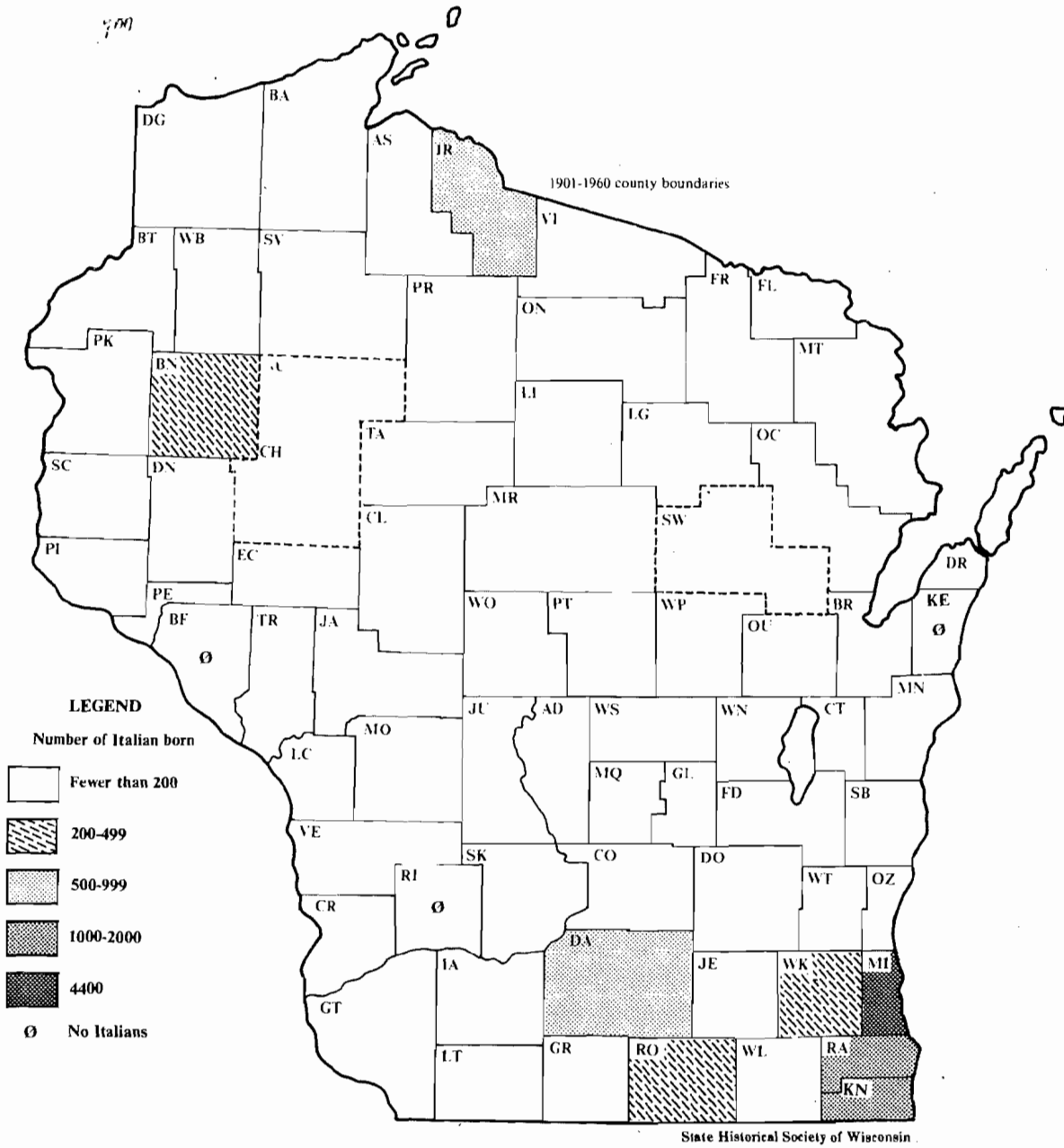
Annunciation Greek Orthodox Church (1961), 9400 W. Congress St., Wauwatosa, Milwaukee County, (NRHP 1974).

Context Considerations

Italian. Resources associated with Italian immigration and settlement should be clearly identified as belonging to either the urban or rural development patterns of Italian settlement in the state and evaluated in context with other similar resources. The evaluations should generally be made on a local basis, although comparisons on a regional or state-wide basis should not be ignored. Properties exhibiting specific building traditions associated with Italian immigrants or those associated with significant individuals or organizations important to Italian ethnic development should be given priority over those resources of merely tangential association.

Greek. Resources associated with Greek immigration and settlement in Wisconsin should be evaluated both within a local context and in relationship to the broader patterns of rather limited Greek settlement in the state. Resources exhibiting particular ethnic building traditions or property types, and those associated with specific events or persons clearly recognized for their significant contributions to Greek ethnicity in Wisconsin should be given priority over properties of general association with Greek culture.

SOUTHERN EUROPEAN SETTLEMENT



Native Italians in Wisconsin, 1920

Source: *Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920: Vol. III, Composition and Characteristics of the Population*, pp. 1185-1186.

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bibliography.



BRITISH ISLES SETTLEMENT

Ethnic Groups: Irish, Cornish, English, Scots, Welsh

Temporal Boundaries: All groups, late 1820s-1870.

Spacial Boundaries: Irish; statewide with largest concentrations in southwest lead region, south central counties and the city of Milwaukee. English, Welsh, Scots; primarily in the southeastern and southwestern counties. Cornish; southwest lead region.

Related Study Units: Lead and Zinc Mining, Logging and Lumber Milling, Methodist, Catholic, Fraternal Organizations.

INTRODUCTION

In the nineteenth century, the British Isles provided by far the greatest numbers of immigrants to the United States. Technically, the Irish, Cornish, English, Scots, and Welsh were all British subjects in the British Empire, but each group always referred to themselves by their ethnic name and each had its own unique character. Each groups, with the exception of the Irish, disseminated rapidly into American life. The lack of a language barrier, (the Welsh did speak their native Cymraeg but adopted English rapidly in the United States) generally good economic status, and identification with Protestantism allowed the Cornish, English, Scots and Welsh to assimilate quickly. The Irish on the other hand, although being the largest English-speaking immigrant group and second largest overall immigrant group in the United States in the nineteenth century, had a more difficult time in America. Having experienced severe economic deprivations in their homeland, the Irish usually arrived destitute. This coupled with their strong Catholic affiliation prevented easy assimilation and adjustment into American society.

Ethnically, British Isle immigrants are divided into two groups. The first group is of Celtic ancestry. Belonging to this group are the Irish, Cornish, Welsh and Highland Scots, whose forebearers invested the British Isles before the Roman occupation in the first century. The English are a later addition to the Isles. Their ancestors were the north-German and Baltic area tribal groups known as the Anglo-Saxons. These Anglo-Saxons staged continual invasions of the Isles between the fifth century until their final conquest in the ninth century (1066). The "Angles" or English became the dominant groups eventually pushing the Celtic people to the extremities of the Isles. Eventually, the whole area came under the domination of the English and became Great Britain.

Accurate determination of the numbers of immigrants is often difficult due to the census and customs officials tendency to call various groups simply English or British rather than their ethnic name. This is true particularly of the Cornish and to some extent the Welsh and Scots. The Irish were always separated. Although accurate numbers are not available for all groups, each will be studied separately due to their unique characteristics and contributions to Wisconsin history. Excluding Ireland, close to four million immigrants from Great Britain came to the United States between 1830 and 1920. 1860 was the peak year for the influx into Wisconsin. In that year, 36,659 English, Cornish, Welsh and Scots claimed Wisconsin as their home (U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1943:567).

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

IRISH

Second only to the Germans in immigration to the United States in the nineteenth century were the Irish. Close to 4.5 million settled in America between 1830 and 1920, with the peak years between 1840 and 1860. The main Irish influx into Wisconsin coincided with the national peak of immigration from 1840 to 1860. In Wisconsin, the Irish numbered second to the Germans as foreign-born immigrants and constituted the largest English-speaking foreign group to settle in the state.

Prior to 1830, Irish immigration to America had been miniscule. After that date immigrants claiming the Emerald Isle as their homeland began pouring into eastern ports and the flow continued steadily until the turn of the century. The year 1851 marked the largest number of Irish to arrive in the United States with 221,253 entering the country (U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1975:106). Accounting for the mass exodus from Ireland in the 19th century was the terrible condition of life in that country. Ireland had never been a rich country and a majority of its inhabitants were rural and lived at the subsistence level. The decades of the 1830s and 1840s brought repeated failures to the primary food crop, the potato. The most severe failures were in 1845 and 1846, resulting in widespread hunger and evictions under a harsh rent system which forced the tenant farmers to pay the landlords rent by giving them a considerable portion of their crop. Coupled with the destitution brought on by the potato famine was the traditional economic, political and religious oppression imposed by the ruling English crown. With the promise of employment, cheap land, and freedom awaiting in America, the Irish began the first major 19th century migration from Europe to this country.

The Irish, unlike other immigrant groups did not immediately proceed westward upon arriving in the United States. The vast majority of Irish had spent all their savings to get to America and were in severe economic condition. Many would remain near their point of disembarkation in the East to find whatever work was available to earn money for a future venture west. Substantial numbers of Irish in the 1820s and early 1830s slowly worked their way westward by employment on canal projects and railroad lines (McDonald 1954:10). In the mid-nineteenth century the Irish immigrant had been in the United States, or one of its territories, an average of seven years before arriving in Wisconsin (Nesbit 1985:299). Although this immigrant group had been accustomed to American ways and many were citizens by the time they reached Wisconsin, the Irish were still the most easily identifiable English-speaking group. They were still poorer than most British Isle immigrants and they were Catholic. Although the Irish continued to arrive in America in a steady flow throughout the latter half of the nineteenth century, their numbers and percentages declined in Wisconsin in relation to the total population. In 1860, the Irish numbered 49,961 or 18 percent of Wisconsin's population. In 1880 they numbered 41,907 or 10.3 percent of the population and in 1900, they numbered 23,544 and accounted for 4.6 percent of the total Wisconsin population (17th census: Characteristics of Population 1943:567). Unlike most other foreign immigrant groups, the Irish were a "fluid population element" often moving from county to county and often out of the state (McDonald 1954:83). One factor contributing to this tendency was the reluctance of many Irish to endure the hardships of clearing land, which provoked many to move about in search of land immediately available for farming. Another factor that contributed to their departure from Wisconsin was the great German immigration into the state after 1860. The Germans displaced the Irish over time by their tenacity in farming and their tendency to pass the farm on in the family (McDonald 83:1954).

Although the earliest known Irishmen in Wisconsin were involved with the French in the fur trade in the Green Bay area, the first significant group of Irish to arrive in Wisconsin came with the opening of the Galena Lead region in the 1820s (Cultural Resource

Management Plan in Wisconsin Vol. 2, Lead and Zinc Mining study unit). The "Galena" lead extended into southwestern Wisconsin, encompassing Grant, Lafayette, Iowa, and Green counties. The Irish not only worked the mines but were engaged in support industries such as lumbering, smelting, and some rail construction. Other Irishmen were engaged as artisans, general laborers, farmers and merchants (see intensive survey form for Magee complex, Intensive survey of Green County, Doyal Road, Town of Exeter.). Although the Irish tended to be dispersed rurally around the region, concentrations of them could be found in communities like Shullsburg (formerly Dublin), Lead Mine, New Diggings, and Benton in Lafayette County; Mineral Point and Dodgeville in Iowa County; Exeter and Newkirk Diggings in Green County; and Hazel Green and Platteville in Grant County (Holmes 1944:179). By 1847 lead mining had become unprofitable due to the development of rich ore regions in Mexico and South America and a decrease in demand in the American market. By 1865, zinc had become the focus of mining in the region but by then many had left the region in pursuit of other occupations. The Irish who did not remain to farm or pursue other occupations, moved northward to the timber region, the northern coppermines, and rail construction projects. Many others moved out of the state.

Many of the Irish who had entered through the lake ports of Milwaukee and Racine moved on to the lead region, but many remained and settled in the southeastern counties. The largest concentration of Irish in the southeast, or for that matter the state, was in the city of Milwaukee. In 1850 there were 21,000 Irish in Wisconsin and 4,350 of these or 14% were in Milwaukee (Smith 1973:489). Most of these Irish were located in the southeastern section of the city known as the Third Ward, or "Bloody Third" (Historic Third Ward District nomination, NRHP 03-08-84). The term "Bloody Third" derives its name from the lynching of a black man that occurred in 1861. The Irish of the Third Ward were largely displaced in the 20th century by the Italians. The urban Irish worked primarily as laborers, artisans, domestics, and in merchandising or clerking capacities. The rural Irish in southeastern Wisconsin usually took to farming. McDonald's study of the Irish in Wisconsin shows the larger numbers in Milwaukee, Kenosha, Dane, Washington, Ozaukee, Waukesha, Dodge, and Rock counties (McDonald 1954:257-267). Specific settlements with high numbers of Irish in mid century were Shields and Emmett in Dodge County; Cedarburg in Ozaukee County; Erin in Washington County; Janesville in Rock County; Westport and Madison in Dane County; and Brookfield, New Berlin, Muskego, Menomonee Falls, and Monches in Waukesha County.

The Irish in the northern sections of Wisconsin were less numerous and more scattered than elsewhere in the state. In this region they reached their highest numbers in 1890, but even then in the northernmost counties they only accounted for two percent of the total population of 124,000 (McDonald 1957:126). These immigrants tended to drift into the northern counties from the southwest after the lead mines closed or while searching for suitable farmland. Irishmen who settled in Brown County, Outagamie County, and Washington Island in Door County had originally been employed on the Fox-Wisconsin River improvement project. The Irish who migrated to the north central and northwest counties were primarily attracted by the lumber industry and agriculture. The Irish were greatly outnumbered in the northern lumber industry by native Americans, Germans and Scandinavians, but concentrations of Irishmen could be found in various locations. St. Croix County showed the largest grouping of Irish in the northwest, with settlements in Emerald, Hudson, New Richmond, Cylon, and Erin. The town of Erin had one of the largest concentrations of Irish in the state after 1860 and one source states that if not Ireland, Erin proved to be "the next best thing" (McDonald 1957:130). Chippewa County had Irish concentrations in Chippewa Falls, Wheaton, Lafayette, and Eagle Point. Portage County Irishmen were located in Stevens Point, Sharon, and Hull; Wood County had Irish in Grand Rapids and Centralia. Marathon County had a substantial Irish population in the town of Mosinee. The above-mentioned towns and settlements by no means account for the only Irish groupings in northern Wisconsin. They merely reflect those settlements which showed substantial numbers of Irishmen. The Irish in northern Wisconsin were primarily rural and dispersed widely throughout the area. McDonald's

study gives a good county-by-county breakdown of the concentrations of Irish settlers in 1850 and 1860.

Irish life tended to revolve around the Catholic church and parish activities. There were however, Irish benevolent societies that were not directly connected to the church. Some of these early associations were the Hibernian Benevolent Society and the Knights of St. Patrick formed in Milwaukee, the St. Patrick's Benevolent Society of La Crosse and St. Joseph's of Waukesha. The chief purpose was to provide aid to members beset by misfortune or to aid the immediate family of a deceased member (see Cultural Resource Management Plan in Wisconsin Vol. 3, Fraternal Organizations study unit). Many of these organizations passed out of existence by the 1880s. The Ancient Order of Hibernians became the largest and most active group of this type to involve the Irish. By 1896, the Order had thirty-five divisions statewide and a membership of over two thousand (McDonald 1954:237).

Although the Irish constituted a substantial group of immigrants in Wisconsin in the 19th century, few historic resources have been identified that are directly linked to their immigration period. The Third Ward district of Milwaukee lost most of its Irish inhabitants after a fire swept through the area in 1892, and further lost its Irish distinction with the influx of Italians and recent commercial development. Other resources that may be identified include individual dwellings or intact districts and, of course, Catholic chapels or churches directly related to the Irish such, as St. Patrick's Church in Benton in Lafayette County (identified in "An Intensive Architectural and Historical Survey of Mining Communities in Portions of Lafayette and Green Counties, Wisconsin 1983"). The mobility and rapid dispersal of the Irish-born immigrants in Wisconsin makes identification of resources difficult, but this in no way should detract from the important contributions the Irish made to Wisconsin history.

CORNISH

The first settlers from the British Isles to arrive in Wisconsin were from Cornwall County in southwest England. These hardy, rural people referred to themselves as Cornish rather than English. This group had traditionally been engaged in lead and tin mining in Cornwall and were also noted for stonecutting. By the early nineteenth century, the mines of Cornwall were beginning to be worked out and many were being closed, putting large numbers of people out of work. At this time, word was filtering back of opportunities in America, particularly the opening of the mining region around Galena, Illinois. Francis Clyma was the first Cornish man into the lead region of Wisconsin. He prospected, settled, and mined near present day Shullsburg (formerly Dublin) in 1827 (Quaife 1924:211). The stream of Cornish that began pouring into the Galena region after 1830 arrived by way of the Hudson River-Erie Canal-overland route or by way of the Great Lakes. Known as "hard rock miners" because of their ability to mine deeply buried deposits, the Cornish moved into mining areas previously worked and abandoned by Indians and Yankees who would not endure the hardships of deeper mining. A steady stream of Cornish came into the southwestern counties of Wisconsin between 1830 and 1850. In 1850, approximately 7,000 of the 28,000 English in the lead region were Cornish settlers (Nesbit 1973:151). After the discovery of gold in California in 1849, the number of Cornish in Wisconsin dropped considerably. The lure of gold in the west coupled with the increasingly unprofitable lead mining industry, led many Cornish to leave Wisconsin. The Cornish that remained in Wisconsin often continued lead and zinc mining, although many turned to farming.

Dramatic evidence of early Cornish life in Wisconsin can be found in Mineral Point, Iowa County, where Cornish houses are still intact and show the excellent stone cutting ability these people possessed (Pendarvis; NRHP 01-25-71). Other Cornish settlements included: Dodgeville and Linden in Iowa County; New Diggings, Lead Mine, Shullsburg, and Dunbarton in Lafayette County; and Potosi and Hazel Green in Grant County.

The Cornish followed primarily the teachings expounded by the Wesleyan Methodist and Primitive Methodist Churches. While offering spiritual guidance, the church also functioned as the primary social outlet for the Cornish.

ENGLISH

Most English immigrants came to America singly or in family groups in the nineteenth century. There were, however, several organized movements in England that sponsored settlement in Wisconsin. One group was the British Temperance Emigration Society, which was organized by factory workers in Liverpool in 1842. Concerned with relieving unemployment in England's factory districts, the group bought land near Mazomanie, Dane County, and by 1849 had transported 600 Englishmen to that area (Nesbit 1972:153). Another group was the Potters Joint Emigration Society and Savings Fund, formed at Staffordshire, England, in 1844. This group was organized by both owners of factories and unemployed workers in the pottery industry (Foreman 1938:376). Members of the society paid dues or made investments and periodic lotteries were held. Winners of the lottery were given passage to Wisconsin and twenty acres of land, purchased by the society. The society sponsored several settlements in Wisconsin, the largest being Montello in Marquette County and Scott (formerly Potter) and Fort Winnebago in Columbia County. Most of these immigrants worked as farmers and became quite successful. The strongly Protestant English also gave special attention to church development, where sizable numbers of settlers were grouped.

SCOTS

Scottish immigrants in Wisconsin constituted a relatively small group, numbering only 3,000 in 1860. Most Scots settled in the southern and eastern counties and in only four counties - Waukesha, Rock, Columbia, and Milwaukee - did they number more than three hundred (Smith 1973:490). The Town of Vernon in Waukesha County was one of the larger enclaves and still contains a c.1850s Scottish Covenanters' Reform Church. Scottish settlers in Wisconsin as a whole fared well economically and were able to buy farms or shops within a relatively short time after arriving. The great naturalist John Muir and John Mitchell, the Milwaukee banker and financier were two of Scotland's most prominent contributions to Wisconsin.

WELSH

Besides the Irish, the Welsh were the most easily identifiable British Isles immigrant group in Wisconsin. Unlike their English counterparts, the Welsh made a conscious effort to settle in rural enclaves apart from other English settlers and Americans, and unlike other immigrant British Isles groups, English was not their mother tongue, which further set them apart. Any identification of the actual numbers of Welsh immigrants is difficult, however, due to the census records' tendency to count the Welsh among all other English immigrants.

The period of Welsh immigration to America lasted between 1840 and 1890, with the peak years between 1850 and 1860. The Welsh left Wales for a variety of reasons. Wales is a mountainous region in western England and land was scarce in the nineteenth century, and most of the land was owned by English-speaking Anglican landlords. Few "working class" Welsh had land of their own. Also, the English-dominated educational system discouraged the Welsh language and most were forced to pay tithes to the Church of England, to which few of them belonged (Davies 1982:7). While economic pressures and religious and educational freedom provided the push to emigrate from Wales, it was the Welsh religious piety and desire to maintain their culture that led them to settle, or attempt to settle in exclusively Welsh communities.

The earliest known settlers from Wales in Wisconsin were John Hughes and his family of seven who settled in Genesee in Waukesha County in 1840 (Price 1943:323). Within two years, the community had fifteen Welsh families, numbering ninety-nine. The early Welsh settlers tended to purchase existing farmsteads or more-likely homesteaded. The majority of Welsh took to farming in Wisconsin and they settled primarily in the southeastern counties in rural communities. The largest grouping of Welsh immigrants were located in the eastern half of Columbia County, western Dodge County and southern Green Lake and Marquette counties. The town of Columbia was estimated to contain five thousand Welshmen in 1870 (Davies 1982:5). The towns and rural areas around Cambria and Randolph in Columbia County; Rock Hill and Proscairon in Green Lake County; and Fox Lake, Lake Emily, Calamus Township, Elba Township and Beaver Dam in Dodge County all had substantial Welsh immigrants. Waukesha County boasted a large Welsh population with settlers in Wales, Genesee, Delafield, and Waukesha. Racine and Milwaukee had substantial numbers of Welsh who remained in those urban areas. Welsh also settled in the mining region, primarily in Iowa County but not in great numbers. The town of Rewey (formerly Pecatonica) in Iowa County had the largest Welsh population in the nineteenth century. There were also settlements of Welsh in LaCrosse County in LaCrosse, Rockland, and Bangor (named for a district in Wales).

As previously mentioned, the church played a central role in the lives of Welsh immigrants. Belonging primarily to the Calvinistic Methodist and Congregational denominations, the Welsh tended to construct a church as one of the first tasks after settlement in an area. Few of these early churches remain, but one can be found near Pickett in Winnebago County and is known as the Peniel Church, built in 1856 and another at Bethesda, built in 1848 (Davies 1982:15).

The Welsh of the nineteenth century were very pious and tended to avoid other groups who drank or broke the Sabbath. Up until the early twentieth century, most church services and classroom activities were conducted in the Welsh language (Cymraeg). The Calvinistic Methodist Church has since merged with the Presbyterian Church and the use of the Welsh language by and large died out with succeeding generations. However, the early homogenous and independent nature of the Welsh immigrants has survived and the Welsh influence in Wisconsin can be found in towns such as Wales in Waukesha County and Cambria in Columbia County.

IDENTIFICATION

Resource Types

Irish. Churches, farmsteads, settlement groupings, homes of prominent Irish immigrants, meeting and social halls.

Cornish. Churches, residences, mining sites, farmsteads.

English. Churches, farmsteads, immigration society settlements and associated structures, homes of prominent English/Scottish immigrants.

Welsh. Churches, farmsteads, homes of prominent Welsh immigrants.

Locational Patterns of Resource Types

Irish. During the mid-nineteenth century, settled primarily in the southeastern and southwestern counties of Wisconsin. Concentrations of Irish could be found in the lead mining region with the largest numbers in Iowa and Lafayette counties. The largest urban concentration of Irish was in Milwaukee county. In the latter decades of the 1800s, the northern counties showed increased numbers of Irish, with the largest numbers in St. Croix County.

Cornish. As miners the cornish tended to settle almost solely in the southwestern lead mining region of Grant, Lafayette, Iowa, and Green counties.

English and Scots. English and Scottish immigrants settled primarily in the southern half of the state but could be found in every county statewide. The largest concentrations were found in Iowa, Lafayette, Dane, Columbia, Rock, Waukesha, Milwaukee and Racine counties.

Welsh. Besides the Irish, the Welsh were the most easily identifiable (British Isles) immigrant groups in Wisconsin. Unlike their English counterparts, the Welsh made a conscious effort to settle in rural enclaves apart from other English settlers and Americans. English was not their mother-tongue which further set them apart.

Settlement was generally in the southeastern portion of the state. Strong Welsh influence in Wisconsin can still be found in towns such as Wales in Waukesha County and Cambria in Columbus County.

Previous Surveys. No surveys have been undertaken to identify specifically Irish, English, or Welsh settlements or resources. However, Irish, and Cornish resources are identified in "An Intensive Architectural and Historical Survey of Mining Communities in Portions of Lafayette and Grant Counties, Wisconsin." Historic Preservation Division, State Historical Society of Wisconsin 1983, and in "Intensive Survey of Green County" Historic Preservation Division, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1980.

Survey and Research Needs. Since the Irish were one of the largest immigrant groups in Wisconsin, an attempt should be made to identify particular Irish settlements that may be extant. Irish involvement in the mining region of southwestern Wisconsin and their involvement in the northern lumber industry are possible research areas. The large numbers of Irish that settled in Milwaukee city and county should provide a possible research area. The English settlements founded by the British Temperance Emigration Society and the Potters Joint Emigration Society and Savings Fund, primarily located in Columbia and Marquette counties, could provide valuable research material. The Welsh remained a relatively close knit ethnic group throughout the nineteenth century. Identification of Welsh resources such as farmsteads or communities particularly in

Columbia, Dodge, Waukesha, Winnebago, and Iowa counties would provide important insight into this important immigrant group.

EVALUATION

National Register Listings and Determinations of Eligibility

Irish

St. Augustine Church (1844). Town of New Diggings, Lafayette County (NRHP 2/23/72).
St. Patrick's Roman Catholic Church (1839-95). 1105 S. 7th St., Milwaukee, Milwaukee County (NRHP 3/7/73).
St. Patrick's Roman Catholic Church (1877). Town of Sherman, Sheboygan County (NRHP 9/8/83).
St. Patrick's Roman Catholic Church (1888). 404 E. Main St., Madison, Dane County (NRHP 9/16/82).
St. Joseph's Roman Catholic Church (1870)
St. Mark's Episcopal Church, Guild Hall and Vicarage (1900, 1866, 1871). 705 Park Avenue, 408 Park Ave, Oconto, Oconto County (NRHP 8/1/85).

Cornish

Linden Methodist Church (1851). Main and Church Sts., Town of Linden, Iowa County (NRHP 10/19/78).
Mineral Point Historic District. Mineral Point, Iowa County (NRHP 7/30/71) English (Cornish).
Pendarvis (1835) 114 Shake Rage St., Mineral Point, Iowa County. (NRHP 1/25/71) English (Cornish).
Mineral Point Hill (1830-1855) Mineral Point, Iowa County (NRHP 10/26/72). English (Cornish).

Context Considerations

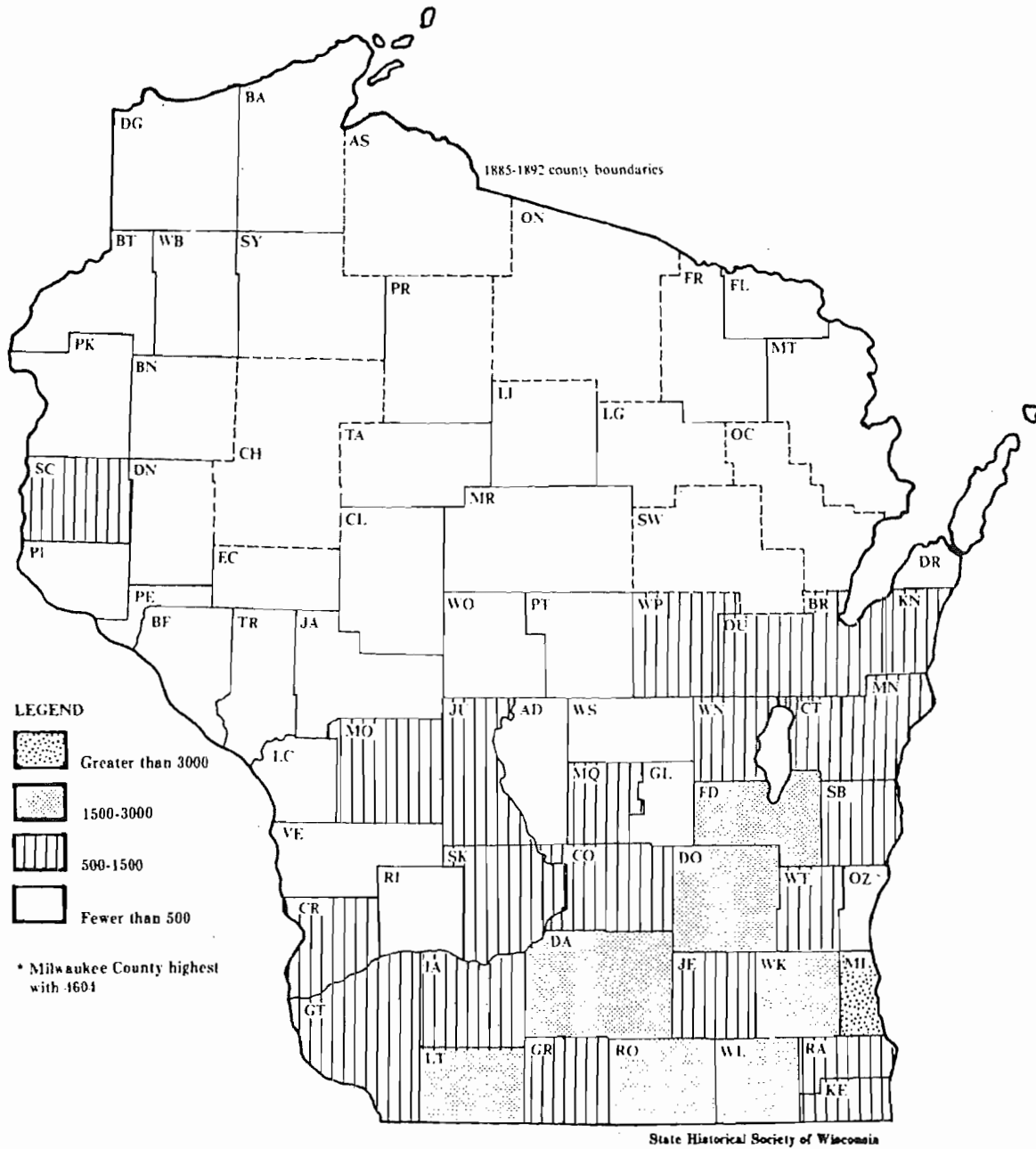
Irish. The Irish were a very mobile group, and although they constituted a primary immigrant group in Wisconsin, identification of particular settlement enclaves or districts outside of Milwaukee would be difficult. Most resources related to Irish building types, individuals, or Irish traditions or culture will be locally significant. Because resources associated with the Irish are few, property retaining integrity and associated in any way to Irish settlement should be considered eligible for its Irish context.

English, Scottish. Due to their rapid dissemination and assimilation among the American population, resources significant for their English association are few. Resources related to the emigration societies initially should be evaluated in the statewide context; however, in the final analysis they may be only locally significant.

Cornish. The Cornish constituted a relatively closely-knit immigrant group geographically and socially. Many resources associated with the Cornish have been identified, but identification of others is possible in relation to settlement and lead mining. Identification would, in most cases, be in the local context.

Welsh. The Welsh were more homogeneous than most other British Isles immigrant groups, but their numbers were relatively small. Since the Welsh tended to settle together in groups, identification of settlement areas should be considered in a local context.

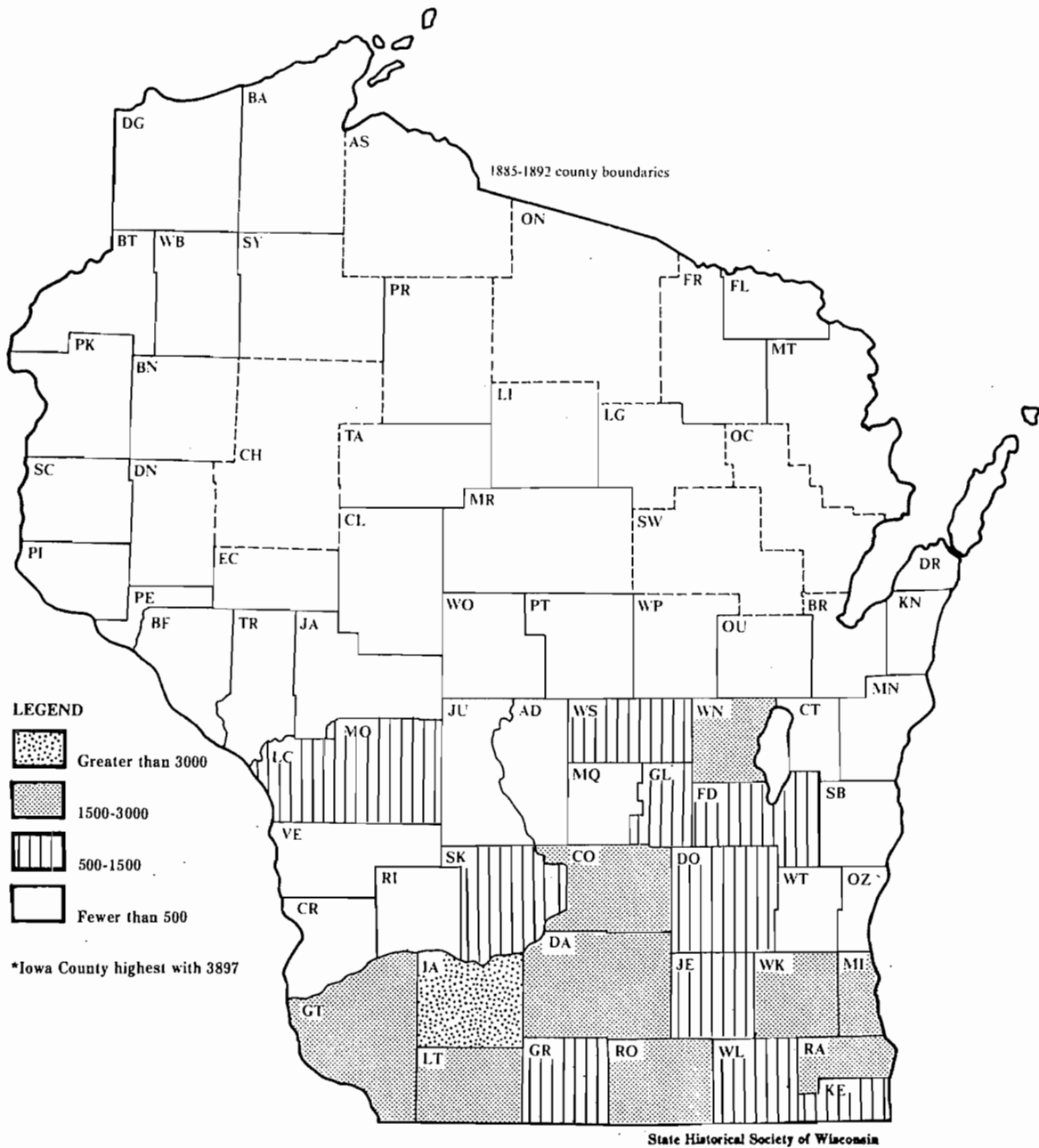
IRISH SETTLEMENT



Native Irish in Wisconsin, 1870

Source: *Ninth Census of the United States, 1870: Vol. 1, Population*, pp. 376-377.

ENGLISH AND WELSH SETTLEMENT



Native English and Welsh in Wisconsin, 1870

Source: *Ninth Census of the United States, 1870: Vol. 1, Population*, pp. 376-377.

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YANKEE AND SOUTHERN

Temporal Boundaries: Yankee, 1830-1870; Southern, 1825-1840.

Spatial Boundaries: Yankee: statewide but primarily in southeastern counties; Southern: southwest lead region.

Related Study Units: Congregational, Local Government, State Government, Primary Education, Secondary Education, Logging and Lumber Milling, Wheat Cultivation, Temperance Movement, Methodists, Baptists, Episcopal Church, Lead and Zinc Mining.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

YANKEES

The Yankee movement from the northeastern United States has often been referred to as one of the most important and influential migrations in American history. Beginning at the end of the American Revolution and the cessation of British territory in the Northwest Territory to the Mississippi River, great numbers of settlers from New England poured into the western lands. These hardy people, many of them descendants of the original Puritan immigrants, spread rapidly across New York, Michigan, Illinois, Ohio, Indiana, and by the early 1830s into the Wisconsin Territory. The Yankee settlers brought with them experience in homesteading, a system of local government, education, and above all, a morality that harkened back to their Puritan traditions. This morality was the basis and director of their life in Wisconsin, affecting social and political movements in the nineteenth century, particularly the abolition and temperance movements.

The term "Yankee" traditionally referred to American born citizens from the New England states of Massachusetts, Connecticut, Vermont, Maine, New Hampshire, and Rhode Island but it later included settlers from New York. With the opening of the western frontier after the Revolution, New England citizens began a gradual migration into the western areas of New York and Ohio. These pioneers were usually veterans, who with their families were claiming their bounty of free land for their military service. Others were simply moving to the frontier to claim land and perhaps form settlements of their own.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, migration out of New England accelerated. Accounting for this were several factors. First was the rapid rise in population in the Northeast, coinciding with a subsequent decrease in desirable land for agricultural production. Much of the good soil had been depleted and western lands became more attractive. Also, it was increasingly hard for New England farmers to compete with the lower prices of agricultural products coming from the West, particularly wheat (Smith 1973:473). Further, the continuing fluctuations in the business cycles in the East left many citizens yearning for a more stable economic atmosphere.

In many cases, the Yankees who moved west were either people who had originally settled and homesteaded farms in New England or were the sons and daughters of those who had. Another important Yankee element moving west was the younger professionals who saw opportunities in the West. By the early nineteenth century, the populated areas of New England were full of professionals such as doctors, lawyers, preachers, and highly motivated businessmen. These people became the movers and shakers of the newly settled frontier areas. With the rise of steamboat transportation on the major rivers and the opening of the Erie Canal in 1825, the stream of immigrants out of New England into the west became a veritable flood.

Yankees in Wisconsin

Prior to the 1820s, the area that is now Wisconsin was a virtual wilderness with few white inhabitants, most of which were southerners from Kentucky, Tennessee, and Missouri working the southwestern lead mines. There were established settlements and military outposts at Green Bay and Prairie du Chein. It was not until the end of the Black Hawk War in 1832 that Yankees began their influx into Wisconsin. The war had ended the threat of Indian hostility in the Wisconsin Territory and returning soldiers told people in the east of the rich lands available in the area (Mathews 1909:236). The earliest Yankees to arrive were the transplanted New Englanders living in New York. These settlers came into the extreme southeastern area of Wisconsin, to what are now the counties of Racine, Kenosha, Walworth, Waukesha, Milwaukee, and Jefferson and portions of Dane and Rock. This area, which continued to have the largest concentration of Yankee settlers, became known as "Yankee land" (Shafer 1922:127).

In the late 1830s and early 1840s, the fledgling town of Milwaukee had an overwhelming majority of settlers from the northeast. This would change within the next ten years as German immigrants became the dominant settlement group (Schafer 1922:128). In this period also, Yankees founded the communities of Southport (later Kenosha) in Kenosha County and Beloit and Janesville in Rock County and were among the first group to settle in Madison. While many Yankees settled in the new communities as the business and professional class, many more moved into the rich farmlands of southeastern Wisconsin. The Yankee was most likely to find land that was immediately available for farming. Unlike other immigrants of the period, the Yankee was likely to farm (usually wheat) for a few years, turn a good profit, and then move to another area. Settlers like the Germans or Scandinavians usually staked a claim, cleared the land, and there they stayed. The Yankee was used to change in his or her life and was not apprehensive about moving if the urge struck (Schafer 1922:129-130).

One early type of Yankee settler was the land speculator. Usually moving well ahead of settlement, the speculator would buy up land that would possibly be future townsites or farmsteads. The land would most often be near a river where waterpower could be developed for milling, and the speculator would buy up as much adjacent farmland as possible (Nesbit 1985:262). These speculators had the advantage over others of having experienced frontier conditions before and knowing the methods of public land survey and sales techniques. They also had available capital. Some of the great land speculators in early Wisconsin history were Cyrus Woodman and C.C. Washburn of Maine, Moses Strong of Vermont, and James Doty of New York (Nesbit 1973:152).

The Yankee settlers to Wisconsin were usually single males who bought land and then returned east to bring their families. There were, however, a few organized immigration attempts. One notable one was sponsored by the Western Emigration Company formed in Hannibal, New York. The settlers recruited by this organization founded the town of Southport (Kenosha) on Lake Michigan in 1835. By 1843 Southport had 1,820 inhabitants, 730 from New York and 300 more from other New England states (Smith 1973:641). The extent of Yankee settlement statewide is revealed by census records of 1850. Figures show that of a population of 305,390, 120,637 were from New York (most of which were transplanted from New England) and 19,184 were from Vermont (Eighth Census of the United States, 1860, p. 543).

The Yankees in Wisconsin managed to remain in the forefront of issues throughout the nineteenth century. Even though other immigrant groups surpassed the Yankees in numbers, the Northeasterners were able to exert considerable influence in social and political issues.

In government, the Yankee influence in Wisconsin was first evident in the Territorial legislatures and judgeships. The final constitution of 1848 reflects considerable Yankee

input with some sections of the document taken nearly verbatim from the New York constitution, ratified in 1846 (Alexander 1946:14). It should also be noted that six of Wisconsin's first seven governors were New Englanders, as were seven of its early senators (Holbrook 1950:7). One lasting influence that Yankees had on the direction of Wisconsin politics was the establishment of the township form of government brought directly from New England. The township system won out over the county commission system favored by the lead region's southern settlers (see Local Government study unit, Cultural Resource Management in Wisconsin, vol 1).

The Yankees were at the forefront of the main moral issues of the time. The temperance movement in Wisconsin received its prime impetus from the New England Yankees who were imbued with the traditional Puritanical outlook. The Sons of Temperance and Good Templars were temperance organizations with leadership and membership firmly in Yankee hands. This issue often caused bitter political confrontations with other ethnic groups, particularly the Germans and Irish (see Temperance study unit, Cultural Resource Management in Wisconsin, vol 3). Two social groups of note that Yankees formed were the Excelsior Society of New Yorkers and the Sons of New England. Abolition was another issue brought directly from New England into Wisconsin, and Yankee leadership and support were dominant in the movement. The Liberty Association was a transplanted abolitionist organization that was brought from New England. This primarily Yankee organization held a statewide convention in Southport in 1844, one of the first such conventions in Wisconsin.

The Yankees introduced wheat cultivation to Wisconsin in the mid-nineteenth century, which became Wisconsin's biggest economic asset until the 1880s. Other agricultural developments were introduced by the Yankees, such as hop cultivation which accounted for Sauk County becoming a world leader in its production. Also, blooded livestock was introduced by Yankees and promoted at state and county fairs (Alexander 1946:28). The cheese industry was introduced to Wisconsin in 1864 when a New York native, Chester Hazen, set up the first commercial cheese factory at Lagoda in Fond du Lac County.

The influence of the Yankees on industry in Wisconsin was felt in the developing lumber industry. Yankee entrepreneurs such as Daniel Shaw, Isaac Stevenson, and Philetus Sawyer actively recruited lumbermen from the forested areas of New England to develop Wisconsin's northwestern pine industry. The Menominee River and Boom Company, formed by Stevenson and Sawyer in 1867, produced over 675 million board feet of pine in its first year (Nesbit 1973:300).

The Yankee settlers brought with them a belief in the benefits of education. Their Protestant evangelical attitudes led them to believe that knowledge was the best way to weaken the influence of Satan, while their entrepreneurial spirit inclined them to believe that a sound education made good inroads into the market place (Smith 1973:575). Yankees also brought with them to Wisconsin the idea of free schools, usually at the local level. Among Yankee settlers, informal community cooperation enabled the establishment of schools at the primary and secondary levels. This was usually done without taxation at the local level, even though in the territorial period the legislature was not providing tax-supported education (see Primary and Secondary Education study units, Cultural Resource Management in Wisconsin, vol. 3). Many communities also had private schools funded by the wealthier citizenry, usually of New England origin or descent.

The Yankee element also brought architectural building styles that would leave an indelible imprint on Wisconsin. In his study of the architecture of Wisconsin, Perrin notes a "pronounced visual similarity between Wisconsin and eastern, primarily New York, examples of architecture" (Perrin 1967:52). The Greek Revival style was very popular in the east in the period 1830 to 1870, and the Yankee settlers brought it west with them. The Yankees were inclined to adapt the style to the materials of construction available in Wisconsin. Consequently, there are variations of the style using brick and fieldstone

rather than the more popular wood construction of the East (Perrin 1967:52). Cobblestone was another construction material that was almost solely used in Yankee settlement areas. Extant examples are located throughout Wisconsin and many can be found in Rock County (see Cobblestone Buildings of Rock County - Thematic Nomination, NRHP 9-13-85).

The impact of the Yankees in the territorial and early statehood period of Wisconsin is noticeable in nearly all aspects of political, social, agricultural and commercial history. The Yankee farmers brought with them an agricultural tradition that was the foundation for the important role Wisconsin eventually had in wheat and dairy production. The Yankee businessman, lawyer, and clergyman brought with them the political, moral, and financial ideals that would establish the course of Wisconsin history in the nineteenth century. By the 1870s, the first generation of Yankees was being replaced by their children. Their prominent standing in Wisconsin was being challenged by other ethnic groups, yet their ideals and influence continue to be felt today.

SOUTHERNERS

The period of southern migration and influence in Wisconsin was relatively short, lasting from the late 1820s to around 1840. Settlers from southern states and territories were the first white Americans after fur traders and military men to arrive in Wisconsin. They were attracted by the opening of the lead region in southwest Wisconsin. Using primarily the Mississippi River as their route of travel, pioneers from Illinois, Missouri, Tennessee, Kentucky, Virginia, and even North Carolina began seeping into the lead region beginning around 1826. By 1840, settlers from southern areas numbered approximately 5,400, of which 56 percent lived in the lead region (Smith 1973:468). By the mid-1840s, the lead industry had slackened and southern immigration slowed to a mere trickle.

The southwest Wisconsin lead region, encompassing the present counties of Crawford, Grant, Iowa, and Lafayette, had for several years a distinctly southern intellectual and social atmosphere (Fatzinger 1971:27). Area papers quoted southern newspapers, and there were a few black slaves in the region brought from the south by their owners (see Black study unit, Cultural Resource Management in Wisconsin, vol. 1).

By the time Wisconsin was admitted to the Union as a state, southern political influence had waned. This was reflected in the numbers of territorial legislators. In 1836 there were fifteen legislators of southern origin, fifteen from middle states, and six from the northeast. In 1846 there were six from the south, sixteen from the middle states, and seventeen from the Northeast (Smith 1973:468). Further encroaching Yankee influence was reflected in the county commission versus town system of local government legislative debate.

Henry Dodge was probably the most influential southerner in Wisconsin history. Originally from Indiana, he spent his boyhood in Kentucky and Missouri and moved with his family and slaves into the Galena lead region in 1827. He settled on the lands of the Winnebago Indians, near present-day Dodgeville in Iowa County. Dodge quickly rose to a leadership position in the area by pressing miners' claims against both the Indians and the federal government (State Historical Society 1960:104). Dodge's visibility and influence increased during the Black Hawk War of 1832 when he led the Iowa County Militia and later (1833-1836) commanded a contingent of U.S. dragoons. The field of politics was Henry Dodge's forte. He was the first governor of the Wisconsin Territory and was elected to two subsequent terms. He was also a delegate to the U.S. Congress as well as serving as U.S. Senator for two terms.

Another southerner who exerted considerable influence in early Wisconsin history was Major John H. Rountree. Major Rountree was born in Kentucky and made his way to Wisconsin in 1827 to involve himself in mining. Enjoying considerable success in that

venture, he is also credited with founding the village of Platteville in Grant County, serving as chief justice of the Iowa County court, and serving as a territorial legislator and state senator. Major Rountree's house in Platteville reflects a distinctively southern influence architecturally. The two-story balustraded porch on the Greek Revival house is an accurate reflection of southern taste (J.H. Rountree Mansion, NRHP 1986).

IDENTIFICATION

Resource Types

Yankee. Congregational churches, temperance meeting halls, Greek Revival or Cobblestone architecture, homes or farmsteads of prominent Yankee settlers, districts that reflect Yankee settlement patterns.

Southern. Homes of prominent southern settlers, architecture exhibiting a southern influence.

Locational Patterns of Resource Types

Yankee. Yankee settlers and entrepreneurs located in all areas of Wisconsin in the historic period, 1830-1870. The most concentrated area of settlement was in the southeast corner of Wisconsin known as "Yankee land." This included the counties of Kenosha, Racine, Walworth, Waukesha, Jefferson, Milwaukee, and parts of Dane and Rock. Yankees could be found in both rural and urban locations.

Southern. Primarily in southwestern counties in the historic lead region and along the Mississippi River.

Previous Surveys

Yankee. No survey has been done that deals specifically with the settlement of Yankees in Wisconsin. However, the surveys Historic Resources Survey, City of Kenosha, Wisconsin, Department of Community Development, City of Kenosha, 1982; Hartland: A Thematic History and an Intensive Survey of Historic Resources, Southeastern Wisconsin Regional Planning Commission, 1985; and Intensive Survey Report, Historic Resources of the City of Beloit, Wisconsin, Department of Community Development, City of Beloit, 1984, all touch on the settlement of the Yankees.

Southern. Settlement of Southerners is touched on in An Intensive Architectural and Historic Survey of Mining Communities in Portions of Lafayette and Grant Counties, Wisconsin, Southwestern Regional Planning Commission 1983.

Survey and Research Needs

Yankee. Considering the important influence the Yankees had on the early development of Wisconsin, relatively little research has been undertaken on Yankee settlement. Research and field work should be undertaken to identify specific Yankee settlement patterns.

Southern. Research should be conducted into the social, political, and economic influence southern immigrants exerted on the lead mining region in the 1820 to 1840 period.

EVALUATION

National Register Listings and Determinations of Eligibility

Yankee

Cobblestone Buildings of Rock County - Thematic Nomination (1845-1848), Countywide.
Rock County (NRPH 1985).

Evansville Historic District, Evansville, Rock County (NRHP 1978).

Israel Stowell Temperance House (1840), 61-65 E. Walworth Avenue, Delavan, Walworth
County (NRPH 1978).

Sewall Andrews House (1842), 103 Main St., Mukwonago, Waukesha County (NRHP
1981).

Southern

J.H. Rountree Mansion (1854), 150 Rountree Avenue, Platteville, Grant
County (NRHP 1986).

Context Considerations

Yankee. The Yankee settlement in Wisconsin occurred in an extremely important period in the state's history and it had a very profound impact on the development of the territory and state. While Yankee influence should be considered primarily in the rural or state context, resources should be more carefully studied in the broader context of transmission of New England cultural values to Wisconsin. Specific historical and architectural associations should continue to be evaluated.

Southern. Because the period of southern immigration was so short, substantial settlement patterns would be extremely difficult to determine. Attention should be given to outstanding individual southern settlers involved in politics or business and examples of southern influence in architecture. Local significance would be most likely.

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Temporal Boundaries: 1840-1950, with heaviest immigration between 1916-1924 and in the post-World War II period.

Spatial Boundaries: Primarily in urban areas of Milwaukee, Racine, Janesville, Beloit, and Madison. Some rural settlement in southwestern counties.

Related Study Units: Methodist Church, Fraternal Organizations, Yankee and Southern Settlement.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The black experience in the United States has been long and difficult and has had a profound impact on the shaping of American society. The forced migration of the slave trade brought hundreds of thousands of blacks from Africa to the American colonies and states. The slavery issue, never adequately addressed in the Constitution of 1787, led to further inadequate legislation as the nation expanded westward and ultimately led to the Civil War. Although blacks lived in the states of the north, the majority lived in the agricultural south and the end of the Civil War brought about the first major migration to northern areas. Subsequent migrations were in the World War I years, 1916-1924, and during and after World War II, 1941-1955. Blacks have been in Wisconsin since the territorial period, but considerable numbers did not arrive until the World War I and post-World War II periods.

The black slave trade in America probably began in 1619 when a Dutch ship deposited twenty slaves at Jamestown in the British colony of Virginia. The use of slaves and the slave trade had been in existence in the western hemisphere for nearly one hundred years prior to 1619, but slavery was found primarily in Spanish and Portuguese holdings in the Caribbean and Central and South America. It is probable that the Spanish used black slaves in their Florida territory. Arab and Portuguese slave traders were primarily responsible for the kidnapping of often entire villages along the west coast of Africa and the selling of their "cargo" to Dutch, Spanish, or English entrepreneurs for resale in the New World. As compared to the slave trade in the Caribbean and Central and South America, the trade in the American colonies and later the United States was relatively minor. Whereas the estimate for the number of slaves in Spanish and Portuguese holdings during the trading era ranges from ten to fifteen million, the number of black slaves imported to America is considered to have been around 450,000 in the slave trading era (Johnson and Campbell 1981:7-9).

Wholesale importation of African slaves into the English colonies did not begin until the latter part of the seventeenth century. Accounting for this late influx was the lack of an English slaving fleet in the Atlantic and the absence of English colonies or forts in Africa. Also, the English Civil War (1641-1649) stunted the development of the American colonies. Most significantly, however, was the English practice of using indentured servants. Immigrants were given tracts of land in exchange for working at the will and pleasure of a landowner for a period of five to seven years (Johnson and Campbell 1981:10).

Slaves were imported primarily into the southern colonies where agriculture was the major economic force. Numbers of slaves were also imported into the northern colonies, but they were primarily located in the larger cities where they were used as a domestic work force. As anti-slavery sentiments and organizations increased in the north, slavery gradually abated and eventually was abolished in the north. The early southern colonies relied on tobacco and rice cultivation as an economic base, but it was not until cotton

became a major cash crop and the subsequent development of the plantation system that the importation of black slaves showed its greatest demand.

Because the ratified Constitution of 1787 did not adequately address the slave issue in the new United States, the legal importation of black slaves continued until 1807 when the slave trade was declared illegal. An estimated 55,000 more were smuggled in illegally between 1807 and 1865 (Johnson and Campbell 1981:9). As agitation for slave liberation grew in the North in the form of abolition societies and anti-slavery newspapers, the southern states adamantly defended the institution as the economic basis for southern agrarian society. As the westward expansion continued and more territories requested statehood, the slavery issue could no longer be ignored by Congress and several important pieces of legislation became landmarks in American history. The Missouri Compromise of 1820 admitted Missouri as a slave state and Maine as free, obviously to keep the balance equal in the Senate so neither northern nor southern states could monopolize votes. The Compromise further stated that no slavery would be allowed above the 36° 30' latitude (northern border of Missouri). The Compromise of 1850 admitted California as a free state, but the most important part of this legislation was the strengthening of the Fugitive Slave Law. This law, originally passed in 1793, allowed for the capture and return of runaway slaves to the south. The act encouraged increased abolitionist activities in the North. The Kansas-Nebraska Bill of 1856 allowed for the organization of those two territories, with the slave issue left up to a simple yes-no vote by settlers. This triggered an immediate influx of pro-slavery and abolitionist settlers and a territorial civil war ensued that was a microcosm of the coming events of 1861. This act and following events gave rise to the Republican Party, whose platform was opposition to any further westward extension of slavery. Pre-Civil War legislative and court rulings culminated in the Dred Scot ruling by the United States Supreme Court that stated that a slave holder could carry his slave into free territory and continue to hold him in bondage. Although Congress tried to deal with the slavery issue, the Civil War was a seemingly inevitable consequence of the existence of the institution. With the Union victory, Congress passed the 13th Amendment in 1865 forever abolishing slavery, the 14th granting citizenship, and the 15th Amendment in 1870 giving the right to vote to blacks.

Although blacks were greatly restricted in their movements in the western hemisphere by slavery and severe economic deprivation, many were able to move about in the United States. There were also free blacks who had accumulated some wealth. Many slaves were voluntarily freed by their masters, usually in the North but also in the South. Some slaves were able to buy their freedom and moved out of the slave holding states. Many, however, simply escaped slavery and made their way north to freedom. The Underground Railroad of the early to mid-nineteenth century, usually operated by sympathetic whites, aided escaped slaves to move clandestinely northward. The Underground Railroad had its greatest support from various local or statewide abolitionist groups that had organized in the early and mid century.

There was considerable anti-slavery sentiment in Wisconsin in the ante-bellum period. The most sympathetic geographic areas were in the southeastern counties of Walworth, Kenosha, Racine, and Milwaukee where there was a strong Yankee population that had transplanted abolition sentiment to Wisconsin (see Cultural Resource Management in Wisconsin, Vol. 1, Yankee and Southern study unit). This anti-slavery sentiment was expressed in several abolitionist publications of the day, principally the "American Freeman" published in Milwaukee by the volatile Sherman Booth. There are references to an Underground Railroad network in Wisconsin, but substantial accurate historical data is lacking. Several abolitionist societies were active in Wisconsin as well. These were the Wisconsin Anti-Slavery Society, the Wisconsin Territorial Anti-Slavery Society, the Wisconsin Liberty Association, and the Wisconsin Baptist Free Mission Society. The Liberty Association, comprised almost entirely of New England and New York Yankees, held a statewide convention in Southport (Kenosha) in 1844, the first such convention in Wisconsin. These societies were active in most of the settled areas of Wisconsin, but most

of their lobbying, educational, and fund raising activities were in the eastern and southeastern counties.

Historians have traditionally tended to focus attention on black history in the United States solely in relation to the institution of slavery. Recent attention has been given to the impact of the population of free blacks in both the North and South in the ante-bellum period. Free blacks had been present in America from colonial times onward. Blacks were noted among the voyageurs and fur traders in the Northwest Territory in the "French" era (see Cultural Resource Management in Wisconsin, Vol. 1, Fur Trading study unit). In the English colonial period free blacks were employed as servants, industrial workers, farm hands, and merchant sailors. With the advent and conclusion of the American Revolution, the ideals of the struggle led to the gradual emancipation of blacks, particularly in the North and somewhat in the upper South. In the ante-bellum period of the United States, free blacks were employed in a number of occupations, from artisans to farmers and whalers to business proprietors and musicians. Black businessmen were found in both the North and South. These blacks usually had to rely on white sponsorship since banks would rarely loan money to a black (Foner 1975:542). After all, these were still free blacks in a racist society.

Blacks had several routes to freedom. Probably the most common of these was flight from bondage, usually from southern states to northern. Service in the military during the Revolution was another way, although not always automatic. On occasion, black veterans had to petition state legislators or courts to force their master to honor their commitment to liberate them after service (Foner 1975:498). Self purchase was another avenue to freedom. The practice allowed for a slave to hire himself out for pay and to eventually buy himself from his master. This practice was common in the North and upper South, but less so in the deep South. It was also more common in the period before 1807 (when slave importation was legal) when the price of slaves was relatively low. Freedom suits occurred when a slave could contend he was descended from a white mother. This practice was also more common and easier in the North and upper South where the laws were more liberal. Lastly, a slave could gain freedom from bondage merely by his service to his master. Slave owners would manumit their bondsmen because of unusual service or upon the master's death. By 1860, it is estimated that there were over one-half million free blacks in the United States and these blacks could be found in all levels of society.

Manumitted or escaped slaves invariably made their way north to areas where they could be free to pursue their own lives. Many headed for the larger cities where economic opportunities might be better, and some settled in rural areas of the upper Midwest or New England to work on farms, saving to buy their own one day.

The long and bloody Civil War kept the Union intact and emancipated the hundreds of thousands of black slaves in the South. Vast numbers of blacks had been displaced by the warfare wrought by invading Union Armies in the south. Thus, 1865 began the first major black migration out of the South and into the North and West. The migration northward was comparatively small compared to the streams that would develop in the next century. Most of the blacks who went north in this period were from the upper South, notably the states of Virginia, North Carolina, and Tennessee (Johnson, Campbell 1981:46). Blacks in the deep South would not move northward until the early twentieth century. Instead, these blacks usually left plantations and moved to the urban areas of the South.

The second great wave of black migration has become known as the "Great Migration," occurring during and immediately after World War I. Labor shortages in northern industry due to the war provided a "pull," while severe economic oppression, discrimination, and actual racist violence provided a "push" for southern blacks. The third wave of northward movement occurred during and after World War II, when again labor shortages and better economic and social opportunities beckoned.

Blacks in Wisconsin

The presence of blacks in Wisconsin has been recorded as far back as the mid 1700s when blacks accompanied French voyageurs and fur traders into the region. In the early nineteenth century free blacks were settling in rural areas and the lead region (Nesbit 1985:436). Although the Northwest Ordinance of 1787 prohibited slavery in the Northwest Territory, a census taken in 1835 in the region which is now Wisconsin shows that out of ninety-one blacks, twenty-seven were listed as slaves (Cooper 1977:3). These slaves were more than likely servants of southern army officers stationed in Wisconsin or working in the lead region, having been brought into that area by southern settlers (see Cultural Resource Management Plan, Vol. 1, Yankee and Southern).

Although blacks never reached large numbers in Wisconsin, they made a significant impact in rural and urban parts of the state in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Blacks enjoyed a relatively more amiable and sympathetic climate in Wisconsin, and in several rural communities they owned and worked the land alongside their white neighbors. Unfortunately, racist attitudes kept blacks in menial labor positions and in poor living conditions in urban areas, although some were able to rise to a level of affluence through labor or business enterprise. Although Wisconsin was the first state to challenge the Fugitive Slave Law in 1855, extension of voting rights to blacks failed in 1849, 1857, and 1865. It finally passed in 1882 (Nesbit 1985:440). The operation of the Underground Railroad may have existed in Wisconsin but factual historic evidence is lacking.

Blacks in Wisconsin, as in the rest of the United States, tend to dwell in urban areas, although there have been significant rural settlements of Afro-Americans. Census records for Wisconsin show a relatively slow growth of the black population over the years. In 1850, blacks numbered 635; in 1860, 1171; in 1870, 2113; 1880, 2702. The most significant growth of black population in Wisconsin occurred between 1910 and 1930, with a rise from 2,900 blacks to 10,739, an increase of 7,839 (U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1943:567). Between 1940 and 1950, the black population increased from 12,158 to 28,182. Of these, 26,749 were considered urban.

Rural Settlement

Census figures throughout the 19th century reveal very few counties with more than one hundred "Negro" residents. Most of these blacks worked as farm laborers or in the lead and zinc mines of southwestern Wisconsin, while some were able to secure enough funds to buy and work a farm of their own. Two rural communities of black settlers deserve particular mention, Pleasant Ridge in the Town of Beetown in Grant County and the Cheyenne Valley community in the Town of Forest in Vernon County. The Pleasant Ridge community was formed in 1848 when several families of former slaves settled and farmed the land. Several dozen black families and whites settled at Pleasant Ridge both before and after the Civil War, and the town boasted an integrated school and church in the mid 1800s (Cooper 1977:25). The community began to decline by the 1870s due to lack of opportunity for the younger generation and has since lost its black character.

The Cheyenne Valley community in Vernon County lasted much longer than Pleasant Ridge. Its first permanent settler was Walter Stewart, a black who arrived in May, 1855. After 1855, more blacks arrived in the area as restrictions, denial of public education in the northern border states, as well as the fear generated by the Fugitive Slave Act enticed blacks to move further north. Cheyenne Valley grew and prospered as more blacks arrived. Blacks and whites worked, socialized, and prayed together in the community. Although farming was the primary occupation in the area, lumber production also provided jobs. The Cheyenne Valley community endured because of considerable integration and, unlike Pleasant Ridge, interracial marriage. An interesting individual

who for many years was a part of the black communities in Vernon County was Alga Shivers. Shivers migrated to the Cheyenne Valley after the Civil War and owned a sizable farm. He also designed and constructed several round barns in the area in the period 1910 to 1923 when round barns were popular agricultural structures (LaFarge Epitaph Nov. 1979).

Blacks who settled in rural Wisconsin were attracted, as with many ethnic groups, by the prospect of cheap land, educational opportunities, and above all, freedom. Rural black settlement can be characterized by the energy and persistence shown by these people and their acceptance by their white neighbors who lived and worked side by side with them.

Urban Settlement

Throughout their entire experience in Wisconsin, blacks have concentrated in urban areas, most notably in Milwaukee, where in 1890 one fourth of Wisconsin's blacks lived. In 1930, 7,773 of Wisconsin's total black population of 10,739 blacks resided in Milwaukee (16th Census Characteristics of Population 1943:567). Other considerable numbers of blacks were found in Madison, Beloit, and Racine.

Blacks have resided in Milwaukee since the 1830s. By 1850, 101 blacks lived there, mostly employed as servants (Central Business District Historic Resources Survey 1986:7). These blacks resided throughout the city. By 1870, the black population had begun to concentrate on the west side of the Milwaukee River in the Fourth and Third Wards. As the total population of Milwaukee grew, blacks were confronted with increasing discrimination and prejudice. Until 1868, blacks and whites worshipped together in the same churches. After that time worship was segregated, with blacks attending the African Methodist Episcopal Church. Although mostly employed in service-related jobs, blacks were often employed in industrial jobs, but usually at the lowest level (Trotter 1985:45). Often blacks were employed as strikebreakers. Since industrial enterprises would not hire blacks in skilled positions and unions would not allow black membership, it was not hard for blacks to cross picket lines, even though they were usually "let go" once the strike had ended. By 1900, a few blacks had managed to become involved in managing businesses such as restaurants, laundries, and saloons. Thus, the beginning of a small middle class was begun, but most often success depended on catering to a white clientele (Central Business District Historic Resources Survey 1986:39).

The black population in Milwaukee grew dramatically in the years 1916-17 and 1924-25. The increasing demand for wartime labor and sharp decrease in foreign immigration led to an increased influx of blacks to the city. The great increase in black population led to an increased "ghettoization" in the city. By 1932, the black district was encompassed by State Street in the south, along Third Street along the Milwaukee River to North Avenue, and Twelfth Street to the west (Trotter 1985:68). The area along the Milwaukee River had become known as the "bad lands" where gambling, prostitution, and general debauchery were reputedly rampant. Unfortunately, all blacks from the Fourth Ward became associated with the area (Nesbit 1985:440).

After 1900, the black community organized churches belonging to the Baptist, Methodist, and Congregationalist denominations. Also, blacks had managed to organize fraternal and mutual aid societies. These included the Black Knights of Pythias, a black branch of the Grand United Order of Odd Fellows, and six Masonic Lodges. Many of these organizations went into decline after World War I, but a few remained (Central Business District Historic Resources Survey 1986:52-53) (See also Cultural Resource Management in Wisconsin, Vol. 3, Fraternal Organizations study unit.).

In Madison, blacks have always been small proportionally, but have been in the city from its early settlement period. Although the first black was noted in 1847, blacks numbered only 348 in 1930. The early 20th century blacks settled in the Greenbush area, known as

"the Bush," in south Madison around Mills, Regent, and Erin Streets (Mollenhoff 1982:353). Another area that became a small black community was along East Dayton and North Blair Streets. In this neighborhood the former slave John Turner established a black community and helped found the St. Paul's African Methodist Episcopal Church in 1907. Many of the original buildings of the early black community are still extant. Another black church was formed in Madison in 1913, the Mt. Zion Baptist Church.

In Beloit the first black church society was established in 1881 to serve the then small local population. Blacks continued to organize their own churches in the city well into the 1950s because they were not openly invited or encouraged to join the churches attended by white residents. The most significant wave of black migration to Beloit occurred during World War I. The Fairbanks-Morse Corporation, an engine manufacturing company, recruited heavily for workers during the World War I boom years in an effort to fill vacancies created by war-related industrial expansion. With immigrant labor severely limited by the war, the local firms decided to actively recruit black southern laborers (Hartung 1982).

The Fairbanks Flats Historic District in Beloit (NRHP 1983) is a good representation of the attitudes regarding blacks at the time and is a rare and perhaps the only example of planned segregated housing in Wisconsin. The "Flats" were built by the Fairbanks-Morse Corporation for the black workers who were employed by the company and were "bunker-like" flats located a considerable distance from the plant. The housing the company built for the white employees was located near the plant and included one-story cottages on a landscaped street. In addition to the Fairbanks Flats area, Beloit's west and southeast sides also became centers for black settlement. By 1920 Beloit had 834 black residents (Hartung 1982).

IDENTIFICATION

Resource Types. Churches, businesses, fraternal lodges or meeting places, schools, farms, homes of prominent blacks.

Locational Patterns of Resource Types. Few resources from the historic period of black rural settlement are known, but could exist in the farm areas of Vernon and Grant counties. Resources will primarily be found in the historic urban settlement areas of Milwaukee and Madison and, perhaps, Janesville and Racine.

Previous Surveys. Substantial information on black settlement in Milwaukee is presented in the Central Business District Historic Resources Survey Volume I, City of Milwaukee, 1986. Also, the Intensive Survey Report, Historic Resources of the City of Beloit, Wisconsin; Department of Community Development, 1984 and a draft of The Intensive Survey of Madison, Historic Preservation Unit, Division of Planning, City of Madison, offered information on blacks in these communities.

Survey and Research Needs. More investigation and identification of black settlement in urban areas in the historic period (1850-1930) should be conducted. Also, additional research is needed in the rural areas of black settlements of Vernon and Grant counties.

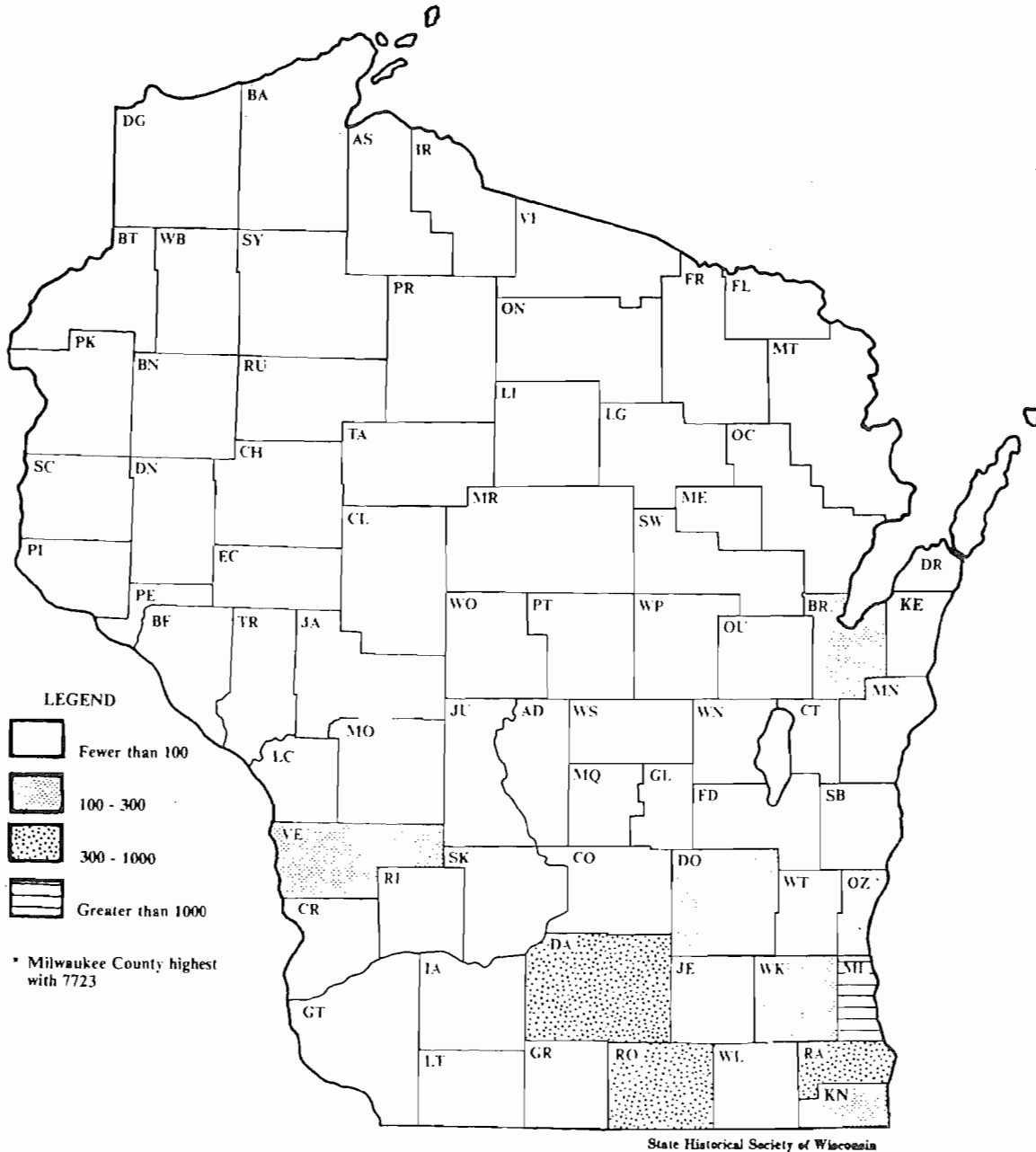
EVALUATION

National Register Listings and Determinations of Eligibility

Miller House (1908), 647 E. Dayton St., Madison, Dane County (NRHP 1979)
Fairbanks Flats (1917) Beloit MRA, 205, 215 Birch and 206, 216
Carpenter, Beloit, Rock County (NRHP 1983).

Context Considerations. Evaluations should be made primarily on a local basis, but statewide or national significance should not be discounted. Properties or districts exhibiting settlement by a group of blacks or individual properties associated with significant individuals or organizations may be the most likely types of properties to be eligible. Identification of resources associated with black settlement will be difficult, particularly in rural areas. Rural settlement by blacks in Wisconsin was rare and such settlements usually did not last more than a generation before dying out or losing their black characteristic to various white ethnic groups.

BLACK SETTLEMENT



Blacks in Wisconsin, 1930

Source: Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1932: Vol. 3, Population, pp. 1325 - 1327.

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