CULTURAL RESOURCE MANAGEMENT
IN WISCONSIN: VOLUME 1

A MANUAL FOR HISTORIC PROPERTIES

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STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF WISCONSIN

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FOREWORD

The State Historical Society of Wisconsin began its state historic preservation program in earnest in 1972, in response to the passage of the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966. In 1973 the Society's "State Historic Preservation Office" began surveying the state to identify significant historic and prehistoric resources. In 1977 the Society established the Division of Historic Preservation, committing itself formally to carrying out a preservation program for the state. By 1986, the division had identified some 70,000 properties of historic and prehistoric significance and listed them in a statewide inventory.

As the state's inventory and historic preservation program has grown, it has become apparent that all the data it has generated need to be rendered comprehensible through (1) computerization and (2) planning. Entering the manual inventory into an electronic database was begun, with technical assistance from the University of Wisconsin, in the early 1980s. Because this can only be done when a few dollars can be found to hire temporary employes to enter data, this work has gone too slowly for our taste. Nevertheless, we have begun and intend to continue automating the inventory until the job is finished.

This document represents the culmination of the initial phase of the second ingredient of comprehensibility--planning. We have identified thousands upon thousands of potentially significant properties, but it remains the task of comprehensive planning to place those properties into logical contexts by which they can be evaluated, and to understand the relative importance of each of Wisconsin's rich collection of historic, architectural, and archeological resources. Sound decisions about preservation imperatives and priorities only can be made based on such evaluations, which are rendered through the planning process.

Credit for defining and implementing Wisconsin's comprehensive historic preservation planning process to date belongs first and foremost to Project Director Barbara Wyatt, Deputy State Historic Preservation Officer and chief of the division's Survey and Registration Section. She had the vision, practical knowledge, and tenacity to carry this project to its present form, in spite of the innumerable hurdles of bureacracy, research standards, time pressures, federal requirements, and the need to work with a continually changing cadre of temporary employes.

This plan should begin to build the foundations for future decisions relating to the preservation of Wisconsin's historic resources. As Barbara notes in her introduction, it is not a static document, but is subject to revision--as the notebook format suggests--as our knowledge and understanding grow. We encourage readers to let us know their reactions to this report and advise us about any errors they may find or improvements they wish to suggest. Through such exchanges of information we can build upon the work Barbara and her staff have begun to realize for Wisconsin a truly comprehensive historic preservation planning process.

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State Historic Preservation Officer
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Several individuals edited and augmented the research presented in these study units, notably staff and limited term employees of the Historic Preservation Division. The primary authors of each study unit contained in Volume 1 of the cultural resource management plan are listed below.

INTRODUCTION

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HISTORIC INDIANS

Introduction	John Holtzhueter
Chippewa/Ojibwa	Janet Speth
Eastern Dakota	Janet Speth
Fox	Janet Speth
Huron-Tionnontate (Petun)	Janet Speth
Kickapoo	Janet Speth
Mascouten	Janet Speth
Menominee	Janet Speth
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Potawatomi	Janet Speth
Sauk	Janet Speth
Stockbridge/Munsee/Brothertown "New York Indians"	Janet Speth
Winnebago	Janet Speth

FUR TRADE

Introduction	Robert Fay
French Fur Control	Robert Fay
British Fur Control	Robert Fay
American Fur Control	Robert Fay

GOVERNMENT

Introduction	Randal Wallar
Military Frontier	Robert Fay
Civil War Installations	David Lewis
State Militia	David Lewis
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Territorial Government	Leonard Garfield
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SETTLEMENT

The cultural resource management plan for historic properties provides the state's historic preservation community a framework for planning for the identification, evaluation, and protection of cultural resources in Wisconsin. The plan identifies types of cultural properties that occur and guidelines for evaluating these properties, and suggests which properties should be of highest concern to preservationists. The Plan initially was developed as a requirement made by the National Park Service when the Resource Protection Planning Process ("RP3") was implemented. The Historic Preservation Division of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin quickly realized that the federal requirement would provide excellent opportunity to develop a framework for Wisconsin's historic preservation program and to standardize procedures in all program areas. This plan is intended for cultural resources associated with Wisconsin's historic period. A preliminary plan for prehistoric resources has been developed in a separate publication, Introduction to Wisconsin Archeology. It is supplemented by the various regional archeology reports prepared through the survey program.

Although the plan was designed primarily for use with the National Register of Historic Places program, its usefulness to local, state, and federal programs is considerable. Local historic preservation commissions can use the information for local evaluations, for setting priorities for accomplishing work within their municipalities, and to augment comprehensive plans. State and federal agencies can use the information to plan strategies for preservation and development, and for nominating properties and districts to the National Register of Historic Places.

A plan is not intended as a static document. It is formulated in a given period, within the parameters then in effect, and with the information currently available. This cultural resource management plan is no exception. It was developed with the level of knowledge available in the mid-1980s, with the understanding that guidelines and priorities would change as further research and survey work is undertaken. The format of the publication makes a clear statement of that intent: with the notebook format any of the pages can be replaced as priorites change and as new information is revealed. The Historic Preservation Division's intensive survey program will continue to gather information that is useful to the planning process. As intensive surveys are completed and survey reports prepared, the information will be assessed for its impact on this plan. Updating study units and researching study units not yet written will be an on-going activity of the Historic Preservation Division. Periodically, the division staff will assess the survey and registration priorities listed for each theme, considering work accomplished and work that still must be undertaken. New priorities that have surfaced will be added to these sections of the report. The priority lists and other information in the plan will be used each year for the following activities:

- establishing criteria for selecting subgrant projects;

- determining staff survey, registration, and research projects;

- determining limited term employee projects; and

- deciding to what extent compliance surveys are necessary

Information in the plan can also contribute to important decision making concerning expenditures. Conducting fruitful surveys and nominating numerous properties to the National Register are necessary concerns of the Historic Preservation Division so that it can maintain its competitive standing among other states competing for federal historic preservation funds. Even though budgeting must take into consideration these factors, the major concern of the division is to work efficiently to protect as many Wisconsin properties

as possible. The information in this plan should be useful in striking the necessary balance between practical considerations concerning the products that the division must produce and the work that is needed to fulfill the division's preservation goals, as defined by the priorities listed in this report.

SUMMARY OF RESOURCE PROTECTION PLANNING PROCESS

Who Should Use the Plan?

1. State Historical Society of Wisconsin
2. National Register preparers
3. Surveyors
4. Historic preservation consultants
5. Local historic preservation commissions
6. Local, state, and federal government agencies

Activities that Require Use of the Plan

1. National Register nomination preparation
2. Surveys
3. Historic Preservation Fund subgrant funded activity
4. Environmental reviews when compliance with Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act is warranted
5. Development of work plans for the Historic Preservation Division

Activities that Can Benefit from Use of the Plan

1. Local landmark designations
2. Comprehensive planning at the municipal level
3. Planning by state and federal agencies
4. Development of work plans by historic preservation organizations

How the Planning Process Works

1. Priorities are established for survey and registration activity in the 1986 plan.

2. Historic Preservation Fund subgrant work, Historic Preservation Division staff work, compliance activity, and local preservation activity is based on the priorities established for each theme and the needs identified for each study unit.

3. As work is completed by the Historic Preservation Division information in the plan is updated and priorities are revised.

4. As local survey and registration work is completed, particularly by historic preservation commissions and Certified Local Governments, the Historic Preservation Division is provided with information to update the plan and is apprised of new priorities identified by the local units of government.

5. As state and federal agencies complete survey and registration work, the Historic Preservation Division is provided with information and new priorities, as above.

How Evaluation Activity is Affected by the Plan

1. Information in the study units is used to identify the appropriate historical contexts.

2. Information in the plan, augmented by local and site specific research, is used to develop historic contexts or to demonstrate a property is of historical significance. Although every property may not have historical significance, an evaluation of non-significance should be made only after the appropriate study

unit has been consulted and after sufficient historical research has been undertaken.

3.   Periods of significance are developed with the assistance of the study units.

4.   Parameters for survey work needed to develop an evaluation are established with the assistance of the "Spatial Boundaries" and "Locational Patterns of Resources" sections of the study units.

5.   Appropriate levels of significance (local, state, or national) are determined with the assistance of the study units.

6.   Architectural descriptions are developed according to the information presented in the "Architecture Theme."

7.   The context for architectural evaluations is established with the assistance of the "Architecture Theme."

Study Units and Themes that are Incomplete

1.   Background research must be conducted to the extend necessary to develop a historic context and determine the appropriate level of significance for a resource.

2.   The Historic Preservation Division will incorporate priorities into the plan as study units are developed and as priorities are identified through the registrsation and survey process.

3.   Preservation constituents should alert the Historic Preservation Division to the existance of priorities that concern incomplete study units.

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK OF WISCONSIN'S CULTURAL RESOURCE MANAGEMENT PLAN FOR HISTORIC PROPERTIES

The Wisconsin cultural resource management plan for historic properties was designed to influence several programs operated by the Historic Preservation Division, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, and to assist public and private participants in those programs. The division's overriding concerns were to improve the identification and evaluation of historic properties, to develop a basis for establishing priorities for staff work and subgrant awards, and to improve its ability and the ability of state, federal, and local agencies to comply with Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966. To those ends, the division required study units that contained specific information on every important aspect of the history of Wisconsin that could be used in the evaluation of specific properties or districts. Further, the study units would be most useful if they were presented in a format that related to the National Register areas of significance and the state intensive survey program.

Since the late 1970s intensive surveys in Wisconsin have been conducted on a thematic basis, with survey reports structured around thirteen standard themes such as agriculture, commerce, etc. For the body of information already accumulated in the intensive survey program to be most useful, development and implementation of a thematically-based plan was considered essential. Thus, the division selected an approach based on themes of history, rather than chronology or geography. Within each theme, however, temporal and geographic limits have been established.

Throughout the three-year preparation stage of this plan, the division evaluated the effectiveness of the approach in its survey and registration programs. Intensive survey reports have continued to be structured around the themes of history, in some cases resulting in National Register nominations that were prepared from the thematic chapters prepared for the survey report. The survey reports also proved useful when individual properties or districts were nominated after the survey was completed.

Surveyors have used draft versions of the Historic Preservation Division's study units to familiarize themselves with subjects and as an aid in developing historical contexts. Based on the experience of surveyors, study units have been added, deleted, and combined to better cover Wisconsin history and take advantage of available research. The list of study units finally decided upon may still be incomplete, but it covers the major aspects of Wisconsin history and provides preservationists with the major historical contexts necessary for evaluation purposes.

In their draft form, study units were used by the Historic Preservation Division to evaluate properties that were the subject of National Register nominations and properties involved in review and compliance cases. The historical information in the study units sometimes alerted the division staff to potential areas of significance. Descriptions of property types also were useful. Before the study units were available, in some cases the division had to conduct lengthy searches for information, request such information from constituents or, for lack of time and resources, ignore the potential historical significance of properties.

In summary, the Historic Preservation Division has already benefitted from the thematic approach to cultural resource management and its definition of study units. Both conceptually and practically it has been useful, from providing information necessary to evaluate individual properties to structuring surveys.

PROTECTION OF RESOURCES

The cultural resource management plan for historic properties addresses the protection of resources within the parameters of the federal and state historic preservation programs. Because the programs are based on the National Register of Historic Places and other elements of the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, protection is considered in the framework of the state's ability to influence the protection of properties. The thrust of protection activities undertaken by the state historic preservation office is the identification and registration of properties. When properties are identified their preservation becomes an issue: When they are listed in the National Register they become subject to the limited protection offered by the federal legislation. Thus, protection recommendations in this report concern properties for conducting surveys and registering properties.

Each of the themes presented in the cultural resource management plan begins with an overview of the subject and continues with a discussion of the types of threats to which the property types are vulnerable. Based on the survey and registration needs listed for each of the study units in the theme, a list of survey and registration priorities is presented. The priorities are both general and specific. In some cases an entire class of properties, such as half-timbered buildings, has been listed as a priority for both survey and registration. Other lists might include as a registration priorities the homes of certain prominent individuals and, as a survey priority, intensive surveys of a specific communities. The priority lists are useful for determining work that needs to be undertaken by the Historic Preservation Division, either by staff, through subgrants, or through compliance surveys. Because something is not included on the priority lists does not imply that it is not important or that survey work is unnecessary for evaluation activity. In fact, many of the state's important resources are not be listed on the priority lists for registration and most properties cannot be evaluated until certain survey work is undertaken. The priority lists do, however, contain resources that are highly endangered, rare, rapidly falling into disuse or disrepair, or associated with some of the most notable aspects of Wisconsin history. Many of the resources listed are probably of state-wide or national signficance.

PARTICIPATION OF PROFESSIONALS AND THE PUBLIC IN THE PLANNING PROCESS

The Historic Preservation Division attempted to involve as many people as possible in the planning process. Reviewers helped define study units and reviewed their context. Generally, reviewers fell into the following categories:

- historians, geographers, and scholars in related disciplines, who reviewed historical information;

- anthropologists knowledgable about the historic Indian study units;

- architectural historians and scholars in related disciplines, who reviewed the definitions of architecural styles and agricultural outbuildings;

- surveyors, who field tested the thematic approach and used the historical background sections in draft form;

- other knowledgable people, such as ministers, rabbis, people of ethnic heritage, and employees of state agencies.

The division searched far and wide for reviewers. Known experts who did not reside in Wisconsin reviewed study units and, although most reviewers were at least in the Midwest, a woman in Israel and a man in Boston were helpful. In some cases several people were approached before a willing reviewer was found. Reviewers for the religion study units were particularly difficult to find. In a few cases, a national organization provided the necessary review, while in others the review was a minister. Often, letters from the Historic Preservation Division made a circuitous route through a church or its hierarchy, finally landing on the desk of a willing and knowledgable reviewer.

Every attempt was made to have each study unit reviewed by more than one person. Although the majority of reviewers were historians, they represent many aspects of the profession. Academic historians were helpful, as were historians working in libraries, museums, and in local, state, and federal agencies. Staff of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin was particularly helpful.

Comments received from reviewers were addressed to the extent possible by the Historic Preservation Division staff. Some comments proved too lengthy to address, while others easily could be addressed by editing or further research. Comments that could not be addressed were included in the "Survey and Research Needs" sections of the study units.

The Historic Preservation Division was fortunate to receive widespread cooperation in the review process. As a result, not only is the accuracy of the report enhanced, but many historians became aware of the project and may be able to benefit from it.

In addition to the general review of completed study units, in the initial stages of the project several individuals were consulted about the list of proposed study units and about the conceptual framework of the plan. Each member of the initial project team consulted with a group of individuals related to his or her area of professional expertise. Thus, the project historian travelled the state to talk with about half a dozen historians. The historic archeologist consulted several of his colleagues, and the architectural historian twice gathered in Madison a group of the state's experts in attempt to achieve concensus on some aspects of Wisconsin's architectural heritage. These consultations helped guide early phases of the project and resulted in widespread acceptance among reviewers of the structure of the themes and study units.

WISCONSIN ARCHITECTURE: STANDARDIZED DESCRIPTORS

Architecture has been conceived as an "overlay" to the study units that contain historical information, and the planning report has been used as a means of standardizing architectural terminology in Wisconsin. The information in this report is primarily intended for the review of properties in their historical, non-architectural context, and with inclusion of the architecture theme it can also be used to improve the evaluation of architectural significance. For several years the division staff and members of the Wisconsin Historic Preservation Review Board, which reviews National Register nominations and advises the division on major activities, had been disturbed by some of the style attributions that appeared in survey reports and in National Register nominations. This occurred largely because surveyors from a wide variety of backgrounds were employed by the division and because nominations are prepared by people with various training. Thus, the descriptions in the architecture theme were intended to provide field guidance specifically for Wisconsin surveyors and to augment other publications on American architectual history.

A group of several architectural historians and members of the Historic Preservation Division staff met on 8 April 1983 and again on 13 July 1983 to discuss Wisconsin's predominant architectural styles, vernacular architecture, important construction materials and methods, and significant architects. The meetings resulted in general agreement on the styles presented in the section on architectural styles, although the list has been expanded slightly in the three years since the meetings took place to meet growing survey needs.

In addition to the work of the advisory committee, the division staff has attempted to improve descriptions of vernacular and agricultural buildingss. Staff of the division developed a "typology" for use in surveying vernacular buildings, which has been field tested for approximately two years. The terms have been useful, particularly for computerization of the Wisconsin Inventory of Historic Places, but are not considered definitive. If the nation's scholarly and professional organizations endorse a given set of terms, the Historic Preservation Division would conform to the national standard. Meanwhile, the terms explained in this plan are useful and are probably too general to be considered inaccurate.

More recently, the division has developed definitions for agricultural outbuildings that occur in Wisconsin. Developed by division staff from secondary sources, the definitions have been reviewed by the handful of people in the state who are known to be quite knowledgeable about buildings of this type. To date, the definitions have only been applied in two surveys, but surveyors have found them useful for categorizing and evaluating properties.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE CULTURAL RESOURCE MANAGEMENT PLAN

Preparation of Wisconsin's cultural resource management plan was begun in September 1983 when three people were hired by the Historic Preservation Division to identify and research study units. These individuals represented the three disciplines that the division hoped to affect by completion of a long-range plan: history, historic archeology, and architectural history. The plan began to take shape over the next several months, as the team consulted with their colleagues and began to formulate study unit definitions. During this period, the Historic Preservation Division staff began to realize that for study unit definitions to be of greatest use to participants in the program, complete research efforts would have to be undertaken. Thus, after this initial phase, researchers with expertise in specific subject areas were hired on a limited term basis to complete certain study units.

A cultural geographer with an interest in religious history, wrote almost all of the settlement and religion study units. Three students from the University of Wisconsin History Department researched study units concerning education, social and political movements, and military history. An engineer with an interest and expertise in historic bridges, was hired to write the metal truss bridge study unit, and an individual knowledgeable about industrial architecture researched study units in the industry theme. The staff historian worked on agriculture and government study units and the staff archeology assistant worked on the historic Indian study units.

In the summer of 1985 another historian from the University of Wisconsin was hired to begin to address the comments that were received from reviewers from around the state. The staff historian also addressed comments submitted by reviewers. In the fall of 1985 a history graduate student did an internship with the division and wrote the Jewish study unit.

After two years of research the Historic Preservation Division had to draw the research phase of the project to a close. Of the 153 study units identifed, 48 were not completed for the three volumes published in 1986. Because of the number of study units, early in the project the Historic Preservation Division was aware that all research would not be completed for the initial publication. Thus, a notebook format was selected for the publication so that additional study units could be inserted in the report as they were subsequently completed. Four of the themes, art, commerce, planning and landscape architecture, and recreation and entertainment, probably will be published in a fourth volume at a future date. However, the handful of incomplete study units that pertain to the themes in the three 1986 volumes will be inserted into those volumes.

Throughout the project the Historic Preservation Division was fortunate to have a talented and dedicated support staff. Cartography and graphics were completed by several students who had worked at the University of Wisconsin Cartography Lab. The State Historical Society's artist was also helpful. Several people helped with the word processing and undergraduate students helped with a variety of tasks.

The fact is, a project of this magnitude cannot be completed without the assistance of people with a variety of expertise and with a tremendous team spirit. The Historic Preservation Division was lucky to have such a team. The location of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin on the University of Wisconsin campus was indeed an asset in this project. Much of the division's talented team was affiliated with the university in some fashion.

One final step in the comprehensive planning process should be mentioned. Throughout the project period, Jeff Dean, Wisconsin's State Historic Preservation Officer, allocated funding for this important project, permitting the preparation of a comprehensive plan

that does far more than fulfill a federal requirement, but provides a tool that can be used by Wisconsin preservationists for many years to come.

ELEMENTS OF A STUDY UNIT

Each study unit is presented in a standard format, using subtopics that are pertinent to the National Register evaluation process and the Historic Preservation Division's program needs. Each study unit definition includes the subtopics described below.

Temporal Boundaries

The temporal boundaries give inclusive dates for the occurrence in Wisconsin of the subjects of the study units. Usually, the first date is the earliest manifestation of the phenomenon and the last date marks its demise or the cessation of its period of significance. For some study units "peak periods" also are given, referring to periods of unusually rapid growth or development. Some study units replace an end date with the word "present" because a clear demarkation of the end of the phenomenon is not known or the significance of the phenomenon today is as great as it was historically. An example would be the study unit "State Government," which begins with the establishment of the state in 1848 and extends to the present. State government has, in fact, maintained its significance, perhaps even growing in significance.

Spatial Boundaries

The spatial boundaries of a study unit are the geographical limits of its occurence in the state. Usually the boundaries are vague, such as "southwestern Wisconsin," but sometimes they specifically name counties or cities. Many study units define spatial boundaries as the "entire state" because the phenomenon is universal. The study unit Primary Education is an example. The geographical location of associated resources is further described in the section "Locational Patterns of Resource Types" (see description below).

Related Study Units

Most study units contain information that is pertinent to other study units or touch on subjects that are more fully described in other study units. These other study units are mentioned in the section "Related Study Units." The religion and settlement study units present a good example. Usually ethnic groups are associated with particular religions, which might also pertain to other ethnic groups. Instead of including extensive information on the religion in the settlement study units, the reader would be referred to the pertinent religion study unit.

Historical Background

This section highlights significant aspects of the history of a study unit and outlines its development within the spatial and temporal boundaries of its occurrence in Wisconsin. To the extent possible, the subject is described in the context of United States or world history. This section is not intended as a comprehensive history of the subject, but as a summary that is useful in studies of specific resources or areas. The bibliographies (see description below) present a list of sources used to compile the study unit, as well as other sources that may prove useful.

In some study units the "Historical Background" section contains information that is particularly useful in evaluating related property types. Thus, many industry units contain a description of the manufacturing process or machinery used in the process. Tables that contain facts and figures over time or for a specific period are used in a great many study units. Some of these tables give precise locations of the phenomenon, such as cities in which a certain religious denomination was represented or the locations of Carnegie funded libraries. Most study units contain at least one map, indicating the

location of resources in a representative or peak period.

Identification Section

The "Identification" section presents information that can be used to associate properties with a study unit or to better locate them within the state. It also lists other surveys relating to the study unit that have already been undertaken, and research and surveys that are needed to achieve a better understanding of the subject. A description of the four parts of this section follows:

Resource Types. The property types listed in these sections are likely to be the tangible reminders of the phenomena discussed in the "Historical Background" section or the sites of their locations if the resource is not extant. Property types may be any of those that are elibible for the National Register: buildings, structures, objects, sites, or districts.

Locational Patterns of Resource Types. This section elaborates upon the general information given in the "Spatial Boundaries" section and is more detailed than information that may be mapped. In addition to giving information on the potential locations of resources in the state, it also describes general development trends. Thus, the historic and present locations of resources relating to a certain industry may be described by regions of the state, cities, and waterways, and also by locations within these areas, such as inner city areas, waterfronts, or urban fringes. For some study units the locational pattern is not clear or only the most general of patterns could be identified. For others, information is quite specific.

Previous Surveys. Typically, surveys that have been undertaken by or through the Historic Preservation Division, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, are identified in this section. In some cases other surveys that were undertaken for historic preservation purposes are known and are listed. Surveys that were taken for purposes that do not directly relate to historic preservation are not listed, but the results of these surveys may be listed in the bibliography.

Survey and Research Needs. Authors of study units were able to identify key areas for which information could not be found and for which primary data either is not available or has not been evaluated. Before thorough or fully accurate evaluations of some property types can be made, this research should be undertaken. In some cases, so little is known about associated resource types that surveys to identify resources need to be undertaken before accurate evaluations for National Register eligibility can be made. Examples might concern an agricultural pursuit for which a specific property type has not been identified or an ethnic group for which no characteristic building types have been identified.

Evaluation Section

This section provides some information on evaluating associated property types and, as a basis of comparison and for research purposes, lists related properties that have already been listed in the National Register. It contains two parts:

National Register Listings and Determinations of Eligibility. These lists were compiled by Historic Preservation Division staff, with the assistance of a computer printout of National Register properties provided by the National Park Service. They include properties listed by June 1986. The National Park Service printout contains properties that were listed in the National Register, organized by the areas of significance on the National Register nomination form. Undoubtedly, some lists are lacking properties that are listed or determined eligible because of inconsistancies over the years in the nomination process. For example, properties have not always been listed because of the full scope of their significance. Some properties that are listed for their architectural

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significance may not be listed for their historical significance. Either the historical significance was not known when the nomination was written, the architectural significance was so pronounced that the historical significance was overlooked, or an area of significance was misrepresented. In the latter case, a property may have been listed only under Criterion B for its association with a prominent person, when in fact it should also have been listed under Criterion A for the events it represents. The "Religion" study units contain lists of all properties listed or determined eligible that pertain to a religion, even if "religion" was not considered an area of significance. Many churches are listed for architectural significance only. They have been included in the study units because of their potential significance for historical reasons and because an examination of the nomination form may be useful in future evaluations.

Context Considerations. In this section hints on establishing the appropriate historic context for evaluation purposes are presented. Suggestions include whether properties would tend to be evaluated on the national, state, or local levels and what the integrity considerations might be. The context considerations provide general guidelines and are usually not specific as to location. They should only be taken as general guidelines, as in specific cases they may not pertain. For example, it may be suggested in the "Secondary Education" study unit that associated properties would nearly always be evaluated at the local level. However, a school associated with the state's first vocational education program, and which constituted a model upon which other schools designed vocational programs, may well be of state wide signficance.

Bibliography. The bibliography at the end of each study unit contains sources that were used to prepare the "Historical Background" section of the study units. Some units also contain other secondary sources and archival material that may be useful for further research, even though it may not have been used for preparation of the study unit. This source material is listed for the benefit of future researchers and to aprise the reader of the extent of material that is available. Even so, the bibliographies should not be considered complete; they were mainly compiled from libraries on the University of Wisconsin campus, particularly the State Historical Society of Wisconsin library. Some bibliographies were annotated by the authors, indicating the overall usefulness of the source, its limitations, or parts that were particularly pertinent.

NOTE ON THE HISTORIC INDIAN THEME

The Historic Preservation Division has sponsored the preparation of a separate cultural resource management plan for resources pertaining to prehistoric Indians. Historic Indians, however, are discussed in volume 1 of this report. The historic Indian study units serve as a bridge between the prehistoric and historic plans, both temporally and through resources since historic Indians are represented by both historic sites and extant structures.

Because the majority of sites associated with historic Indians are archeological sites, evaluation and survey issues are quite different from those discussed in the other themes, which deal primarily with extant structures. The "Context Considerations" sections of the study units provide suggestions on the framework for evaluating properties associated with the study units, except in the case of the Historic Indian study units. For the historic Indian study units, establishing a context for evaluation is not easily summarized. A primary reason is that relatively few sites can be specifically linked to a particular ethnic group. Many Historic Period sites will never be linked with a specific group because of the lack of historical documentation, the lack of distinction in the material culture, especially in the Middle and Late Historic Periods, or intermixing of tribal groups. For some groups, several types of sites are known, but the full range of sites remains unknown. This is true for extant structures also, as no attempts to systematically identify significant structures associated with historic Indians has been undertaken. Thus, the evaluation process may not be complete at his point in time, requiring that the site only be evaluated on the basis of its integrity and the information it can provide on Historic Period Indians.

Although the "Context Considerations" sections have been omitted from the historic Indian study units, the sections concerning survey and research needs tend to be more fully developed than those included in other study units. As these questions are pursued and as more resources are discovered and associated with particular Indian groups, the evaluation of Wisconsin's archeological sites will continue to develop.

THE EVALUATION PROCESS

Information in this manual is useful in the several steps that comprise the process of evaluating historic resources. Resources are evaluated to determine their significance according to the criteria of the National Register of Historic Places or some other criteria that may have been adopted for local historic preservation programs. This cultural resource management plan is based on the National Register criteria, although the planning method and historical information will be applicable to other evaluation criteria in use in Wisconsin. The National Register recognizes cultural resources that are buildings, structures, sites, objects, and districts. It acknowledges the local, state, and national significance of properties, and requires retention of the integrity of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association. The criteria state that significance is present if cultural resources:

A. are associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history; or

B. are associated with the lives of persons significant in our past; or

C. embody the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction or that represent the work of a master, or that posses high artistic values, or that represent a significant and distinguishable entity whose components may lack individual distinction; or

D. have yielded, or may be likely to yield, information important in prehistory or history.

According to the criteria, ordinarily cemeteries, birthplaces, or graves of historical figures, properties owned by religious institutions or used for religious purposes, structures that have been moved from their original locations, reconstructed historic buildings, proeprties primarily commemorative in nature, and properties that have achieved significance within the past 50 years shall not be considered eligible for the National Register. However, such properties will qualify if they are integral parts of districts that do meet the criteria or if they fall within the following categories:

A. a religious property deriving primary significance from architectural or artistic distinction or historical importance; or

B. a building or structure removed from its original location but which is signficant primarily for architectural value, or which is the surviving structure most importantly associated with a historic person or event; or

C. a birthplace or grave of a historical figure of outstanding importance if there is no other appropriate site or buildings directly associated with his or her productive life; or

D. a cemetery which derives its primary signficance from graves of persons of trascendent importance, from age, from distinctive design features, or from association with historic events; or

E. a reconstructed building when accurately executed in a suitable environment and presented in a dignified manner as part of a restoration master plan, and when no other building or structure with the same association has survived; or

F. a property primarily commemorative in intent if design, age, tradition, or symbolic value has invested it with its own historical significance; or

G. a property achieving significance within the past 50 years if it is of exceptional importance.

The criteria are further described in the National Park Service publication "How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation" (NPS, 1982). It makes an excellent companion to Cultural Resource Management in Wisconsin, and should be consulted for guidance in applying the criteria to different situations.

The evaluation of resources for significance is basically a three-step procedure:

1. Identification

2. Research

3. Evaluation according to National Register criteria

These three steps apply to the evaluation of all types of resources and at all scales of evaluation. The evaluation of an individual building or a district, or of an entire community's resources, would each involve these three steps. Likewise they apply if resources are evaluated in a local, state, or national context.

The three stages of evaluation do not necessarily occur in a standard sequence. Usually, there is some activity simultaneously in all three areas throughout the evaluation process. The resources that pose the evaluation question have a great affect on the order in which evaluation activities take place and the approach that is taken. If a survey of certain property types with a similar association is being undertaken, properties first must be idenfitied. To locate the properties, extensive research would probably have to occur; after field work is completed, research would have to occur again so that sufficient information is available for the evaluation. Throughout the process, some level of evaluation is occuring to eliminate properties that do not have sufficient integrity or association.

Each of the three evaluation steps is discussed below, with suggestions on the usefulness of this manual.

Identification

The identification phase of an evaluation procedure consists of discovering properties related to a particular aspect of history, either for the purpose of evaluating all properties or only one. In the latter case, similar properties are examined for the sake of comparison to the property of interest.

Properties are discovered through the survey process. Surveys are structured with geographical and temporal limits. "Thematic surveys" concern cultural resources related to one aspect of history, while "intensive surveys" are concerned with all resources in a given geographical area and dating from a certain period. In this report, the term "thematic survey" may refer to a survey that concerns the entire subject of a study unit, such as a survey of resources associated with woman's suffrage, or to one aspect of a study unit, such as Estonian settlement in Wisconsin, one subject covered in the "Eastern European Settlement" study unit.

The information in the study units is useful for determininng where surveys should be undertaken, what property types should be examined, and the period of time the survey should cover. It is assumed that all evaluations require some level of survey. In this section of the report guidelines for using the study units to structure surveys are presented.

A critical step in the evaluation process is determining if a resource should be evaluated within the context of local, state, or national history. Actually, each resource must be examined for its relevance to all three aspects of history, but one will surface as the most appropriate context and, therefore, define the geographical parameters of the survey needed. Relatively few resources are evaluated primarily in the context of national history.

The study units may indicate that a comparison of related resources around the state is in order; thus, the survey would be state-wide in scope. Resources associated with Wisconsin's territorial government provide an example. To evaluate a resource associated with this period of Wisconsin government at Prairie du Chien, the potential for resources at Green Bay, Portage, and Belmont, and other territorial settlements should be examined.

The majority of resources will be examined in a local context, and the survey effort will be local in scope. Thus, the "Secondary Education" study unit suggests that a secondary school in a community will nearly always require a survey of other secondary schools in the community to establish its signficance. The study unit may suggest a tip that some developments in secondary education may have had farther reaching consequences. Thus, a high school that developed and implemented a vocational program for girls that was emulated by other schools in the state and lauded by educators of the day should be considered in the context of other early vocational secondary schools around the state, as well as in the local context.

Information contained in the "Spatial Boundaries" section of a study unit can be used to determine where surveys should occur. Information in the "Historical Background" section can be even more specific. For example, some of the religion study units present a list of communities or counties in which a religion was active. Thus, the surveyor would know where to look for resources that pertain to that study unit. Most of the study units include maps, which are useful for pinpointing concentrations of the occurrence of a particular phenomenon. In some study units they display the total occurrence of the phenomenon in Wisconsin; in others they present information of a limited scope. In either case, they graphically display information summarized in the "Spatial Boundaries" section of the study unit.

The study units also include some information on the temporal framework within which associated properties should be evaluated. The "Wheat Cultivation" study unit reveals that cultural resources associated with Wisconsin's period of wheat agriculture date from roughly 1830 to 1870. A survey effort to locate resources associated with wheat agriculture need not address farms and barns developed much after this period; they probably are not related.

One aspect of the evaluation process is determining which resource types need to be examined. Each of the study units contains a section entitled "Related Property Types," which presents a list of types of properties that are related to the subject of the study unit. When undertaking a survey, it is usually appropriate to examine all property types, within the selected geographical and temporal boundaries, unless the survey intent is to examine one property type, such as half-timbered barns associated with wheat agriculture. Through the survey process, preliminary evaluations will be made concerning the integrity of resources and the strength of association with the subject. Thus, only those properties with the highest integrity and closest associations will be extensively researched in later phases of the evaluation process.

Any survey should follow guidelines promulgated by the Historic Preservation Division and, ideally, should produce products that can be integrated into the "Wisconsin Inventory of Historic Places" maintained by the division. Information concerning the survey

standards and forms in use in Wisconsin can be obtained from the Historic Preservation Division.

Research

The research phase of an evaluation project is undertaken to discover why a particular aspect of history is important, to identify and define the context within which a resource should be evaluated, and to develop the histories of individual properties. The "Historical Background" sections of the study units explore aspects of Wisconsin history in the context of American history. Thus, in most cases, they present sufficient information for understanding the state and national context in which a cultural resource was built, conveying what factors instigated and provoked development of a historical phenomenon, and how the resource represents the phenomenon. Because the study units were written with the assistance of several sources, researchers need not spend a great deal of time familiarizing themselves with a subject through extensive research. However, if more information is needed, the footnotes and bibliographies should be useful.

An important aspect of the research phase is to determine the appropriate context in which to evaluate a resource. Preseumptions about the context were made prior to the survey and helped define the parameters of the survey. In the research phase, the context is verified and more fully defined. Generally, properties of national significance have a special association with development of the United States or with an aspect of United States history. Usually, a case can be made for national significance through documentary reseach, rather than actual fieldwork.

Resources are important at the state level if they are associated with development of the state or an aspect of history that reaches beyond one community's history. The study units are extremely useful for evaluating cultural resources of potential state wide significance, particularly if related resources are relatively few. In this case, all extant resouces may be identified in the study unit. For example, some aspects of state government exhibit few resources and most, if not all, are discussed in the study unit. Sufficient research may be contained in the study unit to complete most of the general research; of course, site specific research would still have to be undertaken.

The majority of resources are significant at the local level, implying that their sphere of significance is limited to the immediate geographic area. For these resources the study units provide good background information, but further research is always implied. For example, if a Masonic lodge is being evaluated, one would examine the development of the community in the period in which the lodge was built or in which the order was established. Whether other fraternal organizations existed in the community would be investigated and, if so, some information about them would be gathered. In this case, the study unit "Fraternal Organizations" would be useful in determining the types of activities in which the lodge may have been engaged, which other fraternal organizations were active in the period, and other property types that may have to be investigated.

The histories of individual properties, or of a group of properties such as a historic district, are developed through site specific research. At a minimum, the following information should be known about a resource in order to evaluate it:

- -original owner or sponsor of construction;
- -how the resource was used;
- -specific events that occurred there;
- -individuals associated with the resource;
- -date of construction;
- -builder and architect.

Much of this information must be gathered from primary sources, such as tax records,

abstracts, architectural drawings, minutes of meetings, etc. Some information may be available in secondary sources, such as books and periodicals. The publications listed below describe some aspects of site specific research.

Bezat, Barbara and Alan K. Lathrop. Drafting a House History. Minneapolis: Northwest Architectural Archives, University of Minnesota, 1979.

Ellsworth, Linda. The History of a House: How to Trace it. Nashville: American Association for State and Local History Technical Leaflet 89, 1976.

Historic Preservation Division. "Researching Old Buildings." Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin. Unpublished manuscript.

The Old House Journal. How to Date an Old House. Brooklyn, NY: The Old House Journal Corporation, 1976.

When the research phase is completed, resources are subjected to the final phase of the evaluation process, the evaluation itself.

Evaluation

The purpose of an evaluation is to establish that a particular resource meets at least one of the National Register criteria. An evaluation is made at the conclusion of the survey and research phases, synthesizing and summarizing information obtained through these processes. The evaluation requires preparation of a document that clearly demonstrates the eligibility of a resource. Typical documents that are prepared include National Register forms, survey forms, and determinations of eligibility. The documents must be prepared according to the guidelines established by the National Park Service and according to instructions promulgated by the Historic Preservation Division.

Each of the study units contains a section entitled "National Register Listings and Determinations of Eligibility." The nominations listed in these sections can be consulted for supplementary information. The nominations should not be considered definitive. Some that were prepared several years ago do not contain extensive documentation and do not explicitly address the National Register criteria.

The major purposes of the evaluation document is to describe the parameters of the context and to verify the significance of the property or properties being evaluated. The following factors must be addressed:

-explanation of the historical context;
-explanation of the spatial context;
-explanation of the temporal context;
-description of properties associated with the overall context;
-significance of the context and the associated properties, including a
  comparison with other significant and non-significant properties.

Each of the factors will have been examined in the survey and research phases. In this final phase of the evaluation process, the individual resource or group of resources should clearly surface as a significant manifestation of an aspect of local, state, or national history.

WISCONSIN COUNTY CODES

Many of the maps included in this report indicate counties by the two letter codes listed below. These codes were developed by the Wisconsin Archeological Society in 1942 for the coding of archeological sites. They have been used by the Historic Preservation Division in its survey program since the early 1970s.

AD	Adams		MR	Marathon
AS	Ashland		MT	Marinette
BN	Barron		MQ	Marquette
BA	Bayfield		ME	Menominee
BR	Brown		MI	Milwaukee
BF	Buffalo		MO	Monroe
BT	Burnett		OC	Oconto
CT	Calumet		ON	Oneida
CH	Chippewa		OU	Outagamie
CL	Clark		OZ	Ozaukee
CO	Columbia		PE	Pepin
CR	Crawford		PI	Pierce
DA	Dane		PK	Polk
DO	Dodge		PT	Portage
DR	Door		PR	Price
DG	Douglas		RA	Racine
DN	Dunn		RI	Richland
EC	Eau Claire		RO	Rock
FL	Florence		RU	Rusk
FD	Fond du Lac		SK	Sauk
FR	Forest		SY	Sawyer
GT	Grant		SW	Shawano
GL	Green Lake		SB	Sheboygan
GR	Green		SC	St. Croix
IA	Iowa		TA	Taylor
IR	Iron		TR	Trempealeau
JA	Jackson		VE	Vernon
JE	Jefferson		VI	Vilas
JU	Juneau		WL	Walworth
KN	Kenosha		WB	Washburn
KE	Kewaunee		WT	Washington
LC	La Crosse		WK	Waukesha
LT	Lafayette		WP	Waupaca
LG	Langlade		WS	Waushara
LI	Lincoln		WN	Winnebago
MN	Manitowoc		WO	Wood

Historic Indian Theme

Chippewa/Ojibwa
Dakota
Fox
Huron-Tionnontate
Kickapoo
Mascouten
Menominee
Miami
Oneida
Ottawa
Potawatomi
Sauk
Stockbridge/Munsee/Brothertown "New York Indians"
Winnebago

Fur Trade Theme

French Fur Control
British Fur Control
American Fur Control

Government Theme

Military Frontier
Civil War Installations
State Militia
Federal Military Installations
Territorial Government
* Federal Government
State Government
County Government
Local Government

* Not completed for 1987 publication

Settlement Theme

German
Central European (French, Swiss, Austrian)
Low Countries (Dutch, Belgian, Luxembourger)
Norwegian
Other Scandinavian (Finns, Danes, Swedes, Icelandic)
Polish
Eastern European (Hungarian, Czech, Slovak, Serbian, Croatian,
    Slovenian, Lithuanian, Latvian, Estonian, Russian,
    East Prussian-Russians)
Southern European (Italian, Greek)
British Isles (Irish, English, Welsh, Scotch)
Yankee and Southern
Black

Agriculture Theme

Wheat Cultivation
Early Specialty Crop Cultivation
Farming the Cutover
Feed Crop and Grain Cultivation
Fruit and Vegetable Cultivation
Specialty Agricultural Production
Livestock and Poultry Production
Early Dairy Production
Industrialized Dairy Production
Dairy Expansion

Industry Theme

Quarrying and Masonry Products
Lead and Zinc Mining
Iron and Copper Mining
Logging and Lumber Milling
Pulp and Paper Production
Wood Products
Milling
Brewing
Meat Products
Fruit and Vegetable Processing
* Patent Medicine and Drug Industry
* Textile Industry

Tanning and Leather Processing
* Miscellaneous Light Industries
Carriage and Wagon Works
Agricultural Machinery and Implement Manufacturing
Stoneware and Earthenware Products
* Primary Metal Processing
* Metal Products Industry
Shipbuilding
* Plumbing Industries
Ice Harvesting Industry
Fishing Industry
* Miscellaneous Small Industries (Shell Button Manufacturing,
                          Blacksmithing, Cigar Manufacturing)

Transportation Theme

Inland Waterways
Mississippi River Navigation
Great Lakes Navigation
Early Rail Lines
Later Rail Lines
Early Road Networks
Later Road Networks
Early Mass Transportation
Later Mass Transportation
Air Transportation
Iron and Steel Truss Highway Bridges
* Concrete Bridges
* Other Bridges (Wood, Masonry Arch, Suspension, Moveable, Steel Plate
          Girder, Combination Truss)

Architecture Theme

Architectural Styles
Vernacular Forms
Construction Materials and Methods
Agricultural Outbuildings
* Architects

Education Theme

      Primary Education
      Secondary Education
* Vocational and Extension Education
      Normal Schools and State Teachers Colleges
* Private Colleges
* University of Wisconsin System
      Libraries
* Museums

Social and Political Movements Theme

      Women's Organizations
      Fraternal Organizations
* Service and Social Groups
* Business, Trade, and Professional Associations
* Youth Organizations
      Temperance Movement
      Woman Suffrage
* Agricultural Movements
* Intellectual Societies
      Health Services
      Services for the Poor and Disadvantaged
      Early Labor Movements
      Twentieth Century Labor Organization and Legislation
* Nineteenth Century Political Movements
* Twentieth Century Political Movements

Religion Theme

      Baptists
      Catholics
      Church of Christ, Scientist
      Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints
      Congregational
      Disciples of Christ
      Eastern Orthodox
      Episcopal Church
      Evangelical Church and Church of the United Brethren in Christ
      Holiness-Pentecostal Sects
      Adventist
      Lutheran
      Methodist

Moravian Church
Presbyterian Church
Reformed Churches
Unitarian-Universalist
Jewish
* Nineteenth Century Religious Movements (Free Thinkers. Spiritualists,
Utopian Communities)

Art and Literature Theme

* Painting and Sculpture
* Folk Art
* Photography
* Literature

Commerce Theme

* Goods and Services (Retail Businesses, Hotels, Banks, etc.)
* Wholesale Trade
* Information Services (Publishing, Radio, Television)
* Utilities (Telephone, Gas, Electricity, Water)
* Cooperative Movement

Planning and Landscape Architecture Theme

* Patterns of Community Development
* Planned Communities
* Urban Parks and Planning
* Cemeteries
* Gardens and Landscaping
* Conservation

Recreation and Entertainment Theme

* Resorts
* Tourism Industry
* Athletics
* Zoos and Botanical Gardens
* State and Local Recreation Areas
* Camps
* Performing Arts and Motion Pictures
* Fairs, Carnivals, and Circuses

WISCONSIN UNDER THREE FLAGS
(Reprinted from Wisconsin Historic Preservation Plan,
Vol. 1, 1973, by Donald N. Anderson, (Edited by J. Randal Wallar)

No brief narrative can adequately summarize the story of a state whose detailed history would fill several volumes, nor is such the intention here. Only some of the highlights can be mentioned, and much that is important is necessarily shortened, oversimiplified, or omitted. Unfortunately, history so compressed tends to lose all balance, proportion, and perspective: it is three hundred years viewed by means of a stroboscopic light, with frequency and the duration of flashes constantly changing.

At the time of its centennial in 1948, Wisconsin could look back with pride upon its people, its institutions and accomplishments, and its place in the United States. Yet within this time Wisconsin had acquired a uniqueness that set it apart from its sister states. Russel B. Nye writes: "Wisconsin possesses, as a result of its Midwestern past, a distinctive state culture which is not merely a miniature version of the national culture.

It is to be expected that a state's growth, development, and character will be influenced by its geography and natural resources as well as the makeup of its population. The latter is especially true in Wisconsin, where at least thirty-five different ethnic groups comprised the population by the turn of the twentieth century, and more came later. Such diversity--of people, religions, ethics, languages, and literature--has naturally accounted for many of Wisconsin's traditions and much of its character. As Nye puts it:

> There was never an 18th century culture in Wisconsin...the roots of its society lie almost wholly in modern times...Half the people in the state of my generation were either foreign-born or born of foreign parents...There were New Englanders and New York staters who came to Wisconsin...who gave shape to the state's early institutions. The majority of delegates to both constitutional conventions were Yankees; Eastern staets furnished the lawyers, educators, merchants, and political leaders for early Wisconsin society. This influence, however, can be overstressed. The great influx in immigrants, of fairly homogeneous groups, who poured into Wisconsinin the later 19th and [early] 20th centuries as the state reached maturity, added an overlay of a different culture, neither foreign nor Yankee, to Wisconsin's society that Ohio or Michigan, for example, did not possess.

Nye noted four characteristics of Wisconsin: (1) its distrust of strong autonomous government; (2) strong emphasis on planned progress through popular enlightenment; (3) a kind of self-centeredness misinterpreted by many as a form of isolationism; and (4) a tendency toward reform, based upon an investigation of the facts of society and the subsequent use of those facts as a basis for action. These ingrained characteristics helped to shape a state which pioneered in social and economic legislation. They made the Wisconsin Idea peculiarly adaptable and workable. Along with various ironies and ambivalences, some readily definable and some not, they made Wisconsin unique.

Discovery, Exploration, Fur Trade

Wisconsin's recorded history begins in 1634 with the landing of Jean Nicolet at a point on the southeastern shore of Green Bay while seeking a Northwest Passage to the Orient. For the next century and a third, exploration, and Jesuit missionary activities--all interdependent--dominated the scene. In 1659-1660 Pierre Espirit Radisson and Medard Chouart Des Grosseilliers explored the south shore of Lake Superior and penetrated some distance into northern Wisconsin, where they bartered with the Ottawa and prepared the

way for the early fur trade in Wisconsin. They wintered on Chequamegon Bay. When they returned to Montreal, their huge load of furs was confiscated because they were not licensed as traders, but their reports heightened French interest in the fur trade. In addition, Jesuit missionaries became interested in trying to Christianize Indians.

In 1661 Father Rene Menard, the first Jesuit missionary to visit the Wisconsin area, made his way into the country explored by Radisson and Grosseilliers and lived for a while among the Ottawa. After a few months, while trying to find a Huron village near Lac Court Oreilles, he disappeared and was never seen again.

Father Claude Allouez went into the Chequamegon Bay area in 1665. He established a mission at La Pointe on Madeline Island, and then, in the following years, moved eastward and southward, spending much time among the Indians and establishing various missions on the shores of Green Bay and in the lower reaches of the Fox River valley. Eventually he worked his way outward into the Illinois country, finally leaving Wisconsin around 1677.

In 1673, when Father Jacquest Marquette and Louis Joilliet were sent to find the Mississippi, they found Father Allouez's information about the Fox River to be very helpful. Succeeding in their assigned mission, Marquette and Jolliet sighted the Mississippi at its confluence with the Wisconsin on June 17, 1673. They had discovered the link in the main water route from the St. Lawrence River to the Gulf of Mexico, a continuous, navigable passage that was interrupted only by the mile-and-a-quarter portage between the upper Fox and lower Wisconsin rivers.

During the late seventeenth century, Wisconsin woods and streams were frequently penetrated by French explorers and fur traders, voyageurs, coureurs du bois, and the ever-present Black Robes or Jesuits, who collectively were opening new country and mapping it, making contacts with Indians, trading with them, trying to Christianize them, and broadening the domain of France. Especially notable among the explorer-traders were Daniel Greysolon Dulhut (Dututh), who penetrated the northern and western areas, and Nicolas Perrot, who ranged from the north and northeast, down the Fox-Wisconsin route, and finally into the southwestern country. In 1680 Dulhut found the portage between the Brule and St. Crois rivers, long used by Indians, which was the connecting link between Lake Superior and the Gulf of Mexico. For nearly two centuries thereafter, the Brule-St. Croix portage was used by explorers, fur traders, travelers, voyageurs, missionaries, and pioneers.

Perrot built Fort St. Nicolas at the mouth of the Wisconsin and other forts along the upper Mississippi. At Fort St. Antoine on Lake Pepin, on May 8, 1689, Perrot ceremoniously claimed possession of all the upper Mississippi in the name of Louis XIV of France. In the next year he was back in the southwest, looking over the lead mines in the areas of Galena and Dubuque. By this time, however, there was war between the English and the French, and already the loyalties of some of the Indians were changing. So was the nature of the fur trade, and before the turn of the century the French had decided it would be best to abandon the trading posts west of Mackinac and try to get the Indians to bring their furs to Montreal.

Trouble, and finally outright wars with the Fox, began soon after the French evacuation in 1689, when the Fox took over control of Wisconsin's east and central portions and closed the Fox-Wisconsin waterway. The Fox situation was not ended until the French operating from Fort La Baye, which they had built at Green Bay in 1717, finally drove the Indians permanently southward. Meanwhile, intermittent warfare between the French and British persisted in the east until the conclusion of the French and Indian War (1763), when Wisconsin legally passed into the control of the English.

The French period was important as a time of great trade, exploration, and discovery, a

time when it was found that the great inland streams did not flow into the western sea but instead into the Gulf of Mexico. It left no structural monuments which lasted into the nineteenth century, for no permanent ones had been built save Fort La Baye, and that had deteriorated to ruins by 1800. Nevertheless, the sites of a few forts, trading posts, and missions are known at least approximately, and the period did leave a heritage of French place names in our counties and cities, rivers, lakes and land features, and indeed in the name of the state itself, which is derived from "Ouisconsin," the French version of various Indian names for its major river. And French surnames still abound in many Wisconsin communities, perhaps more at Green Bay and Prairie du Chien and places along the Fox River, but also in other areas where the earliest settlers were French traders and voyageurs.

Although the French had never particularly encouraged settlement and had established no official colonies, Charles de Langlade, the "father of Wisconsin," started the state's first permanent settlement at Green Bay in 1764 just after the French regime ended and that of the British began.

British Rule and the War of 1812

Like the French, the British did not encourage settlement; the fur trade could go on best if the beaver country remained a wilderness. The small settlement at Green Bay was a natural development, for there had been a scattering of old fur traders and voyageurs and their families living in and moving about the general vicinity for some time, and it was strategically located on the trade route to the northeast. By 1781 Prairie du Chien could also be considered a settlement. But by and large the time for settlement in Wisconsin had not yet arrived.

Exploration continued throughout the British period and one expedition in particular--that of Jonathan Carver in 1766-1786--was important to Wisconsin's settlement at a later period. In due time Carver's Travels through the Interior Posts of North-America, in the years 1766, 1767, and 1768, which he published in England ten years after his expedition, attracted many immigrants to Wisconsin.

The fur trade continued to be the major activity in Wisconsin well into the 1800s. Indians from Wisconsin fought in both the French and Indian and the Revolutionary wars, but in Wisconsin's wilderness the trade was relatively unaffected. When the British regime officially ended in 1783, it could hardly be said to have had any more major effect than that of the French in finally shaping Wisconsin's development.

American difficulties with the British did not end with the conclusion of the Revolutionary War, however. In signing the Treaty of Paris of 1783, the British agreed to deliver several important Northwest posts to the Americans "with all convenient speed," but they actually retained the posts for several years. To perpetuate their control over the fur trade, the British held the Indians' loyalty by encouraging them to come to the posts, honoring them, and plying them with gifts. Such tactics caused the Indians to resist the advance of the American frontier and delayed settlement.

Nonetheless, in the same year the federal Constitution was adopted, the Northwest Ordiance in 1787 made statehood on the basis of equality possible and the Northwest Territory was part of the new nation by the time George Washington was inaugurated in 1789.

The Jay Treaty, concluded in late 1794, finally brought about transfer of the posts to the Americans, and in August, 1796, the British evacuated Fort Michilimackinac, the last to be relinquished, and American soldiers occupied it in October. Even so, the British were not yet ready to relax their hold on the fur trade. Jay's treaty had given British subjects freedom to travel over United States water routes and portages, thus allowing English

control of the fur trade to remain virtually unimpeded until the War of 1812.

In Wisconsin British military activities during the War of 1812 were centered in Green Bay, but the only open engagement of any consequence occurred at Prairie du Chien. This community, which had a total population of approximately sixty-five by 1800, had become a major fur-trade center where thousands of Indians and white trappers traveled from great distances each spring to barter, sing, play, and drink. In 1814, concerned about the strategic importance of Prairie du Chien and the manner in which the second war with the British was spreading, Governor William Clark of Missouri took a force of 150 soldiers there to establish a post. They chose a site atop a huge Indian mound on a bank of the Mississippi and built Fort Shelby, which was dedicated on June 19, 1814. A month later, however, Lt. Colonel William McKay successfully attacked Fort Shelby with a force of about 150 British troops and 400 Indians. By July 20 the Union Jack flew over the fort, now renamed McKay, and Priarie du Chien was in the hands of the British.

Forts

It was 1815 before the British learned of the Treaty of Ghent and left Prairie du Chien, after burning Fort McKay. The following year the U. S. Army built a new fort on the same site and named it Crawford after Secretary of War, William Crawford. In 1831 the army sold this site and built a second Fort Crawford on higher ground in another part of Prairie du Chien less subject to the effects of Mississippi floods. During these years the importance of Prairie du Chien as a center of the fur trade had increased all the more, due in no small part to the remarkable abilities, astuteness, and energy of Hercules L. Dousman. Dousman had come to the settlement in 1826 as the confidential agent of John Jacob Astor, and within three years had established the American Fur company as the major trading company over a vast region.

On the grounds of the first Fort Crawford remain parts of the foundations of barracks and associated buildings. On the mound occupied by the main fort and its predecessor, Fort Shelby, now stands Villa Louis, the mansin of Hercules Dousman, built in 1843 and remodeled in 1872 by his widow. Other buidings of the Dousman estate remain much as they were when built in 1843. The old Astor Fur Warehouse and the home of a prominent early fur trader, Michael Brisbois, remain on the waterfront near the Fort Crawford site--the old fur-trade area of Prairie du Chien. The hospital building of the second Fort Crawford, where Zachary Taylor once commanded, where Lt. Jefferson Davis was once stationed, and where Dr. William Beaumont conducted many of his famous experiments on human gastric digestion, has been restored on the foundation of the original.

In 1761, the British took over Fort La Baye, which the French had abandoned the year before. Renaming it Fort Edward Augustus, they occupied it until 1763, then deserted it. In August, 1816, about 500 Unites States Army troops arrived at Green Bay to build a new fort and protect the frontier from Indian attack. On the fort site occupied earlier by the French and British, the Americans built Fort Howard, which for the next quarter century was important not only to the settlement at Green Bay but to the federal government as well. It protected the eastern end of the Fox-Wisconsin water route joining the Great Lakes and the Mississippi, served as the center of much of the community's life, and did much to establish old Green Bay as an American frontier settlement.

During the 1840s, when Green Bay no longer needed protection and both the Seminole and Mexican Wars created higher military priorities elsewhere, Fort Howard was without a garrison much of the time. Finally in 1863 the government sold the land it occupied. The Fort Howard Hospital, which had stood just outside the stockade, and part of the officers' quarters, which had been within the compound, were moved to a site a few blocks away from the original location and now remain as significant survivals of Wisconsin's early settlement days.

The third of Wisconsin's major forts, all connected with the latter part of the fur-trade era and the early days of settlement, was Fort Winnebago, built at the eastern end of the Fox-Wisconsin portage in 1828. The fort's presence was meant to preserve peace with the Indians, to protect the fur traders, and to encourage settlement in the portage area. Fort Winnebago was successful in all three phases of its mission, although it was never heavily fortified and never involved in military actions of any consequence. However the troops stationed there were responsible for building much of the eastern portion of the Green Bay-Prairie du Chien military road.

Early in the existence of Fort Winnebago, John Kinzie was stationed there as Indian sub-agent, and a new agency house was built for him and his wife Juliette a short distance outside the fort. Kinzie was a popular, competent, and fair agent, highly regarded by the Indians, to whom he was friend, father, and trusted advisor. Unfortunately, his stay at the portage was shortened because the government would not raise his position to that of full agent. He left government service in 1834.

Lead Mining

Wisconsin was part of the Northwest Territory from 1787 to 1800; of the Indiana Territory from 1800 to 1809; of the Illinois Territory from 1809 to 1818; and of the Michigan Territory from 1818 until the establishment of Wisconsin Territory in 1836. Throughout most of this time the fur trade had continued, but by 1834 the beaver supply in this part of the country was largely depleted and the trade now flourished in the far reaches of the new northwest that had been opened by the Louisiana Purchase. By 1818 three counties had been established west of Lake Michigan--Michilimackinac, Brown, and Crawford. In 1821 the governor of the Michigan Territory, Lewis Cass, incorporated the Township of Green Bay and the Borough of Prairie du Chien, both of which had developed around the fur trade.

Following the War of 1812 settlers began to come to Wisconsin in increasing numbers. The earliest of these nineteenth-century pioneers came not to establish farms and till the soil but to seek lead. Rich lead deposits in Wisconsin's southwest had long been known to the Indians, who had mined small amounts for their own purposes. But it was not until the early 1820s that people became seriously interested in the deposits along the Fever River. During the early 1820s lead prices were high, and there was demand in eastern markets for the white lead used in paint manufacture. News of the abundant ore in southwestern Wisconsin spread rapidly, and soon many miners moved into the area, some coming from Kentucky and Tennessee, others from Illinois and Missouri. For the next two decades or so the lead region grew in both area and population as new diggings were established and settlements developed around them. In the late 1820s a few Cornish miners sent word of the lead mines back to Cornwall, England, where many tin miners were out of work. Early in the 1830s the lead region received an influx of these men.

Because of their experience, the Cornishmen could mine profitably where surface miners would give up and move on. The easiest mining was a matter of removing the ore from outcroppings, or, at worst, digging shallow pits for that which lay immediately underground in almost pure form. For a few years at least, the Cornish, finding the area of Mineral Point not only rich in ore but reminiscent of their native land and well supplied with limestone of excellent building quality, were content to remain, establish a settlement of their own, and mine in the more conventional way of digging shafts and following veins of ore.

The Cornishmen were expert stonemasons as well as miners, and they developed a community of little stone cottages, nestled in a valley against a protecting hill, known as Shake-Rag-under-the-hill and later just Shake Rag. The men, working on a ridge across the way with their windlasses and piles of lead ore, could look down about mealtime and

see their wives shaking rags to signal that it was time to eat. Shake Rag Street and a number of the original limestone cottages of the 1830s survive today, a permanent memorial left by the "Cousin Jacks" from Cornwall.

Although the federal government obtained some of the lead land before the great influx of settlers, many moved into areas that still belonged to the Indians and did not hesitate to mine on Indian land. This resulted in Indian raids and some isolated bloodshed, with near-warfare breaking out between the military and a group of Winnebago led by Red Bird in 1827. The Indians surrendered, however, and the Winnebago lands were acquired a few months later. In 1829, at a great council held at Prairie du Chien, four Indian tribes agreed to sell the entire lead regin to the United States government.

Black Hawk War

Other Indian cessions followed during the territorial period. Earlier, however, continued encroachments on Indian lands by settlers and the grievances of a people forced against their will to move away from their ancestral territories precipitated the Black Hawk War.

In the spring of 1832 Black Hawk led about a thousand Sauk and Fox Indians, mostly women and children, across the Mississippi near the mouth of the Rock River. His avowed aim was to reoccupy his ancenstral homelands, which had been relinquished by an earlier treaty. The Indians were viewed with alarm by the white residents of the Illinois country, and when Black Hawk attempted to parley with a group of militiamen, his truce party was fired on. The Indians returned fire and routed the white volunteers, who thereupon enflamed the frontier with stories of a widespread Indian uprising. For the next several months, black Hawk's warriors raided settlements along the present Wisconsin-Illinois border, killing about two hundred settlers.

Ultimately the Indians were pursued through south-central Wisconsin by militia untis and a detachment of U. S. regulars, who overtook them on the Pecatonica River, at Wisconsin Heights west of Madison, and finally at the mouth of the Bad Axe River above Prairie du Chien. Black Hawk's band fought a series of rearguard actions that evoked the admiration of his antagonists, but the Indians were exhausted, outnumbered, and doomed. The pursuing whites closed in at the Bad Axe, once again ignored a flag of truce, and in the space of about three hours slaughtered more than 300 Sauk and Fox, principaly noncombatants. Black Hawk escaped with a handful of warriors, but was soon captured by bounty-hunting Sioux, turned over to the army, and taken to Washington.

The Black Hawk War marked the end of Indian resistance to white intrusion, and within five years most Indian lands in Wisconsin had been ceded by treaty to the federal government.

Wisconsin Territory

By the late 1700s Jacques Vieau had established trading posts at what are now Kewaunee, Manitowoc, Sheboygan, and Milwaukee, making the latter his headquarters. Solomon Juneau, a fur trader, bought Vieau's trading post on the Menomonee River in Milwaukee in 1819, took on the job of trading for the American Fur Company, and became the founder of what ulimtely became Wisconsin's largest city. In 1822 he built the first log cabin and in 1824 the first frame house in Milwaukee.

Lead mining rather than agriculture attracted the bulk of early settlers to Wisconsin for a time, and as mining flourished, the southwestern population grew. Some men took a turn at agriculture, and found it profitable when busy lead miners provided a ready market for farm products. Increasingly, growing crops for market became a worthwhile pursuit. As usually happened, land speculators followed, as did lawyers, merchants, promoters, and politicians. Some were men of energy, foresight, and promise; some had failures

elsewhere and hoped to do better with a fresh start in a new country. Southwestern Wisconsin became a booming, bustling frontier.

Not long aftr the opening of the Erie Canal, however, there was a change of direction in the flow of immigrants heading west. Instead of going into Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, people from the East began to establish settlements on the western shore of Lake Michigan. Agriculture was their main pursuit and they began to settle along the southwestern lakeshore, soon moving inland and northward from those areas to establish their farms.

When Michigan entered the Union, the new Territory of Wisconsin was created. Henry Dodge was sworn in as governor in a ceremony at Mineral Point on July 4, 1836. Belmont, the territorial capital, was far too small to put on an appropriate celebration for such an occasion.

Wisconsin's territorial period was a time of growth and expansion. Although the Panic of 1837 was a temporary deterrent, the population swelled with the influx of many immigrants from Europe as well as Americans from the East and South. In the lead mining region more than half the immigrants were British, but elsewhere there were others: Norwegians, Germans, Swiss. During this early period of settlement, the Germans came to Milwaukee and the Lake Michigan areas, but settle more widely in southern and eastern Wisconsin. Norwegians settled in farming country in the south. The development of important port cities on Lake Michigan and important inland settlements increased needs for transportation and port facilities, capital, schools, and local government. In July, 1836, the population of southeastern Wisconsin was 2,893; by 1840 it was more than 9,000. Within a decade the people of the territory would become convinced of the need for voting representation in Washington and other advantages of statehood.

Only a single, short session of the legislatur was held at the first territorial capitol in Belmont, and most of that was devoted to the selection of a new capital site. Through the influence of James Duane Doty, later to be Wisconsin's second territorial governor, Madison was chosen as the permanent territorial capital. Personal gain, favors, and politics were all involved in its selection. The site was a beautiful one on an isthmus between two of four picturesque lakes, conveniently situated about midway between the lead mining region and Milwaukee.

Statehood

The first attempt at adopting a constitution, at a convention in 1846, failed. A second convention was held at the end of the following year, and early in 1848 a satisfactory document was completed. The second constitution was adopted by the people and on May 29, 1848, Wisconsin became the thirtieth state of the Union. The first governor, Nelson Dewey, was from the southwestern mining area.

At the time of entry into the Union, the state had a territorial debt of $12,892.75. The newly adopted constitution forbade the state's going into debt, and, unlike some of her neighbors who had simply repudiated their debts--much larger ones as a rule--Wisconsin paid hers and proudly declared herself "absolutely without debt."

The years of Wisconsin's statehood from the beginning in 1848 to the time of the Civil war constituted an era of corruption in a state that later was to become known for good government. Businessmen who wanted state contracts for services did not hesitate to buy legislators or governors. When Congress granted lands for railroad development, the real graft began. Having squandered their stockholders' money, railroad companies now distributed large quantities of stocks and bonds to get the land. Legislators, state officers, and even the governor accepted money. In 1856 Governor Coles Bashford got $50,000

worth of securities from one railroad company. His predecessor, William A. Barstow, had been accused of plundering the state education fund, catering to big land speculators, and profiteering from railroad charters. Money from the sale of school lands became a small loan fund, with most of the loans going to Democratic party functionaries. The bribery and lobbying associated with Barstow's railroad transactions are a matter of record, though none of the allegations ever resulted in court actions.

As a result of the feverish promotion and building of railroads, 891 miles of track had been laid before the Civil War. Wisconsin's first railroad, the Milwaukee and Waukesha, later the Milwaukee and Mississippi, reached Waukesha in 1851, making it possible for residents of nearby Watertown to take the Watertown Plank Road to Waukesha in the morning, catch the train to Milwaukee, conduct their business in the large city, and return to Watertown for dinner.

By 1853 the Milwaukee and Mississippi reached Madison, and in 1857 was linked with Priarie du Chien, finally connecting the Great Lakes with the Mississippi--a milestone in Wisconsin's transportation history. Although there was great celebration accompanying this feat, the Panic of 1857 soon made itself felt and several railroads went bankrupt. All in all, development of the railroad system in Wisconsin was slow, but by 1860 the major cities of the southern third of the state were linked by rails.

Earlier modes of transportation had been less successful. In the 1830s ther had been an abortive attempt to construct a Milwaukee-Rock River Canal, but while land was granted for it and bonds were issured, both the state and private investors lost money when it failed. In the 1850s the Fox-Wisconsin waterway was improved, and locks were installed on the lower Fox which made navigation possible for large vessels from Lake Michigan to Lake Winnebago and adjacent inland waters. A canal was constructed at Portage which connected the Fox and Wisconsin rivers there. In 1856 a steamer made the voyage from Pittsburgh to the Mississippi via the Ohio, then up the Mississippi and the Wisconsin, through the new canal, and down the Fox to Green Bay. Although this was a noteworthy advance in inland water transportation in Wisconsin, railroads had made it outmoded almost before it began. The Fox-Wisconsin canal came too late to be of much real value.

For a time in the 1840s and 1850s, corduroy or plank roads, usually operated as tollways, connected a number of Wisconsin communities. Along them were built many hostelries or taverns, a few of which remain today, though largely in other use. The plank roads served a needed purpose for a brief time and were important connectors in the network of territorial and early statehood roads. They could not survive as toll roads once the railroads provided a more satisfactory, comfortable, and efficient means of transportation. Although the plank deteriorated and eventually disappeared, some of the roadways themselves still exist as part of Wiscosin's highway system; the Watertown Plank Road is an example.

Early Education

Governor Dodge and many others in territorial Wisconsin had believed that schools should be free and supported by the public. The strongest advocate for this was Michael Frank, a newspaper editor from Southport (Kenosha), who eventually became known as the founder of Wisconsin's free school system. Although he was a member of the upper house of the territorial legislature, Frank was unable to secure a law for free schools throughout the territory. But he did win permission to try his plan in Kenosha if it was approved by referendum there. This was accomplished in 1845, a building was erected two years later, and on June 30, 1849, the first entirely tax-supported and free school in W1sconsin went into operation in Kenosha. In the meantime the state constitution adopted in 1848 had provided for free enducation. In the parts of the state that were settled by 1850, district schools were instructing about 60,000 pupils.

During the later territorial days and early statehood, educational opportunities were probably better at the higher than at the elementary levls. Betwen 1840 and 1850 Wisconsin's earliest colleges were estabished: Carroll, Beloit, Lawrence, and Ripon. All were denominational and remain so today. Wisconsin's legislature established the University of Wisconsin in 1848, although classes did not meet until two years later. In 1856, having refused to establish normal schools to train teachers, the legislature added a normal department to the state university, but this was hardly more than a gesture. Finally, in 1866, the first state normal school opened at Platteville.

In 1856, at the opposite end of the educational scale, in a little building which still stands in Watertown, Margarethe Meyher Schurz began the first kindergarten in America, thus initiating a highly important phase of children's education.

Begun in 1846, two years before Wisconsin entered the Union, the State Historical Society of Wisconsin was chartered by the state in 1853 and received its first grant of state funds. It is the oldest state historical society in the nation to receive continuing state financial support, and is one of the renowned clutural institutions of its kind.

Immigration and Growth

The first twelve years or so of statehood were a period of great population expansion. Immigration was well underway during the late territorial days, and when Wisconsin entered statehood in 1848 her population was about 250,000. Between 1850 and 1860 it increased from 305,391 to 775,881.

By the early 1850s the Wisconsin frontier offered much that was attractive. Larry Gara writes:

> In the East, entrenched vested interests often prevented ambitious young men form gaining high position in political, business or professional life. Farmers in western New England and New York had begun to turn to dairying, pushing others off the land. To those who were dissatisfied in the East, Wisconsin, with its combination of river highways, fertile soil, healthful climate, and lake port markets, had a special appeal. In contrast to its western neighbors, Wisconsin had both a low debt and low taxes, and the new state offered many desirable land tracts on generous terms. Such advantages continued to lure Yankees to Wisconsin.

The same advantages appealed to European peoples. Private immigration companies promoted various parts of the state and attracted many immigrants. The state went into the promotion business, too, and in 1852 placed a state commissioner of immigration in New York to sell newly arrived Europeans on Wisconsin's advantages. Soon Wisconsin symbolized the opportunity for self-betterment in the west.

Germans especially were attracted, not only by the advantages that appealed to Yankees but also by the opportunity to escape oppressive conditions at home. Persecuted Lutherans from northern Germany came to gain religious freedon; Catholics--mostly craftsmen--from southern Germany come to escape ruinous competition from machines. The latter group made a valuable addition to Wisconsin's skilled working population--cabinetmakers, textile makers, bakers, brewers, carpenter. German doctors came, and teachers who had been educated in the world's best universities.

A group known as the Forty-Eighters, nationalistic intellectuals expatriated for their role in the unsuccessful German revolution of 1848, brought a rich background of culture, political enthusiasm, and freedom of thought. Many of these settled in Milwaukee, where their professions and occupations as well as their views enriched the culture of that city.

The vast majority of the early European immigrants, German and otherwise, were

farmers. Wheat growing was the major agricultural occupation, and by 1860 Wisconsin's production had risen to thirty million bushels--about 7 1/2 times the amount produced in 1848.

Abolitionism, Politics, Civil War

For at least two decades prior to the Civil War there had been strong antislavery feelings in Wisconsin. Even back in the territorial days, southerners who had brought their slaves north to work in the lead mines often gave them their freedom, though some of the freed slaves spent a year or two as indentured servants. Until about 1854, however, outright abolitionists were considered extremists. Wisconsin was later a link in the Underground Railroad, a route for escaped slaves making their way to Canada and freedom, and there were people willing to help them along the way. In one famous case, a fugitive slave, Joshua Glover, was forcibly freed by an abolitionist newspaper editor, Sherman M. Booth, and the Wisconsin Supreme Court effectively nullified the federal Fugitive Slave Law of 1850.

Along with abolitionism there had been much political discontent, and conditions were ripe for a change. When the Kansas Nebraska Bill, passed by the U. S. Senate on March 3, 1854, left the decision on slavery to the new states, Alvan Earle Bovay promptly called a meeting of fifty-three voters in a little white schoolhouse in Ripon to organize a new political party. Two years earlier Bovay had met with Horace Greeley in New York and advocated the dissolution of the Whig party and the formation of a new party to fuse together the antislavery elements. He suggested to Greeley the name "Republican" as one that had "charm and prestige." The Republican party was organized at the meeting in Ripon, and years later Bovay recalled: "We went into the little meeting, Whigs, Free Soilers, and Democrats. We came out Republicans, and we were the first Republicans in the Union." In a convention at Pittsburgh on February 22, 1856, a national organization was established and the name "Republican" adopted for the party.

Wisconsin's governor when the Civil War began, Alexander Randall, was an ardent abolitionist. He mobilized the state's men into service as soon as the war broke out, converting a large agricultural exposition ground in Madison to a military camp which still retains his name. By May 1, 1861, troops of the 2nd Wisconsin Infantry were garrisoned there. By war's end, twenty-five of the state's fifty-three infantry regiments and more than 70,000 of the 91,379 men Wisconsin furnished to the Union Army had trained within the bounds of Camp Randall. From the very beginning Wisconsin provided more than it share of soldiers to the Union forces.

There was no major battle of the war in which Wisconsin soldiers did not play a part, often with distinction. The famous Iron Brigade, composed of the 2nd, 6th, and 7th Wisconsin Volunteers along with the 19th Indiana and the 24th Michigan, was renowned as the "dyingest" brigade in the Union Army, and other Wisconsin units were equally well-known.

In April, 1862, Wisconsin's second Civil War governor, Louis P. Harvey, drowned while on a mission of mercy to Wisconsin troops taking part in the Shiloh campaign. The following year his widow, Cordelia Perrine Harvey, succeeded in persuading a dubious President Lincoln that it would be to the Union's advantage to set up hospitals in the North where sick, and wounded soldiers could be treated, allowed time to recover, and then be returned to fight again. Soldiers wre dying needlessly because of the abominable conditions in field hispitals. Many sick and wounded men deserted rather than risk their lives by submitting to treatment in such places, and Mrs. Harvey thought much of that could be prevented. Harvey Army Hospital was established in Madison and was so successful that hospitals like it were soon opened in Milwaukee and Praire du Chien.

Agricultural Changes

The Civil War years gave impetus to Wisconsin agriculture. Wheat production became icreasingly mechanized; more and more reapers and threshers were put into use to make up in part for the loss of manpower to the war effort, but women and children had to help too. Farming became more diversified according to the demand that arose. There was a market for oats, corn, rye, barley, sugar beets, and tobacco. Farmers raised sheep because the government needed wool.

At the end of the war there was a brief but interesting period of hop cultivation in Wisconsin, concentrated in the south central counties. The peak years were 1866 and 1867 when the crop was poor in the East. Hop growers in Sauk County raised one-fifth of the entire nation's crop in 1867 and doubled their acreage the next year. The 1868 season was a disastrous one in Wisconsin, however, with a generally poor crop made worse by an infestation of hop lice. At the same time production was again rising in the East. Wisconsin farmers lost heavily on the 1868 crop and it brought an end to the "hop craze" here.

By the end of the civil War, the state's wheat production also entered a serious decline. Scientific farming and crop rotation were still largely things of the future, and the continued growth of wheat depleted the soil. Many wheat farmers simply moved further west and began new farms. More often than not, however, the new immigrant farmers--Germans, Swiss, Bohemians, Norwegians and others--preferred to remain in one place. Some of these people bought the farms that wheat growers were leaving.

During approximately this same period several factors began to coalesce which eventually led to Wisconsin's rise as a leading dairy state. One of the most important of these was an influx of New York dairymen into the state; they brought a great deal of knowledge and experience with them from their native state where a very successful dairy industry was already flourishing. In addition, a number of European immigrants, especially the Scandinavians and Swiss, contributed their skills and energy towards the creation of a profitable dairy industry.

The state's diary farmers first developed the cheese-making phase of the industry. In 1859 Hiram Smith established a cheese factory at Sheboygan, and in 1864 Chester Hazen opened a commerical cheese factory at Ladoga in Fond du Lac County. Both men purchased or gathered milk from neighboring farmers on a regular basis. The Swiss developed their special cheese industry in Green County, where they had settled in considerable numbers. It was not many years before cheese-making became profitable, and by 1870 there were nearly 50 cheese factories in operation in Wisconsin.

In 1872 a group of resolute dairymen created the Wisconsin Dairymen's Association of Watertown. This organization held conventions, advertised the state's dairy products, promoted scientific improvements, and lobbied for laws which would protect its economic interests.

One man in particular helped the Wisconsin dairy farmer to make a success of scientific dairying. William Dempster Hoard established a newspaper, the Jefferson County Union, in Lake Mills in 1870. It became the official papers of the Jefferson County Dairyman's Association, of which Howard was the first secretary. As a regular practice the paper devoted much space to dairy news from every conceivable source, and it was so successful that in 1885 it resulted in the establishment of a separate publication, Hoard's Dairyman, which reamins the dairyman's Bible both in Wisconsin and elsewhere.

It required much argument on Hoard's part, but by the end of the nineteenth century he convinced farmers that in the final analysis success in dairying "depended on breeding a cow that would produce milk to the exclusion of other features such as beef." Other problems--quality control, proper feeding, care of milk, and marketing--were important

factors as well, but Hoard always contended that it required a true dairy cow, not a "general purpose" animal, to produce milk of consistently high quality.

Innovations and Inventions

In addition to Hoard's contributions to Wisconsin dairying were some landmark developments at the University of Wisconsin College of Agriculture. In the middle 1880s, with Professor W. A. Henry in charge, the agricultural "short course" for farmers was initiated. The idea of such a course was that over the winter months when there was little activity on the farm, farmers could spend a few weeks at the university getting the benefits of the most recent knowledge and developments in many aspects of farming--things that were being discovered through scientific agricultural experimentation. This was a significant step in advancing the quality of farming practices.

In the field of dairying, one of the most important feats of all time was Stephen A. Babcock's discovery of a simple, accurate test for determining the butterfat content of milk. Professor Babcock developed the test in 1890 and gave it to the world; he refused to patent the process. It quickly became a quality-control measure that discouraged farmers from diluting milk with water. More importantly, the Babcock test proved that Hoard's idea of the specialized dairy cow was correct. Babcock soon introduced another major development, the cold process for curing cheese. These were a few of the factors that made Wisconsin a leading dairy state. The College of Agriculture of the University of Wisconsin did much to put the state's dairy industry on the map and has continued to play an important role in keeping it there.

With one major exception, the most significant inventions originating in Wisconsin before the turn of the century were associated with agriculture. Babcock's butterfat test was one; John F. Appleby's twine binder, which appeared on the market in practical form in 1878, was another; and John Stevens' modern roller mill for producing flour was a third. All were revolutionary in their impact on agricutlure and agriculture-related industries. Equally important was the typewriter, invented by Christopher Latham Sholes in the late 1860s, which ultimately wrought permanent and significant changes in the business world.

Lumbering and Its Consequences

Commercial lumbering had begun in Wisconsin as early as the 1830s. By 1847 there were 24 sawmills on the Wisconsin River and another 10 on the Chippewa and St. Croix rivers. As early as 1851, "Eastern lumber no longer competed with Wisconsin pine on the Mississippi," but at the outbreak of the Civil War Wisconsin's pine stands were still relatively untouched, though they had attracted workers and accounted for the establishment of many new settlements. In 1860 Wisconsin's Chippewa River Valley alone contained one-sixth of all the white pine west of the Appalachians.

Soon aftr the civil War, lumbering became the biggest industry in northern Wisconsin. By 1882 the Chippewa Valley's yearly output was more than 600 million board feet. A year later it was almost twice that much, and the amount increased yearly until 1892 when loggers cut an estimated four billion board feet in all of Wisconsin. That was the industry's peak year, although Wisconsin continued to lead all states in the production of white pine for a few more years. By the end of the next decade, however, the once inexhaustible supply of Wisconsin's white pine was almost completely gone, and the big lumbering industry had moved into the Pacific Northwest and the South.

In its earlier years the lumber industry had depended on rivers and streams to move the logs to sawmills and markets, but as railroads developed they penetrated the pineries and changed the marketing of lumber. Eventually they extended into all the pineries. New

immigrants came to work in these pineries or to work on the railroads, and farmers in the lumbering regions often worked in logging camps to earn money during the winter. Cities and industries were built around the lumber business, and fortunes wre made in both lumbering and railroading. During much of the era, the lumber and railroad interests had held a tight control on the Wisconsin legislature. This was accomplished in no small part by active participation of lumbermen in politics as state legislators, governors, and U. S. Senators, and by an extremely powerful railroad lobby.

During the heyday of lumbering, cutting practices were not only wasteful but careless. This inevitably led to fires, including a few disastrous ones. The worst was the Peshtigo fire of October 8, 1871, which took the lives of more than 800 people, completely destroying the town of Peshtigo and burning a large area of northeastern Wisconsin and upper Michigan. In terms of lives lost it was one of the worst fire disasters in American history, many times worse than the great Chicago fire which occurred on the same evening. Out of this tragedy grew the earliest beginnings of forest conservation in Wisconsin.

Wood products industries of some magnitude developed during the lumbering era. In the Fox River Valley and northeastern parts of the state were important millworking and manufacturing companies producing finished wood products--doors, sashes, blinds, furniture, caskets, farm implements, wagons, pails, barrels and tubs, wheel spokes, and hubs. But the real giant to develop in the latter nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was the paper industry, which was a logical successor to lumbering.

Wisconsin's first paper mill was established in Milwaukee before the Civil War, manufacturing paper from cotton rags. By the 1870s, however, wood pulp had become the prime papermaking material, and paper mills soon mushroomed throughout the state, especially in the lower Fox River Valley and on the Wisconsin River, but also in other areas where the necessary combination of clean, swift-moving water and good pulpwood was available. The trees from which pulp was made were largely those that the logging industry did not use: hemlock, spruce, balsam fir, and later some deciduous softwoods.

Once more the wood supply seemed inexhaustible, but after the domestic supply was logged over to meet ever-increasing demands it became necessary to import pulpwood from Canada. Wisconsin paper makers, whose main product was newsprint, soon had a survival fight on their hands as lower-priced Canadian newsprint began cutting profits. At the turn of the century there were more than fifty paper mills in Wisconsin, and the state ranked fifth in the nation's paper production. By 1910, while paper production ranked only eighth among the state's industries, Wisconsin had risen third place among the country's paper producing states. In the ensuing years, aided in innumerable ways by the U. S. Forest Products Laboratory in Madison and the Institute of Paper Chemistry at Lawrence College (Lawrence University after 1964) in Appleton, the industry developed new and more efficient pulping processes, new paper products, new by-products from what were formerly waste materials, and new methods of disposing of unusable waste, although the latter remains a serious environmental problem. Wisconsin paper mills became almost exclusively producers of specialty products, ranking first or near first nationally in value of paper products.

Cutover timberlands in northern Wisconsin amounted to many millions of acres and left the state with serious problems of water and soil conservation and effective use of the land. It had once been thought that cutting away the forests would only open fine, fertile land to farming and create a whole new economy in the north, but it was found that much of the land was worthless for growing anything but trees. That which had been burned over would hardly support a good growth of weeds.

The worst problems were those that directly affected the people. Cutover farmers worked long and hard to seek out a living. When they could work part time at logging to

supplement their incomes, life was more tolerable. But when the pineries were gone, things changed. Lumbering companies and railroads no longer had use for the stripped land and were unwilling to pay taxes on it. They allowed much land to revert to local governments for non-payment of taxes. The people not only lost a source of income but also the tax money to maintin schools, local governments, roads, and services. Northern Wisconsin was transformed from a land of rich natural resources which had made huge fortunes for a few to a desolate, poor country with an impoverished population.

Many of the earlier northern settlers left the cutover land, but settlement of the area continued for a time. Both the companies who were selling cutover lands and the College of Agriculture offered specific information about the region and its potential as farm land, and some of the cutover land was free of taxes for specified periods if farmers remained and worked on it. But that was not enough. Ultimately it was perceived that reforestation and conservation, not resettlement and marginal agriculture, were the salvation of the cutover region. Although much of northern Wisconsin remains impoverished, some cutover lands have been developed into successful dairy farms; other large areas have been reforested by paper compaines with trees to be harvested selectively for pulpwood; some of the cutover lands are also used for production of Christmas trees--now a business of some magnitude; and some federally purchased and reforested lands serve as prime hunting and recreational areas.

Toward Reform

The political boss system was older than politics in Wisconsin and prevailed here until the early twentieth century, but the nature of the leadership in Wisconsin changed in 1880. Whereas professional politicians like "Boss" Elisha W. Keyes had headed the Republican group during the Civil War and for some years thereafter, his successor, lumberman Philetus Sawyer, who was elected U. S. Senator in 1880, was of a different mold. Unlike Keyes, the politicians who controlled both Republican and Democratic affairs after him were typically wealthy, influential men who were either directly involved in or strongly allied with lumbering, railroading, or other big business interests. Politics and business were so closely intertwined that they could hardly be called separate entities. The interests of these men lay largely in controlling government to their own ends, which inevitably meant private profit. Although Democrats ostensibly opposed Republicans and sought to embarrass and unseat them, there was not much difference between the basic programs of the two parties or their aims and methods.

This was machine politics, with men at the top controlling political conventions, virtually dictating the platforms, and selecting the candidate for office. They doled out patronage and raised caompaign funds by "taxing" the earnings of men they placed in jobs or office. Nevertheless, though corruption was rampant, ther had been and continued to be men of integrity and principle in high state office, men like Governors Lucius Fairchild, Cadwallader C. Ashburn and, later, William Dempster Hoard.

The real problem lay in the perpetuation of political practices which had prevailed for several decades. Near the end of the century, a few younger men who disagreed with existing practices began to influence politics. There was a small start in the direction of reform, and before the century ended even menbers of the political machine element, such as Governor Edward Scofield, yielded somewhat and went along with reform legislation. The free railroad pass, probably the most blatant symbol of political corruption in the state, was outlawed. Taxes were also imposed on the property of express and sleeping car companies, though not on their income. Municipal reforms followed, especially after 1893. Legislative action had some effect on diminishing lobbying practices. And a three-member tax commission was created and appointed to begin preliminary work on equalizing taxes. although these were indeed reform steps, they were but minor forerunners of those to come in the early twentieth century.

At the University of Wisconsin, beginning with the arrival of Presdient John Bascom in 1874, significant changs began to occur giving definite impetus to political reform. In addition to bringing a high level of personal scholarship to the University, Bascom brought new philosophies of government and economics. On the tangible side came real co-education, the addition of several new buidlings, and increased university income form taxation. On the philosophical side came advocacy of governmental contols on stock market investing practices, of a graduated income tax, of legal action against monopolies, and of promotion of reform through "applied Christianity."

Bascom's successor, the renowned geologist Thomas C. Chamberlin furthered the developmnet of a high-caliber academic atmosphere and brought about a needed reorganization of the university. Faculty leadership and prestige were enhanced by the addition of Richard T. Ely, economist; C. H. Haskins, historian; and Joseph Jastrow, psychologist. Wisconsin's native son, historian Frederick Jackson Turner, who won fame for his theory of the influence of the frontier in American history, also joined the history faculty.

When Chamberlin left in 1892, he was succeeded by Charles Kendall Adams, under whose administration came growth in size but no particularly noteworthy administrative changes. Early in Adams' presidency, however, came the challenge to academic freedom which resulted in the famous declaration by the Board of Regents which reads: "Whatever may be the limitations which trammel inquiry elsewhere, we believe the Great State University of Wisconsin should ever encourage that continual and fearless sifting and winnowing by which alone the truth can be found." This not only enhanced the growing reputation of the university for academic freedom and scholarly excellence, but also contributed to an atmosphere out of which would emerge ideas and support for political reform and social legislation.

La Follette and the Progressive

Robert M. La Follette, who won the election for governor in 1900 as a progressive Republican, was the first Wisconsin-born man to hold that office. He had entered politics twenty years earlier by defying the local Republican boss, Elisha W. Keyes, going directly to the people, and winning both the nomination and election for district attorney of Dane County. He was fresh out of the University of Wisconsin law school at the time, a gifted orator who spoke covincingly and dramatically. La Follette was re-elected district attorney in 1882, and by 1884 was politically strong enough to obtain the state convention's nomination and then election to a seat in the House of Representatives. After serving three terms in Congress, La Follette fell victim to the Democratic landslide of 1890 in Wisconsin and returned to private law practice in Madison. Then in 1891 came an event of which La Follette said: "Nothing else ever came into mylife that exerted such a powerful influence on me as that affair. . .It was the turning point, in a way, of my career."

For some time, Wisconsin state treasurers had been in the habit of investing state funds and keeping the earnings for themselves. The Democrats, who had been out of power for a number of years, took the matter to court to recover the investment-earned money for the state. The Republican boss, Philetus Sawyer, had given bond for some of the treasurers, and was in a position to lose about $300,000. He asked La Follette to meet him privately and offered him money. La Follette immediately claimed that Sawyer was trying to bribe him because the case was to be heard by Judge Robert Siebecker, La Follette's brother-in-law and former law partner. Although Sawyer always maintained that he had only been trying to hire legal help and did not know about the family relationship, La Follette, who had had no time for party bosses since his early encounter with Elisha Keyes, used the incident to dramatize what a political boss would do to protect his own corrupt interests.

La Follette tried in 1896 and again in 1898 to win the Republican convention's nomination for governor. Both times he thought he had all the votes he needed, but on both occasions the conservatives had nominated their own candidate, lumberman Edward Scofield, who served two terms as governor. Then La Follette conducted his so-called "harmony campaign" of 1900, soft-pedaling his reform ideas, successfully persuading the railroad men that he would be fair with them on taxation, and winning the confidence of other machine powers to the extent that he obtained the nomination for governor.

La Follette had not been a progressive or even a reform politician in his earlier days. He possessed superb ability as an orator; as district attorney. He had been zealous prosecutor; he was a moralist who had been strongly influenced in his college days by another moralist, John Bascom. He was quick to establish a rapport with the people and quick to sense their feeligs. His progressivism was a product of his own background, ability, and training in practical politics, and of the needs for reform that had been developing in Wisconsin and elsewhere for the last two decades of the nineteenth century. David Thelen summrizes the political climate at the turn of the century:

> Throughout the late eighties and nineties the number of voices in Wisconsin who were calling for new adjustments to industrialism was increasing. They ranged from wealthy merchants and manufacturers to diary farmers to representatives of the poverty-stricken "cutover" to social gospel ministers and progressive educators to urban populists. Many of these men were friends and associates of La Follette. La Follette could see that these men were achieving local prominence by their insistence that industrialism dictated a new adjustment for society...His own program of a direct primary electin and ad valorem railroad taxation was borrowed root and branch from many Wisconsin groups and individuals. From the popularity of these men and their ideas, at least as much as from his own personal experience, La Follette came to sense the value of espousing "progressive" ideas...the young men whom La Follette had always relied on for support were similar to him; they were men on the make. They had every faith in capitalism. Perhaps because they had whole-heartedly accepted the dream of the self-made man, they were all the more bitter when they realized that trusts and monopolies were subverting their ambitions.

> It seems probable that the causes of Wisconsin progressivism lay as much in Wisconsin as in La Follette. It was no revelation to Wisconsin voters when La Follette began to tell farmers of the menace of the machine and the need for tax reforms. La Follette himself was mainly a seismograph of the tremors which wre moving political parties, schools, churches, local government, farm and labor organizations into increasingly "progressive" direction..That he had no progressive ideas as a young man was unimportant...

The reforms which made La Follette and the Progressives famous did not come immediately. During his first administration there was a serious split between the conservative Republicans or "Stalwarts" and the more libral Progressives. As a result little of the kind of legislation La Follette wanted was produced. One major Wisconsin innovation materialized, however--the establishment of the legislative Reference Library in 1901. During the rest of that decade fifteen other states copied the idea. It was also emulated at the federal level in 1914 with an appropriation to the Library of Congress for legislative reference work.

In his second term La Follette succeeded in getting his direct primary law passed, but the Stalwarts made it subject to a statewide referendum in 1904. That same year the Stalwarts made a last-ditch effort to overthrow the Progressives, but the La Follette forces anticipated the plan to take over the floor and physically kept all but "authroized" delegates from getting into the convention hall. The outraged Stalwarts then held their own convention, but later met further failure when the State Supreme Court held that the

La Follette candidates were the official Republicans. That fall La Follette won the governorship again and the Progressives gained strength in the legislature. The direct primary referendum (for state offices) passed as well.

Progressive reforms and innovations continued through La Follette's third term, though not without friction and compromise. La Follette found it necessary to use some machine tactics and political patronage of his own to accomplish the ends he sought. Succesful as he was in establishing and furthering the Progrssive movement, he never really contolled the Republican party in Wisconsin and was not always successful in dictating who would be the Progressive candidates for office. During his third term, in 1905, he was elected to the U. S. Senate by the legislature when J. V. Quarles' term expired, but he did not resign as governor until 1906 when he felt his reform program was complete. Included among the enlightened Progressive legislation during his own term and that of his successors, James O. Davidson and Francis E. McGovern, were the establishment of a railroad commission, a state board of forestry, an industrial commission, and insurance commission, a state board of forestry, an industrial commission, an insurance commission, a state civil service system, and passage of such measures as laws regulating lobbying, woman and child labor, a corrupt practices act, a state income tax law, and a workmen's compensation law.

The Wisconsin Idea

University of Wisconsin involvement in state affairs went hand-in-hand with the Progressive movement. In 1903 Charles Van Hise, the first recipient of a Ph.D. degree from the University and a former classmate of Robert La Follette, asumed the presidency of the university. Under his administration the institution's services to the state expanded greatly. The Extension Division was created and its services soon multiplied. Farmers' institutes, which had begun in the mid-1880s, were expanded. Not only were dairy and short courses for farmers increased by the College of Agriculture and high school and college extension courses offered, but experts from the university went out into the state to help with various problems.

University professors who were concerned with both political reform and the regulation of business and industry advanced many ideas and participted actively in state affairs and held elective and appointive offices. They advocted or helped to write much reform legislation, including the direct primary and civil service laws as well as those establishing commissions and regulatory agencies. Faculty and state personnel also held meetings on a regular basis to exchange ideas.

Charles McCarthy, who had set up the Legislative Reference Library in 1901, labeled this relationship betwen the University and the State the "Wisconsin Idea," and in 1912 wrote a book about it which was widely read. The wisconsin Idea came to mean tht the boundaries of the campus were the boundaries of the state, with the university serving as a laboratory and the state a proving ground for developments in public afairs.

Although much of the Progressives' legislation related to state regulation of business and industry, it was never their intention to establish a socialistic system. What they did was to define, isolate. and try to solve some of the problems stemming form the growth of technology, the expansion of business and industry, and the changing needs of society. Not all that the Progressives did was readily accepted at the time, but much of what Wisconsin did was copied elsewhere at both state and federal levels, and the Wisconsin Idea became a model for reform elsewhere.

In 1914 there was a split in the Progressive leadership and a conservative Republican, Emanuel L. Philipp, won the election for governor. He held the office from 1915 until 1921, when John J. Blaine, another Progressive, was elected governor. By the time of Philipp's election, the conservative Republicans or "Stalwarts" had come to accept much of

the Progressive program and most reforms were allowed to stand. Philipp effected some economies in state government and not only overcame the University's fears about his conservativism but even won its praise for his insight and helpfulness.

Because of La Follette's vociferous opposition to the nation entering the First World War, and his support by some Germans and by the Socialist administration in the city of Milwaukee, Wisconsin received much undeserved criticism and unwanted attention during the earlier days of the war. The state's war record, however, was probably better than average. Wisconsin did more than its part in furnishing fighting men and in producing food, heavy trucks, and other war materials. Wisconsin citizens, through the State Council of Defense and the "Wisconsin Idea for war," initiated such nationally accepted practices as meatless and wheatless days. Women's groups organized to help in many ways, and women, supporting Red Cross efforts, made more than half a million kintted articles and countless numbers of surgical dressings. Wisconsin's 32nd or Red Arrow Division gained fame as a fighting unit, and its men were called "Les Terribles" by the French.

Despite the fury of denunication and censure that La Follette had brought upon himself by his opposition to the war, he managed to endure and won re-election to a fourth term in the U. S. Senate in 1922. He was still a powerful figure, and led the Progressive bloc which held the balance of power in the Senate at the end of 1923. He also figured prominently in the Senate investigations which uncovered the Teapot Dome oil scandals in the Harding administration. As an independent Progressive candidate for president in 1924, La Follette won only Wisconsin's electoral vote, although he had the support of both the American Federation of Labor and the Socialist party, which fielded no candidate of its own.

By this time La Follette was 69 and in poor health. Although he compaigned hard and long, he could not muster anything resembling the strength and vigor of the "Fighting Bob" of old. With his health damaged even more by the strain and exhaustion of campaigning, Robert M. La Follette died in June, 1925. Today Wisconsin has two statues standing in Statuary Hall in the national Capitol in Washington. One is of Father Marquette; the other is that of La Follette.

The 1920s

Wisconsin's industrial production showed some marked changes between 1910 and 1920; the effects of World War I, Prohibition, changing technologies, and forest depletion were all clearly evident. Where the dairy industry had ranked third in the state in 1910, it had increased nearly fourfold in product value and occupied first place in 1920. Foundry and machine-shop products retained second rank but had also increased in value at a rate only slightly less than dairy products. Motor vehicle production rose slightly less than dairy products. Motor vehicle production rose from thirteenth to third place. Meat packing ranked fourth and leather products fifth, having moved from seventh and fourth places, respectively. From fifth place in 1910, malt liquor production had dropped out of the ranking as the breweries had been forced to switch to the production of less readily marketable products than beer by the Eighteenth Amendment. The paper and pulp industry remained in eighth place in the state. Electrical machinery, twentieth place in 1920, would rise into the top ranks by mid century.

Lumber and timber products reflected an inevitable decline due to depletion of resources, dropping from first place in 1910 to seventh a decade later, despite a 36 percent increase in product value. The value of industrial products had generally increased during the war, and this was still reflected in the 1920 census.

By 1929, the year of the Great Crash, further changes had accurred in the state's industrial production. Wisconsin's five most important products were motor vehicles,

dairy products, foundry and machine products, paper and wood pulp, and engines, turbines, and tractors. All of these were destined to remain high in importance, but there would be many changes and developments of new products as Wisconsin's industry moved ahead, spurred by increased application of scientific research and engineering.

The Depression

Wisconsin's depression problems were much the same as those of other states. There was increasing unemployment i industry as demand for products decreased, and many plants were forced to shut down. Milwaukee was especially hard hit. The effect spread to businesses, suppliers, and various service establishments. For the unemployed, direct relief through governmental agencies at local levels and distribution of food and clothing by charitable organizations provided help but was scarcely adequate. Pride and independence made it difficult for some to accept direct relief; people wanted work so that they could support themselves.

Wisconsin received about $2,000,000 when Congress passed emergency appropriations at the end of 1930, and many communities used their share for public works and civic betterment projects; but always there were more applicants than jobs. Under Governor Walter J. Kohler a Citizen's Committee on Employment and a Bureau of Unemployment were established to work on the problems, but without much success.

In 1930 Philip F. La Follette, younger son of "Old Bob," brother of U. S. Senator Robert, Jr., and a Progressive in the family tradition, was elected governor on the Republican ticket. He used several approaches to the unemployment problem, most notably an increased income tax, which relieved local property taxes somewhat; a state grant of one dollar to local governments for each person listed in the census of 1930; and construction of fire lanes in state forests and overpasses at dangerous railroad crossings.

Although it would not become effective in time to be of much help during the depression, one of the most important and far-reaching legislative action of Philip La Follette's administration, born in the depression's deepest years, was the passage in 1932 of the first unemployment insurance law in the nation. It became the model for many other states and for the federal government as well. Like many of Wisconsin's earlier Progressive measures, this was another law resulting from the Wisconsin Idea--co-operation between the University of Wisconsin and the state.

Farmers had their depression problems, too. While most farm families could at least be assured of food for the table, their income dropped to the point where they could not meet mortgage payments, and there wre many foreclosures. There was some legislative help in providing means of delaying foreclosures, and Farm Holiday Associations were formed as well, providing co-operative help and the threat of force when necessary to prevent foreclosures.

Both dairymen and crop farmers tried unseccessfully to get higher prices for their products by withholding them from market. In the winter of 1932-1933 a milk strike was attempted. The strikers dumped milk at railroad sidings and along highways, largely in the Fox River Valley area, and succeeded in closing some cheese and butter factories. Before it was over there were a few episodes of violence and one death, but little change in the price of milk.

With the Roosevelt landslide of 1932, Philip La Follette was swept out of office, but he won it again as a Progressive in 1934 and served two terms before his defeat in 1938 by a Republican industrialist, Julius P. Heil. Philip La Follette was Wisconsin's only Progressive Party governor, for Orland S. Loomis, who won election as a Progressive in 1942, died before he could take office. In 1946, under the leadership of Robert M. La Follette, Jr., Wisconsin's Progressive party was dissolved. Many of its members

re-entered the Repubican fold, but some joined the Democratic party as well.

Although recovery from the depression was slow, Wisconsin, along with the rest of the nation, started to regain strength by the mid-1930s. Business picked up, some manufacturing plants reopened in 1934-1935, and people began to find employment. When it was announced that the large automobile assembly plant in Janesville was to reopen, there was a city-wide holiday. Theaters opened their doors free to all and showed movies continuously. People jammed the streets in celebration and restaurants did a land-office business.

Even though people were happy to be working again, there was considerable labor trouble in Wisconsin during the 1930s. In 1937 alone ther were 190 strikes--more than three time the number that had occurred the year before. Labor's power had been increasing in the 1930s when both the state and national administrations were generally friendly to the labor movement. And during their earlier era Wisconsin's Progressives had done more than most states in furthering the cause of the working man and imposing regulations on employers. Soon after Julius Heil took office in 1939, however, the antipathy of business and industry toward organized labor was reflected in legislation. The employment Peace Act was passed, incorporating measures to protect the interests of employee, employer, and the public. Although maintaining collective bargaining, it imposed certain new conditions: unless the collective bargaining unit represented a majority of employes, the employer could not negotiate with its representatives. Employes had to give written permission for union dues to be deducted from their paychecks, and approval by a three-fourth majority of employees, to be determined by secret ballot, was necessary for establishing a union shop agreement.

Before the end of the depression decade, the outbreak of World War II in Europe was increasing demands for some products. After Pearl Harbor, Wisconsin factories, along with those of the rest of the nation, quickly converted to wartime production. Labor was not entirely quiet and there was one serious strike in 1941 at the Allis-Chalmers plant in Milwaukee. There was little umenployment in the factories or on the farms, however, and for a time Wisconsin enjoyed its share of a new prosperity, producing both food and dairy products and the materials of war.

World War II and After

Wisconsin furnished approximately 375,000 men and women for the armed services, including the state's entire Naional Guard, which comprised a major part of the 32nd Division that had gained renown in World War I. A number of Wisocnsin's men in the 32nd Division were captured by the Japanese in the early days of the war in the Pacific and forced to endure the notorious Batann "Death March." Of the many Wisconsin men who gained high distinction in World War II were two top commanders, Fleet Admiral William D. Leahy and General of the Army Douglas MacArthur. MacArthur had been reared in the state and was the grandson of Arthur MacArthur, Wisconsin's lieutenant governor--and, for a brief period, governor--in the 1850's. And Major Richard Ira Bong, of Poplar, Wisconsin, emerged as America's top fighter pilot and winner of the Congressional Medal of Honor.

Wisconsin's factories produced fuses, shell casings, munitions, heavy equipment, and numerous kinds of electronic equipment. The state's best-known wartime product, however, was probably the submarines built in Manitowoc's shipyards.

Music, Art, Literature

Civil War soldiers of both sides sang the camp song, "Lorena," written by Joseph P. Webster, who came to Walworth in 1859, and his "In the Sweet Bye and Bye" remains popular today. Eben Rexford wrote the words to "Silver Threads Among the Gold" while

a student at Lawrence College in Appleton. From the prolific songwriting of Carrie Jacobs Bond, born in Janesville in 1862, have come such favorites as "A Perfect Day" and "I Love you Truly."

Wisconsin's two best-known sculptors are women. Vinnie Ream Hoxie, born in Madison in 1847, did a sculpture of Abraham Lincoln from life when she was eighteen. For five months before his assassination, Lincoln gave her half-hour sittings. When Congress later decided it should have a marble statue of Lincoln, Vinnie Ream Hoxie submitted her model and won the commission. Madsion-born Helen Farnsworth Mears also showed talent at an early age and later studied under Lorado Taft. Her "Genius of Wisconsin" stands in the state capitol in Madison; her best-known work, a statue of Frances Willard commissioned by the state of Illinois, is in Statutory Hall of the U. S. Capitol.

Writers of both the nineteenth and twentieth centuries have brought attention to Wisconsin. John Muir, who lived in Wisconsin as boy, youth, and university student, recalled his day here in The Story of My Boyhood and Youth. In many of his writings, Ray Stannard Baker, a Pulitzer prize-winner for his eight-volume work on Woodrow Wilson, was influenced by his boyhood in northwestern Wisconsin. Zona Gale, of Portage, who received a Pulitzer prize in 1921 for her play Miss Lulu Bett, did much writing in her Wisconsin home. She was also a strong backer of La Follette and the Progressives and served on the University Board of Regents. Hamlin Garland, of West Salem, lived only nine years in Wisconsin, but he depicted some of the hardships of frontier life from memories of living in the coulee region of La Crosse County. Edna Ferber, who spent her formative years in Appleton, drew heavily upon her days in Wisconsin in her autobiography, A Peculiar Treasure, and more dramatically in Fanny Herself and Come and Get It. August Derleth, Wisconsin's most prolific writer, wrote many volumes about the Sac Prairie country and its people.

A Century Forward

In its centennial year of 1948, Wisconsin could look back upon a century of almost unbelievable change and progress. A century ago it was not yet far removed from the frontier. Now it was conscious of its place in both the nation and the world, and its people were concerned about the affairs of both. When it became a state, its population had been about a quarter of a million; now it was estimated at more than three and a quarter million. Through the Progressives and the Wisconsin Idea it had become an innovator of legislation much copied by other states and by the federal government. Its state university had become one of the great educational institutions of the world; its state historical society enjoyed similar renown. It had long been the nation's leading dairy state but was also a high-ranking industrial state. In the process of change, its population had become predominantly urban.

Wisconsin had been a great melting pot, and in a century had welded into one people a diversity of foreign-born citizens and their descendants. The process had not yet ended, but Wisconsin had indeed developed a distinctive state culture. The many peoples of Wisconsin were still making their contributions to the richness, color, and uniqueness of Wisconsin's traditions, customs, and flavor--still helping to shape a state.