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ON THE COVER: *The camp of Company 1696, Civilian Conservation Corps, Dunbar (Marinette County). Wisconsin Conservation Department photo. Articles on the CCC in Wisconsin begin on pages 184 and 205.*



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|                                                                                                 |     |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| In Search of Chaetar:<br>New Findings on Black Hawk's Surrender<br><i>Nancy Oestreich Lurie</i> | 163 |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|

---

|                                                                                                 |     |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| The Civilian Conservation Corps and<br>Wisconsin State Park Development<br><i>Carol Ahlgren</i> | 184 |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|

---

|                                                                                 |     |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| Pages from My Past:<br>The Civilian Conservation Corps<br><i>David S. Rouse</i> | 205 |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|

---

|                             |     |
|-----------------------------|-----|
| Book Reviews                | 217 |
| Book Review Index           | 232 |
| Wisconsin History Checklist | 233 |
| Accessions                  | 237 |
| Contributors                | 240 |

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*John Blackhawk (Noojanpga, Lightning Strikes Tree), 1883–1951, author of the document reproduced on pages 170 and 171. Photograph courtesy Francis Cassiman, Mountain View, California, a nephew of John Blackhawk, and the Milwaukee Public Museum (A-667-J).*



# In Search of Chaetar: New Findings on Black Hawk's Surrender

By Nancy Oestreich Lurie

IN 1984 the Milwaukee Public Museum received a long-forgotten manuscript collection relating principally to the Winnebago. It had been neglected and thoroughly jumbled over the years, but once organized systematically it was found to contain several items of more than routine interest to anthropologists and ethnohistorians: correspondence with Indians and old settlers, biographical sketches of little-known tribal leaders, and, of particular interest here, an almost wholly "new" account—but one which was written nearly eighty years ago—of the capture of Black Hawk after the 1832 war which drew national attention to the region which soon became known as Wisconsin.

The discovery of John Blackhawk's manuscript (JBM) spurred a review and reappraisal of currently received history as to what occurred during the twenty-five days between the final battle of the war near the Bad Axe River on August 2 and the delivery of Black Hawk and his remaining followers by a Winnebago delegation to Indian Agent Joseph M. Street at Prairie du Chien on August 27.

The JBM differs in three important particulars from conventional interpretations and proves to be more credible on all counts. First, Black Hawk, who had fled the Bad Axe area the day before the final battle there, was not found by the Winnebago at the Dells of the Wisconsin River as is usually claimed, but more than fifty miles to the northwest, in the vicinity of the present city of Tomah, Wisconsin.

Second, although One Eyed Decorah and "Chaetar" are credited by historians with bringing in Black Hawk and the Prophet, Decorah really had no part in the matter. Third, contrary to the surmise that the Prophet and Black Hawk were taken at separate locations, they were still together when the Winnebago found them.

What really prompted the need to give serious consideration to this unusual account is that it solved the mystery of the name Chaetar which is regularly mentioned in histories of the Black Hawk War but appears in only one primary source, Joseph M. Street's "Report of the Delivery of Black Hawk and the Prophet," August 27, 1832, to the Secretary of War.<sup>1</sup> Chaetar is a linguistic anomaly in Winnebago phonetics. There is nothing remotely like it in the known inventory of Winnebago names and it does not follow predictable principles whereby names of foreign origin are reworked to conform to Winnebago sound patterns.<sup>2</sup> Thanks to the JBM, the man known for

<sup>1</sup>Ellen M. Whitney, ed., *The Black Hawk War, 1831–1832*, Vol. II, Pt. II (Illinois State Historical Library, Springfield, 1975), 1065–1067.

<sup>2</sup>See Nancy Oestreich Lurie, "A Check List of Treaty Signers by Clan Affiliation," in the *Journal of the Wisconsin Indian Research Institute*, Vol. II, No. 1, 1966, 50–73. Although nineteenth-century spellings of Winnebago names on treaties often were very wide of the mark, the names can be identified by methods developed for this publication. The methods were of no avail applied to "Chaetar," indicating that miscopying had obliterated



more than 150 years as "Chaetar" at last stands revealed: "Chasja-ka, or Wave."

As a native speaker, John Blackhawk tended to take nasalized vowels for granted when writing Winnebago, but his English translation permitted proper pronunciation, Chaashjan-ga in modern orthography.<sup>3</sup> It probably was written as "Chasjan" or "Chashjan" in the original notes (now lost) which were jotted down when the Winnebago delegation from the La Crosse area brought Black Hawk and his group to Prairie du Chien. Chas(h)jan was misread as Chaetar when copied into the official report: s(h) became e, j became t, and n became r. The JBM properly includes the suffix ka which is the referent form but dropped in direct address. It is a legitimate and not uncommon Winnebago name.

**I**MPROVING the accuracy of historical interpretations is always desirable, even when it is a few details in a brief and localized Indian war. Beyond that goal, the methods employed to test the factual reliability of specific points in the JBM are of general use in helping to elucidate the purely Indian side of frontier history. In addition to standard historiographic critiques of the documentary record, this discussion will draw upon geography, linguistics, ethnography, and knowledgeable Indian consultants to clarify what is, after all, their history too.

Since the story to follow rivals a Restoration comedy in changed names and mistaken identities, it is helpful at the outset to identify the main cast of characters. The same English name, Black Hawk, was shared by two principal actors: the well-known Sauk war leader and a Winnebago village leader, the latter hereinafter distinguished as W. Black Hawk. Gun, who, according to the JBM, spotted the Sauk camp, was also known as Big Gun. One Eyed Decorah (as the name is written today, but variously spelled Decorri, Decora, etc.)

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predictable clues. A copy of the handwritten Street Report was procured from the National Archives in the hope that some alternative reading of the letters might be discerned, but the name is clearly written as "Chaetar."

<sup>3</sup>See Orthography and Word Analysis, page 178 of this *Magazine*.

was equally well known to both whites and Indians by his war name, usually translated as Big Boat, but in one case as Big Canoe. Wave's brother was the man the whites called the Prophet or the Winnebago Prophet, but was known as White Cloud among the Winnebago. (His Sauk name, mercifully not used in this account, also was White Cloud, usually spelled Wabokieshiek by white chroniclers.) A man named Walking Cloud, unrelated to White Cloud, also figures later in this analysis, as does Spoon Decorah, who was related to One Eyed Decorah.

Besides the problem of names, whites and Indians had different perceptions of Indian roles. One Eyed Decorah was not the important man the whites took him to be because he spoke for the Winnebago delegation which brought Black Hawk and his people to Prairie du Chien. On such occasions of state, group consensus achieved by actual leaders frequently was conveyed through designated orators. Decorah contributed to the misunderstanding of his status because, as later evidence will show, he regularly inflated his own importance among whites whose records, in turn, influenced later historians.

With this background, it is easy to see why a significant piece of evidence which helps to substantiate the JBM was probably misread. A September 15, 1832, disbursement list and a voucher (signed with X's) shows that Big Gun and Black Hawk, identified as Winnebago Indians, received a reward of \$100.00 for the capture of Black Hawk and the Prophet.<sup>4</sup> No one has ever questioned who Big Gun was and what he had done to deserve payment. The most logical surmise, considering the generally accepted view that One Eyed Decorah helped capture Black Hawk, is that Big Gun's name was glossed over because of its similarity to One Eyed Decorah's war name, Big Boat. One perceptive historian, Ellen Whitney, was puzzled that Chaetar was not mentioned in the payment and suggested that he might have taken Black Hawk as a war name in commemoration of his role in bringing in the Sauk Black Hawk.<sup>5</sup> Given Winnebago belief in the

<sup>4</sup>Joseph M. Street Papers, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison.

<sup>5</sup>Whitney, ed., *Black Hawk War*, Vol. II, Pt. II, 1186n.



interactive relationship between similar things and the pattern of Winnebago war names, it is unlikely that Chaetar would have taken the name of a failed warrior; furthermore, the real W. Black Hawk signed a Winnebago treaty in 1829 three years before the Black Hawk War.

The Prophet, like One Eyed Decorah, also is more important to whites than to Indians, but for different reasons. Reuben Gold Thwaites commented in 1895 that only a few old Wisconsin Winnebago "seem to remember having heard anything about the Prophet, one of the most marked characters in the tragedy of 1832."<sup>6</sup> Many Winnebago knew and some still know about the Prophet, but only as White Cloud, the name used in the JBM. Even the desperate Black Hawk, initially susceptible to auguries of allies, soon concluded that White Cloud was not much of a prophet. In this connection, it is important to remember that for terrified whites on the frontier in 1832 a Winnebago Prophet probably suggested analogies to the more famous Shawnee Prophet of the then relatively recent War of 1812. By Thwaites's time, the Shawnee Prophet was popularly perceived as the sinister foil to the heroic but doomed Tecumseh, and Black Hawk also was becoming the stuff of tragic drama.

THE JBM figures in the final scenes of that drama which began in the spring of 1832 when Black Hawk led his band of about 1,000 people, including some 400 mounted and armed warriors, across the Mississippi to re-occupy the site of his home village near the mouth of the Rock River in northwestern Illinois. The area was part of a large parcel the Sauk and Fox had ceded to the United States by treaty in 1804. Meanwhile, Potawatomi Indians along with some Chippewa and Ottawa had begun to occupy the region along the Mississippi between the Rock and Wisconsin rivers. The 1804 treaty notwithstanding, in 1829 the govern-

ment made a treaty with the newcomer tribes to cede this part of the earlier cession, but they were still residing there at the outbreak of the Black Hawk War. A few Sauk and Fox continued to use the area until 1829 when, except for Black Hawk's group, they agreed to move west of the Mississippi where most of them had already resettled. Winnebago Indians lived immediately upstream on the Rock, pending their removal elsewhere because they too had ceded their land between the Rock and Wisconsin rivers in 1829.

The tribes had sold their lands reluctantly in the face of superior numbers and military power. Black Hawk's defiance of white authority won sympathizers and a few active supporters among both the Potawatomi and Winnebago. The Prophet, Black Hawk's major Winnebago ally, was of half Sauk descent. His village on the Rock River was about at the boundary between the two 1829 cessions, the location of modern Prophetstown, Illinois.

A military force blocked Black Hawk's access to his old village, so he bypassed it and moved up-river to Winnebago country. Soon realizing the hopelessness of his situation, Black Hawk tried to surrender and negotiate the safe return of his band to Iowa. When his envoys under a white flag were fired upon by a panicky militia unit, Black Hawk's defensive strategy became a successful offense and he was doomed to a war he could neither win nor avoid. His retreat up the Rock and then northwest across Wisconsin in an effort to reach and cross the Mississippi was marked by delaying engagements, further unsuccessful efforts to surrender, and the separation of his forces. The main body went on to the carnage at Bad Axe, by which time the smaller group had already met an equally bloody fate in their attempt to reach the Mississippi by going down the Wisconsin River. The conduct of the war has been detailed and debated in many publications and memorialized in historic markers; it need not concern us here. This study concentrates on the Winnebago role in the war and the surrender of Black Hawk.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>6</sup>Reuben Gold Thwaites, ed., "Narrative of Walking Cloud," in the *Wisconsin Historical Collections* (Madison, 1895), XIII: 465n.

<sup>7</sup>Unless otherwise indicated, data on Winnebago history and culture are drawn from Nancy Oestreich Lurie, "Winnebago," in the *Handbook of North American Indians*, Vol. 15, *Northeast*, William Sturtevant and Bruce Trigger, eds. (Washington, D.C., 1978), 690–707.



BY 1832, the Winnebago were active in the fur trade and had spread across a large territory in Wisconsin and Illinois to hunt. Their former compact settlement in the Green Bay-Lake Winnebago area under a paramount dual chieftainship had given way to more than thirty smaller, widely scattered villages. Although in 1832 a paramount civil chief, Carramanie (one of several spellings), was still nominally recognized, for practical purposes the villages operated quite autonomously, usually with their own dual Thunder (civil, peace) and Bear (police, "soldier") Clan chiefs. The villages were, nevertheless, united by a strong network of kinship, intervillage visiting, seasonal gatherings to share localized resources, and commonalities of culture and language.

In diplomatic relations, it was the orators who conveyed community consensus. By the early nineteenth century, members of the Decorah family sometimes were appointed as spokesmen in dealings with whites. Unlike white-oriented mixed bloods who brokered between whites and Indians as traders and interpreters, the Decorahs did not speak English and were culturally Indian. They were believed to enjoy some influence among whites because of their descent from a French officer at Green Bay and the daughter (some say sister) of the paramount chief. The couple had two sons, Spoon, a name also given to several later Decorahs, one of whom figures in this study, and Buzzard (one of several names), the father of One Eyed Decorah.

As a matter of American expedience, the far-flung Winnebago were administered according to regions: Street, the head agent, had jurisdiction north of Prairie du Chien; Henry Gratiot was sub-agent in the 1829 cession area; and John Kinzie, located at the portage of the Fox and Wisconsin rivers, was sub-agent to the most easterly Winnebago. Since the Winnebago did not make common cause in the Black Hawk War, they appeared capricious and untrustworthy to many whites.

The southernmost Winnebago, however, had more reason to sympathize with Black Hawk than with the Americans because they had been forced to cede their homeland largely as reparation for the hostile Red Bird Incident of 1827, precipitated by the influx of

thousands of lead miners into northwestern Illinois. The lower Rock River villagers' propinquity to the Sauk sometimes resulted in intertribal marriages. The offspring, usually bilingual, acknowledged kinship to people in both tribes but, depending on parental or personal choice, held membership in only one tribe. The Winnebago Prophet was a case in point.

When the Sauk retreat moved close to Portage in Kinzie's jurisdiction, the Winnebago there worriedly weighed their options. They enjoyed friendly trade relations with the Americans but were reluctant to take up arms against the Sauk, whom they also considered friends. They were still debating the issue when the action skirted them, saving them from having to make a decision.<sup>8</sup>

The Winnebago of Street's agency tended to see their best interests served by staying on the good side of the Americans, a view reinforced by the fact that some of them had married neighboring eastern Sioux, traditional enemies of the Sauk. W. Black Hawk identified himself as half Sioux and half Winnebago at the Winnebago treaty of 1832.<sup>9</sup> While

<sup>8</sup>Reuben Gold Thwaites, ed., "Narrative of Spoon Decorah," in the *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, XIII: 453.

<sup>9</sup>At the treaty council of 1832, W. Blackhawk identified himself as half Sioux and that he was "not a chief nor a brave." He might have meant that he was not of the paramount chiefly line, because the Blackhawk family is definitely of the chiefly Thunder Clan, and earlier in the council, Elk, the official orator, spoke of W. Black Hawk as a respected leader. Unpublished field notes collected from elderly Winnebago by Frances Perry indicate that people of paternal Sioux ancestry were incorporated into the Thunder Clan and frequently given hawk names.

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*The Winnebago and their neighbors. The unshaded area shows the Winnebago cessions of 1829, 1832, and 1837. The shaded area with the dates 1829 and 1804 encompasses land ceded by a mixed group of Potawatomi, Chippewa, and Ottawa in 1829. Their occupancy of this part of the 1804 Sauk and Fox cession was recognized by the government by treaty in 1816, at which time the government also procured the small parcel of land where the village of Prairie du Chien stands. The government acquired the Fort Crawford site in the 1804 treaty. The Winnebago cessions of 1829 and 1832 also partly overlapped the Sauk and Fox cession of 1804. The circled star indicates the approximate location of Black Hawk's camp when he was discovered by the Winnebago. Map by Judy Patenaude.*







village location tended to influence choices in Winnebago participation in the war, many Winnebago attempted to remain neutral and were eager for the war to end because they feared being considered enemies by the Sauk and mistaken for Sauk by the Americans. Winneshiek, a respected Rock River chief, was married to the Prophet's sister and refused to be drawn into the fray at all, even settling for a while west of the Mississippi in Minnesota; but one of his sons joined his uncle and was among the hostiles imprisoned for a time at Jefferson Barracks.<sup>10</sup>

TURNING now to a comparison of the JBM and the documentary record, we find that the oft-repeated assertion that Black Hawk was captured at the Dells depends on a single primary but not original source: Street's "Report of the Delivery of Black Hawk and the Prophet," containing speeches by One Eyed Decorah, Street, Col. Zachary Taylor (commander of nearby Fort Crawford), and "Chaetar." That it is not an original source is shown by the fact that it begins with an introductory paragraph in the past tense describing the scene at Street's house when the Indians arrived and includes an asterisk in One Eyed Decorah's speech where the copyist omitted a sentence and appended it at the end.

Following a brief preamble, Decorah said, "We had to go a great distance (to the Dalle on the Wiskonsin) above the Portage) . . . . You told us to bring them in alive. . . . If you had told us to bring their heads alone, we would have done so, and it would have been less difficult" (*sic*). After some flattery directed toward Street, Decorah added in reference to Black Hawk and the Prophet, "We want you to keep them safe; if they are to be hurt, we do not wish to see it—wait until we are gone be-

fore it is done." As the official spokesman, Decorah may have included this comment at the request of Chaetar, who later expressed the same sentiment. It does not jibe with Decorah's earlier complaint of being inconvenienced in bringing the captives in alive. Decorah closed by reminding Street that he had promised a reward to the Winnebago for their efforts.

Street replied in flowery, formulaic fashion, commending the Winnebago for their deed, and promising to speak well of them to the white authorities. He then invited them to go with him in a few days when he would accompany the prisoners to Fort Armstrong at Rock Island, Illinois, where a council was scheduled with the Winnebago to begin on September 10. Closing with assurances that no harm would come to the prisoners, Street officially turned them over to Taylor, who briefly reiterated the gist of Street's words.

The speech making should have ended at this point, but Chaetar insisted that he be heard. Explaining that although he was neither a chief nor an orator, he had the Winnebago delegation's approval to speak at this time. He began with a review of the whites' request that the Winnebago seek out Black Hawk. Then he got to the point: "Near the Dalle on the Wiskonsin, I took the Black Hawk—no one did it but me—I say this in the ears of all present, and they know it—and I now appeal to the Great Spirit our Grand Father, and to the Earth our Grand Mother, for the truth of what I say."

GEOGRAPHIC and linguistic considerations cast doubt on the Dells as the correct translation of the site where Black Hawk was found. It was a mere twenty to thirty miles from American military forces at Fort Winnebago, near the present city of Portage, and also perilously close to the Americans' allies, the Menominee, on the east side of the Wisconsin River. Furthermore, the extremely rugged "driftless area" lies between the Bad Axe River and the Dells. Black Hawk had already left a trail of exhausted followers in his westward retreat through this region and it is improbable that he would try to es-

<sup>10</sup>Whitney, ed., *Black Hawk War*, Vol. II, Pt. II, 2n, 1081. Recollections of this son which occur in Winneshiek family stories indicate that he was not expected to go to war because of his youth, so when he suddenly decided to join the war party, he left without the extra pairs of moccasins customarily prepared in advance of such expeditions, and that he was imprisoned with other Black Hawk supporters.



cape by returning through it.

Sheer distance is another consideration. There is consistent evidence that the Winnebago brought Black Hawk to Street from the La Crosse area. If the Winnebago found Black Hawk at the Dells, it is curious that they did not turn him in at nearby Fort Winnebago. Even assuming they wanted to go to their own agent, Street, rather than sub-agent Kinzie, it would have been much easier and shorter to go directly from the Dells to Prairie du Chien along the Wisconsin River instead of by way of La Crosse.

Black Hawk himself made no mention of being at the Dells. Although Donald Jackson's analysis of the Black Hawk autobiography established its authenticity, Jackson readily concedes that there certainly could be discrepancies between the lost manuscript dictated by Black Hawk to Antoine Le Clere and the published version edited by John B. Patterson. The brief section dealing with Black Hawk's flight from the Bad Axe area until his surrender at Prairie du Chien is very confusing and telescopes more than three weeks as if only a short time had elapsed. It offers no clue as to the fugitives' whereabouts during this period, except that they were heading north to the Chippewa.<sup>11</sup>

It would have been too dangerous to go directly north along the Mississippi, a major artery of travel, with hostile Winnebago and Sioux upstream. The only safe and sensible course would have been to move inland along the north side of the Bad Axe and then continue northeast on the pronounced and easily followed ridge formed by the watershed between the Kickapoo and La Crosse river systems. It passes just southwest of the modern city of Tomah and then veers almost due north past what was then swampy land along the upper Lemonweir River, flattening out between the headwaters of the Black and Wisconsin rivers to give easy access into Chippewa territory. Perhaps this natural corridor to the Chippewa has gone unnoticed because virtually all maps accompanying accounts of the Black Hawk War concentrate on the retreat out of Illinois south of the Bad Axe battle site

and end at a line drawn just north of the Bad Axe River.

Yet, the Dells figures in both Decorah's and Chaetar's speeches and is hard to disregard on purely topographical grounds. A close reading of the Street report suggests, however, that the term translated as the Dells was mentioned only by Chaetar. Careless parenthesizing in Decorah's speech gives the impression of a hasty clarification by the copyist, who also had the notes on Chaetar's speech to refer to. The chance of mistranslation of the site is certainly great if the interpreter only heard it mentioned once, but not precluded if One Eyed Decorah likewise named a place unfamiliar to the interpreter.

Interpreters usually were bilingual mixed-bloods and occasionally white spouses of Indians, their services so ubiquitously needed that, apart from treaties, neither their presence nor identity is apt to be mentioned in old documents. Generally based at forts and white settlements, they did not need the detailed knowledge of the territory so necessary to the Indians' survival. Mixed-blood women might have served as ad hoc interpreters more often than we realize and would have been even less likely than men to be familiar with locations far from their homes.<sup>12</sup> We have no way of knowing what term was translated as the Dells, but we can establish that while the interpreter had an adequate working knowledge of Winnebago, he or she was etymologically naive and could well have erred on a place name.

For example, when Decorah said it would have been easier to bring in "their heads," he was not speaking literally. The Winnebago term, "man's head," probably refers to a much earlier form of trophy taking, but by the early nineteenth century it only meant what it means today: scalp. Chaetar's speech offers

<sup>12</sup>Catherine Myott, a mixed-blood woman, interpreted for Henry Gratiot, but we know about her mainly because her exceptional courage in facing hostile Winnebago put her name in the records. See Whitney, ed., *Black Hawk War*, Vol. II, Pt. I, 456n. 507. An indication that interpreters did not necessarily know the territory is illustrated in Thwaites, "Spoon Decorah," 452–453: Pierre Paquette, a well-known interpreter based at Portage, had to enlist Winnebago who knew the way when he was hired by the military as a guide to the headwaters of the Rock River.

<sup>11</sup>Donald Jackson, ed., *Black Hawk: An Autobiography* (Urbana, 1964), 138–139.



## --SURRENDER OF BLACKHAWK

By the Grandson of Winnebago Blackhawk

During the Blackhawk war of 1832 there was a Winnebago village at a point northeast of where LaCrosse, Wisconsin, is now. The chief was Karayjasaip-ka, or Blackhawk, known at the time as Winnebago Blackhawk.

As the Sauks were retreating northward before an overwhelming foe, it occurred that Hishoog-ka or Gun, younger brother of Winnebago Blackhawk, while returning from an eastern journey, came upon the Sauk encampment on Day-nik, or Little Lake, a place south-west of Tomah, Wisconsin. To escape detection, he proceeded by a circuitous route.

Upon arrival at the village, he immediately advised Karayjasaip-ka of his discovery. The latter summoned a council. At the opening of the council, Waj'xatay-ka, or Big Boat, also named One-eye Decora, weak with age, stood and said: "There is no need of discussion in this case. Did not White Beaver (An Indian name for a certain General who was stationed at McGregor at the time) call on us to aid in annihilation of the Sauk? Why not then get the young men ready and proceed for that purpose?" Black Hawk glared fiercely at Decora and said "Can you fight, Big Boat?" I want it understood that we are not gathered here to counsel war against our friends, especially when we realize that some of our men are among them. Now, Maxi-ska-ka, or White Cloud, (who was a prominent figure in the war) has a brother Chasja-ka, or Wave, who is here among us. Now, Big Boat, if you should resolve to destroy White Cloud, you must then kill Wave. My suggestion is to send Wave with peace pipe to our Sauk friends and ask for a cessation of the war. We sympathize with the women and children who are enduring much hardship." Others of the Council assented to the chief's plan. Blackhawk, continuing, said, "I appoint Wakjayxi-houmk-ka, or Mystic Animal Chief, my brother Haga-macho-ga, Grizzly Bear, and Haykokiri-ka, or Clear Horn, to accompany Wave on this mission." A young man (name at end) thereupon stood up and asked permission to go. It was granted.

On the morrow, the party commenced the journey. On the way, Wakjayxi-houmk-ka's horse was bitten by a snake. This caused him to return in company with Clear Horn. Grizzly Bear, against the wishes of the others, returned also. The Wave and his accomplice resumed the journey. Upon arrival at the Sauk village, there was a great consternation. The Sauks gathered anxiously to learn of their mission. Before offering the Calumet, Wave spoke thus, "Brethern, the Great Spirit, the Creator of red people, established among us the sacred Tobacco, and if Tobacco is offered with a request, it should be revered and never should it be denied. Therefore, our Chief sends this Tobacco to you and asks that you cease war for the sake of your women and children who are suffering."

## SURRENDER OF BLACKHAWK

By the Grandson of Winnebago Blackhawk

During the Blackhawk war of 1832 there was a Winnebago village at a point northeast of where LaCrosse, Wisconsin, is now. The chief was Karayjasaip-ka, or Blackhawk, known at the time as Winnebago Blackhawk.

As the Sauks were retreating northward before an overwhelming foe, it occurred that Hishoog-ka or Gun, younger brother of Winnebago Blackhawk, while returning from an eastern journey, came upon the Sauk encampment on Day-nik, or Little Lake, a place south-west of Tomah, Wisconsin. To escape detection, he proceeded by a circuitous route.

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Whereupon he offered the Pipe for Blackhawk to smoke: refusing, he offered White Cloud, who also denied it.

White Cloud then replied to his brothers address, thus: "We have begun war against the white man and we will not cease until we can not fight." Not to be discouraged, Wave passed the Pipe around among the assemblage but was met with refusal until a small boy grabbed the Pipe and held it to his mouth and smoked the Pipe of Peace, in spite of the elder members who shouted "Do not! do not!" The Sauks wailed and cried, for this meant complete surrender and cessation of the war.

The Sauks broke camp and were guided by the peace runners to the Winnebago village. The Sauks were received royally and there was rejoicing among the Winnebagoes. Because of view from the Mississippi water way and proximity to moving bodies of white soldiers who had no rules in warfare, the Winnebagoes placed the Sauks in a valley opposite to Winnebago village concealed from a distant view.

Runners were sent to the soldier headquarters near McGregor and they were notified of the surrender of Black Hawk and his warriors. Boats were sent up to LaCrosse and the Sauk Indians were ferried down the Mississippi River to McGregor. The Winnebago Blackhawk and other leading Winnebagoes accompanied the party.

The General at McGregor expressed his gratitude to Winnebago Blackhawk and his people in a most touching terms. He said in part that the presents he would give were insufficient for the great favor done him and promised Karayjusaip-ka that he would be fully rewarded later. The captured horses and \$100 in money were given to the Winnebagoes.

**Note:** The young man mentioned as companion to Wave is Nirohamb-he-ka, or He who illuminates the water, and I am not positive about McGregor as being station of the General of U.S. Army, it may have been Prairie du Chien. The Winnebago Indian name Nee-ojra, or Mouth of the River is used in mention of either place.

#### Surrender of Blackhawk—No. 2

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*John Blackhawk (1883-1951), a Wisconsin Winnebago from the Black River Falls area, wrote this English translation of a story told to him by his father, James Blackhawk, who was "the Grandson of Winnebago Blackhawk." The document was among the reference materials assembled by Norton W. Jipson, a Chicago physician, for his "History of the Winnebago Indians." A first draft of his manuscript is located at the Chicago Historical Society, which had accepted it in 1924 but abandoned plans to publish it when Jipson died that same year without completing the extensive editing the work still required. The surrender story appears in the Jipson manuscript, with John Blackhawk cited as the author, but the doctor excised mention of McGregor, Iowa, identified White Beaver as General Henry Atkinson, and made literary alterations. This unacknowledged editing eroded the account as genuine oral tradition, uncontaminated by written history. Fortunately, the original document was preserved in the Chandler-Jipson papers discussed in Sources and Acknowledgments, page 181, of this Magazine.*



another example of the interpreter's limitations: "I now appeal to the Great Spirit our Grand Father." In this context, Grand Father means the Sun, a powerful spirit associated particularly with war.

**D**ECORAH'S claim to having had a direct hand in the capture of Black Hawk, like the Dells location of the capture, also derives from the Street report and has been repeated by historians and reasserted on other occasions, as will be shown, by Decorah himself. It is, nevertheless, open to serious doubt. Given Winnebago protocol, Chaetar's request to speak was highly irregular, but the Winnebago delegation allowed him to correct the official spokesman. Chaetar's insistence that he alone was responsible for bringing in Black Hawk seems to have been disregarded as a detail of interest only to Indians. The whites' familiarity with Decorah's name apparently vested him with undeserved importance. Already known to whites in 1832, he became even more well known thereafter, whereas no one had ever heard of Chaetar, and after his brief appearance at Prairie du Chien he is never heard from again.

Finally, the speculation that Black Hawk and the Prophet parted company and were taken separately is based in part on shaky negative evidence: Black Hawk's failure in his autobiography to mention the Prophet as being among the "three lodges" of people who fled with him from Bad Axe. But neither does Black Hawk mention being found by the Winnebago at a distance from La Crosse, a point on which Decorah and Chaetar were agreed, whatever their differences about who actually found Black Hawk. According to Black Hawk, he abandoned his plan to flee to the Chippewa when the "sorrowful news" of Bad Axe was brought to him by a survivor of the battle: "I started with my little party, to the Winnebago village at Prairie La Cross. . . . I entered the lodge of one of the chiefs, and told him that . . . I intended to give myself up." Black Hawk spoke only of himself in his autobiography when he recalled, "During my stay at the [Winnebago] village, the squaws made me a white

dress of deer skin," but Street's report describes both the Prophet and Black Hawk being dressed in new white deer skin outfits.

In quoting the Indians' speeches, the Street report offers no help on whether Black Hawk and the Prophet were taken together or separately. It can be read either way. Decorah speaks of having to go a distance in connection with both the Prophet and Black Hawk, but then only mentions Black Hawk as having been found at a place translated as the Dells. Chaetar noted that Street had promised it would be to the benefit of the Winnebago "if these two (pointing to Black Hawk and the Prophet) were taken by us and brought to you," but further on is exercised only about being denied credit for taking Black Hawk. Possibly Chaetar was not eager to dwell on having brought in a kinsman as well: "That one, [the Prophet] . . . is my relation—if he is to be hurt I do not wish to see it."

Other documents sometimes cited as evidence of separate captures do not stand up to close scrutiny. On August 22, Street (a poor speller) wrote to Winfield Scott: "Late last night a runner came to me with [news from?] the Chieffs of the Winnebeagoes to say, that the party sent in persuit of Black Hawk by my orders had taken the Prophet, and would bring him to me this day. That annother party had been gone 6 days yesterday in persuit of Blackhawk who was said to have fled up the Black Rivr towards the Chippewas country."<sup>13</sup> Taylor, writing to Patrick H. Galt, also on August 22, repeated the news contained in Street's letter and added that he thought Black Hawk probably had escaped to the Chippewa, but "among the prisoners taken by the Winnebagoes are ten or fifteen Warriors, they say made no resistance whatever. . . . All will be turned over as soon as the W. Prophet arrives."<sup>14</sup> The warriors, described as "among the prisoners," are a strong clue that the Winnebago had Black Hawk and his whole party, including the Prophet, in custody as early as August 22. Certainly "the squaws" needed time to outfit two men.

The Prophet, furthermore, did not appear

<sup>13</sup>Whitney, ed., *Black Hawk War*, Vol. II, Pt. I, 1041.

<sup>14</sup>*Ibid.*, Vol. II, Pt. I, 1043–1044.



on August 22 but five days later, and he was in the company of the warriors, some Sauk non-combatants, and Black Hawk. Apparently, the promised date of delivery was incorrectly conveyed to Street, which at least raises the possibility that the runner's message was garbled in translation on other matters as well. The presence of two men whose English name was Black Hawk may have contributed to the confusion.

In short, there is no real evidence that the Prophet and Black Hawk were found in separate locations, and a good deal of circumstantial evidence supporting the JBM that they were still together when found by the Winnebago. In further support of the JBM on this point is the fact that the Bad Axe area was not familiar Sauk territory. The Prophet, tribally Winnebago, would have known the best route to follow through his people's territory to get the Sauk safely to the Chippewa.

THE review of old sources did more than reveal that they do not justify the generally accepted version of Black Hawk's surrender. It turned up the surprising discovery that much of the information in the JBM has been available in print for more than a century, including the clue to Chaetar's identity. Ironically, this information had been disregarded largely because Reuben Gold Thwaites, the person responsible for its publication, made a point of dismissing it as historically unimportant. Compounding the irony is that what Thwaites considered his strongest evidence of the unreliability of Indian oral tradition can be traced to his interpreter's shortcomings, particularly in coping with sequences of events.

Thwaites obtained narratives from two elderly Wisconsin Winnebago in 1887.<sup>15</sup> Spoon Decorah, interviewed at his home near Friendship on March 29, was a grandson of the original Spoon and a first cousin once removed of One Eyed Decorah; but in Winnebago kinship terminology One Eyed Decorah and Spoon would be classified as father and

son. Walking Cloud, the biological son of W. Black Hawk, lived at Albion, where he was interviewed on May 18. Walking Cloud's older brother, called "Seeorouspinka" in his narrative, was the father of James Blackhawk, the source of the JBM.

Moses Paquette was the interpreter of both interviews. Thwaites says in a footnote to Walking Cloud's story that after the interview was completed, Paquette "*revised the Ms. of the Narrative.*" The emphasis is supplied because although Paquette was certainly conversant in Winnebago he was not culturally Winnebago, and he missed nuances, as shown in some of his inexact translations of Winnebago names on government rolls. Among modern linguists, the term gloss indicates that equivalent meanings do not exist between languages; one can only strive for the most accurate reflection of the intent of the original language, and there are often equally acceptable options in the second language. Literal translations can be correct without being *right*. In Spoon's story, Paquette translated One Eyed Decorah's war name as Big Canoe. The common Winnebago gloss, Big Boat, is closer to the meaning of a non-Indian vessel, a ship which had figured in One Eyed Decorah's adventures.<sup>16</sup>

Thwaites apprised Spoon of the Street report, and Spoon said emphatically that Black Hawk "was not captured at the Dells of the Wisconsin River. He never was at the Dells in his life. There was no reason for his going there." During the Black Hawk War, Spoon was living in the Portage area, not far from the Dells. In setting Thwaites straight, Spoon claimed his version of Black Hawk's surrender was "the way all our people tell it," but it becomes clear that Spoon's prime authority was One Eyed Decorah, who embroidered on the facts to enhance his own importance.

Spoon recounted that Black Hawk was going "away towards the north . . . to the Chippewa country" when the Winnebago found him.

After the Bad Ax battle, Big Canoe went off on a hunting expedition, up to the headwaters of the La Crosse River. . . . A

<sup>15</sup>Thwaites, "Spoon Decorah," 448–462; Thwaites, "Walking Cloud," 463–467.

<sup>16</sup>Moses Paquette was the son of Pierre Paquette.



few of Big Canoe's hunters were out hunting one day, when they saw some Sacs in hiding. The Winnebagoes were afraid, and hurried back to Big Canoe's camp. The camp was on the river near where is now the white village of Bangor, below Sparta. The party reported that they thought the Sacs were Blackhawk and his companions. Nobody in the camp knew the Sac speech except Big Canoe, who said, "I will go and see him."

Upon reaching Black Hawk, Decorah declared that he was "a great friend to the whites" and promised to use his influence to save Black Hawk from harm if he would surrender peacefully and go with him "to the captain at Prairie du Chien."

The passage above is quoted at length to show that in all likelihood there is an error in Paquette's translation. Spoon gives no location for the Sauk camp. He must have said that the hunters found Black Hawk in the headwaters area of the La Crosse River. As it stands, the statement about One Eyed Decorah's hunting trip to that location and return to his village prior to the hunters' report is totally irrelevant to the story. Given Spoon's strong denial that Black Hawk was captured at the Dells, one would then expect him to make a point of specifying the correct place—and he did—but Paquette did not make the connection.

Since Spoon got his version of the story directly from One Eyed Decorah, there is no question that "Dalle on the Wiskonsin" attributed to Decorah in the Street report is a mistranslation. Spoon also hints at another questionable feature in the Street report. Conceding that Big Canoe might have had a companion he didn't bother to mention, Spoon said flatly, "I never heard of the man named Chaetar, who the white men say was with Big Canoe."

Walking Cloud, like Spoon, devoted much of his account to the Black Hawk War, probably prompted by Thwaites adverting to Street's report as in Spoon's case. Walking Cloud's father, "Winnebago Black Hawk," was living near La Crosse during the Black Hawk War. Walking Cloud was about sixteen or seventeen, too young to go to war, but his father and older brother reluctantly joined the Americans at the request of General Henry

Dodge. They took part in the engagement which intercepted the Sauk who had separated off and tried to escape down the Wisconsin River "on a raft of canoes tied together." Most of these Sauk were killed by a combined white and Winnebago force, but Walking Cloud described his father's role simply as "a guide on this expedition."

AFTER the Battle of Bad Axe, the Winnebago had gone on their fall hunt. Walking Cloud's father "had a hunting village on the La Crosse River, near where Bangor now is." A party of young men had "gone up one of the branches of the La Crosse River towards the head of the Kickapoo," and as they were returning to W. Black Hawk's village they discovered "the camp of the Sac chief, near a little lake." They decided not to make their presence known to the Sauk, but to report what they had seen to W. Black Hawk. He called a council which lasted "all night and all next day," indicating the Winnebago had serious differences to resolve among themselves as to how they should proceed. Walking Cloud recalled, "Both Red Wing here [another elderly Winnebago present during Thwaites's interview] and I were young men and stood by while the old men talked." Despite his youth, Red Wing had been in the combat on the Wisconsin River.

After the council, W. Black Hawk asked three young men to go to Black Hawk to tell him the Winnebago had been asked by General Street, their agent, to bring him to Fort Crawford. They were "Nenohamphega (Lighting the Water), Wakuntschapinka (Good Thunder), and Chatschunka (Wave). Wave was an interpreter, being one-half Sac and one-half Winnebago." They went to Black Hawk's camp and delivered W. Black Hawk's message that if the Sauk went peaceably to Prairie du Chien they probably would not be harmed. According to Walking Cloud, Black Hawk said, "You want us to be killed by the whites; as you so wish it, we will go," and, with his party, returned with the Winnebago to their village. Walking Cloud continued:

A number of our warriors went down to Prairie du Chien with them, and deliv-



ered them up to General Street. One-Eyed Decorah was not of this party. I am positive of it. He remained in the village all the time. He was not a good man, and not then a chief. After the treaty and payment [Winnebago treaty of September 15, 1832] he was made a chief through the influence of the American Fur Company and the Indian agent, General Street. The agents and traders had a way of putting aside old chiefs, for new ones whom they gained to their interest. After the Black Hawk War, One Eyed Decorah . . . started a village of his own.

Thwaites, of course, pounced on Walking Cloud's assertion that One Eyed Decorah was not present at the delivery of the prisoners at Prairie du Chien, triumphantly citing the Street report: "Official contemporaneous documents are our only reliable source of information." Granting the Confucian wisdom that "faintest ink is better than best memory," among people who do not have written records speakers are held to close account by others familiar with the facts. A very persuasive case can be made that Walking Cloud meant One Eyed Decorah stayed in the village when Wave and his companions went out and brought back Black Hawk. Paquette either transposed the passage that "One-Eyed Decorah was not of this party" when he revised the manuscript, or did not understand Walking Cloud's point of reference if it occurred in the discussion of the gathering at Prairie du Chien. We know that Wave, supported by the Winnebago delegation, challenged Decorah's claim of having helped find Black Hawk. Walking Cloud could well have been advertising to this incident at Prairie du Chien which doubtless was recounted later at La Crosse.

That Paquette misunderstood Walking Cloud is reinforced by internal evidence. Walking Cloud's vehemence would have been excessive in reference to going to Prairie du Chien—an anti-climax from the Winnebago perspective. The important party was the one that faced potential danger in entering Black Hawk's camp, but the departure and return of this group were not witnessed nor recorded by whites and thus had little meaning for Thwaites and the bilingual but white-oriented

Paquette. Thwaites, all too familiar with standard history which credited One Eyed Decorah with the capture of Black Hawk, went on at harsh length in his footnote to Walking Cloud's story, accusing Indians of being jealous of one another's achievements which won favor among whites. There is, however, a good deal of historical evidence to back up Walking Cloud's comments about One Eyed Decorah's prominence increasing markedly after 1832.

Although One Eyed Decorah had signed the intertribal treaty of Prairie du Chien in 1825, so had a number of undistinguished men from the various tribes. He did not sign the subsequent boundary treaties of 1827 and 1828 which tied up loose ends in the 1825 treaty, nor did he sign the Winnebago cession treaties of 1829 and 1832, both of which were signed by W. Black Hawk. The 1832 treaty is of particular interest because an effort was made to get proper representation from the three administrative areas, with W. Black Hawk identified among the chiefs of Street's agency. This leaves little doubt that W. Black Hawk, not One Eyed Decorah, headed the village near Bangor. The people who lived in the areas ceded in 1829 and 1832 agreed to move west of the Mississippi. After being shunted to a series of reservations, they finally were settled on their present reservation in northeastern Nebraska in 1865.

THE Wisconsin Winnebago are descendants of those people who denied the legality of the treaty of 1837 which ceded their remaining Wisconsin land. The first treaty One Eyed Decorah signed after 1825—and his name heads the list as a government-recognized chief—was the treaty of 1837, signed in Washington, D.C. By tribal design, the small Winnebago delegation did not have a representative complement of leaders to sell land and had been instructed to negotiate to remain in Wisconsin. Significantly, among the whites who accompanied the Winnebago party and signed the treaty as a witness was "H. H. Sibley, agent Am. Fur. Co."

Although there is reason to believe that the terms of the 1837 treaty were misrepresented



to the Winnebago in Washington, One Eyed Decorah was held culpable by many Wisconsin Winnebago for selling out his people. He found it expedient to join the removed Winnebago for an extended period, as shown by his name on two subsequent treaties made only with that part of the tribe, rather than remain with the people whose stubborn resistance to relocation finally resulted in their being allowed to take up homesteads in Wisconsin after 1873.

Of the two accounts, Walking Cloud's has the ring of ingenuous, detailed truth and must be accorded more weight. He was there. Spoon's account is second hand, though doubtless a faithful re-telling of One Eyed Decorah's self-serving version. The fact that Walking Cloud had an informed witness as he told his story gives it special credence. Besides having been present at the council called by W. Black Hawk, Red Wing also substantiated Walking Cloud's data from his father in regard to the engagement on the Wisconsin River.

Thwaites, wedded to the "facts" in the Street report, found nothing noteworthy in Walking Cloud and Spoon agreeing that Black Hawk was not found at the Dells. As to Walking Cloud's clearly described alternative site, Thwaites said sarcastically: "any well-informed Winnebago can show you in his neighborhood, some cave or bluff or ravine where Black Hawk hid during his flight." By the time Thwaites conducted his interviews, however, whites had long been at work to reinforce the Dells-Black Hawk connection for commercial reasons. As early as 1867, the *Newport Mirror* touted the tourist attractions at the Dells, including "an opening in the rocks, called 'Black Hawk's cave.'"<sup>17</sup>

Disregarding discrepancies arising from One Eyed Decorah's self-aggrandizement, we can discern the preservation of a consistent historical core in Spoon's and Walking Cloud's narratives which also is found in the oral tradition recorded more than thirty years later in the JBM. Both Spoon and Walking Cloud mention the Winnebago village near Bangor. The JBM suggests that W. Black Hawk's vil-

lage was on the Mississippi but it would be hard to locate a village there "northeast of . . . La Crosse." Bangor, on the La Crosse River, a tributary of the Mississippi, definitely is northeast of La Crosse. "Access to" the Mississippi probably would be a better translation than "view of" in the JBM.

All three accounts stress the importance of a Sauk connection in trying to persuade Black Hawk to surrender. Decorah makes a gratuitous boast that he, alone, could speak Sauk. Walking Cloud describes Wave as half Sauk, able to serve as interpreter. The JBM identifies Wave as the brother of the Prophet, who we know was half Sauk, and Wave himself stated in the Street report that he was related to the Prophet.

Both Spoon and Walking Cloud say a party of hunters discovered the Sauk camp. Only Gun is mentioned in the JBM, but he might not have been alone. It is the person who first sees the enemy who is honored. Old war songs even today recall such spotters. The JBM does not say that Gun was hunting but, like Walking Cloud's party of hunters, was on his way back home after an eastward journey.

Walking Cloud, substantiated by Red Wing, describes a lengthy debate about the best course of action and the JBM indicates some of the substance—that One Eyed Decorah was willing to kill the Sauk. In the Street report One Eyed Decorah virtuously notes that the Winnebago carried out Street's request to bring in Black Hawk and the Prophet alive, though it would have been easier to bring in their scalps. The JBM only notes that W. Black Hawk counseled peace because of the presence of Wave's brother in the Sauk camp, but other arguments must have been brought up as well in a council that went on for a night and a day. Walking Cloud's description of the Sauks' location between the headwaters of the Kickapoo and La Crosse rivers would place it southwest of Tomah as described in the JBM and both accounts mention a little lake. Small lakes are notoriously ephemeral, and extensive hydrological intervention to create the Lake Tomah recreational area has wrought great changes in the landscape today, but a small, unnamed lake in the proper location noted by Walking Cloud and the JBM ap-

<sup>17</sup>Entire article reprinted in *Wisconsin Historical Collections* (Madison, 1868), V: 298–299.



pears on the 1916 U.S. Geological Survey topographical map of the Tomah Quadrangle.

Both Walking Cloud and the JBM indicate that Lights or Illuminates the Water accompanied Wave to the Sauk camp. Walking Cloud adds another man, Good Thunder. Walking Cloud or the JBM could be in error about Good Thunder, but neither includes One Eyed Decorah as among those who contacted Black Hawk. Accepting Walking Cloud's account over that of Spoon, there are some discrepancies between Walking Cloud and the JBM, but Walking Cloud's narrative was subjected to Paquette's editorial hand and perhaps that of Thwaites as well.

OF the two versions, particularly in the naming of the members of the party sent out to Black Hawk's camp and the details about the men who turned back, the JBM is probably the more reliable despite the intervention of another generation between the events and the telling. Walking Cloud was born about 1815. His older brother who participated in the Black Hawk War was born about 1801, according to the 1881 Wisconsin Winnebago roll, where he also is described as living with his son, James Blackhawk. This older brother, a man in his thirties in 1832, could be expected to know more particulars than Walking Cloud, who was only in his teens at the time. Although the JBM identifies the narrator as the grandson of Winnebago Black Hawk, it is not clear whether James Blackhawk heard the story directly from his grandfather, his father, or possibly both.

The most dramatic part of the JBM has no known substantiation in other sources, the intervention of the little boy committing the Sauk to surrender. All that can be said is that it does not appear to be a predictable Winnebago story motif drawn from sacred sources and applied to historic situations, as would have been the tendency to turn a single boy or brothers into twins, the occurrence of certain omens, or emphasis on the number four (in contrast to the Euro-American expectation that things happen by threes). The ethno-

graphically significant point of the story, however, is the highly sacred nature of the pipe and tobacco among North American Indian tribes. The commitment made by smoking the pipe, even by a child, simply could not be disregarded.

The JBM includes details not found in the other narratives. The description of One Eyed Decorah as "weak with age" may only mean that he was beyond the age that men usually went to war since he was signatory to the Winnebago treaty of 1855, more than twenty years after the Black Hawk War. There is no documentation of a boat being sent to fetch Black Hawk's party and the Winnebago delegation from the La Crosse area; we do not know how they made their way to Prairie du Chien, but it probably was by horseback. We do know that a boat trip figured in W. Black Hawk's experiences, and it may have got misplaced in the sequence of events in James Blackhawk's retelling of his grandfather's story or in John Blackhawk's translation. Black Hawk and his party and the Winnebago delegation were taken on the steamboat *Warrior* from Prairie du Chien to Fort Armstrong, where treaties were concluded in September, 1832, with both the Winnebago and the combined Sauk and Fox.

The JBM is verified in the historical record regarding the horses and \$100.00. As noted earlier, the cash payment is well documented, but there was some initial confusion as to the proper recipient of the horses. General Henry Atkinson ordered Joseph Street to obtain twenty horses at Dixon's Ferry, Illinois, and pay them to "Carramanie," the titular head chief of the Winnebago.<sup>18</sup> There is no evidence that the order was carried out, and Street may have apprised Atkinson that W. Black Hawk, not Carramanie, was to receive horses. The Winnebago appear to have been paid with the hard-used horses taken from the Sauk, as indicated in the JBM, prompting W. Black Hawk to register a complaint during the treaty council on September 13: "I was promised 40 horses. . . . We have received but 20 horses and they are so poor that we can't get

<sup>18</sup>Street Papers.



them along, we hope you will change them, they picked out the worst." General Winfield Scott replied rather testily that W. Black Hawk should apply to Agent Street, since it was not a matter to "be treated of in a great council."<sup>19</sup>

We can only assume the issue of the horses was settled when the \$100.00 was paid to W. Black Hawk and Big Gun on September 15. And what about Wave? Rest assured that he and the other young man or men in his party were properly rewarded by W. Black Hawk, following established procedures for the distribution of the spoils of war.

THERE is a final, poignant detail in the official documents which is hinted at but not specified in the JBM: the promise that W. Black Hawk "would be fully rewarded later." On September 22, treaty commissioners Scott and John Reynolds wrote to William Clark, Indian Superintendent in St. Louis, that they had concluded treaties with the Winnebago and confederated Sauk and Fox tribes. They asked Clark to send medals of the "first or largest size," which they had promised to chiefs of the Sauk and Fox tribes, and one of "the second size" promised to a "half Winnebago, half Sioux, belonging to the Winnebagoes under General Street's Agency (the Indian who took Black Hawk or the Prophet)."<sup>20</sup>

His name forgotten, his deed vaguely recalled, and his medal only second rank, the man responsible for bringing the Black Hawk War to a close without further bloodshed,

Winnebago Black Hawk, can at last be accorded his proper place in history, thanks to his great grandson, John Blackhawk, and the chance preservation of his manuscript.

The importance of the JBM is that it stimulated new interpretations of old data. Besides targeting the correct location where the Winnebago found Black Hawk, it helped to establish that One Eyed Decorah had not participated in Black Hawk's apprehension and that Black Hawk and the Prophet were apprehended at the same time. The JBM, furthermore, led to the deciphering of Chaetar's real name and identification of W. Black Hawk and Big Gun.

Given the canons of scholarship of his time, Thwaites could not appreciate the richness of Indian oral tradition, but he and others of his era saw a need to collect and preserve stories from old Indians for which we must be grateful. There still is much to be revealed of the purely native side of frontier history by close, comparative analysis of *all* the available data. This includes studying the territory, weighing oral tradition as objectively as information from white chroniclers is routinely weighed for evidence of bias as well as credibility, and recognizing that knowledgeable Indian people command special expertise and can be valuable colleagues in historical studies of mutual concern.

<sup>19</sup>Whitney, ed., *Black Hawk War*, Vol. II, Pt. II, 1141–1145.

<sup>20</sup>*Ibid.*, Vol. II, Pt. II, 1186.

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### Orthography and Word Analysis

Since much of the discussion of the documentary record rests on inferences of mistranslations, evidence of the kinds of nuances which easily give rise to misinterpretations will be useful. Winnebago personal and place names occurring in the foregoing account are listed as they are spelled in the documentary records and in a modern orthography developed by Kenneth Hale and Josephine White Eagle for the Winnebago dictionary. White Eagle is currently assembling in connection with the Lexicon Project of the Department of Linguistics and Philosophy, Massachusetts Institute of Technology. The orthography uses symbols from the Latin alphabet which best capture the phonology of the Winnebago language. Although pure Winnebago pronunciation requires the example of a



native speaker, the orthography is a practical and readable system, adequate to provide consistent transcriptions for comparison to renderings of names in old documents.

Vowels of long durations are written double; 7 indicates the glottal stop; nasalized vowel is followed by a syllable beginning with n. The term “gloss” is explained on page 173.

#### CONSONANTS

| Winnebago | English Sound    | Winnebago Example | English Gloss |
|-----------|------------------|-------------------|---------------|
| b         | ball             | biik              | playing card  |
| ch        | church           | chaa              | deer          |
| g         | go               | giha              | float         |
| gh        | [voiced x]       | ghaak             | cry           |
| h         | hot              | hoo               | fish          |
| 7         | oh-oh            | 7iinnin           | stone         |
| j         | judge            | jaagu             | what?         |
| k         | kitchen          | kaansu            | Indian dice   |
| m         | many             | maannin           | winter        |
| n         | no               | niin              | water         |
| p         | page             | perenink          | thin          |
| r         | [Spanish “pero”] | roogun            | want          |
| s         | say              | see               | skis          |
| sh        | ship             | shii              | say           |
| t         | day              | took              | summer        |
| w         | way              | waagax            | paper         |
| x         | Bach [x/ch]      | xete              | big, large    |
| y         | yes              | yaat7et7e         | I speak       |
| z         | zebra            | zii               | yellow        |
| zh        | azure [zh/z]     | zhii              | brown         |

#### VOWELS

| Winnebago | English Sound | Winnebago Example | English Gloss    |
|-----------|---------------|-------------------|------------------|
| a         | cot           | hape              | wait             |
| aa        | cod           | haape             | I wait           |
| e         | wet           | ke                | not              |
| ee        | wade          | keenin            | not yet          |
| i         | bit           | hahi              | I arrive         |
| ii        | bead          | hii               | arrive           |
| o         | coat          | wabota            | he/she hits them |
| oo        | code          | boota             | he/she hits      |
| u         | root          | haguch            | I shoot          |
| uu        | rude          | guuch             | he/she shoots    |

#### NASALIZED VOWELS

The vowels a, i, and u, and long counterparts aa, ii, and uu may be nasalized. The oral-nasal contrast, and how it can affect meaning, is illustrated below.

| Oral                       | Nasal                    |
|----------------------------|--------------------------|
| waha (to show)             | wahan (crow)             |
| shii (told to)             | shiin (fat)              |
| hinshi (he/she told me to) | hinshin (I am fat)       |
| guuch (to shoot)           | guuns (he/she counseled) |
| waagax (paper)             | waank (man)              |



### Winnebago Words Cited in the Text

CARRAMANIE (A chief referred to in Atkinson's request for horses.)

There is disagreement among the Winnebago about the pronunciation, origin, and meaning of this name, although there is agreement that the person was recognized by the Winnebago and whites as the paramount civil chief in name, if no longer in function, in the early decades of the nineteenth century. The modern Winnebago surnames Carriman and Caramony derive from this ancestral name. Some people say it cannot be translated because it is of Potawatomi origin. Hardly any Winnebago agrees with the gloss Walking Turtle made in some early documents. One source suggested it might relate to tracking an animal, and a number of Winnebago said it might be a white corruption of a Thunder Clan name: keeracho, blue sky with small fleecy white clouds, and mannin, usually glossed as walker with the referent suffix ga/ka, depending on the sound preceding the referent.

keerachomannin-ga

CHASJA-KA (The Winnebago name for Wave in the JBM; Wave in Walking Cloud's narrative is Chatschunka.) Chashchunkaw signed the 1846 treaty and no English translation is supplied. This may be the same person, by then perhaps of some prominence, or it may simply be another person with the same name.

Chaashjan-ga

DAY-NIK (Little Lake in the JBM.) Literally, lake little.

teenink

HAGA-MACHO-GA (Grizzly Bear in the JBM.) Haaga is the sex-birth order name for third son, but in this case it might be part of the name proper, whatever the man's own birth-order name. Bears, both the grizzly (mancho) and ordinary bears (huunch), are respectfully called haaga or, in the case of the females, hiinake, third daughter.

haaga mancho-ga

HAYKOKIRI-KA (Clear Horn in the JBM.) This is an acceptable gloss, hee being horn or antler and kookiri referring to something smooth and shiny, like a marble.

hee kookiri-ga

HISHOOG-KA (Gun in the JBM; Big Gun is a E zhoo hat ta kaw in a voucher, September 15, 1832; Big Gun in the 1832 treaty is Eezhook-hat-tay-kaw.) This is not a traditional Winnebago name and probably was a war name. The initial h sound is very soft and is easily missed; a further complication is that the hi in this and some other words is sometimes pronounced wi. Discussion with Winnebago consultants suggests the name Gun probably was a shortened form of Big Gun.

hizhuk-ka or hizhukxete-ga

KARAYJASAIP-KA and KARAYJUSAIP-KA (Blackhawk in the JBM; Black Hawk in the 1829 treaty is Hay-ray-tshon-sarp; Black Hawk in the 1832 treaty is Khay-ray-tshoan-saip-kaw; Blk Hk. in a voucher, September 15, 1832, is Hay-ray-tshoan saip-kaw.) Since the final syllable before the suffix, written saip by John Blackhawk, can be glossed as black, the name entered English as Black Hawk or Blackhawk, but the syllable really is an inseparable part of the name of a particular bird. The Winnebago surname Falcon is a translation of the same Winnebago name borne by a different



person than John Blackhawk's ancestor. I am indebted to the research of Francis Cassiman who obtained a description from an elderly Winnebago of the bird's appearance and distinctive, forceful strike that often sunders its prey. Cassiman then consulted an ornithologist who identified it as the peregrine falcon.

kerejunsep-ga

MAXI-SKA-KA (White Cloud in the JBM.) Ska is white.

maanxiska-ga

NEE-OJRA (Mouth of the River in the JBM; McGregor, Iowa/Prairie du Chien, Wisconsin area.) Niin refers to river/water, ra is the definite article.

niin 7uij-ra

NIROHAMB-HE-KA (He who illuminates the water in the JBM; Lighting the water in Walking Cloud's narrative is Nenohamphega.) While both glosses are reasonable, John Blackhawk's footnote indicates he had trouble with the name, as well he might. Several people who were asked about it independently said that while you could say lights or illuminates the water or, more precisely, causes a light to light up the water, it really refers to the phenomenon that sometimes occurs immediately after a heavy rain when the sun appears suddenly and everything glistens.

niin hirohanp hii-ga

SEEOROUSPINKA (Walking Cloud's narrative, no translation given.)

The name on the 1881 roll properly includes an extra syllable, Ce okooruspin kah, and is translated there (probably by Moses Paquette) as Lightfoot, but should be glossed as makes or leaves a good footprint. Sii is foot; pin is good.

sii hokuruspin-ga

WAJ'XATAY-KA (Big Boat in the JBM.) The first syllable means boat or canoe.

waachxete-ga

WAKJAYXI-HOUNK-KA (Mystic Animal Chief in the JBM.) This is an interesting original gloss. Huunk means chief, but there is no real translation for wakjexi. The common English gloss among the Winnebago, reinforced by ethnological usage, has long been Water Spirit because of the creature's habitat and other attributes.

wakjexi-huunk-ka

WAKUNTSCAPINKA (Good Thunder in Walking Cloud's narrative.)

Literally, thunder good (pin).

wakanja-pin-ga

### Sources and Acknowledgments

The Chandler-Jipson Papers which include the JBM are archived in the Anthropology Section of the Milwaukee Public Museum, thanks to Richard Pohrt of Flint, Michigan. Pohrt, a specialist in North American Indian artifacts, had acquired a messy parcel of disorganized tattered papers along with a large collection of Indian objects which he had purchased from another collector, Milford Chandler. At a loss as to what to do with the papers and uncertain as to their possible value, Pohrt eventually contacted me in 1984 after noticing that the word Winnebago showed up frequently. With the approval of Chandler's son (the elder Chandler had died in 1981 at the age of



ninety-three), he asked me to deal with the papers as I thought appropriate.

Most of the papers originated with Dr. N. W. Jipson in the period 1918–1924. A few came from Chandler and from William Barge, an attorney who had shared Jipson's interest in Winnebago history. Barge died in 1921 and after Jipson died in 1924 Chandler somehow fell heir to Jipson's papers, but was careless about them. The original collection may have been much larger—pages are missing in a number of the remaining documents which include notes on materials in archives and libraries; answers to Jipson's inquiries from scholars, old settlers, and government personnel; correspondence and word lists from John Blackhawk and Oliver La Mere, a Nebraska Winnebago; John Blackhawk's file of documents relating to the payment of the Winnebago claim in 1914 (Blackhawk served as secretary to the Wisconsin committee); and miscellaneous publications.

Jipson apparently was put in touch with John Blackhawk through Chandler, who knew many Winnebago people, including members of the Blackhawk family. Although Jipson was interested primarily in obtaining Winnebago word lists, Blackhawk was not as good a linguistic resource as Jipson supposed; Jipson's own approach to linguistics was, to put it charitably, amateurish.

Blackhawk was educated at the Lincoln Institutes, Protestant boarding schools in Philadelphia which contracted with the Indian Bureau to train Indian students. No one today knows why John, of all the James Blackhawk children, was sent so far away to school, leaving at about the age of seven and not returning until he was about twenty. Although he must have spoken Winnebago with monolinguals to obtain the data he sent to Jipson, he still is remembered as so sensitive to teasing about mistakes in using his own language after his long absence that he spoke only English, although he responded knowingly to Winnebago in conversations with bilinguals.

Due to his schooling, Blackhawk was deprived of the customary evening story telling which conveys tribal knowledge to children. Prompted by Jipson and his own curiosity, he made a systematic effort as an adult to learn about Winnebago history and culture from his elders. The papers include no other stories comparable to the surrender account, but there is an unfinished manuscript of about thirty pages which contains data available in no other source on traditional Winnebago material culture and economic activities. It was written by Jipson but much of the content must have come from Blackhawk.

Although most of the information from John Blackhawk is handwritten, there is evidence that he had occasional access to a typewriter and that he typed the JBM himself. The typeface is easily distinguished from that of Jipson's typewriter. Blackhawk was genuinely interested in Jipson's studies, cooperating on a voluntary basis. A single letter acknowledges a small cash gift from Jipson as something unexpected. The JBM must have been written early in his correspondence with Jipson, which appears to have begun about 1919; correspondence after 1920 shows Blackhawk's increasing recognition of the need to indicate when vowels are nasalized. Blackhawk's use of the conventional linguistic symbol, x, for a sound with no English equivalent undoubtedly was based on his knowledge of the translation of parts of the Bible by a Winnebago convert, John



Stacy, and missionary Jacob Stucki, published by the American Bible Society in 1907.

My research benefited from correspondence and discussions with a number of historians about nineteenth century documents, particularly Donald Jackson, who steered me to the invaluable volumes edited by Ellen Whitney regarding the records of the Black Hawk War, and Professor Martin Zanger, University of Wisconsin–La Crosse, who shared his notes and a manuscript in progress on Pierre Paquette. I also am indebted to a serious avocational ethnologist, Frances Perry of Black River Falls, Wisconsin, who allowed me to use data she has collected over many years from members of the local Winnebago community.

Above all, I owe incalculable thanks to the Winnebago people in both Nebraska and Wisconsin who contributed to my general education about their traditions since 1944, and to Wisconsin Winnebago friends I consulted directly about the JBM. Because the manuscript came up in my mind in virtually every conversation I had with Winnebago people from 1984 through 1986, it would be impossible to acknowledge the many independent substantiations of data involved in this study, but I deeply appreciate all the help I received. I must, however, specify my thanks for major blocks of information and helpful leads from members of John Blackhawk's family—his son Victor, niece Ruth Cloud, and nephews John Greengrass and Francis Cassiman, the last particularly for the results of his research on the Blackhawk family genealogy and John Blackhawk's education; Lyle Greendeer, who provided valuable information on the Tomah area; Nellie Winneshiek Redcloud (Mrs. Mitchell Redcloud, Sr.) and her son, Merlin Redcloud, Sr., for linguistic data and Winneshiek family traditions; and Wilbur Blackdeer, who, with his wife Emily, in our long association shared illuminating insights into Winnebago culture and values, besides answering my recent questions relating to the surrender story. Finally, I want to thank Dr. Josephine White Eagle for essential help on linguistic questions of a technical nature. I make no claim to being even minimally conversant, let alone fluent, in Winnebago, and this study could not have been undertaken without the generous and interested participation of Winnebago consultants. If there are errors of fact or analysis in my article, I must bear responsibility for them.

N. O. L.



# The Civilian Conservation Corps and Wisconsin State Park Development

By Carol Ahlgren

*This was in 1933–4–5. The years weren't much different one from another. They weren't children whose parents had already slated them for Harvard, Princeton, Wisconsin, Northwestern. These were parents who didn't know what to do with the boys when they finished high school. They were just another eater at home, they couldn't find a job.*

Emil Bellinger, Junior Foreman  
CCC SP-16, Perrot State Park<sup>1</sup>

THE New Deal left behind a visible legacy of its public works program in the public buildings, murals, and park structures which it sponsored. The Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) contributed throughout the nation to an unprecedented development of state parks that included planning and technical assistance in addition to the labor of CCC enrollees. In Wisconsin, the CCC employed thousands of young men in the state's cut-over areas and, to a lesser extent, in the development or improvement of recreational facilities in state and county parks. The results of the program's work in the eight parks where CCC camps were established made a significant impact on Wisconsin's state park development.

The program is reflected in a government brochure which folds out into a poster with a photographic montage. Although somewhat gray and fuzzy, the images are of young men planting trees, studying, building a fire lane or trail, and hauling rocks. Surrounded by the various images of physical and mental activity is the figure of a young man smiling and hold-

ing an axe. The poster is bordered by the words: "The CCC—A Young Man's Chance to Work, to Live, to Learn, to Build, and to Conserve Our Natural Resources."

The poster summarizes the intentions of the Civilian Conservation Corps, one of the many New Deal programs developed during the presidency of Franklin Delano Roosevelt in response to the Great Depression. The CCC has a special place within the New Deal public works programs. Created in 1933, it operated until 1942, thereby outlasting contemporaneous unemployment relief measures; and the CCC was one of the most popular New Deal programs because it sought to conserve both natural and human resources.

"New Deal" was a phrase used in 1932 by Roosevelt during his campaign for the presidency of the United States. Since its first usage, the phrase has become synonymous with his administration and its attempts to alleviate the natural resource problems and economic and social crises of the Great Depression. In the fifty years that have elapsed since the 1930's, the phrases "Great Depression" and "New Deal" have come to evoke and symbolize an era of profound and far-reaching change.

Initially, the New Deal was comprised of a series of legislative acts and resulting govern-

<sup>1</sup>Interview with Emil Bellinger, Madison, Wisconsin, October 5, 1985.

mental programs established during the first months of Roosevelt's administration in response to the emergency conditions. Unemployment had reached an unprecedented level of 20 per cent of the population; approximately twenty-eight million Americans were without jobs and millions were without homes. Concurrent with the societal problems of the Depression were those visible on the landscape: dust bowls, erosion, and abandoned farms.

The New Deal began as a rapid expansion of government bureaucracy through the creation of such agencies as the Works Progress Administration (WPA), Civil Works Administration (CWA), Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA), Resettlement Administration (RA), and Emergency Conservation Work (ECW). The immediate concern in the creation of these and many other public works programs was to provide employment. Yet, the New Deal programs also encompassed a social and humanitarian approach to the urgency of Depression conditions since a basic tenet of the activities involved governmental responsibility to the disadvantaged. Ideally, the public works programs were to provide employment in jobs that would benefit society as a whole.

The New Deal came to affect virtually every family, township, county, city, and state in America. According to New Deal historian Robert Bremner, in any single month between 1933 and 1940 at least 10 per cent, and at times more than 20 per cent, of the American population received some form of governmental aid.<sup>2</sup> Such figures, however, represented relief as it directly affected individuals or families, and did not include the larger societal benefits of New Deal public works in the form of buildings, parks, and shelterbelts.

THE CCC was perhaps the New Deal's most successful and far-reaching expression of social humanitarianism and landscape development. The program provided employment and training for

approximately three million young men and in the process enabled them to help themselves in better economic times. In the program's early years, enrollment was limited to young men between seventeen and twenty-three years of age selected from the relief rolls. By enrolling in the CCC, the men also helped their families: all but \$5 of their \$30-a-month earnings were sent home.<sup>3</sup>

Because of its direct tie to the nation's youth and to national ideals of conservation, the CCC may have been one of the most idealistic of the New Deal programs. In proposing such an agency to Congress on March 21, 1933, Roosevelt cited the vital natural resources work to be performed but emphasized the "more important . . . moral and spiritual value of such work." The CCC was the first program ever undertaken on such a large scale that was intended specifically for youths. This Depression army, it was claimed, would learn new skills and discipline in camps administered by the military and located in "healthful surroundings."<sup>4</sup>

The headquarters and living arrangements for CCC enrollees consisted of neat rows of military barracks that usually housed 200 men plus a technical staff and army personnel. The "healthful surroundings" envisioned by Roosevelt were as diverse as the American continent: the thousands of camps were located in every state and territorial possession of the nation. Camps were situated deep in forests, at the edge of deserts, near mountains, and on the peripheries of small towns and cities.

Although the locations of camps may have been obliterated over time, the legacy of the CCC endures on the American landscape. Miles of shelterbelts, dams, and fire roads, and thousands of park shelters, walls, and bridges remain throughout the United States. CCC camp enrollees, who were under the jurisdiction of the U.S. Department of Agriculture, planted billions of trees in cut-over areas of the Lake Superior region and New England,

<sup>2</sup>Robert Bremner, "The New Deal and Social Welfare," in Harvard Sitkoff, ed., *Fifty Years Later: The New Deal Evaluated* (New York, 1985), 82-83.

<sup>3</sup>Robert Fechner, "The Civilian Conservation Corps," in the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences*, 194: 131 (November, 1937).

<sup>4</sup>Edgar B. Nixon, ed., *Franklin D. Roosevelt and Conservation: 1911-1945* (reprint, New York, 1972), 144.



created shelterbelts on the Great Plains, and built dams or terraced land to prevent erosion. CCC work guided by the Department of the Interior resulted in trails, shelter buildings, campsites, and landscaping in national and state parks.

WITHIN the context of the CCC's legacy as a whole, the development of the nation's state parks is but one result of the program's accomplishments. However, as Norman Newton, a well-known historian of landscape architecture, has stated, the CCC era advanced the nation's state park movement by a half century.<sup>5</sup> The CCC state park legacy also endures in the less tangible forms of park planning, the employment of large numbers of landscape architects, and the built expression of an underlying philosophy—namely, the development of parks while simultaneously conserving natural resources.

Visitors to a CCC-developed state park may walk along stone steps that curve between large boulders without ever realizing that the boulders flanking the steps were carefully rolled into place and that tons of rock for the steps were hand-carried to protect the park's natural beauty. Near the stone steps or along the trails, visitors to such a park will most likely find a massive timbered concession building, shelters constructed of stones or peeled logs, stone walls, or, more rarely, a crude log bench.

The style of these park buildings and landscape improvements is generally described as "rustic." When the Department of the Interior published a book in 1935 to provide examples of appropriate park architecture, Albert Good, the author, expressed hope that a more "apt and expressive" term for the style would evolve. Good's work was immediately expanded into three volumes, and they became pattern books for emerging CCC park architecture. "Rustic" remained the style's descriptive term. Good defined rustic as the utilization of native materials in proper scale, with no severely straight lines or over-

sophistication. He described the style as being evocative of buildings constructed by "pioneer craftsmen with limited hand tools." Such buildings would express "sympathy with the natural surroundings and the past."<sup>6</sup>

Good's definition of rustic architecture, constructed of local building materials and evocative of the frontier, reflected the regionalism so characteristic of other New Deal projects, whether they were post office murals with local or national history themes or the detailed descriptions of each state found in the *American Guide* series. Just as the style and themes of New Deal murals found in post offices and public buildings throughout the country can be associated with a time period—the 1930's—and with a style—"regionalism" or "social realism"—the same is true for the "rustic" park architecture of the 1930's.

Rustic architecture can be examined for its use of building materials, forms, and landscape setting. Such an examination, however, is limited. The rustic shelters, stone steps, and winding trails of state parks were individual elements of a park master plan. The master plan was a prerequisite to the establishment of a CCC camp and the first stage of a design process. The park improvements that can be read on the landscape also represent design guided by government intentions, an unprecedented employment of landscape architects, and the labor of thousands of CCC "boys."

The administration and guidance of CCC park work was a process that began long before barracks were erected in any park. First, the National Park Service divided the country into four districts, each under the direction of a district officer who served as a liaison to Washington. Within each district there were inspectors—"qualified graduate Landscape Architects and Engineers"—who were responsible for monitoring and reporting on the progress and quality of CCC projects. These men were in close contact with state park authorities, "to advise them and suggest courses of action compatible with the spirit of park culture."<sup>7</sup>

<sup>6</sup>Albert H. Good, *Park and Recreation Structures* (Washington, 1938), 1: 5.

<sup>7</sup>Conrad L. Wirth, "State Park Conservation Work," in *Landscape Architecture*, 24: 26 (October, 1933).

<sup>5</sup>Norman T. Newton, *Design on the Land: The Development of Landscape Architecture* (Cambridge, 1971), 576.





*Trail steps constructed by CCC workers in Rib Mountain State Park. Photo by Maureen Fitzgerald, August, 1986.*

The inspectors submitted weekly or monthly reports to the district officers, who forwarded copies to the Washington office along with their own monthly reports. Camp superintendents, and in some cases crew foremen, also submitted work progress reports. The hierarchical process that accompanied all CCC park development was at times viewed as a hindrance. One former superintendent remembers that it seemed at times that “every shovel of dirt we moved had to be reported.”<sup>8</sup>

Prerequisite to the establishment of a CCC

park camp was the submission of a preliminary survey and master plan that justified the proposed development. Once a CCC camp had been approved, architectural drawings of proposed facilities and plans were reviewed and often returned by the district office. When work projects began, inspectors approved or criticized workmanship, the siting

<sup>8</sup>Interview with Alonzo Pond, Minoqua, Wisconsin, July 27, 1985.





*The Green Cloud picnic shelter, begun by the CCC and completed by the WPA in Wyalusing State Park. Photo by the author, August, 1986.*

of buildings, materials used, and the location of trails. Through continual visits to all parks within the district, CCC inspectors ensured that work was carried out “in the spirit of park culture”—as set forth by the National Park Service.<sup>9</sup>

Wisconsin did not acquire additional state parks during the years of the CCC, but the facilities and development of its existing parks were minimal until the 1930's. After the program had been in operation for two years, Wisconsin acquired several state park camps. Meanwhile (before the state park camps were established), over forty Department of Agriculture camps had been at work on forestry and soil erosion projects throughout the state.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>9</sup>Wirth, “State Park Conservation Work,” 26.

LONG before the 1930's, Wisconsin's state park board had commissioned John Nolen, a landscape architect from Cambridge, Massachusetts, to study a state park system. From 1908 to 1919, he had drawn up plans and proposals for the cities of Janesville, Milwaukee, La Crosse, Green Bay, Kenosha, and Madison. In his study for the state park board, Nolen described the importance of state parks, discussed their distinguishing characteristics, and provided five criteria or “requirements” to guide their selection. He insisted that the parcels should be large (over 1,000 acres), accessible, situated

<sup>10</sup>Robert Fechner, *Second Report of the Director of Emergency Conservation Work, October 1, 1933–March 31, 1934* (Washington, 1934), 5.





*A rustic map shelter in Wyalusing State Park. Photo by the author, August, 1986.*

in areas of good climate, of reasonable cost for acquisition, and “unmistakably beautiful.”<sup>11</sup>

Nolen made site visits to four areas: Devil’s Lake, Wisconsin Dells, the Door County peninsula, and the confluence of the Mississippi and Wisconsin rivers near the town of Wyalusing. Interstate Park, which had been established in 1900 through joint legislation by Wisconsin and Minnesota, was recognized by Nolen as a start toward a “well-balanced system of state parks.” However, he criticized Wisconsin’s “neglect of the property” and the park’s “inadequate area and illogical boundaries.”<sup>12</sup>

By 1917 the sites that he had visited, with the exception of Wisconsin Dells, had become state parks. Devil’s Lake, Peninsula, and Nelson Dewey (later renamed Wyalusing) fulfilled Nolen’s requirements in terms of location, distinctiveness, and size. Between 1918 and 1927 Perrot, Pattison, and Rib Mountain were added to the park system through gifts, and between 1928 and 1932 four other parks, including Copper Falls, were purchased or obtained as gifts.<sup>13</sup> The four parks recommended by John Nolen and four of the later acquisitions became sites for development by the CCC.

<sup>11</sup>John Nolen, *State Parks for Wisconsin* (Madison, 1909), 20.

<sup>12</sup>*Ibid.*, 27, 29.

<sup>13</sup>Wisconsin Conservation Commission, *Fifteenth Biennial Report, Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1935 and June 30, 1936* (Madison, 1937), 160.



In 1933, Wisconsin, along with forty other states, began work on a comprehensive plan under the guidance of the National Resources Board. As part of this undertaking, Alonzo Pond, an archeologist who had worked as a tour guide at Devil's Lake State Park, and Paul Hoffek, a graduate of the University of Wisconsin's program in landscape architecture (then part of the department of horticulture), were hired to analyze the state's recreational needs. They spent a week surveying the state's parks, including Perrot, Peninsula, Wyalusing, Pattison, Interstate, Copper Falls, and Devil's Lake. The information and recommendations Pond and Hoffek made in 1934 became the "basis for requesting CCC camps in the state parks."<sup>14</sup>

The completed recreation section of the regional planning committee's 1934 report reiterated several of Nolen's 1909 recommendations. When considering the recreational needs of Wisconsin, the report noted that the "paramount" considerations were: the population to be served, the location, and the natural "character" of the sites. The report also called for a more "orderly arrangement" of future recreational facilities, and cited the existing "unregulated mixture of wilderness areas, forests, cabin sites, dance halls, and other types of whoopee places." The situation could be remedied or avoided through the siting of facilities in proper areas, thereby meeting recreational needs while conserving natural features.<sup>15</sup>

Prior to the 1930's, Wisconsin's older parks, notably Devil's Lake and Interstate, were well established as popular recreational areas. At Devil's Lake "the popularity of the park [had] increased much faster than the construction of park facilities."<sup>16</sup> The existing structures consisted of entrepreneurial tourist ventures and privately held cottages and summer homes. They represented a full array of uses and architectural styles, including the "commonplace cottages" Nolen referred to and the

"whoopee places" cited by the regional planning committee report. In keeping with National Park Service policies during the CCC-era of park development, such haphazard, unplanned facilities were regarded as problems to be remedied.

C. L. Harrington, who served as superintendent of Wisconsin's state parks and forests from 1923 to 1958, expressed his misgivings to Pond about intervention from Washington: "I don't like this taking money from Washington because then Washington can dictate to you what you can do and what you can't do. But the pressure's building up on me and I guess I've got to give in."<sup>17</sup> Harrington was not alone in these sentiments. At a 1933 meeting in Washington, D.C., with representatives from different states to discuss the implementation of the CCC program, when the Wisconsin delegation was "in a little huddle," one member commented that "this sort of an arrangement will never work. . . . All these outsiders are going to be brought in to take away the work and to have young fellows in camp roving around the country, there's going to be a lot of trouble grow out of this."<sup>18</sup>

Harrington, himself, was particularly concerned about the impact of the CCC on the cut-over and forested areas of the state. He was basically a forester, and, perhaps, he "just didn't care a whole lot about parks." He cringed at "the thought of having gangs of young fellows go up into the wooded counties of the state, to be lodged at public expense in camps. . . . This did not appeal to the general

<sup>14</sup>Pond interview.

<sup>15</sup>Wisconsin Regional Planning Committee, *A Study of Wisconsin: Its Resources, Its Physical, Social, and Economic Background*, First Annual Report (Madison, 1934), 163. Pond did not recall having read the Nolen study. Pond interview.

<sup>16</sup>*Sparta Pictorial Review* (n.p., n.d.), Co. 2669, Camp Devil's Lake, SP-12, 1939, unnumbered pages. The *Review* served as a district "yearbook" and contained photographs and names of all camp personnel, as well as brief histories of the CCC companies and some descriptions of the work projects. A copy of the *Review* is in the author's files.

<sup>17</sup>Pond interview.

<sup>18</sup>Cornelius L. Harrington interview by William Alderfer, February 16, 1960, tape 2, transcription, 14–17, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison.





*The concession building at Pattison State Park, January 31, 1936.*

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line of thinking of any of us from this part of the country. At least from this state.”<sup>19</sup>

Although there was no precedent for a program on the scale of the CCC, unemployed men had been at work in the forests of Wisconsin and other states during the early years of the Depression. Of the state’s \$8,000,000 of unemployment relief appropriated for 1931–1932, \$500,000 was allotted to the conservation commission for work in state forests. Over 12,000 workers, with more than 40,000 dependents, benefited from the state program. Work projects included the construction and improvement of fire lanes, telephone lines, and lookout towers.<sup>20</sup>

The following year, forty U.S. Forest Service CCC camps were established in Wisconsin. The state did not receive state park CCC camps until 1935, but a limited number of relief workers were employed at Peninsula and Potawatomi state parks through the Federal Emergency Relief Act. The work projects at these two parks began in July, 1934, but did

not involve more than twenty men at each site.<sup>21</sup>

Despite Harrington’s apprehension regarding the CCC program, some experience dealing with the unemployment programs had been acquired and all the necessary agencies had been established by 1934. The National Planning Board’s first annual report pointed to the need for orderly development, a philosophy which was to guide CCC state park work throughout the nation.

The National Park Service standards for state park development through the CCC emphasized the importance of following a master plan. In Wisconsin, and probably in other states as well, “master planning was something they had never heard of,” recalled Kenneth Schellie, who served as regional inspector in Wisconsin and upper Michigan for the National Park Service from 1935 to 1937. “The parks had developed principally as picnic areas, then campgrounds. Camping became very, very significant in their operation and

<sup>19</sup>Interview with Kenneth Schellie, Phelps, Wisconsin, July 7, 1987; Harrington interview, 15.

<sup>20</sup>State Conservation Commission of Wisconsin, *Biennial Report for the Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1931 and June 30, 1932* (Madison, 1932), 55.

<sup>21</sup>Memorandum from A. E. Dolittle, superintendent, to C. L. Harrington, August 25, 1934, Wisconsin Emergency Relief Administration, Project Files, 1934–1937, box 4, series 1411, Wisconsin State Archives, State Historical Society of Wisconsin.





*CCC workers carrying rock for Brady's Bluff trail in Perrot State Park, spring, 1936. Photo courtesy Emil Bellinger, Madison.*

people could camp any place. It didn't make any difference where it was, whether or not there were facilities to handle it. . . . So the Park Service came along and said essentially, if you want us to participate in your development program, you're going to have to do things according to plan." Harrington "finally agreed" that the "Park Service approach was appropriate," and realized that "good planning was necessary to preserve the qualities of the areas that had led to their selection as state parks."<sup>22</sup>

In October, 1934, Harrington wrote to Herbert Evison at the National Park Service's branch of state planning and cooperation and requested a manual on park structures and facilities. Harrington praised the CCC's work in Milwaukee County parks. Evison penciled a note to his superior, Conrad Wirth, at the top of the letter: "This is of some interest. Harrington has never sought any state park camps, but I have a hunch he will next time."<sup>23</sup>

<sup>22</sup>Schellie interview.

**D**URING the summer and fall of 1935 Wisconsin acquired eight CCC state park camps at Devil's Lake, Copper Falls, Interstate, Peninsula, Perrot, Rib Mountain, and Wyalusing state parks, as well as a camp at the University of Wisconsin Arboretum in Madison. The Wisconsin Conservation Department reported that in most cases there were "no adequate topographical surveys, or comprehensive layout plans prepared for the parks prior to opening the [CCC] camps." The department noted that it was therefore necessary to "study the parks individually; their area, approaches, scenic, scientific, historical, wildlife, and recreational possibilities" before work projects could begin.<sup>24</sup>

Advance crews, generally comprised of the camp's technical staff, were sent to each park

<sup>23</sup>Harrington to Evison, October 27, 1934, file no. 504, box 489, State Park File, 1933–1937, Series 37, Record Group 79, National Archives, Washington.

<sup>24</sup>Wisconsin Conservation Commission, *Fifteenth Annual Report*, 133.





*Two members of the Brady's Bluff trail crew putting slabs into place. Photo courtesy Emil Bellinger.*

prior to the arrival of enrollees to prepare the necessary park plans and topographical surveys. Wyalusing State Park was the first to receive its technical staff in the spring of 1935; the staff consisted of two engineers, a landscape architect, and the project superintendent. Following a visit to the park by a National Park Service regional inspector, work immediately began on surveys, maps, and a master plan. Technical staffs soon arrived at Devil's Lake, Interstate, Pattison, Peninsula, Perrot, and Rib Mountain in July and August, 1935, and at Copper Falls in September.

Extensive work projects began soon after the arrival of the full CCC company. In all of the parks, the initial and perhaps most enduring of these projects was the construction of trail systems and roads. Stone steps that curved between boulders and trails that wound through wooded areas to open onto vistas were characteristic of the pathways constructed by the CCC. To minimize or obscure the evidence of the construction, the use of heavy equipment was avoided, and the impact

of construction was further minimized by landscaping that utilized plant species found in the park or surrounding area.

The careful planning and naturalistic design of the trails was, of course, only possible through intensive physical labor by crews of enrollees.

When a trail has been marked, a crew of men clear the foliage, trees, stumps, and obstruction from the proposed route. Hard on their heels follow the shovelers who smooth out the high spots and fill in when necessary. Then the rock layers, laden with crude cradles of rock which must be carried for hundreds of yards, fall to building up the sides at weak points, terracing steps over natural bumps. . . finally come the finishers who conceal as far as possible the ravages created along the sides of the trails by the advance men. Ferns and different vines are planted for the sake of beauty and to prevent erosion.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>25</sup>*Prairie du Chien Courier*, September 3, 1935.





*Alonzo Pond's crew cracking heated boulders at St. Croix Falls, December 4, 1935. National Archives photo.*

Erosion prevention was also of concern to CCC enrollees who built trails at Perrot State Park. Like Wyalusing, Perrot is located along the Mississippi River. Most of the trails built by the CCC at Perrot, however, ascend a treeless bluff several hundred feet above the river. The camp landscape architect was out "every day in the winter [1935–1936] roaming the hills" to stake out the trails while there was no foliage. The work on Brady's Bluff Trail, as it was called, began on April 9, 1936. To provide the foundation of the trail, the work crew hand-carried limestone slabs that had been quarried during the winter months. To facilitate this strenuous manual labor, Emil Bellinger, the trail foreman, devised wooden sleds to transport the stone from the base of the bluff. Two enrollees would carry approximately 100 pounds of stone at a time, often making five trips each day.<sup>26</sup> Brady's Bluff

<sup>26</sup>Bellinger interview.

Trail was a single-file path with several long switchbacks. Its foundation stones were tilted to prevent erosion. In the summer of 1936, Kenneth Schellie commented in an inspection report that the "trails which have been constructed up Brady's Bluff, are to my mind, some of the finest I have yet seen."<sup>27</sup> Another regional inspector, L. I. Johnstone, compared the trail building at Perrot to the "labors of the ancient Egyptians in the building of the pyramids."<sup>28</sup>

Trail building by the CCC at Interstate Park along the St. Croix River gorge in the northwestern part of the state was also compared, in what must have been a favorite piece of CCC hyperbole, to the labor "that constructed the pyramids of Egypt." Under the

<sup>27</sup>Kenneth Schellie, Associate Landscape Architect, Region II, Monthly Narrative Report, July, 1936, p. 6, box 3, Series 30, Record Group 79, National Archives.

<sup>28</sup>L. I. Johnstone, Associate Engineer, *ibid.*





*Putting the sledges to the boulders shattered by the fire and water process. National Archives photo.*

direction of park superintendent Alonzo Pond, CCC boys built trails in the winter of 1935–1936 with the “primitive fire and water method employed by the ancients.”<sup>29</sup> Without the use of dynamite or potentially damaging heavy equipment, rocks were initially cleared using crowbars or block and tackle. The “Indian method,” as Pond called it, consisted of heating the rocks for several hours or days. Enrollees then hand-carried gallons of cold water along the bluffs to crack and shatter the rocks. The process was often repeated for several days or weeks.<sup>30</sup> On Rib Mountain, near the city of Wausau, CCC boys also used “fire and water” to create trails through the quartzite rock.<sup>31</sup> Trail construction was an ongoing

process, starting with one of the first projects in the summer of 1935, which was to widen and improve the five-mile road leading to the top of the mountain.<sup>32</sup>

In many of the parks, existing developments such as guard rails were replaced or improved by the CCC. At Pattison State Park, the metal pipe guard rails far above the gorge of the Black River were replaced with thick rough stone walls. Designed by Walter C. Holzbog, the camp landscape architect, the development enhanced an existing overlook which has a spectacular view of the Big Manitou Falls.

<sup>29</sup>Alonzo Pond, Superintendent’s Narrative Report, December–January, 1935–1936, p. 2, box 258, Series 41, *ibid.*

<sup>30</sup>Alonzo W. Pond, “Interstate Park and Dalles of the St. Croix” (St. Croix Falls, 1937), unnumbered pages.

<sup>31</sup>Interview with Otto Bluhm, Wausau, Wisconsin, June 14, 1986.

<sup>32</sup>James E. O’Loughlin, Narrative Report of Camp Activities During October and November 1935, Camp Rib Mountain, SP-15, p. 2, box 258, Series 41, Record Group 79, National Archives.





*Constructing the guard rail at Big Manitou Falls, July 9, 1936.  
National Archives photo.*

AFTER only two years of operation, the CCC camps at Peninsula, Copper Falls, and Perrot state parks closed, leaving completion of the master plans to the state. The accomplishments of all the Wisconsin state park camps, even after only limited operation, were tremendous. Miles of trails, involving intensive manual labor, landscaping, and the construction of trail steps were completed in each park. Enrollees also constructed such park amenities as stone drinking fountains, benches, tables, and trail signs. Park roads were built or improved with retaining walls. Work was also begun to locate sources of building materials, either stone or log, for the construction of shelter buildings, concessions, sanitary facilities, and bathhouses. Although the closing of a CCC camp signified the end of federal funds, National Park Service involvement, and CCC labor, the completed work remained as an example of appropriate park development. More importantly, perhaps, a master plan was left at each park for completion.

When work ended at Perrot State Park in

the spring of 1937, only one shelter building had been completed, but at full strength the camp had consisted of fewer than 200 enrollees. After the Brady's Bluff Trail was completed in the fall of 1936, slabs of stone were hauled to the crest of the bluff for a shelterhouse foundation. The superintendent on the shelterhouse project "was so in love with Frank Lloyd Wright" that he told the men he wanted the stones to look just as though "they fell out of the sky."<sup>33</sup> Enrollees then used ropes and slings to transport logs to the shelterhouse site. The shelter and trail were "satisfactorily completed" in January, 1937.<sup>34</sup>

Enrollees at Copper Falls cleared brush for trails and prepared logs for a large combination building during their stay at the camp. National Park Service architect Bernard Knobla drew up the plan, which included a

<sup>33</sup>Bellinger interview.

<sup>34</sup>G. Walling, Associate Architect, Region II, Monthly Narrative Report, March, 1937, p. 5, box 12, Series 30, Record Group 79, National Archives.





*Stone being quarried by the CCC for Perrot State Park. Photo courtesy Emil Bellinger.*

concession area with inside seating, a pavilion area, restrooms, and several large stone fireplaces. As was typical for most of the large construction projects undertaken in Wisconsin's CCC state park camps, work on the Copper Falls combination building was gradual. Enrollees were simultaneously developing eleven miles of trails, trail steps, tables, benches, parking areas, and foot bridges. Several weeks before the camp closed in September, 1937, the local newspaper cited the combination building as the "most noticeable work to the ordinary observer."<sup>35</sup> The building was ninety-eight feet long and fifty-four feet wide, and the logs used in its construction represented approximately 200,000 feet of timber.

Federal assistance through the WPA was used to complete the work at Copper Falls. From 1938 to 1940, Ashland County WPA crews ranging in size from 75 to 180 men completed the combination building and constructed several other park buildings, includ-

ing a one-room log administration structure that was stylistically similar to the nearby concession unit.<sup>36</sup> Other WPA construction projects included small trailside shelters, a custodian's residence and garage (both constructed of stone), foot bridges, eight additional miles of trails, and over 100 trail steps of black "trap-rock" from the area. A seventy-six-foot-high lookout tower was also constructed.

When the Wyalusing CCC camp closed, the park was in a state of development similar to that at Copper Falls. The enrollees had completed an extensive trail system and had improved or added to the park's roads. A large stone combination building was nearing completion, and several trailside shelters at "widely separated points" along the park's twelve miles of trails were in the planning stage.<sup>37</sup> Within months of the CCC camp removal in October, 1937, WPA workers were transported to and from the park each day to

<sup>35</sup>*Mellen Weekly Record*, September 2, 1937.

<sup>36</sup>*Ibid.*, September 21, 1939, May 16, 1940.

<sup>37</sup>Schellie, Monthly Narrative Report, July, 1936, p. 1.





*Emil Bellinger (upper left) and his construction crew working on the Brady's Bluff shelterhouse in late 1936.*

complete park development. The park superintendent, under the authority of the state conservation commission, reported that they would "take all WPA workers sent their way" and that work was expected to continue through the winter and spring. By the time of the official park opening on Mother's Day in May, 1939, the WPA workers had completed the combination building and construction was underway on the park office and several shelter buildings.<sup>38</sup>

WISCONSIN'S remaining CCC state park camps at Devil's Lake, Interstate, Pattison, and Rib Mountain continued in operation until 1940 or later, thereby completing a greater portion of the master plan for each park. Although Interstate's initial CCC company had been removed at the end of 1937, the park received a second company several months later.<sup>39</sup>

In the spring of 1936, enrollees at Devil's Lake State Park razed an existing bathhouse

on the north shore of the lake. The structure was "an old frame building in poor state of repair . . . built without any thought of fitting it in with the landscape." The new stone-and-log structure was to have two wings and three entrances, with a veranda fronting the lake. The building's central portion would be of stone with supporting beams and rafters of "rough-hewn lumber." A source of stone for the new bathhouse and other buildings was located at a quarry abandoned twenty-five years earlier in the park. To rush construction, a double shift of enrollees worked on the project twelve hours a day during the summer of 1936. Other park projects such as office buildings, toilets, and trail work apparently slowed the initial pace of construction on the bathhouse. It was almost a year later, in May, 1937, when D. B. Littrell, the regional inspector, reported that the bathhouse, with quartzite stone walls

<sup>38</sup>*Prairie du Chien Courier*, May 16, 1940.

<sup>39</sup>*St. Croix Falls Standard-Press*, June 27, 1940.





*The Brady's Bluff shelterhouse, October, 1985. Photo by the author.*

of "unusual color and texture," was "nearing completion."<sup>40</sup>

Just as the razing of an existing bathhouse had occurred at Devil's Lake, CCC enrollees at Pattison State Park also worked on the site of a proposed bathhouse prior to its construction. The work involved the dredging of Lake Manitou, a body of water that had been formed by a logging dam at the turn of the century. The natural channel of the Black River passed through the lake and had caused silt deposits and beach erosion. In May, 1936, enrollees began the enormous task of draining the forty-acre lake bed to reroute the river channel.

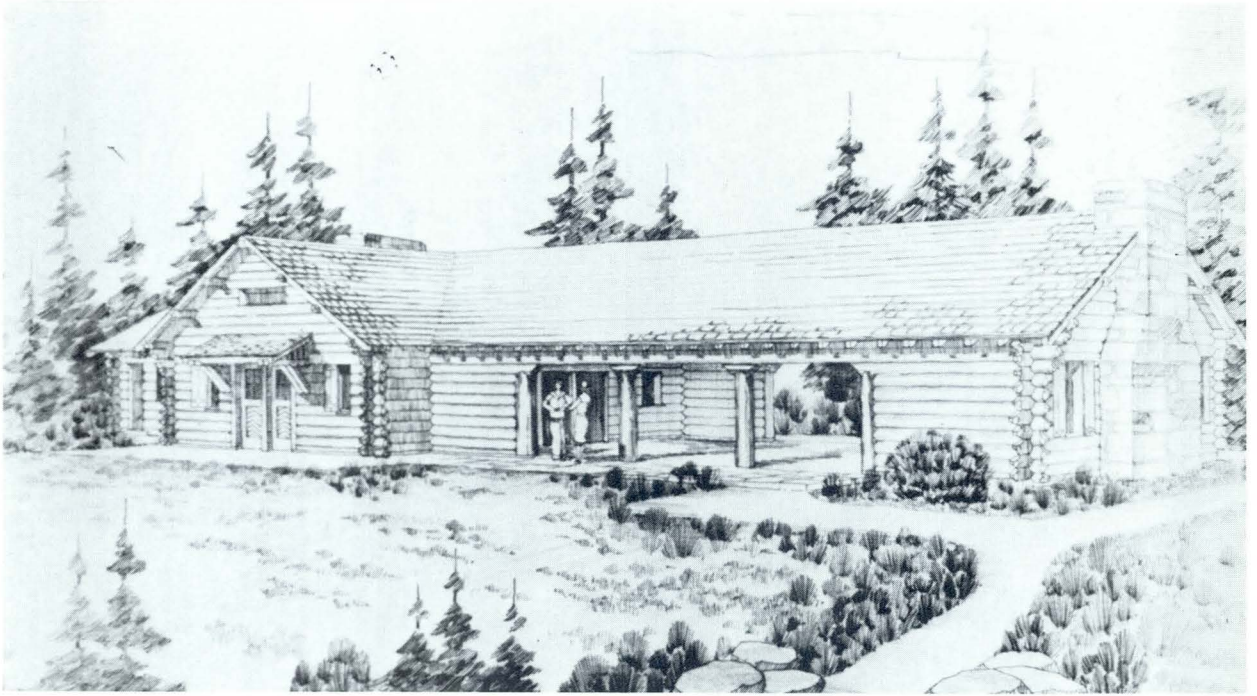
<sup>40</sup>Eugene Odber, Jr., Acting Superintendent, Narrative Supplementary Report to Accompany Monthly Progress Report, Form 7, March 31, 1936, p. 10, tray 258, entry 41, Record Group 79, National Archives; Kenneth Lange and Ralph Tuttle, *A Lake Where Spirits Live: A Human History of the Midwest's Most Popular Park* (Madison, 1975), 19; *Baraboo Weekly News*, May 28, June 11, 1936; D. B. Littrell, Associate Architect, Region II, Monthly Narrative Report, October, 1936, p. 1, box 4, Series 30, Record Group 79, National Archives.

Half of the camp's 200 men worked on the project in double shifts. When the lake drainage project was completed one month later, 5,000 yards of white sand for the beach were hauled in from Lake Superior. During the same month, regional inspector Schellie reported that the locations for the bathhouse and combination building were "definitely set." The two buildings, along with the beach improvement, were part of a "concentrated area" on the north shore of the lake, as set forth in the park's master plan.<sup>41</sup>

The stone bathhouse at Interstate Park was also constructed after extensive beach improvement at the park's "Lake of the Dalles." Enrollees razed several existing bathhouses and in the month of March, 1937, alone hauled 300 to 360 loads of sand to the beach area each day. Bathhouse construction began in 1937 after the enrollees had already com-

<sup>41</sup>*Superior Evening Telegram*, July 8, 1936; Schellie, Monthly Narrative Report, July, 1936, p. 3.





*Plan the work: the combination building in Bernard Knobla's proposal for Copper Falls State Park, November, 1935. From the Department of Natural Resources files, 1986.*

pleted a trailside shelter of stone and logs and a log restroom. At the end of 1937, when the park's first CCC company was removed, the bathhouse was unfinished. National Park Service inspectors, who summarized the accomplishments at the time, "earnestly hoped" that other sources would be found to complete park development according to the master plan.<sup>42</sup> Several months later, a second CCC company was assigned to the park to complete the bathhouse and other elements of the master plan.

While CCC enrollees at Devil's Lake, Pattison, and Interstate parks were developing beach areas and beginning major building projects, Rib Mountain State Park was being developed for winter sports. The major building project undertaken by the CCC was a ski lodge, but its construction was delayed until 1938 because of the building's cost and design. Meanwhile the CCC had completed several

miles of trails, roads, and park amenities and had begun work clearing the mountain for ski and toboggan trails. The camp's work program also included extensive improvements at two Marathon County parks.<sup>43</sup>

THE CCC program entered its final phase of existence in 1939. Through a reorganization act, the CCC and several other New Deal programs, including the Social Security Board and the National Youth Administration, became part of the newly created Federal Security Agency. The total number of CCC camps throughout the United States remained at over 1,000 during 1940 and 1941. By 1940 the number of camps assigned to state parks under the Department of the Interior dropped below 200. There was still much to be done. As the CCC director pointed out, "even an army of 300,000 young men cannot in seven years repair and restore

<sup>42</sup>*St. Croix Falls Standard-Press*, April 1, September 16, 1937; Schellie, Monthly Narrative Report, November 21, 1937–January 6, 1938, box 21, Series 30, Record Group 79, National Archives.

<sup>43</sup>Littrell, Monthly Narrative Report, April 20–May 19, 1937, p. 3, box 13, *ibid.*





*Work the plan: the combination building at Copper Falls State Park, October, 1986.*

*Photo by the author.*

the waste of many generations.” His statement that “there are many years of work ahead for the CCC” was undoubtedly true, but enrollments continued to decrease, even after the move away from relief-agency status, and more camps closed.<sup>44</sup>

As the number of camps declined nationwide, Wisconsin was not exempt. The CCC camp at Interstate closed in 1940, at Devil’s Lake and Rib Mountain in 1941, and at Pattison in 1942.

Enrollees at the Devil’s Lake CCC camp, who had worked so rapidly on the bathhouse construction, had completed several other buildings by the time the facility closed. Several months before this occurred, however, a summary report of completed projects listed the bathhouse and park office, both of which were constructed of rock quarried in the park and used wood siding on the gable ends.

<sup>44</sup>James McEntee, *Annual Report of the Director of the Civilian Conservation Corps, Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1940* (Washington, 1940), 74–75; James McEntee, *Annual Report of the Director of the Civilian Conservation Corps, 1941* (Washington, 1941), 13, 62–63.

Other projects completed by the CCC at Devil’s Lake were a shower/restroom building, 17 drinking fountains, 200 camp stoves, and 180 table/bench combinations. The summary of camp activities did not include the miles of park roads, trails, and stone walls, nor did it list the landscaping completed by the CCC.<sup>45</sup>

At Rib Mountain State Park, although plans for the ski lodge had not been approved by the end of 1937, extensive ski trails and toboggan runs were developed on the north side of the mountain through CCC labor. In April, 1938, the Wausau Chamber of Commerce began an effort to raise funds for the construction of the ski lodge. It was announced that the federal government would provide all but \$5,000 for the building, in addition to the labor of the enrollees.<sup>46</sup> Construction on the lodge at the base of the mountain commenced in 1938; the camp’s enrollees had meanwhile completed the tremendous task of clearing the side of the

<sup>45</sup>“Work Project Supplement to form 11,” Devil’s Lake, SP-12, February 6, 1941, tray 581, entry 41, Record Group 79, National Archives.

<sup>46</sup>*Wausau Pilot*, April 21, 1938.



mountain for the ski trails, had built miles of hiking trails, and had provided several park amenities including stone drinking fountains and benches.

The development at Rib Mountain, however, was only one part of the camp's work program. Stone buildings, bridges, and other developments were also underway at two Marathon County parks, the Eau Claire Dells and the Eau Claire River Basin. In February, 1940, over 5,000 visitors to Rib Mountain State Park skied, tobogganed, and "inspected the work done on the shelterhouse." Shortly before the camp closed in the fall of 1941, the shelter buildings, bridge, and other developments underway at the county parks were praised by the Wausau daily paper: "Built by the CCC is coming to be the hallmark of rugged construction, made to last, and by its simplicity and employment of natural materials."<sup>47</sup>

Interstate Park received a second CCC company in 1938 that remained in the park until 1940. It completed construction of the bathhouse and utilized stone from the park quarry for the construction of several additional buildings, including a shelter along the Horizon Rock trail, a park office, and a picnic shelter near the beach area, and continued extensive landscaping for parking and picnic areas.<sup>48</sup>

By 1942, the camp at Pattison State Park was one of the few remaining CCC camps in the entire northern portion of the state. Although the number of enrollees at the camp had gradually declined, several major building projects were completed before the camp closed in March, 1942. The stone bathhouse and extensive beach improvements were carried out, while a combination building, 6,200 square feet in size, was under construction. Both buildings were constructed of stone, which landscape architect Schellie described as a distinctive "dark-red-grey in color."<sup>49</sup>

During the camp's seven years of existence at the park, extensive trail work and landscaping were carried out, in addition to the major building projects. The enrollees had transplanted hundreds of trees around the parking and picnic areas and had provided a pedestrian underpass and landscaping for an area where a highway bridge had been removed. The Superior newspaper, in announcing the camp's closing, appropriately noted that the CCC "had left a souvenir of its being—Pattison State Park."<sup>50</sup>

**D**URING the CCC's final year, the director reported that new men were not entering the camps fast enough to "make up for those who were leaving to get into defense work." The program's final year had begun with over 1,000 camps throughout the United States. This number was reduced sharply by the end of the year, when only 350 camps of all varieties remained. In less than a year, all of the camps would be closed, thereby marking the end of a unique New Deal public works program and the end of what has been called "the greatest decade" in the history of state parks.<sup>51</sup>

The rustic shelters, stone steps, trails, and other physical evidence of the CCC era of state park development remain as testimony to the labor of thousands of enrollees and as expressions of a distinct architectural style that emphasized consideration of the surrounding landscape. The CCC's legacy, however, is not limited to distinctive buildings or to the memories of enrollees: through the unprecedented involvement on the part of the National Park Service, a tremendous contribution was made to park planning and the establishment of policies to guide the development of state park systems.

Federal cooperation in the development of regional and state plans had occurred in 1934 through the efforts of the New Deal's National Resources Board. One aspect of the CCC program's planning legacy—a nationwide survey

<sup>47</sup>*Ibid.*, October 5, 1939, February 1, 1940; *Wausau Daily Record-Herald*, September 26, 1941.

<sup>48</sup>*Sparta Pictorial Review* (St. Croix Falls, 1939), Co. 4610, Camp Interstate, SP-13, unnumbered pages.

<sup>49</sup>*Superior Evening Telegram*, March 7–8, 1942; Schellie, Monthly Narrative Report, September 21–October 20, 1937, p. 2, box 14, Series 30, Record Group 79, National Archives.

<sup>50</sup>*Superior Evening Telegram*, March 26, 1942.

<sup>51</sup>James McEntee, *Annual Report of the Director of the Civilian Conservation Corps, 1942* (Washington, 1942), 2.





*Working on the bathhouse at Devil's Lake State Park in late 1936. National Archives photo.*

of parks—represents a continuation of those efforts. In 1936, the Park, Parkway, and Recreational Study Act was passed by Congress. The legislation enabled the National Park Service to supervise and review the development of recreational system plans by individual states. Five years after the passage of the act, forty-five states had drafted comprehensive plans for park systems.<sup>52</sup> The results of the cooperative planning effort were included in the 1941 publication, *A Study of the Park and Recreation Problem of the United States*.

In Wisconsin, one result of the federal-state planning effort was the 1939 publication, *A Park, Parkway, and Recreational Area Plan*. Landscape architect Kenneth Schellie was hired by the state planning board to work on the plan when his job as regional inspector ended in 1937. The plan's purpose was "to develop a system of parks and recreational areas to properly serve the future population of the

state of Wisconsin. . . . The state park plan was concerned primarily with what kind of additional areas should be acquired, how much land should be acquired, where they should be [and] the maintenance of high quality in terms of park development and park lands." Schellie and others who worked on the plan had a "very good guide," John Nolen's 1909 study, which was utilized as a "working report."<sup>53</sup>

Many of the report's policy recommendations reiterated and reflected National Park Service guidelines that had been utilized in CCC state park work. The importance of master plans and topographical maps was emphasized, as well as the use of indigenous plant species and building materials. Noting that "any park structure is an intrusion upon existing natural conditions," the plan recommended that such buildings should be of simple design and utilize indigenous materials that would "harmonize with the surroundings."<sup>54</sup>

<sup>53</sup>Schellie interview.

<sup>54</sup>Wisconsin State Planning Board and Conservation Commission, *A Park, Parkway, and Recreational Area Plan* (Madison, 1939), 45.

<sup>52</sup>Conrad L. Wirth, *Parks, Politics, and People* (Norman, Oklahoma, 1980), 118.





CCC alumni at the Camp Nelson Dewey historical marker in Wyalusing State Park, October 13, 1985. Photo by the author.

A less tangible legacy of the CCC was its impact on subsequent government programs. When the program ended in 1943, almost three million men had been enrolled in what had been a “constantly changing army of unemployed youth, war veterans, and Indians.” Through work programs that developed parks, reforested cut-over areas, and improved soil conservation, the CCC had, as its director reported, “constructively altered the landscape of the United States.”<sup>55</sup>

A program as ambitious or as large as the CCC has not been replicated. However, the program’s goal—to conserve human and natural resources—influenced subsequent federal and state programs. The program, in a “makeshift” way, was the “precursor of more sophisticated programs,” such as the Peace Corps, Vista, and the Job Corps.<sup>56</sup>

The CCC’s influence on today’s youth programs is more apparent at the state level. In Wisconsin, for example, during the CCC’s fiftieth anniversary year in 1983, legislation was passed to create the Wisconsin Conserva-

tion Corps (WCC). Unlike the original CCC program, WCC members reside in their own homes and, as Eleanor Roosevelt and others had hoped in 1933, include women as part of the work crews. As a state-level program, the WCC is much smaller than the CCC; from 1983–1985, fewer than 1,000 persons were at work on sixty-nine projects throughout the state.<sup>57</sup>

The acres of parks developed, the thousands of structures built, and the millions of trees planted by the original CCC are symbolic of a federal program that combined social humanitarian ideals with conservation and recreational improvements to benefit the nation. The program was idealistic in its effort to conserve human and natural resources, yet only by striving toward such a goal could it be achieved to any extent. The program’s idealistic philosophy was most aptly summarized by Emil Bellinger when he described the CCC enrollees he supervised on the construction of the Brady Bluff Trail in Perrot State Park: “This assistant superintendent asked: ‘How the heck did you get people carrying stones up there? That’s just like slave labor!’ But we weren’t carrying stones. Those boys were building a trail, and that was *their* trail.”<sup>58</sup>

<sup>55</sup>Robert Fechner, *Annual Report of the Director of the Civilian Conservation Corps, Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1939* (Washington, 1939), 7.

<sup>56</sup>John A. Salmond, *The Civilian Conservation Corps, 1933–1942: A New Deal Case Study* (Durham, North Carolina, 1967), 221.

<sup>57</sup>*On Corps*, newsletter of the Wisconsin Conservation Corps, orientation issues, no. 2–7 (Madison, n.d.), 2.

<sup>58</sup>Bellinger interview.



# Pages from My Past: The Civilian Conservation Corps

*By David S. Rouse*

**Y**ESTERDAY, when I was young, things weren't so good. A Depression had settled over the nation, and the people were running scared. It was 1933, and Franklin Delano Roosevelt had just become the thirty-second President of the United States. Within his first 100 days, FDR made a significant contribution to America by establishing the Civilian Conservation Corps.

On March 31, he signed the bill creating the CCC, which had been drafted only two weeks earlier. It gave the President authority to recruit a Civilian Conservation Corps for forestry service under the direction of the Army, Labor Department, and Forestry Service.

In a speech in Cleveland, Roosevelt envisioned an "America whose rivers and valleys and lakes, hills and streams and plains, the mountains over our land, and nature's wealth deep under the earth are protected as the rightful heritage of all the people." It was well known to Congress and the people that Roosevelt was a conservationist who loved the land.

In April of 1933, the President issued orders for the CCC to get under way immediately. The goal was to have 250,000 young men in the camps by early summer. Unmarried men between eighteen and twenty-five years old, who were on welfare or whose families were on welfare, were eligible. In thirty days, the Labor Department set up a recruitment plan, the Army sent out an emergency

call for Reserve Officers, and the Forestry Service drew up the work plans.

**I** turned eighteen in January, 1935. I was finished with school, I had no job, I had no money, and I had no future. We lived in Milwaukee at the time, and my father, a first-class plasterer, was a seasonal worker who didn't "bring home the bacon" often enough. I had little personal pride because my family was on welfare about half the time. My self respect and esteem had sunk to an all-time low, and I was desperately seeking a way out, a new beginning, a fresh start far removed from welfare handouts.

I had heard about the CCC from the newspapers, radio, and talking to friends, so, at the end of July, I signed up for a six-month hitch. I was heartily sick of searching for jobs that didn't exist in a nation whose unemployment rate stood at an unbelievable 25 per cent. I was certainly eligible for the CCC since my father was on welfare (he couldn't find work in the winter months).

They sent me and several other enrollees to Baraboo by train, where we were picked up and taken to Camp Devil's Lake, in the state park, about three miles out of town. The camp was at the south end of the lake, almost completely surrounded by quartzite bluffs and the brooding Baraboo hills. I can only describe the



area as magnificent. It was here, in one of Wisconsin's loveliest recreation areas, that I was to be transformed from a "nobody" into a "somebody," reclaiming that elusive something called self-respect and dignity.

We were not the first CCC camp in Wisconsin, but it sure seemed that way. The first Civilian Conservation Corps camp in Wisconsin, and the fifth in the entire United States, was established at Washburn, on the shores of Lake Superior, and was named Camp Brinks, 640 Company.

The moment we arrived at camp, we were assigned to quarters, and each of us was given a brand new wardrobe (everything the right size). It consisted of two complete sets of clothing (a blue denim fatigue suit for work and an olive drab uniform for dress), three shirts, three sets of underwear, six pairs of white socks, a raincoat, work shoes, brown belt, a black tie, and even a 100 per cent wool winter coat. It sure felt good to own clothing suitable for any occasion.

It didn't take very long before we modified the Army clothing. Some astute enrollee learned of a clever seamstress in Baraboo who agreed to sew permanent creases into our olive drab trousers for a very reasonable price. She also put three permanent creases in the backs of our olive drab shirts so we always looked neat and well dressed.

**I**T was "tent city" for us at first, because the carpenters were still building barracks A, B, C, and D where we were to live. Those were hectic days with six men to an Army tent. My first thunder and lightning storm at night in a tent was bad enough to raise the hair on my head. Nobody slept that night.

Then there was the loneliness. How could I be lonely with about 200 of my peers all about me at Camp Devil's Lake? Well, it was definitely there the first few weeks. Loneliness and homesickness hung over our wooded area like a light fog, blanketing the lowlands of our minds. Most of us, including myself, had never been away from home before. We were practically city boys, enjoying our first outdoor camping experience.

I wondered how my friends and family

back home were doing. I missed being with my brothers and sisters, even though the nest was getting too small for everyone. I came from a big family, and it was time to start fending for myself.

Late, late at night, near the start of my CCC enlistment, I awoke from a deep sleep while still quartered in an Army tent. After listening to the sounds of the night—crickets chirping and soft winds sighing in the trees—I suddenly realized what had really awakened me. Someone was softly sobbing in a cot not too far from mine. I never knew who it was. It was harder for some enrollees to be away from their families and those they loved.

There was a sad note. Some of the recruits just couldn't take it. Three of the enrollees went over the hill during our first week in camp. They received a dishonorable discharge for desertion.

We all became adjusted, seemingly all of a sudden, and there was no more loneliness or homesickness. It was as though Merlin, the magician, had waved his wand over Camp Devil's Lake and said, "Don't look back. Let this be your home for now. It's time to get on with your life." Also, the daily routine of camp life was a welcome change from the negative, welfare life that we had been leading.

All our meals were served from an Army field kitchen tent, and they were good, wholesome meals. At first we had Army issue field mess kits made of aluminum that even included coffee cups. Each of us washed our own in two huge barrels, one filled with scalding hot soapy water and the other with scalding hot rinse water. Real dishes were to come later, when we had our permanent mess hall and kitchen.

Cleanliness was almost like a religion in the CCC camps. We were expected to keep ourselves and our equipment neat and clean at all times. In fact, it was very difficult to obtain a weekend pass unless your appearance was sharp, and enhanced by a haircut. Our camp barber cut hair for a quarter. He was a very busy man.

Captain Davidson, a very well-liked, middle-aged Army officer, did not maintain a high visibility or an overpowering image, but he made sure that things got done his way. He was the "steel hand in the velvet glove."





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*The CCC mess hall at Camp Pine River, Three Lakes, Wisconsin. Photo by Spencer and Wyckoff, Detroit.*

We quickly became absorbed in the routine of camp life. We did our assigned work five days a week, Saturdays and Sundays being personal days with no demands on our time. My first payday at Camp Devil's Lake came on a Saturday. The word was passed around to assemble in a single line in front of the captain's tent right after our noon lunch. There sat the captain behind a long table which was covered by a GI blanket, pressed into service as a tablecloth. A large pile of currency was at his left hand, possibly as much as fifteen hundred dollars, and at his right hand, he had a large, ominous-looking revolver. It was a nonsense payday, and the only time that it was done outdoors, with weapon, during my enlistment periods. I received my five dollars, but there were quite a few who got the whole allotment, thirty dollars, because they had no dependents. My mother made a down payment on a new washing machine with her first twenty-five-dollar check. With six children to care for, she needed it badly.

Eventually the carpenters finished the barracks, and I moved into "D," my home for the balance of the six months. They had also built

a powerhouse for a large generator which lit up the whole camp; a bathhouse with showers, laundry, and toilet facilities; a recreation hall, a large kitchen and mess hall, and a quartermaster's commissary.

ONE of the aspects of CCC life that every enrollee tried to avoid but never quite succeeded was a camp detail called kitchen police (KP). We were all required to take turns peeling potatoes or vegetables, washing pots and pans, running the dishwashing machine, being mess hall waiters, or mopping the floors. The mess hall and kitchen had to be ready at all times for inspection. Frequently, the captain would come into the mess hall, put on a white glove, and check for dust and dirt. If he found anything wrong, it made him unhappy. Then he made sure to make us unhappy. An extra week of KP was almost a sure thing for those on duty at the time.

I peeled potatoes, served at the tables, and washed pots and pans, but the worst KP job of all I successfully avoided. The grease trap, lo-





# Image suppressed pending copyright clearance

*The CCC mess hall at Camp Pine River, Three Lakes, Wisconsin. Photo by Spencer and Wyckoff, Detroit.*

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cated in back of the kitchen, had to be cleaned out once a week. Everybody, including myself, felt sorry for whoever was detailed to do it. It was a dirty, smelly job.

Our work schedule was never a humdrum affair. My compadres and I planted trees, dug ditches, landscaped, built the parking lot at the north end of Devil's Lake, improved and established hiking trails, built a bathhouse, and, in a great many ways, protected and improved the parks, woodlands, and recreation areas. Every boy who went to camp was given a job that benefited both the nation and himself. Self-esteem and well-being were part of his wages.

By the time it was over, more than two and a half million boys passed through the camps. The Civilian Conservation Corps was FDR's pride and joy. He once told Harry Hopkins, director of the Works Progress Administration, that every boy should have the opportunity to go to the woods for six months.

What was it really like in the CCC? Well, I'll tell you. It was a new, fresh, very successful idea that never was tried before. President Roosevelt had decided to declare war on the poverty and hopelessness of the young men of the United States. It was as simple as that.

A typical day in my life at Camp Devil's Lake went as follows. At 6:00 A.M., I'd hear the bugle sound reveille. Shortly after that our sergeant would come through the barracks like a summer storm. If you weren't up, he'd turn you out. I mean he would overturn your bed and dump you out! It only had to happen to you once; you learned fast. Then it was wash up, dress in work fatigues, and report to the parade ground by 6:30 A.M. There, we had about fifteen minutes of calisthenics, after which we were dismissed for breakfast.

The standard breakfast menu, served family style, which was rotated by the Army's dieticians, was filling and wholesome. One menu I remember consisted of stewed prunes, dry cereal, ham and eggs, coffee, and milk. After breakfast, we policed the grounds, made up our bunks so that a nickel dropped on the stretched blankets would bounce, and then joined our preassigned work details at 7:45 A.M.

We were driven to our work sites in REO Speedwagon trucks. The number of men in a

work crew varied according to the work to be done—eight for fencing, twelve for landscaping, sixteen to plant trees, etc. In most cases, a group leader was sent along to guide the men through the day's work.

My work detail of about twenty-four men was driven to a large sand and gravel pit, where we hand-loaded trucks all day long, using long handled shovels. The material was needed for the new bathhouse, being built on the north shore to enhance the park's recreational facilities.

We were allowed about an hour for a lunch of sandwiches, cake or cookies, and beverage which our camp cooks sent along with us. Work stopped at 4:00 P.M., when we returned to camp, washed up, changed to olive drab dress uniform, and reported to the parade ground for the lowering of the flag. Supper was served at 5:30 P.M., and after that, our time was our own.

I'd write a letter or visit the camp rec-room/library where there were books to read. We had a choice of adventure, mystery, westerns, travel, history, science fiction, sports or religion. Sometimes, if I had some extra time to while away, I'd go to our camp's canteen and act like a "spendthrift," that is, if I had any money that wasn't budgeted for other things. The canteen's prices were very reasonable. For instance, Bull Durham or Golden Grain tobacco was five cents per bag with papers to roll your own; low-alcohol beer, ten cents a can (hard liquor was prohibited); candy bars, five cents each; and Pepsi-Cola, five cents a bottle. My favorite indulgence was a bottle of Pepsi-Cola, a Powerhouse candy bar, and maybe a Milky Way (I had a sweet tooth). In those days, many of the candy bars we bought were quarter-pounders. A little money went a long way at the Camp Devil's Lake canteen.

After such a night out it was return to barracks and lights out at 10:00 P.M. Then every enrollee became an island unto himself, reliving the day's events and wondering about his tomorrow. At 10:15 P.M., the company bugler lifted the old, old notes of taps on his bugle:

Fades the Light;  
And Afar





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*Lining up for another meal at the CCC camp at Devil's Lake State Park. Wisconsin Conservation Department photo.*

Goeth Day, Cometh Night,  
And a Star  
Leadeth All, Speedeth All,  
To Their Rest.

Taps was appropriate for us because, in a sense, each of us was a soldier of conservation.

The variety of work at Camp Devil's Lake was the most interesting, most rewarding, most educational aspect of my life in the CCC. I learned how to do many things, much of which helped me in later life. It was a soul-stirring thing to be part of, to be proud of, to remember.

Each barracks housed from forty to fifty men and had three huge barrel wood stoves which kept us comfortably warm in the winter. All night long, every hour on the hour, the night guard came through the barracks to keep the fires going. If you were awake, you'd hear him firing up each stove, just like clock-work.

All the wood for the barracks stoves came from a huge woodpile brought in by the park rangers. It was situated about two blocks from our camp and consisted of hundreds of logs about eight to ten feet in length. As all enrollees were asked to take turns at helping to saw the wood down to stove size, it eventually became my turn. Two-man teams brought the logs up to the sawyers who were operating a very large circular saw. (You could hear its whine a mile away.) My one-time assignment to the firewood detail lasted only three days, after which somebody else had to take their turn.

As was the custom in most Civilian Conservation Corps camps, a certain amount of light barracks humor was common. Nobody got hurt, and the incidents brought a bit of gaiety to barracks life. I, myself, was asked to go fetch a gallon of checkered paint from the quartermaster and, later, to bring back a left-handed



monkey wrench. I didn't fall for either ruse, but some of the enrollees accepted the requests at face value.

One of the tricks played on me and others was "short-sheeting." Some barracks pranksters would remake our beds by folding the top sheet so that the head and foot of the sheet were at the head of the bed. When we victims returned from a visit to Baraboo in the evening and tried to get into bed, we could only get in half way. Nobody ever found out who the culprits were.

One night, an enrollee came back from Baraboo feeling a little tipsy, went right to bed, and fell into a deep sleep. Soon, four stealthy jokesters approached his bed, each taking a corner, and very gently, very quietly, carried him, cot and all, out to our parade ground, where he was discovered in the morning by our unsympathetic sergeant.

The most hilarious bit of horseplay done in the barracks was usually carried out by three men. The first would come up to an unsuspecting recruit and say, "Hey buddy, I bet I can guess your weight within three pounds." The second would say, "He's really good at it. He guesses right most of the time. Why don't you let him try?" When the enrollee agreed, the first man would say, "You will have to get on my back, over my shoulders, so I can weigh you." Once the target was off the ground, the third man would sneak up behind with a large wooden paddle and give him a resounding smack on the buttocks. You could hear the howls of laughter from the barracks a block away. Everybody was happy but "Hapless Harry."

**B**ARRACKS D was not 100 per cent full of peace-loving enrollees at any time. It seemed that every barracks housed the good, the bad, and one or two uglies. We had Vinnie. He was short and stocky with a bland, innocent look on his face—looks are deceiving. Vinnie was a Chicagoan, and so tough that it seemed he could eat wire and spit out nails. He had his favorite "fun thing" that made him happy. Most enlistment periods ended at different times, so we always had a few new recruits around. Vinnie would walk

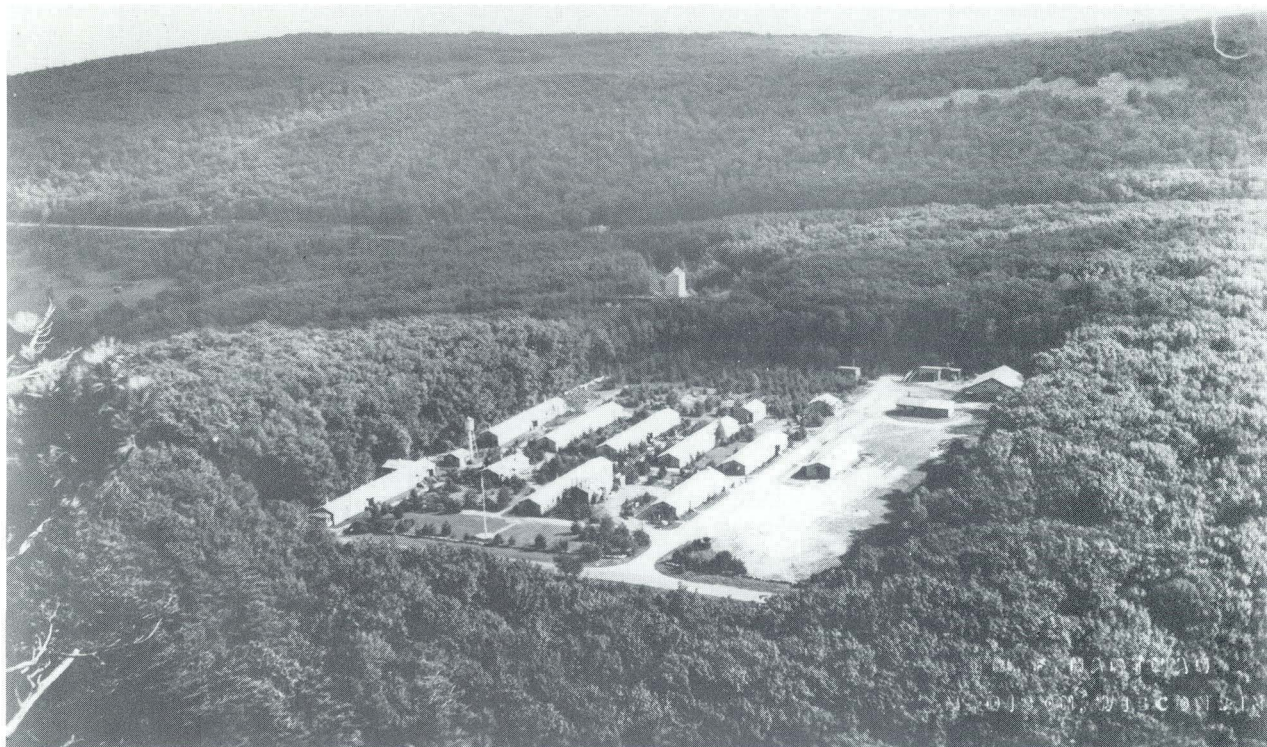
up to a new enrollee, look him right in the eye, and say, "Hey buddy, welcome to Camp Devil's Lake." While shaking the newcomer's hand, Vinnie would cut the new recruit's belt in half, with a very sharp, concealed knife. Then he'd say, "Gotta go, gotta go. Have to meet my pal at the canteen. See ya." The dumbfounded recruit would start after him but would be restrained by wiser heads. Nobody wanted to see bloodshed. I made it my business to stay out of Vinnie's way. He didn't last long at Camp Devil's Lake. Vinnie was dishonorably discharged long before his enlistment period was up, and nobody was sorry to see him go.

Every Sunday morning, religious services were performed at Camp Devil's Lake. We had a chaplain who counseled the enrollees, visited the sick (there were always a few men in our sick bay), and presided over the few marriages between the enrollees and local girls. The camp had a small, simple chapel nestled in the woods, back of our camp, where services were held. The right to worship was a respected part of CCC life.

There was always a doctor available at the camp for whoever needed his services. Also, there was a dentist for problems any enrollee had with his teeth. He was on call to take care of any dental emergencies. In the case of minor illness such as fever, diarrhea, stomach ache, or heat exhaustion, there was a sick bay with four beds and a medic in charge to give you any help that was necessary. If you weren't feeling well, you were excused from work, but you couldn't go back to barracks. You had to lay in all day under the watchful eye of the camp's medical personnel. Unless an enrollee was really ill, he was far better off to go out and do his day's work. At Camp Devil's Lake, nobody used "sick bay" service unless they really needed it.

Some typical cases that turned up during my enlistment: One enrollee got stung by a large bumblebee while on landscaping detail and ended up with a badly swollen arm. Another recruit sprained his ankle at the gravel pit and had to use the sick bay for the rest of the day. Still another got into a patch of poison ivy, and he was laid up for two days. I scraped my arm when a log turned on me during the firewood detail. It needed salve and bandages,





*The CCC barracks at Devil's Lake State Park. Wisconsin Conservation Department photo.*

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plus half a day in sick bay. Although there were rattlesnakes living in the quartzite bluffs circling the lake at Devil's Lake State Park, not a single snake bite was recorded during my enlistment period. All recruits were warned to stay away from the rattlesnake-infested areas.

**R**OBERT Fechner, a New Dealer with a labor background, was appointed Administrator of the Civilian Conservation Corps in 1933, and on August 17, Fechner authorized CCC units to fight forest fires.

One day in the late autumn of 1935 Captain Davidson addressed us on the parade ground. "Men," he said, "there's a bad forest fire in northern Wisconsin in the Brule River region. They need help badly. If any of you would care to volunteer your services, would you please step forward?"

About twenty of us stepped forward and our sergeant recorded our names in the camp's logbook. Then Captain Davidson said,

"You'll have a long trip, so pack your gear tonight. You'll be leaving right after breakfast. Good luck."

Next morning we climbed into two REO Speedwagon trucks and headed northward, ever northward, until we got to Rice Lake, a peaceful little city at the half-way mark. Our cooks had sent along a large cardboard box full of sandwiches, cookies, and beverage. We found an old, abandoned utility barn on the town's outskirts and stopped there to have our lunch.

Somewhere north of Rice Lake, a bizarre event occurred. One of the enrollees who rode in our truck was an Indian who was quartered in my barracks. We called him Chief. He was a superbly built red-blooded American. Another enrollee on our truck, whose name was Tully, thought he was another Jack Dempsey. Tully started badgering the Chief, thinking he could take him. They quarreled and fought on the truck until our driver couldn't stand it any more. He pulled over on the roadside to let them have it out.





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*CCC enrollees fighting a fire with back cans, Iron County. Wisconsin Conservation Department photo.*

It was bare-knuckle fighting at its worst. It took only about fifteen minutes for the Chief to give Tully a terrible beating. Every time he hit him with his big fists, I thought for sure that it was "Goodbye John." Finally, we decided to stop the fight, saying, "That's enough. We've got to be on our way." We dragged Tully back on board, and he sat in gloomy dejection in a corner of the truck. It was all quiet as we continued on our mission.

We went north on Highway 53, up through Spooner, Minong, and Solon Springs, finally arriving at the host CCC camp, situated almost as far north in Wisconsin as one could possibly get. Upon arriving, we were greeted most warmly. Their cooks prepared a special supper for us, after which we were assigned to quarters.

As we got out of the trucks, one of the greeters was Clifford, a good friend from Milwaukee. He also had joined the CCC and had

come up from Camp Riley in the Chequamegon National Forest to help put out the Brule River region forest fire. We had a grand reunion. Far into the night, we talked about old times, and compared camp life. I asked him, "What made you join the CCC?" He replied, "There wasn't any work to be had, so after you left, I decided to join too. Now I'm glad I did it."

When morning came, all of us were assigned to fire-fighting details. I was put on a mop-up crew and given a five-gallon watering can which fitted on my back like a knapsack. It had a hose attached, and I went around snuffing out smoldering embers, of which there were hundreds. The entire region was shrouded in a smoky haze and had that burnt-wood smell.

Later, I was one of a great many CCC boys who cut a firebreak through the woods, using axes, grub hoes, saws, and bulldozers, to encir-





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*CCC workers starting a backfire from a bulldozer line while fighting a hardwood forest fire in Sawyer County. Wisconsin Conservation Department photo.*

cle the forest fire zone completely. We were directed at all times by the rangers of the Brule River district. Our Baraboo detail stayed in the area for about ten days, doing whatever we could. All of us had had a very unusual experience: nobody got hurt and the memories linger on.

ONCE every month, I was entitled to a weekend pass, and could go home to visit my family if I so desired. That is, I could go if my olive drab uniform looked sharp and clean, and I had had a haircut. Our camp barber usually did a rushing business for those going home. Out of my \$5.00 per month wage, there was little money for transportation, so I hitchhiked. My buddy Elroy and I usually left camp right after work on Friday, walked out to Highway 12, and put up our thumbs. It usually wasn't long before we were in Madison; that part of it was easy. It took al-

most an hour for us to walk over to Highway 19, where we would catch another ride on the way to Milwaukee, coming through Watertown. Mostly, everything went well and we had no trouble, except for one time.

It was a winter weekend and very cold, but Elroy and I decided to go home anyway. After quite a while, we finally got a ride to Sun Prairie. The temperature had dropped to ten degrees below zero, traffic had thinned almost to a standstill, and Elroy and I stood on a lonely street corner shivering and stamping our feet to keep warm. Night had fallen and all businesses had closed for the day. The cold wind cut through our CCC uniforms like a knife. Suddenly, seemingly out of nowhere, the Sun Prairie town constable came along and said, "How are you doing, boys?" I answered, "Not too good. We're on our way to visit our families in Milwaukee, and can't seem to go any farther tonight."





WH(N48)30170

*The city hall in Sun Prairie, about 1940. Photo by John Newhouse.*

The constable said, "Follow me, boys. I know of a nice warm place where you can spend the night." He led us straight to the Sun Prairie jail and said, "You can each have a cell for the night, and be on your way in the morning. I'm not going to lock the cell doors. Just consider yourselves overnight guests of Sun Prairie." We thanked him, and soon we were thawed out and warm again, with a roof over our heads. When morning came, the constable reappeared and asked, "Did you sleep well, boys?" I told him, "Yes, we never had it so good. Thanks for the hospitality." He said, "According to the laws of Sun Prairie, both of you are entitled to a free breakfast before you leave." He took us to a restaurant right across the street, where we had scrambled eggs, American fries, toast, and coffee. Hitch-hiking went much better, and we arrived in Milwaukee by 10:30 A.M. Saturday morning. To this day, there's a special place in my heart

for Sun Prairie and a compassionate constable for providing me with a one-time memory that will never fade.

Elroy and I would usually meet at 1:00 P.M. on Highway 100 and Bluemound Road for the trip back to camp, hitch-hiking, of course.

I was honorably discharged from Camp Devil's Lake in 1936 and returned home to look for work. I soon found out that there were still no jobs to be had. The situation seemed so bleak and depressing, that after only thirty days I again signed up for another hitch in the Civilian Conservation Corps.

A batch of new enrollees and I were taken by train to Norwalk, in Monroe County. It was a small town with a railway station where late at night, Camp Ontario's trucks picked us up. My new CCC camp



was located in a farmer's field, about one mile from Ontario, Wisconsin, in Vernon County. In the morning, the camp's sergeant gave an orientation speech, and I was once again a CCC enrollee. Captain G. S. Branch, an "all out" military man, was in charge.

In one of my very productive weeks in the Civilian Conservation Corps at Camp Ontario, I was assigned to a special work detail. We were to build a concrete spillway on one of the farms surrounding the camp. It had to do with soil erosion. They gave us a portable cement mixer to do the job. There we were with huge piles of sand and gravel and a large stack of bags of cement. Water for the mixer was kept in a large barrel which was replenished by a hose connected to the farmer's water supply.

Luckily, they had sent a straw boss along who knew how to build a spillway. Our formula for each mix was four pails of gravel, three pails of sand, and one pail of cement, plus just enough water to suit. It took three formulas to fill the cement mixer each time. An Army portable generator provided all the power we needed. I was elected to be the sand man, so all day long, time after time, I threw nine pails of sand into the mixer for each mix.

We had one black man on our crew whose name was Dennis. We liked him, and he liked us, so we worked together just fine. It got so hot one day (there was no shade) that Dennis said, "Man, is it ever hot," and lowered himself, clothes and all, into our water barrel, right up to his neck. He came out a very happy man, saying, "Boy, that sure felt good. Who's next?" Then, one by one, the whole crew took a "dip." Dennis was right. It really did feel good.

One bright, sunshiny morning we were scheduled to do fencing on a farm several miles from camp. Our cooks packed us a large box full of sandwiches, cookies and beverage and away we drove in one of the camp's REO Speedwagons.

I was a member of an eight-man fencing crew, doing the kind of work I really enjoyed. The work details of Camp Ontario had planted a large number of trees on the farmer's land the preceding week, and we needed to put up a fence to protect the seedlings from animal devastation. We had one exceptionally good fencer on our crew. His

name was George, a short man with very powerful arms. He could swing a twelve-pound fence maul all day long without visible fatigue. I was his caddy. I'd position each wooden fencepost, and he'd drive it home with five or six sledgehammer blows. He never missed, or I could have got smashed fingers or a broken arm out of it. We were a great team.

Two men dropped the posts in approximate position along the fence line, two men set and drove them in, two men unrolled and strung the barbed wire, and two men stapled the wire in place, using a wire stretcher for tautness.

After running fence all day, 4:00 P.M. came and we were ready to return to camp. No truck came to pick us up! They had forgotten us! We walked over to the farmer's barn to take refuge, and in seconds, we were up in the hayloft, where we just laid around and waited. Long after dark, we heard the sound of a truck's engine. Our camp had finally remembered us. When we got back to camp, one of the cooks fixed a special supper just for us, after which we all went to bed, a tired bunch indeed.

I don't think that I'll ever forget the week I was assigned to the lime quarry detail. It was a rough one, but I took it one day at a time, and soon it was over. We were driven to the lime quarry, located several miles from camp, which had a huge rock crusher in its center, and it was our job to feed the "beast"—our affectionate name for it. It had a gluttonous appetite, and we were told that the machine could become damaged if we let it run empty. It crushed the rocks into lime which would be used on the farmer's fields.

I was a "wheelbarrow" man and all day long I wheeled barrows of limestone rocks, which had been loaded by other CCC men, down a long, narrow wooden causeway to feed the crusher's insatiable hunger. Three men did the wheelbarrowing for a day and then rotated to different jobs.

The work was hot, dusty, and dry. At the week's end, I had blisters on both hands the size of marbles. When asked about them by my camp buddies, my stock reply was, "I earned them." It was one job which had no place for a goldbrick or goof-off.

We had one bonus. Every day a special truck came out from camp with a hot lunch,



which we thoroughly enjoyed. Our lunch hour was like a picnic in the park. We carried the food to the shade of a small grove of trees near the quarry and had a scrumptious banquet. Two typical hot lunches sent to us from Camp Ontario consisted of beef stew, bread, butter, and cake with coffee and/or milk; or Salisbury steak, boiled potatoes, peas and carrots, and pie, with coffee and/or milk. Life did have its good moments.

A few years ago, I took my family on a mini-trip to visit the CCC camps of my youth. Camp Devil's Lake, which had been on a park access road near the south end of the lake, still had a few buildings remaining that are now being used for group camping. Down through the years, we became regular visitors to Devil's Lake State Park and its CCC remnants. We also were very familiar with its Nature Center building that houses the park's Civilian Conservation Corps memorabilia. Located near the park's northern entrance, the Center provides an enduring link to pages from my past.

But what a shock we got when we went looking for Camp Ontario! There wasn't even one stick, board, or stone left to portray the existence of a once lively encampment. Camp Ontario had reverted back to the farmland from whence it had sprung. At times, looking back, I can still see Camp Ontario's bugler standing on the company headquarter's steps at 6:00 A.M. of a frosty morning, and calling the men to duty with the stirring notes of reveille.

Although the Civilian Conservation Corps is now history, it has not been forgotten. The tens of millions of trees planted or protected, the thousands of acres saved from the ravages of soil erosion, the development of countless parks and recreational facilities are all perma-

nent testimony to the success of the Civilian Conservation Corps.

I, for one, am very proud of having been given the opportunity to participate in this great happening, which lasted the nine years from 1933 to 1942. Countless words have been written about the Civilian Conservation Corps, what it was, what it wasn't, and what benefits were derived from it. But nobody ever said it so aptly as Karl Kidd, a former college student who enlisted in the CCC, did in a letter to Robert Fechner, administrator of the Civilian Conservation Corps:

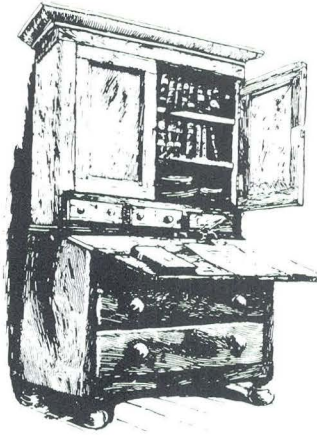
The mornings of sunlight, the evening dusk and shaded sun, when the stars seem so close to the earth, one can almost reach out and touch them, these are glorious days that shall never be forgotten. Each night I face the setting sun that floods the peaks of the distant hills with crimson grandeur, and with me is the song of the hills, and the strength to face tomorrow's dawn.

Every so often, I review the pages of my past, dusting off the chapters of my experience in the CCC. It was at Camp Devil's Lake that I first became acquainted with one of Wisconsin's beautiful jewels, Devil's Lake State Park. I joined up as a boy and came out feeling like a man, with a new sense of self-respect, dignity, and assurance that there would be a future for everyone in America.

I have thoroughly enjoyed my years of productivity and accomplishment, making friends and working with many associates along the way. Yet, at the same time, I feel thankful to have been given the strength, the courage, and the chance to fulfill the American Dream for me and mine. Although long since gone, I believe that the Civilian Conservation Corps was the greatest idea to come out of Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal.

Today, when I am old, things are good.





## BOOK REVIEWS

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*Little Crow: Spokesman for the Sioux.* By GARY CLAYTON ANDERSON. (Minnesota Historical Society Press, St. Paul, 1986. Pp. xii, 259. Illustrations, maps, appendices, notes, bibliography, index. ISBN 0-87351-191-3, \$19.95.)

Historian Gary Anderson has written a compelling "ethno-biography" of an eastern Sioux chief who played a pivotal role in mid-nineteenth century Indian-white relations in Minnesota. Little Crow (1810–1863) has become a symbol of Indian resistance due to his role in the bloody Dakota War of 1862, a conflict which left several hundred white men, women, and children dead and spread panic throughout Minnesota and neighboring states, including Wisconsin. The extensive historiography of this incident has led to the development of numerous myths about Little Crow and has generally failed to convey any sense of the man as a political leader of his people. Anderson views this chief as an important, intelligent, and tragic figure whose political career, beginning in the mid-1840's, vividly illustrates the numerous compromises and dilemmas that confronted Sioux leaders as they dealt with their white counterparts. In portraying Little Crow's life from the perspective of his own culture, the author provides new insights about the nature of Sioux politics, the predicaments facing tribal leaders as a result of American acculturation programs, and the complexities of Indian-white relations, as well as the origin of the Dakota War and Little Crow's role in that conflict.

Little Crow's world was that of the Mdewakanton Sioux whose villages lay along the upper Mississippi and lower Minnesota rivers. Kinship provided the socioeconomic glue that

held these villages together, while ties outside the band provided the visibility that resulted in rising political influence. A pragmatic man of determined character who had a strong sense of destiny and possessed extraordinary organizational and oratorical skills, Little Crow was "a politician of the first order, shrewd in the extreme, and capable of compromise when he was unable to get his way." Selected to "speak" for his people in 1851, he confronted the vexing problems facing the Mdewakantons as a result of the demise of the fur trade and increased American efforts to remove and acculturate them. As German and Scandinavian emigrants, who saw no need to share resources with Indians, flooded the region and official American actions undermined tribal identity and independence, Little Crow became an important power broker. He understood that more influence and prestige could be secured by working with white leaders than by resisting them. During the 1850's, he struggled to shape a realistic alternative to warfare in the cultural confrontation that was taking place. As he committed himself to a policy of negotiation and accommodation with whites, the traditionalists who resisted such efforts increasingly became a threat to his leadership. Nevertheless, he exerted powerful influence to secure the best terms possible as the Sioux ceded lands in 1851 and 1858.

Although remembered today as the leader of the Dakota War, the kinship networks that Little Crow built outside of his band and tribe to further his political ambitions actually made it very difficult for him to embark on the war-path in 1862. According to Anderson, few Indian chiefs were dragged more reluctantly into war. Asked to lead the frontier rebellion that had been started by people from Mdewa-



kanton bands other than his own, Little Crow eventually agreed, even though he knew it was a doomed effort. Having already made his peace with the American acculturation program, it was the pressure placed upon him by the young warriors who started the war that led to his ill-fated decision rather than any personal hatred of Americans. When his efforts to dissuade the warring faction from abandoning the traditional Sioux pattern of consensus politics had failed and he had been accused of cowardice, he boldly proclaimed that he was prepared to die in battle. Possibly hoping to enhance his reputation which had been in decline since the 1858 treaty, he also felt obligated to cast his lot with the warriors. Although his decision clearly ran counter to his previous efforts to avoid warfare, it reflected the traditional obligation of the Sioux warrior to his community and people. Little Crow may have looked forward to the challenge involved in trying to control the seemingly disorganized struggle that he had agreed to endorse, but the unfolding tragedy often referred to as "The Great Sioux War" was also a personal tragedy for him. The resulting split with so many of his relatives may well have been the most tragic event of his life. Within one year of his emergence as leader of the war faction which he could not control, his people had been evicted from Minnesota and Little Crow, who had become the very incarnation of the devil to whites, had been killed.

Well written and documented, this biography is an important contribution to the field of Indian history. Scholars and general readers alike will find Anderson's reassessment of Little Crow's life well worth reading. Four maps, twenty-seven illustrations, a genealogical chart and an informative essay on Little Crow's genealogy enhance the author's narrative.

RONALD N. SATZ

*University of Wisconsin-Eau Claire*

*Reflections on History and Historians.* By THEODORE S. HAMEROW. (The University of Wisconsin Press, Madison, 1987. Pp. xiii, 267. Notes, bibliography, index. ISBN 0-299-10930-5, \$25.00.)

Theodore S. Hamerow, a distinguished historian at the University of Wisconsin—

Madison who has produced key scholarly works on German unification and nineteenth-century European history, has taken the historical profession somewhat to task in this volume on history and historians, but in the final analysis Hamerow is a prisoner of his own narrow professional concerns.

This is certainly a timely work, as Hamerow's observations on the crisis in history tie in well with such best sellers as Allan Bloom's *The Closing of the American Mind* and E. D. Hirsch's *Cultural Literacy*. But Hamerow's focus is specifically on the historical profession and criticism of the discipline by both historians and laymen. Despite the lack of job prospects for history graduate students, which Hamerow does discuss, he concludes that the crisis in history is intellectual rather than economic. As history enrollments and courses decline in our institutions of higher learning, Hamerow sets as his course the explanation for this decline and an argument for why history should be studied.

Hamerow may shock some of his colleagues by placing much of history's difficulties squarely upon the shoulders of academic historians. He contends that the professionalization of historical learning in the twentieth century, and especially in the post-World War II period, has resulted in overspecialization and bureaucratization to the point where a convention of historians is no different from a meeting of Rotarians or Shriners. In addition, while the increased funding of philanthropic foundations and the more "plebian" background of historians, along with the methodology of the social sciences, have led historical scholarship in the direction of examining broader social and economic issues, history has not proven to be a good predictive tool for policymakers. Thus, many have denigrated the study of history.

Hamerow, however, is not one who despairs for the future of history. In a chapter on history as a way of life, he describes the life of a history professor as often filled with the frustrations of departmental politics, relatively low pay, bureaucracy, and the loss of idealism. But Hamerow is still impressed with the number of young people who, despite the pressures and grievances, seek an academic career "with a genuine interest in intellectual pursuits." Despite their idealism, it is not to the ranks of young academics that Hamerow entrusts the future of history. He breaks with many of his university colleagues by extolling the virtues of the nonacademic historians such



as Barbara Tuchman and David McCullough whom he likens to the gentleman scholars of the nineteenth century. These scholars present history which is intelligible to the educated layman and follow Hamerow's definition of why history should be studied. In agreement with the father of history, Herodotus, Hamerow concludes that the purpose of studying history is "that the deeds performed by men shall not be blotted out by time, and that the great and marvelous works of Greeks and barbarians shall not be without fame."

Thus, Hamerow has sought to challenge the emphasis upon a narrow professionalization in the discipline of history, yet Hamerow is himself rather myopic. While analyzing the socioeconomic background of those entering the profession, he has virtually nothing to say about the impact of minorities and women on the profession. Also, Hamerow has chosen to concentrate almost exclusively on the role of historians on the university level. And while professors do dominate scholarship and professional organizations, Hamerow has mentioned public historians only in passing and has ignored history teachers on the secondary level completely. Perhaps this is because Hamerow tends to belittle teaching in comparison with scholarship. He tends to see the two as mutually exclusive rather than reinforcing, ignoring the enthusiasm with which one returns to the classroom after some time in the archives. While Hamerow is certainly on target when he discusses the difficulties of scholarship, he misses the mark when he dismisses teaching as a task which cannot be learned and which does not require a great deal of creativity. Just as the task of composition requires constant polishing and revision, so does the art of teaching require constant work on the part of its practitioners. Perhaps the crisis in history is not just disenchantment with its predictive powers and professionalization but rather classrooms of young people who are not being instructed properly in the possibilities of history.

In conclusion, Hamerow's volume is one which anyone involved with teaching or writing history should read. Those in graduate school contemplating a university career in history should especially find the book enlightening, and academic historians should heed Hamerow's comments on the importance of the nonacademic historians. Yet, Hamerow's silence on the role of history and historians in the schools speaks volumes about the communication that needs to be fostered

between the schools and the universities if the real crisis in history is to be addressed.

RON BRILEY

*Sandia Preparatory School  
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*The Documentary History of the First Federal Elections, 1788–1790, Volume III.* Edited by GORDON DENBOER. (University of Wisconsin Press, Madison, 1986. Pp. xx, 604. Introduction, notes, maps, index. ISBN 0-299-10650-0, \$50.00.)

No scholar was more devoted to the detailed study of historical documents than Professor Merrill Jensen of the University of Wisconsin. Thus when his editorial stamp appeared in the first volumes of *The Documentary History of the First Federal Elections* and its companion series *The Documentary History of the Ratification of the Constitution* in 1976, scholars hailed the sets both as extraordinarily useful tools of scholarship and as models of scholarly documentation. Professor Jensen's declining health and eventual death delayed the publication of both series for years, but his devotion to excellence and thoroughness continues under the leadership of one of his last graduate students, Gordon DenBoer.

The rationale behind this *First Federal Elections* series was well articulated by William Bradford in 1788: "The objects of discussions will be so important in the first Congress, that it seems to me, a man's industry, & knowledge cannot in the course of the present Century, have the same opportunity of being serviceable." Like Bradford, a future United States attorney general, Jensen and his disciple justify the extensive editorial work and time required for the project's completion on the grounds that the precedent-setting nature of the election of the First Congress is critical to understanding the national political tradition. Volume III documents the first elections in New Jersey and New York.

One is impressed with the sophistication of the arguments used to justify positions taken by all sides in the debate. Like today, politicians utilized refined theoretical arguments to support blatantly partisan positions. For those who view past politics through the rose-colored glasses of nostalgia, these documents provide a clear-eyed view of reality.



For instance, in New Jersey the election of presidential electors and United States senators proceeded with little argumentation. The principal contest arose out of a decision to choose the state's four representatives at-large rather than in separate districts. Consequently a statewide ticket had to be determined and its selection by a legislative Junto caused considerable consternation in East Jersey. There the opposition bitterly fought the Junto candidates both at the polls and in the House of Representatives.

The House of Representatives races in New York were easily determined with district elections in which the Federalists surprised their opponents with victory in four of six contests. A bitter fight between the Federalist state Senate and the Antifederalist state Assembly over the selection of presidential electors and national senators resulted in New York not voting for president and determining its senators after Congress had begun to meet. Beneath the rhetoric over whether there should be a joint Senate and Assembly vote for senators, whether each house should vote separately, or whether there should be a concurrent resolution was a vigorous struggle by Alexander Hamilton and his father-in-law General Philip Schuyler against Governor George Clinton. Only "after repeated Attempts, and subtle parliamenteering" were senators elected.

The volume's legislative documents, newspaper commentaries, poll tallies, and personal letter excerpts provide the reader with the origins of the American electoral tradition. Central to that tradition are the problems of nomination, disputed ballot counts, personality clashes, high-blown rhetoric, low-blow punches, and partisan rigidity with which we are all familiar. Sometimes there rings a bell of truth that tolls today. Among such insights was a New Jersey commentator who wrote: "... many people act in the choice of representatives as a great part of mankind do in choosing wives, that is, either to be entirely governed by interested motives, or first fix their fancy upon the object, and then, in their imaginations, clothe them with every necessary qualification, though they may be possessed of but very few of them."

Gordon DenBoer and associate editor Lucy Trumbull Brown are to be complimented on their effective, but concise notes, their useful maps, chronology, and 1788–1790 calendars, and their insightful introductions. The scholarly world looks forward to the publication of

the fourth and final volume in this exemplary series.

DAVID CURTIS SKAGGS  
*Bowling Green State University*

*Fordson, Farmall, and Poppin' Johnny: A History of the Farm Tractor and Its Impact on America.* By ROBERT C. WILLIAMS. (University of Illinois Press, Urbana and Chicago, 1987. Pp. ix, 232. Black and white photographs, graphs, illustrations, notes, bibliography, index, ISBN 0-252-01328-X, \$24.95.)

This interesting volume is a very successful combination of technological, economic, and social history as it pertains to the development, manufacture, and impact of the tractor upon American agriculture. It amply demonstrates the complexity that the mechanization of agriculture caused in both its negative and positive parameters.

The author fully discusses the development of tractor technology with an appropriate emphasis upon classic innovations. Beginning 1892, the Froelich tractor replaced steam power with the gasoline engine. Utilizing his experience from the Model T, Henry Ford established the state of the art with his Fordson, which was mass-produced, inexpensive, and light. In a fiercely competitive bid for the market, International Harvester produced the general purpose Farmall which stressed versatility over and above just plowing. John Deere Company's durable Model D tractor dominated for thirty years with its economical and sturdy two-cylinder engine (the "Poppin' Johnny" mentioned in the title) and full line of implements specifically adapted for it (something Ford obstinately refused to do).

With the basic engineering completed by World War II, the subsequent development of the tractor included such things as: noise control, rubber tires, four-wheel drive, cabs, and safety features. In the contemporary era, tractor producers have come upon hard times due to European and Japanese competition in the light-tractor field and the decline of the farm population to only 3 per cent of the total. Cutbacks, bankruptcies, and mergers have been the result.

The tractor created a virtual agricultural revolution by its reduction of toil, increased



productivity, and the implementation of large-scale farming which resulted in low cost food for the American public. It also contributed to greater indebtedness, increased surpluses, and rural unemployment. Farmers used to feed 25 per cent of their crops to sixteen million horses. Likewise, whereas it took one million workers to manufacture tractors, it in turn displaced eight million farm workers. The legacy of the tractor, therefore, has been a mixed blessing.

The family farm is obsolete. The characteristics of mechanized farming are crop specialization, large-operating units, management specialization, and heavy capital investment. The Jeffersonian ideal is no longer a reality in modern agriculture. The author suggests that government subsidies should be reserved only for the few family-size farms trying to survive and not for corporate farms and large-scale agri-business. To make the picture even more complicated, the complexities have compounded. Added to the mechanization of agriculture (the industrial revolution) have come the innovation and application of pesticides, herbicides, hybridization, and more recently genetic engineering (the scientific revolution). Post-industrial agriculture will be almost as novel as space travel in the future.

The author, a Ph.D. from Texas Tech University and a farmer from Clarendon, Texas, displays both a practical knowledge and theoretical expertise in the subject. His exhaustive research, technical proficiency, and well-written text make this volume a valuable contribution to both agricultural and interdisciplinary history. With its up-to-date coverage and perspective, it should replace R. B. Gray's *Development of the Agricultural Tractor in the United States* (1974) as the standard work in the field.

FREDERICK H. SCHAPSMEIER

*University of Wisconsin—Oshkosh*

*Power and the Promise of School Reform: Grass-Roots Movements During the Progressive Era.* By WILLIAM J. REESE. (Routledge and Kegan Paul, Boston, London, and Henley, 1986. Pp. xxx, 342. Notes, bibliography, index. ISBN 0-7100-9952-5, \$39.95, cloth; ISBN 0-7102-0767-0, \$14.95, paper.)

William J. Reese resurrects grass-roots educational reform movements that flourished in

the Progressive era. With case studies of Rochester, New York; Toledo, Ohio; Milwaukee, Wisconsin; and Kansas City, Missouri, he writes about the activities and aspirations of citizens organized into voluntary associations whose purpose was to "make public schools more responsive to the children of ordinary people, especially the poor." He describes educational politics as a dialectical process through which a host of local groups—"Women's organizations, parents associations, labor unions, Social Gospellers, and Populist and Socialist parties"—struggled to moderate the forces of centralization and efficiency that dominate most histories of the period. Reese is the first major author to anchor educational reform in a citizen-based interpretation of Progressivism (similar to David Thelen's) and to emphasize the key role of women in the process.

Reese's is one of three books, all published in 1986, that build on comparative case studies of urban school reform to emphasize the importance of local political structure and the pivotal role of trade unions in shaping educational change. The other two are *Schooling for All* by Ira Katznelson and Margaret Weir and *The Politics of School Reform* by Paul Peterson. Both Reese and Katznelson and Weir integrate their emphasis on politics with an appreciation of the importance of social class in the history of school reform. Their signal contribution is to broaden the politics of reform to include the working class.

Historical writing about Progressive-era school reform is neither as narrow nor as monolithic as Reese implies, and one could quibble with some of his other arguments as well. The significance of his story would have emerged even more sharply had he linked it to the municipal reform movements of the period and traced its connections to other social reform movements in the cities he studied. (The omission of Judith Walzer Leavitt's work on health reform in Milwaukee is especially puzzling in the chapter on the school-health movement.) Nonetheless, this is an innovative, important book whose contributions deserve emphasis. Its major thesis is both fresh and convincing. It brings a whole new cast onto the stage of educational reform. It demonstrates how local political, economic, and social structures shaped the reform process, and it anchors reform struggles in the "contested terrain" of American society and in the competition between alternative priorities for its future.



Still, the story of Progressive era reform is even more complex than the one Reese tells. For his emphasis on the struggle between efficiency and democracy neglects a third force: the drive for professional autonomy led by the new educational bureaucracy that, already, had proved itself a potent influence on city, state, and national levels. Indeed, as Reese and others have shown, the bureaucracy triumphed by capturing reform (for instance, vacation schools, kindergartens, and vocational education) initiated outside public schools, honing off their radical edges, and transforming them into cogs in the system.

With the forces of efficiency and bureaucracy often arrayed against them, grass-roots reformers had limited success. They did gain more places for women on school boards, but they failed to win a significant role for neighborhood representation. Wealthy women, trade unionists, and socialists had difficulty trusting each other and cooperating. As junior partners in coalitions that successfully implemented vacation schools, playgrounds, and educational extensions, grass-roots reformers could neither shape the spirit nor control the administration of their innovations. In the end, they dented the impact of efficiency and nicked the new bureaucracies. But public education emerged from the struggles of the time more centralized, bureaucratized, efficiency conscious, and distant from its clients than ever before. My reading of his evidence is probably harsher than Reese's, but not much, and his excellent, unpretentious book leaves advocates of grass-roots activism with much to ponder.

MICHAEL B. KATZ

*University of Pennsylvania*

*The Life and Times of Congressman John Quincy Adams.* By LEONARD L. RICHARDS. (Oxford University Press, New York, 1986. Pp. viii, 245. Notes, index. ISBN 0-19-504026-0, \$19.95.)

In 1831, former president John Quincy Adams took office as a representative in the U.S. Congress, where he remained until his death in 1848. Adams' willingness to serve in such an office, and for so long, after leaving the presidency has made him unique in American history. Because of this uniqueness and because he became as a congressman a symbol

of the antislavery movement, Adams has been treated kindly by historians who have considered this part of his life. The present work, however, is the first book-length treatment devoted to Adams' congressional career, and in it Leonard Richards has provided a more complete, balanced, and judicious portrait.

It must be stated at once that the title of this work is somewhat misleading. Richards admits in his introduction to the book that what he has done is not "a standard biography," nor "a complete exposition" of the years during which Adams was in Congress. Rather he has concentrated on what he feels are the central questions about Adams in this last period of his life—why he forsook retirement for the rigors of congressional politics, why he embraced antimasonry and antislavery, and why he became "Old Man Eloquent" in the eyes of many who once despised him.

Within his stated limits, Richards has produced a very good book. Richards' research is impeccable, his writing lucid. His portrait of Adams is hardly flattering, but the author's careful use of primary sources leaves little doubt that the portrait is an accurate one. Congressman Adams was frequently less the dedicated public servant than he was a cold, bitter, vindictive, insecure, and often petty man. Yet Adams could also be the statesman, with a better grasp of economics than his contemporaries usually believed, an ability to place national issues above interest politics, and an insight into where the slavery issue would one day take the nation.

By becoming an opponent of the masonic movement, Adams attached himself to a popular issue. This not only altered the perception of him as an aristocrat, it also secured for him an influence beyond his own congressional district, for the antimasonic movement was widespread. *Congressman* Adams, in fact had more impact on the Anti-mason Party than *President* Adams had had on his National Republican followers. Similarly, when Adams took up the cause of those who submitted antislavery petitions, he made a stand that was increasingly popular in the northern states. In so doing, he managed, perhaps unwittingly, to secure for himself a sympathetic judgment from posterity.

It was a double irony that Adams became a symbol of freedom in his last years. First, because the Jacksonians had long portrayed him as antidemocratic. And second, as Richards makes clear, Adams took his stand on the right of petition more to embarrass his enemies



than to help the antislavery cause. Yet, irony upon irony, Adams here won the praise he never received for his more constructive achievements as Secretary of State and President. Richards does an excellent job of tracing this phenomenal change in Adams' image.

In sum, Richards has performed well in bringing the usually remote Adams to life, while illuminating his congressional career and its impact on his times. This is a book that historians and others can read with much profit and enjoyment.

TERRY L. SHOPTAUGH

*Moorhead State University*

*Redefining the Past: Essays in Diplomatic History in Honor of William Appleman Williams.* Edited by LLOYD C. GARDNER. (Oregon State University Press, Corvallis, 1986. Pp. x, 258. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. ISBN 0-87071-348-5, \$27.95.)

Festschrifts have long held a reputation for being uneven. At their best, they pay tribute to a distinguished historian and offer critical perspective on that scholar's work. Moreover, they enable disciples to present fresh discoveries, findings that follow through on a theme or topic suggested by the "master." At their worst, they can turn into veritable canonization, with treatment so uncritical that lack of respect, not due homage, is what is really manifested. In addition, they can serve as a haven for articles that more rigorous editors would find not yet ripe for publication. This anthology is superior to many, but is not without its pitfalls.

William Appleman Williams has long been one of America's best known—and most provocative—historians. In an age of specialists, he has interpreted the entire range of American history, and has offered fresh views on subjects ranging from the ideology of the Founding Fathers to the origins of the Cold War. In the process, he has found the Articles of Confederation superior to the Constitution, offered a critique of Abraham Lincoln, and seen Herbert Hoover as a genuine prophet. Williams is best known for his critique of "Open Door imperialism," a phenomenon he sees lying at "the roots of the American empire." Since 1968, he has taught at Oregon State University. His major impact,

however, was during the late 1950's and early 1960's, while he was at the University of Wisconsin. There he attracted enough disciples to foster an entire "school" of diplomatic history. Now one of this school's most able exponents, Lloyd C. Gardner, has edited a festschrift based in part on Williams' work, in part on interpretations by his students.

In tracing Williams' career, William G. Robbins offers a fascinating personal portrait of Williams, though one that offers a defensive posture towards Williams' critics. David Noble offers astute comparisons to Reinhold Niebuhr and Charles A. Beard, but treats uncritically Williams' dream for the "drastic decentralization of the nation as a political unit." Ivan Dee's piece deals as much with the pitfalls in establishing Quadrangle Press as with his relationship to Williams. The best article in this section is Bradford Perkins' critique of Williams' *Tragedy of American Diplomacy* (1959), originally published in *Reviews in American History* (March, 1984). Balanced and analytical, it elevates a dialogue too often marred by polemics.

Some of Williams' disciples do a most able job of sharing their own findings. Carl Parrini shows subtle but significant differences in such theorists of imperialism as J. H. Hobson, V. I. Lenin, and the little-known American financial expert Charles A. Conant. Edward P. Crapol illuminates why and how American abolitionists fought for British repeal of the Corn Laws. Walter LaFeber makes telling comparisons between the original Monroe Doctrine and what became of it once in the hands of Theodore Roosevelt. Editor Gardner offers a thoughtful discussion of air power and atomic weapons, while Thomas McCormick presents a challenging, if cosmic, interpretation of American capitalism's continuing struggle to sustain itself in a viable world system.

But some essays are weaker. Fred Harvey Harrington, who has many distinguished works to his credit, offers a cursory treatment of why Americans usually think of the Far East in European, not Asian, terms. Patrick Hearn discusses Herbert Hoover's "dream of capitalism in one country" without a single direct reference to Hoover's own writings or speeches. Margaret Morley's essay on *Nation* publisher Freda Kirchway lacks the biting—and deserved—critique found in William O'Neill's *A Better World* (1982), a book dealing with Stalinism and American intellectuals.

In short, like most such collections, this is a



mixed one, hopefully a point of departure for further historical testing and verification.

JUSTUS D. DOENECKE  
*New College of the University of South Florida*

*American Immigrant Leaders, 1800–1910: Marginality and Identity.* By VICTOR R. GREENE. (The Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, 1987. Pp. xii, 181. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. ISBN 0-8018-3355-8, \$22.50.)

In recent years there has been a growing interest in the historical role played by ethnic leaders in the process whereby immigrants became assimilated into American life. Although this topic has attracted scholarly interest for more than a half century, it has acquired a new currency, in part because of the work of anthropologists such as Eric Wolf and Clifford Geertz, who have explored the role of leaders as social mediators or cultural brokers, and Frederik Barth, who has emphasized that ethnic boundaries do not disappear as the assimilation process runs its course.

Victor Greene, a distinguished historian of immigration at the University of Wisconsin–Milwaukee, has built upon such concepts in this study of ethnic group leadership. He demonstrates throughout that pioneer leaders of various ethnic groups in America repeatedly insisted that immigrants could retain their ethnic culture while becoming loyal and patriotic citizens of the United States. In Greene's view, the leaders taught the ethnic masses how it was possible for them to synthesize both inherited and adopted cultures; it was not necessary for them to suffer from feelings of marginality or identity conflicts.

Greene's method is to identify four or five leaders in each of six American ethnic groups—Irish, Germans, Norwegians and Swedes (treated as one), Jews, Poles, and Italians—and to analyze comparatively the leadership they practiced with respect to problems of assimilation and ethnic identity. Although each of the immigrant groups had a culture that was distinctive in important ways, all had leaders who sought to rationalize the maintenance of ethnic culture in the United States. These are the leaders whom Greene presents to his readers; he does not discuss others who may have offered different coun-

sel. In other words, Greene's leaders are not a random sample; they were carefully chosen for the ways in which they articulated a particular point of view.

Greene begins with an excellent introduction that sketches the history of sociological thought about ethnic leadership and sets forth his own purposes, the limitations of his study, and its relationship to other research. He follows with a chapter on each of the ethnic groups he selected for inclusion, identifying each leader and analyzing the character of his leadership. Persons chosen for inclusion are not necessarily the best known or most powerful leaders. But they are in each instance persons who served their constituencies effectively by acting as group mediators, by promoting notions of cultural pluralism or the synthesis of inherited and adopted loyalties, or by developing ideologies for the compatibility of ethnic and American identities.

At the same time, Greene seeks out the ways in which the several ethnic groups differed from each other. Religion, for example, functioned differently for Italians in comparison to Poles and Irish; Germans displayed a sense of cultural chauvinism that was usually absent from the ideology of the others; immigrant institutions were more encompassing for the Jews, Poles, and Irish than for Swedes, Germans, and Italians. Comparisons of this kind, which might be extended indefinitely, are made possible by the conceptual framework employed by the author.

But there are problems with the book. It is not well edited nor is it adequately proofread. Notes for the German chapter, for example, contain at least a dozen errors, such as Klaus for Kloss, Merlin for Marlin, Lacker for Lacher, Charles Townsend instead of Andrew Townsend, and *Osnabruch* for *Osnabrück* and *Zukunft* for *Zukunft*. In another chapter, Lowell Soike is cited as Socke Lowell. Moreover, readers accustomed to the methodological rigor of the social sciences will find Greene's approach deficient. These criticisms aside, this book is a considerable accomplishment. Greene's willingness to acquire some mastery of the sources for a half-dozen different ethnic groups and to work in as many different languages (even with the assistance of translators) is both remarkable and commendable. The work is a major contribution to the history of ethnic group leadership.

FREDERICK C. LUEBKE  
*University of Nebraska—Lincoln*



*Introduction to Wisconsin Archaeology: Background for Cultural Resource Planning.* Edited by WILLIAM GREEN, JAMES B. STOLTMAN, and ALICE B. KEHOE. (Published by The Wisconsin Archeological Society in cooperation with the Historic Preservation Division, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, and the Wisconsin Archeological Survey, Special Issue of *The Wisconsin Archeologist*, Volume 67, Number 3–4, Milwaukee, 1986. Pp. 161–395. Illustrations, maps, annotated bibliographies. ISSN 0043-6364, \$10.00.)

As a longtime member of The Wisconsin Archeological Society, a former officer of the Wisconsin Archeological Survey and, for over six years, an employee of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, I had a more than passing interest in this publication. When I was solicited to review it, I not only accepted the offer, but did so with a feeling of personal obligation. I felt a contradictory sense of distance from and attraction to the publication. On one hand, I have been gone from Wisconsin for eleven years, but on the other hand I was a contributor to the earliest version of what eventually evolved into this book. Unfortunately, I could not find the time to participate in this version. I wanted to know how it had finally turned out. Was it what all of us had hoped it would be when it was first conceived nearly fifteen years ago? Did it meet its own stated goals? The answers made me feel old, jaded, and sadly disappointed in a way I did not want to be, because on several levels, the book is successful.

Where does it succeed? For the most part it is a solid, noncontroversial, "traditional" archaeology covering the cultural traditions that characterized 12,000 years of Native American occupation in midcontinental North America: Paleo-Indian, Archaic, Woodland, Mississippian, and the post-European contact Historic Period. It is exceptionally well-illustrated with clear photographs of representative artifacts, although not all are accompanied by a scale. It also contains chapters on the history of archaeology in Wisconsin and doing archaeology. The thirteen authors are, in almost every case, *the* authorities on their particular subject matter and bring a variety of writing styles and emphases to the various chapters. The annotated bibliographies at the end of each chapter are a useful addition. As a layman or interested student, you could do a lot worse for a basic introduction to Wisconsin

archaeology. Why then am I disappointed in it?

I believe the main reason is that I know the reader is being shortchanged. As a historic preservation archaeologist for the past eighteen years, I am fully aware of the enormous advances made by work in field archaeology—site survey, testing, and excavation—that have been made in that span of time. Most of the chapters in this book contain very little information derived from recent fieldwork. Some chapters show little evidence of revision since their original composition in the early 1970's. The stated purpose of this volume was "to provide agencies, planners and archaeologists, as well as the public, with a useful stepping stone for an in-depth understanding of Wisconsin archaeology. Those involved in planning or construction that may affect archaeological resources can gain some background on the importance of certain site types and research questions." If such planners and agencies were to read this book (and I am convinced that few real decision makers will) then they should be given some concrete examples of where and how "review and compliance" archaeology has made a difference.

A second reason I am disappointed is that there is no serious discussion of non-Indian historic archaeology or urban archaeology. These have been major "growth" areas in Michigan archaeology; I would be very surprised if they have not also been so in Wisconsin. This kind of archaeology is seldom glamorous and its significance is often lost on prehistoric archaeologists, but it is the archaeology of the ancestors of the majority of the people alive today and deserves special *emphasis*, not neglect.

My third reason relates to the intractable problem of multi-authored works. What you gain in breadth of outlook and experience, you lose in cohesion and clarity of purpose. Certain topics also fall through the cracks because of the lack of clear-cut responsibility. Where, for example, is there any discussion of the hundreds of petroglyphs and pictographs (rock carvings and paintings) or the garden beds for which Wisconsin is famous throughout the Midwest?

Overall, the main problem is that *this* introduction to Wisconsin archaeology is a decade too late. The inability to secure funding and a publishing outlet in the mid-1970's and the consequent delay in publication has reduced the impact this well-intentioned volume should have, would have had with profes-



sional and amateur archaeologists. Use this book for the basic bibliography, but for a shorter, sprightlier, and better advertisement for archaeology and historic preservation, go to Lynn Goldstein's 1985 revision of the late Robert Ritzenthaler's *Prehistoric Indians of Wisconsin*, published by the Milwaukee Public Museum.

JOHN R. HALSEY

*Bureau of History, Michigan Department of State*

*Milwaukee Movie Palaces.* By LARRY WIDEN and JUDI ANDERSON. (Milwaukee County Historical Society, Milwaukee, 1986. Pp. iii, 172. Illustrations, list of Milwaukee theaters, sources. ISBN 0-938-076-07-8, \$10.95, paper.)

*Milwaukee Movie Palaces* is a history of the ornate theater buildings constructed in the first third of this century, of which few examples survive today. The book also ventures into the reciprocal influences of theaters and the movies and local society. The authors, who eventually expanded their historical alliance into a matrimonial one, over a three-year period gathered and interpreted the surviving, scattered remnants of the oral, written, and pictorial sources generated by the local movie houses. Groundwork had been laid by the Widens and by Douglas Gomery, sometime of the University of Wisconsin—Milwaukee.

The antecedents of the Rococo movie house lie in the panorama displays, the dime museums, and nickelodeons. The refurbished Princess Theater serves as transition to the "Palace." The Saxe family furnished the Princess with hundreds of comfortable chairs, a good view of the screen, modern ventilation, an organ, a house orchestra, and a uniformed usher corps that along with the film gave a mass audience a few hours of cheap mental diversion and creature comforts not found at home. The ultimate palaces, noted for their large size and exotic architectural and decorative themes—The Egyptian, The Oriental, for example—rose in the central city (with smaller neighborhood imitations) in the 1920's and 1930's. They subsequently competed for the "current whims of a fickle public," aided by "gimmicks"—dish nights, elaborate conces-

sion stands, 3D, and Cinerama, but they fell by the late 1950's, mainly to television.

The volume, which is heavily illustrated, should appeal to the movie enthusiast in Wisconsin's largest metropolitan area. It is a virtual catalog of motion picture theaters frequented by many Wisconsinites in the past. Over 200 buildings are mentioned; the book could be a nostalgia trip for many. The Milwaukee Area Technical College and Milwaukee County Historical Society are to be commended for cooperating in bringing the work to the reading public.

As serious history, there are some deficiencies, however. The Widens love the old theaters, but do not always convey a clear sense of their context, nature, or importance. They rightly trace the theater's path from downtown to neighborhood to shopping center, but do not mention that migration patterns larger than Milwaukee, national housing policies, and the triumph of private over public transportation which have driven businesses, including movies (for in survival terms that is what they are), down the same road to suburbia and exurbia. Terms beg definition: "higher class vaudeville;" "higher class" Milwaukee citizen; the Saxes as "officially" "leading exhibitors." What "the law prohibiting any form of entertainment on Sundays (*sic*)" was is not clear. "The overly wide picture (Cinerama) increased the quality of viewing, but only succeeded on an intermittent basis" raises more questions than it answers. Why a 1939 proposed \$2.50 state tax (what terms?) should "crush" the industry in spite of the protestations of the "noble alliance" (read lobby) in Madison of the Independent Theater Owners Protective Association is obscure also.

Nonetheless, the book makes a worthwhile contribution to local history. The industrious Widens have developed the local movie story further than any. Their work should drag more material out of closets and minds, hopefully leading to a sequel—a revised, second edition.

PAUL WOEHRMANN

*Local History and Marine Collection  
Milwaukee Public Library*

*Martha Maxwell: Rocky Mountain Naturalist.* By MAXINE BENSON. (University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln, 1986. Pp. ix, 335. Illustrations,



appendices, notes, bibliography, index. ISBN 0-8032-1192-9, \$23.95.)

It would be difficult to find a woman of nineteenth-century America who led a more varied and interesting life than Martha Maxwell. Maxwell (1831–1881) achieved national recognition in the 1870's as an innovator in the natural history fields of museology and taxidermy, particularly after a well-received Rocky Mountain wildlife exhibit at the Philadelphia Centennial Exposition of 1876. Following her death in 1881, however, awareness of Maxwell's contributions lapsed into obscurity—the profession, and knowledge of its historical development, was controlled by men connected to powerful scientific research institutions who were little prone to acknowledge accomplishments beyond their own sphere.

The relatively unknown character of Maxwell's influence has changed with the publication of Maxine Benson's sympathetic and lucid biography, the initial work in the University of Nebraska Press's *Women in the West* series designed to reflect the participation of women in the westward movement. Based on nine years of research in manuscript collections and secondary sources, and with significant help from a memoir written by Maxwell's half sister, Benson's book has elevated Martha Maxwell to her rightful place in the history of nineteenth century American science. Generous footnotes, bibliographic references, appendices, and illustrations add to the completeness of the work. The study also stands as a valuable narrative of a western woman confronted with the mobility of the frontier, with the traditional constraints of the married woman's role, and with the intellectual seductions of the more "civilized" East.

The peripatetic nature of Maxwell's life took her from childhood in Illinois, to education at Oberlin, to married life in Baraboo, Wisconsin, to natural science in the Colorado mountains, and finally to an itinerant and expatriated existence in the East. Benson approaches her multifaceted subject with a two-pronged model of description and interpretation. In the first and most straightforward mode of analysis, Benson outlines the process of Maxwell's introduction into her life work which began as a result of a chance encounter with a German taxidermist in the Colorado goldfields during the 1860's. Maxwell's scientific career prospered as she became proficient not only in preserving and mounting

wildlife, but also as a wilderness-hardened hunter and as a creator of museum "habitat groupings" unique for the era. Maxwell was the first woman field naturalist who went out as men did and obtained and prepared her own specimens. Her work in national exhibitions brought praise from the most noted natural scientists of the day, in the Smithsonian Institution and the academic world. Through the broad-range of her collecting and cataloging abilities she succeeded in preserving and identifying many rare or unknown species, including a subspecies of owl that received her name. Benson aptly compares Maxwell's experience with other path-breaking nineteenth-century women scientists such as Graceanna Lewis and Ellen Swallow Richards. Had she not died just prior to the professionalization of taxidermy, and had her massive collection not been appropriated and destroyed by a confidence man, Benson speculates, Maxwell might have made even more of an impression in scientific and popular circles.

Benson also stresses a second theme that makes the book much more than a story of nineteenth-century science, museology, taxidermy, or even the western experience. Maxwell's life is appropriately placed in the context of a woman struggling to come to terms with marriage, motherhood, education, self-fulfillment, and social reform. For Maxwell, a career in natural science was a way of advancing the feminist ideals to which she became increasingly committed. Success in her endeavor connected the naturalist to the influential network of eastern feminist activists and intellectuals in late-nineteenth-century America. But it estranged her from both husband and daughter, and ultimately led to an abject and isolated death in a Long Island resort community far from any family tie. Benson tells this story well, using current ideas developed in the field of women's history as a framework for interpretation. In a sense, the biography is a case study in the history of American woman's role and offers significant insights into the problems an independent and intelligent woman faced when attempting to enter a male-dominated realm.

Overall, some critics might question the success of Benson's explicit feminist model. Others might point to the obvious fact that Benson, as is typical of many biographers, has been completely taken over by the essential qualities of her protagonist. This reader looked for a bit more clarity on the scope of nineteenth-century natural science, on the



connection between feminism and the western outdoor experience, and on the seeming disparity between Maxwell and the "masculine image" of her work. Yet the final result is good. Benson has a fine sense of place and process and has produced a comprehensive study on an important but hitherto unacknowledged natural scientist. It is worthy of close reading by all concerned with the history of the West, of American science, and of American women.

THOMAS R. HUFFMAN

*University of Wisconsin—Madison*

*Agricultural Distress in the Midwest, Past and Present.* Edited by LAWRENCE E. GELFAND and ROBERT J. NEYMEYER. (Center for the Study of the Recent History of the United States, The University of Iowa, Iowa City, 1986. Pp. ix, 111. ISBN 0-87414-049-8, \$9.95, paper.)

*Agricultural Distress* is the most recent work in a series prepared by the University of Iowa-based center, each having incorporated papers presented at a center-organized annual conference. The thin volume will be useful to anyone desiring to place the current instability in the middle western agricultural economy in historical perspective. As editor Gelfand emphasizes in the foreword, "Tragedy has been the fate of many farm families who have seen their labors and savings of a lifetime drift away leaving the only plausible solution to be bankruptcy." Throughout the text key themes emerge: efforts by politicians, bureaucrats, and organizations to ameliorate the farmer's plight; the economic structure as a constraint for improving the situation of small farmers; an integral relationship between the middle western and national farm economies and commodity exports since the late-nineteenth century; the interconnectedness of United States agriculture and Third World nations.

Walter T. K. Nugent examines the farmer's situation in the midst of structural change in U.S. society—from rural frontier to metropolitan society—in the period 1880–1920. David E. Hamilton presents an organizational synthesis involving three main groups—defenders of an older agrarian order, advocates of a narrow interest-group outlook, and proponents of plans to create an efficient, integrated socioeconomic system—for analyz-

ing farm-policy battles and farm programs in the 1920's and 1930's. Stanley R. Johnson examines the impact on middle western agriculture of the federal Food and Security Act of 1985, legislation designed to alleviate distress among the region's and nation's farmers by reducing the level of surplus commodities, conserving natural resources, expanding export markets, and stabilizing gross and net farm income levels. Norman E. Borlaug, a native Iowan and Nobel Peace Prize winner in 1970 for fathering the Green Revolution, places the current agricultural crisis in a global perspective by sharing personal experiences, observations, and opinions.

Readers will expect unevenness in a publication that incorporates the contributions of diverse scholars examining different periods and employing various methods of interpretation and analysis. *Agricultural Distress* meets that expectation. At the same time, no reader will be prepared for several major shortcomings in a work with so promising a title. Surely "this most recent of farm crises" (Gelfand's phrase) in the 1980's is connected to developments in the forty years following the end of World War II. Yet this historical perspective ignores that long period of continuing distress in which the number of farms in the United States was halved, interest payments on farm debt as a percentage of net farm income ballooned from 11 to 99 per cent, and total farm debt rose from \$10,000,000,000 to \$200,000,000,000.

Farmers themselves—and other people subjected to severe hardship in the Middle West's rural communities—seldom appear in the book. Had Nugent in the introductory paragraphs of the lead essay not called attention to several examples of personal tragedy and disaster in the 1980's, the reader would be unaware that real men, women, and children have borne, and continue to bear, the burden of stress, and distress, in the midst of today's middle western rural economy.

The most curious omission in a publication from an academic study center is that the Midwest (or Middle West—the terms are used interchangeably) is never defined. Garland's foreword alludes to Iowa, Kansas, Nebraska, and the Dakotas; Nugent mentions Iowa, Minnesota, Kansas, and Missouri; and Johnson's analysis assumes that Iowa agriculture is "a microcosm of U.S. agriculture."

In all, the book is a useful introductory historical overview so far as it goes, but one hopes for a future center-sponsored conference and



companion volume to incorporate perspectives on the roots of farmers' stress, trauma, dislocation, and disability in the post-World War II years.

DALE E. TRELEVEN

*University of California, Los Angeles*

*The Northwest Ordinance, 1787: A Bicentennial Handbook.* Edited by ROBERT M. TAYLOR, JR. (Indiana Historical Society, Indianapolis, 1987. Pp. xxiii, 136. Illustrations, maps, notes, bibliography, index. ISBN 0-87195-008-1, \$6.50, paper.)

To commemorate the often overlooked bicentennial of the Northwest Ordinance of 1787, the Indiana Historical Society has produced a useful collection that should advance study and appreciation of that landmark document. This handsome guide includes not only an annotated text of the Ordinance, but also a chronology of significant events, several illustrations and maps, a selected bibliography, the text of the Ordinance of 1784, and several essays by Indiana scholars exploring the origins and contributions of the famous frame of government for the territory north and west of the Ohio River. Together these selections provide an impressive investigation of the place the Northwest Ordinance holds in American history.

A thoughtful opening essay by Andrew R. L. Cayton considers the Ordinance's impact from the perspective of the frontier residents, Indian, French, and Anglo-American, who were not consulted in the drafting of the fundamental legislation. He suggests the framers of the Ordinance sought to eliminate the deficiencies members of the Atlantic civilization thought they detected in the pioneer society of the Ohio country. Residents of the region correctly construed the Ordinance as an effort to extend the sovereignty and commercially oriented culture of the coast to their traditional frontier world based on hunting and personal relationships.

A short essay by Robert M. Taylor, Jr., questions the common assumption that the Confederation Congress that approved the Ordinance was a mediocre lot compared to the "assembly of demigods" gathered at Philadelphia to draft the new constitution. While ad-

mitting the Philadelphia conclave contained more college-educated and cosmopolitan delegates, Taylor discounts the differences between the two assemblies and concludes that both were "imposing."

A number of scholars then dissect the Ordinance, section by section and article by article. Generally authoritative, these short essays help to clarify the intentions of the document's authors, intentions sometimes concealed by legalistic language. Most appropriate are efforts to place the provisions of the Ordinance in proper perspective relative to colonial practices and Confederation expectations. That this analysis raises as many questions as it answers testifies to the quality of the scholarship.

In the concluding essay, Patrick J. Furlong examines the implementation of the Ordinance in the face of conflicts over land titles, hostilities with Indians, and political warfare between the friends and enemies of Arthur St. Clair, governor of the Northwest Territory. By the time of William Henry Harrison's tenure as governor of Indiana Territory, however, the forms and practices of territorial government had become more familiar and thus less contentious.

The annotated text will no doubt prove most beneficial to students of the Ordinance. The essays study several critical questions surrounding the Ordinance, although each reader would no doubt have preferred just one more essay examining a favorite issue. The choice of this reviewer would have been an essay tracing the role the antislavery provision of the Ordinance played in the development of the Northwest and of the American nation.

This attractive publication is exactly the kind of project a state historical society should pursue in serving the people of its state. The Indiana Historical Society and the contributing scholars should be commended for the high level of competency exhibited in this collective endeavor.

VERNON L. VOLPE

*Kearney State College*

*The Women's West.* Edited by SUSAN ARMITAGE and ELIZABETH JAMESON. (University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, Oklahoma, 1987. Pp. xi, 323. Illustrations, notes, index, bibliogra-



phies. ISBN 0-8061-2043-6, \$24.95, cloth; ISBN 0-8061-2067-3, \$12.95, paper.)

The history of western women has been largely ignored by historians of the West and by women's historians. This places a history of western women at an interesting juncture. On the one hand, like the earliest women's history, it must spend much of its energy challenging the myths, stereotypes, and outlines of traditional male-oriented western history and discovering the realities and diversity of women's lives in the West. On the other hand, because the experiences of women in the West are outside the conclusions emerging from a women's history that has largely focused on middle class, white women in the urban Northeast, historians of western women are in a position to test, critique, and build on the accepted knowledge of women's history. As in other recent scholarship, a history of women in the West can push in new directions, fleshing out the diversity of class, racial, and ethnic experiences inherent in feminist historical theory and adding a regional perspective often lacking in the existing literature. This duality is the challenge and promise of western women's history. The essays in this collection, papers originally presented at the Women's West Conference of 1983, reflect both of these dynamic discussions and provide a good introduction to a field still defining its questions and discovering an unacknowledged historical past.

The organization of this volume emphasizes the dialogs with both western history and women's history. Three articles by Susan Armitage, Elizabeth Jameson, and Rosalinda Méndez González attempt to define issues and theoretical approaches for the field. First, Armitage addresses the need to challenge the male-dominated narrative of traditional western history and to move beyond the stereotypes both of men and women in the West. Her discussion of "hisland" both critiques the romanticized West and the stereotypes of the women marginal to it. Two creative papers follow examining the myths of the West as they appear in the genre of western art and in postcard depictions of Indian women.

The second overview, by Elizabeth Jameson, points to new directions for women's history. She notes the need to redefine the questions of women's history, to move beyond the image of women presented in the dominant nineteenth century Victorian ideology. By

looking to the diversity of women's experiences and the active role of women in defining their own lives, Jameson suggests that a more dynamic relationship between ideology, attitudes, and behavior needs to be developed. Unfortunately this largely remains a challenge for the future rather than one addressed in this collection. Most of the articles that examine gender roles still accept the eastern, middle-class urban values of "womanhood" as a starting point, rather than looking to the rural, working-class, diverse ethnic, and non-white backgrounds of many of these women for local cultural values that might have supplied alternative definitions of "true womanhood." Nevertheless, the rich detail found in these essays is itself a challenge and a welcome addition to the existing literature. Topics range from examinations of family relations found in letters and novels to studies of women's activities in suffrage politics and in holding local elected offices to investigations of western women's work lives, including homesteaders, immigrant domestics, and waitresses.

In the third overview, Rosalinda Méndez González critiques the Euro-American bias in traditional western history and in much of women's history, despite its demand for a multicultural approach. González presents a historical framework for western history that includes the "conquered" as well as the "conquerors," and attempts to incorporate current minority and working-class history. She demands that the "frontier" period be placed in the context of earlier Indian societies as well as Spanish and Mexican rule, that the development of the West be seen in the economic context of the development of capitalism, that family and community structures were crucial to capitalist development, and that women of different classes and ethnic groups experienced these changes in different ways. This approach is clearly in its infancy and yet the collection contains several articles covering topics such as Indian women in the fur trade of Canada and twentieth-century Italian immigrant women.

Two articles in the collection best explore the questions raised by González, Jameson, and Armitage. Susan Johnson's study of Hispanic and Anglo traditions of cohabitation subtly examines the interplay of different cultural traditions and economic necessity in Arizona mining towns. Patricia Zavella analyzes the work choices of Chicanas in the industrialization of Albuquerque in the 1970's and



1980's, weaving together factors such as industrial development, structural family/work conflicts, women's attitudes and culture. Both articles look beyond the confines of western history, both move beyond the "dominant" cultural values of womanhood to examine women's own values and behavior, and both not only place women's action into the larger economic context of western development, but also reshape that story. *The Women's West* does not yet tell the complete story of women in the West. However, it raises questions, challenges existing literature, supplies new and interesting materials, and begins to move toward a more comprehensive analysis of gender, race, class, and region.

MARY NETH

*Virginia Polytechnic Institute  
and State University*

*Hollywood Goes to War: How Politics, Profits & Propaganda Shaped World War II Movies.* By CLAYTON R. KOPPE and GREGORY D. BLACK. (The Free Press, New York, 1987. Pp. x, 374. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. ISBN 0-02-903550-3, \$22.50.)

This carefully researched, judiciously argued, engagingly written book provides the most thorough discussion yet provided of its topic. The topic is the influence of the Office of War Information (OWI) on Hollywood movies during World War II, influence which resulted from "the most comprehensive and sustained government attempt to change the content of a mass medium in American history." The authors, who discuss well over one hundred films, give equal attention to OWI successes in bringing about changes in specific movies and to failures which defined the limits of government influence.

To make sense out of complex relations between a wartime government exercising powers of unprecedented scope and an industry under the control of "moguls" whose behavior paralleled screen depictions of oriental despotism, the authors offer lucid explanations of inter- and intra-agency struggles, sociomythological and practical aspects of moviemaking, and the backgrounds and viewpoints of key players. An admirable opening chapter on "Hollywood, 1939" succinctly

describes how factors such as the demographics of the movie colony, public pressures which had led the industry to strengthen the censorship function of its own Production Code Administration in 1934, and the physical and social geography of southern California, including its initially anti-union climate and its distance from traditional cultural centers, affected products emerging from the magic kingdom. The second chapter offers further background for understanding wartime films by tracing Hollywood's mainly cautious moves toward interventionism up to December 7, 1941. The nine remaining chapters, while always attentive to context, rely mainly on information gleaned from close viewing of numerous wartime films and archival research at over a dozen different locations (including the Wisconsin Center for Film and Theater Research at SHSW), especially the National Archives.

On occasion OWI, which reviewed 1,652 scripts during the war, helped bring a movie into being, discouraged its production, or effected a major shift in its emphasis, and frequently it brought about less significant changes. However, the agency's efforts were hampered by internal disputes, by industry executives' determination, for reasons of pride and profits, to protect their established prerogatives, by ideological differences between OWI New Dealers and mostly conservative studio heads, and by the desire of the studios to maintain mutually beneficial relations with the military services, whose views were not always congruent with OWI's. After 1943 budget cuts took OWI's Domestic Bureau out of Hollywood, the agency's relations with the industry improved and in ways OWI actually increased its influence through close cooperation with the Office of Censorship, which could deny studios needed export licenses for objectionable films.

Because the book does well what it sets out to do and thus deservedly will assume authoritative status, it is important for readers to be aware also of what it does not do. Like the OWI analysts whose story they tell, the authors pay slight attention to visual and cinematographic aspects of the films. When they do engage in visual analysis, the results are illuminating, as when they note that most scenes of the Pacific war are in places such as jungles which suggest to American viewers the absence of civilization, while the setting in Europe usually is "in cities and villages where the impress of human order could be seen in



churches, plazas, streets, and homes." However, with a few changes most of their fairly lengthy summaries of particular films could serve just as well as descriptions of short stories or novels. Some of these film summaries are short on analysis of any sort. For example, the nine paragraphs which the authors devote to a description of the setting, narrative line, dialogue, and characters of *Casablanca* (1943) seem out of proportion to the mere three paragraphs, along with a few brief comments within the description and elsewhere in the book, devoted to historical, thematic, and visual analysis of that film. (Their most intriguing observation on *Casablanca*, buried in a footnote, is that if Ilse had taken off for Lisbon with Rick and left Laszlo standing on the tarmac, Warner Brothers might have found it necessary to end the film with a fatal plane crash to meet the industry's own production code requirement that illicit love always be doomed.) This criticism requires many qualifications: most of the films they discuss will be unfamiliar to readers and must be summa-

rized at least briefly; their analysis of a number of films such as *Mission to Moscow* (1943) for which extensive OWI and other records exist is rich and detailed; and the book as a whole presents and develops a number of significant themes. For instance, it explores ways in which movies reflected and perhaps influenced American attitudes regarding race, gender, and international relations. Nonetheless, like the American bombers in *Thirty Seconds Over Tokyo*, some of the film summaries go a long way to deliver a very small payload. Those 1942 bombers did cause Americans and Japanese to look at the war in a new way, and this book will allow readers to be more observant viewers of not only late-night movies, but also the ongoing interaction between diverse private and public interests in giving shape to all the images which pervade life in our media-intense society.

GEORGE H. ROEDER, JR.

*School of the Art Institute of Chicago*

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### Book Reviews

|                                                                                                                                                                 |     |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| Anderson, <i>Little Crow: Spokesman for the Sioux</i> , reviewed by Ronald N. Satz . . . . .                                                                    | 217 |
| Armitage and Jameson, ed., <i>The Women's West</i> , reviewed by Mary Neth . . . . .                                                                            | 229 |
| Benson, <i>Martha Maxwell: Rocky Mountain Naturalist</i> , reviewed by Thomas R. Huffman . . . . .                                                              | 226 |
| DenBoer, ed., <i>The Documentary History of the First Federal Elections, 1788-1790. Volume III</i> , reviewed by David Curtis Skaggs . . . . .                  | 219 |
| Gardner, ed., <i>Redefining the Past: Essays in Diplomatic History in Honor of William Appleman Williams</i> , reviewed by Justus D. Doenecke . . . . .         | 223 |
| Gelfand and Neymeyer, ed., <i>Agricultural Distress in the Midwest, Past and Present</i> , reviewed by Dale E. Treleven . . . . .                               | 228 |
| Green et al., ed., <i>Introduction to Wisconsin Archaeology: Background for Cultural Resource Planning</i> , reviewed by John R. Halsey . . . . .               | 225 |
| Greene, <i>American Immigrant Leaders, 1800-1910: Marginality and Identity</i> , reviewed by Frederick C. Luebke . . . . .                                      | 224 |
| Hamerow, <i>Reflections on History and Historians</i> , reviewed by Ron Briley . . . . .                                                                        | 218 |
| Koppes and Black, <i>Hollywood Goes to War: How Politics, Profits &amp; Propaganda Shaped World War II Movies</i> , reviewed by George H. Roeder, Jr. . . . .   | 231 |
| Reese, <i>Power and the Promise of School Reform: Grass-Roots Movements During the Progressive Era</i> , reviewed by Michael B. Katz . . . . .                  | 221 |
| Richards, <i>The Life and Times of Congressman John Quincy Adams</i> , reviewed by Terry L. Shoptaugh . . . . .                                                 | 222 |
| Taylor, ed., <i>The Northwest Ordinance, 1787: A Bicentennial Handbook</i> , reviewed by Vernon L. Volpe . . . . .                                              | 229 |
| Widen and Anderson, <i>Milwaukee Movie Palaces</i> , reviewed by Paul Woehrmann . . . . .                                                                       | 226 |
| Williams, <i>Fordson, Farmall, and Poppin' Johnny: A History of the Farm Tractor and Its Impact on America</i> , reviewed by Frederick H. Schapsmeier . . . . . | 220 |



## Wisconsin History Checklist

Recently published and currently available Wisconsiniana added to the Society's Library are listed below. The compilers, Gerald R. Eggleston, Acquisitions Librarian, and Susan Dorst, Order Librarian, are interested in obtaining information about (or copies of) items that are not widely advertised, such as publications of local historical societies, family histories and genealogies, privately printed works, and histories of churches, institutions, or organizations. Authors and publishers wishing to reach a wider audience and also to perform a valuable bibliographic service are urged to inform the compilers of their publications, including the following information: author, title, location and name of publisher, date of publication, price, pagination, and address of supplier. Write Susan Dorst, Acquisitions Section.

*1936 to 1986, 50th Anniversary Celebration, Middleton Community Church, United Church of Christ.* (Middleton, Wisconsin, 1986? Pp. 31. Illus. No price listed. Available from Middleton Community Church, 6604 Elmwood Avenue, Middleton, Wisconsin 53562.) Cover title is *Middleton Community Church, 1936-1986*.

*And All Our Yesterdays, Book 1.* (Spring Valley?, Wisconsin, 1986. Pp. 55. Illus. \$3.00 plus \$1.50 postage and handling. Available from Patricia Wiff, Route 2, Box 160, Spring Valley, Wisconsin 54767.)

Baker, Bob. *Wisconsin Rails: a Nostalgic View of Railroading in the Badger State (and Michigan's Upper Peninsula).* (Butler, Wisconsin, 1987. Pp. 155. Illus. \$19.95 plus \$ .75 postage and handling. Available from Wisconsin Chapter, NRHS, P.O. Box 268, Butler, Wisconsin 53007.)

Bernstein, Mark, and Hoest, William. *Paper With Presence: a Gilbert Century.* (Menasha, Wisconsin, c1987. Pp. iv, 204. Illus. No price listed. Available from Sara Hillestad, Advertising Manager, Gilbert Paper, 430 Ahnaip Street, P.O. Box 260, Menasha, Wisconsin 54952-0260.)

Bossenbroek, Albertus G. *Oak Lawn Remembered: Life on the Henry Bossenbroek Farm.* (Hastings-on-Hudson?, New York, 1987. Pp. 60. Illus. No price listed. Available from author, 18 Olinda Avenue, Hastings-on-Hudson, New York 10706.) Reminiscences

of farm life in Fond du Lac county between 1890 and 1928.

*Celebrating Hustiford's 150 Year Heritage.* Hustiford?, Wisconsin, 1987? Pp. 180. Illus. \$6.50. Available from Gloria Hafemeister, N4353 Highway 109, Iron Ridge, Wisconsin 53035.)

Cheek, Philip, and Pointon, Mair. *History of the Sauk County Riflemen Known as Company "A," Sixth Wisconsin Veteran Volunteer Infantry, 1861-1865.* (Gaithersburg, Maryland, Butternut Press, c1984. Pp. xvii, 220. Illus. \$26.50. Available from Old Soldier Books, Inc., Dave Zullo, 18779-B North Frederick Road, Gaithersburg, Maryland 20879.) Reprint of the 1909 edition.

Cushing, Myrtle E. *Cemetery Inscriptions of Sauk County, Wisconsin, Volume 9: Greenwood Cemetery and St. Peter's Lutheran Cemetery, Reedsburg, Wisconsin.* (Sauk City, Wisconsin, 1987. Pp. vi, 175. Illus. \$8.00 plus \$1.00 postage and handling. Available from author, 809 John Adams Street, Sauk City, Wisconsin 53583.)

Davis, Elsie E. *Rock County Churches & Cemeteries.* (Janesville, Wisconsin, c1987. Pp. 38. Illus. \$5.00. Available from Rock County Genealogical Society, c/o Mrs. Donald Davis, 1420 Greenwich Lane, Janesville, Wisconsin 53545.)

*Dunbar Remembered.* (Dunbar, Wisconsin, c1987. Pp. 208. Illus. \$20.00 plus \$3.00 postage and handling. Available from Dunbar Centennial Committee, Route 1, Box 1034, Dunbar, Wisconsin 54119.)

*Early Birth, Marriage and Death Records from Rock County Court House, Book Three.* (Janesville?, Wisconsin, 1987. Pp. 9, 7, 5. \$3.50. Available from Rock County Genealogical Society, c/o Mrs. Donald Davis, 1420 Greenwich Lane, Janesville, Wisconsin 53545.)

*Edwards' Annual Directory of the Inhabitants, Institutions, Incorporated Companies, Manufacturing Establishments, Business, Business Firms,*



- Etc., Etc., in the City of Sheboygan for 1868-9.* (Sheboygan?, Wisconsin, 1987. Pp. 361. Illus. \$8.00. Available from Sheboygan County Historical Society, Sheboygan County Museum, 3110 Erie Avenue, Sheboygan, Wisconsin 53081.)
- Eighmy, Florence (Kubly). *1861 Green Co. Wisconsin Township Maps and Index.* (Denver?, Colorado, 1987. [17], 27 leaves. Illus. No price listed. Available from author, 1991 West Tennessee Avenue, Denver, Colorado 80223.)
- Gray-Fow, Michael. *Boys and Men: a Hundred Year History of Northwestern Military and Naval Academy, 1888-1988.* (Lake Geneva?, Wisconsin, 1988. Pp. 137. Illus. No price listed. Available from Northwestern Military and Naval Academy, Lake Geneva, Wisconsin 53147.)
- Guthrie, Margaret E., and Hintz, William J. *A Taste of the Northwoods: the History of North Star Lodge with Recipes.* (Star Lake?, Wisconsin, c1987. Pp. iv, 178. Illus. \$14.95 plus \$.94 postage and handling. Available from Bookworld Inc., 522 Oneida Avenue, P.O. Box 517, Minocqua, Wisconsin 54548.) The lodge is in Star Lake.
- The Human Prehistory of Western Wisconsin: Archaeological Cultures of the Coulee Region.* (La Crosse, Wisconsin, 1986. Pp. 16. Illus. \$.75. Available from Mississippi Valley Archaeology Center, 1725 State Street, La Crosse, Wisconsin 54601.)
- Index to Marriages in Monroe County, WI for Registration Volumes 1, 2, 3 and 4 from 1855 to 1907.* (Sparta, Wisconsin, c1987. Third edition. Pp. 289. \$10.00. Available from Angelo Books, P.O. Box 145, Sparta, Wisconsin 54656.) Cover title is *Index to: Early Marriage Registrations in Monroe County, WI, 1855 to 1907.*
- Joshua Darling's Town, 1880-1920.* (Darlington, Wisconsin, 1987? Pp. [32]. Illus. \$4.00. Available from Lafayette County Historical Society, 525 Main Street, Darlington, Wisconsin 53530.) Pictorial history of Darlington.
- Kennedy, Kathleen. *Index to Fond du Lac History of Business.* (Oshkosh?, Wisconsin, 1987? Pp. [39]. \$6.00. Available from Winnebago Land Genealogical Society, c/o Kitty O'Connor, 423 Hazel Street, Oshkosh, Wisconsin 54901.) Indexes the publication *Incidents and Anecdotes of Early Days and History of Business in the City and County of Fond du Lac from Early Times to the Present* by A. T. Glaze.
- Kluever, Melvin. *The Descendants of Friedrich Kluever.* (West Bend, Wisconsin, 1987. 47 leaves. No price listed. Available from author, 6822 Eastwood Trail, West Bend, Wisconsin 53095.)
- Lauper, Lucile, and Thompson, Ethelyn. *The Hollandale Review: the History of the Village of Hollandale from 1887 to 1987.* (Hollandale, Wisconsin, 1987. Pp. 93. Illus. \$8.50. Available from Lucile Lauper, Route 1, Hollandale, Wisconsin 53544.)
- Loughney, James B. *Civil War Journal of James B. Loughney, Wis. 28th Regmt., Co. G.,* compiled by James R. Shirey. (New Berlin, Wisconsin, 1986. Pp. 36, [6]. No price listed. Available from James R. Shirey, 17801 West Rogers Drive, New Berlin, Wisconsin 53151.)
- Lynch, Larry, and Lynch, Renee. *A Wisconsin Town and Country Christmas.* (Menomonie, Wisconsin, 1987. Pp. 80. Illus. \$4.95. Available from Hedgerow Press, 1121 Twelfth Street East, Menomonie, Wisconsin 54751.) Christmas traditions of western Wisconsin.
- Marriages for Grant County, WI, Volume 3, Index-Bride & Groom (1890 to 1900),* compiled by the Grant County Genealogical Society. (Glen Haven?, Wisconsin, c1987. 160 leaves. \$15.00 Available from Helen Y. Mumm, 13272 Bluff Street, Glen Haven, Wisconsin 53810.)
- Marriages from the Janesville Gazette, Book 3,*



- 1877–1885. (Janesville, Wisconsin, c1987. Pp. [47]. \$5.00. Available from Rock County Genealogical Society, Box 711, Janesville, Wisconsin 53547.)
- Memories Around the Square.* (East Troy, Wisconsin, 1987. Pp. [26]. Illus. No price listed. Available from East Troy Area Historical Society, P.O. Box 722, East Troy, Wisconsin 53120.) History of East Troy businesses built around the village square.
- 1936 to 1986, 50th Anniversary Celebration, Middleton Community Church, United Church of Christ.* (Middleton, Wisconsin, 1986? Pp. 31. Illus. No price listed. Available from Middleton Community Church, 6604 Elmwood, Avenue, Middleton, Wisconsin 53562.) Cover title is *Middleton Community Church, 1936–1986.*
- Old Belmont–New Belmont,* compiled by Marilyn Hill and Marilyn Aebersold. (Darlington?, Wisconsin, 1986. Pp. 40. Illus. \$4.00. Available from Lafayette County Historical Society, 525 Main Street, Darlington, Wisconsin 53530.) This pictorial booklet commemorates the sesquicentennial of the first Wisconsin territorial legislative session.
- Pedigree Charts of Milwaukee County Genealogical Society, Inc.* (Milwaukee, Wisconsin, 1985. Pp. 391. [48]. \$15.00 plus \$2.00 postage and handling. Available from Milwaukee County Genealogical Society, P.O. Box 27326, Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53227.)
- Pierce County's Heritage, Volume Seven,* edited by Ursula Peterson. (River Falls, Wisconsin, c1987. Second edition. Pp. 168. Illus. \$11.50 plus \$1.30 postage and handling. Available from Ursula Peterson, Pierce County Historical Association, 936 West Maple Street, River Falls, Wisconsin 54022.)
- Rentmeester, Les, and Rentmeester, Jeanne. *The Wisconsin Creoles.* (Melbourne, Florida, c1987. Pp. vi, 374. Illus. No price listed. Available from Colonel and Mrs. Lester F. Rentmeester, USAF (Ret.), 1131 Rivermont Drive, Melbourne, Florida 32935.)
- A Research Guide to Winnebago Co. Wisconsin.* (Oshkosh?, Wisconsin, 1987? Pp. [14]. Illus. \$3.00. Available from Winnebago Land Genealogical Society, Kitty O'Connor, 423 Hazel Street, Oshkosh, Wisconsin 54901.)
- Riis, Dick. *Danbury Diamond Anniversary History, 1912–1987.* (Danbury, Wisconsin, Danbury Diamond Anniversary Committee, 1987. Pp. 93. Illus. \$8.00 plus \$1.19 postage and handling. Available from First American Bank, Danbury, Wisconsin 54830.)
- Schmidt, Ruth. *North of the Bark: the Story of Our Farm—the North End of the Village of Merton.* (Merton?, Wisconsin, c1987. Pp. 150. Illus. No price listed. Available from author, Merton, Wisconsin 53056-0554.)
- Shadows on the Wolf.* (Shiocton, Wisconsin, c1987. Pp. 119, [9]. Illus. \$12.95. Available from Shiocton History Project, c/o Shiocton High School, Shiocton, Wisconsin 54170.)
- Shekleton, Margaret. *Bending in Season: History of the North American Province of the Sisters of the Divine Savior, 1895 to 1985.* (Milwaukee, Wisconsin, 1985. Pp. xiv, 423. Illus. \$20.00 hardcover; \$15.00 softcover. Available from Sisters of the Divine Savior, 4311 North 100th Street, Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53222.)
- Stuck, Maurice. *A Highway of Wood: A New Life for an Old Stagecoach Road (Watertown Plank Road) and Preservation of the Historic Dousman-Dunkel-Behling Home.* (Brookfield, Wisconsin, 1987? Pp. [16]. Illus. \$2.50. Available from Elmbrook Historical Society, P.O. Box 292, Brookfield, Wisconsin 53005.)
- Wagner, Karen P., and Mumm, Helen Y. *Some Grant County Wisconsin Genealogical Sources.*



(Glen Haven?, Wisconsin, Grant County Genealogical Society, 1987. Pp. 16. Illus. \$1.50. Available from Helen Y. Mumm, 13272 Bluff Street, Glen Haven, Wisconsin 53810.)

Wilson, Victoria, and Wilson, Nicole. *Genealogist's Guide to Southwestern Wisconsin*. (Grawn, Michigan, c1987. Pp. 40. \$5.00 plus \$1.50 postage and handling. Available from Kinseeker Publications, P.O. Box 184, Grawn, Michigan 49637.)

Wilson, Victoria. *Genealogist's Guide to Northwestern Wisconsin*. (Grawn, Michigan, c1987. Pp. 27. \$5.00 plus \$1.50 postage and handling. Available from Kinseeker Publications, P.O. Box 184, Grawn, Michigan 49637.)

Winnebago County Church Records Survey. (Oshkosh?, Wisconsin, 1987?. 1 vol. \$12.00. Available from Winnebago Land Genealogical Society, c/o Kitty O'Connor, 423 Hazel Street, Oshkosh, Wisconsin 54901.)

Zellie, Carole. *Caring for Historic Houses in Janesville: Guideline for Residential Rehabilitation*. (Janesville, Wisconsin, 1987. Pp. 20. Illus. No price listed. Available from Judith Adler, Assistant to the Director of Community Development, Department of Community Development, City of Janesville, Municipal Building, 18 North Jackson Street, Janesville, Wisconsin 53545.)

Zellie, Carole. *Look West Historic District: a Guide*. (Janesville, Wisconsin, 1987. Pp. 25. Illus. No price listed. Available from Judith Adler, Assistant to the Director of Community Development, Department of Community Development, City of Janesville, Municipal Building, 18 North Jackson Street, Janesville, Wisconsin 53545.) The District is part of Janesville's old First Ward.

Zwingli United Church of Christ, 1887-1987. (Monticello, Wisconsin, 1987. Pp. 24. Illus. \$5.00. Available from Zwingli United Church of Christ, 426 East Lake Avenue, Monticello, Wisconsin 53570.)

*The view from Brady's Bluff shelterhouse, Perrot State Park, October, 1985. Photo by Carol Ahlgren.*





## Accessions

Services for microfilming, xeroxing, and photostating all but certain restricted items in its manuscript collections are provided by the Society.

### Small Collections

Barnes-Bailey genealogical chart compiled by *Walter D. Barnes*, Baltimore, Maryland, ca. 1930, recording the descendants of William Barns (?–1720), an Englishman who settled in Maryland in 1669; presented by L. P. Richmond, Dayton, Ohio.

Fragmentary papers, 1934–1974 (mainly 1937–1941), of *Laurie E. Carlson* (1908—), a former Progressive assemblyman from Bayfield and clerk of court for Dane County, consisting of speeches and radio addresses, a microfilmed clipping scrapbook, papers written about Carlson by a 1939 political science class which he addressed at Lawrence University, and miscellany; presented by Mr. Carlson, Waunakee.

Papers, 1947–1967, of *William R. Conners*, a former business agent for Local 13 (Madison, Wisconsin) of the Bricklayers, Masons, and Plasterers International Union of America who later served as a national vice-president and secretary. The papers consist of fragmentary correspondence, diaries (1943–1948) providing a day-to-day record of his activities as business agent, speeches and notes, newsclippings, and other biographical material. The correspondence contains exchanges over alleged racial discrimination by the Milwaukee local. Presented by Mr. Conners, Madison.

An undated history of the 20th Regiment Wisconsin Volunteer Infantry from 1862 to August, 1865, with emphasis on Company C, written by Private *James Farley*; including an account of the capture of Fort Morgan and Gaines in Mobile Bay; presented by Bernard S. Farley, Wenatchee, Washington.

“Parson Jim,” a 1983 biography of *James C. Flint* (1910–1980), concerning his youth in Massachusetts, his years as a campus Congregational pastor (1936–1942) at the University

of Wisconsin, relief work in Germany after World War II, and activities in the U.S. foreign service in Germany, Pakistan, Rhodesia, Yemen, Jordan, and Nepal (1951–1970); written by *Lawrence R. Flint*; presented by the Wisconsin Conference of the United Church of Christ, Madison.

A pocket diary, 1860, kept by *A. J. Hodges*, a farmer near Wyocena, Columbia County, Wisconsin, plus several other documents, 1856–1894, concerning members of the Hodges family; presented by the Wisconsin State Treasurer’s Office with other unclaimed safety deposit box materials.

Miscellaneous papers, 1916–1959, of *Solomon Levitan* (1862–1940), a Lithuanian Jewish immigrant, Madison merchant, and Wisconsin State Treasurer, consisting of microfilmed speech cards, 1924–1938; fragmentary correspondence including letters from Robert E. Wood concerning Levitan’s attempt to secure employment with the U.S. Treasurer in 1939, and a letter from David Sarnoff concerning a complaint from Levitan about Father Coughlin’s radio broadcasts; letters from Levitan and others to his daughter, Esther Levitan Goldstine, primarily concerning family matters; a 1938 financial statement; a few pieces of campaign literature; biographical clippings; and photographs (in the Visual and Sound Archives name file). Presented by Rabbi Joseph Baron, Milwaukee, Esther Goldstine, Madison, and Roberta Marcus, Madison.

An incomplete file, 1965–1966, of “Wisconsin on the Line,” a newsletter published by *McDonald Davis & Associates*, a Milwaukee advertising agency well known for its work in behalf of Wisconsin Republican candidates. Subjects discussed generally include state and national politics; transferred from State Archives.

An account of the Federal Writers’ Project of the Works Progress Administration as it operated in Wisconsin, written in 1941 by *Harold E. Miner*, former assistant state supervisor of the Project; accompanied by four 1942 letters from Project co-workers. Included is information on staffing problems and political pressures; presented by Mr. Miner, Silver Springs, Maryland.

Miscellaneous papers, 1859–1917, of *Robert Monteith*, a captain in the 7th Wisconsin Volunteers in the Civil War; consisting of ordinance reports, letters recommending him for promotion, and other official documents; a notebook, 1859–1883, probably kept by Mon-



teith, concerning travel and social engagements; copies of newspaper articles written by Mary Welch Monteith concerning Camp Randall and the early days of Madison; a letter to her father from a rejected suitor; and a 1908 letter from Jesse Thwaites concerning the State Historical Society's Sheldon Memorial Art Fund; presented by Mrs. R. L. Hall, Milwaukee.

Letters and literature received from presidential candidates and their supporters by *Hubert R. Murphy*, Fond du Lac, Wisconsin, after being named a delegate to the 1960 Democratic National Convention; presented by Mr. Murphy, Fond du Lac.

List of film work prints, outtakes, and other pre-print materials of *National Educational Television*, all in the custody of the Public Broadcasting System, Washington, D.C.; compiled ca. 1984.

Records, 1950–1968, of the Wisconsin unit of the *National Student Nurses Association* including lists of officers, convention programs, minutes, newsletters, correspondence, and some records of the Madison District Student Nurses Association; presented by the state association via Donna Bienlein, Fond du Lac, and with records of WNA District 3.

Miscellaneous papers, 1940–1950, of *William E. Sanderson* (1902–1952), secretary to Congressman Merlin Hull, consisting of correspondence on Sanderson's desire for appointment as administrator of the Rural Electrification Administration, form letters to supporters in his 1950 senatorial campaign, an undated biographical sketch written by his grandchildren, and a campaign speech for Hull; presented by Jeanne Sanderson Palmer, Washington, D.C.

Papers, 1952, pertaining to the unsuccessful Republican primary campaign of *Leonard F. Schmitt* (1902—), a Merrill attorney, against Senator Joseph R. McCarthy; including fragmentary correspondence from supporters such as William Benton, Ralph Imnell, Philip La Follette, Henry Reuss, and Carey McWilliams; campaign literature; lists of contributors; and a sample of questions submitted during talkathons; presented by Mr. Schmitt, Merrill, and Charles Higbie, Madison.

Papers, 1864, 1886–1896, 1906, of *Charles M. Smith* (1846–1897), secretary of the reunion committee and a former member of Company F, 16th Wisconsin Infantry Regiment; consisting of correspondence, lists of

deceased members and reunion attendees, obituaries, notices, and minutes of reunions. Also included is an account by Smith of the service record of Company F, and within the minutes is a transcribed letter dated July 23, 1864, of Company Captain Joseph Craig. Presented by Frederick L. Smith, Rochester, Minnesota.

Miscellaneous papers, 1918–1925, of *Louise Walter Smith* (1891?–1965?), a Red Cross nurse from La Crosse, Wisconsin, consisting of two extensively annotated photo scrapbooks concerning her training and work at various AEF hospitals in France in 1918 and in establishing a public health hospital and orphanage in Poland, 1919–1921. Also included is a service record, a short paper on Red Cross work in Poland, Red Cross publications, and a few incoming letters. Presented by Herbert A. Smith via the Wisconsin Nurses Association.

Two volumes of field notes from bird-watching activities in Wisconsin, 1920–1923, of *Herbert L. Stoddard*, noted ornithologist who was at the time employed by the Milwaukee Public Museum; presented by Owen J. Gromme, Briggsville, via Walter E. Scott.

Papers, 1930–1978, concerning Senator Joseph R. McCarthy, preserved by *Urban P. Van Susteren*, an Outagamie County judge and friend of McCarthy; consisting of photographs, legal material pertaining to a corrupt practices suit filed after McCarthy's court election in 1940; lists of contributors and campaign material from McCarthy's 1944 and 1946 senatorial campaign; correspondence with Thomas Reeves, a McCarthy biographer, and others concerning the senator's life and historical reputation; and four microfilmed clipping scrapbooks on McCarthy's career, 1930–1954. The scrapbooks are of unknown origin, although Van Susteren may have added to them. Placed on deposit by Judge Van Susteren, Appleton.

Miscellaneous papers, 1855, 1898–1918, pertaining to *Clement E. Warner* (1836–1916), a one-time state legislator and colonel of the 36th Wisconsin Infantry; including an account by Warner of Lee's surrender and preceding events, recollections of his career, and an 1855 letter to Herbert Lewis of Sun Prairie discussing capital politics. Also included are 11 pocket diaries, 1898, 1909–1918, apparently of Frances Elizabeth Warner (b. 1846), sister of Clement Warner. A graduate of Downer College and former Madison school teacher, she resided at the Warner family



homestead in Windsor and cared for her mother. Presented by Fred A. Risser, Madison.

Records, 1964–1965, of *Wisconsin Scientists, Engineers and Physicians for Johnson-Humphrey*, a chapter of a national nonpartisan organization formed to support the presidential candidacy of Lyndon Johnson. Included is correspondence (including letters from both opponents and supporters), press releases, copies of signed newspaper ads, and literature distributed by the group. Presented by Carl Link, Madison.

Miscellaneous papers, 1850–1935, of *Albert*

*G. Zimmerman* (1862–1935), former Dane County and circuit court judge and law partner of Robert M. La Follette, Sr.; including information on two automobiles he owned, one of which received Wisconsin license plate No. 1; letters and legal documents concerning Daniel G. Brown (Mrs. Zimmerman's father) and the Brown family; correspondence, 1900 and 1906, with La Follette concerning plans for the La Follette gubernatorial administration and the 1906 election, and microfilmed clippings, 1886–1938, documenting his political and judicial career; presented by Mrs. A. G. Zimmerman.



CCC workers toiling in a limestone quarry in Vernon County, September, 1939. Farm Security Administration photo.

LC-USF34/60151



## Contributors

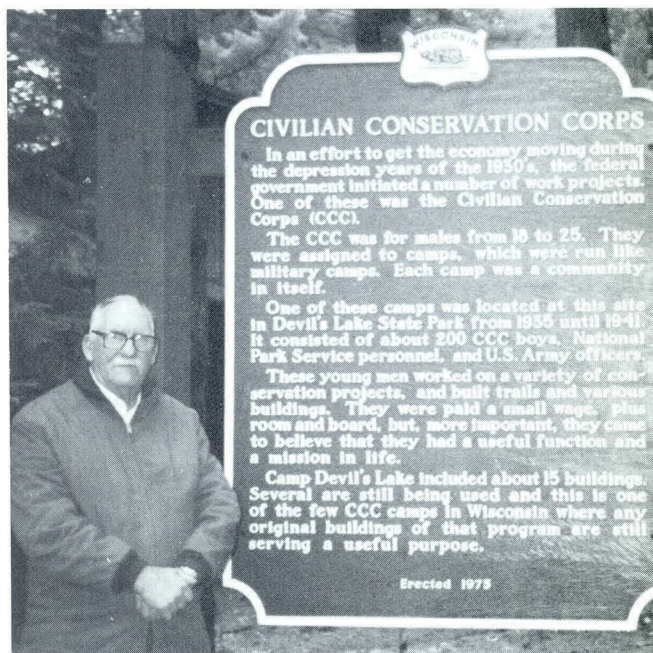


NANCY OESTREICH LURIE, a native of Milwaukee, is head curator of the anthropology section at the Milwaukee Public Museum. She holds a bachelor's degree from the University of Wisconsin (1945), a master's degree from the University of Chicago (1947), and a doctorate from Northwestern University (1952). Prior to taking her present position in 1972, she was a professor in the department of anthropology, University of Wisconsin–Milwaukee. Dr. Lurie began field work among the Wisconsin Winnebago in 1944 and has continued study among them to the present time. During the 1950's she did field work with the Nebraska Winnebago. Other major field work from 1959 through the 1960's was conducted among the Dogrib Indians of the Canadian Northwest Territories. She also has worked with the Menominee Indians and the intertribal Indian community in Milwaukee. She is a past president of the American Anthropological Association (1983–1985) and the author of *Wisconsin Indians*, published by the Historical Society and now in its third printing (1987) of the revised edition.

DAVID S. ROUSE was born in Marinette. His family moved to Milwaukee six years later, and Mr. Rouse grew up in the city, attending North Division High School. After his two enlistment periods in the CCC, described in his reminiscences in this issue, he married his wife Esther in 1940 and began working for the Allen-Bradley Company in 1941, from which he retired in 1982. Since retiring, he has been a member of Washington Writers, an affiliate of the Wisconsin Regional Writer's Association, and is the recording secretary of Raconteurs, Inc., a men's writing club.



CAROL AHLGREN grew up on a family farm in northwestern Wisconsin. She attended Beloit College and received a bachelor's degree in history from that institution in 1979. While pursuing her long-standing interest in the 1930's in a senior history seminar, she began utilizing oral history in her research. Her article in this issue is drawn from her graduate thesis, prepared in the historic preservation program area of the department of landscape architecture of the University of Wisconsin–Madison. Ms. Ahlgren is currently employed as an architectural historian with the state historic preservation office in Lincoln, Nebraska.





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*Foreman Emil Bellinger (left) and his CCC trail crew at Perrot State Park, summer, 1936. Photo courtesy Emil Bellinger. Articles on the CCC in Wisconsin begin on pages 184 and 205.*

