

THE GREEN-BAY INTELLIGENCER AND WISCONSIN DEMOCRAT,

WISCONSIN'S PIONEER PRESS

by

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CHAPTER I

ORIGINS OF THE GREEN-BAY INTELLIGENCER AND THE WISCONSIN DEMOCRAT

The Green-Bay Intelligencer, the first newspaper in Wisconsin, began publication December 11, 1833, in a pioneer outpost of the western part of Michigan Territory. Located at the point where the Fox River empties into Green Bay, an arm of Lake Michigan, the village of Green Bay was on the water route from the East to the Mississippi River via the Erie Canal, Great Lakes, and the winding Fox and Wisconsin Rivers.

In 1833 about four hundred rude log huts, whitewashed with lime, dotted both sides of the Fox River for about six miles upstream from the Bay. The inhabitants of the village were retired French fur trappers, half breeds, Menominee Indians, and about sixteen American families. The land was cleared about a half mile to three miles back from the river, and about 2,500 acres were under cultivation. On the west bank of the Fox River less than a mile above its entrance into Green Bay and overlooking the tiny settlement stood Fort Howard, an American army post built in 1816. The rest

was wilderness.¹

Albert G. Ellis, co-publisher of the first issue of Green Bay's paper, came to the settlement in 1822 via the Great Lakes route from a farm near Verona, New York. Ellis, an expert printer, planned to establish a newspaper as soon as he could earn enough money to buy a press, paper and ink. In the meantime, he taught in the Episcopal Mission School, surveyed public and private lands, and did a bit of job printing.^{1a}

In the winter of 1830-31 Ellis accompanied Samuel C. Stambaugh, Indian Agent, to Washington as secretary of a delegation of Menominee and Oneida Indians to negotiate a treaty. While he was in Washington, Ellis circulated a prospectus for the newspaper he planned to publish in Green Bay. On his return trip in April, 1831, he stopped at Detroit to contract for a Ramage press and some fonts of type, relying on Stambaugh's promise to give him financial help. However, Stambaugh had spent all his money and could not even pay Ellis his wages for the trip. So the plans for the

¹Green-Bay Intelligencer, December 25, 1833, p. 1. For descriptions of early Green Bay, see Ella H. Neville, Sarah G. Martin, and Deborah B. Martin, Historic Green Bay, 1634-1840 (Green Bay, 1893); Juliette A. Kinzie (Mrs. John H. Kinzie), Wau-bun, the "Early Day" in the North-west (New York, 1956); Albert G. Ellis, "Fifty-Four Years' Recollections of Men and Events in Wisconsin," Wisconsin Historical Society, Collections, reprint ed., VII (Madison, 1908), 207-268.

^{1a}In 1827 Ellis did the first printing west of Lake Michigan when he printed 1,000 lottery tickets for John P. Arndt, a Green Bay merchant whose store had burned. For biographical data on Ellis, see Dictionary of Wisconsin Biography, (Madison, 1960), 117.

newspaper had to wait.²

In November, 1833, Ellis returned to Green Bay from a surveying trip to find that John V. Suydam, a former teacher at the Episcopal Mission School, had bought the Ramage press at Detroit and was planning to publish a newspaper. While Suydam waited for the press and supplies to arrive from Detroit, he searched for office space. Finding none, he built a small log structure on Main Street. He hired Peter Vieau, an ex-pupil, as chore boy. As soon as the building was finished and the type and press arrived, Suydam and Vieau made two ink balls of buckskin filled with wool and did some crude job printing. Neither Suydam nor Vieau were experts at setting type so Suydam hired an ex-soldier, John Wade, who had been a printer, but Wade was so inefficient and unreliable that Suydam fired him after a month on the job. When Ellis offered to set type, Suydam not only accepted but offered him a partnership.³

So Suydam and Ellis published the first issue of the Green-Bay Intelligencer, a four-page sheet measuring ten by sixteen inches with four columns of type. The page looked like a dense mass of ink because the type, either brevier or minion, was set with little space between columns or between stories. Rules were used to separate the columns. The

²Milwaukee Sentinel, December 20, 1885.

³Ibid.; Peter J. Vieau, "Narrative of Peter J. Vieau," Wisconsin Historical Society, Collections, XV (1900), 458-469. For biographical data on John V. Suydam, see Dictionary of Wisconsin Biography, 344.

Ramage press was sturdily built with frames and platens of wood and bed of marble, but it required strong muscles and great patience to operate. After the printer had set the type by hand, the printer's devil laid a sheet of paper on the type bed which he cranked up under the platen. Then he pulled the lever which made the impression. Since the platen on the Ramage press was only half the size of the bed, two pulls of the lever were necessary to print one side of a sheet.⁴

The first issue had fourteen columns of reading matter which included an Indian legend, petitions for improvement of the Fox and Wisconsin rivers, government circulars concerning preemption claims, several letters to the editors, a long editorial, and poetry. There were two columns of advertisements which contained the few illustrations in the paper. These illustrations were small conventional woodcuts of stages, steamboats, stoves, beaver hats, saddles, or a hand with the index finger pointing to an important item. These advertisements were printed "on the usual terms" and a liberal deduction was given to those who advertised for a whole year.⁵

The Green-Bay Intelligencer was intended to be a semi-monthly publication but the issues were irregular.

⁴Douglas C. McMurtrie, Early Printing in Wisconsin: With a Bibliography of the Issues of the Press, 1833-1850 (Seattle, 1931) 13-16; Roscoe C. Buley, The Old Northwest, Pioneer Period, 1815-1840 (Indianapolis, 1950), II, 496-513.

⁵Green-Bay Intelligencer, December 11, 1833, p. 4.

Only twenty issues were published in the eighteen months after December 11, 1833. The irregularity of publication was excusable because of the difficulties that beset all pioneer printers--lack of paper, ink, labor, paid subscriptions, and lack of news because of irregular mail deliveries. The editors promised weekly issues and improved typography as soon as navigation opened if the circulation warranted it. The subscription rate was \$2.00 a year, payable in advance. Any person who solicited five subscriptions received one free.⁶

In his first editorial, Ellis stated that he had "one principal object in view, viz., the advancement of the country west of Lake Michigan." He added that political factions had not developed in the western part of Michigan Territory and that he would not encourage their growth. Since he was "wedded to no faction", Ellis was free, he said, to speak his mind about men and measures.⁷

Suydam left after the publication of the fourth number on January 22, 1834, and Ellis continued alone. By March of that year he had secured a contract to print the laws of Michigan Territory. Laws passed at the sixth session of the Legislative Council appeared on the 19th that month and succeeding issues carried further enactments. This contract provided some financial help for the struggling paper, and more help came on June 27, 1835, when Charles

⁶Ibid.

⁷Ibid., p. 2.

C. P. Arndt became a partner. The paper added "and Wisconsin Democrat" to its masthead at this time to signify its political allegiance.

On September 5, 1835, twenty-one months after publication of the first issue, the Green-Bay Intelligencer and Wisconsin Democrat completed the first volume of twenty-six issues. With the beginning of the second volume on September 12, 1835, the paper became a weekly but the size and price remained the same.

That same summer Morgan L. Martin, a member of the Legislative Council of Michigan Territory since 1831, and James D. Doty's cousin and protege, established the Wisconsin Free Press to promote his campaign for delegate to Congress from the lopped-off portion of Michigan Territory that would become Wisconsin Territory as soon as the Michigan statehood bill passed Congress. Martin appointed William Stevenson publisher and Joseph Dickinson editor of the new paper which was the organ of the coalition of conservative Democrats and Whigs. The prospectus announced that "the Free Press will be purely a Democratic paper, and will sustain as far as its influence may be exerted, Martin Van Buren as President, and Richard M. Johnson as Vice President, at the coming election."⁸ The new paper was thus a rival of the Green-Bay Intelligencer which backed the liberal wing of

⁸Wisconsin Free Press, October 2, 1835, p. 1. For biographical information on Morgan L. Martin, see Reuben G. Thwaites, "Sketch of Morgan L. Martin," Wisconsin Historical Society, Collections, XI (1888), 380-384, Dictionary of Wisconsin Biography, 241-2.

the Democrats headed by Stevens T. Mason, Acting Governor of Michigan, John Norvell, Postmaster at Detroit, and James D. Doty, who wanted the seat in Congress, too. Ellis grumbled that the Wisconsin Free Press was Morgan L. Martin's organ "started to publish him into office," but he did not mention the fact that he had decided that summer to back Doty's campaign despite his former doubts about Doty's loyalty to the Democratic Party. The split in the Democratic Party at Green Bay meant that Martin and Doty cancelled out each other's votes. Martin received ten more votes than Doty, but George W. Jones, the lead region candidate won the congressional seat. When the election was over, Martin sold the Wisconsin Free Press to Ellis and Arndt who were happy to buy out a political and business competitor, and to add its press and type fonts to their own.⁹

Even though Ellis and Arndt obtained the contract for legislative printing in June, 1835, and were the printers for the sessions of the Michigan Legislative Council at Green Bay in January, 1836, they could not keep afloat financially. Their editorials pleaded for payment of subscriptions, but the readers of the Green-Bay Intelligencer and Wisconsin Democrat were just as short of cash as were

⁹Green-Bay Intelligencer, October 10, 1835, p. 3; Laws of the Territory of Michigan, III, 1416-1417; Ellis to Lyon, December 8, 20, 21, 1833 in the Lyon Papers in the William L. Clements Library, Ann Arbor, Michigan cited in Alice E. Smith, James Duane Doty, Frontier Promoter (Madison, 1954), 143-144, 148-150.

the editors. Although Ellis and Arndt made valiant efforts to continue publication as a weekly, their newspaper did not survive the summer of 1836. The last issue was dated June 1, 1836. In August they sold the paper to Charles C. and Henry O. Sholes, experienced editors who had come to Green Bay the previous month.¹⁰

The Sholes brothers shortened the name of the paper to Wisconsin Democrat, increased its size to fourteen by twenty inches with five columns, and printed their first issue on September 1, 1836. They continued the serial numbering of the previous paper by numbering their first issue as Volume Two, Number 43, although several weeks had elapsed since the last issue of the Green-Bay Intelligencer and Wisconsin Democrat, Volume Two, Number 27, had appeared on June 1.

The subscription price was increased to \$2.50 a year if paid in advance. If not, the rate was \$3.00 a year. The new publishers refused to accept subscriptions for less than six months. They announced that they would ignore all letters to the editors that were not postpaid. The Wisconsin Democrat usually carried three to four columns of advertising and sometimes there were two pages of advertisements. Advertisements cost \$1.00 per square inch for three inser-

¹⁰McMurtrie, 21-23. For biographical data on Charles C. and Henry O. Sholes see Dictionary of Wisconsin Biography, 326; Works Progress Administration, Federal Writers Project, field notes (MSS) in Library of State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

ions; and for every subsequent insertion the cost was twenty-five cents per square.¹¹

Henry O. Sholes left the Wisconsin Democrat in November, 1836, and Charles C. Sholes became sole owner and editor. The issue of December 22, 1836, carried an advertisement on page four which stated the editorial policy of the Wisconsin Democrat. Like its predecessor, the new paper's policy was "to advance the interests and prosperity of Wisconsin Territory" and to "keep aloof from party." Like its predecessor, the Wisconsin Democrat suffered from insufficient financial support, irregularity of the mails, and difficulty of obtaining printers and paper, so that the paper often failed to appear on schedule, if at all.

Although he announced that he did not intend to print politically controversial items, Sholes promised to keep his readers informed about the activities of the Legislative Council and the United States Congress. Sholes not only published Legislative Council news, he also participated in making the news as a member of the House of Representatives of the Wisconsin Territorial Assembly from 1837 to 1840. Sholes also did some of the territorial printing in 1837, 1838, and 1839.

For eight months, April to November, 1839, Sholes was a partner in the Wisconsin Enquirer, edited at Madison by Josiah A. Noonan. Sholes continued to edit the Wisconsin Democrat at Green Bay. Then in the spring of 1840, after a

¹¹Wisconsin Democrat, September 1, 1836, p. 1.

fire in Green Bay's business district, Sholes ceased publication of the Wisconsin Democrat. He moved his equipment to Southport (Kenosha) where it was used to establish the Southport Telegraph in June.¹²

Both the Green-Bay Intelligencer and the Wisconsin Democrat carried a great amount of political news, including the laws of the territory and of the United States. The accounts of debates in the legislative assemblies and in the Congress showed the struggle for territorial status, for choice of a capital site, and for internal improvements, pre-emption laws, and banking laws. The editorials, letters to the editors, advertisements, reprints of manuals of etiquette, and notices of lyceum and temperance meetings indicated the social life of the period.

The newspaper not only mirrored pioneer community life but also served as a vehicle for promoting the growth and development of the territory.

¹²McMurtrie, p. 24.

CHAPTER II

MIRRORS OF COMMUNITY LIFE

The newspapers in Green Bay reflected community life through the advertisements which offered food, furniture, clothing, medicines, and furnishings, from pins, needles, and calico for the housewife, to shovels, axes, and guns for the farmer. Editorials and letters to the editor mirrored the desire of the settlers for schools, books, and churches. The manners and morals of the age shine through the editorials on child training, on the duties of wives, on temperance, and education. Notices of marriages, divorces, births, and deaths reflected happiness, social conflict, and bereavement. The literature reprinted in the newspapers indicated the preoccupation of the people of the 1830's with sentimental romances, with success stories of men who rose from rags to riches, or of those who fell from riches to rags. The Yankees who came to Green Bay believed in the Puritan philosophy that material success was a sign of God's blessing on a thrifty, hard-working man. They also believed that the Demon Rum caused the downfall of those who ended their lives in the poorhouse, and so they promoted the crusade for temperance, and urged all to sign the pledge of total abstinence. In addition to giving a concrete picture of the

kinds of fashions, furniture, and food of Green Bay, the advertisements also provided financial support for the newspaper and gave the merchant a showcase for his goods.

The first business men who established their stores in and around Green Bay contributed materially to the support of the newspaper. The advertisements of John P. Arndt, Daniel Whitney, Alexander J. Irwin, Peter White, the firm of Dequindre & Eberts, and many others who came later, provided the capital Ellis and Sholes needed in order to publish because subscribers were few and often remiss in their payments.¹

The advertisements also reflected the advances made in the construction of the settlers' homes and stores. In the early period the homes were made of logs set upright in the ground, plastered over with clay, roofed with bark, and whitewashed. Homes of the wealthy were of squared logs laid horizontally and dove-tailed at the corners. After Daniel Whitney established his sawmill up the Little Kakalin, and John P. Arndt started the Hill Creek Mills, more and more homes were made of sawed lumber.²

Daniel Whitney was one of the most enterprising of the Yankee business men who came to Wisconsin Territory. He bought land on the site of Green Bay in 1829 and laid out

¹Green-Bay Intelligencer, December 11, 1833, p. 3; December 25, 1833, pp. 3, 4.

²Ibid.; Deborah B. Martin, History of Brown County, Wisconsin, Past and Present (Chicago, 1913), I, 181-183, 188; William F. Raney, Wisconsin, A Story of Progress (New York, 1940), 200.

the town of Navarino. By 1830 he had completed a wharf and warehouse, and had also built a hotel, the Washington House, a school, and several houses for the carpenters in his employ. He had warehouses all along the river and ran his own steamers.³

From 1830 to 1840 Whitney continued building operations as fast as materials and necessary supplies could be obtained. He continued to advertise his various business interests in the Green-Bay Intelligencer and Wisconsin Democrat. In return, Ellis wrote a long article describing the plot of Navarino and praising the enterprise of the proprietor. Ellis wrote that Navarino now had 60 buildings and that every shop and house was occupied. He also pointed out that the prospect of the sale of public lands in the vicinity was putting new life and vigor into the area and suggested that Whitney should set aside a square for public buildings.⁴

Ellis was enthusiastic, too, about other signs of progress in Green Bay. He mentioned that J. P. Arndt was building a schooner, the "Wisconsin", which would be launched in August, 1835. "This is the first vessel undertaken on this side of the lake," said Ellis. He added that there was a rumor to the effect that soon a steamboat would ply between Lake Winnebago and the Wisconsin Portage.⁵

³Martin, History of Brown County, I, 48-55; Ella H. Neville, Sarah G. Martin and Deborah B. Martin, Historic Green Bay, 1634-1840 (Green Bay, Wis., 1893), 199-200.

⁴Green-Bay Intelligencer, April 9, 1835, pp. 2,3.

⁵Ibid.

By December 30, 1835, the Green-Bay Intelligencer and Wisconsin Democrat was boasting that "not less than 50 houses, stores, and warehouses to cost \$75,000 would be erected in Navarino and Astor next season," and that Whitney was about to add 400 lots to the plat of Navarino on the north side of the East River. As an inducement to settlers who found lots in Green Bay too expensive, Ellis wrote that the plat of the new town of Fond du Lac had been surveyed and 700 lots would be ready for sale within a week.⁶

The newspapers reflected living conditions in Green Bay through the advertisements for tools, kitchen equipment, furniture and furnishings. The early arrivals usually brought the bare minimum of furniture and bulkier equipment because of the high cost of transportation. They first purchased the essential tools, such as saws, axes, shovels and crude plows. They used nail kegs for chairs and made rough plank beds. Then when their financial condition had improved, and when transportation via the Erie Canal and the Great Lakes became faster and cheaper, they bought finer furniture and the latest patent stoves.⁷

Dequindre & Eberts advertised many of the articles needed by new settlers, including various kinds of saws, knives, locks and percussion caps, as well as kitchenware, such as

⁶Ibid., Dec. 30, 1835, p. 2.

⁷Larry Gara, A Short History of Wisconsin (Madison, 1962), 48; H. Russell Austin, The Wisconsin Story, the Building of a Vanguard State (Milwaukee, 1948), 51; Mrs. John H. Kinzie, Wau-Bun, the Early Day in the Northwest, ed. by Louise Phelps Kellogg (Menasha, Wis., 1948), 83-84.

frying pans, tea cans, and tablespoons. Near-sighted readers of the newspapers could purchase Rogers spectacles, and there were fish hooks for fishermen, and latches and screws for carpenters.⁸

By 1835 inventions were spreading to the frontier. F. H. Stevens of Detroit advertised in the Green-Bay Intelligencer and Wisconsin Democrat "Stanley's Patent Rotary Stoves for sale at manufacturer's prices, adding transportation." This new stove had many improvements. The advertiser pointed out the salient ones: a tin oven furnished with a rack which could be raised and lowered, and a circular plate which could be turned by a crank to bring the top baking element nearer the fire.⁹

Although essential items of hardware and cooking equipment were available in the store in 1835, it was not until 1839 that fine furniture began to be advertised. William Mitchell advertised in the Wisconsin Democrat of February 5, 1839, a number of items of furniture such as hair sofas, bureaus, dressing tables, dining tables, tea tables, mahogany work stands, bedsteads, rocking chairs, fancy chairs, and common chairs. In that same issue, Brainard and Jones advertised "a large assortment of furniture for sale at reduced prices for cash."

Just as the early settlers had to make their own crude furniture until improvement in transportation made it easier

⁸Green-Bay Intelligencer, December 25, 1833, p. 4.

⁹Ibid., December 2, 1835, p. 3.

to import furniture from the East, so, too, they were forced to live off the land for a great part of the year, especially during the period when the lakes were frozen.

In the early days butter was scarce. Although the French had kept some "black cattle", these were not enough to provide milk, butter and cheese for the increased population. Sugar was scarce, too, but "Wisconsin in the early days was one big apiary. There was honey in hollow trees everywhere. And sugar maples grew on many hillsides." In the spring the Yankees followed the lead of their French neighbors and went out to the sugar maple groves to collect the sap, boil it down and make cakes of maple sugar. Wisconsin woods also provided berries, hickory nuts, butternuts, black walnuts, hazelnuts, crabapples and an abundance of wild game such as pheasants, turkey, deer, and bear.¹⁰

As settlement advanced, more goods were available in the general stores in Green Bay. The stock consisted of dried apples, salt pork, baked beans, rice, flour, molasses and whiskey. Dequindre & Eberts advertised an extensive stock of groceries: "Imperial hyson, young hyson and black Teas - Java, lagaira, St. Domingo and green coffee" and spices, sugar, tobacco and snuff, plus a "general assortment of a fine quality and very superior flavor of wines, and one quarter cask of French brandy - the only spirituous liquors kept."¹¹

¹⁰ Harry E. Cole, Stagecoach and Tavern Tales of the Old Northwest (Cleveland, 1930), 213.

¹¹ Green-Bay Intelligencer, December 25, 1833, p. 4.

Judging from the editorial in the April 5, 1834 issue, there was no need for any person in Green Bay or vicinity to starve. Ellis pointed out that Green Bay waters teemed with a great variety and a high quality of fish, including pickerel, pike, sun fish, perch, rock bass, black bass, white bass, and whitefish. According to Ellis, a peculiar fish called the sheephead, and remarkable for the singing sound it made could be heard for a mile or more in the waters of the Bay.

A year later, A. H. Arndt & Company advertised goods that "bear comparison with Detroit's." Their advertisement ended with the hopeful note that "provisions and Ohio produce" were expected soon. Evidently the produce from Ohio was sold quickly because in June Ellis reported that "our produce market is entirely gleaned." He complained that there was not a dozen barrels of flour or pork for sale in Green Bay, and that both these items had been expensive all season. An indication that Green Bay citizens depended on Ohio farmers for their produce is the editor's comment that there had been a scarcity of all kinds of Ohio produce that season.¹²

Although this seemed to be an odd time to start a bakery business, John McGwire and Barney O'Neil and Company announced to the citizens of Navarino and Green Bay that they had started a bakery, and hoped to receive trade from the local people.¹³

¹²Ibid., April 9, 1835, p. 3; June 13, 1835, p. 2.

¹³Ibid., June 27, 1835, p. 3.

A few months later Ellis encouraged his readers to plant fruit trees by pointing out that the soil and climate of Green Bay were satisfactory for growing apple trees, and by praising the ability of the New England farmers who had migrated to Green Bay. He noted that settlers had been buying apples brought from Ohio and Michigan "generally indifferent" in quality and priced at from ten to sixteen shillings per bushel. Again, in the middle of winter, Ellis pointed out that food prices were high and provisions were scarce. "Pork is \$20 and \$30 per barrel; flour \$15 to \$25!"¹⁴

Four years later, Sholes scolded his readers for not making gardens. He said that it was time that more attention was paid to agricultural pursuits so that they did not have to import food from the East. "Although Green Bay had been settled longer than any other section of the territory," and had fertile soil and good climate, she was still dependent upon neighboring states for food that could well be raised at home. Sholes criticized the speculators who were responsible for the inflation and panic because they had encouraged spending money on useless building which should have been applied to the improvement and cultivation of farms. Sholes admitted that Green Bay was a handsome town with several fine blocks of stores, elegant homes, etc., but when there is such a rage for speculation, these fancy buildings and homes do not provide subsistence, he said. He urged

¹⁴Ibid., December 30, 1835, p. 2; and September 12, 1835, p. 2.

the business men to turn to farming so that Green Bay would become a community of producers as well as consumers.¹⁵

By May, Sholes was boasting that about "10,000 bushels of wheat will be raised this year at or within ten miles of Green Bay." Ground into flour, this would, he thought, be enough to provide bread for the population for the next year. He was hopeful that the settlers would be able to export their surplus because farmers at Fond du Lac, at Brothertown Settlement, and at other points, were cultivating big farms.¹⁶

Sholes continued his campaign for gardens by reprinting from the Maine Cultivator a paragraph of instruction for gardeners which warned them to wait until the earth was warm before casting seed into the ground. The next month Sholes announced the formation of a County Agricultural Society whose aim would be to promote the science of agriculture in Brown County and throughout Wisconsin Territory.¹⁷

In October, Sholes challenged Wisconsin farmers to beat Green Bay's record for production of "monster" vegetables. He called attention to a turnip grown on a farm near Green Bay. It weighed 9 pounds, 10 ounces. The editors of the Milwaukee Sentinel and the Miners' Free Press (Mineral Point) accepted his challenge. The editor of the Milwaukee Sentinel boasted that a subscriber had raised 26-1/2 pounds

¹⁵Ibid., April 16, 1839, p. 2.

¹⁶Ibid., May 7, 1839, p. 3.

¹⁷Ibid., May 28, 1839, p. 3; June 4, 1839, p. 3.

of potatoes from 1-1/2 pounds planted the previous June 10th. Sholes retorted that a Mr. Ryan of Howard Township had raised 56 pounds of potatoes from 1-1/2 pounds planted May 1 and dug October 2nd. Sholes' next offensive was his report of a subscriber who had raised 107 bushels of yellow corn to the acre on the Fond du Lac prairie.¹⁸

The editor of the Milwaukee Advertiser then challenged Brown County to produce a turnip as big as the one brought to his office by one of his readers. It measured 35 inches in circumference and weighed 15 pounds. However, Sholes refused to yield to the Milwaukee editor because he was sure that Brown County farmers would bring in much bigger vegetables than that before the season was over. Governor Henry Dodge then entered the contest on the side of the Miners' Free Press by presenting the editor with a turnip that measured 36-1/2 inches in circumference and weighed 23-1/2 pounds. Sholes then called on the Green Bay farmers to produce a turnip equal in size to the Governor's or "we must own ourselves beaten, at least in the rutabaga line."¹⁹

Even though Wisconsin farmers were beginning to produce more of their own grain and vegetables, they still found it necessary to import clothing and accessories. The advertising pages reflected the fashions of the 1830's --

¹⁸Wisconsin Democrat, October 1, 1839, p. 2; Milwaukee Sentinel, reprinted in Wisconsin Democrat, October 15, 1839, p. 2.

¹⁹Milwaukee Advertiser reprinted in Wisconsin Democrat, October 29, 1839, p. 2; Ibid., November 12, 1839, p. 3.

the calico, muslin, silk and lace fancied by the women, and the tall beaver hats, frock coats, and broadcloth pantaloons worn by the dandies on the frontier. There were few tailors on the frontier, but the general stores carried large assortments of dry goods and ready made clothing. One of the few tailor shops opened in Navarino by 1833 was that of E. Murray who stocked "frock and dress coats, vests and pantaloons, caps, shirts, fancy handkerchiefs, blue, black, and olive broadcloth, and an assortment of first-rate trimmings."²⁰

Dequindre & Eberts general store, also located in Navarino, sold boots and shoes for men, women, and children "at as low rates as they can purchase in Detroit." They also advertised "jewelry, clocks, watches, seals, keys, musical boxes, plain finger and wedding rings." A wide assortment of "satinets, muslin, gingham, Irish linen, beverteen, fustian, silk, and lace" were also available at their store. The proprietors also offered to accept country produce in return for their merchandise, and solicited "lumber, corn, oats, soft and hard wood, furs and peltries."²¹

Even though Ellis abhorred flighty women of fashion, he needed the revenue from advertisements, so he continued to run advertisements such as those of Antoine Dequindre who called attention to his new shipment of "ladies' silk and satin hats and bonnets." The merchants also offered to

²⁰Green-Bay Intelligencer, December 25, 1833, p. 3.

²¹Ibid., p. 4.

sell "gentlemen's cloth and velvet caps-- a very neat article."²²

The Panic of 1837 made the Green Bay merchants even more competitive than is usual for Yankee businessmen. That this competition was becoming keen is evident from the advertisement J. Wilkins inserted in the Wisconsin Democrat. Wilkins complained about competitors who cut prices and announced that he was not yet forced to work at reduced prices to buy customers. He may have been referring to A. H. Clark, also a tailor, who opened a shop one door north of the Navarino Hotel and advertised in that same issue, or to E. Murray, a regular advertiser.²³

Wilkins placed a much more satirical advertisement when he parodied the patent medicine advertisements for the "Matchless Sanative." He began his advertisement by calling his tailor shop the "antibilious hydraulic tailor shop." He assured prospective customers that "his matchless medicine . . . if properly administered, seldom fails to give satisfaction."²⁴

D. G. Smith, who operated a barbershop in Green Bay also sold both new and second-hand clothes, and made old clothes look as good as new. He told Green Bay readers that they could buy all kinds of fruit and candy at his store; and also Great Western Bear's Oil to make them look like

²²Wisconsin Democrat, June 13, 1835, p. 3.

²³Ibid., February 5, 1839, p. 4.

²⁴Ibid., July 23, 1839, p. 3

sleekhaired men of distinction.²⁵

By November of that year, Peter White, who started out as a book salesman, had entered the competition. He took a Mr. Driggs in as his partner and the new firm advertised various kinds of yard goods as well as "shoes, boots, blankets and strouding," a coarse material traded to the Indians for pelts and fish.²⁶

Another rival for the tailoring business of Green Bay, W. S. Porter, announced the opening of his shop on Washington Street in the February 4, 1840 issue.

The new villages near Green Bay also attracted merchants. J. F. Cox and Company announced the opening of their new store at DePere in the issue of January 28, 1840. They carried an extensive stock of clothing and yardage as well as ladies and men's ready-made clothing.

The Green Bay newspaper not only reflected the fashions of the era through its advertisements, but also acted as arbiter of manners and morals. The tenor of the editorials and articles showed that the writers believed that following the fashions was a pernicious evil, and that women might use their time to better advantage by training their children to become moral and useful citizens. Lectures about the evil of fashion were contributed by a writer who signed himself "Brief Remarker." As an author also of manuals on child training, he believed strongly in teaching

²⁵Ibid., August 6, 1839, p. 4.

²⁶Ibid., November 19, 1839, p. 3.

children to develop all their mental and bodily skills so that they would not become paupers in their old age.²⁷

Evidently there was some relationship between being a slave to fashion and becoming a pauper, at least in the mind of "Brief Remarker," for he next wrote a long homily warning those who follow the latest fashions that they were taking the road to ruin.²⁸ Perhaps the author equated moral and financial ruin. Ellis agreed with his contributor's ideas about fashion and child training since he printed almost two columns of advice about rearing children in which he pointed out that "even infants need the rod."²⁹ The next year Ellis reprinted an extract from "an invaluable work" on family government in which the author urged parents to govern their children. He promised to reprint frequently from this work, The Mother at Home, written by S. C. Abbott. Ellis not only shook a warning finger at frivolous women who wore fashionable clothes, but also printed rules to be followed by women who wished to be dutiful wives. In December, he reminded husbands that allowing women to read too many novels would result in neglect of family and housework. The editor did not condemn all works of fiction, but urged the need for knowing the classics and

²⁷Green-Bay Intelligencer, February 19, 1834, p. 4.

²⁸Ibid., March 5, 1834, p. 1.

²⁹Ibid., March 19, 1834, p. 1.

avoiding most romances because they corrupted morals.³⁰

Under Sholes' editorship, the Wisconsin Democrat continued to print advice for mothers. Sholes reprinted three rules for young mothers from the Church Watchman. One rule required daily reading from the Scriptures to strengthen them for the "trials and vexations of the day." The second suggested that they teach their children to pray morning and night. The third cautioned mothers against allowing others to superintend the devotional exercises of their children.³¹ Sholes extended his concern beyond advice for moral upbringing of children. He advised women to rise early and go for a long walk before breakfast to "fortify the constitution against the enervating heat of summer and the raging blasts of coming winters."³²

After admonishing his feminine readers to fortify their constitutions by daily walks, Sholes reprinted an article from the Baltimore Clipper which severely criticized women's fashions. Headed, "Fashions--Tight Lacings," the article began with a quotation from the Irish poet, Tom Moore, who praised the heathen Greeks who did not distort nature by "squeezing her masterwork into the shape of an hour glass." According to Sholes, the fashion of tight lacings led to consumption, so the proud beauty came to an early

³⁰Green-Bay Intelligencer and Wisconsin Democrat, June 13, 1835, pp. 2, 4; October 31, 1835, p. 3; December 2, 1835, p. 1.

³¹Ibid., May 28, 1839, p. 2.

³²Ibid., November 5, 1839, p. 2.

grave "the victim of her own vanity."³³

The newspapers portrayed another facet of community life when the editors printed announcements of marriages which meant the establishment of new homes, divorce notices which indicated social conflict, and obituaries to note the death of an infant, a young wife, or an elderly pioneer. Because space was at a premium, and because Ellis and Sholes did not consider social news important, they published only brief announcements of marriages, and then only those of business or political leaders. Two or three-line announcements appeared when James D. Doty, Charles C. P. Arndt, and the editor, Albert G. Ellis, returned to the East for brides. Divorce notices included only the legal announcement, and obituaries, too, were only two or three lines long.

In March, Ellis printed eight announcements of marriages witnessed by the Reverend Samuel Mazzuchelli, O.P., the Reverend Richard F. Cadle, Louis Grignon, and by A. G. Ellis who took time off from his editorial duties to officiate at one of these marriages. In April, the paper published brief accounts of two marriages, and in June only one, that of Charles C. P. Arndt, co-partner in the newspaper.³⁴

Marriage notices continued to appear in the Green-Bay Intelligencer and Wisconsin Democrat. Accompanying the

³³Baltimore Clipper, reprinted in Wisconsin Democrat, February 4, 1840, p. 1.

³⁴Green-Bay Intelligencer, March 5, 1834, p. 3; April 9, 1835, p. 3 and June 13, 1835, p. 3.

husbands."³⁶

Another indication of community strain mirrored in the newspapers were items showing fear of embracing the married state, as exemplified by the account of a bachelor who committed suicide rather than marry his betrothed, or the cynical comments about suicides blamed on "family difficulties."³⁷

Whatever may have been the prevalent attitude toward marriage in the 1830's, it was the custom to memorialize the death of a husband or wife by a sentimental poem such as those Sholes printed in May and June. The doleful picture of the "weeping husband bending in anguish over her tomb" published in the June issue must have sent many a salty tear trickling down the pages of the Wisconsin Democrat.³⁸

Although the quality of the poetry and prose printed in the newspaper was not high, and sentiment was equated with literary skill, the Yankee settlers who came to Green Bay were deeply interested in schooling for their children. The editors commented often on the need for education, publicized the initial attempts to open schools, and reflected the settlers' desire for education--at least in the practical subjects such as arithmetic, reading, writing, and surveying. Ellis taught in the Episcopal Mission School for a number of

³⁶Ibid., April 23, 1839, p. 3.

³⁷Ibid., June 4, 1839, p. 2; July 16, 1839, p. 3.

³⁸Ibid., May 7, 1839, p. 1; June 4, 1839, p. 3.

to express his own opinion in a forthcoming issue.⁴¹

His promise was fulfilled that same month in an article in which he related the history of the school which had educated a great many poor children and indigent Indians since it was opened in 1829. The school had succeeded, Ellis said, despite prejudice and opposition; and the present attack upon the superintendent and two of his assistants was led by ignorant and biased people who felt that any corporal punishment was bad, no matter what the offence. Ellis compared the relationship of the superintendent and teachers to the students as that of parents to their children. He also said that the idea that any kind of family discipline was contrary to law was an insult to the common sense of his readers. The mission controversy took up valuable space in four issues of his newspaper. In April, Ellis announced that he had received 42 pages of closely written manuscripts from both parties to the quarrel. Since it would take at least three pages of the newspaper to print the letters, Ellis begged to be excused from printing communications from anyone in regard to the matter.⁴² Despite his preoccupation with the mission school controversy, Ellis found time and space to publicize the opening of a day school in Navarino. He encouraged Green Bay parents to take advantage of this opportunity to educate their children. Although the Navarino school was ready for scholars, teachers were hard to find.

⁴¹Ibid., March 5, 1834, p. 3.

⁴²Ibid., March 19, 1834, p. 2.

Late that summer, the school officials were still advertising for a teacher with good recommendations. The next month Ellis printed the text of a bill passed by the Legislative Council of Michigan Territory to tax monied or stock corporations for support of common schools. The Governor of Michigan Territory did not approve the bill. Ellis was disappointed at his veto because the tax bill was one of his pet projects.⁴⁴

A year later a box advertisement announced that William White had opened a school in Navarino to teach English Literature, Latin, Greek and French. White promised "to pay particular attention to Orthography, Etymology, the first part of Prosody, including accent, quantity, emphasis, pause and tone." He promised also "to initiate the scholars into the art of Syntactical Parsing in an easy and almost imperceptible manner." A private class in French would also be taught for adults if there was sufficient enrollment.⁴⁵

The next year J. V. Suydam announced the opening of a boarding and day school, "The Green Bay Select School". The course of study for the lower branches included Mathematics, Geography, Map Drawing, Protracting, Grammar, Rhetoric, Composition, Geometry, Natural Philosophy, Astronomy, Modern History. The expense per quarter for board and tuition was

⁴⁴Ibid., August 2, 1834, p. 3; Michigan Territory, Council Journal, 1834, p. 17.

⁴⁵Green-Bay Intelligencer and Wisconsin Democrat, August 6, 1835, p. 4.

\$25.00 for the lower branches. For the higher classes, which included all the subjects taught in the lower branches, plus Surveying, Geography, Moral Philosophy, Natural History, Latin, Greek and French, and possibly Music and Painting, the cost per quarter for boarders would be \$30.00. Day scholars paid \$4.00 per quarter for the lower classes and \$5.00 for the higher branches. Each pupil brought his own books, paper, pencils, bedding and towels. The notice ended with the assurance that boys and girls would live in separate apartments and would eat at the table with the principal and be under his constant supervision.⁴⁶

Suydam, co-founder of the Green-Bay Intelligencer, was making his third attempt to establish himself in Green Bay. He had opened a saddle and harness shop after he left the newspaper, and had also surveyed land occasionally. There were no reports in the newspaper to indicate how long "The Green Bay Select School" survived.

When Sholes bought the newspaper, he joined in the crusade for education by writing an editorial on ignorance in the United States. He estimated that there were about 1,500,000 uneducated children in the United States, and about the same number of uneducated adults. In another column Sholes quoted Everett's "Discourse on Education" to the effect that "the intelligent are not vicious, and thus mental activity builds standards for a community and protects the virtue of the masses."⁴⁷

⁴⁶Ibid., January 13, 1836, p. 3.

⁴⁷Wisconsin Democrat, September 1, 1836, p. 1.

Sholes not only editorialized about the value of education, but he also permitted his wife, Rebecca L. Sholes, to teach in the Navarino School. The terms for instruction in "Reading and Writing were \$3.00 per quarter; and for all the branches of an English education, the tuition was \$4.00 per quarter."⁴⁸

Although the Mission School continued to operate until 1838, the Episcopal Board of Missions foresaw a suspension of their missionary activities in Green Bay because the Indians were being removed from the area. So they suggested that the buildings be turned over to Wisconsin Territory for use as a university. A bill incorporating these suggestions became a law in 1838. A board of twenty trustees was appointed to whom the funds and property of the Episcopal Mission School were handed over to be applied for the benefit of the Wisconsin University of Green Bay "for the advancement of piety, science, and learning." Among the members of the board of trustees were Albert G. Ellis, Charles C. Sholes, John P. Arndt, James D. Doty, Bishop Jackson Kemper, Daniel Whitney, and Alexander J. Irwin.⁴⁹

Charles C. Sholes, who was appointed secretary of the board of trustees, printed a boldface notice of the meeting

⁴⁸Ibid., p. 4.

⁴⁹Ibid., February 3, 1838, p. 2; Moses M. Strong, History of the Territory of Wisconsin from 1836 to 1848 (Madison, 1885), 274; Laws of Wisconsin Territory, 1838-1839, 173, E. H. Neville et al., Historic Green Bay, 238.

of the board to be held October 8, 1838. In January, he published the news that the legislature had passed an act to change the corporate name of the Wisconsin University of Green Bay to Hobart University. After this change of name, there was no other news about Hobart University. The territory's first attempt to establish a university had failed.⁵⁰

Although the people of Green Bay could not yet support a university, they showed a continuing interest in cultural societies. As early as January, 1834, Ellis publicized the meetings of the Green Bay Lyceum whose members debated such questions as: "Is the Colonization Society established for the benefit of the blacks more beneficial to the public than the influence exerted by temperance societies throughout the Union?" J. V. Suydam, secretary of the Green Bay Lyceum, and another member read essays before the debate. In February, Ellis printed an argument made before the Green Bay Lyceum in the winter of 1832 on the negative of the question: "Is not the female sex pre-eminent to the male sex in goodness of heart?" Four years later the members met to discuss the question: "Have the aborigines of our country greater reason to complain of injuries perpetrated against them by the whites than the Africans?" Next month the intellectual set of Green Bay met to discover whether printing or the mariner's compass was the invention

⁵⁰Wisconsin Democrat, September 29, 1838, p. 1 and January 1, 1839, p. 3; Laws of Wisconsin Territory, 1838-1839, 177.

of greatest benefit to mankind. Evidently the members of the Green Bay Lyceum felt the impact of the Panic of 1837 because when they met in April, 1838 they discussed whether "it was useful for a government to make paper money, or to allow it to be made by any corporations or individuals." For a time the members retreated from the world of practical finance to discuss the relative merits of republican and monarchical governments. It was not long, however, before the controversial question of the Wisconsin Bank intruded upon their ivory tower. In October the members held their regular meeting at the school house in Navarino to debate the question: "Is the bank of Wisconsin beneficial to the people?"⁵¹

Books were not easily available in Green Bay in the early days, and if we may accept without reservation the advertisement of Dequindre & Eberts, these gentlemen opened a lending library "at the solicitude of many of our friends and patrons". Their "extensive assortment of books" included those chosen by the cultured reader of that period--history, biography, philosophy, travel, and practical handbooks on agriculture. For the flightier patrons, the library offered a number of romances. The lending library continued to advertise from time to time and then closed.⁵²

⁵¹Green-Bay Intelligencer, January 8, 1834, p. 3; January 13, 1838, p. 3; February 5, 1834, p. 3; Wisconsin Democrat, February 3, 1838, p. 3; April 7, 1838, p. 3; October 6, 1838, p. 3; October 23, 1838, p. 3.

⁵²Green-Bay Intelligencer, December 25, 1833, p. 3.

Five years later J. Wilkins opened a circulating library in Astor which later became a part of Green Bay. His service proved unprofitable, too, judging from his regular advertisements pleading with patrons to return books and pay fees. The borrower who checked out the first volume of Recollections of a Champion ignored Wilkins' repeated warnings. By April, 1838, Wilkins apparently decided to concede the victory to the man who borrowed a volume about a champion. The last advertisement for Wilkins' library appeared in September. Apparently Wilkins decided to concentrate his attention on his tailor shop.⁵³

Although the circulating libraries failed, it was not because of lack of interest on the part of the editor of the Green-Bay Intelligencer. Ellis promoted the cause of good reading by reviews of good books. He praised William Cobbett's works, such as his Advice to Young Men and Women, and books of travel, biography, natural history, agriculture, and horticulture. Ellis criticized romances, and excluded all fiction except the classics from the library of a cultured citizen. The following October, Ellis reviewed H. R. Schoolcraft's Narrative and Experiments on Gastric Juices of the Stomach, by Dr. William Beaumont, a former surgeon at Fort Howard.⁵⁴

⁵³Wisconsin Democrat, April 28, 1838, p. 1; September 1, 1838, p. 1.

⁵⁴Green-Bay Intelligencer, February 19, 1834, p. 1; October 9, 1834, pp. 2, 3.

J. V. Suydam also tried to raise the cultural level of Green Bay by organizing a Reading Association whose members would review books of the type selected by Ellis. The Reading Association survived at least until March, 1837 because a notice of a meeting scheduled that month appeared in the Wisconsin Democrat.⁵⁵

Up until 1836, Green Bay book buyers had to send to Detroit or to cities further east when they wished to buy books. In September, 1836, Peter White opened a book store in Navarino to cater to the book-buying public. He stocked histories, biographies, novels, bibles, school books, stationery, toys, and musical instruments, as well as fur hats, boots, and shoes. By 1837, White had taken a partner and had changed the name of his bookstore to the White and Gallup Variety Store. He added medicine and hardware to his stock which was augmented the following December by a big shipment of all kinds of books.⁵⁶

Ellis gave a qualified endorsement to the Fort Howard Military Thespian Society which presented the tragedy, "Douglas", and the farce, "Family Jars" in April, 1834. Ellis commented that he did not generally approve of theatricals but that since it gave innocent amusement to the soldiers and civilians, he could not object, providing the plays were chosen with prudence. Proof that the citizens of Green Bay

⁵⁵Wisconsin Democrat, March 3, 1837, p. 4.

⁵⁶Ibid., September 1, 1836, p. 4; June 9, 1837, p. 3; and December 30, 1837, p. 1.

enjoyed the plays is the fact that they contributed \$41.50 to the Thespian Society to finance future productions.⁵⁷

Sholes was not as liberal as Ellis in regard to theatricals. He commented that since the Maryland Senate had rejected a bill to tax theatrical performances, it was evidently unwilling to tax the "most prolific source of vice and crime in the country, viz., theatres." In September, Sholes wrote another bitter attack on the theatre. He pointed out that there were "vicious and ruined hundreds who owe their degradation to the demoralizing influence of the drama of the present day."⁵⁸

The newspapers of Green Bay give a graphic picture of another highly important segment of frontier life--the establishment of churches, and the struggles of the men sent out to do missionary work in that part of Michigan Territory west of Lake Michigan.

When Ellis came to Green Bay in 1822 as a catechist and lay reader for the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society of the Protestant Episcopal Church, there was no Episcopal Church for the American settlers at Green Bay. Four years after his arrival, Ellis attended a meeting called to organize an Episcopal Church. Ellis was appointed to the Vestry and was also appointed a warden. The men who attended that meeting voted to start a drive for funds for a church to be built

⁵⁷Green-Bay Intelligencer, April 5, 1834, p. 2.

⁵⁸Wisconsin Democrat, April 7, 1838, p. 2; September 22, 1838, p. 2.

on the north side of Green Bay. Ellis worked hard in this drive and continued to participate in the activities of the Vestry even though he was often away from Green Bay on surveying trips. When he became editor of the Green-Bay Intelligencer, he used the newspaper to publicize Episcopal Church activities. In the Christmas issue of 1833, Ellis printed a sermon on "The Nativity of Christ" probably written by the Reverend Richard F. Cadle who in 1829 had been assigned to care for the Oneida Indians, and to help organize the church for the Americans at Green Bay.⁵⁹

The next January Ellis praised the Reverend Richard F. Cadle who had given his services at no cost for the past year, and then announced that the Vestry had asked the Reverend Cadle to become the permanent rector at Christ Church Episcopal in Green Bay. Episcopal services were conducted in the Navarino schoolhouse until Christ Church was completed. Ellis kept a careful record of expenditures in 1836 and 1837 for such items as moving an organ from the mission to the Navarino school, and for replacing the pipes and bellows of the organ.⁶⁰

⁵⁹ Reuben G. Thwaites (ed.), "Documents Relating to the Episcopal Church and Mission in Green Bay, 1825-1841," Wisconsin Historical Society, Collections, XIV (1898), 450-515; Albert G. Ellis, "Fifty-Four Years' Recollections of Men and Events in Wisconsin," Wisconsin Historical Society, Collections, VII (1908), 217, 225, 236; Green-Bay Intelligencer, December 25, 1833, p. 4.

⁶⁰ Green-Bay Intelligencer, January 22, 1834, p. 3. For information about financial records see Reuben G. Thwaites (ed.), "Documents Relating to the Episcopal Church and Mission in Green Bay, 1825-41," Wisconsin Historical Society, Collections, XIV (1898), 509-510.

The following August, Ellis announced the arrival of the Reverend Doctors James Milnor and Jackson Kemper. They had come to Green Bay to inspect the mission school and the church. Ellis invited Episcopalians to attend services to be preached by the visiting bishops at Fort Howard, Navarino, and the mission. Bishops Milnor and Kemper stayed in Green Bay from July 16, 1834 to August 11. They not only preached and conducted church services, but also met the church and military leaders during their tour of investigation. Bishop Kemper also gave financial and moral support to Cadle and to his flock, and encouraged them in their building project.⁶¹

The ladies auxiliary of the Episcopal Church assisted in the drive for funds, too. Ellis complimented the ladies of the Episcopal Society because they had raised almost two thousand dollars. They returned the compliment by inserting an advertisement thanking the gentlemen "who so generously and gallantly aided them at their sale." In October Reverend Richard Cadle accepted the invitation to the rectorship of Christ Church and the members announced that they would begin to build a place of worship immediately.⁶²

Ellis took his duties as warden and vestryman seri-

⁶¹Green-Bay Intelligencer, August 2, 1834, p. 3; Jackson Kemper, "Journal of an Episcopalian Missionary's Tour to Green Bay, 1834," Wisconsin Historical Society, Col-lections, XIV (1898), 394-449.

⁶²Ibid., September 5, 1835, p. 3; September 12, 1835, p. 3; October 24, 1835, p. 2.

ously. Evidently he thought that his authority extended over the choir as well as the finances of Christ Church Episcopal because he scolded the men who tried to sing treble in church "because only women sing treble." He suggested that the men who could not learn the bass part should keep still.⁶³

By early 1839 the membership of the Episcopal Church had grown enough to warrant building another church at Duck Creek. A notice for bids for its construction appeared in February. The advertiser, Solomon Davis, called for a building 34 x 41 feet of Gothic architecture which was to be finished by September 1; a correction of a misprint in the advertisement appeared the next week. The building was to be 34 x 48 feet.⁶⁴

In September, 1839, Bishop Jackson Kemper returned to Green Bay on the steamboat Governor Marcy, and then left for the Mississippi via Fond du Lac, Fox Lake, Fort Winnebago, Madison and Mineral Point. During his stay at Green Bay, the bishop consecrated Hobart Church at Duck Creek which had been built for the First Christian Party of the Oneida Indians by their pastor, the Reverend Solomon Davis. "This," wrote Sholes, "is the first Episcopal Church consecrated in the Territory of Wisconsin, and its Gothic architecture and neatness would do honor to any part of the West." Sholes added that it was especially creditable because the Oneida

⁶³ Green-Bay Intelligencer and Wisconsin Democrat, December 9, 1835, p. 1.

⁶⁴ Ibid., February 19, 1839, p. 3; February 26, 1839, p. 2.

Indians had set a good example to the white people.⁶⁵

A new organ and bell for Christ Church arrived on the Governor Marcy, so all that was needed now to make the church complete was a new rector to replace Cadle who had resigned in 1837 because of poor health. Since money was still needed the vestrymen announced a sale of pews to provide the money to pay for construction and furnishings.⁶⁶

The Presbyterians and Congregationalists also sent missionaries to the Indians and to the Americans on the frontier. The Reverend Cutting Marsh, a Congregationalist, organized a small group at Green Bay, but they had no permanent church until the fall of 1836 when the Reverend Moses Ordway founded the First Presbyterian church in Wisconsin at Green Bay. It was built in Astor on a lot donated by John Jacob Astor through Doty's promotional efforts.⁶⁷

John Jacob Astor also presented a bell to the new Presbyterian Church. Sholes announced its arrival on New Year's Day, and said that the sound of the church-going bell would soon be heard in Green Bay for the first time.⁶⁸

⁶⁵Ibid., September 3, 1839, p. 3.

⁶⁶Ibid., October 1, 1839, p. 2; Reuben G. Thwaites (ed.), "Documents Relating to the Episcopal Church and Mission in Green Bay, 1825-1841," Wisconsin Historical Society, Collections, XIV (1898), 497.

⁶⁷William F. Raney, Wisconsin, A Story of Progress, 115; Alice E. Smith, James Duane Doty, Frontier Promoter, 163.

⁶⁸Wisconsin Democrat, January 1, 1839, p. 2.

Circuit riders of the Methodist Episcopal Church ministered to the spiritual needs of its members in Wisconsin Territory. If there were no circuit riders in the area, zealous laymen preached. In 1832 the first Methodist church in Wisconsin was dedicated by John Clark at Kimberly, four miles from Appleton. The Methodists also built in Astor on lots donated by the proprietors. The only references to the Methodist Church in the Green-Bay Intelligencer or the Wisconsin Democrat were two stories, one printed in 1837, and the other in 1838. In the first story, Sholes boasted that Green Bay now had three churches--Episcopal, Presbyterian and Methodist. In 1838, Sholes printed a brief news item to the effect that the Methodist conference of bishops had dismissed several preachers for interfering with abolition.⁶⁹

Incredible as it may seem, both Ellis and Sholes ignored the existence of the Catholic Church at Green Bay, except for occasional two or three-line notices of marriages witnessed by Father Mazzuchelli and his successors, Fathers F. J. Van den Broek and F. T. Bonduel. The reasons for this apparent neglect go back to the establishment of the Episcopal Mission School in 1827. The French-Canadian Catholics resented this intrusion, and the traders discouraged attendance at the school. Although Ellis had written in

⁶⁸Wisconsin Democrat, January 1, 1839, p. 2.

⁶⁹Raney, Wisconsin, a Story of Progress, 114; Smith, James Duane Doty, Frontier Promoter, 163; Wisconsin Democrat, April 14, 1837, p. 3; June 23, 1838, p. 2.

highly complimentary terms of the French Catholics at Green Bay in 1822, and of their new church and school at Shantytown built in 1825, it is evident that the situation became strained after 1827. Father Samuel Mazzuchelli, O. P., came to Green Bay in 1830 and returned in 1831 to begin construction of a church to replace the one at Shantytown which had burned in 1826. By October, 1831, the church was finished as far as the roof. By the end of that year it was in use. Although Father Mazzuchelli had enlisted the financial aid of prominent French-Canadians such as the Grignons, the Porliers, and the Brunette family, and although several prominent members of the Protestant Episcopal Church had contributed money to the campaign funds which began in 1831 and continued during the years the paper was published, neither of the editors mentioned the drive or the completion of the church. When Bishop Kemper came to Green Bay in 1834, he made several references to the unfriendly attitude of the Roman Catholics. In 1834 Ellis became involved in a controversy about temperance with Father Mazzuchelli. After this newspaper debate, Ellis probably felt that it was far better to ignore the adversary rather than contend with him. Since Sholes continued the policy of omitting any references to Catholic activities, he, too, may have thought of his paper

as an organ for publicizing only Protestant church activities.⁷⁰

Both Ellis and Sholes believed that it was the function of a newspaper to give moral guidance to its readers, and both took stands against frivolity, worldliness and intemperance. Their homilies on these and other moral topics illustrate the philosophy of the Green Bay Yankees who had swallowed generous draughts of Puritanism. The successful man as the editors painted him wore a tall beaver hat, ruffled shirt, frock coat, pantaloons, and gaiter shoes and swung an ivory-headed cane as he attended the lyceum, temperance meetings, and the services of the Protestant Episcopal Church. He read biographies of other successful men, history, and handbooks of horticulture. He was a Democrat or a Whig, praised Jackson for his Indian removal policy, and damned him for the Specie Circular. He was happy when the Indian annuities poured money into his till, but he wanted the dirty and drunken Indians moved beyond the Mississippi. He mouthed the maxims of Benjamin Franklin and in his smug complacency believed that God's sun shines on successful men

⁷⁰Albert G. Ellis, "Fifty-Four Years' Recollections of Men and Events in Wisconsin," Wisconsin Historical Society, Collections, VII (1908), 217, 220, 230-231; Reuben G. Thwaites (ed.), "Documents Relating to the Catholic Church in Green Bay, and the Mission at Little Chute, 1825-1840," Wisconsin Historical Society, Collections, XIV (1898), 162-205; Jackson Kemper, "Journal of an Episcopalian Missionary's Tour to Green Bay, 1834," Wisconsin Historical Society, Collections, XIV (1898), 394-449; Green-Bay Intelligencer, April 5, 1834, pp. 1, 2 and April 16, 1834, p. 3; James D. Butler, "Father Samuel Mazzuchelli," Wisconsin Historical Society, Collections, XIV (1898), 158-160.

because they are of the elect.

Ellis not only wrote editorials condemning immoral and intemperate behavior, he also called upon President Andrew Jackson to bolster his opinions. Early in 1834 Ellis printed Jackson's order directing the discontinuance of all parades on Sunday. He also commented favorably on the president's policy of stricter control over liquor in the army, and suggested that the president should provide religious instruction for the troops. Ellis said that he did not believe there was a single chaplain in the army; or, if any, the number was small.⁷¹

Sholes also believed that Sunday was no day for parades or jollity of any sort. He warned his readers that the statutes of Michigan Territory were still in force in Wisconsin Territory, and he printed two sections from the statutes which required that the people keep the first day of the week as a day of rest from all secular labor or business. The people were also forbidden to engage in any games or to attend any public meeting except for religious worship. Offenders could be fined from two to ten dollars. Sholes commented that he printed these laws to remind Sabbath breakers, and "to jog the memories of certain officers of justice relative to their duty."⁷²

Sholes continued to urge his readers to practice virtue by publishing paragraphs of commendation for acts of

⁷¹Green-Bay Intelligencer, February 5, 1834, p. 2

⁷²Wisconsin Democrat, October 6, 1838, p. 3.

virtue. He published a series of pietistic stories from the Youth's Cabinet and from eastern papers. One such story which advocated turning the other cheek evoked this editorial comment: if everyone acted on this principle, this world would cease to be a vale of tears. The next month he again attacked what he evidently considered to be the most grievous defect - pride. He warned parents to teach their sons the importance of beginning work at an early age because too many parents allowed their sons to continue their education at the corner tavern. Such sons, he said, would very likely become proud-tattlers, slanderers, liars, or worse, and the joke of the neighbors.⁷³

Maxims and pious aphorisms were products of the sentimental years and Sholes, in tune with the times, reprinted many of them. In the issue of November 12, he published this advice to agnostics and atheists: "We should embrace Christianity even on prudential motives, for a just and benevolent God will not punish an intellectual being for believing what there is so much reason to believe. Therefore, we run no risk by receiving Christianity if it be false, but a dreadful one by rejecting it, if it be true."⁷⁴

In the 1830's a temperance movement was in full swing in the eastern portion of the United States. Characteristically, the New England emigrants to Wisconsin participated in this crusade so close to the puritanical heart. And Charac-

⁷³Wisconsin Democrat, June 25, 1839, p. 2; July 23, 1839, p. 1.

⁷⁴Ibid., November 12, 1839, p. 1.

teristically, too, both Ellis and Sholes played their self-assigned roles of arbiters of moral conduct by advocating membership in the Green Bay Temperance Society.

The first attack on demon rum was a letter to the editor signed "In the Corner". The writer protested against the practice of watering liquor and selling it to the Indians, especially if the seller had not paid for his license. "In the Corner" threatened to print a handbill publicizing this nefarious practice unless a committee of vigilance was appointed to check on licenses for selling liquor. Another letter by the same writer complained of the loud noises coming from an Indian lodge whose inhabitants were drunk and raucous. He berated the persons who had sold the liquor, and urged the authorities to fine them if they did not have licenses. Whether the writer was more concerned about watering liquor, noise made by drunken Indians, or loss of license revenue is a moot question. In that same issue a poem, "Fill up the Glass," warned readers that liquor led to "infamy and death."⁷⁵

The next month Ellis pointed out that the smuggling of liquor to the soldiers at some military posts, especially those on the frontier, had been a source of controversy between the army and liquor dealers for years. Ellis ended his editorial by praising the temperance groups societies which gave good example, and by noting with pleasure that

⁷⁵Green-Bay Intelligencer, December 25, 1833, p. 3 and January 8, 1834, p. 3.

the Fort Howard soldiers had formed a Temperance Society.⁷⁶

The temperance muse inspired another poet, "Harp of the Hills", to write this warning to despondent youth:

No, offer not the cup to me,
I would not see its flow;

Its dark and poison'd brim I'll flee,
Its guilt I may not know.

Think'st thou, because in youth I'm sad,
And bitter thoughts are mine,

And life in somber robe is glad,
That I will seek the wine?⁷⁷

The "Harp of the Hills" and the editor of the Green-Bay Intelligencer were of one mind about the evil effects of wine, brandy, whisky and cider. Ellis urged the Green Bay citizens who were then forming a temperance group to be consistent in ruling out any exceptions in favor of the "lighter intoxicating drinks," because such exceptions had resulted in the failure of the original Fort Howard Temperance Society. The preamble and constitution of the Fort Howard Temperance Society, along with a letter from its president and secretary, urging the men of Green Bay to join the crusade against intoxicants, appeared in the same issue. A year later the Green Bay Temperance Society numbered forty members who met on alternate Tuesdays. The members promised to abstain from distilled spirits or wines of any kind, except for sacramental or medicinal purposes. They also pledged

⁷⁶Ibid., February 5, 1834, p. 2.

⁷⁷Ibid., February 19, 1834, p. 4.

themselves to discourage their use in the community, and to refuse to distill or vend such intoxicating beverages. By the following August, the members had added beer and cider to the forbidden list.⁷⁸

Ellis continued to publish verse, sermons, and news stories advocating strict adherence to the principles of the temperance movement. His account of the death by drowning of a discharged soldier and two Menomonee Indians ended with the solemn warning: "We understand that they were all intoxicated when they left Navarino." The following January, Ellis headed a story, "Rum Against the World" and then announced that "out of seven deaths in the neighborhood within the past few weeks, five were caused immediately by the intemperate use of rum."⁷⁹

The Sholes brothers carried on the temperance crusade begun by Ellis. In the first issue under the new masthead, Wisconsin Democrat, Sholes printed an editorial complaining about the number of grog shops in Green Bay, and a long verse titled, "Intemperance", which pointed out the sad end to which drunkards came. In another column a news story about two Stockbridge Indians who murdered a Brothertown Indian ended with the comment that the crime was

⁷⁸Ibid., March 5, 1834, p. 1; May 19, 1835, p. 4; Green-Bay Intelligencer and Wisconsin Democrat, August 22, 1835, p. 3.

⁷⁹Ibid., September 26, 1835, p. 2 and January 13, 1836, p. 3.

caused by intemperance.⁸⁰

The ardent advocates of total abstinence continued to meet regularly, and continued to invite those who had not as yet signed the pledge to attend the meetings. Notices of the meetings were regularly published in the newspaper. On one occasion the notice was followed by an invitation to any person not under the influence of liquor to join in the debate on the question "Is it the duty of every individual to join the Temperance Society?"⁸¹ "Testor" wrote to the editor in October to complain about government employees who gave liquor to the Indians. This would indicate that despite the newspaper's temperance crusade, the problem of drunkenness continued to plague Green Bay.

Sholes was unable to write about temperance again until May, because he was busy printing the territorial laws of Wisconsin. But on that date he quoted a sardonic bit of humor titled, "Evils of Temperance," from the Lynn Freeman whose editor said that the temperance movement had an unfavorable effect on the receipts of the alms house. "A few years ago we had men enough to make over \$2,000, besides carrying on the farm. Now there are not enough men to carry on the farm."⁸²

⁸⁰ Wisconsin Democrat, September 1, 1836, p. 1; September 26, 1836, p. 3.

⁸¹ Ibid., October 20, 1836, p. 1; December 30, 1837, p. 3; September 26, 1835, p. 3; October 26, 1836, p. 1; December 30, 1837, p. 3.

⁸² Ibid., May 7, 1839, p. 2.

carry on the farm."⁸²

The drive for temperance was waged on all fronts. Even the children were not exempted from the preaching. Sholes published a paragraph entitled, "The Childrens' Pledge" which urged parents to create hatred for intoxicating drinks in the minds of their children. This was followed by a copy of a pledge presented at a Sabbath school. More than 70 children had signed it. Sholes suggested that parents should cut the pledge from the paper, paste a strip of paper to it, and then ask all their children to sign it. Sholes also carried on the temperance crusade by printing slanted news stories about the arrests of famous and wealthy men who had fallen into disgrace and destitution because of drunkenness. One such story told of the arrest of a grandson of John Hancock who was brought to the Boston police court as a common drunkard. Later that month Sholes printed two more accounts of young men who were destined for the poorhouse because they had wasted all their money on whisky and rum. The account from the Providence Journal gave a graphic description of the appearance of a drunkard brought before a magistrate there. "The outward man exhibited the last installment of a dilapidated straw hat, the contingent remainder of half a shirt, and a small quantity of pantaloons. And he boasted that he had not had on a shoe for three months.

⁸²Ibid., May 7, 1839, p. 2.

The inner man, of course, was all rum."⁸³

Despite his editorial policy which favored temperance, Ellis published advertisements by Dequindre & Eberts for "Wines...French Brandy", an indication that cash could quiet any qualms of conscience he may have felt about advertising liquor. Dequindre & Eberts continued to advertise liquor regularly in the Green-Bay Intelligencer, and the next year A. H. Arndt & Company advertised "a few casks of brandy, low for cash." A few months later Brush, Rees and Company advertised a much larger stock of cognac, brandy, Holland gin, sherry, port, claret and champagne, as well as St. Croix and Jamaica rum."⁸⁴

Ellis' preoccupation with the temperance crusade led him into a long controversy when he printed an address delivered before the Fort Howard Temperance Society by Samuel Ryan, Quarter Master's Clerk, and organizer of the Fort Howard Society. Without the permission or knowledge of the author, Ellis printed the article about "the evils of liquor, the decadence of the countries such as Italy, Portugal, and Spain where wine is made and drunk, and the degradation of the Latins by priestcraft, armed with superstition and ignorance."⁸⁵

⁸³Ibid., August 13, 1839, p. 1; November 5, 1839, p. 2; November 19, 1839, p. 1.

⁸⁴Green-Bay Intelligencer, December 11, 1833, p. 3; February 19, 1834, p. 4; September 12, 1835, p. 3; January 13, 1836, p. 3; Wisconsin Democrat, September 1, 1836, p. 4.

⁸⁵Ibid., February 5, 1834, p. 1.

The answer to Ryan's intemperate attack on Italians, Spanish, and Portuguese people and upon priests, was not long in coming. Father Samuel Mazzuchelli, O.P., who established the Catholic church at Green Bay, refuted the soldier's statements in the April 5, 1834, issue. He cited chapter and verse to show that the temperance advocate was very intemperate, uncharitable, and mistaken, ending with this verse from Isaiah: "Woe to you that are wise in your own eyes, and prudent in your own conceits." (Is. 5: 20-21)⁸⁶

Ellis replied that since Father Mazzuchelli had quoted Scripture, that he, too, would refer him to a passage from the Book of Proverbs: "Wine is a mocker--strong drink is raging; and whoever is deceived thereby is not wise." (Prov. 20:1). Ellis also objected to a reference to the use of wine at the Last Supper as "nearly impious." He ended his paragraph with the warning that his paper would not print religious controversies. Despite his wish to withdraw from the controversy he had started, Ellis felt obliged to publish Ryan's answer to Father Mazzuchelli. Ellis apologized for using so much space and promised that theological discussions would have no place in his paper because the discussion was irritable to his readers and not creditable to either writer.⁸⁷

⁸⁶ Ibid., April 5, 1834, pp. 1,2.

⁸⁷ Ibid., April 16, 1834, p. 3.

CHAPTER III

PROMOTERS OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

The primary purpose of the Green-Bay Intelligencer and of the Wisconsin Democrat was the promotion of Wisconsin Territory. Ellis and Sholes fulfilled this function of the newspaper by encouraging emigration, passage of pre-emption laws, public land sales, internal improvements, and postal service. They encouraged emigration to the Green Bay area by publicizing the region as a Garden of Eden with fertile soil, temperate climate, and acres of land available at \$1.25 an acre.

Many New Englanders heard about this fertile region through copies of the paper, or letters sent East by relatives or neighbors who had emigrated to Green Bay. They came west via the Ohio River, or after 1825, via the Erie Canal and the Great Lakes, to settle on the public domain even before the surveys had been made. They selected choice sites, threw up rude log shelters, and then cleared and planted the land. Since they had spent so much effort and time, and whatever money they could spare, on improvement to the land, they believed the government should give them clear title, or at least pre-emption rights, i.e., the first chance to buy the land before it was offered for sale at

government land offices. They sent memorials to Congress, buttonholed their delegates, and exerted political pressure to secure the passage of pre-emption laws. And, to a great degree they were successful in obtaining pre-emption laws, and in organizing to prevent speculators from ousting them from their land claims.¹

The Yankees coveted not only the land of the French inhabitants, but the land of the Indians, as well. Before the decade, 1830-1840, was over, they had succeeded in pushing back the Sauks, Foxes, Winnebagoes, and other tribes beyond the Mississippi, and had taken possession of their rich hunting, lumbering, and farm lands.

At treaty conferences between 1829 and 1833 the Indians gave up all their lands below the Fox-Wisconsin waterway. Up to 1829 the Indians had owned all the area now Wisconsin, except a few small tracts sold to the United States for forts, and a strip around the forts cultivated by the French-Canadian settlers. In 1825, 1826 and 1827 the government called the Indian tribes together to find out the tribal boundaries. On the basis of these claims, land was

¹The Green-Bay Intelligencer and Wisconsin Democrat, December 11, 1833 to March 24, 1840. For information about land claims and settlement see Raney, Wisconsin, A Story of Progress, 87-88, and Strong, History of the Territory of Wisconsin, 204-206.

bought from one tribe after another with treaties.²

Ellis described the territory purchased from the Menomonee Indians in 1831 in the second issue of the Green-Bay Intelligencer. He told his readers that there were "eight million acres in the area and two-thirds of it was fit for cultivation." On page two, Ellis devoted his space to a description of other lands ceded by the Indians and pointed out the necessity for defining the boundaries between the various Indian tribes to avoid friction and title suits. Ellis pointed out that after the government surveys were made, the lands would be open to settlement. As an added inducement, he mentioned that trips to Green Bay from Buffalo via Detroit could be made in fifteen days by schooner, and in about seven days by steamboat.

On page three of the same issue, Ellis printed a copy of a memorial from the citizens of Brown County to the legislative council of Michigan Territory on the subject of the sale of public lands, establishment of land offices, granting of pre-emption rights, and the establishment of a new territorial government west of Lake Michigan. Ellis was a member of the committee appointed to draft this appeal.³

² Green-Bay Intelligencer, January 8, 1834, p. 1. For information concerning Indian Treaties and Cessions, see Raney, Wisconsin, A Story of Progress, 68, 70-71, 73, 78-79; Annie H. Abel, "The History of Events Resulting in Indian Consolidation West of the Mississippi," Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1906 (Washington, 1908), I, 233-411; Charles J. Kappler (comp. and ed.), Indian Affairs. Laws and Treaties. Sen. Doc. no. 452, 57th Cong., 1st sess. (Washington, 1903).

³ Ibid., December 25, 1833, pp. 1-3.

Ellis continued to advocate cession of Indian lands. In the January 8, 1834, issue he devoted page one and part of page two to Stambaugh's description of Wisconsin, and appended an argument for signing the Menominee Treaty so that, with the cessions made before and since the date of Stambaugh's report of 1831, the whole of Wisconsin east of the Fox and Wisconsin Rivers, with the exception of three townships, would belong to the United States.⁴

In February Ellis suggested that his readers who had squatted on government land or Indian lands before the cessions should ask the territorial delegate to present their applications for title before the surveys were completed and the land brought into the market.⁵

Ellis also pointed out to prospective settlers that the lands recently acquired had rich stands of white and yellow pine so there were opportunities for sawmills and shingle machines. Even though such a hint was not necessary for the canny Yankees who had long been encroaching upon the pine stands belonging to the Indians or to the United States, Ellis noted that pine brought \$10 to \$12 per thousand feet at Green Bay, and from \$25 to \$35 per thousand feet at Chicago. He added that Farnsworth and Brush were building a schooner for the lumber trade.⁶

⁴Ibid., January 8, 1834, pp. 1-2.

⁵Ibid., February 1, 1834, p. 2.

⁶Ibid.,

Late that summer Ellis reported that John P. Arndt and Nathaniel Perry had been appointed farmers under the provisions of the Menominee Treaty. Their duties would be to train the Indians in farming skills.

In that same issue Ellis announced the the Menominee and Winnebago purchases totaled about 12,000,000 acres of first-rate land which the government was about to sell. M. T. Williams, U. S. Surveyor General for the state of Indiana and for Michigan Territory, would supervise the surveys. Mr. Williams had hired twelve or fifteen deputies, the township lines had been run, and the subdivisions were progressing rapidly. Fifteen townships near Green Bay already completed would probably be offered for sale that autumn. Ellis also reported that Congress had established two land offices west of the Lake, one at Green Bay, and one at Mineral Point for the County of Iowa.⁷

Ellis continued in his usual optimistic vein to note that the Chicago Treaty of 1833 had been ratified, and the township lines of this purchase were to be run by Messrs. Mullett and Brink, Deputy Surveyors, the ensuing autumn. The surveys were to be completed as soon as possible. Then the inveterate propagandist for Wisconsin Territory boasted: "all the country in Wisconsin between the Lake and the Fox and Wisconsin Rivers will be open to emigrants."⁸

Next step in the process of settlement after the

⁷Ibid., August 2, 1834, p. 3.

⁸Ibid.

cessions of Indian lands, surveys, and establishment of land offices, was the appointment by the President of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, of Registers for the Land Offices and Receivers of Public Moneys arising from the sale of public lands. In August, 1834, Ellis announced the appointment of William B. Slaughter, Register, and S. W. Beall, Receiver, of the Land Office at Green Bay, and J. P. Sheldon, Register, and Joseph Eneix, Receiver, for the Wisconsin District.⁹

The announcement of land sales in Mineral Point in 1834 and in Green Bay in 1835 brought herds of speculators to the scene. Ellis boasted of the amount of money received from land sales, but many settlers complained that speculators jumped the claims they had worked for years and that the land held by absentee speculators increased the local tax burden because it was tax-free.

Although Ellis was happy about increased emigration and land sales, the reaction of Easterners was critical of the flood of emigration to the West. Ellis reprinted a story from the Detroit Advertiser about Eastern ministers who preached against the western "fever" because they were losing their congregations.¹⁰

⁹Green-Bay Intelligencer, August 2, 1834, p. 3; Raney, Wisconsin, A Story of Progress, 88-84.

¹⁰Green-Bay Intelligencer and Wisconsin Democrat, January 13, 1836, p. 3.

An indication that Ellis, a skilled surveyor, had either succumbed to the land fever or had become a defeatist about the chances for financial success in newspaper publishing, is the announcement that Ellis, M. L. Martin, and H. S. Baird had formed the Wisconsin Land Agency and had opened an office at Navarino where they were prepared to act as agents for the purchase, sale, entry, and conveyances of lands in the Green Bay Land District, and throughout the Wisconsin Territory.¹¹

Others caught land fever, too, and they advertised in the June 1, 1836 issue to woo emigrants "Westward to Depere." John Lawe, M. L. Martin, John P. Arndt, William Dickinson, and Charles Tullar, Directors of the Fox River Hydraulic Company, invited "emigrants and capitalists to come to Depere located on the Fox River of Green Bay where they would find pine forests, a healthy climate, rich soil." Their advertisement called special attention to the "millions of acres of good farming lands" which had just been opened for entry in the Green-Bay Land Office at \$1.25 per acre. The promoters promised a Post Office, the seat of government, saw mills, flouring mills, and a dry dock, as well as the Fox River Hydraulic Company's mill dam to be completed within a year, and employment for 200 mechanics and laborers.¹²

The first issue under Sholes' editorship continued the

¹¹Ibid., May 11, 1836, p. 3.

¹²Green-Bay Intelligencer and Wisconsin Democrat, June 1, 1836, pp. 3, 4.

policy of promoting Wisconsin Territory. The paper carried a glowing account of the advantages to be found in the new town of Kewaunee, near Green Bay. The promoters promised settlers who built homes or stores in Kewaunee a "40 per cent deduction from the amount of the next payment after completion of a dwelling or other buildings." On the same page the editor reprinted a story from the Detroit Advertiser condemning speculation in government lands and urging all to join in demanding legislation which would restrict sales of public lands to actual settlers. A month later, Sholes boasted: "In Rochester, some lots which sold last year for \$3,000, this year brought \$10,000. This is good, but it does not equal some portions of the 'Far West', where property is bought one minute, and sold the next at more sometimes than a 1000% advance."¹³

Sholes seemed to be ambivalent in his attitude toward speculators. The following December, he reprinted from the New Orleans Times an article which pointed out that speculators performed a great service for the country because they stimulated emigration and discovered lands suitable for settlement. This prevented many from remaining vagabonds by attracting them to the country where they could become rich and respectable planters. The author did admit that speculation which prevented settlement was bad, although lawful. Perhaps Sholes could not wholly condemn the speculators who, after

¹³Wisconsin Democrat, September 1, 1836, p. 2; October 20, 1836, p. 3.

all, were operating within the law, and who advertised regularly in his newspaper. A few months later Sholes had modified his views about speculation. He insisted that Congress pass a pre-emption law which would safeguard actual settlers against speculators. The bill then in Congress had been amended so often that it bore little resemblance to the original bill, he complained. One amendment provided that receivers might not accept bills of banks which issued notes less than five dollars in value. Sholes believed that this amendment would not be conducive to prosperity in the West.¹⁴

Although Sholes could not give his readers any news about the fate of the land bill in his issue of March 17, 1837, he did print an interesting item about a controversy between President Andrew Jackson and John Calhoun about the bill. Calhoun had made a speech in the Senate in which he accused President Jackson of removing the federal deposits in order to enrich himself and his friends by the purchase of public lands with federal funds. President Jackson replied to Calhoun's charges as they were reported in the Congressional Globe. In the Senate on February 9 immediately before the final vote on the land bill, Calhoun sent the President's answer to the Chair, and then made some remarks which Sholes did not feel important enough to quote. Calhoun's half-hearted apology was not acceptable to Sholes

¹⁴Ibid., December 22, 1836, p. 2; March 3, 1837, p. 3.

either.¹⁵

In April, Sholes publicized another new town, Paquette, laid out twelve miles south of Fort Winnebago on the military road from Fort Howard to Fort Crawford. The Wisconsin Democrat carried an advertisement for the sale of lots in the new village. Both Ellis and Sholes reciprocated the favor of promoters who advertised by writing editorials to supplement the advertisements.¹⁶

In June, Sholes announced that the Land Office in Green Bay had been opened since the first of the month and that sales had already totaled "several thousand dollars." Sholes then chided the editor of the Milwaukee Advertiser with whom he had been waging a newspaper battle concerning the respective merits of Green Bay and Milwaukee. Sholes asked the Milwaukee editor to note that the Green Bay land office had resumed sales and that Green Bay was still attractive to emigrants. He also reprinted an article from the Chicago American which extolled the benefits of emigration to the West. The poetical effusion ended on the practical note that Westerners wanted, not capitalists, but farmers and mechanics to develop the country. In an adjoining column, Sholes complained that, if Congress had complied with President Jackson's recommendations to sell public lands to actual settlers, it would not have been necessary to import

¹⁵Ibid., March 17, 1837, p. 3.

¹⁶Ibid., April 14, 1837, p. 3 and April 28, 1837, p. 4.

more than two million bushels of foreign wheat into the United States within the past year.¹⁷

By the middle of 1837, Sholes seemed to have become more aware of the economic situation because he printed several stories about suspensions of specie payments by United States' banks. He then "exposed" the schemes of eastern bankers who were trying to get the western banks' supply of specie. He ended his comment with the laconic note that the Wisconsin Bank at Green Bay had also suspended specie payments. He continued his financial report by criticizing New York merchants who were illiberal to westerners who asked for credit. He also printed a letter from a New Yorker who said that times there were so hard that even their watches had stopped. Sholes was surprised, he said, because watches "go on tick to the end of time." His miscellaneous column of comments on financial matters continued with the note that flour was selling in Cincinnati at \$16.00 a barrel, and that a "Wear-Your-Old-Clothes-Society" had been established in the East. Sholes ended his column with his explanation for the panic--"the melting of silver and gold coin for manufacturing purposes caused a shortage of specie. The consumption of silver in New York is annually upwards of \$100,000; and of gold, \$1,000,000," he said.¹⁸

The settlers and the editor continued their agita-

¹⁷Ibid., June 9, 1837, p. 3.

¹⁸Ibid., June 9, 1837, pp. 2, 3.

tion for pre-emption laws, and publicized their demands by printing addresses such as the one from the Peoria Register which Sholes reprinted in the Wisconsin Democrat.¹⁹

Although Sholes could not print any good news about the status of the pre-emption bill, he could see the silver linings in the other clouds that hovered over the country. Sholes seemed to be living in a dream world when he editorialized in December of 1837 that actual settlement in Wisconsin was progressing slowly but steadily, and that "the days of speculation are gone!" He unrealistically pointed out that "everyone now sees that the old fashioned mode of wealth--labor, is the best at last" Sholes went on to blow his bubble even bigger by prophesying that the two settlements on the upper Fox River above Winnebago Lake, one called Fond du Lac, would receive many settlers the next season.²⁰

Sholes tried to believe that out of the economic distress would come increased emigration to the West because laboring men who had lost their jobs and farmers who were discouraged because of the rocky eastern soil would leap at the chance to secure rich farm lands in Wisconsin. He neglected to consider, however, that most of the laborers and farmers would not have the funds to make such a move during a depression. Page four of the same issue carried advertisements of sales of lumbering privileges, mortgage sales of

¹⁹Ibid., November 11, 1837, p. 3.

²⁰Ibid., December 30, 1837, p. 3.

lots purchased within the past three years, and notices of dissolutions of partnerships--all evidences that Wisconsin Territory was suffering severely from the Panic of 1837.

A pitiful note appeared in the advertisement of sheriff's sale of the property of George Williams. It seems that all Williams owned was four barrels of flour and one barrel of pork. Other strong indications that Green Bay merchants were suffering financially were supplied by the numerous notices to debtors to pay their obligations. Some were quite blunt, as for example, the advertisement inserted by John P. Arndt warning debtors to pay up at once or suffer the consequences.²¹

Despite the many signs in his own newspaper's advertisements indicating the seriousness of the depression, Sholes continued to deny rumors that hard times in the East would mean less emigration to Wisconsin Territory. He insisted that hard times would drive farmers and laborers to the West to earn a living. To substantiate his opinion, he reported that land sales at the Green Bay land district for the years 1835, 1836, and 1837 totaled 362,773.20 acres, and that the receipts amounted to \$499,099.57. The figures Sholes reported were accurate, but misleading, because they did not show that the 1837 sales had dropped to 41,179.20 acres. The 1835 land sales totaled 108,365 acres; in 1836, 213,229 acres. So the decrease was considerable. His optimistic predictions that the next season would bring

²¹Ibid., December 30, 1837, pp. 1, 4.

many more settlers was not borne out either. There was no rush to Wisconsin Territory until the 1840's despite the optimism of the editor and of other Green Bay citizens, among them Morgan L. Martin, John P. Arndt, Samuel W. Beall, Henry S. Baird, Daniel Whitney, A. G. Ellis, and others who bought land along the Fox River Valley in 1835, 1836, and 1837 because they firmly believed that the Fox-Wisconsin Waterway would attract thousands of settlers.²²

Although the Panic of 1837 meant a decrease in the amount of land sold, those who had settled on the land prior to the government surveys received good news in 1838. They had long hoped for a law which would restrict land sales to actual settlers to prevent the speculators from usurping the farms they had cleared and planted. They also wanted Congress to give homesteads to all bona fide settlers, and to grant permanent pre-emption rights upon the public lands before they were advertised for sale. Congress gave them part of their request June 22, 1838 by passing the pre-emption law which gave them the right to enter their claims and obtain a title if they had lived on them for at least four months before June 22, 1838. This Act revived and continued in force for another two years the Act of Congress of May 29, 1830. It was almost a month before the news about the pre-emption law appeared in the Wisconsin Democrat.

²²Ibid., March 24, 1838, p. 3; Joseph Schafer, The Winnebago-Horicon Basin (Madison, 1937), 37-38.

A week later, Sholes published the text of the bill.²³

Even though the pre-emption bill had passed, the minimum price of \$1.25 an acre was too high for impoverished squatters to pay. Even those who had arranged mortgage loans were losing their homes. Throughout the rest of 1838 and the years 1839 and 1840 notices of mortgage sales, tax sales, notices to debtors to pay, sheriff's sales, dissolutions of partnerships, and buildings for rent showed that Green Bay did indeed feel the effects of the Panic of 1837, whether Sholes was able to face the fact in print or not.²⁴ Even though the Menominee cession of 1836 gave the area around Green Bay almost 4,000,000 acres of land at a cost of about \$700,000 to the government, there were few actual settlers who had enough money in their pockets to buy land at that time. It was the speculator who profited from the land sales, and the poor farmers, like the poor editors, often had to leave for greener pastures.²⁵

Despite the fact that few settlers had money in their pockets, and that the speculators were becoming more cautious about investing too heavily, President Jackson issued a proclamation declaring that public sales would be held at Green Bay on October 22 and November 5, 1838, offering for

²³Strong, History of Wisconsin Territory, 265-266; Wisconsin Democrat, July 14, 1838, p. 2 and July 21, 1838, p. 2.

²⁴Wisconsin Democrat, April 17, 1838 to March 24, 1840.

²⁵Louise Phelps Kellogg, "The Menominee Treaty at the Cedars, 1836," Transactions of the Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts, and Letters, XXVI (1931), 127-135.

sale the public lands east of the Indian boundary which had not been previously offered for sale. Sholes printed the President's proclamation which also mentioned that the sales would remain open for two weeks unless the lands were disposed of sooner. James Whitcomb, Commissioner of the General Land Office, also warned pre-emption claimants to prove their claims to the Register and Receiver of the Land Office so that their claims could be adjudicated before the public sales began.²⁶

It is difficult to see how Sholes could continue to whistle in the dark about the prospects for land sales and prosperity for such a long period after the Panic of 1837. He printed glowing tributes to the progress of Wisconsin Territory, especially of Green Bay, while his paper carried notice after notice of mortgage sales, sheriff's sales, offices and houses for rent, besides many news stories about the business depression.

By October, 1838, however, Sholes was not so nearly optimistic about the prospects for settlement in Wisconsin. He commented that the public land sales had begun in Green Bay on October 22 and that three townships had been offered for sale without one sale being concluded. He added that "our town is not crowded with eastern speculators, and the prospect is that the sales in the Green Bay land district will be very limited indeed."²⁷

²⁶Strong, History of Wisconsin Territory, 266-267; Wisconsin Democrat, August 11, 1838, p. 3.

²⁷Ibid., October 23, 1838, p. 3.

The newspapers of Green Bay acted as the spokesman for the settlers who demanded that Congress appropriate funds for construction of roads to the Mississippi and to Chicago. Urged on by editorials and memorials, territorial delegates pleaded the military necessity of a road to connect Forts Howard, Winnebago and Crawford. Soldiers could not quell Indian uprisings unless there were passable roads, and farmers could not move their produce to market on Indian trails. The land speculators, too, had an interest in providing good transportation so that Green Bay would be accessible by land as well as by water.

The first issue of the Green-Bay Intelligencer publicized a meeting of the business and political leaders of Green Bay who called the attention of Congress to the need for roads in the area west of Lake Michigan. Optimistically, they stated that Congress had ordered roads to be built from Green Bay to the Mississippi, and from Green Bay to Chicago, but evidently few of the men who met at Arndt's Inn on November 19, 1833, suspected that actual construction of the road from Green Bay to the Mississippi would not be started until 1835, and would not be finished until 1838.²⁸

Two weeks later, Ellis announced that the course of the military road from Green Bay to the Mississippi had been

²⁸ Green-Bay Intelligencer, December 11, 1833, p. 1; Harry E. Cole, "The Old Military Road," Wisconsin Magazine of History, IX (1925), 47-62; Smith, James Duane Doty, 125; General-in-Chief Macomb to Quartermaster General Jesup, February 8, 1832, in Clarence E. Carter (ed.), The Territorial Papers of the United States, XII (Washington, 1945), 431.

surveyed from Navarino, opposite Fort Howard, up the east side of the Fox River to Plum Creek, then south to Winnebago Lake, up Winnebago Lake to its head at the Fond du Lac River, then west to Fort Winnebago, Blue Mound, and then to Fort Crawford on the Mississippi River. Ellis complained that the Indian title to the land had been extinguished and money for construction had been appropriated six years before, but only the survey had been completed. He also suggested that the road should either be macadamized or made into a railroad.²⁹

The following March, Ellis announced that a contract would be let for a road to the Mississippi and one to Chicago, intersecting at the nearest point.³⁰

Lewis Cass, Secretary of War, ordered that construction on the military road was to be begun by troops from Fort Howard, Fort Winnebago, and Fort Crawford. The route was divided into three sections which were assigned to troops from each of the three posts. The section from the Mississippi to Lake Winnebago was opened first because the route over open prairie offered few obstacles. The road was little more than a trail thirty feet wide between two furrows plowed to mark the site. Bridges were built across streams and through the forests. The trees were cut, leaving stumps which were hollowed out so as to collect rain water and rot more

²⁹Green-Bay Intelligencer, December 25, 1833, p. 2.

³⁰Ibid., March 5, 1834, p. 1.

quickly. The road crews ignored the suggestion Ellis had made to macadamize the road, and so in rainy weather it was slippery and practically impassable. The section from Fort Winnebago to Green Bay was not finished until 1838 because the terrain was marshy, and many more causeways and bridges had to be constructed.³¹

The military road from Fort Howard to the Mississippi did not completely satisfy the settlers or the editor of the Green-Bay Intelligencer, even though they made frequent use of it, so they circulated petitions begging Congress to take action on the road to Chicago authorized in 1832. In 1835 it was little more than a winding Indian trail. Ellis commented that this road, along with the \$17,000 appropriated for it, was apparently "smothered in the safe of some public functionary."³²

Ellis was probably correct in this assumption because the survey had not even been begun by April 9th. Ten days later, Ellis was in a more hopeful mood. He announced that Judge James D. Doty and Lieutenant Alexander Center had just arrived at Green Bay from Chicago after having explored part of the route. They found the terrain highly favorable and planned to return to Chicago within a few days, Ellis

³¹Green-Bay Intelligencer and Wisconsin Democrat, July 23, 1835, p. 3; August 29, 1835, p. 2; October 31, 1835, p. 3; D. Martin, History of Brown County, I, 146; Buley, The Old Northwest, I, 457; Francis Paul Prucha, Broadax and Bayonet (Madison, 1953), 134-143.

³²Green-Bay Intelligencer and Wisconsin Democrat, April 9, 1835, p. 3.

said, to begin the actual survey and location. Ellis hoped that this important work would now be completed.³³

The following January the members of the Seventh Legislative Council sent a memorial to Congress requesting that this road, as well as other internal improvements, be completed. They said that the road was of great importance, both to the general government and to the people of the territory, because for seven months in the year it was the only practicable route that troops from Fort Howard could take to the south and east in the event of Indian disturbances. They added that no munitions could be transported to the south and east without a passable road.³⁴

In April, Ellis tried to shame the general government by pointing out that a few settlers had built a road without the help of the government. He was referring to a wagon road from Chicago to Milwaukee, and from Milwaukee north as far as Sac Creek which the settlers had opened. Ellis said that there were only a few obstructions from Sac Creek to Sheboygan, so that in a short time teams could use it the whole distance from Chicago to Sheboygan. Even the northern part of the route from Green Bay to Sheboygan, long despaired of because the country was heavily timbered,

³³Green-Bay Intelligencer and Wisconsin Democrat, May 19, 1835; Smith, James Duane Doty, 146.

³⁴Green-Bay Intelligencer and Wisconsin Democrat, January 13, 20, 27, February 3, 10, 1836; Reuben G. Thwaites (ed.), "Seventh Legislative Council," Wisconsin Historical Society, Proceedings, 1920, 133.

would be opened that spring. Ellis then appealed to his readers to sign the subscription being circulated to raise money to open the road from Green Bay to Manitowoc. As soon as this section, the only difficult part, was finished, land communication with Chicago would be nearly completed. Then Ellis needed the government about the United States Road from Green Bay to Chicago. "It has been surveyed, but is it to rest there? And shall it be said that the private enterprise of a few backwoodsmen has accomplished what the general government promised for them, but refused to do?"³⁵

The editorial intended to shame the general government into action failed to do so. In 1837 travel to points along the lake shore south of Green Bay continued to be arduous. The trail blazed by the backwoodsmen had many stumps, bogs and unbridged ravines. When Andrew J. Vieau, Sr., a Green Bay fur trader, took his bride to Milwaukee in 1837, they traveled in a "French train", a deep box pulled over the surface of the snow by two horses. The trip on the rough road took four days, and the distance was estimated at 125 miles. When snow covered the stumps and logs, travelers could use a "French train", but in the rainy season such a vehicle would have been mired in the mud and

³⁵Green-Bay Intelligencer and Wisconsin Democrat,
April 13, 1836, p. 2.

swamps.³⁶

Since appeals for a road to Chicago were ignored, the settlers, or at least those living in Manitowoc or Twin Rivers, decided to ask for a shorter route, with the hope, perhaps, that when the road was completed as far as Manitowoc and Two Rivers, it might be extended to Milwaukee, and then to Chicago. In January, 1838, a "citizen" wrote to the Wisconsin Democrat advocating immediate construction of the road to Manitowoc because "labor was never cheaper in Green Bay than it is this winter." In that same issue Sholes printed a notice of a public meeting to be held in the Navarino School for those who were interested in a road from Green Bay to Twin Rivers and Manitowoc. The road in question followed the survey route north from Milwaukee along the lake shore to the mouth of the Sheboygan River. The route then veered to the northwest to Manitowoc Rapids about twelve miles inland, then due north to Green Bay. An alternate route forked off northwest of the mouth of the Sheboygan River and crossed the Manitowoc River about two miles from its mouth. A so-called stage service, a lumber wagon drawn by horses, made the trip from Green Bay to Milwaukee from 1836 on, but it was only a hacked-out trace, and travelers had to survive a 40-hour jouncing to reach Milwaukee.³⁷

³⁶ Reuben G. Thwaites (ed.), "Narrative of Andrew J. Vieau, Sr.," Wisconsin Historical Society, Collections, XI (1888), 229-230.

³⁷ Wisconsin Democrat, January 13, 1838, p. 3; D. Martin, History of Brown County, I, 147; Buley, The Old Northwest, I, 458.

The other route between Milwaukee and Green Bay via Fond du Lac and the Military Road was little more than a primitive trail either with many hazards such as rotting stumps, bogs and undergrowth. These routes never carried much traffic because of the difficult terrain as compared to the comparatively comfortable trip via lake steamer from Green Bay to Milwaukee or Chicago. It was only in the winter months when the lake was frozen that travelers used the land routes to the south.

Sholes continued the fight for roads and so did the territorial delegate. Congress responded by appropriating \$30,000 for that purpose in 1838. The Green Bay-Chicago Road was allotted \$15,000 of this appropriation, and \$5,000 was allotted for repairs and improvements of the Military Road from Fort Howard to Fort Winnebago.³⁸

In August, Lieutenant Alexander J. Center announced that he had completed the survey of the route to Chicago, but in October construction had not begun. When Colonel Stephen W. Kearny of the United States Topographical Engineers arrived at Green Bay in October, 1838, to spend the appropriations for the improvement of the road from Green Bay via Milwaukee and Racine to the Illinois state line, and for the improvement of the road from Green Bay to Prairie du Chien via Madison, the citizens of Green Bay pre-

³⁸Wisconsin Democrat, April 7, 1838, p. 3; Strong, History of Wisconsin Territory, 220; U.S. Statutes at Large, V, 245-247.

sented him with a petition to change the route. After waiting this long for a road to Chicago, the settlers wanted to make sure that the appropriation was not spent on a road in the interior to connect Forts Howard and Dearborn. They preferred a road along the lake shore through the settlements and post office sites. Since Fort Dearborn had been abandoned, the expenditure of the money on a military road in the interior remote from settlements would be wasteful, they said. They hoped that the War Department would accede to the wishes of the settlers.³⁹

Sholes must have realized that the petition to the War Department to change the route would hold up construction for some months, but that did not deter him from needing both the War Department and Congress for action and for larger appropriations. Although neither body moved quickly enough to suit the Wisconsin Democrat or its readers, Congress did order that the money appropriated for roads in Wisconsin Territory prior to 1840 was to be placed in charge of Captain Thomas J. Cram of the United States Engineer Corps. In his report to the chief of the bureau, Cram recommended that an additional appropriation of \$33,381 be made to build the road from Green Bay via Milwaukee and Racine to the state line, and \$35,267 for improvements to the Military Road from

³⁹Wisconsin Democrat, August 22, 1838, p. 2; October 13, 1838, p. 2.

Fort Howard to Fort Crawford.⁴⁰

In the meantime, some progress was being made on the Green Bay-Chicago road. In October, Sholes reported that the contractor, Mr. William H. Bruce, promised to have the section from Green Bay to Sheboygan completed by January 1, 1840. During the winter months it would be passable for sleighs, and by spring the bridges would be constructed.

Despite the favorable report made by Captain Cram, Congress refused to pass the additional appropriations in 1840. The Van Buren administration was determined to curtail expenses in this period of economic recession. So the backwoodsmen either contributed their own money and labor to build roads, or got along with those already constructed. The Wisconsin Territorial Legislature passed an act that same year prescribing the manner in which territorial roads should be laid out, surveyed and constructed. Since the act also provided that no territorial funds could be used for road construction, the settlers had to rely on their own efforts. They did this in the same way they built their log cabins--by sharing labor and equipment--until Congress became more liberal with funds.⁴¹

The motivation for the editors' campaigns for good roads was the same as their reasons for desiring postal service--improved communication between Green Bay, Milwaukee,

⁴⁰Ibid., January 1, 1839, p. 3; October 1, 1839, p. 2; January 1, 1840, p. 1; January 14, 1840, p. 3.

⁴¹Strong, History of Territory of Wisconsin, 301, 314-315.

Chicago, and eastern cities. Editors in remote areas were dependent upon eastern papers for news, so when long delays in mail delivery deprived them of news, they complained bitterly. In January, 1834, Ellis made the first of many complaints about delays in mail delivery caused by the failure of the government to complete construction on a direct route from Green Bay to Chicago. He said that he could see no logical reason for sending mail via a roundabout route two hundred miles through Illinois in the meantime. Ellis said that the Postmaster General had changed the Chicago to Green Bay service to a route which went from Chicago via Dixon's Ferry and Galena to Mineral Point, and then to Green Bay, because a gentleman had told him that the direct route from Chicago to Green Bay was unnecessary because there was only one day's difference in time between the two routes. Ellis fumed that this gentleman had by a "deliberate and diabolical falsehood" deprived a whole community of its "sacred rights", and that he deserved an "elevation." He also reprinted an editorial from the Chicago Democrat which corroborated his views, and added that the Chicago-Green Bay route was not an expensive one, and that it was needed more than ever because of increasing population. The Chicago editor added that the route was the only line of communication by which orders could be transmitted between Forts Dearborn and Howard. Cancelling the service cut off that part of the Fifth Regiment stationed at Fort Dearborn from its headquarters at Fort Howard. That same

month Ellis jabbed his editorial finger at the culprit who had misrepresented Green Bay's needs for postal service by snarling an acknowledgement of receipt of the Galena mail twelve days after the Chicago express had arrived. The papers brought by the Galena route were ten days old, so the difference in time between the two routes was twenty-two days, and not one day, and therefore, Ellis said, the "gentleman" should be proud of his "veracity". In March Ellis complained again about mail service. He said that despatches which left Green Bay on December 15, 1833, had not arrived at Detroit by the end of the following month, and that the mail was probably being held over at Milwaukee.⁴²

The flow of petitions and complaints to the Post Office Department bore some fruit. The Assistant Postmaster General, C. K. Gardner, wrote to Alexander J. Irwin, Postmaster at Green Bay, on January 25, 1834, explaining that the department had curtailed service because the direct route from Chicago to Green Bay cost more than the revenue derived from it would justify. But in order that the people of Green Bay might not be too greatly inconvenienced, the Postmaster General authorized Mr. Irwin to send an express to Chicago once every two weeks during the period when lake navigation was closed. By August the good news

⁴²Green-Bay Intelligencer, January 8, 1834, p. 3; January 22, 1834, p. 3; March 5, 1834, p. 3.

that the weekly mail route to Chicago would be re-established, and that bids would be advertised immediately, cheered Ellis and his readers. This boon to Green Bay was a result of the application signed by Lucius Lyon, Territorial Delegate, Daniel Whitney and David Irwin. Ellis modestly forbore taking credit for the action although his editorials had synthesized public opinion and had been at least partially responsible for the delegate's success in Washington.⁴³

Although the Postmaster General yielded to complaints published in the Green-Bay Intelligencer and restored twice monthly express service to Chicago, neither Ellis nor his readers stopped complaining. They had good reason because in 1835 Detroit papers reached Green Bay via Chicago in eleven days, but frequently were routed via Galena which took twenty-six days. And sometimes the mail rider threw the mail overboard when it was too hot, too cold, or he was too tired. Mail between Green Bay and Chicago, a distance of 240 miles, was still carried on foot during the 1830's. Alexis Clermont, a French Canadian of Green Bay, carried the mail for Pierre Grignon, the contractor and a former Green Bay fur trader. Clermont said that his load was limited to sixty pounds and that he and his Oneida Indian companion, usually made the round trip from Green Bay to Chicago in a month. They carried two shot-bags filled

⁴³Ibid., March 19, 1834, p. 3; August 2, 1834, p. 2.

with parched corn, but relied upon the Indians for most of their food enroute. His pay was usually \$60 to \$65 for a round trip, although he sometimes received as much as \$70 for a trip in the fall and winter. Clermont made his last overland trip to Chicago in the summer of 1836.⁴⁴

When the editor of the Green Bay Intelligencer and Wisconsin Democrat represented Green Bay at the Seventh Legislative Council, he made sure that the memorial the council delegates sent to Congress contained explicit and graphic complaint about mail delays. The memorial stated that the mail was frequently detained for weeks at a distance of 50 to 60 miles from any settlement because there were no bridges across the streams. Sometimes the mail was so completely saturated with water that they were held up at Milwaukee for several days to dry them and many letters and papers were illegible because they had been water-soaked. As usual, the petitioners added their argument for the necessity of safe and speedy transport of military dispatches, and land office receipts, with the hope that the plea of military and economic necessity might move a frugal Congress to make an appropriation to improve the roads which would at the same time improve mail service.⁴⁵

⁴⁴Ibid., June 13, 1835, p. 3; June 27, 1835, p. 2; Reuben G. Thwaites (ed.) "Narrative of Alexis Clermont," Wisconsin Historical Society, Collections, XV (1900), 453-457.

⁴⁵Green-Bay Intelligencer and Wisconsin Democrat, January 13, 1836, p. 3.

The editor's patience was wearing thin, and understandably so, when he reported in January, 1836, that David Irwin, the territorial delegate, had sent 52 pounds of law books, using his franking privilege to pay the postage. This meant that part of the letters and newspapers had been left somewhere along the route because the load was too heavy for one horse to carry. Ellis pointed out that they could all get along without law books until the opening of lake navigation. He ended his diatribe with his usual demand for better mail service. Ellis continued to publish irascible comments about late mail until he sold the paper to Sholes.⁴⁶

In September, 1836, when Sholes published the first issue of the Wisconsin Democrat, he took up the cudgels, too. Sholes cited Section 32 of the Post Office Law which imposed a fine not to exceed \$500 and imprisonment for a term not over six months upon any postmaster who unlawfully detained mail, or who gave preference in delivery of the mails. Sholes hoped that an example would be made of the first postmaster who violated this law.⁴⁷

Throughout Sholes' editorship, he continued his campaign for better mail service, but like Dox Quixote, he was charging windmills in his conflict with the Postmaster

⁴⁶Ibid., January 20, 1836, p. 3; March 3, 1836, p. 3; April 13, 1836, p. 2.

⁴⁷Wisconsin Democrat, September 1, 1836, p. 3.

General and Congress. Sholes complained in 1837 that thrones might rock, republics might totter and fall, and the bankrupt thousands might fire cannons against the walls of the capitol, but that unless all these calamities were accompanied by an earthquake, the Wisconsin Democrat would remain ignorant of anything beyond its immediate vicinity, because no mails had arrived for three weeks. Sholes didn't stop at complaints. He pursued the quest for better mail service until he found the reason for delays. The Postmaster at Detroit, Sheldon McKnight, excused the poor service by explaining that the contractor for the mail route from Niles, Michigan to Chicago, Illinois had failed, and had given up his contract. A new contractor carried the mail for only 41 days and then gave it up as a losing business. McKnight was trying to arrange another contract. If he was unsuccessful, Green Bay would be cut off from direct service from the East until lake navigation opened.⁴⁸

Some of Sholes' complaints must have moved Congress because the senators and representatives of the Second Session of the 24th Congress established fifteen new post routes in Wisconsin Territory. Among these were three routes to provide service for Green Bay Settlers to Madison via DePere, La Fontaine, Calumet village, Fond du Lac and Fox Lake. The second route ran from Green Bay via Nee-sho-to

Wisconsin Democrat, December 30, 1837, p. 3; July 21, 1838, p. 2.

to Twin Rivers; and the third, from Duck Creek to Green Bay.

However, these concessions to the people of Green Bay did not completely satisfy the Wisconsin Democrat, because authorizing routes and servicing them were two different things. It was difficult to find contractors to carry the mail over muddy roads, through swamps and cold streams. The Detroit postmaster had not found a contractor for the Detroit-Chicago route and mail bags had accumulated at various points in Michigan, Niles, St. Joseph and Michigan City. Sholes commented that the people of Green Bay were deeply interested in this matter. He said that to be isolated in the winter without mail communication east or south of Chicago was too much like being buried alive to be at all agreeable. Then Sholes got to the root of the mail problem by giving the real reason for the poor service--the Post Office Department allowed too small an allowance to contractors in the West, and was inexcusably slow in paying even the small allowance they granted. When they finally did pay the pittance, it was in drafts on a hundred little post offices two or three hundred miles apart. So the cost of collecting was often as much as the amount collected. Sholes added that a contractor must have a large amount of capital, and he could count on his capital being used up before Amos Kendall would repay him. He ended his editorial by stating that settlers in the West would continue to suffer from irregularity in mail delivery until the Postmaster General allowed

more liberal compensation, and paid it directly to the contractor as soon as it became due. His final sentence was a direct threat: "We want reform, Amos, and the sooner you apply it, the better for the administration, for yourself, and for us."⁴⁹

Amos Kendall paid little attention to Sholes and his Wisconsin Democrat, and as was usual when the general government failed to solve a problem, the settlers solved it themselves. Mr. C. M. Rogers of Green Bay started a semi-weekly mail and passenger service between Green Bay and Fort Winnebago. This stage connected with the mail stage which ran twice weekly between Mineral Point and Fort Winnebago. Sholes commented sarcastically, "thanks to the enterprise of Mr. Rogers, and no thanks to the Post Office Department, Green Bay now has twice weekly mail and passenger service to Mineral Point."⁵⁰

When winter snows and rains made the roads impassable again, Sholes queried plaintively: "What has become of our mail?" He had to run off the Democrat and there was no news to put in it because the mail had not arrived. The following January, Sholes printed a letter from George E. Graves, the contractor of the mail route between Green Bay and Chicago. Mr. Graves accused Amos Kendall of parsimony because he had cut his compensation one-third, and had cut the service

⁴⁹Ibid., August 11, 1838, p. 3; September 22, 1838, p. 2; Strong, History of Wisconsin Territory, p.263.

⁵⁰Wisconsin Democrat, October 13, 1838, p. 3.

from thrice-weekly to twice-weekly. Mr. Graves threatened to discontinue his route unless Amos Kendall restored his full compensation. Kendall ignored the threat and refused to reinstate thrice-weekly service until the following June. When 1839 drew to a close, Sholes, the Wisconsin Democrat, Green Bay settlers and mail contractors were still at odds with the Post Office Department. As a final blow, Amos Kendall politely declined to fulfill a request from Green Bay settlers for twice-weekly mail service to Madison.⁵¹

The Post Office Department justified its refusal to increase allowances to contractors, and to give better service because the revenues from routes in Wisconsin Territory did not pay for the costs. Since territorial delegates did not have a vote in Congress, they could not wield political influence, despite the pressures exerted by Sholes and the Wisconsin Democrat. Until financial conditions improved enough to warrant higher expenditures for postal services, the settlers in Green Bay solved their own problems, or at least ameliorated them, by establishing commercial passenger stages which also carried mail and freight.

Although land communication to Milwaukee, Chicago and the Mississippi River continued to give cause for many complaints throughout the 1830's, transportation on the Great Lakes was much more satisfactory. Issues of both the Green-

⁵¹Ibid., October 13, 1838, p. 3; October 23, 1838, p. 3; December 11, 1838, p. 3; December 18, 1838, p. 2; January 2, 1839, p. 2; March 5, 1839, p. 3; December 17, 1839, p. 2; January 14, 1840, p. 2, February 11, 1840, p. 2.

Bay Intelligencer and the Wisconsin Democrat carried lists of steamships entering and clearing from the port of Green Bay, partly as evidence of the growing commercial importance of the port, and partly for practical information to shippers and business men in Wisconsin Territory.⁵²

Notices concerning the condition of the ice in the harbor and the Fox River indicated how eagerly the people waited for the spring thaws that would permit travel to the lower lake ports, and would bring mail to the ice-bound settlers. The issue of March 24, 1838, carried an editorial that sounded like an acute attack of spring fever. Sholes lyrically announced that the ice in the Fox River had melted, the weather was mild, and the Wisconsin, Captain Veasey commanding, was soon to sail to Chicago. By April 1, Sholes hoped they would have communication with the lower lakes. However, it was April 15 before the winter-weary settlers caught sight of the first vessel to enter the port that year. That same issue carried a list of the new boats which would soon be plying between Green Bay and the other lake ports.⁵³

Although transportation by the lake was more convenient and comfortable than on the pioneer roads, Ellis and Sholes printed editorials and articles advocating harbor improvements with as little success as their pleas for roads.

Although Congress treated the inhabitants of the

⁵²Ibid., June 9, 1837, p. 3.

⁵³Ibid., March 24, 1838, p. 2; April 21, 1838, p. 2.

area west of Lake Michigan like indigent step-children, the newspapers doggedly insisted upon help from the general government. Agitation for roads, postal service and harbor facilities failed to move the parsimonious Congresses in the Jackson and Van Buren administrations, but that did not deter Sholes from waging editorial campaigns for internal improvements. After 1836, agitation for improved communications between Lake Michigan and the Mississippi centered on plans for a railroad, even though Sholes continued to push for roads, canals and lighthouses at the same time. Sholes reprinted a story from the Milwaukee Advertiser which compared the cost of transporting lead to New York from the mines in southwestern Wisconsin via the Mississippi River-New Orleans route, or via the Great Lakes and Erie Canal. The saving via the Erie Canal route would be \$110,000,000, said the members of the Committee on Internal Improvements of the Legislative Council of the Territory of Michigan.⁵⁴ This Committee met at Green Bay on January 13, 1836, and sent a memorial to Congress advocating the construction of a railroad from Milwaukee to the Mississippi, as well as various other internal improvements, such as lighthouses, harbor improvements, and the removal of obstructions in the Fox, Wisconsin and Mississippi Rivers. Sholes said that the Milwaukee Advertiser had printed an article favoring the railroad from Milwaukee to the Mississippi and a canal

⁵⁴Ibid., September 1, 1836, pp. 2, 3; House Journal, Wisconsin Legislature, 1836, p. 13; Madison Enquirer, December 1, 1838, p. 3; Milwaukee Courier, August 18, 1841, p. 4; Milwaukee Sentinel and Gazette, February 25, 1851, p. 3.

from the Lake to the Rock River, but that he was not prepared to judge the advantages or disadvantages of any route. However, he believed that a railroad or canal would connect Lake Michigan with the Mississippi in the near future. This was surely a safe prediction because many business leaders were promoting the project through the delegates to the territorial legislature. Governor Henry Dodge in his first message to the legislature on October 26, 1836, spent some time on the general question of internal improvements. He especially recommended the construction of the Milwaukee-Mississippi Railroad. The legislators sent a memorial to Congress asking for an appropriation which Congress finally approved, allotting \$2,000 for a survey. A topographical engineer began the survey, but after completing twenty miles of the proposed route, he reported adversely on the project. By this time five years had gone by and Wisconsin still had no railroad to the Mississippi. The promoters began to lose hope. Gone were the big dreams some had entertained of a railroad from the Lakes to the Mississippi, and eventually to the Pacific. They would be satisfied now if only they had a railroad from Milwaukee to Beloit or to Waukesha. But many of the promoters breathed their last before the first cars started for Waukesha on the morning of February 25, 1851.

The LaFontaine Railroad Company was another railroad bubble that burst. David Jones, M.L. Martin and

James D. Doty were the Directors whose purpose it was to build a railroad from La Fontaine on the Fox River to Winnebago City on the northeastern shore of Lake Winnebago. This project came to nothing partly because of the Panic of 1837, and partly because of the many arguments over the relative value of railroads, plank roads or canals.⁵⁵

Despite these failures, Sholes continued to plead for help from Congress for internal improvements. He praised the advantages of the Green Bay area, and insisted that Congress must give help to improve the rapids on the Fox River and to build lighthouses. This editorial implies that Sholes had by this time made his decision as to the greater utility of the Fox-Wisconsin Waterway compared to the proposed Milwaukee-Mississippi Railroad which would, of course, build up Milwaukee at the expense of Green Bay. Although Sholes, naturally enough, favored Green Bay over Milwaukee as a terminus for a waterway project, he could see the advantage of a railroad from Detroit to Chicago. He announced that this railroad would cut the travel time to 17 hours compared to the 900-mile lake trip which took from three days to a week, depending upon weather. As late as August 27, 1839 Sholes was still pleading for internal improvements and discussing the various means that could be used to improve communication.⁵⁶

⁵⁵Wisconsin Democrat, March 17, 1837, p. 2.

⁵⁶Ibid., December 30, 1837, p. 3; January 1, 1839, p. 3; August 27, 1839, p. 3.

Although Sholes later came to realize that a railroad from Detroit to Chicago and one from Milwaukee to the Mississippi, would benefit Green Bay indirectly, he was opposed to Milwaukee's progress at Green Bay's expense. Therefore, he promoted the Fox-Wisconsin Waterway just as Ellis had. Both editors were blind to the engineering difficulties of overcoming the rapids in the lower Fox, and they minimized the need for dredging a deeper channel in both the Fox and Wisconsin, and the feasibility of digging a canal to join the Fox and Wisconsin at the Portage.

In the first issue of the Green-Bay Intelligencer, Ellis printed the resolution drawn up by the citizens of Green Bay calling the attention of Congress to the need for improvement of the Fox-Wisconsin Waterway. The memorial stated that this route was the only practicable one between Lake Michigan and the upper Mississippi above the rapids at Rock Island. The government transported much material, the cost of which would pay for improvements to navigation, said the committee; and the lead mines would also have direct and safe transport to the Atlantic states. The Fox-Wisconsin Waterway could be made navigable for 25-ton boats and not more than 12-1/2 miles of canals were needed, including the canal at the portage between the Fox and Wisconsin at the site of Fort Winnebago. The members of the committee added that the improvement would unite the northern and southern parts of the territory, and that improvement of the rapids of the Fox River would help in moving troops to fight the

Winnebagoes, Sacs and Foxes.⁵⁷

In March Ellis wrote an editorial urging the development of the Fox and Wisconsin Rivers, and the following August reported a law enacted by the Michigan Legislative Council incorporating the Wisconsin Portage Canal Company which was created to make a canal across the portage between the Fox and Wisconsin Rivers. The distance was one mile and 37 chains, and the estimated cost of construction was \$100,000. Ellis complained that the bill had not been approved by the House of Representatives, and so Wisconsin was suffering from the neglect and cupidity of the legislators in Washington.⁵⁸

Ellis continued to publicize the need for the Fox-Wisconsin improvement; and so did Sholes. Articles signed "Ouisconsin", and attributed to James Doty, appeared in the Wisconsin Democrat. The articles described the discovery of the route by Marquette and Joliet, and pointed out the advantages of a water route from Green Bay to the Mississippi. Sholes commented that the writer of the articles was well informed, and his suggestions demanded consideration.⁵⁹

⁵⁷ Green-Bay Intelligencer, December 11, 1833, p. 1. For details concerning the engineering difficulties see Senate, Report of the Secretary of War...with Copies of Reports, Plans and Estimates, for the Improvement of Neenah, Wisconsin, and Rock Rivers. Sen. Doc. No. 318, 26th Cong., 1st Sess. (1840), 3; U. S. Senate, Report from the Committee on Roads and Canals, Sen. Doc. No. 208, 25th Cong., 3rd Sess. (1839), 1; Wisconsin Assembly Journal, 1849, Appendix, 780-783; 1850, Appendix, 448-559.

⁵⁸ Ibid., March 5, 1834, p. 3 and August 2, 1834, p. 3.

⁵⁹ Ibid., September 1, 1836, p. 3.

In April Sholes reported that the U. S. Senate had adopted a resolution to instruct the Committee on Public Lands to inquire into the expediency of granting to the Portage Canal Company of Wisconsin the right of pre-emption to land lying between the Fox and Wisconsin Rivers for the canal. The next month Daniel Whitney, President, and H. S. Baird, Secretary of the Portage Canal Company, advertised for bids, and for 100 laborers to dig the canal.⁶⁰

The following July, David Jones, A. J. Irwin and J. D. Doty, Directors of the Fox River Transportation Company, announced the beginning of their transportation company. They advertised a rate of \$1.25 per hundred from Green Bay to the portage and \$1.00 per hundred to Winnebago Lake or Fond du Lac. They also advertised steamboat service on the Wisconsin to the Mississippi.⁶¹

In September, Sholes reported plans for another canal to join the Fond du Lac and the west branch of the Rock River. Sholes urged the construction of this canal which would open an outlet to the pine lumber of the Wolf River, thus giving settlers on the Rock River the building materials they needed. The canal would also open another channel to the Mississippi for a second water communication through the center of Wisconsin Territory. Governor Dodge, too, urged the legislature to send a memorial to Congress

⁶⁰Ibid., April 28, 1838, p. 3.

⁶¹Ibid., July 21, 1838, p. 1.

asking for a donation of 150,000 acres of land to be sold to provide funds for the improvement of the Fox River at Green Bay and the Rock and Pekatoneca Rivers, and a canal from the Rock River through the Four Lakes to the Wisconsin River. Governor Dodge explained that the improvement of the Fox and Wisconsin Rivers, and the canal at the portage would open fertile country to emigration and would provide a direct communication with Eastern markets for the lead mines in southwestern Wisconsin.⁶²

In December of that year, Sholes reprinted a letter to the editor of the Milwaukee Advertiser. The writer urged the citizens of Wisconsin Territory to back an internal improvement program financed by a loan obtained on the credit of the Territory. In his report of the legislative proceedings that same month, Sholes mentioned the memorial of the Brown County citizens who asked for the passage of a law authorizing a loan of \$3,000,000 on the credit of Wisconsin Territory. The money would be used for the improvement of the Fox, Wisconsin, Milwaukee, Rock, and Pekatonica Rivers. The motion was read and ordered to be laid on the table. In January, Sholes urged that this bill introduced by Mr. Irwin should be passed because it would benefit the whole area. Sholes also reported that the Secretary of War had recommended the improvement of the

⁶²Ibid., December 4, 1838, p. 3.

navigation of the Fox River. Sholes commented that the annual saving to the United States in the transportation of troops and military stores would go far toward paying the whole expense of the undertaking.⁶³

Despite the urging of Sholes and the memorials of the citizens of Wisconsin Territory, and despite the efforts of James D. Doty who sponsored bills to provide a general system of internal improvements for Wisconsin by allowing the territorial legislature to float a loan to finance the projects, the Congress of the United States refused to pass the measure. This was providential for Wisconsin Territory because if the Territory had plunged into debt to finance waterways which would soon be outmoded by railroads, it would have become bankrupt as did many other states which defaulted on payment of debts for canals and other internal improvements.⁶⁴

⁶³Ibid., December 25, 1838, p. 2; January 1, 1839, p. 2.

⁶⁴Wisconsin Enquirer (Madison), March 9, 1839, p. 3; reprinted in Wisconsin Democrat, August 27, 1839, p. 2; Strong, History of Wisconsin Territory, 278, 285; Balthasar Henry Meyer, "A History of Early Railroad Legislation in Wisconsin," Wisconsin Historical Society, Collections, XIV (1898), 218-219.

CONCLUSION

Thus did the Green Bay newspapers reflect community life and promote social and economic growth. The newspapers described the pattern of social and cultural life through the advertisements and editorials, and through reprinted articles on temperance, fashions, child training, and rules for dutiful wives. Editorials and articles publicized the establishment of schools and churches, and meetings of the lyceum and reading associations. Poems and excerpts from sentimental novels illustrate the literary taste of the 1830's. The editors promoted the establishment of the Episcopal Church and publicized its religious and social activities. However, another important segment of community life, the French-Canadian Catholics who had established their own social and religious life long before the Green-Bay Intelligencer was founded, were neglected, probably because they did not conform to the Yankee Protestant culture.

The newspaper helped to develop the economic growth of the area by promoting the Fox-Wisconsin waterway, construction of roads, improvement of harbors, and establishment of postal facilities. Editorials and articles praising the fertility of the soil and the abundance of natural resources encouraged emigration to Wisconsin Territory and thus sparked economic growth.

The Green-Bay Intelligencer and Wisconsin Democrat

not only promoted the social and economic growth of Wisconsin Territory, but also crystallized community opinion to provide the impetus needed to inaugurate social and economic improvements. Meetings of the citizens of Wisconsin Territory, and memorials to Congress requesting funds for internal improvements had some degree of success because the newspapers publicized the needs of the settlers and pressured public officials to allocate funds.

In an era when communication was difficult, the newspaper often provided the only link between the settler and his former home in New England. The Green-Bay Intelligencer and Wisconsin Democrat often provided the only news of national and international affairs as well as knowledge of the workings of representative government. Because books were scarce in pioneer times, the newspapers were read and re-read, and then passed from neighbor to neighbor. They not only reflected community life and promoted social and cultural life, but also prepared their readers to take an active part in the development of an outpost of Michigan Territory to Wisconsin Territory.

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