The background of the cover is a photograph of a sunset over Lake Michigan. The sky is filled with soft, orange and yellow clouds, with the sun low on the horizon. In the foreground, a dark wooden pier extends into the water, with several vertical posts. A small boat is docked at the pier. The water reflects the colors of the sunset.

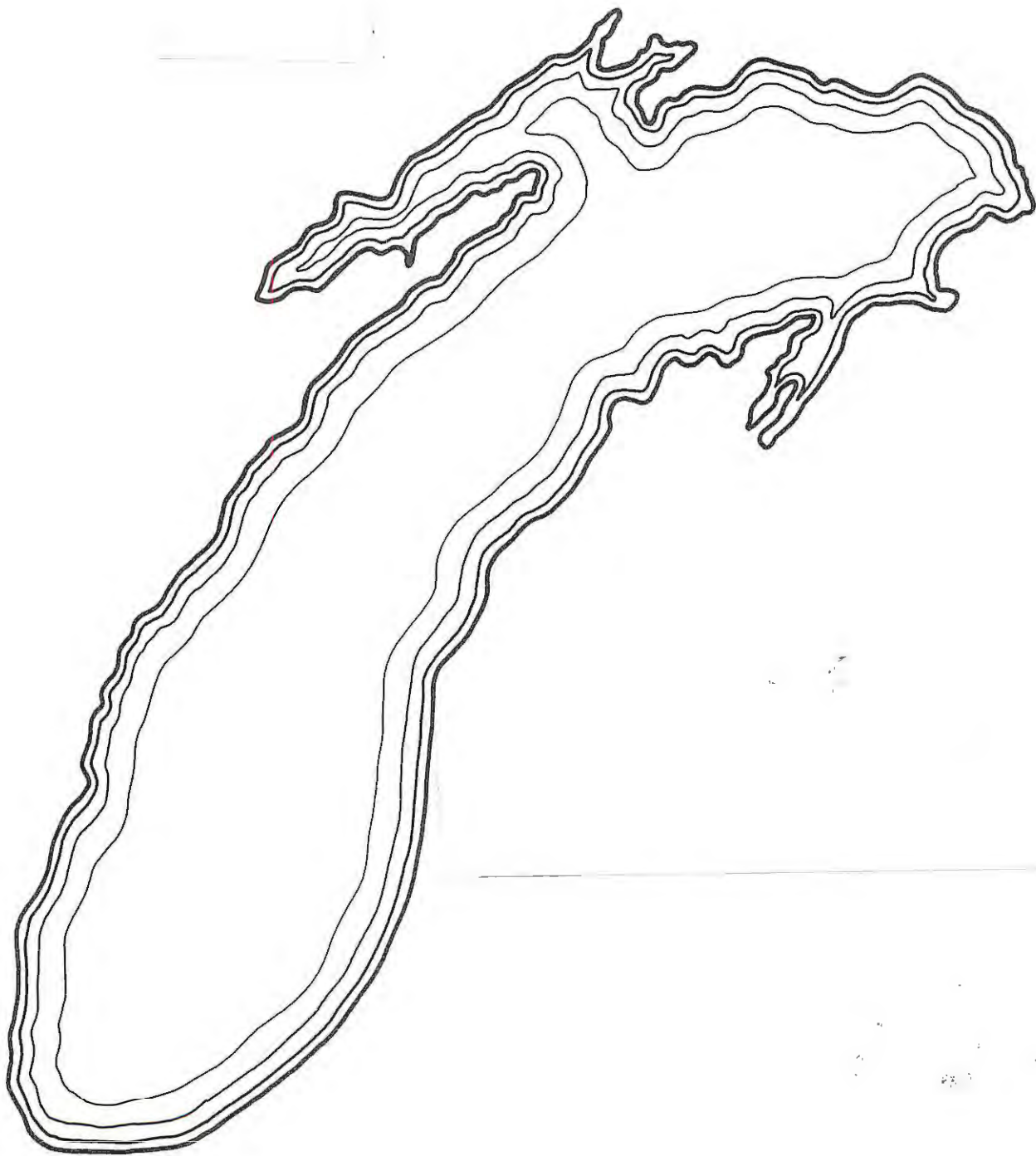
Around the Shores of Lake Michigan

A Guide to Historic Sites

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MARGARET BEATTIE BOGUE

AROUND THE SHORES OF LAKE MICHIGAN



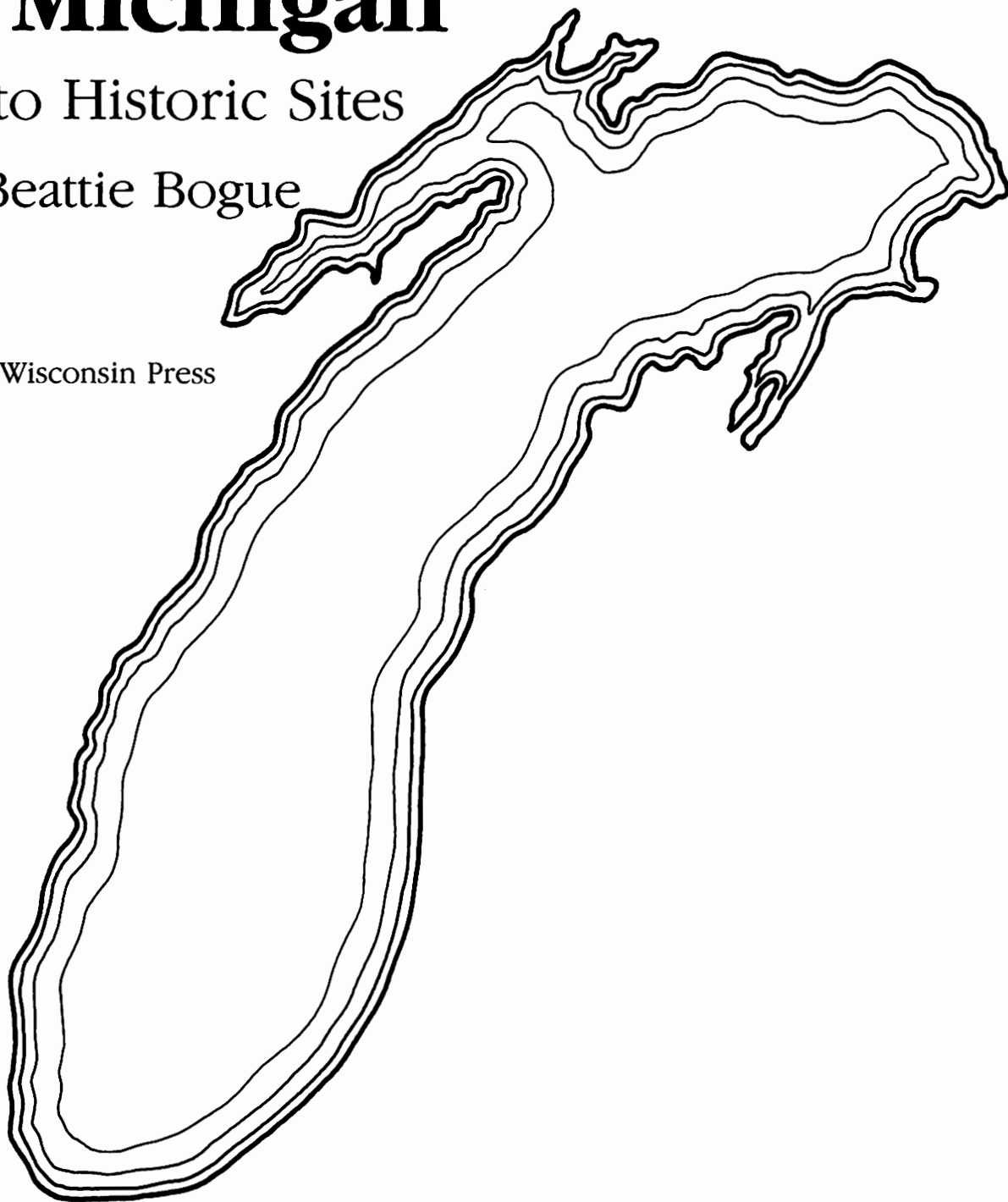
Around the Shores of

Lake Michigan

A Guide to Historic Sites

Margaret Beattie Bogue

The University of Wisconsin Press



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To Allan

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Key to Symbols in Part 2

- B boating
- C camping
- F fishing
- H hiking
- P picnicking
- S swimming
- \$ admission charged
- * included in the National Register
of Historic Places

Highways are designated as follows:

- US U.S. Highway
- I Interstate Highway
- IL Illinois State Highway
- IN Indiana State Highway
- M Michigan State Highway
- W Wisconsin State Highway

Preface

From the quiet, sandy, wave-washed beaches of the northern shore to the bustling urban-industrial communities at the southern rim, Lake Michigan's beautiful blue waters on a sunny summer day invite swimming, fishing, boating, and a long appreciative look. Today's admirers of Lake Michigan stand in a long line of people who have enjoyed its natural beauty. At the head of the line stand Lake Michigan's Indian peoples, who fished and canoed its waters and whose legends and tales are filled with the natural world around them. The lake's name comes from the Algonkian "Michigami" or "Misschiganin," meaning "large body of water."

When the Stephen H. Long expedition to the source of the St. Peter's River reached the shores of southern Lake Michigan on its way west from Philadelphia in April, 1823, William H. Keating, geologist and expedition journal keeper, noted, "We found ourselves transported, as it were, to the shores of an ocean . . . the view, towards the north, was boundless; the eye meeting nothing but the vast expanse of water, which spread like a sea. . . . The beach . . . reminded us of that of the Atlantic on the coast of New Jersey." E. P. Hendricks, surveyor of Indiana's northern boundary in 1827, admired the hills of "beautiful white sand," the dunes lying along the shore. Juliette Kinzie, who went by steamboat from Detroit to Green Bay in the fall of 1830, was captivated by the Michilimackinac area. Of the island she rhapsodized, "Michilimackinac!

that gem of the Lakes! How bright and beautiful it looked. . . . A finer sight can scarcely be imagined. . . . Then those pure, living waters, in whose depths the fish might be seen gliding and darting to and fro; whose clearness is such that an object dropped to the bottom may be discerned at the depth of fifty or sixty feet. . . ." She was also impressed with the northern shore of the lower Michigan peninsula with its "gigantic forest-trees, and here and there the little glades of prairie opening to the water."

Harriet Martineau, during her western travels in 1836, came to the Michigan City area eagerly anticipating a look at "the mighty fresh water sea." From atop a dune she saw it. "There it was, deep, green, and swelling on the horizon, and whitening into a broad and heavy surf as it rolled in towards the shore." The impression was unforgettable.

Margaret Fuller in 1843 traveled from north to south and back again on "this majestic sea." The Manitou Island beach, a "most beautiful beach of smooth white pebbles, interspersed with agates and cornelians," the sunsets, the moonlight and starlight on the water, the colors of the lake changing hourly in the late afternoon, and the golden and flamelike prairie flowers set against blue waters near the Chicago shore affected her deeply.

Early in the twentieth century, after development had seriously eroded much of the original beauty of the lake, the Prairie Club of Chicago launched a campaign to save the Indi-

ana dunes from further industrialization. The sculptor Lorado Taft, one of the club's many eminent members, said of the Chicago area: "Now, there are two great beauties of this region, two things which are distinctive. One is the lake and the other is its product, the Dunes."

A drive around Lake Michigan or along part of its shoreline still provides an impression of great natural beauty. In addition it can give the traveler insights into the political, economic, and cultural history of the area, from the time of the prehistoric Indians to the present. How better to get a feeling for the French explorers and missionaries and the era of the fur trade than to visit the Father Marquette Memorial at St. Ignace and Forts Mackinac and Michilimackinac at the Straits? How better to sense the heterogeneous character of Chicago and Milwaukee's people than to visit those cities and the many places of interest that reflect their ethnic diversity?

This book is designed to provide such experiences to those who travel Lake Michigan's shores. Given the diversity of the area's population and the wide variety in economic and cultural development from north to south, Lake Michigan's history is representative of many themes in regional and national history, comprising as it does the histories of the Indians, the first to live there, the French explorers and missionaries, the fur trade, the American Revolution, and the War of 1812. In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, developmental themes have

dominated: the westward movement of the American people, immigration, canal building, lumbering, mining, agriculture, fishing, commercial shipping, industrialization, recreation, and conservation and environmental protection efforts.

Lying in a richly endowed part of the mid-continent, with soils and climate suitable for intensive agriculture, with iron ore deposits lying to the north and coal to the east and south, with magnificent original stands of timber and abundant fish and fur-bearing animals, the Lake Michigan area has made a major contribution to national wealth. The geographic location of the lake, its long north-south thrust deflecting the lines of land communication east and west to its southern shore, gave Chicago prominence as a national commercial, transportation, and industrial center.

The first part of this guide explains the main themes in the lake's history, tying together the bits and pieces of it found scattered all around the lakeshore. Most of it, however, focuses on locations around the lakeshore to help people traveling the shoreline understand the historical relation of the lake to the great open spaces of natural beauty and to the development of lakeside cities, towns, and villages. Brief histories of these communities emphasize their origins and evolution to the present. The locational materials

are arranged in a numbered sequence of 182 places, beginning at Chicago and running north through Illinois, Wisconsin, and Michigan to the Straits of Mackinac, and from there south through the Michigan lower peninsula and Indiana and back to Chicago. The numbered locations are keyed to the large map that accompanies the book.

The treatment is selective in many ways. The Indian reservations, communities, historic places, museums, parks, national lakeshores, forests, natural sanctuaries, and fish hatcheries described are found, with few exceptions, close to the Lake Michigan shore. Other locations, not in the immediate vicinity of the shore, but with a direct bearing on lake history, are also included. For example, a side trip to Iron Mountain is suggested at Escanaba, the great ore-shipping port of the northern shore, to give the traveler some idea of the Menominee Iron Range mines, whence came much of the ore shipped at Escanaba.

The guide is also selective rather than exhaustive in noting locations of historical importance within communities. Representative examples are identified, and the history and importance of each selected location noted. Because most businesses and industries discourage public tours, opportunities for such visits are not included unless they are part of a well-established, long-term "open" policy. Such visits

materially add to one's understanding of a community, however, and persons especially interested should check with the local chamber of commerce to find out what firms may welcome visitors.

Selectivity has also been practiced in the case of Milwaukee, whose ethnic neighborhoods are described in some detail: its diversity is an example of a theme treated more generally in the materials on other communities. Moreover, Milwaukee locations representative of a number of diverse groups can be visited without major logistical problems. The section entitled "A Heterogeneous People" gives an area overview that puts differing treatments from community to community into balance.

Curiosity will, no doubt, lead many to explore beyond the locations described here. Publications that will help them do so are mentioned in the materials for a number of communities. To help travelers enjoy the lake's natural environment, opportunities for picnicking, camping, hiking, fishing, swimming, and boating are noted for parks, forests, and national lakeshores, all of which reflect the efforts of many people to conserve Lake Michigan's shoreline beauty. Open hours for all museums and sites noted herein are for the 1984 season.

Acknowledgments

Many scholars whose research touches on parts of Lake Michigan's history have provided valuable insights and information for this study. High on that roster stand Bessie Louise Pierce, Bayrd Still, Jack L. Hough, George I. Quimby, John B. Brebner, Alice E. Smith, Powell A. Moore, Milo Quaife, Louise P. Kellogg, Willis F. Dunbar, and Harlan Hatcher. To them, I am much indebted. To the dozens of people in Lake Michigan communities—librarians, historic site and museum directors, chamber of commerce staffs, local historians, and personnel of the U.S. Coast Guard, state departments of natural resources, national forests, and national lakeshores—who took time to discuss the project and offer helpful leads during the many weeks of field work around the lakeshore, I owe a special thank you.

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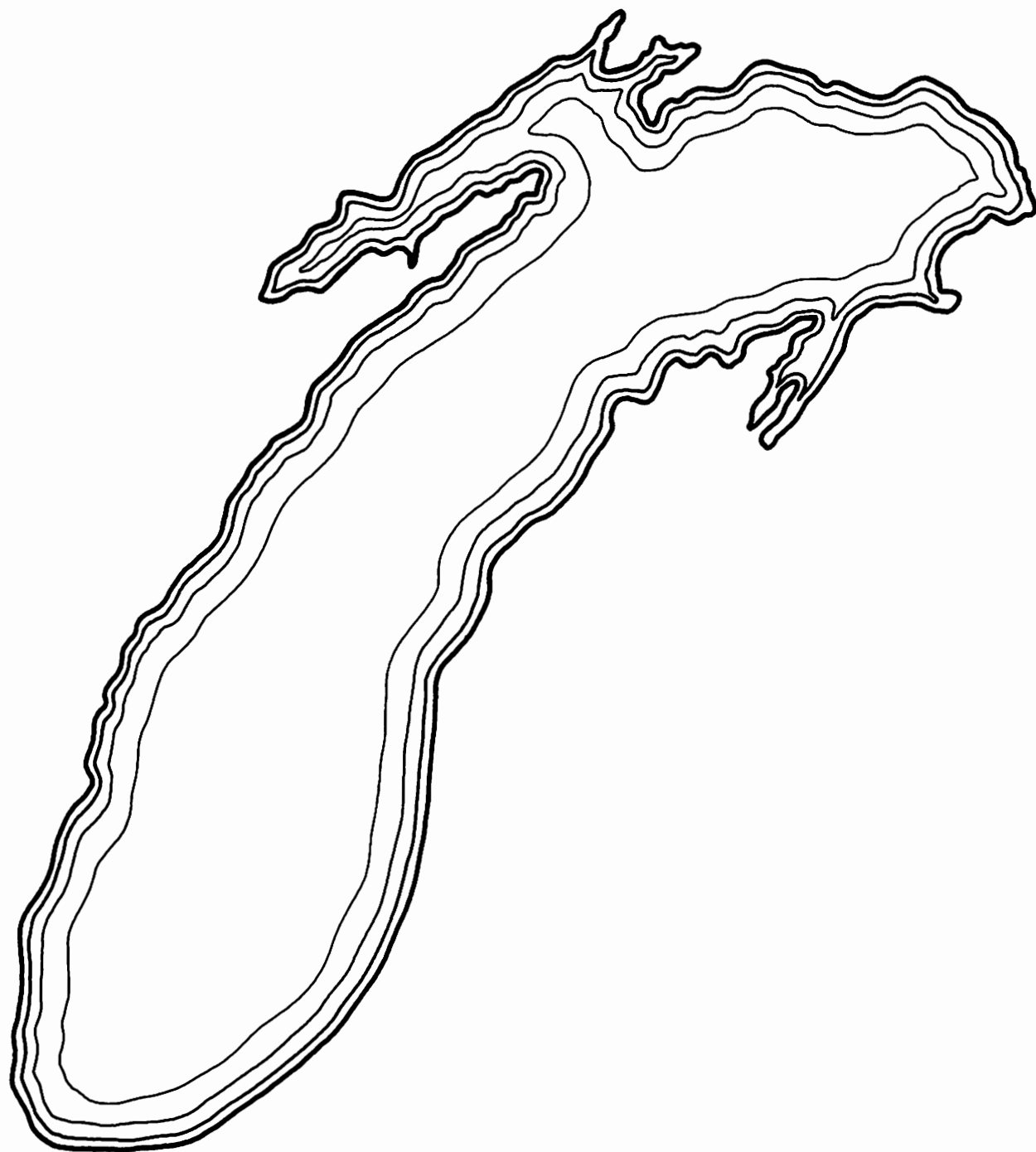
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THE NATURAL AND HISTORICAL SETTING





The lake between Manitowoc and Two Rivers, Wisconsin, on a sunny September day. Photo by Margaret Bogue.

The Lake

One of the five Great Lakes that form the largest group of freshwater lakes in the world, Lake Michigan extends 307 miles from north to south and 118 miles from east to west, with a surface area of 22,300 square miles in a beautiful expanse of blue water. Its shoreline, relatively regular in the south and broken by Green Bay and Grand and Little Traverse bays in the north, extends for 1,660 miles. Standing 531 feet above sea level, Lake Michigan's waters cover a geologically varied lake floor, descending to a depth of 923 feet at their deepest point in the northern basin. Of the Great Lakes, only Superior plunges to a greater depth. Largely sand and pebble beaches lie around its shores, and the prominent rock cliffs that characterize portions of Lake Superior's western and northern shores are absent. Lower cliffs lie on the Garden Peninsula, on the islands strewn across the mouth of Green Bay, and on the Door Peninsula, where the gray dolomite of the Niagara Escarpment protrudes above the water.

Along the eastern and southern shores (see p. 305), majestic sand dunes lend striking beauty to the lake's natural environment. Once extensive but now endangered by industrial development in the south (see sites 174 and 177) and recreational development in the east, dune formations are preserved for public enjoyment in the Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore (site 140), Warren Dunes State Park (site 172), and the Indiana Dunes National Lakeshore and

Indiana Dunes State Park (site 175). Glacial deposits and wind and wave action produced these sand formations over a period of thousands of years. Ever changing, they nurture trees, grasses, wildflowers, and wildlife. At many locations along Lake Michigan's eastern shore, dunes have dammed up river waters flowing into the lake and created small inland lakes close to the shoreline.

Lake Michigan discharges into Lake Huron at the Straits of Mackinac at a rate that allows for a complete change of water about every hundred years. While tides are negligible in Lake Michigan, surface currents produced by wind action, especially the prevailing westerly winds, and changes in barometric pressure, follow a varied and complex pattern. Generally they move from north to south along the western shore and in a northerly direction along the eastern one. The U.S. Bureau of Fisheries has identified swirling current patterns in the southern end of the lake. Another counterclockwise swirl circles the Beaver Island group in the northern end. Lake Michigan's waters move vertically as well as horizontally when temperatures of surface and deep waters equalize at about 39°F, each spring and fall. Then, with the help of the wind, the waters at top and bottom mix thoroughly.

The lake's moderating influence on air temperatures is noticeable immediately adjacent to the shore. The water is cooler than air temperatures in spring and summer and warmer in

fall and winter. This moderating influence has made the lake an attractive place for people to escape the summer heat and, for 25 to 30 miles inland on the eastern shore and on the Door Peninsula, a good place to grow fruit susceptible to early spring frosts.

Lake Michigan is rain fed at an average rate of 31 inches per year and river fed from a drainage basin of 45,460 square miles, most of which lies north of Kenosha, Wisconsin, and Michigan City, Indiana, at no point extending more than 100 miles inland from the shoreline. The Chicago and the Grand Calumet rivers, which once emptied into the lake, now discharge into the Illinois River, a rearrangement of nature designed to solve the Chicago metropolitan area's water supply and sewage disposal problems.

How did Lake Michigan, an important water resource and national avenue of transportation for more than 150 years, come into being? The question intrigued nineteenth-century geologists, who offered a number of explanations, including the action of earthquakes. The glacial theory suggested by Louis Agassiz continues to be the most widely supported. Jack L. Hough has explained it in his *Geology of the Great Lakes*, from which the materials below have in large part been drawn.

Between 500 and 185 million years ago, the Paleozoic sedimentary rocks that form the bedrock of the Lake Michigan basin developed slowly as seas flooded the continent and marine life deposited shell and skeletal re-

mains, layer after countless layer. A sinking of the land, very marked in the Lake Michigan basin, led ultimately to the formation of Paleozoic rock, thousands of feet thick—limestones, dolomites, sandstones, and shales. The depth and extent of the seas varied over time. Apparently the Lake Michigan basin area was isolated at some point from the main sea, leading to extensive deposits of salt and gypsum. At the end of the Paleozoic era, with the building of the Appalachian Mountains, the seas retreated from the continent and, so far as is known, did not return to the Lake Michigan area.

Streams developed, sculpturing the land into drainage systems. The Mississippi, Missouri, Wabash, and Ohio rivers took on their preglacial contours, and others flowed in areas now occupied by the Great Lakes, forming portions of present lake floors. The glacial ages, or Pleistocene epoch, followed, lasting probably from one to two million years. Great ice sheets alternately advanced and retreated, carving out the Great Lakes basins by their sheer weight, scraping and grinding and recasting the landscape. Their great loads of glacial till, left behind as the climate alternated between warm and cold, covered most of the bedrock of the Lake Michigan area.

Geologists believe, on the basis of the evidence offered by shore terraces, beaches, erosion, and deposits (see sites 24, Schlitz Audubon Center, and 50, no. [7]), that a number of lakes occupied parts of the Lake Michigan basin in the intervals between glacial advance and retreat. These were lakes of various sizes, small compared to present-day Lake Michigan and bordered by ice, all falling under the rubric of glacial Lake Chicago because



Niagara limestone formations along the west shore of Washington Island. Photo by Paul Vanderbilt (August 1964). Courtesy State Historical Society of Wisconsin. WHi(X2)15942

they drained southward into the Des Plaines River. They dated from roughly 16,000 to 7,000 B.C. By the latter date, glacial ice was gone from the Lake Michigan region; prehistoric Indian peoples lived there. The earlier spruce and fir forests were declining, and pine forests were increasing. Mastadons slowly retreated northward. Deer, elk, and caribou remained. Some whales still swam in the lake waters.

From about 7,000 to 500 B.C., postglacial lakes occupied either portions or all of the present Lake Michigan basin (see Ridges Sanctuary, site 50, no [7]). The last of these, Lake Algoma, filled an area slightly larger than that

of all of the present Great Lakes combined. In this postglacial lake phase, Lake Michigan's waters stood at a higher level than at present and drained southward. A gradual tilting of the land southward over a period of thousands of years helped alter the level and discharge pattern into the present one. Particularly significant in creating the present drainage system through the Straits of Mackinac into Lake Huron was a deepening of the St. Clair River, where rock formations were not strong enough to resist erosion by the outpouring waters of the combined Huron and Michigan basins. The Chicago outlet, on the other hand, is partly Niagaran bedrock, which the

outlet stream could not cut through. By about 500 B.C. Lake Michigan had taken on its modern appearance. The flora and fauna were closely akin to those found by the seventeenth-century explorers.

Paleozoic bedrock, preglacial rivers, and the grinding pressure of the great, thick ice sheets left Lake Michigan with certain notable geological characteristics. Above water level, three escarpments alter the generally gentle, sloping shoreline: the Niagara (see above); the Bois Blanc along the south shore of the Straits of Mackinac (site 110) through Waugoshance Point (Wilderness State Park, site 117), and traceable on Beaver, Garden, and their adjacent islands; and the Traverse Group escarpment, which forms the shoreline from Bay View, Michigan, west and southwest to Petoskey, Charlevoix, and the headlands of Grand Traverse Bay.

Underwater the lakebed varies from a relatively gently sloping southern section, underlain by shale covered by several hundred feet of glacial drift, to the more rugged contours of the northern basin. In the latter, drowned riverbeds form a ridge and valley province running roughly twenty miles into the lake from the shoreline east of Grand Traverse Bay and including the bay itself. By contrast, the lakebed off the northern shore is a plane with water only about 75 feet deep, cut through by a 150-to 250-foot-deep river valley that extends through the Straits of Mackinac and into Lake Huron. The lake's northern deep basin area, lying about mid-lake northwest of Manistee, is very irregular, plunging as deep as 923 feet. Geologists believe that this basin, the ridge and valley province, and the Straits of Mackinac resulted in part from the dissolving of salt and gypsum

deposits lying between relatively thin layers of limestone and a subsequent collapse.

On land, Pre-Cambrian and Paleozoic bedrock and the deposits of the glaciers left the upper Great Lakes with a storehouse of natural resources destined to have great impact on Lake Michigan's subsequent history. Iron ores in the Upper Peninsula of Michigan, in Northern Wisconsin, and in Minnesota; copper in the Keweenaw Peninsula; abundant limestones; salts and gypsum in Michigan; and glacial deposits that left soils suitable for forest growth and agriculture—to these natural riches, nineteenth- and twentieth-century developers fell heir.

Lake Michigan's Indian Peoples

For thousands of years before the coming of the Europeans, prehistoric Indians lived around the shores of Lake Michigan. By systematically analyzing the evidence of these early people found at hundreds of grave and village sites, archaeologists have pieced together the broad outlines of early human life in the Lake Michigan region, deducing from artifacts general ways of life and cultural changes over many centuries. Given the ravages of time and the nature of the physical evidence, many questions about why and how change took place will never be answered. Yet, however limited the knowledge of their ways of life, the ancient Indians, the real pioneers in Lake Michigan's natural environment, will always form a significant part of the region's human heritage.

Archaeologists have identified a series of broad epochs in the development of prehistoric Indian life, all of them greatly influenced by the physical environment. About 9500 B.C., in the presence of retreating glaciers, the earliest people roamed the area, hunting the mastadon, giant beaver, deer, elk, and caribou. For thousands of years these nomadic hunters were apparently few in number.

By 3500 B.C. a real transformation in human life had occurred. Responding to climatic changes and the evolution of plant and animal associations similar to those of today, the Indian population grew, using a wider variety of animals and plants for food and a wider variety of stones to fashion weapons and tools. Whereas in the

earliest period the diet was primarily red meat from large animals, around 3500 B.C. foods included fish, small and large game, nuts, seeds, and fruits.

Notable among the cultures associated with the transformation were the Old Copper Culture Indians (5000–1500 B.C.), a group that appears to have been most heavily concentrated in the Lake Winnebago area, Fox River Valley, and western Green Bay shoreline of Wisconsin, where a large number of artifacts have been found, but whose geographic distribution included the Great Lakes region and the lands lying west to the headwaters of the Mississippi and Red rivers. The cold-hammered and annealed copper tools, weapons, and ornaments they crafted distinguished them from other contemporary cultures, which worked in stone, bone, and wood. They were probably the first metal fabricators in America (see Copper Culture State Park, site 73, no. [3]).

During the first millennium B.C., further changes in the ways of human life marked the beginning of the Woodland Indian culture, materially different from past cultures because of the increasing importance of agriculture—chiefly the cultivation of corn, beans, and squash—the use of earthenware pottery, mound burials, and new styles of craftsmanship, and the introduction of new tools, weapons, utensils, and ornaments.

Many archaeologists regard the Hopewell culture of the Middle Woodland period as the climax of prehistoric Indian life in the Lake Michigan

region because of its comparatively more complex social structure, elaborate burial mounds, and the fine artistry and craftsmanship of the remaining artifacts. How and why the culture evolved in its major centers in the Mississippi, Ohio, and Illinois river valleys we do not know, nor are the reasons for its spread into the Lake Michigan area understood. Was the success of the Hopewells based on trade, political organization, religious ideas, military might, or an adaptation to agriculture that made the food supply so secure that time and energy could be devoted to mound building and crafts? While archaeology does not reveal the answers, it does reveal a society with class distinctions, a people who built very sizable mounds for their leaders whom they buried with fine examples of Hopewell art and wealth and probably with considerable ceremony.

The archaeological record shows that during the period from 100 B.C. to 700 A.D., the Hopewell Indians flourished in the St. Joseph, Kalamazoo, Grand, and Muskegon river valleys of lower Michigan and as far north as the coastal area between Traverse City and Mackinaw City. They also lived in northern Indiana and in Wisconsin. The largest Hopewell ceremonial center in the Lake Michigan region was the present site of Grand Rapids. On the west side of the Grand River in the center of the present city once stood a group of 30 to 40 mounds, the largest of which was 200 feet in circumference and 30 feet high. Two miles south of the city there re-



This display of Old Copper Culture Indians mining copper portrays their labor as accurately as knowledge of the ancient past permits. It is no longer on display at the Milwaukee Public Museum. Courtesy Milwaukee Public Museum.

mains a group of 17 Hopewell mounds, the Norton group.* (See Key to Symbols.) Originally they were probably enclosed within low earth walls.

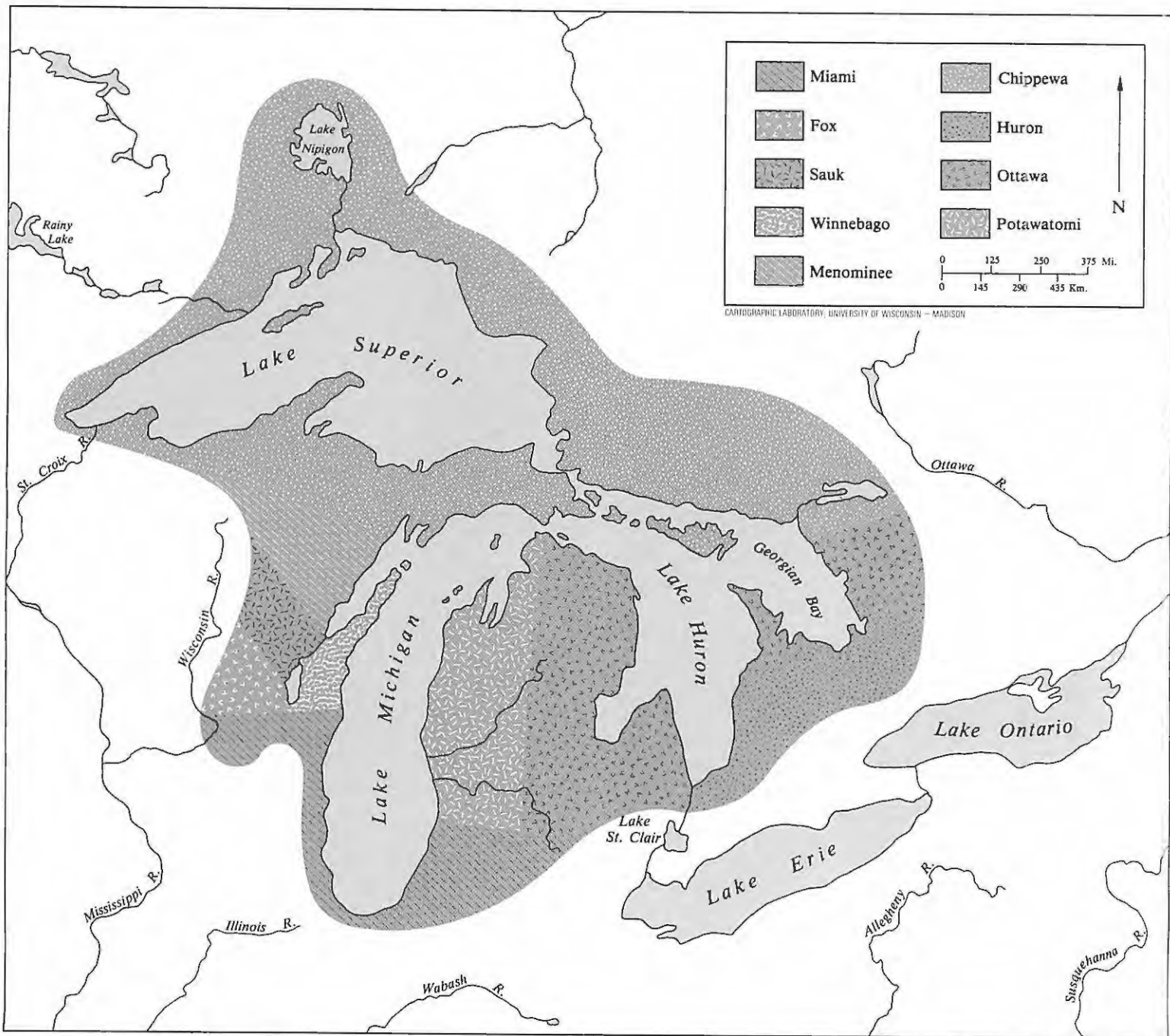
Travelers and traders, the Hopewell Indians gathered raw materials for tools, weapons, ornaments, and ceremonial objects from many places: obsidian from the Rocky Mountains, shells from the Atlantic Ocean and the Gulf of Mexico, copper and silver from the Lake Superior region, mica from the Middle Atlantic coast, and lead from northwestern Illinois. Among their artifacts are musical instruments, tobacco pipes, fine pottery and utensils, and finger-woven cloth. George I. Quimby characterized the Hopewell Indians as "the outstanding artists of the Upper Great Lakes re-

gion." The reasons for the decline of the Hopewell culture after 800 are as elusive as its origins.

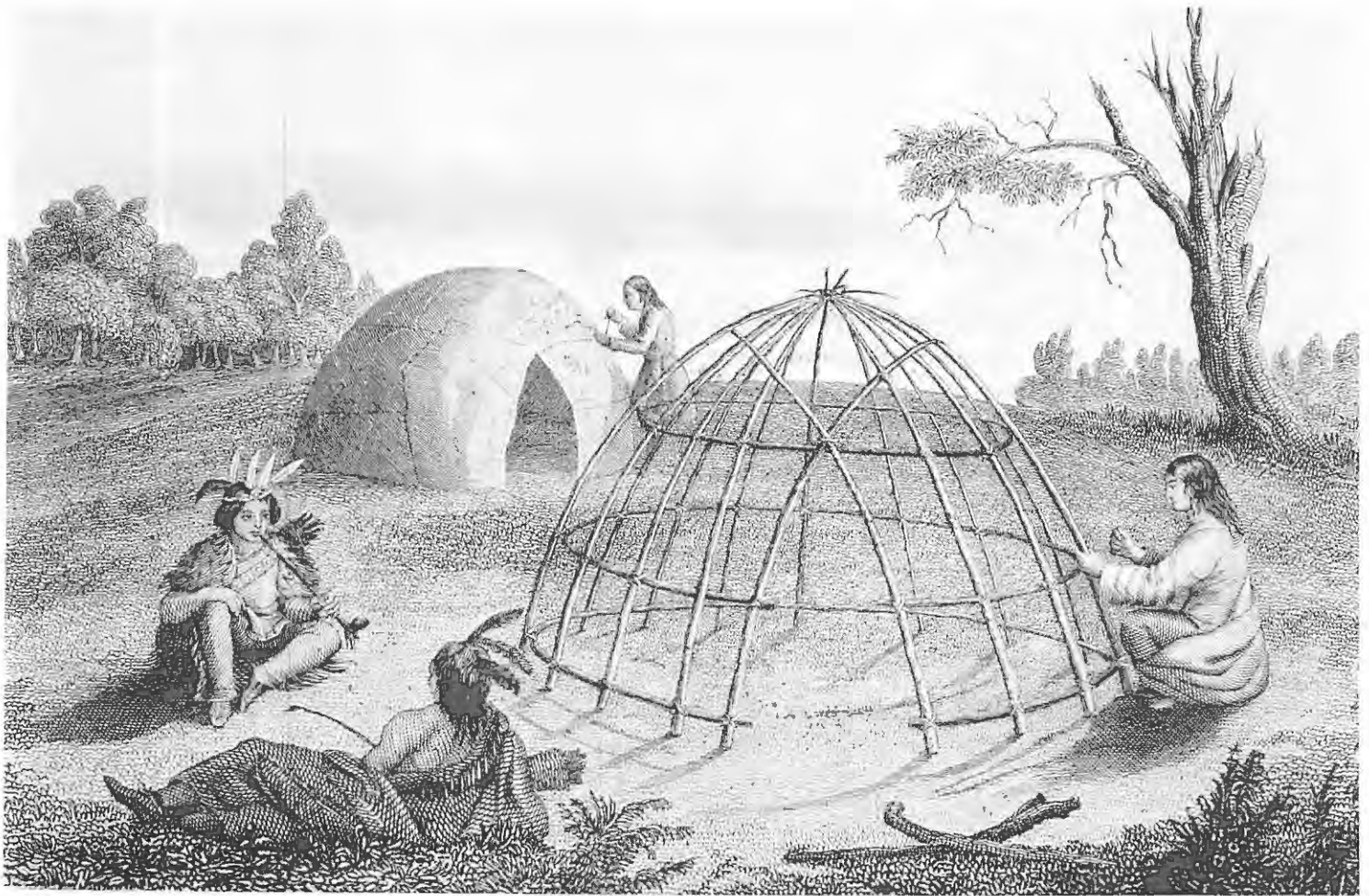
The Late Woodland Indians (800–1600 A.D.) developed a number of distinctive cultures in the Lake Michigan region, all dependent upon farming, agricultural goods secured by trade, hunting, fishing, and gathering. They differed mainly in pottery styles, housing, tools, weapons, ornaments, burial customs, and language. The Indian population continued to grow; Hopewell cultural traits disappeared; warfare and walled villages increased.

Notable among the many cultures of the Late Woodland period were the Effigy Mound builders, who lived mainly in Wisconsin from Green Bay to just south of the Wisconsin-Illinois border. In contrast to other cultures,

they built mounds for burial and ceremonial purposes in circular and oval shapes and in the forms of buffalo, deer, bears, dogs, cranes, eagles, hawks, lizards, and the long-tailed panther. Their grave goods, compared with those of the Hopewells, were quite spartan. Of obscure origins, the Effigy Mound culture lasted from about 700 to 1300 A.D. Probably simple farming along with hunting, fishing, and gathering supplied their food. Many thousands of effigy mounds have been destroyed, but others remain, now protected from destruction. One excellent example is found at Lizard Mound State Park, northwest of Port Washington near West Bend, where 31 of these low earthworks remain. A beautiful 15-acre wooded park south of Sheboygan preserves 18 of the orig-



Location of Indian Tribes about 1600. Adapted from George I. Quimby, *Indian Life in the Upper Great Lakes, 11,000 B.C. to A.D. 1800*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960.



Henry Schoolcraft's The Indian Tribes of the United States included a number of romanticized illustrations of Indian life. This one clearly shows the construction technique for a Chippewa lodge. Courtesy State Historical Society of Wisconsin. WHi(X3)34131

inal 33 effigy burial mounds, among them 5 deer and 2 panther mounds (see site 31, no. [15]). The remnants of another culture of the Late Woodland period, the Aztalan Middle-Mississippian, lie forty miles west of Milwaukee at Aztalan State Park. Here, ceremonial mounds of a very different sort and evidence of a stockaded village have been preserved for study and public observation.

In the early seventeenth century,

when western Europeans ventured into the Lake Michigan area, they found the descendants of the Late Woodland Indians, the Chippewa, Menominee, Sauk, Fox, Winnebago, Miami, Ottawa, and Potawatomi. The Indian population was sparse, estimated at less than one person per square mile. In 1600 the Potawatomi lived in the western part of the lower Michigan peninsula, neighbors of the Ottawa immediately east of them. The

Miami lived around the southern bend of the lake in present-day Michigan, Indiana, Illinois, and Wisconsin as far north as Sheboygan. To the north and west of the Miami lived the Sauk and Fox. The Winnebago occupied the Fox River Valley, the eastern shore of Lake Winnebago, and the Door Peninsula; the Menominee, the western shore of Green Bay and the Menominee River Valley. At the head of the lake lived the Chippewa.

Each tribe was politically autonomous, but neither authority nor power was centralized. Members of a tribe shared a common culture and language and collectively utilized a loosely defined area of land. Although each tribe spoke a different language, the Indians of Lake Michigan belonged to two main lingual stocks: Algonkian (Chippewa, Menominee, Sauk, Fox, Miami, Potawatomi) and Siouan (Winnebago). Sources of food differed. The Chippewa were mainly hunters and fishers; the Menominee depended on farming, hunting, fishing, and wild-rice gathering; the balance combined farming and hunting. All but the Chippewa lived in permanent villages to which they returned after the hunt. The Chippewa congregated in villages along the lake to fish during the summer. The Indians organized their lives around a seasonal routine designed to ensure an adequate food supply.

Lake Michigan Indians lived in oval or elongated dome-shaped wigwams built with a sapling framework covered with bark or mats of woven rushes. They traveled on foot, by dug-out and birchbark canoe, snowshoe, and toboggan. They made utensils, implements, tools, domestic wares, and ornaments from stone, bone, antlers, wood, bark, hide, plant fibers, sinews, clay, and, to a very minor extent, copper. The women fashioned clothing from animal skins. By trade they secured the items they could not themselves supply. The excellent birchbark canoes of the Chippewa, capable of long journeys on streams, rivers, and open lakes, the beautiful dyed porcupine quill and moose hair embroidery

work of the Ottawa and Potawatomi, and the fine woven mats and bags that the Menominee made from vegetal fiber and spun buffalo hair are prime examples of Lake Michigan Woodland Indian craftsmanship and artistry.

Religion—beliefs based on the unity of the physical and the spiritual, whether in inanimate or in plant, animal, or human form—played an important part in their lives. The souls or spirits of all animate things lived after the physical being had perished. They embraced the idea of a Great Spirit and deities such as the sun. Religious practices were traditional and varied from tribe to tribe. Although ceremonies were directed by religious leaders and organizations, religion, nevertheless, stressed the individual experience. Religious leaders and healers of the sick were one and the same.

Social structure was based on families organized into bands and clans. Sex roles were clearly defined. To the men went the tasks of hunting, fishing, and fighting, and heavy work like clearing land for cultivation and building fortifications. Men were healers of the sick and leaders in band, clan, village, and tribal affairs and in religious ones. The women attended to a wide variety of domestic duties that included planting and harvesting crops, building wigwams, and gathering fruits, nuts, berries, wild rice, and maple sap. They tanned hides and made pottery, clothing, and many household necessities. They were wives and mothers.

As in European cultures, indigenous war brought out the worst in upper

Great Lakes Indian culture. These people fought to avenge the death of a tribesman, or to achieve individual glory, or to secure hunting territory from rivals. Generally small-scale and involving relatively few combatants, wars were nonetheless lethal and fierce, and the victims of bows, arrows, spears, and clubs could include women, children, infants, and the very old.

Such was the way of life of Lake Michigan's Indians when missionaries, explorers, and fur traders ventured into the area to make Christian converts, to claim territory for European monarchs, and to pursue the trade in beaver pelts. Within two hundred years that way of life would change under the impact of European political and economic competition and technology.

Locations that reflect prehistoric Indian life include a number of museums and natural sites. Excellent museum displays are found at the Field Museum of Natural History in Chicago (site 1, no. [10]), the Neville Public Museum of Brown County at Green Bay, Wisconsin (site 67, no. [3]), the Beyer Home Museum Annex at Oconto, Wisconsin (site 73, no. [8]), and the Grand Rapids Public Museum at Grand Rapids, Michigan. Natural sites specifically designed for public viewing are the Sheboygan Indian Mound Park at Sheboygan, Wisconsin (site 31, no. [15]), Copper Culture State Park at Oconto, Wisconsin (site 73, no. [3]), and the Norton Mound Group at Grand Rapids, Michigan.

The French Explorers

"It would be useless for me, my lord, to give you a description of Lake Michigan. . . . This route is fairly well known," wrote the missionary priest Jean St. Cosmé to his Quebec superior in 1699 after a canoe journey from Michilimackinac to the lower Mississippi. The Canadian-born priest was quite right. The French knew Lake Michigan well by the end of the seventeenth century, and they used it as a vital link in the complex system of waterways that bound together New France, from its vast claims on the lower Mississippi to the settlements on the St. Lawrence.

The discovery and exploration of Lake Michigan grew from the rival efforts of France and England to lay claim to North America, to reap the rewards of the fur trade with the Indians, and to find that elusive northwest passage to the Orient. Involving a wide range of people—Indians, governors of New France, the king of France and his ministers, fur traders, missionaries, and pathfinders—Lake Michigan's initial exploration by the French took place gradually between 1634 and 1679.

The names of many involved are lost. The countless Indians who told the French what they knew about the lake and helped paddle the canoes and guide the way left no written record of their friendliness and cooperation, without which the French would have been stymied. Nor do we know the names of the many *voyageurs* and *coureurs de bois*, the "trailmakers," as John B. Brebner has called them. The

major pathfinders of the Lake Michigan region are well-known figures in American history: Jean Nicollet, Médard Chouart Des Groseilliers, Jacques Marquette, Louis Jolliet, and René-Robert Cavelier de La Salle. They were inspired by various motives: the quest for wealth or fame, loyalty to France, or the desire to make Christian converts. Hardy, adventuresome, inquisitive, ambitious, daring, and willing to make the great physical sacrifices essential to life in an unknown wilderness, all contributed to the growth of New France.

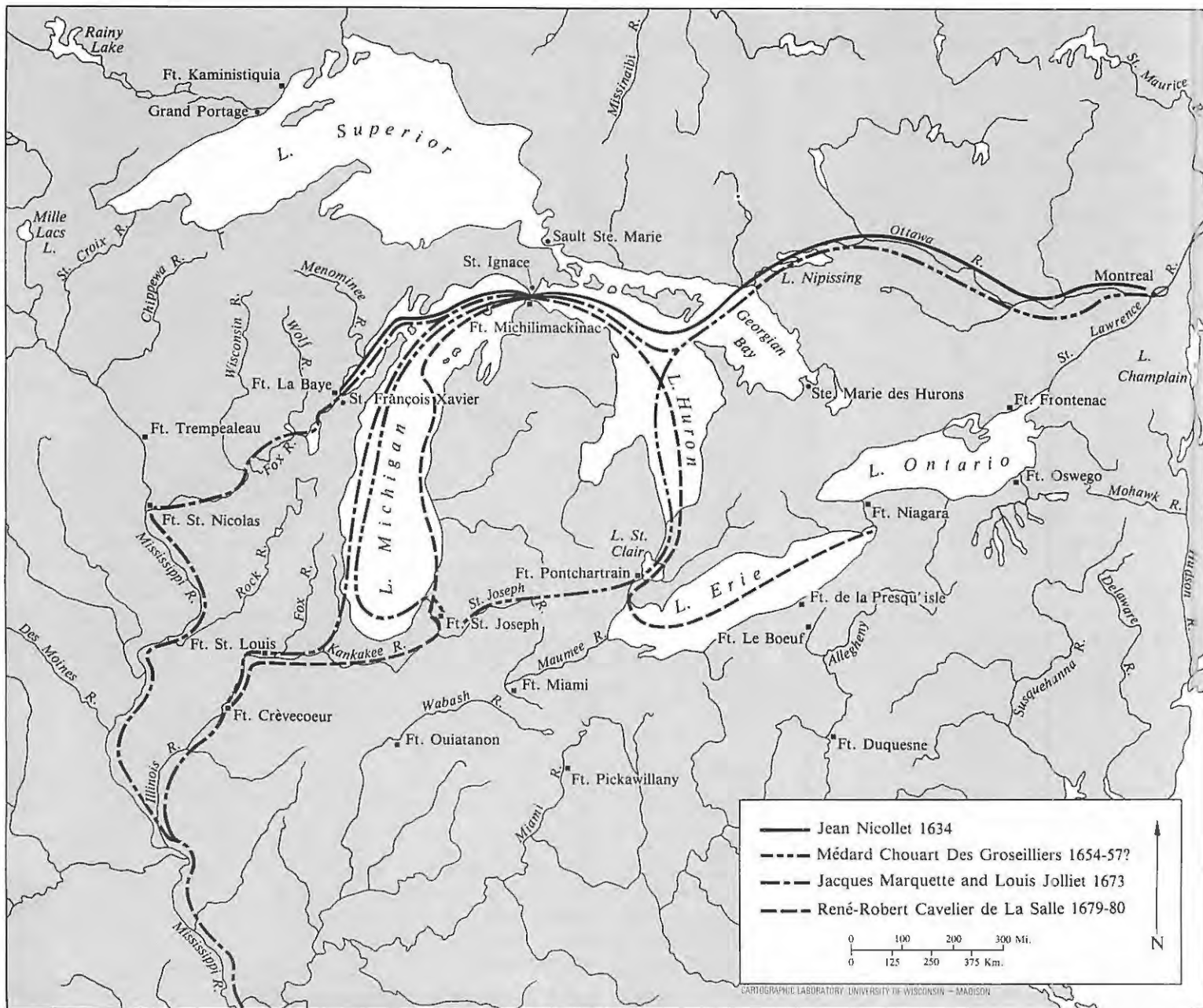
When Samuel de Champlain established Quebec in 1608 as a base for exploration and the profitable conduct of the fur trade, the French had long since tapped the wealth of fish and furs in the Newfoundland–Gulf of St. Lawrence region. The fur trade was at first a side business for European fishermen, who found the Indians eager to trade beaver, marten, elk, deer, and bear skins for iron kettles, axes, and hatchets. At the end of the sixteenth century, it became an end in itself. Fashionable Europeans prized felted beaver hats, and manufactures needed great quantities of pelts to supply the demand. Scandinavian and Russian fur-bearing animals that had supplied the market were in a decline.

The combined pressures of French entrepreneurs' eagerness for a monopoly of the North American fur trade, King Henry IV's desire to expand French territory, and Champlain's personal ambitions as the royal geographer led to his exploration of

the St. Lawrence in 1603 and to the founding of Quebec in 1608. The French discovery of the upper Great Lakes in the seventeenth century was a logical outgrowth of the quest for beaver skins.

Champlain recognized that success in exploration and in serving his fur merchant employers depended upon the Indians. During the 1603 exploration they furnished him with abundant information on the lake and river routes connected to the St. Lawrence system. As founder of Quebec, he hastened to develop a system of cooperation with the Indians, geared to the realities of the struggle between rival native groups—on the one hand the Hurons, who lived around Georgian bay and on the eastern side of Lake Huron, and their allies, and on the other the League of the Iroquois, whose territory, lying to the south, stretched from Lake Champlain to Lake Erie. Champlain chose the Hurons as suppliers of furs, a choice that made the French and the Iroquois adversaries and shaped the direction of French exploration and fur trade thereafter. He adopted a policy of choosing energetic young Frenchmen to go into the wilderness, establish friendships with Indian tribes, live among them, learn their languages, and find out what they knew about the waterways of the continent. One of Champlain's young men, Jean Nicollet, is credited with the French discovery of Lake Michigan in 1634.

Nicollet came to Canada in 1618 in the employ of French fur-trading mer-



French Explorations of Lake Michigan. Adapted from Alice E. Smith, The History of Wisconsin. Volume I: From Exploration to Statehood (Madison, Wis., 1973), map by Barbara Anne Wick. Adapted by permission of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin.



Landfall of Nicollet, E. W. Deming, artist. Courtesy State Historical Society of Wisconsin. WHI(X3)30553

chants and went almost immediately to live among the Algonkian allies of the French on the upper Ottawa River. Two years later he was sent to the Nipissings. He had proven himself compatible, tactful, and diplomatic in Indian relations before being requested in 1633 to undertake a mission to facilitate the fur trade by smoothing out frictions between Algonkian tribes and the Winnebagos of the Green Bay area, “the people of the sea.” His instructions included investigating information gleaned from the Indians about the “China Sea” near Green Bay.

In company with seven Hurons, in the summer of 1634 he followed the well-established route up the Ottawa River, Lake Nipissing, and the French River to Lake Huron. From there the party proceeded south through the Straits of Mackinac into Lake Michigan,

and into Green Bay. Unfortunately Nicollet’s memoirs of the journey were lost, and what is known about the discovery of Lake Michigan comes mainly from the account of Father Vimont, written just after Nicollet’s death in 1642 as a memorial to his 25 years of service in the French cause. Vimont’s often-quoted description of the Green Bay landing records the Indian’s reactions:

They meet him; they escort him, and carry all his baggage. He wore a grand robe of China damask, all strewn with flowers and birds of many colors. No sooner did they perceive him than the women and children fled, at the sight of a man who carried thunder in both hands—for thus they called the two pistols that he held. The news of his coming quickly spread round about, and there assembled

four or five thousand men. Each of the chief men made a feast for him, and at one of these banquets they served at least sixscore beavers. The peace was concluded.

Because the evidence is scanty, much controversy has arisen among historians about Nicollet’s discovery of Lake Michigan. Some contend that the date was 1638, not 1634; others that he did not enter Lake Michigan at all, but rather landed somewhere on Lake Superior. To be sure, no one knows exactly where Nicollet landed, but an official marker of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin and an imposing bronze statue of Nicollet, traditional discoverer of Lake Michigan, stand near Red Banks (see site 65). As for Nicollet, he met an untimely death in 1642 in a canoe accident at Quebec while en route to Three Rivers to save

an Iroquois prisoner from Huron torture. A strong wind overturned his canoe, and he drowned because he could not swim.

By the time of Nicollet's death, New France faced very serious challenges. Initially the French had no European rivals for the fur trade, but the hostility of the Iroquois forced them to pursue trade and exploration through the difficult and tortuous Ottawa River route west to Lakes Huron and Superior. As early as 1609, however, the Dutch made commercial contact with the Iroquois on the Hudson River, and by 1615 the Iroquois were acting as their middlemen, acquiring beaver pelts from various tribes in exchange for Dutch trade goods. Moreover, the longstanding interest of the English in the Gulf of St. Lawrence turned into a threat to New France's very existence when in 1628 and 1629 London merchants sent out an expedition to capture Quebec and the St. Lawrence trade. Lacking aid from France, New France fell into British hands, only to be returned to the French a few years later by Charles I of England. The English colonies along the Atlantic coast to the south spawned fur traders eager to make their fortunes. The presence of the Dutch and English sharpened the Iroquois-Huron conflict as these two groups of middlemen competed for the beaver pelts of the interior.

Nearly two decades of Iroquois wars against the French and their allies, beginning in 1643, disrupted the fur trade, brought a halt to western exploration, and all but extinguished New France. The Iroquois swept across the St. Lawrence north of Lake Ontario and Lake Erie, systematically destroying their Huron competitors and their allies. By the mid-century

they were triumphant from the eastern shores of Lake Michigan to Tadoussac, northeast of Quebec on the St. Lawrence. The French fur-trading system lay in ruins. With the Hurons and their allies badly beaten and dispersed, no canoes laden with furs came down the St. Lawrence, and commerce with France languished. A truce in hostilities from 1653–1658 permitted the resumption of trade, missionary, and exploration activity.

During the lull one of New France's more daring, shrewd, and resourceful explorer-traders, Médart Chouart Des Groseilliers, probably learned much about the Michigan lower peninsula. "Probably" is the most that can be said because the written record is vague, a poor English translation of Pierre Radisson's original account. Apparently Des Groseilliers crossed the lower Michigan peninsula from present-day Detroit to Lake Michigan, virtually emptied of people by the Iroquois hostilities, and then passed up the western shore of the lake to the Straits of Michilimackinac. A desire to locate New France's terrified Indian allies, to find new sources of furs, and to investigate reports of a great river emptying into a great sea, brought by western Indians who came to the French settlement at Three Rivers on the St. Lawrence in the late summer of 1654, apparently prompted Des Groseilliers to explore.

Jean Nicollet may have been very close to the discovery of the Mississippi two decades earlier if, as the *Jesuit Relation* reports, he discovered the Fox River and ascended it in an effort to find the "China Sea." Exact knowledge of the Mississippi route to the Gulf of Mexico came only after New France had passed through the

critical period of the mid-seventeenth century. In 1661 Louis XIV assumed personal control of the monarchy and turned his attention to establishing French hegemony in Europe and enhancing its colonial prestige. As money, equipment, military force, and men and women poured overseas, New France received a new lease on life. Marquis de Tracy curbed the Iroquois with an expedition into the Mohawk Valley in 1666, and a rush of *coureurs de bois* and missionaries into the western Lake Michigan and Upper Peninsula areas ensued.

Information flowed back to Quebec about the Great River and the sea to the south. New France's intendant, Jean Talon, zealous to advance the cause of territorial expansion as a check on the British and the Spanish, chose Louis Jolliet to find the passage to the south sea. The Jesuits persuaded Talon, despite his desire to curb their power, to permit Father Jacques Marquette, a man with important map-making and language skills, to go along. Marquette and Jolliet set out from St. Ignace in mid-May 1673 to solve the mysteries of the Mississippi: to determine whether it flowed north or south and whether it emptied into the Gulf of Mexico or the Pacific Ocean.

The Canadian-born Louis Jolliet, once a candidate for the priesthood, a talented organist, a highly educated man already experienced as an explorer and fur trader, stood at the beginning of a distinguished career as a hydrographer that gained him international distinction before his death in 1700. Jacques Marquette, scion of a family of warriors and officials who chose the priesthood in 1654, had arrived in New France seven years be-



Here Frederic Remington depicts the Marquette and Jolliet voyage of 1673, picturing a birchbark canoe unusual in design for the region and time. Generally, the French explorers of Lake Michigan used canoes with a more rounded profile at both ends. Engraved after a painting and published in Harper's Monthly, April 1892, p. 131. Courtesy State Historical Society of Wisconsin. WHi(X3)14540

fore the eventful voyage down the Mississippi. Only two years of life remained for him to fulfill his desire to undertake a mission to the Illinois Indians.

The Menominee Indians did their best to discourage the pair from their venture, warning of ferocious and warlike peoples along the way, the great river, treacherous and "full of horrible monsters, which devoured men and canoes together," and a demon as well. If all this were not discouragement enough, they were also warned of the intense summer heat, which would inevitably cause death.

Undaunted, they proceeded on the famous voyage that revealed the Fox-Wisconsin route to the Mississippi and the Chicago-Des Plaines-Illinois portage as well. Probably they were not in fact the first white men to use these portages, but it was they who made

them well known. Lake Michigan became a vital link in the chain of waterways that led from the St. Lawrence to the Gulf of Mexico and to the entire watershed of the Mississippi River.

On the return journey in September 1673, Jolliet explored the shores of southern Lake Michigan. The ailing Marquette again passed along Lake Michigan's shores a year later—the western shore in the fall of 1674, on his way to establish a mission among the Kaskaskia Indians, and the southern and eastern shores in the spring of 1675. Now in failing health, he traveled as far north as present-day Ludington, Michigan, where he died. No other explorer of Lake Michigan has received as much recognition in commemorative plaque and statue as Marquette (see, for example, site 23, no. [9]). None has so stirred local historians to claim his presence,

however fleeting in their communities. A beautiful marble figure of Father Marquette, executed in 1895 by Gaetano Trentanove, a prominent Florentine sculptor, stands in the nation's capitol, one of Wisconsin's quota of two for Statuary Hall. The Marquette memorial at St. Ignace, a site funded by the state and federal governments, depicts the Jesuit priest's missionary labors and the lives of the Indian peoples among whom he worked (see site 111).

The perimeters of Lake Michigan were reasonably clear to the French by the 1670s, but among the surviving early maps of the Great Lakes, those of the 1680s are the first that show the lake in a shape approximating its actual contours.

The last of the famous French explorers of the seventeenth century to make his mark around the shores of

Lake Michigan was René-Robert Cavélier de La Salle, a man of grand ambition and bold plans, whose life of service to New France remains controversial. Although he is chiefly remembered for his voyage to the mouth of the Mississippi in 1682 and his later efforts to explore and perhaps colonize the Gulf of Mexico as a deterrent to Spanish influence, La Salle occupies a very special place in Lake Michigan's seventeenth-century history as an explorer and fur trader. Original explorations were not his forte, and a massive fur trade, rather than fame or service to New France, may have been his goal. He envisioned escalating territorial conflicts between France and both England and Spain and developed imaginative schemes to stymie these powers.

Although officials in New France were keenly aware of the threat of English encroachment into the French fur trade in North America, they were hamstrung in their efforts to counteract it, for in 1672 Louis XIV plunged into a long series of costly European wars that diverted support from New France. In 1670 the British were trading on Hudson's Bay under the leadership of the intrepid Radisson and Des Groseilliers, to whom the French had turned a deaf ear when they urged the Hudson Bay route to European fur markets. They had gotten a better hearing in London and helped to organize the Hudson's Bay Company, to which the English crown granted a royal monopoly of the fur trade within the bay's watershed.

From the early 1670s until the French lost the Hudson Bay area to the British in 1713, French Canada's leaders struggled with mixed results to retain a foothold there. Governor

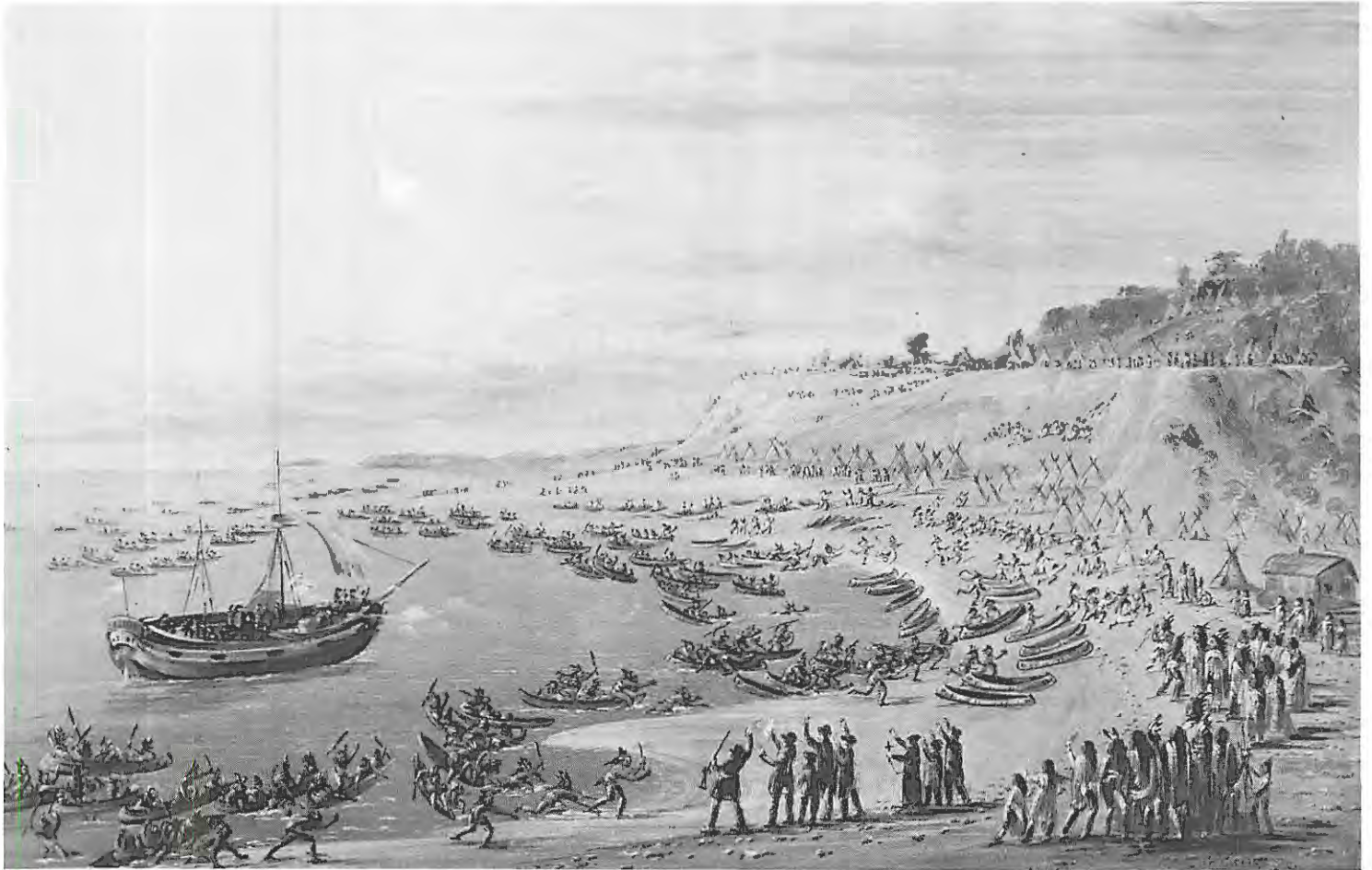
Frontenac took measures in the 1670s both to protect New France's interests in the area and to follow up the Marquette-Jolliet voyage with an expedition to the mouth of the Mississippi. La Salle, who may have discovered the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers before 1673, received royal permission in 1678 to explore the western portions of New France and build forts, along with a five-year trade monopoly in the Mississippi Valley, provided that he did not pursue the fur trade in conflict with the Montreal traders. With Frontenac's support La Salle set about fulfilling his dream of establishing on the lakes and on the Mississippi a fur trade serviced by cargo sailing ships. On the Lake Erie side of Niagara Falls, he had *Le Griffon* (named in honor of Frontenac's coat of arms) built in 1678–1679. The 45-ton vessel, equipped with seven cannons, slipped into Lake Erie waters in August 1679, and La Salle set off on a 20-day journey into Lake Michigan.

Despite his promise not to trade furs in the Montreal traders' territory, La Salle assembled a cargo of furs in the Green Bay–Washington Island–Rock Island area. Recent digs on Rock Island confirm the presence of a seventeenth-century French trading post, probably that of La Salle's party (see site 56). Sending the *Griffon* back to Niagara, La Salle went south along Lake Michigan to the St. Joseph River and there built Fort Miami, a 40-by-30-foot structure (see site 168). He hoped to have the *Griffon* rendezvous at that point, but Lake Michigan's first sailing ship disappeared without a trace. Did it sink in a storm? Was it destroyed by hostile Indians? The mystery has never been solved.

La Salle meanwhile, in December

1679, pushed up the St. Joseph River, portaged to the Kankakee, and thence canoed into the Illinois River, using yet another Lake Michigan linkage with the Mississippi, one that other Frenchmen must have used before him. On the Illinois he established Fort Crèvecoeur and built a second sailing vessel for the Mississippi River fur trade. Over the next year he traveled Lake Michigan's waters repeatedly in connection with planning the voyage to the mouth of the Mississippi. The balance of his extraordinary life as an explorer does not relate closely to Lake Michigan, whose waters he had come to know so well. His controversial career ended in 1687 when one of his men murdered him on the Texas coast, where he was presumably attempting to plant a French colony to thwart the Spanish.

Most of the seventeenth-century French explorers of Lake Michigan do not cut such a swath in history as do Nicollet, Marquette, Jolliet, and La Salle. Of the many *coureurs de bois* who pressed into the area south of Lake Superior, west of Lake Michigan, and east of the Mississippi after 1666 and who used the lake, learning the peculiarities of its shoreline and its rivers, no record remains. Of the Jesuit missionaries who struck out into the wilderness we know more because of their reports to superiors, which were recorded in the *Jesuit Relation*. Although exploration was a secondary goal for them, these men made significant contributions to the power of New France in the upper Great Lakes and the Mississippi Valley, supplying vital information about the area's Indian peoples, waterways, and natural resources. The experiences of two of them are representative.



Artist George Catlin portrays the landing of Le Griffon at Mackinac Island in the summer of 1679.
Courtesy Department of Library Services, American Museum of Natural History. 15128

Nicolas Perrot, explorer, interpreter, fur trader, and briefly French commandant at Green Bay, came to New France in 1660 as a lay assistant to the Jesuits. In 1667, utilizing the knowledge of Indians gained through his work with the missionaries, he formed a trading company and came to Green Bay, where he visited many of the Indian tribes and established friendly relations with them. French authorities quickly recognized his skill as an interpreter and diplomat. He was

repeatedly sent by intendant and governor to assist in strengthening French alliances and friendships with western Great Lakes Indians, and in the all-important task of securing their help against the Iroquois.

Perrot traveled widely in the Great Lakes region and spent much time in Green Bay. He built three trading posts on the east bank of the Mississippi River between 1685 and 1687, one at Prairie du Chien, another, Fort St. Antoine, on Lake Pepin, and a

wintering post at Trempealeau. Although he was often unappreciated during his lifetime and was repeatedly denied any relief from his debts by the authorities of New France, he has been described by modern historians as "France's best representative among the Indians of the west."

Claude Allouez, Jesuit missionary/explorer of Lake Michigan, a contemporary and acquaintance of Perrot, was among the many Frenchmen who filtered into the Green Bay area in the



William Asbby McCloy painted a large composite oil depicting major events in Wisconsin history in observance of Wisconsin's Centennial. His dramatic portrayal of Nicolas Perrot, shown here, is part of the large mural located in the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. In his left hand Perrot is holding the silver ostensorium which he gave to the Jesuit missionaries at the St. Francis Xavier Mission, De Pere. It is pictured at about three times its size. The beautiful ostensorium is on display in The Neville Public Museum of Brown County at Green Bay (see site 67). Courtesy State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

mid-1660s. The French-born Allouez came to Quebec in 1658, served at the Chequamegon Bay and Sault Ste. Marie missions, and traveled extensively in the Lake Nipigon region before departing from Sault Ste. Marie

on November 3, 1669, to begin work among the Wisconsin Indians. He set off for Green Bay, planning to visit Indian villages along its shores. After wintering probably on the Oconto River (see site 73) and ministering to a village of Sauk, Potawatomi, Fox, and Winnebago in April, he went to the head of the bay and proceeded up the Fox River. His travels carried him to Indian villages on the Menominee, Wolf, and Oconto rivers and around Lake Winnebago. At De Pere in 1671–1672, he and Father Louis André built a permanent mission, St. François Xavier.

During his 24 years of missionary work on Lakes Michigan, Superior, Huron, and Erie, Allouez traveled among 23 nations of differing races, languages, and customs and is credited with personally baptizing ten thousand Indians according to the *Canadian Dictionary of Biography*. His remarkable record of mission work ended in 1689 near present-day Niles at the Jesuit St. Joseph mission, which he probably founded to minister to the Miami and Mascouten. The mission's history remains difficult to document. American settlers more than a century later found a large wooden cross on a bluff of the St. Joseph River near Niles, which, according to Indian tradition, marked the grave of a missionary. Was it the grave of Allouez? Many believe that it is. (See site 170, no. [4].)

How did the explorers respond to the wilderness they roamed? Aesthetic appreciation figures in the comments of some, like Champlain and Radisson. In his journal, the latter wrote in glowing terms of the lands around Lake Michigan: "the country was so pleasant, so beautiful & fruitfull that it grieved me to see y^e world could

not discover such enticing countrys to live in." Far more space, however, was devoted to describing their main preoccupations—the winds, waves, storms, ice, and currents of stream and lake that made canoe travel hazardous. These, the difficulties of overland travel, and the struggle for survival flowed from their narratives. The variety and abundance of fish and game, the presence of fur-bearing animals, the easiest ways to portage, the fear of hostile Indians, their perceptions of native peoples, and the potential utility of various canoe routes evoked lengthy comment.

How did the explorers feel? Fortunately Pierre Radisson recorded the best and the worst of those feelings. About his experience in the wilderness of the Chequamegon country he later wrote that he and Des Groseilliers had felt like Caesars, there "being nobody to contradict us." Their experiences while forcing their way up the Ottawa River in 1656, in constant danger of Iroquois attack, led him to comment: "It is a strange thing when victuals are wanting, worke whole nights & dayes, lye down on the bare ground, & not allwayes that hap, the breech in the water, the feare in the buttocks, to have the belly empty, the weariness in the bones, and drowsinesse of the body by the bad weather that you are to suffer, having nothing to keepe you from such calamity."

Exhilarated or afraid, hot or cold, hungry or well fed, the seventeenth-century Frenchmen followed the lure of the wilderness and unraveled the mysteries of Lake Michigan for the British and the Americans who followed them.

Fur Trade: The French-British Contest



Frederic Remington's "Rival Traders Racing to Camp" portrays the vigorous, competitive life of the voyageur. Courtesy State Historical Society of Wisconsin. WHI(X3)15473

A romantic aura surrounds the French fur trade in popular thought. One thinks of the *voyageurs*, the hardy, short, thick-shouldered young men from the farms of the lower St. Lawrence, paddling birchbark canoes over lake and stream for hundreds of miles

and singing as they went, shooting the rapids, carrying heavy bundles of furs over extended portages in a virgin wilderness, and sitting around campfires smoking their pipes at night. They are remembered as cheerful, gay, talkative, and good-natured, heedless

of danger and inured to physical hardships and hard work. Perhaps the image was engendered by the nineteenth-century artists in the United States and Canada who depicted them in paintings and prints, or perhaps by travelers' accounts and fiction, or

perhaps by such boasts as the one prominently displayed at Grand Portage:

I could carry, paddle, walk and sing with any man I ever saw. I have been twenty four years as a canoe man, and forty one years in service. No portage was ever too long for me. Fifty songs could I sing. I have saved the lives of ten voyageurs, have had twelve wives and six running dogs. I spent all my money in pleasure. Were I young again, I should spend my life the same way over. There is no life so happy as a voyageur's life.

People also cherish an image of the trader himself, the vigorous, independent man who spent his life in the woods, befriended, lived with, and married Indians, and traded brass kettles, iron ware, textiles, guns, liquor, and beads for beaver pelts.

All of this, to be sure, was part of the French fur trade, but the trade involved much more: the Indian peoples of North America, French and colonial fur merchants and manufacturers of trade goods, the mercantilist policies of the French crown, the popularity of felted beaver hats in Europe, the financial needs of governments, the rivalry of the European powers for wealth and colonial possessions, the ambitions of the Jesuits, international wars, and the luckless beavers and other fur-bearing animals. The fur trade became the lifeblood of New France, and the fur-bearing animals of the wilderness the first natural resource of continental North America exploited for international trade.

The fur trade as organized by the French had evolved through a half-century of experiment and experience before French traders penetrated the

Lake Michigan wilderness in any numbers, but the Indians of the area felt the impact of New France much earlier. By the 1640s the French presence at Quebec had brought them disruption of established tribal territory and increased intertribal frictions. These unsettling influences stemmed from the system of organizing the fur trade that the French first adopted (see pp. 11, 13).

To various groups of French merchants, eager to capitalize on the fur trade of North America, the French crown assigned, for a price, fur-trading monopolies for limited periods. These merchants in turn organized the system of trade. Until the mid-seventeenth century, they depended on the Hurons to bring furs to them at Montreal. The Hurons were middlemen who procured pelts from various tribal groups and brought them by canoe to Quebec for trade. They dominated a sizable trading region lying west of the French settlements on the St. Lawrence.

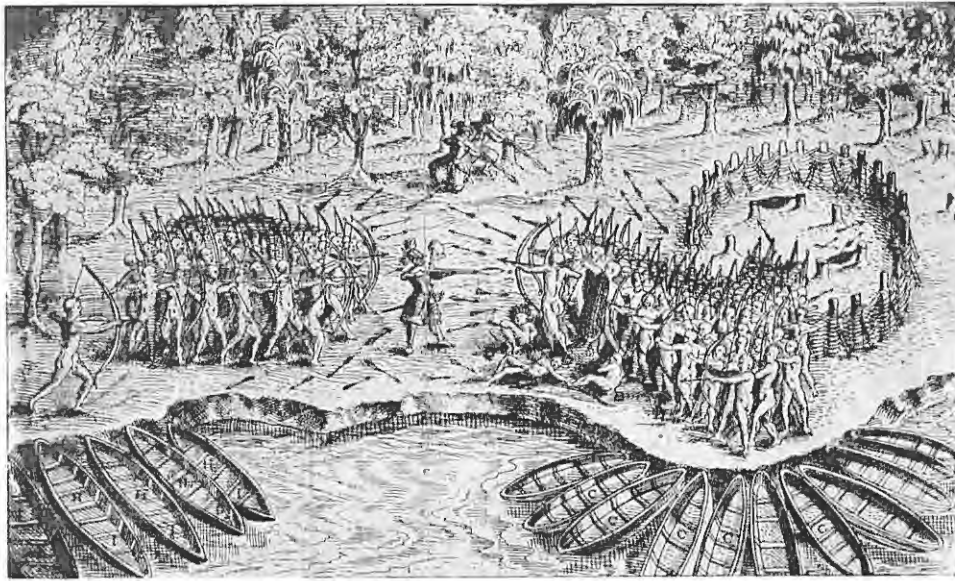
Indian peoples were much taken with French trade goods—iron hatchets, axes, knives, shovels, pickaxes, muskets, brandy, brass kettles, rings, combs, textiles, and glass beads—and preferred them to the traditional products they made from materials found in the natural environment. Guns worked better for hunting and warfare than spears, bows and arrows; brass kettles were more durable than clay pots. Brandy was a new experience, for alcoholic beverages were not known to them before the coming of the Europeans. Huron middlemen carried such goods back to their own suppliers. Theirs was a powerful trading empire.

This original system required the

French to learn about and understand Indian culture, and to send talented young representatives of the fur-trading companies among the Indians to further good will and to learn about water routes and potential allies. It worked fairly well for them at first. Furs did arrive at Quebec. The French crown benefited from the sale of trading privileges. The colonial authorities raised revenue by taxing furs. The merchants sought profits from the sale of furs to hat manufacturers in the home country. The Indians in the Lake Michigan region enjoyed French trade goods. But the system fell to pieces in the mid-seventeenth century as a result of the entrance of another European power—the Dutch—into the North American fur trade. From that time forward, New France experienced keen competition from other nations, complicating the trade and finally resulting in the loss of its North American possessions to the British in 1763.

The Dutch by 1615 had extended their initial settlements on Long Island up the Hudson River and had begun to develop a fur trade with the Iroquois, supplying them chiefly with guns and ammunition. (The arrangement was similar to the one that the French were developing with the Hurons.) Soon the Iroquois and Huron middlemen were in direct competition for beaver skins. Feroocious warfare between them in the 1640s left the Iroquois victorious, the Huron commercial empire in ruins, and Indian life in the Great Lakes region disrupted as far west as the western shores of Lake Michigan. Not until 1667 did the French succeed in establishing more than short, temporary truces with the Iroquois.

The Indian tribes east of Lake Michi-



Depicted here is a Champlain victory over the Iroquois early in the history of New France in North America. His allies were the Hurons, the Montagnais, and the Algonquins. Champlain stands in the center, the Iroquois on the right, and Champlain's Indian allies on the left. Rare Books and Manuscripts Division, The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations.

gan fled westward before the Iroquois onslaught. By mid-century the Michigan lower peninsula stood virtually empty of people. The Fox River Valley of Wisconsin was so crowded with war refugees that many people living there starved in the winter of 1672. A gradual exodus followed. Thus, the Indians of the Lake Michigan region fully felt the negative consequences of the French and Dutch quest for furs even before the French traders came to reside among them and trade with them directly.

The Iroquois wars destroyed the original French fur-trading system. Canoes loaded with furs ceased to arrive at Quebec—a disaster for New France, whose economy rested on the fur trade. The trade had to be reorganized, and reorganized it was. The initiative of French officials had less to do with it than the adventuresome spirit of individual traders who spread out into the upper country in search of France's lost and scattered Indian

allies and supplies of beaver pelts. After 1667, when peace between the Iroquois and French was established, the system of fur procurement fell into the hands of these traders and a few large Montreal and Quebec merchants who supplied them with trade goods on credit and bought their beaver skins. The Lake Michigan area and the territory lying to the west and south of it took on real importance.

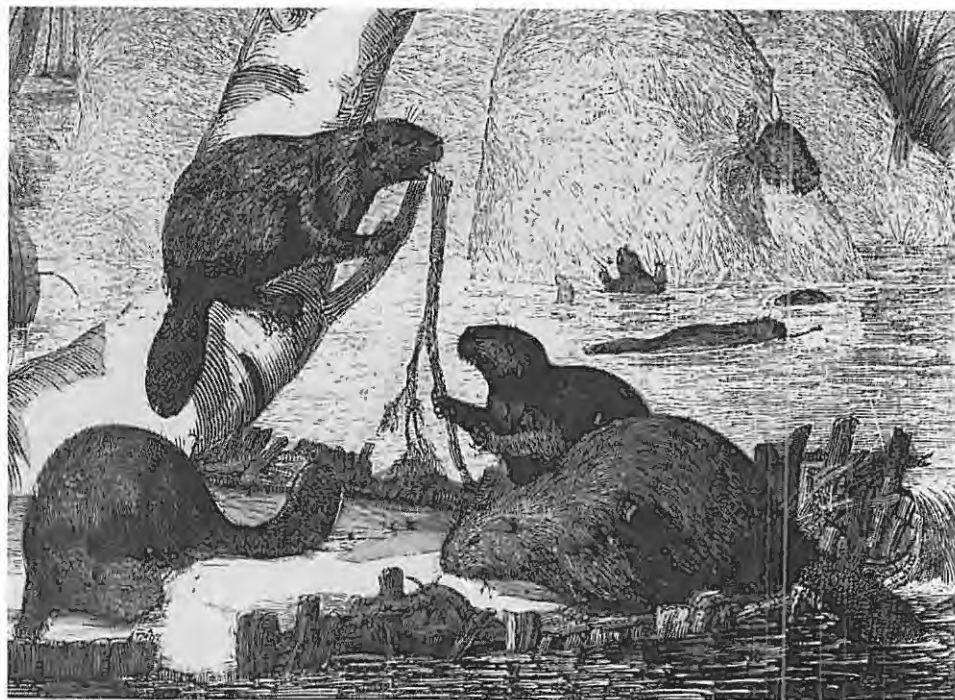
Traders, Indian guides, and canoe-men, young French Canadians of the lower St. Lawrence communities who preferred life in the woods to farming, came and went in enlarged versions of the Algonkian birchbark canoe (see p. 46). During the late seventeenth century, trade depots developed in the interior, places where Indians and traders brought furs to exchange for trade goods sent out by the merchants at Montreal and Quebec. At the entrance to Lake Michigan, where the Michilimackinac Straits offered a natural control point for traffic on Lake

Michigan, an important trading center grew (see site 110), and at Green Bay (see site 67), the entrance to the Fox-Wisconsin route to the Mississippi, another, smaller one. Lesser focal points of trade developed at Milwaukee and Chicago and on the St. Joseph River (see site 170); the last was to assume great importance in the eighteenth century. At the Straits of Michilimackinac, the French built the first of several forts in the 1680s, more than a decade after Father Marquette established the St. Ignace Mission. In 1691 Governor Frontenac had Fort St. Joseph built in the vicinity of present-day Niles, Michigan, to strengthen New France's hold on the trade with the Illinois Indians via the St. Joseph and Kankakee rivers (see site 170). Nearby stood the Jesuit mission to the Miami Indians. Traders and missionaries of the 1670s preceded the garrison at Green Bay. All of these posts were designed to enhance the fur trade. Around them gathered Indians from

many different tribes, forming pan-Indian rather than tribal villages. Thanks to its location, Mackinac remained the largest and most important of the garrisoned rendezvous points for Indians and traders well into the nineteenth century.

The late seventeenth-century reorganization of the French fur trade posed severe problems for Indians, traders, French colonial authorities, and the French crown. Undeniably the fur trade surged ahead and produced an abundance, even a glut of furs in the French market after the traders took to the woods, and their activities created crises in French-Indian diplomacy, for they stimulated among the Indians a competitive spirit as the hunt for fur-bearing animals accelerated. Intertribal competition led to friction and warfare among tribes and to the disruption of traditional tribal life.

Moreover, soon after the British captured New York in 1664, they and their Iroquois allies began to threaten the French fur trade. After 1670 the Hudson's Bay Company gained a foothold in the Hudson Bay fur trade and funneled away to the north some furs formerly traded with the French. The threat presented by the New York colony's aggressive traders grew in the eighteenth century. Indians perceived British trade goods as better in quality than the French, and they were cheaper. The British and Iroquois engaged in intrigues with Indian tribes nominally the allies of the French, and French traders smuggled their pelts to Albany for sale—consorting with the British came easily to traders critical of French official policies that, they felt, cut into their profits. All the while the sources of beaver retreated farther to the west, north, and south, and the ex-



"Beavers and Their Dams," from George Catlin, Letters and Notes on the . . . North American Indians. Courtesy State Historical Society of Wisconsin. WHi(X3)27627

penses of the traders grew as distances increased. So effective was the hunt that beaver prices fell in European markets at the end of the seventeenth century. To make matters worse, the French-British competition led to a renewal of the Iroquois wars between 1682 and 1701.

The French were operating within the framework of mercantilism, which endorsed colonial controls for the benefit of the mother country. From the 1660s to 1700, policies intended to control the fur trade were a hodgepodge including the licensing of traders, ceilings on the number of trade licenses granted, price fixing, and prohibition of smuggling, with exceptional privileges granted to explorers like La Salle (see p. 16) and persons sent on special diplomatic missions to

the Indians. These measures failed to control the supply of furs sent to market. They were an attempt to control the virtually uncontrollable—a few hundred free and independent spirits trading in a vast wilderness without official supervision. The French were the first of the western nations which tried to administer the fur trade. Neither the British nor the Americans who followed them did any better.

At the royal court in Paris, advisors differed on how New France should be developed. One school advocated French expansion over North America; the other urged concentration of settlements along the St. Lawrence and the fostering of agriculture. The debacle in fur prices in the 1690s, plus Jesuit warnings that the fur traders were debauching the Indians, led to

official retrenchment in the trade. Governor Frontenac was ordered to restrict settlement to the St. Lawrence, to issue no more fur-trading licenses, to recall traders, soldiers, and settlers from the West, to abandon and destroy all western forts, and to make peace with the Iroquois. Had all these things been done, all of New France probably would have been lost to the British long before 1763. As it was, the French and British fought three international wars involving the fur trade in the North American theater in the eighteenth century before the French bowed out.

The French remained as long as they did first because the fur traders did not leave the wilderness, and second because officials of New France modified the orders to pull out of the West. They substituted a plan to hold the West by establishing three well-fortified locations to keep open the line of communications from Quebec to the mouth of the Mississippi. The plan involved garrisons at New Orleans to control the mouth of the Mississippi; a strengthening of Fort Crèvecoeur, on the northern Illinois River, established by La Salle in 1680 to guard the Lake Michigan–Illinois River connection to the Mississippi; and a third garrison at the straits between Lakes Huron and Erie, the site of present-day Detroit, strategic to the defense of the upper lakes and important in guarding the Maumee–Wabash–Ohio route to the Mississippi. Construction of French fortifications at Detroit and at the mouth of the Mississippi forestalled British plans to occupy those strategic locations by a matter of months. At these three points the French concentrated groups of Indians to assist in the conduct of

the fur trade and in defense, arguing that they would in exchange teach them French ways of life and convert them to Christianity.

Despite these efforts, New France quickly lost ground to the English in the struggle to control the fur trade of North America. Even as the French were implementing their new plan, war broke out between England and the French and their Spanish allies. Queen Anne's War (1702–1713) was fought in Europe and in North America; in America, the competition for territory and the fur trade was the issue. Peace terms in 1713 placed the British in a stronger position than ever before, for they acquired from the French all the territory draining into Hudson Bay, Newfoundland, and Acadia (Nova Scotia and part of New Brunswick). The French recognized the Iroquois as British subjects, and another treaty provision gave British and French subjects equal trade rights with the North American Indians.

Meanwhile, the French had become embroiled in a major war with the Fox Indians, in part an outgrowth of the Indian concentration at Detroit (then Pontchartrain). This war kept Indian affairs and the fur trade along the western side of Lake Michigan in a state of turmoil from 1701 until 1737. The Fox held a very strategic position in the French line of communication, for they occupied territory astride the Fox–Wisconsin route to the Mississippi. Disappointed because the French had established direct trade in furs with the Sioux, their enemies, the Fox began intercepting French traders as a protest. Fuel was added to the flames by French treatment of their tribesmen at Detroit. Antoine de la Mothe Cadillac, the founder of the Detroit post, in-

vited the Fox to settle just outside the fort: about a thousand accepted. After Cadillac was reassigned to Louisiana, the Fox at Detroit became embroiled in an intertribal conflict. To settle it, the new commandant virtually annihilated them. The massacre at Detroit heightened the conflict along the Fox–Wisconsin route.

Thus, the French, having finally put the conflict with the Iroquois to rest in 1701, were locked into another Indian war at the very time that the British challenge to the fur trade was mounting. They adjusted their tactics in 1714 to meet both threats. The western posts received commandants and garrisons. At the Straits of Michilimackinac, the French built a new fortification, not at the St. Ignace site of old Fort de Buade, evacuated in 1698 (site 111), but on the lower peninsula at present-day Mackinaw City (site 115). In 1716 they sent soldiers, militiamen, and Indian warriors, 800 in all, equipped with mortars and ammunition, to Green Bay to subdue the Fox. The Fox surrendered but then proceeded to organize a confederacy of tribes to combat the French. A year later the Fox attacked the Illinois country and seized the Chicago–Des Plaines portage, cutting another main line of communication between the St. Lawrence and the lower Mississippi. A general peace concluded in 1726 failed to end the struggle. In 1728 and again in 1733, the French sent new expeditions against the Fox. Finally peace came in 1737 after almost 40 years of bloody, brutal turmoil.

During the Fox wars French prestige fell among the Indians, and the popularity of British trade goods grew. In an effort to hold on, the French repeatedly reorganized the supply sys-

tem of the fur trade after 1700, making garrisons in the West key centers of trade and utilizing a mixture of licensed traders, leased posts, and crown-administered posts as controls. The post leasing system, initiated in 1742, worked particularly to the disadvantage of the Indians because the lessees, who were assigned monopoly rights to the fur trade in competitive bidding, tried to maximize profits and displayed little concern for the well-being of their Indian suppliers of furs.

The short-lived experiment lasted only seven years on Lake Michigan. On the advice of Paul Marin, French subduer of the Fox, the licensing system came back into use. Marin believed that it offered greater opportunities for profit for himself and a ring of associates, including the governor of New France, who proposed to monopolize the fur trade at Green Bay and at La Pointe on Lake Superior. From that time until the collapse of the French regime in 1763, licensing continued, and so did the system of favoritism, corruption, and excessive profits to high colonial officials and their favorites. In the twilight of New France, fur trading on Lake Michigan at Mackinac, Green Bay, and St. Joseph became part of the general pattern of official dishonesty, bribery, and corruption that contributed to the collapse of the French regime in North America.

The French-British rivalry for the fur trade of the mid-continent entered its final phase with the outbreak of open warfare between the British and French in the upper Ohio country in 1754. British American colonists from the east coast had made steady inroads there since the beginning of the century, establishing friendships and trade with tribes whom the French consid-

ered their allies. The French system of defense, based on control of the St. Lawrence, the Mississippi, and the Great Lakes through strategically located garrisons, was weak in the Ohio Valley. Perceiving the danger, the French began in 1749 to construct garrisoned trading posts to counteract the British Americans. This precipitated the French and Indian War, which began with the rout of George Washington's forces at the forks of the Ohio in 1754. The slaughter of General Braddock and his soldiers followed on July 9, 1755. Nearly two years of bloody frontier warfare passed before France and England formally declared war.

The French, largely because of a show of military prowess early in the struggle, had massive Indian support for a time. Ultimately, however, British and colonial regulars overwhelmed New France. The climax of the struggle in North America came at the battle for Quebec in 1759, when General James Wolfe surprised and overwhelmed the forces of the Marquis de Montcalm on the Plains of Abraham. The British emerged triumphant in the contest for the fur trade, and France in 1763 relinquished all its North American continental possessions.

Politically the era of the French fur trade had passed, but the legacy of the French lingered on. Around the shores of Lake Michigan it continued in the small communities of active or retired French fur traders and their descendants who remained at Mackinac, Green Bay, and Fort St. Joseph during the British and American periods. It lingered in the minor Lake Michigan posts on the rivers tributary to the lake—the Muskegon, Kalamazoo, Grand, Calumet, Chicago, Waukegan, Milwaukee, Sheboygan, Manitowoc,

Kewaunee, Oconto, and Menominee. And it lingered in the organization, techniques, and personnel of the fur trade itself. The French, allied with the Indians, pioneered in the fur trade, exploring the water routes, adapting the birchbark canoe to the needs of the trade, introducing the Indians to European trade goods, and practicing skills of Indian-white diplomacy. They developed a trading structure that included the large merchant suppliers of trade goods in Montreal and Quebec, traders operating in the remote western country, and inland depots for rendezvous points. The system of business partnership between merchant and fur trader used credit and settlement of accounts after a one-two year voyage of trade. The French colonial government developed the system of licensing traders and using post commandants as supervisors of the trade, in part to maintain standards of fairness in Indian-trader relationships, although intent and practice were often far apart. The nuts and bolts of the trade were a French legacy as well—the methods of bundling trade goods and furs in packs, stowing canoes, portaging, and camping. The widespread use of Indians as guides and of young Frenchmen from the farms of the lower St. Lawrence as canoemen was an important part of that legacy.

So, unfortunately, was the whetting of Indian appetites for European-made trade goods, which led them to cast off the skills that had made them self-sufficient in the natural environment. The trade occasioned loss of human life, the disruption of tribal life, and the alcoholic debauchery of the Indians. Indians died from European diseases and from an increase in inter-



The taking of Quebec, September 13, 1759. General Wolfe's forces land to join British forces already engaged in battle with troops of the Marquis de Montcalm on the Plains of Abraham. Public Archives Canada. C1078



Frederic Remington's "Voyageurs in Camp for the Night" captures the romantic vision of the voyageurs. From Harper's New Monthly Magazine, March 1892. Courtesy State Historical Society of Wisconsin. WHI(X3)15472

tribal warfare brought on by competition for hunting grounds. Equipped with guns and ammunition, they became the allies of the French, the Dutch, and the British, helping them to fight their battles and dying by the thousands.

The romantic image of the French fur traders, the *voyageurs*, and their Indian companions—traveling thousands of miles through the wilderness in canoes, navigating rapids, carrying heavy packs over long portages, and camping at night in beautiful wilderness settings survives. The marvelous achievement of the Frenchmen who penetrated thousands of miles inland to the foothills of the Rockies, the incredible physical exertion required by the 36 portages of the Ottawa–Lake Nipissing route to Georgian Bay, the great 36 foot birchbark canoes capable of carrying a crew and 6,000 pounds of cargo used on the Great Lakes, all capture the imagination. Yet these romantic impressions need to be tempered with the sobering realities of the business. The price in human life and misery was high, but not too high for the British and American inheritors of the fur trade to pursue it vigorously for profit using the techniques developed by the pioneering French.



Indians at Fort Michilimackinac by Bert Thom portrays the game of lacrosse before the open gates with British soldiers relaxed and watching. Such must have been the scene in June 1763 just prior to the Indian attack and capture of the garrison. From the Collections of the Michigan State Archives, Department of State. 05356

Furs and Lands: British-American Rivalries

With the conclusion of peace between France and Great Britain in 1763, the British acquired France's continental North American possessions and the responsibility for governing them. Indian affairs and the fur trade demanded immediate attention, for already the Great Lakes region seethed with discontent. Even before British troops occupied western posts, fur traders from Pennsylvania, Maryland, and New York, as well as Montreal entrepreneurs who had come to Canada with the British armies, had pushed into the upper Great Lakes area to pursue trade. There they found experienced French traders still engaged in the business.

The fur trade had already taken on a fiercely competitive character when Indian discontent erupted into Pontiac's Rebellion in the spring and summer of 1763. A combination of grievances led to hostilities: unauthorized British settlements on Indian lands, the tactless and unscrupulous behavior of some British fur traders and military personnel, lingering preferences for the French, and perhaps some encouragement from French and Spanish partisans in the West. The Ottawa chief Pontiac moved against the British at Detroit, arousing other Indian groups from Mackinac to Niagara. In quick succession they too struck at British outposts. On Lake Michigan, the British garrison at Green Bay escaped trouble largely because of the tact and diplomacy of its commandant. Fort St. Joseph, on the eastern side of the lake, fell, and at Fort Michilimackinac a

Chippewa uprising, inspired by the activities of Pontiac, ended with the killing of a trader, several officers, and two-thirds of the British soldiers stationed there (see site 115).

British authorities were well aware that the fur trade could not flourish unless the Indians supported it and that unauthorized settlements on Indian lands kept Indian affairs in turmoil. After wrestling with the issue, the British home government adopted in October 1763 a plan to confine settlement to the territory east of the Alleghenies. For the next 11 years, the great challenge was to find a way to organize the fur trade that would stabilize Indian relations, harmonize the conflicting interests of traders from Montreal and those from the Atlantic coastal colonies, meet the needs of the French fur-trading population in the wilderness, and protect Britain's newly acquired western territories.

Britain faced exactly the same problem that the French had struggled with for well over a century: how to bring peace and order to a remote, sparsely populated area where it was virtually impossible to enforce any law or regulation. But the British problem was even more complex, because the Atlantic coastal colonies laid claim to the western country on the basis of their original charters, insisted that a large degree of home rule belonged to their legislatures, and grew increasingly resentful of parliamentary taxes levied to pay for the costs of crown government and defenses in the colonies.

Sir William Johnson was placed in charge of Indian affairs north of the Ohio River in 1756. An astute man who had the confidence of the Iroquois and fully understood the complexities of Indian-trader-settler relationships, he wanted a comprehensive, centrally administered plan for the West. He argued for restraining agricultural settlement, maintaining well-garrisoned western posts, restricting the fur trade to the posts under the supervision of superintendents, licensing traders, prohibiting the use of liquor in the trade, and fixing prices. Parliament did not adopt his plan because of the high cost entailed in administering it. Instead, in 1768, the Lords of Trade turned the regulation of the fur trade over to the individual colonies, as had been customary before the French and Indian War, and urged the colonies to cooperate and develop a uniform set of rules. Attempts at cooperation foundered, and competitive chaos and Indian dissatisfaction continued. Disreputable traders dealt heavily in rum. Crime and disorder grew.

In 1774 the British Parliament acted to establish a fur-trading policy for the West. In the restive coastal colonies, the Quebec Act, which embodied the new policy, became known as one of the Intolerable Acts and added fuel to the flames of controversy with Britain. The act extended the boundaries of Quebec to include the area bounded by the Appalachians, the Ohio River and the Mississippi, provided civil government for its French inhabitants,

granted religious toleration to French Catholics, and ordered courts in the region to administer French civil law. The fur trade of the Great Lakes came under the authority of British officials in Quebec.

The act in effect made the area bounded by the Great Lakes, the Ohio, the Mississippi, and the Allegheny Mountains into a great Indian preserve where the rules for the fur trade would be made by Quebec, not the various coastal colonies. Fur traders in the 13 colonies were outraged because they perceived an advantage for the Quebec traders who already dominated the trans-Allegheny trade; British Canadians were outraged because the act gave French residents religious toleration and a form of civil government to their liking. The Quebec Act, many of whose provisions were, incidentally, never put into practice, helped the cause of those American colonists advocating independence from Britain. The Montreal traders, enterprising Scots and English, who dominated the fur trade in the Ohio country and the upper Great Lakes region, rapidly learned the techniques of the French and opened new fields in the interior, going beyond the areas previously exploited by the French particularly in the northwest. The outbreak of the American Revolution gave the Montreal group a further trade advantage on the upper Great Lakes where the British succeeded in maintaining territorial control.

Lake Michigan felt the impact of the Revolution. Partisans of the revolting colonies and of the British mingled among its Indian peoples seeking their allegiance and support in the conflict. As early as 1775, the British solicited the help of Charles de Langlade of



"George Rogers Clark Raids Fort Sackville," February 1779. From a painting by George I. Parrish, Jr., in a series commissioned by Illinois Bell Telephone Co. to commemorate Illinois' Sesquicentennial year. Courtesy Illinois Bell Telephone Co.

Green Bay, a French officer during the French and Indian War, in gathering Indian volunteers at Green Bay to help raise the American siege of Quebec. The British repeatedly used Indian recruits from the northern Lake Michigan region in eastern warfare and encouraged Indian raiding parties on outlying American settlements on the Pennsylvania and Kentucky frontiers.

After the George Rogers Clark expedition into the Northwest in 1778, which led to the American occupation of Kaskaskia, Cahokia, and Vincennes, the Americans began to erode the British loyalties of the Lake Michigan Indians. Clark assembled 4,000 representatives from Wisconsin and upper Mississippi tribes at Cahokia in August 1778 and so successfully presented the

cause of the American revolutionaries that for a time the Lake Michigan tribes were split in their nominal allegiance, the northern Indians loyal to the British, and the Indians of Milwaukee and the Potawatomi, Sauk, Fox, and Winnebago in the Wisconsin, Rock, and Mississippi river areas sympathetic to the Americans. Probably the French alliance with the revolutionary colonies in 1778 and seeming Spanish sympathy for the Revolution bolstered the American position with the Indians of lower Lake Michigan, for the old French loyalties still lingered and many Indians traded directly with the Spanish at St. Louis.

Fear of American influence and a possible attack on Detroit and Mackinac led the British to send the sloop



Land gate entrance to replication of North West Company trading fort at Grand Portage. Photo by Allan Bogue.

Felicity on a diplomatic cruise around Lake Michigan in October 1779. Braving high winds, rain, and sleet, it landed near Muskegon and at Milwaukee. British officers learned little about potential American military moves and little to encourage them about Indian loyalties. During the next year the British moved Fort Michilimackinac from the southern peninsula to Mackinac Island, a more defensible location. In 1780 and 1781 the Illinois country, St. Louis, Chicago, the Rock River, Prairie du Chien, St. Joseph, and the Michigan City area all figured in raiding and counterraidering expeditions of the British and Americans. British sloops sailed Lake Michigan in support of British efforts. Notable among the 1781 raids was the

Spanish overland thrust that seized Fort St. Joseph, unoccupied by British troops since 1763, in February. The Spanish left after 24 hours, but their action gives the present city of Niles its claim to being a city of four flags (see site 170). American influence on Lake Michigan was never strong but the British while in control had the uncomfortable feeling that their Indian allies would desert them and open the way for American military moves.

Ironically, when peace was finally made between Great Britain and the 13 former colonies in 1783, the raiding and counterraidering in the western theater had little to do with Britain's decision to let the young United States have the territory between the Appalachians and the Mississippi River. The United States fell heir to the Great Lakes country because Britain hoped that this would thwart the designs of its two European enemies, France and Spain.

With peace concluded, the fur trade of Lake Michigan and the region south of the lakes revived and entered a new era that the British dominated from 1783 to 1815. Why were they there? Had not the territory been ceded to the United States? The British traders remained because the Treaty of Paris left two loopholes that enabled them to do so. One was a provision calling for the British-held forts in American territory, including Michilimackinac, to be turned over to the Americans "with all convenient speed." "Convenient speed" was not defined. Second, the British and the Americans both had free navigation of the Mississippi, an important trade artery. The young United States was a relatively weak nation saddled with debts incurred in fighting the Revolution. It did not have

the military strength to oust the British.

Most telling of all, the British had a competitive advantage over the Americans in the Great Lakes fur trade. During the years of the American Revolution, the Montreal traders came to the conclusion that excessive competition hurt everyone involved, and that combination and cooperation held greater possibilities for profit. During the 1770s combinations of merchants and traders formed to pursue the trade. Paramount among them was the North West Company, a loose association of merchant-trader partnerships that began cooperating informally in 1778 and organized formally during the winter of 1783–84. The company played a major role in the fur trade of North America until 1821, when the British government forced it to consolidate with the Hudson's Bay Company to stop open warfare between the two. The North West Company's spectacular success came largely from an expansion into the areas north and west of Lake Superior. Far-flung trade routes brought the wintering partners of the wilderness together with the Montreal merchant partners at an annual rendezvous held first at Grand Portage and later, after 1803, at Fort William.

This spectacular business, involving several thousand traders, *voyageurs*, and others engaged in bartering trade goods for furs with the Indians, also had a southwestern component involving the Great Lakes, the Illinois country, and the Mississippi Valley both east and west of the great river. The Revolutionary War did not seriously interfere with the company trade of the Lake Superior region. After peace was restored in 1783, the North West

Company and other, smaller Canadian trading combinations were ready once again to pursue vigorously the trade of the entire upper Great Lakes region. The North West Company's Mackinac Island depot soon bustled with activity. The trading partners established minor posts on Lake Michigan at Kewaunee, Manitowoc, Sheboygan, and Milwaukee, on the American shore of Lake Superior, and south into the interior. They had the capital, the organization, and the knowledge and personnel of the French, and they knew the techniques of the trade. In 1791 they got the Canadian government to drop all regulations covering the fur trade.

British domination of the fur trade in American territory irked the young United States. The new nation was convinced that the British were not only harvesting its furs and occupying its forts, but also stirring up the Indians against its authority. During the 1790s the U.S. government took a number of steps to counteract the British, including military expeditions against the Indians in the Ohio country. To avert the threat of open hostilities in the lower Great Lakes and on the high seas, it sent John Jay to England in 1794 to negotiate a settlement. The British agreed to evacuate their military posts in U.S. territory, seven in all, stretching from Lake Champlain to Fort Michilimackinac. But the fur trade was still accessible to the Canadians, for Jay's Treaty freely opened the Great Lakes and the rivers of the two countries to Canada and the United States alike and sanctioned trade and commerce between them.

In an effort partly designed to counteract the British, Congress initiated a fur-trading policy in 1796 with legisla-

tion calling for the establishment of government-operated factories where U.S. factors supplied with modestly priced goods, would trade at fair prices with the Indians. Liquor would be prohibited. Private trade was not banned, but traders had to be licensed, and they would have to trade in competition with government factories. First introduced among tribes south of the Ohio River, government factories were established at Chicago in 1805, two years after the establishment of Fort Dearborn, and at Mackinac in 1809.

In 1799 the U.S. government established a revenue district for the Northwest, making Michilimackinac a port of entry. British traders would now have to pay duties on trade goods brought into American territory. A few years later, it insisted that the vast region west of the Mississippi acquired in the Louisiana Purchase of 1803 was out of bounds to British traders: Jay's Treaty of 1794 did not apply there. In 1805 President Jefferson sent Zebulon Pike on an expedition to the headwaters of the Mississippi, at least in part to oust foreign traders. The Lewis and Clark expedition of 1804-1806 and the Pike expedition into the lower Louisiana Purchase of 1806-1807 had a similar purpose. Well before the War of 1812, the British traders could foresee the day when trade south of the border would be out of the question.

American commercial interests played a key role in wresting the fur trade away from the British. John Jacob Astor, the leading figure in the struggle, made real inroads into the British dominance in the U.S. Great Lakes region before the outbreak of the War of 1812. Astor, born and raised in the Duchy of Baden in south-

western Germany, came to New York in 1783 and established a mercantile business in furs and musical instruments, which grew, diversified broadly, and prospered. In 1800 he had well-established trading connections in Montreal, London, and China. By 1807 Astor's agents were purchasing furs from the British at Mackinac, and three years later he sent his own outfits from Mackinac into Indian country for direct trade.

In 1808 Astor founded the American Fur Company with the objective of building a vast organization that would monopolize the fur trade in all parts of the United States. He tried to buy the Michilimackinac Company, a Canadian fur-trading group organized in 1806 and containing many partners of the North West Company, whose sphere of trade was defined as the Great Lakes region. He failed and stepped up his competition at Michilimackinac. Convinced that they had to come to terms with Astor, a group of prominent Montreal merchants and traders journeyed in 1811 to New York, where they and Astor agreed to establish the South West Fur Company as successor to the Michilimackinac Company. The Montreal group and Astor would each contribute one-half the costs and share profits or losses equally. Each would send an agent to Michilimackinac. The North West Company assigned its U.S. posts to the South West Company, and the latter agreed not to trade in Canada save in specified exceptional circumstances. This division of territory applied to the region east of the Rocky Mountains only. The Canadians believed that by cutting Astor into the business of the South West Company, they could lessen U.S. custom payments and enlist

Astor's aid in eliminating the U.S. government's factory system. Astor thought that at least he would reap significant benefits from the Great Lakes fur trade. He followed up this coup with an ambitious leap to the west coast where he established Astoria near the mouth of the Columbia in 1811. Astor's well-laid plans ran awry because of strained relations between the U.S. and Britain: the long-simmering disputes over the rights of neutral ships on the high seas, which boiled over repeatedly after the onset of the Wars of the French Revolution, and frictions in the Great Lakes country engendered by the British presence in the fur trade and in Indian affairs. These strains finally culminated in the War of 1812, which disrupted the Great Lakes fur trade for three years.

Those pioneer settlers who lived south of the Great Lakes and in the West generally wanted war with Britain in 1812. They were convinced that the British presence was causing violent Indian unrest and failed to recognize that their own presence and the policies of the U.S. government so irritated the Indians that they were open to friendly overtures from the British or any other group that sought to help them.

Responding to the pressures of land hungry frontiersmen, the U.S. government used the army to quell Indian resistance to settlement and pressured Indian tribes into making treaties that ceded their tribal lands to the United States. Open warfare and treaty making characterized the two decades before 1812 in Ohio and Indiana country.

Tecumseh and the Prophet, Shawnee tribesmen, saw the handwriting

on the wall and led the opposition to land cessions, gaining a widespread following that included the tribes of the upper Great Lakes and areas south of the Ohio River. Tecumseh regarded the British as his friends, for they gave him both presents and firearms. William Henry Harrison, territorial governor of Indiana and tough negotiator of land cession treaties, tried to crush Tecumseh's threatened rebellion at the so-called Battle of Tippecanoe in November 1811. This battle may in a sense be regarded as the beginning of the War of 1812. Settlers living in the interior surely thought so because of the widespread Indian attacks that followed it. The conflict in the West merged with the general war between the United States and Britain on June 18, 1812.

The second and last contest between Britain and the United States deeply affected the Lake Michigan region. On July 17, 1812, Fort Mackinac fell to combined British and Indian forces (Sioux, Winnebago, Menominee, Ottawa, and Chippewa) without a shot: the U.S. commander did not even know that war had been declared. The British arrived in a trading schooner furnished by the South West Company, the *Caledonia*, which landed on the western side of the island. At night the forces came ashore, climbed a hill overlooking the fort, and trained their cannon at it. The next morning the U.S. commander had little choice but to surrender. The Americans never succeeded in retaking Mackinac during the war (see site 113).

Under orders from General Hull at Detroit to evacuate Fort Dearborn, Captain Heald, the commandant, led fort personnel outside the stockade on

August 15 and south along the lake-shore. They had gone only a short distance when they were ambushed and captured by Indians (see site 1). On August 16 Detroit fell before British regulars and Tecumseh's Indian army. The British were in undisputed control on Lakes Michigan and Superior and had the confidence of the Indians, who willingly fought for them because they believed that the British planned to retake and keep the western posts and to establish a neutral Indian state west of the Great Lakes. Surely those measures would relieve U.S. pressures on tribal lands. The Indians paid a high price for their hopes. Uncounted hundreds died in battle, and Tecumseh, commissioned as a British general, died in 1813 fighting the forces led by William H. Harrison at the Battle of the Thames in southwestern Ontario. When the peace treaty was written in 1815, all the Indians had fought for was lost. U.S. territory was returned to the United States, boundaries remained unchanged, and the neutral state never materialized.

At last the fur trade in U.S. territory belonged to U.S. citizens, and John Jacob Astor soon emerged with the lion's share. Astor moved quickly to pick up the Great Lakes trade where he had been forced virtually to drop it in 1812. Congress helped him in 1816 by restricting licenses for the trade to U.S. citizens, "unless by the express direction of the President of the United States." Perhaps Astor, a very powerful and influential man, was responsible for the law, but that cannot be documented. In 1816 Astor needed to use British traders to wind down the business of the South West Company. He appealed to the president for help, and shortly thereafter the gov-



N. Currier dramatically depicted the Death of Tecumseh during the Battle of the Thames, October 5, 1813, in this 1841 lithograph. Courtesy State Historical Society of Wisconsin. WHi(X3)40494

error of Michigan Territory and federal Indian agents at Mackinac, Green Bay, and Chicago were given the power to issue licenses. They proved agreeable to Astor's requests. In 1817 Astor bought out his Canadian partners in the South West Company.

Then, for the first time without commercial allies, he plunged forward with his monopoly plans. He found a supporter in Governor Cass of Michigan Territory, who helped with licensing problems and in many other ways as well. He was accused of accepting money from the American Fur Company, but that was never proven. Although trade factors at Green Bay and Prairie du Chien complained loudly that Astor's licensed British

traders were "the blackest of characters," engaged in ruining U.S. traders and government factories alike, they made little impact. Astor's war on government factories and independent traders went forward unchecked. The company marshalled its numerous influential friends—including U.S. Senator, Thomas Hart Benton of Missouri, then retained as an attorney for the American Fur Company—to secure legislation abolishing government factories, and in 1822 it succeeded.

The American Fur Company's campaign to eliminate the competition of private traders began in the West in 1816. At Mackinac Island, company headquarters for the Great Lakes trade, it quickly forced private traders to cooperate or leave. At Chicago, Green Bay, and elsewhere, the company followed the policy of hiring skillful independents to work for the Company, or forcing them to buy trade goods from it and sell furs to it, or inducing them to enter agreements with the company to trade on shares, the favored arrangement. When efforts to achieve working arrangements with independents collapsed, the company simply shifted its most skillful traders to the problem area and engaged in a competitive war with them until the independents failed. Yet new independents kept coming forward to enter the struggle with "the fist in the wilderness," as the traders called the American Fur Company.

Gurdon S. Hubbard, one of the company's very successful Lake Michigan traders, estimated that Astor's firm made business deals with 95 percent of the region's traders and, through its capital and influence, broke up the business of the independents. The U.S. Indian agent at Mackinac noted in



Stuart House on Mackinac Island as it looks today. Photo by Allan Bogue.

1830 that 95 percent of the furs and pelts brought to the island came to the accounts of the American Fur Company. Around the shores of Lake Michigan, the company maintained posts at Green Bay, Milwaukee, and Chicago, on the Calumet, St. Joseph, Kalamazoo, Muskegon, and Grand rivers, and at Grand Traverse Bay.

On Mackinac Island at the junction of Lakes Huron and Michigan, characterized in 1670 by Father Claude Dablon as "the door and the key," stood the American Fur Company's headquarters for the Great Lakes fur trade, housed in four large, white frame buildings on Market Street: a warehouse, built in 1810; the Agency House, built in 1817, the home of Ramsay Crooks and Robert Stuart; the Clerk's Quarters; and a retail store. On the bluff above it all stood Fort Mackinac (see site 113, no. [6]). Nearby Catholic and Protestant missions

housed men of the cloth who struggled to spread the gospel and set moral standards.

From the island the company's traders and *voyageurs*, those French Canadians who paddled, rowed, and sailed the canoes, bateaux, and Mackinaw boats laden with trade goods, set out for their assigned posts. (Most major posts had small substos to help control trade.) During the winter they traded and did some trapping on their own, and in spring, their crafts loaded with furs, they started the return journey to the island. To the company barter room they brought their pelts; they settled accounts; and they turned to the pleasures of Mackinac Island life. The months of isolation slipped away in talk, story, feast, dance, song, and drink. The Indians who camped along the beach, traders, company clerks, *voyageurs*, and visitors from many countries mingled in the rough, boisterous, and sometimes violent atmosphere. Influential people stayed at Robert Stuart's home, well staffed with servants and filled with all the comforts of a city residence in that age.

One shooting incident on Mackinac Island during the height of the American Fur Company's operations led to significant medical research. Alexis St.

Martin, a part-Indian, part-French *voyageur*, was shot in the abdomen in the company store in June 1822. Dr. William Beaumont, an army surgeon summoned from the fort, despaired of saving him. But, miraculously, St. Martin recovered despite a punctured stomach and lacerated diaphragm and lung. The healing process left free access to the interior of the stomach, and Dr. Beaumont decided to use St. Martin's stomach as a laboratory to study the digestive process. From these studies came a classic in medical research, published in 1833: Beaumont's *Experiments and Observations on the Gastric Juice and the Physiology of Digestion*.

Under the dominance of the American Fur Company, the fur trade on Lake Michigan reached new heights of production and then rapidly dwindled, but did not cease. The relentless pursuit of all kinds of fur-bearing animals—beaver, martin, muskrat, fox, bear, raccoon, deer, and mink—by the mid 1830s resulted in smaller and smaller annual yields. When John Jacob Astor retired as head of the company and sold the Great Lakes portion of the trade to Ramsay Crooks in 1834, Crooks had but nine years of business left before the company's bankruptcy. When he closed the books

of the debt-ridden American Fur Company in 1847, an era in the fur trade of Lake Michigan passed—the era when the large, centralized enterprise dominated the trade. The business of trapping and trading reverted to small-scale traders. The most tragic of the consequences of the fur trade was its effect on the Indians, who for nearly two centuries adapted their ways of life to it and then were left impoverished, with tribal life disrupted and without the old skills that for so long had sustained them in the natural environment. They were in no shape to hold on to their tribal lands and to stem the tide of white settlement that was about to wash over the upper Great Lakes region.

Mackinac Island (site 113), the restored Fort Michilimackinac at Mackinaw City (site 115), and St. Ignace (site 111) are the best locations for those interested in seeing historical reminders of the French, British, and U.S. fur trade of the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries. At the Indiana Dunes National Lakeshore (site 175), the Joseph Bailly homestead gives an impression of the physical setting in which one trader associated with the American Fur Company lived.

A Heterogeneous People

Few places in the United States can claim a richer and more varied ethnic history than the area lying around the shores of Lake Michigan. Here people from dozens of nations and from varying religious and racial backgrounds have mingled for three centuries as they sought a livelihood in a changing physical and economic environment. Conscious of their group identities and their differences from others, they nevertheless devised ways to coexist, and despite economic, social, and cultural frictions, all contributed to the area's development. Some came and stayed. Others came and went, giving the area an ever-changing population profile. Here the major sources of in-migration are discussed in a historical framework to provide a context for the material on ethnic groups included in the descriptions of specific lakeside cities, towns, and villages.

The Indians were the Lake Michigan area's first inhabitants. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the French fur traders came establishing a few small communities, some of which have endured. The British came and went with the fur trade, leaving no lasting centers of settlement. In the vanguard of American settlers came U.S. Army personnel to garrison Mackinac, Chicago, and Green Bay and federal representatives to negotiate treaties of land cession with the Indians.

The westward tide of American settlers did not reach the Lake Michigan region until after 1830. Earlier, the fer-

tile lands of the Ohio River Valley satiated the hundreds of thousands of easterners bent on starting life anew in the West. A less well known and more remote frontier, the Lake Michigan area suffered from adverse publicity. Michigan, popularly regarded as a pesthole of malaria and typhoid fever in the 1820s, became the subject of an eastern rhymester's warning:

*Don't go to Michigan, that land of ills;
That word means ague, fever, and
chills.*

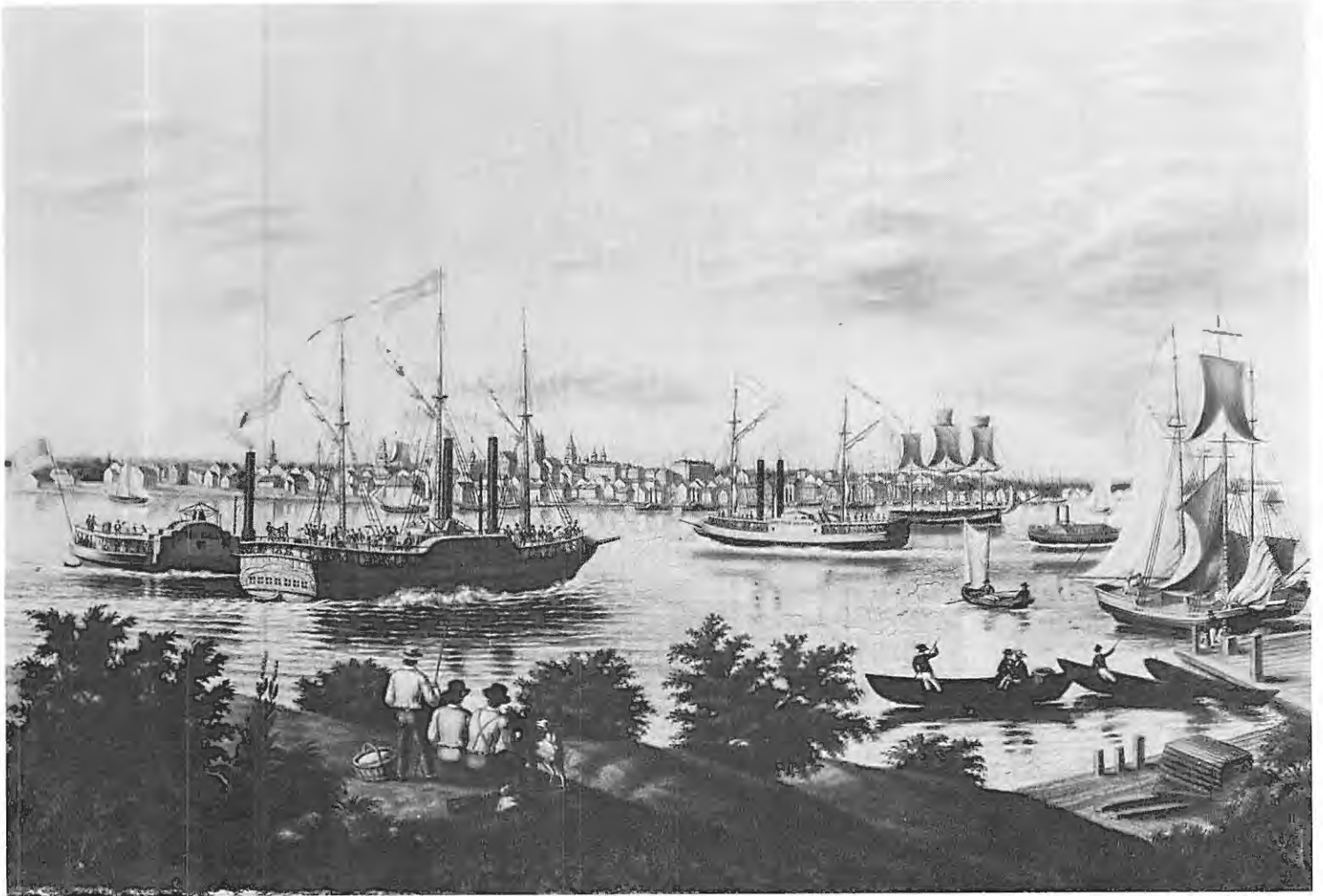
During the 1820s a developing transportation system opened the area to settlers. The Erie Canal, completed in 1825, linked New York City via the Hudson River to Buffalo on Lake Erie. Montreal merchants fearful of competition from New York's rising port, an ice-free entree all year round, pressed for development of a St. Lawrence–Great Lakes linkage by further waterway improvements. The Welland Canal bypassing Great Falls, completed in 1829, overcame the 326-foot difference between Lakes Ontario and Erie. Thus, by 1830 two major water routes connecting the Great Lakes with the Atlantic Ocean had improved access to the Lake Michigan region. Steamboat transportation on the lakes was then in its infancy, but sailing vessels aplenty served the flow of traffic westward from Buffalo.

Meanwhile, the U.S. government had begun building roads through the lower Michigan peninsula. Construction of a military road to connect Fort Dearborn and Detroit, known as the

Chicago Military Road, began in the late 1820s and was completed in 1835. A branch of this road connecting Detroit and St. Joseph, Michigan, on the eastern lakeshore opened to stage-coach traffic in 1834. In 1828 the Indiana legislature planned a road to run from the Ohio River to Lake Michigan's southern shoreline, a project completed in 1833. In 1830 Chicago was surveyed as the potential terminus for the Illinois-Michigan Canal, which was to connect the lake with the Mississippi River via the Illinois River.

With the lines of water communication open, roads in the process of construction, and plans for future transportation linkages on the drawing board, southern Lake Michigan appealed to some of the thousands of Americans moving westward in the prosperous years from 1834 to 1837. The lower one-third of present-day Michigan, Chicago, northern Illinois, and, to a lesser extent, Lake Michigan's western shore attracted settlers. As the national speculation in western lands rose to a fever pitch, town site promoters infested the southern and western shores of Lake Michigan, platting towns at locations with a potential for port development.

This first wave of settlement around the lake came primarily from New England and upper New York State, where economic forces propelled the population westward. The declining fertility of hill farms and a shift to wool production led many New England farmers to seek more fertile lands in the West, and in upper New



The Detroit harbor by the mid-1830s was a very busy place filled with sailing vessels and steamboats carrying passengers westward. William James Bennett's painting, "View of Detroit in 1836," captures this port activity. Gift of the Fred Sanders Company in memory of its founder, Fred Sanders. Courtesy Detroit Institute of Arts.

York State many descendants of an earlier generation of New Englanders who had settled there felt the impact of "crowding," rising land values, and the uncertainties of the wheat harvest. With them came aspiring merchants, businessmen, and professionals who perceived better opportunities in an urban frontier than in older, established communities. This New Eng-

land–New York stream of settlers, who arrived in the 1830s and continued to come in succeeding decades, exerted a significant influence upon the area in the formative years, laying the foundations of government, agriculture, business, and the professions and shaping the area's educational, religious, and cultural life.

If they expected to turn Lake Michi-

gan into a replica of New England, their aspirations were short-lived, for beginning in the late 1840s and continuing for the next seven decades, Lake Michigan's cities, forests, and farmlands attracted a veritable flood of emigrants from Europe. Hundreds of thousands, representing every northern, western, central, and eastern European country, established them-

selves around the shores of the lake in search of a livelihood.

A complex of economic, social, and political forces induced them to leave their homes and start anew in America. While the specific reasons varied from country to country and from one period to another, there were common causes behind this exodus of millions. Living standards were threatened by a sharp increase in population, notable in Britain and the Scandinavian countries early in the nineteenth century and in eastern and southern Europe by the end of it. Should one stay and struggle against heavy odds or relocate overseas? Land tenure problems vitally affected the livelihood of many—the subdivision of arable land into very small holdings that could scarcely support a family; the consolidation of small holdings in response to a rising commercial agriculture, increasingly mechanized and responsive to a world market; and unsatisfactory leaseholds that left many in despair of ever becoming landowners.

Changes in the European economy presented problems for artisans too. The spread of the industrial revolution and the growth of factory production threatened the time-honored ways of the small, individual producer. While industrial jobs might ultimately absorb many, the years of transition were fraught with despair, discouragement, and, in extreme cases, worker riots and the smashing of industrial machinery.

Other considerations induced many to leave their homelands. Sometimes religious dissatisfaction weighed heavily in the decision. Religious motives played an important part in bringing the Norwegian Moravian settlers to Ephraim (site 59), the Dutch to the

Holland area (site 160), and the German Catholics to St. Nazianz (site 35). Others smarted under a restricted franchise, compulsory military service, heavy taxes, or—as in the case of Jews from Rumania and Russia—discrimination that restricted their access to work and education and made them victims of organized massacres. Individual motives for migrating to America varied widely. While most Europeans stayed at home, millions left.

A revolution in transportation, a major component of nineteenth-century economic change, opened land and sea routes of departure. Roads, canals, railroads, and improved ocean passenger service facilitated the exodus. Transatlantic vessels made the transition from sail to steam and greatly reduced the length and discomfort of the ocean passage. The five- to six-week passage in a sailing ship under the best of circumstances in the 1840s shrank to 12 days or less on small steamships bound from northwestern European ports to New York in 1914.

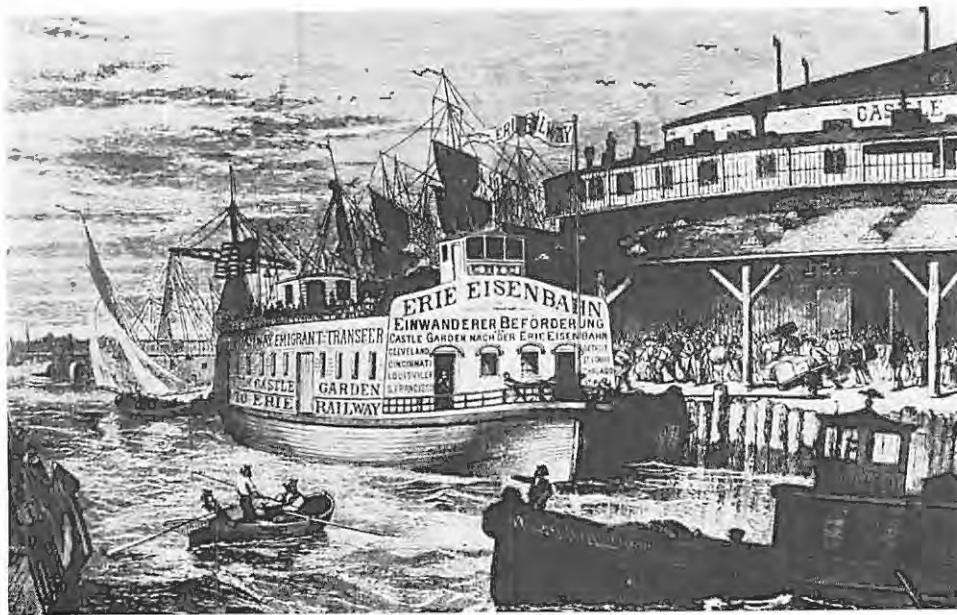
Moreover, America received widespread publicity as a land of promise. Travelers' accounts, immigrant guide books, "America letters" (letters written home by established immigrants), the advertising and recruiting of steamship companies, land grant railroads, immigration societies, and American businessmen seeking cheap labor spelled out in glowing terms the economic opportunities in America and lauded its natural resources, its healthy, attractive climate, its cheap federal lands, its low consumer prices, its religious freedom, and its democratic political system. Catholic and Protestant churches actively sought immigrants to enlarge their membership.

Midwestern state governments

joined the siren song of opportunity. Around Lake Michigan, the state legislatures of Michigan, Indiana, and Wisconsin, but not Illinois, appropriated public money to attract European settlers. Both Michigan and Wisconsin established New York offices for their agents. Wisconsin hired a traveling agent to distribute publicity to the eastern and Canadian press and in 1854 opened a branch office in Quebec, an important port of entry. Meanwhile the states published attractive pamphlets extolling their virtues in English, German, and other languages for distribution at ports of entry and in Europe. Not to be outdone by its neighbors, Wisconsin had Chancellor John Lathrop of the State University write some of its propaganda, a rhapsodic piece claiming that Wisconsin had the most healthy climate, the greatest beauty, and the greatest farming potential. Wisconsin's literature also emphasized its political advantages. Male aliens 21 or over could vote after one year of residence by simply declaring their intention of becoming citizens, and they were eligible to hold many public offices.

These glowing promises fell on receptive ears. Before the outbreak of the Civil War, thousands of people from the Germanies, the British Isles, Norway, Holland, and Belgium experienced the trauma of leaving their homelands, families, and friends and making a long, tedious passage across the Atlantic in crowded immigrant ships, where facilities for eating and sleeping were minimal, sanitation poor, and sickness and death common.

Most of those bound for Lake Michigan ports came via New York and Quebec. From the depot at Castle Gar-



The Erie Railroad transfer barge carried newly arrived immigrants from Castle Garden in the New York harbor shown on the right to the railroad's short line to Buffalo. Collection of Business Americana, Archives Center, National Museum of American History, Smithsonian Institution.

den in New York, they made their way west by Hudson River steamboat, Erie Canal boat, and Great Lakes sailing vessels or steamboats. After the Erie Railroad opened a short line from New York to Buffalo, some used the train instead of the Erie Canal. At Buffalo they joined the immigrants who had come via the St. Lawrence to Quebec and then made their way through the canals of the upper river, Lake Ontario, and the Welland Canal. From there in good weather it was about four days' travel by steamboat to Lake Michigan.

The immigrant's travel alternatives increased as the northern United States experienced a railroad-building boom in the 1840s and 1850s. In those decades tracks were laid parallel to the southern Lake Erie shore from Buffalo to Detroit and thence across the southern Michigan peninsula. By 1853 one could go by train from New York to Chicago. In the 1850s the rail-

roads began siphoning off westbound passenger traffic from lake carriers. After the Civil War the railroads emerged as the major passenger carriers.

In the heyday of immigrant travel by ship on Lake Michigan, passengers could use comfortable cabin accommodations if they could afford them. Most elected the more economical steerage, with curtained berths two and three tiers high and corridors heaped with baggage. As on their ocean voyages, immigrants on lake steamers often suffered from cramped quarters, for agents arranged passage with profit margins, not passenger comfort, in mind. Passage in good weather could be quite inspiring, and travelers standing on deck absorbed the beauty of Mackinac Island, "that gem of the Lakes," and the passing panorama of forests, sand dunes, beaches, and the beautiful deep blue lake waters. In stormy weather the

passage was uncomfortable and even frightening. Johan Gasmann, a Norwegian immigrant bound for Milwaukee in 1844 aboard the *Illinois*, noted: "I do not regard these long, three-storied steamships as seaworthy vessels."

Fire and storm produced perhaps the most noted immigrant tragedy on Lake Michigan. The 302-ton steam-propelled *Phoenix*, a passenger and freight vessel en route from Buffalo to Chicago, heavily laden with freight and carrying a maximum passenger load, mostly emigrants from Holland, left Manitowoc in stormy weather at midnight on 21 November 1847. About four in the morning the ship caught fire. Forty-three of the passengers and crew took to lifeboats and made shore safely. For all but three of the 200 left behind, assistance arrived too late. They perished either by fire or in icy lake waters. At least 127 of them were Dutch immigrants.

Milwaukee and Chicago were the

major ports of debarkation. For many, they were the destination, but for hundreds of thousands they were merely a stop, a place to change ships or begin the overland leg of their journey. Both also served as outfitting points for new Americans. The two towns flourished on the commerce generated by west-bound passenger traffic. Margaret Fuller, a traveler on the Great Lakes in 1843, left a memorable picture of the new arrivals at Milwaukee: "The torrent of emigration swells very strongly toward this place. During the fine weather, the poor refugees arrive daily in their national dresses all travel-soiled and worn. . . . Here on the pier, I see disembarking the Germans, the Norwegians, the Swedes, the Swiss. . ."

The foreign component in the Lake Michigan area's population grew during the nineteenth century to very substantial proportions, reaching its height in the counties ringing the lake during the decade from 1890 to 1900. At that point people of foreign birth and those born in the United States with one or two foreign-born parents were the predominant element in the population. The heaviest concentration lay from Chicago northward on the western and northern shores to Mackinac. There the percentage of persons of foreign birth and parentage ranged as high as 90 percent in Manitowoc County, Wisconsin, and from a low of 68 percent upward in the other counties. In Cook and Milwaukee counties, whose port cities for years had served as principal immigrant arrival points, the percentage of persons of foreign origins stood at 80 and 86 percent respectively in 1890. On the eastern shore, county percentages were generally lower, but very few fell below the 50 percent level, and in counties were

lumbering still flourished, such as Manistee and Muskegon, people of foreign birth or of American birth with foreign parentage constituted 70–80 percent of the population.

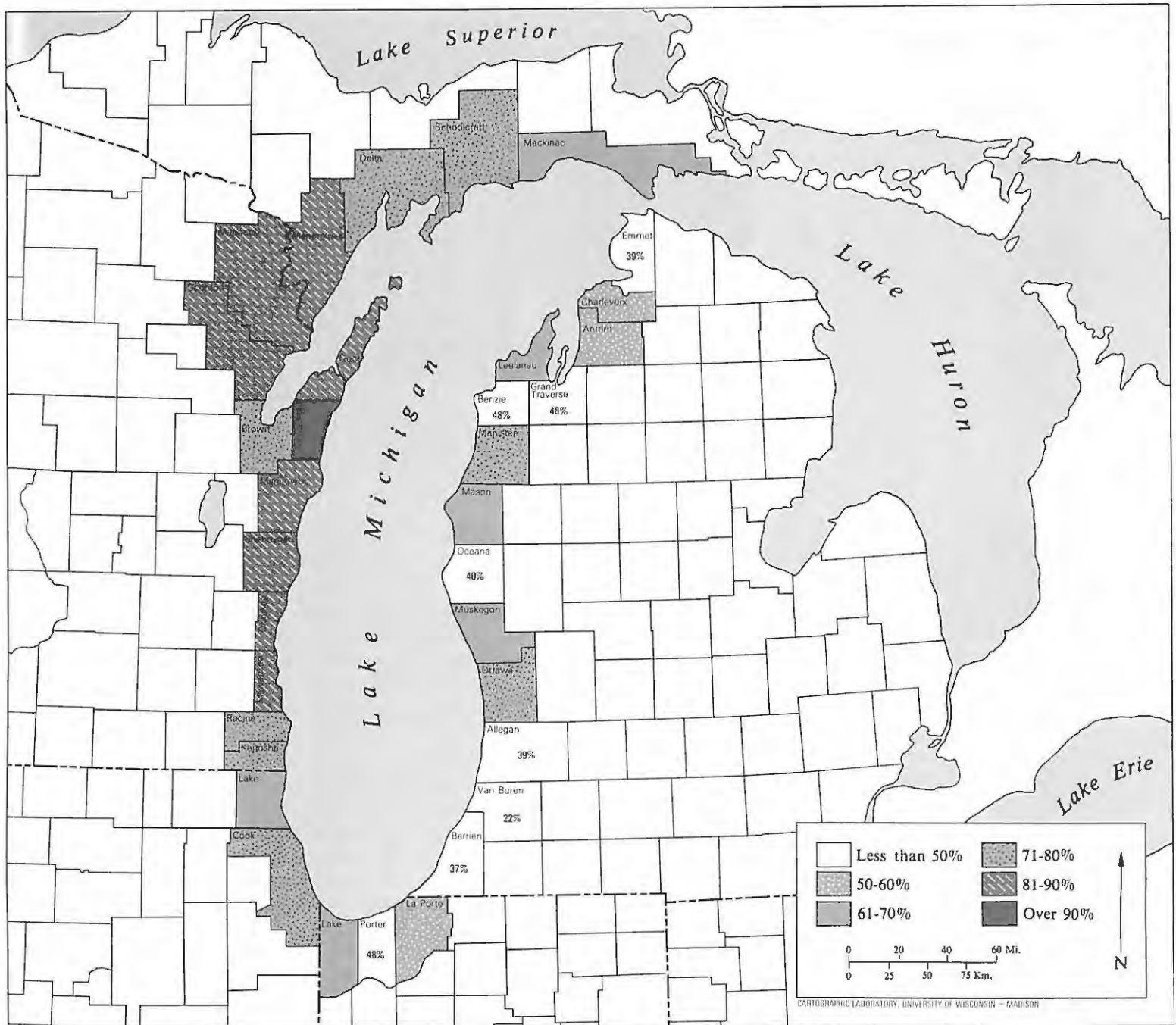
Although this concentration of persons of foreign birth or parentage was not unique in the United States at the time, the variety of national and racial groups, and the variety of rural and urban environments in which these people worked, made the area exceptional. Chicago, because of its opportunities for employment and its role as rail hub of the nation, was an extreme case. There in 1900 lived small minorities from Asia, Africa, Australia, South America, and the islands of the Atlantic and Pacific, in addition to the great mass of people from Europe. The majority of Europeans were from Germany, the British Isles, and the Scandinavian countries, but southern and eastern European countries were well represented. Immigrants from Central America, Cuba, Mexico, and the West Indies constituted a small Spanish-speaking group, and nearly 35,000 Canadians of English and French background lived in Chicago. More than 30,000 Blacks and 1,300 Mongolians leavened the predominantly Caucasian racial character of the city.

The sources of immigration to the United States as a whole and to the Lake Michigan region in particular changed between the 1840s and 1920. While the majority of immigrants came from northern and western European countries between 1840 and 1900, during the 1880s substantial numbers arrived from eastern and southern Europe—the so-called new immigration—harbingers of many more to come. In 1910 Chicago's Poles numbered more than 125,000, the largest

group among the "new immigrants," and its Italian-, Bohemian-, and Lithuanian-born residents numbered in the tens of thousands. Similar shifts occurred in "German" Milwaukee's population profile, and most smaller Lake Michigan cities with an industrial component also reflected this trend.

The Lake Michigan region attracted such large numbers of new Americans because it afforded a wide variety of ways of making a living. The rich natural-resource base of farmlands, forests, mines, quarries, and fisheries provided a livelihood for many. Commerce, construction, transportation, and industry required hundreds of thousands of workers. The jobs were there. Furthermore, Lake Michigan began attracting immigrants early in its developmental history. Foreign-born people, once established in Lake Michigan communities, fostered further foreign in-migration by ties of kinship and friendship and by their formal organizations. While group migration was the exception rather than the rule, networks of communication within national groups produced communities in the countryside and the cities where people of like nationality grouped together, speaking their native languages, establishing common cultural institutions, and, when their group was large enough, as in the case of Milwaukee's Germans, creating a largely self-sufficient economic life.

Lake Michigan's geographic setting was also a factor in the high concentration of immigrants—a direct one during the 1840s and 1850s, when it was a carrier of the main stream of immigrant arrivals at Quebec and New York. In the long run the lake's 307-mile north-south thrust, which so in-



Percentage of Foreign-Born People and Persons with One or Both Foreign-Born Parents in Lake Michigan County Populations, 1890.

This early twentieth-century photograph shows stevedores unloading a freighter at Milwaukee. Immigrants often took this kind of job. Photo by J. Robert Taylor. Courtesy State Historical Society of Wisconsin. WHI(X3)21156



fluenced the location, economic role, and growth of Chicago, greatly affected the lakeshore's population as well. The labor needs of this industrialized transportation hub made Chicago a mecca for cheap immigrant labor. The city's entrepreneurs, who put much of their capital into developing the railroads, the iron mines, and the timberlands adjacent to the lake, recruited new Americans at Chicago to work in their far-flung enterprises.

Timing was another important factor. The economic conditions in Europe that encouraged millions to leave and the availability of land and jobs in the developing Lake Michigan area coincided. From the 1840s through the 1870s, its rich farmlands attracted thousands from northern and western Europe, lured from small holdings and precarious livelihoods by the prospect of low-priced lands: the idea of owning a 40-, 80-, or 160-acre farm was a dream almost beyond be-

lief. They were destined to learn the sobering realities of farm making in the new world at the journey's end. Others, many of them skilled artisans, chose the town environments. For semiskilled and unskilled workers, the growing cities of Milwaukee and Chicago produced jobs in building construction, commerce, industry, drayage, and street, road, railroad, harbor, ship, and canal construction, maintenance, and operation. Sailors to man Great Lakes ships, stevedores to load and unload freight, fishermen to harvest the wealth of Lake Michigan's waters, came from the ranks of the immigrants. Other new Americans found jobs in Lake Michigan's stone quarries and, beginning in the 1870s, in the developing Menominee Range iron mines and in the iron smelters and blast furnaces of the northern lakeshore (see "From the Mines to the Blast Furnaces"). Throughout the last half of the nineteenth century, lumber-

ing provided thousands with jobs in mill and forest. At the end of the century, hundreds of immigrants, lured by the advertisements of northern Wisconsin and Michigan land and lumber companies and railroads, tackled the back-breaking job of trying to develop farms on cutover lands (see "Empire in Pine").

The growth of industry along the southern and western lakeshore from Michigan City to Milwaukee absorbed hundreds of thousands of newcomers between 1870 and 1920. Most, but not all, of the immigrants were of modest circumstances and willing to take whatever jobs they could find. Many found them after arrival, and others came with jobs assured. A number of employers advertised for and recruited workers at ports of entry and in American cities with an overabundant immigrant labor force; some recruited in Europe. Arriving at a time when American industry was growing by leaps



*At work in the Michigan pineries.
From the Collections of the Michigan
State Archives, Department of State.
12876*

and bounds in an atmosphere of cut-throat competition, when the heterogeneous and abundant labor supply was unorganized, when unions were highly unpopular, and the government was openly supportive of business interests, immigrants found low-paying jobs with employers who deliberately minimized labor costs in order to survive and profit in a competitive business jungle.

With the outbreak of World War I, the influx from Europe declined. Following the conflict it resumed until Congress established quotas based on national origins. The first quotas in 1921 were followed by more permanent restrictions in 1924 and 1927. These laws ended the era of an open national immigration policy, but they did not apply to the Western Hemisphere, which had been and continued to be a source of in-migration.

The movement of Canadians into the United States had long since

assumed very substantial proportions. In the 20 years preceding the Civil War, significant numbers of French and British Canadians made their way into Michigan and Wisconsin as part of a much larger movement into the United States generally, a population adjustment between the two nations in response to economic factors. Many came to work in the forests and sawmills as lumbering emerged as a major northern Lake Michigan industry in the 1850s. Others fished Lake Michigan's waters and manned the ships of the carrying trade. With laborers skilled in lumbering came New Brunswick entrepreneurs (see "Empire in Pine") to begin business anew in the pineries of the Great Lakes, propelled by a slump in New Brunswick's lumbering economy and attracted by the lake's great resources and a growing internal U.S. market for lumber. Economic problems in Nova Scotia made others turn westward. Quebec's

growing population and its agricultural problems led young French Canadians to seek opportunities elsewhere. In 1860 10,000 persons of Canadian birth lived in Wisconsin, concentrated mainly in logging communities. A good example is Oconto (site 73), where French Canadians formed their own neighborhood, a section still known as Frenchtown. Labor shortages in the United States during the Civil War and a boom in the northern economy encouraged the continued influx into the United States. Mining as well as lumbering provided jobs for many Canadians in the upper Great Lakes, to the consternation of Canadian political leaders. Some of these workers joined the ranks of those who tried farming the cutover lands of northern Wisconsin and Michigan.

The urban Chicago environment lured many Ontario youths away from home. For some Chicago was simply a temporary home, but significant num-

bers remained. By 1873 a "Canadian colony," made up of workers in machine shops, in trades, and in commercial establishments, included 15,000 persons. A Canadian newspaper reported in 1884 that the young men of Ontario "look upon Chicago as the Mecca of their ambition."

Within the United States American-born people by the hundreds of thousands, from the 1830s to the present, moved into the Lake Michigan area, attracted by its rich resources and job opportunities. From 1870 on, although the overwhelming majority of the American-born people in the counties surrounding the lake were born in the states in which they lived, the census-takers found a continuing sizable population born out of state, largely in New York or New England. In the late nineteenth century, Lake Michigan's cities attracted rural people from surrounding states who became an important source of labor in the developing industrial area stretching from Chicago to Milwaukee.

When World War I and immigration restriction in the 1920s disrupted the flow of cheap immigrant labor from overseas, domestic labor sources became critically important. Industry attracted people from many parts of the United States. Two groups among them—southern Blacks and Mexicans or Mexican Americans—added new dimensions to the population profile of Lake Michigan's industrial cities. Like so many other people, they believed that they could improve their economic status by making the move.

Wages offered for unskilled labor in Lake Michigan's industrial communities were attractive compared with those in Mexico and the American Southwest. While the vast majority

leaving Mexico between 1900 and 1930, "pushed" by poverty and political disruption, settled in the borderlands of the Southwest, a small minority, hired by railroad companies as track maintenance workers, formed the nucleus of Mexican and Mexican American communities in Chicago and Gary beginning about 1916. Mexicans had long worked for the western railroads as section hands. Their appearance in the nation's rail hub was a logical outgrowth of several decades of railroad company recruitment of low-cost Mexican labor. They moved from these occupations into industrial jobs, working primarily in steel mills, packing plants, and tanneries. Milwaukee's Mexican and Mexican American people arrived to take tannery jobs in the city's expansive economy in the 1920s. Chicago, with its more plentiful jobs, remained the focus of Mexican migration. There the Mexican population grew from 3,854 in 1920 to 19,632 in 1930.

American industrial, railroad, and agricultural employers used their influence to keep the Mexican labor pool available. They lobbied to prevent the restriction of immigration from Mexico in the 1920s and 1930s. They pressured the federal government during both world wars to permit contract Mexican labor to enter the country, and they got their wishes.

Movement from Mexico and the Southwest into Lake Michigan's industrial communities, as elsewhere in the United States, has ebbed and flowed with the economy. The most notable disruption came in the 1930s. During the Great Depression, with masses of unemployed and critical public relief problems, many unnaturalized Mexicans were forcibly repatriated, and

others went back to Mexico of their own volition. The depression experience disrupted and destroyed the developing social and economic life of the barrios. Rebuilding began when Mexican laborers were needed to fill critical shortages during World War II and succeeding conflicts. Prosperous times in the United States in the 1950's and 1960's lured still more people of Mexican origins into the industrial Midwest.

Along with them, beginning especially after World War II, came Puerto Rico's U.S. citizens. Leaving their island home, where overpopulation, low wages, and job shortages, bred discontent, most settled in New York City, but a substantial group came to Chicago, and smaller numbers to Milwaukee, in search of jobs. Chicago also acquired a much smaller Cuban community in the 1960s.

Of these Spanish-speaking groups (classified in the 1980 census as persons of "Spanish origins"), the people of Mexican origin were far the largest category in the Lake Michigan area. The 1980 census showed Chicago with the largest number—422,000. In the industrial cities ringing the lake, from Muskegon on the east around the south shore and north through Milwaukee, lived another 100,000. Milwaukee, with 26,100, had the second-largest group. Communities with 5,000 to 17,000 persons of Spanish-speaking origin are East Chicago, Gary, Waukegan, Hammond, and Racine.

Present in relatively small numbers in the populations of Chicago and Milwaukee during the formative years, Blacks assumed a new and very important place in Lake Michigan's industrial cities in the twentieth century. The great migration to Chicago during



Black women and girls working in a Chicago lampshade factory in the World War I period. From The Chicago Commission on Race Relations, The Negro in Chicago. Courtesy University of Chicago Press.

World War I was the first movement of massive proportions. Blacks chose to leave the rural South in part because of serious, long-standing agricultural problems, compounded by the ravages of the boll weevil, floods, or low cotton prices—and at times all combined—from 1913 to 1916. An intensification of racism, Jim Crow legislation, violence, and disfranchisement, beginning in the 1890s, further eroded the quality of life for southern Blacks.

Labor shortages created by World War I forced northern employers to suppress their racial prejudices and welcome all workers. Agents sent by railroad and steel companies actively recruited southern workers, and a kind of northern fever infected the southern states. Letters home from those who had made the move to Chicago helped bring others. The *Chicago Defender*, an enthusiastically edited Black paper widely read in the South, championed migration. It soon

emerged as the nation's leading Black newspaper. Blacks left Mississippi, Georgia, Alabama, and Louisiana by the thousands for the northern industrial cities. In Chicago's packing houses, steel mills, and foundries, they found jobs. The city, easily accessible by two major southern railroads and long well known to southern Blacks, attracted probably 50,000 between 1916 and 1920. While northward migration slackened in the 1920s and especially during the depression years of the 1930s, the availability of industrial jobs in the North renewed the movement during World War II and the two decades thereafter. Blacks in Lake Michigan industrial communities became the area's largest and most influential racial minority group. The 1980 census showed the Black population in the city of Chicago as 1,197,000—40 percent of the total. An additional 420,000 lived in the industrial towns east of Chicago as far north

as Muskegon and north of Chicago through Milwaukee.

What impact did this heterogeneous gathering of people have upon the Lake Michigan area? The American-born and the foreign-born alike provided the leadership and the workforce that made intensive development possible. They produced cultural variety by founding ethnically oriented churches and educational facilities and by contributing to the area's literature, architecture, music, and visual and performing arts. While heterogeneity did not basically change the social institutions, political system, and economic organization common to the nation, it did modify them and influence the way they functioned.

The two social institutions most obviously affected were the churches and the schools. The foreign-born, Blacks, and people of Spanish origin challenged the Catholic and Protestant churches to meet their needs. The



St. Joseph's Catholic Church, Oconto, Wisconsin, resolved ethnic problems by offering sermons in English, Dutch, German, and Bobemian on an established schedule (see site 73). Photo by Margaret Bogue.

Catholic hierarchy responded by sanctioning parishes based on language and nationality, staffed with priests of the appropriate ethnic background. The Protestants followed similar policies. Moreover, ethnic differences within the American Catholic hierarchy led to a major policy struggle, primarily between Irish and German clergy, over the "Americanization" of the Catholic church in the United States. At the local level, priests and ministers working with relatively low-income ethnic groups found it essential to broaden traditional spiritual fare to include programs meeting economic and social needs. Ethnic congregations supported a profusion of parochial

schools and raised the political issues of state assistance to parochial schools and relief from taxes for the support of public schools. Ethnic groups forced public educational facilities from the elementary level on up to include foreign language and ethnic studies in their curriculums.

The political system has also felt the ethnic impact at the local, state, and national levels. In the nineteenth century, midwestern state legislatures often encouraged immigrants to come by giving them the franchise whether naturalized or not. Established in their New World homes, they entered the political mainstream. Their presence in sizable groups with specific needs and ideas forced political parties to take heed and make concessions. Party bosses learned to manipulate the votes of newly arrived Americans in large urban centers like Chicago and Milwaukee. Progressive reformers in the early twentieth century attacked corruption and boss rule and demanded a restructuring of city government along city manager lines. Many, but not all, Progressives also called for restrictive national immigration policies. Many advocated prohibition as a way of purifying election day procedures and curbing the drinking habits of new Americans. Others worked for the repeal of state laws permitting aliens to vote.

Some Progressives responded with more positive programs, including settlement houses and pressures for increased social services, housing and tenement codes, laws regulating working hours and conditions, better law enforcement, higher health and sanitation standards, expanded educational programs, and a reorganization of charity. The Jane Addams Hull House

experiment is an outstanding example of positive Progressive thinking (see site 1, no. [31]).

The foreign-born, Blacks, and people of Spanish-speaking origin have also had a major impact on the region's economy. A developing nation needed people to help it grow: hence an open national immigration policy with little restrictive legislation until the 1920s. Employers seeking low-cost labor emphatically supported the open policy. The American labor movement, on the other hand, resented employer tactics of hiring the newest comers at the lowest wages and found the new-comers, from many nations and speaking many languages, hard to unionize. Immigrant workers hampered the efforts of struggling unions in their pitched battles with management. Employers used new Americans and southern Blacks as strikebreakers and scabs. These tensions were never resolved, and the unions made real organizational progress only after New Deal legislation sanctioned their existence and the rights to bargain collectively and to strike.

Although most foreign-born immigrants were wage earners, a very small elite emerged as managers and entrepreneurs in the brewing, lumbering, meat-packing, tanning, steel, transportation, and plumbing-fixture industries, as well as in banking, insurance, industrial engineering, and trade. Relatively few among the foreign-born, Black, and Spanish-speaking minority groups in Lake Michigan communities have advocated a complete change of the U.S. economic system; most have sought to make a place for themselves within it. Unquestionably socialism made a substantial appeal to some, particularly in the early twentieth cen-

ture. In industrial Milwaukee in the Progressive period, a socialist movement that had many foreign born followers veered away from doctrinaire rigidity and achieved success at the polls through gradualism and political coalition tactics. Despite widespread fears during the Red Summer of 1919 and again after World War II, Communism never appealed to more than a minority.

The presence of minority ethnic groups created social tensions. Sometimes they took the form of frictions between new arrivals and older, established groups of American-born residents or between new arrivals and more established members of the same ethnic group. Sometimes they were between ethnic groups—for example, Irish versus Germans. Sometimes race or religion was the divisive issue. Often the frictions had strong economic overtones or cultural dimensions. Five times over the last 130 years, such social tensions reached pronounced climaxes. The first was in the 1850s, when strong anti-foreign feelings accompanied a peak period of immigration, giving birth to the Know Nothing party, with its anti-foreign and anti-Catholic agenda. Early in the twentieth century, when European immigration reached an all-time high, anti-foreign sentiments again became widespread, taking the form of a con-

viction that immigrants were spoiling the democratic system, impeding reform, and changing the very character of society. During World War I anti-German feeling led on the one hand to suppression of German culture and harassment of German Americans suspected of disloyalty to the war effort, and on the other to a feverish attempt to “Americanize” the nation’s foreign-born. In the excessive and misdirected nationalism of the 1920s, antiforeign sentiments led to immigration restriction and to the revival of the anti-foreign, anti-Catholic, anti-Jewish, and anti-Black Ku Klux Klan. The Klan gained a substantial following in Lake Michigan’s urban centers. More recently the Civil Rights movement of the 1960s, spearheaded by an aggrieved Black minority, forced the majority to make concessions. Milwaukee and Chicago played major roles in the national Black protest against longstanding racial discrimination in housing, education, the job market, and law enforcement.

Today the Lake Michigan area’s nationality neighborhoods, rural and urban, are less distinctive than they were in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, but Black, Mexican American, and Puerto Rican neighborhoods are very evident in industrial centers. Although they are superficially like the old immigrant neighborhoods

that they often now occupy, the experience of their residents is very different. These people are not, in a generation or two, fusing with the economic and social mainstream of American society. They look different from the majority population, and they have not been readily accepted. Their average incomes are lower, and their battles to pass out of the ranks of the unskilled and semiskilled into the ranks of skilled, managerial, and professional workers have been longer and harder than those of foreign-born whites. Meeting their needs remains possibly the biggest challenge of a democratic society in Lake Michigan’s cities and towns.

The region’s ethnic history is well illustrated in Chicago’s ethnic museums (see site 1, no. [32]); the reminders of Milwaukee’s nineteenth-century immigrant neighborhoods (see site 23, no. [2]); the churches of ethnic origin cited and described throughout this book; businesses founded by first-generation Americans, like Svaboda Industries in Kewaunee (see site 42); the Black and Spanish-speaking neighborhoods in Michigan City, Gary, Chicago, Kenosha, Racine, and Milwaukee; and Old World Wisconsin, the outdoor ethnic museum of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin (site 17).

Lake Michigan: Artery of Transportation

All manner of craft have plied Lake Michigan's waters over the centuries, from canoes to luxury cruise boats and thousand-foot freighters, using the lake's 307 mile north-south thrust for access to adjacent shorelands and as an entree into vast segments of the mid-continent. A procession of people have navigated its waters—prehistoric Indians, French explorers and missionaries, fur traders, soldiers and government officials, pioneering American and immigrant settlers, fishermen, travelers, vacationers, and captains and crews of ships serving the needs of commerce and industry. In every era of national development, the lake has played an important and ever-changing role as an artery of transportation.

The Indian peoples who prized the lake for its wealth of fish also used it for travel and learned the rivers, lakes, and streams of its drainage system as well as portage routes that carried them into the Mississippi River basin. The Chippewa became masters at building and paddling the birchbark canoe, the first of the eminently practical and beautifully designed light craft used on the lake. They often used Jack pine or spruce roots for sewing and binding, spruce and pine gum for waterproofing, hardwood for ribbing, and split cedar for flooring, and they always used white birch bark for covering. Family canoes were usually less than 18 feet long. Light, sturdy, and easy to portage, they worked well in very shallow water, on streams, on lakes, and in whitewater, yet skill and good judgment were essential, for the



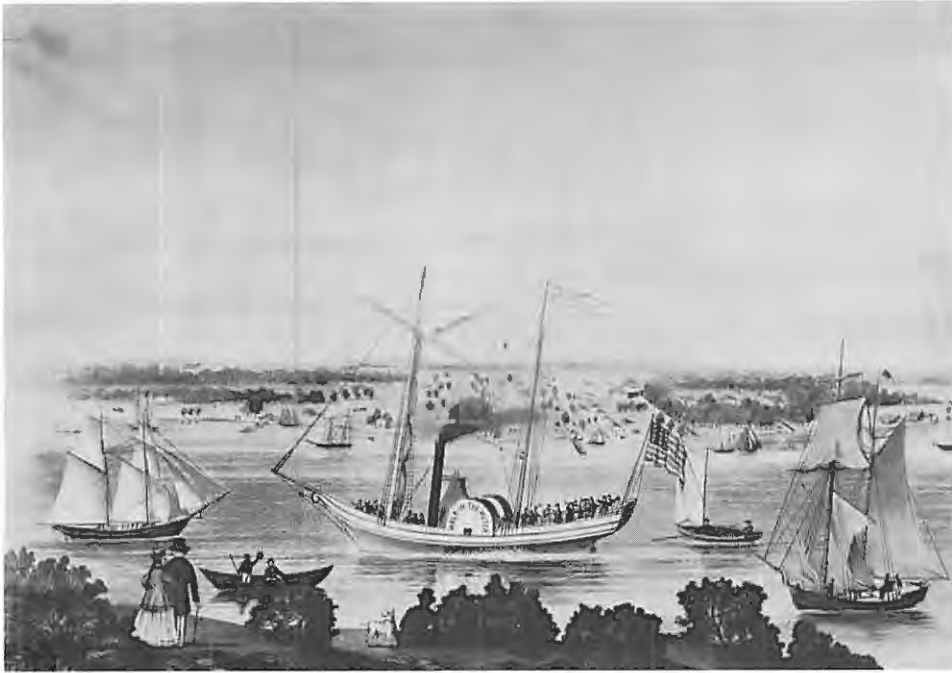
Chippewa Canoe by Peter Rindisbacher. Courtesy West Point Museum Collections, United States Military Academy.

birchbark canoe was unstable, especially in turbulent Lake Michigan waters, and easily damaged by rocks and logs.

When European explorers, fur traders, and missionaries entered the St. Lawrence–Great Lakes region, they quickly recognized the worth of the birchbark canoe, and they adopted and modified it. On large lakes and rivers, fur traders used the largest of these adaptations, the *canot du maître* or Montreal canoe, 35 to 40 feet long and capable of carrying 6 to 12 crewmen and 6,000 pounds of freight. They used the *canot du nord* (“north canoe”), about 25 feet long and capable of carrying a crew of 4 to 8 and a 3,000-pound load, on smaller rivers and lakes. Generally paddled, but sometimes poled or on the lake, fitted

with a sail, these birchbark canoes served French, British, and American fur traders well in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

When the British took control of France's continental North American possessions in 1763, they introduced a new era in the navigational history of Lake Michigan, characterized by the use of sailing vessels. British fur-trading and naval vessels came and went at Michilimackinac, but not until the American Revolution was well in progress is there a definite record of a British sailing ship entering Lake Michigan. In 1778 John Askin, a prominent British fur trader, sent the schooner *Archange* to Green Bay and Milwaukee to buy corn. Perhaps it was not the first sailing vessel since La Salle's *Griffon* (see “The French Ex-



The Detroit Harbor in 1820 showing the Walk-in-the-Water. Courtesy The Mariners Museum of Newport News, Va. LP-57

plorers”) on Lake Michigan, but its voyage marked the beginning of a period when the British and American struggle to dominate the upper Great Lakes frontier brought many more. Prominent among the sloops that helped the British retain control of Lake Michigan during the Revolution were the *Felicity* and the *Welcome*, which sailed from Michilimackinac to the southern shores in 1779 on missions to forestall George Rogers Clark from a northward thrust toward Detroit and Fort Michilimackinac. A reproduction of the *Welcome* lies at anchor at Mackinaw City (see site 115).

During the years of the British-American contest for control of the fur trade of the upper Great Lakes, sloops, brigs, bateaux, and freight canoes of both nations sailed the lake. The

United States had no Great Lakes naval fleet until the late 1790s. It established a shipyard at River Rouge in 1797 and here launched the brig *Adams* and the sloop *Tracy*, both of which assisted in establishing Fort Dearborn in 1803. Driven from the lake during the War of 1812, U.S. naval vessels returned in the summer of 1816, bearing troops and materials to rebuild Fort Dearborn and to construct Fort Howard at Green Bay.

Determined to exert their influence over the Indians and to extinguish their British loyalties, the United States embarked on a program of forcing Indian land cessions, surveying the public domain for sale, beefing up its military presence, and regulating the fur trade. The same program brought the first steam-powered vessel to Lake

Michigan’s waters. The United States hired the *Walk-in-the-Water*, the first successful Great Lakes steamboat, launched in 1818, to bring 200 troops from Detroit to Green Bay in 1821. When, in 1832, the army wished to dispatch troops speedily to Chicago to defeat Black Hawk, the owners of four Lake Erie passenger steamboats—the *Henry Clay*, *Sheldon Thompson*, *Superior*, and *William Penn*—agreed to transport them. Cholera struck the expedition, creating a panic among soldiers and crew alike. Even the surgeon aboard the *Sheldon Thompson* panicked, got drunk, and took to his bed, leaving a thoroughly disgusted General Winfield Scott to deal with the sick. Only two of the vessels got to Chicago, the first steamboats to navigate the entire length of the lake. Prophetic of a new era in Lake Michigan’s navigational history, their coming also symbolized the fading of the frontier era. A lightly traveled wilderness area for hundreds of years, Lake Michigan’s southern and western shores stood on the eve of settlement and development, and the lake would quickly become a natural avenue for ships and people by the thousands.

The intensive use of Lake Michigan as a major transportation artery from 1835 to the present falls into well-defined periods of growth and change closely tied to the exploitation of the region’s natural resources, the expansion of agriculture in the mid-continent, the rise of industry, business cycles, and changing national and international transportation systems. The first of these, the canal era, began as the westward tide of settlement touched the lake’s shores in the 1830s and grew to major proportions by the outbreak of the Civil War. These be-

Chicago's busy harbor in the 1850s at the Rush Street Bridge. Courtesy The Mariners Museum of Newport News, Va. LP-1908



ginnings owed much to the canal-building boom that extended roughly from 1817 to the early 1850s, a period when enthusiasm for improving natural waterways with canals captured the public imagination. New York's success in building the Erie Canal (1817–1825) sparked the enthusiasm and deeply influenced the development of the wilderness areas around Lake Michigan, for it opened an avenue of water transportation between New York City (and the Northeast generally) and the Great Lakes, diverting population into that region.

The Great Lakes shipping industry blossomed as companies built and launched sailing ships and steamboats which by 1850 served hundreds of thousands of people and a vast freight tonnage moving west and east. Eleven steamboats and far more numerous sailing ships served the traffic westward from Buffalo in 1833. At the

close of the decade, the fleet included 61 steamboats and 225 sailing vessels on Lakes Erie, Michigan, and Superior. Steamboat arrivals at Chicago grew from 3 in 1833 to 70 in 1841. Twenty steamboats and an uncounted but seemingly endless number of sailing craft carried the trade between Chicago and Buffalo in 1846. At Milwaukee passenger and freight traffic mushroomed in the 1840s. The growing Wisconsin port claimed 1,376 ship arrivals in 1848 and 30,000 passenger arrivals in 1850. Both port cities at the mid-century served as emigrant entrepôts, and both exported sizable tonnages of agricultural produce from the developing farms of their hinterlands. Regular stops on the steamboat routes, they fostered a thriving coastal trade, for at both points homeseekers changed ships for other destinations on the lake. Lake Michigan's growing coastal communities depended on

boats outbound from Chicago and Milwaukee to bring goods and supplies. The beginnings of commercial lumbering in response to rural and urban development added lumber schooners to the lake in the prosperous 1850s.

The shipping companies, eager to capture the east-west passenger and freight traffic in the canal age, engaged in a competitive scramble. They built new and larger vessels as they vied with one another to increase passenger and freight capacity, speed, and quality of service and at the same time to cut costs. Innovation was the order of the day. They tried the screw propeller invented by the Swedish engineer John Ericsson and brought to America in 1839. Its advantages compared with paddle wheelers—of compact engine and low fuel consumption—led to quick acceptance. In 1844, three years after its introduction, 10

propellers served Chicago; 50 operated on the Great Lakes at mid-century. A climax in steam passenger ship construction came in the 1850s when the impact of the railroads made itself felt on boat passenger service. The Michigan Central, in an effort to overcome the advantage of its rival, the Michigan Southern, built a series of huge, impressive steam-powered passenger ships to run from Buffalo to Detroit, whence its line would transport passengers westward. In 1849 it built the *Atlantic* and the *Mayflower*, considered marvels of lake transportation at the time. The *Mayflower*, weighing 1,354 tons, had 85 staterooms, cabin space for 300 passengers, and stowage capacity for 300 to 500 more. The Central added the *Plymouth Rock* and the *Western World* (2,000 tons each) five years later. Their launchings marked the beginning of a rapid decline in east-west lake passenger traffic. The railroads had gained the edge.

Canal-building projects aimed at enhancing Lake Michigan's usefulness characterized the years before the Civil War. The example of the Erie Canal inspired the lake's coastal town promoters to champion canals as a way to extend their commercial domain: what the Erie did for New York might be duplicated if Lake Michigan and the Mississippi River could be linked. Three Lake Michigan ports—Chicago, Milwaukee, and Green Bay—pushed the idea. Chicago's route would follow the Marquette-Jolliet return route (see p. 97), and Green Bay's the route the two used on the way to the Mississippi (see p. 12); Milwaukee's would follow the Milwaukee and Rock rivers to the Mississippi. All three projects received generous land

grants from the federal government.

The Illinois-Michigan Canal, begun in 1836 and opened to traffic in 1848, proved to be a boon to Chicago and Lake Michigan commerce, initially because of the large quantities of northern Illinois agricultural produce it funneled into Chicago. The two Wisconsin projects turned out to be flops. Yet the idea of improving the lake's potential as an artery of commerce by building canals lingered on. It eventually bore fruit in the construction of the Sturgeon Bay Ship Canal (see site 46) and achieved its most elaborate expression in Great Lakes history in the St. Lawrence Seaway, opened to traffic in 1959 (see below).

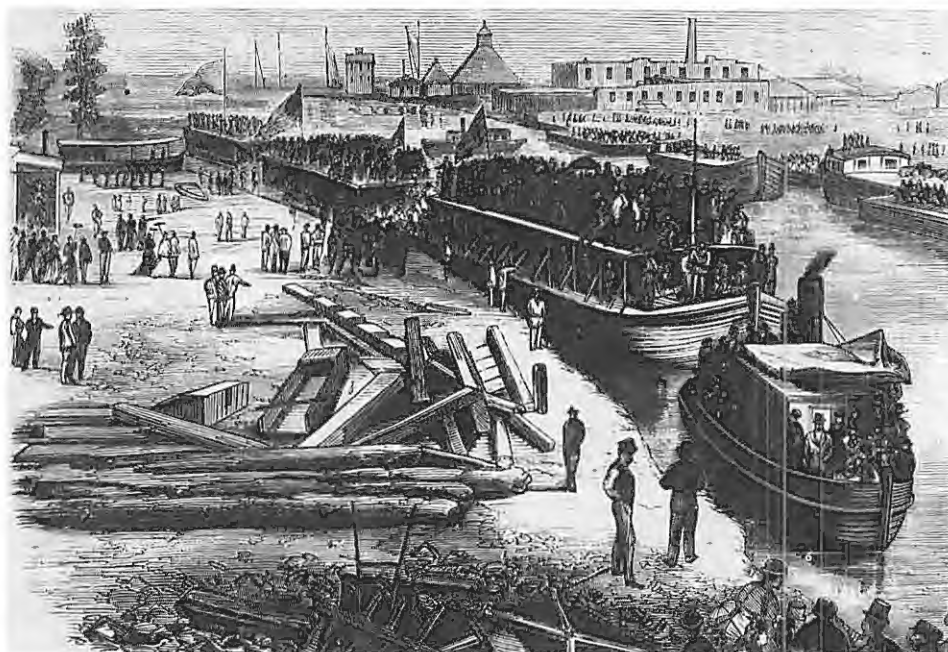
During the canal era, Lake Michigan communities set the precedent for federal assistance for river, harbor, and navigational improvements. Coastal town promoters of the 1830s all envisioned their infant villages as potentially great commercial ports, if only harbors could be freed from sand bars and dredged. They pressed their representatives and senators for river and harbor improvements and for lighthouse construction. Considering the navigational hazards presented by shoals, islands, currents, and peninsulas and the well-known violence of storms on the lake, lighthouses were badly needed. In the 1830s the flow of federal funds for such improvements began, modestly at first, but destined over a century and a half to grow into multimillion dollar expenditures. Between 1829 and 1839, Racine, St. Joseph, Chicago, Michigan City, Sheboygan, Manitowoc, and South Manitou acquired lighthouses. Sixteen were operating at critical locations on Lake Michigan by 1848. By 1866 10 more had been added. In locations

where lighthouse construction presented great difficulties, the government authorized the use of lightships. The first of these on the Great Lakes was stationed at the junction of Lakes Huron and Michigan at the Straits of Mackinac. Poorly designed for the task, the lightship repeatedly ran aground in high winds. Again and again the Lighthouse Service recommended that the lightship be replaced with a lighthouse on Waughoshance shoal, but Congress took its time. Finally, in 1851, the lighthouse went into operation, and the lightship was decommissioned.

The coming of the railroads to lower Lake Michigan in the 1850s marked the beginning of a new era in the lake's use as a major waterway. A close relationship grew up between the lake and the railroads, each at times obstructing and at times complementing the other. Railroad competition began to affect lake carriers in 1852–1853, when the rails linked New York and Chicago. In 1854 rail lines surrounded Lake Erie, and Lake Erie and Lake Michigan passenger vessels began to lose the east-west passenger traffic. In the long run, however, Lake Michigan fairly blossomed as an avenue of transportation in the railroad era. Rail lines promoted lake traffic by stimulating both agricultural and industrial development of the mid-continent, by serving as carriers of bulk cargoes and finished products to lakeports for transfer to ships, and by serving as aids in coal- and iron-mining operations and lumbering.

As early as the canal age, promoters of Lake Michigan's ports envisioned a close relationship between lake and rail. As they dreamed of developing the largest possible marketing areas

This engraving, which depicts the opening of the Illinois-Michigan Canal, appeared in Frank Leslie's Weekly, August 26, 1871. Courtesy Chicago Historical Society.



for their growing towns, they supported all manner of transportation capable of bringing commodities to port for shipment. To them railroads had great potential because they promised year-round service and could reach areas where natural water transportation did not exist.

Because of its location at the southern end of Lake Michigan's long north-south thrust, Chicago gained the greatest advantage from the railroads, emerging as the lake's principal port and as the rail hub of the nation with lines extending north, south, east, and west. The hub effect had taken shape by 1860, and it grew in intricacy over the next 60 years.

Extending roughly from the Civil War to 1940, the age of railroad influence might be dubbed the era of diversity—diversity in boats and ships, in passengers and cargo, and in services rendered. Then Lake Michigan's

many faceted commerce took on a different character than ever before or since. Passenger ships of many sizes and purposes, package freighters, bulk cargo carriers large and small, a sizable fishing fleet (see "The Lake and the Fish"), railroad car ferries—literally hundreds of vessels carrying millions of tons of cargo and millions of people made Lake Michigan over that 80-year period a very busy waterway, one where the nature of its traffic changed from decade to decade.

The lake held the competitive edge in carrying bulk cargoes. By far the greatest tonnage passing over Lake Michigan included iron ore, lumber, coal, grain, stone, and petroleum products. From the forests of northern Lake Michigan, billions of board feet of lumber moved southward, principally to Chicago, but in sizable quantities to Milwaukee as well. The opening of the Illinois-Michigan Canal in 1848

sparked the traffic. By 1857 a large fleet of lumber schooners valued at \$1.5 million moved 444.0 million board feet to Chicago, a small amount compared to the 30.3 billion feet delivered there between 1871 and 1893.

At first the beautiful white-masted lumber schooners dominated the trade. In 1867, just one year before the number of sailing vessels on the Great Lakes reached its height, William B. Ogden, a wealthy Chicago entrepreneur, introduced wooden steam barges as lumber carriers from his Peshtigo sawmills. Many schooners stripped of their sails were converted into barges towed by steam barges or tugs, sometimes six in a row, during the last quarter of the century. Although Lake Michigan lumber production declined after the 1890s, the lake continued as a lumber carrier until the 1920s as part of the harvest of Lakes Superior and Huron made its

way to Chicago for distribution to the western market.

As the volume of lumber declined, the tonnage of iron ore and limestone needed for the expanding steel industry of the south shore grew. Almost unbelievable innovations in ore carrier design proliferated during the age of diversity (see p. 73). Coal made a convenient return cargo for home and industrial use and, increasingly in the twentieth century, for power generation in the communities lying north of Chicago. Pipelines would ultimately cut into the tonnage of petroleum products passing north from the refineries in the Chicago area, but during the age of diversity they were carried in tank freighters. Although Lake Michigan once carried more grain to market than any of the other lakes, it declined in importance as the center of wheat production moved westward and Lake Superior, water highway for east-bound grain from the wheat fields of the U.S. and Canadian plains country, rose to prominence.

A major innovation in the age of diversity, the car ferries most obviously illustrate the interdependence of rail and lake. In the 1890s the lake-locked railroads of Michigan's lower peninsula, suffering from a decline in lumber traffic, adopted the strategy of stimulating freight traffic by making direct connections with rail lines running west from the lake's western shore. For decades some of the lower peninsula roads had used break bulk freighters that carried freight and passengers across the lake to Milwaukee from Ludington and Grand Haven, but this involved an extra loading and unloading. The use of car ferries over shorter expanses of water was well established by 1890. The first Great

Lakes car ferries spanned rivers: the Niagara, the Detroit, and the St. Clair. A more daring project to span the Straits of Mackinac went into successful operation in 1888.

The Toledo, Ann Arbor, and Northern Michigan Railroad took the plunge in 1892 by building a car ferry capable of operation over large areas of open lake to link Frankfort-Elberta, Michigan (see sites 142, 143), and Kewaunee, Wisconsin. The *Ann Arbor No. 1*, the pioneer of the Lake Michigan car ferries, went into service on September 29, 1892—1,128 gross tons, oak-hulled and covered with steel to four feet above the water line, with a capacity of 24 railroad cars.

That was the beginning of a significant feature of Lake Michigan transportation for decades to come. The car ferries carried hundreds of millions of tons of freight, hundreds of thousands of passengers, and, by the mid-twentieth century, tens of thousands of automobiles across the lake. The Ann Arbor line extended its services, and other lines followed its example. The Pere Marquette plunged into the business in 1897, destined to become the largest car ferry service on Lake Michigan. The Grand Trunk initiated car ferry service in 1903, and two smaller, short-lived companies entered the business early in the century. By 1910 a fleet of 16 car ferries bridged the lake, most of them with 1,300- to 1,700-ton capacities. Even after railroad passenger service had declined severely and trucks had challenged railroad freight traffic, in 1961 the Chesapeake and Ohio ferries (successor to the Pere Marquette) carried 132,000 freight cars, 153,000 passengers, and 54,000 automobiles over the lake.

Package freighters also plied Lake



The Lucia B. Simpson, the last of the lake lumber schooners on her final voyage in 1929. Photo by J. Robert Taylor. Courtesy State Historical Society of Wisconsin. WHI(T35)32

Michigan's waters in the age of diversity, carrying a wide variety of manufactured products to and from port cities, principally Chicago and Milwaukee. Their entree in the lake's commerce dated from the 1850s. The railroads came to dominate the package freight business, but independents operated as well. Through much of the late nineteenth century, package freight moved on vessels that included passenger accommodations and even space for bulk cargoes. The Anchor Line's four iron propellers, a real innovation when they were built in 1871—*The Alaska, China, Japan, and India*—sailed between Lake Erie and Chicago, combining freight and rather

The Grand Rapids of Milwaukee ferry entering the Milwaukee harbor. Milwaukee Journal photo. Courtesy State Historical Society of Wisconsin. WHi(X3)40551



elegant passenger services as an adjunct to the railroads. As traffic grew after 1890, the carriers introduced newer steel vessels designed specifically for package freight and others designed specifically for passengers. In 1907 large, fast freighters carried 6,650,000 tons of package freight on the Great Lakes for the railroads. Buffalo, Chicago, Milwaukee, and Duluth-Superior were the major shipping and receiving points.

At the end of the nineteenth century, passenger traffic on the Great Lakes underwent a spectacular revival involving millions of people. A by-product of rapid industrialization and urbanization, the efforts of the railroads to promote lake travel, and the search for new business alternatives in Lake Michigan's lumbering towns (see p. 93), lake travel boomed through the 1920s. While relatively small proprietors developed the resort business in Lake Michigan's lumbering towns,

the railroads made huge investments. In 1901 the Ann Arbor Road built the Royal Frontenac on the Frankfort waterfront specifically for vacationers (see site 142). At Mackinac Island, long regarded as a vacation paradise, three major carriers in 1887 built the Grand Hotel, a wonderful white-pillared structure overlooking the straits, reputedly the largest summer hotel in the world (see site 113). Moreover, James J. Hill's Great Northern Railroad launched a promotional campaign to popularize transcontinental travel via the Great Lakes. Hill's two luxury Great Lakes passenger liners, the *North West* and the *North Land*, traveling between Buffalo and Duluth and Buffalo and Chicago respectively, went into service in 1894–1895. These 5,000-ton steel-hulled luxury liners, much like transatlantic vessels, were soon known as “the wonder of the tourists.”

Less luxurious Lake Michigan carriers offered day, night, and excursion

service between Lake Michigan ports. Resort locations like Washington Island, Mackinac Island, Ottawa Beach near Holland, Michigan City, and Benton Harbor, where the House of David's amusement park attracted thousands of Chicagoans (see site 168), were well served during the summer months. Outstanding among the excursion steamers, the *Christopher Columbus*, pride of the Goodrich Transportation Company, oldest and largest of the transportation companies on Lake Michigan in 1910, was the largest on the lake. It was Captain McDougall's only whaleback passenger ship. Between Chicago and Michigan City the Indiana Transportation Company ran two excursion steamers with 3,500 and 2,500 passenger capacity—the *Theodore Roosevelt* and the *United States*—twice daily. The latter was indeed a boatload of patriotism, featuring the American flag in “suspended electrical effects” that flashed on and



The Christopher Columbus passing through the Broadway Street drawbridge in Milwaukee. Photo by Joseph Brown. Courtesy State Historical Society of Wisconsin. WHI(W6)6347

off. The decor included pictures and tablets depicting the nation's history and a map of the United States made from wood furnished by the governors of the various states. Pearl stars designated the state capitals. In an age when patriotism ran high, the company fully understood how to make its vessels attractive to Chicagoans headed for the cool and beautiful beach at Michigan City.

In the early twentieth century, 2 million lake-borne passengers passed through the port of Chicago annually, many of them tourists and excursionists. No aesthetic prize, Chicago's harbor was nevertheless very busy. As James Cooke Mills noted in *Our Inland Seas*, published in 1910, vessel entrances and departures exceeded those of any port on the continent, and the volume of Chicago's commerce stood second only to the port of New York. There in 1910 the thoughtful observer could see a pas-

sing parade of vessels old and new that profiled the revolution in ship technology since 1850—the occasional schooner; steam barges with demasted schooners loaded with lumber in tow; wooden and iron steamers; steel freighters; the new 600-foot ore carriers; the steel-hulled *North Land* cruise ship; the whaleback *Christopher Columbus*, queen of the day and excursion boats; a wealth of smaller steel passenger and package freighters; tug boats. By the early twentieth century only a few hundred sailing ships remained. Steam triumphed, and iron (and later steel) replaced wood.

Gone is the age of great diversity that gradually grew and then flowered in the first two decades of the twentieth century. Even then a wave of change in transportation technology—first the automobile, then trucks, and finally the beginnings of aviation—laid the groundwork for the undoing of diversity. With mass production of auto-

mobiles and their widespread popularity in the 1920s, public pressure for better roads mounted. Massive road construction culminated in the interstate systems of the 1950s and 1960s. Automobile travel hurt the Great Lakes passenger business. Cruise ships gradually lost their popularity as people elected to travel by car or by air. Fortunately the *S.S. Keewatin*, cruise ship of the Canadian Pacific Railroad, lies at anchor at Saugatuck-Douglas, where visitors can go aboard and capture the flavor of the Great Lakes luxury cruise (see site 162). Truck transportation eroded the lake package freight service, and the railroads curtailed passenger service to the point that railroad-owned vessels that had served both types of traffic disappeared from the lake. American-operated package freighters disappeared from Lake Michigan just before World War II. Railroad car ferries continued to operate, but in the 1960s and 1970s they

The Prins Johan Willem Friso, a Dutch freighter, the first to arrive at Chicago through the St. Lawrence Seaway, participating in the Seaway opening ceremony at Chicago, April 30, 1959. Photo by F. Dober. Courtesy Chicago Historical Society.



reported declining traffic and sought operating subsidies from Wisconsin and Michigan. One by one their services ceased, until in the summer of 1984 only two remained in service.

During World War II Lake Michigan's use as a major waterway entered a new era in which bulk cargo tonnage grew to unprecedented heights and international trade assumed a greater importance than ever before. Carriers loaded with iron ore and limestone dominated the tonnage figures. In 1945 wartime demands for steel sent tonnage figures to a record high of 80 million, surpassing the earlier record of 67 million set in 1929. From 1945 to 1979 tonnage edged upward. In every year except 1977, Lake Michigan carried more than 100 million tons of cargo annually, the largest

component by far being the materials of steel production. The recession of the 1980s has substantially lowered those figures.

The opening of the St. Lawrence Seaway in 1959 was the culmination of years of support for the project by business interests in Great Lakes port cities. The dream of linking the Atlantic Ocean, the St. Lawrence River, and the lakes was clearly expressed by Toronto merchants early in the nineteenth century, and ways of increasing foreign commerce had been on the agenda of Chicago and Milwaukee promoters from the 1850s on. World War I sparked the growth of direct trade. Small tramp vessels made their way into the lakes in the 1920s, but not until 1931 did the first regularly scheduled cargo vessel from

overseas make its way to Chicago—the *Anna*, outbound from Antwerp with a load of chicken wire and barbed wire for Montgomery Ward. World War II focused attention as never before on the limitations of the mid-continent's linkage to the Atlantic. For example, submarines built in Manitowoc had to be transported in sections down Lake Michigan, the Calumet Sag Channel, the Illinois River, and the Mississippi, and then reassembled before going into service.

The number of vessels engaged in service between Europe and Chicago grew steadily, from a few dozen in 1945 to 120 a decade later, when Lake Michigan ports received two-thirds of all the U.S. traffic between Great Lakes ports and foreign markets. Small wonder that Lake Michigan port cities

wanted the seaway. To Grand Haven, South Haven, and Green Bay came wood pulp in small liners and tramps from the Scandinavian countries, and to Sheboygan came clay from England for use in Kohler plumbing fixtures. To the port of Chicago came cement, sugar from the Caribbean, glass from Italy and Scandinavia, raw materials for iron and steel production, whiskey, beer, wine, Italian marble, Spanish olives, and German and English cars—products either unavailable in the domestic market or available more economically overseas. Out from Lake Michigan's ports went agricultural products, machinery, automobiles, trucks, and buses.

The possibilities for foreign trade were well established when Congress in May 1954, after 52 years of procrastination and Canada's announcement that it would go it alone if necessary, approved construction of the seaway as a joint Canadian-American effort. In addition to the foreign trade and national defense arguments, the hydroelectric generating potential of the seaway appealed to northeastern interests.

After the opening of the seaway in 1959, overseas commerce grew. Lake Michigan's totaled 470,300 tons in 1958. It jumped to 1.5 million in 1959 and in most years from 1968 to 1979 topped 5 million. Moreover, commerce with Canada, quite significant for a century, reached new heights. During the 1950s, 4 million tons was a common annual figure; in the 1960s and 1970s, 8–10 million was.

Iron and steel shapes and coke and petroleum products made up the greatest tonnage of foreign imports into Chicago and Milwaukee in 1979. The heaviest outbound cargoes for overseas delivery included corn, soy-

beans, grain products, and iron and scrap steel. To Canada went corn, soybeans, and coke. Canada supplied non-metallic minerals and over 2 million tons of iron ore and concentrates from its Lake Superior mines, which were very competitive with Minnesota's Mesabi.

Two decades after its opening, the seaway was beset with problems: the ever-increasing size of ocean-going vessels, many of which cannot come through its locks and canals; heavy competition from trucks and railroads; rising tolls for the use of the waterway, averaging \$30,000 per ship in 1983; the need for a system for handling containerized general cargo; the failure of the ports to cooperate in pressing their needs; and an economic recession that by 1983 had sharply diminished iron ore shipments. Grain continued to be a bright spot in the gloomy picture. Creative thought in both the government and private sectors can turn around the seaway's future as economic conditions improve.

Lake Michigan's second major waterway connection with the ocean is the Calumet Sag Channel, originally built in 1922 to provide through barge traffic to the Mississippi. In 1955 improvements began that widened it from its original 60 feet to 225 feet. The Sag Channel has both supplied Lake Michigan with additional tonnage and competed with it as a carrier of foreign-bound cargoes.

Through the history of Lake Michigan as a major avenue for water-borne commerce run the themes of adapting to changes in transportation technology, to the ups and downs of the national and international economies, and to political realities. These themes became part of the complexities of

lake use during the era of the fur trade and they continue in modern times.

Lake Michigan's transportation history is illustrated at a number of places. The following sites are especially noteworthy.

1. At both Milwaukee and Green Bay, visitors can get close enough to get a good view of harbor activity.
2. At Port Washington pleasure craft, commercial fishing boats, and a coal carrier are often found in harbor in the vicinity of Smith Brothers Restaurant. See site 26.
3. The Manitowoc Maritime Museum and World War II submarine *U.S.S. Cobia* are both excellent places to visit. See site 36.
4. The Kewaunee railroad car and auto ferry pier is still operational. See site 42.
5. Visitors can get a good look at shipbuilding operations at Sturgeon Bay, see its small Marine Museum, and at specified times visit the U.S. Coast Guard cutter *Mobile Bay*. See site 46.
6. At Gills Rock, where the ferry leaves for Washington Island, the Door County Maritime Museum has a number of displays on aspects of Great Lakes maritime history. See site 53.
7. The *Alvin Clark* "Mystery Ship" Marine Museum at Menominee features a Great Lakes cargo schooner raised from the lake bottom in 1969 and now rapidly deteriorating. See site 75.
8. The iron ore docks at Escanaba can be visited. See site 81.
9. On Mackinac Island the Grand Hotel stands, a fine example of the summer resort hotels built by the

railroads to bolster the Great Lakes cruise traffic. See site 113.

10. Car ferry service operates between Kewaunee, Wisconsin, and Ludington, Michigan, carrying passengers, automobiles, and freight cars.
11. Mackinac Marine Park at Mackinaw City includes a maritime museum in an old lighthouse, the Shay steam yacht, a schooner, a birch-bark Montreal canoe, and Mackinaw boats. The *Welcome*, a repro-

duction of a late eighteenth-century sloop, is anchored near the ferry dock. See site 115.

12. The Maritime Museum at the Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore interprets U.S. Coast Guard rescue work and Great Lakes shipping. See site 140.
13. The *S.S. Keewatin*, a retired Canadian Pacific Railroad luxury Great Lakes cruise liner, now a floating museum, lies at anchor at Douglas,

Michigan. See site 162.

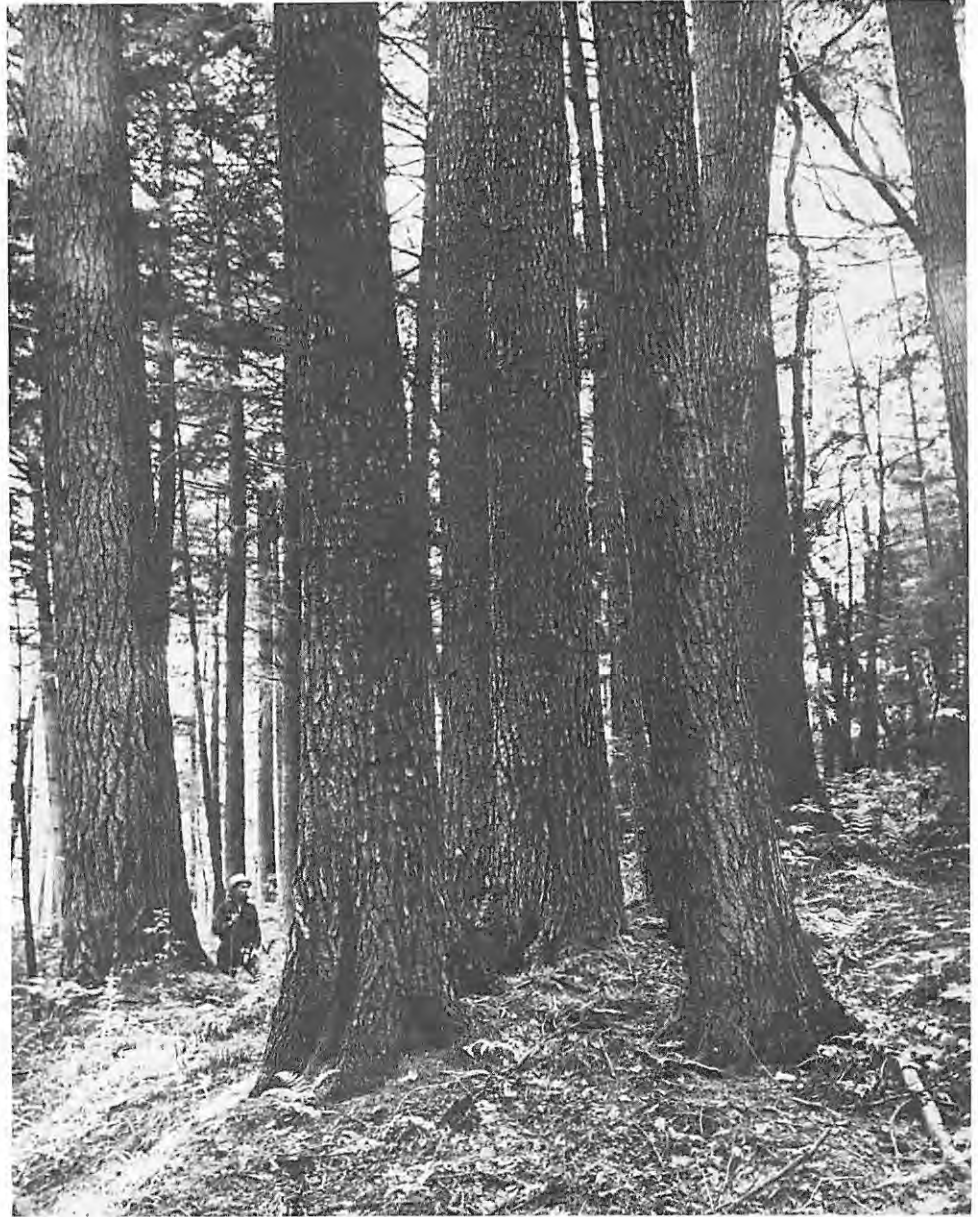
14. The Channahon Parkway State Park and the city of Lockport, Illinois, reflect the canal era, when the Illinois-Michigan Canal formed an important transportation artery for Chicago. See sites 181, 182.
15. Pleasure craft are evident in the harbors and marinas of most towns around the lake.

Lake Michigan's Empire in Pine

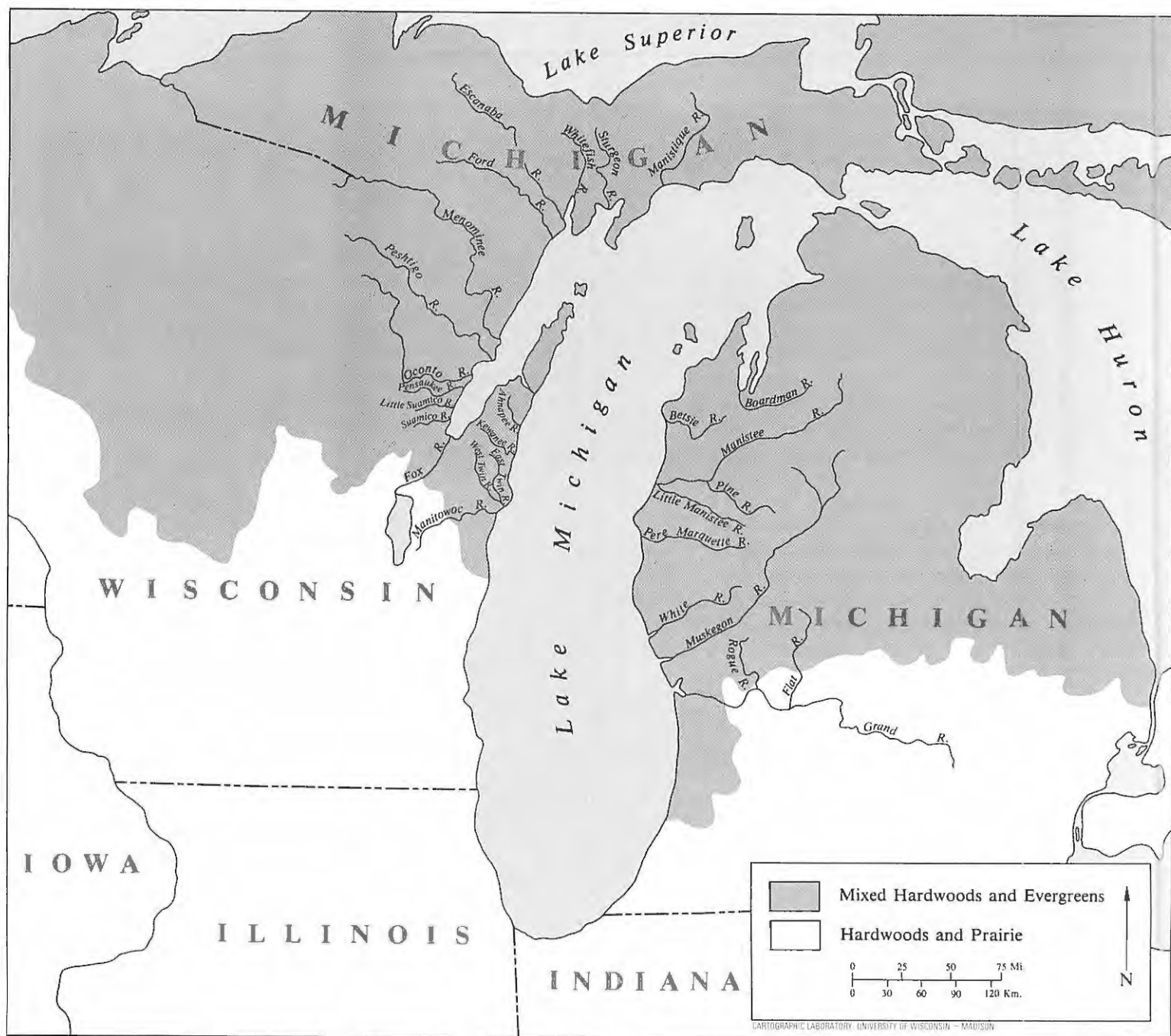
Endowed with magnificent stands of timber, part of the great hardwood and conifer woods stretching from Maine and New Brunswick westward through the Great Lakes and northern Minnesota and north into Canada, Lake Michigan's shores boasted a rich variety of forest resources. Destined for exploitation by nineteenth-century entrepreneur lumberman, the timber stands provided jobs for thousands, fortunes for a few, and billions of board feet of lumber for a growing nation.

Of all the Great Lakes, Michigan has the longest north-south thrust (from approximately 41°30' on the south to beyond 46° on the north) and the widest variety of original vegetation zones around its shores. The prairies and oak opening of the south gave way to a hardwood forest area, chiefly oak and maple with some beech and basswood. The character of the hardwoods changed at about the forty-third parallel, north of which white pines mixed with the hardwoods. Farther north pines and other conifers made up an increasingly larger portion of the woods, and in the fairly extensive wetland areas, white cedar, black spruce, tamarack, and hemlock predominated.

While nineteenth century lumbermen called all forested areas containing two or more white pines per acre "pineland," the name was misleading. Rare indeed were forested areas around Lake Michigan so dominated by pine that federal surveyors designated them as pineland on their plats.



Northern Lake Michigan white pine. Courtesy State Historical Society of Wisconsin. WHi(X3)26552



Lake Michigan's Logging Rivers and its Forests.

Nevertheless, in popular parlance the hardwood forests interspersed with white and red or Norway pines were called the pineries. They began on the western lakeshore near Sheboygan, Wisconsin, and extended northward around the head of the lake and south as far as South Haven, Michigan.

On most nineteenth-century Lake Michigan residents, the aesthetics of the fine timber stands made little impression. For farmer-settlers, trees were a source of wood for homes, fences, farm buildings, and fuel. If they chose timbered land, as many German immigrants did along Lake Michigan's western shore, the trees presented a challenge, an impediment to cultivation that had to be cleared away with backbreaking labor. Lumbermen eyed the trees with board footage in mind, and to their logging crews and sawmill workers, trees meant a living. Few reflected on the beauty of the great black walnut stands of southern Michigan, the magnificent old maples, or the majestic black-barked climax white pines, some as much as 20 feet in circumference and 100 feet tall, or the equally impressive giant yellow birch. Even in the wake of the devastating forest fire at Peshtigo in 1871, a local observer describing the horror paused to pay tribute to the lumbering industry because it utilized the woods, "making them, instead of a curse, the source of our wealth."

Americans of the 1980s can get some sense of the magnificence of these woodlands at places like the Ridges Sanctuary–Tofts Point–Mud Lake Area Natural Landmark site near Baileys Harbor, Wisconsin (site 50), and at Interlochen State Park, Interlochen, Michigan (site 134). Lake Michigan's present forests represent

subsequent growth on cutover lands.

Nature's bounty provided the lumbermen with a delivery system as well as fine timber stands. Lake Michigan and the rivers flowing through the forests into the lake made the harvest easy. Pine floated readily, and logs could be driven downstream from the inland pineries to sawmills at the lakeshore, sawed into lumber, and loaded aboard ships for Chicago, which grew to be the nation's largest lumber market. Although the rivers carrying the richest drives were the Menominee in the Green Bay lumbering region and the Manistee and Muskegon on the Michigan lower peninsula, most of the rivers that honeycombed the forests also delivered logs to the lakeside sawmills.

Small logging and milling operations serving local needs began on Lake Michigan in the 1830s. Large-scale commercial lumbering dates from the prosperous years of the 1850s, and the big cut came after the Civil War. By 1900 the heyday of lumbering on Lake Michigan had passed.

Lake Michigan's timber stands fell to axe and saw rapidly and wastefully because of their proximity to the growing cities and farmlands of the Midwest. During the late nineteenth century, the rapid development of the Mississippi River watershed, large sections of it treeless grassland, created a great demand for lumber. Chicago, so accessible to the source of timber supply, grew as the center of a railroad network that fanned out in all directions, creating a delivery system for inland lumber consuming communities.

From South Haven on Lake Michigan's eastern shore and Sheboygan on the western shore northward, the

lumbering industry spawned sawdust towns that bustled to the sound of whining saws and the diverse languages of American-born and immigrant workers. Lumbermen of means wielded great influence over all phases of town life. In the great woods life revolved around lumber camps, where lumberjacks ate and slept while horses and oxen gathered strength for another day. Come daybreak the axe, saw, canthook, peavey, bobsled, big wheels, the shout of "timber," and the earth-shaking crash of great trees absorbed attention and energy. Lumber schooners and steam-powered vessels came into port with all manner of needed supplies and left with lumber cargoes destined for Chicago. In the late nineteenth century, logging locomotives puffed and whistled through the woods.

Who were Lake Michigan's lumbermen, lumberjacks, and millworkers? Some of the earliest and most influential lumbermen came fresh from their lumbering experiences in New Brunswick, Maine, Pennsylvania, and New York, moving westward into the rich upper Great Lakes pineries as profits and timber stands in the Northeast declined. They brought with them experience, capital, and skill. A late nineteenth-century historian of the upper midwestern lumbering industry believed that Maine had contributed more lumbermen to the region than any of the other older areas of the nation. Possibly considering Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota as a whole he was right, but it would be a mistake to give Maine such weight in speaking of Lake Michigan's large lumbermen. Experienced Maine men were there, but far more numerous were ambitious young New En-

glanders, New Yorkers, and Pennsylvanians without direct connections to the northeastern lumbering industry, lured westward in search of business opportunities in a developing area. Many had only a few years of experience in small businesses. They were on the make. Some of Lake Michigan's very successful lumbermen were born in Michigan, Illinois, and Wisconsin, and some men of immigrant origin joined the ranks of leadership and wealth, men born in the Germanies, England, Ireland, Scotland, and French Canada. Some made great fortunes; many achieved modest business success; and some failed altogether in a rough and highly competitive business, the victims of widely fluctuating prices, market gluts, indebtedness, and a great variety of unfortunate business decisions.

As for the workers, the army of mackinaw-clad lumberjacks and the host of millworkers, they too came from diverse places for many reasons. Young men in search of the money to buy farms regularly worked as farm laborers until harvest time and then headed for the pineries during the winter months. Late in the nineteenth century, when the log harvest became virtually a year-round business, many of them worked continuously as millhands and lumberjacks for a time. But other farmers continued as seasonal employees throughout the lumbering era to help pay for land and improvements, turning over home responsibilities to wives and children at the end of harvest season. Newly arrived immigrants in search of work found it in the north woods. Germans, Swedes, Norwegians, Finns, Bohemians, Belgians, and French Canadians made up a significant part of the workforce.



Lumberjacks at work with a crosscut saw. Photo by E. Ammermann. From the Collections of the Michigan State Archives, Department of State. 10738

Lumber workers were a far more sober and industrious lot than the rowdy, gambling, wenching, hard-drinking, swearing, singing, storytelling lumberjacks of local legend.

There was a real contrast in life style and influence between the lumberjack and millworker and the large, successful lumberman. The workers lived on modest wages—some very modest indeed—in either simple houses or company-owned dormitories. The successful lumbermen lived in very comfortable homes and, if among the very successful, in spacious, well-appointed mansions staffed with servants. The Perry Hannah House in Traverse City, Michigan, the home of a lumberman turned banker and merchant, is an excellent example. Hannah capped his career by building in 1891 a beautiful Queen Anne mansion of

perhaps forty rooms embellished with cut leaded glass windows, a great variety of fine woodwork (mahogany, cherry, bird's-eye maple, and birch), imported marble fireplaces, and expensive wallpaper. It overlooks the Boardman River, where the first Hannah sawmill stood (see site 132). Three mansions in Muskegon—the Charles R. Hackley, Thomas Hume, and John Torrent homes—also reflect the life style of highly successful Lake Michigan lumbermen (see site 156).

These men often dominated the political, social, and cultural affairs as well as the economies of their home communities. They were as much a part of the entrepreneurial spirit of the late 19th century as the better-known captains of industry like John D. Rockefeller and Andrew Carnegie. They assumed that government existed to help, and not to interfere with, their businesses. They believed that they performed a very valuable service to society by engaging in business, creating jobs, and producing needed products for the market. While not all did so, lumbermen like Perry Hannah, Charles R. Hackley, and Isaac Stephenson felt an obligation to use their wealth in the communities from which they derived it. They continued to live where they had made their fortunes even after lumbering declined and promoted community betterment by giving money for libraries, parks, schools, and even in Hackley's case, an art gallery. They were often the leading figures in establishing churches, which they liberally supported. While the public generally admired their success and hoped to emulate them, sawmill and lumber-camp workers did not always share these views. Strikes over hours and wages occurred but rarely

succeeded. The lumbermen generally assumed a paternalistic attitude toward their workers and did their best to discourage unionization.

Without question the lumbermen used government to suit their ends. They pressed the federal government for river and harbor improvements to facilitate their businesses. They promoted local railroad lines and asked Congress for federal land grants to construct lines through timberland inaccessible by natural waterways. The Green Bay lumbermen sought and got a land grant to support the construction of the Sturgeon Bay Ship Canal to eliminate the treacherous water passage around the Door Peninsula (site 46). They fought with the railroad companies over rates. They solicited state legislatures for charters to construct dams and booms on the rivers to improve and control log delivery. They ran for and got elected to office at the local, state, and national levels. They tried to cooperate among themselves to control production, markets, access to pine stumpage, and lumber prices, but here they did not succeed. Lumbering on Lake Michigan was never a monopoly or a near monopoly; rather, it was a competitive industry with many small and medium producers and some very large businesses. The largest organized their businesses by purchasing pinelands, mills, transportation facilities and by developing their own market outlets.

Because the lumbermen lived in an age when the government and the public alike supported the development of what seemed to be almost unlimited natural resources, the more unscrupulous of Lake Michigan's lumbermen encountered little serious resistance when they bent laws to suit

their purposes. Many examples might be cited, but a few will suffice. It was illegal, but not unusual, to steal timber from the public lands, of which Lake Michigan's timberlands were initially a part. It was not as though federal policies made timber land expensive, for stumpage sold for \$1.25 per acre at the most, and there were legal methods of getting it for less. After the register of the Green Bay federal land office reported widespread timber thefts in 1849, an investigation ensued. It ended when local lumbermen successfully pressured their congressmen into having federal investigating agents removed.

Isaac Willard, appointed by the Secretary of the Interior in 1853 to bring a halt to timber theft from public lands in Michigan, found that about 50 million feet of lumber had been cut from federal lands lying between the Menominee and the Grand rivers—monumental thievery. His experiences in 1853 and 1854 read like a western thriller. At Manistee mob insurrection, bribery, arson, threats, beatings, and even murder stymied his efforts. Ultimately he got help from the U.S. Navy which assigned the *Michigan*, the Navy's first iron ship, to help him apprehend the lawbreakers. Political pressure by lumbermen on the Secretary of the Interior led to the dismissal of the commissioner of the General Land Office and all timber agents. That ended the federal government's attempts in the 1850s to enforce the law in Michigan. The task was assigned to local officers who, under local pressures, did little. As timber grew scarce, lumbermen cast covetous eyes upon Indian reservation timber stands and pressed the Bureau of Indian Affairs for permis-

sion to cut there as well. Sometimes they succeeded.

The great river drives of pine logs are perhaps the most colorful chapter in the history of lumbering around the shores of Lake Michigan. River delivery, the earliest method, continued as long as it was the most economical one, and most of Lake Michigan's lumber went to the Chicago market by ship. The last of the drives came down the Menominee River in 1917. Initially the lumbermen concentrated on harvesting the pines, especially white pine and red pine, for these durable and easily workable woods were much in demand for all kinds of construction. Following methods developed in the Northeast, lumbermen established camps in the woods for their workers with bunkhouses, cookhouses, stables, and sheds. Workmen cut the pine during the winter months, hauled it on oxen or horse-drawn bobsleds to stream and river banks, log marked it with branding irons, and piled it up. In spring, when the ice melted and the waters rose, the logs were sent on their way to the mills located at the lake edge. There, at scaling ponds, work crews sorted the logs belonging to different millowners and floated them into mill storage ponds.

Use of the same streams and rivers by many small and large competitors could and did produce chaos. Lake Michigan's larger lumbermen organized and chartered log boom companies designed to make improvements, such as dams, to control water flow and to introduce order and control in log delivery. In return for their investments and services, they assessed a delivery price per log. This technique, first used in the northeastern pineries, worked successfully in the



Log drive on the Muskegon River about 1890. From the Collections of the Michigan State Archives, Department of State. 00307

Lake Michigan woods (see site 75).

The spring drives, busy, dangerous, and colorful affairs, utilized peavey men, polers, boatmen to maneuver the bateaux, watchers, timekeepers, teamsters, blacksmiths, water messengers and telegraphers, and a crew to man the wanigan—the big woods equivalent of the chuckwagon—and take charge of food preparation and camp-

ing gear. The bateaux carried work crews to log jams, where they engaged in the dangerous business of dislodging the pileup with hooks and dynamite. This system delivered billions of board feet of lumber to lakeside mills.

From the 1870s on, the railroads took on an increasingly important part of the work of bringing logs out of the woods. Ephraim Shay of Harbor

Springs, Michigan (see site 119), made a major contribution to the accelerated harvest of Lake Michigan's timber when in 1881 he patented a logging locomotive with good traction, capable of operating well on tight curves. The Shay locomotives worked so well that they were used for mining and logging in many parts of the world. Once the lumbermen began to use railroads

for logging operations, the harvesting season was extended to twelve months and areas remote from streams could be reached.

Railroads were but one facet of the technological revolution in the lumbering industry that combined to hasten the cut of Lake Michigan's timber. On Lake Michigan masted lumber schooners experienced competition from steam lumber barges with superior tonnage capacity, developed after the Civil War. Changes in sawmilling included the shifts from water power to steam to electricity by 1900 and a host of improvements in saws, beginning with circular saws and advancing to gang and then band saws. Mechanical devices replaced manpower in handling logs in the mills. The sawmill evolved in the last half of the nineteenth century from "the mill of but a few thousand feet capacity to those whose manufacture reaches from 50,000 to 300,000 feet daily," George W. Hotchkiss noted in 1898. Logging techniques had changed so much that could lumbermen deceased in 1850 come alive, opined Hotchkiss, "they would find themselves wholly at sea as they contemplated the present improved and easy methods of logging." Chopping with axes gave way to cross-cut sawing; logs were hauled to the railroad instead of the stream bank; horses replaced oxen. Increasingly lumbermen used a wire rope transfer system in skidding and loading logs, producing distinct savings in horsepower.

By the turn of the century, most of Lake Michigan's pine had fallen to axe and saw. Lumbermen turned to hardwoods to supply the demand for flooring, doors, and woodwork as well as furniture and woodenware. The shift



Steam barge Normandie loaded with barrels of salt at Manistee. From the Collections of the Michigan State Archives, Department of State. 07594

to the hardwood harvest signaled the end of the lumbering era on Lake Michigan, although this final phase was prolonged until the 1930s in some communities—for example, Oconto, Marinette, and Hermansville (see sites 73, 75, and 83). In others, the hardwoods had long since been used to make charcoal.

Lumbering spawned a number of auxiliary industries. Prominent among them was iron smelting which utilized hardwoods reduced to charcoal, the region's abundant limestone, and the ores of the Marquette and Menominee ranges to produce pig iron (see "From the Mines to the Blast Furnaces"). Lumbermen built lime kilns in many northern Lake Michigan communities to use lumber wastes and local lime-

stone to produce lime, widely used in the agricultural, building, and chemical industries and in a number of industrial processes. The ruins of the lime kilns of the White Marble Lime Company east of Manistique give an idea of the magnitude of such late nineteenth-century businesses (see site 98). The tanning industry relied heavily on Lake Michigan's forest resources to supply essential hemlock bark (see site 40). Many a Lake Michigan town spawned woodenware factories and wagon, carriage, and agricultural implement works: for example, Sheboygan (site 31) and Peshtigo (site 74). Lake Michigan's shipbuilders at Sheboygan, Manitowoc, Milwaukee, Marinette, Chicago, Sturgeon Bay, and Grand Haven relied heavily on wood,

until iron and steel virtually replaced it at the end of the nineteenth century.

Salt and chemical production, which also originated as a satellite to lumbering, proved to be a very long-lived industry. Michigan salt production, originally fostered by a state bounty, mushroomed once Michigan lumbermen came up with the idea of using sawmill refuse and the exhaust generated by steam-powered sawmills for the evaporation process. Using processes pioneered in the Saginaw Valley, lumbermen in Frankfort, Ludington, and Manistee sank wells, acting on the findings of the state geologist during the 1880s. At Manistee the Reitz lumber company began salt production in 1880. By 1899 its wells had produced almost 16 million bushels of salt, and Manistee styled itself "The Salt City of the Inland Seas." Michigan emerged as the leading national salt producer.

In the long run a chemical industry utilizing salt by-products far overshadowed the economic importance of salt production associated with lumbering. Dow Chemical Company of Midland, which grew directly from the salt wells sunk by the lumberman, operates a sizable plant at Ludington. Lake Michigan's hardwood forests fostered chemical industries in yet another way. Lumbermen found that the fumes from charcoal making could be converted to wood alcohol and acetates. A number of lumbering communities boasted chemical plants in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

The total dollar value derived from the products of Lake Michigan's forests—lumber, shingles, tanbark, cordwood, railroad ties, posts, and poles, plus the output of the satellite

industries described above—defies calculation. It surely ran into the hundreds of billions of dollars. There are good estimates of lumber production. Considering only the timber harvest from the watersheds of Lake Michigan's major logging rivers, the volume reached staggering proportions by the end of the century. The western shore of the Michigan lower peninsula yielded a conservative 47 billion board feet, and the Green Bay watershed—that is, the western and northern shores, exclusive of the Door Peninsula—20 billion board feet. The Mackinac shore yielded 3 billion. George W. Hotchkiss, author of the voluminous *History of the Lumber and Forest Industry of the Northwest*, explained the 20 billion Green Bay figure quite graphically: "If the total cut of the Green Bay region was placed, each board at the end of another, it would form a walk one inch thick and one foot wide, nearly 357,000 miles in length, or fourteen times around the globe, and at five thousand feet to the acre denuding no less than 4,000,000 acres of land in its production." The lumbermen and their contemporaries were impressed with the magnitude of their accomplishments.

The environmental price of the big cut ran high. From the destruction of the forest cover, the people, the land, the wildlife, the streams, the rivers, and the lake suffered severely. Perhaps the first and most obvious damage came in the form of the devastating forest fires of 1870–1920. The combination of great heaps of slash on the forest floor, the influx of farmer-settlers into cutover land, and the extension of the railroads into the north woods led to spectacular holocausts, none more vividly publicized than the

great fires of 1871. In Wisconsin these swept through the Fox River Valley, along the western shore of Green Bay, and through the Door Peninsula south of Sturgeon Bay, and in Michigan from large areas along Lake Michigan's eastern shore across the lower peninsula to Port Huron. In the annals of Great Lakes lumbering, the fires of 1871 are invariably linked with the disaster at Peshtigo because of the heavy loss of life there (see site 74) and the dramatic horror of the fire.

For many weeks in the fall of 1871 isolated fires had burned in the Green Bay woods and underground, sending a pall of smoke over the water and endangering navigation. For weeks frightened farmers, townspeople, sawmill owners, and railroad men had worked day and night to protect people and property, hauling water, plowing strips of land, building earthworks and ditches, and anxiously scanning the sky for rain. Many believed on Sunday, October 8 that the worst had passed. They were wrong. The worst came at 9:00 P.M., when a strong southwest wind whipped isolated slash fires, farm-clearing fires, and railroad construction campfires into a fury that one contemporary aptly labeled a fire storm. "The sky was brass. The earth was ashes." Peshtigo disappeared in a hurricane of fire. In panic people and animals rushed for the river, already filled with burning logs and bridge and building timber. Many died there, and many others perished before reaching the water. At least 800 died in the town, and unknown numbers on surrounding farms died huddled in plowed fields or in root cellars and wells, many from suffocation.

From Peshtigo the fire raced north and east toward Marinette and Me-

nominee. Oconto (site 73) escaped its full fury and sustained only minor damage, and a line of sand hills between Peshtigo and Marinette deflected the major part of the tornado of flames west of these towns. Several mills and a church burned, and so did most of the village of Menekaunee. After jumping the Menominee River, the fire struck and destroyed the village of Birch Creek.

On Green Bay's eastern shore, at just about the time of the Peshtigo disaster, fires erupted on the Door Peninsula south of Sturgeon Bay. Afterward contemporaries suggested that the fire leaped the bay and set the peninsula ablaze. This is rather unlikely because of the northeasterly direction of the wind. Probably ignited from summer clearing fires, these conflagrations destroyed New Franken, Robinsonville, Williamsonville (see Tornado Memorial Park, site 64), Brussels, and Little Sturgeon. Estimates of fatalities ran as high as 105. A prominent leader in the Belgian community believed that the fire left at least 5,000 homeless and destitute. Given the ferocity and magnitude of the blaze, small wonder that many Peshtigo and Door Peninsula residents believed that the Day of Judgment had come. One conservative estimate of damage to the Lake Michigan western shore placed the destruction at a minimum of 1,152 lives and 1,280,000 acres despoiled, mostly forest land from which only a fraction of the burned and scorched softwoods could be salvaged.

Yet the devastation on the western shore was only part of the story. Michigan residents with a historical bent are annoyed by the emphasis on the Peshtigo fire, for Michigan's timber land suffered even more extensively

PROCLAMATION!

Our sister City of Holland is nearly destroyed by fire. More than two thousand people are left homeless and exposed to the pitiless storm. Food and Clothing is the immediate want.

I, HENRY GRIFFIN, Mayor of the City of Grand Haven, do hereby call upon all good citizens to contribute to the relief of these sufferers.

For this purpose I have caused Subscription Papers to be opened at my office.

Any provisions, cooked or otherwise, and clothing, will be of comfort, and such donations taken to the Office of E. P. FERRY, will be there received and record kept of Doxous.

HENRY GRIFFIN, Mayor.
Grand Haven, Oct. 10th, 1871.

Courtesy Michigan Historical Collections, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan.

on October 8, 1871. Along Lake Michigan's northern shore, forest fires raged on the Stonington Peninsula, in the Fayette district, and near Escanaba, all Green Bay communities on Little and Big Bays De Noc. To the south, in the lower peninsula, the devastation of forest lands assumed massive proportions. In all, probably at least 2.5 million acres of Michigan timber burned. Fire approached the town of Holland in mid-afternoon, and by the next morning most of the city lay in ashes. Miraculously—providentially, some believed—Van Vleck Hall at Hope College and Albertus Van Raalte's beautiful pillared 1856 Greek Revival church escaped (see site 160). Forest fires burned for hundreds of miles along the east coast. Manistee (site 147), a rough and bustling lumbering town 50

miles north of Holland, virtually burned to the ground. Fanned by strong winds out of the southwest, the fire raced northeast through the lower peninsula, threatening Lansing, and on into Thumb country all the way to Lake Huron. Port Huron escaped. Saginaw suffered damage but not destruction. Flames seared the forests of the Au Sable River and its tributaries as well as the woodlands in the Thunder Bay region. Fortunately, the loss of life in Michigan was small—10 persons or possibly a few more. Contemporaries hypothesized that the wind carried embers from the great Chicago fire of the same day to Michigan's forests, but it seems most probable that the combination of wind, drought, slash, and clearing and construction fires caused the conflagration. Ironically, destruction led to destruction. Lumbermen thereafter argued that the presence of farmers made it imperative to cut the timber before great fires ignited by small clearing fires could destroy it.

While contemporaries dwelt on the loss of human life and timber in forest fires, they seem to have ignored their impact on wildlife. Fires destroyed birds and animals and their natural habitat, and fish died from the heat and from the toxic runoff. The first complaint about the impact of lumbering on water quality apparently came from fisherman, who complained that log drives and the practice of dumping sawmill refuse into rivers and the lake decreased the catch and fouled spawning grounds. Another consequence of lumbering, farming on the cutover lands, produced further environmental and human problems. To many Americans, accustomed to the time-honored formula of removing trees and creating farms, it seemed logical that

farms would flourish where the forests of Lake Michigan once grew. To lumbermen, railroads, and land companies owning cutover lands, this was a way of disposing of stumpland. In the late nineteenth century, they mounted a vigorous campaign to entice settlers. Attractive brochures described all the fine products the lands would produce—giant pumpkins, huge cabbages, large potato crops, and the like. They praised the land's potential for livestock farming. Some built cheap houses on their lands, advertised special excursions for landlookers, and offered to sell on contract with payments spread over a number of years. It would be hard work, of course, to remove stumps and plow the land, but those who persevered would surely succeed.

In Wisconsin such real estate interests were vocal, and their views were well known in the legislature. They even established a fund and enticed Dean Henry of the University of Wisconsin College of Agriculture to write an attractive book, published in 1896 and entitled *A Handbook for the Homeseeker*, describing the possibilities for farming in the cutover. In Michigan owners of cutover land puffed the sandy land of the lower peninsula as a cutover Canaan. Businessmen in towns suffering from an economic slump as lumbering declined eagerly got on the bandwagon. Residents of denuded areas agreed that farms were the answer.

In opposition stood a small, articulate, and vocal group who stressed the unsuitability of much cutover land for agriculture. They argued that state governments should adopt a reforestation policy, and as time would tell, they were right about much, but not all,



*Blossom time in the orchards of Door County, Wisconsin.
Courtesy State Historical Society of Wisconsin. WHI(A6)3639*

cutover. Some developed into profitable farms—for example, much farmland in Sheboygan, Manitowoc, Brown, and Kewaunee counties in Wisconsin. Fruit did well in the Door Peninsula of Wisconsin and on the Michigan lower peninsula from Traverse City to the Indiana line in a narrow band adjacent to Lake Michigan, where the lake suitably tempered climatic conditions for cherries, apples, peaches, grapes, and small fruit.

But in large areas where light soils had supported tree cover, farms failed. There thousands aspiring to own farms, many of them new Americans, tackled the arduous labor of removing tree stumps, burning, plowing, and planting crops. The struggle went on

from the late nineteenth century through the 1920s, when the agricultural recession proved devastating to low-income, marginal farmers. As tax-delinquent lists grew longer and longer, residents in the cutover counties came to accept the failure of the farming model. The idea of reforestation and a recreation industry appealed. With their approval, Wisconsin in 1927–1929 shifted its policy from encouraging farms to reforestation by enacting zones and forest crop laws that included tax incentives for reforestation. Michigan enacted a rural zoning law in 1935 to encourage judicious land use and soil conservation. From the tax-delinquent lands, county, state, and national forests were created

during the 1930s, and reforestation proceeded. The Nicolet National Forest in Wisconsin, the Hiawatha National Forest on the Michigan Upper Peninsula (site 91), and the Manistee National Forest on the lower peninsula (site 148) are examples of these new forests. Here visitors can picnic, hike, camp, and enjoy the beauty of the new woods. Careful management, vigilance to prevent fires, and limited commercial harvests make them a continuous resource.

Lumbering continues in Lake Michigan's forests, but it is vastly different from the large-scale logging operations of a century ago. Pulpwood for use in the paper industry is the main harvest. The industry had its beginnings on Lake Michigan proper at Marinette, Wisconsin, in the 1880s and at DePere, about two decades after the Fox River mill towns of Neenah and Menasha first began paper production using rags. Peshtigo, Green Bay, and Manistique mills date from the early twentieth century.

While it is impossible to measure the impact of the great lumbering boom on Lake Michigan's waters, it unquestionably altered water quality. An 1820 observer spoke of Green Bay's transparent waters. An 1887 observer of the bay commented: "As

one passes to the north, the water clears until in places may be seen the bottom." He spoke at a time when lumbering was still big business on the western shore, when the great drives came down the Menominee annually, and when the sawmill refuse was being dumped by the ton into the lake. On the Door Peninsula side, the cordwood, cedar-post, pole, and railroad-tie harvest was in full swing. Toxic runoff from the great fires of 1871 may still have been present in Green Bay waters. By then the Fox River carried into the bay the runoff from farmers' fields and the waters used in paper mills as well as human sewage. The impact of lumbering on the lake would have been far greater had clear cutting been the lumbermen's technique. Fortunately, because of the mixed hardwood and coniferous nature of the Lake Michigan woods, selective cutting prevailed. Lumbermen cut the pines first and generally the hardwoods later. Northern Lake Michigan's residents felt little concern about lake water quality. The fishermen alone complained, and the fish remained silent.

The beauty of the original woodlands remains at selected locations. One such place is the Ridges Sanctuary-Tofts Point-Mud Lake Area Natural

Landmark Site near Baileys Harbor, Wisconsin (see site 50); another is Interlochen State Park, Interlochen, Michigan (site 134). Two museums reflect the history of lumbering: the Marinette County Logging Museum at Marinette, Wisconsin (see site 75), and the Wisconsin Land and Lumber Company Office at Hermansville, Michigan (see site 83). The Perry Hannah House in Traverse City, Michigan (see site 132), and the Charles R. Hackley, Thomas Hume, and John Torrent homes in Muskegon, Michigan (see site 156), give some idea of the life styles of successful lumbermen. In Oconto, Marinette, and Menominee, many visual reminders of the lumbering era remain in business, residential, and church structures (see site 73, 75), while at Peshtigo the Fire Cemetery and Fire Museum commemorate the tragedy of October 8, 1871 (see site 74). The Lime Kilns of the White Marble Lime Company near Manistique, Michigan, convey the magnitude of a lumber satellite industrial operation (site 98). State and national parks reflect the effort to restore cutover lands.

From the Mines to the Blast Furnaces



United States Steel blast furnace at Gary, Indiana. Courtesy United States Steel Corporation.

For well over a century, since 1865, great shiploads of iron ore have sailed over Lake Michigan, bound first for the iron and steel-making cities of Lake Erie's south shore, since the 1870s for Chicago's steel mills, and after 1900 for the expanding Gary-Burns Harbor-East Chicago steel-manufacturing complex. In dollar value and in significance for the national economy, the lake's importance as an avenue for ore carriers is hard to estimate.

The rich iron resources in Michigan's Upper Peninsula and northern Wisconsin, the even greater riches in Minnesota, the plentiful Michigan limestone, and the coal resources of Pennsylvania, Ohio, Kentucky, and Illinois cast the Great Lakes in the role of a water highway for bringing together the heavy, bulky components of steel making. Without the lakes, the steel-making industry of the Midwest would probably have developed a very different geographic pattern, with blast furnaces located close to the sources of iron ore and limestone. As it was, industrialists chose to build steel plants on the southern Lake Erie and Lake Michigan shores. Ore and limestone came by water to points well served by railroads. Coal came by rail, and iron and steel products went to market by rail.

Until the enactment of restrictive immigration laws in the 1920s, labor to mine the ore, transport it, and man the steel mills was plentiful, cheap, and too poorly organized to challenge management. The national government used tariffs to protect its emerging iron and steel industry from foreign producers and aided entrepreneurs in their efforts to exploit ore deposits by generous land disposal policies, liberal land grants for the construction of ca-

nals and railroads, large appropriations for river and harbor improvements, and, in the twentieth century, funds for scientific research to solve the technical problems of mining. Similarly, the state governments encouraged the industry with favorable tax laws, bounties to ore producers, support for the exploration of potential ore lands and the development of new transportation systems, and funding for research and technical education.

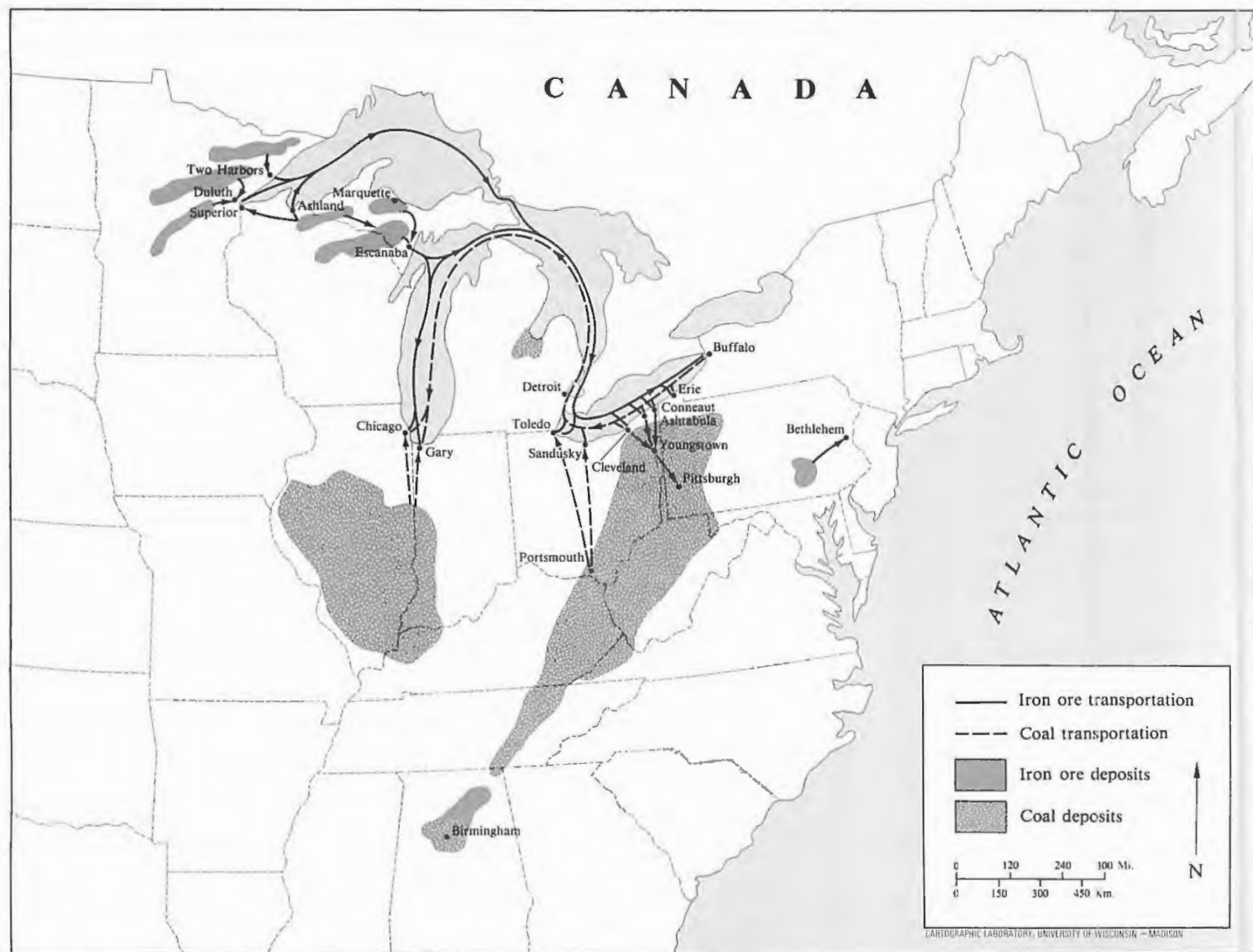
The mines that produced the great shiploads of iron ore came into production between 1845 and 1892. The Marquette Range, lying in the Michigan Upper Peninsula, came into production first, followed by the Menominee and the Gogebic, shared by Michigan and Wisconsin. While conducting a linear and geological survey for the federal government, William A. Burt, inventor of the solar compass, found iron ore south of Teal Lake near Negaunee, Michigan, in September 1844. A year later Philo M. Everett of Jackson, Michigan, led a group of men into the Upper Peninsula in search of mineral wealth. His search team "re-discovered" it when he was not present. Everett formed the Jackson Mining Company, the first to mine the riches of the Marquette Range.

Burt and other mining pioneers in the Marquette tapped a source of ore that by 1980 had yielded more than 500 million long tons. The first ores from the Menominee came to market in 1877, and the first from the Gogebic in 1884. By 1980 the mined wealth of the Menominee Range totaled almost 330 million long tons. By 1967, when mining ceased in the Gogebic, the yield totaled over 320 million long tons. The Marquette and the Meno-

minee are still producing, but the richest deposits are long since gone, and 97 percent of Michigan's ore now comes from leaner types that are refined into pellet concentrates before being shipped to the blast furnaces. The mineral wealth of these three ranges made Michigan the nation's leading producer of iron ore until 1900, when the fabulously endowed Mesabi Range of Minnesota gave that state the number one position that it retains and will retain far into the future.

The presence of iron ore in Minnesota came to public attention decades before mining began. The problem was to identify the most promising site for development. When the Minnesota Iron Company incorporated in 1882, the Vermilion Range seemed the most likely. Two years later carriers loaded with Vermilion ore set out from Two Harbors to make their first delivery to Lake Erie steel mills. The first Mesabi ore went to Duluth in October 1892, clear evidence of the efforts of the Merritt Brothers, the "Seven Iron Men," who were largely responsible for opening the Mesabi Range.

For pioneer producers in the iron ranges of Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota, transportation constituted a major problem, for ore deposits lay miles inland from the Superior and Michigan lakeshores. Ultimately mine owners built railroads to bring ore to the lakeshore and docks to facilitate loading it into the ships that made the long journey south to the steel-making centers. Until the completion of the Sault Ste. Marie Canal in 1855, Marquette Range developers had to move ore by ship to the rapids, carry it overland around the rapids, and then reload it aboard ships bound for Lake



Iron Ore and Coal Transportation Pattern, 1935.

Erie. This expensive and time-consuming delivery system inspired the pioneer developers to ponder alternative ways of delivering their ore.

With the abundant limestone and vast hardwood forests of Michigan's Upper Peninsula at hand, it seemed

logical to many that the ore should be turned into pigs of charcoal iron close to the mines and then marketed. Until 1854 charcoal smelting dominated pig iron production in the United States. Blacksmiths and small foundries preferred the tough, malleable charcoal-smelted product to either anthra-

cite- or coke-smelted iron. With improvements the coal-coke process would soon gain precedence, but for the first quarter-century of Marquette Range production, the market demand for charcoal iron justified local smelters. Moreover, transportation linkages by rail and water between the Upper

Peninsula and the great coal beds south of the lakes needed further testing and development to make it clearly advantageous to ship ore long distances.

While the charcoal blast furnace industry around Lake Michigan's northern shores is insignificant compared to the large-scale, long-term development of coal and coke smelting, it is well worth noting as an example of an industry dependent on local natural resources. The first of the Upper Peninsula forges, built at Carp River near Negaunee, Michigan, produced bar iron in 1848. Nine years later the Pioneer Iron Company built a blast furnace at Negaunee, the first on the Upper Peninsula. Over the next half-century, 25 more charcoal-fueled blast furnaces came into production on the Upper Peninsula, while others were located at Green Bay and De Pere, Wisconsin, and at Elk Rapids, Boyne City, Leland, Frankfort, and Grand Haven on the Lake Michigan side of the lower peninsula. On the Lake Michigan side of the Upper Peninsula, furnaces and forges fired by charcoal assumed an important, albeit temporary, place in the economies of Menominee, Escanaba, Gladstone, Fayette, Manistique, and St. Ignace.

While all of these smelters experienced a rather checkered business life, beset by fluctuations in pig iron prices, ever-increasing competition with the large-scale coke-fired iron and steel plants on the southern lakeshores, and dwindling charcoal supplies, their longevity varied considerably. Escanaba's furnace operated for perhaps three years, 1872-1875, before being dismantled and moved to Pittsburgh. Ten to twenty years of operation was not unusual.

The Elk Rapids iron-smelting business (see site 129) of the Dexter and Noble lumbering company, whose productive years extended from 1872 to World War I, was perhaps the longest-lived of these. Depletion of local hardwoods led to its closing, an inevitability that optimists of 1887 had expected sometime after 1937. The ruins of one of the blast furnaces remain at Elk Rapids as a reminder of the years when lumbering and iron smelting produced great prosperity for the town.

The remarkably productive Fayette furnaces of the Jackson Iron Company deserve special attention here, for at the site of the company town of Fayette, now a Michigan State Park (site 92), visitors can learn much about the operations of nineteenth-century Lake Michigan charcoal smelters. Unlike the Dexter and Nobel furnace, which was primarily an adjunct to a very successful lumbering business, the Fayette furnaces were an adjunct to iron mining. Directors of the Jackson Iron Company of Negaunee, Michigan, founded in 1845, decided that the railroad line opened between Negaunee and Escanaba in 1864 would make a smelting business near Escanaba profitable. The company chose land about 20 miles east of Escanaba, a beautiful location on Little Bay De Noc with a good harbor, plentiful hardwoods, and an abundance of limestone. The ore could be shipped from company mines to Escanaba by rail, loaded aboard barges, and towed to the company furnaces at Fayette. The first of these went into blast on Christmas Day, 1867, and a second was added in 1869.

The company built a town adjacent to the furnace for its employees, com-

plete with a school, churches, opera house, company store, and residences. It forbade the sale of liquor in Fayette in an effort to maximize worker efficiency and preserve a good moral atmosphere in a very isolated community, a rule that led to the growth of saloons adjacent to company lands and to the arrival in harbor of floating bars and houses of prostitution on weekends and paydays. Fayette prospered from 1867 through the 1880s, but the hardwoods needed to make charcoal grew more and more scarce, and fuel costs rose. By 1887-1888 company workers were cutting hardwoods 15 to 20 miles from the furnaces to keep them in blast. The smelters literally denuded the Garden Peninsula. In December 1890, fuel costs having risen so high that operations did not pay, the Fayette furnaces produced their last pig iron. The second-largest charcoal iron producers in Michigan, the Fayette furnaces over the years smelted almost 230,000 tons, while all Upper Peninsula production totaled more than 1,500,000 tons. Harlan Hatcher estimates that the Upper Peninsula furnaces had consumed 330,000 acres of hardwood by 1900.

Although it was economical to produce pig iron close to the mines, smelting in a remote frontier area presented serious technical problems, and some companies shipped small quantities of ore to the smelting furnaces of western Pennsylvania and northeastern Ohio during the first decade of production. The opening of the Sault Ste. Marie Canal in 1855 helped to solve the problem of a water route for Marquette Range ores, and Marquette grew as an important ore-shipping port. By the outbreak of the Civil War, the lakes were earning a reputation as

The Jackson Iron Company furnace at Fayette, Michigan, in 1868. From the Collections of the Michigan State Archives, Department of State.



an economically feasible linkage for the resources of the two widely separated areas.

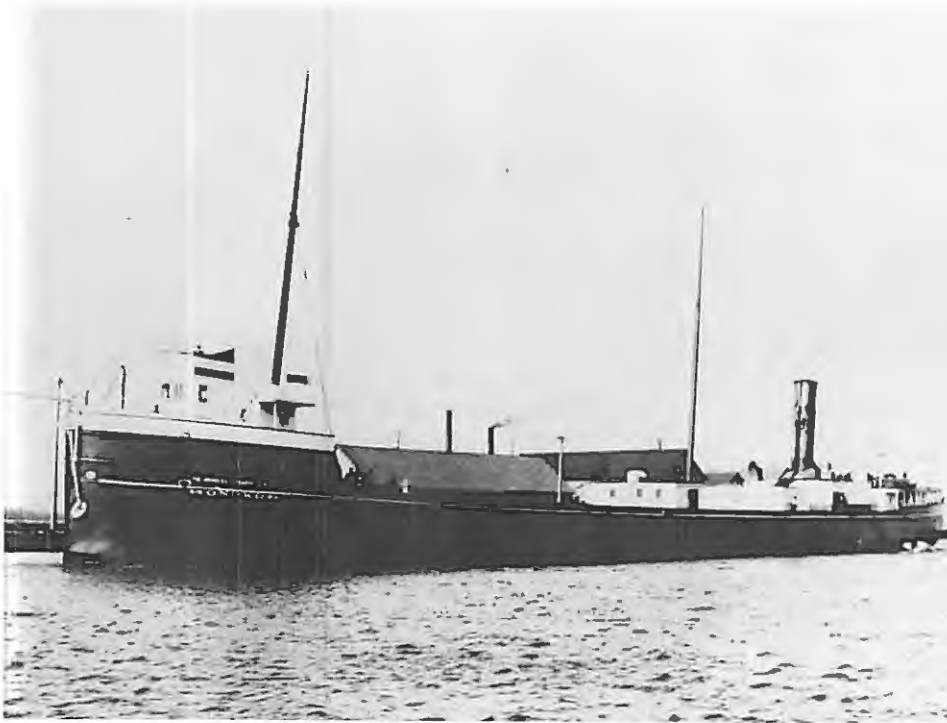
Lakes Superior, Huron, and Erie first bore oreloads to the blast furnaces, but by 1865 ore boats also sailed Lake Michigan's waters. A railroad line between Negaunee and Escanaba, completed in 1864 provided a new outlet for Marquette Range ores. Once Escanaba dock facilities were completed in 1865, ore boats loaded there as well as at Marquette. The shipments from Escanaba totaled about 31,000 tons in 1865. By 1887 the yearly tonnage passed the one million mark. Escanaba served as an outlet for Menominee Range ores beginning in 1877. Ships, boats, and scows carried relatively small quantities of these ores to Lake Michigan's charcoal iron smelters. After 1870 some ore went to Chicago's

growing steel industry, but the bulk of the tonnage went via Lake Michigan to Ohio ports. After Inland Steel developed a plant at East Chicago between 1901 and 1907 (see site 179) and U.S. Steel put its first furnace into blast in 1908 (see site 177), carriers laden with Minnesota, Michigan, and Wisconsin ores transported millions of tons over Lake Michigan every year. The traffic increased when Bethlehem Steel opened its Burns Harbor plant in 1964 (see site 176).

During the past 130 years, an array of ships have served as ore carriers, beginning with brigs and small, general-purpose steam-powered vessels. The great 1,000-foot supercarriers of the 1980s, with their automated loading and unloading devices, are the product of long experimentation and innovation in carrier design. In 1854

the steamers *Sam Ward*, *Napoleon*, and *Peninsula* brought a thousand tons of Marquette Range ore to Sault Ste. Marie. The laborious process involved bringing it aboard in wheelbarrows at Marquette on Lake Superior, unloading it at Sault St. Marie, transferring it to portage carts that ran on flat, horse-drawn cars over a strap railroad, and then reloading it on the Lake Huron side for transport to Cleveland. The canal eliminated the bottleneck at Sault St. Marie in 1855, and on August 17 the first ore carrier, the brig *Columbia*, passed through the locks bound for Cleveland and carrying 132 tons of red iron ore on deck.

Initially Marquette Range mining companies found shipping companies reluctant to carry ore because their ships were not made for that purpose. A dozen years after the opening of the



The Onoko. Courtesy Marine Room, Milwaukee Public Library.

Sault St. Marie Canal, with the market for ore steadily growing, the Cleveland Iron Mining Company, one of the larger Marquette producers, decided to invest in carriers. That was the beginning of what became a general practice—mining company ownership and operation of their ore fleets. Mine owners and shipbuilders soon recognized the need to design ships suitable for the ore trade. Wooden sailing ships, principally brigs and schooners, had revealed their limitations as carriers. They were difficult to load. Sailors had to scramble about in the hold with shovels, carefully balancing the heavy ore evenly in the wooden hulls. The maximum capacity was 300–400 tons. Masts, booms, and sails used precious space and got in the way.

The first of the new vessels and a forerunner of modern Great Lakes

freighters, the *R. J. Hackett*, slipped from the ways at Cleveland in 1869. A wooden vessel with pilot house forward, steam engine in the rear, and in between an unobstructed deck fitted with hatches for ore loading, the *Hackett* was 211 feet long and capable of carrying 1,200 tons. In the 1860s and 1870s, Great Lakes shipbuilders experimented with iron, turning out a number of steam-powered combined passenger and freight vessels that proved both practical and popular. The first of the iron freighters designed to carry ore, *The Onoko*, a 287-foot craft, was launched at Cleveland in 1882. Just two years later the first steel carrier, the *Spokane*, was launched. Bigger and better became the order of the day. At the close of the century, with the launching of the *Angeline*, ore freighter lengths

reached 435 feet, and carrying capacity more than 6,000 tons.

Meanwhile, Alexander McDougall, a captain with years of experience in building and sailing Great Lakes freighters, designed and built a more unusual ore carrier. The whalebacks or pig boats, as McDougall's steam-powered steel carriers came to be called, had a rounded deck and double bottoms. John D. Rockefeller, Sr., well aware of the need for improved carriers, gave financial backing to McDougall's American Steel Barge Company. Between 1889 and 1893 its Duluth yard launched 30 barges and steamers. More than 50 ultimately plied the Great Lakes, but the whalebacks enjoyed only brief success. Major faults included their roll in rough waters and loading difficulties at dockside. The only surviving example

In recent years the *James R. Barker*, a one thousand foot self-unloading supercarrier, has carried taconite pellets over the lakes to Cleveland. Courtesy Lake Carriers Association, Cleveland.



of a whaleback is the *Meteor*, formerly the *Frank Rockefeller*, now a floating museum at Superior, Wisconsin. The general design of the *Onoko* prevailed.

Innovations in ore carrier design and the volume of launchings followed the ups and downs of the business cycle and the demands of war. In the prosperous years of the early twentieth century, carrier capacity reached 10,700 tons. During World War I larger craft with 13,000-ton capacity joined the carrier fleet. During the twenties, when the new automobile industry and construction boomed, the *William G. Mather*, a carrier with a 13,500-ton capacity, came down the ways, destined, in Harlan Hatcher's words, to be "the last word in ship design, propulsion, navigation equipment and crew accommodations" for the next 17 years. The Great Depression of the 1930s deeply

affected Great Lakes shipping, and very few new carriers were launched. World War II brought a frenzy of construction, as the campaign to modernize the Great Lakes fleet got underway, including the construction (subsidized by the Maritime Commission) of carriers with capacities of 15,000 to 17,500 tons.

In the prosperous years following World War II and through the 1960s, as the U.S. economy responded to the stimulus of defense contracts and a booming national and international market for producer and consumer goods, American shipyards produced bigger and better carriers. At mid-century much of the Great Lakes ore fleet was old and in need of replacement. The *Roger Blough*, 850 feet in length, wider and longer than the largest ore carrier in use, went into service in 1972. The *Stewart J. Cort*, 1,000 feet long, and the *Presque Isle*,

of the same length but differently designed followed in quick succession. By 1980 the Great Lakes ore fleet included ten 1,000-foot self-unloading supercarriers.

A far cry in appearance from the brig *Columbia*, which passed through the Sault locks in 1855, these new vessels reflected the vast technological changes in loading and unloading methods that have accompanied improved ore carrier design over more than a century. Wheelbarrows and shovels have given way to highly sophisticated mechanical loading and unloading equipment. The turn-around time for ore-laden vessels is a matter of hours, and crew time ashore is very short. Ship crews tend to the highly skilled tasks of ship management and not to shoveling ore, as in the early years. Verse and ballad preserve the miseries of the past. Lake Michigan sailors disliked loading at Escanaba:

*Some sailors took shovels, while others
got spades
And some took wheelbarrows—each
man to his trade,
We looked like red devils, our fingers
got sore,
We cursed Escanaba and that damned
iron ore.†*

Cost studies show that the most effective use of the great new ships is in carrying ore exclusively, even if that means returning to Escanaba, Marquette, Duluth-Superior, and Two Harbors without cargo. From 1900 to 1950 ore boats commonly carried coal on the return voyage. The supercarriers operate more efficiently by discharging taconite pellets and returning, without waiting to load coal. Smaller, older freighters handle the coal trade. Ship power too has been revolutionized—from wind to coal-powered steam engines to diesel power. Speed, cost efficiency, and space have dictated these changes. Expansion of dock, harbor, river, and canal capacity went hand in hand with the growth in the size of carriers. The capacity of the Sault Ste. Marie canal locks, originally required by federal legislation to be at least 250 feet in length and 60 in width, measured 1,200 by 110 feet at the opening of the renovated Poe Lock in 1969.

The iron and steel industry made the United States an industrially powerful nation with a high living standard, but the American people have paid a high price in alteration of the natural environment. River and

†Reprinted by permission of the publishers from *Ballads and Songs of the Shanty-Boy* by Franz Rickaby, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, copyright 1926 by the President and Fellows of Harvard College, © renewed 1954 by Lillian Rickaby Dykstra.

harbor improvements have seriously disturbed Lake Michigan fish and wild-life habitats. In building steel plants, large areas of sand dunes in the Gary-East Chicago-Burns Harbor area were leveled, and large areas of wetlands, natural strainers of runoff from lands adjacent to the lake, were filled in. The aesthetics of the shoreline suffered. Steel plants and their worker populations clustered at Gary and East Chicago, adding human and industrial pollutants to lake waters. Until recently, the ore carriers discharged garbage and human and fuel wastes as they plied Lake Michigan.

An excellent place to ponder the wisdom of it all is at the Indiana Dunes National Lakeshore in the Michigan City-Burns Harbor-Gary area (site 175). At Michigan City the little pocket of dune land supporting a variety of trees and flora includes a beautiful, if rather small, expanse of dune beach. At the lakeshore the recently built Michigan City power plant comes starkly into view, an abrupt reminder that Lake Michigan's waters are essential for power production. At the Burns Harbor and Gary segments of the lakeshore, peaceful natural islands in the midst of steel production, the sounds and smells of heavy industry keep twentieth-century realities in mind.

At Iron Mountain, (see site 85) heart of the Menominee Range, once so productive of high-grade iron ore, a scarred landscape of abandoned mines lies all around. The old mines have closed, and ore production now depends on lean ores that must be refined into concentrated pellets before shipment. The Gogebic ceased production in 1967, and the high-grade ores of the Mesabi have long since

been exhausted. Refinement of the leaner taconite is the basis of the Minnesota iron-mining industry.

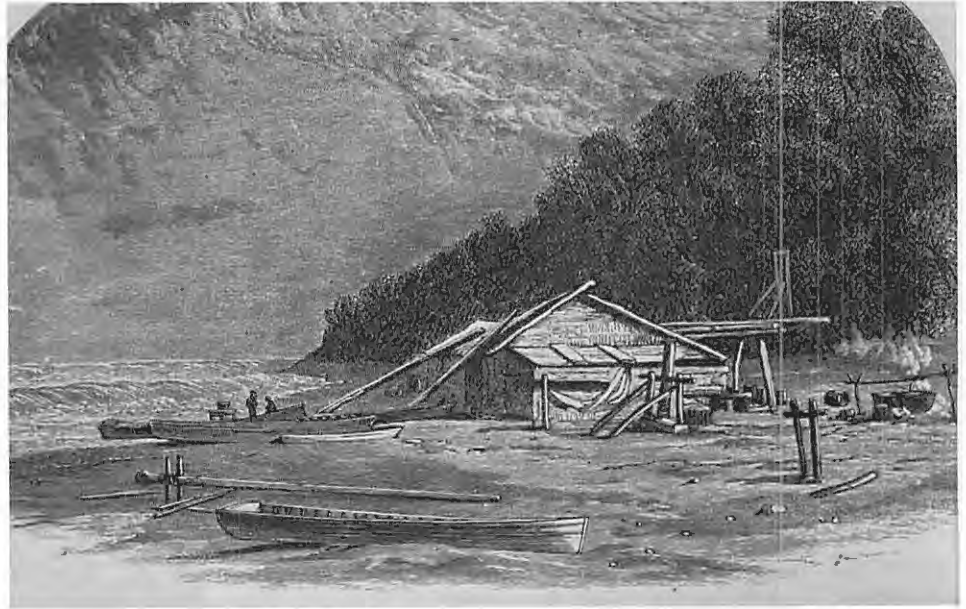
The great ore carriers make an impressive sight as they glide south through the Straits of Mackinac to the Indiana steel mills or sit docked for the winter in Milwaukee harbor. Unless the iron and steel industry experiences drastic changes, they will continue to do so for many decades. Blast furnaces close to the ore source, an idea that seemed so logical to early nineteenth-century Michigan mining companies, may once again be tried, using western coal shipped by unit trains. The possibility intrigues some of the industry's leaders.

Fayette State Park is an outstanding historical site on the Michigan Upper Peninsula for those interested in the northern shore's charcoal-fired blast furnaces (site 92). At Norway and Iron Mountain the reminders of the Menominee Range's most productive years are highly visible (sites 84-85). At Escanaba (site 81), ore carriers still load their cargoes. During the winter months the great carriers of the U.S. Steel Corporation are at dock in Milwaukee's inner harbor (see site 23). Although the steel plants in the Burns Harbor-Gary-East Chicago area do not permit visitors, one can get an excellent view of them from Interstate 90, the Indiana Toll Road.

The Lake and the Fish

They sound like big fish stories, those observations of the seventeenth-century Jesuit priests. Instructed to record natural phenomena and all they could learn about Indian life and culture for the benefit of French officials, the black robes provided posterity with the best and largest remaining body of knowledge about the wilderness possessions of New France. From their writings Lake Michigan emerges as a clear, sparkling lake, abounding in fish, with unbelievably large specimens of whitefish, sturgeon, and trout. For the Indians, who fished with spears, nets, and weirs, the lake's bounty supplied a major part of their food. Explorers and fur traders also relied on lake fish. These early users made little impact on the fish population or on the fish habitat, for they were relatively few in number and the fish were legion.

When the permanent settlers of the 1830s fell heir to Lake Michigan's wealth, some recognized the fisheries as a potential gold mine, provided that they could process and market salted fish. Consider the experiences of Captain J. V. Edwards and Jacob Conroe in 1836. A test seining between Two Rivers and Manitowoc, Wisconsin, netted 10 barrels of fish (2,000 pounds)—mostly whitefish. They enthusiastically decided to establish a fishing business at Two Rivers. John P. Clark of Detroit soon joined them. He used a ship to collect fish from a number of Lake Michigan stations and deliver them to the Detroit market. Edwards and Clark formed a partnership that for some



Fishing station probably at Kenosha, Wisconsin, in the 1850s. Courtesy State Historical Society of Wisconsin. WHI(X3)11000

years caught, salted, and packed 2,000 barrels of fish annually. Detroit did not long remain the major market for the Lake Michigan catch.

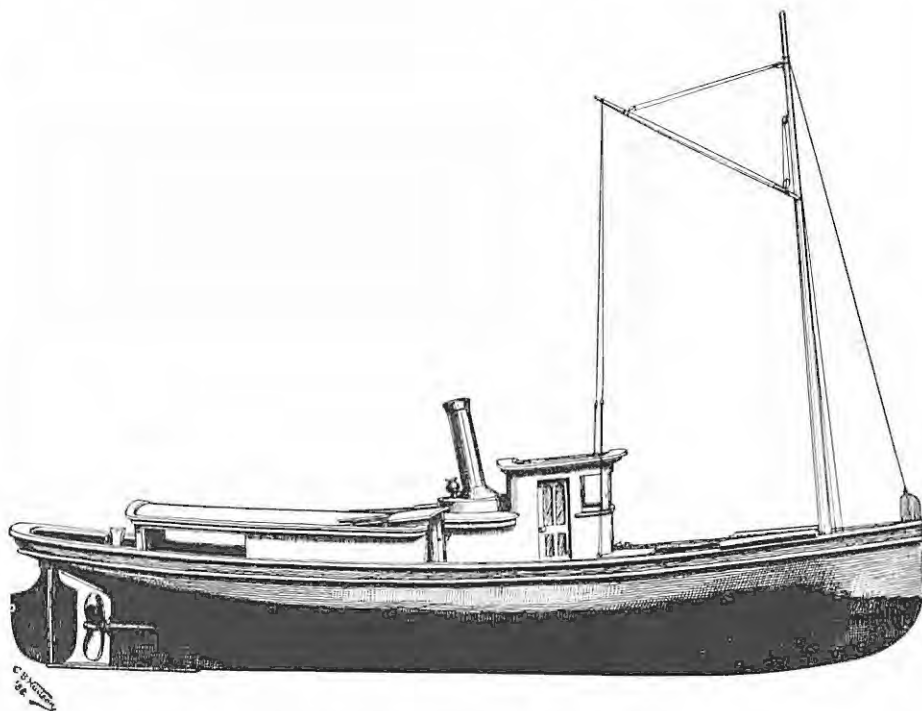
Once the depression of the late 1830s had run its course, the lower Lake Michigan region attracted settlers by the thousands (see "A Heterogeneous People"). During the 1850s a vastly expanded local market for fish stimulated commercial fishing along the southern and western lakeshores. Historians of this area stress the seemingly endless wealth of whitefish, the favored species for local consumption, and the importance of local fishing industries during the first few decades of development. In the 1860s

and 1870s, fishermen sent more and more of their catches to wholesalers in Milwaukee and particularly Chicago, already the hub of an expanding railroad network. There, fish wholesalers did a lively business, sending Lake Michigan whitefish by rail to the growing communities in the Midwest. They handled about 7.5 million pounds in 1872. Three years later, according to the U.S. Commission of Fish and Fisheries, their wholesale receipts reached 12 million pounds, primarily from Lake Michigan fishing stations. Market demand far exceeded supply. Fishermen responded to that demand. In 1880 they took a recorded 23 million pounds from Lake Michigan, and

there is good reason to believe that the figure is conservative. The abundant and highly prized whitefish accounted for more than half the catch. Sturgeon, herring, and trout stood in second, third, and fourth places.

Fortunately the need to redraft U.S.-Canadian fishing agreements led the U.S. Commissioner of Fish and Fisheries to call in 1885 for a careful study of the Great Lakes fisheries. They had grown tremendously, he noted, since 1880 in order to supply the needs of a rapidly expanding American population, particularly in the West. The number of people employed in the fisheries on Lake Michigan more than doubled between 1880 and 1885, reaching a total of 3,400 in the latter year. In that same five-year period, the value of equipment used in the fisheries more than tripled to nearly \$1.8 million. The study, the first such "exhaustive investigation," provides a clear picture of Lake Michigan's fishing industry after 30 years of steadily intensifying commercial development.

Although the fisheries in 1885 were scattered all along the lakeshore, the most important and productive lay along the northern shores near the Beaver Islands and in Green Bay, in distinct contrast to the early decades, when fishermen operated mainly on the southern and western shores. The ethnic origins of the fishermen had also changed. Initially Indians and American-born whites were a majority. By 1885, the commissioner noted, the industry was practically in the hands of "foreigners." These were principally Germans, Scandinavians, Irish, and French Canadians, but Dutch and Poles also stood in the ranks of the fishermen.



Gill Net Steamer from U.S. Commission of Fish and Fisheries, Report of the Commissioner for 1887.

Methods of fishing on Lake Michigan also showed a marked change from earlier decades, when fishermen using various types of nets and sailboats operated relatively close to shore. The first gill-net steamers came into use on Lake Michigan in 1869, when the *Kittie Gaylord* of Washington Island and the *Pottawatomie*, owned by a fisherman near Green Bay, began netting whitefish. Thirty steamers operated in 1880. Five years later the number stood at 82. While the average sailboat carried 60 to 100 gill nets, steamers fished with several times as many. The gill net, developed and used first by Indians, trapped fish by their gills when, after swimming into it, they tried to back out. The mesh size deter-

mined the size of the fish caught. In 1885 gill nets found more widespread use on Lake Michigan than anywhere else on the Great Lakes. The use of steamers to set and lift the nets greatly enhanced the fisherman's catch because of the quantity of nets the boats carried and their ability to operate farther from shore than sailing craft. The 1885 report noted that the nets set by fishermen on opposite sides "nearly meet at the center."

Lake Michigan's fishermen also used pound nets from the mid 1850s on. These were used first in Green Bay, whence they spread all around the lake. Useful relatively close to shore, the nets are set at 80 feet or less to lead fish into a crib or pot from which

they have little chance of escaping. Poles driven into the lake bottom hold the nets in place.

Around much of the lake the fishing season lasted from spring through November, but for many years an extensive ice fishery made Green Bay virtually a year-round fishing ground. Prospering especially between 1860 and 1880, Green Bay's winter fishermen built hundreds of shanties on the ice and lived there most of the time. Fish dealers and merchants drove out to collect the catch and to sell supplies. By 1885, however, Green Bay's winter fishery was in decline.

Most of Lake Michigan's catch in 1885 went to Chicago wholesalers, who arranged with lake steamship lines and railroads for speedy delivery of the catch, 75 percent of which went to market fresh. Only fishermen remote from transportation salted or smoked it because fresh fish brought much higher prices. At Escanaba, Fairport, Sturgeon Bay, Petoskey, and Traverse City, refrigerator plants constructed to handle the surplus summer catch preserved the overage for marketing in winter, when prices justified doing so.

Although the screw-propelled gill-net steamers operating mainly out of Milwaukee, Sheboygan, Manistique, Frankfort, Charlevoix, Grand Haven, and St. Joseph made very large catches, they were a minority among Lake Michigan fishing craft in 1885.

All told, 1,402 fishing boats operated on Lake Michigan in that year. Of these, 1,320 were propelled by sail or oar. Wind-powered vessels operating gill nets included Mackinaw boats, Huron boats, and Norwegian boats. The last were a Lake Michigan adaptation of the fishing boats used in Nor-

way, the favorite of Scandinavian fishermen but scorned by American fishermen, who found them too heavy, unwieldy, and hard to row in calm weather. Pound-net fishermen used other kinds of boats, different from the sailing craft that ventured far onto the lake. These included the pound-net sailboat for lifting and carrying the catch to shore, ore-propelled pound-net dinghies, and decked stake boats, used to install and remove the nets.

The marketing organization of the Lake Michigan fishing industry in 1885 encompassed both small local operators and large concerns based in Chicago and Detroit. Some of the latter were wholesalers who had expanded their original marketing operations to include fishing, collecting the catch from independent fishermen, and processing the catch. In 1885 A. Booth and Sons of Chicago had a substantial capital investment in gill-net steamers, nets, sailboats, express steamers to move the fresh catch swiftly to Chicago, and refrigeration plants along the northern shore to freeze portions of the summer catch for the winter market. At the same time, smaller dealers in Green Bay, Traverse City, Sturgeon Bay, and Milwaukee also collected and marketed fish.

Lake Michigan's fish and fish products found ready buyers throughout the East, Midwest, and West and even overseas. The sturgeon, once regarded as a trash fish that should be dumped on beaches to rot, came into its own, prized for caviar and as a source of isinglass. These products were marketed both in the United States and in Europe. On the local scene peddlers carried fresh fish through the streets of Milwaukee and Chicago and throughout the Wisconsin countryside.

At the other extreme, railroad refrigerator cars transported the catch thousands of miles.

The Lake Michigan fisheries constituted a booming business in the 1880s, but even then, scarcely 30 years after the beginnings of intensive commercial fishing, all was not well. The whitefish population grew smaller and smaller. Once abundant in the southern part of the lake, the catch dwindled there and the great netloads came from the northern shores. Even there fishermen reported declines in Green Bay and at Washington Island. This downward trend, which had probably set in before 1885, continued steadily. Early on, fishermen had advocated stocking the lake to reverse the decline, and both state and federal fish commissions had responded. Lake Michigan received almost 69 million artificially propagated whitefish between 1875 and 1885 alone. Yet the whitefish catch continued to drop, from 6.5 million pounds in 1885 to less than three-quarters of a million pounds in 1940.

The whitefish problem in 1885 was just the tip of the iceberg. Nevertheless, very intensive commercial fishing continued. As the whitefish declined, trout and herring became the mainstays. The trout yield remained reasonably constant until 1940, but the herring catch fluctuated wildly, leading some observers to wonder if Lake Michigan was experiencing the same overfishing that had led to the collapse of the herring fishery on Lake Erie. The sturgeon catch declined sharply early in the twentieth century, dropped into the thousands of pounds by the 1920s, and vanished from the statistics in the 1930s.

In 1908 Lake Michigan's commercial



Gill nets drying in the sun at Fishtown, Leland, Michigan. Photo by Margaret Bogue.

catch surpassed all previous years of record—47 million pounds. Thereafter it gradually declined, averaging 23 million pounds from 1911 to 1946, and fishermen called for the application of their time-honored formula of accelerated stocking programs. Not until 1967 did Lake Michigan's fish yield surpass the 1908 record, when it reached 59 million pounds. The contrast in the quality of the catch between 1908 and 1967 was startling. In 1908 herring and trout dominated, with whitefish and sturgeon running a poor third and fourth. Alewives made up 70 percent of the 1967 catch, and chubs 15 percent. By then the lake's commercial fishing industry had undergone an utter transformation, passing through decline and virtual ruin from the sea lamprey into an era of strict regulation and massive efforts to save something from the debacle.

Why did decline and devastation occur? While it is impossible to determine the precise relative importance of the many reasons for the decline, the contributing factors are clear. They all fit under the general umbrella of human failure to use wisely the great natural resource the lake provided. Prevailing nineteenth- and twentieth-century attitudes toward natural resources, individual economic rights, and government regulation underlay that failure. Americans generally believed that nature's bounty should be used and that there was no danger of exhausting it. They could not foresee the population explosion of the mid-twentieth century; nor did they believe in governmental control of resource use. Rather, they subscribed to the idea that governments should adopt policies that helped people use natural wealth. Not until the turn of the twen-



Commercial fishing on Lake Michigan.
 Photo by Jean Arendt. Courtesy State
 Historical Society of Wisconsin.
 WHi(X3)40552

tieth century did the handful of people concerned about the overexploitation of natural wealth begin to gain public support.

Against this backdrop of prevailing attitudes, the lands surrounding Lake Michigan changed from a wilderness into a heavily populated, agriculturally and industrially developed area. The lake was so big that few thought about damaging water quality, and it became a general dumping ground. The villages, towns, and cities used it as both a source of drinking water and a sewage-disposal system.

Chicago, the lake's largest and fastest-growing population center, experi-

enced the inevitable crisis first, for it used the Chicago River as a sewer. Water-borne illnesses afflicted the population repeatedly. The city moved its water intake system beyond the sewage-laden water at the mouth of the Chicago River in 1867, and in 1871 it took the first step in a long campaign to keep sewage out of the lake by reversing the flow of the Chicago River into the Des Plaines, sending the filthy, polluted, ill-smelling mass down into the Illinois River and using Lake Michigan's water to create a flush. The lake benefited, and the downriver communities suffered. The fish, which had long since left the fertile, oxygen-scarce waters near the mouth of the Chicago River, returned by the mid-seventies in sufficient numbers to make commercial fishing there possible in 1875. At the same time, the U.S. Commissioner of Fisheries suspected Chicago's sewage of spoiling fishing as far north as Evanston.

Ultimately the flow of a second river, the Grand Calumet, was reversed to help keep metropolitan Chicago's wastes out of the lake. Other Lake Michigan communities did not have the alternative of reversing river flow, for none had a drainage divide so close to the shore, and for decades untreated sewage went directly into the lake and into the streams and rivers that fed it. Although much has been done to eliminate sewage pollution, the problem still exists.

Late nineteenth-century fishermen of northern Lake Michigan blamed the lumbering industry for spoiling the fisheries. They complained chiefly that sawmill waste of all kinds went into streams and lakes, ruining spawning grounds and interfering with pound-net operations. The river drives so

common along the northern shores (see "Empire in Pine") must also have had a very disruptive influence on fish. Unquestionably the massive forest fires that destroyed millions of acres of timber in Michigan and Wisconsin adversely affected the fish habitat. Fish died in the streams from heat, and the runoff from burned-over areas tainted the water with lye. Waste from the satellite industries of lumbering, particularly chemical plants, deteriorated water quality, as did the wastewater from the paper mills that succeeded the big cut, first in the Fox River Valley and later especially in the Grand and Menominee river valleys. One wonders about the impact of the acrid palls of smoke that accompanied charcoal production in northern lake lime production and iron-smelting centers. Urban industrial wastes, probably not very important in the mid-nineteenth century, when industry along the western and southern shore was relatively small, a century later had become such serious health hazards that the national government stepped into air and water pollution control.

Agricultural development contributed to changes in the lake environment. Millions of square miles of Illinois, Wisconsin, and Michigan land adjacent to the lakeshore, once covered by natural vegetation, gave way to plow and axe in the last half of the nineteenth century. While farming in the cutover, a very unsuccessful experiment in many areas, created temporary erosion and contributed to changing the fish habitat, in the long run its influence was negligible compared to that of successful commercial farms. From them the lake has received a continuous influx of soil particles, pesticides, and fertilizer nu-

trients. Especially since World War II, with the development of "sophisticated" chemical fertilizers, weed killers, and pesticides, lake water quality has suffered.

Lake Michigan's nineteenth-century community developers believed in improving on nature's bounty by dredging harbors and rivers to make cities and towns accessible to shipping and, more recently, to alter shorelines to accommodate industry, park development, and the construction of marinas. As harbors silted up and as ships grew in size over the past century, the dredging went on and goes on. In the process, the lakeshore was markedly changed by the filling in of marshes and wetlands. In the case of the southern Indiana shoreline, drainage and the removal of dunes accompanied industrial growth on a massive scale (see site 177). For years little thought was given to the placement of dredged materials, which often contained settled human, agricultural, and industrial wastes that should not have returned to the lake. Consequently they often went back into the water. Currently environmental impact is studied in an effort to prevent this from happening.

Moreover, the thousands of boats and ships that plied Lake Michigan threw everything unwanted overboard. A bizarre incident in July 1832 illustrated one gruesome dimension of "everything." General Winfield Scott arrived at Chicago with a steamboat load of soldiers sent west to help subdue Black Hawk. Cholera raged aboard the *Sheldon Thompson*, and while it was at anchor in the open lake near Fort Dearborn on the night of July 10, three more soldiers died. They were thrown overboard. Now the Environmental Protection Agency reg-

ulates the disposal of ship wastes to prevent damage to water quality. After the advent of gasoline and diesel engines, decades passed before federal authorities required emission controls. The Ann Arbor Railroad Company in 1893 installed pipes in the Frankfort Harbor designed to release oil on turbulent waters and facilitate car-ferry docking. Fortunately the lake filled the pipes with sand.

The massive disruption of the environment incidental to the development of the Lake Michigan watershed had an impact on fish habitat, especially in spawning streams and close to shoreline. Exactly what part it played in the decline of original fish populations will never be known, because the information needed for such an assessment is lacking.

Overfishing may well explain the fate of Lake Michigan's whitefish and sturgeon. U.S. Bureau of Fisheries reports repeatedly cited the zeal of the fishermen for large catches and the lack of effective state regulation as major problems. While the states did some minor regulating, fishermen did not take the laws seriously, and enforcing officials became increasingly lax as fishing declined. The fishermen contended that restocking programs, if pursued on a large enough scale, would solve the problem. Meanwhile, they tried to compensate for dwindling catches with technology. Around 1900 gill-net steamers began using steam-powered gill-net lifters, devices that enabled crews to handle more nets at greater depths. Later, gasoline- and diesel-powered boats and net lifters replaced steam. A naphtha-powered boat engine, introduced in 1899, enabled sailboats to more than double the number of nets they



Lifting the catch from the net. Milwaukee Journal photo. Courtesy State Historical Society of Wisconsin. WHi(X3)39662

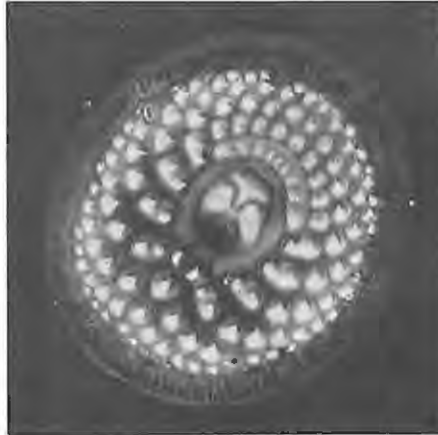
fished. Finer-meshed nets also helped compensate for dwindling fish stocks. The problem became a vicious cycle: the catch dwindled, fishermen pressed for restocking, more efficient fishing techniques were introduced, and the catch dwindled further.

While from the 1870s to the 1930s, fishermen and scientific investigators agreed that fish populations were declining, they differed on the solution to the problem. Fishermen feared effective regulation, and not until the Great Depression did they become more receptive to the idea of uniform restrictions in addition to restocking programs for the Great Lakes. John Van Oosten, head of the U.S. Bureau of Fisheries investigation of Great Lakes fisheries, expressed the bureau's point of view in 1935. The reasons for

declining fish populations were, he stated, overfishing, small nets that destroyed immature fish, the fishermen's deliberate efforts to exterminate rough fish, fishing in spawning grounds, and water pollution. He advocated uniform regulation of mesh size and net depth, limitation of the size of the catch, closing the spawning seasons, and the designation of closed areas.

Regulation of the Great Lakes fisheries presented enormous problems. Government control was unpopular. Moreover, if it was to be effective, all the states, the federal government, the province of Ontario, and the Canadian government needed to cooperate. The long-recognized need for cooperation led to conference after conference and voluminous reports and recommendations. Between 1883 and 1938 21 conferences and meetings convened for the specific purpose of addressing the problems of the Great Lakes fisheries, attended at times by representatives of the Great Lakes states, at times by federal and state officials, and at times by federal, state, and Ontario provincial representatives. All emphasized the need for uniform controls but could find no way to achieve this goal. An international treaty seemed to be the best method, but for one to be negotiated, the states would have to cede to the United States their sovereign rights to Great Lakes waters. That they would not do.

Interstate compacts emerged as another possibility. But compacts were not binding upon the states, and the states simply refused to cooperate with each other. As fishery problems became more critical in the 1920s and 1930s, conferences and meetings multiplied. They were held in all but three years between 1927 and 1938. Finally,



Lamprey mouth. Courtesy Wisconsin Department of Natural Resources.

in 1940, the governments of the United States and Canada appointed, for the third time (the first was in 1893 and the second in 1908), a joint body to study the problems of the Great Lakes fisheries and to make recommendations.

Time was running out, for already the sea lamprey, long found in Lake Ontario, had made its way into Lake Huron (1932), Lake Michigan (1934), and Lake Superior (1938). Descended from species that date back about 250 million years, a jawless fish with an eel-like body and a mouth that is a sucking disc lined with teeth, the sea lamprey came into the Great Lakes either via the St. Lawrence River, Lake Ontario, and the Welland Canal, or via the Hudson River and Erie Canal. This parasitic fish eats by attaching itself to a fish and feeding at will on its blood. In Lake Michigan it first attacked the lake trout. The catch dropped from 5,500,000 pounds in 1945 to 53,700 pounds five years later. Between 1950 and 1955 the whitefish catch plum-

meted from 2,470,000 pounds to 391,000 pounds. All important commercial species fell prey to the lamprey. In the fall of 1953 their savage attack on the fish of Green Bay left dead and dying fish littering the surface of the water. Commercial fishing virtually ceased.

In the face of disaster, state, federal, and Canadian governmental officials cooperated as never before. The United States and Canada joined forces in forming the Great Lakes Sea Lamprey Committee in 1946 and the Great Lakes Fishery Commission in 1955. Scientists pooled their research efforts to establish accurate information on the lamprey life cycle and behavior and discover the best method of control. They eventually decided that the most vulnerable point in the life cycle was the time when lampreys spawned in streams.

Barriers, especially electromechanical barriers, proved somewhat effective, but a lamprepicide, TFM (3-trifluoromethyl-4-nitrophenol), proved the most successful treatment for spawning streams. After researchers had tried and eliminated some 6,000 other compounds, it was discovered in 1958 at the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service's Hammond Bay Biological Station. Stream treatment began on Lake Superior, where the largest remaining trout populations lived. Successful in retarding the sea lamprey there, in 1960 the Great Lakes Fishery Commission began treatment of northern Lake Michigan. Thirteen years later almost all of Lake Michigan's streams had been treated once. The lamprey remains a menace, requiring constant vigilance and appropriate treatment.

The lamprey crisis forced the Great Lakes states to rethink fishery policies.



Salmon catch, Lake Michigan. Courtesy Wisconsin Department of Natural Resources.

In the absence of the trout, Lake Michigan's major natural predator fish, the alewife, a small, sardinelike fish used extensively for commercial pet food (see site 72), multiplied very rapidly. With the balance of species totally disturbed, the Great Lakes states acted. Already embarked on a trout restocking program, Michigan opted in 1965 to introduce salmon, another predator, and at the same time to manage the state fisheries primarily for the benefit of recreational fishermen. Coho stocking began in 1966; chinook stocking in 1967. Other salmon species were introduced as well. Quite by accident the pink salmon, intended for Hudson Bay, was introduced into Lake Superior in 1955.

Regulatory and stocking policies

adopted by Michigan, Indiana, Illinois, and Wisconsin since 1965 have been a boon to sportsmen and something of a thorn in the side of commercial fishermen. Michigan restricted commercial fishing sharply, and so did Illinois. Indiana was less restrictive, and Wisconsin in the mid-1970s opted for a policy combining sport and commercial fishing. For commercial fishing, all four of the states utilize fish quotas, closure by species (salmon, for example, are reserved for sport fishing), limited entry, restrictions on fish length and on net types and mesh size, and geographic limitations. Commercial fishermen resisted, but were no match for the powerful sport-fishing lobbies. States opted for the type of fishing that they considered most productive of income to their residents.

Fishing regulations have led to many a court battle. Commercial fishermen complain that favoritism toward sport fishing deprives them of a living, and some who dislike state regulations break the law. In the fall of 1983, the Wisconsin Department of Natural Resources estimated that commercial fishermen illegally take about a million pounds of fish, chiefly trout, from Wisconsin's Lake Michigan waters every year. Recently, aggrieved Door County, Wisconsin, fishermen apprehended by the Department of Natural Resources found a champion in a local judge, who spoke of them as "good, God-fearing people. It's pretty hard to jump on people like that. They read their Bible and that's where they get their law from. They take it literally. They firmly believe in a God-given right to take the fish."

Fishing regulations fly in the face of the unlimited fishing rights guaran-

teed to Indian peoples forever in nineteenth-century treaties with the federal government. The courts have often upheld treaty rights, arousing the ire of non-Indian sport and commercial fishermen and departments of natural resources. Some of the latter have tried to negotiate special quotas with Indian groups to balance treaty rights and contemporary conservation goals.

One hundred and thirty years after J. V. Edwards and Jacob Conroe netted 2,000 pounds of fish, in a single test seining in 1836, Lake Michigan's commercial fishermen harvested 48,400,000 pounds, 80 percent of which consisted of alewives. But the whitefish, under careful management, made a comeback from the lamprey devastation. In 1976 commercial fishermen caught more than 4 million pounds of whitefish in Lake Michigan. The future of the fisheries depends on careful management with due regard for a balance of species, limited catches, and lamprey control. The health of the lake, the fish, and the people depends on very careful control of all forms of pollution, including the more recent containments—DDT, mercury, arsenic, PCBs, and dioxin.

All around Lake Michigan, marinas for sport-fishing craft are much in evidence. They make a strikingly beautiful sight, nowhere more so, perhaps, than the marina at Fish Creek, Wisconsin, on the Door Peninsula. Locations reflecting the history of commercial fishing include Fishtown at Leland, Michigan (see site 138), Rogers Street Fishing Village at Two Rivers, Wisconsin (see site 37), and the Fishing Village Museum at Washington Island (see site 55). To see how a family with a long tradition as Lake Michigan com-

mercial fishermen has adapted to change, visit the Smith Brothers Restaurant in Port Washington, Wisconsin (site 26). In the wake of the decline of commercial fishing and the rise of sport fishing, the family has gone into the restaurant and motel industry.

To observe the work of fish hatcheries involved in restocking programs, visit the Thompson State Fish Hatchery, east of Manistique (site 94), the Charlevoix Great Lakes Fisheries Station (see site 126), or the Platte River State Anadromous Fish Hatchery near

Benzonia, Michigan (site 145). To gain a fuller understanding of Michigan's Great Lakes fishery policies, visit the Interpretive Center at the Wolf Lake State Fish Hatchery (site 166).

Cities and Towns

Around the shores of Lake Michigan, from the bustling, heavily peopled, industrial southern shore to the quiet, wooded northern shores lie a host of cities, towns, and villages, each with its individual character and its particular reasons for being. These population centers are larger and more numerous along the southern third of the lakeshore. North beyond Milwaukee and Muskegon, the intervals of countryside and shoreline between them grow and their size diminishes irregularly until, in the great northern arc from Escanaba to Traverse City, no other cities are found the size of these two, each with approximately 15,000 people. In the 340-mile shoreline area lie only six cities with a population of more than 1,000.

On the southern and western shores, towns and cities are far more numerous and far larger than those on the northern and eastern sides of the lake. The difference stems in large measure from the size and kinds of markets—local, national, and international—they provide with goods and services. Western and southern Lake Michigan communities have far larger hinterlands; the northern and eastern shore communities have a smaller and less heavily populated land area at their back doors. They are lake-locked, the northern shore by Lake Superior and the lower peninsula by Lakes Huron, St. Clair, and Erie on the east.

Although the distribution of villages, towns, and cities does not fit into simple, tidy packages either geographically or numerically, nevertheless, re-



*Industry in Milwaukee's Menominee Valley from the 16th Street Bridge.
Photo by Margaret Bogue.*

gional city types are apparent. Lake Michigan's industrial area from Burns Harbor west to Chicago and north through Milwaukee is the most heavily populated segment of the lakeshore, an important part of the midwestern industrial region. Manufacturing is the dominant economic activity, with heavy emphasis on primary metals and fabricated metal products. Chicago, Waukegan, Racine, Kenosha, Milwaukee, and Hammond are the more venerable cities in the industrial core. With the exception of Hammond, they evolved into manufacturing centers over a considerable time span. By contrast, Cudahy, South Milwaukee, Whit-

ing, East Chicago, and Gary are newer, dating from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, when they were founded specifically as manufacturing centers. Burns Harbor, Indiana, and the city of Oak Creek, Wisconsin, also founded for industrial purposes, date from the 1950s.

Both Chicago and Milwaukee developed with adjacent industrial communities lying south of their metropolitan centers and with upper-middle- and upper-class suburbs lying to the north. The direction of industrial spread in large measure reflected the convenience and cost advantages of real estate and of lake, river, highway,

and railroad transportation. The topography of the lakeshore, including harbor potential, also greatly influenced these thrusts. The development of commuter lines north from metropolitan centers spurred north shore suburban developments. Evanston, Wilmette, Kenilworth, Winnetka, Glencoe, Highland Park, and Lake Forest developed as Chicago's well-to-do residential suburbs; Shorewood, Whitefish Bay, Fox Point, and Bayside as Milwaukee's. A panorama of living environments varying according to income and occupation unfolds between Burns Harbor, Indiana, and Lake Forest, Illinois, and between Oak Creek and Bayside, Wisconsin. From south to north lie industrial plants and worker homes; next, the business and financial districts of these cities; and then the well-to-do north shore suburban residential communities, where professionals, managers, and business owners live.

Manufacturing plays an important role in the economy of many Lake Michigan towns other than those found in the industrial core. On the western shore, in every city from Port Washington north to Sturgeon Bay, and from the city of Green Bay to Escanaba, industry is quite significant for town and city vitality. Sheboygan, Kohler, Manitowoc, Two Rivers, Sturgeon Bay, Green Bay, Marinette, Menominee, and Escanaba are the most heavily industrialized. Manistique is the only city along the northern shore with a significant industrial component.

On the eastern shore, industry is prominent in most cities lying between Michigan City and Muskegon, where a wide variety of fabricated metal products and heavy equipment

are produced. North of Muskegon, industry gradually declines in importance. Ludington, Manistee, Frankfort, Traverse City, Elk Rapids, Charlevoix, and Petoskey all have industry in varying degrees, but the shoreline from Petoskey to Manistique on the northern shore is virtually devoid of manufacturing establishments. Here, villages and towns depend heavily on recreation and tourism, based primarily on Lake Michigan's natural beauty and the opportunities it offers for sport fishing, boating, and swimming. Nor have northern Lake Michigan's towns neglected to emphasize the area's rich history. The accelerated development of historic sites at Mackinaw City, Mackinac Island, and St. Ignace grew out of the stimulus to tourist and vacation business given by the automobile, good roads, and the Mackinac bridge.

Lake Michigan fosters great extremes in community types, from Gary, an almost purely industrial city on the southern shore, to Fish Creek and Ephraim on the Door Peninsula of Wisconsin, two villages of almost exclusively recreational character. Most of its villages, cities, and towns rest on more diversified economic activity, however. Chicago (see site 1), population 2,997,000 in 1982, is the most complex city of all. Strategically located at the base of the lake's southern thrust, it is the hub of a national transportation system and serves as a center for distribution, trade, commerce, and finance and as home base for national and international corporations. It offers all manner of services. Its cultural and educational institutions, lakefront setting, and national accessibility attract convention groups and visitors in droves. The city's lead-

ers over the years capitalized on its location by developing a beautiful lakefront with parks and architecturally impressive buildings. Nevertheless, manufacturing is the principal economic activity. Chicago serves a vast regional, national, and international market.

Milwaukee (see site 23), population 636,200, ranks as the second most complex of Lake Michigan's cities, a manufacturing city that performs most of the same trade, service, and educational and cultural functions as Chicago for a smaller regional, national, and international market. Green Bay, (see site 67) third-largest of the economically diversified Lake Michigan cities and considerably smaller (population 88,000) than the big two, is an industrial city, a county seat, a religious and educational center, and the focus of wholesale distribution, retail trade, and a wide range of services for northeastern Wisconsin and the Upper Peninsula.

Most of Lake Michigan's cities in the medium population category (5,000–50,000), from Michigan City northward on the eastern shore and from Port Washington north on the western shore, combine a variety of services, manufacturing, and trade with a lively recreation industry. The smaller villages, towns, and cities survive on a less complete roster of income-producing activities. The ways each have combined diversified economic functions over the years are described in the essays on each community that follow.

Most of Lake Michigan's villages, towns, and cities go back a century or more. More often than not the reasons for their beginnings and those for their continued existence are very



Lake Michigan's Cities and Towns showing development today in three categories: (1) heavily industrial, (2) industry prominent in the economy, and (3) recreation and tourism of primary importance.

Mackinac Island is another northern lake community that is almost exclusively recreational in character. Pleasure craft fill the marina below the fort. Photo by Allan Bogue.



different. Fourteen cities widely scattered around the lakeshore began as small settlements where first the French, then the British, and later the Americans bartered for furs with Indians: Chicago, Waukegan, Milwaukee, Two Rivers, Green Bay, Marinette, Menominee, St. Ignace, Mackinaw City, Mackinac Island, Grand Haven, St. Joseph, Benton Harbor, and Niles. At Mackinac Island, St. Ignace, Mackinaw City, Green Bay, Chicago, and Niles, military posts were established in conjunction with the fur trade. Although trading posts and fortifications had little to do with subsequent growth of towns at these sites, their geographically strategic importance did. The Mackinac Straits, a relatively narrow stretch of water separating the lower and upper Michigan peninsulas, were a control point for entrance to Lake Michigan, casting St. Ignace and Mackinaw City in the role of transshipment

points until the completion of the Mackinac Bridge in 1957. Chicago sits astride the junction of the Chicago River and Lake Michigan and the portage via the Des Plaines and Illinois to the Mississippi, a location significant for the fur trade. First the Illinois-Michigan Canal and later, in the twentieth century, the Chicago Sanitary Ship Canal and the Calumet Sag Channel transformed the connection between Lake Michigan and the Illinois River into water highways for barge traffic to and from the Port of Chicago.

Green Bay's growth as a city was in part the result of lower Fox River traffic, although plans for turning the Fox-Wisconsin route of the fur traders into a usable commercial avenue in the nineteenth century flopped. Niles, the site of Fort St. Joseph, also stood on the important portage route between Lake Michigan and the Mississippi via the St. Joseph, Kankakee, and

Illinois rivers, and at the convergence of Indian trails leading south, east, and west (see site 170). Settlers used these routes when they moved into the area in the 1830s, and strategically located Niles grew from the business they generated. Similarly St. Joseph and Benton Harbor grew as port cities because of the river and lake trade. The remaining fur trade locations, all either on or at the mouths of rivers emptying into Lake Michigan, had potential for lumbering or for trade and commerce as settlers turned virgin lands into farms.

The fine stands of conifers and hardwoods around Lake Michigan's northern shores and the ready-made delivery system provided by the rivers and the lake account for the initial white settlements at 40 present-day villages, towns, and cities lying in an arc from Sheboygan, Wisconsin, north to the Straits of Mackinac and south as far



Jacques Vieau Trading Post at Milwaukee. It overlooked the Menominee Valley. Vieau traded extensively on Lake Superior, at Green Bay, Manitowoc, and elsewhere before building this post at modern Milwaukee. Courtesy State Historical Society of Wisconsin. WHI(W6)20767

as Bridgman, Michigan. Born to the sound of axe and saw, they prospered as sawdust towns from the 1850s until the early years of the twentieth century.

Plans to exploit natural resources account for the beginnings of Fayette, Michigan. The Jackson Iron Company laid out the company town solely for the purpose of iron smelting (see site 92). The potential for trade and commerce explains the origins of a half-dozen of southern Lake Michigan's present communities, including Michigan City, Indiana, and Racine, Kenosha, and Port Washington.

Apart from all of the above stand the communities whose founding related more to religious ideas than to making money. Seceders from the established Dutch church chose the site of present-day Holland, Michigan, and the surrounding countryside to establish new communities. The Hol-

land settlement dates from 1847 (see site 160). Thereafter, Dutch settlers founded the farming communities of Zeeland, Overisel, Drenthe, and Vriesland. St. Francis, Wisconsin, originated as a center for training Catholic priests with the founding of St. Francis Seminary in 1853 (see site 22). St. Nazianz, Wisconsin, began as a Catholic communal agricultural settlement in 1854, when Father Ambrose Oswald led a group of 113 followers from the Grand Duchy of Baden to the countryside southwest of Manitowoc (see site 35).

The desire of a group of Scandinavian Moravians to establish a religious community led to the founding of Ephraim on the Door Peninsula of Wisconsin under the leadership of Reverend Andreas M. Iverson in 1853 (see site 59). The Mormon followers of James Strang, a dissenter from the leadership of Brigham Young, settled

on Beaver Island in 1847, hoping to find isolation from the mainstream of American society (see site 127). They made the village of St. James the seat of county government. Bay View (see site 122), just north of Petoskey, Michigan, originated in 1875 as a summer camp for Methodists and is today a charming summer educational resort community of old Victorian houses. It is managed by the Methodist Bay View Association. Chicago Methodists determined to establish "a university of the highest order of excellence" are responsible for the founding of Northwestern University in 1851 and the subsequent growth of Evanston (see site 2).

Founded in 1889, Kenilworth grew into a north shore Chicago suburb as a result of Joseph Sears's endeavors to create a community for his fellow members of the Swedenborgian church (see site 4). Lake Forest stems

The Moravian church at Ephraim symbolizes the aspirations of its Norwegian Moravian founders. Photo by Margaret Bogue.



from the desire of Presbyterians to find a suitable location for a denominational school. They founded the Lake Forest Association in 1856 and platted the community. (see site 9). John Alexander Dowie, a Scotsman from Australia, founded Zion, Illinois, in 1899 as a planned, church-owned, utopian community where the members of his Christian Catholic church could lead strictly supervised, godly lives (see site 14).

Change characterizes the history of Lake Michigan's cities, towns, and villages, from their beginnings as small clusters of settlement in frontier areas to the present, and it will continue to characterize their future. Like all cities and towns, they have either performed useful functions in the local, regional, national, and even international econ-

omy, or they have withered away. As the society and economy changed, they have had to adapt to meet new needs. Over the decades the area's residents and leaders have recognized the importance of keeping their communities abreast of change and have put much thought and effort into finding ways to make their towns and cities grow. Sharp debate, hard work, experimentation, vast amounts of money, and gallons of printers' ink went into their efforts. While each community's record of adaptation and growth is in some sense unique, certain attitudes, ideas, and patterns of action are common to many.

They all looked to county, state, and national governments for assistance with transportation to tie them into larger markets and for laws that would

encourage population and business growth. The prevailing attitude was that government should promote development. These communities shared the common belief that Lake Michigan and the great store of natural resources in and around its waters should be used and altered to their advantage. They worried very little about environmental impact, believing nature's bounty to be virtually inexhaustible.

For a century and a half, lakeshore communities have regarded the lake, once almost their sole means of transportation, as an important artery of commerce, and especially as an economical carrier of domestic bulk cargoes. As early as the mid-nineteenth century, business leaders came to view the lake as a facilitator of trade with



Tourists on the beach at South Haven, Michigan. From the Collections of the Michigan State Archives, Department of State. 09721.

Canada and tried to promote workable reciprocity treaties between the two nations. After World War I, its potential as an avenue for overseas trade fired their imaginations, and Chicago's and Milwaukee's chambers of commerce worked to make the St. Lawrence Seaway a reality. For many decades they also regarded the lake as a ready-made source of drinking water and as a natural depository for all manner of waste, human and industrial. By the mid-twentieth century, water quality had so deteriorated that national and regional action was imperative.

Since the late nineteenth century, most communities have regarded the lake's aesthetic qualities and potential for recreation as a source of community income. In the late nineteenth century and especially in the twen-

tieth, park and beach development along the lakeshore appealed to some civic leaders as a way of making communities attractive to residents and visitors; it was less appealing to the business interests that had appropriated the lakeshore for their establishments. Industrialization had pretty well spoiled or was threatening to spoil the aesthetics of lake frontage. The "city beautiful" idea gained widespread citizen support in community after community and slowly—with great effort and the expenditure of millions of dollars—found expression. Chicago, with its magnificent lakefront, is the prime example of such a city (see site 1).

A tourism industry based on the lake's natural beauty and potential for recreation spurred the building of re-

sorts, pleasure parks, and city lakeside parks. At the turn of the century, Michigan City and Benton Harbor developed most attractive recreational and vacation facilities for the Chicanos who went there in droves to escape the city's heat, noise, and dirt (see sites 168, 174). The lumbering towns of the northern lakeshore, desperate for new business, also looked to the lake to save them. Ever since, the tourism-resort-recreation potential of the lake has generated big business. From the crowded marina at Michigan City, now self-styled "Coho Capital" (see site 174), to the busy harbor at Mackinac Island, marinas filled with power boats, charter fishing craft, sailboats, and yachts testify to the lake's popularity.

Accessibility was also important to

Lake Michigan community leaders, who understood from the beginning the critical importance of transportation connections for the well-being of their cities and towns. Over the last century and a half, they have boosted port facilities, canals, roads, railroads, car ferries, highways, and air terminals, often inducing local taxpayers to assume millions in bonded indebtedness to ensure linkage with the outside world.

All communities, of course, concerned themselves with attracting residents. In the nineteenth century, when they underwent rapid economic development, the need for workers led many towns and individual businesses in those towns to actively solicit labor from the great streams of immigrants coming to the United States from Europe. Advertising, letter writing, printed brochures, and even paid agents were used. The availability of jobs in mine, forest, and factory, transportation systems that made the communities accessible to newcomers, and promotional activities went far in producing communities with a multinational population mix. Similar methods of recruitment brought Blacks and Spanish-speaking people in the twentieth century to Lake Michigan towns and cities with an industrial component.

Lake Michigan communities shared a desire to promote all kinds of services, including educational and cultural ones, that would enhance their images and attract business. They have lobbied for and given special inducements to ensure the location in their communities of local, state, and federally supported institutions, such as prisons, hospitals, schools, and colleges. In the nineteenth century no

less than two dozen Lake Michigan port cities struggled for and won the battle to be chosen as the seat of government for their counties. They have welcomed with open arms privately supported institutions and lionized the local benefactors who endowed hospitals, libraries, charities, schools, colleges, museums, art galleries, parks, and playgrounds. Cities and towns have sometimes encouraged cultural growth by giving lots for church sites.

By far the most continuous and concerted promotional efforts have gone to encourage the growth of commerce and industry. Even in the great cities of Chicago and Milwaukee, with their excellent locational advantages, the growth of business and industry did not just happen. Thought, promotion, monetary incentives, and, in more recent years, careful planning have characterized that growth. As the United States gradually changed from a primarily agricultural nation into an industrial one, American towns and cities scrambled to attract manufacturing. Smokestacks belching black smoke and trains coming and going symbolized success. Lake Michigan town and city fathers placed great faith in industry as the wave of the future.

Major industry came first to Chicago and Milwaukee, transforming them by about 1880 from cities dominated by trade and commerce into cities where manufactured goods produced for a regional and national market created the greatest wealth. Along Lake Michigan's western shore, Sheboygan, Manitowoc, Two Rivers, Kewaunee, Green Bay, De Pere, Kenosha, Racine, and Waukegan were moving in the same direction by 1900. From centers of trade and commerce serving rural communities, processing farm pro-



In the years of declining timber yields in the late nineteenth century, Manitowoc styled itself "The Salt City of the Inland Seas." The front cover of a special anniversary number of the Manitowoc Daily News, May 1899, is a good example of town sponsored promotional efforts.

duce, and, in small establishments, manufacturing many of their necessities, they were becoming towns where industries produced for a much wider market and where metal fabrication industries were growing in importance. At Michigan City, Indiana, long the commercial center for northern Indiana, the long-established metal-fabricating industry expanded in the 1890s.

Most of the towns and cities of the northern, eastern, and western shores as far south as Sheboygan, Wisconsin, and Bridgman, Michigan, developed



Teledyne Continental Motors, Industrial Products Division, on the lakeshore at Muskegon. Courtesy Teledyne Continental Motors, Industrial Products Division.

initially as lumbering centers. Because their economies were dependent on expendable timber resources, within 40 or 50 years of their founding, and sometimes sooner, they were facing the future with great alarm. With timber stands dwindling, the sawmills, lime kilns, chemical plants, iron smelters, and salt-making enterprises developed as adjuncts to lumbering threatened to shut down. What would become of the lumbering towns? Worried town fathers debated the issues and mounted vigorous campaigns to attract tourists, searched for new industries, and puffed the possibilities of farming the cutover. In Michigan, from Traverse City south, the campaign to boost fruit growing on cutover lands immediately adjacent to the lake spawned a flurry of town-sponsored brochures and leaflets. In both Wis-

consin and Michigan, worried residents of cutover lands appealed to their agricultural colleges for help.

The decades between 1890 and the Great Depression of the 1930s were critical years. Tourism benefited some. Farming in much of the cutover proved disastrous. The fruit-growing industry spread in a band 25 to 30 miles wide inland from the lakeshore between Traverse City and the Michigan-Indiana border and into the Door Peninsula of Wisconsin. The campaign for new industries went through a long and painful period when experimentation and monetary incentives to new businesses characterized the efforts of local promoters. There were lots of failures along the way, but overall the campaign met with limited success.

During and after World War II, a

prosperous national economy greatly helped tourism and industry in the old lumbering towns. Some made a very strong comeback. Muskegon thrives as an industrial town with a far greater population than at the height of sawmilling. Sturgeon Bay, now larger than ever, has strong shipbuilding and tourism components in its economy. Baileys Harbor, Ellison Bay, Sister Bay, Ephraim, Fish Creek, and Egg Harbor on the Door Peninsula of Wisconsin, once small lumbering towns, have been reborn as communities of summer homes and resorts.

From Petoskey south to Muskegon on the Michigan lower peninsula, the towns of lumbering origins have variously combined industry, tourism, local government, trade, and service functions to create viable economies. Petoskey, Charlevoix, Traverse City,

Manistee, and Ludington now have larger populations than in the lumbering period. The transition has gone less well for Elk Rapids, Leland, Frankfort, and Pentwater.

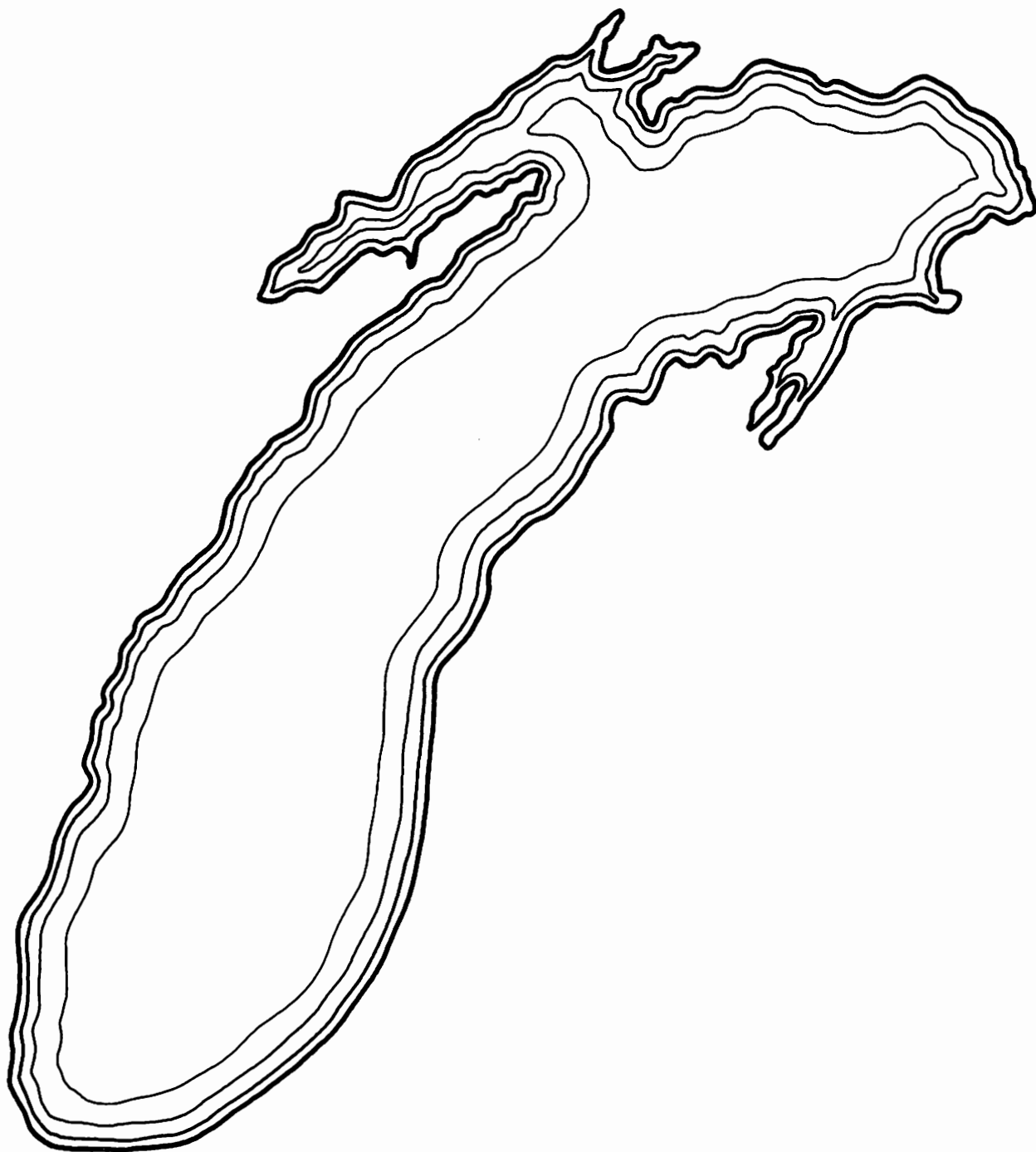
Some lumbering communities withered away. Two Creeks and Pensauckee, Wisconsin, and Cedar River, Michigan, are good examples. Near Sturgeon Bay (site 46) the sawmill village of Horn's Pier, a bustling little

lumber port in the late nineteenth century, is gone save for old building foundations, and Lake Michigan waves now wash the sand beach where it once stood. Gone too is the sawmill town of Singapore, buried in the sand near Saugatuck and Douglas, Michigan.

Particularly since World War II, smaller communities more distant from the lake's industrial core have succeeded in attracting industry. On

the eastern shore, light industry now extends as far north as Petoskey. Lower labor costs in these communities have been an attraction to businessmen. Industry in some form is now more often present in Lake Michigan cities, towns, and villages than not, and the urban population for the lake as a whole has grown beyond the wildest dreams of the early town builders.

AROUND THE LAKESHORE





The Chicago Skyline. Photo by Kee Chang. Courtesy Chicago Association of Commerce and Industry.

Illinois

1. Chicago

Highways I-90 & I-94

From a trading post established in the late eighteenth century, Chicago has grown into the nation's third largest city, with a 1982 population of 2,997,000. Chicago's industrial metropolitan area ranks as the nation's largest producer of steel, consumer electrical goods, telephone and commercial equipment, metal products, and railroad engines and equipment. Chicago is the largest national furniture market, the home of the largest mail order businesses, and the nation's leading convention center. Forty percent of the national wholesale and retail trade takes place within a 500-mile radius of the Loop.

Chicago forms the hub of the national railroad network. Its ports handle more than 80 million tons of freight each year, making the city a major world port. It is the nation's largest trucking center and the focal point of a major oil pipeline system. Its metropolitan area contains the largest area of oil refineries in the country. O'Hare International is the world's busiest airport. Chicago's phenomenal growth over the last 150 years has transformed the low, marshy banks of the sluggish Chicago River and the adjacent shores of Lake Michigan into the heart of a wealthy, sprawling, industrial metropolis.

Location is the key to Chicago's remarkable growth and fortune. Louis Jolliet recognized the strategic importance of the mouth of the Chicago

River in 1673. He, Jacques Marquette, and their companions found the Chicago-Des Plaines-Illinois-Mississippi river route to the Gulf of Mexico. A canal connecting the short portage between the Chicago and Des Plaines rivers, Jolliet observed, would create an all-water route from the Great Lakes to the gulf. The mouth of the Chicago River on Lake Michigan held the key to a continent.

While the Jesuits maintained a mission at the mouth of the Chicago for four years (1696-1700), the French did not fortify the location, nor did they succeed in colonizing the Illinois River Valley. Indian groups hostile to the French controlled the Des Plaines portage. At the mouth of the Chicago River about 1779, 16 years after the French lost New France to the British, Jean Baptiste Point Du Sable, a Santo Domingan of African and European parentage, built a log cabin and traded furs with the Indians, thereby becoming Chicago's first permanent settler.

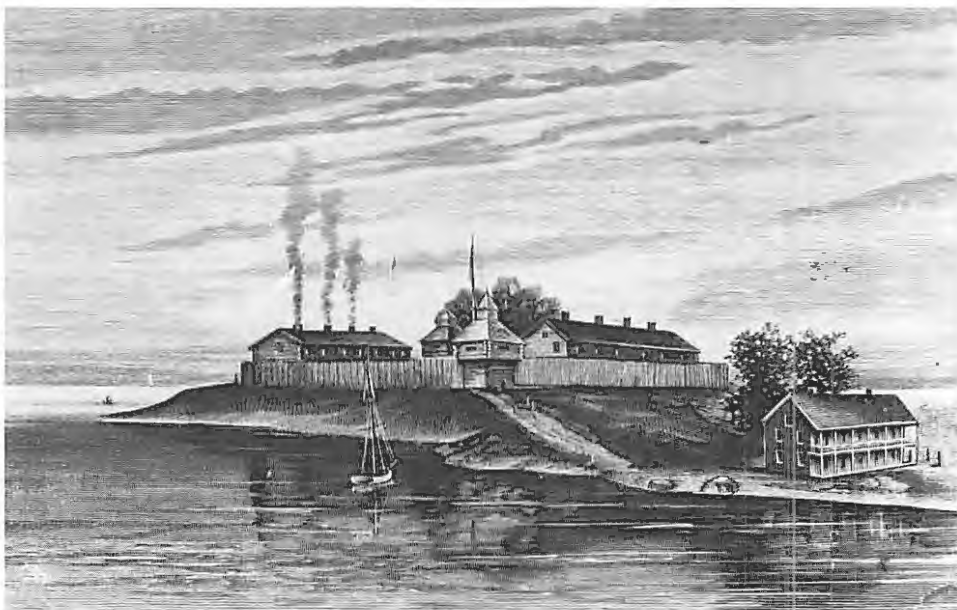
Recognizing the location's strategic importance to the fur trade and the defense of the West, the United States built Fort Dearborn here in 1803. Following the outbreak of the War of 1812, the Americans, fearing an attack by Indian allies of the British, attempted to evacuate the post, only to be intercepted by a band of Indians. More than half of the 96 soldiers and civilians lost their lives, and the fort was burned. The Americans returned and built a new fort in 1816, and for the next 14 years, Chicago remained a squatter town where life centered on

the fort, the fur trade, and treaty councils with the Indians.

Life at Chicago took on a new dimension in 1830 when Chicago was surveyed as the potential terminal of the Illinois-Michigan Canal. It became the seat of Cook County in 1831 and was incorporated as a town of about 350 in 1833. Once the canal opened in 1848, Chicago became a marketing and processing center for the agricultural produce of the Illinois prairies. Chicago's Lake Michigan location made it a transshipment and processing point for agricultural produce and a port for receiving finished goods and raw materials for local and regional use. The long-standing symbiotic relationship between hinterland and city was established.

Lying in the midst of a rich and developing agricultural area stretching from the Appalachians westward to the grasslands of the Great Plains, Chicago's trading and commercial position became much more advantageous with the development of a railroad network. As the Illinois and Michigan Canal neared completion in 1848, the first railroad line, the Galena and Chicago, reached the city. Lake Michigan's thrust 307 miles southward, cutting the lines of land transportation between the northeastern and the northwestern parts of the nation, played a key role in determining land transportation routes. The railway network built to serve a developing America during the last half of the nineteenth century ran from the East to Chicago and fanned out westward, northward, and south-

Woodcut engraving of the first Fort Dearborn, built in 1803 by the United States to strengthen its authority in what was then a remote frontier region. From Andreas, History of Chicago. Courtesy Chicago Historical Society. ICHi-03037



ward, giving the growing city a second delivery system to a very extensive agricultural hinterland. The railroads as well as the waterways provided excellent access to the rich resources of iron ore, timber, and limestone of the upper lakes and to the coal deposits of Pennsylvania and the lower Midwest.

Chicago has maintained and enhanced its position as a transportation hub during the twentieth century. The St. Lawrence Seaway makes it a very important international port. The construction of the Calumet Sag Channel and the Chicago Sanitary and Ship Canal greatly improved water transportation between Chicago and the Gulf of Mexico. O'Hare Airport serves as a focus for national and international flights. The interstate highway system funneling into Chicago provides yet another artery for the movement of freight shipments in an era when truck transportation has challenged the railroad lines.

The city has grown by leaps and bounds. From a little town of less than 350 in 1833, Chicago grew into a city of about 100,000 in 1860; more than 1,000,000 in 1890; more than 2,000,000 in 1910; more than 3,500,000 in 1950.

Marketing and commerce dominated Chicago's economic life in the early decades of the city's history. But well before 1860 manufacturing was contributing substantially to Chicago's economy. Its earliest industries served the needs of the agricultural hinterland and the town itself. Food processing, meat packing, leather and meat by-products, printing, textile, garment, and millinery manufacturing, and the building trades that produced lumber, sashes, doors and brick all flourished in the mid-1850s. In 1847 Cyrus H. McCormick established his reaper factory on the banks of the Chicago River to serve a growing midwestern market. The meat-packing industry had grown to such propor-

tions by 1865 that railroads and packers joined to establish the Union Stock Yard.

In the two decades following the Civil War, manufacturing overtook trade and commerce as Chicago's chief economic function. Not even the Great Fire of 1871, which gutted four square miles of the downtown business area, did more than temporarily slow the city's growth. By 1875 traces of the fire's damage had all but disappeared. Five industries dominated production up until World War I: meat packing, farm machinery, railroad equipment, furniture, and men's clothing. Cudahy, Libby, Armour, Swift, McCormick, Deering, and Pullman—leading entrepreneurs in this industrial growth—became household names across America.

During the last half-century Chicago's economy has greatly diversified. The major industries of the pre-World War I years have declined in relative



This illustration from the 1885 catalogue of the McCormick Harvesting Machine Company shows the Chicago plant's molding floor. Courtesy State Historical Society of Wisconsin. WHI(X3)12294

importance. Steel, consumer electrical goods, telephone and commercial equipment, and metal products have risen to prominence. The combination of manufacturing with strong commercial, transportation, service, and government components gives Chicago a diversified and balanced economy. Industry continues to be the largest employer.

Along with the enormous physical growth of industry and business went Chicago's social and cultural growth. Because Chicago offered business opportunities and jobs, it attracted a large and diverse population. The lure of the dollar helped to produce a rich racial and ethnic mix and made Chicago home for many people from many different national origins. Although most of the city's first settlers came from New England, the Middle Atlantic states, Ohio, and Indiana,

many European immigrants made their homes here as early as the 1840s. Before the Civil War they came chiefly from Ireland and the Germanies in search of a new and better life. By 1860 half of Chicago's population was foreign-born. In 1890 about 80 percent of the city's residents were either foreign-born or the sons and daughters of the foreign-born, many of them tracing their origins to the Scandinavian countries, Germany, and Ireland.

Between 1880 and 1920 southern and eastern European countries became a major source of workers for Chicago industry. Chief among these newer groups were people from Poland, Italy, Bohemia, Lithuania, Russia, Greece, Serbia, and Hungary. From necessity they congregated in ethnic enclaves in low-rent, substandard housing near the industrial areas of the city. Here they lived in a sink of

bad health, low wages, poor food, overcrowded housing, liquor, and prostitution, vividly described by Upton Sinclair in his novel *The Jungle* (1904).

Jane Addams, who established Hull House in 1889, awakened Chicago's social conscience to the needs of these new Americans. The Hull House settlement addressed the social, economic, and educational needs of near west side immigrants. Under Addams's leadership it cooperated with existing city agencies to improve housing, sanitary, and health standards. The Hull House staff worked as well for reform legislation to limit working hours for women, to secure accident insurance for workers, and to eliminate child labor.

Following World War I the United States restricted immigration from abroad, and the streams of immigrants

A Black family just arrived in Chicago from the rural south. From The Chicago Commission on Race Relations, The Negro in Chicago. Courtesy University of Chicago Press.



from Europe to Chicago greatly diminished. Over time, new Americans living in the congested inner-city ghettos moved out into adjacent neighborhoods and the suburbs. European-born whites formed 27 percent of the city's population in 1927, but only 11 percent by 1970.

Industrial job opportunities attracted streams of migrants from other parts of the United States. Chicago had always had a Black population, but it was small until World War I, when thousands of southern agricultural workers, lured by wartime wages, sought jobs in Chicago industries. In succeeding decades Chicago's Black population has continued to grow, especially during and since World War II. By 1980 Blacks constituted 40 percent of the city's people.

Already economically and politically pressured into a ghetto existence by 1920, Blacks spread into many older areas of the South Side formerly occupied by immigrants. Most Blacks lived in the worst residential areas and held the lowest-paying jobs. Racial pressures tended to constrict the ghetto, creating incredible congestion and a long list of social problems including poor education, unemployment, substandard health, and crime. Yet, block by block, Black residential areas have expanded so that the Black community of 1920, which lay northeast and southeast of the stockyards, has grown into an L-shaped area stretching from the Loop west to Austin Avenue and south to Riverdale. Many of these areas were torn by racial violence during the 1960s.

Another segment of Chicago's population, the Spanish-speaking community, has grown substantially in the last decade. These residents, among them Mexicans, Cubans, and Puerto Ricans, numbered about 422,000, or 14 percent of the city's population in 1980. Like other in-migrants, they came in search of economic opportunity. The largest of the three groups, the Mexicans, first came into the Chicago area after the Mexican Revolution of 1910. Larger numbers followed during World Wars I and II and during the ensuing period of prosperity, when the majority found jobs in the steel mills. Living in barrios in manufacturing and commercial areas, they have suffered from the burdens of racism and the problems of adjusting to a new culture. Puerto Ricans have come

to Chicago mainly since World War II. They too have experienced problems in finding a secure place in American society. The Cuban community, the smallest of the three, dates from the Cuban Revolution of the late 1950s.

Chicago's Spanish-speaking people are gradually moving into suburban areas, and the professionals among them into affluent communities. Most, however, have moved into industrial towns like Gary, Chicago Heights, and Waukegan.

Extensive industry and a large labor force have made the Chicago area a focal point for many bitter labor-management controversies during the past century. Chicago strikes have repeatedly made national headlines. The Railroad Strike of 1877, the McCormick Strike and the Haymarket Affair of 1886, the Pullman Strike of 1894 and the accompanying general railroad strike, and the 1937 "Memorial Day Massacre" at Republic Steel's South Chicago mill drew national attention. All were part of the struggle to establish the legality of unions, collective bargaining, and the strike as a counterforce to big management and big industry.

Against the backdrop of booming industry, dirt, stench, smoke, and its share of other urban problems, Chicago, "an overgrown gawk of a village" as Lincoln Steffens called it, developed a park system and many major cultural institutions in the nineteenth century. These included a public school system, the Chicago Historical Society, the University of Chicago, the Chicago Public Library, the Art Institute, the John Crerar Library, the Chicago Symphony Orchestra, the Newberry Library, and the Chicago Academy of Sciences. The fortunes of

business and industrial leaders helped to make these possible. Chicago also pioneered in modern architecture. The skyscraper, a new urban architectural form, dramatically changed the skyline and placed Chicago in the forefront of architectural innovation. The Chicago School achieved international recognition. In 1893 Chicago hosted the World's Columbian Exposition at Jackson Park. Here a number of America's leading architects, ignoring the moderns, relied on antiquity and rendered the buildings in sparkling white. The exposition was a model of urban planning, yet it hardly squared with the realities lying all around in a dingy city suffering in the wake of a nationwide depression.

In the twentieth century Chicago's cultural institutions have greatly expanded to include 58 colleges and universities in the metropolitan area, a complex of museums and libraries, and a major opera company as well as a host of smaller companies, orchestras, and singing societies.

The Port of Chicago

Water transportation has always been important to Chicago's economy—at times all-important. The natural lake and river network converging at Chicago has repeatedly been improved since federal funds were first allocated to enhance the Chicago harbor in 1833. The Illinois and Michigan Canal was completed in 1848; the Chicago Sanitary and Ship Canal in 1900; the Calumet Sag Channel in 1922; and the St. Lawrence Seaway in 1959. These waterways have improved nature's links between Chicago, the Atlantic Ocean, and the Gulf of Mexico, mak-

ing the city a major inland world port.

Canal and lake traffic carried most of Chicago's in- and outbound cargoes until the 1880s, when more than 26,000 vessels arrived and departed annually. Ships arrived from the upper lakes, with lumber, iron ore, limestone, passengers, and all manner of freight. They carried away industrial goods, farm produce, and passengers. Railroads overshadowed water traffic for the next half-century. For the growing bulk shipments of iron ore, coal, and limestone, however, ships and barges continued to be the cheapest mode of transportation. With the widening and deepening of the Chicago Sanitary and Ship Canal and the completion in 1922 of the Calumet Sag Channel, which improved the link to the Gulf of Mexico, water traffic revived. Barge traffic grew, and once the St. Lawrence Seaway was opened, so did international traffic. Railroads still dominate metropolitan Chicago's flow of freight traffic, while water transport accounts for about 12 percent of the total.

The facility at the mouth of the Chicago River used to be Chicago's major port; now it primarily handles newsprint. Navy Pier handles some general overseas cargo, and both the North and South branches of the Chicago River have some facilities for bulk traffic. The main port traffic shifted to the Calumet area in the late nineteenth century. The Calumet River, heavily industrialized and stretching from Lake Calumet to Lake Michigan, handles the greatest tonnage of any Chicago waterway. Lake Calumet Harbor is Chicago's major international port and is the most complete port facility on the Great Lakes for ocean, lake, and inland barges and ships.

Aerial view of the Chicago regional port district terminal. The Continental grain tower is on the left. Photo by Kee Chang. Courtesy Chicago Association of Commerce and Industry.



Chicago Lakefront *Highway US-41, Lake Shore Drive*

Lake Shore Drive, running 124 blocks from the southern edge of Jackson Park at 67th Street to Hollywood Avenue at the northern edge of Lincoln Park, accentuates Chicago's finest natural asset, Lake Michigan. The development of the lakefront spans nine decades. Chicago has made lakefront improvement a priority item in city planning for 70 years. This was a courageous, expensive, long-term project. It rejected the familiar pattern of development in many Lake Michigan cities where business, manufacturing, shipping, and railroad facilities have laid claim to and held lake- and river-front locations.

The first phase of the battle for lakefront development unfolded in the Grant Park area in 1890 when the city of Chicago announced plans to utilize the lakefront there for building a civic center with city hall, post office, police headquarters, and stables for the horses that drew city garbage wagons. The announcement angered Aaron Montgomery Ward, who owned Michigan Avenue property with a view of the lake. He argued that the lakeshore should be kept "open, clear, and free" between Randolph and Madison Streets, as noted on an early map and plat. He sued the city four times between 1890 and 1911 to clear the lakefront of buildings and to forbid its use except as public park. The Illinois Supreme Court upheld the lower court's decision in favor of Ward. Only two buildings were allowed to re-

main—the Chicago Public Library and the Art Institute.

Early in the twentieth century, lakefront development gained momentum when prominent citizens joined forces to sponsor a major plan to improve the physical character of the city. Their influence and concern led to the development of the Chicago Plan of 1909, popularly known as the Burnham Plan after its creator, Daniel H. Burnham, a leading Chicago architect and chief designer of the Columbian Exposition. Burnham determined "to take up the pressing needs of today," to develop a large master plan to meet those needs, and to produce a "well-ordered, convenient, and unified city." Along with other recommendations, the plan advocated that "everything possible should be done to enhance the attractiveness of the lake shore and



Looking north along the lakefront toward downtown. Photo by Kee Chang. Courtesy Chicago Association of Commerce and Industry.

to develop its natural beauties." Burnham saw the lakefront as a collection of beaches, lagoons, islands, and harbors available for the enjoyment of all. Adopted by the city in 1910, the Burnham Plan exerted great influence on city development for many decades. The dream of beaches and parks along the lakefront gradually materialized.

By 1930 Grant Park, still in the process of being landscaped, emerged as Chicago's lakeside front door, ringed with an exceptional cultural complex—the Public Library, the Art Institute, Orchestra Hall, the Fine Arts Building, and the Auditorium, plus three new cultural facilities, the Field Museum of Natural History, the Shedd Aquarium, and the Adler Planetarium.

Rescue and preservation of the natural beauty of the lakefront went forward following the adoption of the

Lake Front Ordinance of 1919. Development thrust south from Grant Park, gradually transforming eight miles of shabby shoreline into parks and beaches. Daniel H. Burnham Park, lying between Grant and Jackson parks, honors the famous architect and planner. Lakefront improvement reached Hollywood Avenue at the northern edge of Lincoln Park after World War II.

Always expensive, always resisted by property owners, and always in danger of losing ground, Chicago's lakefront projects stand as a model of what a determined and publicly backed local government can do to enhance a city's natural assets. The 124 blocks of Lake Shore Drive seem like the fulfillment of Burnham's motto: "Make no little plans. They have no magic to stir men's blood. . . . Make big plans; aim

high in hope and work, remembering that a noble logical diagram once recorded will never die but long after we are gone will be a living thing, asserting with growing intensity."

Chicago Sites of Interest

Chicago contains a wealth of cultural opportunities. The following locations reflect the city's architectural and artistic achievement, the philanthropy of its men of wealth, the success of its businesses, the role of immigrants and organized labor, and municipal development. This is only an introduction to the many attractions Chicago offers visitors. A full listing of places of interest may be found in *Illinois: A Descriptive and Historical Guide*, edited by Harry Hansen (New York: Hastings



An 1881 bird's-eye view of George M. Pullman's company town. Courtesy Chicago Historical Society. ICHi-01918

House, 1974). Also useful to those who want to know Chicago better are Ira J. Bach, *Chicago on Foot: An Architectural Walking Tour* (Chicago: Follett, 1969); Norman Mark, *Norman Mark's Chicago: Walking, Bicycling, and Driving Tours of the City* (Chicago: Chicago Review Press, 1977); and Glen Holt and Dominic Pacyga, *Chicago: A Historical Guide to the Neighborhoods—The Loop and the South Side* (Chicago: Chicago Historical Society, 1979).

(1) Pullman Historic District*

Bounded on the north by 103rd Street, on the east by C.S.S. and S.B. Railroad tracks, on the south by 115th Street, and on the west by Cottage Grove Avenue

This famous experiment in town planning was the brainchild of George M. Pullman, who sought to create a self-contained community for workers employed at his Pullman Palace Car Com-

pany. In 1880 he commissioned an architect, Solon Spencer Beman, and a landscape engineer, Nathan F. Barrett, to design a town that would embody the latest thinking in town planning, with homes, shops, and facilities for recreation and culture. Visitors from all over the world came to Pullman to see the red brick row houses, duplexes, and single-family homes, the Greenstone Church, the school, market hall, and the huge Victorian Florence Hotel, named for Pullman's daughter.

Pullman's insistence that his community operate at a profit, even during the depression of 1893, created an intolerable situation for his workers, who were discouraged from living outside the company town. On May 11, 1894, after Pullman had cut wages and refused to lower rents, company workers struck. In an expression of support for the Pullman workers, Eugene V. Debs's American Railway

Union workers at first refused to handle Pullman cars and later went on strike against the railroads.

George Pullman won the strike, but in 1898 the Illinois Supreme Court ordered the Pullman Company to sell all property not required for the manufacturing business and to cease all municipal functions. Pullman residents voted to become part of the City of Chicago, and the community ceased to be a company town.

Some of the original buildings in Pullman have been lost over the years because of fire or deterioration, but the efforts of its present residents to restore the remaining structures earned Pullman a place on the National Register of Historic Places and designation as a Chicago City Landmark. The Historic Pullman Foundation conducts walking tours of the community and has prepared a slide show on the community's history. The Historic Pullman Center, 614 East

113th Street, is open on the first Sunday of the month, May–October, 12:30–1:30 P.M. Group tours on request. \$

(2) Jackson Park Historic Landscape District and Midway Plaisance,* and the University of Chicago

Bounded irregularly by 67th Street, Stony Island, 60th Street, Martin Luther King, Jr., Drive, 51st Street, Hyde Park Boulevard, Cottage Grove, and 56th Street

Many historians regard the World's Columbian Exposition as symbolic of the great changes in America that marked its passage from an agrarian to an urban, industrial nation. The Great White City occupied Jackson Park and the Midway Plaisance on Chicago's south side. While most of the fair buildings burned in 1894, or were torn down, or were moved elsewhere, the Art Palace escaped destruction. First it served as the Columbian Museum and after a major renovation in the 1920s, became the Museum of Science and Industry (see below). In 1893 the Midway Plaisance, a strip of land about 600 feet wide and one mile long, was developed as an exotic and festive Bazaar of Nations. It attracted crowds no matter what the weather was like. The Streets of Cairo, the Persian Palace of Eros, the Blarney Castle, and the German Village greatly impressed visitors. George W. G. Ferris' giant pleasure wheel delighted them. Now the Midway, still a pleasant place, is a park running through the University of Chicago Campus and connecting Jackson Park on the Lake and Washington Park, one mile to the west.

Jackson Park and the Midway Plaisance were added to the National Reg-



View from the roof of the Manufacturers and Liberal Arts Building, World's Columbian Exposition, 1893. Courtesy Chicago Historical Society. ICHI-02525

ister of Historic Places in 1972 for a number of reasons other than having been the site of the Exposition. Frederick Law Olmsted, regarded as America's most prominent nineteenth century landscape architect, developed many of Jackson Park's features and his sons used his plans in renovating the park after the Exposition. The Midway contains fine statuary. In Jackson Park, opposite 65th Street stands a replica of Daniel Chester French's statue, "Republic," that stood originally in the Court of Honor of the Columbian Exposition. The original was damaged beyond salvation.

For some years the Baptist church sponsored a university in Chicago, but financial problems led to its closing in 1886. The present University of Chicago dates from 1889, when John D. Rockefeller began his very large and consistent financial support to the institution. He and the institution's first president, William Rainey Harper, were largely responsible for the university's early, rapid growth and influence in higher education.

Today the University of Chicago lies on both sides of the Midway. Gothic-

style architecture predominates on the north side of the Midway; contemporary buildings are found mostly on the south side.

Rated by many as a significant structure in modern architectural history, *Robie House** stands at 5757 South Woodlawn Avenue. Frank Lloyd Wright designed the home in 1908 for the family of Frederick C. Robie, a bicycle manufacturer. Extensively restored, it is used for the offices of the University of Chicago Alumni Association. Recognized today as a superb example of Wright's Prairie School style of architecture, it has been placed on the National Register of Historic Places and designated a Chicago City landmark. Open at noon, Monday–Saturday, all year. Free.

(3) Du Sable Museum of African American History

740 East 56th Place

Begun in 1961 and originally known as the Ebony Museum of Negro History and Art, the Du Sable Museum focuses its displays, collecting activities, publications, and educational programs on the heritage and achievements of Black Americans. Its objective is "to inspire black people and especially the youth to purposeful lives of achievement by acquainting them with the contributions of great Afro-Americans of the past and the worthwhile contributions of great Black Americans of the present." Its growing library includes books, periodicals, manuscripts, and pictures. The museum's name honors Jean Baptiste Point Du Sable, who established a trading post at the mouth of the Chicago River in the 1770s.

Open Monday–Friday, 9:00 A.M.–5:00 P.M.; weekends, noon–5:00 P.M. \$

(4) Museum of Science and Industry

East 57th Street and South Lake Shore Drive

The New York architect David Atwood designed a Grecian-style building for the Palace of Fine Arts at the World's Columbian Exposition of 1893, but by 1923 it had become run-down, and city officials decided that it should be razed. However, women's club members rallied behind a movement to spare the building and influenced voters to approve a \$5 million bond issue for its restoration. A generous contributor, Julius Rosenwald, president of Sears, Roebuck & Company, suggested that an industrial museum be created in the building, with technological and industrial exhibits similar to those he had seen in the Deutsches Museum in Munich. His contributions to the project eventually totaled more than \$7 million.

In 1924 the building was reduced to its original steel skeleton, and the exterior was redone with permanent stone. The museum is a favorite with adults and children alike because its exhibits include many working models of machinery and effective audiovisual displays. Highlights include a full-size working coal mine, a captured German submarine, and a large exhibition on the petroleum industry.

Open all year, Monday–Friday, 9:30 A.M.–4:00 P.M.; weekends, 9:30 A.M.–5:30 P.M. Free.

(5) Chicago Portage National Historic Site*

South Harlem Avenue at Chicago Sanitary Ship Canal

The Chicago portage site includes the Cook County Forest Preserve, 91 wooded acres lying in the midst of

residential and commercial development. At Portage Creek a boulder and a glass display case explain the importance of the location. A path leads from the boulder to the west channel of the Des Plaines River. The Chicago Portage, linking Lake Michigan and the Mississippi River via the south branch of the Chicago River, Mud Lake, Portage Creek, and the Des Plaines River, served for centuries as a major transportation, trade, and exploration route for the Indians, French, British, and Americans. Jacques Marquette and Louis Jolliet, the first recorded users of the route, utilized the portage on their return journey from the Mississippi in 1673. La Salle used it in 1682. Countless unknown Indians and whites used it for the fur trade. With the removal of the Indians, the decline in the fur trade, the influx of pioneer farmers, and the construction of the Illinois-Michigan Canal in 1836, the all-water route between Lake Michigan and the Mississippi, the portage became obsolete. After the diversion of the Des Plaines River in the late nineteenth century, the river and Portage Creek no longer joined. Mud Lake dried up, and the creek became stagnant.

(6) Stephen A. Douglas State Memorial*

East 35th Street and Cottage Grove Avenue

The Stephen A. Douglas State Memorial honors the prominent Democratic political leader who represented Illinois in the U.S. House of Representatives and the Senate from 1843 to 1861. Usually remembered as Lincoln's opponent in the Lincoln-Douglas debates and as an unsuccessful candidate for the presidency in 1860, Douglas deserves to be remembered for other

accomplishments. Popularly known as "the Little Giant" because of his small stature and large head and shoulders, Douglas had a long and distinguished political career in Illinois and the nation during the turbulent years of the slavery controversy. Always a unionist, he supported the newly elected President Lincoln and renounced secession. Partly as a result of his strenuous activity on behalf of the union, he died at Chicago in 1861.

The 96-foot Douglas State Memorial, topped by a bronze statue of Douglas, contains his tomb. Leonard W. Volk, well known for his sculptures of Lincoln, designed the memorial. Completed in 1881, it cost over \$90,000, financed mainly by the state of Illinois.

The small park where the memorial stands is a portion of the land Douglas purchased in 1849 for his estate, Oakenwald. Another part of this land Douglas gave to the first University of Chicago, while yet another portion became Camp Douglas during the Civil War. Initially a training center for Union troops, it later became a prison for Confederate soldiers. As well as being on the National Register of Historic Places, the memorial has been designated a Chicago City Landmark.

(7) Prairie Avenue Historic District* and Chicago Architecture Foundation

1800 South Prairie Avenue

Bounded by South Prairie and South Indiana Avenues and East 18th and Cullerton Streets, this historic district was once Chicago's most prestigious residential area. It contained the homes of a number of influential Chicago businessmen of the late nineteenth century, including George M. Pullman, Marshall Field, Philip D.

Armour, William W. Kimball, and John J. Glessner. Many of these luxurious dwellings have been razed, but others still stand. Four mansions were included in the district when it was added to the National Register of Historic Places in 1972.

The Chicago Architecture Foundation owns the most notable of these mansions,* designed by the Boston architect Henry Hobson Richardson for John J. Glessner, a farm-implement manufacturer, in 1886. It is an excellent example of Richardson's work and the last house he designed. Tours of the home are conducted by the foundation on a regular basis. Contact the foundation at (312) 326-1393 for times. \$

The Henry B. Clarke House,* built about 1837, is believed to be the oldest in Chicago. It has been moved several times; its present location is in the 1800 block of South Indiana Avenue. In 1977 the Clarke House was added to the Prairie Avenue Historic District. It is in the Greek Revival style with a cupola and porch added in 1857. This restored structure, completely renovated and refurnished in the style of 1837–1857, is open to the public. \$

Both the Glessner House and the Clarke House are official city landmarks.

Prairie Avenue and 18th Street was the location of the Fort Dearborn Massacre of 1812 (see above, p. 31), now marked by a bronze tablet.

(8) Adler Planetarium and Astronomical Museum

900 East Achsah Bond Drive

Erected on man-made Northerly Island, the Adler Planetarium opened to the public in 1931. Its directors



Aerial View of the Field Museum, Shedd Aquarium, and Adler Planetarium, July 1947. Photo by Howard A. Wolf. Courtesy Chicago Historical Society. ICHI-00940

proudly announced the installation of a two-ton Zeiss projector, the only such instrument in the United States at that time. In the upper-level Sky Theater, this complex projector reproduces the stars and planets on the planetarium's ceiling in daily sky shows.

Museum displays on the lower levels include a fine collection of telescopes; navigational, mathematical, and engineering instruments; an exhibit on the space age; and another featuring the sun and stars. The Planetarium holds classes in astronomy and navigation for students of all ages. It has recently opened the Doane Observatory, where visitors may view the moon and planets with the aid of a television camera.

The Adler Planetarium is an unusual 12-sided building adorned with the signs of the zodiac. There are three tiers to the building, each stepped

back, so that the top tier is only one-half the size of the bottom tier. Above the top tier is a copper cone rising 80 feet from the ground at the center.

Open daily throughout the year, Monday–Thursday, Saturday, and Sunday, 9:30 A.M.–4:30 P.M.; Friday, 9:30 A.M.–9:00 P.M. Museum free; Sky Show \$.

(9) John G. Shedd Aquarium

1200 South Lake Shore Drive

When it was completed in 1929, the John G. Shedd Aquarium, designed by the architectural firm of Graham, Anderson, Probst, and White, housed the largest display of tropical and freshwater fish in the world. Funds were provided by Shedd, a Marshall Field and Company executive, whose support made it possible for the staff to visit overseas aquariums and select the most innovative features. A dupli-

cate system of piping was installed to provide both fresh and sea water, which may be warm or cold as the fish require. A major attraction added in 1970 is a reef tank that displays a total marine community.

Open daily throughout the year. Winter hours are 10:00 A.M.—4:00 P.M. Open in summer 9:00 A.M.—5:00 P.M. \$

(10) Field Museum of Natural History*

East Roosevelt Road at South Lake Shore Drive

Considered a leading museum of its kind, the Field Museum contains exhibits featuring all branches of natural history. Many of its older collections were acquired at the close of the World's Columbian Exposition of 1893, when displays brought to Chicago for the Exposition were gathered together in the former Fine Arts Hall for permanent exhibition. After Marshall Field contributed one million dollars to its endowment, the museum was named the Field Columbian Museum. Expeditions and purchases increased the collections beyond the original building's capacity. A Greek temple was the model for a new building in Grant Park, which opened to the public in 1921. Because the museum is considered an important educational resource for the city of Chicago, it contains not only the thousands of items on public display, but also extensive research collections in all aspects of natural history. One of the best-known exhibits in the museum is in Chauncy Keep Memorial Hall, where the sculptor Malvina Hoffman has created statues, busts, and heads representing the races of mankind in stone and bronze. Open daily year round, 9:00 A.M.—5:00 P.M. \$

(11) Clarence Buckingham Memorial Fountain

Grant Park east of Congress Plaza

Although they may never have visited Chicago, thousands of Americans are familiar with the Buckingham Fountain in Grant Park, a favored subject for picture postcards. The French sculptor N. Marcel Loyau designed the fountain, modeling it in part on the Latona fountain at Versailles. Miss Kate Buckingham gave the fountain to the city in memory of her brother, Clarence Buckingham, a former director of the Art Institute. During the summer a 90-minute color display attracts crowds of tourists to the park after 9:00 P.M.

West of the fountain are the gardens designated as the Court of Presidents, originally intended to include statuary. Only "The Seated Lincoln" by Augustus Saint-Gaudens was ever acquired.

(12) The Art Institute of Chicago

South Michigan Avenue at East Adams Street

Five Chicago business leaders founded the Chicago Academy of the Fine Arts in 1879 for the purpose of establishing schools of art and design and maintaining exhibitions of art. The new Academy continued to grow with their support, and its name was changed in 1882 to the Art Institute of Chicago. Charles Hutchinson, the banker who served as its president for many years, persuaded the city of Chicago to turn over to the Art Institute a structure on the lakefront at Adams Street built to house the World's Congresses of the Columbian Exposition of 1893. Now the main unit of the Art Institute, the handsome building was designed in modified Italian Renaissance style by a Boston firm, Shepley, Rutan, and Coolidge.

The Art Institute of Chicago acquired Dutch masters, French impressionists, German and Oriental works, and the Thorne collection of miniature rooms, making it necessary to enlarge the structure many times. Auditoriums, lecture halls, an art library, and a library of architecture have been added. In 1977 the America Windows were installed by Marc Chagall. The bronze lions, given to the Institute by Mrs. Henry Field in 1895, still stand on the front steps, each bronze animal weighing three tons. On the south terrace stands Lorado Taft's fountain, "Spirit of the Great Lakes," completed in 1913.

Open all year, Monday–Wednesday and Friday, 10:30 A.M.—4:30 P.M.; Thursday, 10:30 A.M.—8:00 P.M.; weekends, 10:00 A.M.—5:00 P.M. \$

(13) The ArchiCenter

310 South Michigan Avenue (2nd floor)

Visitors to Chicago who are interested in learning more about the city's architecture will want to visit the ArchiCenter, which was established as a Bicentennial project. The ArchiCenter stages frequent exhibits, lectures, and films and is the point of departure for walking and bus tours of Chicago architecture. These are scheduled at regular times throughout the year, and tours may be specially arranged for private groups. Erected in 1924, the building housing the center was designed by Graham, Anderson, Probst, and White, important Chicago architects, who took advantage of a new zoning law permitting heights of more than 400 feet in designing this 30-story, 475-foot structure.

Open Monday–Friday, 9:30 A.M.—5:00 P.M.; Saturday, 9:30 A.M.—3:00 P.M. Free.



Lorado Taft in studio with the fountain, "Spirit of the Great Lakes," in background. Courtesy Chicago Historical Society. DN# 76,522

(14) Chicago Public Library Cultural Center*

78 East Washington Street

The Chicago Public Library was recently converted into a cultural center for the city, thus sparing the structure designed by Shepley, Ruten, and Coolidge and built in 1893–1897. It stands on land that was once part of the Fort Dearborn Reservation. Initially the north half of the building served as the Grand Army of the Republic Memorial Hall and Museum because the land on which it was built had belonged to the Chicago Soldiers' Home. The rest of the building housed an extensive public library collection drawn together after the Chicago Fire of 1871.

The renovated library interior is

"grandly designed and richly embellished" with marble and mosaics. Two glass domes, one in the Preston Bradley Room and another in the lobby of the GAR room, are probably Tiffany designs. A large portion of the building still serves as a library. Preston Bradley Hall is used for concerts and gatherings and as a reading room. In 1976 the structure was designated a Chicago Landmark.

(15) The Loop

Bounded by Lake, Van Buren, and Wells Streets and by Wabash Avenue, the Loop is the heart of Chicago's mercantile, financial, and governmental district, the area from which the village of Chicago expanded into a town and a city. Retail stores, banks, corpo-

rate offices, government office buildings, and a sprinkling of institutions of higher education, hotels, and churches lie within its bounds.

Readily identified against the skyline by its cluster of graceful skyscrapers, the Loop has an unusually high concentration of stores and offices within a small area. Three-quarters of a million workers and shoppers come and go daily. Nearly 352,000 motor vehicles add to the bustle and congestion on the streets, as well as to the large volume of Loop business transacted daily. Expressways and subways are recent remedies for the long-standing problem of traffic congestion in the Loop.

Applied to Chicago's downtown in the late nineteenth century, the name



An aerial view of the Chicago Loop. Photo by Kee Chang. Courtesy Chicago Association of Commerce and Industry.

"Loop" comes from the pattern of the public transportation system. When companies built mass transit lines to serve the needs of Chicago, they produced a fragmented system linking residential areas and downtown by horse-drawn street railway cars, then cablecars, and, at the end of the century, electric streetcars. The elevated railroad system began in Chicago in 1892 when the first el was built above the congested street traffic to carry

people southward from the business district to the World's Columbian Exposition grounds. Thereafter the elevated system expanded rapidly as a faster alternative to streetcar travel. Both the streetcar and elevated systems made a swing or loop around the downtown area. The Loop today remains key to reaching outlying parts of the city by public transportation. The current goal is to remove the elevateds from the Loop and expand the

subway system, which in 1980 totaled 21 miles of tracks.

Architecturally, artistically, and historically, the area is of prime importance. Within its bounds lie seven Chicago Landmark buildings dating from 1886 to 1930, illustrative of the efforts of earlier generations of Chicago architects to get the maximum use out of a limited land area with aesthetically pleasing functional structures. Near them stand more recent examples of the skyscraper. A few of the Loop's outstanding structures, well-known retail stores, and works of art are noted here (nos. [16]–[22]).

(16) Federal Center Plaza and Calder Stabile

South Clark and West Adams Streets

This complex includes three structures: the 27-story Dirksen Building, built by the General Services Administration in 1964 to house the federal courthouse and offices; a 45-story office tower; and a low-lying post office building. All were designed by Ludwig Mies van der Rohe.

The best-known works of Alexander Calder are his mobiles, but the term "stabile" was invented in 1932 to describe works like "Red Flamingo," which he created for the Federal Center Plaza in 1975. It is a 53-foot high figure of red steel.

(17) Chicago Board of Trade Building*

141 West Jackson Boulevard

Designed by Holabird and Root and completed in 1930, this impressive example of Art Deco architecture houses the largest grain exchange in the world. The structure fittingly symbolizes the importance of the commodities trade to Chicago since the found-

ing of the board in 1848 to bring order to chaotic conditions in the city grain markets. Dramatically sited at the southern end of La Salle Street, the present structure is the second Board of Trade building at this location. The first, designed by W. W. Boyington, architect of the Water Tower (no. [27]) and dedicated in 1885, served the Board of Trade for 40 years before it became too small for board business and was torn down to make room for the present structure. The Board of Trade building is topped by a statue, "Ceres, Goddess of the Grain and Harvest," by John H. Stoops. Visitors will find the three-story Art Deco lobby impressive. From a special gallery they can observe shouting traders, hurrying messengers, bags of grain samples, and the quotations board. The structure was designated a Chicago Landmark in 1977.

(18) The Rookery*

209 South La Salle Street

The only survivor of a group of late nineteenth-century multistory commercial buildings in the La Salle Street financial district, the Rookery is named for a huge flock of pigeons that roosted on the water tank, City Hall, and the public library on the southeast corner of La Salle and Adams. The architects who designed the four-story office structure, Burnham and Root, included rooks in the carved ornamentation above the La Salle Street entrance. Built in 1885–1888, the Rookery is a remarkably beautiful building with an interior court designed to ensure light in inner offices, an unusual feature at that time and later widely imitated, and a fine spiral staircase enclosed in a cylindrical projection in the central court. The building combined a stan-

dard masonry system and iron-frame construction methods. Frank Lloyd Wright remodeled the lobby in 1905. The building is owned by Continental Illinois National Bank, whose deed of ownership contains a restrictive covenant designed to preserve its architectural integrity. Located in the heart of the Loop, its office space is prestigious. At one time both Burnham and Root and Frank Lloyd Wright had offices here. The Rookery was designated a Chicago Landmark in 1972.

(19) Carson Pirie Scott & Company Building*

One South State Street

Designed in 1899 by Louis H. Sullivan, a pioneer of modern architecture, and built in 1903–1904 with an addition in 1906 by D. H. Burnham and Company, the Carson Pirie Scott building is often regarded as Sullivan's finest commercial structure. It is notable both as an example of the steel building technology that Chicago architects developed in the late nineteenth century and as an example of Sullivan's skill with ornamentation. The structure gains additional importance from its place in Chicago's retail trade. Although it was originally built for Schlesinger and Mayer, one of Chicago's earliest department stores, Carson's has owned the structure since 1904. John Pirie and Samuel Carson, Belfast dry goods merchants, came from Ireland to La Salle, Illinois, in 1855 and there established a store. Within a decade they had entered the Chicago retail and wholesale markets. The present firm grew from these beginnings. State Street had emerged as the center of Chicago retail activity by 1869, largely due to the efforts of Potter Palmer, the "merchant prince of Chicago." The

Carson Pirie Scott & Company Building was designated a Chicago Landmark in 1970.

(20) Chagall Mosaic

First National Bank Plaza, on Monroe between Dearborn and Clark Streets
C. F. Murphy Associates designed the First National Bank building in 1970. The multilevel plaza on which the building stands is a popular meeting place for Chicago citizens, especially during the warm summer months. The French artist Marc Chagall came to Chicago to supervise the installation of his mosaic, "The Four Seasons," a huge block 70 feet long, 14 feet high, and 10 feet deep, depicting dreamlike figures and objects executed in 350 hues and shades.

(21) Picasso Sculpture

Located on Washington Street at the Chicago Civic Center, bounded by Dearborn, Clark, Randolph, and Washington Streets

Picasso's sculpture, a gift to the people of Chicago, was unveiled in 1967. The 50-foot-high sculpture of rust brown Cor-ten steel, weighing 162 tons, was fabricated by workers of the U.S. Steel Corporation. It is expected that the special metal alloy will rust to the same color as the Civic Center building. The sculpture, which is five stories high, has evoked many comments from Chicago residents and visitors alike, particularly because it is untitled.

(22) Marshall Field and Company*

Marshall Field is on the block bounded by State, Washington, and Randolph Streets and Wabash Avenue

This nationally and internationally famous store has long played an important role in Chicago's economy,

both as a retail store and, until 1935, as a wholesale company serving a national market. Marshall Field began his Chicago business career in 1855 and through merchandising and shrewd investments in real estate acquired a fortune of \$125 million by the time of his death in 1906. Marshall Field and Company was popular because of Field's liberal credit and return policies and an emphasis on comfort and convenience for customers. Fields was the first department store to include a restaurant for its customers. Marshall Field and Company is still well known for its fine line of merchandise attractively displayed. Field gave large gifts to the University of Chicago, the Field Museum of Natural History (no. [10]), and the Chicago Manual Training School. Designed for Marshall Field by the noted architect Daniel H. Burnham, this granite structure was built in four stages between 1892 and 1907. Measuring 340 by 385 feet, the building's exterior has been altered very little.

(23) Sears Tower Skydeck

South Wacker Drive at Jackson Boulevard

When Julius Rosenwald became president of Sears, Roebuck & Company in 1897, he wanted the various offices of the company gathered together under one roof. Therefore, he borrowed money to build the first Sears Tower building at the western edge of the city in 1904. Seventy years later, the mail-order business having outgrown this building, the company, owner of radio station WLS ("World's Largest Store"), commissioned the firm of Skidmore, Owings, and Merrill to design the world's tallest building for its headquarters. The Sears Tower stands

1,454 feet high with 110 stories. The fastest elevator in the world whisks visitors from the lobby to the Skydeck on the 103rd floor in 45 seconds for a magnificent view of the city. Open daily, 9:00 A.M.–midnight. \$

(24) U.S.S. Silversides*

Randolph Street and North Lake Shore Drive

Launched on August 28, 1941, at Mare Island Navy Yard in New York, the *U.S.S. Silversides* chalked up an enviable record in the Pacific theater during World War II, sinking 23 enemy ships and winning four presidential citations. Designated a Naval Reserve Training Vessel in 1962, the submarine was moved to Chicago. After eight years of service, the *U.S.S. Silversides* was retired as a training ship. Berthed at the Naval Armory at the foot of Randolph Street, the submarine has been restored as a memorial to the men of the submarine service. Open daily, Memorial Day–Labor Day, noon–6:00 P.M. \$

(25) Jean Baptiste Du Sable Homesite* and site of Fort Dearborn

The Du Sable homesite is at 401 North Michigan Avenue and the Fort Dearborn site at the intersection of Michigan Avenue and Wacker Drive

On the north bank of the Chicago River, Jean Baptiste Du Sable, probably Chicago's first non-Indian permanent resident, built his home. Du Sable, whose father was French and whose mother was possibly a Black slave, was born in Haiti. Du Sable later migrated to Louisiana and then to the St. Louis area and had settled in Peoria by 1773. Before 1779 he established a fur-trading post and farm on the Chicago

River. Du Sable lived here until 1800 except for a brief period during the Revolutionary War when the British held him prisoner at Mackinac. The site of the Du Sable cabin now lies partly in Pioneer Court Plaza, a 100,000-square-foot public open space developed by the Equitable Life and Chicago Tribune companies. The plaza fountain is inscribed with the names of Chicago pioneers and civic leaders.

In 1803 the federal government built Fort Dearborn on the south bank of the Chicago River near its mouth to protect the entrance to the strategic Lake Michigan–Mississippi River water route. Occupied until August 1812 and then evacuated (see p. 31), the original fort was burned by Indians. Rebuilt in 1816, the fort remained in this location for the next 40 years. Sidewalk markers at Michigan Avenue and Wacker Drive show the location of this Chicago Landmark.

(26) Navy Pier*

Grand Avenue and Lake Michigan at Streeter Drive

Daniel Burnham's 1909 plan for the city of Chicago urged the development of harbor facilities, calling for two long piers projecting into the lake on either side of the Chicago River. One pier materialized. Charles Sumner Frost's unique design combined commercial and recreational features in a 3,040-foot-long pier completed in 1916. On one side of the pier commercial shipping docked; on the other, passengers boarded excursion steamers for sightseeing cruises to Milwaukee or along the Chicago lake-front. A magnificent hall suitable for concerts, entertainment, and dancing and a restaurant were located at the



This 1913 photograph shows the east end of the Municipal Pier where a restaurant and dance hall—theater were located. Note the excursion boats which operated between the Pier and Jackson and Lincoln Parks. Courtesy Chicago Historical Society. Clark negative.

east end of the pier, served by a streetcar line.

Municipal Pier was renamed Navy Pier at the end of World War I to commemorate the naval dead. For a generation the pier served freight and passenger traffic as well as the recreational needs of Chicagoans. The U.S. Navy leased the entire pier for a naval training center at the beginning of World War II. After the war, the University of Illinois occupied the 34-acre space until its Chicago Circle campus opened in 1965. Following the removal of "Harvard on the Rocks," trade shows and expositions utilized the upper level of the pier. A promenade deck on the upper level is open to the public during the navigation season. Here visitors can observe the loading and unloading of some overseas cargo, much of which is news-

print. Chicago's major port facility, Calumet Harbor, lies to the south (see p. 101). The restoration of the recreational part of Navy Pier was undertaken as a Bicentennial project. Every August Navy Pier is the site of ChicagoFest. The pier has been designated a Chicago City Landmark.

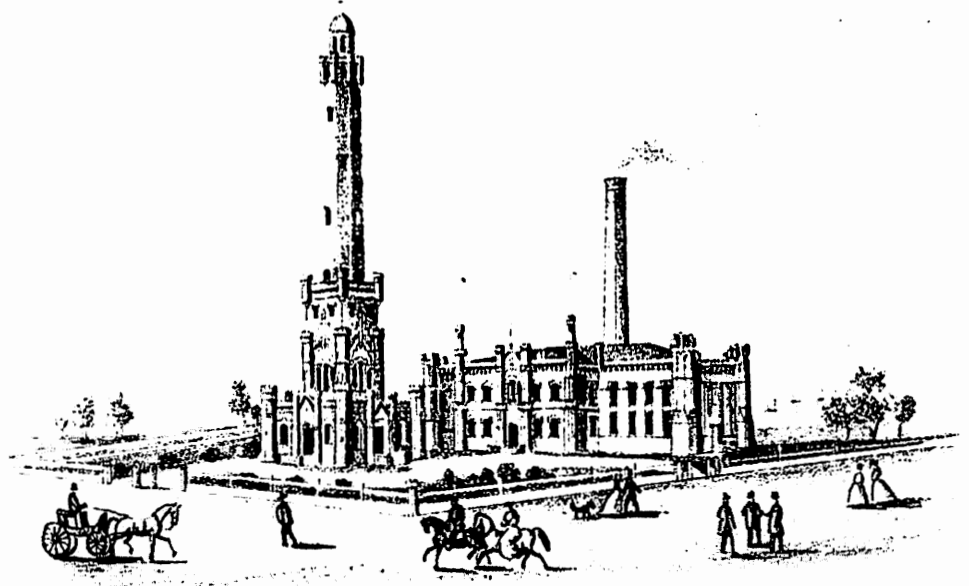
(27) Old Chicago Water Tower District*

Chicago and Michigan Avenues

Designed by the Chicago architect William W. Boyington and built in 1866–1869, the castellated Gothic Water Tower and pumping station helped to meet Chicago's need for a clean water supply. The rapidly growing town developed serious drinking-water and sewage-disposal problems in the 1860s because the sewage emptied into the Chicago River contaminated drinking

water drawn from a crib 200 feet off the Lake Michigan shore. The city chose Ellis S. Chesbrough, Boston's chief engineer, to solve the problem. Chesbrough planned and supervised the construction of a tunnel running two miles into Lake Michigan and lying 66 feet below the lakebed, a remarkable engineering feat that attracted international attention. The pumping station pumped water through the tunnel from its crib two miles offshore to provide a very adequate water supply for the city. Similar tunnels and cribs have since been added. The limestone Water Tower originally enclosed a stand pipe, which equalized water pressure for delivery through mains and pipes. New pumping equipment installed in 1906 made the stand pipe obsolete, and it was removed five years later.

This architect's drawing of the Old Water Tower and Pumping Station was probably done in 1865. Courtesy Chicago Historical Society.



But the pumping station still functions as part of Chicago's water system, and the Water Tower remains. The exteriors of the two buildings survived the fire of 1871. They stand not only as a monument to hydraulic engineering, but also as examples of the architecture found in this fashionable part of Chicago before the great fire. The Water Tower District is a Chicago Landmark.

The 74-story Water Tower Place, in the 800 block of North Michigan Avenue, just across the street from the Water Tower, was built in the early 1970s by subsidiaries of Marshall Field and Company and Aetna Life Insurance. This \$130 million urban center houses a large Marshall Field store, the Ritz Carlton Hotel, condominiums, and four levels of underground parking.

(28) John Hancock Center
875 North Michigan Avenue

The Hancock Center Plaza is located in Streeterville, a historic section of Chicago named for George ("Cap") Wellington Streeter, a colorful circus owner, Civil War veteran, and steamboat captain. In 1886, en route to the Gulf of Mexico, his boat struck a sand bar about 450 feet offshore in Lake Michigan between Chicago Avenue and Oak Street. He and his wife, Maria, moved into the stranded boat, and through a combination of their efforts and the forces of nature surrounded the stricken boat with 186 acres of sand and municipal garbage. Cap declared the island a "District of Lake Michigan," subject only to the laws of God and the federal government. For the next 30 years, the Chicago government tried desperately to evict, jail, or sink the pair, while Streeter and his wife continued to live on their ship, selling sand bar lots at extravagant prices and occasionally opening gambling casinos and taverns. Big

Bill Thompson, mayor in 1918, finally ousted them for the relatively minor offense of peddling liquor on a Sunday. From his new lakeshore houseboat, Cap continued to fight for his rights in the courts until his death in 1921.

The 100 stories of the multipurpose John Hancock Center accommodate housing, shops, offices, apartments, restaurants, and garages. Skidmore, Owings, and Merrill designed the center, which opened in 1969. The exterior is black anodized aluminum with tinted glass. The observation deck is open daily, 9:00 A.M.—midnight. \$

(29) Chicago Historical Society
North Clark Street at the south end of Lincoln Park

Once the site of a cemetery, Lincoln Park, with its 1,200 acres of woodlands, lagoons, bridle paths, playgrounds, and golf courses, contains a zoo, a number of monuments to

prominent persons, a conservatory, and museums.

Those interested in the history of Chicago will find the Chicago Historical Society well worth a visit. Organized in 1856, the society now occupies its fourth headquarters, the Georgian structure at the south end of Lincoln Park, built in 1932 and enlarged in 1972. The society's museum includes exhibits tracing Chicago's history and covering selected areas of American history; a gallery of Illinois pioneer life featuring daily craft demonstrations; presentations on Lincoln and the Civil War; and special exhibits highlighting the history of photography and print making, fashions, and the decorative arts. The society offers a number of other programs for the public, and its research library contains a wide variety of manuscripts, maps, graphics, and printed materials. Research collections are open for use Tuesday through Saturday (Monday through Friday during the summer) without charge. The museum is open daily, Monday–Saturday, 9:30 A.M.–4:30 P.M.; and Sunday noon–5:00 P.M. \$

(30) Old Town Triangle District

This district is bounded by North Avenue, Lincoln Park, and the extension of Ogden Avenue north to Armitage Avenue.

In contrast to the upper-middle-class residential development pattern in suburban Oak Park, River Forest, and Riverside (see nos. [33] and [34]), the Old Town Triangle District developed as a working-class neighborhood. From the 1850s down to the fire of 1871, immigrants from many German principalities settled here and established the cultural character of the community. They built small frame

homes known as Chicago cottages. They established St. Michael's parish in 1852, and in 1866 began construction of an impressive red brick sanctuary. They worked as shoemakers, garment makers, brewery employees, carpenters, railroad construction hands, and grain loaders.

The fire of October 8, 1871, virtually destroyed North Town, as Old Town was then called. Even the beautiful new St. Michael's Church was gutted, and only three double-brick exterior walls remained. Rebuilding began quickly. Within a year St. Michael's had been restored. Workers rebuilt frame Chicago cottages until 1874, when a city ordinance forbade wooden construction. Thereafter, brick became popular.

The last three decades of the century brought changes to North Town. The city developed Lincoln Park along the lakefront to the east of the neighborhood. To the working-class community came prosperous businessmen like brewer Frederick Wacker to build substantial homes. Developers constructed row houses. The German heritage remained, expressed in a Protestant and a Catholic church, with services in German; a variety of social, cultural, and recreational societies; and German restaurants and taverns.

Early in the twentieth century, North Town stopped growing and deteriorated somewhat under the impact of changes in the adjacent areas to the north, south, and west. The eastern part of North Town, moreover, dubbed "Old Town" after World War II, escaped substantial change. Thanks in large measure to the work of the Old Town Triangle Association, formed in 1948, North Town revived as a Chicago neighborhood with an in-

terest in its historic past. The spirit of community again prevails.

Visitors to the Old Town Triangle District will note that St. Michael's still stands and its bells still peal. Examples of Chicago cottages still remain. The Wacker homes (the smaller of the two a converted carriage house) stand at 1836 and 1838 North Lincoln Park West. Examples of late nineteenth-century row houses are found in the 100 block of Eugenie Street. Five row houses designed by Louis Sullivan are located at 1826–1834 North Lincoln Park West. Daniel Crilly's row houses, built in 1885, are located on Crilly Court. The Old Town Triangle District was made a Chicago Landmark in 1977.

(31) Jane Addams's Hull House* and Dining Hall

800 South Halsted

This Chicago Landmark testifies to the ideals of Jane Addams and Ellen Gates Starr, who established Hull House in 1889 in an effort to meet the social needs of Chicago's vast immigrant population. On the near west side, they acquired the former home of a Chicago businessman, Charles Hull, built in 1856. It formed the hub of a growing neighborhood center that offered a host of social services.

Today Hull House is located on the Chicago Circle campus of the University of Illinois, developed in the 1960s on urban renewal land that included the Hull House Settlement complex of more than thirteen buildings. Because of their historical importance, the university agreed to restore and preserve the Charles Hull House as well as the Dining Hall (built in 1905) used by Hull House residents.

The reconstructed Hull House pres-



Children's art class in the Hull House neighborhood. Courtesy University of Illinois at Chicago, The Library, Jane Addams Memorial Collection.

ently includes a museum and research library. Many of Addams's personal furnishings may be seen in the sitting room-office on the first floor. Here also are restored double parlors. The reception room is now an exhibit area, as is the Octagon Room, which Charles Hull originally used as an office. The Dining Hall, which has been relocated a few feet south of the mansion, contains an ethnic museum of the immigrant neighborhood as Addams and her colleagues knew it.

The interpretative program at Hull House also includes slide tape presentations depicting Addams's work and the history of the surrounding neighborhood. Open daily year round, except holidays, Monday-Friday, 10:00

A.M.—4:00 P.M.; Sundays, noon—5:00 P.M., in the summer months. Free.

(32) Chicago's Immigrant Heritage

The growth and development of Chicago owe much to the hundreds of thousands of immigrants who settled in the city. They worked in factories and stockyards, helped build railroads and city transit systems, established shops and businesses, and served the city as policemen, firemen, and elected officials. Chicago has many visual reminders of its different national groups—churches, museums, art galleries, craft shops, restaurants, and neighborhoods. The following list is but a sampling. For other sites reflecting Chicago's ethnic history see

Du Sable Museum of African American History (no. [3]); Old Town Triangle District (no. [30]); and Jane Addams's Hull House (no. [31]). Those interested in Chicago's wealth of churches and their ethnic origins should consult George Lane, *Chicago Churches and Synagogues: An Architectural Pilgrimage* (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1981). The author has classified churches by national origin and by areas within the city in very useful indexes.

St. Stanislaus Kostka,

1351 West Evergreen Drive

Organized in 1867, St. Stanislaus Kostka is the oldest Polish parish within the city limits. At one time this beautiful structure, dedicated in 1881, had more than 30,000 communicants.

Church of the Five Holy Martyrs, 43rd and Richmond Streets

Five Holy Martyrs parish was founded in 1909 for the Polish community of Brighton Park. In 1969 and 1975 the parish hosted Cardinal Karol Wojtyla, who returned to the parish as Pope John Paul II. He celebrated an outdoor mass for the Polish community at the parish field on October 5, 1979. A crowd of 200,000 poured into Brighton Park to welcome the pope. To commemorate this event, the City Council of Chicago officially changed the name of a one-mile stretch of 43rd Street, from Western Avenue to Kedzie Avenue, to Pope John Paul II Drive.

Polish Museum of America,

984 North Milwaukee Avenue

Housed in facilities provided by the Polish Roman Catholic Union of America, the museum displays include the Paderewski Room, furnished with memorabilia of the famous pianist; a

main exhibit, which highlights folk and fine arts; the Kosciuszko collection; a marine exhibit; and an art gallery. The archives and library contain extensive collections on Polish and Polish American history. Open daily, noon–5:00 P.M. Donations welcome.

Lithuanian Plaza

This neighborhood, bounded by 67th Street, Rockwell Street, 71st Street, and California Avenue, includes a number of Lithuanian craft and gift shops.

Balzekas Museum of Lithuanian Culture, 4012 South Archer Avenue

The museum contains rich collections of Lithuanian art, stamps, coins, weaving, folk art, amber, armor, religious memorabilia, maps, clocks, and antique furniture. An extensive library includes theater and drama archives, Lithuanian genealogical materials, and collections of photographs and magazines. The museum conducts educational programs as well. Open daily 1:00–4:00 P.M. \$

Chinatown South

A profusion of Chinese shops, restaurants, and grocery stores attracts tourists to the nine square blocks of Chinatown South, located on Wentworth Avenue from Cermak Road to 28th Street. The settlement of Chinese in the Wentworth Avenue and 22nd Street area began about 1905 when the most affluent of Chicago's Chinese purchased property here. Chinese moved from the west coast into Chicago after 1876 and lived initially in the area around South Clark and Van Buren Streets. Landlord exploitation there had much to do with the beginnings of Chinatown South.

Important public structures in Chi-



Holy Trinity Russian Orthodox Cathedral. Courtesy Chicago Historical Society. ICHI-19263

natown South include the Chinese Christian Union Church at Wentworth Avenue and West 23rd Street; St. Therese Catholic Mission on Alexander Street; the On Leong Tong building, often called the City Hall; and the Ling Long Museum, 2238 Wentworth Avenue.

Maurice Spertus Museum of Judaica, 618 South Michigan Avenue

The museum houses permanent collections of ceremonial objects, sculpture, paintings, graphic art, ethnographic materials, a Holocaust Memorial, and a special exhibit, "Room of the Generations," which places a Jewish family's experience in European and American historical perspective. Open Monday–Thursday, 10:00 A.M.–5:00 P.M.; Friday 10:00 A.M.–3:00 P.M.; and Sunday, 10:00 A.M.–4:00 P.M. \$

Ukrainian National Museum, 2453 West Chicago Avenue

The museum displays include a large collection of Ukrainian folk art, dolls, costumes, modern Ukrainian art, folk instruments, and architectural and historical exhibits. A library and archive contain collections for those interested in Ukrainian and Ukrainian American research. Open Sunday, noon–3:00 P.M. Free.

Ukrainian Institute of Modern Art, 2316 West Chicago Avenue

Open daily, noon–4:00 P.M., except Monday. Donations accepted.

Holy Trinity Orthodox Cathedral and Rectory,* 1117–1127 North Leavitt Street

Designed by Louis Sullivan in 1900–1901 to meet the needs of Chicago's

Russian Orthodox community, Holy Trinity was consecrated in 1903. The task of designing the church was given to Sullivan after an earlier plan for a much grander structure had been discarded. Sullivan's design was similar to the Russian provincial churches known to the priest and his parishioners. The interior is lavishly decorated with examples of Russian ecclesiastical art. The church is a Chicago Historical and Architectural Landmark.

Swedish American Museum,
5248 North Clark Street

Dedicated by Carl XVI Gustaf, king of Sweden, in April 1976, the museum highlights Swedish culture and the achievements of Swedish Americans. Museum classes teach folk dancing, Swedish handicrafts, and cooking. Open Tuesday–Friday, 11:00 A.M.–2:00 P.M.; Saturday, 11:00 A.M.–3:00 P.M. Closed on Sunday and Monday. Donations accepted.

(33) Frank Lloyd Wright Prairie School of Architecture District* and River Forest Historic District*
Oak Park and River Forest

Because of the concentration of residential architecture designed by Frank Lloyd Wright and his Prairie School colleagues, students, and followers, portions of the village of Oak Park and its neighbor, River Forest, have been designated as historic districts on the National Register of Historic Places. These districts also include fine examples of other residential architectural styles dating from the 1850s through the 1920s.

The Wright Historic District in Oak Park is bounded approximately by Harlem Avenue and by Division, Ridgeland, and Lake Streets. The River

Forest Historic District adjoins it, bounded by Harlem and Chicago Avenues, Lake Street, and the Des Plaines River.

Wright designed 25 Oak Park residences, plus Unity Temple, between 1889 and 1913. Over a hundred other structures designed by his contemporaries, associates, and students are also found here. They represent the work of the Prairie School of architecture, which emphasized open space, horizontal planes, and integrated use of natural materials like wood, brick, stone, and glass. Within the bounds of the River Forest District, 165 structures have been identified as having special architectural and/or historical importance, mainly Prairie school residences. Wright designed five of these homes and the River Forest Tennis Club.

The two districts offer those interested in Wright's architecture a unique opportunity to observe the evolution of his Prairie style between 1893 and 1909. Six of his structures have been separately identified on the National Register of Historic Places. As a young architect Wright built a home* in Oak Park in 1889, and in 1898 he added a studio* adjacent to it. The home and the studio, at 951 Chicago Avenue, are being restored to their appearance in 1909, the last year Wright lived and worked in them. At the southwest corner of Lake Street and Kenilworth Avenue stands Unity Temple,* designed by Wright in 1905 and completed in 1908 to replace the Oak Park Universalist Church, which had burned down. It has been called "the first monumentally expressed use of reinforced concrete in world architecture" and a "prime example of modern church architecture." The Wil-

liam H. Winslow House and Stable* are at 515 Auvergne Place, River Forest. Built in 1893, the house and stable were Wright's first independent commission. Also listed are the Walter Gale House* (1893), one of his bootleg houses (Wright moonlighted while working for Louis Sullivan); the Frank Thomas House,* his first Prairie house in Oak Park (1901); and the Mrs. Thomas Gale House* of 1909, which includes a cantilevered roof and balcony.

The history of the villages of Oak Park and River Forest goes back decades before the Wright years of residence. Although permanent white settlement in the area dates from the 1830s, substantial numbers of people chose to settle in the area only after the inauguration of regular railroad service from downtown Chicago in 1849. The Village of River Forest was incorporated in 1880, and the Village of Oak Park in 1901. With the establishment of good commuting service in the 1880s, both developed as pleasant villages attracting a good share of Chicago's more affluent businessmen and professionals, who preferred the environment of a spacious suburban town with shaded streets. Oak Park and River Forest developed cooperatively, sharing community facilities. Oak Park–River Forest is the designation today of the high school, the historical society, and the chamber of commerce. The Historical Society of Oak Park and River Forest is housed in the Farson-Mills House, which was designed by another Prairie architect, George Maher, in 1897. The collection includes memorabilia of another Oak Park notable, Ernest Hemingway.

Those interested in the architectural



Frank Lloyd Wright Home and Studio, Oak Park, Illinois. Courtesy The Frank Lloyd Wright Home and Studio Foundation.

riches of Oak Park and River Forest should begin their explorations at the Visitor Center at 158 Forest Avenue (one-half block north of Lake Street), open daily from March through November, 10:00 A.M.–5:00 P.M. Walking and bicycle tours of the area, offered at a modest fee and sponsored by the Frank Lloyd Wright Home and Studio

Foundation, begin here. The center sells maps showing the location of architecturally significant structures and rents recorded walking-tour guides to the Wright buildings. For information on guided tours of the Frank Lloyd Wright Home and Studio and Unity Temple and visiting hours at the Farson-Mills House, call (312) 848–

1978. To reach the Visitor Center by car, take the Eisenhower Expressway (I-290) to Harlem Avenue and exit north. Follow the brown and white signs to the historic district parking area at Lake Street and North Forest Avenue.



Keith Burnham, 1975. *Riverside Historical Museum, Riverside, Illinois.*

(34) Riverside Landscape Architecture District*

This district is bounded by 26th Street, Des Plaines Avenue, 31st Street, Forbes Road, the Des Plaines River, and Ogden and Harlem Avenues.

The Riverside Development Association was organized to promote a suburb that would be the first stop west of Chicago on the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy Railroad. The promoters envisioned homes for Chicago executives and their families in a pastoral setting, and in 1868 they commissioned the team of Frederick L. Olmsted and Calvert Vaux, designers of Central Park in New York City, to lay out the community.

The Olmsted-Vaux plan for Riverside broke with the established no-

tions of American commuter suburb design. Rejecting the rectangular grid system popular with planners before 1868, Olmsted and Vaux chose instead to lay out streets so that they flow around the landscape's topography in harmony with the winding Des Plaines River. They recommended unfenced parks and recreation areas, clumped tree plantings along roadsides, large lots, restrictions on the distance between houses and roadways, and requirements that lot owners plant trees. The association agreed with these suggestions and energetically began to lay out roads, subdivide the land, lay water and gas mains, and construct a hotel, stores, a stone chapel, and spacious frame homes.

The depression of 1873 dampened

expansion, and Riverside grew more slowly during the next half-century as a wealthy suburb with families of older American stock predominating. The 1920s brought change. Riverside experienced an influx of Bohemians and Poles and others of more recent European origin who came westward from Cicero, Berwyn, and Chicago's west side to build good, substantial homes. Apartment buildings cast their shadows over great old houses, and the grandeur of the old hotel dimmed. Streets were marked and houses numbered. The city had overtaken the suburb.

Nevertheless, 1,500 acres had been developed according to the Olmsted-Vaux plan, attracting many of Chicago's more affluent businessmen and professionals. This area has retained much of its early character. One hundred acres of the original tract, lying at the western edge of the historic district, did not follow the plan. The Chicago Zoological Park and two schools occupy part of it, and the balance fell to a developer who substituted tiny parks and small lots for the plan's generous ones in an effort to use all available land.

Of the buildings constructed in 1869–1871, a block of two-and-one-half-story red brick and stone stores and offices, a stone chapel, and a few frame residences remain. The district contains a few homes designed by William Le Baron Jenney, three by Frank Lloyd Wright, and two by Louis Sullivan. In the district are a representative sample of architectural styles from 1871 to 1969.

Those wishing to visit the Riverside Landscape District should go to the Riverside Historical Commission Museum, located in Centennial Square



Northwestern University Campus, 1907. Courtesy Northwestern University Archives.

in the heart of the village on Long-common Road. The museum occupies a renovated water tower. Pamphlets are available here showing the location of structures of architectural and historical importance. Open on Saturday during the warm months.

2. Evanston Sheridan Road

Evanston's early growth began with the founding of Northwestern University in 1851 by a group of Chicago Methodist leaders who were determined to establish "a university of the highest order of excellence." The town is named for one of them, Dr. John Evans. Incorporated as a town in 1863, Evanston grew substantially during the next three decades. Many Chicago merchants chose to build their homes in Evanston, a respectable and conservative town attractively located on Lake Michigan. Well served by

commuter trains and a handsome lakeshore drive, Evanston grew as a satellite of Chicago, incorporating as a city in 1892.

Over the years many business, professional, insurance, and religious organizations selected Evanston as national headquarters. Industry began to develop in World War I and the 1920s. In 1979 Evanston's industries included 16 firms with more than 100 employees each. They produced a wide variety of products, including food, packaging materials, rust preventatives, cameras, and sheet steel. The two largest employers, with 500 workers each, produced hospital supplies and machinery.

This city of 73,700 has experienced an orderly growth, largely because of zoning and planning by a conservative government. Evanston retains open areas, parks, an attractive lakeshore, and wide, tree-lined streets, century-old characteristics of the university and residential town.

Evanston Sites of Interest

(1) Charles Gates Dawes House* *225 Greenwood Street*

Built in 1894 for Dr. Robert D. Shepard, treasurer and business manager of Northwestern University, this two-and-a-half story mansion, modeled on a French chateau, became the home of Charles G. Dawes in 1909. Dawes, a prominent financier and Republican, served as comptroller of the currency under William McKinley, director of the budget under Warren G. Harding, and vice president of the United States during the Coolidge administration. For his efforts to adjust German reparation payments for World War I, popularly known as the Dawes Plan, he received the Nobel Peace Prize for 1925. The Dawes family occupied the home until 1957, when Northwestern University took possession of the house under the terms of Dawes's will. Because of its national, state, and local significance, the Dawes House was designated a National Historic Landmark in 1976.

Since 1960 the Dawes House has served as the headquarters of the Evanston Historical Society, fulfilling Dawes's hope that his home would one day house the society's museum. It also serves as headquarters of the Junior League of Evanston. Five rooms on the first floor reflect the home as the Dawes family used it and contain exhibits of Dawes memorabilia and Evanston artifacts. Eight rooms on the second floor house displays of dolls and toys; the Historical Society office and meeting and research facilities; and Junior League quarters. A third floor was never completed and is not open to the public. It includes two

servants' bedrooms, a stage, ballroom, and dressing room.

The Carriage House, built in 1892, originally accommodated horse-drawn vehicles but was adapted for automobiles and servants' quarters. The society plans to restore and open the ground floor as an exhibit area. Open Monday, Tuesday, Friday, and Saturday, 1:00–5:00 P.M. \$

(2) Willard House*

1730 Chicago Avenue

At 1730 Chicago Avenue stand the headquarters of the Women's Christian Temperance Union, an organization working to restrict the use of alcohol. The WCTU and Frances Willard, its president from 1879–1898, made the town of Evanston well known both nationally and internationally. Willard, who had a distinguished teaching career, resigned as dean of women at Northwestern in 1874 to embark on a crusade for temperance and woman suffrage. Her social reform interests went far beyond these two issues. She worked for international peace and arbitration, labor reform, urban welfare, and prison reform. She dreamed of a unified women's social reform organization that would "do everything."

Rest Cottage, as the Willard family home is known today, stands on the WCTU grounds, a gabled Victorian Gothic structure built in 1865, with an addition in 1878. The house contains many original furnishings and personal possessions that reflect Willard's years of dedication to the temperance cause. Open Monday–Friday, 9:00 A.M.–noon and 1:00–4:00 P.M. Tour by appointment only. Call (312) 864-1397. Donation.

(3) Grosse Point Lighthouse*

2535 Sheridan Road

In response to requests from Evanston citizens, the federal government built Grosse Point Lighthouse in 1873 to prevent ships from foundering on the treacherous shoals of Grosse Point. A double home was built just a few steps away from the tower for the lighthouse keeper, his two assistants, and a laborer. The beehive-shaped lens for the Grosse Point light is a Civil War veteran. The reflector, sent from Paris to Louisiana during the war, failed to reach its destination and for a time lay buried in the sands of a Florida beach. Recovered and sent to Evanston, the lens still bears visible scratches from the sand. In 1935 the 60,000-candlepower light was converted to electricity and made automatic.

Today, the Evanston Environmental Association operates programs at the Lighthouse Nature Center to acquaint young and old with the beauties of nature along Lake Michigan's shore. There is a nature trail on the grounds, now part of the 10 acre Lighthouse Landing Park.

Plans are underway to restore the first floor of the assistant keeper's residence in the style of the 1880s. The Lighthouse Nature Center will be moved to the South Foghouse, and the North Foghouse will become a visitors' center showing an award-winning film on the Lighthouse produced for the Bicentennial.

Tours of the lighthouse are conducted on weekends from May to October, 1:30–4:30 P.M. Call (312) 328-6961 to make arrangements.

The federal government also built a lifesaving station on the lakeshore in 1876 in response to requests from Evanston citizens after the sinking of

the *Lady Elgin* in 1860. Many Northwestern University students served as volunteer members of the crew. By the time the station was discontinued in 1916, these crews were credited with saving between 200 and 300 persons from drowning.

(4) Evanston Art Center

2603 Sheridan Road

The Evanston Art Center was organized in 1929 and in 1966 moved into its present quarters, a beautiful replica of a sixteenth-century English manor house, built for Harley Clarke, a utilities executive, in the 1920s. The Art Center has been successful in adapting the house to its new use without obscuring its basic beauty. Work areas for art students fill most of the house, and several fine galleries occupy the remainder.

The center is open daily, Monday–Friday, 9:00 A.M.–5:00 P.M.; Saturday, 9:00 A.M.–4:00 P.M.; and Sunday, 2:00–5:00 P.M. Free.

3. Wilmette Sheridan Road

A residential community of 28,229, Wilmette is named for Archange Ouilmette, the Potawatomi Indian wife of Antoine Ouilmette, a French Canadian fur trader. The federal government awarded her two sections of land on Lake Michigan for herself and her children in the Treaty of Prairie du Chien in 1829. In 1869, 31 years after the Ouilmettes had departed for Council Bluffs, Iowa, the village was platted as a residential suburb of Chicago. Over the years about half of its working res-

idents have commuted to Chicago jobs. The older tree-shaded residential sections of town near Lake Michigan are in distinct contrast to newer sections lying to the west and to the high-rise apartment complex developed on a newly incorporated strip of lakefront lying between Kenilworth and Wilmette.

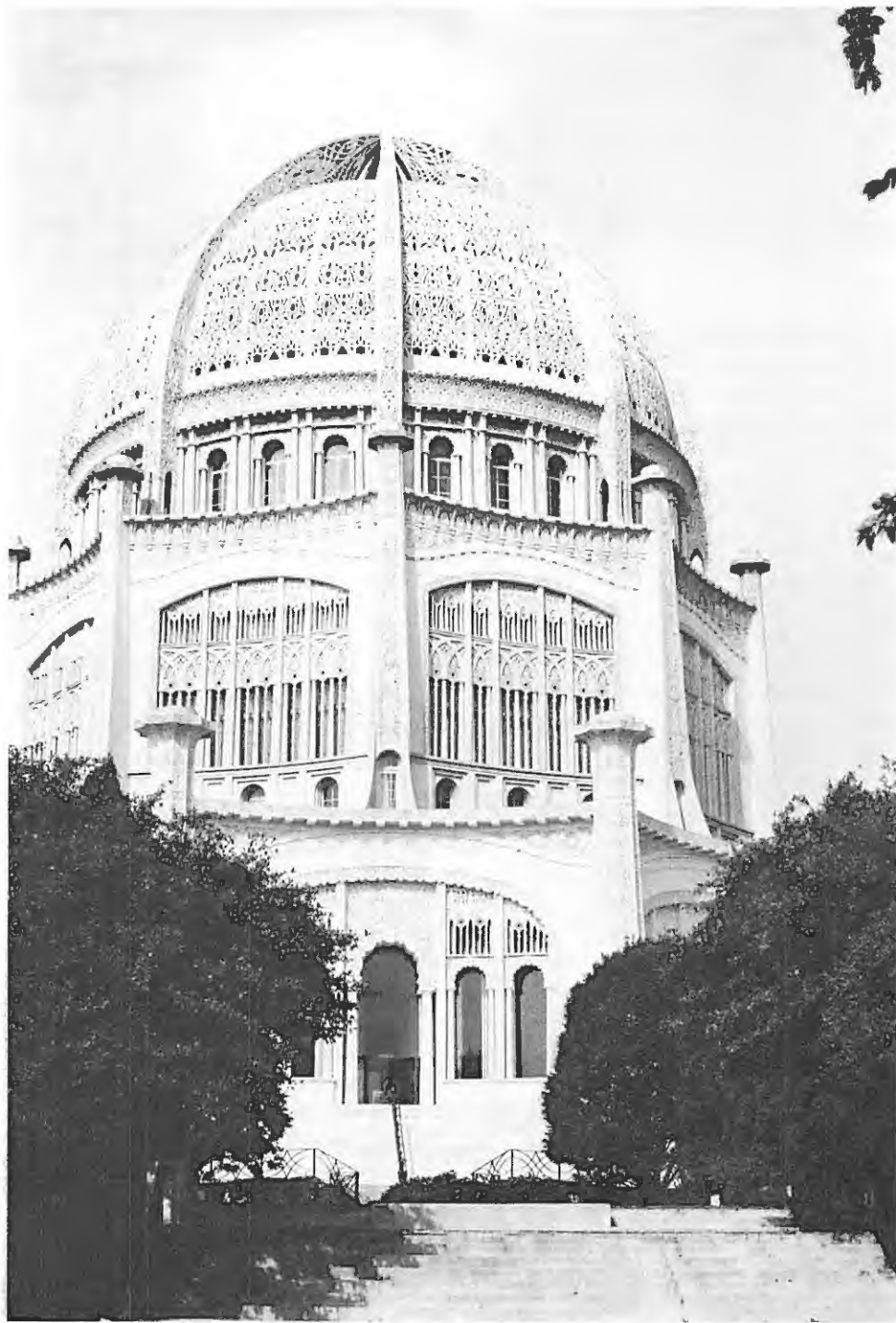
Wilmette Sites of Interest

(1) Baha'i Temple*

100 Linden Avenue

Although the first Baha'i community in the United States was established in 1894, the world religion began in Persia earlier in the nineteenth century. Planning for a house of worship began as early as 1903, but it was not until 1953 that the shrine, designed by the French Canadian architect Louis Bourgeois, was dedicated. The building is one of the most beautiful and unusual edifices in Illinois. It is constructed of nine panels made from ground quartz and white cement, each panel incorporating a door and ornamental windows opening onto landscaped garden areas. On the interior of the approximately 190-foot-high dome are interwoven geometric forms and religious symbols. The House of Worship is open to visitors daily, May–October, 10:00 A.M.–10:00 P.M.; November–April, 10:00 A.M.–5:00 P.M. Free.

The *North Channel* of the Chicago Sanitary and Ship Canal begins just north of the Baha'i grounds. The canal runs through Evanston and joins the North Branch of the Chicago River within Chicago city limits.



The Baha'i Temple, September 1984. Photo by Margaret Bogue.

(2) Frank J. Baker House**507 Lake Avenue*

Frank Lloyd Wright designed this house in 1908 for a resident of Sewanee, Tennessee, and when the project did not materialize offered the design to Frank J. Baker in 1909. The magnificent two-story living room of this private residence projects toward the street.

(3) Chicago and North Western Railroad Depot**1135–1141 Wilmette Avenue*

The oldest surviving urban passenger station in the Chicago metropolitan area, the Wilmette depot played an important role in the town's development. Efforts to promote a town on this site failed until Wilmette's developers succeeded in persuading the Chicago and North Western Railroad to make their town site a railroad stop. They platted the first subdivision in 1869. The 1873 depot, more elaborate than many midwestern railroad stations, "was designed to receive, and impress, prospective land buyers from Chicago." In its next 20 years as a commuter suburb Wilmette's population grew from 300 to 3,000.

In 1897 the depot, sited on the wrong side of the tracks for passengers, was replaced by another passenger station. Moved to a new location, the 1873 depot served as a freight station until after World War II. It stood vacant from 1946 to 1974, when it was moved to its present location to prevent its destruction. The Wilmette Historical Society considers the depot the town's most historic building because of its age and its role in the town's growth.

(4) Wilmette Historical Museum*565 Hunter Road*

The museum contains permanent exhibits on the history of the settlement of Wilmette and the Indian tribes of the area. It also houses the archives of Wilmette and a special room devoted to the history of costumes and clothing. Open Tuesday–Thursday, 9:30 A.M.–noon and 1:30 P.M.–4:00 P.M.; Saturday, 2:00–5:00 P.M.; the first Monday of the month, 7:30–9:30 P.M. Free.

4. Kenilworth*Sheridan Road*

Having sold his interest in a successful lard-manufacturing business to Philip D. Armour, Joseph Sears, for nine years vice president of N. K. Fairbank and Company, applied his business expertise to the creation of a community north of Chicago for his fellow members of the Swedenborgian church. The 223 acres of level land he purchased in 1889 lay between Wilmette and Winnetka, east of the Chicago and North Western Railroad tracks.

With a group of friends, Sears formed the Kenilworth Company to develop and run the community until its incorporation as a village in 1896. The company laid out streets, operated the water works and gas supply system, and enforced deed restrictions to preserve the character of the community. The village ordinances prohibited alleys, required large lots, set building standards, and restricted lot sales to Caucasians.

The Kenilworth Company also named the streets and avenues. Sears chose the name Kenilworth after returning from a visit to England. Ave-

nues were named after people or places in Sir Walter Scott's novel *Kenilworth*, while streets crossing Kenilworth Avenue were named for American authors.

Before moving to Kenilworth, Joseph Sears owned a home on Chicago's prestigious Prairie Avenue (site 1, no. [7]), built for him by Daniel Burnham. Burnham designed Sears's Kenilworth home and two other imposing residences in the village. Other well-known midwestern architects who designed homes and public buildings in Kenilworth include George W. Maher, John S. Van Bergen, Walter Burley Griffin, and Barry Byrne.

Kenilworth, with a current population of about 2,700, remains a high-income residential village. Most of its working population commutes to the Loop.

Kenilworth Sites of Interest**(1) George W. Maher House****424 Warwick Road*

Maher began working in the Chicago architectural firm of August Bauer and Henry Hill in 1878, while still a very young man. Before establishing his own practice in 1888, he worked as a draftsman along with Frank Lloyd Wright in the office of J. L. Silsbee. Maher was notably successful in designing houses for wealthy residents of the Chicago suburbs, and Kenilworth has the largest concentration of them. Here he also constructed his own home at 424 Warwick Road, picturesque in design, the Kenilworth Club, Kenilworth Assembly Hall, ravine bridges, and the Joseph Sears School. The Maher house built in 1893, is regarded by some architectural histo-

rians as an "excellent example of the earliest work of the Prairie School."

(2) Kenilworth Union Church

211 Kenilworth Avenue

The church was completed by the Kenilworth Company in 1892. Sears's five children gave the Swedenborgian window in memory of their parents. Pictured in the window are figures associated with the development of the Swedenborgian church, which was founded by followers of the Swedish scientist, philosopher, and theologian Emanuel Swedenborg in 1784.

(3) Episcopal Church of the Holy Comforter

Kenilworth Avenue and Warwick Road

In 1926, 20 years after this church was completed, the rector, Father Danforth, obtained permission to move the body of Eugene Field, children's poet, from Graceland Cemetery in Chicago to the garden of the Church of the Holy Comforter.

(4) Kenilworth Historical Society

415 Kenilworth Avenue

The society's museum includes photographic exhibits of Kenilworth's historic homes and buildings. Open Mondays, 1:00–3:00 P.M. Free.

5. Winnetka

Sheridan Road

Like Evanston, Wilmette, and Kenilworth, Winnetka is a residential suburb of Chicago, attractive to well-to-do Chicagoans for more than a century because of its beautiful lake location and its railroad connection, dating

from 1854, with the central city. Winnetka, the name chosen by the wife of the town's founder, Charles E. Peck, has often been said to mean "beautiful land" in Potawatomi, but the meaning is apparently uncertain. Winnetka's site was long the home of the Potawatomi. Later it became a stopping place for travelers on the Chicago–Green Bay Trail. With the coming of the railroad, Charles Peck, a successful Chicago merchant, and Walter Burnee, president of the Chicago and Milwaukee Railroad, laid out the town in 1854.

Six years after the founding of the town, on the morning of September 8, 1860, Winnetka residents awoke to find that a tragedy had occurred in Lake Michigan about 10 miles offshore during the stormy night. The *Lady Elgin*, an excursion sidewheeler carrying more than 300 passengers from Chicago to Milwaukee, had collided in the dark with an overloaded lumber schooner. More than 290 of the passengers drowned, many of them members of the Union Guards, an Irish American militia unit from Milwaukee. Those who survived owed their lives to the desperate efforts of lakeshore residents to save them. A mournful ballad, "Lost on the Lady Elgin," was sung around the parlor pianos for many years in memory of the tragedy.

Henry Demarest Lloyd, perhaps the best known of Winnetka's late nineteenth-century residents, moved to the village in 1878. He established his reputation as a critic of big business in the pages of the *Chicago Tribune* and became nationally prominent for his 1894 attack on the Standard Oil Company, *Wealth Against Commonwealth*.

The nationally famous Hadley School for the Blind, organized in 1921 by a Chicago educator, William A.

Hadley, is located in Winnetka. The staff prepares Braille materials and recordings to enable students throughout the country to study at home. Visitors to the school are most welcome. With a 1980 population of about 12,800, the town retains its residential character.

Winnetka Sites of Interest

(1) Temporary Gravesite of Lady Elgin Victims

515 Sheridan Road

On the bluff behind the Artemis Carter house at 515 Sheridan Road, the victims of the *Lady Elgin* disaster were placed in temporary graves.

(2) Henry Demarest Lloyd House*

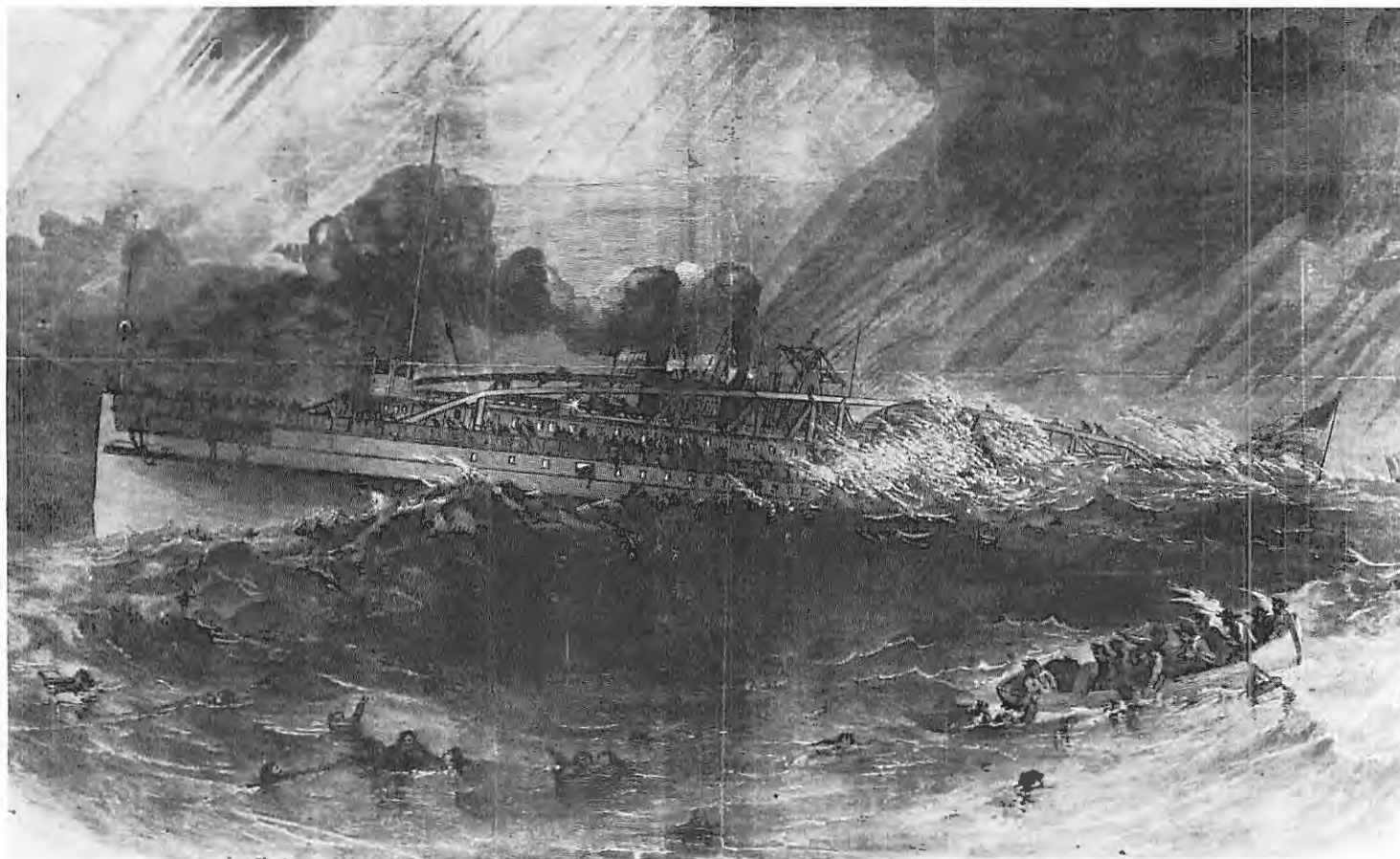
830 Sheridan Road

The Lloyd home, known as Wayside, became a popular place for visitors to Winnetka who had a penchant for discussing social and political issues. The Lloyds were also known for their hospitality to any hungry person who knocked on the door. The property has been preserved and restored in cooperation with the Landmarks Preservation Council of Illinois. The home is privately owned and not open to the public.

(3) Schmidt Cabin

1407 Tower Road

Believed to be the oldest remaining building in Cook County, the Schmidt cabin, built in 1820, has a porthole in the wall through which a gun could be pointed when strangers approached. The cabin belongs to the Anita Willetts Burnham family, who purchased it in 1919 and moved it to its present location. The structure



"Sinking of the Lady Elgin" from the New York Illustrated News, Sept. 22, 1860. Courtesy Chicago Historical Society. ICHI-02055

is privately owned and opened only by appointment with the owner.

(4) Crow Island School

1112 Willow Road

Designed by architects Lawrence Perkins and Eliel and Eero Saarinen, Crow Island School, completed in 1940, is the architectural expression of the educational ideas of Carleton W. Washburne, then superintendent of the Winnetka schools. Washburne believed that each student should progress at his or her own pace and that each should be respected as an individual. The building design includes

individualized classrooms, each a separate unit with its own playground area, washroom, lab equipment, and drinking fountain. Each has its own outside courtyard. The auditorium, library, gym, shop, and art and music rooms are shared. The building is scaled for children. Crow Island is an unusual "island," a high area in the Skokie marsh covered with trees where crows perched. Crow Island is now Crow Island Woods, used by Crow Island School students for nature study and art classes.

The school building has received numerous architectural awards. Early

in its history the American Institute of Architects designated it as "the school most advanced in elementary school design in the United States." AIA cited it in 1971 as "A landmark in design for education which demonstrates that an inspired educational philosophy can be translated into an architecture of continuing function and beauty."

(5) Village Hall

510 Green Bay Road

Inside the Village Hall are paintings by Winnetka artists. The structure was designed in 1925 by Edwin H. Clark and built with the money saved through

the operation of the municipal electric plant. Henry Demarest Lloyd championed public ownership of the town's utilities.

Visitors interested in exploring historic Winnetka will find a 1978 publication entitled "Ride the Historical Bicycle Trail: Winnetka" a useful guide. It is available at the Winnetka Chamber of Commerce, 841 Spruce Street.

6. Glencoe Sheridan Road

Ten Chicago businessmen formed the Glencoe Company in 1867 and purchased a farm from former Chicago mayor Walter Gurnee, an early president of the Chicago and Milwaukee Railroad. The businessmen agreed that each would build a home here for himself and another to sell to a friend, thus forming the nucleus of a new suburb. In addition, the original ten agreed to support the new community by donating \$500 annually for a church and school, \$100 for roads, and \$150 for the salaries of a pastor and teacher. The plan worked, and Glencoe, incorporated as a village in 1869, grew as a home for the well-to-do. With a current population of 9,200, most of Glencoe's workers commute to Chicago, and the balance work in north shore industry.

Glencoe Sites of Interest

**(1) North Shore
Congregation Israel**
1185 Sheridan Road



*North Shore Congregation Israel Synagogue, September 1984.
Photo by Margaret Bogue.*

This synagogue is a significant contribution to the distinguished architecture of the North Shore suburbs. Designed by the Michigan architect Minoru Yamasaki and completed in 1964, the building utilizes poured concrete, glass, and steel to create a structure that combines aesthetics with economy and function. Yamasaki's ideas for his design came from plant forms and result in a house of light. The natural landscaping of the grounds and its location on a bluff overlooking Lake Michigan enhance the synagogue's architectural beauty. Open Monday–Thursday, 8:30 A.M.–5:00 P.M.; Friday, 8:30 A.M.–4:30 P.M. Free.

(2) Botanic Garden

*Lake-Cook Road, east of Edens
Expressway (Highways I-94 and US-41)*
The Forest Preserve of Cook County and the Chicago Horticultural Society

jointly sponsor the educational and research activities offered at the Botanic Garden. There are 300 acres of grounds with demonstration and exhibition gardens, lakes, islands, a nature trail, and an education center housing exhibits, shops, meeting rooms, and greenhouses. Open daily, 9:00 A.M.–4:30 P.M. Parking fee.

7. Highland Park Sheridan Road

Port Clinton and St. Johns, two small waterfront villages that supplied steamers with fuel, were the earliest white settlements in the present-day Highland Park area. They blossomed briefly after 1847, only to face a declining demand for their services once the rail-

road was extended north from Chicago. With the construction of the Chicago and Milwaukee Railroad along the north shore in 1854, Walter Gurnee, the company president, purchased land for town site promotions and named one of his purchases Highland Park. The depression of 1857 dampened development temporarily. In 1867 Gurnee sold a 12,000-acre tract to the Highland Park Building Company, which proceeded to lay out the town, promote lot sales, and expel all saloons.

Highland Park, with a current population of about 31,000, grew steadily as an affluent north shore suburb. By the end of the nineteenth century, Highland Park appealed to wealthy Chicagoans as an ideal place for a luxury summer home. The area east of the present-day Chicago and North Western Railroad developed into a particularly attractive, affluent residential area built on wooded bluffs and ravines along the lake. The portion of Highland Park immediately adjacent to Skokie Road has developed as an area of commercial and small industrial businesses. Most of its 70 manufacturers employ 10 or fewer workers. They produce a wide variety of light metal products and consumer goods. The seven largest, employing 50 or more workers each, produce electrical goods, television components, plastic cups and containers, vinyl house siding, and machine parts.

Highland Park Sites of Interest

(1) Yerkes Fountain

Sheridan Road and Forest Avenue
When the Sheridan Road from Chi-

cago to Fort Sheridan was completed and dedicated in 1896, Charles G. Yerkes, the Chicago railway magnate, announced his gift of a fountain for thirsty horses, humans, dogs, and cats. The watering trough, restored by the Highland Park Garden Club in 1960, now holds flowers.

(2) Jean Butz James Museum and Walt Durbahn Tool Museum

326 Central Avenue

The James family presented this beautiful 10-room Victorian home to the Highland Park Historical Society in 1969 for use as a museum and headquarters. The home, one of the earliest in the town, was built by the Highland Park Building Company in 1871. The clay used for the bricks came from a pit nearby. The house contains collections depicting many facets of Highland Park's history.

The Historical Society converted a garage built adjacent to the house in 1910 into a museum to display the tool collection belonging to a former industrial arts teacher at Highland Park High School. Both museums are open all year, Tuesday–Saturday, 1:00 P.M.–5:00 P.M.; Sunday 2:00–4:00 P.M. Free.

(3) Francis Stupey Cabin

Laurel Park, between the Library and City Hall

The Highland Park Historical Society restored the Stupey cabin as a Highland Park Centennial project. Francis Stupey, an early settler whose family occupied the cabin at its original site for many years, built the structure of white-oak timbers in 1847. When the Stupey farm was purchased for a country club, the cabin was moved to its present location. The Highland Park Garden Club maintains a memorial

rose garden next to the cabin. Open Sunday, 2:00–4:00 P.M., all year. Free.

(4) Ravinia Park

Enter from 400 block of Sheridan Road or from 200–300 block of Green Bay Road

The Chicago and Milwaukee Electric Railroad in 1902 purchased land crisscrossed with ravines and located south of Highland Park to develop an amusement park and thereby boost passenger traffic. When the railroad went into receivership in 1908, a group of North Shore residents moved to assume control of the park.

In 1911 the Ravinia Park Company, backed by Louis Eckstein, Julius Rosenwald, and Samuel Insull, all wealthy Chicago businessmen, purchased the park. Summer concerts became a great attraction at Ravinia. The programs were primarily symphonic until 1916, when Eckstein, an executive in a Chicago mail-order house, took over primary sponsorship. Opera then became the main fare. Because admission prices were kept low so that more could enjoy the performances, the season always ended with a deficit, which Eckstein paid. But in 1932, as the depression deepened and bills became larger and larger, Ravinia closed.

Four years later the Ravinia Festival Association reopened the park, and it became the summer home of the Chicago Symphony. Today the Ravinia Summer Music Festival includes everything from jazz to ballet to films, as well as symphony concerts. Two of the four original buildings remain: the Murray Theater and the Casino. Designed by Peter Weber, they were built in 1904. \$



Duke Ellington concert at Ravinia Park, July 1, 1957. Courtesy Chicago Historical Society. ICHI-18279

(5) Frank Lloyd Wright Houses

Highland Park has three private residences designed by Frank Lloyd Wright: the home built for Ward W. Willitts in 1902 at 1445 Sheridan Road, six years before the Robie House in Chicago (see site 1, no. [2]); the home at 1923 Lake Avenue, built in 1905 for Mary M. W. Adams; and the home at 1689 Lake Avenue, built in 1906 for George Madison Millard.

(6) Brick Water Tower

near corner of Central Avenue and Green Bay Road

This unusual structure, built in 1930, is 126 feet high, 54 feet in diameter, and has a capacity of 500,000 gallons.

(7) Indian Trail Tree

174 Hazel Avenue

Indians bent this tree to make it grow crooked and serve as a trail marker. It is among the few such trees remaining on the North Shore.

(8) Original Elisha Gray House

461 Hazel Avenue

This Victorian structure, erected in 1871, was the home of Elisha Gray, believed by many to have invented the telephone before Alexander Graham Bell and to have been cheated out of the patent by questionable procedures in the U.S. Patent Office. Gray was a founder of the Graybar Electric and Western Electric companies.

(9) Ravinia Station of the Chicago and North Western Railroad

700 block of St. Johns Avenue at the tracks

Typical of the old wooden stations built around 1900, the Ravinia Station is one of the few of its type remaining in the Chicago area.

(10) House at 441 Cedar Avenue

Henry Dubin designed this International-style residence. Steel, white brick, and glass characterize the fireproof cubelike structure, built in 1930.

(11) Braeside Elementary School

150 Pierce Road

Designed by John Van Bergen, a student of Frank Lloyd Wright, and built in 1928, this Prairie School structure has unusually beautiful stonework. Following the advice of another eminent Highland Park resident, Jens Jensen, the internationally known landscape architect, the school was built in a park.

(12) Rosewood Park and Beach

700 block of Sheridan at Roger Williams Avenue

Located in the Ravinia area of Highland Park and now incorporated into the city park district, this 13-acre tract was part of the estate of Julius Rosen-

wald. Jens Jensen landscaped it. Rosenwald held top executive positions in Sears, Roebuck and Company for a number of years, serving as vice president from 1897–1910 and as president from 1910–1925. In 1925 he became chairman of the board of directors.

(13) Jens Jensen Memorial Park

Ravinia, at the intersection of St. Johns, Dean, and Roger Williams Avenues

Jens Jensen designed this park in 1924. Originally called Station Park, it was renamed in June 1980. When it was redesigned in 1930, Jensen's Indian Council Ring and a large boulder were added as a memorial to Mrs. Julius Rosenwald.

Henry X. Arenberg furnished the information about the Highland Park Sites of Interest on behalf of the board of the Highland Park Historical Society.

8. Fort Sheridan

Sheridan Road

In view of the tragic fire of 1871 and public fears of labor union activities, Chicago authorities wanted U.S. Army support close at hand. With the Haymarket Affair fresh in mind, the Chicago Commercial Club purchased wooded ravine land on Lake Michigan 28 miles north of Chicago and gave 599 acres to the federal government as a site for a military post.

Here the government established Camp Highwood in 1887. At first facilities consisted mainly of tents, but in 1889 construction began on the first structure of a 54-building complex. Most of the buildings were built of



Tent compound at Fort Sheridan, 1941. Courtesy Chicago Historical Society. C. R. Child's negative.

brick and stone quarried on the grounds. In 1888 Camp Highwood was renamed Fort Sheridan in honor of General Philip H. Sheridan, commander-in-chief of the army, who died August 5, 1888.

The Fort Sheridan motto is "Essential for Freedom Since 1887." With the country now at peace, Fort Sheridan serves as an administrative center for the regular army, the National Guard, the Army Reserve, and the Army ROTC. Visitors are encouraged to tour the grounds at any time during daylight hours and may visit the post exchange cafeteria any day except Sunday.

Fort Sheridan Sites of Interest

(1) Fort Sheridan Museum

*Building No. 33, Lyster Road,
Fort Sheridan*

Since 1969 the former post stockade has housed Fort Sheridan's museum collection, valued at around \$4 million. The building, designed by William Holabird and constructed of cream brick in 1890, had a capacity of 120 detainees. Exhibits reflect the participation of Fort Sheridan in every conflict since the Spanish-American War. The building is open daily, 10:00 A.M.—4:00 P.M. Free.

(2) Fort Sheridan Water Tower*

*Building No. 49, Leonard Wood
Avenue, Fort Sheridan*

Another building designed by William Holabird is the 167-foot Water Tower building with a two-block-long administrative building attached. This build-

ing was originally used as barracks, and before Sheridan Road was re-routed, the tower was open at the base to allow traffic to pass through. The tower, completed in 1891, holds a 90,000-gallon water tank so that water will be available in case of fire. Shortened because of structural difficulties, it was originally 50 feet taller. The tower has become an unofficial symbol of Fort Sheridan and overlooks the former parade ground, now the golf course.

Among the other original buildings on the post are the officers' club on Leonard Wood Avenue, the post commander's residence on Logan Loop, the former post hospital (now library) on Bradley Loop, the infantry drill hall (now gym) on Whistler Road, and the residence of George S. Patton, Jr., during his first assignment after West Point (one of the officer's family quarters on Leonard Wood Avenue).

9. Lake Forest Sheridan Road

Three ministers representing the interests of the First and Second Presbyterian churches of Chicago are largely responsible for selecting Lake Forest as the location for a Presbyterian college. After a number of exploratory trips in 1855, they took a train ride on the North Western railroad's newly finished line running north from Chicago, got off at the site of present-day Lake Forest, and liked what they found. With its beautiful view of Lake Michigan, a rich forest, the rolling terrain cut by deep ravines, and the steep bluffs rising 75 to 100

feet from the lake, the site appealed to them as the location for a college.

The Presbyterians organized the Lake Forest Association in 1856 and began purchasing 1,300 acres for a town site. The articles of association reserved 50 acres in the projected community for three educational institutions: a college, an academy for men, and a female seminary. In 1857 the Illinois legislature chartered Lind University, named to honor a Chicago Presbyterian layman who pledged real estate valued at \$80,000 to establish a department of theology at the new college.

The association asked Olmsted and Vaux, New York landscape architects who had recently designed Central Park for the city of New York, to design Lake Forest. They in turn recommended Jed Hotchkiss, an engineer and landscape architect from St. Louis, to do the work. Laying out the city in park style, his plan called for curving streets to follow ravine lines and spacious residential lots. The plat reserved every other lot for the benefit of Lind University upon sale.

The association surveyed the site in 1857 and proceeded to sell lots, lay out streets, build bridges, and construct a hotel to accommodate potential lot buyers. Lake Forest Academy used the hotel for classrooms until its building was completed in 1859. The Young Ladies' Seminary began holding classes in 1860, but not until 1869, when Ferry Hall was completed, did the women's finishing school function as the association charter intended. It granted a terminal degree. The college was designated as for men only. That would soon change.

The financial panic of 1857 and the ensuing depression dampened Lake

Forest's development. Lind lost much of his fortune and was unable to pay the \$80,000 he had promised to the college. The Civil War years also brought hard times to Lake Forest. Not until the summer of 1876 did the college now known as Lake Forest, its name under the revised 1865 charter, become a permanent institution. The college's benefactor at that point in its history was Mrs. C. B. Farwell, a wealthy and well-educated Chicagoan, who gave the school substantial sums of money and succeeded in making it a coeducational institution. Classes convened in a large hotel built in 1870 until it burned down in 1877. The school's first building, College Hall, was completed in 1878.

In addition to its educational institutions and its beautiful natural setting, the railroad too helped Lake Forest to grow. Lake Forest attracted many Chicago industrialists, businessmen, and professionals, who built year-round and summer residences there because it was easy to commute to the Loop. The estates of the Swift, Cudahy, Armour, and McCormick families and others gave Lake Forest the reputation of being one of the wealthiest and most beautiful suburbs in America. Several well-known Chicago architects who built their homes in Lake Forest also designed buildings here. Among these was Howard Van Doren Shaw, who purchased a 50-acre estate, Ragdale,* in 1896 (see below).

To many of Lake Forest's 3,000 residents in 1915, it seemed that the town's business center projected a poor image. In 1916 Howard Shaw was commissioned to design a new civic center that would give visitors arriving on the railroad a good impression of the community. Today,

Shaw's Market Square is regarded as an early shopping center, similar to those planned for the age of the automobile. Shaw's plan, which combined beauty with utility, called for buildings on three sides of a landscaped mall. The buildings, which have a medieval air, contain shops, offices, and apartments. There are two towers and a covered walkway connecting the shops. A flagpole at the west end of the mall commemorates the dead of World War I, and the Shaw Memorial Fountain is at the east end. The Young Men's Club Building, which is part of the Market Square plan, has served as a community recreation center for many years. Marshall Field's store occupies a building on the west side of the square that was originally built as the West Side Bank.

The North Western Railroad depot on the west side of McKinley Avenue at Market Square was designed in 1899 by the firm of Frost & Granger, who made a specialty of railroad station design. These architects, who were also Lake Forest residents, designed the City Hall at 220 East Deerpath Street in 1898. The Lake Forest Public Library occupied rooms on the second floor of the City Hall until 1931, when a new brick and white stone building, designed by Edwin H. Clark was erected. This building won the Craftsmen's Award from the Chicago Architect's Association. Charles Sumner Frost also designed the First Presbyterian Church at 700 North Sheridan Road, of which he was a member, in 1887.

Lake Forest College has grown to occupy a North Campus, Middle Campus, and South Campus, each separated from the others by a natural ravine. Frost and Granger designed



Lake Forest Market Square about 1930. Courtesy Chicago Historical Society. C. R. Child's negative.

Lois Durand Hall on the North Campus in 1897 and Reid Memorial Library and Lily Reid Holt Chapel on the Middle Campus in 1899. Howard Shaw designed Durand Commons on the Middle Campus in 1907. The Henry Durand Art Institute on the North Campus was designed in 1891 by Henry Ives Cobb, another Lake Forest resident. A second institution of higher learning was added to Lake Forest in 1904 when the Academy of the Sacred Heart (Barat College) was moved from Chicago, where it was founded in 1858.

In 1978 most of the original town, bounded by Western Avenue, Westleigh Road, Lake Michigan, and the northern city limit, was designated as the Lake Forest Historic District on the National Register of Historic Places. All of the structures and institutions cited above lie within its bounds. The large residences in the district, in contrast to those in Oak Park and River Forest, represent conservative ideas in late

nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century suburban architecture. They are traditional, many of them in Tudor, Classical, and Gothic Styles. About a hundred of the district's 474 structures have been identified as having special historical and architectural importance.

There are no industries in Lake Forest. Now with a population of more than 15,000, Lake Forest, still a very prestigious North Shore suburb, is changing. Some of the large estates are being divided, and more modest housing is evident. Inflation, high real estate values, and taxes have had an impact on owners of undeveloped properties within the city limits.

Ragdale*

1230 North Green Bay Road

Howard Van Doren Shaw, a very prominent Chicago architect who opened his practice in 1893, chose Lake Forest for his summer residence, designing and building Ragdale in

1896–1897. Ragdale remains distinctive because the whole estate is well preserved, both the stucco house reflecting modern English taste and the grounds, which include a large garden, an early log cabin, an outdoor theater, a restored farmhouse and barn of about 1850, and three acres of virgin prairie. In addition to Market Square, Shaw designed more than 30 large residences in Lake Forest before 1925. Shortly before his death he was awarded the Gold Medal of the American Institute of Architects.

10. Great Lakes Naval Training Center

Sheridan Road

The naval site-selection board considered at least 27 sites in the Midwest for a Great Lakes training station before choosing a 172-acre tract just south of North Chicago. High real estate values deterred board members until the Merchants Club of Chicago, aided by the Chicago and North Western and Chicago and Milwaukee railroads, raised the money to buy the land.

When President William Howard Taft dedicated the new training station on October 28, 1911, 300 farm boys from throughout the Midwest became the first naval recruits to be trained here. World War I brought a spurt in activities and the beginnings of a naval aviation program that required student aviators to fly the mail to Chicago as part of their training. John Philip Sousa came out of retirement to take charge of the 14 regimental bands that added spark to the recruits' parades.



*Aerial View of Great Lakes Naval Training Station.
Courtesy Chicago Historical Society. ICHi-17830*

Activities at the Training Center were greatly curtailed after the armistice in 1918. Training ceased in 1922, and the center closed in 1933. Chambers of commerce of Chicago and towns in the center's immediate vicinity persuaded the government to reopen it in 1935, and soon World War II brought another period of rapid growth. America's large role in world affairs since 1945 has led to further improvement of the facilities.

Today Great Lakes is the largest naval training station in the world; the number of trainees each year reaches 30,000 with an additional 27,500 technical students. Programs added since the end of World War II include a volunteer ecology program and a steam-propulsion training facility.

To ensure that training programs proceed undisturbed, the Navy discourages unauthorized visitors. High school groups may arrange for conducted tours by contacting the center's Public Affairs Office.

11. North Chicago Sheridan Road

The character of the Lake Michigan shoreline communities changes at North Chicago. From Evanston north through Lake Forest, they are primarily residential; from North Chicago to Milwaukee, they are primarily industrial.

Prior to 1891 the North Chicago area was strictly farmland. Then de-

velopers bought up the land and laid out a town that was called South Waukegan until 1909, stressing its advantages for manufacturing plants and making it off-limits for saloons.

Within the first year, the Chicago and North Western railroad built a depot, and three manufacturing companies began construction. The Washburn-Moen Manufacturing Company (later the U.S. Steel Corporation) erected a mill along the lakeshore. Then followed the Lanyon Zinc Oxide Company and the Morrow Brothers Harness Factory. By 1912, 14 more factories had located in North Chicago, making it an important manufacturing center.

The availability of jobs attracted Poles, Croats, Slovaks, and Slovenians who built single-family houses on 25- to 125-foot lots. To preserve their heritage the Poles established their own church and cultural center; the Croats, Slovaks, and Slovenians joined together to build theirs. In 1910 foreign-born residents constituted 40 percent of the city's 3,300 residents.

During the first quarter of the twentieth century, two major governmental institutions were built directly south of the city: the Great Lakes Naval Training Center, opened in 1911 (site 10), and the North Chicago Veterans' Administration Hospital, which opened in 1926. For its first 50 years, the hospital provided neuropsychiatric care for veterans. Thereafter its operation expanded to include general medical care and surgery, a development that led to its affiliation with the University of Health Sciences/Chicago Medical School. Its new campus opened in October 1980 adjacent to the Veterans' Hospital.

North Chicago experienced its



Abbott Laboratories, North Chicago's largest employer. Photo by Margaret Bogue.

greatest growth between 1950 and 1970. In 1950 the city's population was 8,600, virtually the same as in 1930. By 1960 it had expanded to almost 23,000 and by 1970 to more than 47,000. While most of the dramatic increase of the 1960s reflected the annexation of the Great Lakes Naval Training Center, some of the growth stemmed from industry. Industrial jobs attracted Black workers in the 1950s and 1960s, giving North Chicago a 17 percent Black population in 1970. Blacks were 27 percent of the population in 1980.

The city's expansion led to the formation of the city's own high school district and the construction of both a high school and a new city hall. Today North Chicago is an ethnically diversified community that retains its small-town character along with a strong industrial base. Over 40 industries produce a wide variety of products, including pharmaceuticals, corrugated fiberboard, beauty products, plastics, chemicals, industrial and automotive tools and equipment, cable and

wire, refractory metals, and gourmet candy. North Chicago also derives considerable economic benefit from the business generated by the Great Lakes Naval Training Center and the Veterans' Hospital.

12. Waukegan Sheridan Road

Waukegan's written history goes back to the late seventeenth century, when the French established a fur-trading post here, a stockade called Petite Fort. Although the river emptying into Lake Michigan at Petite Fort did not flow inland for any great distance, during high water it made a five-mile portage to the Des Plaines quite possible. Like many Lake Michigan towns of fur-trading origin, Little Fort retained some of its village population after the fur trade declined.

When northern Illinois began attracting permanent settlers in the

1840s, Little Fort took on new life, acquiring a U.S. post office and becoming a county seat and a lakeport of some importance. Little Fort, with its good harbor, supplied settlers in Lake, McHenry, and Boone counties with lumber and other essentials for pioneer farming and provided a market outlet for agricultural produce. Little Fort grew remarkably in the 1840s. Its population mushroomed from 150 in 1844 to more than 3,000 in 1850. Port traffic increased from 149 boats in 1845 to almost 1,100 in 1850. Little Fort incorporated as a village in 1849, adopting the name Waukegan, said to be derived from the Potawatomi word for "trading place." In 1859 it achieved city status.

Once the railroad connected Chicago and Milwaukee in the mid-1850s, port traffic began a gradual decline. Chicago and Milwaukee reaped the main benefits of trade with the developing agricultural mid-continent after the Civil War, and Waukegan languished. Its population declined between 1870 and 1880. The town had only small industries before the 1890s—lumber, flour milling, tanning, pork packing, and the manufacture of stoves and scales. The most prosperous of these was a brewery.

The modern industrial city took shape in the 1890s after the construction of the Waukegan and Southern Railroad in 1891 gave the town access to all rail connections in the Chicago area. Waukegan's population doubled within a decade. The first new industry, the forerunner of American Steel and Wire, opened in 1891, locating along the new railway. The 1903 Illinois factory inspectors' report listed 26 industries at Waukegan. The industrial section developed adjacent to the rail-

road lines on the lakeshore and the residential area on the bluff.

The city's population nearly doubled again between 1900 and 1920, when 19,200 people lived there. Its foreign-born population increased during those two decades as more immigrants made Waukegan their home, the majority from Germany, Russia, Austria, and Sweden, but with a liberal sprinkling from Armenia, Italy, Yugoslavia, Poland, England, Lithuania, and Denmark as well. In 1910, 69 percent of Waukegan's people were either foreign-born or had at least one foreign-born parent. Thereafter the percentage of foreign-born declined. The city's greatest growth occurred between 1950 and 1970, when the population expanded from about 39,000 to over 65,000. During the 1960s Waukegan's Black population grew from less than one percent to 12 percent and is now 20 percent of the city's 67,600 total.

Location has much to do with Waukegan's industrial growth. Good transportation connections by rail, highway, and lake, nearness to major markets and sources of raw materials, plus an adequate labor supply all attracted industry. Currently Waukegan's industries number about 100. They are very diversified, producing hospital supplies, components for the automotive and truck industry, printed matter, gypsum building products, outboard marine engines, chemicals, wire and wire products, and railroad freight car parts. The largest employers, with more than 1,000 persons on the payroll, include the Cherry Electrical Products Corporation, the Johns-Manville Corporation, and the Outboard Marine Corporation.



*Joseph T. Bowen Country Club (Haines House) is located in Bowen Park.
Photo by Margaret Bogue.*

Waukegan Sites of Interest

(1) Joseph T. Bowen Country Club* (Haines House), Waukegan Historical Society

1917 North Sheridan Road

This lovely Victorian farmhouse was part of a 72-acre farm when the mayor of Chicago, John C. Haines, purchased it as a country retreat. The mayor of Waukegan, Fred Buck, owned the property from 1909 to 1911. In 1911 Jane Addams and Louise Bowen purchased the farm as a fresh-air vacation spot for underprivileged neighbors of Hull House in Chicago. Over 40,000 children and many adults enjoyed the Bowen Country Club, as it was called, until 1963, when the property was sold to the Waukegan Park District.

Waukegan Historical Society members leased the house in 1973 and began restoration work, aided by the diaries of the carpenters who had added

rooms to the house in the 1870s. A restored Victorian parlor and a historical research library are on the first floor. Upstairs, the Lincoln Room has the bed in which Lincoln slept during a visit to Waukegan. The society is open year round, Wednesday and Friday, 10:00 A.M.—2:30 P.M., and on the first and third Sundays of the month, 1:00—3:00 P.M. Free. Group tours by appointment.

A special Christmas open house is held the first Sunday in December. The rooms are traditionally decorated, and free refreshments are offered. The society's Annual Tour of Historical Homes occurs the third Sunday in May.

(2) Near North Historic District* *Bounded roughly by Ash Street, the railroad tracks, Glen Flora Avenue, and City Hall*

The Near North Historic District,

which grew slowly as a residential area, contains a wide variety of homes dating from the 1840s to 1928. Many architectural styles popular in the Midwest during those nine decades are represented: revivals (Greek, Gothic, Classical, Georgian, Renaissance, Tudor, Romanesque), Italianate, Queen Anne, Stick, Carpenter Gothic, and Prairie School. During every decade in the district's history, new structures were added. Here lived businessmen, tradesmen, professionals, and civic leaders, Waukegan's prominent and influential citizens. The district stands as an expression of their life styles, physically undisturbed by industrial growth except for the addition of homes for the town's newer business leaders. For a description of district structures, see *Waukegan's Legacy—Our Landmarks*, published by the Waukegan Historical Society, 1917 North Sheridan Road, Waukegan, Illinois 60085.

13. Illinois Beach State Park

Sheridan Road south of Zion (CHPS)

The only sand dunes in the state of Illinois are found on the 3.5 miles of shoreline at Illinois Beach State Park. The park was formed to guard the area from the encroachment of industry. Marsh and prairie land and pine and oak forests are included as well as sand dunes. During certain times of the year a pond is created by a sand bar that blocks the mouth of the Dead River and prevents its opening into Lake Michigan. Many interesting flora



*Dunes and dune grass at Illinois Beach State Park.
Courtesy Illinois Department of Conservation. 1884-7*

and fauna have been discovered in this pond. There are campgrounds for tents and trailers, hiking trails, scuba-diving facilities, swimming beaches, and a nature center in the park.

14. Zion Sheridan Road

Today Zion may seem much like other cities along the shore of Lake Michigan north of Chicago, but it was founded as a theocracy. John Alexander Dowie used the term to describe his city, where the "rule of God would replace the rule of man." Dowie was a Scots-

man from Australia whose activities as an evangelist and faith healer attracted attention in Chicago in the 1890s. He founded the Christian Catholic church in 1896 and won thousands of converts who believed in his healing powers.

Dowie was not content to confine his work to Chicago. He carefully laid plans to move with his followers to a church-owned utopian community where he could prove the superiority of theocracy and free his people from the contaminating influences of the city. In 1899 Dowie purchased a 1,100-acre site between Chicago and Milwaukee on Lake Michigan and there founded Zion City, appointing himself

its General Overseer. In this capacity he intended to govern all facets of his people's lives—social, personal, and economic as well as religious.

He employed an experienced city planner to design the city with full water and sewer service, lighting, and rapid transit systems. Broad boulevards with biblical names radiated from the center of town, where stood the Zion Tabernacle, built to seat 6,000. Eager to make the community an economic success, Dowie had an industrial park developed east of the Chicago and North Western Railroad tracks with a lace factory, bakery, candy factory, and printing establishment. Specially recruited English artisans staffed the lace factory, but Dowie insisted on directing their operations too.

Enthusiasm for the experiment waned when Dowie's followers grew alarmed about his management of community funds and his 1901 announcement that he was the Old Testament prophet Elijah reborn. After it became apparent that Zion City industries were in financial trouble, Dowie's associates replaced him as General Overseer while he was in Mexico investigating the possibility of starting another community.

After a period of unrest, Wilbur Glenn Voliva succeeded Dowie. He began the first religious radio station in the country, Zion's WCED, in 1923. He also originated the presentation of an annual Passion Play, which was performed outdoors from 1935 through 1977 and is now presented in an auditorium. Write to the Christian Catholic Church, Dowie Memorial Drive, Zion, Illinois 60099, for details. Church ownership and control of property gradually eroded after 1907 and Zion's



Elijah Hospice, the Zion Hotel, 1962. Photo by Robert Foote. Courtesy Chicago Historical Society. ICHI-07556

industries, lands, homes, and businesses passed into private ownership. The political influence of the Christian Catholic church weakened.

With a current population of about 17,900, Zion has over 20 relatively small industries providing a wide variety of products—from sporting goods to fig bars. The largest of these, employing over 200, produces industrial coatings. The two large nuclear power generators built by Commonwealth Edison in the early seventies have provided more jobs.

Zion Sites of Interest

(1) Shiloh House*

1300 Shiloh Boulevard

John Alexander Dowie commissioned the Swiss-born architect Paul Burkhardt to design a home for himself and his family. Completed in 1903 at a cost of \$90,000, it resembles Swiss

architecture only in its plaster and wood panels. The rare tiles on its colorful roof form designs possibly representing the Trinity or maybe lightning. The 25-room mansion was constructed with indoor plumbing, full electricity, and showers. Following Dowie's death the house had other occupants. It was purchased by the Zion Historical Society for \$18,500 in 1967. The society has located and restored many of the original furnishings. The building now houses the society, a museum with exhibits on the history of Zion, and the Darms Memorial Library with extensive holdings of religious manuscripts, many on the subject of divine healing.

The museum is open Memorial Day–Labor Day, Saturday and Sunday, 2:00–5:00 P.M., or by appointment the rest of the year. \$

(2) Zion Hotel*

2561 Sheridan Road

This important building was de-

molished in December 1979 despite the vigorous efforts of historic preservationists to save it and its site is now a bank parking lot. Its dome, 24 feet in diameter, now stands on land donated by the Zion State Bank at North Sheridan Road and 26th Street.

Zion Hotel (originally called Elijah Hospice) was believed to be the largest balloon-frame building in the United States. It was built in 1902 to house newly arrived heads of families while they constructed homes in Zion City. Five hundred men completed the massive edifice between May 3 and July 14, using more than 3 million feet of lumber. No nails were used in the building; each piece of wood was carefully pegged, usually in mahogany or oak. The three-story building had 350 rooms. It occupied an entire city block and surrounded a large inner courtyard. For many years it was used as a nursing home but closed when a modern building for that purpose was completed.

A huge bell hung in the Bell Tower over the main entrance and was rung twice a day as a signal for silent prayer. The 54-ton bell was removed from the weakened tower in 1943 and is preserved on the grounds of the Christian Catholic Church (see below).

(3) Christian Catholic Church

Dowie Memorial Drive

The first Zion Tabernacle was a 6,000-seat wooden temple, which burned down in 1937. The present structure, located on the original site, opened in 1961.

(4) Old Lace Factory Building

2700 Block, Deborah Avenue

This structure housed the lace factory that Dowie brought to Zion. Initially successful, the facility produced lace curtains, dresses, and so on. Marshall Field and Company purchased it in 1906 after it had gone bankrupt and used it for about 50 years. Various

other firms—currently Whiteside Drapery and several small companies—have used it since.

(5) Zion Industries, Inc.

27th Street and Ebenezer Avenue

Part of the original economic development plan, Zion Baking Company, now Zion Industries, still produces fig bars.

(6) First House in Zion City

2802 Elizabeth Avenue

Houses similar to this one may be seen on Edina or Bethel Boulevards or Elisha Avenue.

(7) Lake Mound Cemetery

29th Street and Elizabeth Avenue

Here is the grave site of Alexander Dowie. He was buried after an elaborate Shiloh House funeral on March 14, 1907.

Wisconsin

15. Kenosha

Highway W-32

Swept up in the land boom of the 1830s and lured by glowing descriptions of farmlands and waterways in present-day southeastern Wisconsin, a group of Hannibal, New York, residents formed the Western Emigration Company in late 1834. In search of economic opportunities, the company's founders and stockholders decided to develop a settlement on Lake Michigan. They selected a location on Pike Creek, confident that a Lake Michigan harbor could be developed and that the agricultural hinterland would soon become a prosperous farming area.

The depression of 1837 dampened growth, but Pike Creek, with a population of about 340, incorporated as a village in 1840, using the name Southport, a more auspicious label for a settlement bent on getting federal aid for harbor improvement.

Southport is noted in Wisconsin history for its leadership in the free public school movement as well as other social reforms. At the urging of Michael Frank, editor of the *Southport Telegraph* and member of the territorial legislature, the legislators in 1845 authorized a free school in Southport. Four years later funds were raised to build and operate the school. Frank and other state leaders joined to support the free school idea, which became part of the state constitution of 1848.

By 1850 Southport's population,



Kenosha Harbor in 1871. Courtesy State Historical Society of Wisconsin. WHI(X3)31629

then including immigrants from the Germanies and the British Isles, as well as Yankees, had grown to about 3,400. It incorporated as a city, taking the name Kenosha. Southport/Kenosha repeatedly received federal funds and spent local tax dollars to develop the port, but ships after 1855 carried only part of the local passenger and freight traffic. The quality of the potential harbor and the cost of improvement were very serious problems. Railroads assumed major importance. The line from Chicago to Milwaukee, completed in 1855, carried passengers and

essentials to and from Kenosha. The Kenosha and Rockford Railroad, completed in 1861, ran west from Kenosha, giving the town an important artery for transporting farm products.

County seat and trade and agricultural service center, Kenosha grew from the beginning in the shadow of Milwaukee and Chicago, cities that took precedence in many of the wholesale and retail trade functions in the intervening lakeshore communities. In the mid-nineteenth century, small industries like flour mills, tanneries, bakeries, and wagon works

processed local farm produce and supplied some manufactured essentials. A small town, with only 1,000 employed in manufacturing in 1890, its major producers were the Bain Wagon Company, the Northwest Wire Mattress Company (Simmons), N. R. Allen and Son Tannery, Pettit Malting Company, and the Chicago Brass Company, all of which made products for more widespread distribution.

Kenosha grew rapidly as an industrial city between 1890 and 1920. Its population mushroomed from about 6,500 to 40,500. Laborers in manufacturing grew from 1,000 to 13,000; the value of manufactured products, from \$2.5 million to \$103.7 million. Automobile production accounted for much of the growth. Beginning in 1901 in an old bicycle factory, the T. B. Jeffrey Company produced Rammers. The firm became the Nash Motor Company in 1916 and part of the American Motors Corporation in the 1950s. By 1920 the automobile plant ranked as Kenosha's largest employer and has remained so.

Kenosha has attracted manufacturing because of good transportation connections and proximity to important markets, sources of capital, and raw materials. The labor supply has been adequate. At the turn of the twentieth century, when American-born and northern European-born people made up about equal parts of the town's population, Kenosha received an influx of immigrants from southern and eastern Europe: Russians, Poles, Italians, Hungarians, Czechoslovaks, Yugoslavs, and Lithuanians. They supplied much of the labor for growing industry. While relatively small numbers of Black and Mexican American workers lived in Kenosha at that time,

their numbers increased dramatically after World War II.

Currently, Kenosha's four chief industrial employers produce automobiles, copper and brass products, tools, electrical machines, and electronic controls. Although Kenosha, with a population of about 77,700, is mainly an industrial city, the lakeshore, once the site of industry, is in large part municipally owned and developed as parkland. Kenosha's municipal reformers of the early twentieth century strongly advocated lakefront parks, and Harland Bartholomew emphasized their importance in his 1925 plan for Kenosha development. The park development program was largely completed before World War II.

Kenosha Sites of Interest

(1) Kemper Hall* (Center)

6501 3rd Avenue

Located on seven acres of well-landscaped Lake Michigan shoreland, the Kemper Hall group of buildings in the Gothic revival style, constructed between 1871 and 1911, served for decades as an Episcopalian girls' preparatory school. The only exception to the Gothic Revival style is the oldest structure in the complex. Dating from 1861, the cream brick, Italianate two-and-a-half-story mansion was built for U.S. Senator Charles Durkee.

As an educational institution Kemper Hall dates from 1855, when the Kenosha Female Seminary was chartered. To house this school, the founders purchased the Durkee mansion in 1865. Additions thereafter produced a series of connected structures. The chapel, built out of light-colored stone

and red and cream brick in 1875, is among the earliest surviving churches in Kenosha, a charming example of Gothic revival architecture.

Kemper Hall was named for Bishop Jackson Kemper, Episcopal missionary in territorial Wisconsin and Wisconsin's first Episcopal bishop. For 105 years Kemper Hall served as a girls' preparatory school. From 1970 to June 1975, it was a coeducational elementary school. Now Kemper Hall serves as a cultural center for Kenosha County.

(2) Kenosha County Historical Museum

6300 3rd Avenue

In 1899 George Yule, vice president of the Badger Manufacturing Company and superintendent of the Bain Wagon Company, built the beautiful residence now housing the museum displays of the Kenosha Historical Society. The first floor has been furnished in the style of an upper-middle-class home of about 1900; the second floor depicts nineteenth-century life in Kenosha County, including a law office, children's room, a display of Indian artifacts, a war memorial room, a barber shop, a Victorian bedroom, and an apothecary shop; the lower level includes a pioneer room, harness shop, buttry, country store, typewriter history room, and a room from the Burr Oak School. The structure also houses the society's research library. Open year round, Tuesdays and Thursdays, 2:00 P.M.—4:30 P.M. Free.

(3) Library Park

between 7th and 8th Avenues at 60th Street

The south half of Library Park was the site of the log home built by Charles

Durkee and his wife when they came to Southport in 1839. Later, as a U.S. Senator, Durkee presented the land to the city of Kenosha. The north half was the gift of George Kimball, a Massachusetts lawyer who came to Pike Creek in 1832.

In the center of Library Park is the *Gilbert M. Simmons Library*.* Z. G. Simmons, a successful Kenosha mattress manufacturer, gave this library building as a memorial to his son, Gilbert M. Simmons. Designed by a prominent architect, Daniel Burnham of Chicago, the Neo-Classical building was completed and occupied in 1900.

Also in Library Park are the Winged Victory Monument to Civil War soldiers, given by Z. G. Simmons and dedicated on the same day as the library, and a statue of Abraham Lincoln, dedicated in 1909. Orla Calkins, a retired businessman, donated the Lincoln statue.

On the streets surrounding the park, leading nineteenth-century Kenosha businessmen, bankers, and professionals built their homes. Among them is the Edward Bain house at 6107 7th Avenue, built in 1860 for the president of a major Kenosha industry, the Bain Wagon Company.

(4) Kenosha Public Museum

5608 10th Avenue

The museum's holdings include displays on North and Central American Indians, world ethnology, the military history of World Wars I and II, regional birds and mammals, gems, minerals, and lake formation; collections of pressed glass and bottles, ivory, Oriental decorative arts, and twentieth-century lithographs; a diverse and quite complete collection of Wisconsin pottery; and Lorado Taft's

dioramas on the history of western sculpture. The museum is housed in a building constructed in 1908 as a post office and moved to this site in 1932. Open Monday–Friday, 9:00 A.M.–noon, 1:00–5:00 P.M.; Saturday, 9:00 A.M.–noon; and Sunday, 1:00–4:00 P.M. Free.

(5) John McCaffary House*

5732 13th Court

This simple two-story cream brick structure, built in 1842, has historical importance because of its place in the movement to abolish capital punishment in the state of Wisconsin. John McCaffary, accused of drowning his wife in a cistern (possibly a partially buried hogshead) behind the house, was tried, found guilty of the murder, and in August 1851 executed amid a carnival atmosphere in a field south of Kenosha. The whole procedure so disgusted two members of the state legislature that they revitalized the movement to abolish capital punishment. The legislature outlawed execution in 1853.

(6) American Motors Corporation

5626 25th Avenue

Kenosha's largest employer, the American Motors Corporation, offers public tours of the automobile plant. Those interested in visiting should call (414) 658-6401 to find out tour times.

(7) Lighthouse and Keeper's Home

5117–19 4th Avenue

In 1844 the federal government appropriated funds for the development of a harbor at the mouth of Pike Creek. This lighthouse, built in 1866, replaced the original one. The living quarters for the lighthouse keeper and



Ramblers made in the American Motors plant being loaded for shipment overseas at Kenosha harbor. Courtesy State Historical Society of Wisconsin. WHi(X3)40549

his family were in the adjoining house, which was probably built a few years later and in recent years has been used as a group home for minors.

(8) Ethnic Kenosha

During the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Kenosha developed distinctive ethnic neighborhoods. The Yankees located along the lakefront south of the Pike River; the Germans, originally, north of the river, near the lake; the Irish in between the Yankees and Germans; the Scandinavians, later arrivals, in the southwestern part of town. The newer immigrants from central and southern Europe located north of the river and in the vicinity of factories, wherever they could find low-cost housing within walking distance of work. A 1935 study of residential patterns identified northern and western Kenosha as the areas where the greatest numbers of foreign-born lived. Most of Kenosha's minorities live in the area behind the American Brass factory.

Many ethnic neighborhoods, characterized by their churches, small

businesses, parochial schools, and benevolent and fraternal societies, have dispersed over time. Yet a number of structures remain that reflect Kenosha's ethnic history. A few are noted here.

Social, Benevolent, and Fraternal Organizations

These institutions provided security and cultural continuity for Kenosha's immigrants as they adapted to American society. When financially possible, they built substantial structures to house their activities. Three examples of these are noted here. The *Danish Brotherhood Building* at 22nd Avenue and 63rd Street, built in 1910, served as a social and cultural center. It originally contained space for stores, club rooms, and an auditorium. The *German-American Club* building, now the Christian Youth Center at 1715 52nd Street, was built in 1921, very late in the history of the Kenosha German community, which organized a host of cultural and fraternal societies during the last half of the nineteenth century. The *Italian-American Club*, 2215 52nd Street, built in 1926, remains a very active cultural and social center for Kenosha residents of Italian background.

Churches

Churches performed a key role in the lives of new Americans, offering much-needed spiritual guidance, social activity, and welfare. Churches stood at the heart of most ethnic communities. A few of Kenosha's original church structures still stand, and the congregations in some of the newer sanctuaries remember well their immigrant origins. *St. James's Catholic Church*, 5805 10th Avenue, first served the Irish and has since welcomed

other national groups new to Kenosha. Constructed in 1883, *St. James's* is the second church structure in Kenosha to house a Catholic congregation made up originally of Irish immigrants. *St. Mark's* built in 1845 was the first. The name of the parish was changed to *St. James's* at the time of the cornerstone laying for a new church in 1883. The church provided a home for Kenosha's earliest Italian immigrants in the late nineteenth century. In the 1970s *St. James's* furnished space for the Spanish Center established to facilitate work with Kenosha's Spanish-speaking community.

The history of both *Mount Carmel* and *Holy Rosary* Catholic parishes is closely linked with Kenosha's Italian community. Originally one parish served an Italian immigrant population that mushroomed from 102 in 1900 to 1,900 in 1920. A split in the congregation over the Americanization issue in 1921 produced the two parishes. Both parishes now occupy newer sanctuaries at locations other than their original ones. *Our Lady of Mount Carmel* is located at 1919 54th Street, and *Our Lady of the Holy Rosary* at 2224 45th Street.

A small group of Russian immigrants informally founded *St. Nicholas' Russian Orthodox Church*, now located at 4313 18th Avenue, in 1912 when they organized the *St. Nicholas Orthodox Brotherhood Mutual Aid Society*. The church structure was completed in 1930, and the parish was officially incorporated in 1935.

St. Mary's Lutheran Church, founded in 1874 by Danish immigrants, has moved several times and now occupies a building complex at 2001 80th Street that was dedicated in 1961. Services were held in Danish through

World War I and then in both Danish and English until the late 1940s, when Danish was discontinued.

Second Baptist Church, located at 3925 32nd Avenue, was organized in 1919 to serve Kenosha's Black population of about 100 as a Union Mission for both Methodists and Baptists. The congregation selected the present name in 1943. Another Baptist congregation, the *Friendship Baptist Church*, now also serves Baptists among Kenosha's greatly increased Black community.

Businesses

Kenosha's ethnic neighborhoods developed stores, shops, and small businesses founded by residents to serve their neighbors. *Hrupka's Quality Food*, 5022 6th Avenue, housed in an 1863 brick structure, had this origin. The Hrupka family came to Kenosha from Slovakia. They have owned the grocery store since the 1920s, when they opened it to cater to Kenosha's Slovak community, which at the time numbered 658.

Visitors wishing to learn more about Kenosha's historic buildings should consult *Kenosha Historical Sites*, published by the Kenosha Landmarks Commission in 1979, which gives a detailed description of historic structures in the Civic Center, Lakeshore, Library Park, and Northside areas. The Lakeshore community contains the homes of many of Kenosha's leading businessmen, professionals, and industrialists, dating from as early as the 1840s through the 1920s. *Kenosha's Historical Sites* lends itself readily to walking and riding tours.

16. Racine

Highway W-32

Racine's beginnings date from the "Wisconsin fever" of the early 1830s, which brought many New England and New York settlers to the western shores of Lake Michigan in search of new economic opportunities. Racine's founder, Gilbert Knapp, born and raised in Massachusetts, knew the western shore of Lake Michigan well before he ventured to found a town at the mouth of the Root River in 1834.

Knapp had served as a ship captain on Lake Michigan, a member of the U.S. government's Great Lakes Revenue Service, which helped to police the fur trade. After 10 years of service on the lakes, Knapp resigned in 1828 and went into a merchandise and shipping business on Lake Erie in New York State. The popular interest in Wisconsin that followed the Black Hawk War of 1832 encouraged him to return to the mouth of the Root River to promote a settlement. In November 1834, in partnership with a prominent Chicago businessman and a local fur trader, he founded Port Gilbert, popularly known as Root River. Surveyors platted the town in 1836, and it took the name of Racine.

While the depression of 1837 blighted its earliest growth, Racine soon expanded remarkably, from a population of about 300 at the beginning of the 1840s to nearly 7,000 at the end. In 1848 Racine, "the Belle City," officially became a city. Already the original New York–New England population had diversified with the influx of immigrants from the Germans and the British Isles, approximately 40 percent of the Racine county population by 1850.



The Dania Dramatic Club, Racine, in 1929. The original of this photograph is in the collection of the Dania Society, Racine.

Courtesy State Historical Society of Wisconsin. WHi(X3)36977

Racine continued to draw people from many countries and from many parts of the United States. Until about 1900 its European immigrants came primarily from the British Isles, Scandinavia, Germany, and Bohemia, many of them recruited to work in Racine's agricultural implement and wagon industries. Danes and Germans especially appealed to these employers.

Between 1900 and 1921 immigrants from eastern and southern Europe—chiefly Austria, Russia, Italy, Hungary, and present-day Czechoslovakia—poured into Racine by the thousands to take blue-collar jobs in the city's expanding industries. During and after World War II, a third wave of in-

migrants, Blacks and Mexican Americans, came in sizable numbers in search of better jobs.

While Racine has been called "the most Danish city in America" and "the Czech Bethlehem," its ethnic profile has been very diverse for more than a century. The city's churches, important institutions in the lives of its immigrants, mirror that diversity. Between 80 and 90 Racine churches established during the last 140 years had ethnic origins. They were founded to serve Afro-Americans, Armenians, Bohemians, Danes, Dutch, Germans, Greeks, Hungarians, Irish, Italians, Lithuanians, Mexican Americans, Norwegians, Poles, Russians, Serbs,

Slovaks, Swedes, and Welsh.

Racine developed initially with an economy geared to lake commerce and trade with its agricultural hinterland, serving as county seat, marketing and service center, and processing point for agricultural products. Grain elevators proliferated for a quarter-century after the town's founding. There is much truth in the saying that "wheat made Racine." By 1850 the town boasted a number of small industries, sawmills, a gristmill, several tanneries, an iron foundry, two wagon factories, and the J. I. Case agricultural machinery company. The last, established at Racine in 1847 to manufacture threshing machines, grew and adapted over the decades to become the longest-lived of Racine's industries and currently the town's largest employer.

Like neighboring Kenosha, Racine worked strenuously to develop transportation lines with the outside world. A good harbor was the first objective. Both federal funds and local money and labor improved the harbor. From the 1840s to the 1870s, Racine was a busy port, but railroads soon overshadowed its importance. Racine acquired both a north-south line and a connection with the farmlands lying to the west in the 1850s. Soon these rail lines carried most of Racine's freight and passenger traffic. In the long run the railroad network helped shift trading functions to Milwaukee and Chicago, and Racine lost ground as a trade center. At the same time, the railroad helped Racine to develop as a manufacturing town.

Industry grew steadily in the last half of the nineteenth century. Agricultural machinery and implement, carriage, and wagon factories pro-

duced Racine's most valuable products and were its largest industries through 1900. The city emerged as a national production center for farm wagons and machinery. It's manufacturing profile changed after 1900, however. The first 20 years of the new century, and especially the World War I years, were a period of remarkable growth. The number of workers in industry doubled; the value of manufactured products increased eightfold; the number of manufacturing plants grew from 135 to 230. The census figures for 1919 revealed a shift in industrial production. Agricultural implements, foundry and machine shop products, automobiles, bodies, and parts, and electrical machinery emerged as the four largest industries. Machinery and metal products dominated production as never before.

The production trends set by 1920 continued into the 1980s. Always diversified, Racine's industries now produce automobile products, wax, books, iron and steel castings, home appliances, electrical equipment, farm and construction equipment, and food.

Racine, with a population of 85,700 in 1980, ranks high on the list of Wisconsin's industrial cities. Its prominence comes from its location in the Chicago-Milwaukee corridor, where transportation, supplies of materials, services, and labor, and access to markets produce cost advantages for industry. Lake Michigan, so important as an avenue of transportation in the mid-nineteenth century, plays a minor role compared with rail and truck transport. Of eleven Wisconsin Lake Michigan ports, Racine ranks ninth in tonnage handled.

Racine Sites of Interest

(1) Racine College/DeKoven Foundation for Church Work*

600 21st Street

Racine College, founded in 1852 as an educational institution of the Episcopal church, functioned initially as a college and from 1881 to 1933 as a preparatory school. In 1935 it became the DeKoven Foundation for Church Work, serving as a retreat and conference center, a summer camp, and a center for Episcopal church activities. The eight buildings on 40 acres of land include Park Hall, Assembly Hall, the Dining Hall, Kemper Hall, Taylor Hall, a gymnasium, a gatehouse, and the centrally located St. John's Chapel, all constructed from the 1850s through the 1870s. The architect was possibly Lucas Bradley, Racine's most famous architect and builder in its formative years. The buildings are a fine example of a nineteenth-century college complex and for the most part have undergone little alteration. Especially fine is St. John's Chapel, built in 1864 along the lines of English Gothic parish churches. The original interior, with oak pews, trusses, and paneling and stained-glass windows, has been preserved.

(2) Johnson Wax Administration Building* and Research Tower*

1525 Howe Street

Having invented a wax product to care for parquet floors, Samuel Curtis Johnson in 1887 founded the industry that today also manufactures household products, personal care items, and insecticides. Frank Lloyd Wright designed the administration building, which was completed in 1939. It was one of the most advanced examples of



The S. C. Johnson and Sons, Inc., office building, designed by Frank Lloyd Wright, about 1948. Courtesy State Historical Society of Wisconsin. WHi(X3)54

business architecture in the country. In 1976 the American Institute of Architects chose the administration building and research tower (also designed by Wright) as two of the most significant architectural designs in the United States. Tours of the administration building are held regularly, Monday–Friday. Advance reservations are suggested. Call (414) 631-2154.

On the grounds of the Johnson Wax Company stands the Golden Rondelle Theatre. It was built in 1964 for the New York World's Fair to show the award-winning film "To Be Alive." At the close of the fair, the theater was moved to Racine, where the film is shown using specially designed multiple projectors and wide screens. Additional films have been produced for

the theatre, including "The American Years," which commemorates the Bicentennial. The public is invited to view the films without charge at several showings daily, but reservations should be made in advance at 1525 Howe Street. Call (414) 631-2154.

(3) Southside Historic District*

Bounded roughly by Lake Michigan, DeKoven Avenue, Lake Avenue, and Southern and 8th Streets

The Southside Historic District reflects the architectural preferences and life style of Racine's successful manufacturers, businessmen, professionals, and civic leaders from the mid-nineteenth century through 1920. In contrast to the upper-class residential areas in many industrial towns, Racine's South-

side Historic District retains an unusually rich concentration of well-constructed Victorian houses in a wide array of architectural styles. More than 40 structures of primary historical and architectural significance have been identified in the district for the National Register of Historic Places. The following are a few of Racine's outstanding structures.

Henry Durand Residence, 1012 South Main Street

Now the property of the masonic order, this cream brick Italianate villa was built in 1856. Durand was one of the many New Englanders who came to Racine early in its history. He had a very successful career in banking, insurance, lumbering, transportation, and city planning.

Cooley House,* 1135 South Main Street (Racine Landmark)

Eli R. Cooley, a hardware merchant and the city's first mayor, had Lucas Bradley design this Greek Revival house for him. It was constructed between 1851 and 1854.

Chauncey Hall Residence,* 1235 South Main Street (Racine Landmark)

Chauncey Hall, a Racine tailor and banker, had this Gothic Revival home built in the late 1840s. It is among the earliest Gothic Revival houses built in Wisconsin and is believed to have been the first such house built in Racine.

Thomas P. Hardy House,* 1319 South Main Street

Frank Lloyd Wright designed this Prairie School residence for Racine attorney Thomas P. Hardy. It was built in 1905 against the bluff overlooking Lake Michigan.

Samuel Curtis Johnson Residence,
1737 South Wisconsin Avenue

Samuel Curtis Johnson, founder of S. C. Johnson and Son, had this Late Picturesque Gothic cottage built in 1903. Johnson came from Ohio to Racine in 1880 and worked for the Racine Hardware Company. In 1887 he established a parquet flooring business that evolved into the floor wax company. Johnson himself designed the house and laid its parquet floors.

St. Luke's Hospital School of Nursing Offices, 1301 College Avenue

Built in 1876, this Victorian Gothic structure was originally St. Luke's Hospital. Newer buildings have long since engulfed it, yet it remains a fine example of Victorian Gothic in cream and red brick.

Thomas Jones House,
1526 College Avenue

Built for an officer of a Racine lumber company in 1878, this large two-story cream brick home is High Victorian Italianate in style. Its second owner, Ernst J. Hueffner, purchased it in 1886. Hueffner, who came to Racine from Germany in 1849, became a business and civic leader, serving as mayor in 1879. He is representative of a social trend in the Southside District in the late nineteenth century, the very successful immigrant who became a resident after achieving wealth and recognition.

Charles Knoblock Home,
1119 Park Avenue

Charles Knoblock, president of the Racine Malleable Iron Company, had this two-and-a-half-story frame Queen Anne home built in 1892-1894. The house has unusual proportions and attractive detail, including a large Palladian window, a decorative frieze between the second and third stories, and a second-floor balcony.

Winslow School, 1325 Park Avenue

The old section of this structure, designed by Lucas Bradley, was built in 1856. It is one of the city's three original schools. In 1897 James G. Chandler rebuilt it, adding cream brick wings decorated with parapet gables.

(4) Racine County Historical Museum

701 Main Street

The museum occupies a former Carnegie Library building, constructed in 1904. The collections include local history, archives, natural history, and glass. A larger library built in 1963 houses historical exhibits. Open Tuesday-Saturday, 9:00 A.M.-5:00 P.M.; Sunday, 1:00 A.M.-5:00 P.M. Closed Monday. Free.

(5) First Presbyterian Church*

716 College Avenue

Designed by Racine architect Lucas Bradley, this fine specimen of simple Greek Revival architecture has repeatedly won the praise of architectural historians. It was constructed of cream brick in 1852 and is the oldest church building in Racine.

(6) Racine Harbor Lighthouse and Lifesaving Station*

North Pier at entrance to Racine Harbor

Built between 1863 and 1866, the Racine Harbor Lighthouse, a cream brick structure, was equipped with a fixed white light, which operated until 1903. In that year a 120-foot galvanized steel tower designed to display storm warnings, a two-story frame lifesaving

station, and a boathouse were added to the site. The lifesaving station carried out search and rescue missions along 16 miles of shoreline between Milwaukee and Kenosha. Since the Coast Guard gave up service here in 1973, the County Water Safety Patrol has used the buildings.

(7) Charles A. Wustum Museum of Fine Arts

2519 Northwestern Avenue

Located in the Victorian Italianate home of Charles and Jennie Wustum, given to the city of Racine in 1941, the Museum of Fine Arts has an excellent permanent collection of paintings, graphics, and photographs by Wisconsin, midwestern, New York, and California artists working under the Works Progress Administration's Federal Arts Project of the 1930s. Its holdings include between 50 and 60 watercolors by Wisconsin artists. These, along with subsequent acquisitions, are presented to the public annually in about ten blocks of shows, each containing one to three exhibits. Several special group shows devoted to the work of Wisconsin artists are offered each year.

The Museum of Fine Arts offers guided tours and art classes for children and adults. Open daily, 1:00-5:00 P.M., and on Mondays and Thursdays, 1:00-9:00 P.M. Free.

(8) Northside Racine

Although Racine, lying to the north of the Root River, boasts no historic district on the National Register of Historic Places, its older buildings reflect the history of the city's early industrial and working-class neighborhood. Here immigrant workers lived in ethnic enclaves, built their churches, and organized their clubs

and societies. Below are a few examples of characteristic northside structures.

Brick Cottages, Erie Street and Goold to Yout Streets

Built from the 1860s to 1900, modest cream brick cottages like these were the homes of German and middle-European immigrant workers who succeeded in becoming homeowners. The Erie Street cottages were built between the mid-1880s and 1900 from brick made on Racine's Northside.

St. Joseph's Church, Erie and St. Patrick Streets

St. Joseph's congregation, founded in 1875 by Northside German Catholics who wanted a neighborhood church, contributed much of the labor to construct this beautiful Gothic revival structure. It was dedicated in 1878.

Sokol Hall, 1313 Lincoln Street

Built as St. Anne's (German Lutheran) Zion Church, this structure became the home of the Czech Sokol Society in 1892. The Sokol movement was similar to the German Turnverein, a social and educational organization. Over time, most Czech lodges, societies, and organizations met here.

J. I. Case Company, 700 State Street

Racine's Danish community grew adjacent to factories making farm machinery and wagons. State Street was both the Northside shopping area and the center of the Danish community. The J. I. Case Company has been very important to Racine's economic life since Jerome Case opened his first factory here in 1847. The firm's administration building at 700 State was built in 1904. Its style is said to have been inspired by the Boston Public Library.



Pictured here are the members of the J. I. Case Company Engineering Department in 1884. Courtesy State Historical Society of Wisconsin. WHi(X3)32444

Dania Hall, 1015 State Street

Organized in 1867 to help Danish immigrants learn English and American mores, the Dania Society had this Classical Revival-style building constructed in 1905. The Danish community has migrated to the west side, but Dania Hall is still the social center for Racine's Danes. Here they held a reception for Queen Margrethe II and Prince Henrik of Denmark during their 1976 visit.

(9) Wingspread

33 East Four Mile Road, Wind Point

Encouraged by the enthusiastic reception of his design for the Johnson Wax administration building, Frank Lloyd Wright agreed to design an equally outstanding home for Herbert Johnson

and his family. The result was Wingspread, built in 1937.

The long, low building has four wings radiating from the center—hence its name. Wingspread became the home in 1960 of the Johnson Foundation and functions as an educational conference center. The public may visit the grounds at any time, and visits to the inside of the home may be arranged if a conference is not in session.

(10) Wind Point Lighthouse*

Four Mile Road (County Trunk G), east off Hy W-32

Built in 1880, this beautiful 108-foot tower originally operated on kerosene lamps. Automated in 1964, the beacon is visible for 19 miles. When radar and

depth finders became standard equipment on Great Lakes ships, the fog-horn at the light was removed. The lighthouse, closed to the public, has long attracted visitors who enjoy the lake view and the graceful Italianate tower.

Preservation-Racine, a community organization committed to architectural and historical research and education, has published two booklets that give an excellent introduction to Racine's historic buildings: *Renewing Our Roots—A Guide to Racine, Wisconsin: Central City, Southside and Renewing Our Roots—The Northside: Racine, Wisconsin*. They are available from Preservation—Racine, P.O. Box 383, Racine, WI 53401.

(11) Industrial Tours

A number of Racine manufacturing plants offer tours for interested visitors, but they do not maintain a schedule of set dates and times. Contact the Chamber of Commerce to find out how to arrange visits.

Old World Wisconsin Side Trip

Those interested in the ethnic history of the Lake Michigan region will find it very worthwhile to make a side trip from Racine to Old World Wisconsin, the outdoor ethnic museum being developed by the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. The museum clearly reflects the heterogeneity of Lake Michigan's people.



Stump fence and Lantta Hay barn in the Finnish area at Old World Wisconsin. The Finnish farmstead complex, among the most well developed, preserves the rural architecture of one of Wisconsin's later (1880s–1920) arriving immigrant groups in rich detail. The barn was built with loose fitting logs to allow ventilation and slanted walls to promote rain runoff. The Finns farmed in the cutover lands of Douglas, Iron, and Bayfield Counties, Wisconsin. The Finns laboriously pulled stumps left by the lumbermen, often using them for fences such as the one pictured here. Photo by Margaret Bogue.

17. Old World Wisconsin

Via Highways W-20 & W-67
from Racine
(Southern Unit, Kettle Moraine
State Forest)

The outdoor museum at Old World Wisconsin features houses, farmstead outbuildings, a school, a church, and a town hall, all moved from their original locations throughout the state to this 576-acre site in the southern unit of the Kettle Moraine State Forest. The state's wealth of architectural styles, brought by the immigrant groups that settled in rural Wisconsin, have been preserved for the future at Old World Wisconsin.

Grouped according to ethnic origin, structures are spaced far enough apart to retain a rural atmosphere. Costumed guides carry out typical activities in the home and about the farmstead.

When Old World Wisconsin opened on July 4, 1976, Norwegian, Danish, and Finnish structures were represented, and the Pomeranian half-timbered Koepsel House* from Washington County was under construction. Queen Margrethe II of Denmark, who was visiting Wisconsin at that time, dedicated the Pedersen house, built originally by a Danish immigrant in Polk County, Wisconsin, in 1872. Now there are nine buildings in the Finnish farmsteads that are open to the public, four Norwegian buildings, and two Danish, with several more under construction. Four more buildings have joined the Koepsel House in the German area.

Two miles of roads and several nature trails connect the building clus-

ters at Old World Wisconsin, so it is wise to wear stout walking shoes when you visit. An octagonal barn, illustrating a form of architecture used in Ozaukee County, has been transformed into a cafeteria on the museum grounds.

Old World Wisconsin is open daily from May 1 to October 31 as follows: May–June, September–October, Monday–Friday, 9:00 A.M.–4:00 P.M.; Saturday and Sunday, 10:00 A.M.–5:00 P.M. July–August hours are daily, 10:00 A.M.–5:00 P.M. \$

Old World Wisconsin occupies only a small portion of the Southern Unit of Kettle Moraine State Forest. In 1939 the state purchased the first lands for the Southern Unit before urban sprawl made such acquisition impossible. A marked scenic drive about 20 miles in length follows a ridge of hills created by a glacier and ends near the Whitewater Lake Recreation Area. Facilities here and at the Ottawa Lake Recreation Area permit camping, picnicking, swimming, boating, fishing, and hiking. There are two major hiking trails, with one route set aside for horseback riders. The Scuppernong Hiking Trail winds through a pine forest, and the Emma Carlin Trail is especially beautiful in autumn.

18. Oak Creek Highway W-32

The city of Oak Creek (not to be confused with the 1834 settlement at the mouth of Oak Creek) was incorporated in 1955 in response to the efforts of the city of Milwaukee to annex it. The history of permanent set-

tlement in the area, however, goes back to the 1830s, when people from England, Massachusetts, and New York began occupying lands along the shores of Lake Michigan (see South Milwaukee, site 19). Industrial beginnings within the present Oak Creek corporate limits date from the turn of the century, when the U.S. Glue Company located a plant and housing for its employees at what was then known as Carrollville. In succeeding years four more plants located in the vicinity, but in the 1940s the area was more rural than urban. Its rural character was lost after 1951, when the Wisconsin Electric Power Company decided to locate a steam-generating plant at Carrollville. The power plant is often cited as the reason for Milwaukee's interest in annexation—an interest thwarted by local residents.

This largely industrial city has grown rapidly over the last 30 years, from less than 5,000 in the early 1950s to about 17,000 in 1980, but much of Oak Creek is as yet undeveloped by industry or housing. Its many industries produce a wide variety of goods, including catalytic converters for emission control, overhead cranes and hoists, adhesives, fertilizer, computers, and precast concrete products.

Oak Creek's Lake Michigan shoreline includes both industrial and recreational sites. The Wisconsin Natural Gas Company's storage area, the South Shore Sewage Treatment Plant, and the Oak Creek plant of the Wisconsin Electric Power Company are here. In a demonstration program, the Oak Creek Power Plant burns light combustible garbage from the city of Milwaukee to replace part of the coal used in producing electricity.

Oak Creek Sites of Interest

(1) Walter Bender Park

East Ryan Road and the lakeshore

The County Park Commission established Walter Bender Park on a 300-acre tract of shoreland in 1970. It was named for a long-time president of the commission who was particularly interested in preserving lakeshore land for recreation. The Southeastern Wisconsin Regional Planning Commission has suggested that parkland be obtained for a hiking trail along the lake from Walter Bender Park south two miles to Racine's Cliffside Park.

(2) Oak Creek Historical Society Pioneer Village

Forest Hill Road and East 15th Avenue

Located west of Forest Hill Memorial Park, the pioneer village includes a log cabin, pioneer chapel, depot, town hall, blacksmith shop, cobbler shop, and print shop. Open May 30–September 1, Sundays, 2:00 P.M.–4:00 P.M. Group tours by appointment. \$

19. South Milwaukee Highway W-32

Shortly after the organization of Milwaukee County in 1834, a group of men and women from Massachusetts, New York, and England settled at the mouth of Oak Creek. So named for the dense growth of white oaks along its banks, the stream appealed to them because it offered the possibility of a modest lakeport and water power for a gristmill and sawmill. In 1835 an inn was built for the comfort of travelers on the Chicago–Green Bay Road, who



*The Bucyrus-Erie Company is a leading South Milwaukee employer today.
Photo by Margaret Bogue.*

passed through the Oak Creek settlement.

Oak Creek Town (township) remained largely rural with a small, slowly developing village at the mouth of the creek where saw and grist mills, a small wagon-making business, a brickyard, stores, churches, a school, and homes clustered together before 1860. A few new businesses were founded after the war. The best-known among them was the Fowle and Wells brickyard, begun in 1870 to produce cream brick for sale in Milwaukee, Chicago, and Michigan ports. Not until the South Milwaukee Company organized in 1891 to promote industrial growth did the rural character of Oak Creek Town change appreciably.

The entrepreneurs bought up land, platted lots and industrial sites, and offered real estate and money to encourage companies to locate in the

newly named village of South Milwaukee. A building boom developed after the Bucyrus Steam Shovel and Dredge Company of Bucyrus, Ohio, decided to locate here early in 1892. Factories, sidewalks, streets, and homes mushroomed until the panic of 1893 temporarily dampened development. With the return of prosperity, South Milwaukee again built rapidly. It incorporated as a city in 1897. At the turn of the century the city boasted 29 manufacturing establishments with a combined capital investment of more than a million dollars and a labor force of almost 600.

Industrial jobs attracted immigrant workers of many nationalities, principally Poles, Germans, Hungarians, Slovaks, and Armenians. Churches, schools, and immigrant fraternal and social organizations proliferated to meet their particular needs, and South

Milwaukee took on a cosmopolitan flavor. As late as 1930, 20 percent of the city's population was foreign-born, and approximately one-third of its 10,700 residents were of Polish descent.

South Milwaukee's periods of great growth and expansion came in 1897–1914, during the postwar prosperity of the 1920s, and again in the 1950s. The city continues to be an important industrial suburb of Milwaukee, with a 1980 population of 21,000. The largest employer is Bucyrus-Erie, an early industry that has grown over the years as a national and international corporation. South Milwaukee's industries produce construction, mining, and earth-moving equipment and leather, electrical, and metal products for industry, as well as some finished consumer goods.



South Milwaukee's original Chicago and North Western Railroad Passenger Station, September 1984. Photo by Margaret Bogue.

South Milwaukee Sites of Interest

(1) South Milwaukee Historical Society Museum

717 Milwaukee Avenue

The collections of the South Milwaukee Historical Society are displayed in three rooms of a two-story brown house built in 1892. They include a wide assortment of pictures, furniture, clothing, and memorabilia. Open Memorial Day–Labor Day, Sunday afternoons, 2:00–4:00 P.M. Free.

(2) Delos Fowle Home

627 Hawthorne Avenue

The Fowle family, prominent in the early settlement of the Oak Creek area, came from England to America in the 1830s. John Fowle and his four sons all acquired land and farmed.

John Fowle ran a gristmill and a saw mill as well. The house was built about 1850.

(3) Joseph Dibley Home

507 Hawthorne Avenue

Joseph Dibley and family were early settlers who came to the United States from England in company with the Fowles. The home Joseph Dibley built around 1850 has been restored and kept in excellent condition. Dibley was a carpenter and a farmer. From 1856 to 1859 he ran a brickyard.

(4) Horace Fowle Home

Grant Park

Built in 1892 as a home for Horace Fowle, son of John Fowle, the house was a very elegant residence until 1917. Then the land around it became part of the Milwaukee County Park system. A Milwaukee County Landmark, it

is now known as the Grant Park Club House.

(5) The Mansfield House

1209 North Chicago Avenue

Fred Mansfield was a member of the group of businessmen who formed the South Milwaukee Company in 1891 and encouraged commercial and industrial development of the newly platted community. This house was built for Mansfield, who became the first president of the chartered village of South Milwaukee.

(6) South Milwaukee Passenger Station*

Milwaukee Avenue

The Chicago and North Western Railroad accepted the offer of the South Milwaukee Company to furnish a site worth \$10,000 for a new depot, agreeing to invest a like amount in the

building. Designed by Charles Sumner Frost of Chicago, a well-known depot architect, the new building, constructed of red brick and Lake Superior brownstone, was completed and dedicated in December 1893. Symbolic of the hopes of the South Milwaukee Company for a prosperous new industrial community, the depot for years served a large passenger and freight traffic. The South Milwaukee Historical Society played a leading role in its preservation as a point of interest in the community and a catalyst for revitalizing the business district.

(7) South Milwaukee's Ethnic Churches

South Milwaukee's immigrants looked to their churches for their spiritual, material, social, and educational needs. Since 1892 four German Protestant congregations have organized, and two remained very active in the 1970s: Zion Evangelical Lutheran and the United Church of Christ, originally St. Luke's United Church of Christ. Services in German continued at Zion until 1954 and at the United Church until 1940. Polish immigrants in South Milwaukee organized two churches: St. Adalbert's Catholic Church in 1896 and Ss. Peter and Paul Polish National Catholic Church in 1915. As South Milwaukee's Armenian population grew to about 100 persons, a group of these immigrants organized as a congregation in 1912-1913 and in 1924 purchased a church sanctuary. Now located in a 1962 church structure, the Armenian congregation has taken the name Holy Resurrection. Scandinavian Lutherans organized Trinity Lutheran Church in 1928. Of these churches with ethnic origins, only Ss. Peter and Paul Polish National Catholic Church

on 15th between Cedar and Chestnut Streets still uses its original sanctuary, built in 1915.

(8) Grant Park and Oak Creek Parkway

The natural beauty of the Lake Michigan shoreline and the beauty of the banks of Oak Creek have been preserved by the Milwaukee County Park System and the city of South Milwaukee. South Milwaukee, a busy industrial town, needed natural and recreational areas for its workers. The Milwaukee County Park Board purchased the more than 200 acres in Grant Park between 1910 and 1924 and developed them with picnic areas and recreational facilities, including a golf course opened in 1919. The park runs along the bluff of Lake Michigan for about one and one-half miles. It includes many trails, among them the ravine nature trail. Below the bluff are a sand beach, bathhouse, and picnic facilities. Grant Park was the first of the Milwaukee County Park System parks.

The Oak Creek Parkway runs through the middle of South Milwaukee, preserving the natural beauty of the creek banks. It includes the restored millpond used in pioneer days. Millstones from the Fowle mill have been placed beside the dam.

(9) Bucyrus-Erie Company 1100 Milwaukee Avenue

The company, makers of heavy construction and earth-moving equipment, will schedule tours for groups. For arrangements, write to the Industrial Relations Department, Bucyrus-Erie, 1100 Milwaukee Avenue, South Milwaukee, WI 53172.

20. The Milwaukee County Lakeshore

Residents of Milwaukee County greatly value their Lake Michigan shoreline for recreation and for its beauty. Except in the extreme southern part of the county, the lakeshore is largely free of industrial development and devoted to maritime, residential, and recreational uses. By following the route suggested below, you can enjoy the natural beauty of Lake Michigan.

Begin in South Milwaukee on Grant Park Drive, which goes through the park along the lake bluff. The drive is accessible from Hy W-32 via either the Oak Creek Parkway or Hawthorne Avenue. The golf course in the southern section of Grant Park lies on the west side of the drive, permitting park visitors to enjoy a walk or drive along the lake bluff.

At the north end of Grant Park, the drive joins South Lake Avenue, Hy W-32, running northward to Cudahy. To enjoy Cudahy's Sheridan Park, turn east on either East Pulaski Avenue or East Munkwitz Avenue to South Sheridan Drive and follow it north. This drive passes the Cudahy municipal building and high school and continues through Sheridan Park before it emerges again on South Lake Avenue, Hy W-32.

South Lake passes quite close to the lakeshore at the community of St. Francis. On a clear day, from Bay View Park at the north end of St. Francis, you get a spectacular view of Milwaukee across the bay. South Lake Avenue becomes South Superior Street in Milwaukee's Bay View neighborhood, passing South Shore Park and the South Shore Yacht Club. The street continues past fine old homes



This aerial view of the lakeshore taken in the vicinity of St. Francis (before construction of the Hoan Bridge) shows Jones Island, the inner harbor, and the Milwaukee River entrance into the lake. Courtesy Milwaukee County Historical Society.

until, at East Russell Avenue, Hy W-32 turns left.

Instead, turn right on East Russell and continue to South Shore Drive. Turn left (north) on South Shore Drive and take it to East Carferry Drive in order to cross the Daniel Hoan Memorial Bridge on Hy I-794. With its approaches, the bridge runs the length of Jones Island and crosses the ship opening to the Milwaukee harbor. Exit from I-794 onto North Harbor Drive. North Harbor Drive runs from the end of the Hoan Bridge, passing the Eero Saarinen War Memorial Center (site 23, no. [7]) on the right. Here you will merge with Lincoln Memorial Drive going north along the lake.

North Lincoln Memorial Drive offers a fine view of the lake. Built on reclaimed land east of the railroad tracks, the drive passes Juneau Park's lagoon, where the water is aerated in winter. A huge flock of waterfowl,

attracted by the open water, draws crowds of Milwaukeeans who enjoy feeding the ducks.

The drive continues past the McKinley Marina, which has berths for hundreds of pleasure craft. A 60-acre landfill project south of the marina provides additional mooring space for small craft. Both power and sail boats are kept here by Milwaukee County residents. The sight of hundreds of white sails against the blue sky during a yachting race is one of the delights of a summer day.

As North Lincoln Memorial Drive continues along the lakeshore, first the city's water tower, built in 1873 (site 23, no. [12]), and then the North Point Lighthouse (no. [13]) come into view on the bluff to the left. Between the lighthouse and the water filtration plant lies Lake Park, designed by the landscape architectural firm of Frederick Law Olmsted. The drive

climbs the hill past the water filtration plant and joins North Lake Drive (Hy W-32), passing through residential areas in the city of Milwaukee, Shorewood, Whitefish Bay, and Fox Point. To reach the northernmost lakefront park in Milwaukee County, Doctor's Park (see site 24), turn east from Hy W-32 onto Dean Road in Bayside.

21. Cudahy Highway W-32

Like Carrollville, Oak Creek, and South Milwaukee, Cudahy grew up as part of Milwaukee's southward industrial-residential sprawl, developing into a meat-packing town, urban offspring of the Cudahy Brothers Company. Patrick Cudahy's business career was similar

This bird's-eye view of Cudahy dating from the early 1890s clearly shows the stockyards and Cudahy packing houses. Courtesy State Historical Society of Wisconsin. WHI(X3)39850



to that of Andrew Carnegie or Frederick Weyerhaeuser. He came with his parents to the United States from Ireland as an infant in 1849 and in his youth worked at all sorts of humble occupations before getting into the meat-packing business along with his brothers, Philip, Edward, Michael, and John. The five played leading roles in the development of the meat-packing industry in the Midwest, especially at Chicago, Milwaukee, and Omaha. Patrick and John Cudahy organized the Cudahy Brothers Company in 1888, successor to the John Plankinton and Company meat-packing business of Milwaukee. Within four years they took steps to relocate the plant.

The Chicago and North Western Railroad made no more than a brief stop at a small settlement called Buckhorn until 1892, when Cudahy platted the present city of Cudahy there. Fearing passage of a Milwaukee city ordinance banning meat packing as an objectionable nuisance, Cudahy pur-

chased the new 700-acre site about five miles south of Milwaukee. Lying between the railroad tracks and Lake Michigan, the location presented transportation advantages for the meat business. A streetcar line connecting Cudahy and Milwaukee began operation in 1895, a boon to local passenger traffic. As founder and promoter of the town, Cudahy chose street names to honor prominent midwestern meat packers: Swift, Armour, Plankinton, and Layton.

The Cudahy plant began operations in late 1893, and despite the dampening influence of a national depression upon all business and the Cudahy business in particular, the new community incorporated as a village in 1895. Eleven years later Cudahy became a city with a population of over 2,500.

During the first two decades of its development, Cudahy attracted good-sized industries and a sizable workforce. Thousands of workers born in Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Germany

and smaller numbers from other central and southern European countries came to Cudahy to live and work. In 1930 a quarter of Cudahy's population was foreign-born, and more than 50 percent had either foreign or mixed parentage. Churches, schools, and social, fraternal, and cultural organizations proliferated to meet the needs of these immigrant groups. A survey of Cudahy civic and fraternal organizations made in 1956 showed five with an ethnic base (three Polish and two Slovak).

Cudahy experienced great periods of growth between 1895 and 1914, during the 1920s, and again during the 1950s. The town suffered particularly during the 1930s from the loss of a rubber products company that employed about 4,000 out of a total Cudahy workforce of 7,000. Its population in 1940 was slightly less than that of a decade before. Its diversified industries then included a tannery, a drop forge plant, a box factory, a vinegar distillery, a shoe factory, and a

manufacturer of bottle-washing equipment, as well as the packing plant.

In 1980 this industrial city of 19,500 had 42 industrial establishments, which produced leather, meat products, and a wide variety of metal producer goods, including tools and dies, foundry products, drop forgings, bottle-washing equipment, and air compressors. The largest industry is the Ladish Company, one of three firms founded in Cudahy before World War I and still in business here.

Cudahy Sites of Interest

(1) North Western Railroad Depot

South Kinnickinnic Avenue and Plankinton Avenue

The Cudahy Historical Society purchased this structure and is restoring it to its 1892 appearance. It will be used as both museum and society headquarters. The depot, consisting of waiting room, freight shed, stationmaster's office, and lookout tower, was last used in 1973.

(2) Sheridan Park

Adjacent to Highway W-32 (Lake Avenue)

Public service and philanthropy as well as business were part of Patrick Cudahy's life. For a number of years he served on the Milwaukee County Park Board. Eight years after his death, the Cudahy family gave lakeshore land to the Milwaukee County Park Commission. It became the nucleus of Sheridan Park. In 1965 Michael Cudahy commissioned a Washington, D.C., sculptor, Felix de Weldon, to create a statue of Patrick Cudahy. It was placed at the east end of Layton Avenue in Sheridan Park. On the black

granite base are plaques that depict Cudahy as founder of the city and as a longtime member of the County Park Commission.

(3) Pulaski Park

Bounded by East Adams, East Morris, South Hately, and South Swift Avenues

The park is named to honor the contribution of Cudahy's many Polish immigrants to the economic and cultural life of the town. In 1929 the newly organized Polish Central Association of Cudahy embarked on a fund-raising campaign to erect a monument to Casimir Pulaski, a Polish nobleman who fought on the side of the colonists during the American Revolution and was killed at Savannah, Georgia, in 1779. The 16-acre park, acquired by the city of Cudahy in 1926, was originally named Lindbergh Park. In 1929 it was renamed Pulaski Park. A bust of Pulaski by Joseph Aszlar was unveiled here in 1932.

22. St. Francis

Highway W-32

Beautifully sited on Lake Michigan, this community originated as a center for the training of Catholic priests. St. Francis Seminary grew from the dream of John Martin Henni, first bishop of Wisconsin, to found a school for priests to serve Wisconsin's growing German Catholic immigrant population and from the determination of a small Franciscan community that came to Milwaukee in 1849. Two Bavarian priests and a dozen lay Franciscan men and women founded a mission community on a 36-acre site

at present-day St. Francis with the goal of educating and helping candidates for the priesthood, teachers, and poor children. This society evolved into the Sisterhood of St. Francis of Assisi of Milwaukee and La Crosse.

Specific plans for the seminary took shape in 1853. After buying additional land, engaging in a strenuous fund-raising campaign, and directing the hard work of constructing the seminary building, the founding fathers opened the school in 1856. Since named Henni Hall* in honor of John Martin Henni, the original seminary building, designed by Victor Schulte in Italianate style, still stands. Recently it has been added to the National Register of Historic Places. Henni Hall housed the community's first chapel, classrooms, and living quarters for faculty and students. As St. Francis Seminary grew over the years, other buildings took over seminary functions originally sheltered by Henni Hall. The exterior of Henni Hall, a landmark in the religious and educational history of Wisconsin, now appears much as it did originally. The interior includes a notably fine chapel and a twin serpentine staircase in the main entrance foyer.

In the nineteenth century the St. Francis institutional complex included the convent for the sisters of St. Francis of Assisi, St. Aemilian's Orphan Asylum, both dating from the 1850s, and St. John's Institute for the Deaf, organized in 1876.

The village of St. Francis grew up around the Catholic institutions, attracting German Catholic immigrants in the nineteenth century. St. Francis was incorporated as a city in 1951. It attracted the attention of the engineering world in 1921 when the Wisconsin



*Victor Schulte, who designed Henni Hall, was an important architect in Milwaukee in the mid-nineteenth century. He designed, as well, St. John's Roman Catholic Cathedral, Old St. Mary's, and Holy Trinity.
Photo by Margaret Bogue.*

Electric Power Company built its Lake-side Power Plant (now closed) to demonstrate the use of pulverized coal in the production of electric power. Here, in the 1934 strike against the Milwaukee Electric Railway and Light Company, a labor demonstration culminated in the death of a strike sympathizer.

Industry came to St. Francis in the post-World War II years. Currently, 21 jobbing, light manufacturing, and industrial service firms are located here. The largest employer, E Z Painter, makes paint brushes and rollers. The present population is about 10,000.

Those interested in visiting St. Francis Seminary should call and make arrangements for a tour.

23. Milwaukee Highway I-94

Indian peoples early recognized the advantages of the site of modern Milwaukee at the juncture of the Menomonee, Kinnickinnic, and Milwaukee rivers near the Milwaukee's exit into Lake Michigan. Here, according to the French, they found the Fox, the Mascouten, and the Potawatomi in the seventeenth century. Here the French and the British and later the Americans engaged in the fur trade, but the Indian village on the Milwaukee River was always a minor trade center compared to Green Bay or Mackinac.

When Solomon Juneau arrived in 1819 to represent the interests of the American Fur Company, the Milwaukee River Indian trading post stood on the brink of rapid change. After the Black Hawk War in 1832 and



Solomon Juneau's trading post. Courtesy State Historical Society of Wisconsin. WHi(W6)20755

the 1831 and 1833 Indian cessions of Milwaukee-area land, it was swept up in the settlement and land-speculating boom of the 1830s. The shrewd promoters, mostly New York or New England Yankees, who roamed southern Wisconsin looking for prospective town sites fully appreciated the virtues of Solomon Juneau's trading post. Among them were Morgan L. Martin, Green Bay land speculator and promoter, and Byron Kilbourn, assistant to the surveyor general of Michigan.

These men and their business associates, along with George H. Walker, a Virginia fur trader, preempted land crucially located on the Milwaukee River and proceeded to promote town sites. In 1837 the Wisconsin territorial legislature authorized two separate towns: "the Town of Milwaukee" (Juneautown) and "the Town of Milwaukee on the West Side of the River" (Kilbourntown). A year later, in the depths of a nationwide depression,

the two consolidated into the village of Milwaukee.

Milwaukee's promoters envisioned a town of commercial glory. They worked strenuously to make it the focal point of a transportation network, at first by the construction of a canal connecting the Milwaukee and Rock rivers and by harbor improvements, and later, in the 1840s, by promoting road and railroad construction.

Initially Milwaukee's trade centered on importing goods to serve villagers and those headed inland to develop farms. By the mid-1840s enough settlers had developed farms from Wisconsin's virgin lands to produce grain and livestock for export at Milwaukee. This was the beginning of Milwaukee's role as market outlet for agricultural produce from its hinterland, supplier of its imported needs, and port of entry for thousands of American-born and foreign-born migrants in search of

new homes and better fortunes. Milwaukee's population grew from a mere 1,712 in 1840 to 20,061 in 1850. It assumed city status in 1846.

From the 1840s until the early 1870s, trade and commerce were Milwaukee's principal economic functions. City promoters succeeded in a campaign to secure railroads connecting the lake and the Mississippi River and to improve the harbor. Milwaukee became the leading wheat market of the world in 1862, the largest flour-milling city in the West in the mid-1860's, and fourth-largest national meat-packing center in 1870.

Commercial preeminence was short-lived. Milwaukee business leaders were always well aware that Chicago posed the greatest threat to Milwaukee's position as the leading commercial city of the Midwest. In the long run Chicago's superior geographic position and rail connections with a vast hinterland spelled the doom of Milwaukee's hopes. In the seventies it lost first place in the wheat trade. It lost first place in flour milling to St. Louis in 1871. Milwaukee business promoters generally came to recognize that commerce was not enough.

By 1872 between one-third and one-half of Milwaukee's labor force worked in industry. Four of its major industries—flour milling, tanning, meat packing, and brewing and distilling—processed agricultural products. Other major industries—producers of men's clothing, metal castings, machines, and engines—made essential goods for the consumption of the hinterland. Thereafter Milwaukee industry grew steadily, producing goods for an ever-wider market. It experienced a remarkable growth in the first

Sailing vessels unload tan bark at the Pfister and Vogel leather company. Courtesy Milwaukee County Historical Society.



decade of the twentieth century and again in the post-World War II period. The city emerged as a bustling industrial workshop, and most of its labor force was employed in the dominant iron and steel, machinery, and automotive equipment industries.

In 1979 Milwaukee's 25 largest industries produced a wide variety of metal products, ranging from motors, parts, and electrical and electronic controls to finished construction, mining, agricultural, and industrial equipment and consumer goods such as motorcycles. Twelve of these manufacturers employed over 2,000 persons. Among them were three major breweries. Thirteen employed between 900 and 2,000 workers.

If Milwaukee is known today as an industrial city of 636,212 people and an international port on the St. Lawrence Seaway, during the nineteenth century it was known as a city of im-

migrants. In the 1840s an influx of immigrants, principally from the Germanies and Ireland, greatly changed the character of the original Yankee population. In 1850, 64 percent of the town's population was foreign-born, and two-thirds of that number were from the Germanies. The Germans formed a self-conscious community in the northwestern part of the city and for economic and cultural reasons were initially slow to mix with the American-born population. Bohemians, Dutch, British, Poles, Austrians, Black Americans, and Norwegians were present in smaller numbers at the mid-century.

While German immigrants continued to arrive in large numbers in the late nineteenth century and to be the dominant foreign-born element, people from eastern and southern Europe added diversity to Milwaukee's population profile. Substantial num-

bers of Poles, Czechs, Slovaks, Hungarians, Italians, Greeks, and Russians sought a better life in Wisconsin's most industrial city, among them the young Golda Meir for whom the public school at 1542 North 4th Street was renamed in 1979. After immigration restriction began in 1921, the percentage of foreign-born residents declined rapidly. The figure stood at 30 percent in 1910 and at less than 15 percent in 1940, but more than 20 percent of Milwaukee's residents still spoke German, an indication of the longevity of German culture in the city.

Milwaukee's foreign-born newcomers experienced the same problems as Chicago's immigrants: low pay, congested living conditions, dirt, squalor, disease, and poor urban services. They clustered together in language or nationality groups and adapted slowly to the urban environment.

In the twentieth century two other

major groups of in-migrants—Blacks and Hispanics—have added further diversity to Milwaukee's population. Milwaukee had a small and slowly increasing Black population throughout the nineteenth century, which began to grow rapidly in the 1920s after immigration restriction and especially during and after World War II. By 1980 approximately 146,000 Blacks made up 23 percent of the city's population. They worked principally at unskilled, low-paying, blue-collar jobs and experienced great difficulty in moving into professional, clerical, and skilled positions. Hampered in their upward struggle by lack of education and skills, the same kinds of disabilities foreign-born immigrants of an earlier era had experienced, they bore the additional burden of racial discrimination. A high unemployment rate has been a constant problem. Black frustrations with unemployment, low wages, education, housing, health, and law enforcement burst forth during the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s, though somewhat less dramatically than in some other midwestern industrial cities.

Although Milwaukee's Hispanic community dates from the 1920s, it has grown much more rapidly during the past 20 years. The 1980 census showed a Hispanic population of 26,111, 4.1 percent of Milwaukee's total. Half of them, mostly Mexican Americans, live on Milwaukee's Near South Side, and an additional 20 percent live on the North Side and the East Side. The East Side community is mainly Puerto Rican.

Hispanics too have experienced difficulty in finding jobs, are mainly blue-collar workers, and have a higher unemployment rate than the non-

minority population. They experience discrimination, but to a lesser extent than Milwaukee's Blacks. Blacks and Hispanics have contributed to the city's cultural diversity and have reminded the city government that they are a political force with which it must reckon.

Urban jobs also attracted increasing numbers of American Indians to Milwaukee after World War II. The 1980 census showed about 5,800 living in Milwaukee County.

Possibly the two major benefits of Milwaukee's ethnic diversity are a tempering effect upon the political process and variety in cultural institutions. Every year Milwaukee honors that cultural diversity with an elaborate folk festival sponsored by the International Institute, organized in 1923 to develop leadership within ethnic groups and to promote public appreciation for and knowledge of their cultural contributions.

Milwaukee's Lake Michigan harbor has greatly influenced the city's fortunes. From the beginnings of the village to the present, Milwaukee's business leaders have tried to improve on nature's bounty. Despite strenuous efforts of Milwaukeeans in the 1830s, Congress failed to respond to requests for harbor improvements until 1843. Meanwhile villagers ran a fleet of small boats out to deep water to taxi passengers and goods to shore. One entrepreneur, Horatio G. Stevens, in 1842–1843 completed the first of a series of long, very substantial piers where vessels could dock and unload.

Two theories about early harbor improvement mustered support. One called for improving the natural outlet from the Milwaukee River into the lake; the other for making a straight

cut from the Milwaukee River across a 300-foot strip of land dividing the river from the lake about 3,000 feet north of the natural outlet. Both the 1843 and the 1845 federal appropriations for Milwaukee harbor improvement were spent on the natural outlet, but in 1852 Congress designated funds for improvements at the straight cut. When completed, this harbor improvement cost \$84,000 in federal money and \$446,000 in local tax revenue. The cut created Jones Island.

At no time in Milwaukee's history was the port so crucial as in the years before the construction of the railroads. By the mid-1840s the docks bustled with inbound immigrants and Americans seeking homes in Wisconsin. Huge piles of imported merchandise lined the docks. Wagonloads of wheat rolled into town for export. Bullwhackers, colorfully clad in red shirts and rough trousers, drove their ox-drawn wagons laden with lead from the southwestern Wisconsin mines to Milwaukee for export.

By the late 1860s the port had felt the impact of the overland railroad network. Milwaukee lost its preeminence as exporter of wheat to Chicago, but lake transportation assumed an important new role. Milwaukee's growing factories needed coal. The cheapest way to get it from the eastern coalfields was by using lake freighters for part of the journey. Imports grew with industrial expansion until coal accounted for two-thirds of the city's waterborne commerce between 1910 and 1939. Water transport remains the most economical for a number of bulk items, such as grain, newsprint, limestone, and coal. Harbor promotion therefore continued to be a key feature of the campaign to improve Mil-



Bird's-eye view of Milwaukee from the south lakeshore which appeared as the frontispiece to Flower's History of Milwaukee, vol. 1, published in 1881. Factories and locomotives belching black smoke make the need for coal very apparent. Courtesy State Historical Society of Wisconsin. WHi(X3)22628

waukee's transportation net. By the early twentieth century, Milwaukee had spent over \$2.0 million and the federal government \$2.5 million for harbor improvements to the Milwaukee River, the Menomonee Valley, and the Kinnickinnic.

Dreaming of a vast increase in international trade, Milwaukee business and industrial leaders then proposed a

bold new idea: an outer harbor to handle large ships, leaving the congested inner harbor to handle smaller vessels. The plan called for city purchase of Jones Island. Acquisition proved difficult. The Illinois Steel Company had a plant on the island, and Polish immigrants, Kashubes, from the Baltic seacoast area occupied portions of it, earning their living as com-

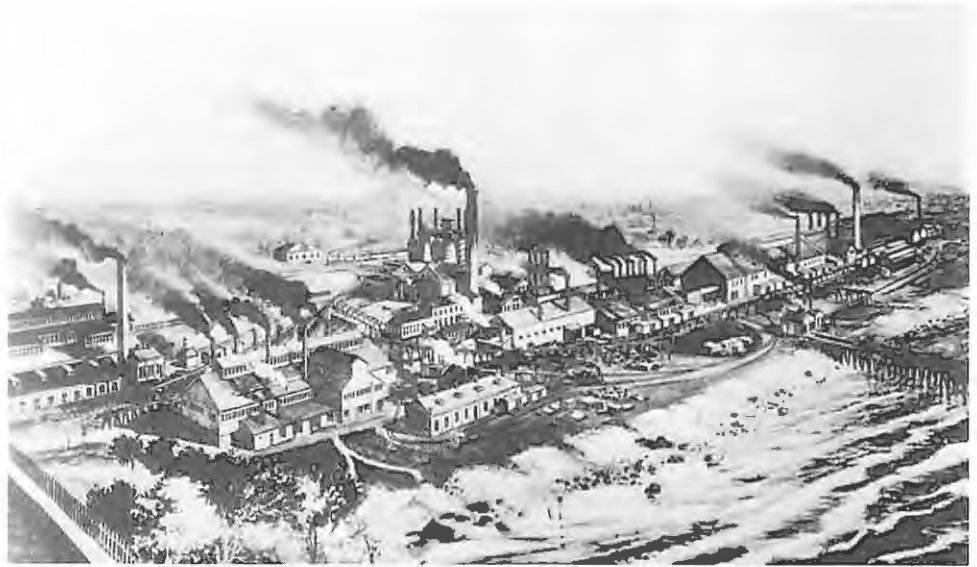
mercial fishermen. They had to be persuaded to find other homes. Today the only remaining trace of their village of shanties and tiny cottages is a small park area with old willow trees, dedicated to the Kashubes as a city landmark.

Other parts of the master plan called for federal funding to improve the breakwater protecting the outer

harbor and the erection of a whole new set of facilities, including a railroad car ferry terminal, a mooring basin, piers, slips, transit sheds, and a beltline railway serving the outer harbor. Substantial progress was made in the 1920s, but not until 1938 did the city successfully complete its negotiations with the Illinois Steel Company. A functioning outer harbor eventually materialized as planned. Promoters of Milwaukee's fortunes also participated vigorously in the campaign to develop the St. Lawrence Seaway, which finally became a reality in 1959 through joint U.S. and Canadian efforts.

From the harbor, products of Milwaukee's industries are shipped overseas. Manufactured goods from abroad and bulky raw materials are unloaded there. Water transport via the seaway gives midwestern purchasers of foreign-made heavy manufactured goods a noticeable cost advantage, compared with the costs for the same goods delivered at eastern seaports and moved to Milwaukee and Chicago by rail. While railroads and trucks carry most of Milwaukee's freight, Lake Michigan continues to perform a vital role in the city's economy.

Milwaukee is much more than an international Lake Michigan port and a great industrial workshop with a rich ethnic history. Milwaukee's socialists have played a leading role in the history of American socialism. Milwaukee is Wisconsin's commercial metropolis as well as an important banking and financial center. It ranks as a center for higher education, served by the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, Marquette University, and Alverno, Cardinal Stritch, and Mount Mary colleges, the Milwaukee School of Engineering, the Milwaukee Institute of



The Bay View steel plant pictured in an 1892 publication issued by the Milwaukee Real Estate Board entitled Milwaukee. By then the plant belonged to the Illinois Steel Company. Factories and black smoke were symbols of progress to late nineteenth-century Americans. Courtesy State Historical Society of Wisconsin. WHi(X3)6048

Art and Design, and the Wisconsin Conservatory. The city's other fine cultural institutions and facilities include the Milwaukee Repertory Theater, the Milwaukee Symphony, the Milwaukee Art Museum, the Center for the Performing Arts, the Public Museum, the Public Library, the Milwaukee County Zoo, and the Milwaukee County Historical Society.

Milwaukee Sites of Interest

(1) Bay View

Although the blocks within the boundaries of East Lincoln Avenue, South Kinnickinnic Avenue, Estes Street, and Lake Michigan are well within the limits of the city of Milwaukee today, the residents of this area consider themselves a distinct community. The

Bay View area attracted farmer-settlers—New Englanders, New Yorkers, and Germans—long before its development as an industrial center. Inevitably industrialization came because the area offered both rail and water transportation, ready access to raw materials and markets, low taxes and land values, and a nearby labor supply.

Captain Eber Ward, a successful Detroit businessman with heavy investments in lake shipping, railroads, and iron and steel, founded the village of Bay View. Here in 1867 he purchased land for his Milwaukee Iron Company. Here he had rolling mills built that utilized the new Bessemer process. Well outfitted, they were judged to be in the vanguard of steel-making technology.

Ward developed a company town

for mill workers on a 76-acre tract of land south of Russell Avenue. The company constructed homes and boarding houses there and north of Russell Avenue as well, gave land for churches, and subdivided lots for those who preferred to build their own homes. Mill managers often chose lots close to the lake, but there was some mingling of one-story worker's cottages and manager's more substantial residences. Many of these houses remain, remodeled but still identifiable.

Ward originally recruited his skilled mill workers from Britain. They supplied the knowledge and skills to build the plant, install machinery, and man the technical jobs. They gave the new community a distinctive cultural character. Irish and Germans also lived in Bay View, in the early years, serving as general workers in the mill.

During the hard times of the early and middle 1870s, Ward died, and the mills became part of the North Chicago Rolling Mills. In 1879 the mill owners moved to have Bay View incorporated as a village in an effort to forestall annexation by Milwaukee. Eight years later the village (population 4,000), faced with huge costs for water, sewers, and streets, opted to join Milwaukee after all.

Bay View's rolling mill provided a dramatic chapter in national labor history during the Eight-Hour Day demonstrations of May 1886. Not nearly so well known as the Haymarket Affair, which took place at the same time in Chicago, the Bay View Riot resulted in the loss of at least seven lives. The "riot" resulted from the determination of 1,500 demonstrators to protest against the mill practice of paying workers by the ton rather than by the

hour and the equal determination of the state militia, called out by Governor Rusk, to protect the plant. On May 5 the guard fired into a crowd of demonstrators, killing five Polish laborers, one Bay View spectator, and a Polish schoolboy.

Bay View continued to grow, especially between 1900 and 1930, becoming one of Milwaukee's most important industrial districts. It ceased to be a steel company town, but the mill itself, under several different owners, continued as an important employer until 1929, when U.S. Steel closed the obsolete plant. In 1938 Milwaukee acquired the steel company site on Jones Island, adjacent to the residential areas of Bay View, for outer harbor improvements. The mill was razed in 1939.

Industrial growth brought ethnic changes to Bay View. Immigrants from Ireland, Germany, and Poland made their homes on the west side, while the east side remained largely British American. Italians, mainly from the central and northern parts of Italy, came to work in the steel mill between 1900 and the early 1920s. They occupied Bay View's oldest housing, the boarding and company houses adjacent to the mill, built for mill workers in the 1870s. "Little Italy" is Bay View's only ethnic neighborhood readily identifiable today. Italian stores, restaurants, and taverns still flourish.

Although it is no longer a separate village, Bay View's residents consider theirs a very distinct neighborhood. Recognizing this, the Milwaukee City Landmarks Commission designated the Bay View Historic District* as an official landmark in 1979. The district includes the original village of Bay View

that grew up with the rolling mills. It extends north from East Estes Street to East Conway Street and westward from Lake Michigan to the railroad tracks.

Bay View residents have long enjoyed their Lake Michigan shoreline location. They were pleased when, early in this century, the City Park Commission established South Shore Park. In 1912 those with a fondness for sailing organized the South Shore Yacht Club, which moved several times before occupying the present clubhouse in 1936.

Those interested in Bay View will find a sensitive, detailed history in John Gurda's 1979 publication, *Bay View, Wisconsin* (University of Wisconsin Board of Regents, Milwaukee), which treats economic, ethnic, and social history from the origin of the village to the present. The study also serves as a guide for those interested in visiting the different areas of Bay View.

(2) Milwaukee's Ethnic Neighborhoods, New and Old

Ethnic diversity and ethnic neighborhoods have characterized Milwaukee's social structure for the past 14 decades. The International Institute of Milwaukee County estimates that representatives of more than 50 countries now live in Milwaukee County. When the Greater Milwaukee Conference on Religion and Urban Affairs published *A Guide to Ethnic Resources in the Milwaukee Area* in 1977, the booklet identified 39 groups. The city's most distinctive ethnic neighborhoods today are the most recently formed—the Black and Hispanic neighborhoods.

Black Milwaukee

Ever since Joe Oliver, Solomon

Juneau's cook, arrived at the fur trader's budding village site in 1835, Blacks have been part of Milwaukee's ethnic profile. Throughout the nineteenth century and well into the twentieth, the Black community remained quite small. Not until 1920 did the federal census show more than 1,000 Blacks living in Milwaukee, less than one percent of the city's population. Milwaukee held few attractions for them. Until World War I and the restrictive laws of the 1920s stemmed the tide of immigration, Europe supplied industrial Milwaukee with an abundance of foreign-born workers. Most of the southern Black workers coming into the Lake Michigan area during World War I stopped in Chicago, a widely advertised "promised land" of high wages. Only a few came to Milwaukee to supplement the white labor force in basic industries.

The Milwaukee Black community more than tripled in size in the 1920s and grew by 18 percent during the depression decade, but in 1940 Milwaukee's 8,800 Blacks made up only 1.5 percent of the city population. During and after World War II, the dimensions of the Black community changed dramatically. In a period of but 40 years, swift growth transformed Black people from a small minority to the city's largest minority. According to the 1980 census, 145,830 Blacks live in the city, constituting 23 percent of Milwaukee's total population.

The problems of Milwaukee's new, large Black community and its dramatic expression of discontent in the Civil Rights demonstrations of the 1960s are well known. There is a tendency to forget that Milwaukee's Black community has a long and remarkable history reaching back to the

1850s, a period during which many of the institutions and characteristics of the contemporary community took root. The struggle against racial prejudice is not new; residential segregation is not new; the importance of the church to Milwaukee's Blacks is not new. Neither are the Black press, the struggle against unemployment and poverty, Black success in the professions, pride in Black culture, and a determined Black effort to secure and protect human and legal rights.

Though few in numbers until the 1940s, Black Milwaukeeans made their mark in the struggle for Black rights in Wisconsin. During the turbulent 1850s, when the nation was increasingly polarized over the slavery issue, leaders in Milwaukee's Black community rallied free Blacks to act together to prevent their capture and reenslavement and pressed the state legislature to extend the vote to Blacks. In Milwaukee Black and white anti-slavery advocates freed Joshua Glover, a runaway slave from Missouri, who had been captured and jailed under authority of the federal Fugitive Slave Act of 1850, an event that brought the city national attention (see below). The Milwaukee Black community's Ezekiel Gillespie played a very prominent part in securing the vote for Wisconsin Blacks in 1866 (see below).

In the late nineteenth century, when the rising tide of racial prejudice in America emasculated many Black rights set forth in the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments, Milwaukee's small Black community again played a leading role in defending these rights. Milwaukee Blacks in 1889 called for a state convention to establish a Civil Rights League. Owen Howell, a member of the Black com-

munity, went to court to defend his right to be seated in the Bijou Opera House and won the case in 1890. William T. Green, a young Milwaukee Black studying law at the University of Wisconsin-Madison, worked to secure the passage of the Wisconsin Civil Rights Act of 1895 and was instrumental in defeating a proposed state miscegenation law in 1901.

Political activism required real courage, for from the outset Milwaukee Blacks felt the sharp edge of racial prejudice. Milwaukee's German and Irish immigrants at the mid-nineteenth century, fearing the competition of Black labor, were openly hostile to granting the franchise to free Black males. The worst nineteenth-century display of anti-Black feeling in Milwaukee came in 1861, when a crowd of Irishmen beat and lynched Marshall Clark, a Milwaukee Black, in a bloody episode apparently triggered when Clark and a friend were seen escorting white women on a Milwaukee street.

Residential segregation, an obvious current expression of discrimination, dates from the late nineteenth century. By 1900 Milwaukee's Blacks lived on the fringes of the old German neighborhood, north and west of the central downtown business area. By 1960 the neighborhood had expanded to include an area bounded by West Juneau Avenue on the south; the Milwaukee River and North Holton Street on the east; West Keefe Avenue on the north; and North 20th Street on the west. This crowded residential area of older, poorly maintained structures was traditionally the home of Milwaukee's lower-income and newly migrated families. The population per net acre was twice that of the balance of the city.

A scene from the crowded, older, poorly maintained Black residential area in the 1960s. Courtesy Milwaukee Journal and the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. WHi(X3)33005



Recognizing the problems of the inner core, Mayor Frank P. Zeidler in 1959 called for a major study of the area. The results were made public in the spring of 1960. "The bombshell report" revealed that traditional problems in black-white relations in Milwaukee had assumed colossal proportions with the recent rapid influx of Blacks from the South. Milwaukee's Blacks had for decades relied on their own social, cultural, and self-help organizations, upon organizations such as the Milwaukee Urban League established in 1919, and since the 1930s they had turned to federal, state, county, and city agencies to supply many of the public welfare services that mutual aid societies addressed in an earlier era. The mayor's report revealed that governmental and private institutions and organizations were overwhelmed by the rapid pace of change and were failing to meet the needs of the enlarged Black community. The report documented major

problems in the educational system, housing, home finance, health, job training, employment, income, recreational facilities, crime, and law enforcement. Clearly massive programs needed to be developed to help the newly arrived Black and Spanish-speaking populations learn the ways of life in an urban-industrial environment and to help the white community understand the needs and cultural differences of the newcomers.

The Civil Rights Movement heightened aspirations, but reform came very slowly. Frustrated Blacks resorted to mass demonstrations and protests in 1964 and 1965, and to civil disorder in 1967, to dramatize their problems. Blacks perceived the causes of mass protest to be bad housing, lack of equal job opportunities, racial discrimination in employment and housing, broken promises, dirty neighborhoods, high employment, police brutality, poverty, lack of educational opportunities, and disappointment

with public officials. Frank A. Aukofer's *City with a Chance* dramatically portrays the protest movement and the leadership of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), Milwaukee United School Integration Committee (MUSIC), Father James Groppi, and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) Youth Council. While far more extensive, dramatic, and complex than the nineteenth-century programs of Milwaukee's small Black community, the movement of the 1960s was in the same tradition.

Change comes slowly. Despite corrective efforts, such as a city open housing ordinance, satisfactory solutions to the Black community's many problems have yet to materialize. The Black employment pattern for the past 130 years has consistently shown a small group of professionals, businessmen, and skilled workers and a preponderance of workers in service and low-paying semiskilled and unskilled



Black Milwaukeeans and Father James Groppi march for a city open housing ordinance in 1967. Father Groppi loaned this photograph from his personal collection for copying in 1978. Courtesy State Historical Society of Wisconsin. WHI(X3)37601

jobs. Professionals, skilled workers, and business owners have grown in numbers, but they are proportionately fewer than in the white community. The 1970 census figures clearly revealed the continuing struggle with poverty. About 25 percent of Black families had an income below the poverty level, and 21 percent received public assistance. A 1978 *Milwaukee Journal* survey of 990 Black households in the inner city revealed a very high unemployment rate. Only 42 percent of those in the sample over 18 years of age had jobs.

The presence of the Black-owned and controlled church as a cultural in-

stitution spans more than a century. A spiritual, cultural, moral, and at times political force, the church remains important to many thousands of Black Milwaukeeans today. In 1981 200 to 300 separate church groups, ranging in membership from 25 persons to 3,000, served the Black community, according to the estimate of a prominent Black Milwaukee minister. Blacks have a wide range of church affiliations—Baptist, Methodist Episcopal, Pentecostal, Catholic, Lutheran, Presbyterian, and many others. The very large congregations are St. Mark's African Methodist Episcopal, St. Matthew's Christian Methodist Episcopal, Greater Galilee Baptist, Calvary Baptist, and Mt. Zion Assembly of the Apostolic Faith. Many churches engage in educational programs, address personal, family, and neighborhood concerns, and lobby for measures to improve the quality of life in the Black community. St. Mark's sponsors a credit union.

The Black press is another institution that dates back into the last century. Because of precarious finances, many papers have appeared and disappeared. Currently the *Milwaukee Community Journal*, the *Milwaukee Courier*, the *Milwaukee Star*, and *Harambee Speaks* serve the Black community. Black students at the University of Wisconsin–Milwaukee also publish a newspaper, *Invictus*. Two magazines serve the Black community: *Echo*, which emphasizes the accomplishments of prominent Blacks, and *Color Lines*, a literary publication of the Inner City Arts Council, which presents the writings of minority authors.

Pride in Black culture has long been characteristic of the Milwaukee Black community. As early as 1851, Lyman Benjamin, a hotel cook, prepared and

took to England a display of the handiwork of Wisconsin Blacks for the Crystal Palace Exhibition. Public displays of the works of Milwaukee Black artists are increasingly conspicuous. Black theater, dance, and music groups add richness to Milwaukee's cultural life. Black studies have become an accepted part of the educational system from elementary schools through the city's colleges and universities.

The *Joshua Glover Escape Site*, at Jackson Street near East Kilbourn, was the scene of an event that added fuel to the growing anti-slavery sentiment in Wisconsin. On March 11, 1854, a mob of Milwaukeeans joined by a hundred men from Racine broke open the door of the Milwaukee jail and freed Joshua Glover, a runaway slave from Missouri, hurried him away to Racine, and late the same night put him aboard a Lake Michigan vessel bound for Canada. Glover, a tall, powerfully built man who had lived and worked in the Racine area for two years, was captured near Racine the night of March 10 and arrested under the terms of the federal Fugitive Slave Act of 1850. Some local witnesses claimed that Sherman Booth, a prominent Wisconsin anti-slavery leader, roused Milwaukeeans to free Glover by riding through the city streets calling, "Freemen, to the rescue!" Booth denied it.

The *Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., Community Center and Park*, is at 1531 West Vliet Street. This two-level structure and 18-acre park, completed in June 1976 at a cost of \$3 million, houses a variety of recreational programs and social services for people of all ages. All major sports, with the exception of swimming, are offered. The rolling hills, trees, and lawns of the park include a baseball diamond, a

ANTI-SLAVE-CATCHERS' MASS CONVENTION!

All the People of this State, who are opposed to being made SLAVES or SLAVE-CATCHERS, and to having the Free Soil of Wisconsin made the hunting-ground for Human Kidnappers, and all who are willing to unite in a

STATE LEAGUE,

to defend our State Sovereignty, our State Courts, and our State and National Constitutions, against the flagrant usurpations of U. S. Judges, Commissioners, and Marshals, and their Attorneys; and to maintain inviolate those great Constitutional Safeguards of Freedom—the WRIT OF HABEAS CORPUS, and the RIGHT OF TRIAL BY JURY—as old and sacred as Constitutional Liberty itself; and all who are willing to sustain the cause of those who are prosecuted, and to be prosecuted in Wisconsin, by the agents and executors of the Kidnapping Act of 1850, for the alleged crime of rescuing a human being from the hands of kidnappers, and restoring him to himself and to Freedom, are invited to meet at

YOUNGS' HALL,

IN THIS CITY,

THURSDAY, APRIL 13th,

At 11 o'clock A. M., to counsel together, and take such action as the exigencies of the times, and the cause of imperilled Liberty demand.

FREEMEN OF WISCONSIN! In the spirit of our Revolutionary Fathers, come up to this gathering of the Free, resolved to speak and act as men worthy of a Free Heritage. Let the plough stand still in the furrow, and the door of the workshop be closed, while you hasten to the rescue of your country. Let the Merchant forsake his Counting Room, the Lawyer his Brief, and the Minister of God his Study, and come up to discuss with us the broad principles of Liberty. Let Old Age throw aside its crutch, and Youth put on the strength of manhood, and the young men gird themselves anew for the conflict; and faith shall make us valiant in fight, and hope lead us onward to victory; "for they that be for us, are more than they that be against us." Come, then, one and all, from every town and village, come, and unite with us in the sacred cause of Liberty. Now is the time to strike for Freedom. Come, while the free spirit still burns in your bosom. Come! ere the fires of Liberty are extinguished on the nation's altars, and it be too late to re-ignite the dying embers.

BY ORDER OF COMMITTEE OF ARRANGEMENTS.

MILWAUKEE, April 7, 1854.

The Glover incident inspired continued protest to the federal Fugitive Slave Act of 1850. Courtesy: State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

WHI(X3)2710

football field, tennis courts, and areas for roller skating as well as picnic facilities. The center's 46,000 square feet provide space for a wide range of programs, such as a well baby clinic, classes in arts and crafts, physical fitness, and photography. Included in the center are game rooms, a community branch of the city library system with a tutorial staff to assist students, and an auditorium suitable for the performing arts with a seating capacity of 240. During the summer months many of these programs are held in an outside amphitheater. Recreational programs run from 8:00 A.M. to 10:00 P.M. daily. The center has become a prototype for recreational programs throughout the United States. Built and staffed by the Milwaukee County Department of Parks, Recreation and Culture, the facility received partial funding from the Department of Housing and Urban Development on the understanding that minorities would be involved in the planning, construction, and operation of the center. The architectural firm of Atkins and Jackels of Minneapolis, working in cooperation with the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee School of Architecture, designed the facility and park.

Designed by the Milwaukee architectural firm of Flad and Associates and completed in 1978, the *North Division Senior High School*, 1011 West Center Street, has a current enrollment of 1,250. Considered one of the most outstanding high school structures in the nation, the building stands in part on the site of St. Boniface's Church, Father James Groppi's church, which figured so prominently in the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s. When St. Boniface's was razed

to make room for the new school, many came to take a brick from the ruins as a memento of the work of Milwaukee's fiery young priest on behalf of the Black community. Planned with neighborhood advice and built using neighborhood labor, the school specializes in medical-dental education, training, for example, hygienists, nurses' aides, and medical transcribers. It also offers preparatory education for those planning to attend nursing, dental, and medical schools.

The *Columbia Savings and Loan Association*, 2000 West Fond du Lac Avenue, founded in October 1924 by Wilbur and Ardie Halyard, is Milwaukee's first Black-operated savings and loan institution. The Halyards came from Atlanta to Milwaukee via Beloit for the specific purpose of helping with Black housing problems. After considerable difficulty in securing a charter, they succeeded, as Mrs. Halyard puts it, "through political means." The new institution opened its doors on January 1, 1925, with a subscribed capital of \$50,000, which grew over the years to more than \$3.2 million in 1976. By making mortgage loans available to Blacks, who have had great difficulty securing credit, it has helped Blacks to become homeowners and to move out of the restrictive inner core.

The Halyards were for years very active members of Calvary Baptist Church and Chapters of the NAACP in Milwaukee, Racine, Kenosha, and elsewhere in Wisconsin. Among the many public honors received for their work was the naming of Halyard Street for Wilbur Halyard in 1965. It lies east of the north-south expressway.

The oldest Black Baptist congregation in Milwaukee, *Calvary Baptist*

Church, 2959 North Teutonia Avenue, was founded as a mission in 1895. Then named Mt. Olive Baptist Church, it initially had a small membership but has grown over the years along with Milwaukee's population. Today there are about 1,200 members. Designed by William Wenzler and Associates to suggest the rich cultural background of Africa, the structure was completed in 1970. Calvary Baptist is concerned with the problems of daily life as well as purely spiritual matters. It offers family counseling, gives students scholarships, and participates in community improvement programs and projects. Recently Calvary Baptist built a 72-unit housing project for senior citizens adjoining the church at 1515 West Chambers Street.

The *Martin Luther King Library* is at 310 Locust Street. Built in 1971 to serve the Black community, this branch of the public library system houses a circulating collection of 6,400 volumes. It also offers educational programs in cooperation with various groups to meet community interests and needs. They range broadly over such subjects as children's art, home maintenance, Black history, and defensive driving and include films for young adults and reading programs. Monthly Black art exhibits focus generally, but not exclusively, on the work of Milwaukee artists. Hours vary, but the library is open year round in the afternoon, Monday-Saturday.

St. Mark's African Methodist Episcopal Church, 1616 West Atkinson Avenue, was organized in 1869 as the First African Methodist Episcopal Church of Milwaukee. The congregation at first made its home in the German Zion Evangelical church building. Renamed St. Mark's in 1886, the congregation

occupied several locations before moving into the present structure, built in 1969. The church is especially meaningful in the history of the Milwaukee Black community because of its longevity. Moreover, among its founders was Ezekiel Gillespie, the Black Milwaukeean who, denied the vote at the polls in 1865, joined forces with Milwaukee lawyer Byron Paine to win the suffrage for Wisconsin's Black men in a case decided by the Wisconsin Supreme Court in 1866, four years before the Fifteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution sanctioned Negro suffrage. The church's fellowship hall is named for Gillespie.

Milwaukee has a number of successful Black businesses. Among them is the *Central Manufacturing Corporation*, 3901 North 2nd Street, a custom metal fabrication plant that provides cutting, welding, bending, consulting, and prototype services for the midwestern market. Organized in 1979, it employs 32 people, four of them engineers. Visitors are welcome, but those wishing to see the plant should call (414) 963-1108 a day in advance of the visit so that the firm's president, Irvine W. Palmer, can schedule a personally conducted tour.

Hispanic Neighborhoods

Although Milwaukee's 26,111 Hispanics live in widely scattered parts of the city, about 70 percent reside in three distinct neighborhoods. Half, largely Mexican-Americans, live on the near South Side in an area roughly bounded by Kinnickinnic Avenue and 1st Street on the east, the Menomonee River on the north, 35th and 31st Streets on the west, and West Cleveland and East Russell Avenues on the



*This photo was taken on the south side in June of 1977.
Courtesy Milwaukee Journal.*

south. An additional 10 percent live on the North Side in an irregularly shaped area roughly bounded by the east-west freeway on the south, Center Street on the north, 20th and 27th Streets on the east, and 41st Street on the west. The East Side community, predominantly Puerto Rican, lies between Keefe Avenue on the north, Brady Street on the south, the Milwaukee River on the east, and North Palmer and 5th Streets on the west. This group constitutes about 9 percent of Milwaukee's Hispanic population.

Recruited to work in the tanneries, Mexicans came to Milwaukee in sizable numbers in the 1920s. In the depths of the depression, when unemployment was widespread and relief

scarce, many of them were deported to their homeland on the grounds of irregular entry into the United States. During the past three decades, the Mexican American population has again grown. While the earlier migrants came directly from Mexico, the more recent ones are from both Mexico and the southwestern United States, principally Texas. Many of these people had been migratory harvest workers in the northern states. In Milwaukee they found jobs in the tanneries and foundries.

Milwaukee's Puerto Ricans are part of a sizable migration from the island to the mainland in the 1940s. Settling in large numbers in New York City and Chicago, Puerto Ricans by 1950

had moved to Milwaukee and formed a community. Many former sugar-cane workers found jobs in Milwaukee's tanneries and foundries.

The discontinuity in the Hispanic community produced by the forced return of Mexican workers in the 1930s, its relatively recent origin, and the racial prejudice that has complicated the efforts of Hispanics to earn a secure livelihood have kept the Hispanic community in Milwaukee from fully developing the cultural institutions and the architecture often associated with the older ethnic neighborhoods. Nevertheless, social and cultural institutions are at work.

Community centers, churches, and a number of special programs and projects sponsored by the federal government, private organizations, the public schools, and the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee focus on educational needs. At least four churches offer religious services in Spanish: Holy Trinity—Our Lady of Guadalupe (see below), St. Michael's, St. Patrick's, and St. Rose's. A wide variety of social service organizations, some working exclusively with the Spanish-speaking community, have programs designed to serve Hispanics. They focus their work on many social needs, ranging from housing, employment, credit, and welfare to art and music appreciation, counseling on racial discrimination, parenting, legal assistance, and drug problems. The impressive list of social service organizations in Milwaukee might suggest that the needs of Hispanics are well met. In reality it testifies to the magnitude and scope of their needs.

Radio and television stations offer a limited number of programs for Hispanics. *La Guardia* and *Soy Yo* are

newspapers published monthly in Spanish. The *Milwaukee Journal* runs a weekly column entitled "The Latin Corner."

Holy Trinity-Our Lady of Guadalupe Roman Catholic Church,* 605 South 4th Street, offers services in Spanish (see no. [5] below).

The *South Side Community Health Clinic*, 1231 South 7th Street, offers general health care and dental service. *El Centro Hispano* (Council for the Spanish Speaking), 614 West National Avenue, provides educational programs, employment and training counseling, and translation to broaden the community's understanding of a wide spectrum of government-related rights and obligations; instruction for Hispanic prisoners at Waupun State Prison; tutoring for students from kindergarten through grade 12; and Christmas and Thanksgiving distributions to the needy. The Concerned Consumers' League and El Centro Credit Union have offices here.

The *Guadalupe Center (Council for Spanish Speaking)*, 239 West Washington Street, offers a broad spectrum of educational services, including art and music appreciation classes, preschool education, summer youth programs, parent education programs, arts and crafts instruction, and emergency assistance to the needy. The *Latin American Union for Civil Rights*, 621 West Mitchell Street, gives general legal help and assistance with problems related to housing, employment, and discrimination. *United Migrant Opportunity Services, Inc.*, 809 West Greenfield Avenue, assists migrant field workers during the harvest season and helps migrant workers find permanent homes and jobs through legal, educational, and social service programs.

The *United Community Center (Centro de la Comunidad Unida)*, 1028 South 9th Street, offers a wide variety of services and programs to meet the social, recreational, and developmental needs of the Milwaukee Hispanic community. The *Santa Cruz Apartments*, 3029 West Wells Street, are a housing facility for Hispanic senior citizens.

Of Milwaukee's older ethnic neighborhoods, some are still identifiable, but time, urban renewal, and freeway construction have erased others completely. The churches, homes, and businesses of many older ethnic groups have moved farther west or north in the city or to one of the suburbs. Three examples of older neighborhoods and structures closely associated with their history, either in their original locations or transplanted, follow.

The German Neighborhood

Of Milwaukee's many nineteenth-century immigrant groups, the Germans were the most numerous. A few Germans lived in the village in the 1830s, and others began coming in very substantial numbers in the following decade, propelled to America by economic, political, and religious conditions in the Germanies and attracted by the hope of a better life, news and propaganda about New World opportunities, and the active solicitation of state-supported immigration agencies. In 1850 two-thirds of Milwaukee's population was foreign-born, with immigrants from the Germanies in an overwhelming majority. They lived in "German Town" in the northwestern part of the city, as Bayrd Still noted, a "self-contained and self-conscious" community of laborers, craftsmen, businessmen, and professionals.

The German community developed its own business districts and organizations paralleling those in the American community—churches, debating clubs, lodges, schools, musical societies, fire and military companies, and German newspapers. Milwaukee's German society had the flavor of the Fatherland. As early as the 1840s, the German presence was helping launch the brewery business that was ultimately to be important in Milwaukee's economy.

German Town continued to grow as more and more immigrants arrived. German-born residents made up a third of Milwaukee's population in 1870. In 1910 over one-half of Milwaukee's population claimed German background. The German cultural character of the city peaked in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, earning for Milwaukee a reputation as the "most German city in the United States," the *Deutsch-Athen*. During those 25 years, German music and drama, the German-language press, and German political clout reached their greatest development. These were the years when the Pabst, Miller, Blatz, Gettelman, and Schlitz breweries, all founded by German immigrants, rose to national prominence, the period when Captain Frederick Pabst built his opulent mansion, the Pabst theater, and an impressive downtown office building. So influential were the Milwaukee Turner societies (see Turner Hall below) that they hosted the Festival of the North American Turner Societies in 1893.

Clearly by 1900 the separation of German society from American was fading. Vigorous participation in politics, the forces of urban life, the growth of social classes in the Milwaukee German community, and par-



Christ Vetter's Band, Milwaukee, 1870, was one among dozens of German musical organizations. Courtesy Milwaukee County Historical Society.

ticularly the outstanding success of German businessmen tended to break down cultural barriers. The German press, theater, Turner societies, singing societies, and political influence were all on the wane, even before anti-German feelings engendered by World War I hastened the decline of a distinctly German geographical and cultural community in Milwaukee.

Some of the combined business and residential structures of German Town still remain along North 3d Street from Wisconsin Avenue north to Burleigh Street and on Green Bay Avenue.

The church, of central importance in the lives of German immigrants, served social and welfare as well as spiritual functions. Although the majority of Milwaukee's Germans were Protestants, sizable numbers from southern Germany were Catholic. Several

churches built to serve German immigrants remain. *St. Mary's Church*, located at 836 North Broadway, was Milwaukee's first German Catholic church, built in 1846 and rebuilt in 1867. In the latter year large additions were made to the front and rear of the original structure, including the tower and steeple. Victor Schulte, the German-born architect who designed several Milwaukee churches and the original St. Francis Seminary building (see site 22), drew up the plans for the 1867 alterations. A painting of the Annunciation over the altar was given by King Ludwig I of Bavaria. *Holy Trinity—Our Lady of Guadalupe Roman Catholic Church** in the Walker's Point Historic District was also designed by Victor Schulte for a German parish (see no. [5]).

The second church structure to

house the Trinity Evangelical Lutheran congregation, founded in 1847, stands at 1046 North 9th Street. Built in 1878, *Trinity Lutheran** has been called one of the state's finest examples of Victorian Gothic design. The beautiful brick structure with wood and limestone trim, carved woodwork, stained glass windows, and rare old altar paintings is unspoiled and in virtually original condition. Trinity Lutheran is the mother church of the Missouri Lutheran Synod in Wisconsin and founder of Concordia College.

Turner Hall,* 1034 4th Street, built in 1882 and 1883, was one of a number of Turner halls built in Milwaukee. The Turners, subscribing to the ideas of free speech and assembly, tolerance, and reason, played a part in the unsuccessful German Revolution of 1848. Refugees from the revolution brought the organization to the United States, where it took root in midwestern towns and cities and became an important German social and cultural institution. The Milwaukee Turners practiced German gymnastics, held annual balls, and offered lectures and debates in German. They also formed a company of sharpshooters that served in the Union Army during the Civil War. The Milwaukee Turners' gymnastic team captured the world's Turner championship in 1880.

Richardsonian Romanesque in style, the brick structure contains a very German-looking pub, a gymnasium, and, on the second floor, an unusual ballroom and theater stage. A fire in 1933 damaged the second floor facilities beyond use, but there are plans for renovation.

Milwaukee's famous Breweries include the *Pabst Brewery*, 917 West Juneau Avenue, a Milwaukee City Land-

mark, and the *Miller Brewery*, 4251 West State Street. Thousands of Milwaukee visitors annually join the tours conducted by Milwaukee's two big breweries. The brewing industry has played an important part in Milwaukee's economy ever since the first brewery opened in 1840. At first the industry supplied the area's increasing German population. By 1852 hundreds of barrels of Milwaukee brew sold in other markets as well. In 1890 brewing ranked as Milwaukee's leading industry. Pabst, Miller, and Schlitz, because of keen competition, improved brewing methods, and skillful marketing and advertising, were the giants of the business. Beer made Milwaukee nationally known. All four of the large breweries were founded by German immigrants who brought their Old World brewing skills to Milwaukee with them.

Some of the buildings in the former Schlitz Brewing Company complex and many in the Pabst Brewing Company complex date from the late nineteenth century. The old brew-house, built in 1886, is still among the Miller Brewing Company structures. The Frederick Miller Residence, built about 1884, stands nearby at 3713 West Miller Lane. Adjacent to it stood the Miller Beer Garden on a bluff overlooking the brewery.

Free brewery tours take place Monday–Friday throughout the year and on Saturday in summer. They conclude with a visit to the hospitality center, where visitors sample the brew.

The *Captain Frederick Pabst Mansion*,* 2000 West Wisconsin Avenue, is a Milwaukee City Landmark. The architectural firm of Ferry and Clas designed this home in the Flemish Renaissance style for Captain Frederick



An 1892 view of the Fred Miller Brewing Company, published in Milwaukee Real Estate Board, Milwaukee, 100 Photogravures, 1892. Courtesy State Historical Society of Wisconsin. WHi(X3)39849

Pabst and his family in 1890. Frederick Pabst had been captain on a Great Lakes ship before he began his career in the brewing industry in 1864, when he became a partner in the Best Brewing Company, owned by his father-in-law, Phillip Best. Having succeeded to the presidency of the brewery in 1889, the captain changed its name to the Pabst Brewing company and made it the foremost producer of lager beer in the world.

After Pabst's death in 1904, the house was sold to the Milwaukee Roman Catholic archdiocese as a home for the archbishop. The stable and carriage house were used as chancery offices. In May 1978 Wisconsin Heritages, Inc., a group of private citizens, decided to preserve the lovely old home from demolition. The group

procured a grant from the U.S. Department of the Interior and a mortgage loan from the Savings and Loan Council of Milwaukee County. With additional proceeds from several fundraising events, Wisconsin Heritages purchased the building. When the purchase was announced, many of the original furnishings were returned for display in a remarkably well-preserved interior. The mansion is used for lectures, concerts, and balls. Tours are conducted daily, including Sunday.

Hours vary with the day and season. \$

The *Pabst Theater*,* 144 East Wells Street, was designed by Otto Straack in a style variously described as opulent Victorian Baroque and Renaissance Revival by architectural historians. The theater was built between 1893 and 1895 for Captain Frederick Pabst at a

cost of more than \$300,000. In part the magnificent building reflects Pabst's efforts to capture city markets for his brew by creating fashionable outlets for sale and consumption in major cities across the country. To the lavishly built, furnished, and equipped Pabst Theater, a Pabst Theater Cafe was attached. What was more important was that the theater made Pabst a cultural leader in Milwaukee, a role often assumed by very successful late nineteenth-century businessmen.

From the 1890s until World War I, the Pabst was a German theater. With the growth of strong anti-German feeling in Wisconsin during World War I, German performances were dropped and productions became compatible with the Allied cause. The Historic American Buildings Survey comments on the theater's important role in Milwaukee's cultural life: "In 75 years of almost continuous use the Pabst has welcomed a dazzling array of talent."

The theater has been altered both on the exterior and in the interior over the years, but it retains most of its Victorian character and still serves performers and audiences well. It is the last of Milwaukee's nineteenth-century theaters. Tours available. \$

The Germania (Brumder) Building at 135 West Wells Street reflects the era when German-language newspapers flourished. From a modest beginning—the founding of the *Wisconsin-Banner*, a weekly, in 1844—the German press grew to include the *Volksfreund* and *Seebote* before the Civil War and the *Herold* and *Germania* thereafter. The combined circulation of German newspapers in Milwaukee in 1884 was twice as large as that of English-language papers.

The Germania Building, built in

1896 in Classical Revival style and topped by four hemispheric domes, represents the life work of George Brumder, publisher of the *Germania Abend-Post*, the *Milwaukee Herold* and the *Sonntag-Post*, the nation's foremost German-language newspaper and book publisher. Construction materials are granite, limestone, and pressed brick with terra-cotta trim.

Milwaukee's Polish Communities

Milwaukee's Polish communities developed in the late nineteenth century as thousands of Poles settled in the city, working in industry and as tailors, painters, plasterers, and saloon keepers. They came as part of the great migration of 2 to 3 million Poles to the United States between 1865 and 1920. Driven from their homeland by poverty, small land holdings, overpopulation, the military draft, and political oppression, the Poles came in search of a better life. About 30 Polish families settled in Milwaukee between 1848 and 1864. By 1920 the city's Polish-born population numbered about 23,000.

The Poles formed distinctive communities in the southeastern section of Milwaukee, including Mitchell Street, in the area between Brady Street and the Milwaukee River, and on Jones Island. They were almost exclusively Catholic, and much of their cultural life centered on the church. Seven Polish Catholic parishes had been organized by 1910.

The Poles participated vigorously in politics, becoming a political power that parties dared not ignore. They established Polish libraries, at least a hundred societies and organizations to further their social, cultural, economic, and political position, and five Polish

newspapers. At the urging of the Polish community, the Milwaukee School Board agreed to introduce Polish into the elementary school curriculum in 1909.

Thrift, hard work, commitment to homeownership, and a strong sense of loyalty to church, family, and the mother country tended to keep the Poles a very conscious community as late as 1950. This was true despite the fact that the Polish community had developed an economic class structure and produced many successful businessmen and professionals and participated very actively in politics.

Examples of original Polish worker's homes built in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries may be seen on East Locust Street between Humboldt Avenue and North Holton Street, and on 6th Street south of the expressway. Note the ground-level apartments in many of these homes. Designed to accommodate two families, these houses allowed the owner to rent out one level as a source of income.

St. Stanislaus' Roman Catholic Church, 1681 South 5th Street, built in 1872–1873, was the home of the city's first exclusively Polish parish, formed in 1863. Designed by Leonard Schmidtner and built at an original cost of \$80,000, the church is constructed of cream brick trimmed with limestone. An extensive remodeling in 1962 replaced the copper domes on the twin towers with welded aluminum covered with gold leaf.

Very impressive is *St. Josaphat Basilica*,* located at 601 West Lincoln Avenue. The Polish parishioners of St. Josaphat's wanted to rebuild their church with more enduring materials after fire destroyed the frame sanctuary in 1889. While Erhard Brielmaier

was preparing drawings for a new church, the pastor, Father Grutza, learned that the old Chicago Post Office was being razed. He purchased the marble, copper, wrought iron, carved stone, and paneled mahogany—500 freight-car loads—for the new church for \$20,000. Brielmaier made new drawings, and construction began in 1897.

The structure is in the shape of a Latin cross with transept and a magnificent dome rising 250 feet above ground level. Interior decoration includes murals depicting St. Josaphat and events in Polish history. The stained glass windows were imported from Austria. St. Josaphat was designated a basilica in 1929, the first church built by Polish Americans to receive this status. Visitors may arrange for a guided tour of the basilica for a small fee. St. Josaphat is a Milwaukee City Landmark as well as a National Register site.

Three other distinguished south side church structures housed Polish parishioners. *St. Hyacinth's Roman Catholic Church*, located at West Becher Street and South 14th Street, was built in 1882–1883 after St. Stanislaus' congregation outgrew its church. When St. Hyacinth's congregation, in turn, outgrew its church, *St. Vincent de Paul's* parish was formed in 1888. In 1900 the parish had Bernard Kolpacki, a Milwaukee Polish architect, design the present structure. An impressive 182-foot-tall building constructed of tan brick and limestone, the church has two copper-domed towers. The style is similar to German Renaissance. The church is at West Mitchell and South 21st Streets.

Ss. Cyril and Methodius Catholic Church, at the intersection of West



Interior of the St. Josaphat Basilica from a photograph entered in a 1951 contest by Vernon A. Boyd, Milwaukee. Courtesy State Historical Society of Wisconsin. WHi(X3)2628



Annunciation Greek Orthodox Church, May 1977. Photo by Allan Bogue.

Hayes Avenue, West Windlake Avenue, and South 15th Street, was also designed by Bernard Kolpacki for a Polish congregation. In contrast with St. Vincent's, the 1893 structure is in the Victorian Gothic style and built with cream-colored brick with orange terracotta and sheet copper trim. The parishioners came from St. Hyacinth's and St. Josaphat's parishes.

The Greek Neighborhood

Most of Milwaukee's Greek immigrants came to the city early in twentieth century, leaving adverse economic conditions in their homeland to search for a better livelihood. Congregating in the old Third Ward lying south of East Wisconsin Avenue and between the Milwaukee River and Lake Michigan, and in the Fourth Ward as well, Milwaukee's Greeks numbered between 4,000 and 5,000 in 1922. Most found jobs in Milwaukee's tanneries, in the iron and steel mills, in railroad

construction, and in service occupations. Perhaps as many as 130 went into the confectionery, restaurant, coffee house, shoe shine, grocery, barber, floral, butchering, and saloon businesses.

Of the many Greek institutions transplanted to Milwaukee, probably the Greek Orthodox church was the most important. The Church of the Annunciation of the Milwaukee Hellenic Community was formally organized in 1906. In 1914 the community completed a church at Broadway and Knapp Streets. A second parish, Ss. Constantine and Helen, was constituted in 1922 as a result of political divisions in the Greek community. Since World War II, as a result of the movement of Milwaukee's Greeks away from the downtown area, new churches have been built in Wauwatosa.

Frank Lloyd Wright designed the new *Annunciation Greek Orthodox*

*Church** at 9400 West Congress Street. Completed in 1961, the \$1.5 million building has excited interest and admiration ever since. The blue-tiled dome, which rises 45 feet above the main building, is 104 feet in diameter. The building is in the form of a Greek cross. Traditional Byzantine colors of gold and blue have been used throughout the interior. Recent memorial gifts made possible the addition of stained glass windows beneath the dome and on the entrance doors. As well as being on the National Register of Historic Places, Annunciation Greek Orthodox Church is a Milwaukee County Landmark.

Visitors are welcome at services on Sunday. Groups of 20 or more may take guided tours for a small fee.

Built in 1969, the church currently housing the Ss. *Constantine and Helen* congregation is located at 2160 Wauwatosa Avenue in Wauwatosa. While the original downtown Greek neighborhood is gone, these churches symbolize the success of Milwaukee's Greek immigrants in adapting to American life and the great importance of the church in their lives.

(3) Milwaukee County Zoo

10001 West Bluemound Road

The Milwaukee County Zoo successfully creates the illusion that one is seeing animals in their natural surroundings. Animals from all over the world are grouped by continents. Native Wisconsin fish and wildlife have not been forgotten. Visitors can see small animals in a woodland setting from the interior and exterior windows of a split-fieldstone building. In the Reptile House is a miniature Lake Wisconsin, home for native Wisconsin fish species. The Bird House is de-

signed to allow visitors to walk among the birds.

When Milwaukee's Zoo, which dates from the 1890s, reached capacity in the early 1960s, the present facility was constructed. A children's area was opened in 1971. Two small passenger trains carry visitors around the grounds, giving them an overview of the entire zoo collection. A Zoomobile provides shorter rides along paths between exhibits. There is a cafeteria in the entrance building. Open daily at 9:00 A.M. Closing hours vary. In fall and winter 4:30 P.M. is closing time; in summer, it is 5:00 P.M. Monday–Saturday, and 6:00 P.M. on Sunday. \$

(4) Mitchell Park Horticultural Conservatory

524 South Layton Boulevard
Three aluminum- and glass-sheathed precast concrete domes were completed between 1964 and 1967 to house the Mitchell Park Conservatory. Each of the 87-foot domes has its own climate, yet the three are linked into one complex. From the entrance foyer visitors may choose to enter the arid environment of the Southwest, a tropical rain forest, or a frequently changed seasonal display. Humidities and temperatures vary considerably, but circulating fans keep the atmosphere comfortable.

The present Mitchell Park Conservatory replaces one built in the park in 1898. It is located in one of the earliest parks laid out in the city of Milwaukee and overlooks the once-busy industrial Menomonee Valley. John Lendrum Mitchell gave part and sold part of the parkland to the city. Mitchell was a U.S. senator for Wisconsin and the son of Alexander Mitchell, a prominent Milwaukee banker, finan-

cier, and railroad magnate. Open year round, Monday–Friday, 9:00 A.M.–5:00 P.M.; Saturday and Sunday, 9:00 A.M.–8:00 P.M. \$

(5) Walker's Point Historic District*

Roughly bounded by the freeway, Menomonee Canal, and Scott, 2nd, and West Virginia Streets

Walker's Point was one of Milwaukee's three earliest-platted settlements. It was named for George H. Walker, who in 1834 built a small trading post on a point of land jutting into the Menomonee River. When ratification of Indian treaties made the land available for white settlers, Walker platted the area still known as Walker's Point. It was joined with former Juneautown and Kilbourntown as part of the City of Milwaukee in 1846.

This neighborhood was named to the National Register of Historic Places in 1978 because many of its buildings reflect nineteenth-century history. German and Scandinavian immigrants lived here, followed by people from Slavic countries at the turn of the century and by Spanish-speaking residents today. Architectural styles vary from the Greek Revival structures of the 1850s to the Victorian Gothic homes built some years later.

Holy Trinity—Our Lady of Guadalupe Roman Catholic Church* was built at 605 South 4th Street for a German-speaking congregation in 1849. In 1965 Spanish-speaking members of the Our Lady of Guadalupe congregation merged with Holy Trinity, and the combined congregations now occupy the 1849 brick and stone building, which is listed on the National Register of Historic Places. Designed by a Milwaukee architect, Victor Schulte,

the building is Romanesque in style. The octagon steeple was added in 1862.

Historic Milwaukee offers tours of the architecture of the older parts of the city, including Walker's Point. Its headquarters are located in the Tivoli Palm Garden Building, 504 West National Avenue, recently restored on the exterior as a Schlitz Brewery facility and housing also the Milwaukee Ballet Company. Arrangements for tours may be made at 504 National Avenue during the summer months. The mailing address is P.O. Box 2132, Milwaukee, WI 53201. \$

(6) Daniel Webster Hoan Memorial Bridge and Port of Milwaukee

Highway I-794

The Hoan Memorial Bridge spans Jones Island, the location of Milwaukee's outer harbor and the harbor entrance. Beneath this bridge pass ocean-going vessels from all over the world and Great Lakes carriers during the shipping season. The harbor facilities include cargo terminal buildings, rail and truck connections, and some of the largest heavy-lift cranes on the Great Lakes. A municipal car ferry terminal, built in 1929, served the Chesapeake & Ohio Railway Company for many years. Also located on Jones Island is a sewage treatment plant completed in 1925.

Between the Jones Island peninsula and the mainland originally lay a swampy area, which was dredged in 1933 for the use of larger lake freighters. During the winter more than 30 ships moor here, including the Great Lakes fleet of the U.S. Steel Corporation.

During the 1920s, Milwaukee's long-



Biking by the Milwaukee River under the center span of the Daniel Webster Hoan Memorial Bridge. Courtesy Milwaukee County Historical Society.

time Socialist mayor, Daniel Webster Hoan, often called visitors' attention to the beauty of Milwaukee's bay, which he called more lovely than the famed Bay of Naples. For this reason his name has been given to the bridge that spans the harbor entrance and speeds traffic from the south side to downtown Milwaukee. Although the value of such a bridge had been discussed in Milwaukee's common council since the 1930s, it opened for traffic for the first time in November 1977. The day before vehicle traffic began, pedestrians flocked across the bridge to enjoy the marvelous view that drivers, in the interest of safety, have to forego.

(7) Milwaukee County War Memorial Center and Milwaukee Art Museum

750 North Lincoln Memorial Drive

In 1957 Eero Saarinen, the Finnish-born Detroit architect, designed the Milwaukee County War Memorial and Art Museum. These were among the last buildings in his distinguished career. The idea of a war memorial in the form of a community and cultural center had been publicly discussed as early as 1944. Saarinen's design combined facilities for veterans' services and a much-needed art museum in one structure. On the west side is the Wisconsin artist Edmund Lewandowski's mosaic depicting in roman numerals the dates of World War II and the Korean War. The names of Milwaukee's war dead are inscribed on black granite blocks around a reflecting pool in the open court. David Kahler designed a 1975 addition to the original building that quadrupled gallery space. Mrs. Harry Lynde Bradley gave hundreds of modern European and American works to the center's collections and \$1 million toward the construction of the new wing.

The museum's collections range chronologically from ancient Egyptian to contemporary American works, with great strength in nineteenth- and twentieth-century European and American art. Open Tuesday, Wednesday, Friday, Saturday, 10:00 A.M.–5:00 P.M.; Thursday, noon–9:00 P.M.; Sunday, 1:00–6:00 P.M. Closed Mondays. \$

North of the Milwaukee County War Memorial Center is Juneau Park lagoon, where in winter generations of Milwaukee children have delighted in feeding the ducks that collect on its open water. The lagoon froze over ev-

ery winter until a Milwaukee industrialist contributed an aerating device that keeps ice from forming. In summer the Milwaukee County Park Commission's McKinley Marina, north of the lagoon, provides berths for the vessels of the city's many boating enthusiasts. The sight of hundreds of white sails offshore during a weekend sailboat race delights lakefront watchers.

(8) Milwaukee County Historical Center*

910 North 3rd Street

The Milwaukee County Historical Center, a City Landmark, occupies a former bank building, built of limestone in modified French Renaissance style between 1911 and 1913 for the Second Ward Savings Bank. Decades after the bank's merger with the First Wisconsin National Bank, the building was donated to Milwaukee County for use by the Historical Society for its headquarters, research library, and museum exhibits of Milwaukee history. Although the vaults no longer hold money, they are full of valuable documents of Milwaukee's past. Special exhibits include a panorama painters' display, a transportation hall, and displays of women's fashions and early firefighting and military equipment. One area is restored to its original appearance as part of the bank, and another is a recreation of Alfred Uihlen's parlor from his home near the Schlitz Brewery. Open Monday–Friday, 9:30 A.M.–5:00 P.M.; Saturday, 10:00 A.M.–5:00 P.M.; and Sunday, 1:00–5:00 P.M. Guided tours may be arranged. Free.

(9) Pere Marquette Park

West Kilbourn Avenue to West State



Milwaukee County Historical Center. Courtesy Milwaukee County Historical Society.

Street at the Milwaukee River

Lying between the Milwaukee County Historical Center and the Milwaukee River, Pere Marquette Park provides a beautiful open green space between the Historical Center and the Performing Arts Center directly across the river. The park is named for Father Jacques Marquette, who may have camped on this site from November 23 to November 27, 1674. Marquette and his two assistants, Pierre and Jacques, were traveling south to found a mission for the Illinois Indians at Kaskaskia, Illinois. Marquette's health forced him to cut short his visit to the Illinois, and he died in May 1675 on the eastern shore of Lake Michigan

while en route to Sault Ste. Marie (see pp. 281–282). The park is a Milwaukee City Landmark and a Wisconsin Registered Landmark.

(10) MacArthur Square and Milwaukee Public Museum

800 West Wells Street

Surrounded by city, county, and state governmental buildings, MacArthur Square is an open space with landscaped gardens. The square covers an underground parking structure, constructed in 1967 after many years of planning. From the square the visitor has access to the Milwaukee County Courthouse, the Milwaukee Public Safety Building, and the Police Admin-

istration Building. The Wisconsin State Office Building is across the street to the east, and farther east stands City Hall with its imposing tower. On the south lawn is Robert Dean's bronze statue of General Douglas MacArthur, facing north. Although born in Arkansas, MacArthur often referred to Milwaukee as his hometown because his father and grandfather had lived here and he himself was living here at the time of his appointment to West Point by a Milwaukee congressman.

The Milwaukee Public Museum, operated by the county, is housed in a \$6.5 million structure completed in 1963. It specializes in natural history and history. Displays are skillfully and creatively organized to unify these fields and to introduce the visitor to the human experience in the natural environment.

Those interested in Lake Michigan history will enjoy especially The Streets of Old Milwaukee display and the museum's extensive collection on Woodland Indians and North American Indians found in various parts of the museum.

The museum began with a natural history collection of 19,000 specimens made by Peter Engelmann, a nineteenth-century schoolmaster. In 1881 the Natural History Society of Wisconsin gave the collection to the city of Milwaukee on the understanding that it would furnish a free public museum for its display. The Milwaukee Public Museum opened in 1884.

The museum developed rapidly, not only in size but also in innovative display techniques and services offered to the public. Its officially stated objectives are "the collection and preservation of collections, and the interpretation of those collections

through scientific research, exciting and instructive exhibits, and imaginative educational programming." Open daily except some holidays, 9:00 A.M.–5:00 P.M. \$

(11) Central Library

*Milwaukee Public Library System,
814 West Wisconsin Avenue*

When the Young Men's Association disbanded in 1878, its private lending library of 10,000 volumes became the nucleus of the Milwaukee Public Library and was housed in a building at North 4th Street and West Wisconsin Avenue. Soon the growing library needed more space. The trustees decided to build a structure that would house the library and the Milwaukee Public Museum as well. Ferry and Clas, Milwaukee architects, won the design competition with plans for a building in the Classical Revival style. It opened on October 3, 1898. A library addition was opened in 1956, and the museum was removed to its new site across the street in 1963. The building is now a Milwaukee City Landmark.

Even today, visitors are impressed by the Italian marble columns and balustrades, the dome above the rotunda, the mosaic flooring, and the oak and mahogany woodwork. Equally impressive are the services offered by the library, such as the Ready Reference Department, which answers over 350,000 reference queries yearly, and its resources, which include more than 2 million books, government documents, phonograph records, maps, periodicals, posters, and works of art.

In its Local History Room, the library houses its research collections on Milwaukee's history and its genealogical holdings, as well as the Marine Historical Collection, a very



North Point Water Tower from an undated etching by Paul Hammersmith, Milwaukee, in a group done 1896–1936. Courtesy State Historical Society of Wisconsin. WHi(X3)40323

important resource for research in Great Lakes history. Included in the latter are books, maps, charts, magazines, manuscripts, documents, pamphlets, and some artifacts. The dossier file on Great Lakes ships is the heart of the collection. The Central Library is open Monday–Thursday, 8:30 A.M.–9:00 P.M.; Friday and Saturday, 8:30 A.M.–5:30 P.M. The Local History Room is generally open afternoons and on Monday evening. To make the most effective use of their time, visitors should call or write in advance.

(12) North Point Water Tower*

East North Avenue between North Lake Drive and North Terrace Avenue

Milwaukee's early population was small enough to find an ample water supply in wells and springs in the area, but as the city grew, a public water supply system was needed. With Lake Michigan at its door, the city built a pumping station on the shore in 1873, housing two huge steam engines to pump water from the lake into city water mains. Water service, however, was initially by subscription only, and for decades Milwaukeeans continued to struggle with the growing problem of a pure drinking-water supply.

In 1873–74 on the bluff above the pumping station, a 175-foot tower was built of Wauwatosa limestone to house a metal standpipe that is open at the

top. The standpipe prevented vibrations caused by the reciprocal steam pumping engines from affecting water flow in the mains. Steam engines were replaced by electricity in 1942, and the standpipe became obsolete. However, the turrets and spires of the Victorian Gothic tower designed by Charles A. Gombert so enhanced Milwaukee's skyline that it was allowed to remain and is now floodlit at night. The tower is a Milwaukee City Landmark and an American Water Works Association Landmark. Closed to the public.

(13) North Point Lighthouse*

Wahl Street at North Terrace

Erected in 1855 to mark the entrance of the Milwaukee River into Lake Michigan, the first lighthouse, a brick structure built near the site of the present one, served until 1888. By then the wind and waves had so eroded the beach that a second lighthouse about 100 feet inland was needed to replace it. When trees in the lakefront park threatened to obscure the light from this 39-foot tower, Congress allocated funds to raise it. Completed in 1913, the most recent North Point lighthouse, an octagonal structure, stands 74 feet tall. The lens, a Fresnel manufactured in Paris, probably dates from 1888.

24. Milwaukee's Northern Lakeshore Suburbs: Shorewood, Whitefish Bay, Fox Point, and Bayside Highway W-32

By the last quarter of the nineteenth century, Milwaukee had begun to develop suburban communities, both industrial and residential, as businesses and residents opted to move away from the congestion of the rapidly growing city. The construction of street railways to connect city and outlying areas encouraged the outward movement. Taxes, the scarcity of plant sites in the city, the desire to escape from potential labor turmoil, and threatened restrictions on industrial pollution weighed heavily in the thinking of businessmen who made the shift. Industry spread southward to Bay View, Cudahy, and South Milwaukee, westward to West Milwaukee and West Allis, and northward to North Milwaukee.

City homeowners also found the suburban idea attractive. Milwaukee suffered from the many environmental drawbacks of America's rapidly growing late nineteenth-century industrial cities. Factory smokestacks belched black smoke. Breweries filled the air with the yeasty smell of fermenting brew. Meat-packing plants and tanneries emitted foul odors. Complaints mounted about water supply, street sanitation, crime, and health hazards. Public pressure for better urban services and a better living environment mounted, but reform came slowly. Meanwhile, many moved to the suburbs. Wauwatosa, an early residential suburb, styled itself in 1886 as a fine

place to live, with its churches, street lights, street railway connections to Milwaukee, and freedom from heavy industry. The suburban residential north shore began developing in the 1890s. Over the years, regulations excluding industry gave the north shore its residential character. The beautiful Lake Michigan setting attracted thousands of Milwaukee residents to "live farther out" and commute to work.

Shorewood

In the early 1890s the site of present-day Shorewood began to develop as a select residential area. Carved from the Town of Milwaukee, the village location had been a farming area and the site of several short-lived efforts to develop industry and recreation. Incorporated as the Village of East Milwaukee in 1900, it changed its name in 1917 to something more picturesque: the Village of Shorewood. The prosperous 1920s were the period of Shorewood's greatest growth, when the wealthy built mansions along the lakefront on North Lake Drive and middle-class workers built more modest homes west of the drive to the Milwaukee River. Restricted to exclude industry, Shorewood became known as a model twentieth-century village. The current population is about 14,300.

Shorewood Sites of Interest

*Estabrook Park and Kilbourntown House**

The Milwaukee County Park Commission developed Estabrook Park, lying along the Milwaukee River, around the site of a defunct cement plant. The Milwaukee Cement Com-

pany was organized in the late nineteenth century to utilize limestone in the bed of the Milwaukee River, but its owners found by 1909 that they could not compete with producers of Portland cement. The Park Commission purchased the cement company's land with the intention of creating a park. Development took place in the 1930s.

Kilbourntown House, also known as the Benjamin Church House,* stands on Estabrook Park Drive and is accessible from either Capitol Drive or Hampton Avenue. This beautiful Greek Revival structure, built in 1844, originally stood on North 4th Street in downtown Milwaukee. In the late 1930s, when the house was threatened with destruction, the WPA moved it for Milwaukee County to Estabrook Park. The National Society of Colonial Dames in Wisconsin furnished the house in the style of the 1840s. While not all of the furnishings are original to the house, they are all authentic to the period before 1865. Because the house originally stood in the Kilbourntown area of Milwaukee, it is called Kilbourntown House. Operated by the Milwaukee County Historical Society, the site is open for visitors from the end of June to Labor Day, Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Saturdays, 10:00 A.M.–5:00 P.M.; Sundays, 1:00–5:00 P.M. Free.

Whitefish Bay

Realtors conceived of the Whitefish Bay area as an ideal location for a residential suburb and began platting a development in the 1880s. Rumors that a railroad repair shop would locate there in 1892 triggered a hasty promotional effort and the incorpora-



Captain Frederick Pabst's Whitefish Bay Resort, one of many fashionable dining and drinking establishments he had built in the late nineteenth century to publicize his brew. Courtesy Milwaukee County Historical Society.

tion of the village. Several miles of sidewalk were laid before the financial panic of 1893 slowed development plans.

Resorts rather than residential sites first attracted many Milwaukeeans to Whitefish Bay. Famous among them was Captain Frederick Pabst's resort established in 1889. Developed as an 18-acre park with an ornate pavilion, a bandstand, shooting gallery, and Ferris wheel, Pabst's resort became a high-class beer garden. Milwaukeeans biked there or rode in horse-drawn buggies over a graveled toll road to enjoy the unspoiled lakeshore and a planked whitefish dinner. Others boarded the *Bloomer Girl* at a Milwaukee dock for a short cruise to Whitefish Bay, or took the steam railway. The resort closed in 1914, and nothing remains.

Named for the whitefish once so

plentiful here, the popular resort of the early twentieth century became a wealthy residential suburb in the 1920s. Prominent among the Milwaukee industrialists who built mansions in Whitefish Bay in the post-World War I period was Herman Uihlein of the Schlitz Brewing Company. The Italian Renaissance *Uihlein Residence*, built in 1918, stands at 5270 North Lake Drive.

Development during the 1920s swelled Whitefish Bay's population from 880 to about 5,000 in 1930. In 1940 only about 40 percent of the residential suburb had been built up. During the post-World War II prosperity, Whitefish Bay expanded rapidly. The current population is about 15,000. Village government carefully restricted development to preserve the town's residential character,

to control business activity, and to promote aesthetic qualities. Whitefish Bay's voters early displayed their ability to control their environment when, in the late twenties, they forced the Chicago and North Western Railroad to remove tracks that ran through the center of the village. The railroad right-of-way became Marlborough Drive. Park development is further evidence of civic pride and attention to aesthetics. In *Old School Park*, adjacent to Marlborough Drive, the village maintains lovely flower gardens. Two parks—Big Bay Park and Klode Park—front on Lake Michigan. Both are accessible from Hy W-32.

Fox Point

Now an upper-class residential community of about 7,600, Fox Point goes back well over a century. Within the present limits of the town, Dutch immigrant families settled on small farms in the 1840s. They established the Bethlehem Dutch Reformed Church, school, and cemetery. Although the Dutch settlement did not grow and develop as did Cedar Grove (see site 29), Oostburg, and Gibbsville, some of the settlers and their descendants remained for many decades. Meanwhile, pioneer farmers of other nationalities, principally Germans, also settled in the area.

But it was not until the 1920s that Fox Point's beautiful lakefront appealed to wealthy merchants, manufacturers, and financiers from Milwaukee as a prime location for fine homes. Fox Point organized as a village in 1926. A 1941 publication described it as "a long, wooded village set among gardens and trees along the

lake; many a 'Private Road' sign lists in gilt letters the names of those who live behind the fences and hedges that shield their houses from the road." It was then still small, with a population of less than 500. Its greatest growth has come since World War II.

Fox Point Sites of Interest

Doctor's Park, turn east off Hy W-32 onto Dean Road

In 1928 Dr. Joseph Schneider, a well-known eye specialist, died and left his land to Milwaukee County for a park and nature preserve so that city dwellers could enjoy the natural landscape with its flowers and trees. The memorial gateway to Doctor's Park was dedicated in 1936.

Dutch Pioneer Cemetery, adjacent to Doctor's Park on Fox Lane

The cemetery where Fox Point's Dutch immigrants buried their dead adjoins Doctor's Park on the south. Descendants of these pioneers restored the long-neglected burial ground in 1928 and erected a monument honoring them. The cemetery is a Wisconsin Registered Landmark.

Bayside

The newest of Milwaukee's northern lakeshore suburbs, Bayside was incorporated in 1953, including land in both Milwaukee and Ozaukee Counties. Originally restricted to permit single-family dwellings only, Bayside has since sanctioned multifamily units. Eighty percent of Bayside's adult male workers are employed in white-collar jobs. Bayside passed an open housing ordinance in 1967. Its 1980 population was about 4,700.

Bayside Site of Interest

Schlitz Audubon Center, 1111 East Brown Deer Road

The Schlitz Foundation presented over a hundred acres of land to the Audubon Society in 1971 for a nature education center. The Uihlein family, owners of the Schlitz Brewing Company in Milwaukee, had purchased the land in the 1880s to provide pasture for tired brewery horses and a picnic site for the family. The Uihleins dubbed it "Nine Mile Farm" because it was located nine miles from the brewery.

Now the water tower that was used to provide water for the horses is almost the only reminder of the old farm. It has been turned into an environmental education facility. A cedar and glass interpretive center for classes and meetings opened in 1973. Three miles of hiking trails lead to ponds, deep ravines, and the beach. Wavecut terraces, probably formed at least 7,000 years ago, rise 15 feet above the present shoreline of Lake Michigan here. In winter cross-country skiers use the trails. Films and other nature programs are presented in the center's buildings on Saturday afternoons.

Open Tuesday–Sunday, 9:00 A.M.–5:00 P.M. Audubon members free; non-members \$.

25. Port Ulao

Highway I-43 to exit 20, east on Ulao Road

Port Ulao flourished briefly as a refueling point for lake steamers plying Lake Michigan's waters between Chicago

and the upper Great Lakes. In 1847, as settlers in the Port Washington area were busily clearing timber from lakeshore lands, James T. Gifford, a resident of Elgin, Illinois, and former Illinois state legislator, founded a cordwood business at Port Ulao. Buying felled trees from neighboring farmers, Gifford milled them into cordwood and delivered them from bluff to beach by a system of chutes. Steamboats loaded the cordwood from a pier built out into the lake. Gifford's business served both Chicago-bound and northbound traffic.

Foreseeing the time when local wood supplies would dwindle, Gifford in 1847 secured a charter from the territorial legislature to construct a road west from Port Ulao to the Wisconsin River. He planned to tap the supply of northern Wisconsin pine logs regularly floated downstream. Wagons would haul them to the port.

For unknown reasons, Gifford left Port Ulao in 1850 when only three miles of the road had been built, having sold the business to John Randolph Howe, a Great Lakes ship captain. The road was never completed as originally planned, and when the local cordwood supply was exhausted after the Civil War, Port Ulao declined.

The town is perhaps best known in history as the boyhood home of Charles Guiteau, assassin of President James A. Garfield, and as the port where troops landed to quell the riot in Port Washington in 1862 (see site 26).

Port Ulao has almost vanished. Now farmland and empty beach lie where the town and cordwood business once flourished. Ghost Town Tavern stands east of Hy I-43 on Ulao Road. About a mile and a half farther east, on the

bluff overlooking Lake Michigan, the remains of the wagon road to the beach can be detected in spring, when apple trees and lilac bushes planted along the road are in bloom.

26. Port Washington Highway W-32

A group of Yankee land speculators, headed by Wooster Harrison, an experienced town site promoter with real estate interests in Walker's Point and elsewhere, established a town site at the mouth of Sauk Creek in 1835. First known as Wisconsin City and later as Sauk Washington, the village was officially named Port Washington in 1844. The little settlement, beautifully sited on Lake Michigan and apparently blessed with the potential for a man-made harbor, boomed until the panic of 1837, languished, and then revived in the 1840s.

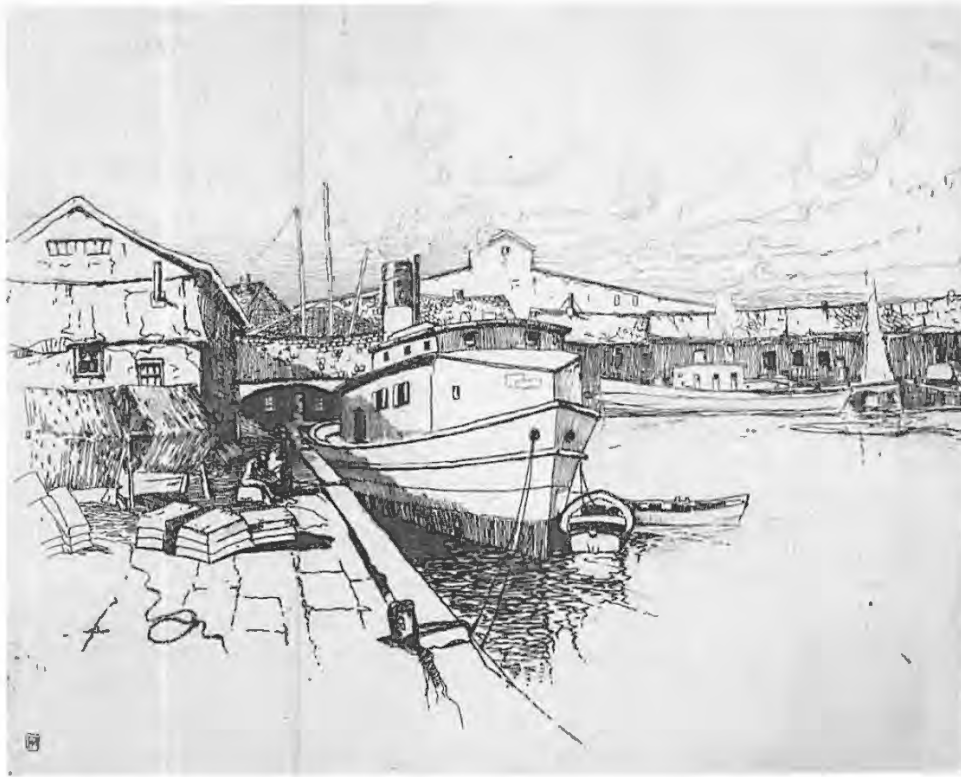
Thereafter Port Washington grew as a trade and service center for a developing agricultural hinterland. Until the 1870s, when two railroad lines paralleling the lake were built through Ozaukee County, farmers hauled their produce to town by wagon. Lake steamers and sailing vessels carried it to market. From the 1840s through the 1870s, Ozaukee County residents depended more completely on the lake than ever before or since. In those years Port Washingtonians built a pier out to deep water, acquired a lighthouse, pressed Congress for harbor improvements, and with federal and local money began to create an artificial harbor. The port hummed with daily arrivals and departures.

After the organization of Ozaukee County in 1853, Port Washington became the county seat. During these formative years a small fishing industry developed along with small industries that processed the products of Ozaukee County's prosperous farms and produced manufactured goods for local consumption. Saw and grist mills, a brickyard, tannery, brewery, a cheese factory, and a company manufacturing agricultural machinery prospered. In the early 1870s Port Washington acquired its first iron foundry. In 1882 it incorporated as a city.

The industry that made Port Washington famous for many decades, the Wisconsin Chair Company, was founded in 1888 and went out of business in 1954. A 1917 gazetteer called it "the largest chair factory in the world." It stood on the lakefront at the foot of East Pier Street and extended south to Grand Avenue.

Port Washington and Ozaukee County's earliest settlers came from the eastern United States. Beginning in the 1840s, immigrants from the Germanies and from Luxembourg moved into the area to develop farms. By 1860 Germans and Luxembourgers made up over half the county population. Sturdy and hardworking, they made a marked and impressive contribution to local economic and cultural development. They gained national attention in the fall of 1862 when they staged a mass protest against the Civil War draft.

The local draft commissioner, a German Protestant and a Democrat, attempted at that time to draw names to fill Ozaukee County's quota of Union troops. Luxembourgers and a handful of German farmers, supported by an angry mob of 1,000 draft pro-



In this etching made sometime between 1896 and 1936, Paul Hammer-smith of Milwaukee captured the beauty of a fishing tug in the Port Washington Harbor. Courtesy State Historical Society of Wisconsin. WHi(X3)40321

testers, assailed Commissioner William A. Pors, beat him up, and destroyed the draft box before going on a spree of wrecking and plundering the town. Pors escaped to Milwaukee and summoned federal help. Over 750 heavily armed officers and men of the 28th Wisconsin Volunteers set sail for Port Ulao and landed there, four miles south of Port Washington. They marched overland, surrounded the rebellious town, and rounded up the rioters. The Civil War draft, generally unpopular but especially so with new Americans of Catholic-Democratic allegiance, led to similar disturbances in several other Wisconsin communities. One newspaper reporter stated that parts of Port Washington looked as if a tornado had struck them.

The directions of Port Washington's

early economic development have continued in modified form to the present. The harbor is still used commercially, now mainly for inbound cargoes of coal. For more than a hundred years, efforts to make the harbor safe failed. High winds continued to smash boats against the shoreline as they did the *Toledo* in 1856. However, extensive 1980 harbor improvements seem to have resolved the problem. Pleasure craft fill the harbor in the warm months. The commercial fishing industry has diminished, but sport fishing for chinook, coho, and lake trout grows.

Industry has survived, changed, and increased over 125 years. Metal industries predominate, producing foundry products; road construction, outdoor power, foundry, and water clarification

equipment; and synthetics. Port Washington industries now produce for a national rather than a local or regional market as they did a century ago. A Wisconsin Electric Power Company plant serving southern Wisconsin is sited here. Port Washington, "The Little City of Seven Hills," population 8,600, remains the seat of county government.

Port Washington Sites of Interest

(1) St. Mary's Roman Catholic Church*

430 North Johnson Street

The origins of St. Mary's Catholic parish go back to the German-speaking Catholic immigrants from Luxembourg



St. Mary's Roman Catholic Church at Port Washington stands atop the highest hill. It has long been a landmark to guide lake craft. The beautiful interior is well worth visiting. Photo by Margaret Bogue.

and the Germanies who made Ozaukee County and Port Washington their home. Three families gathered to hold services in a private home in 1847. Two years later 20 families who needed a house of worship built a small frame church on Lighthouse Bluff, the highest hill in Port Washington, on land donated by Hiram Johnson, one of Port Washington's early settlers. In 1853 St. Mary's received a resident priest. In 1860 the growing congregation undertook construction of a handsome stone church. Soon it was too small. The present structure, a simple Gothic Revival edifice con-

structed from local limestone with a richly decorated interior, dates from 1881–1884. It was designed by a Milwaukee architect, Henry Messmer, to serve over 200 families in the parish. This beautiful structure dominates Port Washington's profile. The three bells in the tower are from the second church on this site.

(2) Ozaukee County Courthouse*

109 West Main Street

Port Washington has been the county seat of Ozaukee County since 1854. When its first courthouse, a far less imposing building than the present one, proved inadequate, the county board authorized plans for a new structure. In 1902 the Richardsonian Romanesque structure, designed by the Milwaukee architect Frederick A. Graf, was built of blue-gray limestone from the nearby Cedarburg quarry. The imposing oak staircase and oak wainscotting are notable features of the interior. Above the five-story-high clocktower perches a golden eagle, embellished with gold leaf. A modern addition was made to the building in 1969.

(3) Dodge House (Pebble House)*

146 South Wisconsin Street

Edward Dodge, a young blacksmith, built this one-and-a-half story Greek Revival house in 1848 on the south bank of Sauk Creek. Dodge brought the idea for his Wisconsin home with him from his native New York State, where cobblestone houses of this type were built between 1835 and 1845. It became fashionable in that decade to use beach stones from the shores of Lake Ontario selected for uniformity of size and color.

The pebbles forming the exterior

walls of Dodge House came from the creek and Lake Michigan. Workmen matched them for size and color and laid the walls with a banded effect. Architectural historians consider the house an outstanding example of Wisconsin cobblestone architecture. The Wisconsin Electric Power Company moved the house to its present location in 1931 for use as a gatehouse. It is not open to the public.

(4) U.S. Coast Guard Station

311 East Johnson Street

Solon Johnson donated land on North Bluff to the federal government for the purpose of establishing a lighthouse in 1849. The first lighthouse was a wooden structure, replaced in 1860 with this more substantial brick building. The basement served as keeper's quarters and the light stood atop the roof. Although the light has long since been removed to the government breakwater, the Coast Guard still uses the building.

(5) Sites Relating to the Toledo Sinking

Smith Brothers Restaurant and Union Cemetery

The Port Washington harbor has proven an untrustworthy haven in storms. Its original deficiencies were well demonstrated in October 1856, when the *Toledo*, one of the larger propeller steamboats on the lakes, lay at anchor at Port Washington. A sudden storm literally crushed the boat to pieces on the shore, with the loss of at least 40 and perhaps 55 lives. Three persons survived the disaster. The bodies recovered from this tragedy are buried in Union Cemetery. Close by stands the original anchor from the *Toledo* as a memorial to the dead. In

the parking lot of Smith Brothers Restaurant at the harbor is another anchor, similar to the *Toledo's*, displayed along with a brass plaque describing the *Toledo* disaster.

(6) Eghart House

316 Grand Avenue

Leopold Eghart, an Austrian immigrant, admired the view from this spot when he arrived in Port Washington in 1849. In 1872 he purchased the home built here by Byron Teed. Eghart served as a judge in the Ozaukee County court from 1878 to 1901. The Eghart family occupied this frame Victorian home until the death of daughter Elsa in 1969. The home now belongs to the W. J. Niederkorn Museum, which has furnished it with items that belonged to the Eghart family and other Port Washington residents between 1850 and 1900.

Open Sundays from mid-May through October, 1:00–4:00 P.M. Group tours may be arranged. \$

27. Side Trip to Ozaukee County Pioneer Village

From Port Washington take Hy W-33 west and County Trunk I north to Hawthorne Hills County Park to visit "Pioneer Village," a well-developed historical site owned and operated by the Ozaukee County Historical Society. Here the society has assembled a group of 15 buildings reflecting Ozaukee County's nineteenth-century history that would have been torn down if left in their original locations. The process began in 1961 when the society rescued an 1850 log house from destruction and moved it to this



Blacksmith Shop, Ozaukee County Pioneer Village. Photo By Margaret Bogue.

site. Included in the structures are an 1848 trading post, barns, sheds, carpenter and blacksmith shops, a schoolhouse, and frame, log, and German half-timber houses. Open from the first Sunday in June through the second Sunday in October, Wednesdays, Saturdays, and Sundays, noon–5:00 P.M. Group tours may be arranged. \$

28. Harrington Beach State Park

Highway W-32 and County Trunk D, 2 miles east of Belgium (FHPS)

This park, designed for day use only, was named for the first superintendent of the state park board, C. L. Harrington. Here, between 1894 and 1925, the Northwest Stone Company quarried limestone and company workers lived. The 23-acre quarry is now a picturesque little lake surrounded by white

cedar trees and sumac. While the company operated, loads of crushed rock were hauled to the shore and loaded onto ships for transportation to Milwaukee or Chicago. The company burned some of the limestone in kilns on the property to make commercial lime. One of the old pot kilns remains. Nature and hiking trails lie around Quarry Lake and along the Lake Michigan shore. \$

29. Cedar Grove

Highway I-43

Hard times and religious frictions in the Netherlands led to the migration of hundreds of Dutch families to American Midwest in the 1840s. Sheboygan County became one focal point of settlement. Dutch immigrants began arriving in the Cedar Grove area from New York State or directly from Holland in 1845. In 1847 the man who became spiritual leader for many of the settlers, Dominie Pieter Zonne, came first to Milwaukee and then to Sheboygan County, where a number of Dutch families had migrated earlier.

Cedar Grove and nearby Oostburg developed gradually as rural villages, centers for business and social life. The village of Amsterdam on the Lake Michigan shore competed with them for a time. There Dutch settlers developed a thriving fishery and built a pier into the lake, from which they shipped cordwood and lumber. But the fisheries declined rapidly, and the timber supply was soon exhausted. After a north-south railroad line was built through Cedar Grove and Oostburg in 1872, Amsterdam's fate was



"De Visch." Photo by Margaret Bogue.

sealed. It declined while Cedar Grove, Oostburg, and Gibbsville (founded after the Civil War) prospered.

Most new settlements have their calamities, and so did the Dutch settlements in Holland Township, Sheboygan County. At least 127 Dutch immigrants died early Sunday morning on November 21, 1847, when their steamship, the *Phoenix*, caught fire within five miles of the Sheboygan harbor. About 25 survived the tragedy. An official Wisconsin marker north of Cedar Grove commemorates the disaster.

At Cedar Grove an annual Holland Festival, held on the last Friday and Saturday of July, commemorates the early Dutch settlers and the community's principal ethnic heritage. The program includes a parade, street scrubbing, and dances performed by Cedar Grove residents dressed in colorful Dutch costumes.

Cedar Grove Sites of Interest

(1) "De Visch"

The Cedar Grove Boosters Club presented this replica of a South Holland gristmill to the city in 1968. Serving as a decorative and symbolic information center, "De Visch" stands in a small park on Main Street.

(2) Het Museum

Main Street

Located in a blacksmith shop of the 1880s, the museum, a Cedar Grove Bicentennial Project, contains Dutch artifacts and memorabilia of the Cedar Grove area. The back room has displays of farm implements, tools, and a blacksmith's forge. Open June-Labor Day, Wednesday and Friday evenings, 7:00-9:00 P.M. \$

30. Terry Andrae and John Michael Kohler State Park

Accessible from Highway I-43 and County Trunk KK (CFHS)

Terry Andrae and his wife experimented with the growth of vegetation in sandy soil at their summer home, Pine Dunes, built in 1924. Hoping to preserve the sand dunes, the Andraes set out many pine trees along the lakeshore. After Terry Andrae died in 1927, Mrs. Andrae presented 112 acres of land to the state to be used for a park. The park became so popular that it was necessary to add more land.

An adjacent second park development grew from the 221 acres presented to Wisconsin in 1965 by the



At the turn of the century and until 1930 the Sheboygan harbor was busy with passenger-freight steam boats. In the foreground the tug Peter Reiss bears the name of one of Sheboygan's prominent businessmen. Courtesy State Historical Society of Wisconsin. WHi(X3)40550

Kohler Foundation of Sheboygan. The two parks are administered as a single unit. There are two miles of beach with interesting sand dune formations, forests including white pines, oaks, elms, beeches, and sugar maples, and a wide variety of flora and fauna. The naturalist program at the parks includes guided nature hikes, evening programs during the summer months, and a new nature center—museum. \$

31. Sheboygan Highway I-43

A favored fishing location for Indians, the site of a North West Company fur trader's post in 1795 and of an independent American trader's cabin in 1820, the mouth of the Sheboygan River caught the attention of land speculators in the 1830s. In 1835 and 1836 a group of Yankees—"alien speculators," as one local historian has called them—platted the village and offered Sheboygan lots for sale in Chicago. Sheboygan grew to a village of

15 to 20 buildings before the panic of 1837. Real growth followed in the 1840s as American-born settlers and, after 1846, thousands of immigrants, many from the Germanies and the Netherlands, landed at Sheboygan's piers. They came in search of farmlands, attracted by the forests of beech, sugar maple, basswood, and oak that covered the Sheboygan River watershed.

Over the next two decades, as virgin forests were turned into wheat fields, Sheboygan grew. It served as the seat of local government, the trade and service center for a developing agricultural community, and focal point of lake passenger traffic and freight shipments. The lake served as the main artery of transportation until the building of north-south railroad lines in the 1870s. From the developing hinterland came pork, wheat, wool, lumber, shingles, and cordwood for export. A prosperous fishing industry produced whitefish for export. Into port came boatloads of pioneer settlers and essential food and manufactured goods not locally produced.

Sheboygan's initial prosperity depended upon the successful development of the lakeport. Residents succeeded in securing a federally constructed lighthouse in 1840 but did not persuade Congress to fund the first in a long series of harbor improvements until 1852. A U.S. lifesaving station was established in 1876.

In the mid-1840s shipbuilding emerged as a Sheboygan industry and remained an important one until the end of the nineteenth century. The year 1906 was the last time that *Polk's Wisconsin State Gazetteer* listed a shipyard and floating drydock among Sheboygan's businesses.

Sheboygan changed from being primarily a shipping point and trading center into a manufacturing city as well in the last half of the nineteenth century. Until the 1870s products of its cooperages, breweries, mills, tanneries, wagon and carriage factories, and agricultural machinery and furniture plants met the needs of the immediate area. Yet some of Sheboygan's manufactured products had always found their way beyond local markets.

After 1870 more and more were marketed nationally.

The production of chairs, tannery products, and furniture grew substantially after 1870 to assume a position of dominance among Sheboygan's diversified industries by the end of the century. Wooden chair and furniture plants employed 60 percent of Sheboygan's 5,300 wage earners in 1900. During the late nineteenth century, two new businesses developed that were destined ultimately to make metal industries more important than woodworking ones in Sheboygan's economy. German-born J. J. Vollrath and Austrian-born John M. Kohler founded iron enameled ware plants. At the turn of the century, Kohler established a large new factory four miles west of town (see site 32).

Notable also in Sheboygan's late nineteenth-century business development was the change in the character of exported agricultural products. Long a collecting and transshipment point for farm products from the surrounding countryside, Sheboygan became known as the "cheese city" as well as the "chair city." Sheboygan County farms had shifted from grain and mixed agricultural production to dairying.

Polk's Wisconsin State Gazetteer and Business Directory for 1917 characterized Sheboygan as "the liveliest manufacturing city of the west shore" aside from Chicago and Milwaukee. "Its six mammoth chair factories supply every civilized country in the world with chairs, and its enameling works are amongst the largest in the country. It has the largest excelsior factory in the state, several of the largest tanneries in the country, the largest coal and salt docks on the lakes and feeds the

world with cheese." Annual manufacturing output was valued at \$13 million.

As Wisconsin's hardwood supply diminished, so did the manufacture of wooden furniture. During Sheboygan's great industrial growth of the 1920s, the metal industries almost overtook furniture, and during World War II they did. The 1970 census showed the metal industries as the largest employers, with furniture, machinery, food, and construction ranking second through fifth.

Members of families prominent for decades in Sheboygan's industries—Vollrath, Jung, and Kohler, to mention conspicuous examples—still live in the city. The largest employer, the Kohler Company, manufacturers of plumbing fixtures, had 5,000 workers on the payroll in 1979. Twenty-three other manufacturers employ 100 or more workers each. They make a variety of products, including orthodontic equipment, furniture, industrial machinery, leather goods, dairy products, motor vehicle parts and accessories, plastics, stainless steel products, and clothing.

Sheboygan's manufacturing success owed much to a plentiful labor supply. Until World War I immigrants—principally from the Germanies—furnished much of that labor. They settled in Sheboygan by the thousands during the last half of the nineteenth century. After 1880 the city took on a German character: German-speaking immigrants occupied positions of leadership in some industries, German drama was performed often, and German actors and artists frequented nearby resorts. Singing societies, a symphony orchestra, aid societies and lodges, a political club, and the Turnverein had predominantly German

memberships. Three German-language newspapers served the community. Sheboygan's German workers formed the backbone of the city's small, struggling labor unions at the turn of the century. A pre-World War I influx of immigrants from Lithuania, Russia (descendants of Germans colonized in the Volga River Valley in the eighteenth century), Slovenia and Croatia (now part of Yugoslavia), and Greece modified all this, and so did time. Yet adjectives like "neat," "orderly," "home-loving," and "homeowning," conventionally associated with German influence, were readily applied to Sheboygan in the late 1930s. In the 1960s and 1970s, an influx of Hispanic workers from Texas and Mexico joined the labor force in Sheboygan's metal industries. In 1980, 767 persons of Hispanic (primarily Mexican) origin lived in the city.

Lake Michigan's role in the industrial success of Sheboygan, now a city of about 48,000, has changed greatly over the last 140 years. At the outset the lake served as the main artery of trade and commerce. Now carriers of bulk cargoes, such as coal, are the main ships docking at the harbor. Other freight passes overland by truck and rail. The fishing industry, which employed 35 to 40 persons as late as the 1930s, is greatly diminished. Yet the lake still offers industrial Sheboygan a recreational resource for boating and sport fishing.

Sheboygan Sites of Interest

A combined driving and walking circuit through downtown Sheboygan provides a look at older structures that reflect many facets of the city's history.



Now the Vollrath Company makes a wide variety of stainless steel products. This illustration shows the enameling room when enameled ware was a major product. Courtesy State Historical Society of Wisconsin. WHi(W6)1185

Businesses, fishing shanties, industrial buildings, churches, residences, and public buildings illustrate the city's economic and social history during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. A sampling rather than an exhaustive list of old structures is offered here. The sites are arranged with driving and walking convenience in mind. Those interested in a fuller list should consult *Prospects for the Past: A Study of Notable Architecture, Sheboygan Renewal Area, 1972*, prepared by the Redevelopment Authority of Sheboygan, and *Heritage Walk in Old Sheboygan*, prepared by Sheboygan County Landmarks, Ltd., in 1972. Both are available at the Mead Library on the 7th Street Mall.

(1) Trinity Evangelical Lutheran Church

824 Wisconsin Avenue
Sheboygan's large German-born

population was affiliated with a number of religious groups: German Methodist Episcopal, Baptist, Evangelical, Reformed, and, most particularly, Lutheran and Roman Catholic. A 1910 local history identified 10 sizable and prosperous Sheboygan churches with distinctly German origins and predominantly German membership. They were important institutions in the German community as centers for spiritual guidance, education, charity, mutual aid, and social and cultural activities.

The Missouri Synod of the Evangelical Lutheran Church sent Reverend Selle on a journey through Wisconsin in 1848 to find out how well the spiritual needs of Lutherans were being served. He found no Lutheran church in Sheboygan. "The inhabitants," he reported, "are very industrious. For spiritual matters they show little concern." Five years later the Missouri

Synod organized the Trinity Evangelical Lutheran congregation. Initially the Trinity congregation used a former Presbyterian church structure, but as more and more Germans arrived in Sheboygan, larger quarters became necessary. After fire destroyed the small church, the congregation voted to build a larger sanctuary. The cornerstone of the cream brick Gothic Revival structure at 824 Wisconsin Avenue was laid in 1869. Enlarged and altered over the years, the 1869 church is still used.

Trinity Evangelical Lutheran was the parent congregation for Bethlehem Lutheran, organized in 1889 to serve the growing number of southside German Lutherans. Construction began on the beautiful Gothic brick structure, located on the southwest corner of South 12th Street and Georgia Avenue, in 1889. One year later a second congregation, Immanuel Lutheran, orga-

nized and built a fine Gothic brick sanctuary at South 17th Street and Illinois Avenue. As a result of the establishment of these new congregations, Trinity lost 500 families and 400 parochial school students. The continued influx of German Lutherans into Sheboygan enabled Trinity to withstand the loss and to help establish St. Paul's Lutheran congregation on the north side in 1905.

For many decades German was the principal language used in Trinity Lutheran services. In 1922 the congregation decided to have regular English services as well.

(2) Commercial Buildings

500 and 600 blocks of North 8th Street

On 8th Street, Sheboygan's main business street during the nineteenth century, stand several older commercial buildings that record the architectural tastes of the city's German businessmen. The cream brick *Zaegel Building** at 632 North 8th has ornate brickwork, varied in pattern, texture, and color. It was built in 1886 by Max R. Zaegel, a pharmacist. Charles and Jacob Imig built the Italianate *Imig Block* (625–629 North 8th Street) in 1881–1882 to house their clothing and shoe stores as well as the Muhlendorf drugstore. John and Martin A. Bodenstein, sons of an early Sheboygan tailor, built the Romanesque sandstone commercial structure at 520 North 8th Street in 1893 as a clothing store.

(3) Jung Carriage Factory*

829–835 Pennsylvania Avenue

Jacob Jung, a German immigrant, came to Sheboygan in 1854 to find work as a wagonmaker. Hired by Brothers and John, a small wagon company, Jung

soon found himself its proprietor when financial problems forced Brothers and John to deed their shop to him in compensation for back pay. His small business grew and prospered in the 1860s and 1870s.

About 1885 Jung built this brick structure with its interesting façade to house his wagon shop. Here he and later his sons, William and Jacob, Jr., produced high-grade, custom-made carriages, wagons, and sleighs. The business was always a small one, never engaging in mass production. Quality, craftsmanship, and individuality of product were their trademarks. At the Wesley W. Jung Carriage Museum at Greenbush, restored vehicles made in the Jung Carriage Factory are on display (see site 34).

(4) Jung Shoe Company

620 South 8th Street

Henry Jung, son of Jacob Jung, founder of the carriage factory, was a very successful manufacturer and banker. Jung founded the Jung Shoe Company in 1892 and was among the incorporators of the Sheboygan Shoe Company in 1909. These businesses are illustrative of the importance of the leather goods industry in Sheboygan's economy. The 1912 history of Sheboygan County eulogized him, one of its patrons, as displaying the "sterling characteristics of his German ancestry," "wide awake" and "alert." The Jung Shoe Company building complex includes three attractive industrial structures built in 1906, 1909, and 1916 to house the growing business.

(5) Ss. Cyril and Methodius' Church

820 New Jersey Avenue



Saints Cyril and Methodius, September 1984. Photo by Margaret Bogue.

The Catholic church adopted the policy of founding new parishes to accommodate the desire of different national groups for churches where priests could minister to them in their native languages. The German, Slavic, and Lithuanian Catholic parishes in Sheboygan clearly illustrate this policy.

In 1910 over 1,000 persons of Slovenian and Croatian origin lived in Sheboygan and worked in its factories. Many of them came from copper- and iron-mining communities in Michigan and Minnesota, where as immigrants they had initially sought jobs.

Ss. Cyril and Methodius' parish was organized in 1910 to meet the needs of the city's growing Slovenian and Croatian Catholics, who did not feel at home in German-speaking churches. Dedicated in 1911, this impressive

stone Romanesque church, topped by a dome and cross that give it an eastern European character, overlooks the Sheboygan River. The architect was Frank Geib, who also designed the adjacent school, built in 1918.

(6) Immanuel Evangelical Lutheran Church

1634 Illinois Avenue

See no. (1).

(7) St. Peter Claver Catholic Church

Clara Avenue and South 11th Street

St. Peter Claver parish was organized on the south side in 1886 as an offshoot of Holy Name parish (see no. [13]), which had grown very large over the years in serving the Catholic German population, principally immigrants from southern Germany. The church's first pastor, Rev. J. P. Van Treeck, was born in Geldern in the German Rhineland. The growing parish constructed an imposing buff brick sanctuary, priest's home, and school in 1907 and 1908. The church structure has been somewhat modified over the years. One addition obscures the beautiful Romanesque arches of the original entrance.

(8) St. Spyridon's Greek Orthodox Church

1425 South 10th Street

The 1910 federal census showed 336 persons of Greek birth living in Sheboygan. Although only a small part of the city's 8,660 foreign-born residents (33 percent of the total population), the Greek community was close-knit and already had its own church. Sheboygan's earliest emigrants from Greece came in the late 1890s and were followed by several hundred

more before 1914. A large proportion of them were men, single and married without their families, from the southern Greek provinces of Arcadia and Messinia. They came looking for work and planned to remain only long enough to accumulate money to take back to Greece and thus improve their economic status.

Sheboygan's Greeks lived on Indiana Avenue between South 7th and 14th Streets, a partially developed area of the city. Many found jobs in tanneries and furniture factories and with the railroads, while others launched small businesses, confectioneries, groceries, saloons, barbershops, bakeries, and tailoring shops. This tight-knit Greek-speaking community developed its own social life and its own governing council.

In 1904 its residents decided to organize a congregation, St. Spyridon's Greek Orthodox Community. They built the simple cream brick church in 1906 and added the tower in 1916. Built at a time when Sheboygan's Greeks were unpopular with some other residents, who criticized their overcrowded housing, poverty, competition with American labor, and "foreign" ways, the original church remains as a monument to the struggles of the early Greek immigrants and to the continued presence of Greek Orthodox communicants in Sheboygan 75 years later. St. Spyridon's proudly celebrated its seventy-fifth anniversary in the fall of 1981.

(9) Latin Pentecostal Holiness Church

South 10th Street and High Avenue

Organized in 1974, the Latin Pentecostal Holiness Church serves a small minority of the Spanish-speaking com-

munity. Membership numbered 36 in 1981. The church building was formerly used by the Assembly of God church.

The majority of Sheboygan Hispanics with church affiliations are Catholic. Mass is said in Spanish at *St. Clement's Parish Center*, 506 New York Avenue. The major social service agency for Hispanics in Sheboygan is United Migrant Opportunity Services.

(10) Croatian Hall

8th Street and Broadway

Croatian Hall, built in 1924, included a large meeting hall and smaller rooms for club and group gatherings. The plain tan brick structure served as a social and civic center for Croatian families dedicated to keeping Croatian culture alive. The Croatians organized sickness and death benefit (insurance) societies and in 1924 founded the Croatian Home, Inc. These, along with Ss. Cyril and Methodius' Church, were the major social institutions of the early twentieth-century immigrant community.

(11) Fishing Shanties

On the north bank of the Sheboygan River, east of the 8th Street bridge, stand fishing shanties that have been in use throughout the past half-century. Originally the fishing village lay west of the bridge. Now greatly diminished, as is all Lake Michigan commercial fishing, Sheboygan's fishing industry was an important part of the local economy from the mid-nineteenth century until the 1930s.

(12) Homes of Sheboygan's Business Leaders

*Friendship House,**

721 Ontario Avenue

Believed to have been built about 1870 for the owner of the Park Hotel, John Pfeiler, this attractive two-story brick and masonry house in the Italian Villa style is very well maintained. Early in the twentieth century the Home for the Friendless, Inc. acquired it. Friendship House is now used as a group home for dependent boys.

Henry Jung Home,

503 Ontario Avenue

Henry Jung (see no. [4]) built this home in 1900–1901 in the Neo-Classical–late Victorian style. It symbolizes his business success and prominence in the community. With only minor exterior alterations, the house has been adapted for use as a halfway house by Sheboygan County Halfway House, Inc.

T. M. Blackstock House,

507 Washington Court

Thomas M. Blockstock, who built this Italian Villa home in 1864, came to the United States from Ireland in 1849. Prominent in Sheboygan business and government, he helped organize the Phoenix Chair Company and later became its president. He served in the Wisconsin State Assembly and as mayor of Sheboygan.

John M. Kohler Home,

608 New York Avenue

John Michael Kohler built this cream brick Italianate home for his family in 1882. At that time he ranked as one of Sheboygan's most successful industrial leaders, but the Kohler business was then small compared with what it became in later years. Kohler,



The John Michael Kohler Arts Center during a special summer event in 1978. Photo by Margaret Bogue.

an Austrian-born immigrant, purchased an interest in the Vollrath Foundry in 1873. Six years later he and two new partners formed a company that produced ornamental ironwork at first and later cast-iron plumbing fixtures.

The Kohler home was deeded to the non-profit Sheboygan Arts Foundation in 1966. The foundation maintains the home as a year-round performing arts center, offers classes, and manages permanent and changing exhibits. Open daily, noon–5:00 P.M. Free.

Peter Reiss Home,

1227 North 7th Street

The Reiss home, a massive red sandstone structure reflecting both Richardsonian Romanesque and Gothic architectural styles, was built in 1905–1906. Alfred C. Clas of Milwaukee was the architect. Members of the Reiss family are well known in Sheboygan as founders and owners of the Reiss Coal Company.

A. P. Lyman House, 1126 North 6th Street

Probably built in the 1870s and owned by a succession of prominent Sheboygan businessmen, the Lyman house was originally the cream brick Italianate home of Asahel P. Lyman, pioneer merchant, owner of Great Lakes sailing ships, and advocate of railroad and harbor improvements for Sheboygan. Altered in appearance by successive owners, the house belonged for a time to an official of the Reiss Coal Company and later to the president of the Sheboygan Falls Machine Company. It was converted to an apartment building in the 1940s.

(13) Holy Name Catholic Church *8th and Huron Avenue*

In the summer of 1845 a visiting priest said mass in a private home for Sheboygan's few Catholic residents. With the coming of southern German Catholics in substantial numbers, She-

boygan received a permanent pastor, Reverend F. X. Etschmann, in 1850, the first in a long succession of German-speaking priests to serve the Holy Name parish. The foundation of the present church structure was laid in 1867, and in 1872 the Bishop John Martin Henni of Milwaukee dedicated the building. Holy Name was the parent church of St. Peter Claver (no. [7]). Holy Name parishioners were described as "polyglot" in character in 1912, with those of German birth or descent in a majority.

(14) David Taylor House* and Sheboygan County Museum

3110 Erie Avenue

A modest and distinctive example of the Italian Villa style, the David Taylor house, built of cream brick in the 1850s and overlooking the Sheboygan River, now houses the Sheboygan County Historical Society museum. David A. Taylor, a lawyer, moved from New York State to Sheboygan in the 1840s and served in the State Assembly and Senate and on the state Supreme Court. During his legal career he prepared two revisions of the Statutes of Wisconsin. The Sheboygan County Historical Society received a 99-year lease of the house for use as a museum in 1948. The grounds have been landscaped by a garden club with appropriate nineteenth-century plants.

The museum exhibits include an 1862 log cabin built by the Weinhold family southeast of Adell. The society recently saved it from destruction, moved it to the museum site, and restored it. Rooms in Taylor House are devoted to medicine, music, and Indian artifacts; a parlor and a bedroom are furnished with nineteenth-century



The Indian Mound Park near Sheboygan, May 1982. The park, a beautiful and restful place, has a number of signs and a burial mound display to help visitors learn about the Effigy Mound culture. Photo by Margaret Bogue.

pieces. The house is a Sheboygan County Landmark. Open April 1–October 1, Tuesday–Saturday, 10:00 A.M.–5:00 P.M.; Sunday, 1:00–5:00 P.M. \$

(15) Indian Mound Park

Near intersection of County Trunks KK and EE

Those interested in the Indian peoples who lived in the Sheboygan area before white settlement will find it worthwhile to make a short trip south of Sheboygan to visit Indian Mound Park. The park is owned by the city of Sheboygan but lies beyond the city limits in the township of Wilson. Take County Trunk KK south of Sheboygan

to the intersection with County Trunk EE. One-quarter mile beyond the intersection turn east on Panther Avenue. Make a right turn onto South 9th Street.

This beautifully sited 15-acre park on the Black River preserves 18 prehistoric Indian burial mounds, which were explored by the Wisconsin Archaeological Society in the 1920s and excavated by the Milwaukee Public Museum in 1927. One of the mounds is open to display the method of burial and some of the artifacts found here. Because of recent vandalism, only reproductions of artifacts are now on display.

The mounds were constructed by the Effigy Mound Indians approximately 700 A.D. (see pp. 7, 9). Notable among them are five deer and two panther mounds. Nature trails, markers, and the exposed burial at Mound 19 help visitors understand what little is known about the Effigy Mound Indians, a Late Woodland culture concentrated mainly in the area from Green Bay to just south of the Wisconsin-Illinois border. The Sheboygan Area Garden Clubs are largely responsible for saving the 18 mounds (of an original 33). Opened to the public on June 25, 1966, the park is dedicated to "those oldest peoples of Wisconsin whose love for their homeland kept it green and beautiful and rich in nature's bounty. May we learn to preserve it half as well."



Kohler Residences on Church Street in West I, the first of the village units, as they look today. Photo by Margaret Bogue.

32. Kohler Village

Highways W-23 or W-28
west of Sheboygan

In 1898, two years before his death, John M. Kohler decided to buy land for a new plant four miles west of Sheboygan, a location with plenty of room for growth. Nearby workers built their homes in Riverside, a small unincorporated village. Walter J. Kohler, Sr., son of John M. Kohler, decided that instead of an architectural hodgepodge at its front door, the Kohler Company should develop a model industrial village, well planned and attractive.

Accordingly he visited industrial communities in the United States and abroad and in 1916 hired Werner Hegemann, a German-born planner, to prepare a master plan for the village

of Kohler. Despite disagreements between Kohler and Hegemann that eventually led to the latter's resignation, development of the first unit of Kohler Village, West I, was nearly completed by 1924. Imitative of the English garden city idea, with houses simulating English cottages, West I included two large structures, the American Club, opened in 1918 (see below), and a two-story commercial building. The Milwaukee architect Richard Philipp designed most of the West I structures. Two more areas, South I and West II, were completed before the depression of the 1930s halted construction. The Olmsted Brothers of Brookline, Massachusetts, served as consultants to Kohler in the second planning phase, which began in the mid-1920s.

Until 1934 both the Kohler factory

and the planned industrial village received a great deal of favorable publicity. Kohler was hailed as Wisconsin's most beautiful village and Walter Kohler, governor of the state from 1929 to 1931, as an industrialist who gave conspicuous service to humanity. All that changed abruptly when, in the summer of 1934, a bitter and violent strike of Kohler workers attracted national attention. The village police force and its deputies opened fire on a group of strikers and strike sympathizers on July 27, 1934, killing two men and wounding 47 people. A prolonged strike between 1954 and 1960, involving union recognition as well as other issues, created profound divisions in the surrounding community and tarnished Kohler's image as a model industrial village.

In more recent years management-labor relations have followed a smoother course. Construction began anew in 1962 with the development of West III. In 1975 the Kohler Company assigned the task of developing a master plan for the future to the Frank Lloyd Wright Foundation. There is much evidence to suggest that those who live in Kohler, a growing number of them not Kohler employees, regard the village as an extremely attractive and well-planned community.

Kohler Village's history brings to mind the Pullman story (see site 1, no. [1]). Although George Pullman and Walter Kohler, Sr., had many ideas in common, the two cases are not really parallel, for Kohler preferred individual ownership of homes to company ownership.

Kohler Sites of Interest

(1) American Club*

Kohler Memorial Drive

In 1918 the American Club, a large Tudor-style red brick structure, was built to provide rooms for single male workers at the Kohler Company plant. Many of these workers were recent immigrants from Germany, Russia, and elsewhere. In addition to dormitory rooms, the club included recreational facilities, reading rooms, a dining hall, and baths. One of the club's major purposes was to teach immigrants American ways through language and citizenship classes. The original furnishings included portraits of American presidents and an abundance of American flags. Walter Kohler's desire to Americanize immigrants reflected a vigorous national movement for 100 percent Americanization during World War I. Now the American Club is operated by the Kohler Company as a clubhouse for employees and as a residential hotel. In the summer of 1980, the company began a two-year renovation program to convert it to a motel.

(2) Waelderhaus

off Highway W-28 via Riverside Drive

Planned as a memorial to John Michael Kohler, Waelderhaus is a replica of his home in Austria. An architect and sculptor came from Austria in 1929 to design and supervise its construction and furnishing. Waelderhaus is open to the public daily without charge.

(3) Kohler Company Tours

Tour headquarters, High Street

Visitors to the Kohler Company can see the production of vitreous china

and enameled cast iron plumbing fixtures and learn about the company's history. Kohler products for the bath, powder room, and kitchen are displayed in the showroom. The Kohler Company also produces gasoline engines. Call (414) 457-4441, extension 2243, to make tour appointments. Tours are available Monday-Friday after 9:00 A.M. all year. Reservation needed.

(4) Riverbend*

Lower Falls Road

Riverbend, the Kohler family estate, was the home of two presidents of the Kohler Company, Walter Kohler, Sr., and Walter Kohler, Jr. Conservative Republicans in politics, both served as governors of Wisconsin, the former from January 1929 to January 1931, and the latter from January 1951 to January 1957.

Designed and built for Walter Kohler, Sr., between 1921 and 1923, the estate buildings include an impressive Tudor-style residence, a greenhouse, a chauffeur's cottage, and a garage. Richard Philipp of Milwaukee designed these structures as well as most of the buildings in the West I unit of Kohler Village. The brick Kohler home is trimmed in Bedford limestone. With its gable-roofed units, it is considered one of Wisconsin's outstanding private homes. The beautiful wooded setting at a bend of the Sheboygan River was landscaped by the Olmsted Brothers of Brookline, Massachusetts, who also planned portions of Kohler Village. This is a private residence not open to the public.

33. Kettle Moraine State Forest, Northern Unit

West of Sheboygan via Highway W-23 (BCFHPS)

The Northern Unit of Kettle Moraine State Forest was created in 1937 when the state of Wisconsin acquired 800 acres of wilderness from the Isaak Walton League. Over the last 40 years, the state has added 27,000 of a projected 30,000 acres to the forest. Picnic and swimming facilities are found at Seven Lakes, and camping is permitted at both Mauthe Lake and Long Lake recreation areas. A 120-mile scenic drive connects the Northern and Southern Units of the forest.

The Kettle Moraine Forest takes its name from glacial potholes made by slowly melting ice left by glaciers more than 10,000 years ago. In addition to kettles, visitors to the forest can see kames (cones of sand and gravel left by melting ice), eskers (narrow ridges of gravel deposited by glacial streams), and moraines (gravelly hills deposited at the edge of the glacier's advance).

In 1970 the first section of a proposed 600-mile Ice Age Trail running north and south through the forest was opened. When completed, the trail will take hikers through nine units in the Ice Age National Scientific Reserve, which is scattered across the state of Wisconsin. Land included in the reserve has been placed under federal and state protection to preserve the physiographical features formed during the Ice Age (see site 41).

Maps of the Ice Age Trail, as well as other hiking trails in the forest, may be obtained from forest headquarters at Mauthe Lake.



The original of this fine drawing of Wade House at Greenbush, possibly showing it as it was about 1870, hangs in the American Club at Kohler, Wisconsin. Courtesy State Historical Society of Wisconsin. WHi(X3)1959

34. Old Wade House State Park

Greenbush, Highway W-23 west of Sheboygan (P)

Old Wade House,* a stagecoach inn built between 1847 and 1851 and the Wesley W. Jung Carriage Museum, both located in this state park, capture much of the history of horse-drawn transportation in nineteenth-century America. Sylvanus Wade, a skilled blacksmith and ambitious businessman, came to Wisconsin from Mas-

sachusetts after extended intermediate stops in Pennsylvania and Illinois, finally settling at Greenbush in 1844. He hoped to found a busy village midway between the growing towns of Fond du Lac and Sheboygan. From the beginning he operated an inn in his home, but by the late 1840s the road between the two towns was so well traveled that Wade decided to build a real inn to accommodate stagecoach travelers. The organization of the Sheboygan and Fond du Lac Plank Road Company in 1848 made increased travel through Greenbush a sure thing.

Wade's son-in-law, Charles Robinson, a carpenter and proprietor of a sawmill at Greenbush, helped design and build Wade House, a beautiful Greek Revival structure. Soon afterward Robinson built *Butternut House* for his family, another Greek Revival structure. Much of its interior woodwork was made from local butternut.

The plank road was completed in 1852, and business boomed at Wade House. But prosperity faded quickly after the construction of an east-west railroad line out of Sheboygan, designed to connect with a line between Chicago and Fond du Lac. The railroad ran through Glenbeulah, bypassing Greenbush. The first train arrived at Glenbeulah in 1860. Greenbush village and Wade House business declined. The stagecoach gave way to the railroad, and decade after decade the house deteriorated. In 1950 the Kohler Foundation embarked on a massive, painstaking restoration of both Wade House and Butternut House. They were presented to the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, which now operates them as public museums. The State Department of Natural Resources created park and picnic grounds around the buildings.

The *Wesley W. Jung Carriage Museum* on the grounds at Old Wade House State Park was opened in 1968. The museum contains a very fine collection of wagons and carriages, most of them built at the Jacob Jung Carriage Factory in Sheboygan in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (see site 31, no. [3]). Wesley W. Jung, grandson of Jacob Jung, restored most of these beautiful old vehicles. Old Wade House, Butternut House, and the Jung Carriage Museum are open May 1–October 31. Hours in

May, June, September, and October are Monday–Friday, 9:00 A.M.–4:00 P.M.; Saturday and Sunday, 10:00 A.M.–5:00 P.M. July and August hours are Monday–Sunday, 10:00 A.M.–5:00 P.M. \$

35. St. Nazianz

Intersection of County Trunks A and C, south of Highway US-151

St. Nazianz, a small rural town with a population of about 700, lies southwest of Manitowoc in a rich farming area. With one major industry, a producer of agricultural supplies and equipment, employing 60 workers, the town is primarily an agricultural service and educational center. Many of its residents work in neighboring industrial towns.

For over a century St. Nazianz was a very special place for religious reasons. The town's early history is unique, for here in 1854 a group of 113 Catholic German immigrants from the Grand Duchy of Baden established a communal religious settlement, naming the colony for their patron, St. Gregory of Nazianz. Contemporaries gave several reasons for the group's decision to come to the New World: overpopulation in the homeland, a succession of poor harvests from small landholdings, political turmoil following the Revolution of 1848, and a feeling of uncertainty about the future of Catholicism in view of the government's desire to secularize the church. Their leader, Father Ambrose Oswald, a local priest whose unorthodox views placed him in disfavor with church authorities, had but one motive. He wanted to establish an

ideal religious community, a model for others to follow.

The group formed an association with written statutes that set forth a system of theocratic government, standards of conduct, and rules of social and economic organization. Membership cost a specified amount of cash or labor. Association funds were earmarked for transportation to America and for the purchase of land to be held in common. "The mode of living will be in common as much as possible," said section 14 of the statutes of the association. Yet the association was more flexible than some nineteenth-century American religious collectives, for it recognized the right to obtain private property, provided for reimbursement to those who left the community, and sanctioned both married life and celibacy among its membership.

Although the statutes entrusted government to the Ephorate, made up of 12 elders and the parish priest, this system was not used. In practice Father Oswald and his able assistant, Anton Stoll, were the governing authorities. They guarded the public morality, managed public affairs, admitted and dismissed association members, provided for public education, assigned tasks to members, and settled disagreements. Obedience to the colony's laws and to superiors was a condition of membership. The final section of the laws specified: "There must be charity, harmony, true Christian fraternal love and real Christianity . . . which was our purpose in working together and coming to America." The association's laws established a system of social welfare for the group.

With the funds it collected, the association paid for its members' passage

to New York and retained enough to make a downpayment on land. Apparently attracted to Wisconsin because of its large German population, the group left New York, the port of debarkation, for Milwaukee. Father Oswald contracted for 3,800 acres of heavily timbered Manitowoc County land. The long struggle to establish the St. Nazianz community began in the late summer of 1854. Hard work, sickness, death, and money shortages plagued the pioneers for the next few years, but they persevered and ultimately prospered.

By the time of Father Oswald's death in 1873, the colony had a handsome stone church (St. Gregory's), convent, monastery, school, orphanage, hospital, seminary, numerous cottages for families, a central kitchen, and farm structures as well as a tannery, mills, and shops to provide lumber, flour, shoes, cloth, and clothing, primarily for association members.

Communal ownership continued without major protests until 1873. Just after the founder's death, discontented members, discovering that the association had never been incorporated under Wisconsin law, contested Father Oswald's will and demanded to separate from the association, taking with them the money they had contributed originally and compensation for their work over the years. A long period of legal warfare weakened the colony, many withdrew, and association membership declined.

In 1896 the lay brothers and sisters of the association, many of them advanced in years, petitioned to be unified with the Salvatorians, the Society of the Divine Savior, as a way of continuing Father Oswald's work. The Salvatorians agreed and for a half-

century pursued a program of building and expansion. They constructed St. Ambrose's Church (1898), assumed responsibility for St. Gregory's parish, enlarged the monastery, and converted the facilities into the first Salvatorian seminary in the United States. From time to time the seminary was called St. Mary's College. The development of the seminary and the assistance that the Salvatorians rendered St. Gregory's parish added much vitality to the town. In 1968 the seminary was converted into an innovative coeducational school, the John F. Kennedy Preparatory School. Because of financial problems, it closed in January 1982.

St. Nazianz Sites of Interest

Although most of the original colony structures are gone, some dating from Father Oswald's time remain, and the Salvatorian period is well represented.

(1) Oswald Burial Site

Father Oswald is buried in a mausoleum on the hill near the Loretto Chapel, built under his direction in 1870 and 1872 to house the shrine of Our Lady of Loretto.

(2) Loretto Shrine Chapel*

One-half mile west of County Trunk A behind the John F. Kennedy Preparatory School

Constructed in 1870 and 1872, the Loretto Shrine Chapel is a small one-story stucco structure with a gable roof and bell tower. Father Oswald had erected the colony's first shrine to Our Lady of Loretto in a tree niche in the very early years of the settlement and replaced it with a glass-encased



St. Gregory's Church now without its steeple stands on a hill overlooking the town. Around it is the graveyard with burials dating back more than a century. Both the church inside and out and the graveyard are well worth a visit. Photo by Margaret Bogue.

pedestal in 1863. Storm damage to both of these early shrines led him to begin work on the Loretto Shrine Chapel in 1870. Loretto Hill had long since become an important place of pilgrimage.

(3) St. Gregory's Church*

212 Church Street

The fine stone church built between 1864 and 1868 under the direction of Father Oswald is still in use, now serving St. Gregory's parish of approximately 500 families. The wooden stee-

ple burned down in 1957, but the exterior of the stone and concrete building, styled in the Country Church Gothic tradition is basically unaltered. The interior was extensively remodeled in 1958. The site of the first St. Gregory's church, a frame structure erected in the early days of the settlement, is marked with a memorial altar.

(4) St. Mary's Convent*

300 South 2nd Avenue

Constructed in 1865 and 1866 for use as an orphanage and hospital, the building is a combination of mortar and rock construction on the lower floors and stucco above. Both the hospital and the orphanage were projects of central importance to Father Ambrose Oswald. Section 7 of the statutes of the association, which he authored, committed the membership to provide care for the poor, invalids, and orphans "so that the poor shall receive the same care as the rich." The structure was named St. Mary's Convent in 1896 when the Sisters of the Divine Savior became its owners.

(5) St. Ambrose's Church and Seminary Buildings

The religious community of Salvatorians, now numbering about 30 permanent residents, continues to reside at St. Nazianz. The seminary building and many of the associated structures were converted for the use of the John F. Kennedy Preparatory School, a majority of whose students were boarders. With the retirement of the Sisters of the Divine Savior, their residence was converted for the use of residential faculty. The once-busy publishing department buildings served as a boys' dormitory. The original gymnasium became a theater, and a new

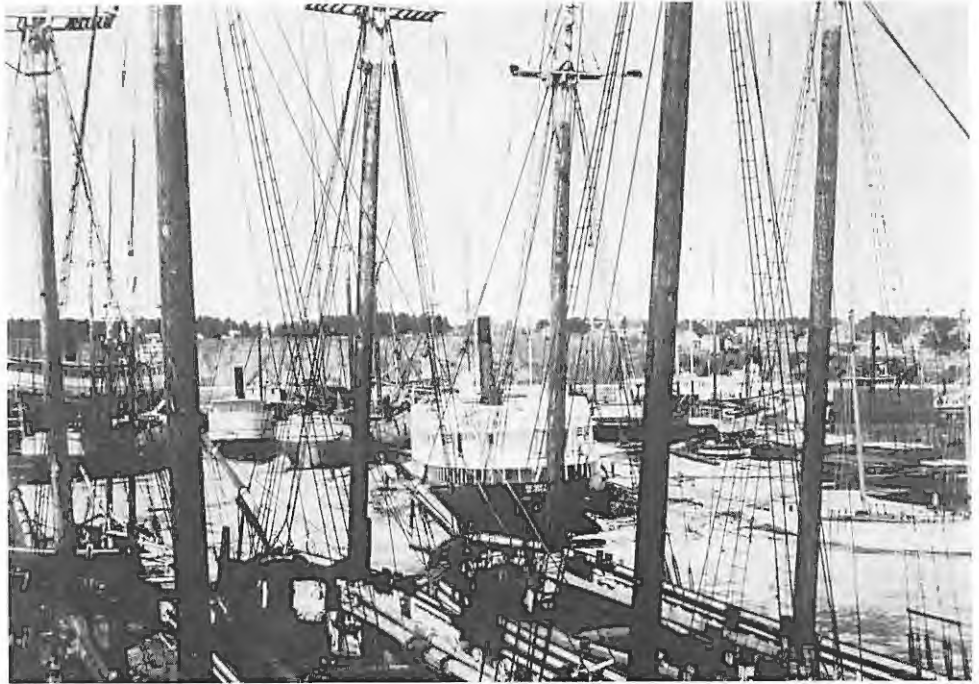
gymnasium was built. The recent closing of the school leaves the future use of these facilities undecided. The large and imposing St. Ambrose's Church is used on special occasions.

36. Manitowoc Highway US-151 and I-43

Located on the shores of Lake Michigan at the mouth of the Manitowoc River, the city of Manitowoc is now known for its metal and machinery industries. Because of the fine schooners built in its shipyards, it used to be known as "The Clipper City." Growth, change, and successful economic adjustment have characterized Manitowoc's 150-year history.

The town dates from the boom years of the 1830s, when Chicago land speculators platted Manitowoc (meaning "home of the great spirit"), hastily erected buildings, and pushed lot sales, only to have their hopes dashed by the financial panic of 1837. In the mid-1840s the settlement revived and grew remarkably from a village with 20 or 30 buildings, a pier, and a lighthouse in 1844 to a town of almost 2,200 in 1855. Among the newcomers were a large number of German immigrants and some Irish, Norwegian, and Bohemian families. In the 1860s Polish immigrants added to Manitowoc's ethnic diversity.

Manitowoc in the early years played second fiddle to Manitowoc Rapids, located upriver with excellent water power for saw and grist mills. But by 1853, when Manitowoc took the county seat away from Manitowoc Rapids, the lakeside village clearly had the advantage. Lake commerce, steam-



Manitowoc harbor pictured here in 1887 was crowded and busy. The photo shows eight steamers, a tug, seven schooners, and two scows. Courtesy State Historical Society of Wisconsin. WHi(X3)30632

powered sawmilling, fishing, and shipbuilding lay at the heart of Manitowoc's early prosperity. Not until the early 1870s did Manitowoc have railroad connections to the south and the west. Meanwhile the lake was vital for passenger and freight traffic. Local resources of timber and fish provided the major exports.

Recognizing that a good harbor was essential for growth, Manitowoc business leaders pushed for harbor improvements from the very beginning. In the 1830s they sought federal money to remove sand bars and to dredge. They also promoted the idea of building a canal to connect Manitowoc to Lake Winnebago. Although it received a lighthouse in 1840, Manitowoc's other appeals for federal aid

failed until 1852, when Congress appropriated a few thousand dollars for harbor improvements. A more generous appropriation of \$52,000 was made in 1866. Meanwhile Manitowoc used bond issues to raise much of the necessary capital to clear the harbor of shifting sand bars and deepen it.

Once railroad connections to Manitowoc were established in the early 1870s, the port became less essential for freight and passenger traffic. Yet in other ways the railroads increased that traffic. In the late 1880s the Flint and Pere Marquette Railroad opened a line of break bulk freighters between Ludington and Manitowoc. This was part of the east-west railroads' strategy for bridging the gap created by the lake, thereby saving the mileage, time,

and expense involved in going around the lakeshore via Chicago. In 1896, when the Wisconsin Central built a line to Manitowoc, the railroad's improvement plans greatly benefited the port city. Grain elevators, coal docks, and a car ferry connection with Ludington increased port business. In the early twentieth century, coal accounted for much of Manitowoc's inbound tonnage as it does now. Car ferry service to Ludington was suspended in January, 1982.

Manitowoc, now primarily industrial, has a venerable manufacturing and maritime history. Commercial fishing ranked as a very important industry in the early years. In the summer of 1837, John P. Clark of Detroit discovered the rich resources of whitefish and trout in Manitowoc lake waters. By the late 1850s the annual exported catch amounted to 2,250 barrels. Eight or nine fishing enterprises operated out of Manitowoc in the 1860s. The industry continued to be an important one but was plagued with problems and a long-term decline in catch.

For decades shipbuilding was among Manitowoc's main industries. The first schooner, the 60-ton *Citizen*, slid from the ways in 1847. Manitowoc shipbuilders launched 24 more schooners in the 1850s. By 1900 the yards had built 112 schooners, earning for Manitowoc the name "The Clipper City." Thirty-nine steamers and 36 tugs were launched here before 1900. One local historian boasted that Manitowoc clipper ships were unequaled in sailing qualities. Another considered the best work of the yards up to 1910 to be the "magnificent" passenger steamers built for the Goodrich Transport Company of Chicago.

Shipbuilding at Manitowoc finally

ceased in the late 1960s because the Manitowoc River was not large enough to handle launchings of the huge new bulk carriers. The yards of the city's major builder, the Manitowoc Company, were moved to Sturgeon Bay between 1968 and 1972. But between the founding of that company in 1902 and the cessation of shipbuilding at Manitowoc, it produced a wide variety of ships for industry and government. Before 1914 the company both repaired wooden ships and built steel passenger and freight vessels on order. During World War I the company expanded fourfold to produce under government contract 33 freighters with 3,500-ton capacity for war use. The yards turned out car ferries, oil tankers, and the company's first self-unloading freighter between World Wars I and II. During World War II the Manitowoc Company produced submarines and landing craft. From 1945 until the removal of the yard to Sturgeon Bay, the company built large self-unloading bulk carriers (the largest of these was 730 feet long), converted and modernized older vessels, and constructed a number of smaller crane-mounted vessels. Currently one construction firm, the Burger Boat Company, builds aluminum pleasure craft at Manitowoc.

Industrial activity other than fishing and shipbuilding has always been important to Manitowoc's economy. As long as the original forests lasted, Manitowoc exported tanned leather produced with local hemlock bark, staves, cordwood, and millions of shingles and board feet of lumber. Brewing, malt production, and brick making were old and long-lived industries. Manitowoc city fathers worked strenuously to attract new industries as

its four lumber mills and its tanneries closed. By the early twentieth century, they had met with a measure of success. The city had acquired a nucleus of metal industries, including iron and aluminum foundries, a steam boiler works, and an aluminum goods factory. Shipbuilding received a shot in the arm early in the century when Chicago shipbuilders consolidated and expanded the longstanding Manitowoc industry. Newer businesses included a knitting mill and four canning and pickle factories.

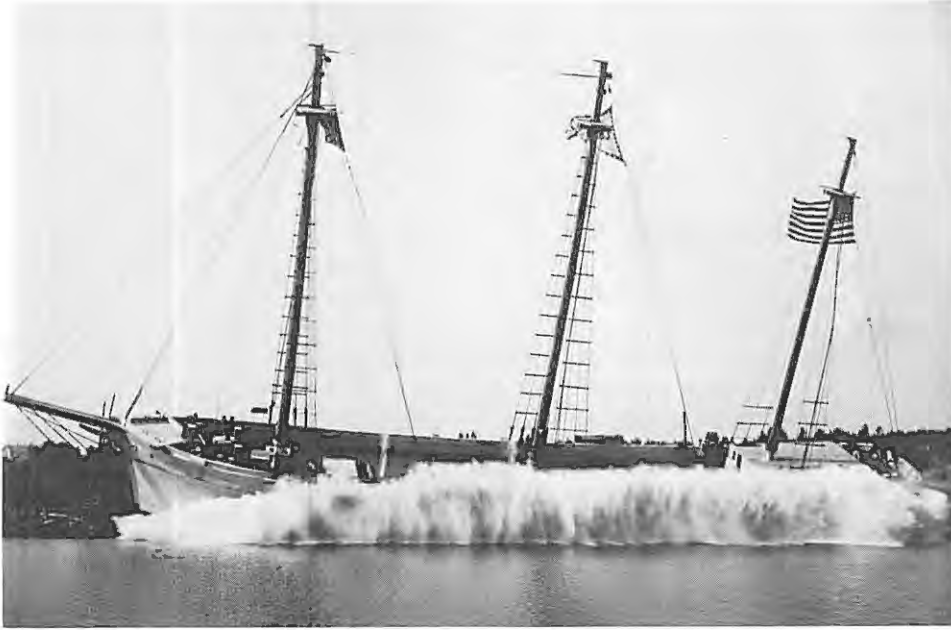
Now Manitowoc has 20 industries employing 100 or more workers and 2 very large firms with at least 3,000 each on the payroll: the Manitowoc Company (manufacturers of cranes, excavators, ice-cube makers, and debarking equipment) and the Mirro Corporation (makers of aluminum products). Metal industries predominate, turning out a wide variety of aluminum products from cookware to castings. Other firms produce metal office equipment, hose couplings, machine tools, ice-cube-making machines, and refrigeration equipment. Food (dairy products, sausages, baked goods, canned vegetables) and wood and ceramic products are also on the roster of manufactured goods. In 1970 manufacturing plants employed about 40 percent of the city's total workforce. The city population in 1980 was 32,500.

Manitowoc Sites of Interest

(1) Manitowoc County Court House*

8th Street at Washington Street

An excellent example of the monumental Neo-Classical public



Launching a Goodrich Transportation Company vessel built in Manitowoc in 1889, City of Racine. Photo by H. J. Packard. Courtesy State Historical Society of Wisconsin. WHi(X3)36985

architecture of the turn of the century, the Manitowoc County Court House was designed by a locally prominent architect, Christ H. Tegen, and built in 1906. The structure stands on the site of the courthouse built in Manitowoc in 1861, eight years after the growing Lake Michigan port city captured the county seat from Manitowoc Rapids. Well preserved and maintained, the courthouse is very prominent in the city's profile. The high, copper-covered dome and open lantern rise well above surrounding structures and are visible for a considerable distance. Much of the interior is, like the exterior, original and well worth seeing, especially the large, square, open lobby rising to the cupola, the cast iron stairway with its ornamental cast iron balustrade, the tile floors, oak

woodwork, and marble wainscot. The exterior is faced with dressed Indiana limestone. The building has served as the focus of county government for 78 years and should serve far into the future.

(2) Manitowoc Maritime Museum
809 South 8th Street

Here well-designed museum displays depict the history of Manitowoc as a shipbuilding center with emphasis on the shipbuilders, on the Goodrich Transportation Company, largest of the passenger and freight steamship companies on Lake Michigan, and on the life of the nineteenth-century mariner. In the spring of 1983, the museum opened a new permanent exhibit, "The Wooden Ship Era," focusing on the period from 1850 to 1900. Out-



Ship's anchor and Manitowoc Maritime Museum, 1984. The museum's fine displays have grown so rapidly in recent years that the staff is concerned about a possible move where more space will permit continued expansion. Photo by Margaret Bogue.

standing in the new exhibit is a full-scale reproduction of the midsection of the schooner *Clipper City*, a 185-ton lumber vessel built at Manitowoc in 1854 by William Bates. Bates's design, an innovation in Great Lakes wooden ship construction, permitted the schooner to pass through the very shallow harbor entrances with narrow channels that were typical of many Great Lakes ports in 1850.

Across the street from the museum in the Manitowoc River is the U.S.S. *Cobia*, the International Submariners Memorial. During World War II, 28 submarines and landing craft were

built here, and although this submarine was not built in Manitowoc, it is a distinguished veteran of the war. As visitors progress through the submarine from stern to bow, they hear the recorded sounds of an actual submarine dive and may examine the engine, control, and forward torpedo rooms. The museum is open daily all year, 9:00 A.M.–5:00 P.M. The submarine is open to visitors from mid-April through Labor Day. \$

(3) Joseph Vilas, Jr., House (Vilas-Rahr House)*

Rahr-West Center, 610 North 8th Street
Designed by the Milwaukee architectural firm of Ferry and Clas and built in 1891–1893 for Joseph Vilas, Jr., the Vilas-Rahr house incorporates the Queen Anne and Shingle styles of the late Victorian period. Both owners of the home were very prominent in the Manitowoc business community. Joseph Vilas, Jr., helped promote the construction of the Milwaukee, Lake Shore and Western Railroad, was for a time president of the company, and served as mayor of Manitowoc in 1893–1895. In 1863 and 1864 he held the office of state senator. Reinhardt Rahr purchased the house in 1910. His business interests included the William Rahr Sons malt house and brewery, the Cereal Products Company, the Manitowoc State Bank, and other enterprises. In 1941 Rahr's widow and his son, Guido Rahr, transferred ownership of the house to the city for use as a civic center. The house and a modern addition built with funds donated by Mr. and Mrs. John West contain art and historical displays. The Rahr Parlor and a permanent collection of prehistoric Indian artifacts are

outstanding. Open daily except Mondays, 9:00 A.M.–4:30 P.M. Open in winter on Sundays, noon–4:30 P.M. Open May 1–Oct. 31 on Saturdays and Sundays, 1:00–4:00 P.M. Free.

(4) Manitowoc's Nineteenth-Century Immigrant Churches

Some of the many beautiful churches built by immigrant groups in Manitowoc during the nineteenth century remain in use. Although these churches have largely lost their original ethnic character, the buildings are reminders of the importance of the church as a central institution in the lives of the newly arrived Americans who built them.

St. Boniface's Catholic Church, 1110 South 10th Street

Although St. Boniface's parish was not established until 1857, St. Boniface's church dates from 1853, when the German Catholics of Manitowoc raised funds to erect their first house of worship. St. Boniface's served Polish Catholics as well until 1870, when they organized their own parish, St. Mary's, one of four parishes that had their origins in St. Boniface's. St. Boniface's itself included about 1,000 families by 1900.

In 1884, to meet the needs of its growing congregation, St. Boniface's embarked on a building program. The beautiful Gothic church in current use was consecrated in 1886.

First German Evangelical Lutheran Church, 1033 South 8th Street

Sizable numbers of Protestant as well as Catholic Germans settled in Manitowoc early in its development. The First German Evangelical Lutheran congregation was organized in 1855

and built its first church the next year. This structure was used for the next 17 years. Membership grew rapidly as more immigrants arrived until in 1866 the congregation included 184 families and its parochial school 193 children. The Gothic church now in use was built in 1873. The congregation first introduced a service in English in 1912 and began in 1922 to hold services every Sunday in both German and English. In 1955 the English service was the preference of the congregation by a ratio of about seven to one. Proud of the historic sanctuary, the congregation has maintained it well, celebrating its fiftieth and one hundredth anniversaries with special services in 1923 and 1973.

St. Mary's Catholic Church, 1114 South 21st Street

Organized as a separate parish to meet the needs of the Polish communicants of St. Boniface's in 1870, St. Mary's parishioners in 1873 purchased a frame church previously occupied by a German Lutheran congregation. St. Mary's gradually grew in numbers and financial strength until in 1888 its members decided to build a costly new sanctuary. Construction proceeded slowly. The cornerstone of this cream brick Gothic church was laid in 1894. Dedication ceremonies took place in 1899.

Who were St. Mary's parishioners? Manitowoc's earliest Polish settler arrived in 1858 and settled in what is now the southwest corner of the city, then a beautiful pine-covered hill, which became known as Polish Hill. Others arrived from Poland in the 1860s, and between 1867 and 1875 a number of Milwaukee Poles joined them. Those emigrating directly from

Poland preferred farming and logging, while many of the Milwaukee Poles found city jobs. By the end of the century, with the growth of Manitowoc industry and increased demand for labor, many residents of Polish Hill found jobs on the docks, in the factories, on lake boats, at grain elevators, and with the railroads. Polish Hill was incorporated into the city in 1891 and soon became the Seventh Ward. Here Polish remained the chief language until after World War I. In the 1920s one out of every six Manitowoc residents was of Polish background.

Former First Lutheran Church, 8th and State Streets, and Former St. Paul's Norwegian Lutheran Church, North 10th and St. Claire Streets

When the First Lutheran Church of Manitowoc prepared a centennial history of the congregation in 1950, pride in its Norwegian origins led the authors of the commemorative pamphlet to begin with an account of the Norwegian migration to America. Because Norwegian settlers of the 1850s in the Manitowoc area congregated in relatively small numbers at Gjerpen, Valders, and Manitowoc, they joined in organizing the Norwegian Lutheran Congregation of Manitowoc and vicinity in 1859 and in calling a pastor.

The Manitowoc Norwegians at first met in a small public school house. In 1866 they began work on a new sanctuary, dedicated in 1869. In 1871 the Manitowoc congregation separated from the Gjerpen and Valders congregations and called its own pastor, incorporating as the Norwegian Evangelical Lutheran Congregation of Manitowoc. Two years later the congregation split over doctrinal differences. St. Paul's Norwegian Lutheran

Church was organized, and its members constructed a separate house of worship. The two groups continued on their separate ways, and at the end of the century both built modified Gothic brick sanctuaries, somewhat similar in appearance.

First Lutheran Church (the name adopted in 1924 by the Norwegian Evangelical Lutheran Congregation of Manitowoc) built its new church at 8th and State Streets in 1899–1900. The building remains, now used as a synagogue. The First Lutheran congregation now occupies a new church at 521 North 8th Street. The St. Paul's Norwegian Lutheran congregation built its sanctuary in 1898–1899 at North 10th and St. Claire Streets. That structure is now used by the Twin City Baptist Church, and St. Paul's congregation has relocated in a new sanctuary at 2601 South 10th Street. For many years these churches belonged to different Lutheran synods. Both are now members of the American Lutheran Church.

(5) Pinecrest Historical Village of Manitowoc County

off County Trunk JJ, about 5 miles west of Manitowoc

From various locations in Manitowoc County, the Manitowoc County Historical Society has gathered a dozen structures illustrative of the area's nineteenth-century history. Renovated and restored to their original appearance, they are grouped together as an outdoor museum on a 40-acre tract of land donated by Mr. and Mrs. Hugo Vetting. Included are three distinctly different log cabins dating from 1846 through the late 1850s, built by Norwegian, German, and Austrian pioneer farmers. A board and batten

farmhouse built by a German immigrant in 1866, a barn containing a display of agricultural implements, a sawmill, the Collins Railroad Depot (built in 1896), an early twentieth-century lawyer's office, an early twentieth-century Valders meat market, now developed as a harness and shoe shop, an 1872 wooden clapboard school, and a Presbyterian mission church built in 1864 are included in the village. Open June 1–Labor Day, Tuesday–Sunday, 10:00 A.M.–4:00 P.M. Open by special appointment for groups. \$

(6) Woodland Dunes Nature Center

off Memorial Drive at Woodland Drive and Goodland Road

The nature center is situated between two natural regions. Both northern and southern species of plants and birds are found here. The wooded ridges from which the center receives its name mark the level reached by a preglacial lake. There are no facilities for picnics or camping, but visitors are welcome to hike, sketch, or take photographs. Trails are open all year, Monday–Saturday. \$

37. Two Rivers Highway W-42

Lake Michigan's Indians often established their villages at locations with a natural abundance of food and avenues for canoe travel. The lakeshore from Two Rivers north to within a mile of Two Creeks, where whitefish were unusually abundant, was one such ideal site. Archaeological evidence dug from the beach sands indicates that prehistoric Indians chose



The fishing docks at Two Rivers remained in use until the toll of the sea lamprey in the 1940s depressed all Lake Michigan fishing severely. Here Paul Hammersmith's etching pictures the fishing shanties and boats sometime between 1900 and 1936. The fishing sheds are now part of the Rogers Street Fishing Village Museum. Courtesy State Historical Society of Wisconsin. WHI(X3)40322

this location for their villages. In the nineteenth century Ottawas, Potawatomis, and Chippewas lived here, using the whitefish as a major source of food. The Chippewas called the site Neshoto, meaning "twins."

Until permanent white settlers began to appear in the 1830s, fur traders found the Two Rivers area an advantageous place to trade. The rich forest resources near the juncture of the Mishicot (now called East Twin) and Neshoto (now called West Twin) rivers, as well as the plentiful fisheries, attracted Green Bay, Milwaukee, and Fond du Lac land speculators and developers in the mid-1830s. A sawmill

was erected in 1837, but the tiny village languished until the next decade, when economic times improved. Then it attracted hundreds of settlers—New Englanders, French Canadians, and Germans—and was incorporated as a village in 1858.

In the four decades following 1836, the prosperity of Two Rivers was largely based on lumbering and fishing. Mills at Two Rivers cut pine and hemlock logs into lumber and turned out millions of shingles. A chair factory and a pail factory opened in the mid-1850s. At least four tanneries (the first opened in 1851) utilized local supplies of hemlock bark to tan hides shipped in from Milwaukee and Chicago. By the 1880s, with the local bark supply exhausted, the last of the tanneries had closed.

Captain J. V. Edwards of Green Bay launched a commercial fishing business at Two Rivers, the first in Manitowoc County, in 1837 after testing the waters between Manitowoc and Two Rivers with seines. Local legend tells us that his initial test produced ten barrels of fish. Seemingly inexhaustible supplies of whitefish attracted other commercial fishing companies, most notably John P. Clark and Company of Detroit. In the late 1840s Clark and Company operated at Two Rivers and Whitefish Bay with fishing crews and several sailing vessels that made periodic trips to pick up the barreled, salted catch and market it in Detroit. Clark is said to have made a fortune from the business. Unrestricted use of seines and nets soon took its toll of the fish population. Within 25 years whitefish at Two Rivers and Manitowoc were in obvious decline. The wasteful practice of dumping unsalable live fish on the beach and the fishermen's war

on the sturgeon, which they considered an unmarketable pest, altered the fish habitat. Nor did the refuse dumped into the rivers and lake by lumbering and tanning operations help matters.

Shipbuilding was yet another dimension of Two Rivers' early economy. From 1852 to 1875 several yards at Two Rivers turned out canal boats, scows, tugs, and schooners. Hanson and Scove, the main yard, moved its operations to Manitowoc in 1875. Not until the 1950s did the industry revive; then Schwartz Marine moved from Manitowoc to Two Rivers and began producing aluminum and steel boats 30 to 70 feet long.

With the lumbering era past, Two Rivers developed a number of successful industries that relied on locational advantages, special skills, and a plentiful labor supply. The Hamilton Manufacturing Company, established in 1880, specialized in the manufacture of wood type and printer's furniture, a business that grew and diversified over the years. At the turn of the century, the city boasted two aluminum factories, a pail and tub factory, a cannery, a chair factory, a veneer mill, a marine gasoline engine works, an art glass company, a knitting mill, two gristmills, one sawmill, and a brewery.

Two Rivers, with a 1980 population of 13,350, remains an industrial town as well as a service and distribution center. Metal industries are the largest employers. Electrical equipment, furniture, and machinery manufacturers rank second, third, and fourth. In 1980 Hamilton Industries employed about 1,700 people to make hospital, medical, dental, and scientific equipment and furniture, specialized tables, and wood type for graphic arts industries.

The other very large employer, with 1,000 workers on the payroll in 1980, is Paragon Electric, which makes electric time controls. The third-largest industrial employer, Eggers Plywood Company, a Two Rivers business since 1884, employed 200 workers in 1980. Twenty smaller firms produce a wide variety of products from fish nets to woolen goods to small household appliances. Three-fifths of the city's workforce is employed in manufacturing.

Two Rivers Sites of Interest

(1) St. Luke's Catholic Church

1814 Jefferson Street

(2) St. John's Evangelical Lutheran Church

17th and East Park Street

As you drive through Two Rivers on route W-42, two striking nineteenth-century churches stand out among the buildings of the downtown area: St. Luke's Catholic Church and St. John's Evangelical Lutheran Church. Both are monuments to the faith of the city's nineteenth-century foreign-born residents, principally Germans, but also French Canadians, Poles, and Bohemians.

French Canadians who came to Two Rivers in the late 1840s to fish the bountiful lake waters and Catholic Germans attracted to jobs in the city's lumbering industries combined to found St. Luke's parish in 1851. To this predominantly German-speaking congregation an influx of Poles and Bohemians added further language and national diversity during the 1880s. In 1889, when St. Luke's membership numbered almost 1,500, 35 Polish



St. John's Evangelical Lutheran Church, Two Rivers, September 1984. Photo by Margaret Bogue.

families separated to form a new parish, Sacred Heart, and a Polish priest was assigned to serve them. The German, French, Bohemian, and English-speaking Catholics remained at St. Luke's. The parish had outgrown the church and parochial school buildings at the time of the split. The modified Gothic sanctuary still serving the congregation was completed in 1892, with parishioners contributing much of the work. The congregation decided in 1919 that all sermons should be in English.

The German-speaking congregation that built St. John's Evangelical Lutheran Church, a beautiful, modified Gothic, cream brick structure, had its roots in the tannery industry that developed on the East Twin River in the

1850s. A Manitowoc Lutheran pastor established a preaching station for the German Lutheran immigrants who came to work in the tanneries, and at first Two Rivers Lutherans attended services in this industrial woodland setting three miles up river. St. John's congregation was organized in 1863 and used a remodeled Episcopal church in Two Rivers for services until the growth of the congregation in the 1880s made new facilities necessary. Jobs in wood-working plants attracted a substantial number of Protestant Germans to Two Rivers in that decade. The present church was built in 1889-1890. A half-century after the founding of St. John's, the congregation agreed to have one service in English. Not until 1958 were German services discontinued.

(3) Rogers Street Fishing Village Museum

East end of East Twin River Bridge, Highway W-42

The Two Rivers Historical Society developed this old commercial fishing village located on the banks of the East Twin River as a museum. An old engine shed contains exhibits of photographs, drawings, and other memorabilia of early Two Rivers. The old 1883 light house stands in the village museum, a gift of the U.S. Coast Guard to the Two Rivers Historical Society after a steel structure replaced it in 1970.

The Engine Room, formerly a fishing shanty, contains artifacts of the commercial fishing industry and a 5,000-pound two-cylinder Kahlenberg diesel engine in perfect condition. The engine is a local product, built in 1924 and used in two boats over a 25-year period. Also featured are objects from

the sunken *Vernon* (1887) and the "Christman Tree Ship," the *Rouse Simons* (1912). Both vessels sank approximately 12 miles northeast of Two Rivers. A fishing boat, the *Buddy O*, built in 1936, is on display. One building features paintings and wood carvings by a local artist. Open daily, June–August, 10:00 A.M.–4:00 P.M. Free.

38. Point Beach State Forest

Hys W-42 and W-177, 6 miles north of Two Rivers (CFHPS)

Today Point Beach is one of eight forests owned by the state of Wisconsin. It consists of 2,700 acres of forest and six miles of the widest sand-ridged beach on the western shore of Lake Michigan. Acquisition of the forest began in 1937 when the state secured 80 acres from the federal government, formerly part of the U.S. Coast Guard reservation at Rawley Point.

The Point, named for Peter Rawley, the area's first white settler, presented serious problems for shipping. Hidden shoals accounted for at least 10 recorded shipwrecks in the 1850s and 1860s. The government ultimately responded to local appeals for help. While the earliest lighthouse at Rawley Point dates from 1853, apparently it was not under federal jurisdiction until 1873 when the U.S. Lighthouse Service had plans drawn for a more substantial brick structure. The present beautiful steel tower was built in 1894, a reconstruction and enlargement of a lighthouse from the Chicago River entrance to Lake Michigan. The old brick



Rawley Point Lighthouse is among the more graceful and beautiful lighthouses on Lake Michigan. A display of the remains of an unidentified shipwreck near Rawley Point located at the entrance to the state forest testifies to the hazards of navigation along this stretch of the shoreline. Photo by Margaret Bogue.

tower was cut down to the level of the keeper's house. Both structures are now being considered for addition to the National Register of Historic Places. A fog signal, once part of the lighthouse services, was discontinued after the lighthouse became a radio beacon transmitting station in 1969. Visitors may tour Rawley Point Lighthouse on Friday afternoons in summer.

The state forest contains both scientific and archaeological riches in an extensive area of relatively undis-

turbed parallel beach ridges. These were formed about 3500–1500 B.C. as Glacial lake Nipissing receded. The Wisconsin Department of Natural Resources designated 183 acres of the Point Beach ridges as a State Scientific Area. Because of the archaeological importance of the beach ridges, the area has been nominated to the National Register of Historic Places as the Point Beach Archaeological District.

Here for the last 80 years archaeologists have been finding in the shifting sands fragmentary evidence of prehistoric and historic Indian villages. A thorough and systematic study of this beach area remains to be made. Such a study could reveal the nature of Indian coastal settlements from several thousand years B.C., or even earlier, through 1850 A.D.

39. Energy Information Center, Point Beach Nuclear Power Plant

off Hy W-42, 13 miles north of Two Rivers

The Wisconsin Electric Power Company and the Wisconsin-Michigan Power Company jointly operate this plant, which produces electric power through the controlled fission of uranium fuel. Visitors will find the subject of power production, now and in the future, explained in audiovisual displays at the information center. A half-mile nature trail has been laid out on the center grounds, and there is an observation tower for a good view of Lake Michigan.

Groups may have a guided tour of

the center or use its meeting facilities for programs on area history, the environment, or energy.

Open daily, 8:30 A.M.–5:00 P.M., except holidays. Free.

40. Two Creeks

Hy W-42

Today the site of the old village of Two Creeks is little more than a sandy ruin on Lake Michigan's shore. Subdivided and set off from Two Creeks Township in 1859, the village first bore the name of Rawley, honoring Peter Rawley, first white settler in the township. By petition, residents of the little fishing village changed the name to Two Creeks two years later. The settlement took on new life in 1862, when Guido Pfister, a successful Milwaukee tanner and leather goods merchant, purchased several hundred acres of land around the village and established a tannery to utilize local supplies of hemlock bark. Pfister's company built a sawmill, a pier, tannery buildings, and homes for employee families, many of them German, Bohemian, and Polish immigrants. Within 20 years the local hemlock was gone, and Pfister closed the Two Creeks plant. Many of its employees moved away.

Thereafter the village served as a shopping and service center for the surrounding countryside and a stopping place for stages running between Two Rivers and Kewaunee. In 1889 Two Creeks, population 140, boasted two hotels, a wagonmaker, a pier builder, a shoemaker, a veterinarian, three cheese factories, a blacksmith, a farm implement dealer, a creamery,



Guido Pfister, a very successful German-born Milwaukee entrepreneur. Courtesy Milwaukee County Historical Society.

and two general stores. After the construction of a rail line from Kewaunee to Green Bay in 1891, the village declined rapidly. The population by 1901 was only 40 persons.

Two Creeks, now located inland from its original site, is a small rural community on Hy W-42.

41. Buried Forest Unit, Ice Age National Scientific Reserve

Hy W-42 and County Trunk BB

When the geographer Jonathan Goldsmith studied the Lake Michigan shoreline for the Wisconsin Geograph-

ical Survey in 1905, he discovered the fossilized remains of trees and logs in the soil of the lake bluff near here. Scientists continue to be interested in these soil deposits, which must be at least 12,000 years old. They reveal vast changes in the climate and ecology of the lake shoreline during the Ice Age. They also present a picture of glacial action. In 1964 federal legislation designated nine areas across the state of Wisconsin notably affected by glacial action as units of the Ice Age National Scientific Reserve. Wisconsin now owns 25 acres in the Buried Forest Unit. Future plans call for interpretive facilities at the sites and a hiking trail linking the nine units. (See site 33.)

42. Kewaunee

Hy W-42

Long the home of Potawatomi Indians, the site of present-day Kewaunee is believed to have been frequented by French explorers, fur traders, and missionaries. Kewauneeans often cite a visit by Father Jacques Marquette in 1674 as the earliest recorded event in local history. Fur traders, including a representative of the North West Company, established posts at Kewaunee in the late eighteenth century.

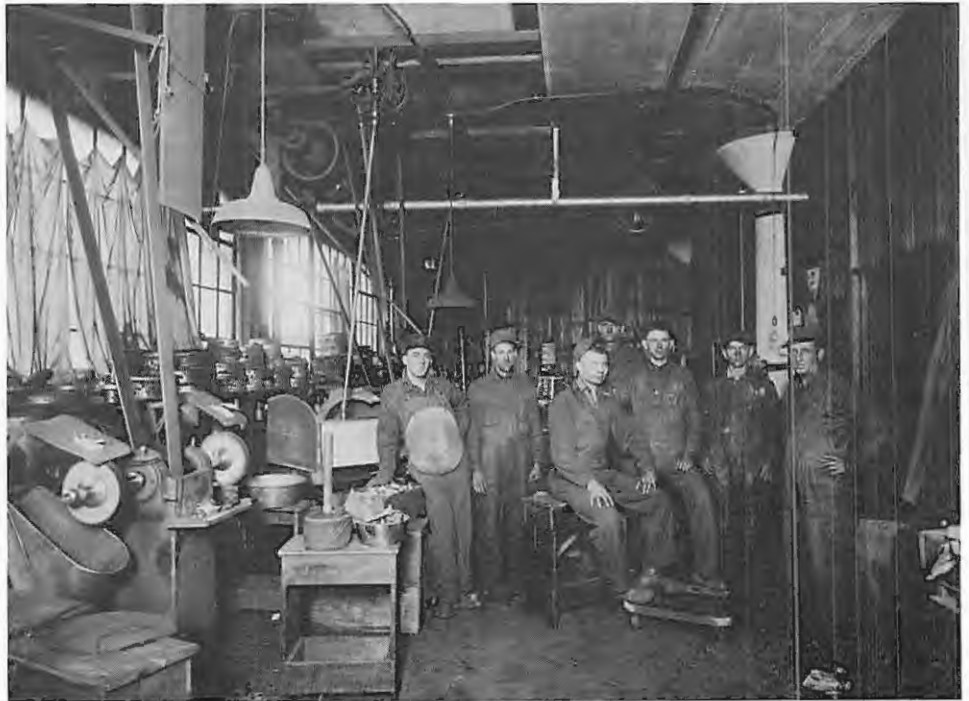
Permanent white settlement here, as along much of Wisconsin's Lake Michigan shoreline, dates from the 1830s. Then wealthy land speculators, including John Jacob Astor of the American Fur Company and James Duane Doty, a prominent political figure in Wisconsin's territorial history, observed that Kewaunee's fine natural harbor could make it an important lakeport. The vil-

lage was platted in 1836, and lots were sold in Chicago. Reports of the discovery of gold in the swampy lands near the Kewaunee River mouth sent land values skyrocketing to as much as \$500 per acre before the panic of 1837 silenced the sawmill and dampened all activity.

A revival came in the 1840s and Kewaunee began to grow as a lumbering town. In the 1860s a cedar post and lumber trade centered at Kewaunee. Logs cut upstream and floated to Kewaunee sawmills clogged the river in springtime. Hundreds of settlers from the German and Belgian settlements of Brown, Kewaunee, and Door counties hauled loads of ties and posts to town. One local historian noted, "The streets are lively with teams of oxen and sleds emerging from the woods at all times of the day, carrying shingles and cord wood." From the busy harbor ships carried products of the forest to Milwaukee and Chicago markets.

Excitement other than the bustle of the lumber business marked Kewaunee's history in 1862. One fall day a body of more than a hundred settlers marched from Red River, armed with clubs and guns, to protest against the drawing of names for military service. They accused the local draft commissioner, W. S. Finlay, of unfairness and partiality. Finlay fled to a steamboat in the harbor while his wife and a store clerk placated the mob with food. Finlay went to Milwaukee and returned with federal troops, who remained during the fall to help enforce the Civil War draft. (See also site 26.)

During the village's early years, Kewauneeans developed the rich Lake Michigan fisheries and launched a



Workers and interior of the Leyse Aluminum Company plant in 1922. Courtesy State Historical Society of Wisconsin. WHI(X3)24556

number of lake schooners. Nevertheless, lumbering remained for many years the major business. As late as 1889 two sawmills and two planing mills still operated, but the town's economy was shifting to serve the growing agricultural community. A fanning-mill factory, a plaster and feed mill, a grain elevator, a boot and shoe factory, two breweries, a large flour mill, and a foundry and machine shop were on the 1889 business roster.

Kewaunee businesses very clearly reflected the transition from lumbering to agriculture at the turn of the century. Canning factories and plants that produced farm equipment—stump pullers, feed cutters, plows, pea-harvesting and shelling equipment, whey separators, and cheese

boxes—added to the volume of the city's business. Woodworking plants that made laboratory and church furniture were firmly established, and in 1905 an aluminum products plant was located at Kewaunee. The whine of the sawmills had ceased.

At the end of the century, the Kewaunee harbor, always a great asset to the town's economy, took on new importance. In 1891 the completion of the Kewaunee, Green Bay and Western Railroad gave the city a westward connection, and one year later the Toledo, Ann Arbor and Northern Michigan inaugurated car ferry and passenger service between Frankfort, Michigan, and Kewaunee. A combination of private and federal funds financed major improvements in the harbor facilities.

The city, long dependent upon stagelines and Lake Michigan sail and steam boats, acquired the potential for railroad passenger and freight traffic east and west. Kewaunee became an east-west transshipment point as well as the seat of county government, a trade and service center, a processor of agricultural produce, and a manufacturing town. It had achieved the status of incorporated village in 1873 and moved on to city status in 1883.

Kewaunee industry still includes three firms with long histories in the community: Svaboda Industries, dating from 1881 and now specializing in grandfather clocks and church furniture, its original product; Leyse Aluminum, organized in 1903; and the Frank Hamachek Machine Company, established in 1924. In 1980 the largest employer, Kewaunee Engineering, with about 1,200 workers on the payroll, produced heavy steel machinery components. Leyse Aluminum, the second-largest firm, employed approximately 600–800 workers, and Hamachek, the third-largest, 200–300. Industry, transportation, recreation, tourism, and farming are all important components of Kewaunee's present economy. With a population of about 2,700, Kewaunee is larger today than at the height of the lumbering boom.

Kewaunee Sites of Interest

(1) Kewaunee County Jail Museum

Courthouse Square

The cells for prisoners in Kewaunee's jail, built in 1876, became a county history exhibit in 1969. The sheriff's office and living quarters have been converted into a museum, several

rooms of which are furnished in the style of the nineteenth century. The Kewaunee County Historical Society's collection of rare books and documents, which formerly belonged to Edward Decker, are housed here as well. Decker, a pioneer resident, was a banker, newspaper owner, and manager of the Ahnapee and Western Railroad. Also in the museum is a model of the *U.S.S. Pueblo*. The Kewaunee Engineering Company built the original at Kewaunee in 1944. North Koreans captured it in 1968. In addition, there are lifelike carved basswood figures of Father Marquette and the Indians who greeted his landing here. The artist was Luis Shrovnal. The large hand-carved sculpture depicting Custer's Last Stand was produced in 1904–1910 by two master carvers and donated to the museum by Svaboda Industries.

Open Memorial Day–Labor Day, Thursday–Sunday, 12:30 P.M.–4:00 P.M. \$

(2) Svaboda Industries

303 Park Street

Svaboda Industries, founded in 1881, was based on the artistry and craftsmanship of Joseph Svaboda, Sr., born in Bohemia and trained in artistic woodworking, carving, architecture, and design in Vienna. He came from Vienna to Kewaunee County and for a time farmed. Encouraged to use his wood-carving skills by the Reverend Adalbert Cipin, he helped build the altars for old St. Mary's Church in Algoma (see site 43, no. [3]). In 1881 he started a modest wood-carving business and retail furniture store in Kewaunee. From this grew the Svaboda Church Furniture Company, today known as Svaboda Industries. While there are no plant tours, Sva-



Car ferries docked at the Kewaunee slip. Photo by George M. Frisbie. Courtesy State Historical Society of Wisconsin. WHI(X3)40554

boda Industries has a showroom for visitors where examples of current products, including grandfather clocks, and a collection of old wood carvings are on display. Open year round, Monday–Saturday 9:00 A.M.–5:00 P.M.; Sunday, 10:00 A.M.–5:00 P.M.

(3) Railroad Car and Auto Ferry Pier

Kewaunee Harbor

Those interested in crossing the lake from Kewaunee to Ludington, Michigan, should inquire at the ferry office for sailing times.

(4) Kewaunee Nuclear Power Plant

Hy W-42

Located about six miles south of the city on the lakeshore, the plant is owned by Wisconsin Power and Light

Company, Madison Gas and Electric, and the Wisconsin Public Service Corporation and has been operated by the last-named company since it went into commercial operation in June 1974. Not open to the public.

43. Algoma

Hy W-42

Like Kewaunee, Algoma developed as a lumbering town. Originally the village was called Wolf River; later it was renamed Ahnapee; in 1896 it adopted the name Algoma. Located at the mouth of the Ahnapee River, with a fine natural harbor, the site appealed to the imaginations of town promoters in the 1830s. Not until the 1850s, however, did sawmills and settlers make Ahnapee a genuine town.

Kewaunee and Ahnapee were rivals in the lumber trade, for the seat of county government, and for local influence. That spirit of rivalry led residents of Ahnapee to call Kewaunee "Sawdustville, inhabited by Bohemians and fleas." Kewaunee villagers prayed for "south winds to keep the smell of sauerkraut from Wolf River within its own confines." Both communities had numerous immigrant settlers from the same European sources, but plainly Ahnapee was considered more German and Kewaunee more Bohemian at the height of the lumber boom.

When lumbering was in its heyday in the late 1860s, Ahnapee, like other Kewaunee and Door County sawmill towns, caught the Great Lakes boat-building fever. In the winter of 1866-67, woodsmen scoured the woods for shipbuilding timber. Keels for several vessels were laid at Ahnapee. The first

sizable vessel built in Kewaunee County, the *Ahnapee of Chicago*, a lumber schooner, was launched four miles from town in 1868.

Commercial fishing in the early decades also provided a living for a number of families who caught, salted, and exported thousands of barrels of whitefish and trout to Milwaukee, Chicago, and other distribution points.

Ahnapee's lumber boom was at its height when the devastating forest fires of 1871 severely damaged timber stands in the Ahnapee River Valley. The three sawmills still operating in the town in 1879 disappeared from the roster of local industries a decade later. The population declined from 1,500 to 1,000 during that 10-year period.

Algoma made a successful transition from lumbering to other forms of economic activity. As farmers turned the cutover lands to grain and dairy production, Algoma became the marketplace and supply center for the surrounding countryside. The town also developed industry to serve the farms. By 1890 Algoma boasted a wagon, carriage, and sleigh factory of some years standing, a foundry and machine shop capable of repairing machinery, a cheese-box factory, a large flour mill, and a fly net factory that supplied local needs and made life more bearable for Chicago horses. At least one important woodworking establishment remained in 1890, a manufacturer of sashes, doors, and blinds.

Convinced that a railroad connection would further Algoma's prosperity, the town fathers in 1891 worked strenuously to get local support for construction of a line to Sturgeon Bay. A successful petition campaign in both Kewaunee and Door counties led to

the construction of the Ahnapee and Western from Algoma to Sturgeon Bay. That line connected with another, which gave access to Green Bay and Kewaunee. By 1894 freight and passenger service operated all the way from Green Bay to Sturgeon Bay via Kewaunee and Algoma. Farmers relied on the railroad rather than exclusively on ships, their only freight carriers for many years. The railroad ceased freight service in 1968 because it could no longer compete with truck transportation.

Algoma's economic life today still revolves around the lake, the fields, and the woodlands. Two companies, each employing over 200 workers, produce hardwood products. Another corporation produces farm machinery. Yet another, Algoma Net, successor to the fly net company of the late nineteenth century, makes hammocks, handbags, and other net products. A newer industry that processes apples and cherries, the Von Stiehl Winery, opened in 1968 (below). The tourist, recreation, vacation, and summer home businesses are very important to Algoma's economy. The beautiful Lake Michigan environment attracts thousands. Algoma, population 3,650, styles itself the "Trout and Salmon Capital of Wisconsin."

Algoma has a number of attractive new public buildings. City Hall, the police station, the elementary school, the large library serving Kewaunee and Door counties, and the city hospital on Fremont Street are contemporary in style and built of Lannon stone. A new high school stands at the south end of town and a youth club along the lakeshore.



Fishing boats at the dock in Algoma. Photo by Paul Vanderbilt (May 5, 1963). Both commercial and sport fishing continue at present-day Algoma; the catch is now far different than in the nineteenth century when trout and whitefish were abundant. Trout is a species closed to commercial fishing in Wisconsin's Lake Michigan waters while the Department of Natural Resources tries to mend the devastation of the lamprey. Courtesy State Historical Society of Wisconsin. WHi(X2)13977

Algoma Sites of Interest

(1) Von Stiehl Winery

115 Navarino Street

In 1967 Dr. C. W. Stiehl purchased this old brewery building for use as a winery. For 20 years the structure housed a brewing business founded by Bohemian immigrants, Wojta Stransky and Francis Swatz, in 1866. The Von Stiehl Winery makes cherry and apple wines. Open daily, May–October, 9:00 A.M.–5:00 P.M. Free tours.

(2) St. Paul's Evangelical Lutheran Church

4th and State Streets

In December 1862 German-born Protestants in Algoma organized St. Paul's Evangelical Lutheran Church. Two church structures served their needs before the congregation voted in 1895

to build the beautiful brick Gothic sanctuary currently in use.

For decades St. Paul's served Kewaunee's German-born Lutherans as a center for social, educational, and cultural as well as spiritual activities. Pastors preached in German; the congregation sang in German. Until 1881 pastors had the responsibility for educating the children of the congregation. In that year the church built a Christian day school and hired a German-speaking teacher to teach in it. Not until 1904 was the pastor given permission to preach an occasional English sermon. Seven years later the congregation agreed that children should be instructed in English when and where they didn't understand German. When the church celebrated its Diamond Jubilee in 1937, two services were held in English and one in Ger-



In July, along Hy 42 near Kewaunee and Algoma, lie cherry orchards with fruit laden trees like this one. The Von Stiehl Winery is one of three wineries on the Door Peninsula that use locally produced fruit. Photo by Margaret Bogue.

man. In 1956 German services were permanently dropped. On October 14, 1962, St. Paul's celebrated its Centennial Jubilee with three special services and a church dinner attended by more than a thousand persons.

(3) St. Mary's Church

118 Church Street

Although Algoma's Bohemian Hall, built in the 1870s, is no longer standing, St. Mary's Church, which owes its existence in large measure to Czech-speaking Bohemians, is a reminder of their importance in Algoma's early history. The congregation of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary was organized about 1860. It built a small frame church in 1863 and received its first resident priest in 1868. During the next 10 years, the parish, served by nine different priests, made only modest gains, apparently because it could not find a priest satisfactory to its communicants. The most notable achievements of the decade were the building of a new sanctuary in 1872, a handsome, white frame Gothic structure, and the establishment of a small parochial school. When Father Adalbert Cipin, a Bohemian-speaking priest, began his 16 years of service to St. Mary's in 1878, the parish entered a new era of growth.

During the first half-century, St. Mary's played an important role in the lives of Algoma's Bohemians. Bohemian-speaking priests, whom the congregation repeatedly requested, helped to foster a cultural and spiritual sense of community by involving parishioners directly in the work of the church. St. Mary's parochial school grew to meet the educational needs of the children. Nor were worldly needs

neglected. St. Mary's organized benevolent societies that provided sickness benefits and assistance to families whose main wage earner had died.

The congregation that decided to build a more substantial church early in the twentieth century was considerably more diverse. Communicants of German and French Canadian origin were well represented. Here and there Irish names appeared on the parish roster. The third St. Mary's church was built in 1905 and 1906. A Green Bay architect, W. E. Reynolds, designed the beautiful brick Gothic structure that still serves the parish. Both interior and exterior have been altered. The major external change, an entrance built in 1949–1950 to enclose the front steps, diminishes the beauty of the original structure.

44. Ahnapee State Park Trail (BFHP)

An abandoned railroad right-of-way following the Ahnapee River now serves as a 15-mile hiking and biking route from Algoma to Sturgeon Bay. The Ahnapee and Western Railway, organized in the 1890s to provide rail connections for Algoma, discontinued freight service in the 1960s. The state Department of Natural Resources then acquired land for the trail, which opened in 1971. It passes open farmland, cedar swamps, the Ahnapee Wildlife Area, and the Forestville Millpond.

The southern end of the trail is at County Trunk M at the limits of Algoma, and the northern at Nelson

Road at the limits of Sturgeon Bay. The old mill dam at Forestville provides an attractive spot to rest or fish.

45. Robert La Salle County Park

County Trunk U, south of Sturgeon Bay (P)

Separated from food and supplies and lost in a storm, René-Robert Cavelier de La Salle and his men struggled ashore in 1679 at a site generally believed to have been in this vicinity. The French explorer was canoeing along the Wisconsin shoreline with his party when the storm overtook them. Legend has it that they were saved from starvation by the generosity of Potawatomi Indians.

La Salle's 1679 journey to the Door Peninsula was part of a fur-trading venture. His sailing ship, the *Griffon*, built above the falls of the Niagara, sailed, it is believed, to the islands at the tip of the Door Peninsula, took on a load of furs, and started for Niagara in the fall of 1679. It never reached Niagara, and its fate has never been learned.

Robert La Salle County Park was established by the Door County Park Commission in 1929.

46. Sturgeon Bay

Hys W-42 and W-57

The site of Sturgeon Bay at a portage between the head of the bay and Lake Michigan has a venerable history. Here Indians, explorers, missionaries, fur



Bird's-eye view of Sturgeon Bay in 1880. Note the two lumber mills, center and right with sawed lumber on the dock ready for shipment. In the background (right of center) is the Door County Courthouse (9) below, built in 1878. Courtesy State Historical Society of Wisconsin. WHi(X3)40694

traders, and later settlers came and went by the hundreds in their travels between Green Bay and Lake Michigan proper, avoiding the long and dangerous journey by water around the peninsula. The procession included many notable people, among them Father Jacques Marquette in 1674 and a few years later Father Claude Allouez, the first traveler to record the name of the overland stretch: "La Portage des Esturgeons." Fur traders lived here off and on until 1835, but not until 1850 did Oliver P. Graham build the first house in the beautiful virgin white pine forest that covered the site of present-day Sturgeon Bay. One year later some of the Norwegian Moravian followers of Rev. Andreas M. Iverson (see site 59) settled in the area, despite their leader's dim view of pine forest as potential farmland.

Upper New York State developers who felt very optimistic about the future demand for Sturgeon Bay lumber in Chicago markets arrived in the

boom years of the 1850s. Before the panic of 1857, three sawmills operated about a half-mile apart, each with its boarding house, primitive shanties, and seasonal population of itinerant mill hands of many nationalities. The panic closed the mills, but after the Civil War all went into operation again.

Although Sturgeon Bay was the county seat of Door County and a lumbering town, it was small and was incorporated as a village only in 1874, more than two decades after the beginning of settlement. Overshadowed until 1875, by Little Sturgeon Bay, where a local businessman operated lumber and grist mills and a ship-building yard, Sturgeon Bay nevertheless had staunch supporters who dreamed of great future development. Central in their dreams was the idea of building a canal to open a water route between Green Bay and Lake Michigan.

Joseph Harris, Jr. (see no. [8]),

spearheaded Sturgeon Bay's efforts to secure a federal land grant to help finance canal construction and to interest private capital in the venture. Congress in 1866 approved legislation granting 200,000 acres of public domain for support of the canal, but refused Harris' later request for an additional 200,000 acres. Construction work finally began in 1873, and five years later the waters of Lake Michigan and Green Bay met in an opening wide enough for a rowboat to pass through. The canal opened to general navigation in 1882—100 feet wide, 7,400 feet long, and deep enough for vessels with a 13-foot draft. The federal government assumed responsibility for the canal in 1893.

Canal traffic brought business to the community. As well as serving Green Bay shippers, principally the lumbermen of the western shore, the canal route to Milwaukee and Chicago proved advantageous for Sturgeon Bay lumbermen and the developers of



Leathem D. Smith Stone Company at Sturgeon Bay. Courtesy State Historical Society of Wisconsin. WHI(A6)3936

commercial stone quarries, which grew in importance after 1880, supplying tons of stone to improve Lake Michigan harbors. The canal also made it very convenient for Lake Michigan passenger boats to bring vacationers and tourists to Sturgeon Bay. The town fathers envisioned a thriving resort industry, and they were not disappointed.

Commercial fishing continued as an important part of the local economy. Always a part of local industry, shipbuilding grew in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. A well-known twentieth-century firm, the Sturgeon Bay Shipbuilding and Dry Dock Corporation, originated at Sturgeon Bay in 1896 as Rieboldt and Wolter's Shipyard, specializing in ves-

sel overhauling and repair and in dry-dock construction. The company had operated at Sheboygan for more than a decade prior to the move to Sturgeon Bay. In 1917 it was the largest single business in Door County. Early in the twentieth century the Leathem D. Smith Shipbuilding Corporation organized as a successor to the Leathem and Smith Towing and Wrecking Company. The successors to both of these companies became part of the Bay Shipbuilding Corporation in the early 1970s. Two other shipbuilding businesses founded early in the twentieth century still survive as separate firms: Peterson Builders, founded in 1907, and Palmer Johnson, founded in 1918. Shipbuilding, repair, and maintenance is now Sturgeon Bay's

largest industry, and the Bay Shipbuilding Corporation is the town's largest employer. The company, organized as a subsidiary of the Manitowoc Company, combines a long history of shipbuilding at Manitowoc with similar efforts at Sturgeon Bay. Manitowoc harbor facilities weren't adequate to permit the launching of the large bulk carriers needed to replace a fleet of aging Great Lakes freighters. The move from Manitowoc to Sturgeon Bay came in 1972.

Sturgeon Bay grew more rapidly between 1940 and 1950 than ever before in its history. The town's population increased by almost 2,000, and in 1950 it had more than 7,000 residents. The town boomed during World War II as government contracts stimulated shipbuilding. Its yards turned out patrol boats (PT boats), cargo boats, and barges for the Navy and a wide variety of craft for the Army Transportation Corps.

While the shipbuilding and resort industries are the most obvious ways in which Sturgeon Bay's economy compensated for the loss of lumbering at the end of the nineteenth century, farming on the cutover lands of the Door Peninsula also contributed to economic growth. This county seat became the trade, banking, and distribution center for the upper Door Peninsula, where both dairying and fruit farming have prospered for many decades on the rocky limestone soils of the Door.

Joseph Zettel, a native of Switzerland who established commercial apple orchards on the Door Peninsula in the Sturgeon Bay vicinity, is generally regarded as the founder of commercial fruit farming in the area. But others deserve mention in the roster

of pioneer fruit growers. Dr. E. M. Thorpe planted a 20-acre vineyard on Strawberry Island in 1865. Probably in 1862, the same year Zettel set out apple trees, Robert Laurie of Sturgeon Bay (see no. [6]) planted an orchard. Zettel's persistence and success attracted the attention of Emmett S. Goff of the University of Wisconsin and Arthur L. Hatch, an orchardist. They planted an experimental acreage of cherries, apples, pears, and plums in 1893. Commercial production of red tart cherries dates from 1896, when a few of the more adventurous planted small acreages. National recognition of Door County as a producer of red tart cherries came in 1908–1910, and commercial success led to a veritable red tart cherry boom. Door County's cherry orchards covered about 3,300 acres in 1917. Sturgeon Bay became a shipping, packing, and processing center for cherries.

Now Sturgeon Bay has more industry than ever before in its history. In 1980 three companies employed more than 500 workers each. The largest of these, employing 1,900 in 1980 is the Bay Shipbuilding Corporation, which builds ocean and Great Lakes carriers and does ship maintenance work. The second-largest, employing 650 workers in 1980, Doerr Electric, produces electric motors. Peterson Builders with 626 full-time workers in 1980, produces a wide variety of wood, steel, aluminum, and fiberglass vessels. Three firms with 100–200 employees in 1980 produce yachts, men's work shoes and boots, and commercial electrical kitchen equipment. Almost a dozen smaller firms produce various metal products. Two firms process fruit from Door County orchards. The town's current population is about



*Construction in progress at Peterson Builders, Sturgeon Bay, 1980.
Photo by Margaret Bogue.*

8,800. Long known as the gateway to the beautiful vacationland of the Door Peninsula and the land of apple and cherry blossoms, Sturgeon Bay, the industrial-shipbuilding town, is very evident at the old highway bridge across the Sturgeon Bay Canal.

Sturgeon Bay Sites of Interest

(1) Shipbuilding Yards

Two locations offer good views of shipbuilding operations. The view north from City Hys W-42 and W-57 at the canal crossing offers a panorama of ship construction. From North 3rd Avenue and Florida Street there is an impressive view of construction from a much closer range. These are the yards of Bay Shipbuilding Corporation.

(2) Sturgeon Bay Marine Museum *North 3rd Avenue and Florida Street in Sunset Park*

Located in the former office of a steamship company adjacent to the Bay Shipbuilding Corporation, the museum contains exhibits on Sturgeon Bay's shipbuilding industry. Open daily, Memorial Day–Labor Day, 10:00 A.M.–noon; 1:30–4:00 P.M.

(3) Door County Historical Museum

4th Avenue and Michigan Street
Housed in a building constructed of local limestone by the Door County Historical Society in 1938, the museum contains over 5,000 items illustrating Door County history. The museum is well worth a visit. The first curator of the museum did much of the work on the structure and supplied the motto

carved over the huge fireplace: "Past, present, and future cannot be separated." Open May 15–October 15, Tuesday–Saturday, 10:00 A.M.–noon; 1:00–5:00 P.M. Open daily at these times in July and August. Donation.

(4) Miller Art Center

4th Avenue and Nebraska Street

Door County painter Gerhard C. F. Miller and his wife contributed substantially to the Miller Art Center, which is located in the Door County Public Library building. The center offers approximately six special exhibits per year, ranging from the works of local artists of all ages to those of nationally and internationally known artists. Summer hours are Monday–Saturday, 10:00 A.M.–noon, 1:00–5:00 P.M.; and Monday, Wednesday, and Friday evenings, 7:00–9:00 P.M. Free.

(5) Door County Library

4th Avenue and Nebraska Street

In addition to its general collections of books, newspapers, magazines, films, filmstrips, records, slides, and cassettes, the library's Laurie Room has a special collection dealing with local and Wisconsin history. Open year round, Monday–Friday, 10:00 A.M.–9:00 P.M.; Saturday, 10:00 A.M.–5:00 P.M.

(6) Robert Laurie House

4635 Bay Shore Drive (North 3rd Avenue extended)

Robert Laurie built this fine eight-room house out of local stone for his family in 1866–1870. A Scotsman born in Glasgow, Laurie became a ship's carpenter and sailed the seven seas before coming to Buffalo with his family in 1852. Three years later, he and his brother built a boat and set out on the Great Lakes in search of a

new location with plentiful timber near the water. They chose the Sturgeon Bay area. Farmers at first, the Lauries also built boats and developed a small trading business with early Door County settlers, sailing from port to port with their wares. Robert Laurie prospered. In 1862 he planted an apple orchard, which produced the 13 varieties of apples he exhibited at the Door County Fair in 1869. Sometime after 1865 he built lime kilns and began to produce commercial lime. In 1880 he and his son John opened a stone quarry. The business had proven very successful at the time of Robert Laurie's death in 1889.

The house reflects Laurie's prosperity as a pioneer shipbuilder, merchant, orchardist, and developer of the Sturgeon Bay lime and stone industry. It is privately owned and not open to the public.

(7) Turner House

4369 Bay Shore Drive (North 3rd Avenue extended)

In 1886 Alexander Laurie, son of Robert Laurie, built this house, distinguished by carefully cut and faced stone construction. Laurie was a Great Lakes ship captain who began his career sailing his father's boats. In 1880 he became a registered steamboat captain. Laurie and his wife occupied the house only until 1904. It has since had several owners. The interior is completely changed, but the exterior is much like the original. The house is privately owned and not open to the public.

(8) Joseph Harris, Jr., House

201 West Maple Street

Joseph Harris, Jr., was an important figure in the early history of Sturgeon

Bay. An Englishman by birth, he came to New York State in 1850 and to Sturgeon Bay in 1855, where he helped organize Door County government and founded the *Door County Advocate* in 1862. He served as the first register of deeds, the first treasurer, and the first county clerk. In 1864 Harris was elected to represent Door County in the Wisconsin Senate. He worked strenuously to secure federal aid for the construction of the Sturgeon Bay Ship Canal. In 1876 Harris built this Milwaukee cream brick residence, Victorian Picturesque in style, the first brick house in Sturgeon Bay. Both the exterior and the nine original rooms have been altered. The house is privately owned and not open to the public.

(9) Door County Courthouse

138 South 4th Avenue

Built in 1878, this is the second Door County courthouse, built to replace a two-story frame structure that stood at the southeast corner of 2nd and Michigan Streets. H. C. Koch and G. A. Graebert, Milwaukee architects, designed the structure in Italianate style with a square tower. In 1953, when an addition was built, the tower was removed. Most of the original woodwork and the attractive pressed sheet steel ceiling remain, but the building does not have the impressive quality it once had as the only building on a full city block.

Those interested in looking at more of Sturgeon Bay's historic buildings will find John Kahlert and Albert Quinlan, *Early Door County Buildings and the People Who Built Them, 1849–1910* (Baileys Harbor: Meadow Lane Publishers, 1976) a very helpful guide.



Sturgeon Bay Canal lighthouse. Photo by Margaret Bogue.

(10) U.S. Coast Guard Station

East End of Sturgeon Bay Ship Canal

The grounds of the station are open to visitors daily. The Sturgeon Bay Canal lighthouse is also located here. Built as an experiment in 1899 with a 78-foot cylindrical iron tower supported by lattice, triangular buttresses, and guy wires, the structure failed to withstand wind stress. It now stands as redesigned in 1903, with a 98-foot cylindrical stair tower, a new skeletal steel framework, and enlarged buttresses. In June 1980 the lighthouse was declared eligible for the National Register of Historic Places.

The U.S. Coast Guard cutter *Mobile Bay*, berthed at Sturgeon Bay, is open to visitors on Sunday afternoons in summer. The easiest access to the station is from Hys W-42 and W-57,

which bypass the downtown area. A U.S. Coast Guard Station sign marks the turn-off point.

(11) University of Wisconsin Agricultural Experiment Station

Hy W-42

Established in 1922 to help the fruit growers of the Door Peninsula, the 120-acre experimental station is located adjacent to the site of Joseph Zettel's orchard. Visitors may obtain maps for a self-guided tour of experimental plots where fruits and vegetables are growing. Open year round, Monday–Friday, 8:00 A.M.–5:00 P.M. Free.

47. Whitefish Dunes State Park

Hy W-57, Clark Lake Road (HPS)

Landscape architect Jens Jensen of Chicago and Ellison Bay (see site 57, no. [1]) and the State Conservation Commission recommended that the Whitefish Dunes area be preserved as public parkland in 1937, 30 years before the state authorized purchase of 821 acres. Only recently has this popular park been open to the public. Visitors may swim, picnic, hike, and enjoy the beautiful dunes along Lake Michigan. Vegetation has stabilized the tallest of the dunes, but the smaller ones are active under the influence of wind and wave. Behind the dunes is Clark Lake, formed when Lake Michigan waves and currents deposited sand and gravel across a deep indentation in the shoreline. There are two other coastal lakes on the eastern shore of Door County: Kangaroo Lake south of Baileys Harbor and Europe Lake near the tip of the peninsula. \$

48. Cave Point County Park

Cave Point Drive off Hy W-57, just east of Valmy (HP)

Waves have hollowed out many caves in the limestone ledges at the shoreline here. One is 40 feet deep. Visitors who stand near the shore and see and hear the waves crashing into this cave feel the ground tremble under their feet because the bedrock forming the shoreline is actually the roof of the cave. This cave may be the opening of a passage running under the entire Door Peninsula to Green Bay.

At least 25 caves lie on the Green Bay side of the peninsula. Discovered near Egg Harbor in 1879, the longest cave in the Niagara Escarpment is believed to be hundreds of feet deep. Visitors should not attempt exploration of caves on either shore. The risk of drowning is great.

49. Jacksonport

Hy W-57

The forests and the fisheries attracted developers and settlers to the site of present-day Jacksonport. A few settlers made the region their home in the 1850s and early 1860s, but not until after the Civil War did developers decide to exploit its lumber resources. The three organizers of the land company that sought to develop Jacksonport were an interesting crew. They were Colonel C. L. Harris, a Green Bay businessman; Andrew Jackson, a federal official in the U.S. Land Office at Menasha; and John Reynolds, a Madison real estate dealer. They bought land in the area, and in February 1867



Lake Michigan shore near Jacksonport. Photo by Paul Vanderbilt. Courtesy State Historical Society of Wisconsin. WHi(X2)13983

sent out a work crew of 37 untrained lumberjacks under the supervision of a Maine woodsman. The combination of a capital shortage, inexperienced labor, poor production, and a skunk's invasion of the boarding house soon led the company into bankruptcy. Eventually Charles Reynolds, a Green Bay merchant and brother of John Reynolds, acquired the property, moved to Jacksonport, and in the mid-1870s established a successful store and lumbering business. Among the settlers who came to Jacksonport in the 1870s was a Canadian, Joseph Smith, whose extensive production of cedar posts earned him the title of Cedar King of Door County. With the

depletion of the timber, farming on the cutover lands gradually developed.

Like the stands of virgin timber, the great untapped fisheries of Lake Michigan invited early exploitation. Hundreds of barrels of salted whitefish and trout were shipped from Jacksonport in the 1860s and 1870s. Some were marketed fresh and some (in wintertime) frozen. In the 1880s local fishermen shifted to herring because the preferred species had been fished out. By 1917 commercial fishing was in sharp decline.

Jacksonport and the surrounding countryside attracted immigrants from many areas, especially from Germany, in the 1880s. They helped carve farms

from cutover lands and left a community heritage that is still commemorated with a May Festival.

50. Baileys Harbor

Hy W-57

In the late 1840s in the midst of a storm that threatened to wreck his schooner, Captain Justice Bailey sailed into the harbor that bears his name. He was on a return trip to Milwaukee from Buffalo with a boatload of immigrants in search of new homes. Both Captain Bailey and his passengers were charmed with what they found. Bailey saw great possibilities in the local stone and stands of timber, for too many Milwaukee-bound ships from Buffalo sailed short of cargo. The immigrants, tired of the monotonous ship's diet, feasted on the excellent raspberries found on shore.

Captain Bailey reported his find to his fellow captains. The owner of the line and a well-known speculator, Alanson Sweet, purchased land at the site of present-day Baileys Harbor in 1849, built a pier and a sawmill, and opened a stone quarry. At his urging the federal government built a lighthouse for the harbor in 1852. Largely through his efforts, the state legislature created Door County and made Baileys Harbor the county seat. Within a few years Sweet withdrew from the Baileys Harbor development. Another developer, A. K. Lee, in 1857 saw great possibilities in the Baileys Harbor location. He built a substantial home and six lime kilns. After one year, Lee abandoned the project, but one of his Irish workers stayed and farmed. He encouraged other Irish families to join

him during and immediately after the Civil War.

The beginnings of a permanent village date from 1861, when Moses Kilgore built the first permanent pier. For the next 40 years, Baileys Harbor thrived as Door County's major shipping point for cedar poles, ties, and cordwood. During the navigation season schooners arrived daily to carry away products of the forest, and steamboats sailing between Chicago and Buffalo stopped regularly to fuel.

Wood-cutting jobs created by the lumbering industry attracted Finns, Germans, and Poles to Baileys Harbor. Many of them stayed to develop farms on the cutover lands. The Germans were in the majority.

As timber supplies dwindled at the turn of the century, farming and fishing became the major ways of making a living, and life in the village assumed a more leisurely pace. Now Baileys Harbor relies mainly on tourism, recreation, and summer homes for economic vitality. Lake Michigan, as in the past, still holds the key to the village's well-being.

Baileys Harbor Sites of Interest

(1) Bjorklunden Chapel

Chapel Lane south of Baileys Harbor

As you come into Baileys Harbor from the south, take a right turn off Hy W-57 onto Lake Shore Drive and follow it to Chapel Lane, where signs point the way to Bjorklunden Chapel.

Before 1939 Mr. and Mrs. Donald Boynton of Highland Park, Illinois, enjoyed many happy summers here on their estate. Then world events scattered their family, and the Boyntons

embarked on a project to symbolize memories of past summers spent at Baileys Harbor.

On their travels they had admired a wooden *stavkirke*, or chapel, at Lillehammer, Norway, and decided to construct a similar chapel on their estate. Many years were spent planning and building the chapel. The Boyntons executed interior and exterior wood carvings for it. Mrs. Boynton, in addition, painted 41 murals, symbolizing religious thought through the ages, in the chapel. The structure was dedicated in 1949.

After the deaths of both Boyntons, their 360-acre estate, Bjorklunden Vid Sjon, meaning "birch forest by the water," was bequeathed to Lawrence University. Following the wishes of the Boyntons, Lawrence University shares the peace and beauty of the chapel and estate with others. University students act as guides in the chapel. Open mid-June through August, Monday–Wednesday, 1:00–3:30 P.M. \$

(2) St. Mary of the Lake

Hy W-57

Before 1874 traveling priests said mass in private homes to meet the needs of Baileys Harbor Catholics. In that year St. Mary of the Lake parish built a white frame church overlooking Lake Michigan. The present church, a simple and beautiful Door County limestone structure, was built in 1936 with money that Michael W. McArdle had bequeathed for that specific purpose. McArdle was born and raised on the family farm on the outskirts of Baileys Harbor. After teaching school for four years at Sister Bay and Ellison Bay, he attended Oshkosh Normal School and the University of Wisconsin. In 1901 he earned a law degree in Madison

and thereafter practiced law in a number of locations before moving to Chicago and embarking on a business career. McArdle became a very successful industrialist, president of the Chicago Flexible Shaft Company and of Flexible Shaft Co., Ltd., Toronto.

Five or six years before his death, he developed the Maxwelton Braes resort adjacent to his boyhood home at Baileys Harbor and ultimately purchased the home property as well. Perhaps he was making retirement plans, but cancer cut them short. He died in 1935, leaving a will that provided for the construction of St. Mary's church and rectory, as well as the Baileys Harbor town hall and library building. Michael McArdle also left substantial sums to the University of Wisconsin for cancer research.

(3) Toft House

Hy W-57 in the center of Baileys Harbor

A home built by Miles Carrington, a Baileys Harbor settler from Ohio, originally stood on this site. It burned down in the 1860s or early 1870s, and Joel Carrington built this New England clapboard salt-box structure to replace it. The Toft family purchased the house in 1900. In recent years Emma Toft, a distinguished Wisconsin conservationist (see no. [7]), lived here. John Kahlert, a student of Door County architecture, regards it as "one of a very few" early Door County buildings with New England architectural antecedents.

(4) Globe Hotel*

8090 Main Street (Hy W-57)

The old Globe Hotel building, constructed in 1867, served first as a store; then, in 1875, a native of Providence,



Stovewood log barn located about 4 miles northwest of Baileys Harbor on County Trunk F. Photo by Margaret Bogue.

Rhode Island, adapted it for use as a hotel. The exterior is virtually unaltered.

(5) Proposed Rural Stovewood Structure Historic District

In the 1970s preservationists suggested adding the many stovewood structures in the Baileys Harbor Area to the National Register of Historic Places. Characteristic of this interesting and practical form of construction are walls made from stove-length pieces of wood mortared together to form a thick, solid wall. Many of the stovewood structures in Door County are a version of the half-timber style and were probably built by German immigrant settlers.

An excellent example of a stovewood and half-timber barn can be seen on County Trunk F, about four

miles northwest of Baileys Harbor. The A. Zahn residence and the adjacent blacksmith shop, located on Hy W-57 in Baileys Harbor, are of stovewood construction covered with clapboard. The sign "Zahn's Aprons and Gifts" in front of the two-story residence easily identifies it. The two Baileys Harbor structures were built about 1900 by German immigrants.

(6) Baileys Harbor Range Lights

County Trunk Q off Hy W-57
Through the efforts of Alanson Sweet, a Milwaukee entrepreneur, Baileys Harbor acquired a lighthouse in 1852. In 1870 Cana Island Light (see site 51) and two separate beacons, the Baileys Harbor Range Lights, replaced it. The beacons are located on the property of the Ridges Sanctuary, one in the old range-light residence and the other in

a small wooden tower. One beacon is higher than the other. Ship captains knew that they would have a safe passage if they maneuvered their ships until one beacon was directly above the other and then followed these aligned lights into port.

(7) Ridges Sanctuary--Toft's Point--Mud Lake Wildlife Area

County Trunk Q off Hy W-57, one-half mile north of Baileys Harbor

In 1967 the U.S. Department of the Interior designated the 800-acre Ridges Sanctuary as a Natural Landmark. It is named for the 16 sand ridges that lie inland from the shoreline, part of the lake bottom formed in the postglacial Lake Nipissing stage. Boreal forest grows on the ridges, and in between them bogs support various species. This great botanical diversity enables visitors to observe a succession of vegetation from open water to climax boreal forest. Most of the usual Wisconsin plant species, plus many rare ones, are here, among them 25 kinds of orchids, Arctic primroses, and fringed gentians. The Ridges Sanctuary, Inc., organized in the 1930s, is responsible for the preservation of this natural area and for planning and presenting educational programs for the public.

In the 1930s the federal government gave the land on which the Ridges Sanctuary is located to Door County for a park. It was originally part of the lighthouse property. Different plans for the park immediately surfaced. Bread-and-butter-minded people in the midst of the Great Depression argued for a trailer park, an income producer. Some members of the Door County Park Commission and others of naturalist and conservationist frame



Miss Emma Toft seldom was photographed, but here Roy Lukes, chief Naturalist at the Ridges Sanctuary and Miss Toft's close friend, captured the spirit of her dedication to preserving nature. Courtesy Roy Lukes.

of mind, from the area and elsewhere, argued for a natural sanctuary. The determined action of the Door County Women's Club in organizing a public protest against the trailer park development helped preserve its natural state.

There is a self-guided nature trail for visitors; naturalists offer guided tours. One nature trail is specifically designed for the blind. Evening programs are held at the center in summer. The Ridges Sanctuary is recommended only for those who are seriously interested in nature study. Open May 30–September 1, Monday–Saturday, 9:00 A.M.–5:00 P.M.; Sunday, 1:00–5:00 P.M. \$

Immediately adjacent to the Ridges lies Toft's Point, 340 acres in an almost virgin state, including a fine mixed stand of large red and white pines, hemlock, and northern hardwoods. It includes as well a spruce-tamarack bog, white cedar and spruce lowlands, and aquatic vegetation along the shore of the bay. Emma Toft, daughter of Thomas Toft, a Danish immigrant who worked in the pineries of Michigan and Wisconsin before coming to Baileys Harbor, devoted her life to preserving this natural area and the adjacent Ridges. Toft was born here in 1891, left her home for a few years to teach school and to train as a nurse in Chicago, and then returned in 1917 to care for her parents.

For over 40 years she lived alone on the point and ran a small family hotel for students of nature. She worked hard to fulfill her parents' dream of preserving the point for future generations. In 1968 she gave it to the University of Wisconsin–Green Bay on the understanding that it would remain a nature preserve. Before her death in 1982, Toft received many honors and awards for her conservation work. She and Jens Jensen were good friends (see site 57).

Mud Lake Wildlife Area, 960 acres, includes a muckbottomed lake lying over limestone and a freshwater marsh dominated by cattails. Here are diverse flora and abundant wildlife. Duck hunting is permitted.

In 1974 these three areas—the Ridges Sanctuary, Toft's Point, and the Mud Lake Wildlife Area—were combined as a single Natural Landmark.



Cana Island Lighthouse. Photo by Lynn Frederick. Courtesy Lynn Frederick.

51. Cana Island

4 miles north of Baileys Harbor; take County Trunk Q and Cana Island Road

A rocky causeway joins Cana Island with the mainland when the water level is low, as it usually is in late summer and autumn. When it is deeper, the nine-acre island is completely separated from the mainland. On this island the federal government in 1869 constructed an 88-foot lighthouse* of yellow brick, located between two good harbors, Moonlight Bay and North Bay, both places of refuge from storms. In 1901 the brick tower was encased in sheet steel and painted white. Now an automated electric beacon, the light operated for many years on lard, whale oil, and kerosene.

Lighthouses such as this one became absolutely essential once lumbering in the Green Bay area took on major proportions in the mid-nineteenth century. Not until 1882, when the Sturgeon Bay Canal made it possible to avoid the perilous journey around the peninsula and through Death's Door (see site 54), could lumber schooners avoid the risks of a long voyage through dangerous reefs, headlands, and hidden shoals. The traffic was very sizable: over 7,300 vessels passed up and down the bay annually, between 1868 and 1870, according to the count of one lighthouse keeper.

52. Newport State Park

Newport Drive south of Hy W-42 (CHPS)

Loggers created the village of Newport in the 1870s. Here lake boats stopped frequently to pick up cordwood for fuel. With the timber gone, the village rapidly lost population. In 1966 the state of Wisconsin purchased the site of Newport to create a park. Originally called Europe Lake Park, its name was changed to commemorate the lumbering village. Newport homes once stood at the picnic area. Nine miles of Lake Michigan shoreline offer opportunities for hiking and swimming, and there are about 28 miles of marked trails for hiking and skiing. The Newport Conifer-Hardwoods Scientific Area is on the south edge of the park, where ancient dunes support a hardwood forest. \$



The Bounty II at dock and loading for Washington Island. Photo by Margaret Bogue.

53. Gills Rock

Hy W-42

Formerly known as Hedgehog Harbor, Gills Rock was named for Elias Gill, a local nineteenth-century landowner. It lies at the very tip of Door County's "thumb." The village cluster of resorts, cottages, and docks is the place to catch the auto ferry to cross Porte des Morts Strait to Washington Island. Steel ferry boats make as many as 15 round trips daily between island and mainland in the summer. They run less frequently in winter.

Door County Maritime Museum

Gills Rock Memorial Park, Wisconsin Bay Road

Museum exhibits include a picture display of boats built at Sturgeon Bay, marine engines, and artifacts of shipwrecks and commercial fishing. Open

daily in July and August, 10:00 A.M.–4:00 P.M., and at those hours on weekends only in June and September. \$

54. Death's Door (Porte des Morts Strait) and Grand Traverse Islands State Park (proposed)

terminus of Hy W-42

The strait lying between the tip of the Door Peninsula and Washington Island is appropriately named Death's Door, or Porte des Morts Strait. Treacherous currents, winds, and rocky shorelines have taken many a human life. Who named the strait? Some trace the name to the loss of an Indian war party caught in a sudden storm and crushed against the rocky shores. Others sug-



gest that the French are responsible. Whatever its origin, the name is appropriate.

Nineteenth-century sailors feared the waters, and rightly so. One lighthouse keeper recorded two shipwrecks per week at that point between 1872 and 1889. Sailing vessels stopped at Pilot Island to pick up a pilot to guide them through the channel.

To assist navigation through the Porte des Morts passage, the U.S. government built the Plum Island Range Lights in 1897. The front range-light tower was replaced in 1964, but the 65-foot-tall rear light dates from 1897, an iron skeletal structure with an iron watchroom topped by an octagonal lantern. It is a proposed National Register site.

People using the ferry today may feel that the name "Death's Door" is a joke because the crossing is so routine and uneventful most of the time. The sailors of the past, however, did not have diesel-powered engines or modern navigational equipment.

The Grand Traverse Islands, consisting of Rock, Detroit, Pilot, Plum, and Fish islands, have been proposed for a new state park. Rock Island is already available to the public for camping, but not the other islands, which are either owned privately or owned by

the federal government. If and when the state acquires them, some areas will be reserved for wildlife. Pilot Island will be reserved as a nesting site for water birds. Wherever the waters of the islands are spawning grounds, they too will be protected.

Porte des Morts Site (Archaeological)*

On the far northeast coast of the Door Peninsula, archaeologists have discovered evidence of Indian occupation from 100 A.D. to the historical period. Identified Indian cultures include the Middle and Late Woodland and the Mississippian with one or more Oneota components. Some of the artifacts discovered may be evidence that La Salle's 1679 expedition took refuge here from a violent storm in the strait.

55. Washington Island

The sturdy steel ferry loaded with people, cars, campers, perhaps a bus, and a gasoline tanker truck pulls away from Gills Rock headed for Detroit Harbor, Washington Island. The tree-topped layered limestone cliffs at the tip of the Door slip by, and the ferry passes smoothly through the crosscur-

Paul Hammersmith of Milwaukee depicted commercial fishing on Washington Island in this etching dated August 23, 1902. Courtesy State Historical Society of Wisconsin. WHI(X3)40320

rents, choppy waters, and contrary winds of Death's Door, once the demise of many a sail- and steam-powered ship. On past the Plum Island range lights, past Detroit Island, the ferry moves to the Detroit Harbor dock and discharges its passengers and cargo. The seven-mile, 40-minute ride is over, but the brief taste of Green Bay, a deep sparkling blue on a sunny day, lingers. Ahead lies the exploration of 36-mile-square Washington Island, whose 550 permanent residents gladly talk about the island's past and present, where 100 miles of good roads lead to West Harbor, Washington Harbor, Jackson Harbor, and through the island interior, and where a beautiful shoreline offers many places to enjoy the bay and the lake. Washington Island, named for a U.S. Army vessel that stopped here en route to Green Bay in 1816, occupies a venerable place in Lake Michigan history.

Attracted by its excellent fisheries and natural protection, for unknown centuries Indians found Washington Island a good place to live. Before the Americans renamed it, the Indians called Washington and the surrounding islands the Huron or Potawatomi Islands, in honor of some of the groups who lived there.

In the late 1830s and early 1840s fishermen tried to establish fishing stations on the island, but not until 1858 did a group of fishermen succeed in making a permanent settlement at Washington Harbor. A few years later Black fishermen established a similar settlement on West Harbor at Bullock's Point. "The fishermen lined the shore and reigned supreme," forming an aristocracy "who looked with pity upon the poor devils who later came in as wood choppers and farmers," Hjalmar R. Holand, historian of Door County, tells us. Fishing was excellent for those hardy men, who loved life on the lake despite its cruelty and hardships.

In 1868 life on Washington Island began to change with the arrival of a group of Danes who planned to chop wood and farm. During the next decade a steady influx of like-minded Norwegians, Danes, and Icelanders (a rarity among Wisconsin's ethnic groups) joined their ranks. By 1875 the Scandinavians dominated island politics, and 40 years later their descendants were still a majority of its inhabitants. They succeeded remarkably in the backbreaking toil of clearing forests, chopping wood, blasting stumps, and creating dairy, grain, fruit, and potato farms. By 1925 Washington Island was exporting thousands of tons of foodstuffs every year. At mid-century potato boats (converted lake car ferries) moored near Detroit Harbor to load the crop.

Farming on the island has since declined. Whereas dairying was once important, livestock enterprises are now few and confined to beef production and replacement dairy (raising heifers for sale). Major potato-growing enterprises are gone, leaving open areas in

the woods in the island's interior. Some farmers grow grain and sunflower seed. Two orchards remain in production. Similarly, logging continues on a smaller scale than in the past. Sport fishing is extremely popular.

By the turn of the century, vacationers were well aware of Washington Island's attractions. The real development of tourism came after the establishment of ferry service in the 1920s and 1930s. Currently the island's major and growing source of income is from resorts and summer homes. Woodlands, beaches, cave- and fissure-pocked limestone cliffs, and blue lake waters make Washington Island extremely attractive for summer living, and more and more summer homes dot the woodlands.

The *Cherry Train* meets ferries daily, late June through Labor Day, to take interested visitors on a 90-minute narrated tour of the island's historic spots.

The *Scandinavian Festival*, celebrated annually on the first weekend in August, includes Scandinavian dancing and a smorgasbord, as well as other activities.

Washington Island Sites of Interest

(1) Jacobsen Indian Museum, or Little Lake Museum

south shore, Little Lake via Little Lake Road

The museum houses the private collections of a local artist, Jens Jacobsen, who built his home on Little Lake, the remnant of an ancient bay. The small museum contains many of Jacobsen's wood carvings, his collection of Pota-

watomi Indian artifacts, minerals and fossils, and assorted Washington Island items. The Indian collection is especially fine. Open daily, mid-June–mid-September, irregular hours. \$

(2) Fishing Village Museum

Jackson Harbor

Located in a building previously used to clean herring and store nets just off the dock where commercial fishing boats are moored, this new and growing museum displays the artifacts of commercial fishing. Collections include various types of nets, drying reels, floats, fish boxes, fishing boat engines, buoys, anchors, ice-harvesting equipment, and assorted tools of the industry. Photographs, printed materials, and tapes of interviews with older fishermen help visitors understand the history of commercial fishing on Lake Michigan. One special display shows how herring were caught, dressed, salted, and packed for market. The museum is open daily in July and August, 11:00 A.M.–3:00 P.M., and on weekends in June and September, noon–3:00 P.M. \$

(3) Karfi Ferry Dock

Near the Fishing Museum, the *Karfi* ferry to Rock Island docks. It departs from Jackson Harbor for Rock Island every hour on the hour, July 1–Labor Day, 10:00 A.M.–4:00 P.M., and less frequently late May–June 30 and after Labor Day–mid-October. The one-mile crossing takes about 20 minutes. \$



The view toward Rock Island from west of Jackson Harbor, October 19, 1964. Photo by Paul Vanderbilt. Courtesy State Historical Society of Wisconsin. WHi(X2)16035

56. Rock Island State Park

(BCHPS)

Aboard the *Karfi* the passengers, some with bicycles and camping gear, watch the Thordarson Great Hall grow larger and larger as they make their 20-minute one-mile passage from Jackson Harbor to Rock Island State Park. From a mile away the hall looks like a very modest building, but as they draw nearer, its massive gray limestone walls and red tile roof take on impressive proportions. It towers over them as the ferry docks. The park ranger greets them, and they begin a visit to one of Wisconsin's most serene, beautiful, and unspoiled places, where natural and human history blend.

The remnants of the Thordarson estate buildings represent a recent chapter in Rock Island's venerable past. Icelandic-born Chester H. Thordarson, a highly successful inventor and manufacturer of electrical equipment, purchased Rock Island in 1910. Beginning in the 1920s, he developed 30 acres on the southwest side with a main house, guest houses, greenhouse, and a combined bathhouse and great hall, said to be built in the style of Iceland's parliament and furnished with massive oak furniture carved for him by an Icelandic craftsman. Here he housed his 25,000-volume library.

Apparently he hoped to turn the island into a study retreat for botanists, foresters, and others, but he died in 1945 before the plans bore fruit. Shortly afterward the University of Wisconsin purchased most of his li-

brary, which included a vast collection of Icelandic materials. Most of the remaining Thordarson buildings, the Great Hall, the structure now used as the park ranger's residence, and the pavilion and walls are close to the dock. The very fine stonework, huge fireplace, Icelandic chandelier, timber beams, and large arched windows of the Great Hall create a magnificent, massive effect. The building now houses nature displays and some photographs of the Thordarson estate at the height of its development. Mud swallows have taken over the bathhouse area below and nested under the eaves of the building. On the southeastern side of the island stands another of the original Thordarson buildings, a stone water tower.

The island entered a new era in 1964, when the state of Wisconsin



This Norse mythological figure carved in wood on a chair for Thordarson's library may represent Thor, the most widely worshiped God in Iceland. The beautifully carved chairs, each with a different mythological figure, are no longer in the old Great Hall-Library. Photo by Paul Vanderbilt (about 1966). Courtesy State Historical Society of Wisconsin. WHi(X2)20104

purchased it from the Thordarson estate and began developing a state park with primitive and backpacking campsites and 10.5 miles of hiking trails. The beauty of Lake Michigan, the woods, the sand and stone beaches, and the 140-foot cliff at Potawatomi Point make this roughly one-mile-square island ideal for nature lovers. Over 200 species of birds frequent the island. Deer, foxes, coyotes, and rabbits live here. The sounds of the wind in the trees and the waves on the beach create a peaceful, reflective mood on a sunny summer day. Choose the 6.5-mile Thordarson Loop Trail around the island, the 1.5-mile Fernwood Trail and Hauamal Trails across the island, or the 1-mile Algonquin Nature Trail for hiking.

Evidence of Rock Island's inhabitants in the distant past lies along these trails. In the primitive camping-



The Thordarson Great Hall, September 1982. Photo by Margaret Bogue.

swimming beach area, the island's historic district,* Lawrence University archaeologists have verified the presence of Indian peoples from the early centuries A.D. to the French and Indian War (1756–1763). Digs have identified the presence of the Potawatomi over long periods, and probably the presence of the Fox, Winnebago, and Menominee as well. Quite possibly the Hurons and Ottawa took refuge on Rock Island when in 1650–1652 they fled westward from the wrath of the Iroquois (see pp. 20–21).

Ronald J. Mason, professor of anthropology at Lawrence University and one of the archaeologists in charge of the Rock Island research, thinks that findings there may document the presence on the island of La Salle's trading post and the point from which the *Griffon* sailed to its doom in 1679. He regards the Rock Island

Historical District* as having "unique historic importance" and as "a goldmine of information on the early French Empire in the western Great Lakes."

As the westward tide of American settlement began to utilize the Great Lakes water route into the mid-continent, safe navigation made a lighthouse on Rock Island imperative. *Potawatomi Light** at the northwest point of Rock Island, built in 1839, is one of the older lights on the U.S. shoreline of the Great Lakes. It stood 137 feet above the lake level, marking the channel of navigation into Green Bay. After the original lighthouse washed away, the present building, constructed of coursed rubble (gray limestone), was built in 1858. Its automated light still warns Green Bay ship traffic away from its shores. Use the Thordarson Loop Trail to visit the

lighthouse grounds. The building is not open to the public.

A group of seven trappers and fishermen from the Island of St. Helena in the Straits of Mackinac made the first permanent white American settlement on Rock Island in 1835 and 1836. Others, collectively known as the Illinois colony, joined them 1844–1847 to share the island with a hundred or more Chippewa Indians.

For a brief period Rock Island's community flourished. Its 169 inhabitants in 1850 were mostly fishermen, but the colony included coopers, a chairmaker, a blacksmith, a shoemaker, and a physician. Isolated and off the beaten path of the growing lake traffic, Rock Island families began moving away in the 1850s and 1860s. Many went to Washington Island. The cabins of the fishing village that dotted the eastern shore rotted, but two cemeteries are reminders of the pioneer fishermen. Both are marked and are accessible from the Thordarson Loop.

For a half-century the lighthouse keeper and his family were virtually the only residents of the island. In 1910, with the Thordarson purchase, a new chapter in island history began.

Ferry service to Rock Island is available at the Jackson Harbor Dock on Washington Island every hour from 10:00 A.M. to 4:00 P.M. in July and August (see site 55). Cars and motorized vehicles are prohibited on the island.

57. Ellison Bay

Hy W-42

A Danish immigrant, John Eliassen, founded the village of Ellison Bay in

1872 when he built a store and a large pier for a cordwood, cedar post, and telegraph pole business. Eliassen had settled at Ephraim (site 59) in 1854 and farmed 40 poor stony acres before embarking on this ambitious enterprise. Succeeding in his efforts to attract settlers, he prospered at Ellison Bay. Lumbering and fishing were the major means of livelihood in the small community until the early twentieth century, when fruit farming and tourism strengthened the local economy. Cherry and apple orchards date from 1908 when during Door County's fruit-growing boom, the Ellison Bay Orchard Company planted 210 acres. Tourism, now the mainstay of the community, began to develop in the twentieth century and blossomed in the 1920s with the advent of the widespread use of the automobile.

The Clearing*

Garret Bay Road

Located on a wooded 125-acre tract on the limestone cliffs overlooking Green Bay north of Ellison Bay, The Clearing was originally the summer home of Jens Jensen, prominent American landscape architect. Jensen was born and raised in Denmark and came to the United States in 1884 at the age of 24. During his first period of employment by the West Park Commission of Chicago, from 1886 to 1900, Jensen developed his theory of prairie landscape, a theory that he applied in private practice from 1900 to 1907 after being dismissed from his Park Commission job for political reasons. Again from 1907 to 1920 he worked for the city of Chicago, this time as superintendent of the West Parks and as landscape architect, redesigning three parks and completely designing Co-



Main Lodge at The Clearing, Ellison Bay. Courtesy Donald S. Bucholz.

lumbus Park, considered to be among his major works.

In 1920 Jensen, weary of Chicago politics, left the West Parks position and returned to private practice. During the next 15 years he landscaped several estates in the north shore suburbs, undertook many projects for the Ford family in Detroit, landscaped the Ford Motor Car Company's exhibit at the Chicago Fair in 1933, and accepted commissions for large and small projects in many cities in the Midwest. He continued to accept public work. The Lincoln Memorial Gardens in Springfield, Illinois, are a beautiful example of his later public projects.

Jensen has been called "the last great exponent of the tradition of romantic landscape architecture." He rejected formalism and placed great importance on the use of local plant materials and a use of space, rock, and water sensitive to nature.

Jensen began buying Door County land in 1919, but not until 1936 did he retire to northern Wisconsin to found a school, "The Clearing," where his students were encouraged to contemplate nature and pursue their skills and crafts. He believed that nature was

capable of both restoring and inspiring the individual. Hence the school's name, which referred to the process of clearing the mind and putting oneself in contact with nature. After the first school Jensen built on the Ellison Bay property burned down in 1937, he rebuilt it using local stone and wood to blend with the natural environment. Jensen died in 1951, and for 18 years his longtime secretary, Mertha Fulkerson, ran the school, emphasizing Jensen's educational philosophy. The property is now owned and operated by the Wisconsin Farm Bureau. Visitors on Sundays only, 1:00–4:00 P.M. Free.

58. Sister Bay

Hys W-42 and W-57

Andrew Seaquist, one of a number of Swedish immigrant woodcutters who came into the area in the 1860s, is generally regarded as the founder of Sister Bay. By 1870, following the construction of a pier, a large sawmill, a gristmill, several stores, and a hotel, Sister Bay had emerged as a lumber port of some importance. During the next 15 to 20 years it exported cordwood, cedar poles, railroad ties, and hemlock bark. Like other Door County villages, Sister Bay also drew its vitality from fishing and farming. Around the turn of the century, summer tourists began coming to the Sister Bay area, but initially they patronized neighboring Liberty Park. Now Sister Bay is an important shopping center for northern Door County and a large resort community.

Sister Bay Sites of Interest

(1) Little Log School, Sister Bay Visitors' Information Center *intersection, Hys W-42 and W-57, Gateway Park*

Built in 1865 by Hans Gunnerson, a Norwegian immigrant, the school originally stood near the intersection of old Stage Road and County Trunk Z. It was used as a school until 1881. The building was then moved several times and put to various uses. In 1960 the Door County Historical Society acquired it, moved it to its present location, and restored it at a cost of \$8,000. Its original cost was \$100.

(2) Sister Islands

Located northwest of Sister Bay, the Sister Islands, from which the town takes its name, are gull nesting areas maintained by the Wisconsin Department of Natural Resources. They are an official scientific area of the state.

(3) Larson Orchards

Hy W-42, north of village

Formerly known as the Roen Orchards, the Larson Orchards since 1971 have been producing apples, apple cider, and cherry juice. Visitors can pick their own apples and see packing and pressing operations.

59. Ephraim

Hy W-42

The desire of a group of Scandinavian Moravians to establish a religious community led to the founding of Ephraim. Rev. Andreas M. Iverson, a Norwegian Moravian, led his flock to Ephraim (meaning "the very fruitful")

in the spring of 1853, just four years after his arrival in America. Years of hard work, worry, and discord lay behind the establishment of this religious community.

Iverson began his ministry in Milwaukee and soon discovered that his congregation wanted to escape the distractions, dirt, and poverty of the city. When Nils Otto Tank, a wealthy retired Norwegian Moravian missionary, offered to help the group set up an agricultural community, Iverson and his congregation gladly accepted. Purchasing a substantial acreage near Fort Howard (on the west side of the city of Green Bay), Tank provided the settlers with land, homes, a church, and a school for a communal religious settlement. Soon Iverson and a fellow Moravian minister began to question Tank's motives and to insist that individual rather than collective ownership of property was desirable (see site 67, no. [7]). When Tank refused to deed the land to the members of the community, Iverson led most of the group to Ephraim, a decision that he seems to have regretted in later years.

The Ephraim settlement quickly encountered serious problems. The scouting party that selected the location had tested the soil and felt satisfied that it was good for farming. Iverson later remarked: "Least of all did we dream of that layer of limestone which lay only a few feet under the surface." Moreover, the settlers were desperately poor, and Iverson found it essential to travel and solicit donations to help with land purchases, building construction, and the necessities of life. Meanwhile, the group bravely felled trees, built cabins, cleared land, and planted crops. Soon the Ephraim colonists, like other Door

County settlers, found that the best way to make a living was by a combination of selling timber products, fishing, and farming. The settlers built a school in 1857 and began a church that was completed two years later. In 1858 Aslag Anderson built a long dock out into the bay so that ships could load lumber and cordwood, and he opened a store. The financial panic of 1857 added to the colony's woes, but with the return of better times in 1859, Ephraim began to grow. The period of greatest hardship and struggle had passed when, in 1864, Rev. Iverson was assigned to Moravian communities in Illinois.

Ephraim's beauty, fine harbor, and many recreational opportunities attracted both an artists' colony and tourists in the twentieth century. Visitors may still see a number of original buildings associated with the Moravian colony.

Ephraim Sites of Interest

(1) Anderson's Dock and Store

Hy W-42

Built in 1858, the dock, warehouse, and store remain historic landmarks commemorating the early years of the Ephraim settlement. The wooden dock and frame warehouse, partially burned in 1880, were rebuilt and have remained in use. Yachts still moor at the dock. The warehouse, now the Hardy Gallery, is used for exhibits of the Peninsula Arts Association in July and August.

The store, built by Aslag Anderson in 1858, remained a family business until the 1950s. Now owned by the Ephraim Foundation, it has been restored and stocked with the kinds of



Goodleston Cabin, Ephraim. Photo by Margaret Bogue.

items Anderson sold to settlers and sailors in pioneer days. Open in July and August, Monday–Saturday, 10:00 A.M.–1:00 P.M., 2:00–5:00 P.M.

(2) Goodleston Cabin

Moravia Street

In this early Ephraim log home, the Moravian congregation met before the colony had a church. Now owned and operated by the Ephraim Foundation, as is the schoolhouse (see below), it serves as a museum to display the furnishings collected from local homes. Open Monday–Saturday in summer, 10:00 A.M.–noon, 1:00–4:00 P.M. Donation.

(3) Pioneer Schoolhouse

Moravia Street adjacent to Goodleston Cabin

Ephraim's second schoolhouse, built in 1869, now houses a collection of pioneer school furnishings and equip-

ment, and it also serves as an art gallery and headquarters for the summer Music Festival of the Peninsula Arts Association.

Ephraim's first schoolhouse was built in 1857, a small log structure located on land donated by Rev. Iverson. By 1869 school-age children in Ephraim were so numerous that a larger building was needed. This second school remained in use for 70 years, at times with as many as 64 children in attendance. Open in July and August, Monday–Saturday, 2:00–4:30 P.M. Donation.

(4) Iverson Parsonage

Moravia Street (County Trunk Q)

Andreas M. Iverson was born in Christiansand, Norway, in 1823. Before migrating to America in 1849, he acquired the skills of farmer, carpenter, and shipbuilder. He attended the Mission Institute at Stavanger from 1844

to 1848 and was ordained a Moravian minister in 1850.

As leader of the Ephraim settlement he built his house, a more elaborate home than most in the pioneer community, in 1853 and 1854. It measures 36 feet by 24 feet and has a central hallway with two rooms on either side on the first floor. The second-story loft originally had a finished fifth room and a hay loft. A two-stall stable was hewn into the rocky hillside beneath the house. The walls of the house are flat-hewn logs covered with wide vertical siding. The interior was plastered and the home whitewashed inside and out. For a short time the Moravian congregation met in the Iverson home. The solid building still stands, with only minor alterations. It is privately owned and not open to the public.

(5) Moravian Church

Moravia Street

This frame church is a substantial enlargement of the colony's first church, built in 1857–1859 by the struggling settlers. It was moved from its original location on the shore.

60. Peninsula State Park

Hy W-42 (BCHPS)

Peninsula State Park is one of the first parks established by the state of Wisconsin. Created in 1907 "to preserve, protect and appropriately improve the many places of uncommon beauty in the state," the Wisconsin State Park Board immediately felt pressures from advocates of various sites. Residents of Baraboo and Madison argued for the creation of a state park at Devil's Lake.



Caves in bluffs at Peninsula State Park. Courtesy Wisconsin Department of Natural Resources.

Thomas Reynolds, assemblyman from Door County, secured a pledge of \$25,000 from U.S. Senator Isaac Stephenson to match state funds and countered with a proposal to create a state park in Door County. After considering three potential Door County sites, the State Park Board and John Nolen, a nationally prominent landscape architect, unanimously agreed that the land lying between Fish Creek and Ephraim, with its deep green woods, cliffs, and sandy beaches was the finest site in Wisconsin for a state park. Taking a slap at Stephenson, Robert M. La Follette, Sr.'s Progressives who dominated the Wisconsin legislature refused the gift and the idea of naming the park for him. The state began buying land for Peninsula State Park in 1910 and added more gradually. Now it contains 3,800 acres.

Some owners did not wish to sell immediately. Fishermen occupying shanties on Shanty Bay, now known as Nicolet Bay, at first refused state offers to buy their homes. Sven Anderson, "a gentle minded old bachelor" whose home stood atop what is now known as "Sven's Bluff," wanted to stay where he could see "the most beautiful view in America." The state acquired the land after the death of the old fisherman. The park's golf course occupies the site of a large cherry orchard. The village of Fish Creek still owns cemetery land now within park borders.

Door County residents call Peninsula State Park the "paradise of Wisconsin" because of its great natural beauty. Besides Sven's Bluff, there are Eagle Bluff, where cliffs drop 180 feet to the water level, and Norway Bluff, which is one quarter-mile back from the shoreline. Two 75-foot observation towers at Eagle Bluff and Sven's Bluff

provide an even better view. Park naturalists conduct nature hikes from the White Cedar Nature Center and present evening campfire programs. There are many miles of hiking trails through the dense woods. At one time an old cooper's furnace stood along the shore road. Here coopers made barrels for shipping fish to urban markets. \$

Peninsula State Park Sites of Interest

(1) Indian Monument

Peninsula State Park Golf Course

On the Peninsula State Park Golf Course stands a 30-foot pole, a memorial to the Potawatomi and Menominee Indians. Hjalmar R. Holand, president of the Door County Historical Society, developed the idea for the pole in 1926 to honor the Potawatomis, who established themselves in Door County in the seventeenth century. (In fact Wisconsin Indians did not erect poles. This idea for the memorial is borrowed from the traditions of Indians of the northwest coast.) An artist carved the pole with scenes representing events in Potawatomi history. At the dedication ceremony in 1927, Chief Simon Kahquados unveiled the monument. After his death four years later, Chief Kahquados was buried beneath a glacial boulder a few feet north of the memorial pole, as he had requested.

By the late 1960s weathering had rotted the original pole. The sculptor Adlai Stevenson Hardin duplicated the original carvings on it and added additional bands representing the Menominee Indians, since they too had once lived in Door County. Hardin



Chief Simon Kabquados of the Potawatomi. Courtesy State Historical Society of Wisconsin. WHi(X3)33204

worked on the carving for almost two years prior to its raising on July 14, 1970.

(2) Eagle Bluff Lighthouse*

Shore Road

The lighthouse was built in 1868, a square brick light tower attached to the keeper's house and diagonally oriented to it. One of the early keepers of the light, William Duclon, occupied the house with his wife and seven sons for almost 40 years. With so much assistance, the keeper regularly won a U.S. Lighthouse Service award for well-maintained grounds. The light is now automatic. In 1961 the Door County Historical Society undertook the project of restoring the

house to its nineteenth-century appearance and filling it with period furnishings. The museum and the restoration of the lighthouse are exceptionally well done. Open daily, mid-June to Labor Day, 9:30 A.M.—5:00 P.M. \$

61. Fish Creek

Hy W-42, and
Chambers Island
 5 miles Offshore

Named by Increase Claflin, the first settler in the area in 1842, Fish Creek owes its early development to Asa Thorp, a New York Yankee who preempted land there in 1845 with the idea of building a pier and supplying cordwood to passing steamboats. There was not a single pier or cordwood business from Washington Harbor to the head of the bay, and steamboats often ran out of fuel. Eight years later when Thorp built his pier and opened a cordwood business, Fish Creek developed into a busy village. Lumbering and milling were very important to Fish Creek's prosperity for the next four decades, and so was fishing. The village emerged as the major fishing center on the Door. As Hjalmar R. Holand noted in *Old Peninsula Days*: "Nearly every man in the village was a fisherman, and north and south of the village the shore was lined with fishermen's homes and nets."

By the close of the century, forests and fisheries afforded a livelihood to fewer and fewer people, and Fish Creek began a transition to resort town where city dwellers could enjoy relatively pollen-free air and the



Pleasure craft at the marina in Fish Creek. Photo by Margaret Bogue

beauties of Lake Michigan. Pioneer resort businesses included those of Edgar Thorp, son of Asa Thorp, who in 1895 enlarged his house to accommodate vacationers from Milwaukee and St. Louis, and Dr. Herman Weckler of Milwaukee, who first tried his hand at raising trotting horses at Fish Creek, failed at that, and then went into the hotel business. By 1917 these summer hotels, the largest in Door County, served 300 guests. From this modest beginning, Fish Creek's current major industry, tourism, has grown to serve thousands each year.

Fish Creek Sites of Interest

(1) Thorp Cabin *Founder's Square*

Located in the center of Fish Creek, Founder's Square includes buildings

that Edgar Thorp used as part of his resort hotel. In one corner stands the Asa Thorp log cabin, where the Thorps lived after coming to Fish Creek. The crude structure was built, possibly in 1849, by an unknown person. It is believed to be among the oldest remaining structures in Door County.

(2) Noble House *southeast corner Hy W-42 at Main Street*

According to John Kahlert, a student of early Door County buildings, the Noble House is the oldest home in Fish Creek other than the Thorp Cabin. Alexander Noble, a farmer and blacksmith, built it in 1868. The two-story, 10 room frame house is much the same as when it was built, except for the porch and pillars, which were added later. This private residence was

still occupied by a member of the family in 1976.

(3) Church of the Atonement

Main Street

Episcopalians who wanted a house of worship converted a fishermen's home into this simple Gothic frame structure in 1878.

(4) Peninsula Players Theater in a Garden

Hy W-42, 3 miles south of Fish Creek

Since they began quite modestly in Fish Creek in 1935, the Peninsula Players have become a major summer cultural attraction in Door County. In 1981, in their forty-seventh season, this professional resident summer theater included productions of Broadway hits performed by an acting company made up of professionals from New York, Chicago, and the West Coast and from regional theaters and television studios. Performances are staged in an all-weather pavilion seating 500 in a garden setting. For information and reservations call (414) 868-3287.

(5) Peninsula Music Festival

Gibraltar Auditorium, Fish Creek

The year 1981 marked the twentieth Annual Peninsula Music Festival, a program of classical chamber music with instrumental and vocal soloists at each performance. Three concerts were performed weekly for two weeks in August. The conductor of the festival orchestra in 1981 was Michael Charry, conductor of the Nashville Symphony. The musicians came from major symphony orchestras and conservatories throughout the country. For information on the concert season, write Peninsula Music Festival, Ephraim, WI 54211.

Chambers Island

The island was named for Talbot Chambers, one of four officers on the sailing vessels carrying troops from Fort Mackinac to establish an American fort at Green Bay in August 1816. Fishermen, shipbuilders, and lumbermen came to the island in the mid-nineteenth century to use its bountiful natural resources.

Hjalmar R. Holand has called Captain David Clow of Chambers Island "the most interesting boat builder of Door County." He built a number of boats and ships at Chambers Island, including the 285-ton *Sarah Clow*, launched in 1862. Captain Clow and his wife felled the trees, cut the lumber, and built the boat that the captain named after her.

The Wisconsin Chair Company of Port Washington cut the oak and hemlock in the 1890s and then retained the island for the company owner's summer home until the mid-1920s. A resort development of the 1920s failed. Currently the island is privately owned and partially developed.

Chambers Island Lighthouse*

Constructed of buff brick in 1868 and resembling Eagle Bluff Lighthouse in design (see site 60, no. [2]), Chambers Island Light is now the property of the township of Gibraltar. Nearby a new automated light mounted on a metal tower marks the west passage of Green Bay. Around the lighthouse is a park with facilities for hiking and picnicking, Memorial Day through Labor Day. Campfires are not allowed.

62. Egg Harbor

Hy W-42

Egg Harbor's name has had many explanations, ranging from the shape of the bay to the abundance of gull and duck eggs found there in pioneer days. Most fun of all is Elizabeth Fisher Baird's story. She and her husband, a prominent Green Bay attorney, took passage to Mackinac in June 1825 with Joseph Rolette in one of several large canoes laden with furs and bound for John Jacob Astor's fur-trading headquarters. As the boats neared Egg Harbor on the second day of the journey, the crews of two boats got into a paddling contest to see which would reach shore first. Paddling gave way to egg throwing after Mrs. Baird had been carefully protected by a tarpaulin. The battle continued on land until all the eggs were smashed. "To this rude frolic," Baird concluded, "may be attributed the origin of the name of this town in Door County."

Levi and Jacob, brothers of Asa Thorp, the founder of Fish Creek, settled at Egg Harbor in the 1850s, built a pier, and went into the business of selling cedar posts and cordwood. Levi became a very successful businessman. In 1880 he owned the largest farm in Door County. In 1894 he planted a commercial apple orchard, one of the earliest in northern Door County. Among his other businesses was a general merchandise store in Egg Harbor. In 1871 he built Cupola House, an impressive home in its day, symbolic of his status in the community (see below).

Although Egg Harbor's history as a resort town dates from the turn of the century, tourism assumed great im-



Cupola House. Photo by Margaret Bogue.

portance in the 1920s. It is now the major business of this village of fewer than 200 permanent residents.

Egg Harbor Sites of Interest

(1) Cupola House*

7836 Egg Harbor Road

Built by Levi Thorp in 1871 after years of careful planning, this clapboard house in the Victorian Italianate style stands on high ground. It now, with a recently refurbished exterior, serves as a gift shop. The home contains 14 rooms, including a ballroom and servants' quarters at the rear of the second floor.

(2) St. John the Baptist Catholic Church

Hy W-42, south of the village

The parish of St. John the Baptist was

organized in the 1870s. The present church, built in 1909–1910 of native limestone and glacial rocks, is well worth seeing. A solid and beautiful structure, it is an impressive sanctuary for a congregation of about 60 families to have built.

63. Potawatomi State Park

Hy W-42 (BCFHP)

This 1,200-acre park was established in 1928 at the site of Government Bluff Quarry, where the federal government quarried limestone from 1835 to 1885 to make federally funded harbor improvements on Lake Michigan. For a time the federal government considered establishing a naval training cen-

ter here, but picked the Lake Forest, Illinois, site instead (see site 9). In 1928, when the federal government offered the site to Wisconsin at \$1.25 per acre on the understanding that it would be used for a park, Wisconsin accepted.

The bluff overlooks Green Bay and Sawyer's Harbor, two or more miles of shoreline, islands, bays, inlets, meadows, and a large cherry orchard on a slope across Sturgeon Bay. From the 75-foot observation tower, on a clear day there is even a view of Lake Michigan in the distance. Deer, raccoons, and at least 60 species of songbirds are found in the park. Island View and Hemlock trails provide ample opportunities to see the park's dense woodlands and many species of wildflowers. \$

Sherwood Point Lighthouse is close to the park, accessible from County Trunk M. Built by the federal government in 1881, the brick tower with keeper's home attached marks the Green Bay entrance to Sturgeon Bay. The lighthouse has been suggested as a National Register site.

64. The Belgian Settlements: Brussels, Namur, Dyckesville, and Tornado Memorial Park

Hy W-57

Along Highway W-57, running south from Sturgeon Bay to Green Bay, lie three villages—Brussels, Namur, and Dyckesville—that are at the heart of the peninsula's nineteenth-century Belgian settlements. Belgians came to live in the forested lands of Green Bay in

the seven years before the Civil War because they believed that greater opportunity lay in America than in their densely populated homeland, because the availability of cheap farmland in America was well publicized, and because Antwerp shipowners carried on a very effective campaign of recruiting emigrant passengers. Small farmers, laborers, and mechanics had serious doubts about their economic prospects in the homeland after 1830. Some may have decided to emigrate for religious reasons. Protestants, always a minority in Belgium, were among the 10 families that left for America in 1853 to form the first of the Belgian settlements on the Door Peninsula.

The immigrants of 1853 might well have settled near present-day Kaukauna had the new arrivals not chanced to meet a Belgian priest, Father Edward Daems, who persuaded them to locate at the Bay Settlement 10 miles northeast of Green Bay. They selected lands 4 miles south of Dyckesville. By no means wealthy and in no sense prepared for the rigors of clearing heavily forested land, they endured all kinds of physical hardships, including a cholera epidemic. In 1857 hard times magnified their problems. Some of the men sought work in Green Bay, Milwaukee, and Chicago to earn money to improve their lands. They found a better solution close at hand, utilizing their stands of pine to make shingles acceptable to storekeepers in Green Bay and Kewaunee as payment for supplies, tools, and food. The Belgian colony grew to an estimated 800 settlers in Brown, Kewaunee, and Door counties by 1860.

After the Civil War came a six-year

period of substantial prosperity. More and more settlers joined the original group. Homes, schools, and churches proliferated, and the Belgians took an active part in politics. Better times came in large measure from the opening of saw and shingle mills, especially the enterprises of B. F. Gardner at Little Sturgeon, which gave supplemental employment to the struggling farmers. By then they had cleared more land for cultivation.

Disaster struck when the great fire of 1871 spread ruin over much of the peninsula from Green Bay to Sturgeon Bay. The *Door County Advocate* printed a roster of county losses 18 days after the fire. In Brussels Township 53 died, and 64 farm families had all or part of their homes, barns, crops, livestock, and farming implements destroyed. At Williamsonville, now the site of Tornado Memorial Park (Hy W-57, northeast of Brussels), fire destroyed all the buildings and killed 60. Xavier Martin, a leader in the Belgian communities, estimated that the great fire left 5,000 homeless and destitute.

With the aid of relief organizations, the persistent Belgians rebuilt, often with stone and brick, and turned their cutover and burned-over lands into prosperous farms that produced grain, livestock, wool, butter, and cheese. Brussels, Namur, and Dyckesville developed as villages serving the surrounding farms.

Religion played an important part in the lives of the Belgian immigrants, both socially and spiritually. While the great majority were Catholic, the minority displayed considerable religious diversity. The Protestants among them formed several small French-speaking Presbyterian congregations.

Jean Baptiste Everts, a Belgian convert to spiritualism, established a church in Gardner that as late as 1917 served 50 families. An enterprising French-speaking priest, Joseph René Vilatte, an ordained Old Catholic, established a church at Gardner in 1885 and recruited a substantial congregation, which prospered for about a decade. The Catholic bishop of Green Bay was concerned over the loss of communicants to the Old Catholics—Catholics who denied the dogma of papal infallibility, proclaimed by the pope in 1870. He requested assistance from the Norbertine order, which responded by sending several priests to serve the Belgian community in 1893.

Shortly after the establishment of the Belgian settlements, events in the Belgian Catholic community created some concern for the local priests. These stemmed from the religious experience of Adele Brice, who at the age of 24 came from Belgium with her family and settled in the Robinsonville area. She claimed that she had seen Mary, the Mother of Jesus, upon several occasions in 1859 and that the vision directed her to teach salvation to the children of the wilderness. Despite initial opposition from the local Catholic priests, she devoted her life to teaching children the catechism. Her father built a small chapel, La Chapelle, at the location of the visions, and afterward Adele Brice established a convent and school nearby. There she continued to teach until her death in 1896. At the site of La Chapelle (a half-mile east of Champion) stands a red brick Gothic chapel built in 1941. Nearby is the grave of Sister Adele. Sister Adele's example had a great impact upon the Belgian Catholic community. In the late nineteenth century,



The August 15, 1943, procession, Feast of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary at Robinsonville. Courtesy State Historical Society of Wisconsin. WHi(X3)40497

a flood of pilgrims made their way to La Chapelle each May, and on August 15 a large procession assembled at the church.

Catholics of the early Belgian communities in Brown, Door, and Kewaunee counties built at least 15 churches. Most of these have been replaced by newer structures, but 3 late nineteenth-century churches still in use in the Dyckesville area are St. Louis's in Dyckesville (built in 1888), St. Martin's at Tonet (1879), and St. Pierre's at Lincoln (1883). The Presbyterian church at Robinsonville (a half-mile west of Champion), a white clapboard structure, although altered somewhat also dates from the nineteenth century.

For decades life in the Belgian communities clearly reflected the culture

of the homeland in many ways other than religion. The food, drink, songs, dances, games, language (the settlers were mainly French-speaking Walloons), and celebrations of the Old World were very evident. Traditional festivals included a special procession on Ascension Day, the Maypole Dance, and Kermis, a three-day harvest festival that featured mass, feasting, dancing, and games. These gradually passed into disuse, but descendants of the Belgian settlers remain, and so do some of the late nineteenth-century structures they built.

Belgian Settlements Sites of Interest

(1) DuBois House

Hy W-57, between Brussels and Namur

Built by Marcelin Baudhuin about 1895, this red brick structure contains five bedrooms, a kitchen, and a dining room. Many Belgian farm families built red brick houses after the disastrous fire of 1871. This house is unusual because of its front porch and the bull's-eye in the front gable, believed to be the builder's trademark. The house is owned by Donald DuBois, the grandson of Baudhuin.

(2) Baudhuin House

Hy W-57, between Brussels and Namur

Jean Joseph Baudhuin, who emigrated from Belgium in 1869, built this impressive two-story stone house in 1880. The first floor contained six rooms. The second floor was used as a granary and the full basement as a root cellar. On the right side of the

house stands a summer kitchen and a brick bake oven. The walls are two feet thick. The home is now owned by Baudhuin's great-grandson, James Baudhuin. Note also the log barn on the property.

(3) Log structure

Hy W-57, left-hand side just beyond Baudhuin House

Typical of the log structures built for pioneer Belgian farms, this building is now used for storage. On side roads in the Dyckesville, Namur, and Brussels area, many such examples can be found.

65. Red Banks Wayside

Hy W-57, 12 miles north of Green Bay

To commemorate the landing of the French fur trader and explorer Jean Nicollet (see pp. 11, 13) somewhere along the shore in this general vicinity in 1634, the State Historical Society of Wisconsin has erected a marker at the Red Banks wayside. A bronze statue of Nicollet stands nearby. Explanations of the reasons for Nicollet's journey vary. Some historians stress the role of Samuel de Champlain, governor of New France, and specifically his desire to find a northwest passage and to form alliances with the "people of the sea." More recently historians have emphasized the role of the Huron Indians in initiating the journey as part of an effort to strengthen their trading empire.

66. Green Bay

Stretching from the city of Green Bay in a northeasterly direction for about 120 miles, Green Bay, named La Baye Vert by the French because its shoreline turns green in spring before Mackinac's, is the second-largest bay on the Great Lakes. Ranging from 10 to 20 miles in width and averaging 100 feet in depth, the bay is bordered by the Door Peninsula on the east and by the Wisconsin and Michigan shoreline on the west and north. In its island-strewn mouth lie Plum, Detroit, Washington, Rock, St. Martin, Poverty, and Summer islands. The Garden Peninsula divides it from Lake Michigan on the north. The bay's beautiful irregular cliff and beach shoreline stretches for hundreds of miles. Long since gone are the transparent waters that Henry R. Schoolcraft noted in 1820.

Historically Green Bay is one of the most important water routes in North America. The Fox River, emptying into the bay at its southwestern extremity, enabled canoes to pass from Lake Michigan to the Mississippi River via Lake Winnebago and the Wisconsin River. Marquette and Jolliet used the Fox River–Lake Winnebago–Wisconsin River route on their explorations in 1673. Long before and long after, the route offered Indians, explorers, missionaries, and fur traders access to vast areas of the mid-continent.

Throughout recorded history, Green Bay has been noted for its bountiful fish and today is the source of half the fish caught in Lake Michigan. Over the centuries the catch has changed. Before 1900 fishermen found a profusion of whitefish, trout, herring, chubs, and

sturgeon in the bay's waters. At the turn of the century, they recorded catches of perch. Expanded activity and improved technology in commercial fishing took a heavy toll of the fish population. At the same time, lumbering, paper mills, farming, and industrial growth affected the fish habitat. During the twentieth century pronounced decreases in the catch, changes in fish species, and the sea lamprey problem have been the major concerns of Green Bay fishermen. Currently the largest and least valuable commercial catch is the alewife; there are also smaller and more valuable catches of perch and whitefish.

University of Wisconsin and Lawrence University scientists are studying methods of predator control, fish habitats, reproduction, feeding, and growth as well as the relationships between fish species. The Wisconsin Department of Natural Resources searches for constructive stocking and regulatory policies. Scientists and policy-makers alike seek a common goal: the growth of the bay's commercial and game fish populations.

For centuries, people have enjoyed the beauty of the bay waters and the forests, beaches, and cliffs of the shoreline. Since the late nineteenth century, the bay has attracted vacationers and summer residents. Although the southern portions of Green Bay had lost much of their potential for recreational use by the mid-twentieth century, now, with cleaner water and greater opportunities for swimming and sport fishing, their popularity is growing.

67. City of Green Bay

Hys W-57, US-141, US-41, I-43

Green Bay ranks as a place of major importance in the annals of Lake Michigan history. Its location on the lake at the mouth of the Fox River had special geographic, trade, and ethnopolitical advantages, recognized first by the French and later by the British and Americans. All three nations maintained fortified fur-trading posts here at the entrance to a system of waterways that led into the mid-continent. The Fox and Wisconsin rivers, separated by only a short overland portage, connected Lake Michigan with the Mississippi River.

During the French régime, explorers, fur traders, and missionaries—prominent among them Jacques Marquette, Louis Jolliet, Nicolas Perrot, and Daniel Greysolon, Sieur Du Lhut—used the Fox-Wisconsin route, long known to the Indians. French fur traders found the Green Bay location advantageous in the late 1660s, and by 1680 it had emerged as an outpost of fur trade and mission activity. From La Baye, as the French called it, French expeditions marched to wrest control of the Fox-Wisconsin route from the hostile Fox Indians in 1716, 1728, and 1733. After the outbreak of the French and Indian War, French traders and soldiers departed, and Fort La Baye (formally named Fort St. Francis) stood deserted.

Occupying British troops found a dilapidated Fort St. Francis in 1761, which the commandant promptly repaired and named Fort Edward Augustus. The fur trade and life in the French village, with its farms stretching back from the river in a ribbonlike



*Fort Howard, from Francis (Comte) de Castelnau, Vues et Souvenirs de l'Amerique du Nord (Paris, 1842).
Courtesy State Historical Society of Wisconsin. WHi(X3)32689*

pattern, continued under British control until the War of 1812.

When the Americans took possession of Green Bay in 1816, they found a village of 40 to 45 families all claiming to be British subjects, impoverished by their support for the British

war effort, and generally inhospitable toward their new masters. The Americans promptly built Fort Howard.

The United States applied to Green Bay the general system of government-managed trading factories designed to ensure fair trade with the Indians.

John Jacob Astor's American Fur Company and other traders were so opposed to regulation, however, that Congress abolished the system in 1822. Thereafter Astor's firm and the enterprising Daniel Whitney rose to a position of dominance in the Green

Bay trade. The trade changed greatly in character, relying more and more on fox, raccoon, muskrat, deer, wolf, and other species as the beaver population declined. Conditions essential to successful fur trading—plentiful pelts, a friendly Indian population, and a wilderness setting—were soon threatened. Cession of Indian lands to the United States was well under way in 1834, the year in which the federal government first offered surveyed portions of the public lands in Wisconsin for sale. By then the tide of settlement was spreading toward the western shore of Lake Michigan.

Reading the handwriting of the wall, Green Bay fur traders utilized eastern capital to embark on town site promotion in the 1830s. They hoped to develop Green Bay as the major port city of Lake Michigan. Not only did the financial panic of 1837 frustrate their efforts, but so did the successful bids of Milwaukee and Chicago in succeeding decades for federal funds for harbor improvement. Both of these budding towns had greater natural potential as major ports, given their physical assets and advantageous locations as trade centers for the rich, developing farmlands nearby.

Green Bay lay in a heavily forested region north of the mainstream of settlement and development in the mid-continent from 1840 to 1880 and at the southern end of the bay, making a hazardous passage around *Porte des Morts* essential to ship access until 1882. It grew more slowly than its rivals. Aware of the need to develop avenues of transportation, Green Bay's village promoters and city fathers alike displayed considerable imagination over the years in promoting harbor, river, canal, and railroad projects. In



Murphy Lumber Company sawmill at Green Bay in the late nineteenth century. Courtesy Neville Public Museum of Brown County. 10,386

the 1830s they championed the Fox-Wisconsin waterway, a plan to improve the Fox River and to build a canal at Portage, thus establishing an all-water route from Lake Michigan to the Mississippi. Although the scheme never lived up to its promise, improvements to the lower Fox brought a substantial amount of river trade to the lakeport. Green Bay promoters repeatedly pressed upon the federal government their case for harbor improvements. They were enthusiastic about the construction of the Sturgeon Bay Ship Canal, which was opened to traffic in 1882. They supported the construction of railroads to connect Green Bay with Milwaukee, Chicago, and Minneapolis and with the pineries and the iron mines of the Michigan Upper Peninsula. Green Bay received excellent railroad connections between 1862 and the close of the century.

Meanwhile, from its fur-trading and military post beginnings, Green Bay emerged in the mid-nineteenth century as a lumber port and a trade and immigrant-outfitting center for north-eastern Wisconsin. Incorporated as a city in 1854, Green Bay succeeded in capturing the seat of Brown County government from De Pere in the same year. In the boom years of the 1850s, the rapid growth of Milwaukee and Chicago and the thrust of settlement into Illinois and Wisconsin farmlands created an enormous demand for lumber. Brown County turned into a beehive of logging activity, and Green Bay flourished as a supply center for lumber camps and mills as well as a milling center and port where schooners could load lumber destined for Chicago and Milwaukee. Brown County boasted 35 sawmills in the mid-1850s, 4 of them at Green Bay.