CHAPTER II: THE GROWTH OF THE EARLY COMMUNITY OF PORTAGE

Chapter II describes Portage's early beginnings as the Portage noting the adjacent Native Americans, its beginnings as a rendezvous point for the fur trade, the site of Fort Winnebago, and the location of three small communities most of which were eventually incorporated into the City of Portage.

Portage's Location Between the Wisconsin and the Fox

The development of the City of Portage is significantly shaped by its location. The city lies along the watershed between the Fox and the Wisconsin Rivers in northwest Columbia County. While Ward I of the city occupies the one and a half mile wide lowland between the rivers, the main part of the city lies along the hill which rises just to the northwest of this lowland. The Portage Canal runs near the base of this hill.

During Wisconsin's European occupation and prior to that by its Native American inhabitants, this land between the two rivers served as a portage or carrying place known as the Portage. From its source in northeast Columbia County, the Fox River flows to Green Bay through a series of lakes in a generally northeasterly direction. It touches Portage along its north and east edges. Finding its source at Lac Vieux near the Wisconsin-Michigan border, the Wisconsin River heads south and southwest. It touches Portage along its south and west boundary as its curves south east and then southwest in the channel cut during the recession of the most recent glacier about 13,000 B.C. The river empties into the Mississippi at Prairie du Chien. The Portage then connects two traditional thoroughfares, the St. Lawrence and the Great Lakes to the Mississippi River.

In written sources dating as early as the mid-1600s, the Portage has been described as a low, wet prairie or marsh supporting marsh and sedge meadows and adjacent lowland hardwoods including willow, soft maple, box elder, ash, cottonwood, and river birch. This lowland rests on unconsolidated swamp accumulations placed over glacial deposits (Martin 1965: 355). The hill to the northwest of the Portage supported oak openings. Lands to the south and east were noted as low or slightly rolling and covered with prairies. This vegetation regime of prairie patches surrounded by oak forests and occasional marshy areas along the rivers is not uncommon for this south central Wisconsin (Curtis 1959: 133; Finley 1951: 217-22; 1976). Adjacent to the Portage, the Fox was sluggish and winding making canoe travel slow. The Wisconsin River left the narrows at Wisconsin Dells and swung around to Portage in a great southeast curve. Shifting sand bars made its navigation rather treacherous particularly during high water. The Wisconsin flowed about six feet above the Fox at normal water levels. During severe floods, waters from the Wisconsin crossed the Portage into the Fox (Kleist 1987: 3 [quoting Jefferson Davis, 6/3/1829]; Butterfield 1880: 337-38; Mitchell 1978: 45, 53; U.S. Army Corps of Engineers 1983: 15; Kinzie 1948 [1856]: 60; Marryat 1837: 137, 141).

The Prehistoric and Native American Presence

Despite the small number of systematic archaeological surveys completed in the Portage area, prehistoric sites have been noted within the city limits of Portage and in the adjacent townships. Although the use of the Portage by prehistoric man is certainly a logical possibility, the presence of prehistoric sites do not necessary confirm such use. During his 1979 literature search recording sites in and near Portage, Salkin documented 131 prehistoric sites in the city and the adjacent towns of Lewiston, Pacific, Fort Winnebago, Caledonia, and Dekorra. In part because they were recorded prior to knowledge of the cultural sequences in use by prehistorians today, many of these sites lack an affiliation with a cultural time period (e.g., Brown 1925: 26-29). Salkin found that these prehistoric sites tended to cluster in three types of areas. Near Portage, the locations included the terraces and marshes adjacent to the Fox River and the terraces along the Wisconsin River in the towns of Caledonia and Dekorra (Salkin 1980: 169-70).

The first identified prehistoric occupation in the area dates to the Middle to Early Late Archaic. The Late Archaic is a period of climatic warming and population expansion. In the Portage area, this culture is evidenced by the presence of copper tools and projectile points typed as Raddatz side-notched and Durst Stemmed which are associated with the Old Copper Tradition of approximately 3000 to 1200 B.C. Most of the copper artifacts occurred on the ground's surface in the marshy areas, primarily along Duck Creek to the south of Portage. One find, a copper awl, occurred within the city limits. Although some of its associated projectile points have been tied to domestic sites, the Old Copper Tradition is best known as a burial complex (Green, Stoltman, and Kehoe 1986: 217-27; Salkin 1980: 176-85 [reprinted in U.S. Army Corps of Engineers 1981: G-1-6 to 10).

Prehistoric sites in the Portage area proliferated in the later part of the Woodland Stage, a period persisting in Wisconsin from ca. 600 B.C. up to the first documented presence of historic Native American cultures. In Wisconsin, this is the cultural stage which is first associated with ceramics and by the Middle Woodland with conical and linear mounds. Dating between ca. 600 and 100 B.C./A.D, the Early Woodland is associated with a few sites in the Portage area. Projectile points known as Waubesa contracting stemmed which are associated with this period were recovered near the Indian Agency House (Salkin 1980: 188). Few sites in the area relate to the Middle Woodland of 100 B.C./A.D. to A.D. 500. The Johnson Site (47C0109) in section 13 of the Town of Caledonia yielded characteristic projectile points and Havana type pottery fragments. Some of the conical mounds reported in and near Portage may date to this period (Salkin 1980: 66, 190; Green, Stoltman, and Kehoe 1986: 241-82).

Many of the known archaeological manifestations in the Portage area date to the

¹ The notation 47CO followed by a number represents an archaeological site recorded in the site files of the Historic Preservation Division of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. The 47 refers to its location in the State of Wisconsin and CO represents its placement in Columbia County. The last number refers to a specific site. See Wisconsin HPD 1966- in the bibliography.

Late Woodland which occurred from approximately A.D. 500 to European contact in the 1600s. Dating as early as A.D. 600, the Effigy Mound Tradition is most commonly identified with the effigy mounds of animal or human forms or geometrically shaped mounds in conical, linear or cigar-like forms. The tradition appears to represent a group of related Late Woodland cultures which shared a common trait, the construction of mounds which sometimes contain burials. They perhaps also served as markers of the territory in which these peoples seasonally wandered. Such mounds have a wide distribution across south and central Wisconsin and into adjacent Minnesota, Iowa, and Illinois. The low mounds often occur singly or in groups along watercourses. They contain a characteristic artifact inventory including pottery fragments from the Madison ceramic series and stemmed, notched and triangular projectile points. Archaeologists have excavated the mounds as well as the domestic sites of these hunters and gatherers.

Associated with the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Charles Brown, who gathered much archaeologist data from sites across Wisconsin from the early 1900s to the early 1940s, counted 274 mounds in Columbia County and about 193 mounds with 26 mounds groups in and near Portage. These figures are probably relatively inaccurate and include mounds from Middle Woodland period and the later Oneota Tradition. Only the seven mounds formed in an effigy shape can be definitely associated with the Late Woodland. Also, in comparison to concentrations in such counties as Dane, the number is relatively low. Portage once contained two of these mounds which the 1979 archaeological investigation was unable to relocate. In 1963, two panther effigies named the Portage Mound Group were recorded four miles south of Portage near Duck Creek in section 28 of the Town of Pacific. Camps and villages yielding artifacts characteristic of this group are associated with some of the mounds in the Portage area (Salkin 1980: 191-97; Green, Stoltman, and Kehoe 1986: 283-301; Koeppler 1964: 144-45).

With the exception of a few fragments of characteristic shell-tempered ceramic wares at several sites, evidence for the Oneota tradition which follows the Woodland cultures is rare in Columbia County. Artifacts associated with this tradition may exist at sites 47C017 and 47C0178. The later, the Murray site in the Town of Pacific, also contains considerable evidence for Middle and Late and perhaps Early Woodland cultures. Manifestations of the Oneota tradition are found in surrounding counties with similar marshy environments. Its absence in Columbia County may result from the limited number of archaeological investigations (Salkin 1980: 29, 116, 198).

Within the City limits of Portage, the State Historical Society of Wisconsin notes four recorded prehistoric sites, one or two of which also contain Native American remains. Two burials numbered BCO-0089 and 0090 appear to refer to the same site known as the Old Catholic Cemetery or Cook Street burial. It was located along East Cook between Adams and Jefferson and contained Native American and perhaps prehistoric burials (Anonymous ca. 1852) (figure 4). During the 1904 excavation for the Port-Axtell Funeral Home at 302 E. Conant (30/34), then the Baptist parsonage, the Portage Daily Register noted the former use of the entire

² The numbers preceded by BC are burial site numbers assigned by the Burial Sites Division of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

vicinity as "an Indian cemetery." The area produced such burial goods as a calumet and silver bracelets. The article explains that numerous skeletons had been exhumed during the excavations for buildings in that area of the city (Portage Daily Register 8/8/1904). A single conical mound (47CO73) and a conical mound group (47CO74) were once located at the north end of the Wisconsin River Bridge. Both sites appear to be destroyed (Salkin 1980: 145-50). During the phase I archaeological survey being conducted for the location of a boat landing in 1993, a site of unknown affiliation (47CO282) was located near the Portage Levee just east of STH33 and south of the river. It contained several worked stone fragments (Dirst 1993). The paucity of sites listed for the city likely reflects the lack of systematic investigation and a high level of disturbance as the city expanded. Its adjacent marshes and the river terraces are prime locations for prehistoric sites.

Numerous Native American groups, that is, those cultural groups extant at European contact, likely crossed the Portage. In 1973, the approximate route of this Portage, the Wauona Trail, was marked as a National Register site (Wisconsin HPD 1970-93 [1973]). The westward expansion of the Iroquois during the 1640s and 1650s forced numerous Native American groups further west into Wisconsin. In the 1660s and 1670s, early European explorers who crossed the Portage noted the presence of the Miami, the Kickapoo, and Mascouten. Marguette and Joliet encountered the Miami in their village along the Fox in 1673. Charles Brown noted the presence of a Mascouten village in section 16 of the Town of Fort Winnebago. This is a very tentative location. Instead, citations also refer to the Mascouten village noted by Marquette and Joliet two to three miles southeast of the Village of Berlin, Green Lake County (47GL124). Two Miami residing at this village led Marquette and Joliet across the Portage. Reported by Louis Hennepin in 1680, the Kickapoo lived in a village 5.2 miles north of Portage about 1665 (Salkin 1979: 8; 1980: 93, 208-09; Butterfield 1880: 329).

By the 1660s, the Sac and Fox began to ascend the river from their villages on the lower Fox. For example, the Fox occupied a village at Lake Butte des Morts As the Fox gained control of the Fox-Wisconsin waterway in the mid-1600s, they displaced the three earlier groups to the south (Salkin 1979: 8; Butterfield 1880: 329). During the Fox Wars occurring periodically between 1705 and 1738 when they were finally decimated by the French, the Fox closed the Fox-Wisconsin water route to the French. These encounters between the Fox and French resulted in the construction of the French post at Green Bay in 1717. Following their defeat by 1743, the Fox joined the Sac. In 1766, Jonathan Carver noted that the area was within the territory of the Sac and Fox. Although there is no known Fox or Sac village near the Portage, the Sac occupied a large village at Sauk Prairie from the 1740s until the mid-1770s when they moved to the mouth of the Rock River in Illinois (Thwaites 1908: 282; Works Progress Administration 1938: 25; Kellogg 1935: 16). By the 1760s, the Fox, reduced in numbers and threatened by the Chippewa, occupied villages above Prairie du Chien and on the west side of the Mississippi south of Dubuque in the Mines of Spain State Park, a National Register District (McKay 1988). Receiving permission to use the land east of the Mississippi until needed for settlement, the Fox and Sauk gave up their claim to southwest Wisconsin in the treaty of 1804. The treaty of 1829 attempted to end their use of the area for hunting. By this time, they primarily occupied eastern Iowa (Smith 1973: 130; Butterfield 1880: 337-38, 369; Salkin 1980: 206; Thwaites 1908: xii).

In violation of the 1829 treaty, both the Sac led by the Prophet, a Winnebago, and the Fox led by Black Hawk crossed to the east side of the Mississippi in Although returning to their territory in 1831, they recrossed the river in 1832. General Atkinson pursued them up the Rock River as they went north to Although a group of Winnebago who were aligned with Black Hawk and camped four miles from Swan Lake threatened to attack Fort Winnebago recently erected at the Portage, Black Hawk's group travelled well to the southwest of the fort. In August, 1832, General Henry Atkinson's army halted Black Hawk's group at the mouth of the Bad Axe while attempting to cross the Mississippi near Victory in southern Vernon County. Another faction of Winnebago offered protection to the settlement at Fort Winnebago by camping adjacent to the Indian Agency House across the river from the fort. The fort lacked sufficient defenses including appropriate artillery and pickets to withstand an attack. Thus, beyond sending most of its troops to Fort Atkinson and receiving several Winnebago prisoners who later escaped, Fort Winnebago played a minor role in the Black Hawk War (Clark 1908 [1879]: 312-16; Butterfield 1880: 353; Jones 1914 [1]: 46; Kinzie 1948 [1854]: 318-35; Powell 1978: 28; Salkin 1980: 228; Lurie 1987: 17; Smith 1973: 137-38).

After the departure of the Sac and Fox by the 1770s, the Winnebago migrated west and south utilizing the area adjacent to the Portage sometime between the 1760s and the 1790s. Although the Menominee claimed the territory north of the Fox and east of the Wisconsin in central Wisconsin, they did not occupy the area. In the treaty of Cedar Point in 1836, the federal government secured from the Menominee a cession of timber lands three miles wide along both banks of the Wisconsin. The strip extended 48 miles upstream from approximately Point Bas or Edward. The Menominee sold their remaining lands to the federal government in 1849, and relinquished it in 1851. A large portion of the City of Portage north of Ward I and the Portage Canal lay within their territory until this land cession. Additionally, the Potawatomie may have occupied a village along Duck Creek in the Town of Pacific in about 1800. However, this group traditionally located in the Green Bay area and south to Milwaukee rather than in south central Wisconsin (Salkin 1980: 116, 209; 1979: 9; Butterfield 1880: 330; Krug 1946: 24; Smith 1973: 141; <u>Wisconsin State Register</u> 11/6/1875; Jones 1914 [1]: 21; U.S. Department of the Army 1866).

Most of the identified sites near the Portage are associated with the Winnebago. Beginning in the 1670s, the Winnebago withdrew from the Green Bay area as other groups moved into their territory. Perhaps the greatest effect of this continual shifting of territory as groups competed to participate in the fur trade became the intensification of warfare among the Native American groups. The Winnebago in particular displayed this tendency as they successfully maintained the relative stability of their culture until the government forced their removal in the 1840s. They occupied the territory adjacent to Lake Winnebago by 1700 and moved south and west along the Rock River valley by the 1730s. Beginning in the 1750s, the Winnebago moved into the territory occupied by Sac and Fox. They occupied large agricultural villages in the summer. As they participated more heavily in the fur trade by the 1760s, their westward and southward expansion provided additional hunting territory. Their winter hunting territory eventually extended as far west as the Mississippi.

By the 1790s, they had begun to sell the right to portage between the Fox and the

Wisconsin. By 1793, a village was located in or adjacent to the City of Portage, perhaps the one noted by Grignon located two miles north of the Portage. By 1794, Old Gray Hair Chief DeKaury had located two miles south of the Portage. The Winnebago moved this village west of the Portage at the confluence of the Baraboo and Wisconsin and remained there until 1836 (Merrell 1908 [1876]). Another Winnebago village associated with Old Gray Hair DeKaury occurred eight miles north of Portage in section 2 of the Town of Fort Winnebago. Whirling Thunder located a village at the Portage north of the Wisconsin River bridge in 1830, and in 1832, Little Sioux founded a village along the Baraboo. Although the Winnebago initially aligned with the British in the War of 1812, they began trade with the Americans at its conclusion. As a result, the Portage became an important rendezvous for trade (Salkin 1979: 9, 204-06; 1980: 93, 95, 148, 205-06; Wyatt 1986 [vol. 1; Historic Indians]: 15; Spector 1974: 48-60; Grignon 1901 [1857]: 289; Jones 1914 [1]: 21, 40; Brown 1925: 27-29).

In 1826, the government temporarily removed the troops from Fort Crawford to Fort Snelling after floods had damaged the structure. With Fort Howard at Green Bay, they constituted the outposts of American authority which maintained peace along the frontier line dividing settlers and the Native Americans. Objecting to the incursion of settlers in the mining district of southwest Wisconsin and to the American involvement in the traditional enmity between the Chippewa and Winnebago and perhaps revenging the presumed deaths of several Winnebago, the Winnebago attacked settlers near Prairie du Chien in 1827. Led by General Atkinson at St. Louis and Major Whistler from Fort Howard at Green Bay, the United State military soon ended the outbreak. Its leader, Red Bird, surrendered at the Portage in September, 1827 rather than suffer the annihilation of his people. Shortly after the death of Red Bird at a Prairie du Chien prison in 1827, the Winnebago signed a treaty ceding their lands in southwest Wisconsin. The agreement was consummated in the treaty of 1832. The outbreak resulted in the regarrisoning of Fort Crawford and the construction of Fort Winnebago at the east end of the Portage beginning in 1828. In 1924, the Wau-Bun Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution dedicated a monument to Red Bird which stands at the site of his surrender at the juncture of CTH E and STH 33 east of the City of Portage (Powell 1978: 19-20; Clough 1957 [1924]: 2-3, 9-12; McKenney 1904 [1867]: 178-203; Turner, A.J. 1898b: 100-102; 1904: 114-22; Titus 1930: 238; Butterfield 1880: 340-42, 346). With the treaty of 1828 and the construction of the temporary barracks at Fort Winnebago in the same year, the Winnebago lost control of the Portage and the volume of trade across it increased dramatically (Portage Ad Hoc Committee on Flood Control and the Canal 1992: 4).

The vicinity of the Indian Agency House (Agency Road, north end 2/15), a periodic gathering and camping place for the Winnebago, served as a traditional camping location for earlier groups. The house stands on Indian Agency Hill across from Fort Winnebago along the west side of the Fox near its juncture with the canal just east of the City of Portage. Brown (1925: 27) reported the presence of a prehistoric village site and burial ground (47C0288) associated with Indian Agency House. Salkin (1980: 93, 111-12) described the Baker Site (47C023) or what appears to be the same or an overlapping site. It contained five different components: a Native American, probably Winnebago camp site, north of the Agency House; a culturally unaffiliated camp site south of the house; a concentration of Native American and Euro-American artifacts and Woodland materials 738 feet southwest of the Agency House; a nineteenth century Native American site or

farmstead; and the linear Indian Agency Mound along the bank of the Fox. In Wau-Bun, Juliette Kinzie noted that the Winnebago camped in this area as they met with traders and collected their annual annuities (Kinzie 1948 [1854]). Thus, some of these manifestations likely relate to this period.

The history of the Indian Agency House is intimately associated with the John Kinzie served as the Indian agent for the upper bands of the Winnebago between 1829 and 1832 when he and his wife Juliette removed to Chicago. After their arrival in 1830, the Kinzies initially lived in the officers' barracks at Fort Winnebago. In 1831, they moved across the Fox into a four room, one story log barracks which had served as the dwelling of the blacksmith. blacksmith shop was located to the east of the current Agency House. government provided the services of a blacksmith to allow the repair of their guns and traps. In 1831, a tamarack log dairy, stable, and smokehouse were added to the site. In the fall of 1832, John Kinzie supervised the construction of the Agency House (2/15). The two story, six room, heavy timber frame and brick insulated house included a one story kitchen at the rear. The front facing gable with two column entry porch displays simple federal lines. At this site or at Portage, the Winnebago gathered, usually in the fall, to receive their annuity in the 1830s to as late as 1914. After the Kinzies left for Chicago in July, 1833, an officer of the fort, Robert Irwin, served as the Indian agent. In 1850, Gideon Low and later his wife utilized the dwelling as a tavern. E.S. Baker then purchased the property and operated it as a farmstead.

In 1930, the National Society of Colonial Dames of America purchased the Indian Agency House and associated property and began the restoration of the building. In 1962 when the society began to operate the building as a museum, they constructed the adjacent interpretive center in a style imitating the Greek Revival. They may have located the building in the approximate location of the DuBay trading post noted below. In 1972, the property was listed on the National Register of Historic Places (Wisconsin HPD 1970-93 [1972]; Kleist n.d.: 19-20; Turner, A.J. 1903: 4-5; Merrell 1908 [1876]: 376; Kinzie 1832 [letter, 10/1/32]]; Kinzie 1948 [1856]: 57, 264-66, 370; Jones 1914 [1]: 31; Williams 1835; Brandenburg 1917).

Because of its position and significance as a place of portage between the Wisconsin and the Fox, the Portage often became part of a convenient boundary between Native American nations as the American government attempted to gradually remove them west across Wisconsin. By the 1830's, the acknowledged government policy was the confinement of Native Americans on bounded reservations where they were to be civilized by missionaries and other agencies and eventually become farmers, a time-honored occupation of the prevailing culture. The 1804 treaty gained from the Sauk and Fox the cession of lands east of the Mississippi. However, they retained permission to hunt in southwest Wisconsin. In 1829, the Winnebago lost their lands south of the Wisconsin River and in northwest The 1832 cession involved the lands in southeast Wisconsin, east of the Wisconsin and west of the Rock River. Under this treaty, the Winnebago also received a reservation in Iowa. As part of the agreement which included their instruction in proper farming methods, Pierre Pauquette established the Indian Farm in the Town of Caledonia in 1835. In the treaty of 1837, the Winnebago surrendered their lands north and west of the Wisconsin River. Attempting to place the Winnebago on lands west of the Mississippi, the military assembled many of the Winnebago at Portage in 1840 to effect this removal. During each removal between 1846 and 1873, many Winnebago either evaded the military or returned to their territory in central Wisconsin.

In 1836, the Menominee first ceded a strip three miles wide on each side of the Wisconsin and 48 miles long from a point north of Portage at Point Bas. They ceded their remaining lands which reached south to the Portage in 1848, and received a reservation in 1854. As a consequence, much of the land occupied by the City of Portage was entered after the final treaty with the Menominee (Smith 1973: 123, 141-45; Jones 1914 [1]: 29-32; Wyatt 1986 [vol. 1, Native American]: 15; De La Ronde 1908 [1876]: 355, 359, 362; Merrell 1908 [1876]: footnote, 394; Nesbit 1973: 98; Butterfield 1880: 329-30).

The Fur Trade at the Portage

The Portage gained significance as early as the 1670s as part of the Fox-Wisconsin waterway system which carried furs gathered west of and in Wisconsin and to eastern markets (figure 3). Existing nineteenth century maps illustrate the Portage crossing the 1.5 miles interval at approximately its narrowest width. Until 1850, the Portage forked with one leg ascending the hill to the northwest and the other going directly west to the Wisconsin (Anonymous n.d.; Webster 1839; Turner, A.J. 1904: 89-90). John Shaw observed that a corduroy road spanned the marshy Portage (Shaw 1888: 222). For its role in the fur trade, Wauona Trail or Bronson Avenue which follows the approximate course of the Portage gained National Register recognition in 1973 (Wisconsin HPD 1970-1993 [1973]).

The fur trade provided the milieux within which Europeans in Wisconsin first exploited its resources, formulated policies towards its inhabitants, and in some cases adopted new life styles. The Native Americans, in turn, began to adapt their traditional cultures to the presence of the Europeans. Native American groups in Wisconsin participated in the fur trade well before the appearance of the Europeans in Wisconsin. The Huron and the Ottawa occupying territory to the east of Wisconsin served as middlemen between the French at Montreal and Wisconsin groups who received European goods for furs. The struggle of the Huron, Ottawa, and Iroquois to protect their positions as middlemen from competing groups to their west resulted in the movement of Native American groups west into Wisconsin in the 1640s and 1650s. By the 1660s, the Ottawa and Huron, having been defeated by the Iroquois, re-established themselves at Chequamegon Bay along Lake Superior. Since these two groups continued their role as middlemen between the Wisconsin Native Americans and other groups of the upper Mississippi basin and the French, Chequamegon Bay remained a major fur trade center in specific European goods and associated technologies which represented an improvement over weapons and tools already in use. At this stage, the Native Americans adapted primarily to economic aspects of the European culture. shifted the emphasis in their economy toward hunting but did not abandon their other seasonal activities. They expanded their territory, engaged in additional warfare to accomplish it, often formed small living units, and gained greater mobility to secure the furs but did not alter the essential patterns of their culture. But, to accomplish this change, rapid adjustments within the culture did occur.

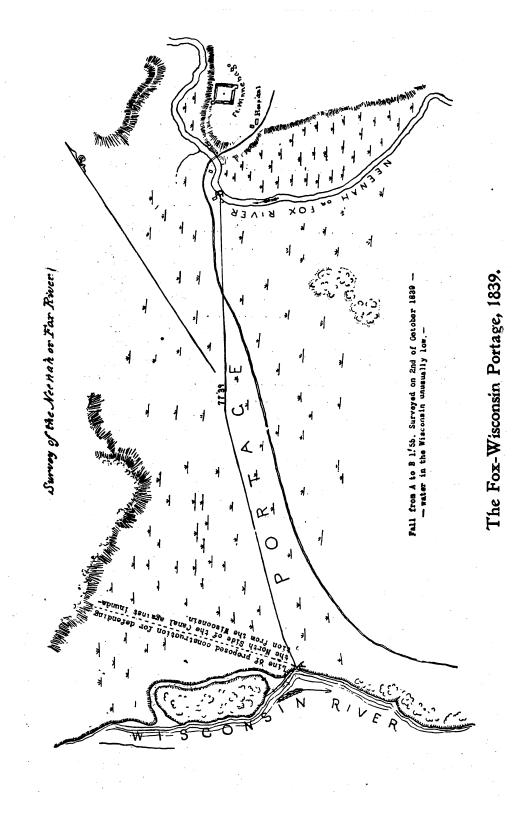


Figure 3: Survey of the Neenah (or Fox) River completed by J.D. Webster in 1839 under the direction of Capt. T. Jefferson Cram in 1839 and published in 1840 (see Webster 1839). This copy was redrawn and published in A.J. Turner's The Family Tree of Columbia County (1904). The line A-B identified as PORTAGE indicates the route of a proposed government canal. The actual placement was slightly relocated prior to excavation.

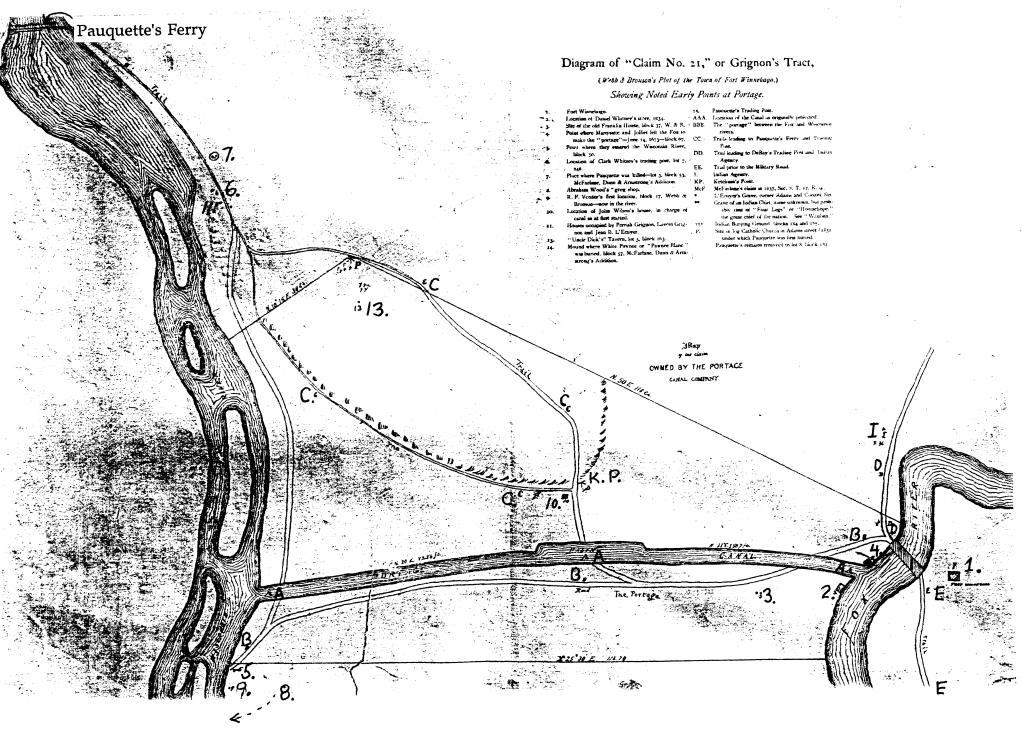


Diagram of "Claim No. 21.," or Grignon's Claim Showing the Fox-Wisconsin Portage (Anonymous 1852). The scale of the letters is enlarged, and the original key is transcribed to the right.

Diagram of "Claim No. 21," or Grignon's Tract, (Webb & Bronson's Plat of the Town of Fort Winnebago,)

Showing Noted Early Points at Portage

- Fort Winnebago.
 Location of Daniel Whitney's store, 1834.
 Site of the old Franklin House, blocj 37, W & B.
 Point where Marquette and Joliet left the Fox to
 make the "portage," June 14, 1673--block 67.
 Point where they entered the Wisconsin River,
- 5. block 50.
- Location of Clark Whitney's trading post. lot 7,
- Place where Pauquette was killed--lot 3, block 53, 7. McFarlane, Dunn & Armstrong's Addition.
- Abraham Wood's "grog shop.
- R. P. Veeder's first location, block 17, Webb & Bronson--now in the river.
- Location of John Wilson's house, in charge of canal as at first started.
- Houses occupied by Perrish Grignon, Lavein Grignon and Jean B. L'Ecuyer. 11.
 - "Uncle Dick's" Tavern, lot 5, block 163.
- Mound where White Pawnee, or "Pawnee Blanc" was buried, block 57, McFarlane, Dunn & Arm-14. strong's Addition.
- 15.
- Pauquette's Trading Post. Location of the Canal as originally projected.
- The "portage" between the Fox and Wisconsin rivers.
- Trails leading to Pauquette's Ferry and Trading CC.
- Trail leading to DuBay's Trading Post and Indian DD.
- Trail prior to Military Road.
- Indian Agency.

13.

- Ketchum's Point. KP.
- McFarlane's claim 1837, Sec. 8, T. 12, R 9. McF.
 - L'Ecuyer's Grave, corner Adams and Conant Sts.
 - Grave of an Indian Chief, name unknown, but probably that of "Four Legs" of "Hootschope,"
 the great chief of the nation. See "Waubun."
 Indian Burying Ground, blocks 184 and 185.
 Site of log Catholic Church in Adams street (1831)
 under which Pauquette was first buried.
- - Pauquettes remains removed to lot 8 block 184.

of the claim

OWNED BY THE PORTAGE **CANAL COMPANY**

Figure 4

By the 1660s, some French traders and missionaries had begun to accompany the Huron and Ottawa middlemen west. However, the fur trade in then Wisconsin remained in the hands of the Ottawa and Huron not the French, and these Native Americans took the furs to Montreal. But, when the Sioux drove the Huron and Ottawa from their position as middlemen in 1671, the French soon arrived to fill the void. In that year, Simon Francois Daumont de Saint Lusson arrived at Sault Ste. Marie to claim the lands to be discovered north, south, and west of lakes Huron and Superior for the French government.

Perhaps even preceded by some French coureur de bois or illegal independent traders, the trip of Jacques Marquette and Louis Joliet opened a new era in the The French government commissioned Joliet to determine whether the Mississippi provided a trade route to the Pacific. They traveled from the Great Lakes, up the Fox, over the Portage, and along the Wisconsin to the Mississippi. Marquette and Joliet left the St. Ignace mission established in 1672 at Mackinac on May 17, 1673. Their Miami guides led them across the Portage on June 14, 1673, and they entered the Mississippi on June 17. Marquette and Joliet reached the mouth of the Arkansas before returning north in July by way of the Illinois, Des Plaines, and Chicago rivers to Lake Michigan. The Wau-Bun Chapter of the DAR recognized the significance of the trip by placing a granite monument at the west Wauona Trail in 1905 (Milwaukee Sentinel 10/22/1905). representatives of the French government followed. They explored the waterways primarily to locate available trade routes, remaining alert to possible opportunities in which they might engage the Native American groups in the fur trade. Sent by La Salle to explore the Upper Mississippi, Father Louis Hennepin, a Jesuit missionary, crossed the Portage with his party in 1679. Greysolon de Du Luth later recovered him from the Sioux. Rene-Robert Cavelier de La Salle first travelled the waterway and crossed the Portage to contact and establish trade relations with the Sioux in 1683. In 1685, Nicolas Perrot traversed the Fox-Wisconsin waterway and the intervening Portage to establish a fur trading post at Lake Pepin in Sioux territory. He was transporting his furs across the Portage as were other Frenchmen whom he encountered in 1690-91. These individuals constituted some of the better known traders and missionaries crossing the Portage in the late 1600s, but there were certainly many others after 1673 (Gilman 1974: 3-5; Thwaites 1902: 89-91, 143-151, 177-88; Kellogg 1968 [1925]: 194; Smith 1973: 25-32; Nesbit 1973: 25).

The fur trade system remained in transition in the 1670s and 1680s. The French slowly assumed the role of the Native American middlemen, bringing the trade goods to Wisconsin and removing the furs from Wisconsin to Montreal. The Fox, Sac, and Potawatomi resisted this shift in roles and attempted to block their passage through Wisconsin in the 1680s and periodically as late as the 1730s. As the Fox in particular continued to block French traders in the early 1700s, the French engaged them in a series of wars between 1712 and 1738. It was not until after the Fox wars that the French finally gained complete control of the trade in Wisconsin. By that date, the French initiated the trading system which they had previously developed outside the Mississippi River Valley.

Because of its dispersed nature, the fur trade remained difficult to regulate. The French government required that each independent trader or bourgeois financed by credit from a trading company obtained one of a limited number of trading licenses from the government at Montreal or Quebec. The bourgeois sold his

beaver pelts at a fixed price to a designated buyer at Montreal. The French bourgeois directed the activities of his voyageurs who carried trade goods into major interior posts and took furs to Montreal from them in their canoe brigades. The Native American groups now traded with the bourgeois or his representative at these posts or rendezvous points rather than selling their furs to the Huron and Ottawa. Here, they bargained with bourgeois's agent for the sale of the furs in the spring, and the voyageurs returned in the fall with trade goods. In the late 1600s and early 1700s, missionaries accompanied the voyageurs west. To engage the Native Americans and survive in the interior, the French adopted parts of their culture such as their foods, some of their technology, and Native American ceremony such as the gift exchange, the use of ceremonial metals, and other forms of diplomacy. They married into the Native American groups. Those involved in the fur trade eventually formed small communities adjacent to the trading posts at such locations as Green Bay and Prairie du Chien.

By the mid-eighteenth century, the bourgeois trading in the Upper Mississippi District with the Menominee, Winnebago, Fox, Sac, and Potawatomi used Green Bay as their base of operations. Because its northern location reduced spoilage, the Fox-Wisconsin waterway became a favored route along which to transport the furs. Along this water route, the Portage remained in active use especially after the 1730s. Although it may have periodically served as a meeting place and point of distribution of goods and collection of furs by the late 1600s until the 1730s, the adjacent Fox blocked the passage of French traders until the end of the Fox wars.

The volume of the fur trade and level of contact intensified after the British gained control of the Mississippi Valley. The trading patterns established by the French by the 1740s and 1750s generally continued under British rule beginning at the close of the French and Indian War in 1763. Although some of the same French merchants retained control, Scotch investors replaced many of the French bourgeois in the Montreal trading companies. After 1770, the bourgeois or traders gradually established temporary sub-posts or wintering quarters closer to the territory of the Native American groups. In the fall, they began to send engages who completed the trading and clerks with the trade goods to wintering quarters near each band. Furs were brought to the wintering quarters in the spring and taken to the rendezvous point or main posts in the early summer. Then, accounts were settled with each band and the next year's arrangements consummated. By the late 1700s, the bourgeois extended increasing amounts of credit to Native American groups. The smaller traders sold their furs and purchased goods from these larger merchants at Prairie du Chien. By the 1760s, use of the Portage as a minor rendezvous point had probably begun. from a French garrison in Illinois, Pinneshon, became the first known settler at the Portage by 1766. Jonathan Carver noted the presence of the Frenchman as he crossed the Portage in that year. Although it is certainly possible, there is no evidence that he operated as a small trader. He engaged in the transport business moving at least goods if not the large Mackinaws or barges across the Portage. Pinneshon erected a dwelling midway between the Fox and the Wisconsin.

After the closing of the French forts in the early 1760s, the French bourgeois continued to winter at interior settlements such as Green Bay and Prairie du Chien. But, the regional administrative headquarters where furs were deposited and trade goods received shifted from Green Bay to Mackinac. Warehouses at the

regional headquarters housed trading goods and supplies for the field. In 1774, the Great Lakes and Ohio Valley regions were placed in the Province of Quebec and governed from Montreal. With the onset of the Revolution, the hostilities between tribes supporting the British and Americans tended to turn traders away from the Upper Mississippi Valley to its northwest until 1783. Despite the peace treaty of 1783, the British retained control of the fur trade from their Canadian posts until the War of 1812. The Jay Treaty of 1796 stipulated that the British evacuate posts occupied in American territory, but it allowed both nations to engage in trade with Native Americans on either side of the boundary. The treaty permitted the British to use the Fox-Wisconsin waterway.

After 1783, British traders began to form fur companies to deal with the rising number of competitors. As a group of British traders formed the North West Company and held a monopoly over the trade along Lake Superior and to the west, independent traders many of whom were headquartered at Prairie du Chien turned to the Upper Missouri. The French traders operating along the Upper Mississippi including Wisconsin who were based at Prairie du Chien and Green Bay then lost the trading advantage of the less expensive British trade goods. But, they continued to operate successfully as independent traders, often forming short-lived partnerships, until after 1803 when the center of trade shifted to St. Louis which served the Missouri basin. Traders at Green Bay at the turn-of-the century included Charles de Langlade, Pierre Grignon, Jacques Porlier, John Lawe, Joseph LeRoy, and Jacques Vieau. John Campbell, a Scot, located at Prairie du Chien. These traders or their representatives periodically traded in the Portage vicinity.

By the 1770s and 1780s, the Portage served as an established gathering place for traders and Native Americans. In 1787, Joseph Ainse described his arrival at Green Bay, his ascent of the Fox, and the meeting and gift exchange with the Puant or Winnebago at the Portage. Primarily Green Bay traders or their representatives began temporary settlement at the Portage with increasing frequency by the 1790s. Some also continued to operate a transport business. In 1792-1793, James Porlier and Charles Reaume traded and transported goods for a short period. Laurent Barth obtained permission from the Winnebago to transport goods across the Portage in 1793. He and subsequent operators hauled the goods and later the mackinaws on carts. Engaging in the fur trade as an independent trader and selling his furs at Mackinac, he also established a small trading post and constructed a cabin at the west end of the Portage. Barth first located on the lowlands of the Portage and removed to higher ground in 1794. He appears to have resided at the Portage during much of the year. In 1798, Jean Lecuyer established a similar business, placing himself at the east end of the John Campbell purchased Barth's business rights in 1803, and Barth departed. Both Campbell and Lecuyer died in 1808 and 1810 respectively. In 1797 and 1798, Jacques Vieux, who is usually associated with Milwaukee, wintered and traded at the Portage. In 1801-1802, Augustin Grignon, a noted trader, also wintered at the Portage. They presumably provided the local Winnebago with supplies and collected their furs for transportation to Mackinac (Gilman 1974: 6-11; Kellogg 1968 [1925]: 307; 1935: 17, 94-96; Clough 1957 [1924]; Jones 1914 [1]: 40; WPA 1938: 25-26; Thwaites 1882: 148-50; 1906: 10-15, 22-25, 135-39, 323; 1908a: 280-282, 333-34; Vieau 1888: 2218-23; Turner, F.J. 1963 [1893]: 73; Turner, A.J. 1904: 45; Nesbit 1973: 34, 42-45; Grignon 1901 [1857]: 286-87; Smith 1973: 49, 76-81; Nesbit 1973: 58-60).

In 1805, several Canadian traders including independent traders at Green Bay and Prairie du Chien united into a single company, Robert Dickason and Company. company attempted to limit the ruinous competition among the traders by expanding their trading areas to the northwest and assigning specific areas to each trader. After this company's failure in 1807, the same group of Montreal merchants who controlled the North West Company absorbed the former into their newly formed Michilimackinac Company to control the trade south of the Canadian border. After of hostilities between the British and the Americans. Michilimackinac Company maintained its trade south of the border by merging with John Jacob Astor's South West Company in 1811. After the War of 1812, the Americans gained control of the final years of the fur trade. The government attempted to regulate the trade through a dual system of government fur trade factories and the licensing of private traders by the superintendent of Indian affairs and his agents. The regulations under the later system were poorly In the face of this competition, the absence of credit, gifts, and alcohol doomed the government factory system which lasted from 1796 to 1822.

Buying out his Canadian partners in the South West Company, Astor re-established it as the American Fur Company and dominated the Wisconsin fur trade after the A 1816 law barred aliens from the fur trade. It forced the Wisconsin traders, a majority of whom had supported the British, to gain American citizenship or act as agents for Astor under the direction of a licensed American Astor operated by either hiring agents to manage the trade in specific regions or contracting with independent traders who dealt only through the American Fur Company. Under either system, the agent or trader worked on commission receiving trade goods and supplies on credit and selling their furs to the company at their prices. As the fur harvest waned, Astor profited while his agents accumulated debts to him. By operating in this fashion, Astor absorbed many of his competitors. When Astor retired from the fur trade in 1834, the company underwent reorganization under the ownership of Hercules Dousman, Henry Sibley, and by 1840 Joseph Rolette. The general pattern prevailing during the British era of trade remained. With the introduction of the steamboat on the Mississippi by the 1820s, trade goods often came up the Mississippi rather than across the Fox-Wisconsin waterway. Prairie du Chien became a major distribution point for goods. But, traders continued to ship furs across the waterway to Mackinac and onto New York to prevent the spoilage of furs. distances made transportation difficult, small traders frequently purchased Native American furs and stored them for sale to more substantial traders during the trading season. In 1842, the American Fur Company failed, and fur trade activities were controlled by the Chouteau Company at St. Louis which primarily operated along the upper Missouri. As settlement expanded from the lead mining centers in southwest Wisconsin, Native American populations were removed. number of fur bearing animals significantly declined, and the fur trade waned rapidly after 1830 (Gilman 1974: 11-18; Nesbit 1973: 66-69, 86-87).

Trading at the Portage, then, followed this system. The Grignons first appeared at the Portage in 1801 to 1803. Members of the family including Augustin, Perrish, Lavoin, and Louis Grignon either stopped or wintered at the Portage until 1823. The family acted as an independent trader periodically combining with other traders such as John Lawe at Green Bay (Thwaites 1911: 132-33; 232; De La Ronde 1908 [1876]: 347). After 1810, Laurent Filey and in 1812 Joseph LeRoy, his son-in-law, continued the transport business of Lecuyer. Both

maintained a store of goods and traded with the Winnebago. In 1828, LeRoy sold his property to the United States Army prior to the construction of Fort Winnebago and moved to the west side of the Portage where he remained until at least 1831 (Grignon 1901 [1857]: 285-289; Thwaites 1910: 368).

By 1828, Daniel Whitney, an independent trader from Green Bay, established a warehouse for supplies at both ends of the Portage. He was likely providing his agents and other small traders with goods in the local trade. Unlike other traders, he did compete successfully with Astor perhaps in part because he operated multiple enterprises. Whitney engaged in lumber milling, operated the Helena Shot Tower, speculated in lands, and became associated with the Portage Canal (Nesbit 1973: 94-95; Thwaites 1900: 452-53; Turner, A.J. 1903: 39-40; Anonymous n.d.; Merrell 1908 [1876]: 369; Morgan 1888: 387; Libby 1895: 340). The sutler at Fort Winnebago also provided voyageurs and traders with necessary supplies. Representing Oliver Newberry of Detroit, Saterlee Clark served as fort sutler beginning in 1830. Henry Merrell became the fort sutler between 1834 and 1838 (Merrell 1908 [1876]: 391; Clark 1908 [1876]: 311; Butterfield 1880: 430).

In 1821, the American Fur Company established itself at the Portage. Southwestern Fur Company acquired the fur trading post located at the east end of the Portage north of the site of the Agency House and across the Fox from the site of Fort Winnebago in 1808. Joseph Rolette purchased the post as an independent trader in 1815 and sold it to the American Fur Company in 1821. government constructed the fort in part to protect Astor's fur trading interests at the Portage. The company maintained a series of traders at the post including Pierre Pauquette who became established perhaps by 1824 but before 1827 to 1834. Pauquette also employed five or six men and maintained oxen to haul mackinaw boats across the Portage. By 1828, the post included a log house, barracks, and In 1834, Pauquette pursued his trading activities independently. moved to the Wisconsin placing his building complex on a knoll west of the south end of the site of the Wisconsin River bridge. On what became the Barden property, he established a trading house, dwelling, and two or three farm He also operated a ferry at this site. After Pauquette, Henry Merrell, then sutler at Fort Winnebago, represented the American Fur Company in John Baptiste DuBay became the American Fur Company agent at the post in 1839. Following its usual practice, the American Fur Company furnished him goods Prior to 1839, perhaps as early as 1837, DuBay was located on the on shares. Grignon Tract (figure 3) to the west and participated as an independent trader. The post remained under the ownership of the American Fur Company until 1851 when Hercules Dousman transferred his rights to the post to John Baptiste DuBay. DuBay remained the trader at the post until his departure in 1857 following the shooting of John Reynolds. His departure represented the close of fur trading activities adjacent to what had become the City of Portage (Krug 1946: 29-30, 81, 90, 140; 191-99, 207-15; Turner, A.J. 1903: 2-4; Merrell 1908 [1876]: 373, 382-84; De La Ronde 1908 [1876]: 346; Williams 1835; Morgan 1888: 387; Clough 1957 [1924]).

Fort Winnebago

Located adjacent to the east bank of the Fox River east of the City of Portage, Fort Winnebago remains as an archaeological site (47CO210) partially disturbed

by the construction of a farmstead. A State Historical Society of Wisconsin marker notes its presence.

When the American government first gained actual control of the territory west of the Great Lakes in 1816, it constructed a widely dispersed series of outposts or forts along the Native American frontier. Placed at Prairie du Chien and Green Bay in that year, Fort Crawford and Fort Howard stood at the opposite ends of the Fox-Wisconsin waterway. These two forts provided a vital line of military defense protecting military and civilian communications and trade between the Great Lakes and the Mississippi River. Their position followed a policy established by Secretary of War John Calhoun. It placed the proportionately small numbers of available men at posts built in strategic locations along an exterior line of military posts and abandoned interior posts as the area they protected became settled. Forts Crawford and Howard along with a fort at Detroit, Fort Armstrong at Rock Island, Jefferson Barracks at St. Louis, and in 1819 what became Fort Snelling at the Twin Cities protected the Mississippi and Although Fort Crawford was deemed obsolete with the Upper Great Lakes. construction of Fort Snelling and briefly abandoned in 1826, it was regarrisoned after the Winnebago uprising of 1827 (Powell 1978: 5-20).

This military policy altered in 1828. Forces in St. Louis were reduced and spread among the frontier outposts to create a more connected line of defense. To accomplish this task, a new post was established between forts Howard and Crawford to protect the area from additional Winnebago uprisings. The 1827 Winnebago uprising resulted in part from the expansion of the lead settlements into the Winnebago territory in southwest Wisconsin. The government placed the new post at the Portage, a strategic communications link along the waterway. Additionally, because the Winnebago levied tolls against the American Fur Company for the transportation of its goods across the Portage, John Jacob Astor had petitioned the government to establish a post protecting its operations at that location (Powell 1978: 20-21; Clark 1908 [1879]: 309-10; Turner, A.J. 1898b: 66-67, 70).

Responding to Order No. 44 dated August 19, 1828, Major David E. Twiggs with the three companies of the First Infantry arrived at the Portage from Fort Howard on September 7, 1828. He established a position for the fort within an ox bow on the right bank of the Fox River on a rise overlooking the Portage (U.S. Department of the Army 1828-66 [orders dated 8/19/1828; letter from Major Twiggs to Adjutant General's Office, 9/7/1828]). The 4000 acre military reservation on which the fort was located was withdrawn from the market in January, 1835 (U.S. Department of the Army 1835). Juliette Kinzie, the wife of the John Kinzie who was serving as the Indian agent between 1829 and 1833, described its situation (Kinzie 1948 [1856]: 59-60):

The bold promontory on which Fort Winnebago was built looked down upon the extended prairie and the Fox River on one side, and the other stretched away into the thickly wooded ridge that led off to Belle Fountaine and Lake Puckaway....In front [of the fort] lay an extent of meadow, across which was the Portage road, of about two miles in length, leading between the Fox and the Wisconsin Rivers.

After the departure of one company to Fort Snelling, the remaining men constructed temporary quarters for the upcoming winter. Completed in December, 1828, the tamarack log barracks stood slightly east of the fort site. During the winter of 1828-1829, the soldiers gathered materials for the fort's construction. Work parties cut pine fifty miles from the fort along the Yellow River, floated the logs down the Wisconsin, and cut them into lumber with whip saws. They quarried sandstone from Stone Quarry Hill which is located several miles east of the fort. The quarry provided foundation stone for many of the nineteenth century buildings in Portage. Brick came from clay mined along the banks of the Wisconsin near present-day Pauquette Park (west end of W. Cook, 32/26). The army obtained much of its lime from Belle Fountaine, about twelve miles east of the fort (figure 5).

The fort's construction began in May, 1829 after the arrival of a third company which included Jefferson Davis (Clark 1908 [1879]: 310; Turner, A.J. 1898b: 70-74). Existing drawings (Davis 1830; Anonymous 1830; U.S. Department of the Army 1828-66 [plans 7/12/1830]) completed in 1829 and 1830 illustrate the fort's proposed plan and vertical elevations. The heavy timber frame and weatherboard, primarily one and a half story, buildings rested on random rubble sandstone foundations. The foundations enclosed full, fourteen foot high basements. first floors and garrets measured 10 and 8.5 feet high respectively. Lath and plaster walls placed over the studs and in-filled with bricks and mud finished the interiors. Brick chimneys were placed regularly along the ridge of the roofs. Dormers along the steeply pitched roof provided light to the second floor The 36 foot wide buildings were aligned around a 400 foot square quadrangle with a deep, stone-lined well at its center. These buildings included three barracks containing the soldier's quarters with two also housing the adjutant's office and guardhouse, an officer's quarters, a special officer's quarters, a commanding officer's quarters, an original surgeon's quarters and hospital, a frame chapel, and magazine. Two blockhouses sat at the southwest and northeast corners. One contained the ordinance store, and the other included the quartermaster's store. Initially, only a low picket fence surrounded the buildings. The soldiers erected a stockade with arched entrance in the east and west sides during or immediately following the Black Hawk War in 1832.

Adjacent to but outside the fort stood the gardens; the stone bake house, stables, carpenter shop, and blacksmith shop to the southeast; the second hospital, surgeons quarters, ice cellars, and across the Military Road the wine cellar and old sutler store to the southwest; the commissary store and second sutler's store to the west along the Fox; a former hospital and work houses to the northwest; a log theater to the north; and the cemetery near the Military Road to the northeast of the fort. Although construction did not reach completion until 1832, the troops moved into their new barracks in 1830 (Powell 1978: 21-28; Davis 1830; Anonymous 1830; Williams 1835 [figure 6]; Wisconsin Visual and Sound Archives n.d. [1834]; Butterfield 1880). Fort supplies were unload from bateaux and canoes arriving up the Fox directly into the commissary store. Saterlee Clark who represented Oliver Newberry of Detroit as fort sutler occupied the building now known as the Surgeon's Quarters between 1830 and 1834, and from 1834 to 1838 Henry Merrell operated the sutler store to the southwest of the post (U.S. Department of War 1828-66 [Report by Capt. J. Plympton 7/12/1831]; Clark 1908 [1879]: 311; Curtis 1974; Ridgeway 1896; Frank and Stein Associates 1968 [part 1]: 1-3, 10; Brandenburg 1917; Clough 1957 [1924]).

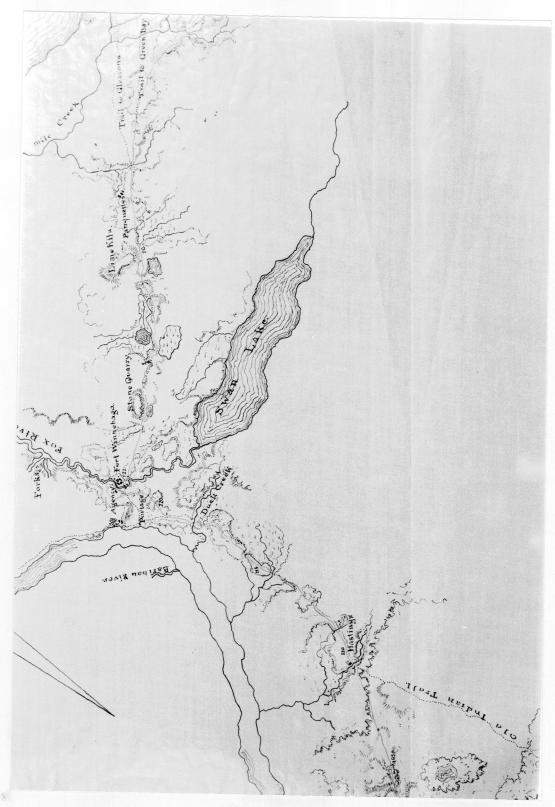


Figure 5: Map of the Portage and Military Road by A.J. Center (1833). It illustrates the road traveling from Hastings, across Duck Creek, along the Portage toward the Agency House and Fort Winnebago, and east adjacent to the stone quarry, south of the lime kiln, and passed Pauquette's farm. At the east end of the map, a trail heads to Gleason's and the Military Road continues to Green Bay.

DIAGRAM OF FORT WINNEBAGO AND OUT BUILDINGS 1835.

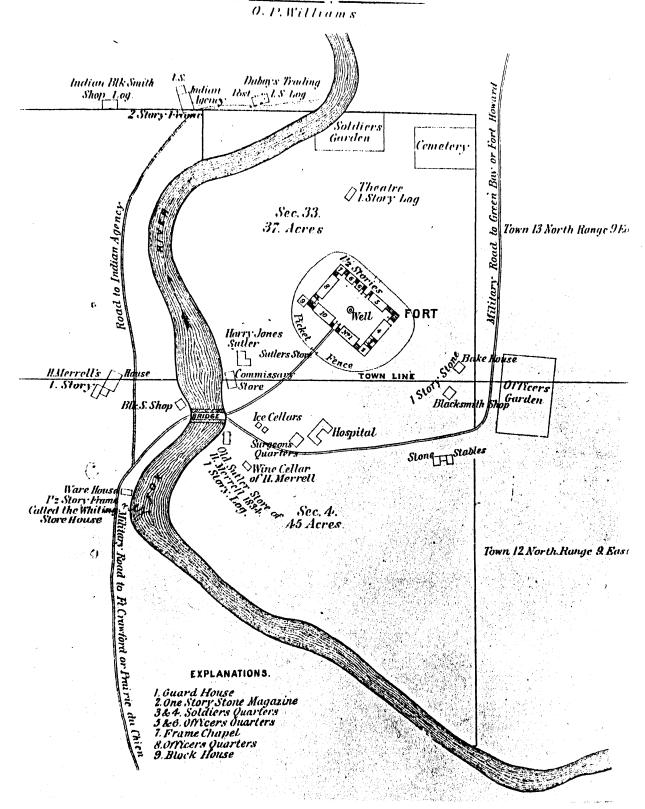


Figure 6: Diagram of Fort Winnebago and Outbuildings 1835 (Williams 1835).

In 1828, the army purchased the building later known as the Surgeons Quarters (W8687 STH 33 East) and the surrounding property from Francois LeRoy. LeRoy probably erected the building between 1819 and 1824 but no later than 1828. This one story, French-type log, U-shaped building served as a sutler's store from 1828 until 1834 when it became the Surgeon's Quarters. The first surgeon to occupy the house, Lyman Foote, remained there until 1839. After the sale of the fort in 1853, it became a private residence until its purchase with three adjacent acres by the Daughters of the American Revolution in 1939. The DAR restored the building shortly after its purchase and in 1960 added the 1850 garrison school building to the site. The Surgeons Quarters was placed on the National Register in 1970 (Wisconsin HPD 1970-93 [1970]; Curtis 1974; Register-Democrat 2/28/1939; Meindl 1991: 29).

Set aside as the fort's burial grounds in 1828, the Fort Winnebago Cemetery located on CTH EE northeast of its juncture with STH 33 (SW1/4, SW1/4, section 33, T13N, R9E, BCO-00056) contains few known burials representing personnel at the fort. Its seventy-five interments primarily contain war veterans. It remained open until 1920. The DAR has marked the site with a granite monument. Still under supervision of the federal government, the cemetery was placed on the National Register of Historic Places in 1979 with Fort Winnebago (Kleist 1987: 6; n.d; Salkin 1980: 235; Wisconsin HPD 1970-93 [1979]).

The fort was intended to provide the necessary military presence to maintain peace along the frontier. The fort itself never engaged in and may not have been intended for a significant military encounter. The Black Hawk War of 1832 only peripherally affected Fort Winnebago when most of its troops were dispatched to At that time, Fort Winnebago lacked the defenses including a stockade, proper defense work in the barracks, artillery, and a commissary store within the fort to undergo an attack. Although the adjacent country side was alarmed, Black Hawk did not approach the fort, and most of the immediately adjacent Winnebago did not collaborate with him (Powell 1978: 28-31; Turner, A.J. 1898b: 89, 93; Frank and Stein Associates 1968 [part 1]: 3, 9; Butterfield 1880: The soldiers of the fort were engaged from 1832 to 1837 in the construction of the Military Road connecting Fort Howard with Fort Crawford They completed the 66 mile section between Hasting's cabin along Hasting's stream near the Wisconsin southwest of Portage in the Town of Dekorra and the east side of Fond du Lac River. The road was of strategic military importance because it allowed more rapid movement of soldiers between the forts and improved the system of communication. It also facilitated the transportation of early settlers and goods during early settlement from the late 1830s to the early 1850s (Powell 1978: 31-32; Jones 1914: [1]: 89).

The fort functioned as a small community and served as an important point of contact between the Euro-American and primarily Winnebago communities. The military provided the necessary social controls. The fort area also functioned as a small commercial center periodically receiving goods from Green Bay. The fort sutler and for a time Daniel Whitney provided goods to traders, and the Indian agent supplied the Native Americans in the form of annuities. The agency blacksmith repaired Native American tools. Missionaries provided services to the fort community and the adjacent Winnebago groups. An informal garrison school educated the children of families associated with the fort. Entertainment occurred on an informal level (Kinzie 1948 [1856]).

The military began to reduce the number of troops at the three Wisconsin forts by the mid-1830s. During the Second Seminole War occurring between 1835 and 1842, the number of men at Fort Winnebago declined from 215 to 80 between 1835 and 1837. Although 166 men temporarily occupied the fort in 1839, it was reduced to a single company in 1840 as the military shifted its men to far western posts. As the population in southern Wisconsin reached 150,000 individuals and the military frontier shifted to the southwest, Fort Howard was abandoned in 1841. With the threat of war with Mexico, the army abandoned Fort Winnebago on September 10, 1845 and Fort Crawford in September 17, 1845. Although both forts Howard and Crawford were briefly occupied after 1845, Fort Winnebago was not.

Secretary of War Jefferson Davis ordered the sale of the 4000 acre Fort Military Reserve in 1853. After being platted into 45 acres lots, the land was sold at public auction. J.B. Martin et. al. of Milwaukee purchased the fort property. In 1856, a fire concentrating at the northwest corner destroyed about one-third of the buildings. The remaining buildings were removed in 1866. (1917) described the transport of different sections of the fort to nearby farmsteads and the City of Portage after the abandonment of the fort. from the foundations were used to construct the Wisconsin River levee. hospital and commissary store survived until 1912 (Wisconsin Visual and Sound Archives n.d. [1897, 1898, ca. 1920]; Brandenburg 1917; Merrell 1908 [1876]: 374; Turner, A.J. 1898b: 98; Wisconsin State Journal 12/13/1923; Powell 1978: 34-39; Schultz 1941; Clough 1957 [1924]; River Times 1853 [6/27: 1/6]). Known surviving buildings, sites, and structures associated with the fort include the Fort Winnebago Cemetery (BC00056), the Surgeons Quarters, the fort's well, perhaps the framework of one of the soldier's quarters, the Henry Merrell house now located at 505 E. Cook (29/29), and the Indian Agency House (2/15).

The State Historical Society of Wisconsin conducted a four day test excavation at Fort Winnebago in September, 1967. This project coincided with the 1967-1968 feasibility studies conducted by Frank and Stein Associates for the State of Wisconsin (see also Frank and Stein Associates 1967; 1968). The overall study examined the level of preservation exhibited by the canal and the fort ruins, the possibilities of fort reconstruction and canal rehabilitation and interpretation, and the economic feasibility of the project. The test excavations were intended to ascertain the degree of foundation preservation, the manner of construction of the small sample under examination, and the quantity and types of artifacts present at the site; to refine excavation techniques for the examination of the remainder of the fort; and to establish the proper orientation of plans drawn for the fort at the time of its construction. The study inspected what was believed to be the site of the commissary store which lies outside the fort proper along The trenches and small test units located a mortared the Fox (figure 6). sandstone foundation measuring approximately 33 by 43 feet and the foundation of a second smaller building. The test excavations also encountered a comparatively dense deposit of artifacts dating to the fort occupation. These artifacts are curated at the Museum Division of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. During the project, foundations and depressions lying within the location of the palisade walls were also observed along the ground's surface. concluded that the building remains and associated artifacts appeared quite intact. With the relatively large quantity of documentation for the fort to aid in interpretation, the site warranted a full-scale historical archaeological study (Freeman and Brandon 1967; also in Frank and Stein Associates 1968 [part

Early Communities at the Portage

The many shifts in government authority at the Portage fascinated the city's early local historian, Andrew Jackson Turner (1898a), as well as his son, Fredrick Jackson Turner (1883). They both carefully documented these changes. A.J. Turner began his documentation with the colonial period and continued through the 1850s. The colonial rule of particularly the French government in central Wisconsin between 1671 and 1763 and of the English between 1763 and 1783 appears relatively stable since it involved few actual shifts in government policy. During the colonial era, policies affecting the Portage dealt almost exclusively with the fur trade. The authority of the American government remained relatively remote during the transitional period between British and American rule from 1783 to 1816. While the Americans legally ruled the Portage after 1783, the British continued to control the fur trade and hence retained influence over these territories until 1816.

Even after the creation of the Northwest Territory under the Articles of Confederation in 1787, the singular focus of authority on the fur trade shifted little until the Native American land cessions 1830s and 1840s. remained under essentially no authority until the Americans gained control of the area in 1816. As part of the Northwest Territory by 1787, those east portions of Portage which lay in the Lake Michigan watershed had nominally become part of Washington County with its remote county seat at Marietta, Ohio. The remainder of the Portage remained unorganized. Still ineffective, Civil authority shifted slowly closer to the Portage as it became part of Wayne County with county seat The Portage became part of at Detroit in the Northwest Territory in 1796. Indiana Territory with county seat at Vincennes, Indiana in 1800; St. Clair County, Illinois with county seat at Kaskaskia in 1809; and Madison County, a subdivision of St. Claire County, Illinois with county seat at Edwardsville in 1812. By 1818, Wisconsin became part of Michigan Territory, and the division between Brown and Crawford counties bisected the Portage. County seats were at Green Bay and Prairie du Chien respectively. In 1829, part of the Portage was also placed in Iowa County. With several minor revisions in county boundaries, the Portage's legal placement remained stable until Wisconsin itself became a territory in 1836.

Prior to 1836, there were few individuals to govern at the Portage. Maintenance of order from the period of actual American involvement in the northwest after the War of 1812 in 1816 until 1836 came primarily from the presence of the military. Part of the Menominee and Winnebago lands, the Portage was not under direct civil authority. Between 1816 and 1828, military authority came intermittently from forts Howard and Crawford. The powerful traders or trading companies often informally maintained the peace to permit uninterrupted trade. The creation of Fort Winnebago in 1828 brought military authority directly to the Portage. However, traders such as Astor still wielded much influence. The Winnebago ceded the lands southeast of the Wisconsin River, the south part of the City of Portage, in 1832. This part of the city then came under civil authority of the counties of Brown and Crawford, Territory of Michigan.

In 1836, Wisconsin Territory created Portage County which then included most of Columbia and parts of Dodge and Sauk counties. The south portion of current Portage, then the county seat and referred to as the Town of Winnebago, lay at the southeast tip of Portage County. Even though designated as the county seat, the Portage remained unorganized as a platted community until 1849. After 1838 to 1841, Portage County appears to have had no legal county seat. In 1841, the territory enlarged Portage County to the north to include a large portion of north central Wisconsin. The territory again designated the Town of Wisconsin Portage precinct as the county seat in that year. In 1844, the county seat was moved to Plover. The territorial government formed Columbia County in 1846. With the exception of the Menominee Territory which included much of the City of Portage north of the canal, the county gained its current boundaries in 1847. Although the Menominee ceded their territory in 1848, Columbia County legally received its lands in the Menominee Territory in 1851. From 1846 to 1849, the south part of the Portage remained in the Town of Winnebago Portage precinct and was unorganized at the community level. No county seat was designated for Columbia County in 1846, and it was temporarily placed at Wyocena in 1847. 1848, the county seat was moved to Columbus. The Town of Winnebago Portage which included the south part of the Portage as well as that part of the Portage north of the canal even though still nominally part of the Menominee land became the Town of Fort Winnebago in 1850. Later the same year, the town's name was altered to the Town of Portage City. In 1852, the Town of Portage City became the permanent county seat. The Town of Portage City was incorporated as Portage City in 1854. The city council altered the name to Portage in 1875 (Smith 1973: 204-206; Jones 1914 [1]: 80, 103-106; Butterfield 1880: 362-68, 378, 603-604; Turner, A.J. 1898; 1904: 14-37, 73, 76; Nesbit 1973: 124; Titus 1830: 783; Murtagh 1976-89 [1987]).

In 1832, the land office patented to Augustin Grignon a 648.82 acre grant between the Fox and Wisconsin rivers which included the site of the Portage Canal (figures 3-4). Known as French Claim No. 21 or the Grignon Claim, these lands eventually included all of ward 1 and parts of adjacent wards 2, 3, and 4 of the City of Portage. Grignon had received the rights to this tract from LeRoy in 1828, the date when the United States purchased his property to the east of the French Claim, and Lucius Lyon surveyed the French claims in Portage, Prairie du Chien, and Green Bay. Joseph LeRoy's right to the land was based on agreements made by his father-in-law, Jean LeCuyer, as early as 1798. The Jay Treaty of 1796 confirmed the right of French Canadians to their lands claimed. American government patented the surveyed claim to Grignon at the time of land surveys in 1832. Grignon then sold his claim to Daniel Whitney, a land speculator and owner of the Helena Shot Tower, in the year of the patent. 1836, Whitney sold the claim to Shieldon Thomas and DeGamo Jones of Buffalo and Detroit, two trustees of the Wisconsin Shot Company. The Portage Canal Company which was controlled by associates of the Wisconsin Shot Company in turn purchased the tract in 1839. Thompson and Jones again purchased the property in 1842 and sold it as trustees of the shot company to Benjamin Webb in 1844. Alvin Bronson acquired part of Webb's rights to the land in 1849.

The Winnebago lands ceded in 1832, surveyed by the General Land Office between 1832 and 1834, and placed on the market in 1835 lay south of the Grignon Claim and the City of Portage. Land purchases to the south of the city first occurred in 1836. Few of the lands sold by the government in the Military Reservation in

1853 were incorporated into the City of Portage. The General Land Office surveyed the lands within the Menominee territory north of the canal in 1851 and placed them on the market in 1852 (Schaffer 1922: 27; Turner 1904: 64-69; 1903: 2-3; Jones 1914 [1]: 46, 75-76, 79-80; Butterfield 1880: 365, 600; Smith 1973: 166; Titus 1930 [2]: 780; Turner, F.J. 1883).

Speculators bought and sold a sizable portion of the City of Portage and significantly delayed development by potential residents who were then unable to purchase property. In the 1830s, the townsite speculation, often by non-resident speculators with local representatives, was a common practice in newly settled regions (Smith 1973: 417; Nesbit 1973: 136-41). Speculators invested in property between the Fox and Wisconsin at Portage with the faith that improvements were soon to come. In Portage, Henry Merrell represented at least one such speculator (Schaffer 1937: 84). Because speculation delayed land purchase, settlers squatted on the land attempting to establish claims to which they lacked recorded ownership. Also noted for Portage (Wisconsin State Register 6/13/1874; Democrat 3/1/1915), such situations caused considerable friction in frontier areas. The Columbia County Settlers' Mutual Protection Association formed at Portage in 1851 to protect all settlers establishing claims on the lands of the Menominee in Columbia County. Most of the committee drafting the constitution were associated with the Town of Portage City. The association elected judges who arbitrated the land disputes of its members (River Times 1851 [9/4: 3/1-2]).

Although almost all of the lands within the City of Portage were essentially not available for individual land purchase until 1852, three informal communities totaling about 200 residents emerged within or adjacent to it beginning in the 1830s. The earliest gathered along the Fox adjacent to Fort Winnebago by the time of Henry Merrell's arrival in 1834. Services included Merrell's hotel which now stands at 505 E. Cook (29/29), the mercantile stores operated by Henry and G.H. Merrell in 1838 and by C.H. Moore and N.R. Keegan, the post office, the grocery business of L. Berry, a tinsmith, blacksmith, jeweler, the Whitney and the C.W. Mappa warehouses, Wells and Craig grist mill, a boarding house for canal workers, and Dr. Prentice. They served both the civilians and military personnel as well as those building the first canal in 1838. Few private dwellings appear to have been built at this location.

During the late 1830s and 1840s, a second community began in ward 1 along Wauona Trail. This settlement located near the site of the first canal and slightly later along the Wisconsin River. Gideon Low built the Franklin House in about 1838 along Wauona Trail. The Franklin House served as the site of town meetings and informal entertainment. Adjacent was a small provision store. Along East Wisconsin, other establishments included at least one tavern owned by Henry Carpenter; hotels known as the U.S. Hotel, the Washington House and the Wisconsin House; Carpenter's and Dean's mercantile stores; Andrew Dunn's provisions store; one or two steam sawmills; Whitney's second warehouse; a steamboat landing; several dwellings; and somewhat later a newspaper office. Many of these commercial undertakings emerged to serve the lumber trade then developing to the North along the Wisconsin River.

The third community began along current Main Street and adjacent Cook in the late 1840s and became the nucleus of the current city. Business enterprises in the late 1840s and early 1850s included the Veeder House first built in 1850 and

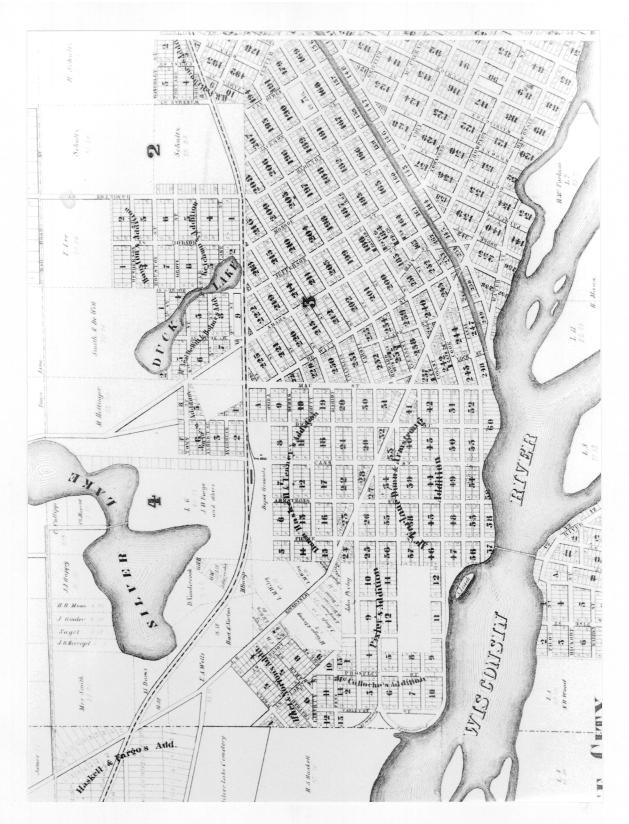


Figure 7: Plat of the additions to the City of Portage (Ligowski 1861). The map depicts from lower right to left the Webb and Bronson plat primarily southeast of the Portage Canal; the 1852 Guppey plat east of Mac Street; the MacFarlane, Dunn, and Armstrong and the Dunn, Haskell, and Tenney just west of Mac Street; the Pixley Addition; and McColloche's Addition. Prospect Hill was platted after 1861 below Pixley's Addition.

replaced in 1860; the Old City Hotel; the mercantile stores of Smith and Wilson, C.J. Pettibone, and at least one other; a grocery; butcher shop; the drugstores of Carleton McCulloch and Dr. Best; a barber; tin shop; numerous law offices; and several taverns. A small number of houses were scattered along the hill around this business district. The community adjacent to Fort Winnebago declined by the mid-1840s when the military evacuated the fort. Not far from the main business district, the second community failed to develop as rapidly as the area along Main and Cook and eventually merged with it (Butterfield 1880: 430-32, 439, 589, 591-93; Portage Public Library n.d.; Portage Daily Register 8/19/1972; Wisconsin State Register 1874 [6/13, 10/13]; Curtis 1974: 45; De La Ronde 1908 [1876]: 345-52).

Portage finally emerged as a platted, incorporated community in the early 1850s. Benjamin Webb and Alvin Bronson, non-resident investors of Detroit, Michigan and Owego, New York, purchased the 648 acre Claim No. 21 or the south portion of the current city in 1844 and 1849 respectively. They directed John Mullett to survey the Webb and Bronson Plat of the Town of Fort Winnebago in 1849 (indicated on The Menominee lands opened for settlement in 1851. figure 7). townsite law of 1844 permitted citizens acting as a corporate body through representation by a county judge to enter improved lands as a townsite. in such a role, Joshua Guppey had the original part of the city platted by Henry Merton in 1852. This plat included the business district and adjacent residential lands north to Oneida, west to MacFarlane, and southeast to the canal. However, Richard Veeder had improved lands in a portion of section 5 of the plat, much of wards 2 and 3. After considerable litigation, the court finally confirmed Veeder's title. A sheriff's sale of his lands in 1860 to recover several claims against him provided land owners with clear title (Butterfield 1880: 601-03; Turner 1903: 2-3, 8-9; Columbia County Register of Deeds 1849-1950 [1849: sheet 103; 1852: sheet 102]; Democrat 7/30/97; Jones 1914 [1]: 186-87; Merrell 1908 [1876]: 390; Smith 1973: 421; U.S. General Land Office 1851).

A large percentage of the remaining portions of current City of Portage was platted between 1852 and 1856, often well before significant settlement occurred within the boundaries of the plat. The original or Guppey plat and the Fort Winnebago Plat included most of wards 1, 2, and 3. Ward 4 lay west of Platted in 1853, the MacFarlane, Dunn, and Armstrong Addition lay south of W. Wisconsin Avenue, west of MacFarlane, and approximately east of The 1854 Dunn, Haskell, and Tenney Addition lay directly to the north of the 1853 plat and south of the Oneida. The Pixley and Prospect Hill additions and their extensions platted in 1854, 1856, and 1887 respectively composed the residential section west of approximately Pierce to the west boundary of the city. Mainly in the second ward, lands immediately north of the railroad in H.R. Pettibone Addition, Ketchum's Addition, the McNeal, Dewitt, and Holme's Addition, the Northern Addition and its supplement platted in 1856, 1855, 1856, 1854, and 1901 respectively were sparsely settled even after the turn of the century. Although within the city limits, the area surrounding Silver Lake was settled as outlots, in some cases as early as the 1850s. Many of the individuals who platted the city lived at least for a short period in Portage. Most of these individuals like Hugh MacFarlane who was also director of the LaCrosse and Milwaukee Railroad and the Madison and Portage Road were investors in multiple enterprises (Columbia County Register of Deeds 1849-1950 [1854-1901]: sheets 98,

103, 104, 105, 106, 108, 114; Pettibone 1856-99 [1901]; Turner, A.J. 1903: 25-26).

Actual settlement within the city limits began along E. Wisconsin and in a few isolated locations northwest of the current canal in the mid to late 1830s, well before the first plat of 1849. However, settlement remained sparse and often fairly temporary. First settled in the late 1840s, the community centered at the business corner of Cook and Main by 1850 remained limited to an area east of DeWitt, south of E. Pleasant, north of the canal, and probably west of Jefferson. However, the <u>River Times</u> of 1850 (1850 [11/4: 2/2]) reported that as the canal rapidly neared completion in the central business district,

Good buildings have been erected and are still going up at all seasons for a little over a year. The number built within that period is over two hundred. Among them are stores of all descriptions, mechanics' shops, taverns, offices, &c., &c.

Although the description is likely exaggerated, growth in both population, the number of buildings, and the amount of trade was clearly proceeding at a more rapid pace that the preceding decade (<u>Wisconsin State Journal</u> 6/13/1874). At least some expansion in business and small industry continued until the panic of 1857. The depression of the late 1850s and the Civil War considerably checked development until after 1865. By this period, Portage served a growing rural population with a distance of about 20 miles to the south, perhaps as many as 40 miles to the east and west, and 50 or more miles to the north. It served the northern interior counties by 1860 (Smith 1973: 188).

During the 1850s, Portage became a supply center for the lumber trade operating to the north along the Wisconsin River and provided services to the lumbermen driving rafts to the Mississippi. Residential settlement around the business district expanded in a scattered manner along Main, Dewitt between Edgewater and Conant, Cook between Adams and Clark, and Edgewater between Adams and W. Wisconsin. Rapid commercial expansion filling vacant lots along Cook and DeWitt and occupying the block from W. Wisconsin to Lock occurred in the late 1860s, 1870s, and 1880s as Portage developed as a railroad and regional trade center. In 1867, the Wisconsin State Register (1867 [5/4: 3/1]) observed perhaps with some exaggeration that

Four elegant blocks on the burnt district are now taking shape, and when completed will add a vast deal to the appearance of Cook Street, and the City generally....The vacant lots on both sides of Cook Street from the hardware store to the Catholic Church [near Lock] have all been disposed of. With the buildings which have been moved on them together with the new ones to be built immediately every lot will be in a few weeks occupied.

Industrial and commercial development along Edgewater, Mullett, and Dodge also began by the late 1840s just to the east of the concentration of hotels and several taverns along E. Wisconsin. By the 1870s and 1880s, this area became one of two industrial and commercial areas in the City of Portage. Some but not all of the early hotels, taverns, and other businesses in this area disappeared by this period.

A third business area gradually developed along the Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul Railroad tracks which run along the north edge of the city. At least one hotel and a separate depot appeared in the late 1850s and a second hotel with a new depot and roundhouse were built in the early 1860s along Oneida between Dunn and Armstrong. Residences owned by railroad employees probably began to dot the area between Oneida and Marion after 1860. Residential and commercial development adjacent to the railroad increased significantly in the 1890s and early 1900s. Between 1890 and 1918, three hotels, a restaurant, grocery, and several taverns stood along Oneida near its intersection with Dunn and MacFarlane. An adjacent industrial and commercial area developed to the east along the railroad tracks between DeWitt and Monroe between 1900 and the mid-1920s.

The residential area immediately to the north of the business district from approximately Conant to Franklin and MacFarlane to Monroe was sparsely settled in the 1850s and primarily developed between the 1860s and 1880s. Some in-fill occurred between the 1890s and the 1920s. As late as 1868, most of the concentrated residential development occurred in a three block area between DeWitt and Adams and Conant and Carroll. By 1882, residences still did not extend northwest of Adams and Carroll. This residential area contains most of the city's churches constructed between the 1850s to the 1890s. Although only the school in ward 1 continues to stand, the city established grade schools in each ward. It placed its high schools and a ward school which are now replaced in the triangle between DeWitt, MacFarlane, and Franklin beginning in 1864. residential area south of Marion to Cook and west of MacFarlane to Cass and Armstrong which now includes the Society Hill District remained heavily wooded, occupied only by a sparse scatter of dwellings. Residential development began after the Civil War, primarily between 1870 and 1910. This area contained residences of prominent businessmen. More modest, later construction between these dwellings owned in part by skilled railroad employees increased the housing density between 1900 and 1930 (Wisconsin HPD 1970-93 [Cartwright, 1992]). Although a small number of isolated dwellings were constructed across Ward 1 southeast of the canal in the 1840s and 1850s, the building of many of the residences which concentrate in the area between E. Wisconsin and Griffith and Pauquette and Huron appear to date between 1900 and 1930. Established by 1882, the fair grounds occupy an eight block area in the center of Ward 1. Except for isolated dwellings, the peripheral residential areas east of Hamilton, west of Armstrong, along much of Edgewater east of Monroe and west of Cass, the area northeast of Franklin and Adams, and the section of Portage north of the Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul tracks underwent much of their development beginning in the 1930s (Foote, C.M. & Co. 1890; Harrison and Warner 1873; Stone 1882; Rugen 1868; Sanborn-Perris Map Co. 1894; 1901; 1918; Butterfield 1880: 589-91, 597-98; Jones 1914 [1]: 186; Wisconsin State Journal 6/13/1874; WPA 1938: 36, 43, 50-52).

List of Surveyed and National Register Properties Noted in the Text3

Address	Map Code	<u>Notations</u>
*Agency Road, north end	2/15	Agency House
302 E. Conant	30/32	Baptist Parsonage
*505 E. Cook	29/29	Henry Merrell House
W. Cook, west end of	32/26	Pauquette Park

 $^{^{\}mbox{\scriptsize 3}}$ National Register properties are denoted by an asterisk.

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