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George Gale: Vermont Yankee on the Wisconsin Frontier

*This canny Yankee created a
community, a county, and a college,
and left behind a long enduring
reputation as a curmudgeon.*

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Trempealeu County lies in west-central Wisconsin, essentially at the westernmost extremity of the Old Northwest. Its name characteristically reflects the French influence in the Upper Mississippi Valley, but the first permanent resident of the area was in fact a Kentuckian. In its formative decade, the 1850s, the area attracted a sprinkling of Scots and Yankee settlers, but they soon gave way numerically to an influx of Norwegian immigrants in the 1860s and 1870s and to a significant number of Poles who arrived in the 1870s and later. This rural, nondescript piece of the dairy belt, located in the non-glaciated "driftless hill land" of the upper valley, has had little distinctive to commend it to outsiders, except perhaps to tourists who appreciate its scenic properties.

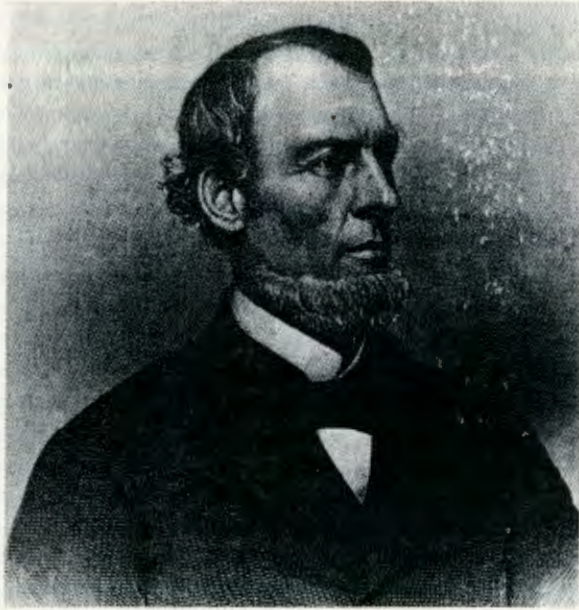
In 1959, however, Trempealeu County found itself suddenly thrust on the scholarly map. The noted historian Merle Curti, along with a team of collaborators, published a volume called *The Making of an American Community: A Case Study of Democracy in a Frontier County*. Curti and his colleagues chose Trempealeu County as an appropriate area for

a case study of the applicability of Frederick Jackson Turner's "frontier thesis," and in accomplishing their objective they also completed the first historical study on an American theme consciously to employ "quantitative" methods. This surely served to enhance the fame of the book if not necessarily that of the county.¹

One of the figures who occupied a brief but prominent place in the Curti study was George Gale (1816-1868). Born in Burlington, Vermont, Gale was one of more than ten thousand natives of the Green Mountain State to migrate to Wisconsin by 1850. (The number nearly doubled in the next decade.) As a young man of demonstrably slender means Gale read law in Vermont, qualified for admission to the bar, and in 1841 emigrated to the village of Elkhorn in the southeastern part of the Territory of Wisconsin. Here he established a law practice, briefly edited a county newspaper, dabbled in territorial politics, and served as a member of the convention that drafted the constitution that permitted Wisconsin to achieve statehood in 1848. Consistent with his emergence as a prominent citizen, he served a term as one of the first state senators and accepted the honorific title of "brigadier general" of the state militia in 1851.²

In that year, however, Gale gave up his promising career in the more developed part of Wisconsin and turned up in the village of LaCrosse. This settlement, created in 1842, not only lay on the Mississippi River but also commanded a site at the mouth of the Black River, the outlet for the timber felled in one of Wisconsin's emerging pineries. Here Gale, age thirty-five, commenced a new and more significant career. Reestablishing a law practice, he also won election as county judge in 1851 and in 1856 became circuit judge for a district that encompassed all of the new counties of western Wisconsin. The appellation "judge" served him well, and he used the title, with its assumed attributes of propriety and rectitude, to the end of his life. But the judge's interests were really not law and jurisprudence. They were the acquisition of wealth through land speculation.

George Gale merely lived in Wisconsin. At heart he was a Yankee from Vermont. If Yankees typically impressed others as energetic, canny, shrewd, acquisitive, tricky, pious, reformist, and withal "flinty," then George Gale was an archetypal Yankee. And if, as one notable historian of Vermont has argued, Vermonters "stood for making money, and keeping money, and making money breed more money," Gale richly deserved the honorary master's degree that the little university in his home town of Burlington conferred upon him in 1857.³ Gale undoubtedly believed that the "climb from poverty to opulence was the Vermonter's way of making life an epic."⁴ Not surprisingly, close associates found him difficult to endure. In the late 1850s a young man named Daniel Webster



George Gale. Courtesy of Karel D. Bicha.

who was soon to “read law” with Gale observed rather redundantly that Gale’s “self-esteem is pretty large . . . and then he is rather egotistical too.”⁵ A half-century after his death, elderly residents of LaCrosse remembered him as “a strong man with strong attachments and strong aversions, and when he decided on war against a man he made the fur fly.”⁶ Perhaps fortunately, the curmudgeon was also distant. On one occasion he wrote to Gertrude Young Gale, the Elkhorn girl he had married in 1844, thanking her for the “strong and manly” letter he had received from his eldest son. He then asked if he might hear from “the balance of the children.”⁷

For a few years Gale conducted a law and land office business in LaCrosse. In essence, he operated as a typical speculator-agent in the land disposal area. He was hardly unique in his professional orientation. As Paul W. Gates pointed out nearly fifty years ago, until the advent of the modern corporation provided a plethora of alternatives, the principal investment opportunity that the American economy afforded was real estate, especially in the form of virgin land with developmental potential.⁸ It was in this context that men like George Gale played their roles on the frontier, placing land in the hands of settlers on more realistic terms than those offered by the government land offices. The device employed by

Gale and thousands of other small speculators was the "time-entry" system, an obvious concession to the fact that few prospective buyers of small parcels of land possessed adequate cash to conclude the transactions at the time of purchase. Speculators (or their agents) sold land without a down payment, with a specified sum, normally one-fourth of the purchase price, due at the end of the first year (or crop season) and the remainder payable in two or three additional annual installments. The speculator retained the deed to the land and supplied the buyer with a bond guaranteeing conveyance of the deed upon receipt of the final installment. "Bond for deed," along with the time component, represented a primitive form of the mechanism now referred to as a "land contract."⁹

George Gale flourished as an agent-broker for newly opened western Wisconsin lands in the 1850s and 1860s. Disposal techniques changed little in the years in which he operated. His professional notices in the LaCrosse press indicated that he was "attorney at law, Public and General Land Agent . . . will buy, sell and locate LANDS on time."¹⁰ For example, in August 1855 he negotiated the sale of 157 64/100 acres of land in Trempealeau County to one Charles Hanscome for the sum of six hundred dollars with two hundred payable in two months and the remainder, at seven percent interest, due within one year. Hanscome agreed to erect buildings valued at six hundred dollars on his land.¹¹ Gale entered into this low-interest arrangement, knowing that the structures Hanscome committed himself to complete would enhance the value of the surrounding land by giving it a "settled" appearance. And Gale owned the surrounding land.

Gale did not come to Wisconsin with appreciable means. The funds he loaned on "time-entry" had to come from somewhere. Legal fees and a judicial salary provided some money with which to buy and hold land for speculative purposes. But the primary reason that Gale and men like him could acquire land and afford to defer immediate financial gain from its sale was that they paid for their purchases with military warrants acquired at deep discount in the New York warrant market. As Gale's speculative activities expanded in the mid-1850s, Congress conveniently enacted a law creating a new warrant issue in 1855. Gale procured his warrants through the banking house of John Thompson at 2 Wall Street, New York City, and he kept his own funds on deposit at the same institution. In 1855, for example, Gale's modest transactions with the Thompson firm involved the amounts of \$400, \$708, \$216, \$990, and \$1,000.¹² His relationship with Thompson also illustrated how complicated settling accounts between New York and the frontier could become in a nation that possessed no national currency (except specie) and no real integration in the banking system. Thus in 1853 Gale bought war-

rants from Thompson and sent in payment a draft dated 31 March 1853 for \$125 drawn by one S. F. Weston on A. Healey, leather dealer at 5 Ferry Street, New York City, payable to E. Gordon on order and endorsed to J. Thompson.¹³ Unfortunately, Gale did not indicate in his journal when or where he had procured the commercial instrument tendered in payment for the warrants.

In essence, Gale performed several functions in the land disposal business. He speculated both short and long term on his own account. He served as agent for the location, purchase, and ultimate sale of land for selected eastern investors, and he handled the annual tax payments for these absentee capitalists. But he had larger ambitions, and shortly after his removal to LaCrosse he began to chafe at the possibility of remaining just another lawyer-land agent in a bustling little river town. Sometime during his first year of residence he began to explore the wilderness north of the town, and he discovered a promising waterpower site on a stream called Beaver Creek. He journeyed twice to the nearest land office, located at Mineral Point in the southwest Wisconsin lead region, and purchased two thousand acres adjacent to the stream. There, in 1854, he personally platted the site of a village which he named, understandably, Galesville.¹⁴

Yet George Gale wanted to create more than just a village. As a former state senator familiar with the legislative processes in his adopted state, he also planned the creation of a new county. Gale's efforts to carve a new county from the existing county of LaCrosse began in 1853, but he was neither the first landowner nor the first resident in the area he projected to be the county of Trempealeau. A Kentuckian named James Reed had conducted a landing and a ferry on the Mississippi River since 1840, and Reed and his succession of spouses produced a brood sufficient to populate a village by themselves. A few other settlers, notably a Pennsylvanian named Benjamin F. Heuston, also established themselves in the area of the future county in 1853.¹⁵ Heuston and Gale quickly forged a business association. On behalf of his prospective creation Gale had gone to Madison to lobby the legislators in the 1853 session. His efforts evoked little enthusiasm. He also circulated a petition in support of a new county in the village of LaCrosse and found the response predictably hostile. Both state legislators from the area declared themselves "dead against" the idea, and one of them stated publicly that "any man from LaCrosse that would sign a petition to make you a county seat ought to have his ass kicked."¹⁶

Local animosity notwithstanding, Gale's plan to create Trempealeau County succeeded in the 1854 Wisconsin legislative session, and the paper village he had platted duly became its first county seat. In April 1854 a



Map prepared by Douglas Frohmader, Marquette University Department of Instructional Media.

slate of candidates personally approved by Gale, who was not yet a resident of the new county, dutifully won election and filled the county offices — treasurer, superintendent of schools, board of supervisors, and justice of the peace.¹⁷ But Gale did not fully comprehend the resentment that his new county provoked among political leaders in LaCrosse. By August 1854, he recognized that his creation was not secure. He wrote to his associate Benjamin Heuston that “you must call a county convention . . . to appoint a delegate who must be good and true. An effort to disorganize the County is on foot and there must be no faltering on the part of Trempealeau.”¹⁸ Gale specified the “good and true” by name, and apparently they succeeded in thwarting the threat to their corporate existence. No more about the disorganization threat appears in Gale’s correspondence. Some 453 people lived in Trempealeau County by January 1, 1855, thirty of them within the confines of the hamlet of Galesville.¹⁹ In

that year Gale himself removed to the county, built a home outside of the village, and assumed the position of the local "squire."

Moreover, Gale also undertook material improvement projects in the environs of his village designed to enhance its attractiveness to prospective settlers and to create the foundations of a local economy. The village site lay adjacent to a substantial but non-navigable stream with a conveniently located falls, which offered the potential of waterpower development. To improve the site he contracted with two newly arrived residents for the construction of a log and earthen dam, known in frontier parlance as a "brush dam." Gale supplied the materials, and when the contractors proved unable to complete the task by the fall of 1854, Gale rehired them as laborers and personally supervised the completion of the project.²⁰

In addition, in 1856 Gale and eight associates laid plans to connect Trempealeau County to the larger world and its markets. This, in the 1850s, obviously entailed the formation of a railroad company. With considerable fanfare, a firm bearing the improbable name of Montoville and Black River Railroad Company appeared in 1856. Its intended purpose was to consolidate with the LaCrosse and Black River Railroad Company, another ambitious project in which Gale owned an interest. Both fulfilled their destinies entirely on paper, two of the thousands of abortive transportation schemes born in the fertile imaginations of nineteenth century entrepreneurs.²¹ Trempealeau County did not lack access to railroad facilities for long. In 1857, a railroad that originated in Milwaukee reached the Mississippi at LaCrosse, which was also at the mouth of the Black River, a significant stream that traversed Trempealeau County.

Gale's election in 1856 as circuit judge for a multi-county area in western Wisconsin somewhat diminished his economic activities. In the late 1850s and the early Civil War years he operated primarily as the agent for absentee speculators. Among others, Gale forged a relationship with a New York-based speculator named William A. Woodward. Described by Paul W. Gates as a man with a "facile and ingratiating manner," Woodward was one of the most formidable, ubiquitous, and yet elusive figures in the American land disposal business.²² A one-time resident of Ithaca, this self-described "merchant counsellor" who operated from a rural headquarters known as "Vail's Gate, Mortonville P.O., Orange County" was in fact a consummate loanshark who disposed of some forty thousand acres of Wisconsin land to prospective farmers on the time-entry system. Woodward had gone west in 1848 with warrants procured on a falling market and acquired large tracts in the Dane County (Madison) area. Later he purchased newly surveyed land in western Wisconsin, and in the immediate post-Civil War period shifted his interests to northern Wisconsin pine land. It was Woodward who introduced fellow New Yorker Ezra

Cornell to one Henry C. Putnam, who in turn located the large blocks of Wisconsin pine land that provided the economic basis for the creation of Cornell University. This surely was one of the most significant land deals in American history.²³

George Gale and William A. Woodward first cemented an agreement early in 1862 when Gale accepted Woodward's offer to handle the sale and tax payments on Woodward's Trempealeau County holdings.²⁴ Gale had played no role in the acquisition of Woodward's properties, most of which he had acquired in 1855. At the outset of their relationship Woodward made it clear that his was a high-priced operation. He charged ten percent interest and sold land for no less than five dollars an acre. (Gale sold his own lands at four dollars an acre and charged only seven percent.)²⁵ In 1862 Woodward owned nine sections, eight half-sections, and one quarter-section in Trempealeau County. He was anxious to dispose of all these lands. He advised Gale, "I have held these lands for nearly seven years, and if there is any advantage in early selection I ought now to reap the benefit of it."²⁶

Nevertheless, Gale also sought to benefit from the relationship. The Gale-Woodward connection, reflecting the interaction of a hard-boiled Yankee and an acquisitive Yorker, proved to be fractious from the outset. Perhaps it was fortunate that the two never met. Initially, Gale had advised Woodward to supplement the time-entry device by selling some lands on a mortgage basis. Woodward indignantly declined to be a mortgagee, claiming that Wisconsin law already discriminated against absentee owners and alleging that the only problems he had ever encountered in Wisconsin were with the mortgage laws.²⁷

The Gale-Woodward relationship soured and nearly terminated because of the mechanism by which Gale compensated himself for services rendered. Depending upon his perception of their effectiveness, Woodward paid commissions to his agents on a sliding scale, which ranged upward to a maximum of five percent. He expected his agents to deduct the appropriate commission from each payment tendered by a buyer. Gale, however, insisted upon deducting the entire commission due him from the first payment made by a buyer. This evoked a sharp reprimand from Woodward, who reminded Gale that "my agents take a portion from each payment."²⁸ Undeterred by the admonition, Gale continued the practice of "front-end loading" his commission, undoubtedly realizing that Woodward, who had had an unsatisfactory relationship with his previous agent in the area, needed the squire of Trempealeau County more than the squire needed him. Late in 1863, after a number of unpleasant interchanges, Woodward capitulated. He wrote Gertrude Gale, who was conducting her husband's affairs in his temporary absence, that "my rule with

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all of my agents is to pay them a percentage on the sale to be collected out of the payments as they fall due and are collected. This rule has been omitted in Judge Gale's case by his deducting the whole percentage on making the sale from the first payment made."²⁹

By early 1863 Woodward came to believe that the war-induced effects on the economy were such that "lands are rising and will go up enormously." Other factors, especially the changing demographics of Trempealeau County, modified his sanguine view of the future. The county began to fill up with Norwegian immigrants hungry for raw land, and Woodward ruefully recalled his previous experiences in disposing of land in Dane County, another area of Norwegian concentration. When a newly arrived Norwegian named Syvert Johnson tried to use the good offices of Gale to *negotiate* the price of a parcel of land, Woodward responded to the Norwegian's perceived insolence by refusing to sell to him at any price. And Gale, who was thoroughly familiar with the Norwegian presence in the area, received another dose of Woodward's freely dispensed advice. He wrote Gale that "these Norwegians are a simple minded ignorant class of people, confiding and generally honest. When they make a contract they live up to it . . . I find the only way to do with them is to be firm and say the price asked is the lowest price."³⁰

The Gale-Woodward association endured for nearly three years. It was clearly a tribulation for both men, and Gale's correspondence with his eastern counterpart was, probably by design, perfunctory and delayed. Exacerbating the situation were problems of neither man's making. Toward the end of the relationship Woodward wrote to Gale once again complaining of procedural delays in the business. For some time, he observed, communication was chronically difficult because "we have had much trouble here with a partially insane P. Mr. [postmaster] who has detained letters for a long time and has missent many. He is now removed and the home of the P O [post office] changed."³¹ But by the end of 1864 Gale had apparently relieved Woodward of the burden of owning land in Trempealeau County.

In addition to his public duties and private business activities, George Gale brought another Yankee attribute to bear on his village and his county. He considered it a fiduciary obligation to bring culture to the western Wisconsin wilderness. To create cultural institutions and to nourish them with an eye to posterity became a sacred mission to Gale, a man acutely aware of the educational disadvantages that had characterized his own boyhood. To insure that the youth of his adopted region might enjoy opportunities denied him in his own early years, Gale committed himself to the creation of a university. The expatriate Vermonter dreamed — and he dreamed grandly.

To George Gale the creation and nurture of a university in western Wisconsin was anything but fanciful. It was a serious idea, one which he proposed to village leaders in LaCrosse during his first year of residence in that village. The notion of a "North-Western University" located in the growing river town provoked nothing but scorn from its influential citizens. Once Gale had a village and a county of his own, however, the pathway to fulfillment of his dream was open. A compliant state legislature, a body that would have approved any project for institutional development in the rawest area of the new state, authorized a charter for Galesville University on April 1, 1854, less than three months after the legislation that brought Trempealeau County into existence.³² The needs of George Gale's ego had now been satisfied.

Galesville University, renamed Gale College in 1897, never fully satisfied the grand design of its founder. But it did provide a respectable preparatory education for young people in the vicinity for eighty years. Commencing operations in the spring of 1859 with a body of sixteen students who met in a vacant room in Galesville's courthouse, the little school endured, in spite of wildly fluctuating enrollments, until financial problems of overwhelming magnitude forced the trustees to terminate its existence in 1939. George Gale and a number of other early benefactors conferred upon the institution significant amounts of Trempealeau County land and northern Wisconsin pine land, but operating costs and the construction of a permanent building necessitated the conversion of the endowment to cash within the first decade of its existence.³³

The little college was clearly George Gale's creature, and he played a major role in its early operation. He served as president of the trustees, president of the university (1859-1865), and professor of law from 1860 until his death. He placed the school under the control of the Methodist Episcopal Church, the denomination with which he himself retained affiliation. (A Presbyterian synod assumed responsibility for the school in 1877, and from 1897 until its closing in 1939 a Norwegian Lutheran body administered its operations.) Eventually dormitories supplemented a classroom building (completed in 1865), giving the enterprise a campus of its own.³⁴

Like hundreds of other frontier colleges, Galesville University existed precariously from the outset. Gale established its library by donating 330 books from his personal collection. The school soon boasted an impressive scientific exhibit—a collection of seashells that Gale begged from the Smithsonian Institution.³⁵ Again, by using eastern connections, Gale relieved the newly created Department of the Interior of its set of the *Congressional Globe*. On the local level Gale pioneered a fund-raising device

he called a "donation." Local residents visited the school on periodic, well-publicized occasions, and university officials implored them for contributions on the spot. Records of these "donations" indicate contributions that varied from ten cents to ten dollars.³⁶ George Gale uniformly gave two dollars.

In essence, Galesville University operated as a preparatory institution, a finishing school, and a training facility for teachers in rural common schools. Coeducational by design, the student populations of its early years largely consisted of teenaged females who underwent training in the "preparatory department" for teaching assignments. Gale and the original trustees of the school ambitiously planned to add a collegiate department, law and divinity programs, and a medical school. At least one young man did read law with Gale himself, and occasionally students explored the arcane world of theological inquiry with local Methodist parsons who served as voluntary professors. But the little school, whose nineteenth century enrollments varied between seven and 150 students, was far more than a monument to George Gale's ambition. It was genuinely a community institution, and the local citizens turned out in force to hear (and judge) the debates and declamations of the young scholars and even to observe them as they underwent the travail of the annual spring examinations.³⁷

Undoubtedly many young persons, both faculty members and students, used the rudimentary resources of the school as a springboard to successful careers. The university's first "professor," a twenty-four-year old English immigrant and recent graduate of the University of Wisconsin named Samuel Fallows, allegedly remarked after the first day of classes in the spring of 1859, "We have done better than old Harvard at the beginning."³⁸ He may have spoken the truth. Fallows noted that his professorial duties entailed such non-academic functions as tending to crops on some of the farmland owned by the school, but he eventually rebelled at the regimen of austerity, which forced him "to fall back upon the vulgar and poor expedient of begging potatoes and other country produce to replenish the already exhausted resources of the university."³⁹ Within two years he had enough of "the Judge's splendid promises of fat salaries and his meeting the quarterly dues with town lots hardly worth the taxes, and pine lumber."⁴⁰ In July 1861, Fallows and his young bride sold one of George Gale's town lots as compensation for unpaid salary and rode out of Galesville. He never looked back. By July 1862, he was a colonel in the Union army, and within three years of his departure from the village he held the breveted rank of brigadier general. He went on to become Wisconsin's Superintendent of Public Instruction, a confidant of gover-

nors, a Methodist bishop, and president of Illinois Wesleyan University.⁴¹ It was George Gale's marginal academic enterprise that had afforded him his first major responsibilities.

Nevertheless, the university was only one illustration of the interests and institution-building proclivities of the Vermont expatriate. George Gale was a good Yankee, and like many Yankees he probed deeply into the activities of his Puritan ancestors and produced an elaborate genealogy of the Gale family. But he also displayed a scholarly interest in the area in which he had chosen to spend his life. In the year before his death he published a rambling, discursive tract entitled *Upper Mississippi; or Historical Sketches of the Mound Builders, the Indian Tribes and the Programs of Civilization in the North-West*. Despite its title, the focus of the volume was predominantly upon the Winnebago tribe, the aboriginal inhabitants of west-central Wisconsin in whose history and culture Gale had displayed a profound interest.⁴²

On the other hand, the canny Yankee also planned to convert his interest in the upper Mississippi into something more durable than a book. In 1863 he created an organization called the Upper Mississippi Historical Society. He impressed the editor of the local newspaper, the *Galesville Republican*, into service as corresponding secretary of an organization that rested on even shakier foundations than the university. In Wisconsin, Minnesota, the Union Army, and his native New England, Gale aggressively solicited potential corresponding members for the society. To achieve this exalted status, the corresponding member obligated himself to contribute pertinent books, manuscripts, or other artifacts to the society. Gale, of course, designated the library of the university as the repository for these treasures. After a brief flurry of organizational activity, the society evidently atrophied. Perhaps the designated corresponding members considered the personal cost of the involvement to be disproportionate to the rewards of membership.⁴³

In addition, Gale performed a few public services in the federal arena. He volunteered his services during the Civil War to two private agencies that assisted the Union war effort — the United States Christian Commission and the United States Sanitary Commission. Both organizations operated in semi-official capacities as adjuncts to the Army Medical Bureau, providing physicians, nurses, transportation for the wounded, and hygienic assistance in camps and prisoner of war facilities. As a contributor to these efforts Gale supervised the relief efforts at St. Augustine, Florida, in the winter of 1863-64.⁴⁴ One of his reasons for volunteering for this duty may have reflected self-interest as much as public concern. It allowed Gale to spend a winter in a more salubrious climate and possibly to arrest the rapid deterioration of his health.

In any event Gale survived another four years. He died suddenly in 1868 at the age of fifty-two. His achievements were not inconsiderable. He had created a community, a county, and a college. His village, established on an attractive site, soon acquired a down-at-the-heels appearance. Gale also left behind twenty unsold lots in his namesake village, more than one thousand acres in LaCrosse and Trempealeau counties, 1,030 acres of northern Wisconsin pine land, sixteen town lots in Fremont, Minnesota, a family that quickly departed the area, and a long enduring reputation as a curmudgeon.⁴⁵

NOTES

¹ Merle Curti et al, *The Making of an American Community: A Case Study of Democracy in a Frontier County* (Stanford, Cal.: Stanford University Press, 1959).

² Daniel Steele Durrie, "Memoir of George Gale," *Wisconsin Historical Collections* 7 (1876): 422-425. "Folder of Field Notes for Sketch of Judge George Gale," MS (undated), State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

³ Lewis D. Stilwell, *Migration From Vermont* (Montpelier: Vermont Historical Society, 1948), 242.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ Daniel Webster to Gertrude Moore, August 12, 1859, Daniel Webster Papers, State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

⁶ *LaCrosse Tribune*, 30 May 1920.

⁷ Gale to Gertrude Gale, January 27, 1863, George Gale Papers, State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

⁸ Paul W. Gates, "The Role of the Land Speculator in Western Development," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 66 (July 1942): 315.

⁹ W. Scott Van Alstyne, Jr., "Land Transfer and Recording in Wisconsin: A Partial History - Part I," *Wisconsin Law Review* (January 1955): 43-76.

¹⁰ Copy of professional notice, August 11, 1855, Gale Papers.

¹¹ Contract, August 11, 1855. Copy in Gale Papers.

¹² Journal and Account Book, 1855. Gale Papers. Military warrants were transferable certificates issued by the federal government to veterans of military service entitling the holders to acquire land in the West. In effect they were a kind of post-service bonus for veterans. Few recipients intended to acquire western lands, and hence they normally sold the warrants at a fraction of their value to speculators or financial institutions. An active secondary market in warrants existed in the New York financial community, and land speculators bought the discounted certificates through their agents and used them instead of cash to enter lands in the West.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 1853.

¹⁴ Curti, *Making of an American Community*, 22.

¹⁵ Benjamin Franklin Heuston, "Original Conditions and Early History of Trempealeau County, Wisconsin," MS [typescript; 1890], 102-106, Benjamin F. Heuston Papers, State Historical Society of Wisconsin Area Research Center, University of Wisconsin-LaCrosse.

¹⁶ Gale to Heuston, February 8, 1853, Heuston Papers.

¹⁷ List of county officers, April 4, 1854, Heuston Papers.

¹⁸ Gale to Heuston, August 10, 1854, Heuston Papers.

¹⁹ Curti, *Making of an American Community*, 31.

²⁰ Agreements with Augustus and Alexander Armstrong, May 31, 1854, November 23, 1854, Gale Papers.

²¹ "Minutes of First Meeting, Montoville and Black River Rail Road, October 16, 1856," Gale Papers.

²² Paul W. Gates, *The Wisconsin Pine Lands of Cornell University: A Study in Public Policy and Absentee Ownership* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1943), 61.

²³ *Ibid.*, 59-61, 62, 67.

²⁴ Woodward to Gale, January 18, 1862, Gale Papers.

²⁵ Gale to Dr. William Young, November 9, 1864, Gale Papers.

²⁶ Woodward to Gale, March 10, 1862, Gale Papers.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, June 24, 1862.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, July 10, 1863.

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²⁹ Ibid., December 31, 1863.

³⁰ Woodward to Gertrude Gale, February 20, 1863, Gale Papers.

³¹ Woodward to Gale, August 10, 1864, Gale Papers.

³² Arthur F. Giere, "A Brief History of Galesville University, 1854-1940" [mimeographed; 1940], 1-8. Copy in State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

³³ Ibid., 1-106.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Joseph Henry to Gale, May 5, 1863; John P. Usher to Gale, July 15, 1863, Gale Papers. Henry directed the Smithsonian, while Usher served as Secretary of the Interior in the Lincoln Administration.

³⁶ For example, "Report of Collections Made at 'Donation' in University Hall, Galesville, June 11, 1868 and September 4, 1868," Heuston Papers.

³⁷ Galesville *Transcript*, 6 April 1860; Daniel Webster to Gertrude Moore, November 3, 1859, Webster Papers; Giere, "Brief History of Galesville University," *passim*.

³⁸ Giere, "Brief History of Galesville University," 19.

³⁹ Samuel Fallows to "Family and Lucy," November 4, 1860, Samuel Fallows Papers, State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Lucy Huntington Fallows to George Gale, December 1, 1862, Gale Papers; Alice K. Fallows, *Everybody's Bishop, Being the Life and Times of Samuel Fallows* (New York: Sears, 1927).

⁴² Clarke and Company of Chicago published *Upper Mississippi* in 1867.

⁴³ Alex Arnold to S. S. Luce, November 13, 1863; Thomas Lindsay to Luce, November 13, 1863; John D. Stone to Luce, November 16, 1863; L. D. Gale to Luce, November 19, 1863; Henry Gale Dunnel to Luce, November 23, 1863; R. Bunn to Luce, November 23, 1863; E. D. Saegol to Luce, December 4, 1863; Daniel Webster to Luce, December 9, 1863, Gale Papers. (Luce edited the Galesville *Republican*.)

⁴⁴ Gale to Gertrude Gale, December 13, 29, 1863, Gale Papers.

⁴⁵ "List of Land Belonging to the Heirs of George Gale, Deceased, January 22, 1869," Gale Papers.