

DEVIL'S LAKE STATE PARK: THE HISTORY OF ITS ESTABLISHMENT

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Devil's Lake State Park

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Although Wisconsin's state park system had an uncertain beginning,¹ Wisconsin now has a total of 54 state parks.² Among the earliest was Devil's Lake State Park, located three miles south of Baraboo in south-central Wisconsin.

The establishment of Devil's Lake State Park is an intriguing story centering on public support and the conservation movement of the early 1900's. The story also involved such dissimilar elements as a railway company and geologists, a quarry, and a typhoid outbreak.

Devils Lake is the most popular park in the Midwest and has probably been so since its beginning. Since 1952 it has attracted more than a million people a year. "Large crowds" gathered at the lake "every Sunday" in the early park years, and more than 100,000 people visited the park in the summer of 1919, "the greatest day being July 17, when homecoming exercises were held for the soldiers of Sauk County, and over 10,000 people visited the park." By the 1920's the park was being "visited each season by about 200,000 persons," and by 1940 the annual attendance was approximately half a million.³

Tourism at Devil's Lake is an old story. Soon after this area was settled by whites, the lake became a popular place to visit, and heavy use of Devil's Lake began some 50 years before the state park was established in 1911 (Fig. 1).

Among the first to visit, in 1849, was

Wisconsin's pioneering scientist, Increase A. Lapham: "A large body of broken fragments have accumulated along the edge of the water rendering it very difficult to walk along shore: yet two of our party made a circuit of the Lake, jumping from rock to rock as best they could."⁴ A few years later, in the 1850's, the first building, a bathhouse, was erected on the north shore.⁵

In 1853, 20 years before trains started whistling past the lake, the *Milwaukee Sentinel* commented: "The lake is well worth a visit, and no one should pass by without stopping to examine it." Four years later, a Baraboo newspaper remarked: "This charming piece of water is visited by pleasure parties nearly every day . . ." Lewis Wood, in an 1861 paper on the industry of Sauk County, called Devil's Lake "a noted . . . resort for parties of pleasure," and added prophetically, "and will become eminently so, as population increases."⁶

The first hotel opened in 1866: it was located near the northeastern corner of Devil's Lake, and called the Minniwauken House, after a supposed Indian name for the lake. In that year, a local newspaper predicted that Devil's Lake would become a fashionable summer resort, "not only for the Northwest, but also for the East," and the next year the same paper decided that its prophecy had come true—"It is already a fashionable resort for excursion parties from Chicago, and other places. . . ."⁷

In 1872, a year before the inauguration

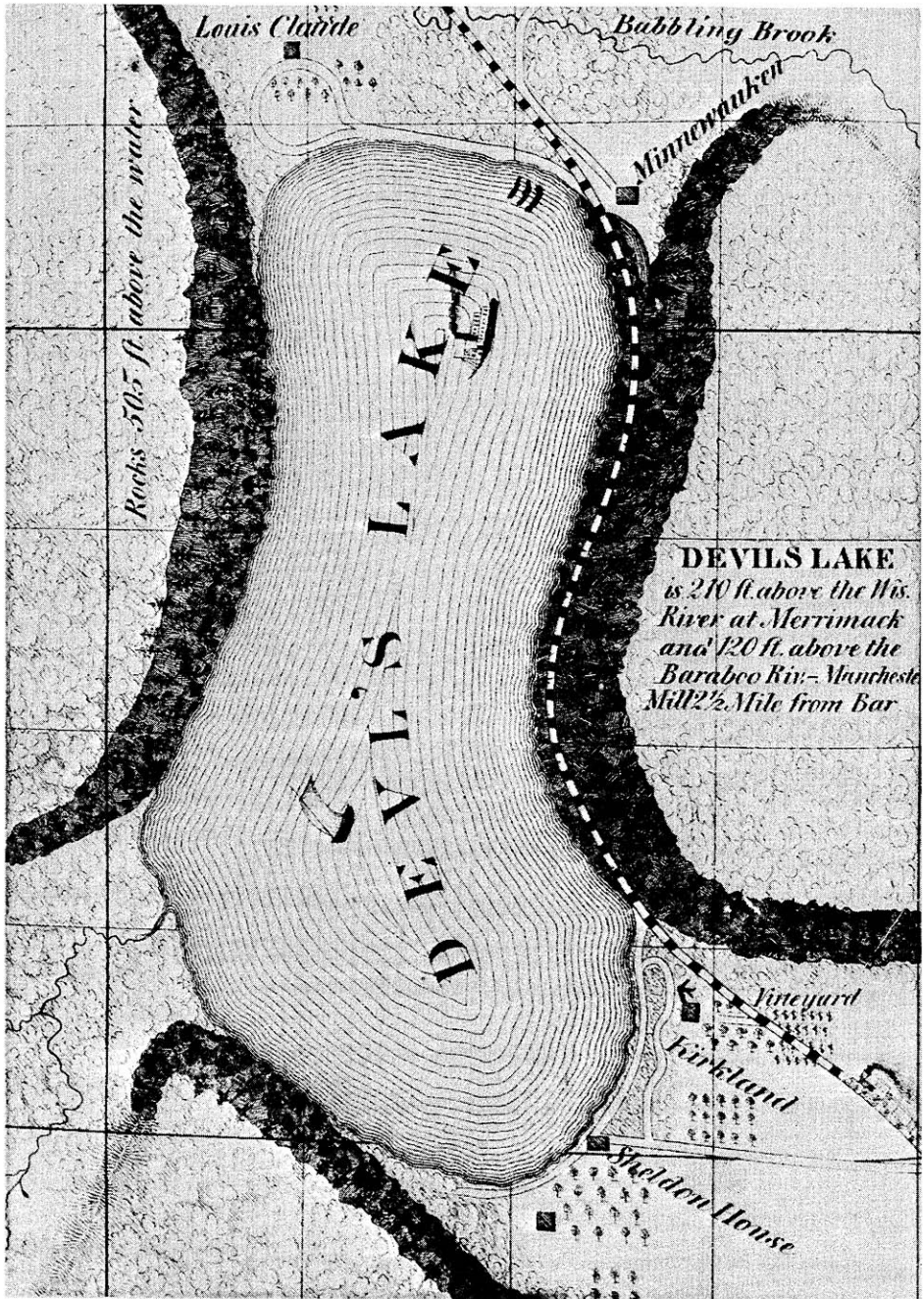


Fig. 1. Devil's Lake as depicted by William H. Canfield about 100 years ago in *Outline Sketches of Sauk County*. The south bluff is at the bottom, with the west bluff on the left and the east bluff on the right. The Sheldon House later was enlarged and renovated by E. T. Hopkins into the Lake View Hotel. Notice Kirkland with its vineyard along the south shore, north of the Sheldon House. This map was drawn before the Messengers developed their resort at the southwestern corner of the lake, between the south and west bluffs. At the north end of the lake, note the Claude property, a creek, and the Minnewauken House, which later was enlarged into the Cliff House. The railroad track runs along the east side of the lake; a steam train is at the lower right.



Fig. 2. Devil's Lake, looking north from the south bluff. The railroad track can be glimpsed at the south end of the east bluff; the track runs along the east side of the lake, past the campground on the right, and east out of the park along the bottom of the south bluff.

of regular train service, a LaCrosse, Wisconsin, newspaper was quoting property owners at the lake as estimating that 15,000 people "have already visited the Lake this season, and yet they come. And why should they not, for there is not a place in the State more attractive. . . ." William Canfield, Sauk County's pioneer historian, put the figure for 1872 at "probably 20,000 visitors . . . from regions outside of its immediate neighborhood."⁸

These early tourists took the train to Portage, next a private carriage for the 16 miles to Baraboo, then another private carriage for the remaining 3 miles to the lake. But a new age was dawning for Devil's Lake, created by that wonder of 19th-century technology, the railroad train. At one time as many as nine passenger trains snorted and smoked past Devil's Lake and through Baraboo each way and each day. E. D. Jackson of nearby Greenfield Township in Sauk County recalled the first locomotive he saw: "It was profusely ornamented with brass trimmings as bright as burnished gold, and in the glistening sunshine was something of a marvelous beauty to behold." Railways permeated the American way of life; in some respects, they became the American way of life.⁹



Fig. 3. Devil's Lake from the air, looking west, with the west bluff in the upper part of the picture, the east bluff to the right, and the south bluff to the left. The railroad curves through the left half of the picture.

The railway running past Devil's Lake is a main line of the Chicago and Northwestern between Chicago and Minneapolis-St. Paul. Its coming ushered in a hotel-resort era at Devil's Lake that lasted for 30 colorful years and made Devil's Lake a household name.

Publicity for the lake, generated by the Chicago and Northwestern in the form of notes and articles, appeared in such publications as *Railway Age*, but the railway's most effective advertising came from correspondents who wrote alluring and sometimes romantic accounts of this strange and wonderful place (Figs. 2 and 3). Here are the impressions of a visitor from Chicago in 1874: "The loneliness enhanced the beauty. The next minute the train was stopping by a platform at the upper end of the lake . . . and a Swiss cottage, with bright dresses on its ample galleries, came to view through the trees." Rand McNally's *Tourist Guide to the North-West* promised that at Devil's Lake the tourist would see "one of the loveliest sheets of water in the whole world . . . in a tremendous gorge . . . hemmed in on all sides by frowning rocks, of prodigious size, piled up in every conceivable form. . . . Other lakes have much in common. This is absolutely unique. . . ." *The Standard Atlas*

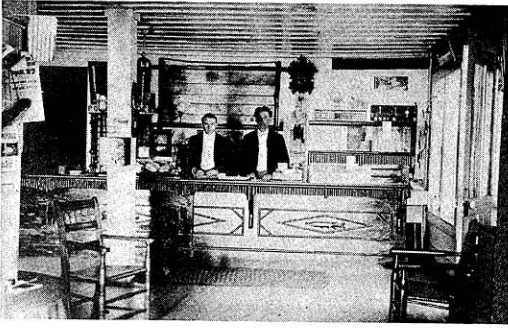


Fig. 4. The lobby of the Cliff House on a summer afternoon about a century ago. William B. Pearl, the manager is on the right and the post office is to the left of Pearl's assistant.

and *Gazetteer of the World*, which was published in Chicago in 1890, prefaced the Rand McNally description with a reference to "the wierd beauty of Devil's Lake, which in the mystery of its origin rivals Lake Tahoe. . . ."¹⁰

In 1873, when train service began for Baraboo and Devil's Lake, the owners of the Minniwauken House enlarged it into a new structure—the Cliff House (Fig. 4). Verandahs and galleries extended around the main part of the building. While the original structure accommodated a maximum of 20 guests, the new hotel, which had some 50 rooms, could house about 200 people.¹¹

The Cliff House featured a 40 by 80 foot dining room with a spacious view of the lake; 200 people could eat together in this dining room, but only in the proper attire: suits for the men and dinner dresses for the women. "Elegant" would be an apt description of this resort.¹²

The Cliff House also had a telegraph, ticket and baggage office, a post office, a grocery, a barber shop, a billiard room, and the first bowling alley in the area—"It would make your sides ache with laughter to see the boys at the lower end of the alley dodging the wild projectiles."¹³

This resort became so popular that another building, called the Annex, was added

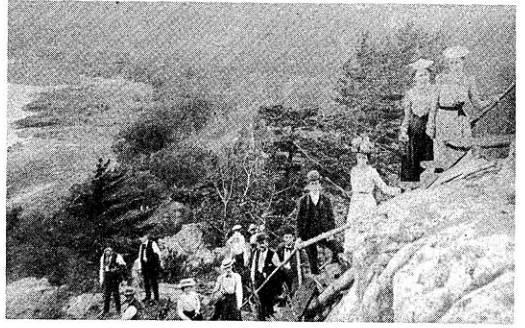


Fig. 5. Hiking at Devil's Lake. People in Sunday attire are climbing the east bluff with the help of wooden steps and a railing. The Cliff House is beyond the trees in the center of the picture. When this picture was taken about the turn of the century the lake was very low.

in 1884; it had 30 rooms. With the 63 rooms in the enlarged Cliff House, the two buildings could lodge up to 400 people.¹⁴

If visitors did not like these accommodations, there were others—family cottages, a log cabin, or in the adjacent sugar maple woods, camping.¹⁵

What could guests do? Rent fishing tackle and a rowboat. Go swimming. Climb the bluffs (Fig. 5). Play croquet or quoits. Test their archery skill. Take an excursion in a rig ("reasonable rates") to Wisconsin Dells ("this is a full day's trip") or some closer place of interest.¹⁶

A visitor could also take a ride on the resort's steamboat. The *Capitola*, launched on Devil's Lake in 1869, was the first sidewheel steamer on the lake; it carried 100 passengers "comfortably." In 1874 it was replaced by another sidewheel steamer, the *Minniwauken*, which carried 100 people "with safety" (an interesting distinction). This woodburner was still being used on the lake in 1895, but by the turn of the century gasoline launches were becoming popular. Band picnics were held at the lake in the resort years and one moonlit night, the Spirit Lake Band of Baraboo and the Baraboo Choral Society went to the middle of the lake on the *Minniwauken*, "and there discoursed sweet music with charming ef-

fect. . . ." On another moonlight band excursion, all the rowboats were rented because so many people wanted to be near the music.¹⁷

There were activities at this resort for everyone. Geologists from the University of Chicago spent a month in field work at Devil's Lake in 1894. One of them, Rollin D. Salisbury, gave a public lecture at the resort about the origin of the lake, stressing non-volcanic forces.¹⁸ Once there was "an interesting exhibition of mind reading." Then there was Zenia, "the noted palmister of Chicago," who lectured on her speciality and then examined "the hands of those wishing . . . in a private parlor." One evening the balcony scene from *Romeo and Juliet* was presented "to a large and enthusiastic audience." Often these activities were concluded with a dance, and nightly dances were a regular feature once the orchestra arrived for the season. The orchestra, at least in 1889, consisted of 2 violinists, a cornet player and a pianist.¹⁹

Almost every evening some of the guests would walk to a place called Shadow Town to listen to cylinder records played on an Edison phonograph and drink pop and eat cracker jack. This phonograph was one of the first in the area, so Shadow Town was also popular with local people, who came in horse-drawn wagons. Concerts were given from 1899 through 1903 or 1904, when the resort closed, as did Shadow Town.²⁰

Many local people visited the lake in those years, arriving by team or train. At that time, a road just to the east of the railroad tracks was the main wagon and carriage route between Baraboo and the lake, and one Sunday in the summer of 1903 a family on this route counted 32 teams in one hour going past their home to the lake.²¹

In the summer there were special trains to Devil's Lake from Baraboo and Chicago, but most exciting were the excursion trains. Although the manager of the Cliff House once wrote, "There is no money in feeding

excursionists,"²² he encouraged train excursions in the hope that they would be profitable for the resort. Coming mainly from Illinois, they became especially popular in the 1890's. One excursion in 1894 consisted of 2 separate trains pulling a total of 22 coaches; both trains stopped at the Cliff House, where some 2000 people emerged, stretched, "and then began gazing in wonder at the sights." Another 1894 excursion is the largest on record: three trains with a total of 34 coaches. The passengers lined the entire north shore of the lake, a distance of one half mile. One can imagine these steel monsters breathing fire and smoke and uttering strange noises as they screech to a halt by the Cliff House and there disgorge up to several thousand cramped tourists.²³

Excursion fares were within the means of lower income families. In 1906, for example, an excursion from Chicago cost \$2, from Milwaukee \$1.50, and from Madison, \$1.²⁴

Before the days of the railroad diner, trains stopped for breakfast and supper at the Cliff House. This resort was also a flag stop, but the train station was located at the southeastern corner of the lake. Later, in 1908, a new depot was built 1200 feet to the south. The popularity of Devil's Lake in these early years was indicated by the fact that an agent was on duty at that station 24 hours a day in the tourist season.²⁵

The railroad company was making money but the resort was not. The season was short, June often was rainy and cold, and the buildings, especially the Cliff House, were in constant need of repair. Also involved in the closing of the resort was the railway's decision to reduce the number of passes and their refusal to give a lower rate on a round trip from Chicago. Misunderstandings with local people may also have been a factor. And so, in 1905, the Cliff House was demolished by order of the owner; the Annex stood until 1914.²⁶

Today one may search in vain for any

sign of the Cliff House, but in the lawn near the north shore boat landing are a few flat stones. They are part of the foundation of the Annex. This is all that remains of that "elegant" resort.

The southeastern shore was called Kirkland, after Mr. and Mrs. Noble C. Kirk, the owners. The Cliff House was deluxe but Kirkland was rustic, reflecting the personality of the "genial little man" who always kept his property open to the free use of the public. Kirk, in 1854, bought property at the south end of the lake and added to it over the years. Kirkland consisted of a pavilion—a combination kitchen-living quarters-post office which was the focus of life at this resort, about a dozen cottages, a winehouse and cellar, croquet grounds, picnic grounds, and arbors and seats. Kirk's widow had a 14 room hotel built in 1906-1907 and a bathhouse erected in 1910.²⁷

Entertainment at Kirkland included dances or masquerades on Friday and Saturday nights for the guests and the help. All day hay rides for guests were another feature. Kirkland was a place lower income families were apt to visit and return again.²⁸

The material evidence for Kirkland today is the hotel foundation, but the Kirks, who wanted a park at Devil's Lake, had their wish fulfilled.

The Kirks owned about half of the southeastern valley. Adjacent to Kirkland, on the other half of this valley, stood another of the lake's early hotel-resorts, the Lake View. The most imposing structure there was the hotel, a three-level building with a telegraph office and entertainment halls on the ground level, and eating and sleeping quarters above. This resort also had five cottages and a bathhouse.²⁹

There were dances on weekends at the hotel, but not as often as at Kirkland and they were for guests only. The Lake View had a pleasant atmosphere, but it was more formal than Kirks' resort.³⁰

Sometimes the people from these two re-

sorts got together for a concert, and on one occasion they united for an evening of singing and story telling, with a "Dutch lunch" at 9:30.³¹

In those years, climbing the bluffs was always popular, and in the evening there might be a dance or a corn roast or a marshmallow roast. Sometimes one of the resorts held a benefit concert for a local church.

The southwestern shore, across from Kirkland and Lake View, was called Messenger shore, after a family that lived there in the hotel-resort years. Oscar Messenger managed the Lake View for a few years in the early 1890's, then he erected his own buildings, including a hotel and a pavilion, at the southwestern corner of the lake.³²

The Messengers and also Edward Martin, a local farmer, were cutting marsh hay on Messenger shore before the park was established, and this activity continued after 1911. Some of the hay was stored in the Messenger barn. The people from the west and south who journeyed to the lake intending to picnic at Kirkland, left their wagons at Messenger shore and rented a boat for 25 cents. If they wanted their horses to feed while they were at Kirkland, they put the animals in the barn for 10 cents and the horses could munch on hay cut along the lakeshore. The barn might be full on Farmer's Picnic Days, when up to several thousand rural people converged on Messenger Shore or Kirkland.³³

An annual railroad picnic at Kirkland also attracted as many as several thousand people. The German Club of Sauk City and the Baraboo Maennerchor (Men's Chorus) each had picnics and festivals at the lake, and so did the Grand Army of the Republic and the Baraboo Valley Veterans' Association. A big event was the Grand Regatta of 1877, when several thousand people lined the lakeshore to watch the races and to hear two bands from Baraboo. The 4th of July was often an exciting day at the lake. In 1878, for example, some 2000 people were

there: they listened to speeches and watched a horse race and a race between a hiker and an oarsman; in the evening there were fireworks, and, in the Cliff House, a dance.³⁴

But publicity for the lake arose not only from the railway and the tourists. Geologists also started coming to Devil's Lake in the early years; for example, Lapham in 1849, and a group of eight men, one of whom was T. C. Chamberlin, the well-known glacial geologist, in 1872.³⁵

The *Madison Democrat* in 1906 reported: "Hundreds, perhaps thousands, of students visit this storehouse of knowledge each year to study and admire." The earliest reference to a class of geology students is to one from the University of Wisconsin in 1892; doubtless there were groups here even earlier. Charles R. Van Hise of the University of Wisconsin included field trips to Devil's Lake in his geology courses before 1900. He once said of Devil's Lake: "I know of no other region in Wisconsin which illustrates so many principles of the science of geology." The University of Chicago had a geology camp at the lake, beginning in the 1890's (the earliest reference is 1894), and A. C. Trowbridge of the University of Chicago and later of the University of Iowa began bringing geology classes to the lake in 1905. Trowbridge, in 1908, gave an informal address at Kirkland to the annual state assembly of the Wisconsin Archeological Society, which had included Devil's Lake in its itinerary that year.³⁶

Possibly Northwestern University also scheduled geology field trips at Devil's Lake by the turn of the century; however, the earliest recorded date for such trips is 1910.³⁷

Because of the publicity the lake was receiving, it was almost inevitable that someone would conceive the idea of developing a summer resort city on the bluffs overlooking the lake. That someone was Arthur R. Ziemer (1871-1895).³⁸ If his resort had been successful, Devil's Lake State Park

might have been very different, if indeed it had been established at all.

The development on top of the west bluff imitated similar enterprises in New York's Catskill Mountains; the west bluff was said by Ziemer to be a "counterpart of the Palisades on the Hudson River." He called his resort "Palisade Park."³⁹

For about a year, beginning in 1894, there was much activity: 90 acres were platted into lots, parks, and a hotel site; several cottages were built,⁴⁰ a road of crushed stone was constructed, a reservoir of several acres was installed, and a tower 85 feet high was erected.⁴¹

"The time is now at hand," according to a promotional pamphlet for Palisade Park, "when the great middle class, the heart and soul of our country, can enjoy summer houses. . . . For \$500 we will build you an artistic story and a half house with stone fire place, and deed you a lot. . . . No saloons, stores, or boisterous crowds will be tolerated. . . ." Palisade Park was publicized as superior to other midwestern retreats because of its mountainous setting and elevation—"The highest resort within 600 miles of Chicago." Here one could withdraw from the busy and noisy city life to a "quiet mountain retreat." The advertising was especially aimed at Milwaukee and Chicago. Platted lots were sold at a real estate office in Baraboo.⁴²

Then, in October of 1895, tragedy struck—Ziemer died of typhoid in his cottage, presumably from drinking contaminated water from the Palisade Park spring.⁴³ The word spread and with a few exceptions people stayed away from the resort, although there was talk in the early 1900's of reviving the project. A plat of Palisade Park was still being shown in the county atlases of 1906 and 1922.⁴⁴

All that survives today of what the promoters hoped would become the "most prominent summer resort in the northwest" are stone steps and the debris of a fallen

sandstone chimney, the foundation of one of the cottages, and 8 flat stones arranged in a square 24 feet on a side—the foundation of the tower.⁴⁵

By 1900 virtually all the shoreline around Devil's Lake was privately owned and developed for catering to summer tourists. While these resorts accommodated people mainly from outside the area, local people were also coming to the lake. Although the resort people allowed the public free use of their grounds and supplied services such as ice water at no charge, they found it necessary to remind non-guests that "special privileges are due only to guests of the hotels and cottages and that they should be treated with due consideration." The resort people also cautioned the public "not to strew victuals promiscuously upon the grounds, nor annoy the innkeepers and their guests by indulging in boisterousness and indiscretion," this being most noticeable "when boys are in bathing." The landlord of the Cliff House probably was speaking for the resort people in general when he said that the visitors "who did not receive a warm welcome were those who desired to use the grounds for picnicking." The resort people were being reasonable and fair in these admonitions, yet one can understand how friction and charges of elitism arose. It is likely that local people had come to regard Devil's Lake as "their lake," and any attempts to control its use or visitation would have met with their resistance. Also, the resort prices, for the most part, excluded people of lower incomes, and at least two of the resorts were for gentiles only.⁴⁶

But what if this area were made a public park? This was a new and strange concept in the early 1900's but most local people liked the idea of making such a choice tract public property.

A proposal made in 1903 envisaged a sort of gigantic zoo. A local newspaper expressed the idea this way: "If the undertak-

ing develops to its fullest possibilities a high fence will be constructed to enclose cliffs and water—a two mile area, more or less, with suitable cattleguards at the points where the Northwestern railway enters and leaves the tract to curtail the range of deer, antelope, buffalo and other animals of harmless nature that may be secured. Bear pits and cages for the more savage beasts and for winged creatures, and the open lake whereon shooting will never occur, for the web-footed, and for fish of all varieties are a part of the pleasing project." Three years later the Baraboo Lodge of Elks "voted its intention of installing a pair of Elks," whereupon one local person decided that he didn't like the idea of a state park at Devil's Lake because, as he put it, a man once had been killed by an elk which had jumped out of an enclosure. The idea of a mammoth zoo was still alive in 1910, but it never gained much support. Many people wondered whether the state would lay out cement walks and flower beds.⁴⁷

By 1903 enough interest had been shown by Baraboo residents to cause Franklin Johnson, the local assemblyman, to introduce a bill in the State Assembly authorizing the governor to appoint a three-member commission "to investigate the advisability of establishing and maintaining a state park about Devil's Lake."⁴⁸ Termed a bill "which opens the alluring subject in a modest and rational way," it called for the commission to report its findings and recommendations to the governor on or before March 1, 1904. This bill received additional support from the Senate Committee on State Affairs, which held a hearing on it in March 1903 and presented it for passage. So favorably was this bill regarded that the hearing "was not extended and of course no one appeared to oppose the bill." An option-taking clause was added at the suggestion of Evan A. Evans, an attorney at Baraboo. This bill, approved in May of 1903, later was amended

to give the commission until March 1, 1906, to submit its report. In the amended version the commission was given the added responsibility of studying the Wisconsin Dells area for park status. In 1907 this study commission evolved into the State Park Board, which the governor said would guide him and the legislature.⁴⁹

The early 1900's were marked by increasing public sentiment in favor of a state park system. Not only were Wisconsin citizens beginning to realize the benefits of parklands and forest preserves, but a similar movement was taking hold in other parts of the country as well. This national sentiment for protection of America's natural resources was influenced by John Muir and the newly formed Sierra Club, the Theodore Roosevelt administration, and the Progressive era. In 1905 at a meeting of the American Forestry Congress, Roosevelt had said: "You are mighty poor Americans if your care for the well-being of this country is limited to hoping that that well-being will last out your own generation." This was the president who in 1908 called a White House conference of governors to discuss conservation problems.⁵⁰ The *Madison Democrat* expressed it this way: "A movement nation wide for the extension of park areas, for a more systematic and intelligent park supervision and for the cultivation of the beautiful and the esthetic is in progress."⁵¹

In line with these feelings, Assemblyman Estabrook of Milwaukee in 1907 introduced a bill into the state legislature calling for the appointment of a state park board. Citizens supported such a board and a state park system for various reasons. The public, it was believed, needed retreats for its full enjoyment and well-being. "Not only are playgrounds essential for the welfare and happiness of children, but there is a demand, a necessity, for larger playgrounds or parks for older people—and it may be well to remember that men and women are but chil-

dren a little older grown." Much of the public attitude toward preservation looked to the future. Citizens felt a need to save places of natural beauty, such as Devil's Lake, so that succeeding generations could enjoy nature in much the same form as they knew it. A few people spoke prophetically of the time when the state would be more populous and in greater need of land for public recreation. Charles R. Van Hise, when President of the University of Wisconsin, urged the state to start preserving areas of natural beauty for the future before an increase in population would deplete the land available for public use. A newspaper reporter, in speaking of the proposed State Park Board, stated that we must look ahead, "when Wisconsin shall have become fully settled, with a population of perhaps 10,000,000 people, and when the necessity for parks and playgrounds are more largely felt." A few people were even beginning to favor preserving places of natural beauty for their intrinsic value, and there was a growing realization that areas such as Devil's Lake should be set aside for their scientific and educational importance. As a Madison, Wisconsin, newspaper expressed it: "Such scientific worth, right near the doors of our University, must be preserved to posterity." Lands must also be put into public ownership, people had come to believe, before private interests destroyed them. Wisconsin had witnessed first-hand the destruction of its forest lands, and an increasing number of voices now were being heard in favor of preventing similar occurrences by setting aside acreage in public ownership. The rhetoric for preserving open space was very much like that of today: "With the advance of civilization, one by one all the places of scenic beauty, and historical interest, are passing away. Before it is too late, it is well to pause and consider whether it is not befitting that some of them be preserved for all time as state parks. . . . Once destroyed,

they are never restored." In addition to these more or less altruistic considerations, there were utilitarian ones, notably that parks were economic investments, since tourists represented money.⁵²

With the passage of the Estabrook bill and the establishment of the State Park Board in 1907, the drive to create state parks in Wisconsin gained momentum.

By 1906 local residents had become formally involved in the effort to establish Devil's Lake State Park. "A goodly number of citizens met at the city hall . . . for the purpose of discussing the matter of establishing a state park at Devil's Lake. Among those present were owners of the property. The meeting was called to order by W. H. McFetridge, who has taken considerable interest in the matter . . . a committee was appointed by Mr. McFetridge, with himself as chairman." Under the direction and inspiration of McFetridge, this committee of eight members worked for a state park. As the chairman related: "Since 1903 certain citizens of Baraboo have been endeavoring to have the state preserve this region. The time is now ripe . . . there is a strong general public sentiment . . . of preserving accessible nature spots like this one."⁵³

Evan Evans, the attorney who suggested the option-taking clause to the state park commission and now secretary and treasurer of McFetridge's committee, summarized the committee's thinking: "The Devil's Lake project leads all others in the state because it is easy of access, and because it is located in the southern portion of the state where it is most densely populated. The spot is one of the most beautiful and unique in the state. Another point is that the land is cheap because it cannot be utilized for agriculture. The state must have forest preserves. . . ."⁵⁴

The committee hoped to influence the state legislature to pass a bill providing for an annual appropriation of \$35,000 for 3 years for the establishment of a state park

at Devil's Lake. One way in which it promoted this goal was through the distribution of a 38 page illustrated booklet entitled *An Appeal for the Preservation of the Devil's Lake Region*. Two thousand copies were printed and sold for 50¢ apiece. The first part of the booklet stressed the need to protect the region from despoilment by commercial and material interests, and the remainder described the area's geology, its potential as a forest preserve, its plant life, its suitability as a bird sanctuary, and its archeology; the last page was devoted to endorsements. Interspersed throughout the prose are full page photographs of the region, attesting to its natural beauty.⁵⁵

The committee also wrote about the proposed park in various publications, advertised in newspapers, exercised "much personal advocacy," and appeared before clubs and other organizations.⁵⁶

One example of the committee's work with organizations is a 1906 meeting of Baraboo's Ten Thousand Club, a business group. McFetridge spoke of the work his committee had been doing on the Devil's Lake project, and Evans also endorsed the park, stating that it would be of "great financial benefit as it would draw more people" to the area. Not surprisingly, the Club then adopted a resolution to appoint a committee of its own to cooperate in efforts to promote the venture.⁵⁷

Local individuals of some influence, for example, Louis A. Goddard, the pastor of the First Congregational Church in Baraboo, also began to speak for the project.⁵⁸

While all these activities were taking place, a local fund was being established to help pay the expenses of advertising the project. Local newspapers published the names of the contributors and at least several hundred dollars were collected.⁵⁹

There was also outside support. In 1906 the *Milwaukee Journal* editorialized for a state park at Devil's Lake—"It is a worthy

project which ought to be carried out." Later that year a lengthy article appeared in the *Milwaukee Sentinel*, which referred to McFetridge's committee, quoted extensively from their booklet, and treated the Devil's Lake proposal in considerable detail.⁶⁰

State legislators and guests came to Devil's Lake on a special train for a May Day picnic in 1907. There were speeches; the Baraboo Marine Band "discoursed some choice airs"; a luncheon was served in the Kirkland pavilion, and many of the people climbed the bluffs, where residents and guides pointed out choice views and rare plants, and the work being done by a quarry which had located at the north end of the east bluff in 1906. As it turned out, blasting continued at this site until 1921.⁶¹

Quarrying at the lake actually was an incentive for establishing a park because with this activity it was possible for McFetridge to write: "Unless the state buys their property several of the largest owners have signified their intention of selling to whomsoever will pay the most, without regard for what use the property is intended. . . . To preserve the region the state must own it—there appears to be no alternative."⁶²

In February of 1907 Senator Browne of Waupaca introduced a bill providing an appropriation of \$35,000 annually for 3 years to establish a state park at Devil's Lake. The Senate passed this bill, 20 to 2, then in June of that year it came before the Assembly where it was defeated 32 to 31 despite public support and strong pleas by some legislators for preservation of the bluffs. One assemblyman who had spoken for the park stated that he was sure the measure would pass until Thomas Reynolds of Door County voted against it. "He wants a park in his county." Some of the Devil's Lake property owners lobbied against the bill, causing some legislators to conclude that the state would not be able to obtain all the land bordering

the lake without "undue expense." The chances of the bill passing were also lessened by the vote coming in the closing days of the session. A local newspaper gave this advice: "Friends . . . should open the campaign now to insure favorable action by the next legislature. . . ."⁶³

They did. More people began to speak and write in favor of a state park at Devil's Lake. Women became involved. Mrs. Eliza Mulcahy wrote a poem pleading for the preservation of Devil's Lake which appeared in a local newspaper in August of 1907. Mrs. H. A. J. Upham in 1908 read a paper to the Women's Club of Milwaukee in favor of a "public reserve" at the lake, and later that year talked to the Wisconsin Natural History Society in Milwaukee on the importance of preserving Devil's Lake and the Dells of the Wisconsin River. The Wisconsin State Federation of Women's Clubs saw the need for parks and worked for them; in fact, their principal interest in the first decade of this century became the establishment of Devil's Lake State Park. Club members had drafted and signed resolutions and presented them to legislators in the unsuccessful 1907 project—"this agitation . . . is not given up as a lost cause . . . hopes are entertained that strength may be gathered for a more vigorous attack when the next legislature convenes." Near the end of 1908 the State Federation of Women's Clubs had W. H. McFetridge as a guest speaker and Devil's Lake was the main topic. A member in attendance called upon the women of Wisconsin to "move to the fray," then urged her cohorts to work with legislative candidates before the next election, specifically to extract pledges from them and determine how they would vote on the park question. The meeting ended with the adoption of a resolution for the appointment of a committee to work for passage of the park bill in the next legislature.⁶⁴

Meanwhile a nationally known and re-

spected landscape architect from Boston, John Nolen, was surveying Wisconsin for park sites. His report to the State Park Board, published in 1909, continues to influence Wisconsin's state park system. Nolen devised five criteria for judging a site for state park status: large size, since great numbers of people would destroy the natural qualities of a small area (he recommended a minimum size of 2000-3000 acres with 5000 acres being "even better"); natural beauty; healthy climate; accessibility; and reasonable property cost and maintenance expenditures. Based upon these criteria, Nolen recommended four places as particularly suitable: Wisconsin Dells, Devil's Lake, the Fish Creek area in Door County, and the Wyalusing area in Grant County. Only the Dells did not become a state park. Although Nolen assigned highest priority to the Dells, a dam on the river caused water to rise and submerge much of the area, while land values increased to a level which precluded acquisition by the state for public park use.⁶⁵

The State Park Board was plagued from the beginning by a lack of funds for buying recommended properties. When the Board was originally established, the only money provided was a maximum of \$500 for actual expenses incurred by Board members. The breakthrough came in 1909 when Senator C. L. Pearson of the Sauk-Columbia district introduced a bill which called for an appropriation to the State Park Board of \$75,000 annually for three years for buying park lands. The legislature acted upon this bill and although it reduced the appropriation to \$50,000 annually for two years, this was sufficient to enable the board to start buying land at Devil's Lake.⁶⁶

In 1909 the Board estimated that a park could be established at Devil's Lake for \$125,000 and, as it turned out, this was accurate (the initial park holdings cost \$128,497.44), except for unforeseen troubles

with the company that was quarrying the east bluff. At the June 1910 meeting of the Board the members voted unanimously to proceed in securing certain lands around Devil's Lake and by the end of the year the board had acquired 740 of the 1150 acres it deemed essential for the park, namely, the Kirk, Hopkins (Lake View) and Messenger properties and several estates at the south end, and the Vilas estate (the Cliff House property) at the north end.⁶⁷

The board started condemnation proceedings on the remaining acreage, which proved especially difficult to acquire. A number of people had purchased cottage lots along the south shore at the turn of the century, and while most of them sold to the state for a dollar in exchange for a rental-free lease to expire in 60 years, and the understanding that the state would negotiate for the removal of the quarry from the park and build a road into the cottage area, various complications and misunderstandings arose with other property owners. Quite understandably, some of them wanted to remain on the land.⁶⁸

A bill passed by the state legislature allowed for such cases when the owners had occupied the homestead for 25 years or more. It was introduced by Assemblyman C. A. Harper on behalf of Mrs. Louis J. Claude and her daughter, whose family had been among the earliest settlers at Devil's Lake.⁶⁹ While the Board had been allowing elderly owners to retain their residences, it did not want to extend the same privilege to younger family members—in this case, Mrs. Claude's daughter. The bill was approved over the objections of the Board and the Claudes were allowed to keep their home and an acre of land. This was a most commendable service, for the Claudes (and the Kirks) could have sold to the quarry companies and retired with much more money than they received from the state for their properties. For a time a quarry com-

pany had an option on the west bluff from the Claudes and wanted to build a spur line from the railroad tracks to the property, but the Claudes refused; they preferred the natural setting. These decisions by the Claudes and the Kirks helped make Devil's Lake State Park a reality.⁷⁰

When the park was being established, the State Park Board consisted of Thomas C. Brittingham of Madison, the chairman, L. C. Colman of LaCrosse, and Gustaf R. Egeland of Ephraim. Like McFetridge, Brittingham had a dream of a public park at Devil's Lake and worked long and hard for it. His world travels had convinced him that the lake was a very special place, and he also came to believe that local people did not appreciate the area because of familiarity. He and Colman made themselves personally responsible for certain Devil's Lake properties by agreeing to buy and hold them for the state for 5 years; if the state did not take the land then the owner could repurchase it.⁷¹

After some misunderstandings had been settled and certain appeals satisfied, the State Park Board controlled about 1100 acres, and in June 1911 newspapers were announcing that there really was a Devil's Lake State Park. The *Baraboo Republic* noted the overall approval of the project: ". . . it is good to know that the beauties of the Devil's Lake region are to be preserved by the great State of Wisconsin. . . . There is no doubt about the action . . . being sanctioned by the people of the state for all time to come."⁷²

But the quarry was still there and blasting was still going on. A year after the creation of the park, the State Park Board commented: "It was found impossible to purchase the . . . quarry . . . at a price the board considered reasonable as compared with lands nearby equally suitable for the same purpose." The lands in question amounted to 110 acres and were owned by the Ameri-

can Refractories Company; they were using the rock for fire brick and paving stones. While economic interests were saying that paving stones from the Devil's Lake quarry were being used on "some of the most important avenues inside of the loop district of Chicago," environmentalists countered with charges that quarry blasting caused fish kills in winter—"The theory . . . is that they went into the shallow water to feed during the winter, and because of the ice the concussion of the dynamite blasts caused death to those in the shallow water."⁷³

Negotiations to resolve the conflict with the American Refractories Company remained at a standstill until the state legislature in 1919 authorized the Conservation Commission to remove the quarry from the park; if it proved necessary, the Commission could purchase land for exchange. This bill at first was defeated in the State Assembly by one vote, "but on reconsideration a big majority was secured when the facts were fully explained by Sauk County members." In the following year American Refractories sold its property in the park to the state for \$75,000 plus a small tract of land at the south end of the east bluff, then purchased a farm adjoining this tract and moved there in 1922. At the time, this area was outside the park boundary. The company worked this site through 1967; the cut that can be seen there is the result of 45 years of quarrying.⁷⁴

In 1970 President Nixon signed the bill creating Wisconsin's Ice Age National Scientific Reserve, which consists of 9 units. One of these is Devil's Lake State Park with an enlarged boundary including the quarry property. Recently the state purchased this property and thus completed a land transaction which had been started in 1910.

A private resort thus evolved into a public park with the impetus of the widespread conservation movement of the early 1900's, evidence of the influence of citizen activity

in determining this country's natural resources policies.

NOTES

AUTHORS' NOTE: This paper is based upon *A Lake Where Spirits Live: A human history of the midwest's most popular park*, by Kenneth I. Lange and Ralph T. Tuttle, Baraboo Printing—Baraboo, Wisconsin, 80 pages (1975), and *Preserving Wisconsin's Natural Beauty: The drive to establish Devil's Lake State Park*, by D. Debra Berndt, a seminar paper for Urban and Regional Planning—Resource Policy Issues: Regional and National, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 64 pages (1977). See also Chapter 16 (Tourism), pages 97-99, in *A County Called Sauk: A human history of Sauk County, Wisconsin*, by Kenneth I. Lange, Sauk County Historical Society, 168 pages (1976).

We are indebted to George J. Knudsen and especially Walter E. Scott for directing us to sources we would otherwise have overlooked.

¹*Laws of Wisconsin*, Chapter 324 (1878) and Chapter 367 (1897); *Annual Reports of the Wisconsin Conservation Department, Biennial Reports of the Wisconsin State Conservation Commission*, and James J. Damm, *Development of Wisconsin's Park and Forest Recreation System, 1867-1967*, M.S. thesis, University of Wisconsin-Madison (1968), 81 pp.

²*Visitor's Guide to Wisconsin's State Parks, Forests and other Recreation Lands*, Wisconsin Department of Natural Resources, Pub. 4—8400(80). 50 state parks are listed, but Kohler-Andrae is actually 2 parks, not 1, and Lake Mendota, Lake Pepin, and Thunder Mountain are not listed.

³*Annual Reports of the Wisconsin Conservation Commission*, and the *Wisconsin Blue Books; Baraboo Republic*, 20 July 1916; *Wisconsin Conservationist*, 1:2 (1920); *Baraboo Weekly News*, 24 April 1924.

⁴Increase A. Lapham, "Geological notes of a tour to the Dells October 22 to Nov. 1st 1849," entry for 28 October, unpublished manuscript, Lapham papers, State Historical Society of Wisconsin. The most comprehensive biographical sketches of Lapham are by S. S. Sherman, "Increase Allan Lapham, LL.D.," *Milwaukee News Co.*, Printers, 80 pp. (1876) and N. H. Winchell, "Increase Allen Lapham," *American Geologist*, 13:1-38 (1894). See also P. R. Hoy, "Increase A. Lapham, LL.D.," *Transactions of the Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts, and Letters*, 3:264-267 (1876); Milo M. Quaife, "Increase Allen Lapham, First Scholar of Wisconsin," *Wisconsin Magazine*

of History, 1:3-15 (1917); Walter E. Scott, "An Appreciation of Increase Allen Lapham," *Wisconsin Academy Review*, 22:20-28 (1975).

⁵Mrs. Bella French (Editor), "History of Baraboo and Devil's Lake, Wis.," *The American Sketch Book*, 2:189 (1876).

⁶"The Baraboo Country," *Milwaukee Sentinel*, 11 May 1853; *Baraboo Republic*, 18 June 1857; Lewis N. Wood, "Industry of Sauk County," *Transactions of the Wisconsin State Agricultural Society*, 6:328 (1861).

⁷*Baraboo Republic*, 14, 21 and 28 February 1866, and 19 September 1866 and 26 June 1867.

⁸*Republican and Leader* (LaCrosse, Wisconsin), 27 July 1872; William H. Canfield, "Guide book to the wild and romantic scenery in Sauk County, Wisconsin," in *Outline Sketches of Sauk County* (1873).

⁹*Baraboo Republic*, 19 September 1866; *Baraboo News-Republic*, 10 February 1873; E. D. Jackson, "Old Greenfield Days," *Baraboo Weekly News*, 12 July 1905, also, as "Town of Greenfield," in *A Standard History of Sauk County, Wisconsin*, 1:556 (1918).

¹⁰*Baraboo Republic*, 12 August 1874; *Tourist Guide to the Northwest*, Rand McNally Company—Chicago, pages 30-31 (1877); Loomis T. Palmer, *The Standard Atlas and Gazetteer of the World*, Standard Publishing Company—Chicago, page 375 (1890).

¹¹*Baraboo Weekly News*, 7 July 1921; C. W. Butterfield (Editor), *The History of Sauk County, Wisconsin*, Western Historical Company—Chicago, page 700 (1880).

¹²*Sauk County Democrat* (Baraboo, Wisconsin), 19 July 1884; *Baraboo Republic*, 11 August 1875.

¹³Butterfield, *loc. cit.*; James B. Hale, "The postal history of Devil's Lake State Park," *Badger Postal History*, 14:1-2 (1974); *Sauk County Democrat*, 2 August 1894; *Baraboo Republic*, 9 May 1877 and 30 April 1879.

¹⁴*Sauk County Democrat*, 19 July 1884.

¹⁵*Baraboo Republic*, 3 May 1882; *Sauk County Democrat*, 21 April and 9 June 1882; N. H. Wood, in *Outline Sketches of Sauk County*, Third Sketch, Devil's Lake, page 22 (1870).

¹⁶Butterfield, *loc. cit.*; William H. Canfield, *Outline Sketches of Sauk County, Wisconsin. Volume Second—Baraboo. Ninth Sketch*, page 47 (1891).

¹⁷*Baraboo Republic*, 11 August 1869, 1 July 1874, 29 August 1900, 2 July 1879; *Sauk County Democrat*, 23 August 1894.

¹⁸*Baraboo Republic*, 15 and 29 August 1894, and *Sauk County Democrat*, 30 August 1894. Salisbury was a geology professor at Beloit College in the 1880's, at the University of Wisconsin

in 1891-1892, and at the University of Chicago from 1892 until his death in 1922.

¹⁹ *Baraboo Republic*, 14 and 21 August 1895; *Sauk County Democrat*, 3 August 1889 and 22 July 1897.

²⁰ *Baraboo Republic*, 4 July 1900, 19 June 1901, 17 June 1903, and 5 October 1904; Kenneth D. Martin to Lange, letter dated 15 November 1969 (Martin, who died in 1971, was a grandson of William B. Pearl, the manager of the Cliff House from 1878 until its closing in 1904).

²¹ Lange interview with Perry Loomis, February 1979.

²² William B. Pearl, in a letter to William F. Vilas, 20 August 1899, the Vilas papers, St. Hist. Soc. Wis. The Cliff House was owned by the Vilas estate and Pearl always communicated with William F. Vilas; Vilas was a lawyer, lieutenant colonel in the Civil War, member of President Cleveland's cabinet, and U.S. Senator for Wisconsin from 1891-1897.

²³ *Baraboo Republic*, 8 August 1894; *Sauk County Democrat*, 23 August 1894.

²⁴ *Sauk County Democrat*, 21 June, 26 July, and 9 August 1906.

²⁵ *Baraboo Weekly News*, 8 October 1908, and *Sauk County Democrat*, 8 October 1908; Ralph T. Tuttle, an unpublished history of Devil's Lake State Park.

²⁶ Martin to Lange, letter dated 18 September 1969; *Sauk County Democrat*, 16 June 1910; *Baraboo Republic*, 10 June and 1 July 1903, 22 March 1905; *Baraboo Weekly News*, 8 March 1917; "Minutes of Meetings. Wisconsin State Park Board," 4 March 1914.

²⁷ Canfield, *op. cit.*, *loc. cit.*, and Guy O. Glazier, *Baraboo Weekly News*, 6 October 1938; Katherine Martindale to Lange, letter dated 5 November 1968 (Miss Martindale stayed with her family at Kirkland for 14 summers in the early 1900's); *Baraboo Republic*, 12 June 1895, and *Sauk County Democrat*, 14 July 1892; *Baraboo Republic*, 20 May 1868; Butterfield, page 695 (1880), and Canfield, "Guide book to the wild and romantic scenery in Sauk County, Wisconsin," in Outline Sketches of Sauk County (1873); *Baraboo Weekly News*, 1 May 1907; *Sauk County Democrat*, 4 August 1910.

²⁸ Lange interview with Ella Marquardt, April 1970 (Miss Marquardt worked at the south shore resorts in the early 1900's); notes written by Katharine Martindale on the back of a 1901 picture of people on a horse-drawn wagon.

²⁹ Lange interview with Ella Marquardt in 1970 and Louis T. Martin in 1969 (Martin worked at the Lake View in the summer of 1910); an un-

dated Lake View folder; *Sauk County Democrat*, 13 July 1893.

³⁰ Lange interview with Ella Marquardt, February 1973.

³¹ *Baraboo Republic*, 17 and 24 July 1895; *Sauk County Democrat*, 22 August 1901.

³² *Sauk County Democrat*, 4 June 1891 and 21 April 1892; *Baraboo Republic*, 12 June 1895, and *Sauk County Democrat*, 15 September 1892, 26 July 1894, 10 June and 9 September 1897, and 29 August 1901.

³³ Lange interview with Rollo Martin, a son of Edward Martin, in 1968; *Baraboo Republic*, 16 July 1891; *Baraboo Weekly News*, 5 August 1915 and 13 July 1922; "Northwestern News," *Milwaukee Sentinel*, 21 August 1874.

³⁴ *Baraboo Republic*, 20 July 1877, 24 July 1889 and 30 July 1890; *Baraboo Republic*, 7 August 1867 and 9 September 1896; *Baraboo Republic*, 18 April and 27 June 1877, "Wisconsin Matters," *Milwaukee Sentinel*, 29 May 1877, and *Portage Democrat*, 29 June 1877; *Baraboo Republic*, 10 July 1878.

³⁵ *Baraboo Republic*, 14 August 1872. Thomas Chowder Chamberlin at this time was a professor of natural sciences at the State Normal School in Whitewater, Wisconsin.

³⁶ *Madison Democrat*, cited in *Baraboo Republic*, 25 April 1906; *Sauk County Democrat*, 12 May 1892 and 11 May 1893; *Baraboo Republic*, 15 and 29 August 1894; *Proceedings of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin*, page 63, 1915 (1916); *Baraboo Republic*, 13 August 1908, and "The Pilgrimage to Devil's Lake," *Wisconsin Archeologist*, 7:152-153 (1908).

³⁷ Arthur L. Howland, professor of geology at Northwestern University to Lange, letters dated 14 April 1973 and 7 May 1974.

³⁸ Ziemer was a member of a geology field party from the University of Wisconsin that in 1893 visited Devil's Lake, Rock Springs and Wisconsin Dells (*Sauk County Democrat*, 11 May 1893); perhaps his resort plans originated with this trip. As a student at the university, Ziemer was active in politics, and as the president of the class he gave an oration at graduation (*Baraboo Evening News*, 23 October 1895).

³⁹ *Baraboo Republic*, 1 August 1894 and (souvenir supplement, page 38) 12 April 1899.

⁴⁰ The first cottage, a double one, was dedicated with a banquet and toasts in September 1894, when Ziemer and two companions "furnished amusement by rolling a large boulder over the cliff, just to hear it drop" (*Baraboo Republic*, 26 September 1894). Ziemer's personal cottage, a ten room structure, was completed in the summer of

1895; he called it "Beacon Pines" (*Baraboo Republic*, 12 June and 23 October 1895). One other cottage (the Coleman cottage) was built (*Baraboo Republic*, 17 July 1895).

⁴¹ The view on a clear day would have been magnificent, and the *Baraboo Republic* (12 June 1895) reported that the dome of the capitol in Madison could be seen from the top of the tower. For this tower, see also the *Baraboo Republic*, 22 May 1895, and the *Sauk County Democrat*, 6 June 1895. For the road, see the *Baraboo Republic*, 8 and 29 August 1894, and 12 June 1895, and for the reservoir, see the *Baraboo Republic*, 29 August 1894.

⁴² "The New Mountain Summer Resort. Palisade Park. Devil's Lake, Wis.," a 4 page pamphlet (1895); *Baraboo Republic*, 3 July 1895.

⁴³ *Baraboo Evening News*, 23 October 1895, and *Baraboo Republic*, 23 October 1895. A sister, Myrtle, who lived with Ziemer in "Beacon Pines" also contracted typhoid but she recovered; along with an aunt and uncle, and a nurse, she traveled in a special train car to Milwaukee, where the Ziemers lived (*Baraboo Republic*, 30 October 1895).

⁴⁴ *Baraboo Republic*, 9 September 1903; *Standard Atlas of Sauk County Wisconsin*, Alden Publishing Company—Chicago, page 53 (1906); *Standard Atlas of Sauk County Wisconsin*, George A. Ogle and Company—Chicago, page 10 (1922).

⁴⁵ *Baraboo Republic*, 5 September 1894.

⁴⁶ *Sauk County Democrat*, 9 August 1894 and 3 August 1893; *Baraboo Republic*, 1 July 1903.

⁴⁷ *Sauk County Democrat*, 19 February 1903; W. H. McFetridge, *Baraboo Republic*, 25 July 1906; *Baraboo Weekly News*, 1 August 1906 and 14 July 1910.

⁴⁸ The three members of the "state park commission" were Alfred C. Clas, E. M. Griffith (the first state forester), and Frank Hutchins of Madison, formerly of Baraboo.

⁴⁹ *Sauk County Democrat*, 19 February and 12 March 1903; *Laws of Wisconsin*, Chapter 232 (1903) and Chapter 169 (1905); *Baraboo Weekly News*, 31 October 1906.

⁵⁰ This conservation movement of the early 1900's was characterized by two schools of thought. One school, represented by Roosevelt, centered around the conservation of material raw resources for their orderly and rational development. The other arm of the movement, led by such figures as Muir, emphasized the preservation of landscape and wildlife from all development and for the health and enjoyment of the public. For details, see Robert McHenry and Charles Van Doren, editors, *A Documentary History of Conservation*

in America, New York, 306 pages (1972); Stewart L. Udall, *The Quiet Crisis*, New York, 120 pages (1963); and Linne Marsh Wolfe, *Son of the Wilderness: The life of John Muir*, Madison, Wis., 315 pages (1978).

⁵¹ Cited in *An Appeal for the Preservation of the Devil's Lake Region*, Lakeside Press—Chicago, page 38 (1906); "That State Park Bill," *Madison Democrat*, 19 March 1907.

⁵² *Madison Democrat*, loc. cit., and 21 March 1907 ("Parks as Investments") and 21 April 1906 ("Devil's Lake Park"); "Letter from President Charles R. Van Hise, University of Wisconsin," in *State Parks for Wisconsin*, Report of John Nolen, page 53 (1909); Message of Governor James O. Davidson on state parks (1909); *Laws of Wisconsin*, Chapter 495 (1907).

⁵³ *Sauk County Democrat*, 19 April 1906; W. H. McFetridge, *Baraboo Republic*, 25 July 1906. The McFetridge family owned the Island Woolen Mill in Baraboo (*A Standard History of Sauk County Wisconsin*, 1:87, 1918). W. H. McFetridge hoped that all the land in the Baraboo Hills from Durward's Glen on the east to around Leland on the west eventually would become public property (*Baraboo Weekly News*, 31 October 1906), and also wanted to see the "entire Baraboo Valley as one great park system" (*Baraboo Weekly News*, 11 March 1908). He was concerned about people dumping trash in the Baraboo River and pleaded that it be treated with respect (*Baraboo Weekly News*, 26 June 1907); in 1914 he set aside an area on the woolen mill property as a dumping ground in an effort to induce people to stop littering the river and its banks—"Everything which will not float or pollute will be allowed" (*Baraboo Republic*, 23 April 1914).

⁵⁴ E. A. Evans, *Baraboo Republic*, 31 October 1906. Evans later became federal judge on the Seventh Circuit (*A Standard History of Sauk County Wisconsin*, 2:1009, 1918).

⁵⁵ *An Appeal for the Preservation of the Devil's Lake Region*, 38 pages (1906); *Baraboo Republic*, 26 September and 24 October 1906.

⁵⁶ e.g., W. H. McFetridge, "The proposed Devil's Lake State Park," *Wisconsin Arbor Day Annual*, pages 40-43 (1907); also W. H. McFetridge, *Baraboo Republic*, 25 July 1906.

⁵⁷ *Baraboo Republic*, 31 October 1906; *Baraboo Weekly News*, 31 October 1906.

⁵⁸ *Baraboo Weekly News*, 16 January 1907.

⁵⁹ *Baraboo Weekly News*, 21 November 1906.

⁶⁰ The *Milwaukee Journal* support is cited in *Reedsburg Free Press*, 25 October 1906; "Preservation of the Devil's Lake Region," *Milwaukee Sentinel*, 2 December 1906.

⁶¹ *Baraboo Republic*, 1 and 8 May 1907; *Baraboo Weekly News*, 7 July 1910. One of the guides was President Charles R. Van Hise of the University of Wisconsin, who led a large party to the top of the east bluff; there he "delivered a short lecture on the surroundings. . . . It was a treat that one rarely hears, for Mr. Van Hise is probably the most noted geologist of the age." (*Baraboo Republic*, 8 May 1907). In just three years Van Hise would be autographing copies of his new book, *The Conservation of Natural Resources in the United States*, a publication that has been called conservation's most valuable book.

⁶² *Baraboo Republic*, 25 July and 31 October 1906.

⁶³ Harriet M. Holcombe, in *Wisconsin State Federation of Women's Clubs, Proceedings of the Eleventh Annual Convention*, pages 50-51 (1907); *Baraboo Republic*, 3 July 1907; *Baraboo Weekly News*, 3 July 1907; *Sauk County Democrat*, 4 July 1907; "Devil's Lake Park Delayed," *Madison Democrat*, 30 June 1907.

⁶⁴ *Sauk County Democrat*, 8 August 1907; *Sauk County Democrat*, 12 March 1908 and *Baraboo Weekly News*, 3 June 1908; Mrs. Thos. B. Davies, in *Wis. St. Fed. of Women's Clubs, Proc. Eleventh Ann. Conv.*, pages 23 and 24 (1907); Mrs. Charles E. Buell, "Wisconsin," *General Federation of Women's Clubs, Ninth Biennial Convention, Official Report*, page 234 (1908); *Baraboo Weekly News*, 29 October 1908. The contributions of women's clubs to the conservation movement of the early 1900's have been little noted nor fully appreciated. In Wisconsin, in addition to their support of parks, the State Federation sponsored forestry lectures at open meetings and lobbied for protective legislation for birds. Their zeal is evident in these remarks of Mrs. Charles E. Buell: "In my prophetic vision I see the Wisconsin Federation of Women's Clubs, not only aiming to raise themselves to higher planes of living, not only protecting birds, trees, parks, and all the national resources of this God-favored state, helping to make ideal conditions for all our own people, but striving to extend all these services to some sister state." ("President's Address," in *Wis. St. Fed. of Women's Clubs, Proc. Twelfth Ann. Conv.*, page 9, 1908).

⁶⁵ John Nolen, *State Parks for Wisconsin*, 56 pages (1909); E. J. Vanderwall, "Historical Background of the Wisconsin State Park System," Wisconsin Conservation Department, page 1 (1953).

⁶⁶ "Minutes of Meetings. Wisconsin State Park Board," 1909-1915; *Sauk County Democrat*, 21 May 1908, and 11 February 1909 and 9 February 1911.

⁶⁷ *Baraboo Weekly News*, 4 March 1909; *Biennial Report of the Wisconsin State Conservation Commission for the years 1915 and 1916*, page 87 (1916); *Baraboo Weekly News*, 15 December 1910, and *Sauk County Democrat*, 15 December 1910.

⁶⁸ *Baraboo Republic*, 14 September 1898 and 9 September 1903; *Sauk County Democrat*, 14 July 1910 and 2 February 1911; *Standard Atlas of Sauk County Wisconsin*, page 53 (1906).

⁶⁹ The Claudes were intimately linked with the early history of Devil's Lake. Louis J. Claude (1825-1893) was born and raised near Lake Windemere in the lake country of England, where he was a boyhood friend of Matthew Arnold and possibly knew or met Robert Southey and William Wordsworth, who lived in the lake country when Claude was growing up. Claude was educated as a civil engineer and in his younger years worked in India. When he first came to this country, he settled in Kentucky where he "practiced his profession," but his anti-slavery convictions caused him to leave the South in 1851 and settle in Wisconsin in 1857 along the north shore of Devil's Lake, which reminded him of Lake Windemere. Claude wanted to be near water and a place he could farm. The Claude residence was of Tudor style and in designing it Claude apparently incorporated some of the ideas of Andrew Jackson Downing, America's first important landscape architect. This building was a landmark at Devil's Lake until 1953 when it was removed by the state. Claude also designed the Cliff House, the "elegant" resort at the northeastern corner of Devil's Lake. He married an American woman, Elvira Ward (1834-1929); the two children were Louise (1865-1951) and Louis Ward 1868-1951). Miss Claude, who was educated by her father, loved nature and wrote poetry, and the son became an architect in the tradition of Frank Lloyd Wright. All four Claudes, and the son's wife, are buried in Baraboo's Walnut Hill Cemetery (Canfield, page 47, 1891; *Baraboo Republic*, 11 August 1859 and 29 June 1893; Ralph T. Tuttle, a family friend, personal communications to Lange).

⁷⁰ *Laws of Wisconsin*, Chapter 511 (1911); *Baraboo Republic*, 29 June 1911; *Sauk County Democrat*, 8 and 29 June 1911, and *Baraboo Weekly News*, 15 June 1911; L. W. Claude, *Baraboo Republic*, 19 October 1922.

⁷¹ *Sauk County Democrat*, 9 February 1911; *Baraboo Weekly News*, 18 August 1910, and *Sauk County Democrat*, 15 December 1910. Brittingham came to Madison in 1855 and founded a lumber yard. He quickly became prominent in local affairs, e.g., member of the University of

Wisconsin Board of Regents. He was notable for contributions to park and hospital funds and in his will left large sums to the city of Madison and the University of Wisconsin.

⁷² *Baraboo Republic*, 22 June 1911, and *Baraboo Weekly News*, 22 June 1911.

⁷³ "Minutes of Meetings. Wisconsin State Park Board," 13 July 1912; *Baraboo Republic*, 7 May 1914 and 30 May 1912.

⁷⁴ *Baraboo Weekly News*, 6 November 1919, and *Baraboo Republic*, 3 July 1919; *Baraboo Weekly News*, 11 November 1920 and 2 March 1922.