National Register of Historic Places Registration Form

NATIONAL HISTORIC LANDMARK NOMINATION

This form is for use in nominating or requesting determinations of eligibility for individual properties or districts. See instructions in *Guidelines*This form is for use in nominating or requesting determinations of eligibility for individual properties or districts. See instructions in *Guidelines*This form is for use in nominating or requesting determinations of eligibility for individual properties or districts. See instructions in *Guidelines*This form is for use in nominating or requesting determinations of eligibility for individual properties or districts. See instructions in *Guidelines*This form is for use in nominating or requesting determinations of eligibility for individual properties or districts. for Completing National Register Forms (National Register Bulletin 16). Complete each item by marking "x" in the appropriate box or by entering the requested information. If an item does not apply to the property being documented, enter "N/A" for "not applicable." For functions, styles, materials, and areas of significance, enter only the categories and subcategories listed in the instructions. For additional space use continuation sheets

Fountain Lake	Farm		
Wisconsin Far	m Home of John Mui	<u>c</u>	
		ad	Name of Publication
Rural Montell	.0		x vicinity Montello
code WI	county _{Marquette}	code 77	zip code 53949
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Certification		<u> </u>	
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O + Functions (natural entergories from instructions)		
Current Functions (enter categories from instructions)		
Landscape/park		
Landscape/unoccupied land		
Materials (enter categories from instructions)		
foundation		
walls		
N/A		
roof		
other		

Describe present and historic physical appearance.

On the mid-nineteenth-century Wisconsin frontier, the parents of John Muir owned and worked a farm, named Fountain Lake, that the naturalist helped to develop. The farm was located in Marquette County about forty-five miles north of Madison. It totaled 320 acres of land at its maximum size (see Maps 1 and 2). The subject of this nomination is an eighty-acre portion of the Fountain Lake farm site.

Historic Appearance

In 1849, the Muir farm totaled 160 acres that sloped north up to a knoll overlooking a glacial lake on its southwest border. A combination of natural prairie, "oak openings" (a mixed prairieforest), and oak woods defined the natural landscape. The nominated site is the most southerly eighty acres, where stands of oak and some hickory trees interrupted the prairie on and about the knoll and tamaracks grew near the lake. Looking south and a little west from the top of the rise a sedge meadow, the Fountain Lake meadow, spread down to the water. The Muir's organized the spatial

¹Marquette County, Register of Deeds, Vol. 2, pages 175-176, Vol. 7, pages 193, 196, Montello, Wisconsin; Robert C. Nesbit, Wisconsin: A History (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1973), 94-95, 201-203; Richard Nelson Current, Wisconsin: A Bicentennial History (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1977), 102-1-3, 106; and John Muir, The Story of My Boyhood and Youth (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1913), 61-62.

²James Fenimore Cooper gave a vivid description of oak openings as scattered growths of oak, in particular bur oaks, standing in a parklike "air of negligence that one is apt to see in grounds where art is made to assume the character of nature.. and the spaces between [the trees], always of singular beauty, have obtained the name 'openings'; the two terms combined giving their appellation to this particular species of nature forest, under the name 'Oak Openings.'" Such landscapes were common in southern Michigan and Wisconsin and were prized by pioneer farmers before they discovered that prairies were more fertile.

[X]See continuation sheet

8. Statement of Significance		
Certifying official has considered the significance of this property in re		
Applicable National Register Criteria A B C D	NHL Criteria: 2	
Criteria Considerations (Exceptions)	□E □F □G	
Areas of Significance (enter categories from instructions) Conservation	Period of Significance 1849-1867	Significant Dates 1864
NATIONAL HISTORIC LANDMARK THEMES:	1 871	1871
XXXII: Conservation of Natural Resources		
B: Formation of Conservation Movement, 1870-		
	Cultural Affiliation N/A	
2: Drigins of National Parks Movement	11/ 21	
7: Scenic Preservation		
Significant Person Muir, John	Architect/Builder N/A	
		<u> </u>
•		

State significance of property, and justify criteria, criteria considerations, and areas and periods of significance noted above.

Statement of Significance

John Muir (1838-1914), a leading figure in the origin of an environmental ethic in the United States, traced the development of his own interest in wilderness preservation to the Fountain Lake farm where he lived continually from 1849-1856 and periodically from 1862-1864. These critically formative years on the Wisconsin frontier where he helped turn wilderness into a farm, had a singular significance on Muir's development as a naturalist. While Muir brought a fondness of nature with him from Scotland, his exploration of the frontier landscape around the lake and meadow in the south eighty acres of the Fountain Lake farm as well as his encounters with wild and domestic animals fueled his youthful appreciation of the wilderness. It also contributed to Muir's valuing nature for its own sake rather than for its utility to This philosophy, that animals, plants, and the whole of nature have an intrinsic value, was Muir's significant intellectual contribution to the conservation movement and stimulated his preservation activism. In Wisconsin, Muir demonstrated his preservation ethos at the Fountain Lake farm where he tried, for the first time, to preserve from human development a piece of land in its wild state. John Muir is considered a founding father of the National Park System and its preservation mission. the site John Muir called the birthplace of his interest in wilderness preservation merits recognition under criterion B: association with a person significant in the history of the United States.

¹John Muir's significant association with Fountain Lake continued after he and his family moved to their second Wisconsin farm, Hickory Hill, and the nomination occasionally refers to the latter farm.

9. Major Bibliographical References	
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Previous documentation on file (NPS):	
preliminary determination of individual listing (36 CFR 67)	Primary location of additional data:
has been requested	State historic preservation office State historic preservation office
previously listed in the National Register	☑ Other State agency
previously determined eligible by the National Register	▼ Federal agency
designated a National Historic Landmark recorded by Historic American Buildings	☑ Local government ☑ University
Survey #	☐ Oniversity
recorded by Historic American Engineering	Specify repository: State Historical Society of
Record #	Wisconsin
"	Holt-Atherton Center for Western Studies,
10. Geographical Data	University of the Pacific
Acreage of property 80 acres	
UTM References	
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	See continuation sheet
Boundary Justification	•
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11. Form Prepared By	
name/title Donald L. Stevens, Jr./Historian *	
organization National Park ServiceMidwest Region	data May 11, 1989
street & number 1709 Jackson Street	date 11, 1909 telephone 402-221-3426
street & Halliber	
omaha *Charles Maston/ Cartography Maps 2, 4 Emily P. Prymildoon/ Processes Assistant	, 5
Erik R. Brynildson/ Research Assistan	ce

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Fountain Lake Farm

pattern of the farm around the principal natural landmarks--the lake, the spring and sedge meadow, and the knoll--on this southern-most eighty acres. In fact, because of the many springs bubbling in the meadow near the lake, Daniel Muir, John's father, named the farm Fountain Lake. 1

The nominated eighty-acres, a mixture of woods and openings, contained the initial acres cleared for crops and the cluster of Muir farm buildings. These included a log shanty, farmhouse, barn, corncrib, corral, and privy. The arrangement of the structures reflected utilitarian, natural, and cultural influences. Obviously, the proximity to the spring, the water source for the family and livestock, acted as a central focus of the cluster. The log shanty, constructed as a temporary shelter from bur oak and white oak timber, sat on the edge of the knoll and faced south toward the nearby spring and meadow. A more substantial farmhouse, made of white pine from the northern forest, was completed in October 1849; it was located east of the oak shanty and less than a quarter of a mile from the section line and eastern border of Muir's land. Reflecting Scottish custom, the farmhouse stood on high ground and probably faced south. In addition, it fronted the scenic vista of the spring, meadow, and lake. Built on the low ground south of the house, on the eastern edge of the meadow, the barn had hand-hewn log walls and a piled-straw roof; a zigzag fence corral stood nearby. The original log shanty was converted into

¹Millie Stanley, "John Muir in Wisconsin," <u>The Pacific Historian</u> 29 (Summer/Fall, 1985): 8; personal observation, 28 July 1988. See for definition of "oak openings," Frederick Merk, <u>History of the Westward Movement</u> (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1978), 166. Daniel Muir and his family called the lake "Fountain Lake" and this is the name used in this nomination. Their neighbors often referred to it as "Muir Lake" and, after the Ennis brothers purchased the farm, the lake became known as "Ennis Lake." The Muirs soon purchased an additional 160 acres just east of and adjacent to the prairie on the northern end of the original plot.

²Frederick Turner, <u>Rediscovering America</u>: <u>John Muir and His Time and Ours</u> (New York: Viking Penguin, Inc., 1985), 36-37, 41; Linnie Marsh Wolfe, <u>Son of the Wilderness</u>: <u>The Life of John Muir</u> (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1945), 26-29; and Muir, <u>My Boyhood and Youth</u>, 59, 62.

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a stable after the completion of the farmhouse. Documentary evidence of the farm layout is sparse. The house burned down near the turn of the century.³

In his autobiography, while recalling at length his farm labor experiences, John Muir gave little descriptive attention to the developed farm environment. Instead, he tended to describe the farm in words that focused on the wildlife and the natural landscape (see Figure 1). For example, he frequently wrote of his favorite "wild" part of the farm the lake and the meadow:

Our beautiful lake . . . is fed by twenty or thirty meadow springs, is about half a mile long, half as wide, and surrounded by low finely-modeled hills dotted with oak and hickory, and meadows full of grasses and sedges and many beautiful orchids and ferns. First there is a zone of green, shining rushes, and just beyond the rushes a zone of white and orange water-lilies fifty or sixty feet wide forming a magnificent border.

Muir also recalled the farm flora by seasons:

With autumn came a glorious abundance and variety of asters, those beautiful plant stars, together with goldenrods, sunflowers, daisies, and liatris of different species, while around the shady margin of the meadow many ferns in beds and vaselike groups spread their beautiful frond, especially the osmundas . . . and the sensitive and ostrich ferns.

Early in the summer we feasted on strawberries, that grew in rich beds beneath the meadow grasses and sedges as well as in the dry sunny woods. And in different bogs

³Erik Brynildson, "FROM THE ACORNS CAME THE BEAMS: Two Homesteads That Influenced a Nation," Unpublished paper, Department of Landscape Architecture, University of Wisconsin-Madison, Madison, Wisconsin, 1986, 6; Turner, Rediscovering America, 41; Muir, My Boyhood and Youth, 62; and Stanley, "John Muir in Wisconsin," 13-14.

⁴Muir, <u>My Boyhood and Youth</u>, 117-118.

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and marshes, and around the borders on our own farm and along the Fox River, we found dewberries and cranberries, and a glorious profusion of huckleberries, the fountainheads of pies of wondrous taste and size, colored in the heart like sunsets.⁵

Present Appearance

Today, as during Muir's residence, the bubbling spring pool (the farm's namesake) and its stream, meandering through the meadow to the lake, continue to write their signatures across the Fountain Lake landscape. These natural landmarks, despite the overgrowth, remain visible from the ridge top where Muir sketched the meadow and lake (see Figures 1 and 2). The contemporary photograph gives a view of the grass and sedge lake meadow from the knoll. In comparison to Muir's rendition, a thicker growth of timber borders the shore where the meadow meets the lake while the tree studded hills of the opposite bank mirror the image in the historic drawing. In spite of the intervening decades, the Fountain Lake meadow retains an excellent level of integrity.

The portion of the nominated Muir site containing the lake and meadow is part of Marquette County's 162-acre John Muir Memorial Park (see Maps 3 and 4). There is limited access to this section of the park and, since acquiring it in the mid-1960s, the county has let the land return to a wild state. About 300 native plant

⁵Ibid., 122-123.

⁶Hugh H. Iltis, "Botanizing on Muir's Lake," <u>Wisconsin Academy Review</u> (Spring, 1957): 60-61; Bill Tans, Wisconsin Scientific Areas Preservation Council, "Muir Park Natural Area Report," Wisconsin, Department of Natural Resources, July, 1971; and Wisconsin, Department of Natural Resources, July, 1971; and Wisconsin, Department of Natural Resources, "(Muir's) Ennis Lake-Muir Park State Natural Area No. 96 Management Plan," (Draft), 1988. Maps from this draft plan, along with photographs and personal observations, were used in creating sketch Maps 4, 5, and 5A. The author estimated the sketch maps based on these sources. Most of the nominated Muir site, 62.89 acres of the eighty acres, is part of the county park. Only a small section of the park is developed with a baseball backstop, several picnic tables, two pit privies,

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species populate the overall park, including the nominated parcel. As in the historic period, Muir's former lake meadow supports a number of grasses, sedges, ferns and rushes. One author, a landscape architect developing a list of plant and wild life on the site and adjoining county park lands, found all but seven of the plants described by Muir in his autobiography still present there. Oak openings border the meadow to the northeast, and an overgrown old field and oak openings lay to its south. As in Muir's time tamarack grow near the lake, and sumac abound. Although it supports some species not common to the Muir landscape, such as the elms and dogwoods that have invaded the prairie and wetlands and cedar, pine, spruce, and locust that have encroached into the old fields (see Map 5), the landscape continues to look much as it did during Muir's residence, as evidenced by comparing a 1988 photograph of the area with a picture drawn by John Muir decades earlier (see Figures 1 and 2).

The ecological diversity of the site and its immediate surroundings contribute to the historic setting. Environmental experts consider the area in and around the Muir site a rich natural community of diverse ecological components, including the meadow, northern wet forest, fen, oak openings, and prairie. These

with a baseball backstop, several picnic tables, two pit privies, and a dirt road. The developed section is across the lake from the Muir property and is not visible from the nominated site (see Map 3).

⁷Wisconsin, Department of Natural Resources, Muir Park, List of Plants 7 March 1985; Iltis, "Botonizing on Muir's Lake," 60-61; Conversation with Mark Martin, Wisconsin, Department of Natural Resources, May 26, 1989; and Erik R. Brynildson, "Restoring the Fountain of John Muir's Youth," <u>Wisconsin Academy Review</u>, 34 (December, 1989): 10. The plants identified by Muir but now absent are "Wild rice, Lady's slipper orchid (rose-white), Indian moccasin orchid (yellow), Grass pink orchid, Rose pogonia orchid, Huckleberry, and Cranberry."

⁸Tans, "Muir Park Natural Area Report"; "Ennis Lake-Muir Park Management Plan," (Draft).

⁹"Ennis Lake-Muir Park Management Plan," (Draft).

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areas are outlined in Map 4. The diversity of the natural environment is an important ingredient in the historic scene, for many of the components (the meadow, wet forest, fen, wet-mesic prairie, and oak openings and woodlands) existed during Muir's time at Fountain Lake. As mentioned above, some of the vegetation within these areas has changed since the mid-nineteenth century, but the general diversity has remained.

Set within the sand counties of south-central Wisconsin north of Portage, the land and farms in the area around the Fountain Lake site complement the historic setting, as they display a sharp contrast to the more prosperous modern looking farms of the rich prairie soil to the south. Along Interstate 90-94 just above Madison, the agricultural wealth is evident in the large cultivated fields that, with little interruption by natural features, border both sides of the freeway. Large factory built barns and often three or four modern silos dominate the cluster of farm buildings and reflect economic affluence. The terrain, both natural and cultural, quickly changes near Portage. The sand farms are noticeably smaller, and the farm clusters, more often than not, feature nineteenth-century vernacular architecture. Ecologist Aldo Leopold, in describing their general condition, wrote: "In short, the Sand Counties are poor." The depressed economic condition of the area, ironically, has served to enhance the historic appearance of the setting despite the introduction of such modern conveniences as paved two-lane county highways and semi-improved section roads. The cultivated farmlands are frequently broken by marshlands, lakes, and woodlands. Wildlife preserves are common to the area. In A Sand County Almanac, Leopold qualified his terse description of the area with a comparison of its economic and ecological value. He also wrote:

Sometime in June, when I see unearned dividends of dew hung on every lupine, I have doubts about the real poverty of the sands. On solvent farmlands lupines do not even grow, much less collect a daily rainbow of

¹⁰Arnold R. Alanen to author, 16 March 1989; and Muir, My Boyhood and Youth, 97-99, 117-124.

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It is this rich environmental diversity of the sand counties that influenced the environmentalism of John Muir in the mid nineteenth century and Aldo Leopold in the twentieth century.

Farm lands and undeveloped landscapes surround the nominated eighty acres. A semi-improved quarter-section road separate the site from cultivated croplands to the north. These fields includes 240 acres once owned and farmed by Daniel Muir. Undeveloped county park land borders the eighty acres to the west and southwest, and private woodlands adjoin the site to the east and southeast. West of the county park the U. S. Fish and Wildlife Service owns and protects approximately 650 acres as a sandhill crane refuge. The Wee White Kirk, a United Presbyterian Church built in 1865, stands in good condition approximately two miles southeast of Fountain Lake and complements the historic setting. In the graveyard of the church, Muir's brother-in-law and nephew, David Galloway and son, are buried. 12

None of the Muir-built structures still stand on the historic site. On a privately owned 17.11-acre parcel of the Muir eighty, a small four-room frame house rests amongst some trees on the knoll where the Muir dwelling stood, and it might stand on the depression of the historic home. The dwelling, a noncontributing building,

¹¹Aldo Leopold, <u>A Sand County Almanac</u> (New York: Oxford University Press, 1966), 102.

¹²Marquette County, Treasurer, Plat Map, Buffalo T. 14 N.-R. 9 E., revised 1980, Montello, Wisconsin.

¹³Two local John Muir enthusiasts, Erik Brynildson (the owner of the noncontributing house) and Millie Stanley, disagree on the location of the Muir house. Stanley believes that it stood between the lilac bushes where Brynildson places the log shanty. She contends that stones uncovered there belonged to the main house and argues that the Muir's would not have built a temporary log shelter on foundation stones. She also cites the recollection of a longtime resident of the area who claims that the house stood between the lilacs. Through documentary research and interviews with area residents, Brynildson is convinced that his house is on

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was built in 1946 or 1947 and was remodeled in the mid 1980s. In a field gradually sloping downward to the north from behind this house, indigenous prairie grass was planted in the spring of 1988. Two large lilac bushes and several old maple trees are the most visible Muir remnants on the property. John Muir's sister Sarah probably planted the lilacs during their first year at Fountain Lake (see Figure 3).

the Muir house site. He also has uncovered a number of square nails and other small artifacts around the foundation of the present dwelling. In addition, Erwin Schmitz, the son of the original owner of Brynildson's house, said he uncovered the stone ramp to Muir's root cellar when he helped dig out the cellar in the mid 1940s. The reminiscence of past farmers suggests that a depression between the huge lilac bushes was the location of the oak shanty.

¹⁴Erik R. Brynildson, interview with author, Fountain Lake Farm, Montello, Wisconsin, 8 June 1988 and 29 July 1988; Brynildson, "FROM THE ACORNS CAME THE BEAMS," 7-8; Erwin Schmitz, interview with author, Montello, Wisconsin, 8 June 1988; and personal observation, 29 July 1988.

¹⁵Brynildson had a dense stand of red pine removed from the field north of his house and planted the prairie grass. He believes that several old maple trees near his house were planted by the Muirs. Based on the location of the trees lining the Muir house in a photograph, C. 1863, this is possible (see Figures 4-8).

¹⁶Wolfe, Son of the Wilderness, 29.

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<u>Historical Context: Conservation</u>

During the nineteenth century, an interest in conserving the natural resources of the United States evolved from the ideas of a small group of intellectuals and artists to a major public policy movement by the 1890s. By the late 1890s, two factions surfaced within the movement: 1. conservationists who advocated the rational-scientific management of natural resources development and 2. preservationists who emphasized the protection of wilderness areas from human development. John Muir emerged as a figurehead and leading exponent of the preservation faction. His life endeavors ranged from farmer and inventor to naturalist, writer, and wilderness preservationist. In his experience and intellectual achievements, Muir epitomized Ralph Waldo Emerson's ideal educated person. While attracted to books as a youth and an avid reader in his later years, Muir's development as a leading naturalist stemmed more from life experiences: first on the Wisconsin frontier and then on his many wilderness travels.

A century of feverish settlement and development of the public domain preceded the emergence of the conservation movement as a national force in public policy. The Muir family was part of this wave of growth. In 1849, in the company of his father, sister, and brother, ten-year-old John Muir left Scotland for the United States. His journey to the New World resulted largely from a personal religious odyssey of the naturalist's father, Daniel Muir. The latter belonged to the Disciples of Christ, a strict form of

¹See Roderick Nash, <u>Wilderness and the American Mind</u>, 3d ed. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982) and Roy M. Robbins, <u>Our Landed Heritage: The Public Domain</u>, <u>1776-1936</u> (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1962 Reprint).

²Daniel Muir's wife, Anne, and their four other children remained in Scotland until he established a new home. At the time, the Muir family included seven children. Margaret (b. 1834), Sarah (b. 1836), John (b. 1838), and David (b. 1840) were the oldest and were followed by Daniel, Jr. and twins Mary and Annie born in 1843, and 1846 respectively. An eighth child, Joanna, was born later in America. Sarah and David Muir were with John and their father on the initial voyage. John Muir turned eleven years old during the trip.

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Calvinism, originating in America's Great Revival and advocating a religious individualism that "preached literal adherence to the New Testament without frills or clerical interference." Although a prospering grain merchant in Dunbar, Scotland, Daniel Muir emigrated to North America to become a landowner and for the freedom to practice his personal brand of religion on the rural frontier.

Upon leaving Scotland, he headed for the Wisconsin prairie after learning that other Disciples had settled there and that the state had planned a Fox and Wisconsin River canal transportation system to connect the state's interior to the St. Lawrence and the Gulf of Mexico. The Muirs landed in New York City and went by boat to Albany and then across the Erie Canal to Buffalo. In Buffalo, conversations with a Scotsman and a local grain dealer convinced Daniel Muir to look for a site in the Marquette County region of Wisconsin. With his three children he traveled across the Great Lakes to Milwaukee and then overland to Kingston. At Kingston, he learned of another Scotsman, Alexander Gray, who knew the section lines and helped Muir select a farm site about six miles northwest of Kingston.

They immediately began to ready the land for the arrival of Anne Muir, John's mother, and the children who remained in Scotland. With the help of Gray and several other farmers, Daniel Muir built a log shanty for shelter. During this first spring and summer, John Muir's main chore was to help his sister Sarah while his father and a hired hand planted the first year's crops. In early November 1849, after the planting and the construction of the principal farmhouse, the rest of the family arrived from Scotland.⁵

³Frederick Turner, <u>Rediscovering America: John Muir in His Time and Ours</u> (New York: Viking Penguin, Inc., 1985), 5-8, 10, 15, 28-29; and John Muir, <u>The Story of My Boyhood and Youth</u> (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1913), 58-59.

⁴Turner, <u>Rediscovering America</u>, 33-37; Linnie Marsh Wolfe, <u>Son of the Wilderness: The Life of John Muir</u> (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1945), 25; and Muir, <u>My Boyhood and Youth</u>, 58-59.

⁵Turner, <u>Rediscovering America</u>, 36-37, 41; Wolfe, <u>Son of the Wilderness</u>, 26-29; and Muir, <u>My Boyhood and Youth</u>, 54, 62.

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Life on the Fountain Lake farm provided John Muir with lasting impressions of the American wilderness. He brought a fondness for nature with him from Scotland, but the contrast of the uncultivated American frontier to that of a developed and over-populated Scotland thrilled John Muir and his brother David. During the first spring and summer at Fountain Lake, they spent much time exploring the countryside. No one lived within a four-mile radius of their home, and the two boys scoured the area for birds' nests and wild animals while their father planted the first crop. In The Story of My Boyhood and Youth, an autobiography written near the end of his life, John Muir wrote of this first contact with America in charged romantic prose:

This sudden plash into pure wilderness--baptism in Nature's warm heart--how utterly happy it made us! Nature streaming into us wooingly teaching her wonderful glowing lessons so unlike the dismal grammar ashes and cinders so long thrashed into us. Here without knowing it we still were at school; every wild lesson a love lesson, not whipped but charmed into us. Oh, that glorious Wisconsin wilderness!

He most treasured the meadow fronting Fountain Lake. In an 1870 letter to his brother David, during the second year of his initial sojourn in the Sierras, he said, "Some of the happiest days of my life were in that old slantwalled garret and among the smooth creeks that trickled among the sedges of the Fountain Lake Meadow."

Within four years of the Muir's arrival on the edge of the American frontier, other immigrants and a few American pioneer farmers had consumed most of the land about them, and the

⁶Turner, <u>Rediscovering America</u>, 37; Muir, <u>My Boyhood and Youth</u>, 63-64, 211; and Wolfe, <u>Son of the Wilderness</u>, 28-29.

Millie Stanley, "John Muir in Wisconsin," <u>The Pacific Historian</u> 29 (Summer/Fall, 1985): 7.

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wilderness gave way to the ax and the plow. At the Fountain Lake farm, Muir learned firsthand the hardship of farm life. His father considered cultivating virgin soil akin to a religious act, and his fundamentalist interpretation of Christianity translated into a rigorous daily regimen of work and worship for his sons and elder daughters. John Muir, like the sons of many pioneer farmers, started plowing at the age of twelve and, because he was the oldest boy, bore most of the responsibility for uprooting tree stumps and splitting rails for zigzag fences.

During Muir's youth, an interest in nature offered an escape from the hard farm labor and seeded his mind with experiences that he drew upon in developing his nature philosophy and preservation ethos. In The Story of My Boyhood and Youth, he recalled many instances in which animals on the Fountain Lake farm demonstrated qualities that nineteenth-century Judeao-Christian orthodoxy solely recognized as being human. For example, on one occasion, Muir was struck by the terror shown by a sow after an Indian presumably shot one of her piglets. He said:

The solemn awe and fear in the eyes of that old mother and those little pigs I never can forget; it was as unmistakable and deadly a fear as I ever saw expressed by any human eye, and corroborated in no uncertain way the oneness of all of us. 10

As a youngster in Wisconsin, Muir developed a special fondness for birds. He presented a full chapter of his autobiography, "A Paradise of Birds," on the subject and, again, the stories often professed the "humanity" of birds and all animals. Muir, of

⁸Muir, <u>My Boyhood and Youth</u>, 211, 218-219; and Turner <u>Rediscovering America</u>, 37.

⁹Muir, My Boyhood and Youth, 220-223.

¹⁰Muir, <u>My Boyhood and Youth</u>, 88-89.

¹¹Lisa Mighetto, "John Muir and the Rights of Animals," <u>The</u> <u>Pacific Historian</u> 29 (Summer/Fall, 1985): 106-107.

¹²Muir, <u>My Boyhood and Youth</u>, 150-158.

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course, wrote these accounts of animal behavior late in life when long since removed from the farm. In fact, the young Wisconsin Muir frequently hunted and played practical jokes with animals, and in his autobiography the most poignant renditions of the behavior of birds involved hunting incidents. Muir, however, formulated his basic beliefs regarding humans and nature during his early adulthood, and the large number of human-like animal stories that he recalled from his youth indicates that he attributed much to their influence on his thinking.

He also experienced firsthand the destructive farming methods that accelerated human development of the wilderness. The form of agriculture that the Muirs practiced soon exhausted the sandy soil of the Fountain Lake farm. Their wheat yield declined from twenty-five to five or six bushels per acre and when they turned to corn the results were similar. John Muir noted in his autobiography the wasteful farming practices of his father and other Old World merchants and mechanics who, although ignorant of agricultural methods, turned to farming in America. The crude method of farming fueled Muir's preservation activism in that the experience contributed to his dislike for rampant settlement and its consumption of the wilderness.

In the spring of 1855, in a move that strained the relations between father and elder son, Daniel Muir bought 320 acres of land approximately five miles southeast of Fountain Lake. Daniel Muir sold 120 acres of the Fountain Lake farm to David Galloway, who married his daughter, Sarah Muir, in December 1856. Commenting on the move in later years, John Muir wrote:

After eight years of this dreary work of clearing the Fountain Lake farm, fencing it and getting it in perfect order, building a frame house and the necessary

¹³Turner, <u>Rediscovering America</u>, 48-50; Wolfe, <u>Son of the Wilderness</u>, 41-42; and Muir, <u>My Boyhood and Youth</u>, 218-221.

¹⁴Marquette County, Register of Deeds, Vol. 2, pages 174-176, Montello, Wisconsin.

¹⁵Wolfe, <u>Son of the Wilderness</u>, 42; and Deeds, Vol. 6, pages 510-511.

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outbuildings for the cattle and horses, --after all this had been victoriously accomplished, and we had made out to escape with life, --father bought a half-section of wild land about four or five miles to the eastward and began all over again to clear and fence and break up other fields for a new farm, doubling all the stunting, heartbreaking chopping, grubbing, stump-digging, rail-splitting, fence-building, barn-building, house-building, and so forth. 16

Responsible for much of the clearing, John Muir assumed more and more of the work at the new farm, Hickory Hill, while his aging father concentrated on religious studies and preaching. In time, Daniel Muir relinquished all farm work to his children.

John Muir increasingly rebelled against his father's strict rule, and the breach between father and son resulted in the younger Muir leaving the farm. The rebellion took the form of frequent arguments, often involving his father's interpretation of scripture as it influenced their daily lives, and an increasing amount of time spent inventing. He designed and whittled from wood a number of clocks, thermometers, and other gauges. The inventions, along with an interest in literature, helped "in elevating him above the circumstances of his life." They provided the key to the outside world. As he stated in his autobiography, "These inventions, though of little importance, opened all doors for me and made marks that have lasted many years, simply, I suppose, because they were

¹⁶Muir, <u>My Boyhood and Youth</u>, 226-227. The transaction included the eighty acres in this nomination. Hickory Hill is excluded from the nomination for two principal reasons: 1. the compromised integrity of its historic structures and 2. the association with the Fountain Lake farm contributed more to Muir's development as a naturalist and preservation leader than did the association with Hickory Hill.

¹⁷Muir, My Boyhood and Youth, 252-256, 272; Wolfe, Son of the Wilderness, 52-60; and Turner, Rediscovering America, 73.

¹⁸ Turner, Rediscovering America, 73.

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original and promising."19

In September 1860, John Muir left the farm to display his inventions at the Wisconsin State Agricultural Fair in Madison. They won him a prize at the fair, and the recognition resulted in a job offer from a machine shop in Prairie du Chien, Wisconsin. The work, however, proved a disappointment, and Muir returned to Madison and entered the University of Wisconsin.²⁰

Beginning in early 1861, he spent two and a half years at the While attending the university, Muir found in the Transcendentalist writings of Emerson and Thoreau a perception of nature compatible with his own. The philosophy helped to reconcile his love of nature with his strict Calvinist upbringing. Transcendentalists turned the Calvinist fear of the wilderness on its head. Calvinism, emphasizing human being's inherent evil nature, preached that dwelling in the "moral vacuum of the wilderness" would lead man to sin. On the other hand, Transcendentalists considered humans basically good and saw no threat in the wilderness. In fact, they believed that they could get closest to God through contact with the natural world free of "man's artificial constructs." During his early wilderness travels, John Muir came to reject society's anthropocentric view of man's relationship to nature. A leading historian in conservation history, Roderick Nash, points to Muir's belief that all creation has an intrinsic value apart from any utilitarian value to humans as his "most original" intellectual contribution to conservation. Muir articulated this belief in an 1867 travel journal kept during his "thousand mile walk" before migrating to California:

Nature's object in making animals and plants might possibly be first of all the happiness of each one of them, not the creation of all for the happiness of one. Why ought man to value himself as more than an infinitely small composing unit to the one great unit of creation?

¹⁹Muir, <u>My Boyhood and Youth</u>, 252-256, 272.

²⁰Wolfe, <u>Son of the Wilderness</u>, 56-64; Turner <u>Rediscovering</u> <u>America</u>, 84-89; Muir, <u>My Boyhood and Youth</u>, 262-264; and Stanley, "John Muir in Wisconsin," 10-11.

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. . . The universe would be incomplete without man; but it would also be incomplete without the smallest transmicroscopic creature that dwells beyond our conceitful eyes and Knowledge. 21

These ideas fueled Muir's preservation activism and his subsequent split from conservationists, such as Gifford Pinchot, who advocated a utilitarian form of conservation or the scientific management of natural resources for man's use. It is difficult, if not impossible, to measure the degree of importance of Muir's experience at the Fountain Lake farm as compared to that of the university of his thousand mile walk, in the development of this fundamental aspect of his nature philosophy. John Muir, however, identified the Fountain Lake farm as the birthplace of his interest in preserving wilderness for its own sake.²²

During a second year at the university, Muir discovered botany through contact with a fellow student and began the systematic study of plants. The study of botany was a revelation and awakened Muir to the possibility of turning play, as in his passion for exploring nature, into his life's work. He took this new fond avocation back to Fountain Lake, where he observed the landscape with a new vigor.

Until, 1864, he still considered the Wisconsin farms his home and spent the summers there between terms at the university. In the summer of 1862, after his introduction to botany, Muir worked the Fountain Lake land of his sister and brother-in-law. His parents had leased the Hickory Hill farm and had moved to Portage.

²¹Nash, <u>Wilderness and the American Mind</u>, 86, 124-129; Stephen Fox, <u>John Muir and His Legacy: The American Conservation Movement</u> (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1981), 53; Edmund A. Schofield, "John Muir's Yankee Friends and Mentors: The New England Connection," <u>The Pacific Historian</u> 29 (Summer/Fall, 1985): 86-87; and Richard F. Fleck, "John Muir's Homage to Henry David Thoreau," <u>The Pacific Historian</u> 29 (Summer/Fall, 1985): 56-57.

²²William F. Bade, ed., <u>The Life and Letters of John Muir</u>, Vol. 1 (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1923), 158-159.

²³Turner, <u>Rediscovering America</u>, 99-100.

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Free from his father's pressures, John Muir spent the off-hours, which included evenings, collecting plant specimens from around the farm and lake. Later, after a six or seven month stay at Fountain Lake in the mid 1860s and before leaving for his first solitary wilderness walk, he first demonstrated an interest in preserving a piece of nature from human development when he tried to protect the sedge meadow on the Fountain Lake farm.

Between 1864 and 1896, John Muir tried to purchase and preserve in its natural state a forty-acre meadow on the Fountain Lake farm on at least three occasions. Following his last year at the University of Wisconsin, after he and two college friends journeyed on foot to the Mississippi River, Muir returned to the Fountain Lake farm where he stayed through the autumn of 1863 and into the early winter of 1864. It was an anxious time for Muir. Now twenty-five years old, he brooded over his future. Already considered an oddity by many, his family and friends feared he was turning into a "misfit," and were pressuring him to select a career. Moreover, the uncertainty of the Civil War draft confronted him. He resisted the outside expectations and, in February, decided to leave for the Canadian wilderness at the first sign of spring. His brother Daniel had already left for Canada to avoid the draft. Years later, in an 1895 speech delivered to the Sierra Club, Muir suggested that he first tried to set aside a

²⁴Turner, Rediscovering America, 93, 100; Wolfe, Son of the Wilderness, 72; and Muir, My Boyhood and Youth, 131-132, 279; In his autobiography, Muir mistakenly wrote that he returned to the Hickory Hill farm after his introduction to botany. But, as his biographers have noted, Muir's recalled time sequence of events associated with his university years conflicts with the record. First, in his autobiography Muir claimed to have spent four years at college, but documentary evidence indicated that he only went two and a half years. He also noted that a fellow student, named Griswold, first introduced him to botany. Based on the papers of Milton Griswold, at the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, this occurred in June 1862. Muir's mother and father had leased out the Hickory Hill farm that year. Muir spent the summer of 1862 at Fountain Lake as described by the biographers above.

²⁵Wolfe, <u>Son of the Wilderness</u>, 84-90; and Turner, <u>Rediscovering America</u>, 111.

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piece of wilderness at the Fountain Lake farm before the 1864 departure. He told the club:

The preservation of specimen sections of natural flora--bits of pure wilderness--was a fond, favorite notion of mine long before I heard of national parks. father came from Scotland, he settled in a fine wild region of Wisconsin, beside a small glacier lake bordered with white pond-lilies. And on the north side of the lake, just below our house, there was a carex meadow full of charming flowers . . . and around the margin of the meadow many nooks rich in flowering ferns and heathworts. And when I was about to wander away on my long rambles I was sorry to leave that precious meadow unprotected; therefore, I said to my brother-in-law, who then owned it, "Sell me the forty acres of lake meadow, and keep it fenced, and never allow cattle or hogs to break into it, and I will gladly pay you whatever you say. I want to keep it untrampled for the sake of its ferns and flowers."26

David Galloway, Muir's brother-in-law, refused the offer; he called it impractical because a fence would eventually give way and would fail to keep the animals out. In 1865, he sold the eighty acres of the Fountain Lake farm that included the meadow to James Whitehead who later sold it to William and John Ennis. Yet Galloway retained the right to remain on the property until March 1, 1867. Sometime before the latter date, he and his wife Sarah moved to a new farm, named Mound Hill, just north of Portage.²⁷

Several years after his last extended visit to Wisconsin, John Muir made another attempt to protect the Fountain Lake meadow. In March 1866, he left Canada for Indianapolis and found employment at Osgood, Smith & Company, a large carriage manufacturer. He had

²⁶William Bade, ed., <u>The Life and Letters of John Muir</u>, Vol. 1 (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1923), 158-159; and Stanley, "John Muir in Wisconsin," 13-14.

²⁷Bade, <u>Life and Letters</u>, Vol. 1, 158-159, fn 50-51; Stanley, "John Muir in Wisconsin," 13-14; Deeds, Vol. 7, page 469; Vol. 11, page 524; and Nash, <u>Wilderness and the American Mind</u>, 130.

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not explicitly committed to pursuing the life of a naturalist and still considered getting a livelihood from machines and invention. One year later, this changed after an industrial accident momentarily blinded him. Muir, thereafter, committed himself to the exploration and study of nature. He went to Wisconsin to recuperate and boarded with David and Sarah Galloway at Mound Hill. He visited Fountain Lake and Hickory Hill, where his father and mother once more resided. The strained relations with his father resurfaced, as Daniel Muir harangued his son and called his interest in science and nature blasphemous. At the end of August 1867, John Muir left Wisconsin to begin his thousand mile walk to Florida. Four years later, he again tried to purchase and preserve the lake meadow.

A series of letters between John Muir and the Galloways in 1871 offer the most reliable evidence of naturalist's desire to preserve the Wisconsin site. By this time, the naturalist had lived more than three years in the Sierras and had emerged as a celebrated quide and expert of this California wilderness. He frequently corresponded with friends and relatives in Wisconsin. In letters to his sister and brother-in-law, he solicited their help in purchasing the Fountain Lake meadow from the Ennis brothers. Muir gave the following instructions in a September letter: "If you think that the cattle and hogs can be kept off by any ordinary care and fencing, I wish you would offer Ennis from two and a half to ten dollars as you can agree, but if you think that the stock cannot be fenced out I do not care to have the land at all." The transaction never materialized, for Ennis wanted too high a price, and David Galloway doubted the prospect of keeping livestock off the land. Galloway, however, made an effort to protect a small pond, called Fern Lake, on his Mound Hill farm.2

Local historian Millie Stanley has documentary evidence of an attempt by Muir to preserve the meadow in 1896, the year after his

²⁸Wolfe, <u>Son of the Wilderness</u>, 97-107.

²⁹Ibid., 106, 116; and Stanley, "John Muir in Wisconsin," 13-14. In his 1895 speech before the Sierra Club, Muir mistakenly said that his brother-in-law still owned Fountain Lake eighteen years after his first attempt to purchase the meadow (see note 25).

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speech to the Sierra Club, on his final visit to Wisconsin. By this time, livestock had trampled the sod around the Fountain Lake meadow and, on Galloway's Mound Hill farm, the lush vegetation around little Fern Lake was gone. The inability to find a way to protect the Fountain Lake property once more prevented the deal. Decades later, in the late 1980s, cattle nearly have pounded Fern Lake "out of existence." On the other hand, Fountain Lake fared better, as Marquette County purchased the land and removed it from farm use as part of the John Muir Memorial County Park. 30

Assessment of Significance

There are two National Park System properties, Muir Woods National Monument and the John Muir National Historic Site, in California, recognizing the naturalist. In 1908, President Theodore Roosevelt declared Muir Woods, a redwood coastal forest San Francisco, a national monument. California Congressman William Kent and his wife Elizabeth Thacher Kent donated the original acreage and asked President Roosevelt to name the monument after Muir. The naturalist's association with Muir Woods National Monument was indirect. On the other hand, the John Muir National Historic Site has a strong direct historic link to its namesake. Originally part of a fruit ranch built by Dr. John Strentzel, Muir inherited the property through his marriage to Louie Wanda Strentzel and, when not traveling, resided there from 1880 until his death in 1914. The Muir historic site, consisting of approximately eight acres, has two historic structures, a twostory adobe built in 1851 and a larger frame "manor" house built in 1881.

³⁰Wolf, <u>Son of the Wilderness</u>, 233-236, 252-254, 269-270; and Stanley, "John Muir in Wisconsin," 14-15; Preparing to publish a book on Muir in Wisconsin, Ms. Stanley has refused to release her evidence of the 1896 attempt by Muir to purchase the meadow, but she assured the author during a telephone conversation that she has documented the event.

³¹Wolfe, <u>Son of the Wilderness</u>, 214-216, 251, 267-268, 338, 343; <u>Muir Woods National Monument-California</u>, Golden Gate National Recreation Area, National Park Service, U. S. Department of the Interior (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office,

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Outside of the wilderness, John Muir most associated the Wisconsin farms and the California ranch with home. The years at the ranch corresponded with the bulk of Muir's literary career and preservation policy activities. In the second-story "scribble den" of the big house, Muir wrote his books, beginning with The Mountains of California published in 1894. His books and articles were widely read by the general public and influential opinion makers and politicians. Viewing book making as a chore performed more out of a sense of duty than joy, he wrote to interest the public in nature and to influence public policy. While associated with the ranch, he contributed to the establishment of Yosemite National Park and Sequoia National Park. He worked for forest conservation and management legislation and advised President Theodore Roosevelt on land preservation. 32 In contrast to his fondness for the "wild" parts of the Wisconsin farm landscape, Muir perceived the California ranch as a business environment, historical significance of the two sites was very different.

The Wisconsin experiences of his youth and early adulthood laid the foundation for his nature philosophy and preservation ethos, whereas the California writings of his later life articulated this philosophy to the public. Living on the northern frontier and turning wild land into the Fountain Lake farm had a fundamental impact on Muir's development as a naturalist and preservationst. It placed him close to nature in which he found an escape from the hardship of farm labor. Muir repeatedly demonstrated in his autobiography that the exploration of the Wisconsin frontier landscape, especially around Fountain Lake, and

^{1987.);} and U. S. Department of the Interior, <u>Conservation of Natural Resources</u>, The National Survey of Historic Sites and Buildings, Theme XIX, prepared by the National Park Service, Washington, D. C., 1963, 187-188.

³²U. S. Department of the Interior, <u>Conservation of Natural Resources</u>, 187-188; and Wolfe, <u>Son of the Wilderness</u>, 214-216, 251, 267-268.

³³Turner, <u>Rediscovering America</u>, 270, 290; and Sara J. Kuhl, "Birthday honoree influenced in state," <u>Daily Register</u> (Portage), 21 April 1988.

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encounters with animals impressed him with experiences that influenced his early rejection of society's anthropocentric attitude toward nature. Of course, a number of persons, ideas and observations contributed to the development of his fundamental nature philosophy before he went to California. For example, Muir recalled how, during his trek into the Canadian wilderness near Lake Huron, a chance encounter with a bed of rare white orchids strongly moved him because they would have lived and died unseen by human eyes had he not stumbled upon them. Their existence, he later mused, had little relevance to humans. In addition, he read Darwin's theories on evolution in 1867, and this too greatly influenced his thinking on nature and his 1867 journal writings. Yet Muir, himself, traced the beginning of his interest in the preservation of wild land from human development to the Fountain Lake farm.

Before leaving the farm for his first travels, John Muir demonstrated his preservation ethos with the attempt to preserve the Fountain Lake meadow for, as he later recalled, "the sake of its ferns and flowers." Thereafter, his repeated efforts to protect the meadow reflect its importance to him. Years later, Aldo Leopold proposed that the Wisconsin Conservation Department consider the site for a state park and natural area and celebrated Fountain Lake's importance to wilderness preservation in his <u>Sand County Almanac</u>. The idea, however, was dropped after Leopold suddenly died. Now, forty years later, after the Fountain Lake meadow underwent a natural rejuvenation following its inclusion in the John Muir Memorial County Park, two additional events have furthered its return to an appearance, resembling the historic landscape that Muir would recognize: 1. the Wisconsin Department of Natural Resources' designation of the undeveloped sections of

³⁴Roderick Nash, <u>The Rights of Nature: A History of Environmental Ethics</u> (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1989), 38-39, 42-43.

³⁵ Bade, The Life and Letters, Vol. 1, 158-159.

³⁶Aldo Leopold, <u>A Sand County Almanac</u> (New York: Oxford University Press, 1966), 15-16; and Aldo Leopold to Ernest Swift, 14 April 1948, John Muir File, External Affairs Office, National Park Service--Midwest Region, Omaha, Nebraska.

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the park as a Wisconsin Natural Area and 2. the Sierra Club's donation of land to be given to the county park to help buffer the Muir site. These two efforts in wilderness land management, the latter by an organization co-founded by Muir, further a "favorite notion" of his: the preservation of the Fountain Lake meadow from which Muir traced the beginning of his philosophical development.

[&]quot;Muir Park Natural Area Report," Wisconsin Department of Natural Resources, July, 1971; and Sara J. Kuhl, "John Muir honored in timeless birthday celebration," <u>Daily Register</u> (Portage), 18 April 1988; and Erik R. Brynildson, "Restoring the Fountain of John Muir's Youth," <u>Wisconsin Academy Review</u>, 34 (December 1988): 9; The Sierra Club donated 27.30 acres located in the northwest corner of the park and adjacent to the eighty-acre Muir site. They transferred title to the land to the Nature Conservancy of Wisconsin, Inc., who is listed as the owner in the 1988 tax rolls of Marquette County, and the Conservancy intends eventually to donate the land to the county. Based on a telephone conversation to the Conservancy, the organization still owns the property as of 9 May 1989. This 27.30 acres is included in this report's description of the county park acreage as totaling approximately 162 acres.

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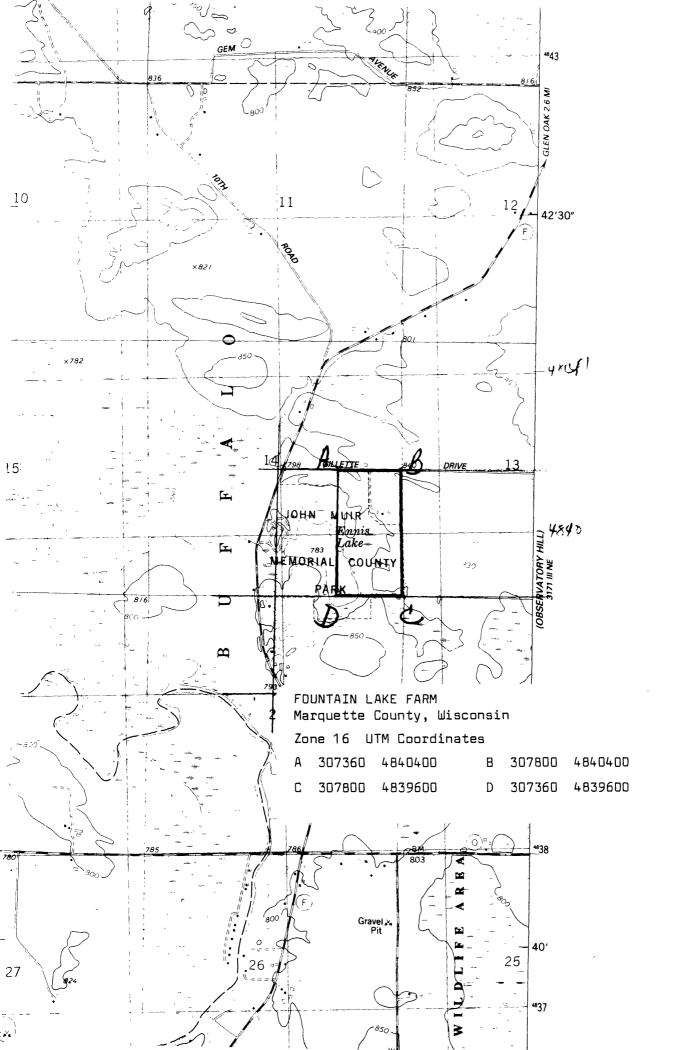
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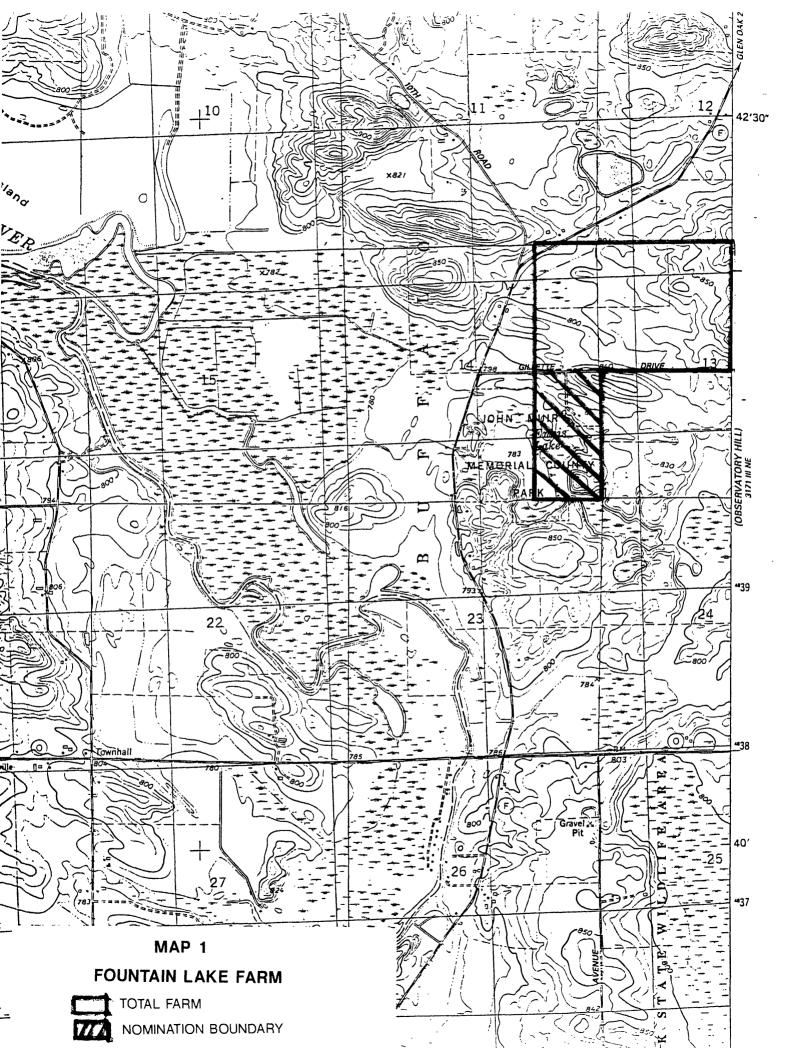
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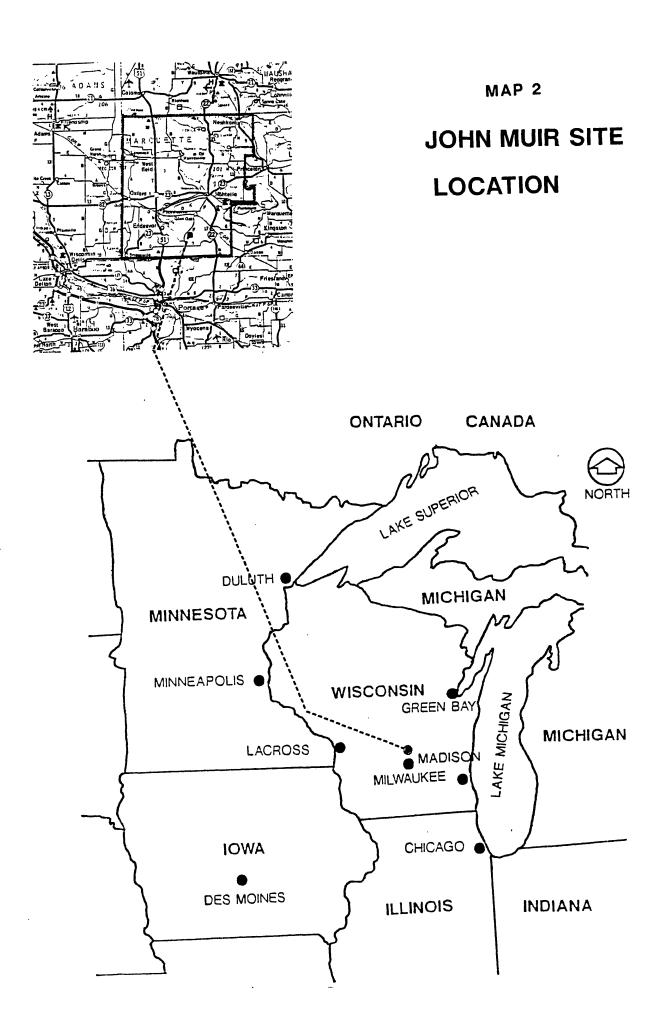
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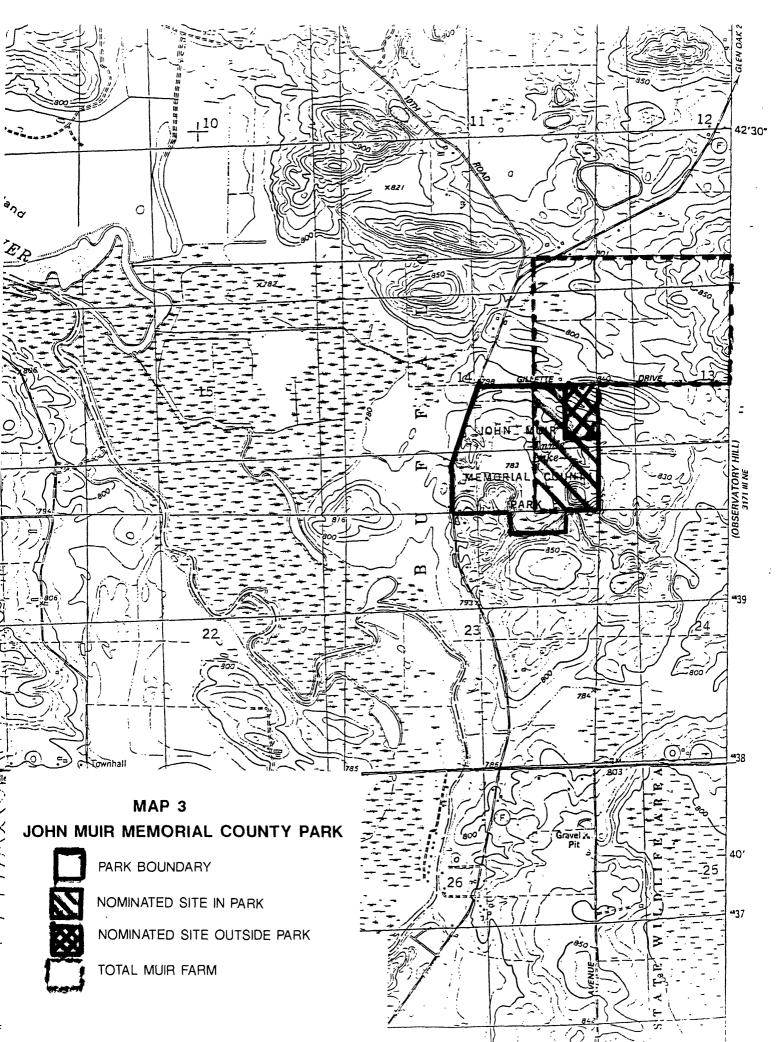
Boundary Justification

The boundaries of the Muir Fountain Lake farm site were selected to include the principal natural features, meadow and lake front, that John Muir admired, studied and tried to preserve; the land where the farm structures once stood and where the lilacs and maple trees probably planted by the Muir family still exist; and the original land that they cleared for cultivation. The south, east, and west borders of the site correspond to the legal boundaries of the Muir property. A semi-improved road, Gillette Drive, following a quarter-section line, marks the site's north border.









MAP 4

JOHN MUIR MEMORIAL COUNTY PARK AND NOMINATED SITE

