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A Historical Geography of Sand Island

1870 - 1944

Lucas Pier Johnson

A THESIS

Presented to the Faculty of
The Graduate College at the University of Nebraska
In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
For the Degree of Master of Arts

Major: Geography

Under the Supervision of Professor David J. Wishart

Lincoln, Nebraska

May 2013

A Historical Geography of Sand Island

1870 - 1944

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University of Nebraska 2013

Adviser: David J. Wishart

This thesis examines the settlement of Sand Island, one of two permanent colonies included within Lake Superior's Apostle Islands archipelago. Following the introduction and literature review, a summary of Sand Island's geology, climate and biological features is presented, serving to construct a baseline upon which to build a discussion of the island's communal life. This foundation gives context to the seventy-four year struggle faced by the predominantly Norwegian immigrants adapting to that environment. It also serves to assist future scholars in studying wilderness recovery after what today is nearly an eighty year absence of the farmer's plow. Chapter Four includes a description of the pre-colonial exploration and land use, linking the native population with the incoming Europeans. It continues with the discussion of the Sand Island settlers, those who colonized and developed the island from a seasonal fish camp to a place of permanent residence. Much detail about each family is presented. In Chapter Five the study explores the islanders' cultural landscape as they moved from fishing shacks to family homes. Chapter Six details the community's livelihoods, predominantly those of fishing, farming, and lumbering. Chapter Seven describes the routine aspects of daily life, a life isolated at times by cultural traditions and intermittently by an impassable body of water. The final chapter includes an examination of this property managed by the Department of the Interior. As the National Park Service missions are refined or redefined, the land management plans for this park have evolved in a process that continues to assess the cultural significance of Sand Island.

To Edith Lucille Poole and

Mathilda Josephine Voss

Who gave me a love for history, exploration and an insatiable desire to learn

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In the mid 90's Hillary Clinton wrote a book called "It Takes a Village." The premise of the book is that it takes more than a parent to successfully raise a child. The same can be said for completing a master's thesis. Without the support of a whole village of people this project would not have been completed.

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Bert Hill at the Bayfield County Press Circa 1908. (Photo Courtesy of AINL)

"The Earth"

Once in his life a man ought to concentrate his mind upon
the remembered earth, I believe.

He ought to give himself up
to a particular landscape in his experience, to look at it from
as many angles as he can, to wonder about it, to dwell upon it.

He ought to imagine that he touches it with his hands at
every season and listens to the sounds that are made upon
it.

He ought to imagine the creatures there and all the faintest
motions of the wind.

He ought to recollect the glare of noon and
all the colors of the dawn and dusk.

For we are held by more than the force of gravity to the earth.

It is the entity from which we are sprung, and that into which
we are dissolved in time.

The blood of the whole human race
is invested in it.

We are moored there, rooted as surely, as
deeply as are the ancient redwoods and bristlecones.

N. Scott Momaday. The Way To Rainy Mountain.
Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1969, p. 83

Chapter One

Introduction

In a March 1911 speech to the Canadian Campers Club Robert Bradford Marshall, the Chief Topographer of the United States Geological Survey, said, “Give them national parks where they can go every year or so and forget something of the rush and jam and scramble to the modern life...”(Runte 1987, 95-96). Since 1916, the National Park Service has been doing just that, setting aside natural, and some non-natural, areas that are significant for one reason or another. Some parks, Yosemite and Yellowstone for example, have breathtaking scenery and unique ecosystems. Other sites, National Battlefields and National Historic Sites for instance, have historic and cultural significance. Some parks are a combination of both. The Apostle Islands National Lakeshore (AINL) is one of those parks where the natural and the cultural co-exist, creating a unique geography. Newspaperman Sam Fifield wrote:

Of all the charming spots that gladden the eye and heart, there are none that equal the magical islands of the Apostle group. How lovely they are, reflecting their brilliant foliage in the glistening waters that kiss their brownstone shores (Ashland Weekly Press, 1895).

The Apostle Islands (Appendix A: Maps) are a twenty-two-island archipelago in Lake Superior off the northern coast of Wisconsin. Home to dense forests and pristine beaches, the Apostles possess a natural beauty that has endured since the recession of the Wisconsin Glacier. For the past 14,000 years picturesque water-worn sandstone caves have formed to enhance the shorelines. Wildlife abounds in this preserve. The Apostle Islands today are home to a large black bear population.

Stockton Island, in fact, has the densest population of black bears in the United States. Long Island is the on-and-off again home to Piping Plovers, an endangered species, and has been named a critical habitat for the bird by the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service. The islands are also a perennial rest stop for migrating birds. In the spring and fall thousands of songbirds and raptors alight from their arduous journeys to restore their energy and to partake of the area's nourishment.

The Apostles have a rich cultural heritage. Humans have called the Apostle Islands home for thousands of years. Prehistoric peoples used the islands for fishing camps. Later, Native Americans used them for hunting and fishing. Early European inhabitants used the largest, Madeline Island, as a fur trading post. For a time, it was the busiest post on the western Great Lakes. As European immigrants and Americans began populating the region, the Apostle Islands played an important role. Europeans, predominantly Norwegians, took a page from the Native peoples' book when they set up seasonal fish camps on the islands. While lumber companies were prolifically harvesting the great north woods of Wisconsin, they, too, set up seasonal camps on several islands.

As economic activity expanded in the region, the federal government took notice, and set its sights on the Apostle Islands. The Great Lakes were beginning their role as an important commercial highway. Steamships were bringing goods and people to ports around the lakes.

The Apostle Islands are home to what some have said is the "...finest single collection of lighthouses in the country" (Holland, 1989). The lighthouses, numbering nine in all, with six active, were built in two phases. The lights on Raspberry, Long and Michigan Islands were built to guide boats through the Apostle Islands into the important port of La Pointe on Madeline Island. Later, as the ports of Duluth and Superior gained importance in the iron ore and grain

trades, lights were established on Outer, Devils and Sand Island to guide ships around the archipelago.

Initially the main occupations on the islands were lighthouse keeping, fishing, stone quarrying, and lumbering. These were seasonal affairs. Part of the year would be spent in the lighthouses or camps on the islands while the rest of the year would be spent pursuing other work on the mainland. Thus most of these islands were vacant for months each year.

Two islands were not emptied: Madeline Island on the east side of the chain and Sand Island on the far west(Fig 1.1). Each had a year-round population. Madeline was home to a trading post established in 1693. A community exists on the island today and maintains the historical name La Pointe. It is because of this town, with a current population of about 150 year round residents, that Madeline Island is not a part of the Apostle Islands National Lakeshore.

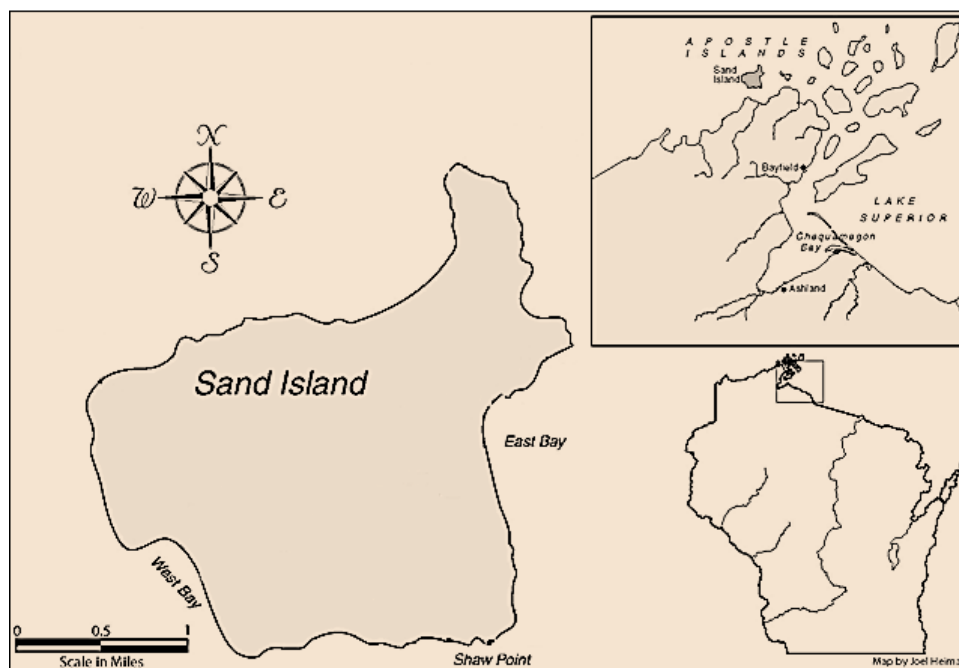


Figure 1.1 Sand Island Map. (Courtesy of Joel Hieman)

From the 1880's to the 1940's Sand Island also had a year-round population that peaked at between seventy-five and 100 people. Its inhabitants made a living farming the land and fishing the surrounding waters. This community is my interest. Sand Island is then, to return to Scott Momaday, the remembered earth to be looked at it from as many angles as relevant to "wonder, dwell and recollect upon in the glare of the noon and all colors of the dawn and dusk."

In his book *Geography and History: Bridging the Divide* (2003), geographer Alan R. H. Baker defines historical geography as comprising a geographical analysis of the past. Its methods of inquiry are shared with the discipline of history, and its problems and perspectives with the discipline of geography. Its questions and subjects have changed over time and will change again, but several long-standing research areas, or themes, help to give the field coherence. These themes include location, environment, landscape, and region. They variously overlap with one another and neighboring disciplinary discussions (Baker 2003, 2-36).

In writing this historical geography of a place, information was collected from many different fields: geology, climate, botany, zoology, social history, economic history, and ecology. This thesis studies a particular place, Sand Island. The interest is in studying the settlers and their occupation of that island by covering such topics as their points of origin, economic and social activities, their reason for settling this area, and their effect on the Sand Island environment between the years 1870 and 1944.

It is hoped that this thesis will add to the literature on the human geography of distinctive places. Studies such as these are important to the general understanding of humanity's development, but in the end, the story of Sand Island covers an area of only 4.6 square miles and is, therefore, a case study. A case study, however, can shed light on many situations.

Following the introduction and literature review, the third chapter of this thesis will include discussions of Sand Island's geology and biology. Presenting the geology of the Lake Superior area serves in constructing a foundation upon which to build those aspects which attracted the lumbering, quarrying, farming, fishing and tourist industries to the Apostle Islands: the island's shallow waters, their nearly pure quartz sandstone, and the natural beauty of their sea caves. This geological overview has been absent from all geographies reviewed, and it is felt that it has enough significance to afford its inclusion. The information regarding the flora and fauna is included in an effort to assist in establishing a baseline of what the island looked like at the time of initial settlement. This is the context for the struggles the pioneers faced in the 1870's in subduing the environment, and this is also what it looks like today after an eighty year absence of the farmer's plow. In taking possession of the Apostle Islands, the National Park Service eventually determined that the majority of the lands would be formally designated a wilderness area. Sand Island, though being maintained as one of two living-historical sites in the Apostle Islands, is being allowed, with the exception of a few buildings and a campsite, to return predominantly to its pre-settlement state.

Chapter Four will include a description of the pre-colonial exploration and land use, linking the native population with the incoming European immigrants. It continues with the discussion of the Sand Island settlers, those who colonized and developed it from a seasonal fish camp to a place of permanent residence. Much detail about each family will be presented.

In Chapter Five the study will continue on the path of exploring the development of the islanders' landscape from fishing shacks to family homes. Chapter Six details the community's livelihoods. Chapter Seven describes the routine aspects of daily life, isolated by cultural traditions and at times an impassable body of water.

The final chapter will include an examination of a property managed by the Department of the Interior. As the National Park Service missions are redefined and refined, the land management plans for this park have also evolved. For some time the National Park Service has been in the process of revising the General Management Plan for the Apostle Islands. In April of 2011 the current plan was made public. This management document will govern the proposed park operation for the next fifteen to twenty years.

While most of the farmsteads on the island have disintegrated into ruins, the south end of the island, where the original settler of the island located, still has a large number of buildings which currently are used as summer homes under a National Park Service Use and Occupancy Agreement. Care and maintenance of these buildings will eventually be transferred to the Park Service and at that time a decision will be made as to the fate of these buildings. It is not the intention of this work to give testimony as to whether or not the maintenance of these buildings should continue after the last agreement has run its course.

The process of writing this thesis involved putting the information together in such a way that Sand Island's story was told. In an article for the *Journal of Historical Geography*, titled "The Selectivity of Historical Representation," University of Nebraska geographer David Wishart wrote about the process involved in constructing historical geographies. He said, "The facts are determined as much by the narrative as the other way around" (Wishart 1997, 114). Dr. Wishart went on to state, "The combining of facts into a narrative is not governed by a formula but achieved through countless idiosyncratic decisions made by the scholar" (Wishart 1997, 116). It is hoped that the decisions I made present a narrative faithful to the facts.

Chapter Two

Literature Review

Before setting out to explore this historical geography of Sand Island, it is important to connect this study to that which has gone before. A review of literature pertinent to this study focuses on those particular writings surrounding the founding, building, and settling of towns, the history of the Apostle Islands, and its geography. The review attempts to satisfy the question as to whether the study of this island belongs in the discipline of historical geography.

There are few secondary sources written about the day-to-day living on the Apostle Islands. A review of the important secondary sources appears at the end of this section. Most of the published material consists of travel guides, and this presented a challenge for research and analysis. While many scholarly studies have been completed encompassing the Apostle Islands, no author has examined Sand Island with the focus that I am attempting. Sand Island appears to be a historical geography waiting to be written.

Because of the scarcity of secondary sources, this thesis will use the primary sources available, including interviews with Richard Palm and Warren Jensch, descendants of Sand Islanders, and other professional contacts made by this author. When the National Park Service formed the Apostle Islands, it was quick to set up an historian's office. Over the years, this office, along with the Bayfield Heritage Association, conducted and commissioned oral and video histories with residents of the area, including interviews with four descendants of the initial Sand Island settlers. With the use of these oral histories there has been an effort to be sensitive to the potential difficulties that they possess. These oral histories were found to be an enjoyable and colorful form of storytelling, but there was an attempt to maintain an objectivity in evaluating the oral histories. Internal validity checks, where possible, were used in evaluating

whether the interviewer attempted to verify the accuracy of the distant memories of the respondents. External checks were used for corroborating evidence and comparing the interview information with material from sources such as government documents of Bayfield County, the National Park Service, and the area's newspapers --The Ashland Press, The Bayfield Press, The Iron River Pioneer and The Bayfield Mercury. One such verification was reached regarding the drowning event that took Herman Johnson's son John. While neither the Ashland nor the Bayfield Press made mention of the young fellow's passing, events of his death were included in diary entries by Fred Hansen and Burt Hill and are also referenced by Richard Palm in his correspondence. Such corroborations served to give a more widespread credibility to these documents.

The diary of Fred Hansen provides a focal point for this study. Burt Hill's diary was also an important historical support. Both were of exceptional help in reconstructing the life and struggles of the islanders.

Related Studies

While unable to find works that uniquely cover a similar settlement attempt, there are the following books and articles that study related aspects. These writings are important not because of the information they add to this study, but because the authors' findings make it unnecessary to develop new theories. These works speak more to the relationship that Sand Island and Bayfield, Wisconsin shared. Bayfield functioned as a hub, a center at which the Sand Island settlers were able to market their fish and from which Bayfield, in turn, sold to the markets of the surrounding metropolitan areas. Bayfield served Sand Island as a site where the settlers obtained provisions that could not be manufactured or readily purchased on the small island. It was a relationship almost of a farm to a village.

Howard A. Stafford Jr. in his 1963 article *The Functional Bases for Small Towns* explains the need for a town like Bayfield, Wisconsin in relation to Sand Island. He concludes that such towns exist as a bridge between the farms and fisheries of the hinterland and their urban markets. Certainly Sand Island, a hinterland collection of fishermen, was connected with the metropolitan Midwest by the small town of Bayfield, which possessed both water and rail routes. Sand Island was never a village in the classic sense. It was a gathering of like-minded neighborly people who created a settlement from which they could depart and to which they could return while working their robust fishing grounds. Bayfield served as its market place and a link to the outside world.

Stafford identifies another role that small communities afford their surrounding populations: a place for public gathering, places where both locals and farmers come and talk about the happenings of daily life. It is important to remember that these centers provide a vital social function in the community experience. Such was Bayfield when weather permitted or need demanded. Sand Islanders had no bars or restaurants, churches or hospitals, but they erected structures that served that purpose: the island store, post office, shipping dock and the school house. Sand Island families regularly met their social needs with visits to their neighbors' homes. While Camp Stella, a Sand Island seasonal resort, catered to mainland vacationers, the year-round population was also involved in some of its social life.

Bernard Peters, in his 1970 case study *Early Town-Site Speculation in Kalamazoo County, Michigan*, proposes that establishing a town required great attention to location, which is a key to boom or bust. What made one location more likely to succeed? Did a town need to exist before settlement occurred? Peters answers these questions. His study concludes that people often settled the land before towns were established and that a location along a navigable river or harbor on a Great Lake was coveted. The most successful towns were strategically centered so as

to provide easy access. Transportation, both land and water, weighed heavily on the minds of town builders and speculators. Such locations almost assured not only survival but prominence. The towns were established to provide goods and services. The most desired services were those that supported agricultural occupations, government administrating, and retailing. Such was the Bayfield-Sand Island relationship.

John C. Hudson's *Plains Country Towns* studies town building on the Great Plains. In this book Hudson looks at the towns in a region of eastern North Dakota. He follows these towns through their lifecycle. There seemed to be a similarity of process in the Apostle Islands; for this reason a review of this work is appropriate. The story of town building on the Plains was synonymous with railroading. Hudson cites Central Place Theory, developed in the 1920's and 1930's by Walter Christaller and modified in the 1950's by August Losch. One of the elements of this theory found that central places, or settlements, provide goods and services to the rural areas surrounding those towns, and in this provision, a reasonable distance must be established for a supplier from the central place to enjoy a viable business. Conversely, there is a like distance that a community, such as Sand Island, can be from a larger community, such as Bayfield, and still have access to its markets and the services. The growth of the trade center, Hudson states, depended on the ability of the entrepreneurs to form market areas for the goods they sold. Thus there existed the need for a means of rail or water transportation, both of which were available to Sand Islanders and the marketers of Bayfield (Hudson 1985, 28, 30, 34).

John C. Hudson, in *Making the Corn Belt: A Geographical History of Middle-Western Agriculture (Midwestern History and Culture)*, does not cover the specific area of this thesis, but its topic of agricultural settlement in the Middle West is relevant to my study. Agriculture in the Corn Belt was unlike that of the wheat growing areas of the Great Plains. Whereas the wheat

farmers grew only one crop, farmers in the Corn Belt raised both crops and livestock (Hudson 1994, 3). This might be related to the Sand Island fishing and farming that the settlers relied upon. Hudson speaks to the issue of river system transportation and its importance in farming for a distant market. This thesis cites the Great Lakes not only as a fishing ground but as a highway to the market. Hudson talks of the importance of water borne transportation. Before the railroad and car, the settler had to rely on horse drawn wagons. In the heartland rivers offered a more reliable and cheaper alternative, as did the Sand Islanders' and Bayfielders' use of Lake Superior and Lake Michigan in marketing the settlers' products. In speaking about Chicago, Hudson notes, "Before 1850 it would have been difficult to predict that a city with only a fair harbor on Lake Michigan would soon set the price of corn and butcher the livestock raised on Corn Belt farms" (Hudson 1994, 11). It would also have been difficult to predict that a small fish and vegetable store, Alfred Booth of Chicago, would one day bring the settlers of Bayfield and Sand Island into the realm of its fish distribution empire.

Also fitting nicely with my study, Hudson argues that the agricultural practices were "...strongly influenced by European crop rotation patterns and strategies for livestock production" (Hudson 1994, 381). In other words, the farmers maintained practices they brought from the old country. These immigrants looked for places to settle that reminded them of home, places where they could carry on the same types of agriculture that proved to be successful in their birth-nations.

In 1965 John Hart and Neil Salisbury, in their paper "*Population Change in Middle Western Villages: A Statistical Approach*," gave insights into the declining economics of the Midwestern village. They attributed much of the decline to the advent of the automobile and the modernization of the road system, which provided the population with a heretofore unheard-of

surge in mobility. Advances in shipping and refrigeration technologies assisted in overcoming the travel barriers between fishermen from Bayfield and their need to stay close to their prime fishing grounds. Road building on the mainland, reaching to nearby Little Sand Bay, also allowed the local fishermen to more easily market their catch and at the same time move their homes to the mainland.

Geographers have seldom written the historical geography of a single island as their topic. Andrew Hill Clark, a professor of geography at the University of Wisconsin, wrote *Three Centuries and the Island*. Clark's book, published in 1959, describes Prince Edward Island. His introduction, covering the geology, biology and early human history, is similar to the topics covered in the second, third and fourth chapters of this thesis. Clark's island, however, is nearly five hundred times larger than Sand Island, and by 1951 had a population of nearly one hundred thousand people who were largely of Scottish, English and Irish descent. By 1951 Sand Island's settlement no longer existed.

Clark analyzed 300 years of agricultural economics on Prince Edward Island. The farms were similar in size to those on Sand Island. He notes that in 1953 farmers were predominantly still using horses to cultivate their fields. Similarly, potatoes were then the major product of both islands' farming efforts (Clark 1952, 172).

Clark identified early transportation as an issue. The farmers had need to hurry their harvest so as to insure that they could get their goods to trade centers, both on and off the island, before winter conditions made marketing difficult. Sand Island's economy suffered a similar problem during times of seasonal ice buildup and thaw (Clark 1952, 144).

Parallels between the two islands could be loosely drawn as transportation means improved, but again, the Sand Island's economy was never based upon the island's roads. With

technological progress Clark posed that the market function of most of the small villages on Prince Edward Island largely disappeared. This was true of Sand Island as well. When combustion engines became the norm for propelling watercraft, outposts like the Sand Island settlement became superfluous.

Clark notes that by 1931, only 6 per cent of Prince Edward Island's population was foreign born. The island's population suffered declining numbers as immigration declined and emigration increased, leaving a net negative balance. One of the reasons he put forth was the restlessness of the younger generation to move away (Clark 1952, 121). This, too, was the fate of Sand Island.

The Apostle Islands

The scarcity of articles on the subject may seem to indicate a lack of importance. This, however, is not the case. The Apostle Islands are historically significant for a number of reasons. The archipelago figured heavily in the national fur, lumbering, fishing, and quarrying trades. In its heyday the trading post on Madeline Island was one of the largest on the Great Lakes, and for a time the Great Lakes were the center of the fur trade industry. The fishing grounds surrounding the Apostle Islands were some of the richest on the Great Lakes. Sandstone quarried from Basswood, Hermit, and Stockton Islands was highly sought after due to its rich brown color. Referred to as brownstone, it was the rebuilding material of choice after Mrs. O'Leary's cow kicked over a lantern and started the great Chicago fire of 1871. Officials in charge of putting Chicago back together were looking for ways to prevent such a conflagration from happening again. Brownstone was seen as the solution, and many buildings were constructed with stone from the Apostle Islands.

With the exception of Madeline Island, “studies that provide overviews of the other twenty-one islands, all of which now constitute the Apostle Islands National Lakeshore, are limited in number...” wrote Arnold Alanen, a professor of landscape architecture at the University of Wisconsin- Madison, and “... next to nothing has been written about the sporadic but century-long attempt to farm the islands” (Alanen and Tishler 1996, 1). Alanen and Tishler in an article for the *Wisconsin Magazine of History* titled “Farming the Lake Superior Shore: Agriculture and Horticulture on the Apostle Islands, 1840-1940, Historic Logging and Farming in the Apostle Islands,” take a broad look at the development of farming on the various islands. They argue that the development of farming on the islands was much the same as the development of farming on the mainland of northern Wisconsin. When the great forests had been cleared by the lumber companies, “...a veritable army of individuals...foresaw a day when the stump-dotted landscape of the Cutover would be converted into a productive garden” (Alanen and Tishler 1996, 3). Many of the same recruiting efforts that went out to the potential farmers of Hudson’s *Plains Country Towns* went out to those looking to immigrate to Wisconsin. The Alanen and Tishler article also discusses the on-going and important role lighthouse keepers, newspaper editors, and university extension agents played in the development of agriculture on the Apostle Islands.

In his paper for the *Western Historical Quarterly* “The View From Sand Island: Reconsidering the Peripheral Economy, 1880-1940,” James Feldman, an environmental historian, looked specifically at Sand Island. Feldman argued that in the study of the American West, scholars look at broad themes such as regional transportation networks. In doing so, they miss the individuals who make the economy function. As an example, Feldman cites the argument of sociologist Immanuel Wallenstein who “divided the world into two basic units, the

core and the periphery. Core regions possessed mature economies, capital wealth, and a strong industrial base. Peripheral regions lacked capital but produced natural resources to supply the economies of the core regions” (Feldman 2004, 287). Feldman argues that to get a sense of how these larger systems actually work one has to look at the individual farmers, fishermen, and lumberjacks. The periphery in fact can have as much of an impact on the core as the core has on the periphery (Feldman 2004, 288).

Sand Island is a perfect location to examine peripheral activities. It is a small, contained location whose occupants partook in a number of economic activities in order to survive. This thesis will detail those economic activities.

While both articles discuss Sand Island, they do so broadly. The Alanen and Tishler article is a general introduction to the farming attempts that went on around the entire archipelago. The Feldman article uses Sand Island as a vehicle to explore the core/periphery argument.

In 2004 Feldman presented his dissertation titled: *Rewilding the Islands: Nature, History, and Wilderness at Apostle Islands National Lakeshore*. Subsequently (2011) it was published as a book, *A Storied Wilderness: Rewilding the Apostle Islands*, which contains chapters devoted to Sand Island. In these works Feldman expanded his Sand Island study and discussed in more detail the life of the island community. Dr. Feldman offers a thorough study of the effect that 100 years of lumbering, fishing and farming had on the Apostles.

People and Places: A Human History of the Apostle Islands Historic Resource Study of Apostle Islands National Lakeshore, prepared in 2008 for the National Park Service by Jane C. Busch, a historic preservation planner, is a comprehensive overview covering the diverse themes of the Apostle Islands.

To summarize Alanen and Tishler wrote of the lumbering and farming on the Apostle Islands. James Feldman wrote of the regeneration of the Apostle Islands from the time of European-American settlement to the current efforts toward returning it to a state of wilderness. Jane C. Busch wrote of the entire archipelago. Here the purpose is to study the historical geography of Sand Island from 1870 to 1944. The objective is to present multiple aspects of the Sand Island settlers' experience, including the land, the natural and manmade environments, their occupations and other aspects of their daily life. It is this comprehensive geographic approach that distinguishes this thesis.

Chapter Three

The Land and Its Biology

In this chapter the geologic, climatic, and biological characteristics of the Lake Superior area in general, and Sand Island in particular, will be presented as a foundation for understanding the environmental elements which attracted the lumbering, quarrying, farming, fishing, and tourist industries to Sand Island. These characteristics were quite similar to those from which the Scandinavian settlers emigrated. They found a certain degree of familiarity, and thus comfort, in the surroundings while trying to cope with the social challenges of a new beginning.

Geology

The Sand Island Lighthouse is located at N 47°00'11.19" W90° 56'15.06". Shaw Point is positioned at N46°57'45.17"W90°56'02.25" and the West Bay Club is situated at N46°58'18.89"W 90°58'34.50". Sand Island is 2.4 miles from the boat ramp and dock at Little Sand Bay. It lies entirely within Lake Superior and is one of the 22 Apostle Islands. It is 4.6 square miles in size and has approximately 9.7 miles of shoreline. Until 1970 it was part of Bayfield County, Wisconsin.

Geology is important to this study, as the rock beneath this land is the foundation of much activity here. The rocks, as shown in the construction of the Sand Island lighthouse, are a prime example of the sandstones that were quarried over the entire area. The caves carved by the nearly ceaseless agitation of Superior's waves are still a primary tourist draw. The windblown and waterborne soils are what the inhabitants had to work with. The geological history of this area has not been thoroughly covered by most geographical studies of the Apostles, and yet it is not only fascinating but instructive.

Geologist Edward Nurfer, noted there are three noteworthy aspects of the geology of the Apostle Islands. They are the one billion year old bedrock, the ten thousand year old history of glaciation, and the current era (Nurfer 2004, 6).

In his book and in subsequent interviews, Gene Leberge, a geologist and professor at the University of Wisconsin-Oshkosh, described the Lake Superior geology. Four billion years ago the part of North America that became the Lake Superior region was principally an ocean with chains of islands created over eons by volcanic activity. These land masses eroded and were returned to the ocean floor, forming sedimentary rock. Through the Achaean Age continental crust developed. Leberge explains, “By the end of the Achaean Age, 2500 million years ago, the numerous greenstone and gneiss belts were deformed, metamorphosed and intruded by voluminous granitic batholiths as tectonic plates collided and fused themselves together forming a large continental mass” (Leberge 2004, 145). Parts of the Canadian Shield included in this study area contain remnants of this large mass.

During the next 900 million years the area which would become Lake Superior moved tectonically in and out of various continental masses with the result being its inclusion within Laurentia. From 1,890 million years ago the area’s Penokean Mountains grew, for 50 million years, to a height rivaling the present day Rockies. Over the next 500 million years, they were eroded to low rolling plains. Beginning about 1,109 million years ago, an upwelling of magma developed a hot spot in this region, creating a doming effect and eventually a split in the earth’s crust. Leberge writes, “This belt of subsidence, the Midcontinental Rift, developed in what is now the Lake Superior Basin and extended southward down the St. Croix River valley and on through southeastern Minnesota, across Iowa, through south eastern Nebraska, at least to central Kansas”(Leberge 2004, 145). The event resembled a continental breakup, but never occurred,

due to the Grenville Orogeny, a collision of North America and a westerly trending tectonic plate. The impact extended from the eastern United States to Mexico and from northern Lake Huron across Ontario to Labrador and southern Greenland.

Rifting was followed by 30-40 million years of sediment deposition, accounting for the formation of the Oronto Group, consisting of brown to red sandstone ranging in thickness from 200 to 7,000 feet. Within the two sequences that make up the Oronto Group are the Freda, a deformed and tilted layer, and the Bayfield Group, which is further subdivided into the Orienta, Devil's Island and Chequamegon Sandstone. Of importance to this study is the Orienta, 3,000 feet of red sandstone deposited by the northeastward-flowing Precambrian streams, and the Devil's Island, 300 feet of very pure quartz sandstone. Both are present on Sand Island.

The last significant geological event shaping the Lake Superior area was a series of ice ages. Beginning in the Pleistocene Epoch, some 1.8 million years ago, with the Nebraska Stage and ending in the Holocene Epoch, about 8,000 years ago, with the Wisconsin Stage, glaciation altered the face of the land and created the Great Lakes. Millions of years of sediment deposited by the Cambrian flooding was pushed southward, replacing the stream valleys that were present with the lakes that exist today. Glacial till now covers the exposed areas of the Apostle Islands.

The Lake Superior Basin reached depths of over 1300 feet through this period, and the Brule and St. Croix valleys served as its outlet. Lake Superior went through at least three incarnations beginning with Glacial Lake Keweenaw, Glacial Lake Duluth and Lake Nipissing, before a warming climate 10,000 years ago allowed the St. Lawrence River Valley to carry the flow of water to the Atlantic Ocean. Lake Superior is currently 1,332 feet at its deepest and is fed by Minnesota, Wisconsin, Michigan and Canadian rivers and streams. It has the largest surface area, 31,700 square miles, of all the fresh water lakes on Earth.

Nurfer describes Sand Island as a lowland, with its interior generally level or gently rolling, and with some marshy and poorly drained sections. There is a sandbar about six feet below the lake's surface connecting the southeast end of the island to the mainland. In moderate east or west winds, waves pile up at this barrier, posing a threat to small boats. Nurfer continues, "A bedrock ledge, about 30-35 ft. below the lake surface, extends from the mainland to Sand Island and beyond northeastward to the Sand Island Shoals. East Bay offers good anchorage and shelter when the winds are from the west" (Nurfer 2004, 54). This lake structure provided for plentiful fishing.

As Lawrence Martin, Geographer at the University of Wisconsin, explained, "The soils of Sand Island that resulted from the glacial activity consist primarily of a base that is 82% clay overlaid with silt loams mixed with the small rocks and boulders. The soil is not as well adapted for farming as for grazing and the production of hay, and the topography of the stream-sculptured portions of the plain even less so" (Martin 1932, 436).

Climate

Because climate played such a large role in the daily lives of those who populated Sand Island population, a description is included here. Sharon Moen, a University of Minnesota science writer, described the climate features. The average temperature of Lake Superior's surface is 39.2° F, developing a warm layer of water over a colder layer in the summer and the reverse in the winter. The lake moderates the temperature, making the winters warmer and the summers cooler. While there is a seasonal modification of the water temperature, the water remains cold enough to discourage lake bottom vegetation. Underwater visibility averages 27 feet. The lake experiences 52 days of fog per year. The Lake Superior land area's average maximum temperature for January is 16.34° F, and the average maximum temperature for July is

77°F. The average minimum temperatures for January and July respectively are -2.2 °F, and 53.6°F (Moen Correspondence).

Raymond A. Assel, a *National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration* Great Lakes Environmental Researcher, states that the lake is 40 to 95 percent covered in ice during the winter months. In a recent 30 year study (1973-2002), published in 2009, Assel notes that the average first ice formation for the Apostle Island area is January 2, and the average date of last ice cover is in April. January and March are the times of greatest increase and decrease of ice respectively. The maximum ice thickness formed during the past 30 winters is approximately 100 cm for these shallow protected areas of the lake. The long-term average ice-cover duration is 96 days (Assel 2009, 52-64).

Geographer Lawrence Martin noted that because the Apostle Islands lie between 46.52' and 47.07' north latitude, they are never heated by the vertical rays of the sun. The islands have four distinct seasons and a temperate continental climate (Martin 1932, 13-18). Superior, Wisconsin is located 54.29 miles east northeast of Sand Island over open water. Ashland, Wisconsin, sheltered from the Lake Superior's winds by the Bayfield Peninsula, is located 26.46 miles south southeast of Sand Island.

With the help of Edward Hopkins, Assistant State Climatologist, Wisconsin State Climatology Office, Madison, Wisconsin, the records of National Weather Service for the two surrounding Wisconsin reporting stations at Superior and Ashland were researched between the years 1915 and 1921. Over these six years, the stations respectively recorded mean temperatures at 38.1°F and 39.5°F with extremes between -32°F and -38° F for lows and 97°F and 100°F for highs. The daily range of temperature was 17.2°F and 24.7°F respectively. The recorded precipitation was 24.6 inches and 26.9 inches per year respectively. The average yearly snow

fall was over 78 inches. A third station in the area, located at Cornucopia, recorded an average of 25.2 inches of annual precipitation. There was no daily temperature information recorded for that station. The prevailing winds blowing across Lake Superior come from the northwest (Hopkins Correspondence).

The effects of the weather created by the climatic conditions on the island and its inhabitants can be seen in the following entry by Emmanuel Luick, Sand Island Lighthouse Keeper from 1892 to 1921, in his 1905 journal:

Tuesday, November 28, 1905

E-NE. A terrible gale and soft snow. The wind blowed 80 miles per hour. We could not face it. The sea washed on top of the bank in front of the lighthouse. Our walk is carried away and the rocks where we built the walk on the east side of the light and my boat was taken away and my new boat which was pulled up most on top of the bank 30 feet from the water was washed away. The sea came three feet high on boathouse dock. It is the heaviest sea and storm I have ever seen in the 16 years I have been on the lighthouses. The storm has carried away what was above the water of the wreck steamer Savona. (September 1 and 2, 1905) The snow is 18 inches deep between here and the boathouse and the bath is filled with brush and trees which was broken off by the wet snow and heavy wind. The storm is not over with. It is in full blast and is turning very cold. We can hardly keep the house warm. The only place that we can keep half fit to stay in is the kitchen.

Wednesday, November 29, 1905

N-NE heavy gale and cold. Temperature is 13 above zero. The sea washed the bank away under the walk going from the bank on to the big breakwater. Keeper worked all day getting the windows in shape to close up everything plated with ice so we could not see out of the windows.

Saturday, December 2, 1905

W half gale and snow storms, cold. Keeper inspected station. Keeper made a trip to East Bay and found the storm did much damage. There H. Johnson's fish dock and fish house is all washed away. Mr. Peter Hanson's and Louis Moe's fish houses and docks are all carried away nothing left but the rocks which were in the cribs of the dock. The bank and beach in Justice Bay and East Bay is all changed of the storm of November 27 and 28.

An excerpt from the diary of Burt Hill, a thirty year Sand Island resident, illustrates the severity of winter life off the northern shore of Wisconsin. Hill wrote:

Starting January 18 and continuing until the first of March 23 the area witnessed one of the longest and coldest spells ever recorded. During all that time

the mercury never rose above zero. February 16th it reached its lowest mark, 30 below. We not only suffered from the severe cold, but the awful snow drifts that we had to contend with. Blizzard after blizzard swept over our point, causing the snow to pile up around the house so that we were unable to get the cattle to the lake to drink, but we managed to get a few pails of water to them. On February 14 a terrible blizzard set in and piled the snow so high that it was impossible to get the cattle to the lake for several days. We had to melt snow for them. At International Falls it registered 55 below; while at the island it was 14 below. This was on January 22. When we did get a path down to the lake we were traveling ten feet in the air on top of the snow (Hill, 1936).

Weather was a presence that the settlers always had to bear in mind. They had to construct their homes and buildings to withstand its extremes. They had to maintain enough provisions to see them through the times when boating from the island to the mainland or even walking to their neighbor's home, was not an option. Without foresight weather could end their dreams and their lives.

Biology

Flora

On August 22, 1857 the Bayfield Mercury printed a description of the Bayfield Peninsula, stating that it was, "heavily timbered with the White and Norway pine, White Birch, Balsam, Sugar Maple, Basswood and Oak." In 1959 John C. Curtis, a professor of botany at the University of Wisconsin, gave this picture of the vegetation in the 1880's and 90's prior to the forests being clear-cut: "The wet lands contained either conifer swamps, dominated by tamarack, black spruce, and white cedar, or hardwood swamps with black ash and yellow birch. The dry lands were dominated by pine, with jack and red pine on the lighter sands and white pine on the sandy loams" (Curtis 1959, 177).

From only a brief description of what existed 140 years ago, contemporary scientists have provided a refined picture of how the original landscape appeared. After observing the remnants of the bygone land, Julie Van Stappen, Resource Manager at the Apostle Islands National

Landshore, noted that Sand Island originally was nearly 90% covered with a hardwood conifer mix.

There is a 100 acre area on the island that has long been in the hands of the federal government at Lighthouse Point, and it is possible there to view vegetation as it was 130 years ago, with white and yellow birch, balsam fir, red maple and white pine. There also exists an herb layer of bunchberry, white mandarin, dwarf ginseng, and Carolina spring-beauty with common periwinkle and gill-over-the-ground and the uncommon native Bartram's Juneberry.

According to Van Stappen, “Presently Sand Island has a moderately rich flora of 308 species. Yellow birch, balsam-fir, white birch, white cedar, and red maple predominate” (Van Stappen Correspondence).

Due to a drastic reduction in the deer population, yew and mountain maple are the principal shrubs. The most common herbs are corn-lily, wood ferns, Canada mayflower, wild sarsaparilla, starflower, and marsh blue violet. Van Stappen described a pair of black spruce-tamarack swamps totaling about 200 acres. Since the time of the last lumbering activity, she explained, the island’s swamp understories have been composed of leatherleaf, Labrador-tea, lowbush blueberry, bog-laurel, small cranberry, twinflower, creeping snowberry, and mountain-holly. The swamps are surrounded by muddy ditches supporting speckled alder. A county road created in 1914 has been nearly overgrown by alders:

Wetland plants such as fringed loosestrife, joe-pye weed, late goldenrod, and golden saxifrage occur in the ditches. Farther north in drier ground along this road is a colony of the rare pale sedge *Carex pallescens*. Many of Sand Island's most interesting plant species are found on the Orienta Formation sandstone ledges southeast of the lighthouse. Bird's-eye primrose and harebell are common, and spike trisetum is occasional; the shrubs ninebark, red-osier dogwood, and long-beaked willow are frequent (Van Stappen correspondence).

Van Stappen went on to say that the land once farmed has been almost returned to its nearly pre-colonial plant state, where many uncommon native species occur. Black locust, hawthorn, European highbush cranberry, bottle-brush grass, pagoda dogwood, and virgin's-bower are present. The Shaw Farm's former apple orchard and gardens are now rife with meadow fescue and native sweet grass. Appendix B contains a table of the island's predominant floras.

Fauna

East Bay fisherman Herman Johnson was said to have complained in spring of 1906 that he "couldn't cache provisions because of so many wolves" (Bayfield County Press, Jan. 27, 1955). Burt Hill, a Sand Island resident, notes that in 1924, "A pair of wolves got caught on the Island when the ice went out in the spring and the result was that a litter of young ones were born here. Ambrose and I started trapping them in November of that fall and the result was that we caught four. The bounty at that time was thirty dollars each, and their pelts brought a nice bunch of money" (Hill Diary 1924, 14).

The following is a summary of correspondence with Peggy Burkman, Biologist at the Apostle Islands National Lakeshore, regarding the Sand Island fauna. Prior to the settlement the island provided transient shelter and sustenance for the following mammals: black bears, grey wolves, beavers, snowshoe hares, red fox, coyotes, river otters, mink, fishers and muskrats as well as shrews, mice, voles, red squirrels and bats. This population of was greatly influenced by the subsequent eighty year settlement and subsequent exodus of year- round human inhabitants. The 1970 National Park status of the island also affected wildlife. Wolves, hunted and trapped to the precipice of extinction, are again present. While not historically abundant on Sand Island, deer gained a brief foothold, but by 1954 they were no longer present. In 2005 they returned in

high numbers, but they are being systematically removed to allow the regrowth of the Canada yew. Burkman continues:

The island has an increasing number of bears, and there are active beaver lodges. Recent wildlife camera data showed coyotes, bobcat, and raccoon. Some common mainland species do not occur on Sand Island. These include skunk, porcupine, gray squirrel, chipmunk and woodchucks (Burkman Correspondence).

The amphibian and reptile species are limited to three varieties of salamanders, five of frogs, and three of snakes, along with the American Toad, and Painted Turtle.

There are at least 121 species of birds that spend all or part of the year on Sand Island. The only permanent residents are: Herring Gull, Bald Eagle, Barred Owl, Great Horned Owl, Blue Jay, Common Raven, Downy Woodpecker, Hairy Woodpecker, Pileated Woodpecker, and Black-Capped Chickadee. In Appendix B a table of Sand Island's rich avian life is presented.

Other than complaints from summer vacationers regarding an abundance of black flies and mosquitoes during their visits, no insect information was recorded (Warren Jensch Correspondence).

Summary

In this chapter the case has been presented as to the importance of the geology, climate and biology as a backdrop to the settlement and industries of Sand Island. Without the sandstone formations, there would have been no quarrying. Without the sandstone, the lake's bottom would have been less inviting to the abundance of fish that moved so near to the island's shores. Without the sandstone, there would be no the rock formations drawing the tourist population. Without the cooler waters and the lack of vegetation, the species of fish so prized by the Midwest metropolitan markets would not have occurred. Without the biological systems at work on Sand

Island, the logging and farming that helped maintain this collection of like-minded people would have resulted in a less prosperous experience.

Chapter Four

Inhabitation

This chapter begins with a review of the little that is known about pre-European exploration of Sand Island and its surrounding lands. A brief discussion of the French and French Canadian exploration and their enduring influence in the land follows, linking the native population with the incoming European immigrants. Note will be made of the brief period during which the British included the Apostle Islands within their empire prior to ceding it to the United States. The chapter concludes with a detailed description of the settlers, those who colonized and developed Sand Island from a seasonal fish camp to a place of permanent residence.

A Brief History of Settlement

The European explorers and settlers were not the first humans to inhabit the Apostles. There is evidence, though sparse, that the islands were long ago stopovers for fishing and hunting parties of the Ojibwa.

Ojibwa

The Ojibwa, also known as the Chippewa, are a group of Algonquian-speaking bands that merged into a tribe in the 1600's. According to Dr. Randall J. Schaetzl, Professor of Geography at Michigan State University, they gradually developed a migratory way of life, based on seasonal fishing, which the Ojibwa were still following when they encountered the first European visitors to the area. They moved according to a seasonal subsistence economy, fishing in the summer, harvesting wild rice in the fall, hunting, trapping, and ice fishing in the winter, and tapping maple syrup and spearfishing in the spring. Social organization was egalitarian, and women played a strong economic role. The Ojibwa adapted to a decline of the fur trade by

moving westward from the Sault Ste. Marie area. Some of them settled along the southern shore of Lake Superior, including Madeline Island, about 1680. The Treaty of 1854 established both the Red Cliff and the Bad River bands of the Ojibwa tribe with reserved lands in the Bayfield and Ashland area (Schaetzl 2005). The remainder of the lands became public domain.

European Discovery and Colonization

As the Ojibwa migrated westward to new trapping grounds, so did the French. Jane C. Busch, a historic preservation planner contracted to the National Park Service, describes the early European influence of the region. The French began their initial exploration of Lake Superior, the St. Louis River, and Chequamegon Bay region after Jean Nicolet's 1634 venture into that part of Lake Michigan called Green Bay. The first recorded European construction of a dwelling in the Bayfield area took place twenty-two years later when Radisson and Groseilliers, also French explorers, erected a cabin on the west shore of Chequamegon Bay. The Mission of La Pointe St. Esprit was established by Pere Claude Allouez, a French Jesuit missionary, in 1665 at the southwest corner of the bay. He continued to bring his religion to the First Nations while traveling along the western and northern shores of Lake Superior. In 1679, explorer Daniel Greysolon, Sieur Dulhut, for whom Duluth, Minnesota is named, continued the European probes under French authority (Busch 2008, 73).

For over 200 years the French and French-Canadians shared the Apostle Islands with the Ojibwa. These Europeans established communities in the area. Not only were the French employed and in competition with the British in the business of fur trading, but unlike the English, they set up fishing stations on the Apostle Islands after learning the migratory and spawning habits of the fish from the Indians. The 1763 French defeat in the French and Indian

War led to the British claiming the region. The English failed to establish a Lake Superior presence along the south shore, and in like manner gave up possession of a vast parcel of land including the Apostle Islands at the end of the American War for Independence (Busch 2008, 11-13).

While there is conclusive evidence that the Apostle Islands served as seasonal campsites for the Ojibwa and the European adventurers, there is no evidence to suggest that Sand Island ever served as a year-round residence for anyone prior to mid-1870's and Frank Shaw's arrival.

Norwegians and the Settlement of Sand Island

As the lumber and fishing industries of the Chequamegon area developed, so did the need for foresters and fishermen. Norwegians were attracted to these jobs, and to its hard climate.

In her 1963 immigration studies Ingrid Semmingsen, Norwegian historian and professor at the University of Oslo, submits that Norway in the 1850's was a golden age for the home population. These were times of good farm production and good economic opportunity. Ten years later, however, the crops were few and the prices down. Rural Norway was in collapse. "In America the situation was precisely the reverse" Semmingsen explains. "Here people and manpower were scarce. Here immigrants were welcomed and encouraged to settle. The states of the Midwest such as Wisconsin and Minnesota established public offices with functionaries whose business it was to guide newcomers from Europe to their territories" (Semmingsen 1978, 105).

Richard Fapso, author of *Norwegians in Wisconsin*, writes that in 1862 the United States, eager for western settlement and expansion, enacted the Homestead Act giving 160 acres of land free to willing pioneers. Following the Civil War immigration from Norway increased. While Wisconsin did not hold a monopoly on settlement--Iowa and Minnesota were also attractive--

Norwegians continued to stake their claims in Wisconsin's northwest. By 1890 well over 30,000 Norwegians had come to this part of the state. They were the dominant ethnic group among Apostle Islands' fishermen by the early twentieth century (Fapso 2001:15).

According to environmental historian James Feldman, most of the Norwegians came from coastal towns where they had been fishermen or fishermen-farmers. They came to the Chequamegon region because the pristine Lake Superior waters and the old growth forests reminded them of their homeland and allowed them to work in the forests and fishing grounds, and later in their cleared farm fields. They sent word back to Norway to the villages from whence they had come and invited their family and friends to join them (Feldman 2004a, 273–75). Evidence of their procession can be seen in the following exploration of the Sand Island settlers.

Residents

Sand Island provided easy access to the best fishing grounds on the lake, just off the northern and western points on the island, and its sandy east bay provided shelter from Lake Superior's famously violent storms. The Sand Island community grew with the town of Bayfield. In 1870 Frank Shaw, a Pennsylvanian, became the first person to own property on Sand Island. He and several other men began to use the island as a summer fishing station. Soon after the fishing camps began, the Norwegians began arriving (Feldman 2004b, 291-292).

Fishing provided the essential foundation for community building, but so did the common ethnic and cultural heritage that the island's residents shared. Landscape architecture professors, Alanen and Tishler of the University of Wisconsin-Madison, address the Norwegians' prolific migration to the island noting, that the Federal Census counted 44 people. Alanen and Tishler, writing about Sand Island note, "This was virtually the same number

documented in the state census of 1895, but the 1920 figure represented a significantly larger population of permanent inhabitants. During the 1895 to 1920 interim, the proportion of Norwegians and Norwegian-Americans on Sand Island increased from 30 percent to more than 90 percent ” (Alanen and Tishler 1996, 32-33).

Who were these pioneers who brought their families to this isolated site? In this section the focus will be on the individuals who became full year residents-- those who fished the waters, cleared and farmed the fields, built shelters, then cabins, then homes, established a school, a post office and a general store, became neighbors to be relied upon and celebrated with, married their sons to friends’ daughters, and, for the Norwegians, acclimated themselves to a foreign culture in varying degrees. As resident Sigurd Loftfield’s son, Bob, said, “Sand Island was place where you could live if you didn't want to learn to speak English” (Loftfield Correspondence). Islander Dorothy Jensch expressed another aspect of the need to be prepared for the island’s hard reality, “You don’t go to Sand Island with diapers” (Jensch Interview).

The following fishermen and farmers, collectively, had the greatest impact on establishing the community life of the island. They are identified in groups that reflect their acquaintance with other islanders. Frank Shaw met Bert Hill through Hill’s relationship with Sam Fifield. The Moes were the original Norwegian settlers from Mo-I-Rana, Norway. They were followed by the Hansens and the Herman Johnsons. Edwin Bonde, a land speculator of sorts, brought in the Palms, Loftfields, Norings and Dahls.

Below is a map of Sand Island (Fig. 4.1) giving the locations of the permanent residents. The Shaws, Hills, Fifields and Campbells located on the southeast side of the island while the Norwegians settled the east lakeshore. These sites are on the island’s leaside.

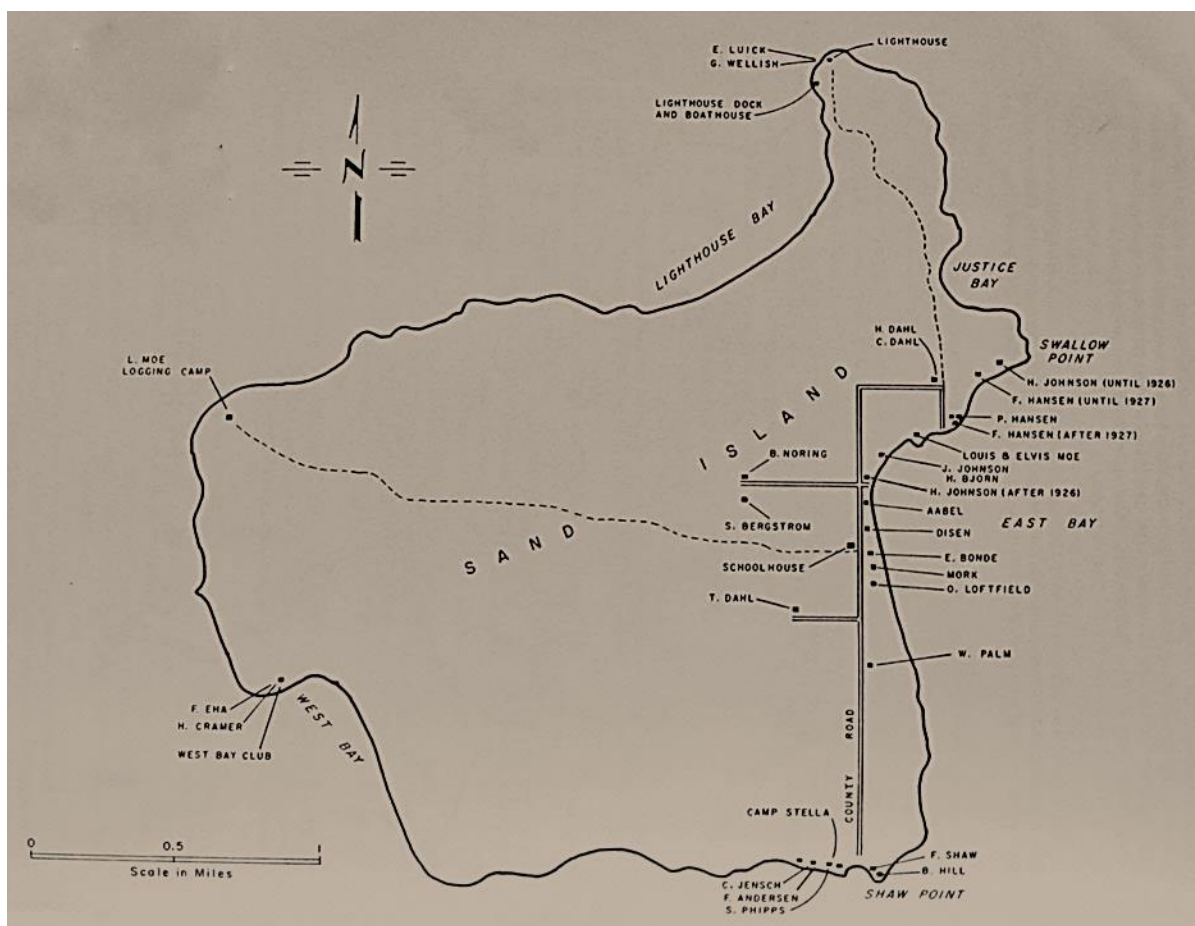


Figure 4.1 Sand Island circa 1930. (Map by Albert W. Bowers)

Francis Shaw

According to his obituary of January 30, 1914 in the Bayfield County Press, Francis [Frank] Shaw is credited with being the first European-American to establish a permanent settlement on Sand Island. His father was from Scotland and his mother from Ireland. Frank was born in Erie, Pennsylvania in July 1841. Shaw served in the Union Army, and sometime during the latter half of the 1860s, he moved to Sandusky, Ohio. He married in 1869. He and his wife, Josephine, came to the Bayfield area during the fishing season. They lived where Frank fished, at La Pointe on Madeline Island and then on the mainland at Bayfield. Alanen and Tishler note that, using his veteran's bonus in 1870, Shaw obtained 37 acres on the southeast shore of Sand Island, a piece of property that came to be known as Shaw Point. (Fig. 4.1) There he established

a fish camp miles closer to the prime fishing grounds. For several years the couple wintered in Sandusky, Ohio, but by the middle of the 1870's, he and Josephine began to spend the entire year in and around Bayfield (Alanen and Tishler 1996, 23-23).

The Bayfield Press article goes on to say that during the 1870's Shaw increased his fishing business on Sand Island, while the family home was maintained at La Pointe. In 1876 Shaw was elected treasurer of Ashland County. During the early 1880's the Shaws relocated to Bayfield. There, Josephine Shaw operated the Lake Superior House, a boarding facility which included a candy and cigar store and a sales outlet for her husband's fresh and smoked fish. Shaw stayed on Sand Island from April to November, but his wife, five daughters and two sons spent the school term in Bayfield. The Shaws established their permanent residence on Sand Island in 1898, giving up the Bayfield residence after the last of their children finished school. The Shaws' fishing operations continued to thrive, and Frank's fleet expanded to four vessels by 1899. He had added 146 acres to his Sand Island holdings by the time he sold the property to his son-in-law (Alanen and Tishler, 1996, 23-25).

Sam Fifield, in an article titled "Beautiful Isles of Chequamegon," for the *Ashland Weekly Press*, December 21, 1895, wrote, "Captain Shaw has a good snug farm at this point, where he has been for the past twenty years engaging in fishing and farming."

In 1905, however, Josephine Shaw's failing health forced the couple to take sanctuary in Bayfield for most of the year. For a few years Shaw continued his summer fishing activities, but any agricultural pursuits were now limited to the harvesting and selling of hay. Finally, in 1910, the Sand Island property was purchased by the Shaw's daughter and son-in-law, Anna Mae and Burt Hill. Josephine Shaw died in 1911. Frank, the "Emperor of Sand Island," died in January of 1914.

Burtram Porterhouse Hill

Burtram Porterhouse (Burt) Hill was born on July 12, 1871 in Appleton, Wisconsin. Burt kept a diary in which he recalled many events from his life and times. He noted that in 1888 he moved with his parents to La Pointe on Madeline Island where his mother opened an eating house and later a hotel (Hill Diary, 1-2). According to a Bayfield County Press article printed on April 15, 1910, Hill became an apprentice in that newspaper's printing shop, where he worked from 1891 until 1910, most of that time as the County foreman. This was the newspaper that Sam Fifield and Sam's brother, Hank, owned in the 1870's; Fifield also owned and operated Sand Island's Camp Stella, located on the parcel next to Frank Shaw. Burt Hill married Frank and Josephine Shaw's daughter, Anna Mae, in November 1894. The Hills had two children, Margarite and Mildred. Both girls passed on before their parents. The Hills' grandchildren spent a good deal of time with Burt and Anna Mae during the summers. Burt wrote: "That summer Josephine, Annamae, Iris and John, Hill's nephew, wanted some place to play, and I built them a playhouse on the shore. They furnished it with furniture and dishes from Camp Stella" (Hill Diary, 21).

Prior to 1910 the Hills spent part of each summer on Sand Island with the Shaws, and Burt Hill learned pound net fishing from Mr. Shaw. Suffering from diabetes, Hill was looking for a better situation and saw his father-in-law as a resource to that end. In 1910 Burt and Anna Mae made Sand Island their year-round home after purchasing Frank Shaw's property. During their years on the island Burt and Mae did a good deal of work for other families but predominantly for the Fifields:

In 1912, Mr. Shaw gave up the fishing and from then on the responsibility fell upon me. I kept at the business for two or three years, but I was getting nowhere, and so I quit and sold the entire outfit. I thought that I could do better if I stuck to the farming, but I soon came to the conclusion that in those days the only possible way to get produce to the market was by boat, and when the freight

and transfer charges were paid, there was very little left, and you had practically nothing for your labor (Hill Diary, 2).

In 1918 Burt decided that he was not suited to fishing and focused on farming instead. His earnings were supplemented by doing odd jobs for other residents. Through his relationships with Shaw and Shaw's neighbor, Sam Fifield, he got many caretaking jobs, including maintaining the West Bay Club and providing other summer residents with roofing construction and firewood, as well as readying their cabins in summer and closing their cabins in the fall.

Burt Hill managed the Campbell cottage and property. Herman Jensch, a descendent of Campbell, thought highly of Hill: "I regarded him as a senior that I loved very much, and he was a great guy in my book because he could do anything. He could fix that damn boat, he could plug anything up, he could mend anything...there was nobody anywhere around up there, but Mr. and Mrs. Hill...he was family" (Herman Jensch Interview). Clyde Jensch, another of Campbell's grandchildren, remembered how, "Mr. Hill taught us, Sam and myself, how to milk cows." Clyde described Burt as, "about 5'10", strong. He was a good square-built man, weighed 175 pounds. There wasn't any fat on him, always with pipe in his mouth, whistling endlessly throughout the day" (Clyde Jensch Interview).

Burt Hill kept a sporadic diary from 1911 to 1941 in which he recorded a picture of life on the island and its surrounding area over those thirty years. In the diary he writes of being the postmaster of the island's Shaw Post Office from its inception in 1911 to its end in 1916. He also notes that on June 15, 1918, the residents organized the Sand Island Co-Operative Association for the purpose of having the convenience of a store. Hill was elected the secretary and manager of the Association and was paid 5% of the sales. The co-operative, which opened in July of 1918, was maintained for over ten years with Hill as its only manager.

Another windfall for Hill came with the implementation of the Volstead Act in 1920.

It was during that fall when we were digging potatoes that a forest fire started on Jo's (Loftfield) land which looked pretty serious for a time. The men of the Island got together, and we finally checked it before any serious damage resulted. I was somewhat worried as I had 65 cases of Canadian jiggle water belonging to a Superior party, hid in the pasture. When we quit fighting the fire at 2 A.M. and the other men had gone home, I got Magnus Palm to help me, and we hauled the cases out. When we went after the last load, the fire was within a few feet of where I had the stuff hidden. I received \$50.00 for hauling it up there and back (Hill Diary, 13).

Burt lived on Sand Island until 1941. At the age of 70 neither he nor Anna Mae could manage the demanding island life style. During his years there he had served the residents well not only doing their chores but also acting as a bridge between the permanent fishing families to the north of Shaw Point and those summer time folks to the west.

Louis Moe

According to Elvis Moe, his father, Louis, was among the first of the Norwegians to buy land on Sand Island. Louis was born on February 28, 1866 in Mo-I-Rana, Norway and came to Onalaska, Wisconsin in 1890, where he worked on the Mississippi River boats (Moe Interview). His obituary reported that he moved to Bayfield in 1891 at age of twenty-five, and in 1893 he filed a homestead claim for forty acres on Sand Island which he subsequently abandoned after buying a lake shore farm on the East Bay. While on Sand Island, he farmed and ran a logging crew, but like many of the islanders he was a fisherman who farmed secondarily to supplement the family's income and food supply. In 1899 he returned briefly to Norway and came back with his bride, Nanne. Together the couple had seven children. Nanne died of complications from childbirth in April of 1924. Louis then married Christine Mateson from his Norwegian hometown in 1926. He died on May 18, 1929 while on a visit to his homeland. He had fished the waters of Lake Superior for nearly forty years (Bayfield County Press, May 23, 1929). His son, Elvis, remained on the Sand Island site for another five years and then relocated to Bayfield, but

for twenty subsequent fishing seasons Elvis Moe returned to Sand Island to fish commercially (Moe Interview). There were those East Bay residents who felt that Louis Moe ruled his domain like a monarch. He was remembered by Howard Palm, the son of another Sand Islander, as “King Louie” (Palm Correspondence).

Frederick Hansen

To understand the day to day life of the Sand Island fishermen, the most important document available is the twenty-five year diary that the Norwegian Frederick (Fred) Hansen kept. Frederick was born on June 13, 1884 and immigrated to the United States in 1893 at the age of 9. He came with his parents, Peter and Dorothea Hansen, and his sister, Christine. The family was acquainted with Louis Moe in Norway, and they settled on the island soon after their arrival in the United States (Fig. 4.1). The Hansens fished for Moe until they earned enough money to buy their own boat. Fred helped his father in the fishing business. In a summary of his life the Bayfield County Press said that he married Agnetta (Nettie) Johnson on September 10, 1904. They raised two sons, Paul and Jacob, and four daughters, Constance, Gertrude, Alma, and Dorothy. He fished the waters of Lake Superior, and though he eventually died at a hospital in Ashland, he was a resident of the island until his death on December 27, 1939. He was a member of Harbor City Lodge No. 69, International Order of Odd Fellows (Bayfield County Press 12/28/1939).

Hansen appears to have been well thought of by his fellow islanders and was elected president of Sand Island’s co-op store when the enterprise was started. Herman Jensch spoke of him in an interview in 1987, saying, “Fred Hansen was another honorable man, he was probably the most successful fisherman on the lake in those years. His was a success, and his boats and buildings reflected it.” According to Bob Dahl, “Apparently Fred Hansen spoke English well

and new immigrants would come to Sand Island to work for Fred in order to learn English” (Dahl Correspondence). Also of note are Fred Hansen’s diary entries in which he writes of photographing, developing and printing his own work. His photos are another large part of the island’s history. Some of those photographs have been included in this work.

Herman Johnson

The Bayfield County Press included the following information in a 1955 weekly feature titled “Picture of the Week” written about Herman Johnson, a long time Sand Island fisherman. He was born on May 16, 1881 in Mo-I-Rana, Norway, indicating a transplantation of communities that characterized the European settlement process. He immigrated to the United States at the age of 15. Arriving in the Bayfield area in 1897, Herman lived with his brother Peter’s family on Sand Island where Peter was a fisherman. Due to the persistent health problems of his wife, Christine, Fred Hansen’s sister, Peter moved his family off the island. Herman bought his brother’s fishing equipment and home on Swallow Point, a one room cabin with a large attic. The attic served as sleeping quarters for hired men. On March 3, 1906 Herman married Hattie Hovland at the Bethesda Lutheran Church in Bayfield. He then became one of five long term residents of the island.

The Bayfield County Press article recounted how Herman, his father-in-law, and Christ Hadland went over to Sand Island that same spring. They hired a horse-drawn sleigh to take them from Bayfield to Big Sand Bay. They planned to cache some of the food on the mainland and return for it later, but the wolves were too plentiful to risk losing it. Thus after tying themselves together to prevent a drowning, should one of the party fall through the treacherous weather weakened ice, they walked across, toting what they hoped would be enough provisions to last them through the spring.

As their family grew, Herman and Hattie added several rooms to the cabin. They had nine children, six boys and three girls, none of whom settled on Sand Island. Their second child, Big John, drowned in a swimming accident at the age of six and was buried near the family cabin. Another child, Ernest, their last, died in infancy. On June 28, 1928 the Johnsons took in one of the island children, Mel Dahl, aged 16, for a brief time after Mel's father, Harold, drowned.

Herman's oldest son, Herman Jr., moved off the island in 1930 and set up a fishing enterprise at Little Sand Bay. He also ran a general store, a bar and a small tourist resort. Through all of his business expansion, he remained true to his roots and fished the same Lake Superior waters as his father, but once off the island, he did not return to use it as a summertime fish camp.

Herman and his wife, Hattie, spent many years fishing the Superior waters and participating in the community life of Sand Island. Herman died in January 18, 1955 after retiring to Bayfield. Herman Sr., along with Mrs. Anna Mae Hill, was memorialized for saving many lives with their caretaking efforts during the 1919 influenza epidemic, and was remembered fondly:

Herman Johnson loved Bayfield and its people, and there was no place in the world where he would rather have lived out this mortal life. He was devoted to his wife, his children, and his church. He enjoyed living, and found happiness in well-earned leisure. The world is better because he lived in it (Bayfield County Press January 27, 1955).

Edwin Bonde

According to letters from descendant Richard Palm, after Edwin Bonde married Christine Palm, they moved to Ambrose, North Dakota in 1907 to join Christine's family. But by 1909 they had left this rural northwestern North Dakota community and were living on Sand Island.

There, Edwin was a “land developer.” The Apostle Islands were being promoted as a prime fruit-growing region and the land could be purchased cheaply from Bayfield County. Setting aside at least ten acres of lakeshore property for himself, he then proceeded to sell the rest of it to as many friends and acquaintances as he could talk into buying land on the remote island in Lake Superior.

His primary customers were fellow immigrants from Norway whom he knew would adapt easily to the climate of northern Wisconsin, understood how to make a living farming and fishing, and who would love the area on sight. Other clients were people who just wanted a summer retreat -- a place to go to when they tired of city life. Bonde planted a few apple trees along with some ginseng with the aim of enticing Norwegians from the St. Paul and Minneapolis area to Sand Island. Richard Palm wrote, “Good or bad he made it possible for several first generation Norwegian families to make their living on the island” (Palm Correspondence).

The Bayfield County Press reported on July 9, 1909, that Edwin Bonde “believes that there is a time coming when land on any of the islands will be very valuable and is backing up the belief by investing his money in the lands and has built himself and family on Sand Island where he has already a small orchard started.” Feldman notes that Bonde bought fifteen lots from nine owners along East Bay in 1914, and by 1915 “the same acreage had been divided into thirty-eight plots, with thirty-two separate owners” (Feldman 2011, 138).

Before Edwin left the island he successfully recruited Bertrand Noring, Ole and Sigurd Loftfield, Harold Dahl and his in-laws, Will, Carl, and Ludvig Palm who, Hill wrote, “purchased lots from Bonde, mostly for summer homes though at times some of them wintered on the island.” Magnus Palm, rather than buy property from Bonde, homesteaded and for over

ten years lived on East Bay. For the rest of Bonde's buyers "there was no way for them to make a living, and they gradually moved back to the cities" (Hill Diary, 20).

Christine and Edwin had one child, Madeline, who married Edwin Johnson. The Johnsons owned acreage on Sand Island. Madeline died on June 30, 1926, "when a mosquito bite became infected and caused blood poisoning" (Bessie Palm Correspondence). Fred Hansen's journal entry for July 4 notes the Sand Island residents attended her funeral. Madeline was 33 years old at the time of her death. She and her husband Edwin had five children: Edwin, Robert, William, John, and Christine.

Mrs. Edwin Bonde died on April 16, 1929. She was 60 years old (Hill Diary, 24). It is unknown when and where Edwin Bonde died.

Ludwig Palm

Of the families coming with Edwin Bonde and having an impact on the settlement were the Palms of Norway. In 2007 Richard Palm, son of Bessie Nelson Palm, supplied the following story for this study of his ancestors, their immigration, and attempts at settlement. The Palm family, who followed Ed Bonde to Sand Island, was not the most successful of the farmers and fishermen settlers, but their story adds dimension to the body of historical geography that defines the Norwegian settlement.

Palm writes that his grandfather, Ludvig, was born on September 22, 1880 in Naasset, Romsdal, Norway. Ludvig was one of twelve children of Magdalene Fredricks and Wilhelm Palm, ten of whom survived infancy, seven of whom immigrated to the United States of America, and six of whom lived on Sand Island for varying periods of time. The Palms were traditionally a nomadic family searching for employment while enjoying a life that regularly included song and dance. They accompanied their dances with instruments that included the

accordion, the harmonica and the ten string Hardonger violin. Ludvig learned the Hardonger, and years after establishing residence in North Dakota, he acquired the instrument and entertained with a repertoire of Norwegian folksongs. As the family grew in size, they settled in the village of Lomen in the Valdes area halfway between Bergen and Oslo. Wilhelm set up business in Lomen as a smithy.

In 1898 Ludvig, then age 18, entered his two year mandatory Norwegian Army commitment. During this time, he married Laura Lauritzdtr. Richard Palm reports that aside from farming, fishing or manual labor, good jobs in Norway between the years of 1900 to 1905 were scarce.

Ludwig was not the oldest male in the Palm line, and thus his chances of inheriting the family business were unlikely. Because Ludvig had a good education and spoke a little English, he decided to travel to America alone, leaving his wife and daughter with relatives. He entered the United States from Saskatchewan in 1905, and soon thereafter gained employment in Cottonwood, Minnesota as an assistant to the owner of a plant nursery. Ludvig sent for his wife, Laura, and his brother, Carl. When the nursery owner died, Ludvig inherited the business. When it burned down, he moved the family to Ambrose, North Dakota and started the plant business anew.

His business flourished. His mother, Magdalene and brothers, Will and Magnus, were invited to join him, along with his sister, Christine, and her husband, Ed Bonde. Between the years 1907 and 1913 Ludvig and Laura produced three more children, and three months after giving birth to their last child, Laura, age 29, died of typhoid fever. Grandmother Magdalene took care of the small children for a short while, but she had lived a hard life and was 75 years old. The small children were too much for her to care for.

By this time the Bondes had already been living on Sand Island for four years, and Ludvig's two daughters, Emma, age eleven, and Myrtle, age one, were sent to live with Aunt Christine Bonde. Emma remembered the train trip from Ambrose to Ashland, the buggy ride from Ashland to Bayfield, and the boat ride via a fish collection boat named the Turner. Emma lived with Christine for at least five years and attended Sand Island's one-room school house. Ludvig visited his children when time permitted. There on Sand Island in 1915 he met Bessie Nelson Dahl, aged twenty-one, step-daughter of the then widowed Harold Dahl. On January 1, 1919 Bessie and Ludvig were married and living in Ambrose.

During the Great Depression, and beginning with the winter of 1932-33, the couple and five of their children lived on Sand Island in the long vacated Bonde cabin. Ludvig made repairs and chinked the building, and they lived in that pioneer "make-do" fashion, learning survival skills that saw them through. In a letter to a niece Bessie Palm states, "It was a rugged existence, but we never spent a more carefree time in our lives. We had plenty to eat and all the wood we could burn to keep warm. The children would walk to Norings for milk and eggs, and when they butchered in the fall, we could get all the fresh meat we needed" (Bessie Palm Correspondence). They were joined on the island by Ludvig's ninety-five year old mother during the summer. The odyssey continued until the fall of 1933 when they moved into Bayfield.

Richard Palm recounts that his uncle, Carl, spent some time on Sand Island, but soon moved on to Superior, Wisconsin where he worked for the Great Northern Railway. Magnus Palm worked his homesteaded land, fishing and farming and working for other islanders until October 2, 1924, when his wife Anna's tuberculosis forced them to abandon their site and move to the Detroit, Michigan area. Will and his wife, Amanda, moved onto the island in 1915. They

built a two story cabin near Magnus' home, and he too earned a living working for others. They eventually settled in Bayfield.

In the late 1950's Ludvig's sons, Howard and Dick, bought Herman Johnson's home and moved it down the shore, where it served as their summer place (Palm Correspondence). Thus the Palms of Norway added to the population and culture of the East Bay community.

Sigurd Loftfield

The Loftfields were not a fishing family. Sigurd Loftfield was one of the Bonde group of Norwegian settlers recruited to Sand Island from the Twin Cities. His son, Bob, said that Sand Island was viewed as a Norwegian utopian farming and fishing community (Robert Loftfield Interview).

According to Alanen and Tishler, Sigurd, born in 1887, and his wife, Katherine-Marie Loftfield, a child bride born in Germany in 1898, arrived on Sand Island at the end of the first decade of the 20th Century. They bought three lots at the bottom of the East Shore, and there they built their house, Solheim, "Sun Home." Sigurd operated a small dairy and fruit farm, and sought additional income as a logger, and an ore boat sailor, two among many of his efforts which eventually took him as far afield as Panama. They maintained ownership of the island property well after the time of their move to Detroit in 1923. During their thirteen Sand Island years, the couple had three children, Robert, Richard and Muriel (Alanen and Tishler 1996, 28). The 1925 tax rolls record that the Loftfield extended family owned several parcels totaling twenty-three acres, and were also paying taxes on an additional forty acre parcel (Bayfield County Tax Rolls, 1925).

Feldman notes that they were followed to Sand Island by Sigurd's father and mother, Olaf, born in 1854, and Jonette Loftfield, born in 1863, soon after Sigurd established himself

there. The Ole and Jonette Loftfield had five other children, four of whom were also United States immigrants. The elder Loftfields stayed with Sigurd's family until Solheim proved to be too small to comfortably accommodate the group (Feldman 2004b, 302). Sigurd's son, Bob, related that the move was precipitated when Katherine-Marie "found it hard to adjust to island life with a family and in-laws too" (Loftfield Interview).

Ole worked at farming after coming to the island. In 1987 Melvin Dahl told an interviewer that Jonette took in summer vacationers to supplement her income and also "ran a small store out of their farm, selling basic dry goods. Many of the people who grew up on the island fondly remember buying penny-candy at the Loftfield farm" (Melvin Dahl Interview).

Their daughter Aagot taught at the island's school for a time and also at other Bayfield County area schools. Their daughter Birglot (Birdie) and their son Magnus lived on Sand Island. Magnus married Mabel Dahl, daughter of Harold Dahl.

Fred Hansen recorded Ole's death on July 16, 1930. Alanen and Tishler write that Sand Island's cold weather proved too harsh for Jonette, who then wintered in Minneapolis with one of her children. She kept the store open during the summer season until the late 1930's. The Loftfield family lost contact with Sand Island at the beginning of the United States' entry into World War II (Alanen and Tishler 1996, 28).

Bertrand Noring

William "Bill" Noring, born on January 3, 1907, was interviewed in 1980 and 1981, two years before his death, regarding his parents and their lives on Sand Island. He gave this account. Bertrand and Birget Noring, also identified as Bertrand and Bertha Noreng in the census records of 1920 and 1930, were married in Norway in 1906 and shortly thereafter immigrated through Ellis Island to Minneapolis, Minnesota, where they lived until 1912. During their years in

Minnesota three of their four children were born. After meeting Edwin Bonde, and knowing Louis Moe, Bertrand visited Sand Island in the winter of 1911-1912. He bought “a bunch of land for little or nothing” (Noring Interview, 1980). Unlike many of the Norwegians on the island, Bertrand was principally a farmer who fished as a sideline. While they were building their first house, they lived with the Bondes. In a 1920 newspaper article, John Chapple, editor of the Ashland Daily Press, wrote:

Before long Noring was there, his wife at his side, carving a home for himself out of the wilderness. Farmer, fishermen, butcher, he has taught himself a hundred trades. Outside of the need for a little salt, sugar and coffee once in a while, Noring is more independent and self-supporting than a king could ever be.

The Norings were the last of the permanent settlers to leave Sand Island. They departed in 1944. Palm concluded:

When the Noring’s family was raised—all the kids were on their own—the Norings abandoned the farm and built another house down by the lake near the shore. They lived there for a few years until they started getting older and weren’t able to live on the island anymore. They wanted to live in town—be closer to medical help if they needed (Palm Interview).

Harold Dahl

Bessie Palm and her son, Richard, gave this background on the Dahls. Harold Dahl was the last of the Bonde group that colonized Sand Island. He began coming to the island in the early 1900’s, and in 1910 bought property and brought his wife of seven years, Constance. Constance, already a widow, had a child, Bessie, born in 1894. Constance and Harold had three children--Mabel born in 1904, Carl, 1909 and Melvin, 1911. Constance died in 1915, and Bessie, who was 21 then and working in Seattle, came back to Sand Island to care for her step-sister and brothers for the next three years (Palm Correspondence). Harold continued to fish. His son, Melvin, commented, “We had two to three milk cows and a barn and everything. We grew our own vegetables and potatoes and practically grew our own meat, too” (Melvin Dahl Interview).

Harold and his family spent winters on the island until Carl started high school in Bayfield. After that, Harold had to maintain two houses, one on Sand Island and one in Bayfield.

On April 28, 1928, tragedy struck when Lake Superior took Harold's life during a large storm (Bayfield County Press, May 3, 1928). Mel, who was sixteen at the time, was taken in briefly by Herman Johnson's family and then moved to his step-sister Bessie Nelson Palm's home in Minneapolis (Bessie Palm Correspondence). Carl was twenty years old and in the U.S. Navy when his father passed away. After his enlistment was up, he returned to Sand Island and married Alma Hansen, daughter of Fred (The Iron River Pioneer, July 18, 1985). Mabel married Magnus Loftfield. The children's step-sister, Bessie, by that time had been married to Ludwig Palm for nearly ten years. She and her family lived on Sand Island during the winter of 1932-33 in the Bonde cabin (Bessie Palm Correspondence). In 1942 Mel bought the cottage once owned by Dr. Disen.

Thorvald Dahl

Melvin Dahl reminisced about Thorvald Dahl, whom the islanders called T-Dahl. Melvin believed that T-Dahl came from North Dakota before stopping at Sand Island. He bought and lived on the property vacated in 1924 by Magnus Palm. He stayed for about five years. He never farmed or fished but made his living as a handyman. He also grew berries. T-Dahl was not related to the Harold Dahls. Melvin remembered, "On Sundays he kind of appointed himself the minister of the island and he'd hold some church services" (Melvin Dahl Interview). Melvin said that the services were held in the school building.

Gerald Biorn

In his interview Gerald Biorn described the life and times of his grandparents, Nils and Erika Biorn, a couple whose Sand Island adventure lasted only a year. Both of the Biorns were

Norwegian immigrants. Nils first settled in Minneapolis and Erika in Decorah, Iowa. They were probably born in the 1860's. Together they raised a family of ten. In 1910 they homesteaded an unfortunate tract of land that was described as "all swamp except for about four acres." The property had already been logged, yet enough remained for them to build a rudimentary single-story log house. Gerald's aunt, Signe, told him that when she bedded down for the night, she could see the stars. The Biorns planted garden vegetables on two acres, and according to Signe, they ate potatoes morning, noon and night. By 1912 they had moved back to Minneapolis where Nils was killed in a work-related accident. Erika received title to the Sand Island homestead in 1913. One of their sons, Henry, returned to the island in later years, but not to farm. He was a lumberjack. Gerald said his Uncle Henry was:

Kind of eccentric. He was 'titched'. He did some fishing and lumbering and planted a few acres of potatoes. "My dad said he would go up to the island, leave here, Minneapolis, go up on a little bicycle with a motor on the back, drive all the way up to Bayfield. Then he'd get in a row boat and row out to the island. So you can see, that's why he died when he was fifty years old, probably all burned out.

Henry died in 1940. In 1950 Gerald's parents paid taxes that had accumulated over ten years and owned the land for the next five years. Gerald went back in 1968 and used the property as a summer vacation site, bringing a tent and a cook stove for several years. (Biorn Interview 1987)

Emmanuel Luick

Robert Mackreth, retired Apostle Islands' Park Historian, provided the following information concerning the career of Sand Island's lighthouse keeper, Emmanuel Luick. While not living the entire year on the island, Emmanuel Luick kept the lighthouse lens aglow for three seasons over a twenty year span. The Luicks were treated as locals by permanent group of settlers.

Born in Cleveland, Ohio in 1866, Emmanuel Luick was the son of German immigrants. He began working as a fisherman and a wood turner. At age twenty he was hired as an assistant keeper at the Apostles' Outer Island light. Following Sand Island's original keeper Charles Lederle's promotion in 1892, Luick took over and remained there for the next twenty-nine years.

In 1896, at the age of twenty-nine, he married Ella Gertrude Richardson of Smithfield, Rhode Island, age sixteen. She proved to be an able person, and was left in charge of the lighthouse for days at a time while he went to the mainland for supplies. On one occasion during Emmanuel's illness, she took over for three weeks, tending the light nightly and doing all other chores daily. The Lighthouse Service paid her as a temporary assistant keeper for several of these brief periods.

The marriage of Emmanuel and Ella ended without children, when, on May 19, 1905, she left for Bayfield on the steamer Barker and never returned. They divorced in 1906. Luick married Oramill Buck of Iron River, Wisconsin in 1911. The couple had four children, of whom two survived infancy. The first child, a girl, died on the island a month after birth, and Emmanuel buried her there. The second, a boy, was buried in Bayfield on May 23, 1918.

Although Emmanuel Luick and his family were somewhat set apart physically from the mostly Norwegian families of Sand Island, the Luicks took an active part in community life. The Luicks visited back and forth with the Moes, Johnsons, Hansens, Hills and others. The island people provided mutual assistance when needed as referenced several times in the islanders' writings and in the lighthouse log. It is likely that Fred Hansen was profoundly influenced by Emmanuel Luick. Fred was a frequent visitor to the Luicks in his teen years, reading newspapers, learning the importance of keeping a diary or log, and also the skill of photography. He was one

of the members of the East Bay community who looked in on Ella Luick while her husband was on the mainland.

In 1921 the light was automated making the keeper's job superfluous. Luick went on to the lighthouse at Grand Marias, Minnesota, where sixteen years later, he retired. He died in Superior, Wisconsin in 1947 (Mackreth Correspondence).

Summertime People

They came when the weather was warm. They came when it was cooler than home. They came to escape hay fever. They came to escape the routine of their lives. They came to enjoy one of the most beautiful places on earth. They came to play. They came because they could afford it. They spent their money, and they had an impact on the permanent settlers and their children.

There was a perceived difference between the permanent residents and these visitors. It was expressed by Herman Jensch, grandson of Samuel Campbell. Campbell's summertime home was built west of Shaw Point (Fig. 4.1). Herman Jensch sensed that separation, and he attributed it to several factors. His grandfather was a Union major in the Civil War. He was addressed by his rank thereafter. Major Campbell had a somewhat elevated status as northern Wisconsin's Bureau of Indian Affairs Agent. Herman's father Charles Jensch had a prominent position with the Chicago Northwestern Railroad and travelled to Bayfield in his own railcar. The Campbell-Jensch cottage's size and style set it apart from the more utilitarian homes in which the settlers lived (Herman Jensch Interview).

There existed a difference between the backgrounds of these two island entities, the settlers and the townsfolk, the immigrants and the American born, those who spoke English as a second language and those who spoke English without an accent. And yet there were the Hills, who had lived in the city but now were an accepted part of the residents' fabric. It was the Hills

who brought the people together for work as well as for an occasional social festivity. Thus Burt and Anna Mae were more than physical caretakers of the Campbell-Jenschs' property.

Samuel S. Fifield

In 1997 Sheree Peterson, local historian and curator at the Madeline Island Historical Museum wrote a report for the National Park Association titled *Camp Stella Meeting Place of Kindred Souls*. In the report she described the locally famous Sand Island resort and those responsible for its founding, maintenance and prominence in Wisconsin's northland. Camp Stella's success was a windfall for the permanent residents, as well as the camp's owners and staff. Many of the Sand Islanders earned summertime money providing food, shelter, and the "fisherman's experience" to the prominent campers taking advantage of this pristine part of the world. The camp also benefited from the islanders' fresh farm and fish products. The visitors got a chance to mingle with the colorful immigrant Norwegian community, and the islanders and their children, in turn, got a look at how the big-city moneyed folk dressed, ate and acted.

Samuel Stillman Fifield was the man who gave birth to Camp Stella. Sam was born in Corinna, Maine on June 24, 1839. His mother died eight years later, and Sam was sent to live with an uncle. In 1853 Sam, his younger brother, Hank, and their father moved to the Midwest. Sam worked as a clerk and then as an apprentice for a newspaper in Taylor Falls, Wisconsin. He was rejected for service during the Civil War due to his poor health and small stature. In 1862 he became the owner-editor of the Polk County Press in northern Wisconsin. On September 20, 1863 Stella Amelia Grimes, a resident of Taylor Falls, married Sam, and together they ran the paper. Sam published the paper as a non-partisan journal until the war's end, when he came out as a Republican advocate (Peterson 1997, 4-6).

In 1867 he served as the clerk on the judiciary committee in the Wisconsin State Assembly. In 1870 he visited the Chequamegon Bay area and subsequently invested with his brother in the Bayfield Press. He remained living in Osceola working with the Polk County Press and serving as the assistant sergeant-at-arms of the State Assembly. He served as the sergeant-at-arms from 1871 to 1872 (Peterson 1997, 11-12).

Fifield was a strong supporter and promoter of settlement and development of Wisconsin's Lake Superior country. Motivated by construction of the Wisconsin Central Railroad, he and Stella moved to Ashland in the spring of 1872, where he, along with his brother, started The Ashland Press, a weekly newspaper (Peterson, 1997, 15). He maintained ownership in the paper until 1888. Soon after the sale, it became The Ashland Daily Press (Peterson 1997, 11-27).

From 1873 to 1876 Sam represented the counties of Ashland, Barron, Bayfield, Burnett, Douglas and Polk in the Wisconsin State Assembly. In the fall of 1876 he was elected to fill an unexpired term in the State Senate. He served as a senator again in 1880 and 1881. In 1881 he was elected lieutenant governor of the State of Wisconsin and served in that position through 1887. It was after holding this office that Fifield acquired the informal title of "Governor," a title that would stay with him for the rest of his life. He was appointed postmaster of Ashland, Wisconsin in 1890 and served in that capacity until 1894. In 1898 he was again appointed postmaster by President McKinley and re-appointed in 1902 by President Theodore Roosevelt. He continued at the post office until 1914 when he retired (Peterson 1997, 18-23).

Fifield was one of the founders of the Ashland National Bank, and for a number of years served as one of the directors (Peterson 1997, 56). The Wisconsin Central Railroad opened a large hotel on the Ashland waterfront in 1877, and Fifield assumed the position of hotel manager

for a short period of time. The Fifields used the knowledge they gained running the hotel to open a resort on Sand Island in the summer 1886. The vacation site was known as Camp Stella. Ever the promoter of the area, Sam became involved in the motion picture industry when in 1912 he and his yacht Stella were contracted to spend a week out among the islands while the Selig Company filmed the striking scenery and attractions of the area. A month later Fifield and the Stella were chartered by the Essanay Film Company of Chicago for another film, *A Call from the Sea* (Peterson 1997, 57).

Mrs. Fifield died of breast cancer on July 23, 1913. Mr. Fifield died February 18, 1915 at Ashland and was buried there in Mt. Hope Cemetery. Camp Stella did not long survive his passing.

Samuel Campbell

Warren “Art” Harris, a descendent of Sam Campbell, has done years of research on Major Campbell. Art, now a retired Indiana journalist, returns to Sand Island each summer to enjoy his family’s historical site. Between the years 2006 and 2012 he gave me the following information about his great-grandfather in interviews and correspondence. In writing this thesis many of Campbell’s papers have been reviewed including those covering the 1909-1910 Senate Committee on Indian Affairs in Wisconsin as well as other documents maintained in archives of the State of Wisconsin Historical Society Library.

Major Samuel W. Campbell was born in June of 1843 in Pennsylvania. He was a Civil War veteran and was discharged in 1865. He and his wife, Phoebe, settled in the St. Croix Valley in western Wisconsin following his military service. He worked as a farmer, a gristmill owner, and in 1884 he was elected and served two terms as the St. Croix County Sheriff in Hudson, Wisconsin. During his years in that area he became friends with Sam Fifield.

He won an appointment as an inspector for the Federal Bureau of Animal Industry in Chicago, and then became a store owner in the iron mining region at Eveleth, Minnesota. During all of his wanderings, his wife and the couple's children stayed in Hudson, to which Sam often returned.

In 1898 he was appointed as an agent for the Bureau of Indian Affairs at the La Pointe Agency. He served the Red Cliff, Lac Courte Oreille, Grand Portage and Fond du Lac reservations in Wisconsin and Minnesota. Fifield may have had much to do with his friend Campbell's selection to the post. Beyond his Civil War service, this was the most interesting time of Campbell's life. He attended to the Ojibwas tribal members in what some believed to be an overly zealous patriarchic role. The record shows that he held tight reins on their purse strings. As the years passed the Native Americans he represented wanted more freedom in the management of their personal financial affairs. He was accused of financial mismanagement. He and other agents were the subjects of a U.S. Senate inquiry headed by Senator Robert LaFollette. The investigators did not find him to be guilty of malfeasance in office, but concluded that he was a man of poor business practices. Campbell resigned from his post in 1912 (Harris Correspondence 2006-2012).

Important to the development of the western shore of Sand Island was Campbell and his friend, Sam Fifield's reunion in Ashland in 1898. They were both now living in Ashland with Fifield employed as the post master and Campbell as the Bureau of Indian Affairs agent. The Campbells spent many days together as guests of the Fifields on Sand Island and eventually bought property next to him in 1909. The Campbells added to their Sand Island holdings in 1911. Campbell's grandchildren have memories of their grandfather from their many childhood summers spent on the island. Herman Jensch described his early days on Sand Island as "a fantastic childhood." For him the time spent in the company of his grandfather, whom he

regarded as a “mythical war hero,” greatly influenced his own life (Herman Jensch Interview). Following Campbell’s death in 1931 the land passed on to his daughter and her family.

Daisy Jensch

According to Sheree Peterson, the Campbell’s daughter Daisy married her childhood friend Charles Jensch of Hudson in 1901. The Jensch family summered on Sand Island. Charles was a railroad executive serving as the Chief Accounting Clerk for the Chicago, St. Paul, Minneapolis & Omaha Railway. He became Comptroller and Vice-president of the Chicago Northwestern Railroad after a merger of the two roads. On the journey to Ashland the family enjoyed travel in a private railcar (1997, 79).

Fred Anderson-Elizabeth Hulings

Hans Jacob Andersen, a Denmark immigrant, came to the St. Croix Valley and in 1903 started the Andersen Window Corporation with sons, Herbert and Fred C. Anderson. Hans passed away in 1914, and his sons took over management of the company until Herbert’s death in 1921. By that time they were marketing their windows on a national level. After the death of Herbert in 1921, his children, Elizabeth and Hugh, were raised by Fred’s family. The Andersens and the Jenschs lived on Third Street in Hudson, and the children of these families became good friends. Thus it was that Elizabeth came to know and enjoy Sand Island. Elizabeth Anderson was slightly older than Phoebe Jensch, but younger than Herman Jensch. Elizabeth first came to Sand Island when she was about eleven years old to visit the Jensch family (Peterson 1997, 109-110).

To protect the property from those who she felt would not respect the Fifield heritage, Daisy Campbell Jensch, Phoebe’s mother, bought the Camp Stella grounds and buildings in 1934. In 1935 she sold the Fifield resort to the Andersens. When Burt and Anna Mae Hill

became troubled by old age and ill health, Fred Andersen bought the Hill farm at Shaw Point (Peterson 1997, 112).

Elizabeth Andersen Hulings took over the Camp Stella property, while the Fred Andersens retained the Shaw-Hill property. The families later switched parcels. The Hulings had two daughters, and the Hulings women spent most summers on the island to afford one of the daughters some relief from her seasonal allergies and hay-fever. They came to love the island and the property as much as the inhabitants before them (Peterson 1997, 114).

Stephen Phipps

The other Hudsonite who bought Sand Island property in the 1930's was Stephen Phipps. He was the son of William and Frances Phipps, who moved to Hudson in the 1870's. As early as 1873 they visited Chequamegon Bay on a sight-seeing excursion. They later invested in area real estate. William worked as a land commissioner for the Chicago, St. Paul, Minneapolis & Omaha and Northern Pacific railroads. He was also the Director and President of the First National Bank of Hudson and invested in land and timber. The Phipps and Andersen families were old friends. William's son, Steven, bought part of the Camp Stella property in 1934 (Peterson 1997, 112).

Oliver LaTour

In 1903 French-Canadian swamper, Oliver LaTour, happened upon Sand Island in a small boat that set out from Canada. "A swamper," Herman Jensch explained, "worked with loggers. He goes ahead and makes paths, swings an axe" (Herman Jensch Interview). Known as "Uncle Oliver" or "Old Uncle," he was hired by Sam Fifield as an overseer until after Fifield's death, and then stayed on at Camp Stella for eleven more years. He had his own cabin, which even the children found particularly pungent and unendurable. They loved him nonetheless and sought his company. He was a picturesque piece of the lore of the north woods as he sat smoking

his ever-present pipe with his water spaniel Brownie at his feet. In later years the Hill family at Shaw Point looked after him and the county relief funds he received. The Hills cleaned his home, and made sure he was well-fed and had his tobacco (Herman Jensch Interview). Burt Hill explained that “Oliver LaTour began to show signs of being a little bit off, and on June 10, 1926 I took him to Bayfield to be examined by Dr. Mertens. After examining him, the doctor sent him to the hospital at Washburn where he remained but a short time. We never heard from him after. He claimed to be over 100 years old” (Hill Diary, 1926).

C. F. Disen and Christian Aabel

Mention is made of two individuals both from Minneapolis who seemed to be known to the East Bay settlers. One fellow was Dr. C. F. Disen, a physician in the Twin Cities, and the other was the Mr. Christian Aabel (The Bayfield County Press spelled it Oble). On July 2, 1909 the Bayfield County Press reported that, “East Bay on Sand Island was being invaded by people in search of summer homes.” Disen and Aabel were two of those “invaders” who contracted with Oscar Johnson to have cottages erected. They went on to spend many of their summers on the island with their families.

Disen was noted by Herman Jensch to be a bit eccentric though a “capable” man. Remembering Disen, Jensch told of how he believed in sunbathing as healthful. He built a raft with a sail, and once he got away from shore, he would disrobe. Many times the current would take him and his under-powered craft where it would, and the fishermen would be sent out to affect his rescue. Fred Hansen recorded in his diary on February 9, 1914 that he took his father, Peter, to Minneapolis to consult with Dr. Disen. Disen had gained the respect of Sand Islanders.

Burt Hill recorded that on November 29, 1917 the Boutin Company’s tug the Herring King caught fire and burned to the waterline. Louis Moe towed in the hull and beached it (Hill

Diary). Sometime thereafter, Aabel took the hull to his property and turned it over, thus creating additional sleeping quarters for his cottage which Richard Palm said was, “a brilliant idea probably spurred on by the high cost of building a new room at that time. Actually, it turned out to be a very attractive building, unique and with a built-in history he probably loved to relate to his friends” (Palm Correspondence).

Gertrude Wellisch

Robert W. Mackreth discussed Gertrude Wellisch in a website article suggestively titled *Girls Just Want To Have Fun*. He said that she was the daughter of one of the founders and builders of the West Bay Club. She was born in 1896, and from 1913, when the club was erected, spent her summers there until it was dissolved in 1922.

After petitioning the federal government for two years, Gert was granted a tenancy in the Sand Island Lighthouse, which had been abandoned in 1921. In 1925 she moved in for the summer at a cost of \$25 a year in rent, with an agreement that she would maintain the building. This she gladly did for a period of 18 years. During that time, and with the help of her brother, Bun, and several of her adventurous friends, she completed the many chores necessary to keep Lake Superior’s strong storms from destroying one of the most picturesque of the Apostle Island’s 19th Century lighthouses (Fig 4.2).



Figure 4.2 Gert and Sandy maintaining the Lighthouse. (AINL Photo)

Over the years the permanent islanders came to expect and accept Gert, as well as her dog, Sandy, as a summertime presence (Mackreth 2008, 40-44). “She was a rugged individual that could take hardship,” Howard Palm recalled. “She used to walk from East Bay over to the lighthouse and that was over two miles, and she’d carry her suitcases” (Howard Palm Interview, 12).

Gert was a school teacher, working in St. Paul, Minnesota. She knew many of the island’s children. The children liked her, but for her part, she worried that they weren’t getting all the education that they needed. Thus it was that she served them as a summer tutor and hired them to do some of her household chores.

By the late 1930’s the government had raised the lighthouse rent to a level that she felt she could no longer afford. She was able instead to buy property on East Bay two miles to the lighthouse’s south. It was there that she built her home, Plenty Charm (Fig 4.3).



Figure 4.3 Living Room of Plenty Charm Looking out on Little Sand Bay (Photo by Author)

She brought a Ford Model A and parked it by the dock, telling all that if they needed it, they could feel free to use it. Gert died at the age of 70 in 1966. She left the cottage to her companion, a teacher like herself. The National Park Service purchased it in the 1970s, using *Plenty Charm* as a ranger station for a while, then more recently as a base for the park's "Artist in Residence" program. Today the schoolteacher's cottage stands empty. But the three homes that Gert Wellisch put her heart into still stand and are owned by the National Park Service (Mackreth 2008, 40-44).

Summary

The summertime people, those who built three-season cottages on Shaw Point--the Campbells-Jenschs, Anderson, Hulings, and Phipps-- were residents or former residents of Hudson, Wisconsin. They knew the Fifiels. They spent their vacations on Sand Island because Sam Fifiel extended his summer resort, Camp Stella, to them. Gertrude Wellisch was the daughter of one of the founders of the West Bay Club, a lodge built on Sand Island's western edge.

But with the exception of Frank Shaw and Burt Hill, all of the East Bay settlers were Norwegian immigrants. The immigration of these Norwegian Sand Islanders followed the story described in the 1983 edition of *Norwegian-American Studies*. This journal was devoted to

Norwegian migratory patterns of the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The following is information contained in that journal.

For centuries the economy of Norway was supported by men who farmed and fished. Over the course of the last half of the 19th century, the country ran out of space for its younger farming population to expand. An entrenched cottering or tenant farming (husmenn) system insured that the first male heir could continue operating on the family's land while the younger siblings had to either work for him or find work elsewhere. In the fishing industry larger boats and large scale fleets began to outperform the home-based fisherman, and thus they took control of the market place.

With these conditions many of the young unmarried Norwegian men saw no economic future. They were potential emigrants. The only push they needed was information about the welcoming conditions of the United States, and that information was provided either by emigrated relatives or by the wealth of promotional literature distributed throughout Norway.

Letters were the most important source of information which people in Norway had about conditions in the New World. The writers advised their families and friends about the most promising locations and the best methods and time of travel. Spring was the favorite season for settlement, affording them time to establish homesteads before the coming of winter. Visiting emigrants also provided information and incentives to leave. The thought of leaving did not seem so formidable to people back home when they had hopes of meeting familiar people in the new land. Tickets or cash sent home by relatives or friends provided yet another inducement.

Recruitment, known as the "Yankee system," caused many people to leave Norway. The shipping companies made use of visiting Norwegian Americans to recruit emigrants. Along with a widespread use of newspaper advertising, agents were commissioned by various

steamship lines to recruit passengers for their vessels. Railroad companies in the United States were very active in enlisting Norwegian emigrants (*Norwegian-American Studies Journal* 1983).

More than 60% of these emigrants came to Wisconsin, Minnesota and North Dakota. They settled within a radius of 200 miles of Minneapolis. It is well within this radius that the Norwegians of Sand Island put down their roots between 1893 and 1913. From Mo-I-Rana in the fiord district of Norway came the Moes, Hansens, and brothers Peter and Herman Johnson. These fishermen-farmers came because Norway held no promise for them. They came because they heard that the waters were full of fish and that farmland was available. Lastly came the group recruited by Edwin Bonde from the Minneapolis-St. Paul area, the Loftfields, Dahls, Norings and Palms. The Bonde folks came because this land speculator sold them on the idea of recreating an idealized life that they had left in Norway, and Minneapolis, a city of 164,738 in 1890, was an alien environment for these farmer-fishermen. Together they built a community.

Chapter Five

The Cultural Landscape

In 1979 geographer Pierce F. Lewis authored an essay titled *Axioms for Reading the Landscape: Some Guides to the American Scene*. Lewis identified seven axioms pertaining to what geographers call the cultural landscape, or landscapes made by humans. These axioms state that the human landscape, if read correctly, can give students a true autobiography of a culture. We can revisit our heritage. Lewis writes that to see this landscape clearly it takes a practiced eye which sees more than the obvious and grandiose. Lewis states that all parts within the landscape are important and meaningful, and buildings which society deems to be mundane are as important to the geographic study of a time and place as those which are revered as artistic and representational of good taste. Lewis writes that to study just the “historic landmarks is to miss the context of the cultural surroundings. Every step of the way we are investigating the evolution of American culture: where things started, when, and how. When we study a cultural landscape, we acknowledge that the buildings are part of the physical landscape and consideration for geological, biological and climatological conditions were accounted for” (Meinig 1979, 11-32).

It is, therefore, with these axioms in mind that I will explore the settlement of Sand Island, describing what I see as its cultural landscape, that which evolved as the community members moved from building primitive fishing shacks to well-developed homesteads.

During the 1870’s Frank Shaw, for example, went from living in a fish camp to building a three season cottage suitable for his wife and children to summer in. By 1898 he had erected a winter-proof house in which he and his wife could spend the entire year. The East Bay residents like Fred Hansen, too, made vast improvements in their homes, barns and fishing operations

before ending their tenure on the island. Landscape architecture professors Alanen and Tishler wrote:

Other than the outlines of some clearings and a few decaying foundations, little remains of the farms and fishing enclaves developed by Sand Island's Norwegian immigrant community. At the Shaw-Hill farm-site, where several buildings and a portion of the original clearings and pastures remain in private hands under the terms of a life-time lease, is it possible to get a fleeting glimpse of the farms, fields, and orchards that once dotted a number of the islands (Alanen and Tishler, 1996, 40).

Early Inhabitation

While there is no record or visual evidence that the Ojibwa visited Sand Island, it is certain that they used the islands for harvesting fish, much like the early European fishermen. When they did camp on the islands, they relied on the wigwam as their principal shelter. Frontiersman, Oak Island homesteader and Ojibwa advocate Benjamin G. Armstrong spent nearly 50 years among the Ojibwa of northern Wisconsin. In his memoirs he affords this account of indigenous life. The Ojibwa used birch bark, seemingly impervious to the weather of the Lake Superior area, in building their shelters or wigwams. The construction began by setting poles vertically into the ground in a circle and then weaving them together with basswood bark. This cone-shaped dwelling had a circular opening at the top to allow smoke out. They tore birch bark into strips and tightly covered the frame, sewing the bark ends together. Starting at the bottom they made their way around the frame and moved up, overlapping the last round until they reached the peak. A doorway was made by leaving out poles on the side where they wanted the entrance, and when the lodge was completed, the skin of an animal was hung over to keep out the cold. An elk or deer pelt was the most commonly used. The floors were covered with rugs and mats made of rushes woven together with bark. Their wigwams could be easily transported from site to site and from season to season. They usually moved locations after ten days to six

weeks. There is no evidence that the Ojibwa erected permanent dwellings on Sand Island (Armstrong 19, 67-68, 83).

With the coming of the European population, Sand Island was used as a site for seasonal fish camps. These fish camps required no ornamentation. They were no more than temporary shacks meant for one year at a time. The men who constructed them used few tools, and there was little in the way of design. They were meant for shelter from the rains and winds of Lake Superior. They were positioned on the leese side of the island. Their primary purpose was to provide access to the fishing grounds, the source of the men's income. There are no photographs within the Apostle Islands Lakeshore archives that depict these camps.

Settlement Structures

As the island began to take in year round residents, including women and children, construction of functional dwellings needed to reflect the harsh climate and weather events of Lake Superior. That they achieved success is demonstrated by the fact that for fifty years family life was extended past the fishing and farming season. With the exception of the lighthouse, the West Bay Club and Moe's lumber camp, all buildings were sited on the island's eastern, more sheltered, side.

Over the years Frank Shaw built two homes on the shoreline that came to be called Shaw Point and Shaw Landing. He first put up a primitive log structure using the island's available timber. By the 1880's, as his business grew so did his buildings, and when the Shaw family began summering on the island, he constructed a frame house further away from the lake. He had a smoke house and a root cellar along with other buildings related to farming. He built a substantial dock and several sheds for the storage of fish and maintenance of the equipment involved in his operation. Photographs of his buildings reveal that they were constructed in the

same manner prevalent with American building methods (Fig 5.1). His buildings have survived four generations and are now protected by the National Parks stewardship.



Figure 5.1 Shaw House circa 1910-1920. (AINL Photo)

As the Norwegian immigrants began populating East Bay, they brought their traditional architectural styles with them (Fig 5.2). Richard J. Fapso, author of *Norwegians in Wisconsin*, described the construction. After selecting trees, they hewed the timber with broad axes into two or four flat-sided logs. The lumber beams fit closely on top of each other, and very little chinking was needed to keep the weather at bay. To secure them one to the other, they dovetailed the end pieces, locking them with their own weight. They further drilled holes vertically in two logs at a time, joining them with large dowels driven through the logs to inhibit shifting and warping. Logs would often extend four or five inches past the corner, and the workmanship and ability of the builder could be gauged by how neatly he had finished these corners and the log ends. The roofing completed the weather-proofing of the shelter when lighter-weight and hand-hewn logs were placed horizontally along the length of the roof, and hand-split shingles or shakes were nailed over their surface. Given that rain, snow, sleet and the humid environment caused constant deterioration, the settlers had to be vigilant. In many cases, they replaced entire houses, using the original dwellings for other purposes (Fapso 2001, 28).



Figure 5.2 Dovetailed Broad Axe Hewn Construction. (Photo by Author)

It is important to note that when the men convinced the women to move out to the island, the women brought more than companionship. The women brought expectations of family life, and they brought a certain domestication to the beautiful harshness that Sand Island possessed. They achieved this feat in the decorating of their homes. Geographer Ann Legreid wrote, “Women used wallpaper, whitewashing, curtains, and doilies to visually soften the hardness of rural life in Norwegian American communities” (Bergland and Lahlum ed. 2001, 201).

Regardless of how well the homes were built, Sand Islander Melvin Dahl remembered, “The only thing we had for heat was a wood stove. You had to get up in the middle of the night and throw wood on, or you’d freeze to death. Water would freeze in the pails in the kitchen at night, and we had to break the ice to get water.” (Melvin Dahl Interview)

Fred Hansen’s third and final house and five outbuildings remain in reasonably good shape today (Fig 5.3). According to his diary, Fred and his carpenters, Clyde Nyland and Nels Anderson, began work on the house on April 20, 1936, and the Hansens moved in on September 15, 1936. Photographs of the home show that the ground level consisted of four-sided flat hewn logs, with the end joints having the traditional dovetailing. Also maintained is his net storage

building and his “Boar’s Nest,” where he repaired the nets (Fig 7.13). It is used now as a summer cabin, although there is evidence of serious shore erosion under the structure. Netti Hansen’s root cellar, an outhouse and a general storage shed exist there.



Figure 5.3 Fred Hansen’s 1936 House. (Photo by Author)

Bob Dahl remembered that “Our home was stick built with cedar shakes on the outside. It was the only house on the island that was insulated on the walls” (Dahl Interview). He said that none of the houses used insulation in the ceilings. The builders were Nyland and Anderson, the same two who built the Hansen place in 1936 and Gert Wellesch’s summer home “Plenty Charm” in 1942. The Dahls had the only Sand Island home with a basement. Early construction techniques called for setting the buildings on log foundations, but as times changed and homes became more elaborate, block or concrete was used. The log homes began with either lath and plaster on the inside or just plaster. One of the exceptions was Dahl’s great grandfather Herman Johnson’s place that was plastered over boards and studs. They built it in the Scandinavian style of placing the inside boards on the diagonal to further seal out the wind. The Moe’s logging camp, of which Herman Johnson was a partner, supplied the lumber. The only known heating source was from fireplaces and wood stoves.

Dahl said that the Moe’s homes were also pretty well built, more like town homes than primitive backwoods homes. Alanen and Tishler wrote:

The complex included a two-story house, a barn (built from lumber that had washed up on the shoreline), a shed for the storage of wood and other supplies, a dock and fish house, and an ice house. Since Moe also maintained a logging operation on Sand for several years, he added a “camp” building to accommodate eight to ten lumberjacks, and constructed a blacksmith shop that was used for shoeing his three teams of horses (Alanen and Tishler 1996, 23-26).

Swen Berstrom, a carpenter, was the only Swedish resident on Sand Island. He assisted the Norings in building their initial home and farm buildings. These structures had small logs or poles set vertically rather than horizontally, another Norwegian tradition. While nothing but rubble remains of the Norings home, there is a picture of the Palm cabin (Fig. 5.4) documenting similar construction methods. Bill Noring, interviewed in 1980, made reference to the prevalence of hemlock on his family’s property. Hemlock was never prized for use in construction, but it was so bountiful that the Norings used it as the primary building material in their house and barn.



Figure 5.4 Palm Cabin (AINL Photo)

Summer Homes

Author Sheree Peterson wrote about Sam Fifield’s construction of the resort Camp Stella. In addition to the Fifields’ lake view cottage and the field of tents, Fifield had a sturdy dock with coal sheds installed at the site. He added stairs to accommodate his guests’ steep climb from the boat to their tent ground. As time passed and the enterprise became more popular, two smaller cottages were erected for visitors who wanted a more indoor camping experience. A novel but small, hexagonal cottage was added. It was sided completely with shake shingles, which earned it the name “The Balsams” (Fig. 5.5). In 1906 a guest cottage was built from hatch covers after

the September, 1905 wreck of the steamer Savona (Fig 5.6). It was around this time that Fifield acquired gas street lamps for his camp to add ambience and turn of the century atmosphere to the path from Camp Stella to Shaw Point. In 1911 a gas driven water pump was put in, furnishing fresh cold lake water for drinking, and washing, and affording a line of defense should fire break out (Peterson, 34-39).



Figure 5.5 The Balsams Cottage. (Photo by Author)



Figure 5.6 Sevona Memorial Cottage. (Photo by Author)

The Campbell cottage was originally built in 1909 with eleven rooms and four porches: one porch was centered in each exterior face of the building. The porches were eventually enclosed with windows by Campbell's descendants, the Andersens. The cottage had no electricity or plumbing. There were wash pitchers and bowls in the bedrooms, and there were two outhouses. Clothes were washed by hand. The family, remarkably, also had a clay tennis court (Peterson 1997, 112).



Figure 5.7 West Bay Club. (Photo by Author)

Bayfield area historian Thomas Gerstenberger described the West Bay Club (Fig. 5.7). It was constructed in 1913 through the collective efforts of six wealthy friends from the Minneapolis and St. Paul area: architects Buechner, Orth, and Yocom, contractors Romer and Eha, and a boiler manufacturer Wellisch. It was a one-and-one-half story frame lodge sided with peeled logs and trimmed in cedar. It had screened porches on three sides. It was situated so that the front wall of the structure overlooked the southwest corner of the island, and though the house was sheltered, from it a vacationer could observe the fury of a storm-tossed lake. The first floor was basically a great-room used for dining and other indoor activities. The kitchen and food storage area faced the dense woods to the north.

The upper story had six bedrooms which were intended for the adults. The children bedded in the great room or found a place on any one of the porches. There were separate restrooms for the men and women. And even on an island in Lake Superior in the early 1900's, the club members had hot and cold running water, bathtubs, and flush toilets. The amenities extended to the second floor, where the bedrooms each had water piped into a sink. Bottled gas was used to fire a stove and to run a generator that refrigerated the food. Though the members enjoyed gas and electric lights powered by the gas generator, they still relied on candles and kerosene lamps. They used an outhouse located behind the house when the pumps were not working, making their flush toilets unusable (Gerstenberger, 50–53).



Figure 5.8 Plenty Charm. (AINL Photo)

After summering as a teen with her family at the West Bay Club, then occupying the Sand Island lighthouse from 1925 to 1942, Gert Wellisch contracted with Clyde Nyland, the Ashland carpenter who built the Hansen and Dahl homes, to create the summer dwelling that she named Plenty Charm (Fig. 5.8). From the exterior this two bedroom house is unremarkable, but the interior's cathedral ceilinged living room (Fig. 4.3) is quite inviting with the knotty pine paneling and a fieldstone fireplace. Further enhancing the island experience, a lakeside window, nine feet high and six feet wide, presents the many moods of Lake Superior (Mackreth 2008, 40-44).

Lighthouse

The Sand Island light is the first light seen by boat traffic after departure from Duluth, Minnesota. In 2002 Robert Mackreth, retired Apostle Island historian, wrote about the Sand Island Lighthouse (Fig 5.9) in an article titled "Lighthouses of the Apostles". In 1881 the federal government allotted the Lighthouse Board a construction budget of eighteen thousand dollars for the building of a lighthouse on Sand Island. Without delay, construction of the lighthouse took place between June and September of 1881. It is one of few examples of a building consisting of the red sandstone quarried on Sand Island. Its design is of the Gothic Revival style. It is trimmed with wood, has a steeply pitched roof and a forty-two foot tower. It is similar to many of the upper Great Lakes lighthouses (Mackreth, 2002). The lighthouse had a ten-sided fourth-order Fresnel lens (Bayfield County Historical Happenings, 1999).



Figure 5.9 Sand Island Lighthouse. (APNL Photo)

Summary

We have identified Sand Island's cultural landscape. We have seen the settlement as part of the physical landscape and accounted for geological, biological and climatological conditions. In this chapter we have taken Sand Island from Frank Shaw's primitive fish camp through the stages of development culminating and reflected in the comfort and prosperity of Fred Hansen's third and final home. The settlers developed their homesteads from one room hovels in sheltered woodland sites to four season beachfront houses with boat docks that withstood the furies of Lake Superior. We have taken Camp Stella from a canvas tenting experience to a compound where the Campbells, Jenschs, and Andersons built attractive cottages and where their descendants to this day vacation. If, as Pierce Lewis (Meinig ed. 1979) argues, the landscape is a people's "unwritten autobiography," then what do the landscapes of Sand Island reveal? They

reveal progress. They reveal the evolution of a people assimilating themselves into their American dream and they reveal also a group of vacationers who came for two weeks and stayed for a century.

Chapter Six

Economy

Environmental historian James Feldman writes that outside elements led to the establishment of a peripheral economy and settlement on Sand Island. He cites the opening of the locks at Sault Ste. Marie in 1855 as instrumental in attracting Euro- American workers to the south and western area of Lake Superior. It was the locks that established a water route to eastern markets for the lumber, fish, and building stone. In 1883 the railroad made a connection to Bayfield and Ashland, Wisconsin and from then on the freshly caught fish could be distributed to Milwaukee, Chicago and the Twin Cities. Feldman writes, “Still these extra-local economic forces mark only the outlines of Sand Island’s economy, not its inner workings. Such is a peripheral economy” (Feldman 2004b, 290).

The Sand Island settlers engaged whole-heartedly in occupations in which they had experience. Whether coming from the banks of Lake Erie, as did Frank Shaw, or the fiords of Norway, as did most of the East Bay community, they knew fishing; they knew the plow; they were acquainted with the ax. The site to which they came was in the Lake Superior area renowned for lumbering, quarrying, and fishing. And while not possessing a deep and rich top soil, there was enough tillable earth to provide subsistence farming and at times a supplementary income. It is the economy of Sand Island that will be covered in this chapter.

Forestry

As elsewhere in northern Wisconsin, Sand Island forests were exhaustively harvested. National Park Resource Manager, Julie Van Stappen, explained that every kind of tree was cut, beginning with white pine, followed by yellow birch, white cedar, and hardwoods including red

oak, and hemlock. The roughhewn timber found its way into numerous industrial sites to be used for ties in railroad construction and tunnel construction in the iron mining industry. The wood was also the primary heating fuel on the island. Hemlock, while not a valued building material, has bark which is high in tannic acid and was used in processing leather. The bark was stripped from the logs and sold primarily in Milwaukee where numerous leather tanning factories had been established (Van Stappen Correspondence).

Landscape architecture professors Alanen and Tishler describe the islands as prime territory for the loggers: “The distance between stump and shoreline was never very far. Logs were skidded to Lake Superior’s edge and then transported to mainland mills” (Alanen and Tishler 1996, 48-49). With one end dragging along the ground and the other end elevated between two large wheels, the log was pulled by a draft animal to a collection point at the water’s edge.

Harvesting of the island’s trees provided some of the islanders with a convenient seasonal source of income. They logged during the winter after the fish were sold and the crops gathered. According to Van Stappen, Sand Island was logged seven times between the late 19th century and 1975 (Van Stappen Correspondence).

James Feldman notes that the first commercial logging on Sand Island began during the years prior to its settlement. In early December, 1884 the Boutin Company of Bayfield sent a team of lumbermen, draft animals and sawyer tools out to build a lumber camp. That winter they felled an estimated 2,500,000 board feet of mostly high-grade white pine. As the season wore on, a season that could be relied upon to provide deeply frozen ground and swamp, transporting of the sawlogs to the island’s shore was completed. Concluding the year’s work toward the end of June, 1885, after the ice had departed and relatively calm seas could be relied upon, another

Boutin tug arrived at Sand Island to pick up a raft of the winter's work and tow the logs to the local mills.

Dr. Feldman went on to say that after the initial harvest, logging operations were done by the island's fishermen. Frank Shaw usually hired three men to assist his fishing enterprise, and rather than lay them off, he paid them to cut timber during the winter. Louis Moe began logging in the winter of 1897 on the west side of the island about two miles from his home. His product was marketed in Bayfield. After clearing the land that he owned, he bought the logging rights to the property of absentee owners. His camp employed between eight and ten Bayfield loggers, and in later years he hired Carl Dahl, Bill Noring and Bill Palm, the sons of other islanders. Moe hired his neighbor, Bergitt Noring, one season to cook for the camp's crew. He raised his own cattle to feed the men, and he built a blacksmith's shop to make and to repair logging equipment and to shoe his draft animals (Feldman 2004b, 296-298).

Quarrying

Sand Island, as well as all the other islands and the Bayfield Peninsula, lies on a base of sandstone named the Oronto group. The importance of this stone is multi-dimensional. It erodes easily, and thus through wave action creates the area's widespread sea caves, a boon to the tourist industry. It provided the settlers with an extremely stable foundation on which to build the region's homes and outbuildings. In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, this area had a 40 year period where it reigned as the building stone of choice for Midwest masons. Following the 1871 Chicago Fire, it was used extensively in rebuilding the city. This easily quarried stone served railroads in the construction of trestles and bridges. Basswood, Hermit and Stockton Islands, those islands having the best harbors, were the most heavily quarried.

Sand Island's Orienta sandstone was briefly quarried and for only a few building projects. It is given mention here because there was quarrying on the island and at one time this was part of the economic landscape of the area. Van Stappen recalled, "Sand Island was not a major provider of sandstone, but the island's lighthouse (Fig. 5.9), built in 1881 and reminiscent of an English cottage, came from a local quarry" (Van Stappen Correspondence). It was also mentioned by the Bayfield Press on August 5, 1882 that, "a vessel was taking stone from the quarry on Sand Island for the new Episcopal Church in Milwaukee." It is unlikely that any of those who went on to permanently settle Sand Island were involved in this industry.

Farming

On December 21, 1895, in a *Ashland Weekly Press* article titled "Beautiful Isles of Chequamegon," Sam Fifield offered, "There is a settlement of Swede and Norwegian fishermen-farmers on East Bay, which bids fair to increase in numbers and prosperity, for Sand Island contains much rich soil for farming which only needs clearing and improvement" (*Ashland Weekly Press*, 1895). Alanen and Tishler implied that the statement needed a bit of clarification or refinement. The clay based soil, overlaid with silt and loams, was heavily mixed with rock, carryovers from the glacial age. The soils were thought to be suitable for growing produce and hay and for grazing animals including dairy cattle. Sand Island, like other islands of the Apostles, had a limited number of acres of level and gently rolling land (Alanen and Tishler 1996, 3-4).

The Bayfield Press touted the agricultural prospects of this area, and especially the islands, in an article on April 8, 1870 concerning "lake effect" weather. Due to the vast size and depth of Lake Superior, there exists a "lake effect" whereby the extreme temperatures that visit the mainland are moderated on shores and islands, causing winters to be less cold and summer to

be less hot. In the case of Sand Island the growing season ranges from 130 to 140 days. This is a seasonal extension past that of the mainland by as much as 40 days.

Writings promoting area farming failed to mention potential problems the islanders could face in getting their crops to market. The great inland sea presented weather conditions that made marketing on the mainland at many times difficult and at other times impossible. If the island farmers had a longer growing season, mainland farms made up for it in reliability.

By the time the weather concerns had been widely disseminated, Frank Shaw had nearly 25 years of experience farming on Sand Island. In the early 1870's Shaw built his fishery and started building a farm. Alanen and Tishler stated that by the time Frank Shaw brought his family over to summer on Sand Island in 1880's, he and his hired hands had already cleared much of his original 37 acres and had begun planting crops such as potatoes, strawberries and a variety of root crops to feed his family and helpers. He used some of the harvest to supplement his income (Alanen and Tishler 1996, 25). He was successful. In October 16, 1886, the Bayfield County Press reported, "Shaw, the "Emperor of Sand Island", sailed to town (Bayfield) laden with three hundred bushels of potatoes."

The berries that he grew were a product of the "lake effect" weather. As the community grew, so did berry production. These fruits of Sand Island started later and lasted longer than those on the mainland, allowing the island farmers to sell their berries in Bayfield at a good price several weeks after other area farms had stopped producing. Shaw's strawberry crop in 1897 and 1898 was enough to fill 200 crates (Alanen and Tishler 1996, 25-26).

In 1910 Shaw and his wife sold their property to their daughter and son-in-law, Anna Mae and Bert Hill. The Shaws had acquired 183 acres on Sand Island (Alanen and Tishler 1996, 24). In an article on December 21, 1895, *The Ashland Daily Press* described Shaw's homestead,

“A farm that looked like other farmsteads in rural Wisconsin, complete with cows, chickens, and sheep, hayfields and apple orchards.”

Interviewed in 1980, former Sand Islander Bill Noring said that the other permanent residents of Sand Island followed Shaw’s farming example. The Norings, Loftfields, and later the Hills dedicated most of their energy to farming. They planted fruit trees and picked apples and cherries. Strawberries and raspberries were among their most important crops.

Fishermen Louis Moe, Peter Hansen, Fred Hansen, Herman Johnson, and Harold Dahl were subsistence farmers. They each cleared areas of ten to fifteen acres. Fred Hansen’s diary shows that the Sand Islanders grew turnips rutabagas, and carrots. The fishermen-farmers planted onions, beans, peas, cabbage, and beets, and they relied heavily on potatoes. They stored their harvest in root cellars, and they shipped any surplus to Bayfield. Hansen recorded that they planted hay, oats and clover for their draft animals (Hansen Diary).

East Bay farmers maintained a common pasture at Swallow Point. During planting, harvesting and butchering, they sometimes worked together. In the growing season the fishermen cultivated in the evenings or during heavy weather when fishing was not an option. Bill Noring recalled that each family kept at least one milk cow, one or two beef cattle, some pigs and chickens, and sometimes sheep. In the fall they’d slaughter pigs and cattle for winter meat and process much of it in the smoke house. Bert Noring served the East Bay as a butcher and a veterinarian (Noring Interview). According to Clyde Jensch, Anna Mae Hill could also be relied upon to doctor cattle.

Those with small dairy herds tried to breed their animals so that they would calve during the spring and then produce milk throughout the summer when surplus milk and cream could be more easily shipped to Bayfield. In the winter any extra cream was churned into butter and

hauled across the ice to Bayfield when the weather permitted (Alanen and Tishler 1996, 29). Clyde and Dorothy Jensch said that several families who milked and had poultry sold much of their products to summer residents. While it operated, Camp Stella was the main consumer, but after its close in 1915 the permanent residents sold to the families that took over those properties.

The Norings and the Hills had the largest farms with the most extensive farming operations. The Norings added twenty acres of pasture land to the twenty acres that they originally purchased from land speculator Edwin Bonde. The Shaw-Hill farm had about thirty-two acres under cultivation, and Hill made hay on another twenty-five acres of his property, as well as adjacent properties owned by summer residents (Noring Correspondence).

Bertrand and Birgit Noring purchased twenty inland acres from Bonde and moved to Sand Island from Minneapolis in 1912. Though he fished, Bert Noring was a farmer first, and his farm became one of the largest and most successful on the island. Over the years the Norings developed a homestead with a sizable barn, a root house, a chicken coop, an ice house, and a smoke house. They later added another twenty acres of land to provide more pasture for the livestock (Alanen and Tishler 1996, 29). Their operation was comparable to the Hills' farm.

Bill Noring said that they cleared and farmed all of forty acres, and raised many garden vegetables. They had a substantial strawberry patch. Bill remarked that the berries were too fragile to withstand the rough boat ride to external markets. Thus the berries, and apples and cherries from their orchard, were canned for personal use. Bill remembered that "it was nothing to have 400 to 500 quarts of canned things in the house" (Noring Interview).

The Norings also provided neighbors with milk, cream, butter, and eggs (Palm Interview). Noring said that surplus vegetables were sold to fishermen or marketed in Bayfield. The Norings also had six milk cows, a horse, a few sheep, some chickens and pigs. They owned

a team of oxen, which they used primarily for dragging timber through the island for winter fuel. They grew hay, oats, and forage crops such as timothy grass and clover for the animals (Noring Interview, 1981).

When cold weather set in, a week or two before Christmas, Noring would serve as the East Bay's butcher. He and other residents would gather and cut up meat intended to last the winter (Alanen and Tishler 1996, 29-30).

In 1918 Hill decided that he was not suited to the life of a fisherman. Instead he expanded the farm, building an ice house and a granary next to an existing root cellar. Hill built a large barn with a haymow large enough to house his dairy cows, a bull, several young cattle, two horses, and chickens, as well as his hay crop (Alanen and Tishler 1996, 34). Brothers Clyde and Herman Jensch, who spent summers at the Campbell cottage, related that the pigs were penned near the apple and cherry orchard and situated in a way that the odor of swine would not disturb the sensitivities of the summer vacationers. The vegetable and flower gardens were framed by the house, barn and orchard. They had a hay field, planted apple trees along the public road and almost anywhere else that the conditions allowed. The Hills obtained a significant portion of their income from sales of milk, cream, eggs, butter, meat, poultry, and produce to summer residents. Clyde Jensch recalled the richness of the Hills' cream, describing it as "so thick you could stand on it" (Clyde Jensch Interview).

The Hills preserved large quantities of food. Burt Hill butchered and smoked meat, and Anna Mae Hill canned berries, apples, sauerkraut, chickens, and any other crop too abundant to use in season. Herman Jensch described Anna Mae Hill in her kitchen at canning time: "I can see her, rushing around—hotter than hell and that range going just like a steam engine. And she trotted all the time—quicker than a cat. Her root cellar was a food addict's dream come true"

(Herman Jensch Interview). On May 22, 1932 Burt Hill, an engaging writer, wrote in his diary, “Pete Larson came out and brought us a pair of turkeys and a setting of eggs. We had never had any experience raising turkeys, therefore we were not very successful. All the young turkeys died and we killed the old ones” (Hill Diary 1932). Mrs. Hill had nursing skills, and she served as the farm’s veterinarian, taking care of the cattle (Clyde and Dorothy Jensch Interview). The Hills seemed like a couple ready to experience all that their life had to offer.

The Moe farm consisted of about twenty acres of cleared hay land and another five acres used for an orchard and vegetable garden. “Six to eight cows supplied milk for the family and logging crew, which consisted of Norwegians and an occasional Ojibwe Indian” (Alanen and Tishler 1996, 26). Richard Palm remembered tourists coming over to Moe’s to buy eggs and milk (Palm Correspondence).

Because diarist Fred Hansen recorded his farming activities with such faithfulness and over a twenty-five year span, we have a good perspective on Sand Island’s growing season. The following is a description of Hansen’s agricultural year. Strawberries were planted in the middle of May. The garden plowing took place in late May. The seed planting took place in the first and second week of June. A large potato crop was then put in and cabbage and rutabagas followed. Hansen cultivated the soil in July. In late July and into August of each year he mowed, raked, hauled and stored his hay. This two week activity was completed as time away from his fishing enterprise permitted. Potatoes were dug up and stored in early to mid-October. Rutabagas, carrots and cabbage, the last crops, were harvested in late October and early November. Each year a hog, a heifer, a bull, or an occasional sheep was butchered, and this was usually done under the supervision of Bert Noring. The men cut the meat into manageable pieces, and then canned or froze it for the next year’s meals. As the islanders felt the coming of warmer weather,

they smoked what meat they had left to reduce spoilage. The smoking took place as late as the end of February.

John Chapple, the editor of Ashland Daily Press, described Charles Lederle's life on Sand Island:

And they made their home there in the light house at Sand Island. They made a garden by digging out the rocks and gathering what ground they could from among the trees in the forest to fill in the holes the rocks left, for every bit of ground near the dwelling was and is rocks. Later they got two goats so as to have milk for the child, and some years later they gave up the goats and got a cow. During this time a Norwegian fisherman asked to use the harbor dock to land and keep his sailboat which he used for fishing from there, which made it very nice and pleasant for the keeper and his family, for they had fresh whitefish and trout to eat. In those days fish were only 2 ½ cents a pound, and you could pick the choice ones.

My, I can taste them now. And do I wish I could be there to pick a nice fish now. Well, this fish boat brought it about so the keeper got mail once or twice a week for the Booth Fish Co. boat would bring the mail as they came to buy the fish during the spring and fall when the fishing was on. And this was how Leferle improved his garden: with the dressing of the fish and the fish which could not be marketed, he made compost of all each fall, and he sure had a nice garden. So with his cow and chickens and vegetables and potatoes he had a nice living. Besides the raspberries and some blueberries they put up and in later years they raised very fine large strawberries. They were there nine years (*Ashland Daily Press* 1944).

Sand Island Lighthouse Keeper Emmanuel Luick and his wife Ella recorded their gardening attempts in the official Keeper's Log between October 1, 1898 and November 17, 1907. The Luicks' crops included tomatoes, corn, lettuce, peas, and potatoes. He and his wife raised chickens for eggs and meat. Luick notes in the log that he had to defend his chickens regularly from the attacks of owls and hawks.

During the 1899 keeper's season there are 28 log entries having to do with Luick's agricultural efforts. Most of what he recorded concerned the various berries that he and his wife picked and canned. The strawberry season began on June 28. It was at its height toward the end

of July, with the last entry being August 17. Though a total quart count is not entered, strawberries were the largest of the berry crops. The Luicks picked so many strawberries that, in the July 19, 1899 log, Luick entered, “Lighthouse supply Steamer Marigold arrived at 1:15 P. M. Keeper gave them 11 quarts of strawberries to take out to the steamer with them for to treat the ladies and crew.”

The raspberry harvest of twenty quarts followed from August 9 through August 18. They canned 33 quarts of blueberries between August 21 and September 7. Gooseberries came into season on September 5 in an unrecorded amount, followed by twenty-two quarts of blackberries on September 6 and 7. The only other garden entry was on October 11 when Luick totaled his potato harvest at five and a half bushels. At the end of the season the Luicks packed their remaining apples in sawdust and their potatoes under hay in the lighthouse’s root cellar, before sailing off to the mainland for the winter.

The National Park Service records note that several farms, with a total cleared area of 100-150 ha (247.1 to 370.65 acres), were developed by World War I. However, farming declined after the war and ended by the end of the 1930’s (Van Stappen Correspondence).

Alanen writes:

Despite the best efforts of regional editors and boosters, and the brutally hard work of a few optimists who departed the mainland for the beautiful isolation of the offshore islands, agriculture has left little more than an ephemeral footprint upon Wisconsin’s northernmost landscape (Alanen and Tishler 1996, 40).

Fishing

Historic preservation author Jane C. Busch wrote that due to the cold clean water and the concomitant lack of nutrients, Lake Superior, relative to the other Great Lakes, has few fish. An 1889 study reported that Lake Superior’s fishermen accounted for a catch of about 9 million of

the 146 million pounds for the entire Great Lakes. European explorers and voyageurs who came through the region in 17th and 18th centuries, however, remarked on the abundance of fish. These French-Canadians had formed their opinions based on catches they made using Native American knowledge of the waters and the patterns of fish movement. By 1835 the American Fur Company had established their fishing headquarters at La Pointe on Madeline Island. The business grew for the next thirty years. In 1856 Bayfield was founded on the Wisconsin mainland, and several of the La Pointe French Canadian fisherman resettled there (Busch 2008, 159-164).

By 1885 the shallowest area of Lake Superior, the area surrounding the Apostle Islands, became the heart of the lake's fishing industry. It was here that the Sand Islanders made their economic way. It was here that they lowered their nets and raised their families. "We farmed for food and fished for money," stated Howard Palm (Palm Interview, 1987).

Historically, whitefish, lake trout, and herring were the most sought after of the lake's fish. Whitefish, *Coregonus clupeaformis*, grow to be between two and four pounds and eighteen to twenty inches long. They are members of the salmon family. They live in shallow water near the shore, moving in schools and eating small fish, mollusks, and crustaceans off the lake bottom. During their fall spawn, they move into shallower water and connecting rivers, making them even easier to catch. Their abundance in this area made them the most important commercial fish caught in Lake Superior through the 1880s. Due to over-fishing, and quite possibly the lake pollution from of the lumber industry, the whitefish population, especially the Apostle Island's area, suffered a dramatic decline in the 1890's. This shortage caused fishermen to turn to lake trout and herring. It took until the 1930's for the whitefish population to recover, and this was aided most likely by the state's stocking program (Feldman 2004a, 175-185).

Lake trout, *Salvelinus namaycush*, are three to nine pounds in weight and seventeen to twenty-seven inches in length. They live in deeper water, do not school, and feed on other fish, including whitefish. In the fall, lake trout, too, move into shallow water to spawn and then may be caught in large numbers. In 1899 lake trout accounted for sixty-one percent of the commercial catch from Lake Superior, compared to forty percent in 1885.

Herring, *Coregonus artedii*, are six ounces to two pounds in weight and eleven to fifteen inches in length. They are naturally abundant in Lake Superior, but they had little market value before whitefish declined in the 1890s. In addition, herring spoiled quickly, until improved methods of handling and preserving them were introduced in the late nineteenth century. Herring feed primarily on plankton, and in turn herring are a primary food of lake trout and other predatory fish. During most of the year herring prefer shallow water. In mid-summer they migrate to deeper water. In the fall they return to shallow water to spawn. At this time they gather in schools of millions and are readily caught in nets. New methods of salting and smoking herring were introduced in the 1870s. Use of steamboats and completion of the Wisconsin Central Railroad line made it possible to transport frozen fish to market. In 1885 the herring was still insignificant in the Lake Superior fish market, but Bayfield and the Apostle Islands became the lake's preeminent herring fishery in the 1890s (Feldman 2004a, 177, 179, 205–208).

Whitefish, lake trout, and herring accounted for more than ninety percent of the commercial catch around the Bayfield Peninsula; the other ten percent was comprised of sturgeon, pike, and suckers (Busch 2008, 167).

In 1885 the U.S. Commission of Fish and Fisheries collected detailed information on the commercial fisheries of Lake Superior. The study confirmed Bayfield to be Superior's leading fishing community. Large fish processors established themselves in Bayfield. They not only

hired fishermen but also established fish camps on many of the islands, allowing the fishermen to be nearer to the prime catch areas. The two largest companies were N. and F. Boutin and A. Booth.

Dr. Feldman explained that French-Canadian fishermen Nelson and Frank Boutin moved from Canada to Detroit in 1837 and then to various locations on Lake Michigan, before settling in Bayfield during the early 1870's. The commercial enterprise they brought with them amounted to 550 gill nets, 12 pound nets, the schooner, Alice Craig, a number of small boats, and one hundred fishermen and their families. By 1879 they had more than doubled the number of gill nets and pound nets. The Boutins opened a barrel making factory and a dry goods store to sell supplies to their employees. The Boutin Company quickly became the largest employer in Bayfield. N. & F. Boutin remained the largest fish dealer in Bayfield through the 1870s. In the late 1870s the Boutins employed between seventy and one hundred men and shipped about eleven thousand half barrels of fish per season (Feldman 2011, 62-64).

Feldman described Alfred Booth's fishing enterprise. English born Alfred Booth and his A. Booth Packing Company was the giant of the Great Lakes fish dealers. Originating with a small fish and vegetable store in Chicago in 1850, Booth created a major wholesale food business. Booth employed fishermen and purchased fish on the southern part of Lake Michigan until the whitefish catch became insufficient to supply his market. He moved to the northern part of the lake in the mid 1880's. The company thrived and expanded over the next twenty-two years. But in 1908 A. Booth and Company, by this time incorporated, declared bankruptcy. When it reformed under the name Booth Fisheries Company, Booth focused on collecting, processing, and marketing fish. The lake fishermen no longer had to compete with Booth's netting fleet, but instead sold their catches to Booth or one of the other smaller fish processors.

The fishing season started when the ice cleared from the inshore islands, usually in April, freeing the collection boats to make their rounds. Booth's collecting boats, especially, became a fixture on the lake—the *S. B. Barker* in the early 1900s, the *C. W. Turner* from about 1912 to 1937, and the *Apostle Islands* from 1938 to 1958.

Boutin, Booth and other companies, such as Jacob Johnson's, sent their collection boats from Bayfield's fish packing companies every day but Sunday. They picked up the catch and dropped off ice to keep the fish fresh (Feldman 2011, 68-69). The boats not only picked up fish, but also delivered gasoline, groceries, mail, and carried passengers.

Busch adds that Sand Island's Norwegian fishermen sold their fish to fellow Norwegian Jacob Johnson's Fish Company while he was in business. Johnson lived in Bayfield and operated his company from 1898 to 1910, when he sold it to Sollie Boutin. There were times when the Sand Islanders worked directly for the company (Busch 2008, 186).

As the fishing industry prospered, island fish camps grew numerous and became more substantial. With the coming of the Wisconsin Central Railroad and the Booth Company in the 1880's, the town of Bayfield was connected to national markets. Sand Island's collection of fish camps grew into a year-round community.

Frank Shaw, as well as several of his hired men, began living year-round on the island in 1885. During the 1890's his fishing fleet grew to four sailboats (Alanen and Tishler 1996, 24). It was about this time that Scandinavians replaced French Canadians as the most numerous ethnic group among fishermen in the region. In 1893 Norwegian immigrant, Louis Moe, joined Shaw on the island, and other immigrants including the Peter Hansen, his son, Fred, and Herman Johnson quickly followed. Commercial fishing dominated the lives of what would grow to be about seventy year-round residents (Feldman 2004b, 297-298).

Small sailboats known as Mackinaw boats (Fig. 6.1) were the most common of the local watercraft, and until steam-powered tugboats arrived in the 1870s, they provided most inter-island transportation services. A standard Mackinaw boat used in fishing was eighteen to twenty-four feet long, but the term "Mackinaw boat" is loosely applied to a variety of small double-ended sailing craft ranging from single-mast sloops to multi-mast schooners. The boat was flat-bottomed and could be easily beached on sand or pebbled shoreline. The larger Mackinaws could carry six miles of gill netting. The boats had teams of two to three men using manually-operated net lifters. In the 1890's gasoline powered lifters were introduced, making it possible to catch more of the deeper water lake trout (Busch 2008, 20).



Figure 6.1 Fred Hanson in Mackinaw Sailboat circa 1900. (Luick Collection AINL Photo)

There were two principal means of netting Lake Superior's fish, gill nets and pound nets. Most of the fishing in the late 19th and first half of the 20th Century was done with gill nets. These nets were set from boats in deeper water. Around the Apostles, fishermen usually found whitefish in water between eighteen and sixty-four meters deep (Feldman 2004a, 160). The net, made of linen, had mesh which varied in size depending on the species of fish being sought. Fish

were caught by their gills in the mesh when they tried to swim out of the net. A typical fisherman had four gangs of nets keeping three gangs in the water at any one time.

Harvey Hadland, a longtime Bayfield fisherman, described gill netting. Family sized enterprises, consisting of one or two fishermen, lowered gangs of nets into the water. Each gang was comprised of two or more boxes of nets, with each box containing two 500 foot nets. Thus each gang was at least 2,000 feet long. The nets had heavy lines called *maîtres* on their tops and bottoms. Weights of stone or lead at the bottom and floats of cork or light wood at the top were attached with netting line, allowing the nets to be suspended into the water. The netting lines tied to the cork floats were adjustable, allowing the nets to be raised or lowed to match any depth the fish were thought to be swimming. Fishermen returned to the nets after several days, hauled or “lifted” the nets and picked out the fish caught by their gills in the mesh. Lifting the gang of nets, a hand over hand process, especially from small open boats, was a common practice back in the early 1900’s. It was still used into the 1940’s by some summertime fishermen on the Apostle Islands. Some steam tugs fishing herring back in the early 1900’s lifted by hand, with as many as seven men doing the pulling. They walked the nets in over a roller, and when they reached the far side of the boat another bunch of men took their turn at walking the net in. A crew of fifteen men was expected to lift and pick out fifteen tons of fish each day (Hadland Correspondence).

Men fishing out of their Mackinaw boat by themselves or accompanied by a family member or hired man lifted in a similar manner, but on smaller scale (Fig. 6.2). They used a five to six inch diameter wooden roller that was mounted on the edge of the hull to make pulling easier. As they pulled the nets, the small boats followed the nets. If the weather was calm, those boats equipped with an engine did not need to power them. For the large fishing companies mechanical gill net lifters powered by gasoline engines were developed. They reduced labor and

increased productivity, making it easier to move nets and set them at different depths. According to Hadland, “After the use of the gasoline engine became commonplace, several of the Sand Island fellows did rig up a system of shafts and sprocket chains to power a lifter head of sorts taking power from the main engine” (Hadland Correspondence). Upon reaching the shore, and once the fish were processed, the lifted net was reeled onto a dryer (Fig. 6.2, background), mended, treated to prevent rotting, and made ready for the next round.



Figure 6.2 Fred Hansen and Herman Johnson Motorized Mackinaw Boat. (Luick Collection AINL Photo)

Cotton fish nets were introduced about 1930. They were widely used during World War II when there was a shortage of linen. Cotton nets, however, lasted only two to four years compared with ten to twelve years for linen nets, if cared for properly (Chapple 1944, 19). Each year Fred Hansen noted in his diary that that he was through “tanning” his nets. Tanning occurred in late March and early April at the beginning of the fishing season. In properly caring for his netting each season the nets are soaked in a copper sulfate solution (blue vitriol) to help prevent rot (Hansen Diary).

Under the right circumstances pound netting was a more productive yet more expensive system. Developed in Scotland, these nets were more complex than gill nets. Pound nets were

secured to stakes and driven into a sand or clay lake bottom. The bottom was usually not more than fifty feet deep. Using a boat with a pile driver, the stakes were set at the beginning of the season and not moved. Feldman explained, “A straight, long leader guided fish through a tunnel and into an enclosed area called a pot; fish found it hard to escape once so enclosed. Every few days, fishermen entered the pot in a small boat and scooped out the entrapped fish” (Feldman 2004a, 164). A single man could not set posts by himself, but a team of three could set and tend between three and five nets. About half of the nets were removed by the beginning of August and the remainder by the end of September. The shallow waters and abundant whitefish of the Apostle Islands and Chequamegon Bay were ideal for pound net fishing in the 1880’s (Busch 2008, 167).

Shaw Point in Little Sand Bay was a prime location for setting pound nets. It has a sand bottom and shallow water. Shaw took full advantage of this from April until early September, hiring a crew to help him place the nets and empty the pots of fish.

The catching and cleaning of the fish occupied a great deal of the men’s time, but where water interacts with other materials, deterioration occurs. The linen or cotton fabric gill nets had to be inspected regularly and needed continual mending and seaming. The wooden boats also took a great deal of upkeep, attention and repair. Alanen and Tishler noted, “Buoys required painting; fish boxes had to be constructed; the daily catch of fish required cleaning, preserving, and marketing; anchors and anchor lines had to be readied for use; and ice harvesting occupied much of the winter season” (Alanen and Tishler 1996, 32). Fishermen spent their off season preparing for the next year.

The fishermen had to build, repair or replace docks, and special buildings required for their business such as fish houses, net storage or twine sheds (Fig 7.14), and ice houses. Fish

were processed in the fish houses. Nets were stored in twine sheds for the winter. Ice houses were used to store the processed fish between collections (Hadland Correspondence).



Figure 6.3 Shaw-Hill Fish Shed, Post Office and Ice House, left to right. (AINL Photo)

The Shaws, Hills, Moes, and Norings had ice houses (Fig 6.3). Late each winter blocks of ice weighing hundreds of pounds were cut from the lake and floated through a channel cut from the site to the ice house's shore. Draft animals were employed to pull the blocks up a chute. The ice was skidded into place and packed with sawdust (Busch 2008, 203).

Busch wrote about preserving fish for the market. Salting and packing them in barrels, even in the early age of refrigeration, was the most reliable means of avoiding spoilage. From the mid-1880's, when the tracks were completed, railroads were the safest way to transport fish to market until the 1920's. Salt fish were shipped in barrels, and fresh and frozen fish in refrigerator cars. The Wisconsin Central Railroad took the catch to Milwaukee and Chicago, and the Chicago, St. Paul, Minneapolis & Omaha Railroad carried fresh fish to Minneapolis and St. Paul.

By the 1920's highways had improved to the point where trucks were able to reach the selling points more quickly. Route 13, which passed through Cornucopia and Port Wing along the south shore of the Bayfield Peninsula, connected the fishing companies to Duluth. As road improvements continued, trucks were able to out-compete the slower trains (Busch 2008, 204).

Fishermen in Marquette, Michigan mounted a gasoline engine to their Mackinaw boat and charged the industry with new power. Soon the adaptation grew quickly, and by 1910 the gas powered boats dominated the lake. Gasoline engines gave smaller fishing boats the advantages of steam tugs. They had the ability to travel farther, carry more nets, use power net lifters, and better withstand bad weather. Even the average fisherman could afford to buy a gasoline motorboat (Feldman 2004, 210). The engine cleared the cockpit not only of sails but the masts and their rigging (Fig. 6.2). Soon canvas was stretched over metal hoops and a cabin was made. By the 1920's a centered cabin was standard, and ten years later the typical Apostle Islands fishing boat had an enclosed pilothouse amidships. It had a completely enclosed forward deck (Hadland Correspondence).

All of the second generation Sand Island fishermen moved to the mainland in the 1930's and 1940's. However, Herman Johnson Jr. differed from Elvis Moe, Carl Dahl, Jake Hansen, and Bill Noring in establishing his fishing business at Little Sand Bay instead of returning to Sand Island in the summer to fish.

Supplemental Income

James Feldman writes that summer residents added something of their own to the Sand Island economy. They added cash. Permanent residents often paid their debts with labor, fish, or butchered meat. Summer visitors paid in currency for the services provided by permanent residents. The lighthouse, situated at the northern end of Sand Island, added another small supply of money to the island economy. Lighthouse keeper, Emmanuel Luick, and his family bought eggs, fish, milk, and other produce provided by the islanders. In a cash-poor peripheral economy, even cash exchanges of very small amounts made a big difference in household finances.

Anna Mae Hill performed the most lucrative work for the summer residents by providing room and board. Some of the summer families who lived close to the Hill farm chose not to cook their own meals. Instead they paid Anna Mae Hill.

In 1938 Anna Mae Hill's boarding work accounted for nearly six hundred dollars, more than the combined income derived from the sale of chicken and dairy products, apples, and the money earned by Burt Hill through labor and renting his horse team and plow. The Loftfields, too, provided room and board to summer visitors, although on a smaller scale than the Hills (Feldman 2004b, 301-302).

Mrs. Hill's reputation as a cook was unsurpassed. In June of 1910, shortly after she took residency on Sand Island, she told the federal census enumerator that her occupation was "cook", and for the ensuing thirty-two years, Anna Mae Hill maintained a boarding facility that catered to fishing crews and summer-time residents. The importance of her contributions to the couple's annual income became increasingly significant as receipts from farming and Burt Hill's odd jobs declined during the depths of the Great Depression of the 1930's. Between 1935 and 1940, half their income was supplied by the meals that she provided for boarders (Alanen and Tishler 1996, 36).

During the summer, the cream the islanders separated from the milk was sent by boat to the dairy in Bayfield. Since milk and cream could be shipped to Bayfield only when passage over Lake Superior was possible, the Norings and other Sand Island farmers attempted to time the breeding of most of their dairy cattle, so that the cows would calve during the spring and then produce milk throughout the summer. Surplus cream not used on the farm during the winter months was churned into butter and hauled across the ice to Bayfield when the weather permitted (Alanen and Tishler 1996, 36).

Lighthouse Keeping

The Sand Island Lighthouse (Fig 6.4) began operation in 1881, and it had two keepers in its forty year history. Charles Lederle tended the light from 1881 to 1891, and Emmanuel Luick's term ran from 1892 to 1921 (Bayfield County Historical Happenings, 1999). The station was staffed and operational during the annual shipping season from mid-April to mid-December.

It was a duty of the keeper to document activities at the station in the following manner:

In keeping the journal, two pages (the right and the left) are to be used for one month. The events of the day are to be written on one line across both pages. As a general rule, if carefully written, one line will be found sufficient. The visit of the Inspector or Engineer, or of the lampist or machinist, and an account of any work going on or delivery of stores, must be noted; as also any item of interest occurring in the vicinity, such as the state of the weather; or other similar matter. The books must be kept in ink, with neatness, and must always be kept up to date (Lighthouse Board 1881).

Thanks to this duty, and to the broad interpretation of activities by Keeper Luick, much about daily life on the island is available for the years from 1898 to 1920. The information included in this section comes from that journal. It is probable that the inspectors advised the Luicks that they were recording too many "items of interest occurring in the vicinity" because the entries over the 20 years became less and less detailed.



Figure 6.4 Sand Island Lighthouse. (Photo by Author)

Along with keeping the journal, Lederle and Luick's duties included preparing the station for the opening of the season and securing it at the season's end. During the intervening eight months the primary function was to keep the lamp lit and the lens and tower's windows clean. The keeper maintained the grounds, painting, mowing, cleaning, and repairing the station's buildings and machinery. The house was heated with wood, and thus it was incumbent on the keepers to gather fuel and chop it into a usable size.

When the tender *Marigold* came to deliver supplies on July 19, 1899, they brought Luick stationery and a ½ barrel of flour, but the remainder of the shipment recorded was: 40 cans of oil, 20 up to the station and 20 in the boat house, 2 white and 1 black paint, 1/4 bbl. lime, 1 brush, 1 pump, 2 gal linseed oil, 1 gal turpentine, 1 broom, 45 bars soap, 2 bottles ammonia, 8 boxes of glass polish, sand paper, and emery paper. This list is a good reflection of the work that Luick had to do as an employee of the federal government's Lighthouse Service.

Rescue was not part of a lighthouse keeper's job, but there were times when keepers took heroic action to save lives. In 1885 the steamer *Prussia* caught fire near Sand Island during a storm. Using a small rowboat, Keeper Charles Lederle rescued seven crew members whose lifeboat was being carried out into the lake (Mackreth 2002, 17-26). Emmanuel Luick's month-long effort to recover *Sevona's* drowned sailors is described below in chapter seven of this work.

While on the island, Lederle spent long hours building up a soil base for a garden, and Luick, during his tenure, maintained and expanded that garden. Luick reported that he frequently went fishing, and he received fish from his East Bay islander friends. Over the years the Luicks celebrated Thanksgiving with the local families, were comforted by the community at the passing of their children, and grieved with the community at neighbors' funerals (Sand Island Lighthouse Journals 1898-1920).

The Sand Island lighthouse became the first automated light in the Apostle Islands with the 1921 installation of an acetylene gas burner. It was regulated by a valve that opened and closed according to the heat of the sun. With the light no longer needing a keeper's attention, Emmanuel Luick was transferred to the Grand Marias, Minnesota, lighthouse from which he retired in 1936 (Bayfield County Historical Happenings, 1999).

Division of Labor: Men and Women

There is very little direct evidence of the part that the East Bay women, almost all Norwegians, played in the work place. The majority of these women came directly from Norway. They spent their lives and raised their families on the island. It is unfortunate that Fred Hansen's wife did not keep a diary similar to her husband's, for much could have been learned. A review of women's economic role in Norway, however, should give insight into their labors on Sand Island.

According to research done by Norwegian historian, Elisabeth Lonna, in her article *Gender in Norway in Periods of Mass Migration*, she describes the Norwegian household as traditionally a multigenerational and self-sufficient unit. While the men went to the sea to fish, the wife ran the house, did housework, and farmed their land from planting to harvesting the crops and caring for the livestock (Bergland and Lahlum ed. 2001, 34). In an essay historian Lori Ann Lahlum wrote, titled *Women, Work. And Community in Rural Norwegian America, 1840-1920*, she notes that it was assumed that the Norwegian-American farm women in Wisconsin would fulfill their traditional homeland responsibilities. These included gathering eggs, churning butter, gardening, milking, cleaning the barns, doing cattle chores, hauling water, and field work. "Like their American sisters, Norwegian-American women cooked, cleaned,

reared children, sewed clothing, and knit, all considered to be 'women's work' ” (Bergland and Lahlum ed. 2001, 84).

Because no reference is made, it is apparent from the Hansen diary that he, a Norwegian, did not milk the cows, churn butter or water and feed the livestock. But he saw to it that the garden was plowed and that the potatoes were dug. He participated in the processing of meat and harvesting of other crops. He saw to it that his cows were bred and he was involved when they gave birth. Yet there was evidence of husbands and wives working side by side or at least sharing jobs. The lighthouse journals of non-immigrants Emmanuel Luick, an Ohioan, his first wife, a Rhode Islander, his second wife, a Wisconsinite, reveal that Luick gardened with the help of his wife. In 1920 John Chapple, editor of the Ashland Daily Press, wrote of Norwegian farmers, Bert and Birget Noring: “Before long Noring was there, his wife at his side, carving a home for himself out of the wilderness.” It is assumed that she took an active part in their enterprise. Burt Hill, a Wisconsinite, assisted his wife, Anna Mae, an Ohio native, in farming efforts.

Other island women performed needed services. Jonette Lofffield ran a small store. Her daughter, Argot, taught school on the island. Ella and Oramill Luick were hired as assistant lighthouse keepers on Sand Island, and they were paid for their work. Women on this island did what needed to be done to raise their families and build and maintain a community.

Summary

This chapter has been a survey of the peripheral economy of Sand Island. While fishing was the prime industry of the island, there were many lesser but important interests that emerged in support of that effort. The fish camps were well established when logging crews visited the island in the mid 1880's. Frank Shaw and Louis Moe took part in the winter lumber harvest of

Sand Island's forests, and then sold their timber to the mills on the mainland. While no islanders took part in the extracting the island's bedrock, Mr. Shaw certainly was present when the sandstone for the lighthouse was quarried in 1881. Shaw, too, was the first of the settlers to put his plow to the fields that he cleared for farming. With the coming of the Norwegian immigrants, farming and gardening became commonplace, and with some crops prolific enough to allow the East Bay settlers to market their surplus to Bayfield. When a summer tourist population was established, an opportunity presented itself for the permanent population to provide goods and services to the vacationers. They took advantage of this local market.

But it was fishing that drove the East Bay settlers' economic success. It was the fish that brought the immigrants to Sand Island, and it was the fish that built the community. The islanders went out in the spring. They set their nets. They fished the three seasons in calm and in storm. They sold their catch to the Bayfield distributors. They wintered in their twine sheds, mending and making ready for the spring. It was through this endeavor that Moe earned the title of "King Louie" and Shaw, "the Emperor of Sand Island."

Chapter Seven

Rhythms of Life

The East Bay residents brought their building styles, home management, recipes, language, methods of farming and fishing and their ways of life. They continued to farm and fish as their ancestors had taught them, and they had success. As the nineteenth century turned into the twentieth, they adapted their daily lives to accommodate this new world. This chapter will focus on the Sand Island settlement, the congregation of lives bound together in the learning process of the immigrant. Life on East Bay was not a summer-time diversion. It was real, and it was hard. But it was a union of people “making do” in their struggle to have a better life and to bequeath that opportunity to their heirs. They coped by constructing from their environment more than basic survival. They rose before dawn and worked past dusk. They earned their living, and oversaw evolution of their offspring’s entry into the American Dream.

What they wore can be seen in the photographs included here. What they ate can be surmised by the record of stores that the co-op kept, by the history of Norwegian traditions, and by reviewing the bounty of their farming harvest. There is no diary entry of the families making lutefisk, no note of someone ordering lye, no memory of how they used a krumkake iron on holidays. But there is a record that they honored traditions, and some more than others. In his interview Robert Dahl related, “The adults, when alone, would speak in Norwegian. Once children were born everyone tried to speak English. Fred Hansen spoke very good English. New immigrants would come to Sand Island to work for Fred in order to learn English” (Robert Dahl Interview).

Historian Richard Fapso wrote:

The Norwegian-Americans have been fortunate in that they have retained a profound love for the fjords and fields of the North while at the same time they have remained conscious of the fact that it was northern nature and economic conditions that impelled them to migrate. They loved their ancestral home in Norway. They took pride in their ancient heritage. Yet they recognized in America the chance for a better life, and they appreciated that too (Fapso 2001, 34).

The Sand Island they organized was not a conclave of convicts. They obeyed the law.

They did not have a need to employ law enforcement personnel. The only crime noted was Burt Hill's jiggle-water enterprise during the dry duration of the Volstead Act. They had community meetings when they discovered a community need. They built a school and hired a teacher. They earned a post office and invested in a telephone service. They joined together in a cooperative store. At times they worshiped. They had leaders, people they put their trust in. They had someone Burt Hill facetiously called the mayor, another was the governor, a third was referred to as the emperor, and a fourth, the king. They had a collection of personalities. They helped each other when help was called for. They celebrated each other and their lives. They danced together, drank together, and played cards together. They ministered to each other in times of sickness and medical need. They knew who knew what, and they knew who they could rely on. They coped with the natural deaths of the Sand Island family and of Sand Island friends. They coped with tragic death. They succeeded and they failed. They did not expand their community past the age of communication, nor past the age when transportation allowed them to move off the area's choicest fishing grounds. This sense of community can be seen in the diaries of Fred Hansen, and Burt Hill, and in the Lighthouse Keeper's Journal of Emmanuel Luick.

Water

Of the essentials needed for community building, water was in abundance. The cold, clear and potable water was not difficult to access. Herman Jensch remembered the Hills' water

barrel: “They used to have a great big 55 gallon water barrel, clean and spotless as could be and a yoke. He used to carry 2 buckets at a crack up to fill the water barrel every day” (Herman Jensch Interview, 25). Settlers used a sweep well, a long pole with a bucket on the end, to obtain water from the lake (Alanen and Tishler 1996, 22).

According to Burt Hill, the Fifields installed a pumping system in June of 1911 to supply water for camp use and fire protection (Hill Diary, 4). Herman Jensch described another common method of water supply, a method used at the Campbell cottage. Water was dipped from the lake by a bucket attached to a cable and drawn in by a windlass. The cable was anchored to a rock pile out in the lake. Burt Hill installed the device each summer and took it out each fall for the Campbells (Herman Jensch Interview, 2).

Several writings note that outhouses were exclusively in use throughout the island into the 1940’s. Bayfield area historian Thomas Gerstenberger wrote that the West Bay Club accommodated its members, through the use of pumps, with running water in each of the lodge’s six bedrooms, and the club had flush toilets at its 1913 opening (Gerstenberger, 50–53). Flush toilets and dedicated bath tubs were not the island’s norm. No East Bay residence reportedly had either.

Hill notes the winter of 1936 during a two month cold spell accompanied by a continued buildup of snow, he was unable to get his cattle to the lake to drink but was able to get them a few pails of water (Hill Diary, 33). He does not say whether he accomplished it through the use of a pump or by melting the snow. By June of 1940 he wrote of having a “water works” in the vestibule to his kitchen. That was the same year that the Jenschs and Mrs. Fred Hansen had the first of the island’s wells drilled through Sand Island’s stone foundation (Hill Diary, 42).

Gas and Electricity

Bottled natural gas, kerosene, and other liquid fuels were used by the community members, but the West Bay Club's lodge was the only building in which it was put to household use in the 1910's. A gas fueled water heater provided each bedroom with hot water piped into the sinks. They were able to use these conveniences by running a gas powered generator. Generators were not common on the island. According to Bob Dahl, his grandfather Fred Hansen was the only East Bay citizen to use one, and that was not until the 1930's.

The West Bay Club was wired for electric lights with power derived from the generator. Hansens' last home, constructed in 1936, had electric service. Dahl believes that the only other structure using electricity before 1950 was the summer cottage owned by the Andersons (Dahl Correspondence).

Food

Once the colony of fishermen-farmers was established, there is no record of the Sand Island families going to bed hungry.

Fresh fish was available nearly year round, and when they desired, they could retrieve a jar of pickled and salted herring or a pack of smoked trout or whitefish. According to Fred Hansen, they butchered cattle and swine each year in mid-December. They used the low temperatures of the season to act as a freezer. They smoked bacon and ham. Melvin Dahl wrote that Noring made sausage and a Norwegian headcheese called sylte from the meat scraps at butcher time for himself and the other families. They rendered lard from pigs by cooking the pork in their ovens and pouring off and straining the pure white fat (Robert Dahl Correspondence). If they craved fresh winter fish, they "bobbed" (ice fished) and set nets out in the bay (Melvin Dahl Interview). Alma Dahl told of keeping salted fresh fish in barrels on the

porch or fish house, and of keeping half-a-beef frozen on their porch. Towards spring, they canned or smoked the beef and pork that they had not used during the long winter. Before Christmas all but a few roosters were killed and canned (Alma Dahl List).

Virtually all foods came from the land on Sand Island except for flour, sugar and some dried fruits. After the late summer and fall harvests, their root cellars supplied them with cabbage, carrots, turnips, onions, potatoes, rutabagas as well as the canned tomatoes, peas, beans and corn. From the blackberries, blueberries, strawberries and raspberries, they made jams, jellies and sauces. Apples were either stored in the root cellars, dried, or sauced. The cherries were canned. They made bread and butter pickles, dill pickles, and pickles of watermelon rind. Tomato relishes called chow-chow and piccalilli were favorites. Herman Jensch described the large root cellar the Hills kept fully stocked: “If you wanted to see a dream come true for food addicts.-anything you wanted to see [was] down in the bins just loaded” (Herman Jensch Interview).

The islanders did not want for milk, cream, butter, and eggs. However, it was a common observation and a disappointment for the Norwegians to find summer cheese making almost impossible. Fortunately the fall temperatures allowed for making it and keeping it (Fapso, 2001, 28).

In the Hansen household the women baked their own bread, rolls, cakes and pies. Richard Palm stated that, “Grandma said that they baked a cake every day, usually a flat pan cake. At Christmas they baked all the Norwegian specialties as did my mother for many years after we left the island. All-in-all, they ate very good.” (Richard Palm Correspondence)

Since the Sand Island record is silent on the East Bay settlers' diet, historian Lori Ann Lahlum gave this description of the Norwegian daily dining traditions in an article essay *Women, Work. And Community in Rural Norwegian America, 1840-1920*:

The women prepared and served a “traditional” dinner which included: lutefisk a dried cod reconstituted in a lye mixture, lefse much like a tortilla in appearance, but typically made with potatoes and usually eaten with butter and sugar, vegetables, flatbrod also called flatbread, primost a spreadable, somewhat sweet cheese, blood sausage, krumkake a delicate cone shaped wafer, fattigmann translated as poor man's cookies, and sandbakker or sand tarts (Bergland and Lahlum ed. 2001, 100).

Burt Hill reviewed a non-Norwegian feast that his Hudson friends, the Jenschs, served Burt and his wife, Anna Mae (Fig 7.1):

Our Christmas dinner this year (1931) was furnished by the Jenschs and consisted of ½ case of oranges, ½ case of grapefruit, a twenty pound turkey, cranberries, mixed nuts, sweet potatoes, lemons, lard, head lettuce, celery and bananas. This was the most complete repast that we had ever had or probably ever will enjoy again (Hill Diary, 20).



Figure 7.1 Burt and Anna Mae Hill (AINS)

Alma (Hansen) Dahl, daughter of Fred Hansen, found a grocery list that she made in the 1930's. The list was made up of items Alma needed to get the family of three through a winter. She remembered spending \$100 for the items, ordering it from an unspecified Chicago catalog.

20 lbs. raisins, apricots, prunes,	Tapioca
10lbs. Lard in pails	Dried peas
Pail (gallon size) honey, peanut butter,	Dried beans 15 to 20 lbs,
baking powder and soda	Rice 10 lbs.
salt in pound bags 10lbs.	Cases of soap Crystal,
5 gallon crocks of pickling vinegar	Fels Naphtha
200 pounds of flour in 50lbs.bags	Walnuts 10-15 pounds
100 pounds sugar	Pepper cinnamon and other spices
Popcorn	10 Lbs. hard Christmas candy and peanuts and mixed nuts
Karo syrup (white)	Corned beef
½ gal molasses	Wooden box of crackers
Bakers chocolate	Big tin of marshmallows
5 lbs currents	50 gallon drum kerosene
Yeast foam (dry yeast)	Wooden matches
Oatmeal cream of wheat or Farina	Velvet or Prince Albert pipe tobacco
Coffee beans	
Pineapple 6 cans	(Palm Correspondence)

Provisionment

Sand Islanders had the need to be forward thinking in areas of obtaining some food items, as well as clothing, and supplies. As previously described, they grew, raised, and caught much of their daily nourishment. There were, however, items that were only available from grocers and other stores. Sewing machines were a common household item, and some of the Sand Island families used these machines. Yet to fashion a garment, they needed cloth and thread, and making some of the clothing was beyond their skill level. There were several farms on the island that had blacksmith forges, and Moe had a saw mill. Many metal and wood items could be built or repaired without the need to buy them on the mainland. They recycled and reused, and rarely discarded anything. Yet there were parts and entire articles that needed a special manufacturer.

When additional food, clothing and supplies were required, those items were ordered from a local merchant or a catalog and delivered by one of the fish companies' collection boats. This process usually took about three days. Many times the settlers would boat into Bayfield, Washburn or Ashland a trip of two to three hours and many times requiring an overnight stay. (Noring Interview 1981).

There were times of the year when neither of these options was available due to unstable or forming ice, and if in those times an immediate need was felt, there was another path to take.

Richard Palm stated:

If you ran out of something, food or anything else, during the period when there were a number of people living on the island (1910 to 1940), you could always borrow it from a neighbor. You could walk over to Noring's farm or Moe's place in East Bay to find items dealing with fishing, farming and logging. You pulled old nails out of boards, straightened them and put them in a jar for later use (Richard Palm Correspondence).

To confront this dilemma the Sand Islanders met on June 15, 1918 at their schoolhouse with the intent of discussing the formation of a cooperative store. The discussion led to a unanimous decision to form the Sand Island Co-Operative Association. They elected officers: Fred Hansen, president, Bert Noring, vice president, Herman Johnson, treasurer, and Burt Hill, secretary and store manager. They agreed to open and stock a store at Burt Hill's compound. The East Bay residents sold shares to implement their plan. The store was opened on July 19, 1918.

Hill was chosen because of his renown as an honest man. He had a history of bookkeeping for the Bayfield County Press, and furthermore, he was available after recently giving up his fishing enterprise (Alanen and Tishler 1996, 34). Hill wrote:

My salary was a commission of 5 per cent of the sales and added up to between \$80.00 and \$100.00 a year. When it had reached the one hundred mark, a majority of the stockholders thought that I was acquiring a fortune, for they decided to close shop, which they did. At the close the store was not doing such an awful amount of business, but was gradually building up. At the time of its organization the stock was \$10.00 per share. At the time it quit, each share was worth \$18.00. There was no loss to any of the stockholders, and one of the members, who is sometimes called the "Mayor of Sand Island" is still indebted to the association for quite a sum. (Hill Diary, 8)

From the pages of the ledger that he fastidiously maintained, it can be seen that he kept the store supplied with coffee, sugar, and flour. Some of the descendants remembered that as children they bought candy from the Hills. While there is no known record of how long the store remained open, it was at least in business for ten years, and may have lasted nearly fifteen years.

In Bill Noring's interview he told of a little shop that Mrs. Jonette Loftfield had open at her farm. She supplemented her income by selling a few groceries: "It was hardware, spoons, eggbeaters. She had a little clothes, goods, paper and pencils, things like that so she could sell to us kids when we went to school. All that was furnished, but she had it. Then she had a little candy of course" (Noring Interview).

Clothing



Figure 7.2 Johnson children circa 1920. (Dahl Collection AINL Photo)

Clothing was an important aspect of the settlers' everyday life. They had to dress for the climate. While there is no written record by Sand Islanders of what they wore, Gro Svendsen, a Norwegian immigrant pioneering in Northfield, Minnesota addressed this issue in her letters home:

By the way no one leaving Norway should sell all his possessions as most people do. Everything that is useful in Norway is also useful here. The women can make use of all their clothes with the exception of their headdress, bodice, hackers and kerchiefs. All these they could sell, but all the other clothes they could make over and wear here, Everything Norwegian is of better quality than what can be bought here (Farseth and Blegen eds. 1950, 40).

However, in the Bayfield of the early twentieth century, style mattered for immigrants. Norwegian women were deft at sewing and were noted for their elaborate knitting skills and loom work (Fig. 7.2). But as historian Richard Fapso pointed out these Norwegian immigrants, even those who isolated themselves on Sand Island, had to adjust to the new country's style of dress. Trips to Bayfield, and Ashland for business or adventure put them in contact with people who would regard them from afar as foreigners. Most islanders wanted to fit in. Originally the immigrants considered the clothes they purchased in local stores to be of poor quality, but as companies doing catalog transactions came to exist, quality improved (Fapso 2001, 25).

Photographic evidence of their work clothes is abundant. In several snapshots taken during this period, it appears that Sand Island's fishermen preferred bib overalls and heavy boots, and flat topped hats with visors (Fig. 6.2). Their shirts appear to be of heavy cotton, and the jackets have a rubberized texture. Style was of little importance when compared to the utility of

service in the extremes of Lake Superior's weather (Fig. 7.3). That is not to say that they did not have more formal attire. Photos from picnics, festive outings and studios show the men in stylish period wear (Figs. 7.4 and 7.10).



Figure 7.3 Peter and Fred Hansen, Lenus Jacobson and Herman Johnson Sr., circa 1914. (AINL Photo)

Figure 7.4 Herman Johnson Jr. and Fred Hansen circa 1902. (AINL Photo)

Generally immigrant women kept traditional clothing longer than the men. This was due to the women having less outside contact than the men. But eventually Norwegian women abandoned their native costumes. Certain fabrics and bright-colored materials were not available, nor were the fine wool and linen that they were accustomed to. They adopted the drab and utilitarian styles of the Heartland (Fapso, 25). By 1936, and well into the third generation of the Sand Island immigration, the men's, women's and children's' clothing left no discernible trace of their Norwegian heritage (Fig.7.5). They had been woven into the fabric of the great American quilt.



Figure 7.5 Loftfields, Dahls, Hansens, Palms circa 1936. (Dahl Collection AINL Photo)

Communication



Figure 7.6 Anna Mae and Margarite Hill in front of the Shaw Post Office. (AINL Photo)

Shortly after arriving on Sand Island, Burt Hill, the former Bayfield County Press newspaperman, became the neighbor of Camp Stella's owner, Sam Fifield. Fifield, a retired newspaper owner, was still serving as the postmaster at Ashland, Wisconsin. It is most likely that through this relationship and history Burt applied to establish a post office on Sand Island (Fig. 7.6). In 1941 Hill made the following entry describing his postmaster tenure:

On May 13 of that year (1911) I went to Bayfield to take the examination for Postmaster. On June 20th of that same year I received my appointment as Postmaster, and I opened an office. The receipts of the office were inadequate for the hiring of a regular mail carrier as the government would only allow an amount equal to one half the cancellations of the office. It was no trouble to get the mail carried during the summer while the boats were running. S. L. Boutin had a boat making three trips a week to the island and he consented to carry the mail for the small compensation, as he had carried it gratis before the establishment of the Post Office. But it was during the winter months that it was a hardship to get the mail in and out. The residents of the island wanted their mail, and it was up to me, as Postmaster, to see that the mail was kept on the move. There were no traveled roads from the regular mail route on the main shore to the beach at that time. I made arrangements with the mail carrier, Louis Wachsmuth, on Route 1, from Bayfield to bring the mail out and I would meet him at a certain point, and I had to be there when he came along as he was not allowed to leave the mail unless there was someone there to receive it. Some days it would be stormy, and he would be late, but I would remain there freezing until he came along. We

endured these hardships for five years, until May 15, 1916, when the Post Office was discontinued. Now (1941) our mail is delivered daily at Little Sand Bay, and we get it quite frequently, except in fall and spring when ice conditions are such that we are unable to cross (Hill Diary, 3-4).

After the closing of the post office in 1916, and until the completion of Highway 13 between Bayfield and Duluth, Minnesota in 1925, the islanders reverted to having their mail delivered three times a week by the fishing companies' collection boats. During the winter mail was brought to the island by anyone going to and from Bayfield. Once the road from Bayfield to Little Sand Bay was constructed, mail was brought to Little Sand Bay and collected there by the islanders as time and weather permitted.

Historian Richard Fapso wrote that due to a high literacy rate among Norwegian-Americans, they were eager to read newspapers, and the press had a major influence on communities to which the Norwegians immigrated. The average Norwegian farmers and fishermen were interested, for the most part, in what was happening in their surroundings. They had little interest in state and national local news (Fapso 2001, 30). There is no record, however, that any of the islanders subscribed to Norwegian-American newspapers. The only Norwegian who was documented as reading the news was Fred Hansen. According to Keeper Luick, Hansen made trips to the lighthouse to read Luick's newspaper. It is likely that the Wisconsin-born settlers, Sam Fifield and Burt Hill, kept up with the printed news on both the state and national levels, given their past associations with the local press, and Fifield's ongoing political and business status. The only reference that Luick made in his lighthouse journal regarding national news was his October 2, 1899 entry noting the September 26, 1899 arrival in Sandy Hook, New York, of Commodore George Dewey aboard the Olympia Dewey's flagship during the Spanish-American War's Battle of Manila in 1898.

About the time surrounding the cancelation of the Shaw Post Office, islanders began discussions to establish a telephone service connecting Sand Island with the mainland. It took them two years to secure the \$1500 needed to bring the Wisconsin Telephone Company's phone line, an underwater cable, across the two mile reach from Little Sand Bay. Nevertheless, by December of 1918 Louis Moe, the line's president, was able to hear news of the World War I's Armistice as the first telephonic message. The link did not last the winter. Lake Superior ice broke the cable and the endeavor ended. The Sand Island secretary, Burt Hill, noted in his diary that "For this little experience I was \$70.00 out of pocket" (Hill Diary, 7).

Although the radio became popular during the 1920's in the United States, there is only one mention of it in Hansen's diary, and that was on February 22, 1927: "Mended. Heard Coolidge on the radio." According to Bob Dahl, Hansen and his son, Jake, built a crystal radio.

Transportation

Transportation could be a complicated facet of life on Sand Island. With an area of 4.6 square miles it has nearly 10 miles of shoreline. The island is over two nautical miles to Little Sand Bay, the nearest point on the mainland. The next door neighbors' door was distant.

At the time that the island was establishing a permanent colony, getting to and from the island was achieved by watercraft, or during periods of deep winter freeze, by horse and sled, by skis, or by walking (Richard Palm Correspondence). One hundred and thirty years later boating is still the only summertime method of travel. Sailboats and rowboats were replaced with motorized fishing boats in the 1910's. Those open-air boats, referred to as Mackinaws, underwent many evolutions, resulting in the closed cabin vessels of the thirties. Residents, on occasions when a fish company's boat was scheduled to run, or when Fifield's Stella was making a mainland trip, were able to secure passage to Bayfield, Ashland, or Cornucopia. The storms of

Lake Superior could halt all traffic at once and for days at a time. Bill Noring clarified travel patterns when he said, “We didn’t go to town too often except when the men had business to do. They took their fish boats. If they left early in the morning, it took them two or three hours with those slow boats. They didn’t do over 6 miles an hour” (Noring Interview). According to Howard Palm, the islanders devised a smoke signal system for getting to the island. Those people not having a boat and wanting to cross during the season of open water would start a fire at Little Sand Bay, and the smoke would alert one of the fishermen who would set out to pick them up. In the 1930’s Herman Johnson, Jr., a former Sand Islander who owned and operated a tavern and grocery store on Little Sand Bay, would take visitors across for \$5 (Howard Palm Interview).

Winter travel had its challenges. The Bayfield County Press carried a brief story on January 5, 1928 concerning Herman Johnson Sr. It reported that he fell through the ice and nearly drowned while escorting the island’s teacher across to the mainland. He was saved because he and his son, Herman Jr., and the teacher, Orland Swanson, were tethered together with a 200 foot rope. Howard Palm remembered crossings in the wintertime: “After the lake froze over, an ice road was created, a road marked by flags at suitable intervals to keep people from straying off course during fog or snowstorms. We could normally get across the lake if we wanted or needed to” (Howard Palm Interview).

Burt Hill tells of the difficulty of attending the Bayfield funeral of Fred Hansen, on or about December 31, 1939: “By January 2 so much ice had formed that it was impossible to get a Bayfield boat to make the trip. We finally telephoned the Coast Guard boat Diligence at Two Harbors, and she arrived at Bayfield at 7 o’clock that night and took the Hansens, Norings and

Herman Johnson, Jr., to the island” (Hill Diary, 31). Hill had to stay behind due to a cold, and he went on to add that he and his wife didn’t get back to Sand Island until February.

Once on the mainland at Bayfield the Sand Islanders could ride the railroad following its construction in 1884. Highway 13, though mostly a gravel road, passed through Ashland, Washburn, Bayfield, Cornucopia and the other small villages on its way to Duluth. It was completed in 1925, allowing settlers automobile and truck travel (Busch, 204).

Travel between homes on the island was limited to boating, walking, riding a horse, or taking a horse-drawn wagon. Before the autumn of 1914 roads were either paths cleared through brush and bramble by a farmer, or timber trails “swamped out” by lumber enterprises. That year island residents requested that a government road be built, although there were few motor vehicles on the island. Bayfield County approved the road. It ran from Bert and Anna Mae Hill’s place on the south end of the island to East Bay (Fig 4.1). It was a standard dirt road with side roads to Magnus and Anna Palm’s home and Bert and Birgit Noring’s farm, a quarter of a mile west of Noring’s East Bay dock (Richard Palm Correspondence). Burt Hill received payment from the county to keep the road useable (Hill Diary, 5). Neither the Sand Island Lighthouse nor the West Bay Club were connected to the county road. The Lighthouse keeper arranged for Louis Moe to mow a path for travel between the federal property and the East Bay residents.

There is evidence of automobiles being put to use on Sand Island, but it is very limited (Fig. 7.7). In 1936 Burt Hill wrote that he was given an old Model T Ford from the T. Dahl farm, which he converted to a trailer. That same year his nephew John rafted an old car to the island for the Jenschs. In 1937 Elvis Moe brought a car over, and in 1939 he wrote that Fred Anderson was found “stuck in a mud hole with his car.” Gert Wellisch brought a Model A to the island after 1942 which she allowed the islanders to use if need be. The permanent islanders never

developed a need for the automobile. Years later Julie Van Stappen, Resource Manager at the Apostle Islands National Landshore, would write this about the state of the road:

Alders have also choked and nearly closed the old road south from the East Bay dock to Shaw Farm, and wetland plants such as fringed loosestrife, joe-pye weed, late goldenrod, and golden saxifrage occur in the ditches (Van Stappen correspondence).



Figure 7.7 Sand Island Rusted Automobiles. (Photo by author)

Medical

“NE breeze & cloudy. Cold changed to Clear. Keeper put some of the roof on the house on dock and cut brush. Mr. Louis Moe returned yesterday from Town and reported of his wife, Mrs. L. Moe given birth to a child on Steamer Barker about 6 o'clock Monday, May 14 as they were on their way to town. Mother & Child all well. Devils Island Light visible.” (Emmanuel Luick, Keeper's Long, Thursday, May 17 1900)

Medical needs on the island, such as Mrs. Moe's birthing, could not be planned for.

These were events that had to be open to improvisation. Sickness, injuries and sometimes births were often treated by the person nearest to the needy individual. During the times of unsafe ice or great stormy weather it was nearly impossible to get to the mainland for medical treatment.

Yet efforts were made. Minor injuries and illnesses became more serious when medical care was so far away. On a day when Emmanuel Luick was in Bayfield, Ella wrote in the Sand Island log:

“Nothing happened until about one o'clock this afternoon when as I was sewing at the machine. I

run the needle through the end of my second finger on my left hand tearing about half the nail off and cutting my finger through in two places. It was not very painful, but I fainted twice from nervousness” (Luick Log, September 18, 1899). Ella treated herself and went on to fulfill her lighthouse duties.

Some of the islanders were identified as having nursing skills, and those were the people that neighbors would seek out when in need. After immigrating to Sand Island, the families’ lack of medical assistance became apparent. It was quickly revealed just how vulnerable and inadequately served Sand Island was. When Bill Noring was asked what happened when someone got sick, he told the interviewer, “You didn’t get sick” (Noring Interview).

Anna Mae Hill was one of the island’s amateur medical practitioners, “displaying numerous skills that included setting broken bones and preparing homeopathic remedies for ailments ranging from sunburn to a high fever” (Alanen and Tishler 1996, 35). While describing Anna Mae’s healthcare skills, and when asked as to Anna Mae’s practice of Christian Science, Clyde Jensch and his wife Dorothy said, “I don’t know about that. If she was, she still fixed things that needed to be fixed. She didn’t pray over them” (Clyde and Dorothy Jensch Interview).

Herman Jensch added:

They respected the hell out of Mrs. Hill. If somebody got their leg cut or something: ‘Get Mrs. Hill. Get Mrs. Hill.’ She was a practical nurse. She used boric acid. She was great on Lysol and Ivory Soap and water. And bandaging everything loose. One time her nephew, Johnnie Shaw, had a bellyache. She fumed and fussed and about three in the morning. It was the dead of winter. It was February. She said, ‘He’s got appendicitis and we’ve got to get him to Ashland.’ So Mr. Hill hitched up the big team and starts going across the ice, and he says, ‘All the way across you could hear the ice crack behind us.’ They got him in there just as his appendix burst and saved him. Now that’s all the way to Ashland (Herman Jensch Interview).

Anna Mae was not alone in providing care. Bill Noring was asked about emergencies and responded, “In the summertime there was a few. But then they had the boat to take them over. Dad (Bert Noring) was a veterinarian, a doctor and everything else. If something happened he always managed to bandage the sore up. He even assisted in childbirth at one time” (Bill Noring Interview).

On January 27, 1955 the Bayfield County press wrote this about Herman Johnson and the 1919 flu epidemic, just after he had died:

During the great flu epidemic, Herman was the only one of his household able to be up and about, and he was kept busy caring for his own family and helping neighbors that were stricken. Fires had to be tended and food prepared. Those, the still living, who were old enough at that time to understand, will never forget those anxious days. Mrs. Burt Hill and Herman Johnson have been credited with saving many lives during the bitter days of epidemic (Bayfield County Press 1955).

There were no deaths reported from the influenza epidemic of 1919 on Sand Island.

Burt Hill made an interesting entry in his memoir when he recounted a January, 1919 episode in which he became sick after trying unsuccessfully to save one of his horses. Burt caught a cold and reported that four days later his condition worsened. The Hills could not get a doctor from Bayfield, and Burt found himself being treated, not by his wife, Anna Mae, but by Mr. Cramer, the West Bay Club’s caretaker: “He gave me a treatment that would either kill or cure. He wrapped me in a bed spread that had been soaked in ice water and put me in bed. The shock was something terrible but in a short time the sweat was pouring off me. The treatment did the work and in a short time I was on my feet again” (Hill Diary, 8). With his dry wit in full display Hill went on to recount this 1919 incident:

In the fall of that same year I bruised the bottom of my foot and it was pretty sore. Mrs. Boule gave me some kind of ointment to put on but this only prolonged the soreness. I made me a crutch so that I could get around and in doing so, I cut my finger. I bandaged the finger and poured on a little turpentine

and then in lighting my pipe, the flame from the match came in contact with the bandage. It caught fire and burned my hand quite badly, and I was laid up for several days (Hill Diary, 9).

Historian Ann Legreid says the Norwegian immigrant women tended to prefer Norwegian midwives to American doctors for deliveries: the midwives were familiar and empathetic, spoke the same language, were very affordable, and could assist in the home following delivery (Bergland and Lahlum eds. 2011, 191). Given the Sand Islanders' remote location, it is unlikely that they had much of a choice in deciding whether to use a midwife or a doctor unless, as they neared the delivery date, they moved to the mainland, or a doctor happened to be vacationing on Sand Island during the summertime. Two women were identified as midwives in the information -- Mrs. Boule and Mrs. Mork. Neither of the women or their families are further described. Anna Mae Hill also acted in this capacity.

With distance and the drama on Lake Superior an on-going barrier to clinic and hospital care, the Sand Islanders rose to the challenge. Yet there were challenges that had no solution. The following excerpts from the Sand Island Lighthouse journal reveal the stark situation:

Tuesday, November 6, 1917

E. gale and Cloudy cold. Miss Marie Moe from Eastside of Island is at Ashland in the Hospital very low.

Sunday, May 19, 1918

SW light & very Showery warm changed to W fresh at 7:00 p. m.
Keeper's little boy is very Sick.

Monday, May 20, 1918

NW very fresh & Clear. Keeper's baby is very low. Mrs. P. B. Hill is over to take care of him.

Tuesday, May 21, 1918

NE gale & Cloudy. At 5:20 a. m. Keeper's baby boy died. age 3 months 5 day. name Robert Lorain [?] at 12 noon it set in to Rain heavy. Keeper & family will leave for town to enter (sic) the remains as soon as weather permits.

Wednesday, May 22, 1918

SW W gale & partly Clear & cold

Keeper & family left for town at 1:00 p. m. with L Moe to inter the remains of our little baby boy.

Tragedies

On September 8, 1905 the Bayfield County Press reported a gale on September 1 and 2.

The *Sevona* (Fig 7.8), a steel steamship, was wrecked on the Sand Island shoals. Herman Johnson was there and helped pick up some of the dead bodies that were washed ashore from the wreck (Bayfield County Press, 1905).

Nautical historian James Keller wrote about the *Sevona*, a 300 foot ore boat, sailing from Superior, Wisconsin on September 1, 1905, down-bound for Erie, Pennsylvania. This three

hundred foot vessel had a

four passengers, all women.

about seventy miles from

riding a nor'easter which had

from which to build. Captain



Figure 7.8 Steamship *Sevona* (AINL)

crew of twenty and carried

On September, 2 at 2:00 a.m.,

Superior, the *Sevona* was

the full reach of the great lake

McDonald, believing that the

ship was overmatched by the heavy seas, tried to find shelter in the Apostle Islands. The *Sevona*

ran aground on the Sand Island Shoal and eventually broke into two sections. The seventeen

people in the aft section of the ship evacuated in two lifeboats, with one boat beaching at Sand

Island and the other the mainland's Little Sand Bay. The island's lighthouse keeper, Luick, heard

the SOS, but could do nothing to help the crew. He witnessed the breakup. McDonald and the

other six sailors built a raft and attempted to reach shore, but the seas took their lives. The seven

drowned men's bodies were eventually recovered. The ship's hatch covers were converted into a

memorial cottage by Sam Fifield at his Camp Stella (Fig. 5.5).

The hull of the *Sevona* now lies on a bed of Orienta sandstone in 18 feet of water about 1.16 miles off the northeast coast of Sand Island, and 5 miles from Little Sand Bay. Much of the rest of the boat was salvaged for its engine, boilers and scrap steel (Keller 2000, 95-106).

The keeper's account of the *Sevona*'s tragic breakup and the Sand Islanders' efforts to assist in the search for the storm's victims is included in its entirety as an appendix (Appendix D) to this chapter because of the detail of the recording, the role played by the islanders, and the impact this incident had on the islanders, who continued to talk of it decades later. It is interesting to note that the ship's name, the *Sevona*, was not entered or mentioned in the keeper's journal until the last crew member was accounted for.



Figure 7.9 Herman Johnson's Home. (Dahl Collection AINL Photo)

Another tragedy involved the drowning of Herman Johnson's oldest son, John. John was buried near the old log house on the island (Fig. 7.9). The three island diarist made note of the child's death. Burt Hill remarked, "On June 28, 1914, Johnny Johnson fell off the Johnson dock and drowned. The lighthouse keeper Emmanuel Luick wrote, "Sunday, June 28, 1914: N fresh and cloudy, cold, at 11:00 a. m. changed to clear. Mr. Herman Johnson lost their oldest boy, age 6, by drowning [sic] - falling from their fish dock in East Bay at 2:00 p. m. Monday, June 29, 1914: SW breeze & cloudy, cold. Mr. H. Johnson buried their boy at 4:30 p. m. Everybody on the East side of the Island turned out. Had a large and well conducted, Norwegian funeral." Finally, Fred Hansen made these entries: "Sun. 28 Lifted. John Johnson drowned today. Mon. 29 Went to town for casket had funeral in afternoon."

On November 29, 1917 another sinking and another drowning occurred. Burt Hill noted the destruction of the steamer *Herring King*. The boat put in at Louis Moe's dock to take on a load of herring and was headed to Hill's pier to drop off groceries. When leaking gasoline ignited and engulfed the boat, the *Herring King* burned to the waterline. He wrote that Captain Clarence Russell escaped death by getting into a nearby rowboat. The small craft lacked oars, and thus he could not achieve the rescue of his engineer John Gordon, who drowned in the frigid Lake Superior waters shortly after Gordon abandoned the burning boat. After the fire died, Louis Moe towed it to the beach. Hill recorded:

Some fish were saved. We had our winter's supply of provisions aboard which were a total loss. One article that was rescued is the bell that we now have to call our guests to meals. This bell actually cost me \$40.00 for that was the value groceries that were burned (Hill Diary, 9).

East Bay residents Louis and Nanne Moe lost their oldest child, seventeen year old daughter, Marie, on December 6, 1917. Bessie Palm wrote that Marie became ill with an unknown disease. She was eventually taken off the island to a hospital in Ashland. She was treated there for several weeks before she passed away. A tug came out to take the Moe family to Bayfield for funeral services. Hill gave this youngster's passing one terse line in his diary stating, "Mary Moe, Mr. and Mrs. Louis Moe's oldest daughter, died at an Ashland hospital December 6, 1917" (Hill Diary).

The final tragic episode, described by Bert Hill as, "the saddest thing to happen during our residence on the island," took place on April 18, 1927. Trying to get an early start on the fishing season, Louis Moe, Herman Johnson and Harold Dahl set off for the fishing grounds, each in his own boat. While on the lake, a strong storm came up out of the northeast bringing sleet with it. The three men, nearly two miles off the north end of the island, decided to abandon their net setting efforts. Bert Hill wrote: "Mr. Moe then saw that Mr. Dahl was having trouble

with his engine, but he could not help him. Both Moe and Johnson landed at our dock as the storm prevented them from landing at their own docks” (Hill Diary, 15-16). Lake Superior still had drifting ice on its surface, and the survivors thought that Dahl had got caught in the ice. Due to the storm, a search could not be mounted until the following day, but the two-day effort failed to turn up any trace of Dahl, his equipment, or the boat that he bought late in 1926 and spent the winter refurbishing. Hill added bluntly, “It turned out to be his coffin.”

Dahl’s son Melvin, a youngster of sixteen at the time, vividly remembered the day his father lost his life. Melvin said:

I asked him if I should go with him, and he said, no you’d better stay home and bake the bread because I had it rising in pans. He never got back, He got crushed in the ice field in his boat, I suppose one and one half, two miles outside the light house. It was a pretty heavy weather. Other fishermen had been out, and they saw him, but they didn’t take time to see what it was. It was just impossible to go out looking for him (Melvin Dahl Interview, 1987).

Religion

Religion played a meaningful part of the Sand Island experience. Yet during most of the season, the fish would not wait until Monday to be caught and harvested, and the fisherman went to their nets on Sundays.

Life on the sparsely populated and somewhat remote island presented a challenge for these Norwegians who were accustomed to keeping holy the Sabbath. There were not enough citizens on the island for the community to afford hiring a clergyman, nor was travel to and from the island for church services feasible. The islanders did not have a building specific to the worship of God. They used the schoolhouse as a church (Fig. 7.12). There are but few references to church-going, which was, for these Norwegians, a Sunday phenomenon in their fatherland. In reviewing the twenty-five years of Frederick Hansen’s diary, there is no mention of attending

any Sunday services on Sand Island. If he did have a regular or frequent day on which he rested, it was recorded on a Sunday. He attended funerals in Bayfield in a church. The obituaries for the members of the island community noted that they were eulogized from the pulpit.

Burt Hill gives an account of two Presbyterian minister-missionaries unknowingly risking their lives by crossing an unstable ice field on Little Sand Bay in March of 1915, “with the view of stirring up the inhabitants to a more active spiritual life. The effort was short lived as there were none of the islanders of that faith” (Hill Diary, 5).

Alma and Carl Dahl recounted that infrequent Lutheran church services provided by a Norwegian and English speaking clergyman (Alma and Carl Dahl with Bill Noring, 1981).

Melvin Dahl told of the 1927-1928 Sand Islander T. Dahl, who on Sundays “kind of appointed himself the unofficial minister of the island, and he’d hold some church services in the schoolhouse. He wasn’t Lutheran. And he was not an ordained minister” (Melvin Dahl Interview).

In the 1930’s, summertime resident Daisy Jensch, Sam Campbell’s daughter, invited Reverend Wilson to pray with the islanders. Wilson, a retired Hudson, Wisconsin Presbyterian minister, had settled in Bayfield. Herman Jensch, Daisy’s son, spoke in his interview that, “Everyone would clean up that school, and everyone had to get all dressed up, everybody in East Bay, and we’d have services (Herman Jensch Interview).

Fred Anderson also provided summertime vacationers with an opportunity to express their spirituality. Jensch added, “We’d get together at the lodge at 11:00 (the dining room in what was the Fifield house), and sing a couple of favorite hymns. Afterward he had some cheap wine that he’d pass around, and we’d all have a few sips then go home to our Sunday noon meal. And that’s all that it used to be, but it was regular, every Sunday” (Herman Jensch Interview).

Seasonal Activities

The following seasonal events are contained in the writings of Sand Island's residents and their descendants. There were, in all likelihood, other pastimes that the men, women and children occupied themselves with during the seasons, but the record is silent on what they were.

“Did you go a little crazy in the winters?” Bill Noring was asked. “No,” he answered, “we had our entertainment.” Sand Islanders, it seems, liked to dance, drink a bit and play cards. The winter gatherings were informal affairs, as Noring described: “Neighbors would go to someone's home and at times one of the islanders, a Swede named Bergstrom, would play an accordion” (Noring Interview). Melvin Dahl added, “There were accordions and fiddles. T-Dahl, he could play the fiddle. And Mr. Noring, well, he learned himself so there was a lot of notes missed, but you'd know what he was playing, and he'd kind of jig a bit” (Melvin Dahl Interview) .

Dahl remembered that nearly every family had “one of these old phonographs, and it was one of these kind of horn speakers, they called it a Victor.” Thus in times when the islanders' musicians were absent, they could wind up the player and dance on. They'd dance, play cards, mostly cribbage or whist, have a midnight lunch, and continue on until dawn on occasion. “We played cards, a lot of cards,” recalled Melvin Dahl. “When we got old enough Carl, Elvis and I would get together and go to a family on a Saturday night and some of them would rather play cards than eat. We get there and drink home brew. Fun, you made it yourself” (Melvin Dahl Interview).

The Eighteenth Amendment, the Volstead Act, became the law of the land in 1920, and for the next fifteen years the Sand Islanders overcame this hardship by making their own alcoholic beverages. Melvin Dahl spoke of his memories of home brew:

Darn near 90% of the houses made their own beer. You could go up to a place, and be there playing cards, and you'd hear a cover pop off a beer bottle from the mash working in the bottle. Some was pretty good, and some was pretty bad. And they'd make a lot of wine. Noring had a still down at Shaw Point. That was quite a drinking bunch up there. Because there was no other way to drown their sorrows when they didn't get a very good lift in their nets, they'd drink a little beer or whiskey. And most everyone in the summertime, well let's say, they'd go to town in their boats about once a month, and you could pretty near figure out that when they come back, they were under the influence of liquor pretty hard (Melvin Dahl Interview).

In Hansen's diary there are fifty-five times during the dry years that Fred notes "Cooking," which was his code word for making moonshine. Burt Hill tried to supplement his income as a "jiggle-juice" runner in 1920.

After February when the ice was set, the men and older children cleared off a large rink with shovels and skated. They skied across the bay on occasion, and as another recreation, they even bobbed. Burt Hill described the bobbing, or ice-fishing, activity in this manner:

Bobbing for trout through the ice was a pleasant pastime for us islanders during the winters when ice conditions were such that we could get to where the fish were. I remember in March 1927, the ice was good and we went out several days in succession, some days we would be skunked and others we would get fairly good catches. The largest catch was made by me on March 8, when I caught five nice trout, the largest weighing a trifle over ten pounds (Hill Diary, 15).

Summertime presented other water activities. Bill Noring remembered, "Us kids in the summertime practically lived on the beach." Mrs. Loftfield held Saturday night ice cream socials. He and Carl Dahl turned the six quart ice cream freezer in exchange for free ice cream and a piece of cake. He added, "We always had our dime on Wednesday for marshmallows and we'd make a fire and sing. We enjoyed it" (Bill Noring Interview).

For several years Sand Bay residents held basket socials, picnics, corn roasts, marshmallow roasts, and bonfires as a community. Holidays, such as the Fourth of July and

Syttende Mai (Norwegian Constitution Day, celebrated on the May 17) drew families together (Fig 7.10). The basket socials, as described by Melvin Dahl, were a traditional way of introducing the young toward dating: “You’d make up a basket of lunch and someone would bid on your basket. The woman that made the basket would have to eat with the man who bought it” (Melvin Dahl Interview).



Figure 7.10 Sand Island Picnic. (AINL Photo)

Oramill Luick, the lighthouse keeper’s second wife, described her close social life on the island:

My only neighbors were the wives of fishermen. But we stuck together. We organized a sewing circle, and we sewed for the Red Cross and other things. We met twice a month at each other’s houses, and got up nice little parties, besides. We made much of our birthdays, and baked birthday cakes, and made most of everything we had (Mackreth, 2007).

There was only one marriage ceremony on Sand Island. It took place on on August 20, 1921, when Mrs. Loftfield’s daughter Birglot wed a mainlander Ed Ladwig. A photograph (Fig. 7.11) displays the bride and groom along with their wedding party.



Figure 7.11 Ed Ladwig and Birdie Loftfield's Wedding 1921. (AINL Photo)

School

Prior to 1910 parents wishing to have their children educated usually sent them to Bayfield in September , accompanied by their mother, for the school term. With three months left in the fishing season, the fathers remained behind. The men also had to spend a considerable amount of time in the midst of winter repairing their fishing gear, but when opportunity and weather permitted, they joined their families. The fathers had to be back on the island by April to initiate the year's fishing activity. This seasonal migration made it necessary for families to have two homes, which required them to either move their belongings or replicate them.

These Norwegian immigrants came from a country where education was valued, and by the time that they arrived on Sand Island in the late nineteenth century, value was placed on educating both sexes. Norwegian historian Elisabeth Lonna wrote of the Norwegian life in which gender disparity was disappearing. She stating, "In Norway girls and boys without the resources to go to private schools went together to elementary school for seven years, but only boys could go to a middle school or to a high school. In 1876 girls were officially allowed to take the final exams for middle school, which gradually opened classrooms to girls" (Bergland and Lahlum 2011, 32).

In an effort to bring families closer to each other and to the Sand Island community, the East Bay citizens gathered together in 1910 to open a one-room school house (Fig. 7.12). This school served the children through grade eight. There were 16 students that first year. Enrollment

would peak at 27. By 1928 there were not enough children on the island to continue the school's operation (Alanen and Tishler 1996, 32-33).



Figure 7.12 Sand Island School. (Hansen collection AINL Photo)

Bill Noring said, “I went to school out there with Elvis (Moe) and Carl (Dahl). We all graduated up till grade school out there. I know the biggest school we ever had was 27 children one winter. At one time there was Johnson, Hansen, Dahl and Moe, and us” (Noring Interview).

Finding educators was a task that fell on the shoulders of the parents. Historian James Feldman noted: “Several of the older daughters of the island families served as teachers, while other teachers came from the mainland and boarded with one of the island families during the school year” (Feldman 2011, 288). Melvin Dahl, who was born in 1914, was asked in 1987 if he remembered anything about the school and his teachers. He recalled a woman named Howie Kerr, and an island resident, Augit Lofffield, a girl from Cornucopia named Helen Schugah, and a Miss Hubbard, who had epileptic fits in front of the students and lived with the Lofffields while on the island. They had a male teacher once for a year. He said that the school had two big blackboards, one up front and the other on the side (Melvin Dahl Interview, 12-13). In 1916 Luick noted in his log a teacher named Miss Patterson.

“During the eighteen years it was open, no other single factor was more important in maintaining a nucleus of year-round residents on the island,” wrote Alanen and Tishler (1996, 33). Not only did the building serve as the school, but the residents’ diaries and recorded

memories are replete with references to meetings and social events taking place there. By 1942, as Burt Hill explained, “The school was closed for lack of scholars, and today the school house is a wreck” (Hill Diary, 15).

Tourism

Local historian Sheree Peterson completed an extensive study of Camp Stella in 1997. Most of the following information comes from her report. Camp Stella originated out of a camping trip that Sam Fifield, then 42 years old, and his wife, Stella, took on Sand Island in 1881. Due to the island’s cool climate, it was an ideal location for hay fever sufferers. Each year at the height of hay fever season, the couple, and soon their friends, put up tents and vacationed on the south end of Sand Island next to the Shaw fishing and farming complex. By 1886 Fifield had purchased a parcel and formally opened the summer tent resort. He knew how to promote his enterprise, and he used his skill to market Camp Stella as an escape to nature, a place where his guests could spend their time relaxing, fishing, swimming, viewing the sandstone sea caves, picnicking along the shore, and enjoying the beauty of the Sand Island lighthouse. They could tour the island in Fifield’s yacht the *Stella* (Fig. 7.13). So attractive was the experience that many of the campers returned each year to the site. His guests included many families from the Bayfield, Ashland and Hudson, Wisconsin areas, as well as politically prominent citizens from around the state. As his advertising began to work, he attracted many out-of-state tourists (Peterson 1997, 34).

Fifield had a dock built on the southern lakeshore to provide berths for his boat and his clientele’s. He and Stella had a cottage constructed overlooking the water. They followed that with three guest cottages. To add to the atmosphere, the Fifields had the tent-way lined with gas lanterns stretching from the camp to Frank Shaw’s adjoining property. Fifield cleared and

oversaw the planting and harvesting of a few acres of produce for kitchen use. In 1911 he added a sizable water works system to pump lake water for drinking, cooking and fire protection (Peterson 1997, 39).



Figure 7.13 Steam Yacht *Stella*. (AINL Photo)

He took pride in roaming the coastal waters of Lake Superior in *Stella*, his yacht. In a newspaper article titled, *An Elegant Little Yacht*, written in 1891 *Stella* was described:

Built with great care, has a fine model and is expected to proceed safe and of good speed. Her length overall is twenty-eight feet ten inches, and breadth of beam, six feet eight. She is built entirely of white oak, heavy oak ribs, her hull being designed and constructed by Mr. W. C. Pooley... Her cabin is located aft of her machinery and finished in red oak and selected white pine. It contains two upholstered seats, one on each side (Bayfield County Press, July 18, 1891).

Fifield spent nearly a quarter of a century vacationing and providing a summer camp on Sand Island. *Stella* Fifield died during the summer of 1913 and Sam, at age seventy-three, continued on for another year. He closed the 1914 season on September 1. His grandson, Sam Payne, tried to carry on, but the camp did not open for the 1916 season.

Feldman wrote that Camp *Stella*, and those who summered there and in the vicinity after its closing, had a financial impact on the East Bay settlers. Many of the farming families, including the Norings, Hills and Loftfields, developed a reliance on the summer residents for supplemental income. The year-round islanders provided food, transportation, and upkeep for the summer houses. They sold their dairy products, meat, chickens, eggs, fruit, to the campers and later to the summer residents. Those summer visitors who didn't ride the fish collection boats to

the island arranged for one of the East Bay boats to see to their travel needs. Caretakers like Burt Hill managed several of the cottages and summer homes, earning money by cutting wood, roofing, general maintenance, and opening the summer homes for a new season and closing them at season's end (Feldman 2004, 300-301).

A Year in the Life of Fred Hansen 1920

The rhythms of Sand Island life have been described as completely as the record allows. What remains is to look at the day to day activities of one island fisherman. Fred Hansen (Fig. 7.14) has given historical geographers this insight into the place through his faithful keeping of a diary. He began the diary in 1913 and ended it in 1938. His diary is a twenty-five year history, a career's worth of notes. It is the story of a man and his community, planning and building a future in all manner of weather to do a dangerous job, earning for the next generation the opportunity to do something more, to achieve something greater.

The year 1920 was chosen because of the stability of outside events, and because for the Hansens, it was a year of stability. (Appendix E) In 1920 Warren G. Harding was elected to the Presidency. The 18th Amendment went into effect, and the United States became virtually dry. The 19th amendment was passed, and women got the right to vote. Sinclair Lewis published *Main Street*. Gustav Holst's *The Planets* was first performed. Westinghouse Company of Pittsburgh opened the first American radio station. In Paris the League of Nations came into being without United States membership (Grund 1982, 476-479).

None of these events were remarked on in Fred Hansen's journal. This is not a departure from the norm, because over the years he did not comment on local, state, national or international events. In all the years of keeping a personal record, he made no entry about World War I, the Great Epidemic of 1918, the Stock Market Crash of 1929, or the Great Depression.

In 1920 Fred was thirty-six years old, and his family was complete. He and his wife Nettie were raising their family of six children. By the time of this year's entries, Dorothy was fifteen years old, followed by Paul, Gertrude, Constance, Alma, and Jacob, the youngest, age five. Fred had established himself on Sand Island as a trusted and successful neighbor.

It is likely that 1920 was a year that Fred did what he did every year for the twenty-five years of his record keeping. He prepared for the next season's fishing. He prepared for the next season's crop. He set his nets. He planted his crop. He marketed his catch. He preserved his harvest. He pursued his livelihood. He secured his family and his neighborhood.

His diary is a remarkable historic artifact and becomes more remarkable when read in its entirety. His diary has impact. As a stand-alone document, it is stark yet rewarding in its relentless repetition.

The weather tables for the year have been added to Hansen's entries to give a clearer picture of the world the settlers ventured out into on Lake Superior's windswept surface, on Sand Island's sandstone shelf. (Appendix E) Edward J. Hopkins, Wisconsin Assistant State Climatologist was of great help in compiling this table. The temperature data were taken from the Ashland, Wisconsin reporting station and the precipitation data from Cornucopia. The Sunrise and Sunset Data come from U.S. Naval Observatory (USNO) Tables.



Figure 7.14 Fred Hansen at the Boar's Nest circa 1935. (AINL Photo)

Chapter Eight

Conclusions

East Bay's End

This story of Sand Island has now been told. The historical geography of this 4.6 square miles has been plumbed. Fred Hansen died in 1939. Burt and Anna Mae Hill left in 1941. Bert and Birget Noring and Jake Hansen and his family left the island in 1944. Sand Island was closed for the season, the winter season, permanently. An *Ashland Daily Press* headline proclaimed: "Sand Island Utterly Deserted." The story lamented the end of an important part of the region's history. Editor, John Chapple wrote:

For the first time in more than half a century, Sand Island ... will be utterly deserted this winter. The seagulls will keep a lonely vigil at Swallow point. The new-fangled gas light in the steel tower in front of the lighthouse which was home to the veteran Emmanuel Luick for so many years will blink on in solitude till the close of navigation. The waves will lash against the fishermen's docks, but there will be no one to care (*Ashland Daily Press 10/17/1944*).

Sand Island would never again serve as a year-round home. The *Ashland Daily Press* article clearly reveals that Sand Island's reconfiguration as a lonely wilderness had begun. The summer people, however, continued to come each year. They came to Camp Stella from 1885 to 1915, and even today they return to Shaw Point. But they came to vacation, not to make a living, and not to raise families, nor to develop a community. That era had ended.

The settlement's families, predominately Norwegian, could have survived without shipping fish to Chicago and without selling their crops. They could have survived without markets. While they could have replicated their Norwegian lifestyle down to dress and diction, and while there was enough fish, enough farmland, and enough fuel to see them through a subsistence living, they chose to be part of a mixed, peripheral economy. They chose to

assimilate themselves into the American melting pot. They added to the resources of the area and used the goods and services of the nearby towns. The Sand Island community worked in concert with the town of Bayfield, and could not have maintained the progress they built over the seven decades without that town, without the mainland's railroads, and without the highways.

As a reward for their efforts, they saw their children evolve from having isolated lives to having careers requiring education and acculturation, like other Wisconsinites and Minnesotans of the upper Midwest. The pioneers built their lives, and they aged. Their children became railroad men, teachers, store managers, restaurateurs, pilots, biochemists, and nursing home administrators. Even the children who followed their parents into the fishing life used technological changes in transportation to move their homes and operations off the island. The island settlement's job was done.

National Park Years

By 1944 the descendants of the East Bay settlement had moved on. Thirty-six years later all that remained of their community were a few dim memories, the Hansen and Johnson-Palm's houses, and the Lofffield cabin. The United States Department of the Interior acquired what is now the Apostle Islands National Lakeshore in 1970. However, the purchase was not without dispute, especially on Sand Island where summer vacationers were entrenched. The summer people did not want to give up their vacation homes. But they continued to enjoy their time, and that was reflected in the investments they made in the buildings' upkeep.

Howard Palm, son of Ludwig Palm, spent two years during the Great Depression on Sand Island. In the 1950's he and his brother, Dick, bought and then moved the Herman Johnson house to the island's shoreline. They used it as a vacation home. In 1987 he was asked if the

summer families felt the same loss as the East Bay descendants when it became a national property. He responded:

Well, I think there's a difference. I can't speak for them, how they feel, of course, but just from my own observations. I think the children of the families who lived there don't look on the island in the same light that I do because their parents had tough work to do for them. They were farmers; they were fishermen. They'd fish in December when it was freezing. The kids had to get out there and help them. They worked hard, all their lives (Howard Palm Interview).

Over the past forty years the Park Service has struggled with land acquisition, as well as with land use. The long term plans have evolved with the needs and desires of the National Park users and prevalent political climate. Intense conflicts concerning the logging of island forests by owners and lease holders of the West Bay Club, the use of the Hansen homestead as a resort, and the right of the federal government to take possession of the Shaw Point complex arose with the park's beginning. Now all ownership and land use issues have been resolved.

The latest General Management Plan-Wilderness Management Plan was released in April 2011. The current strategy remains dependent on economic feasibility. Sand Island continues to be excluded from a wilderness designation. This allows the National Park Service to have flexibility in providing limited developments in addressing the needs of a variety of visitor issues and experiences that wilderness designation would preclude. Due to the relative ease of access (now) and high interest in Sand Island, the Park Service is going to explore means of providing contracted public transportation to Sand Island. If successful, more toilets, picnic areas and campsites will be added to meet the expected increased demand.

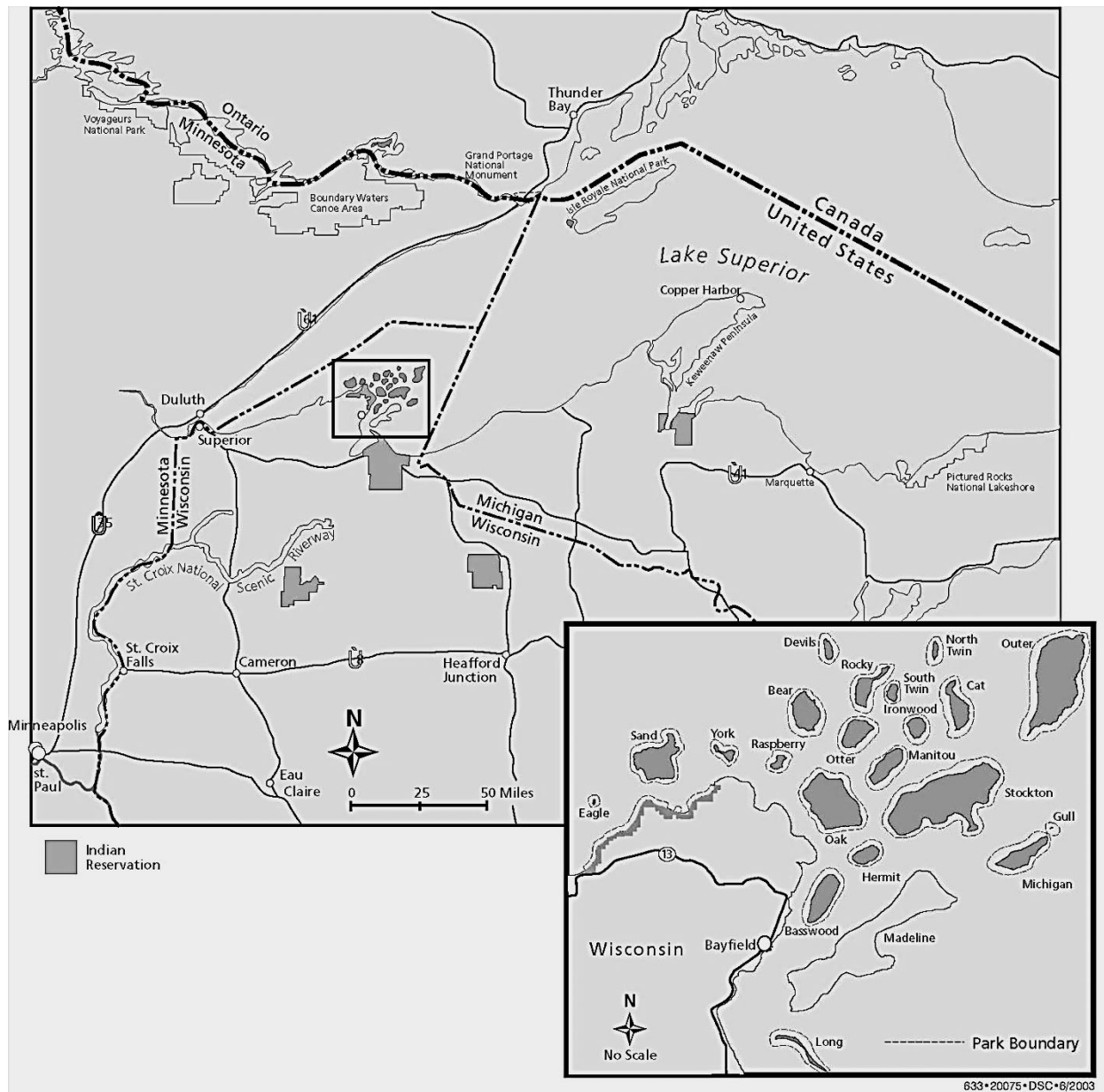
As the three remaining Sand Island life-leases naturally expire -- those of Camp Stella, the Campbell-Jensch cottages and the West Bay Club -- evaluation for historic preservation will be made. As the Shaw Point properties come under National Park Service management, the contributing structures will be preserved, and park staff will interpret the history using a combination of park ranger personnel and nonpersonal techniques such as signs, displays and pamphlets. If economically practical, some of the Camp Stella structures will be adaptively reused for some overnight public use, but if not, the structures will be stabilized. The West Bay Club, too, will be preserved, and its history will be interpreted using nonpersonal means. If feasible, the club will be adapted to permit some public overnight use of the structure; but if not, overnight designated camping will be permitted near West Bay. The dock will be rehabilitated so it will be available for public overnight use. The Hansen farm's structures will be stabilized and preserved. The historic cultural landscape also will be partially restored. Interpretive rangers and nonpersonal interpretation will be provided to educate visitors about the Hansens, the farm, and the farm's ties to the rest of island and the wider region.

The historic roads between the West Bay Club and East Bay and between Shaw Point and East Bay will be reestablished as a trail system, provided it can be built in an environmentally sound manner. A new trail will connect the farm to the island trail network and provide access to the shoreline. Some of the trails on Sand Island may be upgraded so they are accessible to all visitors. The lack of topography on the island makes it well suited for such trails. One or more deep-water docks will be rehabilitated, if necessary, and be available for public overnight use. The Sand Island Lighthouse is one of three in the discussion to be restored or rehabilitated for cultural resource preservation (Krumenaker 2011). It seems that Sand Island will retain the memories of settlement.

Appendix A

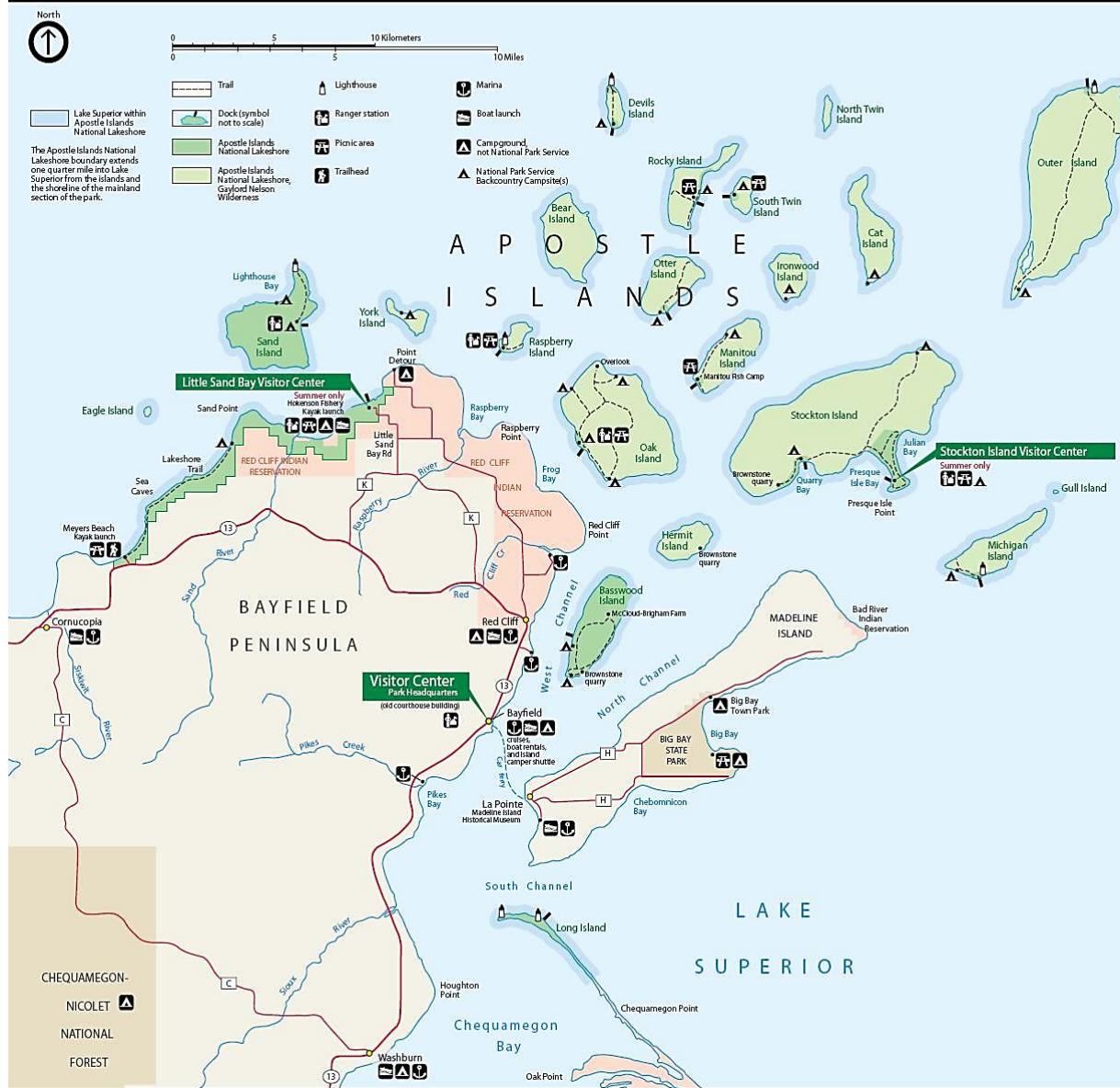
Map of the Apostle Islands Area

With Apostle Islands National Lakeshore Inset



(Map Courtesy of AINL)

Apostle Islands National Lakeshore



(Map Courtesy of AINL)

Appendix B

Plants of Sand Island

The Plants of Sand Island is a current listing of green life as of 2011. While Sand Island residents had an impact on that life, the impact was minimal. The National Park Service is attempting to return the land to its pre-settlement flora-state by eradicating the invasive species

Trees

Scientific Name	Common Name	USDA Website
<i>Abies balsamea</i>	balsam fir	http://plants.usda.gov/java/profile?symbol=ABBA
<i>Acer rubrum</i>	red maple	http://plants.usda.gov/java/profile?symbol=ACRU
<i>Acer saccharum</i>	sugar maple	http://plants.usda.gov/java/profile?symbol=ACSA3
<i>Acer spicatum</i>	mountain maple	http://plants.usda.gov/java/profile?symbol=ACSP2
<i>Alnus incana</i>	grey alder	http://plants.usda.gov/java/profile?symbol=ALIN2
<i>Alnus incana</i>	speckled alder	http://plants.usda.gov/java/profile?symbol=ALINR
<i>Betula allegheniensis</i>	yellow birch	http://plants.usda.gov/java/profile?symbol=BEAL2
<i>Betula papyrifera</i>	paper birch	http://plants.usda.gov/java/profile?symbol=BEPA
<i>Cornus stolonifera</i>	redosier dogwood	http://plants.usda.gov/java/profile?symbol=COSE16
<i>Corylus cornuta</i>	beaked hazelnut	http://plants.usda.gov/java/profile?symbol=COCO6
<i>Fraxinus nigra</i>	black ash	http://plants.usda.gov/java/profile?symbol=FRNI
<i>Larix laricina</i>	tamarack	http://plants.usda.gov/java/profile?symbol=LALA
<i>Nemopanthus mucronatus</i>	cat-berry, mountain holly	http://plants.usda.gov/java/profile?symbol=ILMU
<i>Picea glauca</i>	white spruce	http://plants.usda.gov/java/profile?symbol=PIGL
<i>Picea mariana</i>	black spruce	http://plants.usda.gov/java/profile?symbol=PIMA
<i>Pinus strobus</i>	eastern white pine	http://plants.usda.gov/java/profile?symbol=PIST
<i>Populus grandidentata</i>	bigtooth aspen	http://plants.usda.gov/java/profile?symbol=POGR4
<i>Populus tremuloides</i>	quaking aspen	http://plants.usda.gov/java/profile?symbol=POTR5
<i>Prunus pensylvanica</i>	pin cherry	http://plants.usda.gov/java/profile?symbol=PRPEP
<i>Prunus virginiana</i>	chokecherry	http://plants.usda.gov/java/profile?symbol=PRVI
<i>Quercus borealis</i>	northern red oak	http://plants.usda.gov/java/profile?symbol=QURUA
<i>Sambucus racemosa</i>	red elderberry	http://plants.usda.gov/java/profile?symbol=SARA2
<i>Sorbus americana</i>	American mountain ash	http://plants.usda.gov/java/profile?symbol=SOAM3
<i>Sorbus decora</i>	northern mountain ash	http://plants.usda.gov/java/profile?symbol=SODE3
<i>Thuja occidentalis</i>	arborvitae	http://plants.usda.gov/java/profile?symbol=THOC2
<i>Tsuga canadensis</i>	eastern hemlock	http://plants.usda.gov/java/profile?symbol=TSCA
<i>Viburnum opulus</i>	European cranberrybush	http://plants.usda.gov/java/profile?symbol=VIOP

Trees and Shrubs

Scientific Name	Common Name	USDA Website
<i>Chamaedaphne calyculata</i>	leatherleaf	http://plants.usda.gov/java/profile?symbol=CHCA2
<i>Cornus canadensis</i>	bunchberry dogwood	http://plants.usda.gov/java/profile?symbol=COCA13
<i>Cornus stolonifera</i>	redosier dogwood	http://plants.usda.gov/java/profile?symbol=COSE16
<i>Corylus cornuta</i>	beaked hazelnut	http://plants.usda.gov/java/profile?symbol=COCO6
<i>Diervilla lonicera</i>	northern bush honeysuckle	http://plants.usda.gov/java/profile?symbol=DILO
<i>Gaultheria hispidula</i>	creeping snowberry	http://plants.usda.gov/java/profile?symbol=GAHI2
<i>Kalmia polifolia</i>	bog laurel	http://plants.usda.gov/java/profile?symbol=KAPO
<i>Ledum groenlandicum</i>	bog Labrador tea	http://plants.usda.gov/java/profile?symbol=LEGR
<i>Lonicera canadensis</i>	American fly honeysuckle	http://plants.usda.gov/java/profile?symbol=LOCA7
<i>Nemopanthus mucronatus</i>	cat-berry, mountain holly	http://plants.usda.gov/java/profile?symbol=ILMU
<i>Prunus pensylvanica</i>	pin cherry	http://plants.usda.gov/java/profile?symbol=PRPEP
<i>Prunus virginiana</i>	chokecherry	http://plants.usda.gov/java/profile?symbol=PRVI
<i>Ribes glandulosum</i>	skunk currant	http://plants.usda.gov/java/profile?symbol=RIGL
<i>Ribes hirtellum</i>	hairystem gooseberry	http://plants.usda.gov/java/profile?symbol=RIHI
<i>Ribes triste</i>	red currant	http://plants.usda.gov/java/profile?symbol=RITR
<i>Sambucus racemosa</i>	red elderberry	http://plants.usda.gov/java/profile?symbol=SARA2
<i>Sorbus americana</i>	American mountain ash	http://plants.usda.gov/java/profile?symbol=SOAM3
<i>Sorbus decora</i>	northern mountain ash	http://plants.usda.gov/java/profile?symbol=SOE3
<i>Taxus canadensis</i>	Canada yew	http://plants.usda.gov/java/profile?symbol=TACA7
<i>Vaccinium myrtilloides</i>	velvetleaf huckleberry	http://plants.usda.gov/java/profile?symbol=VAMY
<i>Viburnum opulus</i>	European cranberrybush	http://plants.usda.gov/java/profile?symbol=VIOP

Forbs and Herbs

Scientific Name	Common Name	USDA Website
<i>Cornus canadensis</i>	bunchberry dogwood	http://plants.usda.gov/java/profile?symbol=COCA13
<i>Actaea rubra</i>	red baneberry	http://plants.usda.gov/java/profile?symbol=ACRU2
<i>Anemone quinquefolia</i>	wood anemone	http://plants.usda.gov/java/profile?symbol=anqu
<i>Arisaema triphyllum</i>	Jack in the pulpit	http://plants.usda.gov/java/profile?symbol=ARTR
<i>Aster ciliolatus</i>	Lindley's aster	http://plants.usda.gov/java/profile?symbol=SYCI
<i>Aster macrophyllus</i>	bigleaf aster	http://plants.usda.gov/java/profile?symbol=EUMA27
<i>Aster</i> sp.	aster	http://plants.usda.gov/java/profile?symbol=SYFI4
<i>Athyrium angustum</i>	subarctic ladyfern	http://plants.usda.gov/java/profile?symbol=ATFIA
<i>Caltha palustris</i>	yellow marsh marigold	http://plants.usda.gov/java/profile?symbol=capa5
<i>Clintonia borealis</i>	bluebead	http://plants.usda.gov/java/profile?symbol=CLBO3
<i>Coptis trifolia</i>	threeleaf goldthread	http://plants.usda.gov/java/profile?symbol=COTR2
<i>Corallorhiza trifida</i>	yellow coralroot	http://plants.usda.gov/java/profile?symbol=COTR18
<i>Cypripedium acaule</i>	moccasin flower	http://plants.usda.gov/java/profile?symbol=CYAC3
<i>Dryopteris intermedia</i>	intermediate woodfern	http://plants.usda.gov/java/profile?symbol=DRIN5
<i>Equisetum arvense</i>	field horsetail	http://plants.usda.gov/java/profile?symbol=EQAR
<i>Equisetum sylvaticum</i>	(woodland horsetail	http://plants.usda.gov/java/profile?symbol=EQSY
<i>Fragaria virginiana</i>	Virginia strawberry	http://plants.usda.gov/java/profile?symbol=FRVI
<i>Galium triflorum</i>	fragrant bedstraw	http://plants.usda.gov/java/profile?symbol=GATR3
<i>Goodyera oblongifolia</i>	western rattlesnake plantain	http://plants.usda.gov/java/profile?symbol=GOOB2
<i>Gymnocarpium dryopteris</i>	western oakfern	http://plants.usda.gov/java/profile?symbol=GYDR
<i>Impatiens capensis</i>	jewelweed	http://plants.usda.gov/java/profile?symbol=IMCA
<i>Linnaea borealis</i>	twinflower	http://plants.usda.gov/java/profile?symbol=LIBO3
<i>Lycopodium annotinum</i>	stiff clubmoss	http://plants.usda.gov/java/profile?symbol=LYAN2
<i>Lycopodium clavatum</i>	running clubmoss	http://plants.usda.gov/java/profile?symbol=LYCL
<i>Lycopodium lucidulum</i>	shining club moss	http://plants.usda.gov/java/profile?symbol=HULU2
<i>Lycopodium obscurum</i>	rare clubmoss	http://plants.usda.gov/java/profile?symbol=LYOB
<i>Lycopus</i> sp.	gypsywort	http://plants.usda.gov/java/profile?symbol=LYEU
<i>Maianthemum canadense</i>	Canada mayflower	http://plants.usda.gov/java/profile?symbol=MACA4
<i>Onoclea sensibilis</i>	sensitive fern	http://plants.usda.gov/java/profile?symbol=ONSE
<i>Osmorrhiza chilensis</i>	sweetcicely	http://plants.usda.gov/java/profile?symbol=OSBE
<i>Osmunda cinnamomea</i>	cinnamon fern	http://plants.usda.gov/java/profile?symbol=OSCI
<i>Panax trifolius</i>	dwarf ginseng	http://plants.usda.gov/java/profile?symbol=PATR2
<i>Petasites palmatus</i>	arctic sweet coltsfoot	http://plants.usda.gov/java/profile?symbol=PEFRP

continued		
Scientific Name	Common Name	USDA Website
<i>Phegopteris connectilis</i>	long beechfern	http://plants.usda.gov/java/profile?symbol=PHCO24
<i>Polygonum cilinode</i>	fringed black bindweed	http://plants.usda.gov/java/profile?symbol=POCI
<i>Prunella vulgaris</i>	common selfheal	http://plants.usda.gov/java/profile?symbol=PRVUV
<i>Pteridium aquilinum</i>	western brackenfern	http://plants.usda.gov/java/profile?symbol=PTAQ
<i>Ranunculus acris</i>	tall buttercup	http://plants.usda.gov/java/profile?symbol=RAAC3
<i>Ranunculus hispidus</i>	bristly buttercup	http://plants.usda.gov/java/profile?symbol=RAHI
<i>Rubus pubescens</i>	dwarf red blackberry	http://plants.usda.gov/java/profile?symbol=RUPU
<i>Smilacina racemosa</i>	feathery false lily of the valley	http://plants.usda.gov/java/profile?symbol=MARAR
<i>Smilacina trifolia</i>	threeleaf false lily of the valley	http://plants.usda.gov/java/profile?symbol=MATR4
<i>Streptopus amplexifolius</i>	claspleaf twistedstalk	http://plants.usda.gov/java/profile?symbol=STAM2
<i>Streptopus roseus</i>	twistedstalk	http://plants.usda.gov/java/profile?symbol=STLAR
<i>Taraxacum officinale</i>	common dandelion	http://plants.usda.gov/java/profile?symbol=TAOF
<i>Trientalis borealis</i>	starflower	http://plants.usda.gov/java/profile?symbol=TRBO2
<i>Trillium cernuum</i>	whip-poor-will flower	http://plants.usda.gov/java/profile?symbol=TRCE
<i>Viola sp.</i>	violet	http://plants.usda.gov/java/profile?symbol=VIPR4

Subshrubs

Scientific Name	Common Name	USDA Website
<i>Aralia nudicaulis</i>	wild sarsaparilla	http://plants.usda.gov/java/profile?symbol=ARNU2
<i>Arceuthobium pusillum</i>	eastern dwarf mistletoe	http://plants.usda.gov/java/profile?symbol=ARPU3
<i>Cornus canadensis</i>	bunchberry dogwood	http://plants.usda.gov/java/profile?symbol=COCA13
<i>Gaultheria hispidula</i>	creeping snowberry	http://plants.usda.gov/java/profile?symbol=GAHI2
<i>Linnaea borealis</i>	twinflower	http://plants.usda.gov/java/profile?symbol=LIBO3
<i>Lycopodium annotinum</i>	stiff clubmoss	http://plants.usda.gov/java/profile?symbol=LYAN2
<i>Lycopodium clavatum</i>	running clubmoss	http://plants.usda.gov/java/profile?symbol=LYCL
<i>Lycopodium lucidulum</i>	shining club moss	http://plants.usda.gov/java/profile?symbol=HULU2
<i>Lycopodium obscurum</i>	rare clubmoss	http://plants.usda.gov/java/profile?symbol=LYOB
<i>Pyrola elliptica</i>	waxflower shinleaf	http://plants.usda.gov/java/profile?symbol=PYEL
<i>Rubus allegheniensis</i>	Allegheny blackberry	http://plants.usda.gov/java/profile?symbol=RUAL
<i>Rubus hispidus</i>	bristly dewberry	http://plants.usda.gov/java/profile?symbol=RUHI
<i>Rubus parviflorus</i>	thimbleberry	http://plants.usda.gov/java/profile?symbol=RUPA
<i>Rubus pubescens</i>	dwarf red blackberry	http://plants.usda.gov/java/profile?symbol=RUPU
<i>Rubus strigosus</i>	grayleaf red raspberry	http://plants.usda.gov/java/profile?symbol=RUIDS2
<i>Vaccinium myrtilloides</i>	velvetleaf huckleberry	http://plants.usda.gov/java/profile?symbol=VAMY

Graminoids

Scientific Name	Common Name	USDA Website
<i>Calamagrostis canadensis</i>	bluejoint	http://plants.usda.gov/java/profile?symbol=CACA4
<i>Carex arctata</i>	drooping woodland sedge	http://plants.usda.gov/java/profile?symbol=CAAR3
<i>Carex brunnescens</i>	brownish sedge	http://plants.usda.gov/java/profile?symbol=CABR15
<i>Carex deweyana</i>	dewey sedge	http://plants.usda.gov/java/profile?symbol=CADE9
<i>Carex intumescens</i>	greater bladder sedge	http://plants.usda.gov/java/profile?symbol=CAIN12
<i>Carex lacustris</i>	hairy sedge	http://plants.usda.gov/java/profile?symbol=CALA16
<i>Carex leptonevia</i>	nerveless woodland sedge	http://plants.usda.gov/java/profile?symbol=CALE11
<i>Carex sp.</i>	sedge	http://plants.usda.gov/java/profile?symbol=CAREX
<i>Carex trisperma</i>	threeseeded sedge	http://plants.usda.gov/java/profile?symbol=CATR10
<i>Cinna latifolia</i>	drooping woodreed	http://plants.usda.gov/java/profile?symbol=CILA2
Grass sp.	grass	http://plants.usda.gov/java/profile?symbol=DICHA2
<i>Poa pratensis</i>	Kentucky bluegrass	http://plants.usda.gov/java/profile?symbol=POPR

Appendix C

The Birds of Sand Island

This series of tables is a current listing of the permanent, three- season, two- season migratory, and spring migratory birds alighting on the island during any given year. The National Park managers believe the area provides the birds with a healthy and supportive environment. The historic impact of human habitation at this writing has been minimal and continues to be such under National Park protection.

Birds of Sand Island Permanent Population		
Name	Scientific Name	Hyperlink
Bald Eagle	Haliaeetus leucocephalus	http://www.allaboutbirds.org/guide/Bald_Eagle/id
Barred Owl	Strix varia	http://www.allaboutbirds.org/guide/Barred_Owl/id
Black-Capped Chickadee	Poecile atricapillus	http://www.allaboutbirds.org/guide/Black-Capped_Chickadee/id
Blue Jay	Cyanocitta cristata	http://www.allaboutbirds.org/guide/Blue_Jay/id
Common Raven	Corvus corax	http://www.allaboutbirds.org/guide/Common_Raven/id
Downy Woodpecker	Picoides pubescens	http://www.allaboutbirds.org/guide/Downy_Woodpecker/id
Great Horned Owl	Bubo virginianus	http://www.allaboutbirds.org/guide/Great_Horned_Owl/id
Hairy Woodpecker	Picoides villosus	http://www.allaboutbirds.org/guide/Hairy_Woodpecker/id
Herring Gull	Larus argentatus	http://www.allaboutbirds.org/guide/Herring_Gull/id
Pileated Woodpecker	Dryocopus pileatus	http://www.allaboutbirds.org/guide/Pileated_Woodpecker/id

Birds of Sand Island Three Season Population		
Name	Scientific Name	Hyperlink
American Crow	Corvus brachyrhynchos	http://www.allaboutbirds.org/guide/American_Crow/id
American Redstart	Setophaga ruticilla	http://www.allaboutbirds.org/guide/American_Redstart/id
American Robin	Turdus migratorius	http://www.allaboutbirds.org/guide/American_Robin/id
Belted Kingfisher	Megaceryle alcyon	http://www.allaboutbirds.org/guide/Belted_Kingfisher/id
Black-and-White Warbler	Mniotilta varia	http://www.allaboutbirds.org/guide/Black-and-White_Warbler/id
Blackburnian Warbler	Setophaga fusca	http://www.allaboutbirds.org/guide/Blackburnian_Warbler/id
Black-Throated Green Warbler	Setophaga virens	http://www.allaboutbirds.org/guide/Black-Throated_Green_Warbler/id
Broad-Winged Hawk	Buteo platypterus	http://www.allaboutbirds.org/guide/Broad-Winged_Hawk/id
Canada Warbler	Cardellina canadensis	http://www.allaboutbirds.org/guide/Canada_Warbler/id
Cedar Waxwing	Bombycilla cedrorum	http://www.allaboutbirds.org/guide/Cedar_Waxwing/id
Chestnut-Sided Warbler	Setophaga pensylvanica	http://www.allaboutbirds.org/guide/Chestnut-Sided_Warbler/id
Cliff Swallow	Petrochelidon pyrrhonota	http://www.allaboutbirds.org/guide/Cliff_Swallow/id
Common Merganser	Mergus merganser	http://www.allaboutbirds.org/guide/Common_Merganser/id
Double-Crested Cormorant	Phalacrocorax auritus	http://www.allaboutbirds.org/guide/Double-Crested_Cormorant/id
Eastern Wood-Pewee	Contopus virens	http://www.allaboutbirds.org/guide/Eastern_Wood-Pewee/id
Gray Catbird	Dumetella carolinensis	http://www.allaboutbirds.org/guide/Gray_Catbird/id
Great Blue Heron	Ardea herodias	http://www.allaboutbirds.org/guide/Great_Blue_Heron/id
Great Crested Flycatcher	Myiarchus crinitus	http://www.allaboutbirds.org/guide/Great_Crested_Flycatcher/id
Hermit Thrush	Catharus guttatus	http://www.allaboutbirds.org/guide/Hermit_Thrush/id
Magnolia Warbler	Setophaga magnolia	http://www.allaboutbirds.org/guide/Magnolia_Warbler/id
Nashville Warbler	Oreothlypis ruficapilla	http://www.allaboutbirds.org/guide/Nashville_Warbler/id
Northern Flicker	Colaptes auratus	http://www.allaboutbirds.org/guide/Northern_Flicker/id
Northern Parula	Setophaga americana	http://www.allaboutbirds.org/guide/Northern_Parula/id
Red-Breasted Merganser	Mergus serrator	http://www.allaboutbirds.org/guide/Red-Breasted_Merganser/id
Red-Breasted Nuthatch	Sitta canadensis	http://www.allaboutbirds.org/guide/Red-Breasted_Nuthatch/id
Red-Eyed Vireo	Vireo olivaceus	http://www.allaboutbirds.org/guide/Red-Eyed_Vireo/id
Ring-Billed Gull	Larus delawarensis	http://www.allaboutbirds.org/guide/Ring-Billed_Gull/id
Rose-Breasted Grosbeak	Pheucticus ludovicianus	http://www.allaboutbirds.org/guide/Rose-Breasted_Grosbeak/id
Song Sparrow	Melospiza melodia	http://www.allaboutbirds.org/guide/Song_Sparrow/id
Spotted Sandpiper	Actitis macularia	http://www.allaboutbirds.org/guide/Spotted_Sandpiper/id

Birds of Sand Island Three Season Population		
Name	Scientific Name	Hyperlink
Swainson's Thrush	Catharus ustulatus	http://www.allaboutbirds.org/guide/Swainsons_Thrush/id
Tree Swallow	Tachycineta bicolor	http://www.allaboutbirds.org/guide/Tree_Swallow/id
Turkey Vulture	Cathartes aura	http://www.allaboutbirds.org/guide/Turkey_Vulture/id
Veery	Catharus fuscescens	http://www.allaboutbirds.org/guide/Veery/id
White-Throated Sparrow	Zonotrichia albicollis	http://www.allaboutbirds.org/guide/White-Throated_Sparrow/id
Yellow-Bellied Sapsucker	Sphyrapicus varius	http://www.allaboutbirds.org/guide/Yellow-Bellied_Sapsucker/id
Yellow-Rumped Warbler	Setophaga coronata	http://www.allaboutbirds.org/guide/Yellow-Rumped_Warbler/id

Birds of Sand Island Spring and Fall Migrants		
Name	Scientific Name	Hyperlink
American Bittern	Botaurus lentiginosus	http://www.allaboutbirds.org/guide/American_Bittern/id
American Black Duck	Anas rubripes	http://www.allaboutbirds.org/guide/American_Black_Duck/id
American Goldfinch	Spinus tristis	http://www.allaboutbirds.org/guide/American_Goldfinch/id
American Tree Sparrow	Spizella arborea	http://www.allaboutbirds.org/guide/American_Tree_Sparrow/id
American Woodcock	Scolopax minor	http://www.allaboutbirds.org/guide/American_Woodcock/id
Barn Swallow	Hirundo rustica	http://www.allaboutbirds.org/guide/Barn_Swallow/id
Blackpoll Warbler	Setophaga striata	http://www.allaboutbirds.org/guide/Blackpoll_Warbler/id
Blue-Winged Teal	Anas discors	http://www.allaboutbirds.org/guide/Blue-Winged_Teal/id
Bonaparte's Gull	Chroicocephalus philadelphia	http://www.allaboutbirds.org/guide/Bonapartes_Gull/id
Brown Creeper	Certhia americana	http://www.allaboutbirds.org/guide/Brown_Creeper/id
Brown Thrasher	Toxostoma rufum	http://www.allaboutbirds.org/guide/Brown_Thrasher/id
Brown-Headed Cowbird	Molothrus ater	http://www.allaboutbirds.org/guide/Brown-Headed_Cowbird/id
Bufflehead	Bucephala albeola	http://www.allaboutbirds.org/guide/Bufflehead/id
Canada Goose	Branta canadensis	http://www.allaboutbirds.org/guide/Canada_Goose/id
Chimney Swift	Chaetura pelagica	http://www.allaboutbirds.org/guide/Chimney_Swift/id
Chipping Sparrow	Spizella passerina	http://www.allaboutbirds.org/guide/Chipping_Sparrow/id
Common Goldeneye	Bucephala clangula	http://www.allaboutbirds.org/guide/Common_Goldeneye/id
Common Grackle	Quiscalus quiscula	http://www.allaboutbirds.org/guide/Common_Grackle/id
Wilson's Snipe	Gallinago delicata	http://www.allaboutbirds.org/guide/Wilsons_Snipe/id
Common Yellowthroat	Geothlypis trichas	http://www.allaboutbirds.org/guide/Common_Yellowthroat/id
Dark-Eyed Junco	Junco hyemalis	http://www.allaboutbirds.org/guide/Dark-eyed_Junco/id
Eastern Kingbird	Tyrannus tyrannus	http://www.allaboutbirds.org/guide/Eastern_Kingbird/id
Eastern Phoebe	Sayornis phoebe	http://www.allaboutbirds.org/guide/Eastern_Phoebe/id
Evening Grosbeak	Coccothraustes vespertinus	http://www.allaboutbirds.org/guide/Evening_Grosbeak/id
Golden-Crowned Kinglet	Regulus satrapa	http://www.allaboutbirds.org/guide/Golden-Crowned_Kinglet/id
Greater Yellowlegs	Tringa melanoleuca	http://www.allaboutbirds.org/guide/Greater_Yellowlegs/id
Hooded Merganser	Lophodytes cucullatus	http://www.allaboutbirds.org/guide/Hooded_Merganser/id
Horned Grebe	Podiceps auritus	http://www.allaboutbirds.org/guide/Horned_Grebe/id
Least Flycatcher	Empidonax minimus	http://www.allaboutbirds.org/guide/Least_Flycatcher/id
Least Sandpiper	Calidris minutilla	http://www.allaboutbirds.org/guide/Least_Sandpiper/id
Lesser Yellowlegs	Tringa flavipes	http://www.allaboutbirds.org/guide/Lesser_Yellowlegs/id
Mallard	Anas platyrhynchos	http://www.allaboutbirds.org/guide/Mallard/id
Mourning Dove	Zenaida macroura	http://www.allaboutbirds.org/guide/Mourning_Dove/id
Baltimore Oriole	Icterus galbula	http://www.allaboutbirds.org/guide/Baltimore_Oriole/id
Northern Rough-Winged Swallow	Stelgidopteryx serripennis	http://www.allaboutbirds.org/guide/Northern_Rough-Winged_Swallow/id
Northern Waterthrush	Parkesia noveboracensis	http://www.allaboutbirds.org/guide/Northern_Waterthrush/id
Oldsquaw (Long-tailed duck)	Clangula hyemalis	http://www.allaboutbirds.org/guide/Long-tailed_Duck/id
Ovenbird	Seiurus aurocapilla	http://www.allaboutbirds.org/guide/Ovenbird/id
Palm Warbler	Setophaga palmarum	http://www.allaboutbirds.org/guide/Palm_Warbler/id
Pine Siskin	Spinus pinus	http://www.allaboutbirds.org/guide/Pine_Siskin/id

Birds of Sand Island Spring and Fall Migrants		
Name	Scientific Name	Hyperlink
Purple Finch	Haemorhous purpureus	http://www.allaboutbirds.org/guide/Purple_Finch/id
Red-Winged Blackbird	Agelaius phoeniceus	http://www.allaboutbirds.org/guide/Red-Winged_Blackbird/id
Ringed-Neck Duck	Aythya collaris	http://www.allaboutbirds.org/guide/ring-necked_duck/id
Ruby-Crowned Kinglet	Regulus calendula	http://www.allaboutbirds.org/guide/Ruby-Crowned_Kinglet/id
Ruby-Throated Hummingbird	Archilochus colubris	http://www.allaboutbirds.org/guide/Ruby-Throated_Hummingbird/id
Ruddy Turnstone	Arenaria interpres	http://www.allaboutbirds.org/guide/Ruddy_Turnstone/id
Rusty Blackbird	Euphagus carolinus	http://www.allaboutbirds.org/guide/Rusty_Blackbird/id
Sanderling	Calidris alba	http://www.allaboutbirds.org/guide/Sanderling/id
Savannah Sparrow	Passerculus sandwichensis	http://www.allaboutbirds.org/guide/Savannah_Sparrow/id
Sedge Wren	Cistothorus platensis	http://www.allaboutbirds.org/guide/Sedge_Wren/id
Semipalmated Plover	Charadrius semipalmatus	http://www.allaboutbirds.org/guide/Semipalmated_Plover/id
Semipalmated Sandpiper	Calidris pusilla	http://www.allaboutbirds.org/guide/Semipalmated_Sandpiper/id
Sharp-Shinned Hawk	Accipiter striatus	http://www.allaboutbirds.org/guide/Sharp-Shinned_Hawk/id
Snow Bunting	Plectrophenax nivalis	http://www.allaboutbirds.org/guide/Snow_Bunting/id
Solitary Vireo (Blue-headed)	Vireo solitarius	http://www.allaboutbirds.org/guide/Blue-headed_Vireo/id
Swamp Sparrow	Melospiza georgiana	http://www.allaboutbirds.org/guide/Swamp_Sparrow/id
Tennessee Warbler	Oreothlypis peregrina	http://www.allaboutbirds.org/guide/Tennessee_Warbler/id
Wilson's Warbler	Cardellina pusilla	http://www.allaboutbirds.org/guide/Wilsons_Warbler/id
Yellow Warbler	Setophaga petechia	http://www.allaboutbirds.org/guide/Yellow_Warbler/id
Yellow-Bellied Flycatcher	Empidonax flaviventris	http://www.allaboutbirds.org/guide/Yellow-Bellied_Flycatcher/id

Birds of Sand Island Spring Migrants		
Name	Scientific Name	Hyperlink
American Kestrel	Falco sparverius	http://www.allaboutbirds.org/guide/American_Kestrel/id
Bobolink	Dolichonyx oryzivorus	http://www.allaboutbirds.org/guide/Bobolink/id
Common Nighthawk	Chordeiles minor	http://www.allaboutbirds.org/guide/Common_Nighthawk/id
Common Tern	Sterna hirundo	http://allaboutbirds.org/guide/Common_Tern/id
Cooper's Hawk	Accipiter cooperii	http://allaboutbirds.org/guide/Coopers_Hawk/id
Dunlin	Calidris alpina	http://www.allaboutbirds.org/guide/Dunlin/id
European Starling	Sturnus vulgaris	http://www.allaboutbirds.org/guide/European_Starling/id
Gray-Cheeked Thrush	Catharus minimus	http://www.allaboutbirds.org/guide/Gray-cheeked_Thrush/id
Killdeer	Charadrius vociferus	http://www.allaboutbirds.org/guide/Killdeer/id
Northern Harrier	Circus cyaneus	http://www.allaboutbirds.org/guide/Northern_Harrier/id
Pied-Billed Grebe	Podilymbus podiceps	http://www.allaboutbirds.org/guide/Pied-Billed_Grebe/id
Red-Tailed Hawk	Buteo jamaicensis	http://www.allaboutbirds.org/guide/Red-Tailed_Hawk/id
Rough-Legged Hawk	Buteo lagopus	http://www.allaboutbirds.org/guide/Rough-Legged_Hawk/id
Wood Duck	Aix sponsa	http://www.allaboutbirds.org/guide/Wood_Duck/id

Appendix D

Log Entries from the Wreck of the Steamer *Sevona* September 1, 1905 to October 5, 1905

Friday, September 1, 1905
E NE fresh & cloudy, rainy.

Saturday September 2, 1905

NE, terrible gale and heavy rain and fog. At 5:45 AM a steamer whistled a distress signal but for fog and heavy rains we was unable to see or tell where the steamer was only know she was NE of Station. At 10:00 AM it cleared up some so we could see a steamer drifting in on the east side of Station where she soon struck bottom. We could see no life on board or see any distress signal. We patrolled the beach from 10 to 12 but found nothing. At 12:00 the pilot house started to break away and at 2:00 the forward mast went overboard. From 2:00 to 5:45 PM we searched the beach and found one trunk and all the cabin work and mast. Looked along the shore and found or see one man which was covered back and forth in the sea but life was extinguished. We tried to get him but was unable to do anything as the sea did not carry him in close enough. At 2:00 PM one life boat with 6 of the crew came ashore at East Bay and found shelter with F. A. Hansen. The others boat made for York Island with 11 of the crew. Four women was along.

Sunday, September 3, 1905

NNE Gale and heavy rain, fog. At 10 AM Keeper E. Luick and Assistant F. A. Hudson went around the beach when about 1 mile from light we found a dead man among the wreckage. Keeper got help from East Bay to help get him up in the woods. Two of the wreck steamer crew. At 6:45 PM the tug Harmon came out from Bayfield to view the wreck but there was only the stern left.

Monday, September 4, 1905

NE fresh and cloudy, cold. Keeper got ready to take crew to town with sailboat when the tug R. W. Currie came out to pick them up at 9:00 AM. Mr. Frank Shaw and Ambrose Gordon and Edward Stuffel went out to help look for the bodies. They found three, one in Justus Bay and two in East Bay. Keeper learned through the Capt. of tug Currie that the other life boat landed in Sand Bay mainland with 11 of the crew. They left the wreck at 2:00 PM with the 7 men on the bow of the steamer no way to get off. Keeper left for town with the tug to get the Statement of the Wreck from the Engineer. The tug took the four bodies to town at 6 PM. Keeper returned with the tug on her second trip.

Tuesday, September 5, 1905

SW breeze, clear and warm. Keeper got the Statement from the Engineer. They struck at 5:45 AM but did not blow the whistle till 30 minutes after. Officers and men cut off from going aft. Captain, two Mates, two Wheelmen, two watchmen. All that got drowned. The crew all say they seen my light in Sand Island Light and Devils Island Light. The crew of 11 was taken care of by Napoleon Reaboux [Rabideaux] a farmer living 1 1/2 miles up in the wood from the beach. A man who was on the beach hunting cows at the time the crew

landed showed them the way up to the farm. Name of man unknown. Many pleasure boats were out to the wreck.

Wednesday, September 6, 1905

SW light and clear. Men still hunting for bodies. Many pleasure boaters out to see the wreck.

Friday, September 8, 1905

Calm & clear. Fog

Keeper & assistant look for bodies.

Pleasure boats were out to see the wreck.

Saturday, September 9, 1905

Calm & Clear. Hazy

Still hunting for bodies.

Pleasure boats were out to the wreck.

Sunday, September 10, 1905

NE light & Fog. Cloudy changed to clear.

Many pleasure boats were out to the wreck. Keeper and assistant, and keeper's niece were out for the first time to see the wreck.

Monday, September 11, 1905

SW, fresh & clear

Keeper repaired the roof, replaced the tin shingles that the wind tore off Sept. 2nd.

Assistant is cutting brush. Ex-governor S. Fifield came around with his yacht and small boat and men and picked up all the wreckage he could find that was worth anything.

He took the doors and bed springs and all the nice boards the keeper and assistant had picked up and placed up in the woods where the seas would not reach them.

Tuesday, September 12, 1905

N gale and clear

Keeper and assistant cut a path over to Justus Bay.

Keeper walked the beach for two miles east side, found one body. Got P. Hansen and son to help me get it up in the woods.

Wednesday, September 13, 1905

SE very fresh & clear

Keeper took assistant over to mainland to go to town and notify undertaker to get the body. Keeper stayed around the beach, found another body but for the heavy sea could not get in to get it. At 7:00 p. m. Capt. Pasque and Mr. H. Sense came out in the gasoline boat to get the corpse but wind too heavy so they laid over. Stayed with Keeper.

Thursday, September 14, 1905

S SE fresh cloudy

Keeper went around with Capt. J. Pasque and the undertaker to get the dead bodies. At 7:00 a. m. it set in to rain very hard and blowed a half a gale from SE. We had very hard time in getting ashore to get the dead. We had Mr. P Hansen and son Fred help us.

Friday, September 15, 1905

SW fresh & cloudy, fog.

F. A. Hudson returned at 2:00 p. m. , absent 2 days, 7 hours. Keeper walked three miles around the beach to look for the other body.

Saturday, September 16, 1905

SE squally and showering at 7:00 a. m. Keeper inspected station. Keeper went around the beach to look for the other body.

Sunday, September 17, 1905

NE fresh & some rain & fog, cool. Keeper went around the beach to look for the other body but failed to find any.

Friday, September 22, 1905

SW light and clear

Keeper went three miles on East side of island looking for the other body but failed to find it.

Saturday, September 23, 1905

SW light and clear

Cut wood and went around the shore but failed to find any more bodies. Keeper inspected station.

Monday, October 2, 1905

Inspected light station, Charles E. Fox, Cmdr. U. S. N. , Inspector

SW fresh & clear, cool

Keeper E. Luick & niece Emma Hahn returned from town at 2:30 p. m. Absent 4 days. Keeper and assistant rowed around the beach and found the last body from the crew of the *Sevona*. Found the body 300 yards SW of lighthouse wedged in among the rocks. Keeper got Peter Hansen to help him get it out and we took it to the dock or boat house. Keeper send word to town through Howard Johnson and Olive [Olaf?] Edwards.

Tuesday, October 3, 1905

SW, fresh & cloudy, cool.

Keeper finished making out his reports for September. Mr. Charles Russell with the gasoline boat Idora arrived at station at 4:00 p. m. with Mr. H. Sense the undertaker to get the body.

Appendix E

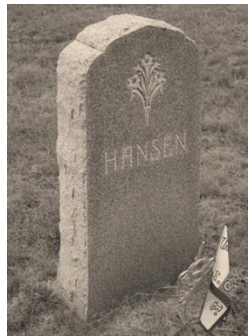
1920

One year in the life a Sand Island Fisherman

Fred Hansen

Date of Birth: June 13, 1884

Date of Death: December 27, 1939



Transcribed by his grandson Frederick Dahl

January 1920

Day and date	Entry	Low Temp	High Temp	Precipitation	Sunrise	Sunset
Thurs. 1	Cut up meat. Very cold.	-16	M	0.04	7:49	16:25
2	Same. Spent the eve at Loftfields.	-16	M	0.05	7:49	16:26
3	Same. Sawed some wood. Magnus L. spent eve here.	-17	5	0.05	7:49	16:27
Sun 4	Nothing doing.	-11	12	0	7:49	16:28
5	Skidded wood.	1	25	0.05	7:49	16:29
6	Hauled wood. Spent the eve at Hills	9	30	0.07	7:48	16:30
7	Hauled wood.	17	30	0.02	7:48	16:31
8	Hauled wood.	-2	35	"T"	7:48	16:32
9	Hauled wood.	-17	17	0	7:48	16:33
10	Sawed in woods.	-5	32	0	7:47	16:34
Sun. 11	Skated.	-1	31	0	7:47	16:36
12	In woods.	-5	38	0.08	7:47	16:37
13	Stormy. Mother died. I went to town.	7	28	0	7:46	16:38
14	Very cold. Hustled around town.	-7	28	0.02	7:46	16:39
15	Mother buried.	0	10	0.09	7:45	16:41
16	Went to Ashland in P.M.	4	17	0.02	7:44	16:42
17	Came back home.	-10	12	"T"	7:44	16:43
Sun. 18	Nothing doing.	-26	8	0	7:43	16:45
19	Hauled wood.	-14	12	0.08	7:42	16:46
20	Mended.	-9	15	0.09	7:42	16:47
21	Mended. Eve at Hills.	-14	12	0.06	7:41	16:49
22	Mended.	-14	9	"T"	7:40	16:50
23	Mended.	-6	6	0	7:39	16:52
24	Mended.	-6	2	0.03	7:38	16:53
Sun. 25	Nothing doing. Eve at Norings.	-20	10	0.06	7:37	16:55
26	Hauled some wood.	4	32	0.1	7:36	16:56
27	Hauled wood. Mended.	-12	18	0	7:35	16:58
28	Same.	-22	12	0	7:34	16:59
29	Same.	-3	38	0	7:33	17:01
30	Same.	-3	30	0	7:32	17:02
31	Same.	-16	15	0	7:31	17:04

February 1920

Day and date	Entry	Low Temp	High Temp	Precipitation	Sunrise	Sunset
Sun 1	Helped Burt Hill to put up ice.	-15	31	0	7:29	17:05
2	Through hauling wood.	26	32	0	7:28	17:07
3	Moved saw rig.	-8	27	0	7:27	17:08
4	4 Sawed wood.	-7	27	0	7:26	17:10
5	Same.	22	30	0	7:24	17:11
6	Same.	25	36	0	7:32	17:13
7	Same. Netti went to town.	26	36	0	7:21	17:14
Sun. 8	Nothing doing.	26	34	0	7:20	17:16
9	In woods.	26	34	0.04	7:19	17:17
10	Mended.	4	26	0	7:17	17:19
11	Through sawing wood at Hermans.	5	20	"T"	7:16	17:20
12	Mended.	-10	18	0	7:14	17:22
13	Mended.	-5	32	0.09	7:13	17:23
14	Mended.	-11	13	0.03	7:11	17:25
Sun. 15	Pretty good day.	-20	1	0	7:09	17:26
16	Mended. Played whist.	-11	17	0.01	7:08	17:28
17	Mended.	1	20	0.02	7:06	17:30
18	Mended.	-20	18	0	7:05	17:31
19	Mended.	-10	32	0	7:03	17:33
20	Mended.	1	26	0	7:01	17:34
21	Mended.	-3	33	0	7:00	17:36
Sun. 22	At Hills and Palms.	-3	33	0.05	6:58	17:37
23	Bess calfed.	14	25	0.02	6:56	17:39
24	Mended.	14	24	"T"	6:54	17:40
25	Mended.	3	19	"T"	6:53	17:42
26	Mended.	-15	17	0	6:54	17:43
27	Mended.	-4	24	0	6:49	17:45
28	Mended.	0	22	0.02	6:47	17:46
29	Blossom calfed.	1	26	0	6:45	17:47

March 1920

Day and date	Entry	Low Temp	High Temp	Precipitation	Sunrise	Sunset
Mon. 1	Mended.	M	"M"	"T"	6:43	17:49
2	Mended.	7	13	"T"	6:42	17:50
3	Mended. Snow storm..	6	12	0.29	6:40	17:52
4	Mended.	11	18	0.19	6:38	17:53
5	Mended.	-11	16	0	6:36	17:55
6	Mended. Card party at Johnsons.	-11	12	0	6:34	17:56
Sun. 7	Nothing doing	-12	19	0	6:32	17:58
8	Mended.	5	24	"T"	6:30	17:59
9	Went to town..	3	41	0.04	6:28	18:00
10	In town.	17	52	0	6:26	18:02
11	To Ashland and returned.	29	46	0.18	6:24	18:03
12	In town	16	32	0.09	6:23	18:05
13	Came back to island.	-2	38	0	6:21	18:06
Sun. 14	Spent eve at Norings—I, Thor, and Will Paul.	4	42	"T"	6:19	18:07
15	Started seaming.	36	55	0	6:17	18:09
16	Seamed. Played cards at Hills.	22	40	"T"	6:15	18:10
17	Seamed.	16	32	0.03	6:13	18:12
18	Smoked meat.	5	36	0	6:11	18:13
19	Seamed.	26	48	0	6:09	18:14
20	Seamed.	26	44	0	6:07	18:16
Sun. 21	Hills in P.M. Johnson's in eve.	24	51	0	6:05	18:17
22	Seamed.	29	61	0	6:03	18:19
23	Seamed.	33	59	"T"	6:01	18:20
24	Seamed.	40	62	0.05	5:59	18:21
25	Seamed.	29	47	0	5:57	18:23
26	Seamed.	31	49	0.53	5:55	18:24
27	Seamed. (She went to town today.)	19	53	0	5:53	18:25
Sun. 28	Spent P.M. at Palms.	32	58	0.19	5:51	18:27
29	Seamed.	23	41	0.03	5:49	18:28
30	Seamed.	29	45	0	5:47	18:30
31	Through seaming.	29	41	0	5:45	18:31

April 1920

Day and date	Entry	Low Temp	High Temp	Precipitation	Sunrise	Sunset
Thurs. 1	Leaded nets. (She came back.)	28	54	"T"	5:43	18:32
2	Very Stormy. Mended.	13	37	1.1	5:41	18:34
3	Same.	5	29	0.05	5:39	18:35
Sun 4	Nothing doing. Went to Hills.	-5	27	0	5:37	18:36
5	Through mending.	-1	32	0	5:35	18:38
6	Painted floor.	12	27	0.02	5:33	18:39
7	Painted. Split some wood.	2	22	0	5:31	18:40
8	Went to main store.	19	33	0	5:29	18:42
9	Got hay from Hills. Leaded nets.	22	35	0	5:28	18:43
10	Leaded nets.	22	44	"T"	5:26	18:45
Sun. 11	Spent eve at Norings.	26	48	0.05	5:24	18:46
12	Leaded nets.	18	34	0	5:22	18:47
13	Trough leading.	23	48	0	5:20	18:49
14	Put nets in tan.	28	51	0	5:18	18:50
15	Reeled.	17	47	0	5:16	18:51
16	Reeled.	20	49	0	5:14	18:53
17	Reeled.	20	46	0	5:13	18:54
Sun. 18	Walked to Lighthouse.	20	48	0	5:11	18:55
19	Grandpa came back.	26	43	0	5:09	18:57
20	Rained—didn't do much	33	38	0.3	5:07	18:58
21	Worked on engine.	33	48	0	5:05	19:00
22	Rainy. Went to Hills.	34	40	0.45	5:04	19:01
23	Painted boat. Quite cold.	33	43	0.2	5:02	19:02
24	Painted boat.	20	43	0	5:00	19:04
Sun. 25	Painted some. Rainy. Eve at Norings.	27	51	0.11	4:58	19:05
26	Started shoving Moe's boat out.	34	46	0.63	4:57	19:06
27	Turner came from Duluth.	31	43	0.22	4:55	19:08
28	Set 24 boxes. Palms in eve.	33	52	0	4:53	19:09
29	Painted skiff.	28	60	0	4:52	19:10
30	Set last gang. Launched boat.	25	57	0	4:50	19:12

May 1920

Day and date	Entry	Low Temp	High Temp	Precipitation	Sunrise	Sunset
Sat. 1	First lift about 200lbs. Stopped at Hills. Eve at Loftfields.	27	69	0	4:49	19:13
Sun.2	Nothing doing. Eve at Norings.	25	57	0	4:47	19:14
3	Good lift.	22	50	0	4:45	19:16
4	Lifted.	26	50	0	4:44	19:17
5	Lifted.	28	60	0	4:42	19:18
6	Lifted. Went to town.	34	68	0	4:41	19:20
7	Lifted.	36	71	"T"	4:39	19:21
8	Lifted.	30	72	0	4:38	19:22
Sun. 9	P..M. at Palms. Eve at Norings.	45	73	0	4:37	19:24
10	Hauled manure. Stormy.	36	47	0	4:35	19:25
11	Started plowing.	28	50	0	4:34	19:26
12	Plowed.	25	53	0	4:33	19:27
13	Lifted.	34	55	0	4:31	19:29
14	Lifted. Moved gang to bank.	21	62	0	4:30	19:30
15	Nice lift.	29	69	0	4:29	19:31
Sun. 16	Lifted. Played some ball.	31	65	0	4:28	19:32
17	Lifted.	43	60	"T"	4:26	19:34
18	Lifted.	43	70	0	4:25	19:35
19	Stormy. Fenced.	43	75	0.47	4:24	19:36
20	Same.	48	73	0.26	4:23	19:37
21	Lifted. Bred Bess.	50	74	"T"	4:22	19:38
22	Lifted. Very stormy and rain.	39	76	0.57	4:21	19:39
Sun. 23	Nothing doing. Ole was here.	50	72	0.25	4:20	19:40
24	Lifted. Planted.	32	69	0	4:19	19:42
25	Same.	40	84	0	4:18	19:43
26	Same.	48	80	"T"	4:17	19:44
27	Stormy. Lifted.	50	70	0	4:16	19:45
28	Lifted.	33	66	0	4:16	19:46
29	Lifted – nice lift.	32	81	0	4:15	19:47
Sun. 30	Picnic in West Bay.	41	85	0	4:14	19:48
31	Lifted	51	78	0.83	4:14	19:49

June 1920

Day and date	Entry	Low Temp	High Temp	Precipitation	Sunrise	Sunset
Tues 1	Stormy and rain.	43	55	1	4:13	19:50
2	Stormy.	44	63	0.02	4:12	19:50
3	Lifted.	33	66	0	4:12	19:51
4	Lifted.	37	64	"T"	4:11	19:52
5	Lifted.	45	65	0	4:11	19:53
Sun. 6	Lifted.	35	70	0	4:10	19:54
7	Lifted. Plowed.	54	87	0	4:10	19:54
8	Same. Meeting of directors (Co-op).	44	88	0	4:10	19:55
9	Plowed. Went to town and returned.	57	88	0.14	4:09	19:56
10	Lifted. Rainy.	52	88	0.63	4:09	19:56
11	Lifted. Rainy.	49	58	"T"	4:09	19:57
12	Stormy.	48	68	0.08	4:09	19:58
Sun. 13	Trolled. 36 years old today.	46	74	0	4:08	19:58
14	Lifted.	49	84	0	4:08	19:59
15	Stormy.	47	70	0.3	4:08	19:59
16	Stormy.	47	59	0	4:08	19:59
17	Lifted.	35	65	0	4:08	20:00
18	Lifted.	39	68	0	4:08	20:00
19	Nothing doing.	36	78	0	4:08	20:01
Sun. 20	More of the same.	46	81	0	4:09	20:01
21	Lifted – no fish.	50	78	0	4:09	20:01
22	Went to town and returned.	45	65	0	4:09	20:01
23	Worked in the garden.	41	81	0	4:09	20:01
24	Lifted – no fish.	40	80	0	4:10	20:01
25	Same.	41	80	0	4:10	20:01
26	Didn't lift. Through planting.	56	82	0.7	4:10	20:01
Sun. 27	Nothing doing. Heavy rains.	63	79	1.84	4:11	20:01
28	Lifted – no fish.	57	72	0.84	4:11	20:01
29	Same.	56	83	0.03	4:12	20:01
30	Same.	51	82	0	4:14	20:01

July 1920

Day and date	Entry	Low Temp	High Temp	Precipitation	Sunrise	Sunset
Thurs. 1	Lifted.	56	78	0.55	4:13	20:01
2	Lifted.	54	84	0.09	4:16	20:01
3	Lifted.	51	82	0	4:14	20:00
Sun 4	Picnic on York Island.	42	70	0	4:15	20:00
5	Lifted.	51	67	0	4:15	20:00
6	Lifted.	55	63	0.31	4:16	19:59
7	I and Magnus Loftfield left for camp trip – spent night at Herbster.	53	68	0	4:17	19:59
8	Went as far as the Brule – spent night with Andrew Anderson.	49	79	0.03	4:18	19:58
9	Arrived at Duluth 5:30 P.M. Spent night at the Spalding Hotel.	53	83	0	4:18	19:58
10	Left on return trip at 1:20 P.M. Got as far as Brule.	49	84	0	4:19	19:57
Sun. 11	Arrived home. Quite stormy. Had a very nice trip all told.	55	82	0	4:20	19:57
12	Lifted, worked in garden.	65	86	0	4:21	19:56
13	Rainy weather.	51	81	1.04	4:22	19:55
14	Stormy.	41	81	0	4:23	19:55
15	Nice lift.	40	79	0	4:24	19:54
16	Same.	40	78	0	4:25	19:53
17	Same.	39	78	"T"	4:26	19:52
Sun. 18	Nothing doing.	49	75	0	4:27	19:51
19	Lifted.	38	80	0	4:28	19:50
20	Lifted.	56	85	0	4:29	19:49
21	Lifted.	46	86	0	4:30	19:48
22	Went to town.	51	87	0	4:31	19:47
23	Started mowing.	58	75	0.27	4:32	19:46
24	Mowed.	49	71	0.28	4:33	19:45
Sun. 25	Rafted pulpwood. Hell of a day.	43	72	0	4:34	19:44
26	Stormy.	46	82	0	4:36	19:43
27	Lifted.	56	84	0.08	4:37	19:42
28	Mowed.	63	86	0.15	4:38	19:41
29	Mowed.	56	83	0	4:39	19:39
30	Lifted.	55	81	0	4:40	19:38
31	Mowed hay.	45	75	0	4:42	19:37

August 1920

Day and date	Entry	Low Temp	High Temp	Precipitation	Sunrise	Sunset
Sun. 1	Worked all day.	56	78	0	4:43	19:35
2	Lifted.	54	84	0	4:44	19:34
3	Stormy.	51	82	0	4:45	19:33
4	Lifted.	42	70	0	4:46	19:31
5	Stormy.	51	67	0	4:48	19:30
6	Nettie and kids went to town.	55	63	0.02	4:49	19:28
7	Lifted.	53	68	0	4:50	19:27
Sun. 8	Reeled.	49	79	0	4:52	19:25
9	Lifted.	53	83	0	4:53	19:24
10	Lifted.	49	84	0	4:54	19:22
11	Lifted.	55	82	0.22	4:55	19:20
12	Lifted. Stormy.	65	86	0.02	4:57	19:19
13	Same.	51	81	0	4:58	19:17
14	Through mowing.	41	81	0	4:59	19:16
Sun. 15	Nothing doing.	40	79	0	5:00	19:14
16	Lifted. Party at Bondes.	40	78	0	5:02	19:12
17	Went to town and returned.	39	78	0	5:03	19:11
18	Lifted.	49	75	0	5:04	19:09
19	Through haying.	38	80	0	5:06	19:07
20	Lifted.	56	85	0.22	5:07	19:05
21	Lifted.	46	86	0	5:08	19:03
Sun. 22	Visited the Palms, Loftfields and Norings.	51	87	0	5:10	19:02
23	Lifted. Started seaming.	58	75	0	5:11	19:00
24	Lifted – good lift.	49	71	0	5:12	18:58
25	Went to town and returned.	43	72	0	5:13	18:56
26	Seamed.	46	82	0	5:15	18:54
27	Lifted and seamed.	56	84	0	5:16	18:53
28	Lifted and seamed.	63	86	0	5:17	18:51
Sun. 29	Same (Will I ?? – I should say not).	56	83	0.87	5:19	18:49
30	Stormy.	55	81	"T"	5:20	18:47
31	Lifted.	45	75	0	5:21	18:45

September 1920

Day and date	Entry	Low Temp	High Temp	Precipitation	Sunrise	Sunset
Wed. 1	Stormy. Magnus came back from a trip.	34	66	0	5:23	18:43
2	Lifted. Telephone meeting.	30	65	0	5:24	18:41
3	Lifted.	35	68	0	5:25	18:39
4	Reeled.	43	70	0	5:26	18:37
Sun. 5	Set some nets.	45	68	0	5:28	18:35
6	Good lift	35	73	0	5:29	18:33
7	Seamed.	43	80	0	5:30	18:31
8	Lifted.	43	81	0	5:32	18:29
9	Lifted.	41	78	0	5:33	18:27
10	Lifted. Rainy. Netti in town.	46	83	0.33	5:34	18:25
11	Reeled.	52	81	0.76	5:35	18:23
Sun. 12	Nothing doing.	48	71	0.14	5:37	18:21
13	Lifted.	39	83	0	5:38	18:19
14	Went to town. Auto ride to Ashland.	60	88	0	5:39	18:17
15	Returned.	69	81	0	5:41	18:15
16	Fenced.	46	84	0	5:42	18:13
17	Stormy. (She went to town.)	40	87	0	5:43	18:11
18	Stormy.	43	67	0	5:45	18:09
Sun. 19	P.M. at Hills.	44	55	0.05	5:46	18:07
20	Lifted.	47	88	0.02	5:47	18:05
21	Lifted.	48	85	0.11	5:49	18:03
22	Stormy. Painted roof.	50	87	0	5:50	18:01
23	Lifted – no fish.	57	78	0.09	5:51	17:59
24	No fish – Hell.	60	77	0.04	5:52	18:57
25	More of same.	36	92	0	5:54	17:55
Sun. 26	Hills were here.	43	85	0	5:55	17:53
27	Stormy – worked on engine.	41	73	0	5:56	17:51
28	Stormy. Frank Shaw and Burt Hill spent the evening here.	39	63	"T"	5:58	17:49
29	Stormy.	38	50	"T"	5:59	17:47
30	Lifted.	28	53	0	6:00	17:45

October 1920

Day and date	Entry	Low Temp	High Temp	Precipitation	Sunrise	Sunset
Fri. 1	Lifted.	24	59	0	6:02	17:43
2	Lifted.	25	71	"T"	6:03	17:41
Sun. 3	Very lonesome.	39	72	"T"	6:04	17:39
4	Lifted. I and Netti went to main shore in eve.	35	66	0	6:06	17:38
5	I and Netti went to main shore and town and returned.	31	68	0	6:07	17:36
6	Lifted.	30	74	0	6:08	17:34
7	Lifted and hunted.	50	81	0	6:10	17:32
8	Stormy. Fighting fire	33	80	0	6:11	17:30
9	Same. Netti still in town.	40	73	0	6:13	17:28
Sun. 10	Smokey – nothing doing – threatening rain.	37	67	0	6:14	17:26
11	Stormy. Went to town and Washburn.	36	60	0	6:15	17:24
12	Returned and lifted.	38	80	"T"	6:17	17:22
13	Lifted.	38	74	1.18	6:18	17:20
14	Lifted.	53	60	0.4	6:19	17:18
15	Rainy.	47	65	0.81	6:21	17:17
16	Lifted.	43	71	0.1	6:22	17:15
Sun. 17	Hunted birds.	34	74	0	6:24	17:13
18	Lifted.	38	74	0	6:25	17:11
19	Lifted.	46	78	0.26	6:27	17:09
20	Lifted. Potatoes came.	60	77	0.18	6:28	17:08
21	Lifted.	55	68	0.06	6:29	17:06
22	Lifted.	50	79	0.18	6:31	17:04
23	Lifted. Hunted – 5 birds. Meeting at Hills.	40	77	0	6:32	17:02
Sun. 24	Nothing doing.	40	60	0	6:34	17:01
25	Lifted.	30	63	0	6:35	16:59
26	Lifted. Started to take the net ashore.	39	55	0.16	6:37	16:57
27	Reeled.	32	45	0.31	6:38	16:56
28	Lifted two boxes.	25	38	0.07	6:40	16:54
29	Put up storm shed.	19	49	0	6:41	16:53
30	Nothing done – I and kids went to Hills in eve.	30	59	0	6:43	16:51
Sun. 31	Pulled up last of trout nets.	35	49	0	6:44	16:49

November 1920

Day and date	Entry	Low Temp	High Temp	Precipitation	Sunrise	Sunset
Mon. 1	Very stormy.	29	39	0.27	6:45	16:48
2	Reeled.	32	40	0.23	6:47	16:46
3	Went to town.	28	49	0	6:48	16:45
4	Stormy.	35	45	0.1	6:50	16:43
5	Came back.	30	50	0	6:51	16:42
6	Butchered Bill (ox).	30	54	0	6:53	16:41
Sun. 7	Cut up meat 936 lbs. Supper at Hills.	26	58	0	6:54	16:39
8	Kegs and salt came – hard work.	25	42	0.16	6:56	16:38
9	Snow and storm.	18	35	0.53	6:57	16:37
10	Stormy.	8	25	"T"	6:59	16:35
11	Stormy.	10	21	0.14	7:00	16:34
12	Stormy.	6	21	0	7:02	16:33
13	Stormy.	11	26	0	7:03	16:32
Sun. 14	Stormy – nothing doing.	7	28	"T"	7:05	16:31
15	Set herring nets.	12	28	0	7:06	16:30
16	Lifted and pulled up my boat.	3	35	0	7:07	16:28
17	Lifted – lots of fish.	3	40	0	7:09	16:27
18	Same.	10	41	0	7:10	16:26
19	Same. Netti in town.	27	50	0	7:12	16:25
20	Stormy. Worked with herring.	34	38	0	7:13	16:25
Sun. 21	Same.	32	37	0.19	7:15	16:24
22	Same.	26	36	0	7:16	16:23
23	Same.	30	36	"T"	7:17	16:22
24	Lifted.	25	35	0	7:19	16:21
25	Lifted.	28	33	0	7:20	16:20
26	Lifted.	27	35	0	7:21	16:20
27	Lifted.	27	37	0.08	7:23	16:19
Sun. 28	What I want I get and what I get I keep is going to be my Motto.	33	42	0	7:24	16:19
29	Last lift.	31	44	0	7:25	16:18
30	Dressed and salted herring.	33	40	0	7:26	16:18

December 1920

Day and date	Entry	Low Temp	High Temp	Precipitation	Sunrise	Sunset
Wed. 1	Through with herring.	34	40	0	7:28	16:17
2	Reeled.	31	41	0	7:29	16:17
3	Didn't do much. Fix sink.	31	39	0	7:30	16:16
4	Nothing doing. I and Magnus spent evening at Hills.	31	35	"T"	7:31	16:16
Sun. 5	Shipped herring.	24	41	"T"	7:32	16:16
6	Didn't do anything.	20	36	0	7:33	16:15
7	Went to town and returned.	15	34	0	7:34	16:15
8	Pulled up Herman's boat.	6	34	0	7:35	16:15
9	Cut a little wood.	21	34	0	7:36	16:15
10	Same.	27	34	0	7:37	16:15
11	Same.	26	36	0.21	7:38	16:15
Sun. 12	Pulled up Frank Shaw's boat. I and Magnus took hike to Lighthouse Bay.	21	41	"T"	7:39	16:15
13	Sawed wood.	27	49	0.09	7:40	16:15
14	Started mending. Cold and stormy.	20	36	0.15	7:41	16:15
15	Same.	23	31	"T"	7:42	16:15
16	Same.	14	32	0	7:43	16:16
17	Same.	13	29	0.02	7:43	16:16
18	Same.	6	14	0.03	7:44	16:16
Sun. 19	Nothing doing. Played cribbage.	5	13	0.01	7:45	16:17
20	Mended	-5	20	"T"	7:45	16:17
21	Mended	-5	25	0.02	7:46	16:18
22	Mended. Very stormy.	14	30	0.24	7:46	16:18
23	Mended. Butchered pig.	5	26	0.03	7:47	16:19
24	Visited Norings most of day.	-4	10	0.02	7:47	16:19
25	Pretty slow. Magnus spent day here.	-21	9	"T"	7:47	16:20
Sun. 26	I and Magnus rambled around	7	21	0.05	7:48	16:21
27	Mended	1	15	0.01	7:48	16:21
28	Mended	-12	11	0.11	7:48	16:22
29	Anniversary of my crucifixion – what will next year bring?	9	32	0.09	7:48	16:23
30	Butchered the calf.	23	32	0.02	7:49	16:24
31	Started in the woods.	28	38	0.01	7:49	16:25

During 1920 Hansen recorded the following in regard to his catch:

	Lake Trout or White Fish (pounds)	Price Range (Cents)	Dollar Value
May	7,919	10-13	\$891.37
June	2,176	13-14	\$308.24
July	1,039	13-15	\$176.39
August	1,501	15	\$225.15
September	1,509	15-18	\$261.41
October	1,756	12-14	\$232.41
November	189	14	\$ 26.46
	Herring		\$225.00
1920 Total	16089		\$2,346.62

A 1920's U.S. dollar has an approximate value of \$10.79 in 2010. In other words a \$0.08 item in 1920 would cost \$1.00 in 2010.

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