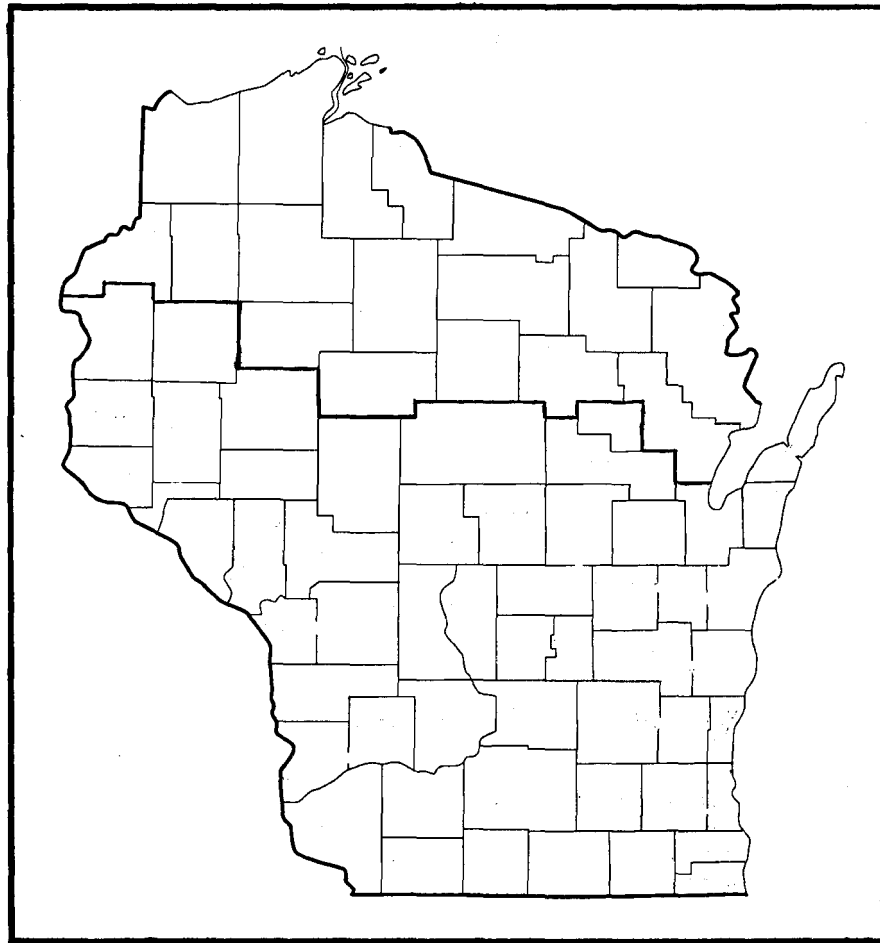


The Enduring Cutover

Contributions To The History Of Wisconsin's Northern Region

Lars Erik Larson
With Barbara A. Larson



Whitewater Wisconsin 2016

The Author

Lars Erik Larson, known as Art to family and friends in Washburn, grew up in Washburn, graduating with the class of 1947. He graduated from Superior State College in 1951, and after service in the Air Force he received advanced degrees from the University of Minnesota at Minneapolis and Cornell University at Ithaca, New York. He worked in industry as a chemist and systems analyst, and then in government, as a legislative assistant in the U.S. Senate, but most of his career was devoted to university teaching and research. He retired from the University of Wisconsin-Whitewater, where he is a member of the Emeriti Faculty.

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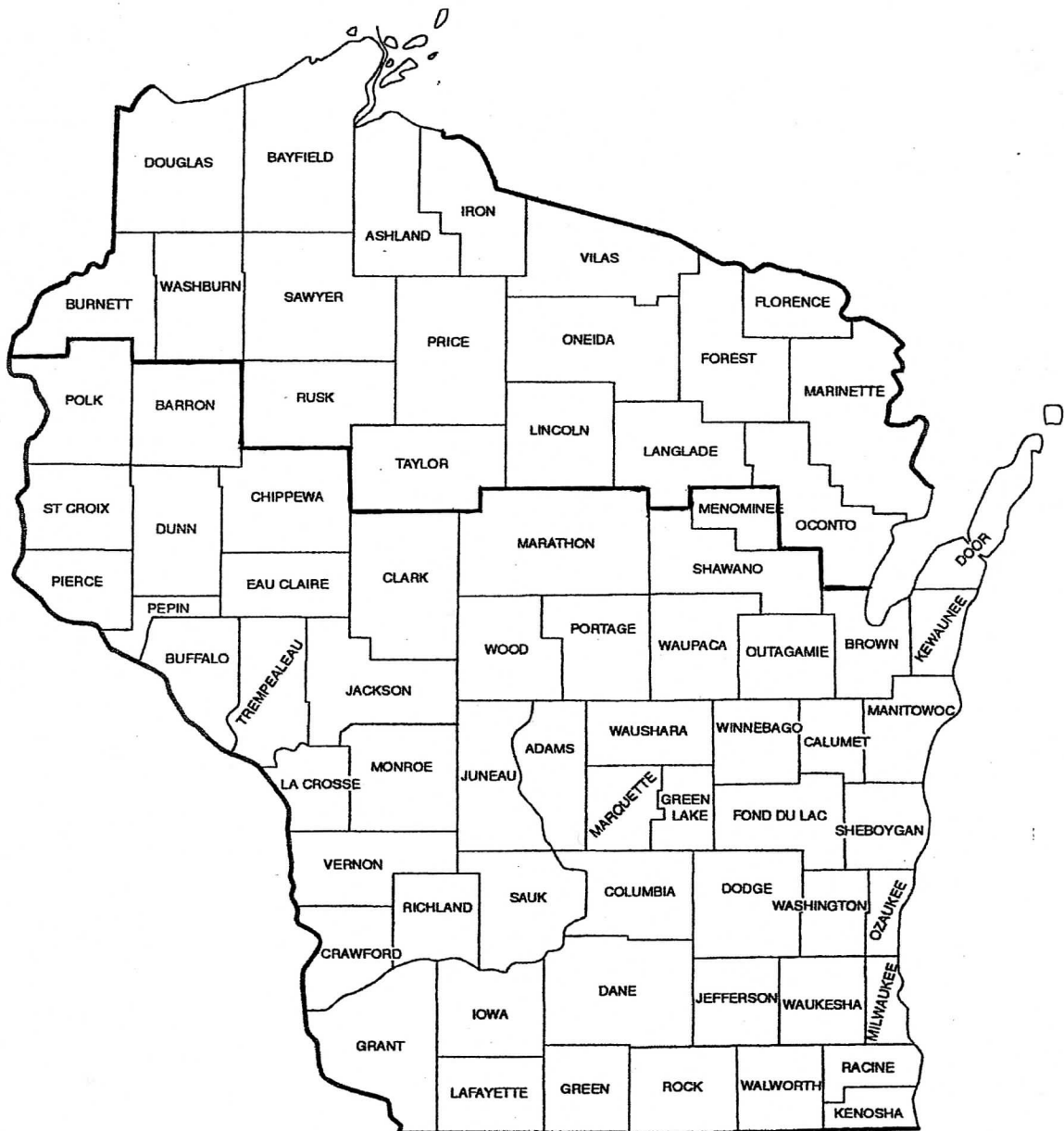
From the post-Civil War years to about 1910 the northern regions of Wisconsin, Minnesota, and Michigan were systematically plundered (clear cut) of economically valuable timber by large lumber companies. When the timber was exhausted, the companies abandoned their land, leaving a wasteland of stumps, brush, and infertile soil, referred to as the "cutover."

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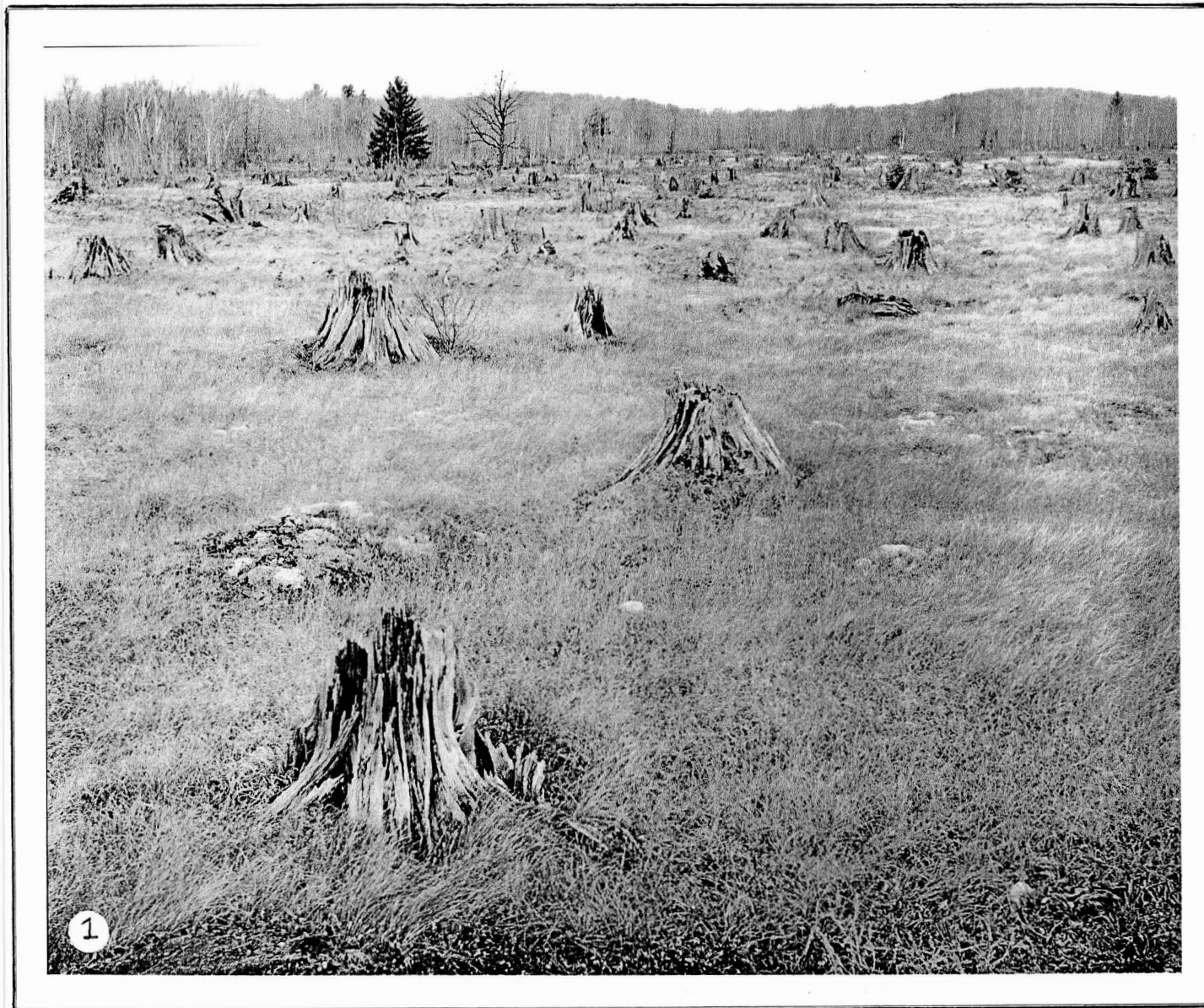
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The Cutover Region



The Northern 18 County Cutover Region



Cutover Desolation ~ Lumbering's Legacy

Geography Of The 18 Northern Counties Region

The 18 northern counties of Wisconsin form both a natural region and a socio-economic region, clearly differentiated from the remainder of the state by its unique natural and socio-economic characteristics (1). Ten of the eighteen counties, and smaller or larger parts of the other eight counties, lie in the northern highland province, a vast plain (peneplain) that stretches south from deep inside Canada. It is gently arched with a pronounced southern slope; knobs, ridges, and ranges of resistant rock rise above the plain.

As shown on the map of the geographic provinces of the state, the Superior lowland province in the far northwestern sector of the northern highland is divided into two parts by the Bayfield peninsula, a northeastward extension of the northern highland: a northern part between the peninsula and Lake Superior, and a southern part between the peninsula and the Penokee range to the south.

The northern sections of Ashland, Bayfield, Douglas, and Iron Counties are included in the Superior lowland while their southern sections extend into the northern highland. Almost all of Burnett and Washburn Counties, small western parts of Barren, Rusk, and Sawyer Counties, and central sections of Marinette and Oconto Counties are included in the central plain province. The southern parts of Marinette and Oconto Counties lie in the eastern ridges and lowlands province, characterized by ridges (cuestas) in the west, separated by a lowland from an upland adjacent to Lake Michigan. The southern boundary of the northern highland is encircled by the central plain province, a lowland which extends from the St. Croix River, in the west, to the Menominee River in the east.

For several thousand years all of the state except the southwestern driftless area was covered by an immense sheet of ice known as the Wisconsin glacier, which moved into the state from a northerly direction from spreading centers in Canada (2). This great ice sheet retreated about 10,000 years ago. The topography of the northern counties is primarily the result of glacial modification of the underlying rock, land forms created by the glacier—eskers, drumlins, kames and moraines—and post-glacial processes of erosion and deposition.

Notes

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Population History 1900-1970

Tables 1-3 show the population history of the 17 county northern region as reported in the decennial federal censuses from 1900 to 1970. As shown in Table 1, from 1900 to 1940 all the counties gained population, with Douglas, Forest, Langlade, and Oneida Counties each increasing by more than 10,000. The total population increase for the region during these four decades was 119,840 or 62.3% of the 1900 population. But from 1940 to 1970 population change reversed, with all counties except Lincoln, Oneida, Vilas and Washburn declining in population. The total net loss for the region during the three decades was 32,543 or 10.4% of the 1940 population. Over the 70 year period from 1900 to 1970 all counties except the three northern coastal counties of Ashland, Bayfield, and Iron gained population for a total net region increase of 76,137, or 39.6%, during the seven decades.

Table 2 shows that the population of the 17 county cutover region as a percentage of the state population was 9.3% by 1900, increasing to a high of 11.2% by 1920, declining to 9.9% by 1940, then precipitously decreasing to 6.3% by 1970. For the period from 1900 to 1970 the population of the northern region increased by 45.4%, while the population of the southern region grew by 120.5%.

Table 3 shows the changes in population density—persons per square mile—which paralleled changes in population size. In the northern region population density increased from 12 in 1900 to 18 in 1940, then declined to 16 in 1970. In the southern region, population density was much higher, increasing from 49 persons per square mile in 1900 to 112 in 1970. The variations in population size in the northern region were the results of the boom-and-bust cycle in which that region was trapped during and after the lumbering boom. In contrast, the steady increase in population size in the southern region reflects the urbanization and industrialization of that region, which occurred during the seven decades.

Table 1
Population History 1900-1970

<u>County</u>	<u>1900(a)</u>	<u>1910</u>	<u>1920</u>	<u>1930</u>	<u>1940</u>	<u>Change 1900-1940</u>		<u>1940</u>	<u>1950</u>	<u>1960</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>Net change 1940-1970</u>
Ashland	20,176	21,965	24,538	21,054	21,801	1,625		21,801	19,461	17,375	16,743	-5,058
Bayfield	14,392	15,987	17,201	15,006	15,827	1,435		15,827	13,760	11,910	11,683	-4,144
Burnett	7,473	9,026	10,735	10,233	11,382	3,909		11,382	10,236	9,214	9,278	-2,106
Douglas	36,335	47,422	49,771	46,583	47,119	10,784		47,119	46,715	45,008	44,657	-2,462
Florence	3,197	3,381	3,602	3,768	4,177	980		4,177	3,756	3,437	3,298	-879
Forest	1,396	6,782	9,850	11,118	11,805	10,409		11,805	9,437	7,542	7,691	-4,114
Iron	6,616	8,306	10,261	9,933	10,049	3,433		10,049	8,714	7,830	6,533	-3,516
Langlade	12,553	17,062	21,471	21,544	23,227	10,674		23,227	21,975	19,916	19,220	-4,007
Lincoln	16,269	19,064	21,084	21,072	22,536	6,267		22,536	22,235	22,338	23,499	+963
Marinette	30,822	33,812	34,361	33,530	36,225	5,403		36,225	35,748	34,660	35,810	-415
Oneida	8,875	11,433	13,996	15,899	18,938	10,063		18,938	20,648	22,112	24,427	+5,489
Price	9,106	13,795	18,517	17,284	18,467	9,361		18,467	16,344	14,370	14,520	-3,947
Rusk	(1901)	11,160	16,403	16,081	17,737	6,577		17,737	16,790	14,794	14,238	-3,499
Sawyer	3,563	6,227	8,243	8,878	11,540	7,977		11,540	10,323	9,475	9,670	-1,870
Taylor	11,262	13,641	18,045	17,685	20,105	8,843		20,105	18,456	17,843	16,958	-3,147
Vilas	4,929	6,019	5,649	7,294	8,894	3,965		8,894	9,363	9,332	10,958	+2,064
Washburn	<u>5,521</u>	<u>8,196</u>	<u>11,377</u>	<u>11,103</u>	<u>12,496</u>	<u>6,975</u>		<u>12,496</u>	<u>11,665</u>	<u>10,301</u>	<u>10,601</u>	<u>-1,895</u>
Total	192,485	253,278	295,104	288,065	312,325	119,840		312,325	295,626	277,457	279,784	-32,543

a. Includes 16 counties—Rusk County not organized.

Table 2

Percentage Of State Population

	<u>17 County northern region</u>	<u>Southern region</u>
1900	9.3%	90.7%
1910	10.9	89.1
1920	11.2	88.8
1930	9.8	90.2
1940	9.9	90.1
1950	8.6	91.4
1960	7.0	93.0
1970	6.3	93.7
1900-1970 increase	45.5%	120.5%

Table 3

<u>Year</u>	<u>17 County cutover region</u>		<u>Southern region</u>	
	<u>Population</u>	<u>Density(a)</u>	<u>Population</u>	<u>Density(a)</u>
1900(b)	192,485	12	1,876,557	49
1910(d)	253,278	15	2,080,582	56
1920	295,104	17	2,336,963	63
1930	288,065	17	2,650,941	72
1940	312,325	18	2,825,262	76
1950	295,626	17	3,138,949	85
1960	277,457	16	3,674,320	99
1970	279,782	16	4,138,151	112

- a. Population density—number of persons per square; state land area 54,314 square miles:
 —northern region 1900—16,359 square miles—30.1% of state land area
 1910-1970—17,272 square miles 31.8% of state land area
 —southern region 1900—37,955 square miles—69.9% of state land area
 1910-1970—37,042 square miles—68.2% of state land area
- b. 1900—includes 16 counties in cutover region
- c. 1910-1970—includes 17 counties in cutover region

Boom And Stagnation I 1890-1940

The geography of the 18 county region—glaciated topography, infertile soils, harsh climate, and short growing season—was a major determinant of the types of industries that replaced lumbering: agriculture, nature-based recreation, forests, forest-using industries, and mining and quarrying.

Agriculture

Despite the record breaking production of lumber as the 1890s drew to a close the people of the region began to understand that the pine forests would soon be gone, along with their way of life, and looked to agricultural settlement on the cutover lands to replace lumbering as a bulwark of their economy (1). A coalition of local interests—county officials and politicians committed to agricultural development as the new mainstay of their economies, lumber and land companies eager to dispose of their lands, under the leadership of the agriculture and rural life agencies of the university and state—carried on an energetic campaign to create what they envisioned as an “agricultural paradise,” populated by happy and prosperous farmers, on the cutover lands. Their unthinking commitment to the idea that the plow inevitably follows the axe, blinded them to the evidence that most of the cutover lands were unsuited to agriculture (2). As shown on the accompanying map from 1938, almost all of the land in the 18 county region was classified as poor (3).

One of the leading advocates of agricultural settlement of the cutover was Dean William A. Henry of the University College of Agriculture. In 1895 he obtained funds from the legislature for the publication of *A Hand-Book For The Homeseeker*, a blend of information about the conditions and requirements for farming cutover lands, and testimonials from people who had done so successfully (4). The *Hand-Book* received wide distribution (it was free), supplemented by reprinted extractions in newspapers, and it was very influential in bringing prospective farmers to the north country, providing the basic information they needed to farm the cutover land. The publication of the *Hand-Book* marked the beginning of the movement for agricultural settlement of the cutover.

From 1900 to the end of World War I, agriculture in the northern cutover region was moderately successful, supported by high agricultural prices. But with the fall of prices and demand after the war and the agricultural depression in the 1920s, farms in the cutover region could not compete in the agriculture economy. Marginal farms became subsistence farms or were abandoned, while many of the prosperous farms were reduced to marginal operations. The advocates of agricultural settlement of the cutover finally realized what their critics had been telling them for years, that most of the cutover land was unsuited for farming. Symbolic of this change in perspective was the comment in 1928 of Dean Harry L. Russell of the College of Agriculture that “The belief was long held that the plow would follow the woodman’s axe and that much of these timbered [cutover] areas would be ultimately in golden grain and rich green alfalfa and clover. Now we know there is time to grow one or more crops of pulp or lumber before these underdeveloped acres that are suitable for cropping will be needed for farm use,” about as close to an admission of failure as could be expected from this assiduous champion of cutover settlement (5).

The recognition that the drive to create an agriculture paradise in the northland had failed was followed by a reversal of that policy. Rather than being encouraged to go to the cutover region, people were discouraged from doing so, while the university’s energetic program of land clearing and its other activities that encouraged cutover settlement were abandoned. But people could not be forbidden from coming to the cutover region to farm, so the problem confronting the counties was

how to prevent them from settling on land unsuitable for agriculture in order to avoid adding to the counties' burden of impoverished and abandoned homesteads. The solution was provided by a rural zoning law, signed by the governor in August 1929, which permitted counties to zone their land for agriculture, forestry, and recreation (6).

The information in the following tables illustrates the size and value of the agricultural industry in the 18 county region compared to the 53 county region, for selected years from 1900 to 1940. As shown in Table 1, from 1900 to 1940 the number of farms in the 18 county region increased every decade, for a total increase of 20,194 farms, or 178.1%, during the four decades (7). While the total population of the region increased by 55.9% from 1930 to 1940, the farm population percentage remained at 41.2%, reflecting a shift to farming (or to the rural areas) during the depression decade. In the 53 county region, during the same period, the number of farms decreased by 3,164, or by 2.0%, while the population increased by 51.1%, and the percentage of the farm population of the total population declined from 28.3% in 1930 to 26.2% in 1940. The urban population in this region grew rapidly during these four decades, for example, the population of Milwaukee increased by 106%, that of Madison by 252%, and that of Wausau by 122%. The difference in the density of farms between the two regions is highlighted on the accompanying map, showing the distribution of farms in the state in 1934 (8).

As shown in Table 2, the average farm size in the 18 county region was smaller than that of farms in the 53 county region, the average for the 40 year period being 108 acres in the former region and 121 acres in the latter region. The average value of farms was also substantially lower in the 18 county region, varying from 39.2% of the value of farms in the 53 county region in 1900, to a high of 57.5% in 1930, then declining to 49.7% in 1940.

Table 3 shows the ranking of each of the 18 counties among the 71 counties in the state, in terms of average gross farm income in 1933 and 1942 (9). In both years Oconto ranked the lowest at 47th and 50th respectively, and Vilas County the highest at 71st among the 71 counties. While there were changes in the county ranking in the nine years between 1933 and 1942, in both years all of the counties that ranked from 59th to 71st among the state's 71 counties in terms of gross farm income were in the 18 county region (except Adams County, which ranked 60th in 1933 and 61st in 1942). Table 4 shows the counties with the largest and smallest number of farms, total cropland acres, and average farm value in 1900, 1920, and 1940. The range of these three measures in all three years is quite large—in 1940, for example, Taylor County had 3,310 farms and Florence County 507 farms, Marinette County had 106,166 total cropland acres and Vilas county 8,563 acres, while the average farm value in Langlade County was \$4,898 and \$2,345 in Sawyer County.

Among the consequences of the failed drive for agricultural settlement of the cutover were numerous failed and destitute farms scattered across the cutover. According to the 1940 federal agricultural census, the 18 county region, with only 18.9% of the 186,735 farms in the state, included 919, or 45.1% of the abandoned farms in the state (10). That this figure may be too low is suggested by the numbers of abandoned farms in seven of the 18 counties, as shown in Table 5 (11). These counties alone included 1,588 abandoned farms, ranging from Ashland County with 28 abandoned farms to 528 in Lincoln County. Outside employment was common among farmers in the 18 county region, particularly the practice of farming in the summer and working in logging camps, or in other forest employment, in the winter. Among the counties in the 18 county region, the range of outside employment in 1929 was from 30% to 69% and in 1934 from 69% to 41%, compared to 12% to 62% in 1929 and 10% to 62% in 1934, in the 53 county region (12).

Although agriculture was the largest industry in the 18 county region in terms of the proportion of the population involved, and was relatively prosperous in some counties, overall it was a small and low value industry, and could not replace lumbering as the major component of the region's economic base.

Table 1

	<u>1900</u>	<u>1910</u>	<u>1920</u>	<u>1930</u>	<u>1940</u>	<u>1900-1940</u>
			<u>18 County region</u>			
Number of farms	11,336	18,503	26,112	26,794	31,530	20,194
% Change		63.2%	41.1%	2.6%	17.7%	178.1%
% Farm population of total population				41.2%	41.2%	
			<u>53 County region</u>			
Number of farms	158,369	158,624	163,183	154,973	155,205	3,164
% Change		0.2%	2.9%	-5.0%	0.2%	2.1%
% Farm population of total population				28.3%	26.2%	

Table 2

	<u>1900</u>	<u>1910</u>	<u>1920</u>	<u>1930</u>	<u>1940</u>
			<u>18 County region</u>		
Average acres/farm (a)	107	113	102	109	110
Average farm value (b)	\$1,953	\$3,711	\$7,148	\$5,843	\$3,457
% 53 County region farm value	39.2%	43.8%	47.0%	57.5%	49.7%
			<u>53 County region</u>		
Average acres/farm (a)	118	120	119	122	125
Average farm value (b)	\$4,986	\$8,476	\$15,202	\$10,163	\$6,956

(a) Includes cultivated and uncultivated acres.

(b) Not adjusted for inflation.

Table 3

<u>1933</u>		<u>1942</u>		<u>1933</u>		<u>1942</u>		<u>Rank*</u>
<u>Counties</u>	<u>Farm Gross Income</u>	<u>Rank*</u>	<u>Farm Gross Income</u>	<u>Rank*</u>	<u>Counties</u>	<u>Farm Gross Income</u>	<u>Rank*</u>	
Ashland	\$661	61	\$1,296	62	Marinette	\$832	51	56
Bayfield	644	62	1,241	63	Oconto	898	47	50
Burnett	631	63	1,652	60	Oneida	591	66	64
Douglas	614	65	1,098	68	Price	475	69	66
Florence	682	58	1,173	65	Rusk	808	53	55
Forest	625	64	1,026	69	Sawyer	502	68	67
Iron	417	70	964	70	Taylor	723	57	57
Langlade	775	56	2,342	53	Vilas	399	71	71
Lincoln	676	59	1,769	58	Washburn	578	67	59

*rank among 71 counties

Table 4

<u>Largest</u>			<u>Smallest</u>	
		<u>1900</u>		<u>1900</u>
Number of farms	Burnett	1,198	Forest	59
Total cropland acres	Marinette	47,126	Forest	1,573
Average farm value	Douglas	\$2,810	Price	\$1,297
		<u>1920</u>		<u>1920</u>
Number of farms	Marinette	2,531	Florence	349
Total cropland acres	Marinette	107,444	Vilas	9,726
Average farm value	Washburn	\$8,964	Price	\$4,953
		<u>1940</u>		<u>1940</u>
Number of farms	Taylor	3,310	Florence	507
Total cropland acres	Marinette	106,166	Vilas	8,563
Average farm value	Langlade	\$4,898	Sawyer	\$2,345

Table 5

<u>County</u>		<u>No. of Farms</u>	<u>Abandoned Farms</u>
Ashland	1929-30	1,087	28
Forest	1931	534	75
Lincoln	1926	1,755	402
Marinette	1928-29	2,307	528
Oneida	1930	768	176
Taylor	1930	2,464	105
Washburn	1932	<u>1,341</u>	<u>274</u>
		10,256	1,588

Endnotes

1. The principal sources on the agricultural settlement of northern Wisconsin are:

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2. The “cutover” refers to the 17 contiguous counties of northern Wisconsin, encompassing about one-third of the area of the state, which were clear-cut, or denuded of timber, during the lumbering boom in this region from the post-Civil War years to about 1910. The idea that the axe clears the way for the plow, underlay the policies regarding the disposal of public timberlands—clear the forests to make way for the farmer. Some commentators have suggested that the lumber companies provided a great economic service by converting into a valuable product a resource—timber—which would have been wasted in the unstoppable drive for agricultural settlement. But the axiom failed in the north country for while the axe did its job well, farmers found little fertile soil for their plows.

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(farm value includes land, buildings implements, machines, livestock.)

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By Counties: 1940.
8. Map no. VIII between pp. 34-35 in *The Cutover Region Of Wisconsin* 1939.
9. 1933—Wisconsin Crop And Livestock Reporting Service.
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Sixteenth Census Of the United States: 1940 Agriculture.
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University of Wisconsin, College of Agriculture, Extension Service.
Madison: May 1931, Farms Map, p. 8.

For Farms Maps showing abandoned farms for other “Making The Most” counties,” see the reports for Ashland County, p. 14; Marinette County, p.11; Oneida County, p.12; Taylor County, p.5.
12. Wisconsin Crop Reporting Service.
Wisconsin Agriculture.
Statistical Bulletin No. 188, Figures 15, 16, p.12.
Madison: May 1938.

Recreation

The recreation industry was built on those natural features of the region that had defeated all attempts to establish a prosperous agricultural economy.

In June 1930, an official of the state highway commission declared in an article in the *Wisconsin Magazine*, that “Tourist business has always meant much to Wisconsin. Indications are that it will mean much more in the future. . .” (1). Indeed, tourism and recreation was a big business, not only in Wisconsin but across the nation (2). This national tourism boom began after World War I when the *means* became available to meet a growing *need* for popular recreation. The need was created by the desire of people to escape the stresses, impersonality and unhealthiness of life in the great industrial and urban centers that emerged in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. If only for a time, they wanted to get away, to relax, renew themselves, see great and wonderful things, and perhaps to experience life as they imagined it should be lived. The means were provided by the availability of cheap and reliable automobiles, a national network of good roads, more leisure time because of shorter working hours and vacations, and the development of recreational areas and facilities. “For the first time, the encounter with nature”—that is, recreation in a natural setting—“was identified as a commodity that could be defined and administered” and commercially exploited (3).

Nowhere in Wisconsin was the tourist and recreation business more important than in the north country (4). This region did not have the spectacular beauty of the mountains and deserts of the west, but the quiet grandeur of vast forests, dappled with countless lakes and streams, and teeming with wildlife. (5). In this vast natural sanctuary the tourist could find solitude, breathe clean air, hike, swim, hunt and fish, and be restored in body and spirit. Northern Wisconsin had been a tourist destination since before the Civil War. In June 1854 La Pointe, a small village on the southwest end of Madeline Island, was praised as “the most delightful situation on Lake Superior” in a New York newspaper. Many people came by steamer from the cities on the lower lakes to enjoy the “delightful situation,” staying at the Madeline House near the harbor (6). After the Civil War, the sumptuous Chequamegon Hotel in Ashland, opened in August 1877, became a mecca for tourists, health seekers, and businessmen, as did the less pretentious Island View Hotel in Bayfield, opened in July 1883. People arrived by lake steamer and on the Wisconsin Central Railroad, which reached Ashland in June 1877, and the Omaha Railroad, which arrived in Bayfield in October 1883. The guest register for the Island View Hotel for a July day in 1883, for example, included the names of people from New Castle, Pennsylvania; Richmond, Virginia; Ann Arbor, Michigan; Detroit, Chicago, and St. Louis; as well as from many Wisconsin cities, including Ashland and Bayfield itself (7). But the people who came to enjoy the natural beauty and clean air of the north country were the well-to-do and the famous, for tourism was an upper class activity, far beyond the limited means and free time of working people.

This changed after the World War I when the nation-wide tourism boom brought larger numbers of people from all walks of life to the north country. Accustomed to having their natural resources pillaged and carried away for the benefit of people elsewhere, the people of the north country quickly realized that tourists would come to them to enjoy the one natural resource they had left—a vast and dramatic wilderness—and pay for the privilege. Businessmen, communities, and counties quickly moved to advertise the north country as a tourist destination and to provide the accommodations and facilities, which the tourists would require, ranging from full-service resorts to campsites with “house trailers,” lodges, and rustic cabins in between. By 1932 “Organized hospitality or the entertainment of tourists as a business,” was an important industry in the 18

county area. By that year, for example, in seven of the northern counties, there were 300 hotels and resorts, 5,056 summer homes and cottages, and 104 camps and clubs, as shown in the following table (8).

<u>County</u>	<u>Hotel and resorts</u>	<u>Summer homes and cottages</u>	<u>Camps and clubs</u>
Ashland—1930	10	118	1
Forest—1931	19	182	4
Marinett—1929	28	220	22
Oneida—1931	94	1,981	31
Taylor—1931	2	90	1
Vilas	127	2,014	42
Washburn—1932	<u>20</u>	<u>451</u>	<u>3</u>
	300	5,056	104

In addition to resorts, cottages, and cabins, there were three state parks and nine county parks, which provided campgrounds and other facilities for tourists (9). Indeed, by the mid-1930s almost the entire 18 county region was covered by national, state and county forests and parks, as shown on the accompanying map of recreational areas (10).

There were several organizations devoted to promoting tourism in the north county. Prominent among them was Wisconsin Land O' Lakes Association, founded in 1922, which had an office in Chicago to serve Illinois tourists, who made up the majority of visitors to the region (11). The state supported tourism through forests and parks, highways, conservation of forests and waters, stocking lakes and streams with fish, and regulation of tourist accommodations. After much debate, a recreation publicity department was established in the Conservation Department in 1936 to promote tourism in the state (12).

Many among the new wave of tourists were "auto-campers." Auto-camping—called "gypsying" because of the freedom it provided—was popular among the well-to-do even before the war (13). They packed their expensive automobiles with elaborate camping outfits and camped anywhere the road took them. Now the worker with a few days off loaded his "tin lizzie" with a piece of canvas or possibly even a tent, some utensils from the kitchen and a couple of boxes of groceries, and he and his family were free to go anywhere and do what they wanted. While some auto-campers liked the adventure of camping along side of the road, in a farmer's field, or on an isolated place in the forest, most preferred prepared the campsites with a minimum of facilities provided by municipalities or the government forests and parks.

While tourists could not carry away the natural beauty of the north country, they could, and did, diminish it. Through ignorance, negligence, stupidity, and plain willfulness, they damaged or destroyed flowers, shrubs, and trees, littered the forest, roads and campsites, started forest fires, and damaged or destroyed public and private property, while a few posed serious security threats to other tourists and to local residents. In response, cities and villages began to charge fees for camping and to regulate campsites; farmers fenced their land and posted no trespassing signs; and the county and state parks also began to charge fees and regulate campsites (14).

The accompanying maps show the distribution of resort, hotels, and tourist cabins in the 18 county region in 1939 (15). In the eastern part of the 18 region, there were 213 resort hotels and 255 tourist

cabins, located in the eastern half of Iron County and in Vilas, Oneida, Lincoln, Forest, Marinette, and Langlade Counties, for a total of 468 or 64.1% of the 730 accommodations in the region. All but a few of these accommodations were located in Iron, Vilas, Oneida, Lincoln, and Langlade Counties. These five counties included 11,060, or 42.3%, of the 534,391 water acres in the 18 county region, and 4,509, or 41.5%, of the 10,854 inland lakes in the region. Together they comprised the northern highland lake district of the state. In the western part of the region there were 89 resort hotels and 173 tourist cabins in Ashland, Burnett, Bayfield, Douglas, Sawyer, Iron, Price, Taylor, and Washburn counties, for a total of 262, or 35.9%, of all accommodations. There were also a few resort hotels and tourist cabins scattered among six of the other counties with Florence County having no tourist accommodations whatsoever. In addition to these accommodations there were summer homes, cottages, and hundreds of public and private campgrounds in the region, while many people rented rooms in "tourist homes," or what today would probably be called "bed-and-breakfasts." After World War I the recreation industry developed into a major component of the economy of the 18 county region, compensating somewhat for the post-war decline of agriculture.

Endnotes

1. Torkelson, M.W.
 “Wisconsin Must Make A Strong And Attractive Bid For Great Tourist Trade of Northwest.”
Wisconsin Magazine.
 v. 8, June 1930, 12-13, 23.

“Behold The Tourist.”
Wisconsin Magazine.
 v. 6, June 1928, 158-159.

Selected entries from detailed statistics about “foreign” or out-of-state tourists entering Wisconsin on state trunk highways in 1923, 1925, 1927 and 1929, included in the preceding articles, are shown in the following table, providing an impressionistic picture of this important component of the emerging tourist industry. People stayed in the state about nine days, spending approximately ten dollars a day per car. The most important reasons for coming to Wisconsin were on vacation and to see the scenery, followed by visiting friends and relatives, fishing and business. Illinois was the most heavily represented state followed distantly by Minnesota, Michigan and other upper Midwest states. Most Illinois people probably came from Chicago, which was a favorite destination (along with Milwaukee) of young people from Wisconsin seeking employment during the 1920s and 1930s and may account for the relatively large proportion of people who came to the state to visit friends and relatives.

Out of States Cars Entering Wisconsin On Trunk Highways

	<u>1923</u>	<u>1925</u>	<u>1927</u>	<u>1929</u>
No. of cars entering state per day	6,666	9,060	11,423	14,071
No. of persons entering state per day	24,398	32,254	40,095	46,997
No. of cars tabulated	1,073	597	1,407	1,012
No. of persons tabulated	3,927	2,125	4,939	3,380
Average stay per car—days	10.8	8.48	9.9	9.27
Expenditure per car per day	\$11.72	\$10.05	\$9.90	\$10.31
Reasons for coming to Wisconsin				
Scenery	26.1%	17.6%	20.6%	19.6%
Vacation	24.3	23.8	25.8	24.6
Visit friends and relatives	12.5	17.4	20.0	20.7
Fishing	8.7	6.4	6.3	6.8
Business	6.9	9.7	9.7	11.8
States represented				
Illinois	63.0%	49.0%	49.0%	
Minnesota	7.2	9.4	14.0	
Michigan	6.7	5.9	11.0	
Iowa	8.0	6.2	7.0	
Indiana	3.4	4.4	3.0	
Ohio	2.5	3.0	2.0	
All others	9.2	22.1	14.0	

2. Recreation became a national movement after World War I, encouraged by government officials and private organizations such as the National Parks Association. Herbert Hoover, an avid fisherman, was an energetic supporter of the movement, both as Secretary of Commerce under Presidents Warren G. Harding and Calvin Coolidge, and later as President—see:

Krog, Carl E.

“Organizing The Production Of Leisure; Herbert Hoover And The Conservation Movement In The 1920’s.”

Wisconsin Magazine of History.

v. 67, Spring 1984, 199-218.

Graves, Henry S.

“A Crisis In National Recreation.”

American Forestry.

v. 26, July 1920, 391-400.

Kneipp, L.F.

“Forest Recreation Comes Of Age.”

American Forests And Forest Life.

v. 36, July 1930, 415-418.

On the important contribution of the Civilian Conservation Corps to the development of recreational facilities across the nation, see:

The Civilian Conservation Corps And Public Recreation.

Federal Security Agency, Civilian Conservation Corps.

Washington: 1941.

Recreational Developments By The CCC In National And State Forests.

Emergency Conservation Work.

Washington: 1936.

3. Kates, James.

Planning A Wilderness; Regenerating The Great Lakes Cutover Region.

Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2001, p. 90.

4. For a history and analysis of recreation and tourism in the north country, see:

Bawden, Timothy Todd.

Reinventing The Frontier: Tourism, Nature and Environmental Change In Northern Wisconsin, 1880-1930.

Phd dissertation, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 2001.

Shapiro, Aaron Alex.

One Crop Worth Cultivating: Tourism In The Upper Great Lakes, 1910-1965.

PhD dissertation, University of Chicago, 2005.

Shapiro, Aaron Alex.

“Up North On Vacation; Tourism And Resorts In Wisconsin’s North Woods, 1900-1945.”
Wisconsin Magazine of History.
v. 89, Summer 2006, 3-13.

Also pertinent are the following:

The Cutover Region Of Wisconsin; Report Of Conditions And Recommendations For Rehabilitation.
Wisconsin State Planning Board, Bulletin No. 7.
Madison: January 1939.

Forest Land Use In Wisconsin.
Report of the Committee on Land Use and Forestry.
Madison: Executive Office, April 1932.

Moore, Judith L. and James P. Gilligan.
The Wisconsin Recreation-Tourism Industry: An Annotated Bibliography.
Madison: Center for Recreation Resources Development, University Extension, University of Wisconsin, 1970.

A Park, Parkway And Recreational Area Plan.
Wisconsin State Planning Board and Wisconsin Conservation Commission.
Madison: January 1939.

Wehrwein, George Simon and Kenneth H. Parsons.
Recreation As Land Use.
University of Wisconsin, Agricultural Experiment Station, Bulletin 422.
Madison: 1932.

5. In the 18 county region, there are 10,854 inland lakes, covering 461,695 acres, or 3.8% of the total area of the region. Vilas County has the largest number of lakes, 1,318, covering 93,889 acres, or 14.4% of the total area of the county, while Ashland County has the fewest, 157, covering 5,936 acres, less than 1.0% of the total area of the county. Seventy-two percent of Wisconsin’s inland lakes are located in the 18 county region. “Land And Inland Lake Area Of Wisconsin Counties.” Wisconsin *Blue Book 1997-1998*. P. 655.
6. Ross, Hamilton Nelson.
La Pointe—Village Outpost.
St. Paul: North Central Publishing Company, 1960, 119-120.
7. “Shout The Glad Tidings.”
Ashland Weekly Press, June 9 1877.

“Opening Of The Chequamegon.”
Ashland Weekly Press, August 4 1877.

Bayfield County Press, July 14 1883.

“Linked At Last.” *Bayfield County Press*, October 13 1883. The Omaha was the Chicago, St. Paul, Milwaukee and Omaha Railroad.

For a survey of early resorts and tourism in northern Wisconsin, see Bawden 2001, c. 4.

8. “Making The Most” counties:
Ashland County, pp. 25-27, map p. 26;
Forest County, p. 13, map p. 12;
Marinette County, p. 17, map p. 18;
Oneida County, pp. 9-11, map p. 10;
Taylor County, p. 15;
Washburn County, p. 7;

Forest Land Use In Wisconsin 1932, Table 30, p. 66.

Also see:

Espeseth, Edmund C.
“Early Vilas County—Cradle Of An Industry.”
Wisconsin Magazine of History.
v. 37, Autumn 1953, 27-54.

Loden, Connie.
“Iron County Tourism History Rooted In Forest Resources.”
Proceedings Of Twenty-second Annual Meeting Of Forest History Association Of Wisconsin. .
Woodruff, Wisconsin, October 3-4 1997.

9. State and county parks in the 18 county region in acres:

	State <u>Parks</u>	County <u>Parks</u>
Ashland	1,200	
Bayfield		75
Burnett		63
Douglas	1,140	1,170
Iron		258
Lincoln		138
Marinette		558
Oconto		229
Rusk		13
Sawyer	125	
Taylor		170
Total acres	2,465	2,674

Among The State Parks And Forests Of Wisconsin.
Wisconsin Conservation Department.
Madison: 1936.

Vanderwall, E.J.
“Historical Background Of The Wisconsin State Park System.”
Wisconsin Conservation Department
Madison: 1953.

Survey Of County Parks.
Wisconsin Conservation Department and State Planning Board.
Madison: 1951.

Ahlgren, Carol.
“The Civilian Conservation Corps And Wisconsin State Park Development.”
Wisconsin Magazine of History.
v. 71, Spring 1988, 184-204.

Forest Land Use In Wisconsin 1932, pp. 70-72.

Gough 1997, pp. 169-170.

The first state park was Interstate State Park, established by Wisconsin and Minnesota on the St. Croix River Dalles in 1900. Pattison State Park in Douglas County was established in 1920, Copper Falls State Park in Ashland County in 1929, and Ojibwa Roadside Park in Sawyer County in 1932.

10. Plate I, p. 10, in *A Park, Parkway And Recreational Area Plan*, 1939.
11. On organizations and magazines promoting tourism in northern Wisconsin, see Shapiro 2005, pp. 62-68; Bawden 2001, pp. 211-217.
12. Shapiro 2005, pp. 84-89. Publications promoting Wisconsin recreation and tourism include:

Isabella, N.M.
“What Tourist Business Means To Wisconsin.”
Badger Highways.
v. 1, September 1925, 3.

Kipp, Duane H.
“Why Wisconsin Stretches Forth The Hand Of Welcome To Tourists From Everywhere.”
Wisconsin Magazine.
v. 8, June 1930, 3-5, 14.

McCauley, C.J.
“In The Wake Of The Tourist.”
Wisconsin Magazine.
v. 6, April 1928, 81.

Steeholm, Hardy.
“Wisconsin Calls.”
Wisconsin Magazine.
v. 6, February 1928, 27-30, 47.

Wehrwein, George S.
“This Business Of Recreation.”
Wisconsin Magazine.
v. 8, April 1931, 5-6.

“Wisconsin—A Golfer’s Paradise.”
Wisconsin Magazine;
v. 6, June 1928, 151.

“Wisconsin—Land Of Health And Happiness.”
Wisconsin Department of Agriculture and Markets, Bulletin No. 104, 1929.

This publication attempted to counter the negative view of the cutover as a wasteland, declaring “But it is ridiculous to say that uncultivated cut-over areas are idle lands; they are very much alive and show more activity than those who refer to them as lazy areas. Aside from barrens and, whether furnishing tax revenue or not, there is hardly an acre that falls down on its job of adding something to the wealth of the state”—pp. 34-36.

“Wisconsin The Beautiful.”
Madison: Wisconsin State Conservation Commission, 1926.

13. On auto-camping, see:

Belasco, Warren James.
Americans On The Road; From Autocamp To Motel, 1910-1945.
Cambridge: MIT Press, 1979.

May, Earl Chapin.
“The Argonauts Of The Automobile.”
Saturday Evening Post.
v. 197, August 9 1924, 25, 89-90, 92.

Jessup, Elon.
“Flight Of The Tin Can Tourists.”
Outlook.
v. 128, May 25 1921, 166-169.

Auto-campers were referred to as “tin can tourists” because they depended on canned goods for their food. For the contrast between the “gypsying” of those of moderate means and the “touring” of the more privileged classes, see:

Clark, Lawrence S.
“Six Weeks in A Ford.”
Outing.
v. 80, July 1922, 162-164.

Johnston, Alexander.
“America: Touring Ground Of the World.”
County Life.
v. 37, January 1920, 25-34.

14. Belasco 1979, pp. 116-127.

Evison, Herbert.
“The Problem Of The Gypsy Automobilist.”
American Forests And Forest Life.
v. 31, May 1925, 273-274.

Wehrwein, George S.
“Some Problems Of Recreational Land.”
Journal of Land and Public Utility Economics.
v. 3, May 1927, 163-172.

15. Plate V, Resort Hotels, p. 34; Plate VI, Tourist Cabins, p. 35, in *A Park, Parkway And Recreational Area Plan*, January 1939.

Mining And Quarrying

A small mining and quarrying industry—the extraction of mineral and stone resources—supplemented the four major economic sectors (1). The most abundant mineral resource was the iron ore deposits in the Gogebic Range in Iron County and the Menominee Range in Florence County (2). By the 1880s there were eight mines, between Hurley westward to Upsan, with one more opened in 1912, as shown in Table 2 (3). By 1913 six of the small mines had closed, while a seventh shut down in 1932. Only the Cary mine and Montreal mine operated continually from their establishment until they closed, the Montreal mine in 1962 and the Cary mine in 1965 (4). Ore from these mines was transported to Ashland by rail for shipment to the steel making centers on the lower lakes. On the Menominee Range in Florence County, there were three mines near the city of Florence, one of which opened in 1914 and closed in 1929 and another opened in 1880 and closed in 1931 (5). A third mine, the Commonwealth mine, established in 1880, operated throughout the 1930s but closed in 1943. Ore from these mines was transported to Escanaba, Michigan for lake shipment.

Table 1

<u>Mine</u>	<u>Mine opened</u>	<u>Last shipment</u>
Atlantic	1887	1913
Cary	1886	1965
Germania	1885	1912
Hennepin-Snyder	1888	1906
Iron Belt	1888	1912
Montreal	1886	1962
Pence-Hennepin	1888	1912
Plumer	1912	1932
Shores	1896	1899

In Ashland County black granite was quarried at a location near Mellen (6). In October 1930, 125 men were employed at the quarry, with a payroll of from \$15,000 to \$20,000 a month. No other information regarding the operation of this quarry is available, but it probably was worked only sporadically during the 1930s. Granite was also quarried near Amberg in Marinette County, but no information is available regarding employment or years of operation (7). There are also extensive sand and gravel deposits throughout the 18 county region, heavily exploited by the construction industry.

Endnotes

1. On mining and quarrying in Wisconsin, see:

Roe, Lawrence A.
A History Of Wisconsin Mining
Madison: Roeco, 1991.

Smith, William Stuart.
Development Of Iron Mining In Wisconsin.
BA thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1923.

2. The westward extension of the Gogebic Range from Michigan into Wisconsin is known as the Penokee Range. Due to the lower proportions of iron in the ore and the deep overburden of glacial drift, there has been no significant mining in Ashland and Bayfield Counties. The Menominee Range is a localized outcrop of the extensive ore deposits in that range in the southwestern Upper Peninsula. For brief descriptions of these ranges, see:

The Lake Superior Iron Ore Association.
Lake Superior Iron Ores.
Cleveland: 1938. Pp. 18-20, 35-45.

Other reports on iron ore in northern Wisconsin include:

Crowell and Murray, Inc.
The Iron Ores Of Lake Superior.
Cleveland: The Penton Press Company, 1911, 1917, 1927.

3. Lake Superior Iron Ore Association.
Lake Superior Iron Ores; Mining Directory And Statistical Record Of The Lake Superior Iron Ore District Of The United States And Canada.
Cleveland: 1952. Pp. 53-63.

Roe 1991, 39.

See also:

U. S. Works Projects Administration.
History Of Iron County, Wis.
Hurley, WI: Iron County WPA Historical Project, 1937-8. Pp. 287-302.

Connors, Dean.
Going For The Iron: How Iron Was Discovered In Far Northeastern Wisconsin.
Friendship, WI: New Past Press, 1994.

Map Of The Gogebic Iron Range: Showing All The Mines And Their Location, From Hurley To Bladder Lake, On West End Of The Range.
Milwaukee: Milwaukee Mining Exchange, 1887.

4. No ore shipments were made from the Montreal mine in 1921 and the Cary mine in 1932.

5. *Lake Superior Iron Ores* 1952, 107-128.
6. University of Wisconsin. Extension Service.
Making The Most Of Ashland County Land.
Madison: October 1930. Pp. 22-23.

Cordua, William S.
“Mellen Black Granite.”
Leaverite News.
v. 20, no. 4, p. 5.

7. “Amberg, Wisconsin.”
Wikipedia, Encyclopedia.

Forests

When the first settlers arrived in America from England they encountered at the water's edge a vast forest canopy that stretched almost unbroken to the prairies of the midwest, far exceeding the patchy woods and thin forests to which they were accustomed in their homeland. They viewed the forest as both an evil and a good—evil because it was dark, sinister, and foreboding, the abode of wild animals, Indians, and malevolent spirits, and an obstacle to settlement; good because it provided the material to build and heat their houses, and for a thousand other practical purposes (1). By cutting down the forests they were both extirpating the evil and reaping the good. So began the great deforestation of the nation, the relentless annihilation of the forests as settlement moved slowly but inexorably westward.

When the tide of settlement reached Wisconsin in the first quarter of the 19th century, the clearing of the forests continued unabated. The destruction of the state's forests was generally considered as an unalloyed good, clearing land for settlement, providing cheap building materials, and creating prosperity for practically everyone, benefits which would continue indefinitely because it was assumed that the forests were inexhaustible (2). Few suggested that the forests should be conserved, or that by eliminating the forests irreparable harm was being done to the air, soil, and water and to wild creatures. By 1930 almost half of the state's forest had been cleared for agriculture or timber harvesting.

Among the dissenters from this commonly held view were members of the State Horticultural Society, including Increase A. Lapham. A well-known scientist and naturalist, Lapham prepared a study of Wisconsin's forests in 1855 that was published in the Society's *Transactions* (3). He sounded the alarm for the first time about the rapid exploitation of the state's forests then going on, and its future consequences. He noted that while there was "at present . . . an abundant supply of wood for all our present purposes," increasing demand would in the "not far distant" future result in a scarcity. Since the "natural restoration of the forests" would be insufficient to make up this scarcity, he urged the "cultivation of wood" in tree belts, and on public grounds and the university campus, along railroad tracks, and elsewhere. Of particular interest is Lapham's views about the environmental benefits of forests that would be lost if they were to be destroyed: protection against the winter winds and summer sun, preservation and restoration of the soil, purification of the air, maintaining rivers and brooks, and moderation of the climate (4).

In 1864, George P. Marsh, the Vermont polymath, published *Man And Nature*, a book that has been called the "fountainhead" of modern conservation (5). Marsh's viewpoint is expressed by his observation that "man is everywhere a disturbing agent. Wherever he plants his foot, the harmonies are turned to discord," pointing out how the decline of ancient civilizations was caused in part by their abuse of their forests, lands, and waters. He discussed in detail the destructive consequences of human activity for plants, animals, forests, soil, and water, and urged conservation, regeneration and reform to prevent further damage to the planet. Two years after the publication of Marsh's book, the Wisconsin legislature, at the urging of the State Agricultural Society, established a three person commission to study the growth of forest trees. Under the leadership of Increase A. Lapham the commission prepared a report entitled, *On The Disastrous Effects Of The Destruction Of Forest Trees Now Going On So Rapidly In The State Of Wisconsin*, which was published in the fall of 1867. In its general approach the report

reflected Marsh's *Man And Nature* (the title page includes a quotation from that work), while the discussion of the benefits of forests and the disastrous consequences that would ensue from the loss of these benefits because of the destruction of the forests was a continuation and elaboration of Lapham's 1855 paper. While the report was well received among those who were already convinced of the necessity of saving the forests, it had no practical effect in terms of public policy aside from a law adopted by the legislature in 1868 providing for benefits to land owners who planted tree belts. Apparently no one took advantage of this law (6).

In the meantime, the destruction of the forests continued by the uncontrolled timber harvesting of the large lumber companies. By 1932 the original forest of about 30 million acres, or 86% of the land area of the state, had been reduced to a little over 16 million acres, or about 48% of the land area. Originally dominated by white pine, Norway pine and hardwoods; later aspen, and maple became the dominant species with very little pine and isolated pockets of virgin timber, as shown on the accompanying map (7). Despite the occasional warnings and protests about the rapid destruction of the forests, it was not until the final years of the century that people began to realize that the once great and seemingly inexhaustible stands of timber would soon be gone. In his report for 1907-1908 the state forester noted the economic consequences of the exhaustion of the timber (8).

[T]he point which so many people do not seem to realize, that the loss of the forests means the loss of great industries to the whole state and that when lumber companies are allowed to cut and slash its forests so that they are rapidly destroyed through the axe followed by fire. . . . that a frightful economic loss is the result which will usually take generations to repair.

The "real heart" of Wisconsin's lumber industry was the heavily forested northern region encompassing one-third of the state (9). Like a gigantic scythe, the lumber companies swept through this region clear-cutting the forests, creating what became known as the cutover (10). Huge quantities of white and Norway pine and hemlock spruce were harvested to be sawn into lumber to meet the demand for building material from expanding cities and the great westward migration (11). In an 1898 report on forestry conditions in the northern counties, Filibert Roth described this forest as follows (12):

The conifers, particularly the pines, formed solid, almost pure, forests over more than 30 per cent of the area under consideration besides hundreds of groves of smaller extent scattered throughout the entire area of mixed forest. In addition, they formed the most conspicuous part of these mixed forests themselves so that the name of "pinery" was applied to the entire forest once covering this area. The conifers covered especially the poorest land, stocked the barrens, the light sands, the roughest gravel lands, and clothed the swamps wherever these permitted of any tree growth. Besides forming the bulk of the forest growth, the chief conifers, white and red (Norway) pine and hemlock grew to larger size and better shape than the hardwoods; they yielded more material and were easier logged, transported, and sawed, and their product found a much more extensive market.

The driving force behind the lumbering boom was the softwood species, white pine and hemlock. As shown in Table 1, in 1899 84.2% of the total output consisted of pine and hemlock, and the proportions were no doubt as great, or even greater, in previous years (for which no data are available). When the economically available supply of pine and hemlock declined after 1899, the large lumber companies soon closed their mills and moved into Minnesota and the Pacific coast states to exploit new and easily accessible sources (13). Smaller, often locally own, lumber companies continued to harvest the dwindling stock of softwoods, increasingly supplemented by hardwoods. By 1930 total output had declined to 18.4% of the 1899 output, and Wisconsin, which had ranked first among the 15 lumber producing states in 1899, now ranked fourteenth.

The rise and decline of the lumber industry in Wisconsin, concentrated in the great forest of the northern third of the state, is reflected in the statistics of lumber output (14). Table 2 shows the output of Wisconsin lumber mills by ten year intervals from 1869 to 1899 and by five year intervals from 1899 to 1930. Output increased from about 1.1 billion feet in 1869 to nearly 3.4 billion feet in 1899, or by 208.6%, but then declined just as steeply from the peak in 1899 to about 6.4 million feet in 1930, or by 81.2%. While the lumber companies harvested both hardwoods and softwoods, it was the soft woods that until 1920 constituted over 50% of the total output.

In 1924 the people approved a constitutional amendment (by a two-thirds majority) which provided that the state could appropriate money for forestry purposes, followed by forestry legislation including the forest crop law, authorization for counties to engage in forestry, and permission for the federal government to purchase land for the national forests (15). The overwhelming approval of the 1924 constitutional amendment reflected the general recognition that the long campaign for agricultural settlement of the cutover had fallen far short of its promise, and an acceptance of what the forestry and land experts had been saying for years, that most of the cutover region was suitable only for forests. Forestry and conservation were finally recognized as the best approach to reclaiming the cutover lands.

The most visible evidence of the revival of forestry in the state was the forests established by all levels of government—national, state, and county—throughout the 18 county area (16). In 1933 two national forests were established in the cutover region, Chequamegon National Forest in Ashland, Bayfield, Price and Taylor Counties by President Franklin D. Roosevelt, and Nicolet National Forest in Vilas, Florence, Forest and Oconto Counties by President Herbert H. Hoover. Both forests were substantially enlarged, the Chequamegon National Forest into Sawyer County and the Nicolet National Forest into Langlade County, together encompassing 1,357,915 acres in ten counties by 1951. Among the state forests the Brule River Forest in Douglas County was established in 1906; the Northern Highland Forest, in Vilas and Iron Counties, in 1925; the American Legion Forest in Oneida County, in 1929; the Flambeau River Forest in Sawyer County, in 1930; the Silver Cliff Forest in Marinette County, in 1936; and the Council Grounds Forest in Lincoln County, in 1938, amounting to 155,793 acres in six counties in 1938. In 1927 the legislature authorized counties to create forests from the tax delinquent land on which they held tax deeds. By 1938 there were county forests in all 18 counties, amounting to 1,464,587 acres. Table 3 shows the acreage by county of the national (1951), state (1938), and county

(1938) forests in the 18 county region, while the accompanying map shows the national, state and county “public forest areas” in the region in 1937.

Forestry was particularly important for the 18 county cutover region to provide raw material for the forest using industry, to control erosion, maintain water quality and ameliorate the climate, and as part of the natural environment that was the foundation of the recreation industry. But forests needed to be protected, not only against the depredations of people, but also against insects, disease and fire. Forest fires are generally beneficial, contributing to the regeneration of forests. However, they can be dangerous, striking quickly and without warning, taking lives, burning timber, destroying farms and villages, and killing wildlife. Widespread settlement, large scale lumbering, and railroad expansion made the forests more susceptible to fire by reducing their natural resistance to fire, while at the same time providing innumerable sources of ignition. It has been estimated that prior to 1930, back to the earliest days of settlement in the state, there was an average of 2,500 forest fires, burning about one half million acres, every year (17). There were occasional catastrophes, the worst of which was the Peshtigo fire of 1871, which killed hundreds, burned villages and destroyed thousands of acres of timber (18). But despite the annual toll of death and destruction, little was done to prevent and suppress forest fires, so the fire monster continued its deadly work unimpeded. Early efforts to protect forests against fire were limited by official and public indifference and lack of funds and authority. In 1911 fire protection in the vast state forest reserve in the cutover region was undertaken with rangers and lookout towers, and for a time, aerial fire detection. In 1919 patrol districts were expanded outside of the state forest reserve with additional lookout towers erected. While these arrangements provided for fire detection, fire suppression depended largely on town fire wardens, but limited funds and uncertainty about who was responsible for costs—the towns or the state—limited these fire suppression efforts.

In the spring of 1925 forest fires were so bad that the governor called out the National Guard, but the fires were out of control and burned until extinguished by rain. Drought conditions in the 1930s, particularly during the first half of that decade, coupled with the remaining refuse of the lumbering boom, resulted in a record number of fires. From 1930 through 1934 there were 1,257 fires in fire district one, which included Bayfield and Douglas Counties, and 10,298 fires in districts one through eight, which covered the 18 county region. The situation from 1935 through 1939 was not as bad, with 622 fires in district one and 5,568 in districts one through eight. As usual, the main culprit, causing an estimated 95% of the fire, was careless and indifferent people. Finally, under the impetus of these calamities, a comprehensive plan for the detection, prevention and suppression of forest fires, involving the cooperation of local, state, and federal governments, was developed to cover the northern counties (19).

Reforestation to repair the ravages of fire and clear cutting began in 1911 at Trout Lake with the planting of 200 acres on conifers obtained from commercial growers and establishment of the first tree nursery. Other nurseries were established at Wisconsin Rapids in 1932 and Gordon in 1936. These three large nurseries produced 38 million trees in 1939. There were also smaller transplant nurseries at McNaughton and Silver Cliff. In 1941 the total output of the five nurseries was 40,600,000 trees, which were distributed to county and state forests, and to farmers and other private groups for forestry purposes. There were also federal nurseries at Hayward, Butternut and Rhinelander, which in 1939 produced a total of 40 million trees (20).

While the lumbering boom declined and finally died, its legacy of a ravaged natural resource and the desolate and denuded landscape of the cutover, dotted with the ghosts of vanished lumber towns, endured (21). In his report for 1909-1910 the state forester estimated that about 4.3 million of the 6.5 million total acres of ten of the 18 northern counties were cutover land, the proportions of each county being as follows: Bayfield 60%, Douglas 95%, Florence 50%, Forest 20%, Iron 45%, Marinette 75%, Price 67%, Rusk 78%, Sawyer 65%, and Vilas 78% (22). Significant parts of the land of the other eight counties—Ashland, Burnett, Langlade, Lincoln, Oconto, Oneida, Taylor, and Washburn—were also cutover. Continued clear-cutting and widespread fires significantly expanded the cutover areas in these counties in later years.

Table 1

White pine and hemlock

<u>Year</u>	<u>Output</u>	<u>% Total output</u>
1899	2,829,755,000	84.2%
1905	2,077,303,000	81.7%
1910	1,234,934,000	65.3%
1915	665,677,000	58.6%
1920	492,304,000	47.5%
1925	441,659,000	41.3%
1930	249,900,000	39.2%

Table 2

	<u>Total output (a)</u>	<u>Softwoods</u>		<u>Hardwoods</u>	
		<u>Output</u>	<u>% Total Output</u>	<u>Output</u>	<u>% Total Output</u>
1869	1,098,199,000				
1879	1,542,021,000				
1889	2,866,153,000				
1899	3,361,943,000	2,842,912,000	84.6%	519,031,000	15.4%
1905	2,543,503,000	2,130,149,000	83.8%	413,354,000	16.3%
1910	1,891,291,000	1,299,261,000	68.7%	592,030,000	31.3%
1915	1,135,740,000	704,116,000	62.0%	431,624,000	38.0%
1920	1,036,550,000	525,790,000	50.7%	510,760,000	49.3%
1925	1,068,612,000	456,768,000	42.7%	611,844,000	57.3%
1930	636,844,000	258,608,000	40.6%	378,236,000	59.4%

Table 3

<u>Counties</u>	<u>National Forests (1951)</u>	<u>State Forests (1938)</u>	<u>County Forests (1938)</u>
Ashland	173,591		22,863
Bayfield	247,774		124,712
Burnett			76,338
Douglas		5,060	205,387
Florence	70,583		37,347
Forest	308,535		10,146
Iron			121,702
Langlade	21,814		89,540
Lincoln		278	74,248
Marinette		800	199,025
Oconto	113,518		27,470
Oneida	8,352	28,527	137,642
Price	134,720		56,014
Rusk			75,854
Sawyer	120,167	2,128	69,199
Taylor	112,318		6,202
Vilas	46,543	119,000	34,844
Washburn			96,054
Total acres	1,357,915	155,793	1,464,587

Notes

1. On the attitudes of early settlers and pioneers about the forests, see:

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Americans And Their Forests; A Historical Geography.
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2. On the lumber industry in Wisconsin, see:

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“The Apostle Islands And The Lumbering Frontier.”
Wisconsin Magazine of History.
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v. 4, 197, 198.
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7. Wisconsin. Committee on Land Use and Forestry.
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9. Wisconsin Crop and Livestock Reporting Service.
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10. There have been many studies of the cutover region, including the following:

The Cutover Region Of Wisconsin: Report Of Conditions And Recommendations For Rehabilitation.

Northern Lakes States Regional Committee.

Wisconsin State Planning Board, Bulletin No. 7.

Madison: January 1939.

The Cutover Region Of Wisconsin is a survey of 26 northern counties identified as the cutover region: the 18 counties included in the present study plus eight counties extending southward into the central region of the state—Adams, Chippewa, Clark, Eau Claire, Jackson, Juneau, Monroe, and Wood. The survey covers county and local government finances, agriculture, forestry, mineral resources, industry, highways and railroads, schools, and unemployment and relief, and includes many recommendations for the rehabilitation of the region.

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Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1956.

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Empire In Pine; The Story Of Lumbering In Wisconsin, 1830-1900.

Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1951, c. 14.

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v. 36, Winter 1952-53, 115-121.

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11. White pine was preferred as a building material because it is light, durable, straight-grained and easily worked. It also floats and does not readily absorb water, so logs and lumber could be transported by water, a great advantage until the railroads took over. Far exceeding the consumption of timber by the sawmills and factories was the waste from land clearing, prodigality in logging and sawmill operations, the huge demand for firewood, and forest fires.
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For descriptions of Wisconsin's "true forest," see:

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Empire In Pine; The Story Of Lumbering In Wisconsin 1830-1900.

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13. On lumbering in the southern and the Pacific coast states, see

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The lumber companies have not been without defenders, see:

Everest, D.C.

"A Reappraisal Of The Lumber Barons."

Wisconsin Magazine of History.

v. 36, Autumn 1952, 17-22.

Twining, Charles E.

"Plunder And Progress: The Lumbering Industry In Perspective."

Wisconsin Magazine Of History.

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The general theme of these articles (the Everest article has a strong polemical tone) is that the great risks and intense competition in the lumber industry forced the individual companies to harvest the best timber as rapidly as possible, leaving the less desirable trees and slashings behind. In any case, however reprehensible the lumbermen's methods may have been, "the westward march of civilization had not been 'stayed by a few pine trees.' One of the prices of progress was deforestation." (Twining 123); and "What was actually wasted was but the price we had to pay for the development of the greatest nation on earth in such a comparatively short time." (Everest 22).

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Madison: Democrat Printing Company, 1893.

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Wisconsin. State Regional Planning Committee.
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Madison: The Committee, 1934, pp. 229, 232.

Softwoods include balsam, fir, cedar, hemlock, tamarack, and white pine; hardwoods include ash, basswood, beech, birch, cottonwood, elm, hickory, maple, oak, walnut, and yellow poplar.

A “board foot” is a piece of lumber one foot square by one inch thick.

15. On the history of forestry and forestry policy in Wisconsin, see:

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The forest crop law provides that forest land entered under the law would pay an annual tax of ten cents an acre, while timber on the land would be taxed only when cut and sold at ten percent of the amount received (for the first time separating the taxation of land and timber). Many small private forests were also created under this law—see the sources cited above and the following:

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A Report Submitted to the Conservation Commission of the State of Wisconsin, January 1945.

16. *Among The State Parks And Forests Of Wisconsin.*
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Wisconsin Conservation Department.
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Washington 1991.

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Madison: 1951, p. 28.

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Wisconsin State Planning Board, Bulletin No. 7.
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Forest Fires And Forest-Fire Control In Wisconsin.
Wisconsin State Conservation Commission.
Madison: 1952. Pp. 10-36.

Also see:

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History Of Forest Fire Protection In Wisconsin.
Proceedings of Tenth Annual Meeting of Forest History Association of Wisconsin, Inc.
Tomahawk, Wisconsin, September 27-28 1985.

Pyne, Stephen J.
“Sky Of Brass, Earth Of Ash: A Fire History Of The Lake States.”
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Princeton, NH: Princeton University Press, 1982. Pp. 199-217.

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New York: The Macmillan Company, 1943.

18. Wells, Robert W.
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Madison: Wisconsin Tales And Trails, 1973.

Pernin, Peter.
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V. 54, Summer 1971, 246-272.

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Civilian Conservation Corps
Forests Protected By The CCC.
Washington: GPO, 1938.

20. *Wisconsin Forest Tree Nurseries.*
Wisconsin Conservation Commission.
Madison: 1941.

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Wisconsin Conservation Department.
Madison: 1939. Pp. 13-14.

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Forest Planting In Wisconsin.
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21. *The Cutover Region Of Wisconsin: Report Of Conditions And Recommendations For Rehabilitation.*

Northern Lakes States Regional Committee.

Wisconsin State Planning Board, Bulletin No. 7.

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22. Wisconsin. State Board of Forestry.

Report Of The State Forester Of Wisconsin For 1909 And 1910.

Madison: Democrat Printing Company, 1910, p. 39.

Forest-Using Industries

The most important forest-using industry was lumbering, the harvesting and processing of timber to provide the wooden sizes and shapes (dimensional lumber) required for building construction and other purposes. The heart of Wisconsin's lumber industry was the heavily forested northern region encompassing one-third of the state (1). In an 1898 report on forestry conditions in the northern counties, Filibert Roth described this forest as follows (2):

The conifers, particularly the pines, formed solid, almost pure, forests over more than 30 per cent of the area under consideration besides hundreds of groves of smaller extent scattered throughout the entire area of mixed forest. In addition, they formed the most conspicuous part of these mixed forests themselves so that the name of "pinery" was applied to the entire forest once covering this area. The conifers covered especially the poorest land, stocked the barrens, the light sands, the roughest gravel lands, and clothed the swamps wherever these permitted of any tree growth. Besides forming the bulk of the forest growth, the chief conifers, white and red (Norway) pine and hemlock grew to larger size and better shape than the hardwoods; they yielded more material and were easier logged, transported, and sawed, and their product found a much more extensive market.

Huge quantities of white and Norway pine and hemlock spruce were harvested in this region and sawn into lumber to meet the demand for building material from expanding cities and the great westward migration; by the expanding railroads with their requirements for ties, timbers for trestles and bridges, and firewood for engines; by mills and factories manufacturing wood products such as furniture and boxes; and by small sawmills, producing lumber for local markets (3).

There were forest-using plants in almost all of the counties in the 18 county region, although it is not known which were sawmills or produced other forest-using products. As reported in the "Making The Most" surveys, the forest-using industry constituted a substantial, if not the largest part, of the product value of all manufacturing industries in Ashland, Forest, Langlade, Marinette, Oneida, and Taylor Counties (4). All of the counties, except Forest County, were dependent on external sources for their wood supplies, Taylor County importing pine from California and oak from Ohio (5). Table 1 summarizes information about forest-using industries in five of the counties. In Ashland County, in 1930, for example, there were eight primary wood using industries (including sawmills) with 741 employees and products valued at \$1,596,000; and nine secondary plants (including paper mills) employing 478 people with products worth 1,627,000 (primary wood using plants, such as sawmills, use timber directly from the forest, while secondary plants use the wood processed by the primary plants). Eight of the plants were located in Ashland, four in Mellen, three in Glidden, and two in Butternut (6).

There is no history of the forest-using industry in Wisconsin, but three reports provide an overview for selected years (7). The first report from 1910 lists 22 products, manufactured from 40 species of trees (8). As shown in Table 2, several species of wood were used in the

manufacture of each of 11 wood products included in the report. For example, 23 species of wood were used for the manufacture of office, store and bank fixtures, of which walnut, oak and rosewood were the most important, while sycamore was the principal species used for the production of agricultural implements. Another survey of the industry published in 1925 noted that there were 731 reported wood using plants (excluding pulp and paper mills) in Wisconsin, employing 39,000 people, producing \$140,000,000 worth of products annually (9). Finally, the 1932 report on forest land use includes a map that shows the location of 473 “lumber-using plants” in Wisconsin (including sawmills and pulp and paper mills), 57 of which are located in the 18 county region; while another map shows 171 “plants manufacturing wood products,” 86 of which are in the 18 county region (10).

During the lumbering boom, thousands of men were employed in sawmills and logging camps, numerous small towns were established, local businesses flourished, and the population of the region grew rapidly. The region was re-colonized, its social, cultural, and settlement patterns completely transformed as people with new ideas, values, skills and modes of living poured into the region. But with the rapid decline of the boom the over developed social and economic order it fostered could no longer be sustained, while the destruction of the resource base with its legacy of the cutover left the people, communities and counties of the northern region in straitened circumstances.

The rise and decline of the lumber industry in Wisconsin, concentrated in the great forest of the northern third of the state, is reflected in the statistics of lumber output (11). Table 3 shows the output of Wisconsin lumber mills by ten year intervals from 1869 to 1899 and by five year intervals from 1899 to 1930. Output increased from about 1.1 billion feet in 1869 to nearly 3.4 billion feet in 1899, or by 208.6%, but then declined just as steeply from the peak in 1899 to about 6.4 million feet in 1930, or by 81.2%. While the lumber companies harvested both hardwoods and softwoods, it was the softwoods—white pine and hemlock—that until 1920 constituted over 50% of the total output. As shown in Table 2, in 1899 84.2% of the total output consisted of pine and hemlock, and the proportions were no doubt as great, or even greater, in previous years (for which no data are available). When the economically available supply of pine and hemlock declined after 1899, the large lumber companies soon closed their mills and moved into Minnesota and the Pacific coast states to exploit new and easily accessible sources (12). Smaller, often locally own, lumber companies continued to harvest the dwindling stock of softwoods, increasingly supplemented by hardwoods. By 1930 total output had declined to 18.4% of the 1899 output, and Wisconsin, which had ranked first amount the 15 lumber producing states in 1899, ranked fourteenth.

While the lumbering boom declined and finally died, its legacy of a ravaged natural resource and a desolate and denuded landscape, dotted with the ghosts of vanished lumber towns, which became known as the cutover, endured (13). In his report for 1909-1910 the state forester estimated that about 4.3 million of the 6.5 million total acres of ten of the 18 northern counties were cutover land, the proportions of each county being as follows: Bayfield 60%, Douglas 95%, Florence 50%, Forest 20%, Iron 45%, Marinette 75%, Price 67%, Rusk 78%, Sawyer 65%, and Vilas 78% (14). Significant parts of the land of the other eight counties—Ashland, Burnett, Langlade, Lincoln, Oconto, Oneida, Taylor, and Washburn—were also cutover. Continued local

clear-cutting and widespread fires significantly expanded the cutover areas in these counties in later years.

The decline of the great pine lumbering boom after 1910 did not end the forest-using industry in the 18 county region. The industry continued but with several important changes. First, as the large lumber companies that had dominated the industry during the boom era moved their operations to the pine forests of the southeastern and Pacific coast states, they were replaced by smaller companies, often locally owned, operating fewer and smaller sawmills (15). Second, the production of lumber steadily declined, from a high of 3.4 billion board feet in 1899 to 367 million board feet in 1935. Third, the proportions of the types of trees harvested changed, white and Norway pine declining, and hardwoods and hemlock increasing. A 1932 report on forest land use noted that “Beginning about 1895, hardwoods formed a progressively larger proportion of the annual cut until, in recent years, almost the entire lumber output has consisted of hemlock and hardwoods” (16). Fourth, the hemlock and hardwoods, and remaining white and Norway pine, were used in the manufacture of a range of products, from poles and railroad ties to dimension stock (building lumber) to fancy woodwork and high quality paper.

Overall, the forest-using industry probably made a significant contribution to the post-boom economy of the 18 county region, at least until the depression years of the 1930s when many of the small companies failed. The story of the Washburn Manufacturing Company in Washburn (Bayfield County) if not typical is illustrative of what happened to many of these firms. The company was founded by local businessmen in 1893 to produce sashes, doors, office counters, woodwork and similar products. It succumbed to unfavorable economic conditions and in 1896 was purchased by two local men who converted it to the production of boxes and wire reels. The company prospered and in 1909 to 1914 the plant was expanded to produce boxes, crates, wire reels, sash and door stock, and similar products. In 1915, benefiting from war business, the company was operating with two shifts and doing a “monster business.” Business continued to be good after the war, but unstable economic conditions in the 1920s adversely affected the company, and it was sold to a Chicago firm. By the mid-twenties the plant was closed and the company was out of business (17). The circumstances that brought about the company’s demise are not known, but what likely happened is that despite the advantage of ready access to its raw materials, it could not compete with large, efficient plants located close to their markets.

Table 1

<u>Product</u>	<u>No. of species used</u>	<u>Principal species used</u>
Agricultural implements	17	sycamore
Boxes	18	jack pine
Chairs	9	oak
Church/school furnishings	13	butternut
Furniture	16	walnut
Office, store, bank fixtures	23	walnut, oak, rosewood
Pulp	5	spruce
Trunks	5	basswood
Vehicles	15	hickory
Windmills, tanks, silos	13	red cedar
Woodenware	16	basswood

Table 2

<u>Counties</u>		<u>No. of Plants*</u>	<u>Employees</u>	<u>Payroll</u>	<u>Value of Products</u>
Ashland	1930	17	1,219	\$1,063,000	\$3,223,000
Forest	1931	15	1,625	1,603,800	3,511,000
Langlade	1934	22	529	414,250	1,034,000
Marinette	1929	20	2,293	3,245,870	13,000,000
Taylor	1931	9	340	240,000	1,400,000

*Includes primary and secondary wood using plants.

Table 3

		<u>Softwoods</u>		<u>Hardwoods</u>	
	<u>Total output (a)</u>	<u>Output</u>	<u>% Total output</u>	<u>Output</u>	<u>% Total output</u>
1869	1,098,199,000				
1879	1,542,021,000				
1889	2,866,153,000				
1899	3,361,943,000	2,842,912,000	84.6%	519,031,000	15.4%
1905	2,543,503,000	2,130,149,000	83.8%	413,354,000	16.3%
1910	1,891,291,000	1,299,261,000	68.7%	592,030,000	31.3%
1915	1,135,740,000	704,116,000	62.0%	431,624,000	38.0%
1920	1,036,550,000	525,790,000	50.7%	510,760,000	49.3%
1925	1,068,612,000	456,768,000	42.7%	611,844,000	57.3%
1930	636,844,000	258,608,000	40.6%	378,236,000	59.4%

Table 4

White pine and hemlock

<u>Year</u>	<u>Output</u>	<u>% Total output</u>
1899	2,829,755,000	84.2%
1905	2,077,303,000	81.7%
1910	1,234,934,000	65.3%
1915	665,677,000	58.6%
1920	492,304,000	47.5%
1925	441,659,000	41.3%
1930	249,900,000	39.2%

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3. White pine was preferred as a building material because it is light, durable, straight-grained and easily worked. It also floats and does not readily absorb water, so logs and lumber could be transported by water, a great advantage until the railroads took over. Far exceeding the consumption of timber by the sawmills and factories was the waste from land clearing, prodigality in logging and sawmill operations, the huge demand for firewood, and forest fires.

4. Making The Most” counties:
Ashland County, pp. 20-21, map p. 20;
Forest County, pp. 3, 5, map p.3;
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5. The shortage of lumber was state-wide—for example, in 1926 nine percent of the lumber consumed in the state was imported—*Forest Land Use In Wisconsin 1932*, p. 49.
6. Pulp and paper manufacturing was one of the most important forest-using industries. The location of the pulp and paper mills was determined by three conditions: a source of power, a supply of clean water, and access to raw materials. To meet these conditions, the industry developed along the major rivers of the state—Fox, Wisconsin and Flambeau. The first mill was erected on the Milwaukee River in 1848 (or 1849), followed by mills in Appleton in 1855, Whitewater in 1857, and Neenah in 1865. Paper was made from rags until the development of the wood pulp process in the early 1870s. In 1932 there were 72 pulp and paper mills in Wisconsin, 36 mills on the Fox River from Green Bay to Lake Winnebago, 22 along the Wisconsin River from Rhinelander to Wisconsin Rapids, and 14 in other locations. Fifteen of the mills were located in the 18 county region in Ashland, Florence, Lincoln, Marinette, Oneida, Price and Rusk Counties. While pulp and paper mills were by necessity located near rivers or lakes, pulpwood could be harvested almost anywhere in the 18 county region and transported to the mills by truck, rail or raft. So while pulp and paper manufacturing was restricted to a few locations, pulpwood was produced and harvested on cutover land in many of the counties in the region. A paper mill in the city of Ashland, in Ashland County, was one of the largest in the nation, using pulpwood from Wisconsin and some from Sweden to produce 65 different paper products.

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10. Figure 12, p. 39; Figure 14, p. 41 in *Forest Land Use In Wisconsin* 1932.

In 1939, in the 25 county cutover region, "Forestry-linked industries" "comprised by far the major manufacturing activity. . . . Over one-third of all the manufacturing plants in this Region, employing about 60 percent of all manufacturing employees with a payroll of about 60 per cent of the total manufacturing payroll in the northern area, are engaged in saw-mill operations, the manufacture of wooden boxes, mill-work and sash factories, the manufacture of paper and pulp, and other miscellaneous forestry-linked products. These are quite generally distributed throughout the Region."

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11. Lumber production data are from:

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Softwoods include balsam, fir, cedar, hemlock, tamarack, and white pine; hardwoods include ash, basswood, beech, birch, cottonwood, elm, hickory, maple, oak, walnut, and yellow poplar.

A “board foot” is a piece of lumber one foot square by one inch thick.

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Wisconsin State Planning Board, Bulletin No. 7.

Madison: January 1939.

The Cutover Region Of Wisconsin is a survey of 26 northern counties identified as the cutover region: the 18 counties included in the present study plus eight counties extending southward into the central region of the state—Adams, Chippewa, Clark, Eau Claire, Jackson, Juneau, Monroe, and Wood. The survey covers county and local government finances, agriculture, forestry, mineral resources, industry, highways and railroads, schools, and unemployment and relief, and includes many recommendations for the rehabilitation of the region.

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Economic Development 1930-1945

While the industries that replaced lumbering reconstituted the economy of the northern region, the region continued to lag behind the remainder of the state. Surveys published by state agencies provide an overview of the level of economic development in the northern region in the 1930s and 1940s. In 1934 the Wisconsin Regional Planning Committee published a comprehensive survey of the physical, social and economic resources of the state. Included was a composite “economic status” index calculated for each county, as shown on the accompanying map (1). As indicated in Table 1, all of the northern counties were assigned an economic status of very low, low, or medium, while almost half of the 53 southern counties, 49.0%, ranked high and very high (2).

In 1942 the State Board of Vocational and Adult Education published a composite “agricultural index” for all counties, as shown on the accompanying map (3). As indicated in Table 2, 88.9% of the counties in the 18 county region had indices of 65 and under, while only 11.1% had indices of 81 to 95. Langlade County had the highest index at 86 and Vilas County the lowest at 34, with an average index of 56. In the 53 county region, on the other hand, only 3.8% of the counties had indices of 65 or less, 22.6%, had indices from 66 to 95, and 73.6%, had indices of 96 to 116 and over. Green County had the highest index of 165 and Adams County the lowest of 48, with an average of 117.

In 1945 a composite “economic index” was also compiled by the state board for all of the counties, as shown on the accompanying map (4). Table 3 shows the economic indices for counties in the two regions, distributed among categories that characterize the state of their economies (5). In the 18 county region, 83.3% of the economies were “underprivileged” or “fair,” and 16.7% were “good” or “very good,” compared to 37.7% and 34.0%, respectively, in the 53 county region. None of the counties in the 18 county region were ranked as “excellent” or “very excellent,” while 28.3% of the economies in the 53 county region were so characterized. The highest index in the 18 northern counties was 105 for Vilas County, the lowest 49 for Florence County with an average of 68. Among the 53 southern counties the highest index was 140, the lowest 51, with an average index of 91. The lower indices of the 18 northern counties compared to those of the southern counties confirmed once again the underdeveloped character of the northern counties.

In 1939 a comprehensive survey of the 26 northern counties, including the 18 county region and eight counties extending southward in the central region of the state, was published by the Wisconsin State Planning Board (6). The report noted that the unsatisfactory situation in the cutover region was “due to two principal causes: first, the extensive depletion of the original great resource of the Region, namely the forests; and second, the too great prevalence of an ill-advised agriculture.” The report further noted that “The rehabilitation of the Region, through a discontinuance of the causes of further retrogression, and the institution of certain positive programs of reconstruction is of vital national and state concern” (7). The numerous recommendations for the reconstruction of the cutover region in the report fell into four broad categories (8): “Greater development of the recreation business; increase of manufacturing industry; improvement in agriculture, including a rearrangement of the pattern of the occupation of the land, an increase in the acreage of land in crops, and better farm management; the institution of a forestry work program of great magnitude, having two principal purposes, (1) the restoration of the forests, and (2) the provision of employment which will afford settlers cash wages to supplement the income derived from farms.” It was estimated that a five year program

to carry out these rehabilitation recommendations by federal and state agencies would cost \$70 million.

While these rehabilitation recommendations were never implemented, much was accomplished under the zoning law approved by the legislature in 1929, which authorized counties to zone land for agricultural, forestry, and recreational uses (9). Soon all of the northern counties had approved rural zoning ordinances, which prevented further misallocation and misuse of the land. The law was not retroactive, however, and people living on subsistence farms in land zoned for forestry and recreation could not be forced to move. The counties could only assist people by exchanging poor agricultural land for better land elsewhere, or encouraging them to find other employment or to migrate out of the region (10).

Under the Settler Relocation Project of the Federal Resettlement Administration 416 families in Bayfield County and 19 other northern counties, who were living on sub-marginal land, were bought out and moved to better farms or to locations where they could pursue other occupations. Another relocation project was the Drummond Forest Community, established by the Federal Resettlement Administration and the U. S. Forest Service in 1935. Located adjacent to the Chequamegon National Forest, about seven miles southwest of Drummond, the community consisted of 32 houses, each located on 20 acres of land. The assumption was that families relocated to the community from isolated, marginal homesteads would become self-sufficient by combining part-time farming with work in the national forest or other employment. The project was greeted with enthusiasm and the houses were quickly occupied by selected families, but it was not a long-term success. (11).

Table 1

<u>Economic status</u>	<u>18 Counties</u>		<u>53 Counties</u>	
	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
Very high	0		10	18.9
High	0		16	30.1
Medium	5	27.8%	15	28.3
Low	6	33.3%	9	17.0
Very low	<u>7</u>	<u>38.9%</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>5.7</u>
	18	100.0%	53	100.0%

Table 2

<u>Agricultural index</u>	<u>18 Counties</u>		<u>53 Counties</u>	
	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
65 & under	16	88.9%	2	3.8%
66-80	0		3	5.6%
81-95	2	11.1%	9	17.0%
96-105	0		5	9.4%
106-115	0		11	20.8%
116 & over	<u>0</u>		<u>23</u>	<u>43.4%</u>
	18	100.0%	53	100.0%

	<u>High</u>	<u>Low</u>	<u>Average</u>
18 County region	86	34	56
53 County region	165	48	117

Table 3

<u>Economic index</u>	<u>Description</u>	<u>18 Counties</u>		<u>53 Counties</u>	
		<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
65 & under	underprivileged	10		3	
66-80	fair	5	83.3%	17	37.7%
81-95	good	2		10	
96-105	very good	1	16.7%	8	34.0%
106-115	excellent			13	
116 & over	very excellent	<u></u>		<u>2</u>	<u>28.3%</u>
		18	100.0%	53	100.0%

	<u>High</u>	<u>Low</u>	<u>Average</u>
18 County region	105	49	68
53 County region	140	51	91

Endnotes

1. Wisconsin. State Regional Planning Committee.
A Study Of Wisconsin: Its Resources, Its Physical, Social And Economic Background.
Madison: The Committee 1934. C. II, Part V.

The “economic status” was calculated from 12 weighted factors: tax delinquency, taxable income, assessed value, death rates, birth rates, potential population, productive age groups, trend in employable persons, weighted employment, per capita vehicles, persons on relief, and relief expenditures.

2. Wisconsin. State Regional Planning Committee, 1934, Table 1 is based on map on p. 106.
3. “The agricultural index [for 1942] is a composite item arrived at by means of a weighted formula using the percent ranks of income per farm, income per acre and income per man in the farm labor force as factors.” The higher a county’s index, the more prosperous was its agricultural industry, compared to that of counties with lower indices.

Wisconsin. Vocational Rehabilitation Division.
The Labor Force In The State Of Wisconsin; Male And Female By Major Occupations And By Major Industries And Related Economic Items By Counties And Their Relationship To Rehabilitation.

Wisconsin State Board of Vocational and Adult Education. Prepared by O. H. Johnson.
Madison: 1945, p. 14, Chart IV.

4. The economic index is a composite index consisting of per capita assessed value of all property (1940), per capita retail sales (average for 1940, 1942, 1945), and per capita individual buying income (average for 1940, 1942, 1945). The higher a county’s index, the more prosperous was its economy, compared to that of counties with lower indices.

Wisconsin. Vocational Rehabilitation Division, 1945, pp. 4-8, Chart IV.

5. Wisconsin. Vocational Rehabilitation Division, 1945, p. 8.
6. *The Cutover Region Of Wisconsin: Report Of Conditions And Recommendations For Rehabilitation.*
Northern Lake States Regional Committee.
Wisconsin State Planning Board, Bulletin No. 7.
Madison: January 1939.
7. *The Cutover Region Of Wisconsin 1939*, quotations from p. 1.
8. *The Cutover Region of Wisconsin 1939*, pp. 130-131. Detailed recommendations for rehabilitation of the cutover region are scattered throughout the report: agriculture pp. 37-42, 120-121; recreation, pp. 54-55, 50-72; forestry, pp. 121-123; schools, pp. 107-109; and Chapter X “The Size Of The Rehabilitation Job.”

9. Rowland, W.A.
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- Wilson, F.G.
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10. On resettlement plans and projects in Wisconsin, see:
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The Wisconsin Resettlement Plan Of The 1930s; Land Acquisition, Family Relocation And Rehabilitation.
Madison: University of Wisconsin, Department of Agricultural Economics, May 1968.
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“The Northern Wisconsin Settler Relocation Project, 1934-1940.”
Transactions Of The Wisconsin Academy Of Sciences, Arts And Letters.
v. 18-A, 1964, 135-138.
11. On the Drummond Forest Community, see:
- Gough 1997, 188-190;
- “Resettlement Project In Town Of Drummond.”
Washburn Times February 27 1936;
- “Resettlement Colony Being Established Near Drummond.”
Washburn Times, April 22 1937.
- “Drummond Forest Community Is Being Occupied.”
Washburn Times, October 7 1937.

Boom And Stagnation II 1940-1960

While the wartime boom ended the great depression, it did not bring long-lasting prosperity to the 17 county region (1). Some communities with war related industries experienced brief, war-fueled prosperity—Superior from shipping and ship-building, Ashland from ore shipping, and Washburn from the nearby Du Pont explosives plant—but when the war ended in August 1945, these war industries quickly returned to peacetime levels of operation, or closed down (2). Overall, the region as a whole only marginally shared in the wartime growth and prosperity of the remainder of the state. After the war the cycle of stagnation and prosperity resumed, as highlighted in the accompanying tables. Tables 1 through 4 show changes in the size and distribution of the population in the 17 county region from 1940 to the early 1960s, while Tables 5 through 9 provide key economic indices for the region for those years.

Population

A key measure of the stagnation of the 17 county northern region during the postwar years was the continuing loss of population. The population decline during the 1920s was reversed during the depression of the 1930s as people returned or migrated to the region, but resumed during the 1940s (3). As shown in Table 1, the population declined by 16,699, or 5.4%, from 1940 to 1950, and by a further 18,169, or 6.2% from 1950 to 1960 for a total loss over the two decades of 34,868, or 11.2% of the 1940 population (4). Fifteen counties lost population during the two decades, ranging from 0.9% for Lincoln County to 36.1% for Forest County. The absolute population losses ranged from 4,426 in Ashland County to 198 in Lincoln County. Only two counties increased in population over their respective 1940 populations—Vilas County by 438, or 4.9%, and Oneida County by 3,174, or 16.8%. From 1940 to 1960 the population density in the region declined from 18 to 16 persons per square mile, while the density in the southern region increased from 76 to 99 persons per square mile.

Table 2 shows the distribution of the population of 17 county region among population units in 1940, 1950, and 1960: urban areas (cities 2,500 and larger), and rural areas (rural cities and villages less than 2,500, and rural towns). As shown in the table, of the total population decline of 34,868 from 1940 to 1960, the loss in the urban areas accounted for 9.2%, and the loss from the rural areas, 90.8% (5). The large decline in the rural population was due in large measure to the departure of people from the surplus agriculture population created by the decrease in the number of farms from 28,386 in 1940 to 13,949 in 1959, or by 50.9% (6).

The changes in the size of the population and distribution among urban and rural areas in the 17 county region were accompanied by changes in its composition. Table 3 shows the number of males and females, and their percentages of the total population in 1940, 1950, and 1960 (7). In 1940 the male population constituted 53.2% of the total population, declining to 50.6% in 1960. While the female population also declined from 1940 to 1960, its percentage of the total population increased from 46.8% to 49.4% (8). Of the total population decline of 34,868 from 1940 to 1960, males contributed 26,031, or 74.7%, and females, 8,837, or 25.3%. Table 4 shows the age composition of the population over the two decades from 1940 to 1960 (9). People in the 15 to 44 years age groups were the largest part of the labor force (mostly males), and the loss of 48,202, or 33.9%, in this age range between 1940 and 1960 reflects an economy that was stagnant and provided few job opportunities. The increase in the 65 years and older category by 11,666, or 47.1%, from 1940 to 1960 reflects the aging of the population due to the departure of

the young people, and the inability of many people in this age group to move because of a lack of resources or opportunity (10).

Labor Force

Table 5 shows that the labor force (14 years and older) declined by 18,381, or 15.8%, between 1940 and 1960, while the total population of the region declined by 11.2% (11). The larger percentage decline in the labor force compared to that of the total population was due to the exodus of many people in the labor force age range, as shown in Table 4.

Unemployment

Table 5 also shows the unemployment levels in 1940, 1950, and 1960 in the 17 county northern region. In 1940, the last year of the great depression, 23.0% of the total labor force was unemployed, declining to 5.7% in 1950, and increasing to 7.2% in 1960, compared to 13.6% in 1940, 3.0% in 1950, and 4.2% in 1960, for the state as a whole. Among the counties, unemployment in 1940 varied from 10.4%, in Taylor County, to 37.5%, in Florence County; in 1950 from 2.9%, in Taylor County, to 12.3%, in Forest County; and in 1960 from 4.1%, in Taylor County, to 8.9%, in Forest County. Only Taylor County had unemployment levels below the state averages for those three years.

Household Income

Table 6 shows for 1963 the percent distribution of households among selected income categories for the nine northwestern counties and eight northeastern counties, and for the state (12). The two income levels from zero to \$3,999 included 54.6% of households in the northwestern region and 53.4% of households in the northeastern region, but only 34.6% of the state households. In contrast, the two highest household income categories, from \$7,000 to \$10,000 and over, included only 16.9% of households in both the northwestern and northeastern regions, but 31.6% of households in the state.

Economic Development

The economic score for a county, a measure of the “health” or condition of the county’s economy, is the sum of its rankings among 17 northern counties and 17 central counties on six economic factors: median family income, percent of labor force employed, percent employed in manufacturing, percent employed in non-agricultural industries, percent population change due to net migration by rural residence, and percent dependent population. The development rank for a county is the rank of its economic score among those of all 34 counties. The higher the economic score for a county, the lower is its development rank. Table 7 shows, for 1960, the economic scores and development ranks for the 17 northern counties and for the adjacent 17 central counties, from Polk County to the west, to Adams and Juneau counties to the south, to Door County in the east (13). Rusk County’s economic score was 162 with a development rank of one, the least developed among the northern counties, while Oneida County’s economic score was 49 with a development rank of 32, the most developed among the northern counties (14). Among the 17 northern counties, one county (5.3%) was at the median development rank of 15, and six counties (35.9%) were above (more developed) and ten counties (58.8%) were below (less developed). Among the 17 central counties, on the other hand, eleven counties (64.7%) were above (more developed), and six counties (35.3%) were below (less developed), the median

development rank of 15. In terms of the measures of economic “health” constituting the economic scores of the two regions in 1960, the 17 county northern region was significantly less economically developed than the adjacent 17 county central region.

Farm Family Level Of Living

Table 8 shows for 13 of the 17 northern counties, the farm operator family level-of-living indices (a measure of relative family well-being) in 1950, 1959, and 1964 (15). The range of indices for the 13 counties in 1950 was from a low of 47 for Ashland County to a high of 71 for Langlade County; in 1959, from a low of 88 for Ashland County to a high of 115 for Langlade County; and in 1964, from a low of 99 for Sawyer County to a high of 130 for Langlade County. While the well-being of farm families for all of the counties (as measured by this index) improved from 1950 to 1959 and to 1964, the average indices in the 17 county region for the three years were substantially below those of the 52 county region for those years, as shown in the lower section of Table 8 (16).

Table 1

<u>Counties</u>	<u>1940</u>	<u>1950</u>	<u>1960</u>	<u>Change</u> <u>1940-1960</u>
Ashland	21,801	19,461	17,375	-4,426—20.3%
Bayfield	15,827	13,760	11,910	-3,917—24.8%
Burnett	11,382	10,236	9,214	-2,168—19.1%
Douglas	47,119	46,715	45,008	-2,111— 4.5%
Florence	4,177	3,756	3,437	-740—17.7%
Forest	11,805	9,437	7,542	-4,263—36.1%
Iron	10,049	8,714	7,830	-2,219—22.1%
Langlade	23,227	21,975	19,916	-3,311—14.3%
Lincoln	22,536	22,235	22,338	-198— 0.9%
Marinette	36,225	35,748	34,660	-1,565— 4.3%
Oneida	18,938	20,648	22,112	3,174—16.8%
Price	18,467	16,344	14,370	-4,097—22.2%
Rusk	17,737	16,790	14,794	-2,943—16.6%
Sawyer	11,540	10,323	9,475	-2,065—17.9%
Taylor	20,105	18,456	17,843	-2,262—11.3%
Vilas	8,894	9,363	9,332	438— 4.9%
Washburn	<u>12,496</u>	<u>11,665</u>	<u>10,301</u>	-2,195—17.6%
Total region population	312,325	295,626	277,457	
Total change		-16,699	-18,169	-34,868
% Change		5.4%	6.2%	11.2%
<u>Population density*</u>				
17 County region	18	17	16	
Southern region	76	85	99	

*population density equals persons/square mile (land)

Table 2

	<u>1940</u>	<u>1950</u>	<u>1960</u>	<u>Change</u> <u>1940-1960</u>
Urban population(a)	100,790	101,186	97,570	-3,220—9.2%(d)
% Total population	32.3%(c)	34.2%(c)	35.2%(c)	
Rural population(b)	211,535	194,440	179,887	-31,648—90.8%(d)
% Total population	67.7%(c)	65.8%(c)	65.8%(c)	
Total region population	312,325	295,626	277,457	-34,868—11.2%(e)

a. Urban areas with populations equal to or greater than 2,500

b. Rural cities and villages with populations less than 2,500 and rural towns

c. Percentage of total population for indicated year

d. Percentage of total population loss of 34,868

e. Percentage of 1940 total population

Table 3

	<u>1940</u> <u>Number</u>	<u>1950</u> <u>Number</u>	<u>1960</u> <u>Number</u>	<u>Change</u> <u>1940-1960</u>
Males	166,290	152,855	140,259	-26,031
% Population	53.2%	51.7%	50.6%	15.5%
Females	146,035	142,771	137,198	-8,837
% Population	46.8%	48.3%	49.4%	6.1%
Total Population	312,325	295,626	277,457	-34,868

Table 4

	<u>Under 15</u>	<u>15-29</u>	<u>30-44</u>	<u>45-64</u>	<u>65+</u>	<u>Total</u>
<u>1940</u>	87,520	82,532	59,757	64,697	24,789	319,295
% Population	27.4%	25.8%	18.7%	20.3%	7.8%	
<u>1960</u>	89,659	46,527	47,560	64,523	36,455	284,724
% Population	31.5%	16.3%	16.7%	22.7%	12.8%	
Gains/losses	2,139	-36,005	-12,197	-174	11,666	-34,571
% 1940 Population	2.4%	43.6%	20.4%	0.3%	47.1%	

Table 5

	<u>1940</u>	<u>1950</u>	<u>1960</u>	<u>Change</u>
Labor force	116,591	107,942	98,210	-18,381—15.8%
Unemployed	26,803—23.0%	6,108—5.7%	7,065—7.2%	

Table 6

	% Total households 1963		
<u>Income category</u>	<u>NW Region</u>	<u>NE Region</u>	<u>State</u>
\$0-2,499	33.1%	31.4%	19.0%
\$2,500-3,999	21.5	22.0	15.6
\$4,000-6,999	28.5	29.7	33.8
\$7,000-9,999	9.8	9.3	15.0
\$10,000 and over	7.1	7.6	16.6

Table 7

1960 Economic Development

<u>17 County Northern Region</u>			<u>17 County Central Region</u>		
<u>County</u>	<u>score*</u>	<u>rank*</u>	<u>County</u>	<u>score*</u>	<u>rank*</u>
Oneida	49	32	Wood	34	30
Marinette	64	25	Outagamie	37	29
Lincoln	65	24	Eau Claire	49	28
Vilas	78	21	Portage	54	27
Iron	79	20	Waupaca	59	26
Douglas	82	19	Marathon	71	23
Florence	105	15	Brown	74	22
Ashland	111	13	Kewaunee	79	20
Forest	122	10	Chippewa	89	18
Sawyer	124	9	Door	90	17
Langlade	127	8	Shawano	102	16
Washburn	131	7	Juneau	109	14
Price	132	6	Jackson	116	12
Bayfield	139	4	Barron	120	11
Burnett	146	3	Polk	120	11
Taylor	152	2	Clark	132	6
Rusk	162	1	Adams	134	5

*The higher the economic score for a county, the lower is its development rank;
The median development rank is 15.

Table 8

Farm Operator Level-Of-Living

	<u>1950</u>	<u>1959</u>	<u>1964</u>		<u>1950</u>	<u>1959</u>	<u>1964</u>
Ashland	47	88	113	Marinette	59	91	114
Bayfield	56	93	111	Oneida*	—	—	—
Burnett	67	95	119	Price	52	95	110
Douglas	55	110	117	Rusk	57	100	115
Florence*	58	93	109	Sawyer	53	93	99
Forest*	—	—	—	Taylor	65	100	116
Iron*	—	—	—	Vilas*	—	—	—
Langlade	71	115	130	Washburn	60	96	115
Lincoln	65	103	111				

	<u>1950</u>		<u>1959</u>		<u>1964</u>	
	<u>Average</u>	<u>Range</u>	<u>Average</u>	<u>Range</u>	<u>Average</u>	<u>Range</u>
17 County region	59	47-67	98	88-115	114	99-130
52 County region	82	63-104	115	99-134	127	112-142

*The indices for Florence County are a combination of the indices for Florence, Forest, Iron, Oneida, and Vilas Counties

Endnotes

1. The 17 county region includes all of the northern tier of counties except Oconto County. While there are individual studies of Wisconsin industries, agriculture and the “home front” during World War II, there are no comprehensive surveys of economic and social conditions in the state during the war—see:

Thompson, William F.

The History Of Wisconsin: Continuity And Change, 1940-1945.

Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1988, C. 3, sources pp. 750-752.

2. “Transfer In DuPont Company Announced.”
Washburn Times, September 20 1945.

The Du Pont Company explosive plant employed about 600 men during the war, but almost immediately reduced its workforce to fewer than 200 when the war ended

3. The data in Tables 1 and 2 were taken from tables (compiled from the 1940, 1950, and 1960 federal censuses) in the following source:

Al-Khazraji, M.G. and D.G. Marshall.

Wisconsin's Changing North: An Analysis Of Selected Social And Economic Characteristics, 1940-1960.

Madison: Depart. of Sociology, College of Agriculture, University of Wisconsin, January 1963.

Table 1. Population Change, Northern Counties Wisconsin, 1920-1940.

Table 2. Change In Rural Farm Population, Northern Counties Wisconsin, 1940-1960.

Table 3. Change In Rural Non-Farm Population, Northern Counties Wisconsin, 1940-1960.

Table 4. Population Change Of Incorporated Cities And Villages Of Less Than 2,500
Population In 1960, Northern Counties, Wisconsin, 1940-1960.

Table 5. Urban And Rural Population Change, Northern Counties Wisconsin, 1940-1960.

Table 6. Changing Population Of Cities With 2,500 Population And Over, Northern Counties. .
Wisconsin 1940-1960.

Table 10. Sex Distribution and Ratio, Northern Counties. . . . Wisconsin 1940-1960.

4. The 17 county region, covering 31.8% of the area of the state, included only 10.0% of the state population in 1940, 8.6% in 1950, and 7.0% in 1960. The low per square mile densities compared to the much higher densities in the 54 county region (as shown in Table 1), highlight the sparseness of the population in the region.
5. Of the decline of 3,220 in the urban population, the cities of Ashland and Superior together lost 2,542 or 78.9% of the total loss.
6. Al-Khazraji and Marshall 1963, Table 17. Change In The Number Of Farms, Northern Counties Wisconsin, 1940-1959.

7. The following two reports contain comprehensive information about the social and economic characteristics of the 17 northern counties (including Oconto County, but not Taylor County.)

The Economy Of Northwestern Wisconsin: State Planning Area VI: Population Analysis, Economic Analysis, Programs For Economic Development.

Madison: State of Wisconsin, Dept. of Resource Development, 1967.

Includes Douglas, Burnett, Washburn, Bayfield, Sawyer, Rusk, Ashland, Iron, and Price Counties.

Table 1-9. Age Distribution For Total, Male And Female Population For Area VI: 1940, 1950, 1960.

The Economy Of Northeastern Wisconsin: State Planning Area VII: Population Analysis, Economic Analysis, Programs For Economic Development.

Madison: State of Wisconsin, Dept. of Resource Development, 1966.

Includes Vilas, Forest, Florence, Marinette, Oneida, Lincoln, Langlade, and Oconto Counties.

Table 1-9. Age Distribution For Total, Male And Female Population For Area VII: 1940, 1950, 1960.

8. In the 54 county region during these two decades the male percentage of the total population declined from 50.8% to 49.7%, the female percentage of the population increasing from 49.2% to 50.3%.
9. See note 7 for source of age composition data.
10. From 1940 to 1960, the foreign born population of the 17 county region declined by 24,397, or 61.9%, as the last members of the original large foreign born group died. With their passing the heavily ethnic character of the region faded, preserved in memory by annual Americanized ethnic celebrations.
11. Al-Khazraji and Marshall, January 1963.
Table 14. Number Of Persons 14 Years And Older In The Labor Force And Percent Of Persons Employed, Northern Counties. . . . And State, Wisconsin, 1940-1960.
12. *Economy Of Northwestern Wisconsin*, 1967.
Table 2-12. Distribution Of Households By Selected Income Groups In Area VI, Wisconsin, . . . : 1963.

Economy Of Northeastern Wisconsin, 1966.
Table 2-14. Distribution Of Households By Selected Income Groups In Area VII, Wisconsin, . . . : 1963.

13. Durant, Thomas J. and Douglas G. Marshall.
Wisconsin's Upper Great Lakes Region: Selected Social And Economic Characteristics 1940-1968.
 Department of Rural Sociology, University of Wisconsin.
 Population Series No. 18, June 15 1969.
 Madison: June 15 1969, Table 31, County Rank Based On Several Economic Criteria.

The 17 central counties include seven—Adams, Chippewa, Clark, Eau Claire, Jackson, Juneau, Wood—which are categorized as cutover counties in some studies.

14.

<u>Economic factor</u>	<u>Economic score</u>	
	<u>Oneida County</u>	<u>Rusk County</u>
Median family income	12	27
Percent labor force employed	16	28
Percent total employed in manufacturing	6	24
Percent total employed in non-agricultural industries	2	32
Percent change due to net migration by rural residence	2	28
Percent dependent population	<u>11</u>	<u>23</u>
Economic score	49	162
Development rank	32	1

15. “The current farm operator level-of-living index is derived from five variables in the Census of Agriculture preliminary reports: (1) average value of products sold per farm, (2) average value of land and buildings per farm, (3) percentage of farms with telephones, (4) percentage of farms with home freezers, and (5) percentage of farms with automobiles. Weights for these items were derived through a factor analysis of data from the 1959 Census of Agriculture. (See table 1, and technical explanation on page 67.) These weights were then applied to data from 1950, 1959, and 1964 Censuses of Agriculture. Weights for dollar figures for 1950 and 1964 were adjusted for changes in price levels before and after 1959.”

Zimmer, John M. and Elsie S. Manny.
Farm Operator Level-Of-Living Indexes For The Counties Of The United States, 1950, 1959, And 1964.
 Statistical Bulletin No. 406, U.S. Department of Agriculture.
 Washington: 1967. Table 6.

16. Milwaukee County omitted and Menominee County included in Shawano County

The Liberal Decade 1960-1970

As American society became increasingly prosperous, beginning during the last decade of the 19th century, poor people began to stand out (1). There had always been poor individuals and poor families, cared for by local charity. But now the poor, those who were not sharing proportionately in the new prosperity, became more numerous and coalesced into an underclass. A large proportion of these people were black or white, so-called “good-for-nothings.” Except for the heroic efforts of a few women and men, little was done to help them. The prevailing view among the “better classes” was that people were poor because of their own failings, and besides the Bible said, “The poor you will always have with you.” This changed during the 1930s under the New Deal programs of President Franklin D. Roosevelt intended to alleviate, if not eliminate poverty. During the war full employment and high wages reduced the level of poverty in the nation, and the problem faded from public consciousness. After the war a brief recession was followed by a return to prosperity, and pockets of chronic underdevelopment and poverty throughout the nation were ignored (2).

President John F. Kennedy brought the issue of poverty in America to the fore in his inaugural address on January 20 1961. Inspired by coming face to face with dire poverty when he toured West Virginia, during his presidential campaign, President Kennedy declared that “If the free society cannot help the poor, it cannot save the few who are rich” (3). The Kennedy administration addressed the issues of sustaining economic growth and relieving unemployment through three programs: combating juvenile delinquency and youth, crime, aid to depressed areas, and manpower training and development (4).

In November 1963 Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson became president with the assassination of President Kennedy. During the 1960s, the so-called “liberal decade,” the Johnson administration undertook two initiatives intended to ameliorate poverty and foster economic development. The first of these initiatives was the Economic Opportunity Act, signed by President Johnson in August 1964. The purpose of this law was “to mobilize the human and financial resources of the Nation to combat poverty in the United States.” This law was the basis of Johnson’s so-called “war on poverty,” which he had declared in his first state of the union address on January 8 1964 (5). The second anti-poverty and economic development initiative of the Johnson administration was the Appalachian Regional Development Act of 1965. This law established the Appalachian Regional Commission, covering all of West Virginia and parts of eleven other states, from New York to Alabama (6). The commission was responsible for carrying out the principal objectives of the ARD Act—“To assist the region in meeting its special problems” and “to promote its economic development.”

To gain the political support in Congress needed to pass the ARD Act, the governors of states outside of Appalachia were promised regional commissions. This promise was fulfilled by the Public Works and Economic Development Act, approved in 1965, which provided for grants for “the planning and coordination needed to alleviate conditions of substantial and persistent unemployment and underemployment in economically distressed areas and regions” (7). Title V of the act authorized the Secretary of Commerce to “designate appropriate economic development districts” if he found that a region “has lagged behind the Nation as a whole in economic development.” From 1966 to 1979 eleven federal-state economic development districts or regions, covering all the nation except Appalachia and California, were designated

(8). Each of these development districts was administered by a joint federal-state commission. These commissions were not autonomous federal-state entities like the Appalachian Regional Commission, but were under the jurisdiction of the Economic Development Administration in the Department of Commerce.

The Upper Great Lakes Regional Commission, (UGLRC), established in April 1965, encompassed 119 counties in central and northern Wisconsin, Minnesota and Michigan. Thirty-five of the counties were located in Wisconsin, 17 in northern cutover counties and 18 in adjacent central counties (9). The objectives of the commission were to “increase the number of job opportunities and the quality of those jobs for the citizens of the region; diversify the employment base of the region; provide for economic and population stability in the region” (10). Despite the magnitude of the problems in the region and the low level of funding—only 10% of the amount originally anticipated—many of the commission’s objectives were achieved (11). From 1969 to 1973 the UGLRC made grants totaling \$1,331,300 to communities in 10 of the 17 northern counties for two types of development projects: industrial parks—“a parcel of land developed to provide serviced sites for manufacturing, warehousing, or other industrial use”—\$591,300, or 24.9% of the total cost of industrial park projects for six counties, as shown in Table 1 (12); and for community-industrial service projects—to provide fire protection, water, power and sewage facilities for industries—\$740,000, or 17.4% of the total cost of community-industrial service projects for seven counties (three of which also received industrial park funds), as shown in Table 2 (13). The regional commissions were increasingly criticized for administrative deficiencies, financial irregularities, and failure to achieve their goals. In 1973 President Richard M. Nixon declined to allocate additional money to the commissions, except the Appalachian Regional Commission (14). The commissions were terminated by Congress in 1974.

An assessment of the “state of the region” in the mid-1960s is provided by two reports published by the Department of Resource Development: *The Economy of Northwestern Wisconsin*, covering nine counties—Douglas, Bayfield, Ashland, Iron, Burnett, Washburn, Sawyer, Price, and Rusk; and *The Economy of Northeastern Wisconsin*, including eight counties—Vilas, Forest, Florence, Oneida, Lincoln, Langlade, Oconto, and Marinette (15). The reports are generally pessimistic about the possibilities for economic development in the region:

Even with the strongest developmental action, there is little hope of halting all the out-migration which continues to drain this already sparsely populated area. Those who leave to seek better jobs, higher pay, increased education, or the amenities of urban culture are generally those old enough to work, which leaves the remaining population with a high percentage of young and elderly dependents. This means that the area is left with a labor force of older, relatively unskilled workers who are not trained to handle highly technical jobs or to command higher pay. . . . Although agriculture is the principal industry in terms of employment it is marginal because of the area’s poor soil capabilities and climate and because of its poor market location. As a result, farm consolidation is proceeding at a greater rate than at the state and national levels. The decline in farm employment has not been counterbalanced by substantial gains in employment in other industries. Among the activities based on natural resources the lumber and wood products industry has experienced long-term

declines in employment; and paper and allied products manufacturing, while growing modestly, apparently is reaching the present drain-limits of local forest resources (16).

The reports recognized that despite the disadvantages endemic to the region, “opportunities for economic growth do exist,” including forestry and forest based industries wood processing, particularly pulp and paper making, but also millwork, veneer, plywood, and other wood products; agriculture and food processing industries; other manufacturing industries; and recreation. Both reports recommend “development objectives,” which would exploit these opportunities (17).

Tables 3 through 10 show the social and economic changes, which occurred in the 17 county region between 1960 and 1970. Although the war on poverty and the UGLR Commission undoubtedly contributed to these changes, the magnitude of their contributions would be difficult to assess.

Population

Table 3 shows that from 1960 to 1970 the population of the 17 county region increased by 2,325, or 0.8% of the 1960 population of 277,457, the net result of an increase due to births and immigration and a decrease due to deaths and out-migration (18). Nine of the counties experienced population growth, from 64, or 0.7%, in Burnett County to 2,315, or 10.5%, in Oneida County. Eight counties lost population from 139, or 4.0%, in Florence County to 885, or 4.9%, in Taylor County. Table 4 shows the distribution of the population among urban and rural areas (19). As shown in the table, the total population gain for the decade was 2,646, or 1.0% of the 1960 population, slightly reversing the population decline that began after the 1940 census. The increase in the rural population of 7,895 was a combination of the migration of people from urban to rural areas, plus the movement into the rural areas by newcomers to the region. Reflecting the continuing decline of agriculture in the region, the farm population decreased by 19,353. The sources of the gain of 27,248 in the rural non-farm population would have included a mix of contributions from the declining urban and rural farm populations, and from migration into the region. Table 5 shows that the population of males declined by 934, or 0.7% of their 1960 population, while females gained 3,819, or 2.8% of their 1960 population, changing the difference between the genders from a small preponderance of males in 1960 to a majority of females in 1970. The data in Table 5 suggest that the increase in the total population shown in Table 3 was due primarily to an increase in the number of females.

Unemployment

The annual average unemployment rate for each of the 17 counties in 1972 is shown in Table 6, ranging from a low of 5.3% in Oneida County to a high of 17.4% in Florence County (20). The average rate for the region was 8.2%, compared to a state average of 5.0%.

Per-capita income

Table 7 shows for the 17 northern counties the estimated average per capita income in 1972, and the percentage increase in that income, from 1962 to 1972 (21). The county per capita incomes in 1972 ranged from \$2,475 for Forest County, with a percentage increase of 23.4% between 1969 and 1972, to \$3,272 and 24.9%, respectively, for Douglas County. The estimated average per capita income for all of the northern counties for that period was \$2,780, and the average percentage increase was 22.8%. The comparable figures for the state were \$3,699 and 21.0%.

Family income

Table 8 shows the percent of families in each of the 17 counties with incomes below the state poverty threshold level of \$3,968, in 1970 (22). Sawyer County had the largest percentage of families below the threshold level—21.1%—and Iron County the lowest percentage—8.0%. For the state as a whole 7.4% of family incomes were below the poverty threshold level in 1970.

Table 1

<u>County</u>	<u>Date of investment</u>	<u>Project cost*</u>	<u>UGLRC investment</u>	
Bayfield	1970	\$377,000	\$113,100	
Burnett	1973	240,000	48,000	
Marinette	1969 & 1973	1,199,500	159,100	
Oconto	1971	25,100	13,100	
Price	1972	130,000	58,000	
Washburn	1970	401,500	200,000	
		\$2,373,100	\$591,300	24.9% of cost

*industrial parks projects

Table 2

<u>County</u>	<u>Date of investment</u>	<u>Project cost*</u>	<u>UGLRC investment</u>	
Forest	1971	\$976,000	\$150,000	
Marinette	1972	80,000	33,000	
Oneida	1969	1,450,000	150,000	
Price	1973	379,000	100,000	
Rusk	1968	127,500	42,000	
Vilas	1971	714,000	165,000	
Washburn	1973	532,627	100,000	
		\$4,259,127	\$740,000	17.4% of cost

*community—industrial service projects

Table 3

	<u>1960</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>Change</u> <u>1960-1970</u>	
Ashland	17,375	16,743	-632	3.6%
Bayfield	11,910	11,683	-227	1.9
Burnett	9,214	9,276	62	0.7
Douglas	45,008	44,657	-351	0.8
Florence	3,437	3,298	-139	4.0
Forest	7,542	7,691	149	2.0
Iron	7,830	6,533	-1,297	16.6
Langlade	19,916	19,220	-696	3.5
Lincoln	22,338	23,499	1,161	5.2
Marinette	34,660	35,810	1,150	3.3
Oneida	22,112	24,427	2,315	10.5
Price	14,370	14,520	150	1.0
Rusk	14,794	14,238	-556	3.8
Sawyer	9,475	9,670	195	2.1
Taylor	17,843	16,958	-885	4.9
Vilas	9,332	10,958	1,626	17.4
Washburn	<u>10,301</u>	<u>10,601</u>	<u>300</u>	2.9
Total population	277,457	279,782	2,325	0.8%

Table 4

<u>Population units</u>	<u>1960(c)</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>Change</u> <u>1960-1970</u>
Urban population(a)	103,334	98,085	-5,249—5.1%(e)
% Total population	37.3%(d)	35.1%(d)	
Rural population(b)	173,749	181,644	7,895—4.5%(e)
% Total population	62.7%(d)	64.9%(d)	
Total region population	277,083	279,729	2,646—1.0%(f)

a. Urban areas with populations equal to or greater than 2,500

b. Rural cities and villages with populations less than 2,500 and rural towns

c. The total population and population distribution among urban and rural units as given in the source for the 1960-1970 data differs from that given the source for the 1940-1960 data.

d. Percentage of total population for indicated year

e. Percentage of 1960 population for indicated unit

f. Percentage of 1960 total population

Table 5

	<u>1960</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>Change</u>
Males	140,259	139,325	-934—0.7%
% Population	50.6%	49.7%	
Females	137,198	141,017	3,819—2.8%
% Population	49.4%	50.3%	
Total	277,457	280,342	2,885—1.1%

Table 6

<u>County</u>	<u>% Unemployed 1972</u>
Ashland	6.5%
Bayfield	10.4
Burnett	6.9
Douglas	8.9
Florence	17.4
Forest	8.2
Iron	9.6
Langlade	5.4
Lincoln	5.6
Marinette	6.5
Oneida	5.3
Price	6.0
Rusk	8.5
Sawyer	11.5
Taylor	8.4
Vilas	6.6
Washburn	7.9
Average %	8.2%

State average 5.0% unemployed 1972

Table 7

<u>County</u>	1972 Per capita <u>income*</u>	% Change <u>1969-1972</u>
Ashland	\$2,737	22.3%
Bayfield	2,625	17.8
Burnett	2,552	19.6
Douglas	3,272	24.9
Florence	2,794	26.8
Forest	2,475	23.4
Iron	2,740	20.1
Langlade	2,842	25.6
Lincoln	2,975	24.0
Marinette	2,877	18.4
Oneida	3,261	25.5
Price	2,621	21.1
Rusk	2,628	23.7
Sawyer	2,526	22.0
Taylor	2,504	28.0
Vilas	2,852	20.3
Washburn	2,981	23.3
Average	\$2,780	22.8%

*1972 estimated

Table 8

<u>County</u>	% Below \$3,968
Ashland	12.3%
Bayfield	15.3
Burnett	18.4
Douglas	10.4
Florence	16.0
Forest	17.9
Iron	8.0
Langlade	15.6
Lincoln	8.6
Marinette	11.7
Oneida	9.8
Price	15.1
Rusk	18.9
Sawyer	21.1
Taylor	17.4
Vilas	15.7
Washburn	14.1

State poverty threshold level in 1970—\$3,968

State average poverty level in 1970—7.4% below threshold income

Endnotes

1. “Poor” may be defined as “having little or nothing in the way of wealth, goods, or means of subsistence,” compared to the rest of society. Poverty is “the condition of being poor.”
2. Several books about the persistence of poverty in the midst of prosperity were published during the postwar years. One slim volume, Michael Harrington’s *The Other America: Poverty In The United States*, first published in 1962, is said to have “catalyzed a rediscovery of poverty in America”—Patterson 2000, p. 97. Possibly President Kennedy, and certainly members of his staff, read Harrington’s book.
3. Patterson, James T.
America’s Struggle Against Poverty In The Twentieth Century.
Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000. p. 122.
4. Patterson 2000, pp. 122-123.
5. Kennedy had used the phrase, “war on poverty,” in a speech in August 1961—Patterson 2000, p. 122.

Lander, Louise.
War On Poverty.
New York: Facts, On File, 1967.

6. Rothblatt, Donald N. *Regional Planning: The Appalachian Experience*.
Lexington, MA: D.C. Heath and Company, 1971. Maps, pp. 2-3.

Bradshaw, Michael. *The Appalachian Regional Commission; Twenty-Five Years Of Government Policy*.
Lexington, KY: University Press of Kentucky, 1992.

A “region” is an administrative unit intermediate between the state and federal governments, defined by social, economic, and resource factors. While many federal programs are administered on a regional basis, federal regions as centers for policy formation and implementation are uncommon, restricted by the federal-state system and political conservatism—Bradshaw, Michael. *Regions And Regionalism In The United States*. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1988. Pp. 3-65. The first large administrative region was the multi-state Tennessee Valley Authority, created by Congress in 1933 to provide navigation, flood control, electricity and economic development in the Tennessee River Basin—Rothblatt 1971, pp. 32-34, Bradshaw, 1988, pp. 124-137.

7. *Highlights Of The Public Works And Economic Development Act Of 1965, Public Law 89-136*.
Eighty-ninth Congress, 1st Session, House, Committee on Public Works.
Washington: GPO, 1965.
8. White, Anthony G.

'Title V' Regional Commissions: A Selected Bibliography.
Monticello, IL: Council of Planning Librarians, 1975;

Bradshaw, Michael J.
The Appalachian Regional Commission: Twenty-Five Years Of Government Policy.
Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1992. Pp. 145-148;

Murphy, Robert T.
"The Regional Commission System."
Public Administration Review.
v. 33, March-April 1973, pp. 179-184.

9. Alston, Farnum K. and John E. Ross. *Impact of Upper Great Lakes Regional Commission Public Investments; An Evaluation of Supplemental Grants In Northern And Central Wisconsin.* Madison: Center for Geographic Analysis, Institute for Environmental Studies. University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1976. IES report 63. Pp. 86-93.
10. Alston and Ross 1976, p. 15.
11. Alston and Ross 1976, pp. 15-16.
12. Alston and Ross 1976, pp. 29-37.
13. Alston and Ross 1976, pp. 29, 40-41.
14. "Nixon Cutting Additional Funds For Most Regional Commissions."
Eugene (Oregon) Register Guard, February 18 1973.
15. *The Economy Of Northwestern Wisconsin: State Planning Area VI.* Madison: Wisconsin Department of Resource Development, 1967; *The Economy Of Northeastern Wisconsin: State Planning Area VI.* Madison: Wisconsin Department of Resource Development, 1966. The reports include population analysis, economic analysis and programs for economic development for their respective regions.
16. *Economy Of Northwestern Wisconsin, 1967*, pp.109-110; *Economy Of Northeastern Wisconsin, 1966*, pp. 189-190.
17. *Economy Of Northwestern Wisconsin, 1967*, pp. 110-113; *Economy Of Northeastern Wisconsin, 1966*, pp. 191-195.

18. The data in Tables 3 through 5 were taken from the following sources:

Durant, Thomas J. and Douglas G. Marshall.

Wisconsin's Changing North: An Analysis Of Selected Social And Economic Characteristics: 1940-1968.

Madison: Department of Sociology, College of Agricultural and Life Sciences, University of Wisconsin, November 1968.

Table 1. Population Change, Northern Counties, And State, Wisconsin, 1940-1960.

Nineteenth Census Of The United States: 1970.

Census Of Population And Housing.

Vol. 1. Characteristics Of the Population.

Part 51. Wisconsin

Chapter A. Number Of Inhabitants.

Table 9 Population And Land Areas Of Counties: 1970 and 1960.

Table 34. Race By Sex For Counties: 1970.

Table 121. Employment Characteristics For Counties: 1970.

19. The population totals in Tables 3 and 4 are not the same in the sources.

20. Alston, Farnum and John E. Ross.

Impact Of The Great Lakes Regional Commission Public Investments: An Evaluation Of Supplemental Grants In Northern And Central Wisconsin.

Madison: Center For Geographic Analysis, Institute For Environmental Studies, University of Wisconsin—Madison, 1976. Map 8—Unemployment rates (%) By Wisconsin UGLRC Counties.

21. Alston and Ross 1976. Table 11. UGLRC Counties With Per Capita Income Increase Above State Increase; Table 12. UGLRC Counties With Per Capita Income Increase Below State Increase.

22. Alston and Ross 1976. Map 7. Percent Of UGLRC Families With Income Below Poverty Level, By County 1970.

Counties

Counties

In May 1848 Congress created the state of Wisconsin from what was then the Wisconsin Territory (1). The territory of the state is divided into five geographic provinces, as shown on the accompanying map: 1—northern highland province; 2—Lake Superior lowland province; 3—central plain province; 4—eastern ridges and lowland province; 5—western upland province (2). The northern highland province is a vast plain (a peneplain) that stretches south from deep inside Canada (3). It is gently arched with a pronounced southern slope; knobs, ridges, and ranges of erosion resistant rock rise above the plain. It includes 12,115,114 acres (95.6% land and 4.4% water), or about one-third of the area of the state. The highest point in the region at 1,953 feet above sea level is near Ogema, in southern Price County. The Lake Superior lowland province borders Lake Superior. It is about 600 feet above sea level, the lowest point in the region. An arm of the northern highland province extends into the Bayfield peninsula, dividing the lowland province into a western plain, the southern boundary of which is the Douglas Copper Range; and an eastern plain, the southern boundary of which is the Penokee-Gogebic Range. The central plain province forms the southern boundary of the northern highland province. It is a crescent shaped lowland that extends from the St. Croix River in the west to the Menominee River in the east. The eastern ridges and lowlands province lies between the eastern boundary of the central plain province and Lake Michigan. It is characterized by ridges (cuestas) in the west, which are separated by a lowland from an upland adjacent to Lake Michigan. The unglaciated western upland province lies in the southwestern region of the state, bordering the central plain province and the eastern ridges and lowlands province.

As shown on the historical maps in the Appendix, in 1850 the new state included 23 counties in the southeastern region, and seven large counties in the northern region—La Pointe, St. Croix, Chippewa, Crawford (part), Marathon, Winnebago, and Brown. As shown in Table 1, by 1870 four of the 18 counties—Ashland (not its final form), Bayfield, Burnett, Douglas—had been organized in the northwestern region of the state. By 1900, 17 of the 18 counties had been organized with the eighteenth, Rusk County, created from the northern half of Chippewa County in 1901. As shown in the accompanying table, four of the 18 counties are partly in the northern highland and partly in the Lake Superior lowland; six counties are partly in the northern highland and partly in the central plain; and eight counties are entirely in the northern highland.

Geographic Locations Of The 18 Northern Counties

Part Northern Highland—Part Lake Superior Lowland

Ashland, Bayfield, Douglas, Iron

Part Northern Highland—Part Central Plain

Burnett, Marinette, Oconto, Rusk, Sawyer, Washburn

All Northern Highland

Florence, Forest, Langlade, Lincoln, Oneida, Price, Taylor, Vilas

Table 2 shows the sizes in acres of the land and water areas, and total area of each of the 18 counties. Bayfield County has the largest total area of 967,531 acres, and the largest land area of 944,902 acres, or 97.7% of its total area. Florence County has the smallest total area of 319,632 acres, and the smallest land area of 312,373 acres, also 97.7% of its total area. Of the total of 11,505,382 acres in the 18 county region, 11,054,740 acres, or 96.1%, are land, and 450,642 acres, or 3.9%, are water.

Table 3 shows the basic information about the creation of each county and the origin of its name, and its population history. The total population in 1850 of the four large northern counties from which the 18 counties would eventually be created was 7,827, or 2.6% of the state population of 305,391. The population of the 23 southwestern counties was 284,575, or 93.2% of the state population. By 1870 four counties of the 18 counties had been organized in the northwestern region of the state (Ashland had not assumed its final area). The total population of these four counties and Chippewa, Marathon, and Oconto Counties was 24,910, or 2.4% of the state population of 1,054,670.

Table 4 shows the approximate distribution of foreign-born national groups as the largest and next largest groups in 10 counties in 1880, 17 counties in 1900, and 18 counties in 1910, 1920, and 1940. For example, in the 10 northern counties in 1880, Scandinavians formed the largest group in two counties, and the next largest group in one county; Germans formed the largest group in three counties and the next largest group in five counties; and Canadians formed the largest group in five counties and the next largest group in four counties. In some counties the total of other foreign born groups exceeded the total of the two largest groups—for example, in Ashland County in 1890, Scandinavians and Germans totaled 4,573, while the total of other foreign born groups was 4,872, including Canadians with 1,989. Also in several counties the difference in the size of the largest and next largest group was small—for example, in Marinette County in 1910, Scandinavians were the largest group with 2,500, and Germans the next largest with 2,420, a difference of only 80 people. Finally, in a few counties the next largest national group was small compared to the largest, the most obvious example being Burnett County in which Scandinavians were by far the largest group every census year—in 1890 there were 2,415 Scandinavians, while the next largest group was the Germans with 94 people.

As shown in Table 4, Scandinavians or Germans were the largest or next largest foreign born national groups in almost all of the counties from 1900 to 1940. However, if the Swedes, Norwegians, and Danes were listed separately, the Germans would be the largest foreign born

group in most of those counties. Regarding other foreign born national groups, Canadians were the largest group in Bayfield, Douglas, Marinette, Langlade, and Oconto Counties in 1880, and in Vilas County in 1900, and the next largest group in several northern and central tier counties through 1910. Finlanders were the largest group in Iron County in every census year from 1900 to 1940, with Italians the next largest group from 1910 to 1940. Finlanders were also the largest group in Vilas County in 1920, and the next largest group in Bayfield County in 1920, and in Bayfield, Douglas, Florence, and Vilas Counties, in 1940. Poles were the largest group in Forest and Rusk Counties in 1920 and 1940, and in Oconto County in 1940, and the next largest group in Oconto County in 1920, and in Sawyer and Taylor County in 1920 and 1940. Czechoslovaks were the largest group in Price County in 1940, and the next largest group in Price County in 1920, and in Langlade County in 1900, 1920, and 1940. Austrians were the next largest group in Taylor and Langlade Counties in 1910.

Finally, Table 5 shows the population histories of minority groups—Native Americans, African Americans, and Other, including a few people of Asian, Mexican, and South American descent. It is not possible to account for the distribution of African Americans and Native Americans among the counties, but two points are worth noting: the African-American population was concentrated in Douglas County, all of them probably employed as manual labor in shipping and industry in Superior; while the Native American population was concentrated in the six counties that had “Indian reservations,” many of them in these counties did not live on the reservations.

Notes

1. On the establishment of the state of Wisconsin, see:

Smith, Alice E.

The History Of Wisconsin: From Exploration To Statehood.

Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1985.

Parts of La Pointe and St. Croix Counties extending to the northwest, continued as “de facto” Wisconsin Territory, then were detached and included in the Minnesota Territory in March 1849. Menominee County was created in 1961 from Shawano county and a small western section of Oconto County.

2. Martin, Lawrence.

The Physical Geography Of Wisconsin.

Madison University of Wisconsin Press, 1965. Geographic provinces, pp. 31-40, 210.

3. The topography of the northern highland province was formed by an immense ice sheet, the Wisconsin glacier. This glacier moved into the state in a southwesterly direction from spreading centers in Canada about 10,000 years ago, covering all of the state except the southwestern driftless area. It modified the substrate, creating unique land forms—eskers, drumlins, kames, and moraines.

Table 1

18 County Creation

<u>County</u>	<u>Date Created</u>	<u>County</u>	<u>Date Created</u>
Oconto	February 1851	Price	February 1879
Douglas	February 1854	Florence	March 1882
Burnett	March 1856	Sawyer	March 1883
Ashland	March 1860	Washburn	March 1883
Bayfield	June 1860	Forest	April 1885
Lincoln	March 1874	Oneida	April 1885
Taylor	March 1875	Iron	March 1893
Langlade	February 1879	Vilas	April 1893
Marinette	February 1879	Rusk	May 1901

Information regarding the creation histories of the counties is taken from the sources shown in the accompanying table. The creation of a county did not become effective until the law authorizing its creation was published, which could be the month of creation or one or more months later.

<u>County</u>	<u>Long and DenBoer 1997</u>	<u>Kellogg 1910</u>	<u>County</u>	<u>Long and DenBoer 1997</u>	<u>Kellogg 1910</u>
Ashland	29-32	214, 219	Marinette	200	216, 226
Bayfield	37-42	200-201, 219-220	Oconto	217-222	203-204, 227
Burnett	65-70	211-213, 220-221	Oneida	223-226	217-218, 227
Douglas	118-121	210, 223	Price	246	216, 228
Florence	129	217, 223	Rusk	250	219, 228-229
Forest	135-139	218, 223	Sawyer	262	217, 229
Iron	149-151	218, 224	Taylor	278	215, 229-230
Langlade	178-181	215-216, 225	Vilas	284-287	218-219, 230
Lincoln	183-185	214-215, 225	Washburn	289	217, 230-231

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Table 2

18 County Region Land And Water Acres

<u>County</u>	<u>Land Area*</u>	<u>Percent</u>	<u>Water Area*</u>	<u>Percent</u>	<u>Total Area</u>
Ashland	668,103	99.1%	5,936	0.9%	674,039
Bayfield	944,902	97.7	22,629	2.3	967,531
Burnett	525,790	94.4	31,258	5.6	557,048
Douglas	837,924	98.3	14,113	1.7	852,037
Florence	312,373	97.7	7,259	2.3	319,632
Forest	649,053	96.7	22,531	3.3	671,584
Iron	484,660	94.3	29,368	5.7	514,028
Langlade	558,558	98.4	9,122	1.6	567,680
Lincoln	565,147	97.3	15,741	2.7	580,888
Marinette	897,262	98.5	13,735	1.5	910,997
Oconto	638,777	98.3	11,053	1.7	649,830
Oneida	719,826	91.3	68,447	8.7	788,273
Price	801,721	98.2	15,129	1.8	816,850
Rusk	584,439	98.7	7,854	1.3	592,293
Sawyer	804,180	93.5	56,183	6.5	860,363
Taylor	623,973	99.0	6,183	1.0	630,156
Vilas	558,593	85.6	93,889	14.4	652,482
Washburn	518,236	94.3	31,265	5.7	549,501
Total area	11,054,740		450,642		11,505,382
% Total area		96.1%		3.9%	

*acres

Table 3

Oconto County was created from Brown County in February 1851, assuming its present territory in May 1961. The county was named for its chief river, a name probably derived from the Menominee Native-American word for black bass fish.

Year	Population	<u>Gender</u>		Total	<u>Native born</u>		Total	<u>Foreign Born</u>		
		Male	Female		Native parents	Foreign parents		Largest	Next largest	Other
1860	3,592	2,239	1,353	2,038			1,554			
1870	8,321	4,922	3,399	4,591			3,730	Canada 1,645	Germany 797	5—1,288
1880	9,848	5,360	4,488	a. 6,220			a. 3,028	Canada 1,301	Germany 850	6—877
1890	15,009	8,126	6,883	9,849	2,981	6,868	5,160	Germany 1,806	Canada 1,367	10—1,984
1900	20,874	11,037	9,837	15,082	4,433	10,649	5,792	Germany 1,983	Canada 1,193	19—2,616
1910	25,657	13,450	12,207	19,782	6,863	12,919	5,875	Germany 2,236	Canada 920	16—2,719
1920	27,104	14,086	13,018	22,360	10,057	12,303	4,744	Germany 1,297	Poland 1,148	18—2,299
1930	26,386	13,896	12,490	22,958	12,522	10,436	3,428	Germany 1,010	Poland 853	17—1,565
1940	27,075	14,385	12,690	24,608			2,467	Poland 719	Germany 667	26—1,081

a. The total of native born and foreign born (9,248) does not equal the total population (9,848).

Table 3

Douglas County was created from La Pointe County in February 1854, assuming its present territory in May 1864. It was named for Stephen A. Douglas, U.S. Senator from Illinois 1847-1861.

Year	Population	<u>Gender</u>		Native born Total	<u>Native born</u>		Total	<u>Foreign born</u>		
		Male	Female		Native parents	Foreign parents		Largest	Next largest	Other
1860	812	433	379	551			261			
1870	1,122	666	456	712			410	Canada 133	Scandinavia 93	5—184
1880	655	353	302	a. 426			a. 182	Canada 66	Scandinavia 57	7—59
1890	13,468	8,608	4,860	7,355	3,550	3,805	6,113	Scandinavia 2,710	Canada 1,860	20—1,543
1900	36,335	21,036	15,299	22,817	8,678	14,139	13,518	Scandinavia 6,150	Canada 3,483	23—3,885
1910	47,422	27,427	19,995	31,280	12,399	18,883	16,142	Scandinavia 6,767	Canada 2,299	16—7,076
1920	49,771	26,588	23,183	36,027	13,589	22,438	13,744	Scandinavia 6,002	Canada 1,803	16—5,939
1930	46,583	24,494	22,089	35,916	15,309	20,607	10,667	Scandinavia 4,923	Finland 1,359	17—4,385
1940	47,119	24,364	22,755	38,856			8,253	Scandinavia 3,681	Finland 1,123	36—3,449

a. Total of native and foreign born (608) does not equal total population (655).

Table 3

Burnett County was created from Douglas and Polk Counties in March 1856, assuming its present territory in April 1883. The county was named for Thomas P. Burnett, a member of the Wisconsin Territorial Legislature.

Year	Population	<u>Gender</u>		Native born Total	<u>Native born</u>		Total	<u>Foreign born</u>		
		Male	Female		Native parents	Foreign parents		Largest	Next largest	Other
1860	12	7	5	9			3			
1870	706	376	330	144			562	Scandinavia 551	Canada 4	5—7
1880	3,140	1,884	1,256	1,529			1,611	Scandinavia 1,387	Canada 107	7—117
1890	4,393	2,335	2,058	2,269	531	1,738	2,124	Scandinavia 2,043	Germany 31	7—50
1900	7,478	4,087	3,391	4,848	1,462	3,386	2,630	Scandinavia 2,415	Germany 94	12—121
1910	9,026	4,857	4,169	6,670	2,770	3,900	2,356	Scandinavia 2,076	Germany 127	13—153
1920	10,735	5,777	4,958	8,621	4,268	4,353	2,114	Scandinavia 1,719	Germany 151	17—244
1930	10,233	5,488	4,745	8,731	4,894	3,837	1,502	Scandinavia 1,168	Germany 130	16—204
1940	11,382	6,193	5,189	10,295			1,087	Scandinavia 813	Germany 109	24—165

Table 3

Ashland County was created from La Pointe County in March 1860, assuming its present territory in March 1893. It was named for the Kentucky estate of Henry Clay.

Year	Population	<u>Gender</u>		Native born Total	<u>Native born</u>		Total	<u>Foreign born</u>		
		Male	Female		Native parents	Foreign parents		Largest	Next largest	Other
1860	515	273	242	450			65			
1870	221	125	96	174			47	Ireland 18	Canada 12	3—17
1880	1,559	894	665	1,087			472	Germany 188	Canada 120	7—164
1890	20,063	12,709	7,354	10,618	3,982	6,636	9,445	Scandinavia 2,424	Germany 2,149	19—4,872
1900	20,176	11,318	8,858	13,403	4,821	8,582	6,773	Scandinavia 2,118	Germany 1,776	21—2,879
1910	21,965	11,825	10,140	15,552	5,132	10,420	6,413	Scandinavia 1,765	Germany 1,612	16—3,036
1920	24,538	13,528	11,010	18,188	6,781	11,407	6,350	Scandinavia 1,622	Germany 1,127	19—3,601
1930	21,054	11,161	9,893	16,835	7,622	9,213	4,219	Scandinavia 2,254	Germany 687	17—1,278
1940	21,801	11,428	10,373	18,698			3,103	Scandinavia 797	Germany 562	27—1,744

Table 3

Bayfield County was created as La Pointe County from the larger La Pointe County in June 1860. It was renamed Bayfield County, in May 1866, for British Admiral Henry W. Bayfield, who surveyed Lake Superior, and assumed its final territory in March 1869.

Year	Population	<u>Gender</u>		<u>Native born</u>		<u>Foreign born</u>				
		Male	Female	Native born Total	Native parents	Foreign parents	Total	Largest	Next largest	Other
1870	344	196	148	288			56	Canada 23	Scotland 23	5—10
1880	564	299	265	502			62	Canada 24	Germany 18	7—20
1890	7,390	4,630	2,760	^{a.} 3,575	1,542	2,033	^{a.} 3,512	Scandinavia 1,905	Canada 982	19—625
1900	14,392	8,775	5,617	8,768	3,077	5,691	5,624	Scandinavia 2,811	Canada 1,639	19—1,174
1910	15,987	9,126	6,861	10,637	3,398	7,239	5,350	Scandinavia 2,759	Canada 885	16—1,706
1920	17,201	9,382	7,819	12,440	4,223	8,217	4,761	Scandinavia 2,144	Finland 707	16—1,910
1930	15,006	8,199	6,807	11,414	4,682	6,732	3,592	Scandinavia 1,583	Finland 611	17—1,398
1940	15,827	8,704	7,123	12,940			2,887	Scandinavia 1,202	Finland 514	18—1,171

a. Total of native born and foreign born (7,087) does not equal total population (7,390).

Table 3

Lincoln County was created from Marathon County in March 1874, assuming its present territory in January 1887. The county was named for President Abraham Lincoln.

Year	Population	<u>Gender</u>		<u>Native born</u>		<u>Foreign born</u>				
		Male	Female	Native born Total	Native parents	Foreign parents	Total	Largest	Next largest	Other
1880	2,011	1,181	830	1,364			647	Germany 359	Canada 115	7—173
1890	12,008	6,813	5,195	7,660	2,993	4,667	4,348	Germany 2,151	Canada 971	19—1,226
1900	16,269	8,710	7,559	11,580	3,754	7,826	4,689	Germany 2,526	Scandinavia 863	18—1,300
1910	19,064	9,947	9,117	14,352	4,929	9,423	4,712	Germany 2,357	Scandinavia 898	17—1,457
1920	21,084	11,180	9,904	16,731	7,024	9,707	4,353	Germany 1,953	Scandinavia 785	16—1,615
1930	21,072	11,065	10,007	17,836	9,262	8,574	3,236	Germany 1,521	Scandinavia 602	17—1,113
1940	22,536	11,788	10,748	20,174			2,362	Germany 1,055	Scandinavia 406	28—901

Table 3

Taylor County was created from Chippewa, Clark, Lincoln and Marathon Counties in March 1875, assuming its present territory in March 1882. The county was probably named for William R. Taylor, governor of Wisconsin 1874-1876.

Year	Population	<u>Gender</u>		<u>Native born</u>		<u>Foreign born</u>				
		Male	Female	Native born Total	Native parents	Foreign parents	Total	Largest	Next largest	Other
1880	2,311	1,348	963	1,564			747	Germany 338	Canada 214	6—195
1890	6,731	3,709	3,022	3,471	949	2,522	3,260	Germany 2,163	Scandinavia 361	17—736
1900	11,262	6,264	4,998	7,203	1,936	5,267	4,059	Germany 2,462	Scandinavia 452	19—1,145
1910	13,641	7,374	6,267	9,609	2,913	6,696	4,032	Germany 2,016	Austria 728	16—1,288
1920	18,045	9,891	8,154	13,737	5,178	8,559	4,308	Germany 1,457	Poland 991	19—1,860
1930	17,685	9,507	8,178	14,593	7,042	7,551	3,092	Germany 1,110	Poland 803	19—1,179
1940	20,105	10,937	9,168	17,478			2,627	Germany 832	Poland 755	26—1,040

Table 3

Langlade County was created as New County from Shawno County in February 1879. In February 1880 the name was changed to Langlade for Charles Langlade, who at the time was thought to have been the first (white) settler in the state. The county assumed its present territory in April 1885.

Year	Population	<u>Gender</u>		Native born Total	<u>Native born</u>		Total	<u>Foreign born</u>		
		Male	Female		Native parents	Foreign parents		Largest	Next largest	Other
1880	685	439	246	487			198	Canada 73	Germany 48	3—77
1890	9,465	5,135	4,330	6,735	2,894	3,841	2,730	Germany 1,301	Bohemia a. 355	18—1,074
1900	12,553	6,685	5,868	9,949	4,308	5,641	2,604	Germany 1,205	Bohemia a. 479	18—920
1910	17,062	8,937	8,125	14,186	6,984	7,202	2,876	Germany 1,330	Austria 686	18—860
1920	21,471	11,368	10,103	b. 18,508	10,598	7,910	b. 2,863	Germany 864	Czech. a. 554	16—1,445
1930	21,544	11,301	10,243	19,372	12,108	7,264	2,172	Germany 696	Czech. a. 508	19—968
1940	23,227	12,245	10,982	21,635			1,592	Germany 496	Czech. a. 371	27—725

a. Bohemia was part of Czechoslovakia.

b. Total of native born and foreign born (21,371) does not equal total population (21,471).

Table 3

Marinette County was created from Oconto County in February 1879, assuming its present territory in April 1882. The county took its name from the village named for Marinette Chevalier, the wife of a man who settled on the site in 1822.

Year	Population	<u>Gender</u>		<u>Native born</u>		<u>Foreign born</u>				
		Male	Female	Native born Total	Native parents	Foreign parents	Total	Largest	Next largest	Other
1880	8,929	5,360	3,569	4,831			4,098	Canada 1,557	Germany 982	7—1,559
1890	20,304	11,371	8,933	11,989	3,950	8,039	8,315	Scandinavia 2,578	Canada 2,275	19—3,462
1900	30,822	16,349	14,473	20,907	5,831	15,076	9,915	Scandinavia 3,009	Canada 2,614	19—4,292
1910	33,812	17,711	16,101	24,909	7,512	17,397	8,903	Scandinavia 2,500	Germany 2,420	16—3,983
1920	34,361	17,854	16,507	27,002	11,030	15,972	7,359	Scandinavia 1,844	Germany 1,554	16—3,961
1930	a. 33,530	17,580	15,050	a. 28,080	14,166	13,914	a. 5,426	Scandinavia 1,380	Germany 1,149	17—2,897
1940	36,225	18,933	17,292	32,232			3,998	Scandinavia 950	Germany 838	26—2,210

a. Neither the total of males and females (32,630) nor the total of native born and foreign born (33,506) equals the total population (33,530).

Table 3

Price County was created from Chippewa and Lincoln Counties in February 1879, assuming its present territory in March 1882. The county was named for William T. Price, who was the president of the state senate at that time.

Year	Population	<u>Gender</u>		Native born Total	<u>Native born</u>		Total	<u>Foreign born</u>		
		Male	Female		Native parents	Foreign parents		Largest	Next largest	Other
1880	785	510	275	415			370	Scandinavia 164	Germany 78	6—128
1890	5,258	3,238	2,020	2,614	896	1,718	2,644	Scandinavia 1,141	Germany 857	15—646
1900	9,106	5,085	4,021	5,781	1,892	3,889	3,325	Scandinavia 1,520	Germany 960	18—845
1910	13,795	7,597	6,198	9,491	3,186	6,305	4,304	Scandinavia 1,377	Germany 1,081	16—1,846
1920	18,517	10,132	8,385	13,753	5,089	8,664	4,764	Scandinavia 1,213	Czech. a. 1,104	16—2,447
1930	17,284	9,400	7,884	13,621	5,948	7,673	3,663	Czech. a. 996	Scandinavia 857	17—1,810
1940	18,467	10,107	8,360	15,453			3,014	Czech. a. 849	Scandinavia 635	27—1,530

a. Czechoslovakia

Table 3

Florence County was created from Marinette and Oconto Counties in March 1882. It was named for Florence Hulst, wife of Dr. N. P. Hulst. The name Florence was used first for the iron mine and then for the city and county.

Year	Population	<u>Gender</u>		<u>Native born</u>		<u>Foreign born</u>		Largest	Next largest	Other
		Male	Female	Native born Total	Native parents	Foreign parents	Total			
1890	2,604	1,561	1,043	^{a.} 1,246	387	852	1,358	Scandinavia 583	Canada 207	17—568
1900	3,197	1,796	1,401	1,924	511	1,413	1,273	Scandinavia 546	Canada 200	16—527
1910	3,381	1,943	1,438	2,186	544	1,642	1,195	Scandinavia 552	Canada 187	14—456
1920	3,602	2,017	1,585	2,701	908	1,793	901	Scandinavia 460	Canada 91	16—350
1930	3,768	2,161	1,607	2,950	1,436	1,514	818	Scandinavia 392	Finland 69	16—357
1940	4,177	2,297	1,880	3,622			555	Scandinavia 248	Finland 57	23—250

a. Total of native born/native parents and native born/foreign parents (1,239) does not equal total native born (1,246).

Table 3

Sawyer County was created from Chippewa and Ashland Counties in March 1883.
The county was named for Philetus Sawyer, U.S. Senator from Wisconsin 1881-1893.

Year	Population	<u>Gender</u>		<u>Native born</u>		<u>Foreign born</u>				
		Male	Female	Native born Total	Native parents	Foreign parents	Total	Largest	Next largest	Other
1890	1,977	1,207	770	1,142	593	549	835	Scandinavia 549	Canada 227	7—59
1900	3,593	1,972	1,621	2,788	1,689	1,099	805	Scandinavia 502	Canada 201	10—102
1910	6,227	3,508	2,719	4,945	2,845	2,100	1,282	Scandinavia 688	Canada 212	13—382
1920	8,243	4,421	3,822	6,885	4,242	2,643	1,358	Scandinavia 617	Poland 195	16—546
1930	8,878	4,816	4,062	7,701	4,927	2,774	1,177	Scandinavia 561	Poland 207	17—409
1940	11,540	6,440	5,100	10,168			1,378	Scandinavia 522	Poland 291	25—565

Table 3

Washburn County was created from Burnette County in March 1883. The county was named for Cadwallader C. Washburn, governor of Wisconsin 1872-1874.

Year	Population	<u>Gender</u>		<u>Native born</u>		<u>Foreign born</u>				
		Male	Female	Native born Total	Native parents	Foreign parents	Total	Largest	Next largest	Other
1890	2,926	1,638	1,288	1,895	1,013	882	1,031	Scandinavia 498	Canada 253	11—280
1900	5,521	2,981	2,540	4,198	2,160	2,038	1,323	Scandinavia 663	Canada 285	12—375
1910	8,196	4,275	3,921	6,780	3,749	3,031	1,416	Scandinavia 629	Germany 304	14—483
1920	11,377	6,096	5,281	9,883	5,942	3,941	1,494	Scandinavia 654	Germany 295	16—545
1930	11,103	6,009	5,094	9,959	6,372	3,587	1,144	Scandinavia 505	Germany 226	17—413
1940	12,496	6,691	5,805	11,527			969	Scandinavia 397	Germany 181	26—391

Table 3

Forest County was created from Langlade County in April 1885, named for the dense forest covering the territory at that time. The county assumed its present territory in April 1897.

Year	Population	<u>Gender</u>		<u>Native born</u>		<u>Foreign born</u>				
		Male	Female	Native born Total	Native parents	Foreign parents	Total	Largest	Next largest	Other
1890	1,012	639	373	726	448	278	286	Germany 98	Canada 78	11—110
1900	1,396	821	575	1,170	742	428	226	Germany 82	Canada 64	9—80
1910	6,782	3,927	2,855	5,646	3,263	2,383	1,136	Germany 367	Canada 201	18—568
1920	9,850	5,581	4,269	8,326	5,321	3,005	1,524	Poland 383	Germany 251	16—890
1930	11,118	6,262	4,856	9,837	6,852	2,985	1,281	Germany 208	Scandinavia 153	17—920
1940	11,805	6,514	5,291	10,885			920	Poland 310	Germany 164	26—446

Table 3

Oneida County was created from Lincoln County in April 1885, assuming its present territory in March 1905. The county was named for a tribe of New York Native Americans.

Year	Population	<u>Gender</u>		<u>Native born</u>		<u>Foreign born</u>				
		Male	Female	Native born Total	Native parents	Foreign parents	Total	Largest	Next largest	Other
1890	5,010	3,341	1,669	3,668	2,290	1,378	1,342	Canada 496	Scandinavia 374	17—472
1900	8,875	5,118	3,757	6,208	2,510	3,698	2,667	Scandinavia 890	Canada 645	23—1,132
1910	11,433	6,295	5,138	8,588	3,675	4,913	2,845	Germany 774	Scandinavia 761	15—1,310
1920	13,996	7,570	6,426	11,396	5,674	5,722	2,600	Scandinavia 658	Germany 551	16—1,391
1930	15,899	8,478	7,421	13,708	8,065	5,643	2,191	Scandinavia 591	Germany 430	17—1,170
1940	18,938	9,955	8,983	17,179			1,759	Scandinavia 470	Germany 330	27—959

Table 3

Iron County was created from Ashland County in March 1893, named for the iron ore deposits within its boundaries.

Year	Population	<u>Gender</u>		<u>Native born</u>		<u>Foreign born</u>		Largest	Next largest	Other
		Male	Female	Native born Total	Native parents	Foreign parents	Total			
1900	6,616	3,871	2,745	3,732	867	2,865	2,884	Finland 519	Scandinavia 480	18—1,885
1910	8,306	4,777	3,529	4,732	948	3,784	3,574	Finland 912	Italy 854	16—1,808
1920	10,261	6,003	4,258	6,504	1,448	5,056	3,757	Finland 1,181	Italy 856	18—1,720
1930	9,933	5,571	4,362	7,057	2,001	5,056	2,876	Finland 969	Italy 795	19—1,112
1940	10,049	5,489	4,560	7,931			2,118	Finland 724	Italy 596	26—798

Table 3

Vilas County was created from Oneida County in April 1893, assuming its present territory in March 1936. The county was named after William F. Vilas, a U.S. Senator from Wisconsin 1891-1897.

Year	Population	<u>Gender</u>		<u>Native born</u>		<u>Foreign born</u>		Largest	Next largest	Other
		Male	Female	Native born Total	Native parents	Foreign parents	Total			
1900	4,929	3,169	1,760	3,554	1,758	1,796	1,375	Canada 481	Scandinavia 361	16—533
1910	6,019	3,624	2,395	4,378	2,272	2,106	1,641	Scandinavia 458	Canada 306	16—877
1920	5,649	3,161	2,488	4,399	2,314	2,085	1,250	Finland 290	Scandinavia 212	16—748
1930	7,294	3,886	3,408	6,243	3,732	2,511	1,051	Finland 243	Scandinavia 212	17—596
1940	8,894	4,754	4,140	7,888			1,006	Scandinavia 221	Finland 202	22—583

Table 3

Rusk County was created from Chippewa County in May 1901. Originally named Gates, its name was changed in June 1905 to Rusk, after Jeremiah M. Rusk, governor of Wisconsin 1882-1889.

Year	Population	<u>Gender</u>		<u>Native born</u>			Total	<u>Foreign born</u>		
		Male	Female	Native born Total	Native parents	Foreign parents		Largest	Next largest	Other
1910	11,160	6,062	5,098	9,090	5,029	4,061	2,070	Scandinavia 614	Germany 535	16—921
1920	16,403	8,780	7,623	13,541	7,565	5,976	2,862	Poland 677	Scandinavia 593	16—1,592
1930	16,081	8,444	7,637	13,792	8,036	5,756	2,289	Poland 703	Scandinavia 463	17—1,123
1940	17,737	9,451	8,286	15,783			1,954	Poland 571	Scandinavia 352	29—1,031

Table 4

Distribution Of National Groups Among Counties

National Group	<u>1880</u> —10 counties		<u>1900</u> —17 counties		<u>1910</u> —18 counties		<u>1920</u> —18 counties		<u>1940</u> —18 counties	
	<u>Largest</u>	Next <u>Largest</u>	<u>Largest</u>	Next <u>Largest</u>	<u>Largest</u>	Next <u>Largest</u>	<u>Largest</u>	Next <u>Largest</u>	<u>Largest</u>	Next <u>Largest</u>
Scandinavians	2	1	10	4	11	2	10	3	10	3
Germans	3	5	5	3	6	6	4	6	3	7
Canadians	5	4	1	9		7		2		
Finlanders			1		1		2	1	1	4
Poles							2	3	3	2
Austrians						2				
Czechoslovaks				1				2	1	1
Italians						1		1		1

Table 5

Distribution Of Minority Groups Among Counties

AA—African Americans, labeled Negroes in the census reports;

NA—Native Americans, labeled Indians in the census reports;

Other—includes Chinese and a few Japanese and Mexicans.

African Americans

Thirteenth census 1910 Table 1

Fourteenth census 1920 Table 9

Fifteenth census 1930 Table 13

Sixteenth census 1940 Table 21

Native Americans and other races

Fifteenth census 1930 Table 17

Sixteenth census 1940 Table 25

*Includes Native American reservations

<u>County</u>	<u>1910</u>			<u>1920</u>			<u>1930</u>			<u>1940</u>		
	<u>AA</u>	<u>NA</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>AA</u>	<u>NA</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>AA</u>	<u>NA</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>AA</u>	<u>NA</u>	<u>Other</u>
Ashland*	8	1,096	3	1	1,288			1,030	2	2	1,174	3
Bayfield*	8	458		8	469	1	10	614		16	625	
Burnett	6	238		10	100		13	224		7	178	
Douglas	184	264	18	117	184	23	62	219	25	43	161	22
Florence				2								
Forest*	2	148		3	373			348			403	
Iron*	3	28	1	6	12			59	4	2		8
Langlade	10	82	6	12	96	8	1	51	8		12	6
Lincoln	12	68		7	21	1	7	55		7	20	
Marinette	11	152	5	29	38	2	23	12	6	32		8
Oconto	2	219	1	1	319	1	1	275		3	265	
Oneida	3	78	4	10	39		3	100	6	4	106	11
Price	6		1	3	1		7	65			12	
Rusk	2	55	1	12	41	1	15	60	3	12	16	
Sawyer*		1,244	2	8	879			1,055	1		1,245	
Taylor	24			31		2	19			19		
Vilas*	10	568		1	535		2	835		1	966	
Washburn	3	151	1	9	70	1	7	82		5	51	
	294	4,849	43	270	4,465	40	170	5,084	55	153	4,831	58

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1. On the establishment of the state of Wisconsin, see:

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Parts of La Pointe and St. Croix Counties extending to the northwest, continued as “de facto” Wisconsin Territory, then were detached and included in the Minnesota Territory in March 1849. Menominee County was created in 1961 from Shawano county and a small western section of Oconto County.

2. “Land And Inland Lake Area Of Wisconsin Counties.”

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3. The topography of the northern highland was created by an immense ice sheet, the Wisconsin glacier. This glacier moved into the state in a southwesterly direction from spreading centers in Canada about 10,000 years ago, covering all of the state except the southwestern driftless area. It modified the substrate, creating unique land forms—eskers, drumlins, kames, and moraines—and through post-glacial processes of erosion and deposition.

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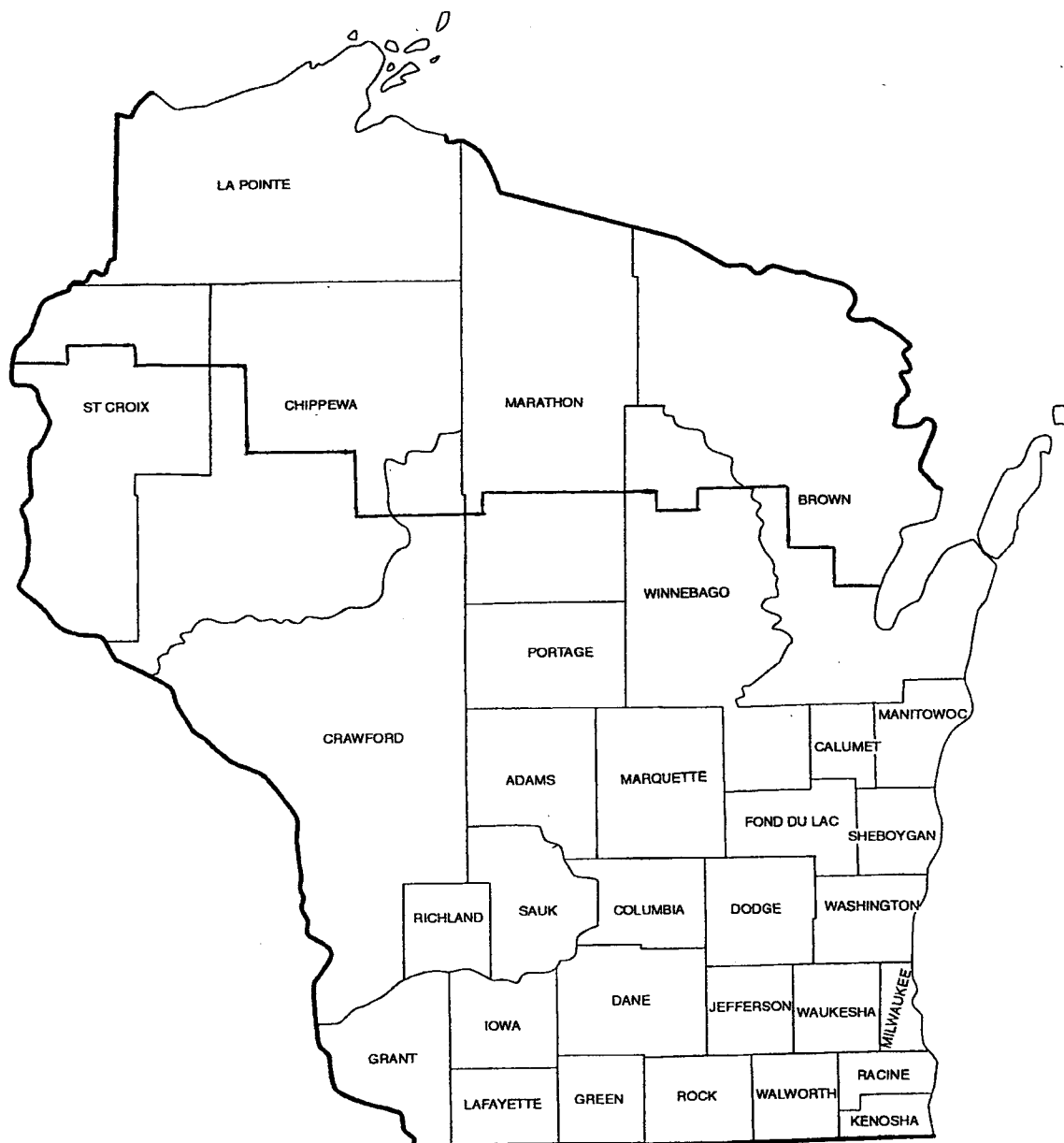
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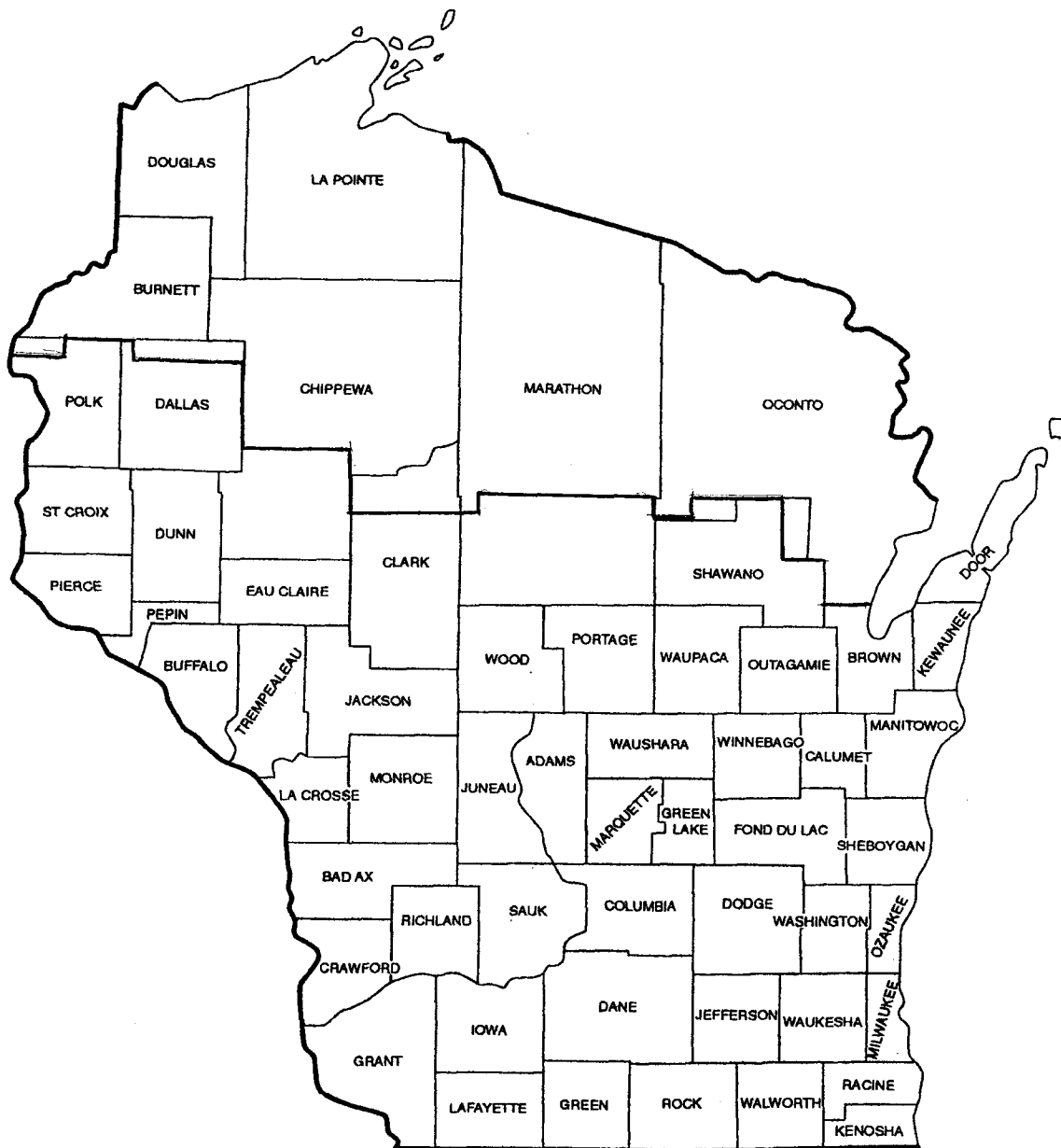
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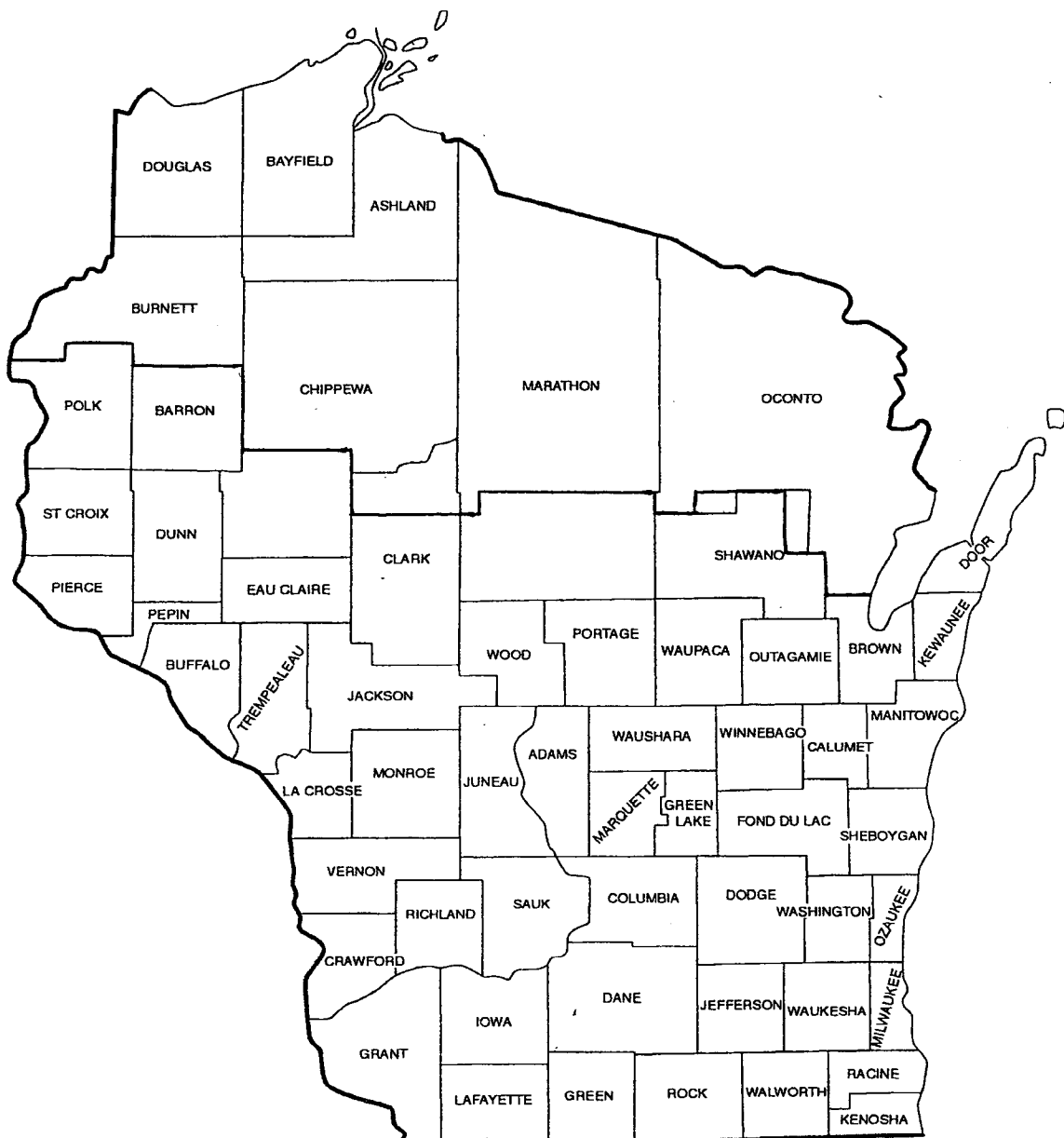
County History Maps 1850-2011



The Counties Of Wisconsin In 1850



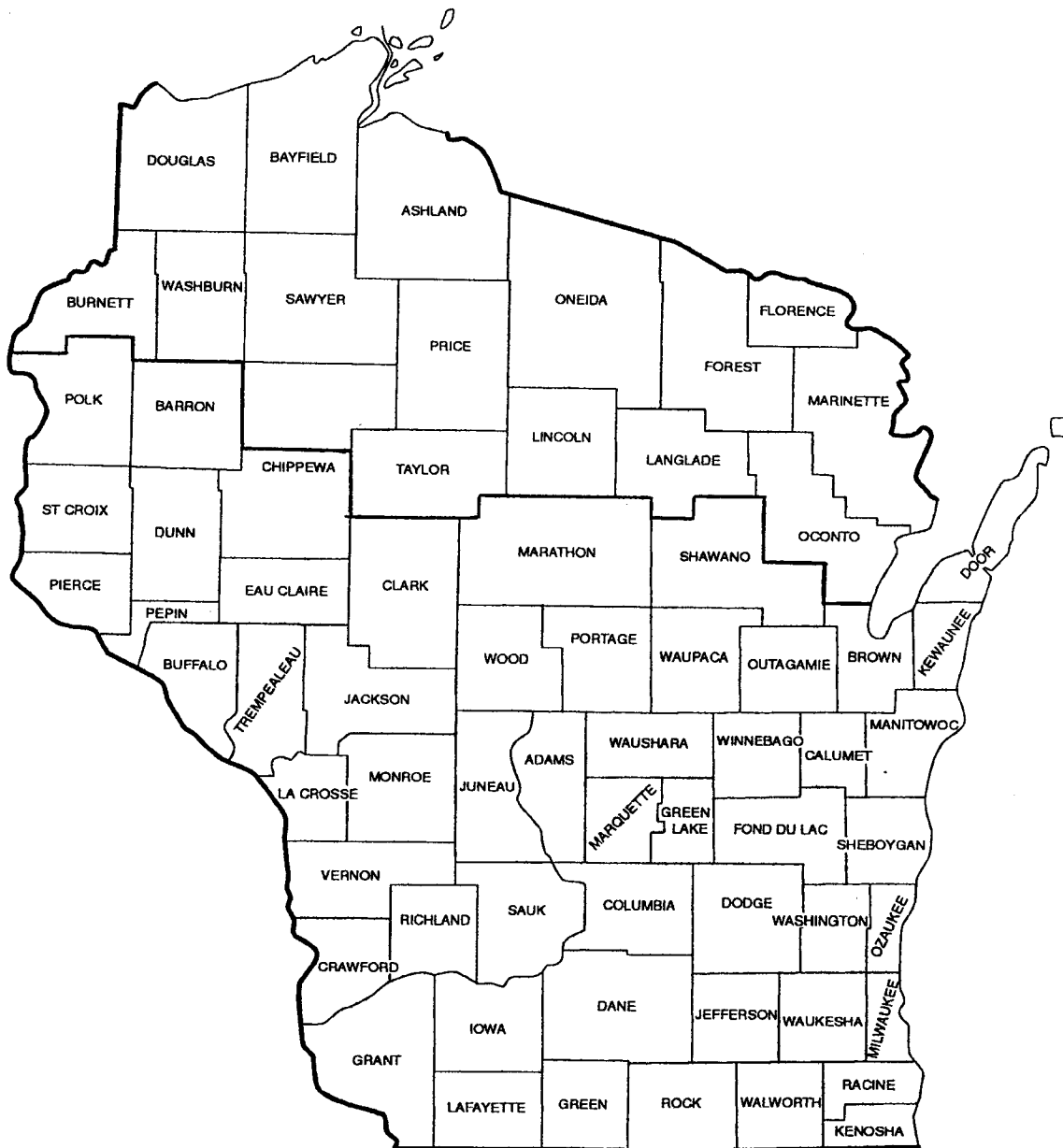
The Counties Of Wisconsin in 1860



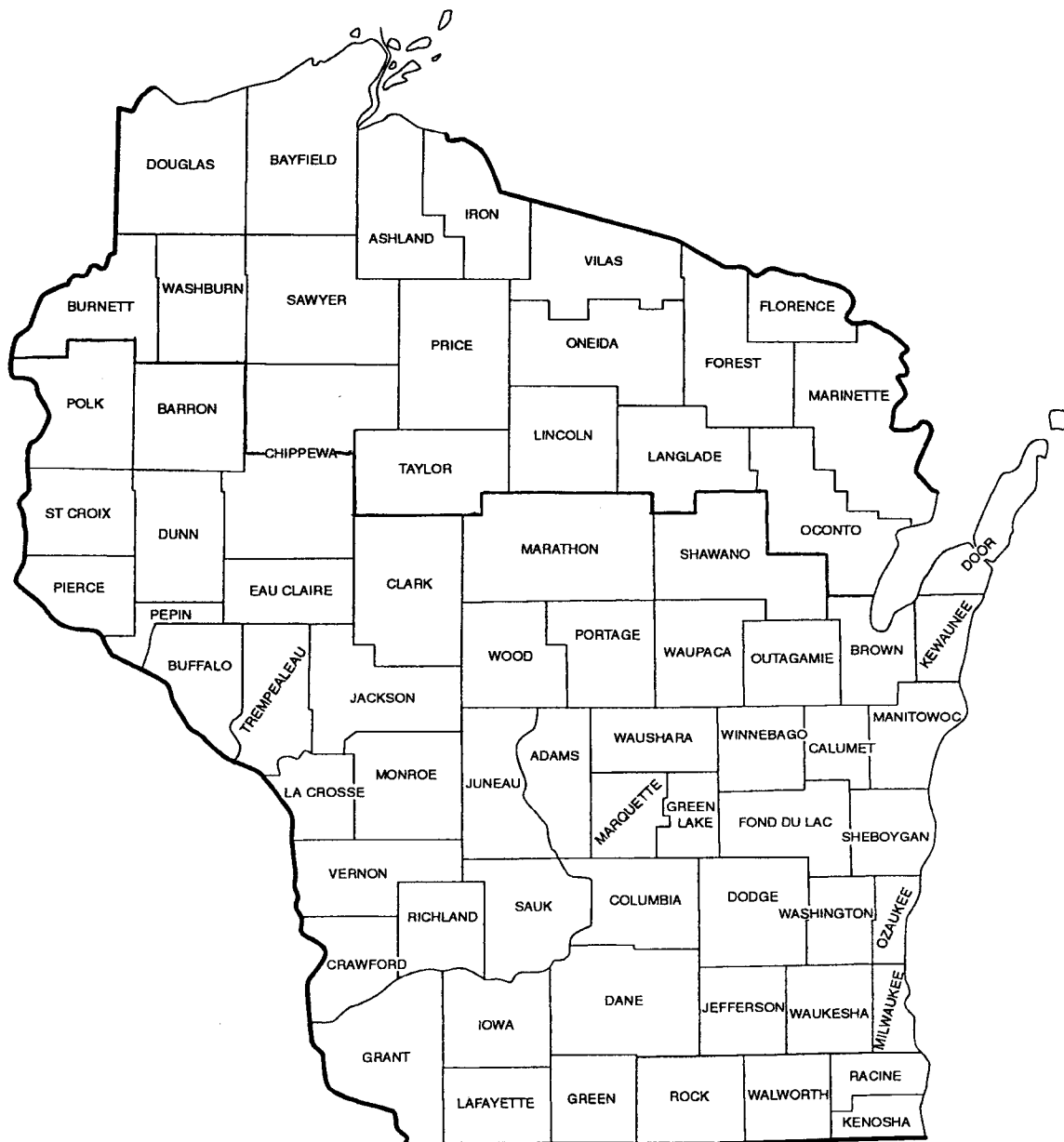
The Counties Of Wisconsin In 1870



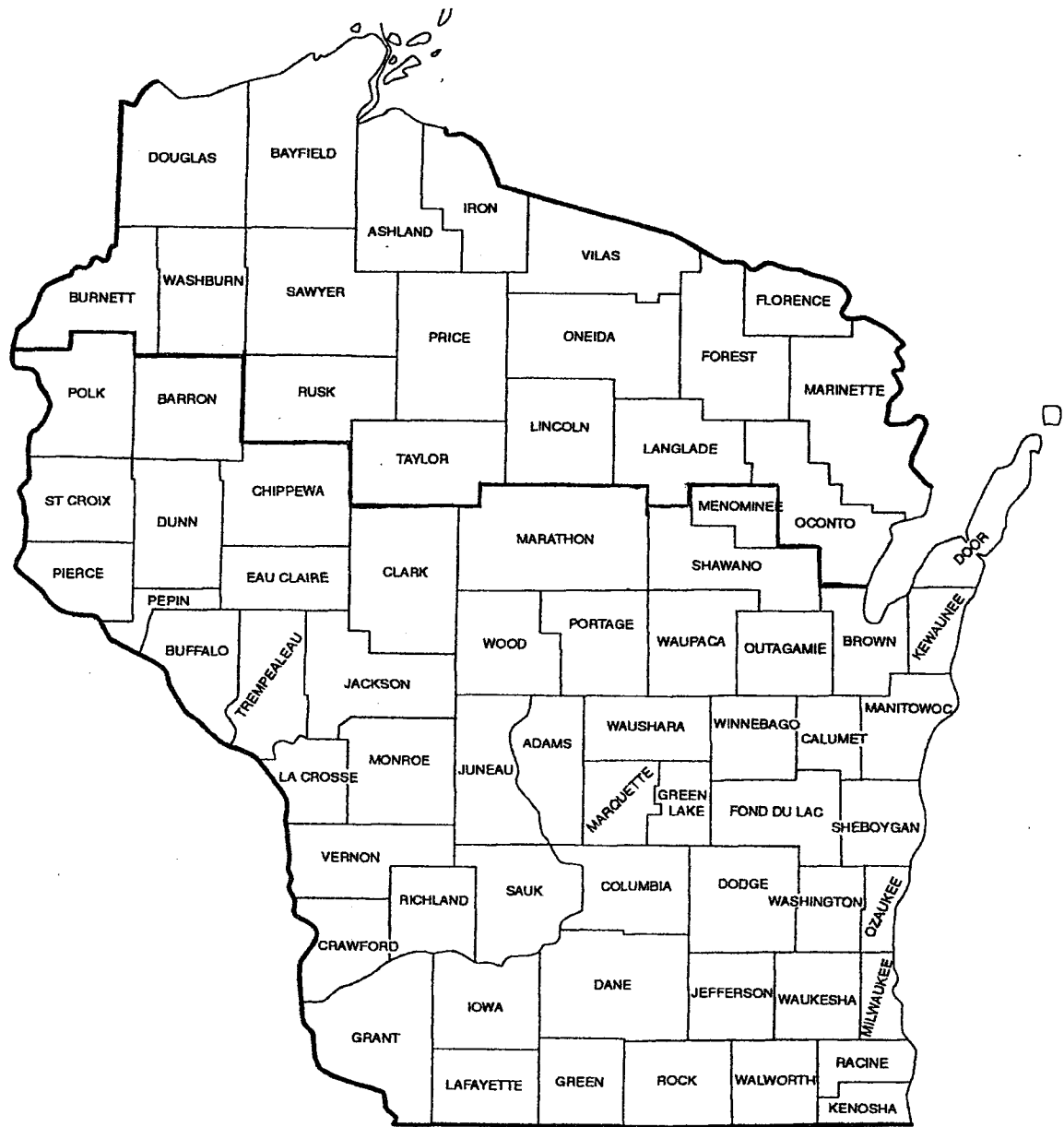
The Counties Of Wisconsin in 1880



The Counties Of Wisconsin in 1890



The Counties Of Wisconsin In 1900



The Counties Of Wisconsin In 2011

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<u>County</u>	<u>Long and</u>		<u>County</u>	<u>Long and</u>	
	<u>DenBoer 1997</u>	<u>Kellogg 1910</u>		<u>DenBoer 1997</u>	<u>Kellogg 1910</u>
Ashland	29-32	214, 219	Marinette	200	216, 226
Bayfield	37-42	200-201, 219-220	Oconto	217-222	203-204, 227
Burnett	65-70	211-213, 220-221	Oneida	223-226	217-218, 227
Douglas	118-121	210, 223	Price	246	216, 228
Florence	129	217, 223	Rusk	250	219, 228-229
Forest	135-139	218, 223	Sawyer	262	217, 229
Iron	149-151	218, 224	Taylor	278	215, 229-230
Langlade	178-181	215-216, 225	Vilas	284-287	218-219, 230
Lincoln	183-185	214-215, 225	Washburn	289	217, 230-231

The creation of a county did not become effective until the law authorizing its creation was published, which could be the month of creation or one or more months later.

Communities

Ashland 1854-1860

Present day Ashland developed from the union of two early settlements in the spring of 1872: Whittlesey, established in 1854 just east of Fish Creek (renamed Ashland in 1860), and Bay City, established farther east in 1855 (1). Three men played important roles in the founding of these settlements: Asaph Whittlesey and Martin Beaser for the former, and Edwin Ellis for the latter. The first to arrive on the scene was Asaph Whittlesey. He was the brother of Charles Whittlesey the geologist who (as noted earlier) had explored the Penokee Range in 1849. There he had found evidence of substantial deposits of iron ore, and had noted their proximity to the "natural harbor" of Chequamegon Bay. With the prospects of mineral wealth in the Penokee Range and the promise (vague at this point) of railroads, the future of Chequamegon Bay appeared bright indeed. Charles advised his brother, whose uninsured candle and soap business in Peoria, Illinois, had burnt, to go there to recoup his fortune ("Asaph Whittlesey," *ADP* 2/9/29).

Following his brother's advice, Asaph Whittlesey and his wife and their eighteen-month old daughter traveled to La Pointe from Ohio in June 1854 "with a view to remain permanently in the country," residing with the Leonard Wheeler family (2). He was impressed with La Pointe which "at this time was the second in importance of towns upon the Lakes, Ontonagon taking the lead." He remembered it as a "beautiful town. . . the general appearance was that of neatness and comfort." July 4th was celebrated with due ceremony; Whittlesey noted that because of a "want of the knowledge of languages" among the "curious mixture of Americans, Jews, Germans, French and Austrians" who assembled for the festivities, "our toasts were mainly received in silence" (Whittlesey, *AWP* 2/16/78). On July 5th Whittlesey and George Kilborn (whom he had met in Ohio before leaving for La Pointe) rowed across to the south shore of the Bay. They took depth soundings for two miles along the shore, finally landing about 5:00pm east of Fish Creek "where the highland leaves the bay," approximately at the foot of Sanbourn Avenue, a location that Leonard Wheeler had shown to Whittlesey earlier (3). There they constructed a small cabin (4). Whittlesey's wife and little daughter arrived from La Pointe on August 16th, and on September 7th the steamboat *Sam Ward* came over from La Pointe with a party of curious sightseers and a cargo of freight, including the Whittlesey's household goods (5).

Sometime in August there also arrived one Martin Beaser, who was in business in Ontonagon providing supplies to the copper miners. Responding to the news about the opening of the western Lake Superior country with the settlement at Superior, he journeyed there with two companions via La Pointe. They explored the area around Superior and then returned to La Pointe and surveyed Chequamegon Bay. It was pointed out to him that the site of what is now Ashland would be the logical terminus for a Great Lakes-to-Mississippi ship canal, and that it was also close to the reported iron ore deposits in the Penokee Range (6). Beaser sold his business in Ontonagon and returned to Chequamegon Bay in the summer of 1854, with the intention of establishing a townsite at that location. When he found that Whittlesey and Kilborn were already there, the three of them made an agreement by which in return for providing supplies for the winter and arranging for a survey of the site Beaser would receive three-quarters of the land in the townsite, the remaining one quarter to be divided equally between the other two (7). Beaser went to Ontonagon for supplies and returned with a surveyor who platted the site as the "Town of Ashland" in October 1854. The site extended from block 95 to block 106 along what is now Lake Shore Drive, and encompassed 280.5 acres (8).

In September the construction of two more cabins was begun, the second of which (in other words, the third cabin on the site) became the Whittlesey's home in early November (9). The Whittlesey cabin, which Asaph described as "neatly finished . . . of massive proportions, . . . the most aristocratic house in the place," became the social and administrative center of the settlement. Here in November the first religious services were held, conducted by Reverend Wheeler from the Odanah Mission; also the first dance, the first July 4th celebration, and the first general election of La Pointe County officers on November 4 1856. Here also the first post office was located in March 1855, with Asaph Whittlesey as postmaster. With the establishment of a post office, the settlement was officially named "Whittlesey" (10). Meanwhile, steamers began to deliver freight, amounting to \$981 in 1854 and \$4,256 in 1855, including "225 barrels of freight and 70,000 feet of lumber" (Andreas 1881, 68). The first saloon was opened in June 1856, and Beaser established the first store about the same time. Other settlers also began to arrive, including Mrs. Whittlesey's parents in early November 1854, and Conrad and Adam Goeltz the following March. The Goeltz brothers were employed by Whittlesey to chop and deliver cordwood, and Conrad Goeltz built the fourth house on the site (Whittlesey *AWP* 3/23/78; Ellis, *AWP* 7/14/77). The first white children born on the townsite were those of the Conrad Goeltz family on November 7 1855, and the Asaph Whittlesey family on May 31 1856, and the first marriage was that of Martin Roehm and Mrs. Madska (or Moushky), which took place in the fall of 1859 (11). And the first killing occurred on January 10 1858 when Joseph H. M. Cross shot Robert D. Boyd, when Boyd threatened him with a knife while he was in a drunken rage (12). A coroner's jury found that Cross had acted in self defense.

While all of this was taking place at Whittlesey, another settlement was taking shape nearby. Shortly after Whittlesey, Kilborn, and Beaser had established themselves east of Fish Creek slough, four men—Frederick Prentice of Toledo, David S. Lusk of New York, Capt. John Daniel Angus of Ontonagon, and George R. Stuntz from Superior, constituting "a kind of land company"—settled on a site about one and a quarter miles to the east of the first Whittlesey cabin (13). They constructed a log cabin to serve as living quarters and a trading post, cleared land, and built a pier on which they stacked cordwood for the steamers that were expected to arrive (14). They named their site "Bay City." They were joined in February 1855 by Edwin Ellis who had been sent by a syndicate of St. Paul capitalists to investigate the possibilities for townsite investment on Chequamegon Bay (15). In his "recollections" a quarter of a century later, Ellis recounted the reasons that had led him and other men to found the townsites on the south shore of Chequamegon Bay, which eventually joined to become Ashland. Regarding the influence of Superior, Ellis noted that "The site [Superior] had attracted the attention and capital of some of our ablest men. It was backed by stronger political influences than ever combined to lay the foundations of any town in the west. Among its proprietors were many leading members of Congress and the Cabinet, especially from the South. The most sanguine expectations of its future greatness were entertained, for it commanded a scope of country as great as that paying tribute to Chicago In 1855 and 1856 it was probably the most talked about town in the Union. The temporary success of Superior, kindled a blaze of speculation, which spread far and wide in Wisconsin, Minnesota and Michigan" (Ellis, *AWP* 6/16/77). The specific advantages that drew Ellis and others to the south shore of Chequamegon Bay were the same as those that had attracted speculators to the site of Superior—prospective mineral resources and a potential port site. Ellis recalled that "We had learned through the United States geological surveys of the vast

deposits of iron ore, in what is now known as the Penoka Range. Although we had ourselves no actual knowledge of the extent or richness of the ore, still we had entire confidence in both—a confidence which, through all the doubts and uncertainties of late years—we still entertain. We thought this iron must be used in the coming years, and we had no doubt they would reach the great water highway at Ashland. This trade alone would create a city. The iron trade itself would create a market for the products of the soil in the vicinity, and soon all the country from the bay to the iron mountains would be opened" (16). "We thought even in those early days, before we had seen the waters of the Father of Lakes, from an examination of the map, that the head of Chequamegon Bay was destined to be the seat of one of Lake Superior's future cities, if not indeed the foremost one. We noticed that it seemed to be a land locked harbor, extending many miles into the State of Wisconsin, further indeed than any other portion of the Lake, and from this position we judged that if there was a sufficient depth of water the products of the country, whatever they might be, in the future, would seek their outlet at or near the head of the bay. The country thus commanded must extend from twenty miles east from Montreal River to forty miles west from Ashland—a distance of a hundred miles from east to west, and from beyond Chippewa River north to the Lake, a distance of over seventy-five miles, including all the Apostle Islands and the fisheries from the vicinity of Ontonagon, west, approaching within forty miles of Duluth; or placing one point of the dividers at Ashland as the pivot, and the inscribed circle, whose trade is tributary to Ashland, has a circumference of more than three hundred miles. It is a country, though now a wilderness, yet possessing great agricultural capacity,—capable of producing timothy and clover in great abundance as well as all the cereal grains" (Ellis, *AWP* 10/27/77). And as at Superior, the railroad was the factor on which the exploitation of mineral resources and the development of the port site depended. Ellis noted that the attention of the early settlers was "toward the south-west rather than to the south-east - to the Valleys of the St. Croix and Mississippi, rather than towards Wisconsin's metropolitan city on Lake Michigan." It was therefore the progress of the St. Croix and Lake Superior Railroad in which they were particularly interested. Ellis claimed that the words "and to Bayfield" rather than to the "head of Ashland Bay" were inserted in the 1856 land grant bill "for the reason that it was stated in the committee room in Washington, that the waters of the Bay were not navigable - there being, as was declared, hardly enough to float a birch canoe. . . . To those of us who knew how utterly devoid of truth was this statement, who knew that ocean steamers could find abundant depths of water in our bay, this declaration was amazing. . . ." (17).

Ellis quickly recognized that since only the township lines had been surveyed, the settlers at Whittlesey and Bay City were squatters without pre-emption rights (18). Only after the townships had been subdivided into sections and quarter sections, and the survey returns registered with the General Land Office in Washington and sent to the local land office at Superior, could the settlers file claims and receive titles to their lands. In June 1855 Ellis traveled to the government survey office at Dubuque, Iowa, via Superior and St. Paul, a journey of great hardship in those days. There he arranged for the subdivision surveys, which were carried out in the fall. In the following December and January the settlers at Whittlesey and Bay City filed pre-emption claims and received clear titles to their land. Ellis also took steps to organize the government of the new settlements. At this time La Pointe County included present day Bayfield and Ashland counties, and parts of Sawyer and Iron counties, and the Town of La Pointe was coincident with the county. On March 11 1856, the La Pointe County Board of Supervisors approved a "petition of the citizens of the Bay" presented by Ellis, requesting the

creation of the "Town of Bayport" to include all of La Pointe County south of the southern coast of the lake (Ellis *AWP* 9/29/77; Whittlesey, *AWP* 3/16/78; Burnham, *ADP* 11/27/28). Finally, in June 1857 the "Town of Bay City" was platted and registered by Frederick Prentice and Edwin Ellis as proprietors in Ontonagon County in September (19). The site extended from block 51 in the east to block 67 to the west along Lake Shore Drive, and included about 705 acres. Then in 1859, when Bayfield succeeded in having the county seat moved there from La Pointe, the citizens of La Pointe, Whittlesey, and Bay Port petitioned the Legislature for the formation of a new county (20). Their petition was favorably received due no doubt to the efforts of Asaph Whittlesey, who was elected to the Assembly in 1859. Ashland County was formed from La Pointe County in March 1860, with the county seat in the village of Ashland; this was the first official use of the name "Ashland" for the Whittlesey settlement (21). The northern boundary ran through the center of the bay and between the mainland and the Apostle Islands (thereby placing most of them firmly in Ashland County to the wonder of future generations) while the other boundaries remained those of former La Pointe County. There is little information available on events at Bay City; one source stated only that "A store, hotel and several buildings were erected," another that "Under [Ellis'] direction a large clearing was made, a store, hotel and several substantial buildings erected. A saw mill was also commenced . ." (Andreas 1881, 68; "Ashland!" *AWP* 1/4/73). The exception was the construction of docks for which Ellis provided a good description (Ellis, *AWP* 6/30/77, 8/11/77, also Burnham *ADP* 5/7/28, 5/17/28). The settlers at Whittlesey and Bay City were entirely dependent on steamboats for communication with the outside world, and docks were therefore an absolute necessity (22). When Ellis arrived at Bay City the settlers there were constructing a dock, but it was carried away by ice the following April. In December 1855 docks were built in both Whittlesey and Bay City; these also were destroyed by ice in the spring. The Bay City dock was repaired during the following summer, but it was once again carried away by ice in the spring of 1857. No further attempts at dock construction were made, after that.

As noted earlier, the reports of Charles Whittlesey and of Foster and Whitney of large, exploitable iron ore deposits on the Penoque Range was one of the factors that prompted Ellis and others to invest in and settle along the south shore of the bay. Ellis noted that based on these reports they believed that there soon would be a flourishing "iron trade" that "alone would create a city." They were supported in this belief "by the acts of capitalists from the outside world, who in the years 1856 and 1857, procured the survey of the range and bought several thousand acres of land" on the range (Ellis, *AWP* 10/6/77). Ellis was referring to the Wisconsin and Lake Superior Mining and Smelting Company incorporated in Milwaukee in February 1856 (23). The company headquarters was located at Iron-ton, about three-fourths of a mile west of the Montreal River, laid out in the spring of 1856 with the expectation that it would become the shipping port for iron ore mining on the Penoque range and copper mining on the Montreal River (24). An advertisement in the *Bayfield Mercury* in the fall of 1857 noted that the company was building a "splendid pier," had erected a two story hotel, and that other frame buildings and a steam sawmill were to be constructed (*BM* 8/15/57, 9/5/57). The town was also to be the lake terminus of projected railroads from the south. The subdivision surveys of the townships within which the Penoque range was located were undertaken in the fall of 1856 and continued until November 1857. In the meantime, representatives of the company squatted on numerous promising locations on the ridge of the range in townships 44 and 45. The company established three stations—actually platted them as townsites—one at the gap where the Bad River cuts through

the Penokee range, another on the Gorge of Tyler's Forks, and a third about midway between these two. The station at Penokee gap was the most important, and a small settlement called "Penoka" grew up there but did not survive (25).

The first few months of 1857 were devoted to surveys, establishing the base stations, and constructing buildings, cribs for a pier at Ironton, and other preparatory work, but then in May Ironton was abandoned and the company office moved to Ashland. Upon the completion of the surveys in November, the various squatters became legal pre-emptors, proved their claims and obtained titles at the land office in Superior, then promptly turned the titles over to the company (26). But in the aftermath of the panic in the fall of 1857, the company was unable to finance further operations. Supplies and equipment were put in storage and the range stations abandoned. These measures were intended to be temporary, but proved to be permanent (27). The company persisted in its efforts to reinvigorate the Penokee project, however, and sponsored an exploration of the Penokee range in 1858 by Increase A. Lapham. Lapham's evaluation of the iron ore deposits was mixed, but he reported the agricultural resources, climate, and transportation possibilities of the region to be most favorable (28). In March 1859 the company received a charter for the "Ashland and Iron Mountain Railroad;" the many stockholders included Ellis, Beaser, and Lapham. The road was to be built from "any point" on Lake Superior or Chequamegon Bay to the "Iron Range" in township 44 which included the company's "Penoka" station at the Bad River gap (*Wis Laws*, 1859, PL, C160). The charter also provided that the company could extend the road southward from the "Iron Range" to connect with the Milwaukee and Horicon Road. Despite Lapham's favorable report, the proposal for a railroad (which was never built), and strenuous efforts to refinance the company, the Penokee undertaking could not be revived (29).

In August of 1856 one of the editors of the *Superior Chronicle* visited "Ashland" and Bay City and noted that "Like Bayfield, they are young and can scarcely be called hamlets, yet in the event of the development of the rich mineral and agricultural lands in that vicinity, they will enjoy important positions. Each has its dock, store, and half-dozen or more of houses. They possess a commodious harbor, being situated at the head of the Sagwamigan [sic] or Long Island Bay. . . ." (*SC* 8/19/56). A year later the two settlements published a joint advertisement in the *Bayfield Mercury*. "These thriving towns," the advertisement began, "are situated at the head of Chequamegon Bay," and "Being almost adjoining, their interests are identical, and they can be referred to as one town." It noted that "two stores and thirty dwellings" had been built, and that Beaser was constructing "a large two story store and warehouse" and Ellis "a Hotel and Steam Saw Mill." "Situated upon one of the best natural harbors that can be found on any of the great Lakes, in the [midst] of an excellent agricultural country, and being the nearest point on the navigable waters of Lake Superior to the rich Iron and Copper regions of Northern Wisconsin, it appears inevitable that a large and prosperous town must spring up at that place" (*BM* 8/15/57). Despite the growth and development that had taken place since the *Chronicle* editor's visit, the settlers realized, as he did, that the ultimate success of their efforts was still contingent on future events. But events then unfolding—the panic of 1857—and those that followed did not favor the settlers, and their "inevitable town" did not "spring up" for another 15 years. There is no specific information about events in Whittlesey and Bay City after the panic of 1857, but it is known that within a few years they had ceased to exist.

Endnotes

1. This review of the early history of Ashland is based on sources listed in the bibliography. No newspaper was published in Ashland until 1872, and neither the *Superior Chronicle* nor the short-lived *Bayfield Mercury* provided coverage of events there. All of the information about the early period of Ashland's history is in the form of recollections and reminiscences, and retrospective newspaper reports (particularly those by Guy M. Burnham), supplemented by documents in the archives of the Ashland County Register of Deeds and other contemporary government sources. The distinction of establishing the first white settlement on the mainland of Chequamegon Bay belongs to Reverend Leonard Wheeler and his family at Odanah in 1845. Odanah was a tiny settlement, with only ten whites and an unknown number of Indians in 1850. Radisson and Groseilliers and other white or mixed blood trappers and traders lived on the mainland for short periods of time, as did the Jesuits Allouez, Menard, and Marquette, but they did not intend to establish permanent settlements. The Whittlesey and Bay City plats were separated by about five blocks or about eight-tenths of a mile. A part of this intermediate strip of land was purchased in October 1856 by Samuel S. Vaughn—*Tract Books*, v. 86, p. 176. Vaughn did not settle or develop his small strip of land until later, however, so for the time being Whittlesey and Bay City remained separate settlements.
2. It is not clear why the Wheelers were living at La Pointe rather than in Odanah at this time. Perhaps they had moved there temporarily for the treaty negotiations; the treaty was signed on September 30th. Whittlesey was present during the negotiations.
3. Rev. Wheeler realized that the south shore of the bay would become an important supply base for the settlement of the north country. When the Indians were selecting land for what became the Bad River reservation by the 1854 treaty, he advised them not to draw the western boundary at the end of the bay but to leave a stretch of coast where the "white man" could build a city and a port. The large population of this city would then provide a market for the produce raised by the Indians at Bad River. The Indians agreed with his recommendation, leaving the relatively level area west of the reservation boundary to Fish Creek available for white settlement—Burnham 1974, 30-31; "Leonard Hemenway Wheeler," WPA Writer's Program, Wisconsin Biographies, Box 37 (SHSW-A); Burnham, *ADP* 7/24/29. The area was not uninhabited for there was a large Chippewa village on Fish Creek and another near Whittlesey Creek—Verwyst 1895, 430-431. Burnham stated that an "Indian settlement was strung along the bay front from Fish Creek extending into the present limits of Ashland on the east." It was called "Equadon," a Chippewa work meaning "the settlement at the head of the bay," a name which Whittlesey apparently intended to use for the settlement that he was founding—Burnham 1974, 432; Burnham, "Equaydon," *ADP* 12/8/37. According to Burnham, "the original settler of Ashland was old [Chief] Tagwagano, whose habitation was somewhere near the mouth of [Bay City Creek]"—Burnham, *ADP* 8/14/28. There were also probably squatters living in some of the "crude cabins" which had been erected on the supposedly ore-rich quarter sections along the Penokee Range, as reported by Charles Whittlesey—Whittlesey 1863, 2.

4. Whittlesey, *AWP* 2/23/78. This first cabin was built on lot 2, block 105—Whittlesey, *AWP* 2/23/78; “The Three Whittlesey Houses,” *ADP* 7/2/29; Burnham, *ADP* 7/2/32, 7/5/32, 7/6/32. In August 1872 the *Ashland Weekly Press* noted that “the enclosed lots belonging to Major Whittlesey, where his old log house used to stand, and where his family lived for several years in early days, presents a beautiful appearance, the grass having grown up, making his yard look very handsome. We expect the Major will erect a fine residence upon this location ere another year passes by”—*AWP* 8/3/72.
5. Mrs. Whittlesey and small daughter definitely did not accompany her husband and Kilbourn across the Bay on July 5th. On the *Sam Ward* see *ADP* 7/2/29; Burnham, *ADP* 7/7/32.
6. At the time a canal connecting Lake Superior and the Mississippi River no doubt was considered to be an obvious, sensible, and entirely feasible project. If the far north country were to develop a connection to the markets, resources, products, and populations to the south would be needed, and a railroad linking the north and south was then a dim and future prospect. Further, the network of lakes and rivers that had provided the historic waterways connecting the lake and the river during the fur trade era appeared to offer (with suitable improvements) several possible routes for a canal. This was the canal building era in the United States, and canals had already been constructed over even more difficult terrain.

While the rapid expansion of the railroads put an end to the enthusiasm for canals, the idea of a Lake Superior to Mississippi River canal lingered on, and was resurrected when the north country revived in the early 1870s, even though the railroads had reached the region by that time. Local business and community interests in Ashland and elsewhere along the different possible routes pressured Congress to authorize what still seemed to be such an obvious and eminently sensible project. There were several possible routes with prospective northern terminals located at sites from Superior to Ashland. One route from Ashland would have followed the White River to Lake Namekagon, then the Namekaon River to the St. Croix River, and then to the Mississippi River. From 1896 to 1916 the Army Corps of Engineers, under instructions from Congress, surveyed and evaluated the different routes on four occasions. The conclusions of these professional engineers in their several reports to Congress were essentially the same: a canal was feasible from the engineering viewpoint, but would be extremely costly to construct, maintain, and operate; the carrying capacity of such a canal would be low and it would be unusable for four or more months of the year; and it could not possibly compete with the existing railroad system in convenience, reliability, efficiency or cost.

But the idea was revived once again in the early 1930s when it appeared that the St. Lawrence Seaway (then called a “waterway”) might be constructed. The argument (or fantasy) then was that with the seaway, a Lake Superior-Mississippi River canal would provide an all-water route from the Atlantic Ocean to the Gulf of Mexico. In Ashland, local historian Guy M. Burnham was moved to predict that “some day” the canal would be “dug.” But while the St. Lawrence Seaway was eventually built, the “some day” never arrived for the Lake Superior-Mississippi canal. See “An Old Settlers Notes on Douglas County,” *AWP* 2/7/74; Stuntz, *Superior Times* 1/25/79; “St. Croix And Lake Superior Canal,” *AWP* 11/9/72; “Proposed Ship Canal From The St. Croix River To Lake Superior,” *Stillwater Messenger*

10/25/72; “A New Transportation Project,” *Winona Weekly Republican* 10/30/72; *AWP* 12/25/75; Burnham, *ADP* 12/10/31; “Lake Superior And Mississippi Canal,” U.S. Congress, March 30 1896; “Lake Superior—Mississippi River Canal,” U.S. Congress, December 7 1899; “Canal Connecting Lake Superior And The Mississippi River By Way Of The St. Croix River, Minnesota and Wisconsin,” U.S. Congress, December 14 1909; “Waterway From Lake Superior To The Mississippi River,” U.S. Congress, April 8 1916; and Burnham’s series of articles on the canal in *ADP* 5/25/34-6/1/34.

7. “Martin Beaser,” *ADP* 2/9/29; Burnham 1974, 247 *passim*. A copy of the agreement is in the archives of the Ashland County Register of Deeds, *Deeds*, v. 2, p. 13, 2/22/55. Also *Deeds*, v. 4, p. 12, 2/6/60. In 1858 Beaser sold part (perhaps one half) of his interest in the townsite to a “syndicate of capitalists” from Milwaukee—Thomas 1899, 94; Ashland County Register of Deeds, *Deeds*, v. 2, p. 313 *passim*. It is probably the case that without the supplies and organizing energy of Beaser, the new settlement might well have failed.
8. A copy of the plat is on file in the archives of the Ashland County Register of Deeds, “Plan of the Town of Ashland,” Plat Envelope 82. In December 1856 the tract was entered as a townsite under the 1844 Townsite Act at the land office at Superior. This act extended collective pre-emption rights to settlers who intended to or had established a town—*U.S. Statutes* 1836-1845, V. 5, C17; *Wis Laws* 1858, G, C151. The entry was made by Schyler Goff, La Pointe County judge, acting as the trustee for the settlers as provided by the act; he was apparently accompanied by Martin Beaser as the representative of the settlers. Ashland County Register of Deeds, *Deeds*, v. 2, p. 133, 12/11/56; *Deeds*, v.3, pp. 324-325. The patent was issued on June 23 1862—Ashland County Register of Deeds, *Deeds*, v. 3, pp. 334-335.
9. These cabins were located on lot 5, block 6, and lot 6, block 6, respectively – Whittlesey, *AWP* 3/2/78; “The Three Whittlesey Houses,” *ADP* 7/2/29; Burnham, *ADP* 7/2/32, 7/5/32, 7/6/32.
10. Whittlesey, *AWP* 3/2/78, 3/9/78; Andreas 1871, 67; Burnham, *ADP* 2/16/28. Beaser petitioned the Post Office Department to name the settlement “Ashland” after the Kentucky home of Henry Clay, of whom he was an admirer. The petition was denied because that name had already been requested by another settlement in Wisconsin—Burnham, “Genesis of Ashland,” *ADP* 2/9/29; Burnham 1974, 246-247; Burnham, *ADP* 2/18/37, 8/6/28.
11. Whittlesey, *AWP* 3/9/78; Burnham 1974, 248; “Ashland!” *AWP* 1/4/73. The names of the early settlers were recorded by Ellis, *AWP* 7/14/77; and by Whittlesey, *AWP* 4/20/78; Whittlesey also noted the names of the settlers who built houses five through ten—Whittlesey, *AWP* 3/23/78; also see “Ashland!” *AWP* 1/4/73.
12. A Corner’s Jury found that Cross had acted in self-defense. *SC* 1/26/58; Ellis, *AWP* 8/25/77; Fisher, *ADP* 7/2/29; Burnham, *ADP* 10/1/31, 6/8/33, 8/18/36; Burnham 1974, 439-446.

13. Ellis, *AWP* 6/30/77. According to Ellis, they styled themselves as “Lusk, Prentice, and Co.,” but there is no record of the incorporation of this company. Also, there was one Adolphus Bart, who served as the clerk of the company. None of these men were listed as living in the Towns of Bay Port or La Pointe in the 1860 *U.S. Census*, and only Angus was shown as living in the Town of Bayfield. Frederick Prentice was by far the largest financial “operator” among the speculators who founded the settlements on Chequamegon Bay. George R. Stuntz, his nephew George E. Stuntz, and his brother Albert C. Stuntz, did survey work and were otherwise involved in exploration and settlement at the head of Lake Superior. George R. Stuntz may not have moved from Superior to the townsite. One Alexander Welcome claimed to have built the first white man’s house on the Bay City site, apparently before the arrival of “Lusk, Prentice, and Co.”—*ADP* 5/16/30.
14. Ellis stated that the cabin or “shanty” was located “near where the railroad dock reaches the shore,” possibly in block 31 or 32, at the foot of Ellis Avenue—Ellis *AWP* 6/30/77; “Edwin Ellis,” *ADP* 2/9/29.
15. Ellis, *AWP* 6/16/77, 6/30/77; “Edwin Ellis,” *ADP* 2/9/29. Members of the syndicate included D.A.S. Baker, R.R. Nelson, Wescott Wilkin, Chas. D. Willes, “and other leading democratic Minnesotans of ante-bellum days”—“Dr. Edwin Ellis,” *ADP* 2/9/29. Ellis noted that at that time, La Pointe was “the most important town on the Lake west of Ontonagon.” It was the gathering place for thousands of Indians for the annual payment from the government, “the center of fish trade for all this part of the Lake,” and had “quite an extensive fur trade.” — Ellis, *AWP* 6/16/77. Ellis brought his family to La Pointe and then to Bay City in November 1855—Burnham, *ADP* 5/14/28, 5/15/28.
16. Ellis, *AWP* 10/6/77. His comment about “geological surveys” of the “Penoka Range” was a reference to Whittlesey’s 1852 report. Elsewhere in his “recollections” he noted that the “report of Foster and Whitney also told of mountains of iron ore,” and no doubt this was a reference to the 1851 report of their mineral explorations east of the Montreal River—Ellis, *AWP* 6/16/77; Foster and Whitney 1951, 51.
17. Ellis, *AWP* 10/27/77. This assertion was no doubt made by Henry M. Rice, the major proprietor of Bayfield and the Minnesota Territorial Delegate to Congress, who was responsible for the addition of the “and to Bayfield” clause to the 1856 land grant bill—Griffin 1899, 218; Harvey 1907, 174; Ellis *AWP* 9/29/77, 10/27/77. There was some truth to the assertion that the bay was shallow, for this is indeed the case along the southeastern coast where Ashland is located. In later years, the Ashland harbor had to be extensively improved—deepened and a breakwater constructed—before deep-draft vessels could use it.
18. The township lines for T47N through T50N, all in R4W, which include the tracts of Ashland, Bayfield, and Washburn, were surveyed in the summer of 1852.

19. Parts of sec. 33, T48NR4W, and sec. 4, T47NR4W. A copy of the plat is on file in the archives of the Ashland County Register of Deeds, *Plat Book*, v. 2, p. 8. The registration was noted on the plat, but could not be located in the archives of the Ontonagon County Register of Deeds. See Burnham, *ADP* 2/4/28. Some of the early records of La Pointe County, including the order establishing the Town of Bay Port, were apparently destroyed by a fire in Bayfield on June 4 1874—"Fire At Bayfield," *AWP* 6/6/74; Whittlesey, *AWP* 3/16/78.
20. *Wis Laws* 1959, GL, C126; Burnham, *ADP* 2/26/35, 2/28/35. The Legislature had approved a referendum to move the county seat from La Pointe to Bayfield in 1857, but no record of the results could be located—*Wis Laws* 1857, PL, C267.
21. *Wis Laws* 1860, G, C211; Ashland County Board *Proceedings*, v. 1, 3/27/60, 6/2/60. Some sources state that Ashland became a city in 1860, but this is incorrect. It remained a village until incorporated in March of 1887 – *Wis Laws* 1887, City Charters, C127. Evidently the men at La Pointe, resenting the loss of status of this capital of the old Chequamegon region, were primarily responsible for pressing the case for a separate county—Burnham, *ADP* 7/16/38. They no doubt were disappointed when Ashland rather than La Pointe was designated as the county seat of the new county. They had their revenge in 1863 when the county seat was moved from a deserted Ashland to La Pointe, where it remained until it was returned to a resurrected Ashland in 1873—*Wis Laws* 1863, G, C241; "The Election In Ashland And Bayfield Counties," *AWP* 11/8/73.
22. Ellis apparently intended to cut a wagon road from Bay City to Superior in the summer of 1856, but there is no evidence that the road was constructed—*SC* 6/3/56.
23. *Wis Laws* 1856, PL, C70. For the charter and a list of officers and directors, see "The Penokee Iron Range of Lake Superior" 1860. Articles by J. S. Buck, one of the original stockholders, published in the *Ashland Weekly Press* provided a detailed history of the company—see the bibliography. The undertaking apparently was "assisted by" a group of merchants from Ashland—Wackman and Oerichbauer, April 1979, 59. According to Ellis, the company also invested in town lots in Ashland—Ellis, *AWP* 10/6/77.
24. Now the Saxon Harbor Park, and referred to on maps of Iron County as a "ghost town"—Wackman and Oerichbauer, April 1979, 58-61.
25. A plat of this settlement is on file in the Bayfield County Register of Deeds, *Deeds*, v. 2, p.89.
26. See the "List of Lands" in "The Penokee Iron Range of Lake Superior 1860," 4; also I.A. Lapham. "Map of the Penokee Iron Range Near Lake Superior Wisconsin" 1855, on which the company's lands are outlined. The survey work was done by Albert C. Stuntz and George E. Stuntz—Buck, *AWP* 11/10/77, 11/24/77.
27. Buck, *AWP* 1/5/78.
28. Printed in "The Penokee Iron Range of Lake Superior" 1860, 23-37.

29. The company was finally dissolved in January of 1907. Its history illustrates the ignorance, greed, and self-delusion that characterized get-rich-quick schemes to exploit the resources of the north country. For example, the stockholders confidentially anticipated profitable operations to begin within three months, and the company agent at Iron-ton actually expected to have mined and transported to that town *500,000 tons* of iron ore over sixteen miles of primitive wagon road during the first season of work (1857)—Buck *AWP* 11/10/77, 12/1/77.

Ashland 1870-1883

Ashland and Bay City were abandoned during most of the 1860s,. The June 1860 *U.S. Census* showed only 67 people in Ashland and Bay City, with 93 (81.6%) unoccupied dwellings (1). Those enumerated included the founders of the settlement—Whittlesey, Kilborn, Beaser, and Ellis as well as early settlers—Martin Roehm, Conrad Goeltz, George E. and Albert C. Stuntz, Eugene F. Prince, Allen Barber, and others (2). But soon thereafter some of the settlers moved to Ontonagon, Whittlesey moved to Bayfield, Ellis moved to the Wheeler family home at Odanah (and later to Ontonagon), and Kilborn left for an unknown location (3). In November 1860 the Ashland County Board of Supervisors, acting in response to a petition from Ellis, vacated Bay City (4). By 1863 both townsites were deserted, and the county seat was moved to La Pointe (*Wis Laws*, 1863, G, C241). The only inhabitants from about 1863 to 1869 (dates uncertain) were Martin Roehm and family during the summers, when they lived in Martin Beaser's house. They spent the winters on their farm in the Marengo River Valley where they raised cattle (5). The chartering of the Winnebago and Superior and the Portage and Superior to build a railroad from the south to Lake Superior re-kindled interest in the old townsites on the south shore of Chequamegon Bay. But despite their land grants, the two companies were unable to raise the capital for construction work. Taking advantage of the provision in their charters, they were consolidated as the Portage, Winnebago and Superior in March 1869 (*Wis Laws* 1869, PL, C257). George Reed of Manitowac was elected president and he succeeded in interesting Gardner Colby and other financiers in Boston in the road (Martin 1941, 4-5; Canuteson 1930, 158). Reed and his associates, and Colby, trustee for the Boston financiers, agreed that the Reed group was to raise funds for the right-of-way and for preparation of the roadbed, while the Boston group would provide the capital for everything else. To obtain capital, Reed met with citizens and officials in towns along the route to solicit investments in the road (Martin 1941, 12-13).

Although the charters of the Portage and Superior and the Winnebago and Superior both specified Bayfield as the terminal on Chequamegon Bay, the *Articles of Consolidation* of those roads to form the Portage, Winnebago and Superior did not mention Bayfield, but specified that the route was to be located “from Portage City to Lake Superior and Superior City on Lake Superior” (*Wis Laws*, 1869, PL, C257). The promoters had decided on the basis of “investigations and surveys . . . that the geographical location of Bayfield would not afford a suitable terminus for the road” and had “decided to make Ashland the north end of their iron” (Martin 1941, 22). The preliminary survey for the route to Ashland began at Manitowac in 1867, and by 1868 had passed Stevens Point and reached a point just south of Park Falls. A party was then sent north to survey south from Ashland to that meeting point. The surveyors searched for a moderate grade over the Penoque Range near English and Bladder Lakes, but finally ran the survey line through the gap where the Bad River cuts through the range (*BP* 10/28/70). George Fay, a member of the survey party, noted that “there were several fish houses at Ashland, but no residents” (Westaway 1928, 3). Further survey work was done in 1869 and 1870, and in April 1871 the location surveys from Stevens Point north were begun. The following July the location survey from Ashland south to the Penoque gap began and was completed on December 2nd. The survey party was staying at Bayfield, and the *Bayfield Press* reported on the completion of the

location work, adding that “in all probability, at an early day . . . active operations on this end of the road” will commence, and “by next year at this time the whistle of the ‘iron horse’ will greet our ears” (*BP* 12/4/71).

The resurrection of Ashland began after the 1871 railroad survey confirmed that it would be the Chequamegon Bay terminus of what was now (due to a name change) the Wisconsin Central Railroad (6). The *Ashland Weekly Press* described “the birth of the New Ashland” as follows: “Eighteen hundred and seventy-one again brought the surveyor with his compass, and the line of the Wisconsin Central Railroad, piercing the heart of the commonwealth, terminated on our shore. Soon the note of preparation was sounded and many of the old settlers again pitched their tents in Ashland and prepared for a new trial of fortune.” The first to arrive at the site in early or mid-October was reported to have been James A. Wilson, a returning settler from “old Ashland” (7). October 1871, then, can be taken as the date of the birth of the “new Ashland.” Late that month, Hank Fifield, editor of the *Bayfield Press*, made “a flying trip to the prospective city of Ashland” (*BP* 10/28/71). He found that construction of a dock for Samuel Vaughn was underway, and heard a rumor that “the old road from Ashland to Bay City is to be put in repair again” (8). Only a “few families” lived there, including the “old settlers,” “Mr. Conrad” and “Mr. Wilson.” He predicted that “Undoubtedly before two years pass by the population of Ashland county will be several thousand, as the W. C. R. R. is to pass through it, and future developments at the Iron Range will cause many to seek homes in that section.”

In early December the *Bayfield Press* noted that “Several new homes are being built at Bay City and St. Mark [Vaughn’s tract]. . . . Work on the road between Ashland and Bay City is all cut out and grubbed. The street is nearly 70 feet wide. The bridges will be built this winter” (*BP* 11/8/71, 12/2/71). On January 13th of the new year, the *Press* noted that work on Vaughn’s dock was continuing and that work was going on to improve the streets and cut a road two and one-half miles “around the head of the bay, to connect with the county road going to Bayfield.” The post office had been re-established with James A. Wilson as postmaster, providing mail service between Ashland, Bayfield, and Odanah (“Ashland Correspondence,” *BP* 1/13/72; “Ashland Locals,” *BP* 1/6/72). And on the 20th it noted that Conrad Goeltz, another of the original settlers, had returned and was busy hewing timber, and commented on other visitors and events at the townsite (“Ashland Locals,” *BP* 1/20/72; also “Ashland Correspondence,” *BP* 1/20/72). A picture of Ashland at that time was provided by Hank Fifield who visited there in March with his brother to make arrangements to move their newspaper from Bayfield. Ashland, he wrote later, “was at best but a small clearing in the forest, with scarcely a dozen buildings and log shanties. A tote road had been slashed out on the line to Second Street, from Old Ashland Division to Bay City Division. The work of building Vaughn’s dock was progressing and the Wisconsin Central railroad dock had just been commenced. About three hundred people, all told, were living upon the townsite, mostly in log camps [cabins ?]” (“The Ashland Press,” *AWP* 2/9/84).

In June 1871 the construction contract for the line from Menasha to Ashland, some 250 miles, was awarded to the Phillips and Colby Construction Company, which was given complete control of the construction and operation of the road until completion (9). The work was subcontracted and began at Menasha on June 15 1871. By early November the line was completed to Stevens Point, 53 miles away, the first train arriving there on November 15th. Construction from Stevens Point northward began in March 1872 and in September the road was

opened to Colby, 51 miles north of Stevens Point, with the right-of-way prepared for 50 miles beyond. To expedite completion of the road the company decided to build from Ashland southward at the same time, and the construction of a freight dock and other facilities began there in April 1872 ("Ashland Locals," *BP* 3/9/72, 3/16/72, 3/30/72, 4/6/72). By the middle of the month, the *Press* reported that there were "at least four hundred fifty railroad laborers here at present" (*BP* 4/13/72). On April 15th the ground-breaking for the railroad itself took place with due ceremony over which Samuel S. Vaughn presided, while Asaph Whittlesey dug the first shovel full of dirt and made a short speech; actual track laying began on July 7th (10). The expected completion date of the 30 miles from Ashland to the Penokee Range was November 15th (11).

With the railroad actually under construction, Ashland's future seemed assured, and the town grew and developed rapidly in a "boom" atmosphere. On May 27 1872, in response to a petition from the "residents of Ashland," the Ashland County Board of Supervisors organized the Town of Ashland (12). Earlier in the year Ashland (formerly Whittlesey), Bay City, and Vaughn's intervening tract had been consolidated as the village of Ashland (13). On July 13th the town officers were elected, with Sam Fifield chosen as chairman of the Board of Supervisors ("First Town Election," *AWP* 7/20/72). On July 17th the board met and dealing with first things first, arranged for the construction of a "town prison" and agreed on fees for liquor licenses, with some attention to road construction ("Proceedings Of the Town board," *AWP* 7/20/72). At its meeting the following week the board dealt extensively with road matters, made further arrangements for a "town prison," and established a school district ("Proceedings Of The Town board," *AWP* 7/27/72; "School Matters," *AWP* 8/24/72).

In June the Fifield brothers transferred their newspaper from Bayfield, renaming it the *Ashland Weekly Press* (14). In their editorial "Salutatory" in the first issue on June 22nd, the Fifields announced that "The *Press* will be devoted to the advocacy of Republican principles" (15). They then set about the task of "booming" their new client town, not with the usual bombastic claims typical of this art, but by a carefully reasoned argument for the inevitable pre-eminence of Ashland as a commercial, maritime, and railroad center because of its "natural features." The advertisements in this first issue of the *Press* suggest that the business foundations of a functioning community had been established. Included were announcements for a clothing store, three hardware stores, a drug store, boarding house, a house painter, a surveyor, builder, boot and shoe maker, blacksmith shop, a clothing store, and a general store operated by the contractor building the Wisconsin Central Railroad. George R. Stuntz advertised mineral lands, pine lands, and town property for sale. Also advertised were two steamboat lines touching at Bayfield, Ashland, Duluth and lower lake ports, including Leopold and Austrian's "Peoples's Line Of Steamers." Finally, the Wisconsin Central Railroad advertised for 1,000 men at "Wages \$2.50 per day. Board \$4.00 to \$4.50 per week." To illustrate the argument for the inevitable greatness and prosperity of Ashland, the *Press* published in its next issue a map entitled "Ashland. The Great Iron and Commercial City of Lake Superior" (*AWP* 7/29/72). Five railroads were shown converging on Ashland: The Northern Pacific from the west; the Great Northern from the southwest; the Chippewa Valley from the south; the Wisconsin Central from the southeast; and the Northern Pacific from the east. These railroads were shown as broad, dark lines, while the connections from them to Superior and Bayfield were shown as narrow, dashed lines. The

accompanying article acknowledged that only the Wisconsin Central was under construction, but predicted that it soon would be completed to Ashland.

The *Press* soon took up the cudgel in the old rivalry between the Chequamegon Bay ports and those at the head of the lake. The Duluthians, stymied for the time being by nature, technology, and politics from constructing a usable canal across Minnesota Point for an “inner harbor” in St. Louis Bay, built an “outer harbor” protected by a breakwater on the lake side of Minnesota Point. In November 1872 Bayfield and Ashland (and Superior) had the dubious pleasure of seeing all of these facilities heavily damaged or demolished by a powerful storm off the lake from the northeast. The *Press* lost no time in exulting “we told you so.” Since an outer harbor was not feasible, the *Press* continued, the only alternative for Duluth was an inner harbor, that is, within St. Louis Bay. But access to the bay through the canal would always be hazardous due to storms, surf, and the strong current through the canal, while the construction of the canal and extensive dredging of the bay would cost an enormous amount of public money. To the *Press* the alternative was obvious: Ashland was “by all odds the best and the most natural harbor,” “surrounded with a country rich in resources,” and “central and easy to reach with railroads,” so “Good sense, then, would dictate that the natural site should be chosen” (16).

In July a visiting professor from Winona Normal School noted that “everything at Ashland is at fever heat,” but went on to provide some useful information about the place: “City lots, covered with pines and poplars, are sold as high as \$500 to \$1000. Second street, which is parallel with the shore line of the bay is simply an opening through the forest about seventy feet wide and of indefinite length, which is now being dotted with stores, real estate offices, hotels, saloons and dwelling houses of the pioneer sort.” (“The Lake Superior Country,” *AWP* 7/20/72). About the same time an item in the *Press* reported that there were “upwards of 100 buildings and 700 people” in the settlement, and that “Every day new houses and stores spring up and its population continues to increase rapidly” (*AWP* 7/27/72). A small but significant event occurred on August 13th, when the first locomotive (which had arrived by ship in June and was named “Ashland”) was “fired up” and made a run of 1,600 feet from the Wisconsin Central dock to the shore. For the first time the “whistle of the ‘iron horse’ ” sounded on Chequamegon Bay as anticipated by the *Bayfield Press* but sadly not in that town (“Ashland Locals,” *BP* 6/1/72; *AWP* 8/17/72; “Ashland—An Interesting Letter,” *AWP* 9/7/72). Meanwhile, George Reed, president of the Wisconsin Central, continuing the practice he had used with the communities to the south, pressured the settlers of Ashland County to purchase Wisconsin Central bonds. His approach was blunt—in a telegram to Samuel S. Vaughn he stated simply, “If Ashland County accepts my proposition [to purchase bonds], I shall be there with a large party, but not otherwise.” A special referendum was held on July 5th, and \$200,000 of aid to the railroad was approved, 83 to 1 (17).

An article in the *Press* in early January 1873 provided a detailed accounting of the public institutions established and the physical “improvements” made in the three divisions of the “new Ashland” during its first full year of existence (18). The former included a town government, a newspaper, a school district, and a Methodist Episcopal congregation (Burnham 1974, 253). As for physical improvements (totaling \$244,800), streets had been opened, sidewalks laid and bridges erected; a church edifice began; two school houses built; and a town hall and jail constructed. In addition, numerous dwellings, stores, offices, shops, warehouses, boarding houses, and other buildings had been constructed. Notable among the latter were the facilities of

the Wisconsin Central, including its dock (1,556 feet); the Vaughn and Fisher warehouses and dock (1,060 feet); and the Ingalls warehouse and dock (1,100 feet) (19). Most important to the future of the settlement were three “manufactories” for exploiting the resource most immediately and abundantly available—timber. A large, steam driven saw mill was built by Van Dyke, Parsons and Moore in June, but then sold to the Ashland Lumber Company. A considerably smaller mill was constructed by Anson Northrup. These were the first of Ashland’s several lumber mills; both were located in the Bay City Division. The other “manufactory” was a large sash, door and blind factory, established by George White in June, also in the Bay City division (20). Not mentioned in the *Press* summary for 1872 was the re-opening of the post office in January noted earlier; the organization of a library association; and the establishment of the Ashland Brewery by Frank Schottmuller (“Library Association,” *AWP* 11/16/72, 11/30/72; Andreas 1881, 69).

All of these “improvements” were accomplished in a frenzied, almost chaotic environment, as suggested in a description of the new settlement by Sam Fifield (quoted in Martin 1941, 23): “I wish I could give you a vivid word picture of the conditions existing on Ashland’s townsite in 1872, the organization of society out of a rough, strange, human element, a mixed population rapidly brought together, of rough railroad builders, a camp following of bad men and bad women, sprinkled with a goodly number of brave and true pioneers, who came to make for themselves new homes. Picture, if you can, the planting of twelve hundred people among the pines on the townsite, the bringing order out of chaos, organizing a local government for the protection of the people, the making of necessary improvements, the opening of streets, building of bridges, stores, homes, shops, saloons, docks, and warehouses, rushing business day and night before the coming of winter.”

A more detailed description was provided by a visitor from Superior in September 1872, who identified himself only as “Viator” (“Ashland—An Interesting Letter,” *AWP* 9/7/72): “On approaching Ashland one is reminded somewhat of Superior by the lay of the land, as it is an extended plateau, rising some forty feet above the water, broken by occasional ravines, exhibiting the same reddish tint of clay that surrounds the head of the Lake. Bay City lies at the left hand as we steam in, having its cluster of new houses and a factory puffing away near the bay. The new Ashland commences on, and includes the site of old Ashland at the right, and stretches along toward the east, or rather northeast, to meet Bay City. Though Front and Second streets are cut out through the woods, and some buildings going up at intervals, yet from the Bay there appears at present quite a gap of forest green between Ashland and Bay City. The railroad dock of the Wisconsin Central comes in between the two, extending a length of 1,600 feet into the Bay. Your correspondent had the pleasure of riding up this dock and half a mile beyond it on a veritable locomotive last Monday morning through the courtesy of Engineer Young, and Conductor Van Middagh. The track on leaving the dock turns to the left, and runs along the shore a furlong perhaps, toward Bay City creek, and then strikes out south toward the Range. The workmen were laying the rails and driving the spikes a little beyond our halting place, a quarter of a mile from the Bay shore, and just beyond the new engine house. The locomotive appropriately named ‘Ashland’ is already moving a construction train carrying rails, ties, plank, etc. along the road. On walking up the steamboat dock in front of new Ashland, a quarter of a mile west of the railroad dock, the subscriber found himself in a deep and steep ravine up which wound two roads, one a good road leading up to Front street, and the other a very indifferent

on[e] to Second Street. Proceeding up the latter and turning to the right on reaching the street, we soon found the stove and hardware store of our friend R.W. French. He is located at about the eastern edge of old Ashland, occupies a good building 25x60, well stocked, and having a fair share of the custom. The upper part of this store is used at present as a hall for public worship, seating every Sabbath a congregation of from 40 to 65 or 70. A Sabbath School of 15 or 20 also meets here under the superintendence of Mr. C.H. Pratt. A prayer meeting assembles in the same room every Wednesday evening. Going west (or southwest) from Mr. F's building along Second street about a quarter of a mile, we come to the new store of Edmund Ingalls & Co. Here we find Wm. R. Durfee and W.H. Post engaged in selling goods while the workmen are yet fixing the front doors, and painting the counter. This firm expect to build a dock opposite their place which is the heart of old Ashland. Looking east from this point Second street is before us, substantial frame business houses on both sides at intervals for a half mile away; the street is cut out beyond them well into the woods towards Bay City. Walking east again we note a good drug store beyond Mr. French's, stores having general merchandise, boarding houses, dwelling houses, shops, &c. We find street work going on busily. Crossing the ravine opposite the dock we come to the *Press* office, its front window blazing with fuschias, and geraniums. Beyond this the office of N.W. Goodwin, Town Clerk, who welcomes Superior people on sight. Your correspondent met a score of our citizens in Ashland. Among them Messrs. Shiels, Bardon, Osborne, Ed. Snow, J.M. Davis, and many other familiar names. All seemed doing well and in fine spirits. Mr. Davis keeps the Colby house, two or three doors east of the *Press* office, and furnishes forth a table that the traveler will appreciate. The city of Winona has the honor of being the 'Ashtabula' of Ashland, having furnished, so the *Press* says, about 100 citizens to the place. Judging from the specimens we saw, neither Winona nor Ashland need be ashamed of their representatives. Lake Superior towns are also well represented. We had the pleasure of meeting among others Dr. Ellis of Ontonagon, who owns quite an interest in and about Bay City, and is one of the stir[r]ing men of Ashland."

But now, while basking in its accomplishments, Ashland suffered the first of several rude shocks from the real world of railroad building. First of all, because of the exceedingly difficult terrain and unusually wet weather, track construction had only reached the White River, six miles south of Ashland, by December 26 1872. Here a wrought iron bridge, 1,560 feet long across the river valley and 102 feet above the river, was constructed (21). Work on the line northward was stopped at section 53 at Colby, 55.5 miles from Stevens Point, on November 28th (the roadbed was prepared to Penokee gap in the north and to Worcester in the south). The company was then forced to suspend construction operations because of financial difficulties. Having completed 20 miles of the road from Stevens Point northward to the satisfaction of Governor Codwallader C. Washburn, who inspected it on July 24th, the company applied to him for the certificate of completion, which would have entitled it to receive a proportionate amount of land from its grant. But he refused to issue the certificate because the company had not completed the road between Portage and Stevens Point, as required by the charter of the Portage and Lake Superior Railroad, one of the corporate entities of the Wisconsin Central. As a result, without the land as security, negotiations for additional capital from financiers in Germany, and from other foreign and domestic sources, collapsed. (Domestic calamities and international political complications also contributed to the withdrawal of potential sources of capital.) On November 20th Governor Washburn relented to the extent of granting a certificate for one-half the land for the reason that the company had completed the line from Doty's Island-Menosha as required by the charter of

the Winnebago and Lake Superior, the other major corporate entity of the Wisconsin Central, although it was the opinion of the U.S. Attorney General that the company was entitled to all of the land for the 20 mile section.

Thus, Ashland's hopes and expectations for a railroad in 1873 were rudely dashed. But then a more immediate and pressing problem arose—the so-called “Ashland War.” When construction was suspended on December 26th, the company had discharged the workers as of that date. There were 1,200 men living in camps from the Penokee Range to Ashland who depended on their wages for their livelihood and who had been told that they would be employed all winter. The only way out of the area was by the stage road 80 miles from Ashland to Superior, since the bay was frozen and no boats were running. So as not to overcrowd the boarding and feeding facilities at Ashland and along the road to Superior, company officials began to pay the men in small groups at the various camps from the south northward. Most of the men departed without incident, but at one camp (Kelly's) the men, who had been waiting a few days for their wages, demanded to be paid to date rather than just to December 26th. Escaping an unruly crowd at the camp, the company group managed to reach Ashland, where the town chairman, Sam Fifield, closed the saloons (which continued business out their back doors). On New Year's day men from Kelly's camp reached Ashland. Two men were dispatched to Bayfield to summon Sheriff Nelson Boutin (responsible for both Ashland and Bayfield Counties), who arrived that night with a posse of 42 men commanded by Robinson Pike. The town was placed under martial law, order was quickly restored, and a settlement was reached with the workers, who departed Ashland peaceably (22).

After this burst of excitement, Ashland endured the winter doldrums until spring, when work was resumed at White River on April 21st (*AWP* 4/26/73). By early September track had reached Silver Creek, where another wrought iron bridge, about half the size of the White River structure was erected. Track was laid to Penokee (Penoka) gap by October 4th and the first train arrived there from Ashland on the 9th (23). Meanwhile, work was resumed at section 53 (Colby) northward on April 25th and stopped at Worcester (mile post 101) on January 6 1874, leaving a gap of about 57 miles between the two ends of track. In August 1873 Governor Washburn issued a certificate for one-half of the land for which the company had qualified by the satisfactory completion of a second 20 mile section. The completed 164 mile section from Menasha to Stevens Point to Worcester was swamped with freight traffic, handling 175,380 tons between June 1874 and June 1875, most of which was for the development of the new territory opened by the railroad. Passenger traffic was also heavy, requiring in addition to the regular passenger trains, the coupling of passenger cars to the freight trains (Martin 1941, 29).

But the company now encountered further difficulties that once again put an end to construction work between Worcester and Ashland. The first problem was to secure an extension of the completion date of May 5 1874, which Congress finally granted on April 9th by setting a new date of December 31 1876. The second difficulty was to obtain the financial resources to continue work. The underlying condition was the depressed economy, which began with a financial panic in September 1873, brought about by an abrupt decline in the value of railroad securities due to overbuilding. Investors were wary of railroad ventures, and the Wisconsin Central had difficulty in providing sufficient security to sell its bonds. Governor Washburn continued to refuse certificates of completion for the one-half of the road that had been finished,

until the Stevens Point to Portage line was constructed. The completed road itself, ending as it did in wilderness at one end and a sparsely populated area at Menasha at the other, was not acceptable as security. It then developed that the Phillips and Colby Construction Company, in its haste to obtain the land grant, had grossly mismanaged the work, expending more than the amount provided by the aid of towns and counties along the route. With no funds available, the company was unable to pay what was owed to the subcontractors, who then abandoned the work. The Phillips and Colby Company attempted to undertake the construction work, but this effort was unsuccessful and resulted only in further great wastes of labor and materials (Martin 1941, 29-32). Finally, with the company facing default and bankruptcy, the bondholders agreed to financial arrangements that enabled it to complete the Stevens Point to Portage line, and it was given the part of its land grant that had been withheld until this was done. All of this took time, of course, and work on the line northward from Worcester was not resumed until July 26 1876, and southward from Penokee gap until October 2nd of that year.

Once again Ashland was held hostage to the vicissitudes of railroad financing and politics, complicated by a deep depression that was to last five years. But the 30 mile “pig-tail” railroad to Penokee gap proved to be the village’s salvation (Martin 1941, 26-27): “Despite the fact that the Ashland-Penokee division was an isolated strip of railroad, immediately upon its completion, traffic in freight and passengers became so heavy that the few engines and cars were inadequate to handle it. Demands for movement of lumber equipment and forest products overwhelmed the little railroad. The only railroad in northern Wisconsin and the only route out of Ashland southward, this isolated piece of railroad at once became the quick and easy approach to Lake Superior from the interior.” Hardy souls could even take the train to the end of the line at Penokee gap, then travel by sled, wagon or on foot (and later by stage) across the intervening 57 miles of wilderness to Worcester and there take the train to Stevens Point, Milwaukee, and other cities (24). A small settlement named Penoka grew up at the gap to serve travelers (*AWP* 12/4/75).

Ashland continued to grow during 1873, although the pace of building diminished considerably from the previous year. New homes and stores were constructed, a brick yard was established, and the Ashland Lumber Company built a 600 foot dock (“Lower Town Items,” *AWP* 7/12/73). There were “upwards of 700 inhabitants” in the settlement, with “80 children attending school regularly” (*AWP* 2/15/73). The big event of the year was the transfer of the county seat from La Pointe to Ashland, approved in the November elections (“Removal Of The County Seat,” *AWP* 9/20/73; “The Election,” *AWP* 11/8/73; Governor C.O. Washburn’s *Proclamation*, 11/22/73). As of the end of 1873 approached, the *Press* found every reason to be optimistic. “Why Feel Blue?” it asked, for “Ashland’s prospects were never brighter than today.” The Wisconsin Central will certainly reach Ashland by the next summer, new settlers will continue to arrive, and the “waste places” will be filled “with the hives of industry.” One such “waste place” was the “Penoka Range” where the existence of “inexhaustible beds of iron ore . . . has been established beyond a doubt, and the first *ore has been shipped*” (*AWP* 11/22/73—italics in original). This statement was misleading at best. While iron ore had been found on the Penokee range, the true extent of the deposits and whether the ore could be profitably mined were unknown, and only a few tons of ore had been “shipped” for testing and analysis.

The probable basis of this and other statements regarding the “inexhaustible” iron ore deposits on the Penoque Range were the reports of explorations conducted over 20 years before. As discussed in an earlier chapter, in 1848 Randall had noted the presence of iron ore along the fourth principal meridian. In 1849 Charles Whittlesey had traced the ore beds (magnetite) through compass deflection and outcrops from the principal meridian west to English Lake. On the basis of a field examination of small samples he judged that the ore would yield “fifty to sixty per cent. metal” but noted that it also contained a relatively high proportion of silex or quartz. His conclusion was that, “If the silex [quartz] of this ore is not so excessive as to make it refractory [difficult to melt], or if in practice that difficulty can be remedied by use of magnesian slates, which are abundant, these mines may be wrought hereafter at a profit, and rival the works of Northern Europe” (Whittlesey 1852, 446-447). In 1858, Increase A. Lapham explored the Penoque Range ore beds for the Wisconsin and Lake Superior Mining and Smelting Company, as noted earlier. Lapham’s report included two inconsistent, if not contradictory, conclusions (Lapham, 1860, 33, 35). On the one hand he stated that “good ore” had been discovered “in such quantities as to be practically inexhaustible, situated at points accessible to water power and having bold fronts, rendering it comparatively easy to be quarried. For many years to come only the richest and most accessible ores can be brought into use, rejecting—at least for the present—all such as have too large a proportion of silica, and such as are not in a condition to be easily and cheaply removed from the natural bed. Though it is clearly shown that the ore is co-extensive with the range, yet it must not be supposed that it constitutes a continuous workable mine throughout this whole distance of twenty miles. It is only at the points indicated where the ore is easily worked, and where water power is at hand, that very great immediate value can be put upon these mines; for the reason that the difference in the expense of quarrying the ore from the side of a high cliff, and of mining it below the surface of the ground, will be sufficient to dissipate all the profits that can be made from the use of ores so obtained.” While on the other hand declaring that “The immense quantity of one of the most valuable of iron ores existing in beds in many places so easily accessible, and at only a moderate distance from the navigable waters of Lake Superior, in a country well supplied with hard wood timber, with a climate suited to the healthy and vigorous efforts of man; a soil suited to the growth of most of the ordinary farm crops; at a point easily accessible by railroad, by which it will be connected with the general system of railroads in the country, must, sooner or later become the source of great wealth, and give occupation to a large population of thrifty and industrious citizens.”

It was undoubtedly the selective reading of the Whittlesey and Lapham reports plus a strong dose of credulity, which gave rise to the expectation that Ashland was destined to be “The Grand Iron and Commercial City of Lake Superior” (map, *AWP* 6/29/72). Ashland would not only be a shipping port for iron ore, it would refine the ore in charcoal furnaces using the nearby “inexhaustible forests” and limestone mineral deposits, then use the iron to manufacture finished products (“Ashland Locals,” *BP* 5/18/72, 5/25/72). In the early 1870s there were four mining companies with extensive land holdings on the range, but only one of these, the Lapointe Iron Company, attempted actual mining operations (25). It began work in September 1873, digging test pits and a single shaft (on section 15, T44R3). Several tons of ore were extracted and apparently shipped to Ashland in October (when the railroad reached Penoque gap) and then by ship to Cleveland. Analysis of ore samples supposedly showed “61 per cent. pure iron” (*AWP* 1/10/74). This was a much higher percentage of “pure iron” than was typical of the deposits being worked by the company, and the presence of a large proportion of refractory quartz in the

ore appears to have been ignored. Work was suspended in November due to the depressed economic conditions but resumed in February 1874. An office and quarters for the workers were constructed, and arrangements made for the erection of a blast furnace and rolling mill at Penoka or Ashland if rich ore in sufficient quantity were found.

Apparently there were some people who did not share the optimistic view of the potential of iron ore mining on the Penokee range. To settle the issue, Ashland joined other groups around the state to demand a geological survey (*AWP* 2/8/73). The Legislature authorized a survey in March 1873 to begin in Ashland and Douglas Counties, and Increase A. Lapham was appointed Chief Geologist in April (26). From June to September 1873 Roland D. Irwin surveyed the Penokee Range and its ore resources. His report to Lapham was not favorable. He noted that the high proportion of quartz in the ore made it difficult to smelt, and that the ore would have to occur in thick deposits of 50% to 60% metallic iron in order to compete with the rich ores coming from the mines at Marquette, Michigan, and Menomonee, Wisconsin. Irwin suggested that the stratigraphy (series of rock beds) of the Penoke Range was a continuation of that found to the east in Michigan, and that the bed containing the rich ore found at Marquette was probably present in the Penokee Range. If so, it was located farther north (above in the stratigraphy) from the bed where the Lapointe Iron Company was attempting to mine the lean (less rich) magnetic ore or magnetite. The bed, if there, was covered by a deep layer of glacial drift with no outcrops, however, and no work was done to determine if in fact it contained the richer ore (27). The report was not published but was seen by people from Ashland, who were understandably critical of Irwin's conclusions. They claimed that the survey on which they were based was hastily done, and they demanded a new survey (28). Consequently, a second survey of the Penokee Range was conducted by Charles E. Wright, beginning in August 1876. His conclusions, although stated ambiguously, were essentially the same as Irwin's, namely, that despite the seeming promise of the outcrops and compass variations, rich, marketable ores would not be found in the magnetite beds, but (possibly) in the beds farther north in the range (29). Meanwhile, in July 1874 the Lapointe Iron Company stopped its mining operations due to the depressed price of iron ore, the shaft it had excavated being reported in August to be filled with water ("On The Iron Range," *AWP* 7/4/74; "Penoka Iron," *AWP* 8/29/74). Ashland's hopes of becoming the great iron city of the west were dashed, at least for the time being (30).

But the little community struggled on despite the loss of population, the lack of a railroad connection, and adverse economic conditions. A brewery was established, a town hall planned, and the saws of the Ashland Lumber Company continued to hum. In August 1874 a visitor from Michigan described Ashland as follows: "The number of buildings would seem to indicate a population of not less than twelve or fifteen hundred, but as many of the stores and dwellings are vacant, there are probably not over seven or eight hundred people in the place. . . . In 1873 the value of new buildings erected and other improvements made, is estimated in round figures at half a million dollars. There are four substantial merchandise piers, with accompanying warehouses, costing in the aggregate, over \$100,000. A saw mill owned by the Ashland Lumber Company will turn out 2,000,000 feet of lumber this year, half of which goes to Isle Royale. . . . A door, sash and blind factory, owned by White & Dunbar, is one of the institutions of the town, the product of which is mostly shipped to Isle Royale and other points on the lake. The town contains ten stores, of all kinds, two large breweries, the usual number of hotels and saloons, while the education and morals of the place are taken care of by one church (Methodist), [and]

two good schools. . . . There are three miles of graded streets, and many more of wooden sidewalks; the buildings as might be expected are entirely new, and among them are some very neat tasty residences.” (31). In early 1875, the trip across the gap between the two ends of the Wisconsin Central’s road was eased somewhat by the establishment of a stage line, the trip taking two days. The stage fare was \$10 and the rail fare to Milwaukee was \$10.80, the overall trip from Ashland to Milwaukee taking four days (*AWP* 1/16/75). The 1875 *State Census*, taken in the midyear, showed a population of 448 in the Town of Ashland (268 males, 180 females). Assuming that the census is accurate and allowing for a few people on farms, the population of the village of Ashland was probably about 400 people (32). The difference between this figure and the *Press* estimate in early 1873 of “upwards of 700 inhabitants” probably reflects the loss of population due to the suspension of railroad construction, plus some inflation in the *Press* estimate (*AWP* 2/15/73).

Things began to look better in 1876. On July 26th railroad construction was resumed at Worcester northward, and on October 2nd, southward from Penoka. Arrangements were made for a telegraph line to Ashland, which was completed on August 15th. Finally, when the work from the north reached Chippewa Crossing (Glidden) on November 26th, and that from the south stopped at Butternut Creek on December 8th, regular train service was established from Ashland to Chippewa Crossing and from Butternut Creek to Stevens Point, with a scheduled stage line between the two terminals. Daily mail service was also established, and Bayfield was linked to the railroad by a stage line over a new road between the two settlements (33). While no “summary of improvements” for 1876 was published, one important project that was apparently completed was the construction of the Methodist Episcopal Church, the first church building in Ashland (“The M. E. Church,” *AWP* 7/1/76; “The Sociable,” *AWP* 5/6/76). A second “improvement” was the organization of a fire company for which a new engine, “built at an immense expense” was purchased (34). With mining operations on the Penokee Range abandoned, and with no prospect of resumption in sight, the *Press* re-assessed Ashland’s prospects for the future. In an editorial in April it abandoned the vision of Ashland as the “Great Iron City of Lake Superior” for “Ashland the Great Lumber Centre of the North!” The depletion of pineries in Michigan and to the south of Ashland in Wisconsin, the *Press* declared, would surely attract the lumber business to the lake region. Ashland, “surrounded by large tracts of pine” with good driving streams tributary to the bay, a fine harbor, a railroad, and many good mill-sites, “is favorably situated to be made a second Oshkosh or Green Bay” (then the important lumber centers in east central Wisconsin). Further, the *Press* continued in a second editorial, Ashland, with a plentiful supply of hardwood timber, was “the Finest Location for a Large Chair and Furniture Factory in the Union.” Finally, in a third offering, the *Press* predicted that Ashland, “when its location and surroundings are carefully examined,” “must become a commercial port of no slight importance.” This, plus the abundant agriculture, mineral, and timber resources in the region, “point unmistakably to a prosperous future for Ashland.” The past expectation of immediate “greatness” was replaced by a more cautious view: “But it will not all be realized at once. It will take time to bring Ashland forward and build up the city the future has marked out” (35).

In June 1877, the first step toward this new future for Ashland, one that had been long anticipated, finally occurred. Work on the Wisconsin Central line had resumed at Butternut Creek on May 19th, and on June 2nd the end of the northern section at Chippewa Crossing (about

16 miles north) was reached. A party of Ashland and Bayfield dignitaries traveled there, and Asaph Whittlesey drove the last spike and made a short speech. The first train proceeded to Ashland (where the news had been received by telegraph from Chippewa Crossing) to be greeted by a rousing reception described by the *Press* ("Shout The Glad Tidings!" *AWP* 6/9/77): "Hon. S.S. Vaughn, with his usual enterprise and public spirit, rallied the people, and when the train drew up at the depot at ten o'clock at night, it was greeted by at least three hundred citizens of Ashland and vicinity, . . . headed by a platoon of boys bearing torches, while huge bon-fires illuminated the town in every direction. "The six pound field-piece brought over from Bayfield by a delegation of prominent citizens, thundered forth a salute that sent its echoes vibrating through the surrounding forests and across the waters, heralding the tidings of great joy to all people who inhabit the shores of Chequamegon Bay" (36).

With the railroad completed, scheduled service to Milwaukee and Chicago began, while two steamer lines connected Ashland to ports on the upper and lower Great Lakes (37). Then Wisconsin Central, eager to develop sources of revenue to support the isolated line to Ashland and no doubt having observed the brisk tourism at Bayfield and La Pointe, announced in March that it would build a large resort hotel. Construction began on April 18th and the Chequamegon Hotel held a grand opening on August 1st. Located on the present site of the county courthouse, it was an L shaped structure, measuring 40 feet by 100 feet, three stories high, with a wide veranda around the building. The *Press* waxed ecstatic, announcing that the hotel marked the "Commencement Of Another Era Of Progress," and that "Ashland and Vicinity to be the Saratoga of the Northwest!" A visitor from Green Bay in September noted that the hotel "is overflowing and spilling over pretty much all the time with an excess of pleasure seekers," and that plans were already being made to expand it (38). The other major construction project for the year was the new courthouse. It was located on "courthouse square," the block formed by the present Lake Shore Drive and Main Street, and 6th and 7th Avenues West. The cornerstone was laid with a Masonic ceremony on October 6th, and by the end of November the building was enclosed, ready to be finished in the spring (39). In addition to these major projects, there were new houses and business places constructed and improvements to existing ones, with additional streets, bridges, sidewalks, and culverts installed, amounting in all to \$845,850 in value ("Improvements For 1877," *AWP* 1/5/78). The White and Perinier factory and the Ashland Lumber Company were also working to full capacity ("Ashland's Industries," *AWP* 5/12/77). A negative development was the loss of the custom office, squelching plans for Ashland to be a major port for Canadian shipping ("The Ashland Customs Office Abolished," *AWP* 11/24/77). But this was perhaps balanced by two pieces of good news. The first was that the Wisconsin Central was to undertake new iron ore mining operations on the Penokee Range, and the second that the preliminary survey for a line to connect the Wisconsin Central at Ashland with the Northern Pacific Railroad from Superior had begun (40).

A report in the *Northwestern Lumberman* in October 1877 observed that "Ashland is not a large town neither is it pretentious or assuming. It is a quiet little burg holding about 600 souls, who chiefly inhabit snug cottages and have goodly sized garden patches under an excellent state of cultivation. . . . The strip of ground upon which the town stands has been cleared of the forest which once covered it densely thick to the water's edge, for [a] distance of a couple of miles along the bay shore, and something like one-half a mile wide. There is but one main street, but that is long enough to make up for any deficiency in number. The numerous bridges which span

the ravines . . . form quite a novel feature. Some day when Ashland becomes a great place of resort for summer tourists, and its population has been augmented an hundred fold in numbers and wealth—the drive along the street will be one worth traversing that 200 miles of forest to enjoy.” The article went on the note that “Commercially speaking, there is not much to attract one to Ashland, and will not be for some time to come.” The people do not have grandiose ambitions, but “recognize the value of small things and the virtue of a steady growth, and do not go ballooning. It is surrounded by pine forests; their wealth will one day be developed, and their conversion into lumber will add much to the growth and prosperity of the place.” The Chequamegon Hotel was described as the “cosiest, cleanest and most thoroughly homelike little house in all Wisconsin. . . . The house is tasty in appearance inside and out; is furnished comfortably and even elegantly; . . .” and was crowded “to its utmost capacity” during the warm weather. The report concluded by suggesting that “a month or two in the wonderful air here is worth years of any other place;” and by predicting that “the facts have only to be known to fill the little town each year to overflowing.” (41).

All was not doom and gloom on Chequamegon Bay during the depressed years that began in 1873. People—or at least some people—had a good time. There were dances, “sociables,” picnics at Houghton Point, Christmas celebrations, and other events. “Three double teams and one single” towed sleds loaded with Ashlanders in elaborate costumes across the ice to Bayfield on Friday, February 25 1876 to attend a “grand masquade ball.” After a “hearty supper” everyone went to the courthouse where the dance was held. Festivities continued during a raging snowstorm that began on Saturday, and it was not until Tuesday that the Ashland party could return home. The centennial was the occasion for July 4th celebrations in Ashland and Bayfield. Bayfield proposed a joint celebration, but apparently that idea did not find favor in Ashland, so they each held their own. Ashland’s was the more elaborate with patriotic songs, toasts, an oration, sport games typical of such affairs, a “grand ball” and fireworks in the evening. There was even an arranged fire that allowed the recently formed Ashland Fire Company to show off its new engine and the fortitude of its members. Bayfield’s celebration included a reading of “Washington’s Prayer For America” and other public documents, speeches, games, and a parade by the Bayfield Rifles in their new uniforms. Houses throughout the town were decorated with evergreens and a “brand new flag was flung to the breeze” from the courthouse pole. The *Ashland Weekly Press* correspondent was apparently not too impressed, however, concluding that “the best report to be made is that there was not a single row during the whole day. Every one was orderly, decent and [sober].” A centennial celebration was also held at Buffalo Bay on the Red Cliff Reservation, although it is hard to see what the Indians confined there had to celebrate on this occasion. Apparently they entered wholeheartedly into the affair, however, for the *Press* correspondent noted that, “On the whole the celebration at Buffalo Bay was a decided success, and rather eclipsed Bayfield.” (42).

At the beginning of the new year, the *Press* observed that “the Centennial year gave but little promise for Ashland during 1877, owing to the hard times which have prevailed throughout the country.” Nevertheless, the list of the year’s improvements was impressive (“Improvements for 1877,” *AWP* 1/5/78). Included were two major projects, the construction of the Chequamegon Hotel and the courthouse (completed the following year), amounting to \$15,000 and \$10,000 respectively. Also listed were improvements to the Ashland Lumber Company and White and Pernier mills; construction of a depot by the Wisconsin Central; and work on the village bridges,

streets, culverts, and sidewalks. The remainder of the year's improvements consisted for the most part of the construction or remodeling of residences. The total value of all this was \$45,850, although the *Press* hedged a bit by stating that the estimated amounts expended may "fall short" or be "estimated too high." The *Press* stated that while the progress made during the year was "worthy of note," it did not meet expectations, "considering the fact that our railroad was completed in June." But while the railroad was an important condition for the growth and prosperity of Ashland, it was not sufficient by itself to bring this about. There had to be productive economic activity and this developed gradually—lumber mills, ore shipping, and tourism—over the next several years. There was progress in two of these areas in 1878. The Union Mill Company was organized in March 1878 with capital stock of \$30,000. A mill and dock were constructed at the foot of 14th Avenue West (then Wisconsin Street). The mill began operation on August 1st. The company also operated a provisions store and a boarding house (43).

Tourism had become a major "industry" for Ashland (as it was for Bayfield), and was assiduously pushed by the *Press* and the Wisconsin Central ("Ashland And Vicinity! The Summer Resort Of The West!" *AWP* 6/1/78). The accommodations of the Chequamegon Hotel having proven inadequate after only a year of operation, the manager announced in October that it would be substantially enlarged for next year's season ("The Chequamegon," *AWP* 10/5/78). The thought had apparently occurred to some among the community leaders that with its "mineral springs," Ashland could even become another Saratoga. Water samples were sent for analysis to the Department of Agriculture in Washington, and although the report was encouraging (not up to the springs at Saratoga, however) nothing further seems to have been done by way of exploiting them for tourism (44). There was also encouraging news from the Wisconsin Central mining operations on the "Penoka Range," where it was reported that a rich vein of iron ore had been reached, and that the "outlook for a good mine is encouraging" (*AWP* 3/16/78). Finally, marine traffic during the year was brisk, with 405 vessels (steam and sail) bringing in \$129,608 worth of cargo, and shipping out \$147,180 worth (*AWP* 2/22/79).

No major economic projects were reported for 1879. Bayfield County completed the construction of a wagon and stage road around the head of the bay to the county line, and Ashland County completed it into the village (45). In the cultural sphere, the *Press* reported with approval a "theatrical entertainment" named "The Gambler's Child" by the Ashland Dramatic Association in its "new hall" (*AWP* 8/30/79). Nineteen eighty brought a third sawmill to Ashland, built by James Ritchie from Depere, Wisconsin, who became a well known citizen of Ashland, and Charles G. Mueller. This Mueller and Ritchie mill, as it was generally known, along with a dock, was located at the foot of Willis Avenue, and began operation in February 1881 (46). The acquisition of the Mueller and Ritchie mill was accompanied by the destruction of another. In April the White and Childs mill, along with some adjacent buildings, were destroyed by fire, which was only just prevented from spreading to the Ashland Lumber Company ("Destructive Conflagration," *AWP* 4/17/80). The property was not insured, but the owners were able to make arrangements to rebuild (*AWP* 7/24/80).

Despite the pessimistic—or at least equivocal—reports of the professional geologists, there were those who persisted in believing that bonanza wealth lay buried somewhere in the ranges behind Ashland. Now it was gold and silver in the copper range, located north of the Penoke Range,

which aroused their enthusiasm. At least one outside company was formed, the Chicago and Lake Superior Mining Company, which opened a mine on the Brunsweller River (on section 22 of T45NR4W), as well as local companies in Ashland and Bayfield. Rumors about precious metals on the range had been circulating in Ashland for a year or more, but the *Press* had remained skeptical and silent. Now, however, in the spring of 1880 in an article with the headline, “The New Eldorado!,” it declared that the proof was so strong that it was “useless to doubt longer” that the discoveries of the gold and silver were true. The gold and silver mining ventures apparently did not “pan out,” however, for after this initial burst of excitement in the spring, no further major reports about them appeared in the *Press* (47).

Railroad excitement was again in the air in 1880. The North Wisconsin Railroad (now the Northern Division of the Chicago, St. Paul, Minneapolis and Omaha) had reached Long Lake (Lake Owen), and the engineers were reconnoitering the line from that point to Bayfield (*AWP* 12/14/78, 5/8/80, 5/22/80, 6/26/80, 7/31/80). Also, it was announced that the Northern Pacific would begin the preliminary survey of its “South Shore Line” from Duluth to Sault Ste. Marie, the first section being to the Montreal River. There was considerable concern in Ashland that the main line would pass to the south, with only a branch into the village (“Eastward!” *AWP* 11/20/80; “The South Shore Line,” *AWP* 12/4/80). But a ghost of the Wisconsin Central era was now haunting the community. Due to the impoverished condition of its finances, Ashland County was unable to pay the interest on the money it had borrowed to purchase the railroad bonds in 1871. By 1880, the accrued interest amounted to \$32,000. Severely pressed by its creditors, the county Board of Supervisors adopted a plan that these creditors accepted to pay this indebtedness, which they ultimately succeeded in doing (48).

There was the usual round of “sociables” and anniversary celebrations, and an occasional “grand ball.” A big event was a weekend excursion of 60 people to Duluth, sponsored by the Ashland Cornet Band, which also sponsored a ball (“Grand Excursion to Duluth,” *AWP* 8/21/80; “The Band Excursion,” *AWP* 9/4/80). A lavish Fourth of July Celebration was held, beginning with a “national salute” at sunrise and culminating in fireworks at 10 o’clock in the evening. Both the Methodist Church (organized on September 20 1872) and the Congregational Church (date of first organization uncertain), small in numbers but strong in spirit, disbanded, then united on July 20th as the Presbyterian Church, there to “do better work for the cause of Christ” (*AWP* 7/24/80). After a lapse of two years, the *Press* published an improvements report for the first nine months of the year (“Improvements—1880,” *AWP* 10/2/80). It noted that not only had “general business increased” but that the improvements showed “that our people have been generally prosperous.” The list of improvements included the rebuilding of the White and Childs planing mill, the construction of the Mueller and Ritchie mill, improvements to the Union Mill, new stores for Vaughn and Garnich, improvements to the court house, Wisconsin Central Railroad facilities, and numerous dwellings and places of business, amounting in all to \$55,225. Also, a local telephone company was organized at the end of the year, “intended to connect both ends of town with the post office, court house, hotels, mills, and such stores as desire an instrument.” The *Press* remarked that “It is a good idea” (*AWP* 12/11/80, 3/5/81).

The *U. S. Census* of June 1880 for the Town of Ashland showed 775 whites and 176 Indians, the latter assumedly at the Bad River reservation. There was no separate listing for the village of Ashland. Of the 775 whites, 510 were born in the United States, predominantly in Wisconsin

(273), followed by New York (59), Michigan (49), Minnesota (28), and 16 other states (99). Two hundred sixty two were born in foreign countries, lead by Canada (86), Germany (48), Norway (31), Ireland (30), and 10 other countries (63). There were 45 different occupations pursued by 323 whites, the most frequent being laborer (123), sawmill worker (43), farmer (20), and lumberman (16). Two physicians, two lawyers, three school teachers, and four pastors or missionaries were also listed. Three lumber mills were shown. The Union Mill Company with \$25,000 of capital invested operated for six months during the census year. It employed 40 males (including five children and youths) at daily wages of \$1.75 for laborers and \$3.00 for skilled mechanics. It was powered by a 75 horsepower steam engine, which drove 16 circular saws. The Ashland Lumber Company with \$60,000 of capital invested operated for two months during the census year. It employed 40 males (including three children and youths) at average daily wages of \$1.50 for laborers and \$2.50 for skilled mechanics. It was powered by a 60 horsepower steam engine with 11 circular saws. Finally, the White and Childs Sash, Door and Blind Mill with \$5,000 of capital invested operated for ten months during the census year. It employed 16 males at daily wages of \$1.50 for laborers and \$2.00 for skilled mechanics. It was powered by a 25 horsepower steam engine with four circular saws (49). No other “manufactures” were listed in the census.

Eighteen eighty-one was another year of slow, but steady progress for Ashland. The Superior Lumber Company, organized in January by John H. Knight from Bayfield and others with a capital stock of \$50,000, began construction of a sawmill and dock along the bay shore between 6th and 10th Avenues (then Lake and Indiana Streets). The company also owned the Fish Creek Boom and Log Driving Company and the Bad River Boom and Canal Company, which provided it with a dependable supply of logs (50). Penokee Range minerals were in the news again, with a *Press* report about a gold and silver assay, “which verifies and proves conclusively that the mineral found is as represented—rich in gold, silver and copper;” and about the discovery of “An Iron Bonanza” on the Wisconsin Central mining property (51). Construction projects included a new passenger depot and other facilities for the Wisconsin Central; the Ashland Lumber Company and Mueller and Ritchie mills; and another substantial enlargement of the Chequamegon Hotel. The hotel now featured 100 rooms, gas lighting, and “all modern improvements such as electric bells, bath rooms, closets, steam laundry, etc.” These projects, along with the usual building and improvements of dwellings and business building, amounted to total of \$56,750 as of October 1881 (52). Finally, a major social event of the year was the “Young Ladies’ Fair” to raise money for a church building. The “fair” ran for two nights and included “Tableaux,” music, and other “special features,” netting over \$200, “For all of which the ladies return their warmest thanks” (“The Young Ladies Fair,” *AWP* 12/3/81).

By 1882 economic conditions had improved, and the outlook of the *Press*—assumedly reflecting that of the community—was optimistic. Ashland, it declared, “has suddenly grown into a self-supporting town, resting upon a good and solid business foundation, with a bright future ahead” (“Our Industries,” *AWP* 4/22/82). While Ashland was becoming a Mecca for sportsmen, nature lovers, fresh air enthusiasts, and ordinary tourists, it was above all a lumber town. In April the *Press* reported that the four mills—Ashland Lumber Company, the Mueller and Ritchie Mill, Superior Lumber Company, and the Union Mill—were expected to cut about 34 million board feet of lumber. Subsequently, the Superior Lumber Company rebuilt its mill to increase capacity, and a fifth mill was erected by the Michigan Lumber Company at the foot of Prentice

Avenue (53). Other additions to the industrial base of Ashland during 1882 were the Ashland Manufacturing Company, which included a combination sash, door, and blind factory, a planing mill, and a machine shop and foundry, and a new post office, while work was begun on a new school house, and the Wisconsin Central constructed a new depot, a round house and other facilities. These projects, plus numerous smaller ones, the construction and improvement of dwellings, and village improvements, amounted to \$386,000 for the year, according to the *Press* (*AWP* 4/15/82, 6/24/82, 7/1/82; “Still They Come!” *AWP* 6/10/82; “Ashland!” *AWP* 11/25/82). The first boat built in Ashland—named *The City of Ashland*—was launched from the Ashland Lumber Company’s boat yard in November and completed for service in 1883. It was a light-draft tug with side wheels for propulsion, intended to pull log rafts from the Bad River area through the shallow opening or “sand cut” between Chequamegon Point and Long Island, thus avoiding the long circumvention of the island (54).

The *Press* declared that “The most important item in the progress of Ashland during [1882]” was the construction of the branch of the Chicago, St. Paul, Minneapolis and Omaha Railroad into Ashland (“Ashland!” *AWP* 11/25/82). In late June the company and affected property owners reached an agreement regarding the right-of-way into the village and by mid-July the location of the line had been completed. Ground breaking took place in early September and construction proceeded from both ends, at Ashland and at the main line junction. By the end of November grading was completed and rail laying was commenced. The *Press* had confidently predicted in July that “we may expect that trains will run through from St. Paul to Ashland by early fall, at the farthest” but this proved to be premature (55). There was also good news on another railroad front. In June, the Northern Pacific’s line from Superior to Ashland was put under contract, and the right-of-way into the village secured. By October, construction was proceeding rapidly from both ends of the line, with an expected completion date of April 1885. This road would connect Ashland with the ports at the head of the lake, the lumber markets and great wheat fields of the northern prairies, and the Pacific Ocean trade. The *Press* was ecstatic at the prospect, proclaiming that the railroad would “give our city a big boost towards its ‘manifest destiny’ ” (56).

The year was also active socially, “masquerade balls” seeming to be popular (*AWP* 1/7/82, 2/11/82, 2/25/82, 9/2/82). The Presbyterian Society purchased the former Methodist church and grounds, and the “ladies” of the Society sponsored “sociables,” a concert (which unfortunately was poorly attended because of inclement weather) and a fair to raise money, while the Vaughns hosted a “parlor entertainment” by the Ashland Literary Society for the same purpose (*AWP* 7/22/82, 7/29/82; “Grand Concert and Fair!” *AWP* 12/2/82, 12/9/82, 12/16/82, 12/23/82). The Fourth of July was celebrated quietly, with picnics, a ball, sailing on the bay, and another excursion to Duluth by the Ashland Cornet Band and others (*AWP* 7/8/82). The year ended with an “entertainment” by the public school pupils (*AWP* 12/23/82). This and several other of the social events took place at Bell’s new “opera house,” constructed by George W. Bell (*AWP* 9/30/82, 10/7/82). The Chequamegon Hotel was filled to overflowing, including among the guests famous Civil War generals (57). Life cannot have been too hectic, however, for the *Press* reported that “Quite a number of our business men have surrendered their telephones. They found them more of a luxury than a necessity” (*AWP* 5/6/82).

While business conditions on the national level worsened in 1883 as the result of a panic due to the overbuilding of railroads, the demand for lumber in the growing cities and in the farms and

villages of the great plains, plus the need for the shipping outlets on the lakes, insulated the Chequamegon Bay communities from the depression. The *Press* was therefore able to report at year's end that 1883 had been "a prosperous one for our fair young city, which has taken long strides toward its future destiny" ("The Metropolis Of The New Wisconsin,," *AWP* 11/10/83). No new lumber mills or manufacturing plants were established, but those already in operation added to and improved their buildings and docks. The Union Mill Company constructed a large hotel, improved its mill facilities and extended its dock; the Ashland Lumber Company improved its mill and dock, as did the Michigan Lumber Company, and the Mueller and Ritchie Company. The Superior Lumber Company also improved its mill and docks, constructed an office and warehouses, and added to its sash and door factory. During the winter, 63,050,000 board feet of logs had been harvested and "banked" to feed the enormous capacity of the mills at Ashland, Bayfield, and elsewhere in the Chequamegon Bay region ("Ashland and Bayfield," *AWP* 5/26/83). There were numerous small business undertakings also, including two brickyards, badly needed to provide material for the many building which were being constructed (*AWP* 4/21/83, 5/5/83). Other major projects included a Presbyterian church, a high school, improvements to the county courthouse, and numerous bridges, sidewalks, and streets through the village. A telegraph line to Bayfield was completed, the old telephone line connecting the communities was rebuilt, and wires were extended throughout Ashland (*AWP* 10/6/83, 10/13/83). A major event for the year was the long awaited completion on June 19th of the branch line of the Chicago, St. Paul, Minneapolis and Omaha Railroad, providing Ashland with a direct connection to the valleys of the St. Croix and Mississippi Rivers and the Twin Cities. While this new railroad connection had considerable significance for the future of the village, there apparently was no celebration such as that which accompanied the arrival of the Wisconsin Central six years earlier ("The Work is Accomplished," *AWP* 6/23/83). The first regular train from St. Paul arrived on July 23rd (*AWP* 7/28/83). Both the Omaha and the Wisconsin Central Railroads invested substantial sums of money in new and improved buildings and other facilities, and the Northern Pacific constructed an office building.

Interest in iron mining had now shifted to deposits along the Montreal River in Wisconsin and Michigan, which proved to be rich in iron that was low in silica and easily accessible. The Wisconsin Central began to survey a branch line to the area. ("Ashland and Montreal Iron Range," *AWP* 5/19/83). The Gogebic Range farther east was also beginning to be explored, and soon the immense deposits of ore there would be discovered and exploited (Lintonen 1988, c. 3). Despite the years of disappointments and failures, interest in the "hidden wealth" of the "Penoka Range" was revived by the discoveries along the Montreal River ("The Penoka Range," *AWP* 12/29/83). "Considerable interest [was] again awakened" in gold and silver mining by the claim of a newly organized company, the Ashland Gold and Silver Mining Company, to have discovered "a rich vein bearing gold and silver" on the copper range near the old Brunschweiller Creek location (*AWP* 12/29/83).

Ashland had had its share of fires over the years, as noted earlier, and 1882 and 1883 were no exceptions, although there were no major conflagrations such as that which destroyed the White and Childs mill in April 1880. There were repeated admonitions in the *Press* to organize an effective fire department, which was finally done on August 27 1883 when a "Hook and Ladder Company" was chartered (This was a village, not a private organization) (58). Similar efforts were made to obtain a "water works," not only for the everyday convenience of the citizens, but

as a necessary part of the fire fighting arrangements. The “Ashland Hydraulic Company” was chartered on August 6 1883, although it was over a year before a village-wide system was completed (59).

There was the usual round of masquerade balls, plays, dances, and other entertainments during the year (for example, *AWP* 2/24/83; “School Entertainment,” *AWP* 4/7/83, 12/22/83). A particularly notable event was a “brilliant masquerade reception” held at a private residence for invited guests from among the elite of the village (“Masquerade Reception,” *AWP* 3/10/83). One of the dances at Bell’s Opera House was marred by an act of malicious destruction. After the dance the women found that their cloaks, hats, and other garments had been repeatedly slashed with a knife (*AWP* 3/31/83, 4/7/83). Indeed, vandalism was apparently a serious problem in the village. Dog poisoning, theft or killing of trees on private property, defacing of fences, and other malevolent acts were almost commonplace, according to the *Press* (*AWP* 6/9/83). In its summary of improvements for 1883, the *Press* noted that “Our people can point with pride to the many evidences of substantial growth and progress to be seen on every hand” (“The Metropolis Of The New Wisconsin,” *AWP* 11/10/83). Improvements included a long list of dwellings and small business building, which with the large projects noted above, amounted to \$312,900 for the year.

While it is not intended to carry this brief story of Ashland beyond 1883, certain events in 1884 and 1885 that were important to Ashland’s leading role in the 1885 to 1900 boom on Chequamegon Bay should be mentioned. In June 1884, it was announced that Ashland would be the eastern terminus of the Northern Pacific Railroad, and in the following month that the Milwaukee, South Shore and Western Railroad would have its western terminal at Ashland. The first to arrive was the Northern Pacific on December 28 1884, while the Milwaukee, Lake Shore and Western was completed on June 15 1885. Ashland, at last, had the railroads (or at least four of the five) envisioned on the fanciful map published by the *Press* in July 1872, noted earlier (*AWP* 7/29/72). A huge ore dock was constructed by the Milwaukee, South Shore and Western at the foot of 16th Avenue East (then St. Louis Avenue) along with a commercial dock. The first train of 20 cars from the Germania mine near Hurley arrived at the ore dock on July 16th, and the first shipments of ore from Ashland down the lakes was on the steamer *Comorant* carrying 1,300 tons, and the schooner *Wall* with 1,000 tons, on July 30th (60). These small shipments foretold Ashland’s future role, not as a great mining center or as the “iron city” of the North, but as the shipping point for iron ore from the Montreal and the vast Gogebic Ranges. There was a problem, however. The substantial expansion in the volume of traffic in the harbor since 1880 and the prospect of further growth, and the increases in the sizes of lake vessels, particularly the ore carriers, made it imperative that something be done about the shoals (shallows) in the harbor. Also, the heavy swells accompanying storms from the northeast, originating primarily within the bay, the long axis of which lays roughly northeast-southwest, posed a threat to vessels in the harbor. In its report for 1884, the U. S. Corps of Engineers recognized the changed situation, and recommended the removal of the shoals and the construction of a breakwater. This work was done and improved on over the years, maintaining Ashland as a major lake port until the post-World War II years (61).

The spectacular growth of Ashland from 1870 to the early years of the boom period is reflected in the Federal census figures. In 1870, no one lived in Ashland. In 1880, the white population of

the Town of Ashland, almost all of which would have been concentrated in the village, was 775. By 1890 the population of Ashland, now a city, was 9,956, an increase of 9,181 in ten years. (In 1905, as the “boom” was turning to “bust,” Ashland attained what was probably its peak population of 14,519; by 1910 it was down to 11,594). The economic and civic development which accompanied this growth is shown by a “bird’s eye view” of the village from June 1885 (*AWP* 6/16/85). From the Union Mill Company at 14th Avenue West, to the great ore dock of the Milwaukee, Lake Shore and Western Railroad at 16th Avenue East, the shore was lined with mills, yards, docks, and log booms. Next after the Union mill came the John Canfield Company boom, then the Superior Lumber Company, Vaughn’s dock, Chequamegon Hotel dock, Wisconsin Central Railroad dock, Michigan Lumber Company, Mueller and Ritchie Mill, Twiggs and Selsby Planing Mill, Ashland Lumber Company, Ashland Water Company pump house, and finally the commercial dock and ore dock of the Milwaukee, Lake Shore and Western Railroad. In the village itself can be seen most prominently the Chequamegon Hotel, and also the county court house, public school, hotels, railroad depots, churches and other buildings. But that the village was only a fringe of civilization hewn out of what still was a great wilderness is suggested by the thick, dark forest shown pressing against its southern limits and the wild hills of the Penokee Range looming in the distance (62).

In a report in early May 1883 on the rumors that the Omaha would build its terminal docks at Vanderventer Bay, the *Press* went on to say that “Rumour also has it, that a syndicate will lay out a town site and push it to prominence.” With a slight suggestion of contempt, the report concluded that “As it will become what West St. Paul is to the Saintly City we suggest that the proprietors call it ‘West Ashland’ ” (*AWP* 5/5/83). By the next month, apparently realizing that the new “one-track town” across the bay would not be a serious competitor to Ashland with its railroads and lumber mills and more of these on the way, the *Press* was more gracious, reporting that “ ‘Washburn’ is the name given the new townsite across the bay, May it always *wash* but never *burn*. Success.” (63).

Endnotes

1. The census also showed 129 people and 22 (44%) unoccupied buildings at Odanah.
2. Beaser's real estate is valued at \$20,000, Ellis' at \$15,000, and Whittlesey's at \$3,000, in the census.
3. Beaser apparently remained in the area, probably at La Pointe. He drowned on November 4 1866 when his boat capsized as he was sailing from La Ponte to Ashland, after having put his family on board a ship for Ontonagon.
4. *Proceedings* of the Ashland County Board of Supervisors, v. 1, 11/13/60.
5. Each spring they drove their animals to Chequamegon Point and across the channel to Madeline Island to sell them at the annual Indian payment assembly. The Roehm family was the only link between "old Ashland" and the resurrected Ashland of the 1870s—Burnham 1974, 4, 250; "Martin Roehm," *ADP* 2/9/29; "John Roehm," *ADP* 2/22/45. While the settlements of Ashland and Bay City were deserted, Ashland County was not. The 1865 *State Census* showed 171 people in the Town of Ashland and 85 in the Town of Bayport. These figures included La Pointe, Odanah, settlers on farms scattered throughout the county, and perhaps squatters on what was believed to be ore-rich land on the Penokee Range. The 1870 *U.S. Census* for the county listed 221 people, down 35 from the 256 total of the 1865 census.
6. The name change was made in February 1871—*Wis Laws* 1871, PL, C27. In November 1870, the company consolidated with the Portage, Stevens Point and Superior; and in July 1871 with the Manitowac and Minnesota—Martin 1941, 9-10. This Wisconsin Central should not be confused with an early railroad company by that name, with which it had no connection—Martin 1941, 169; *Wis Laws*, 1853, PL, C62; *Wis Laws*, 1869, PL, C160.
7. "Ashland!" *AWP* 1/4/73; *BP* 10/7/71. "The first to return was James A. Wilson and family, who were soon followed by Conrad Goeltz, Daniel Beaser, Oliver St. Germain and several new comers." For a list of settlers from the resurrection period see Burnham, *ADP* 6/12/28. For information on events, people, and "progress" in Ashland from January 20 to June 15 1872, see the "Ashland Locals" column of the *Bayfield Press* in addition to other articles.
8. The dock was actually constructed by a partnership of Samuel Vaughn and Charles Fisher, a friend of Vaughn's. They also built a warehouse and a store, and engaged in the mercantile business, providing supplies and ties for railroad construction between Ashland and the Penokee gap. The firm suffered heavy losses in 1875, and the partnership was dissolved. Vaughn retained the dock, however, which thereafter was known as "Vaughn's dock"—see Burnham *ADP* 5/18/28.

9. The complex financial considerations behind this arrangement cannot be entered into here—see Martin 1941, 14; “The Wisconsin Central,” *AWP* 12/15/77; *AWP* 4/3/80; *First Annual Report Of The Wisconsin Central Railroad Company To December 31, 1878*, 8-12. The Phillips and Colby Construction Company was chartered in 1871 and was an affiliate of the Wisconsin Central; both Gardner Colby and Elijah B. Phillips were directors of the latter company—*Wis Laws* 1871, PL, C197. While this arrangement, in which the officers of a railroad company in effect hired themselves to construct the railroad, thereby providing vast and irresistible opportunities for graft and corruption, appears inconceivable today, it was not unusual at the time. One of the great railroad scandals of the 1870s involved just such an arrangement by the Union Pacific Railroad—see Bain 1999.

10. "Ashland Locals," 2/24/72, 3/2/72, 3/9/72; "Proceedings Of The Railroad 'Ground-Breaking' At Ashland," *BP* 4/20/72; "Ashland Locals," *BP* 4/20/72. Apparently a sketch of the ground-breaking ceremony was made and "along with other mementos" was deposited "in the rooms of the Historical Society"—"Ashland Locals," *BP* 4/27/72. Unless otherwise noted the discussion of the construction of the Wisconsin Central here and elsewhere is based on Martin 1941, particularly chapters 3 and 4; and Canuteson 1930, chapter 8; also see "Wis. Central R.R." *AWP* 6/23/77; Collins 1920; and selected articles from the *Bayfield Press* and *Ashland Weekly Press*. For a summary of the corporate and construction history of the Wisconsin Central Railroad, see *The Railroads of Wisconsin* 1941, 56-68.

The progress of track construction of the Wisconsin Central from Menasha to Ashland was as follows—*First Annual Report of the Wisconsin Central Railroad Company*, 8, except as noted:

Began at Menasha N	June 15 1871
Stopped at Stevens Point	November 18
Began at Stevens Point N	March 18 1872
Stopped at section 53—Colby	November 28
Began at Ashland S	July 7
Stopped at White River	December 26
Began at section 53—Colby N	April 25 1873
Stopped at Worcester	January 6 1874
Began at White River S	April 21 1873 <i>AWP</i> 4/26/73
Stopped at Penoque Gap	October 4 <i>AWP</i> 10/4/73
Began at Worcester N	July 26 1876
Stopped at Butternut Creek	December 8
Began at Penoque Gap S	October 2
Stopped at Chippewa Crossing (Glidden)	November 17
Began at Butternut Creek N	May 19 1877
Completed the line at Chippewa Crossing	June 2 (May 30)

The line from Stevens Point to Portage was constructed from October 15 1875 to October 13 1876.

11. *BP* 5/25/72. Mid-November completion would allow time "to ship a few cargoes of iron ore below"—"Ashland Locals," *BP* 2/17/72. In reality there were no producing mines on the range and no ore handling facilities at Ashland at this time. The line was expected to reach Bayfield in September 1873—"W.C.R.R. All Under Contract," *BP* 2/17/72; "Wisconsin Central R.R." *BP* 2/24/72.
12. *BP* 5/4/72, 6/1/72; *AWP* 7/13/72; Burnham, "The Township of Ashland," *ADP* 11/27/28.

13. The consolidation took place sometime between January 13 and March 16 1872, according to the *Bayfield Press*—*BP* 1/13/72; “Ashland Locals,” *BP* 3/16/72. No action by the County or Town Boards of Supervisors seems to have been involved, although the County Board on November 13th approved the reinstatement of the vacated plat of Bay City on a petition from Edwin Ellis, renaming it the Ellis Division of Ashland—*AWP* 11/23/72. In December 1871 Vaughn’s intervening tract had been platted as “Vaughn’s Division of Ashland,” also known as “St. Mark”—plat, December 7 1871, Ashland County Register of Deeds, envelope 59.
14. Because the new building for the newspaper was not completed, the first issue was printed in Asaph Whittlesey’s barn in Bayfield. The press and other equipment were then hauled to Ashland on a lumber barge and the second issue was printed in the open, under a tree, next to the still unfinished building—“Complete History of The Daily Press,” *ADP* 3/10/26. To distinguish it from the *Ashland Daily Press*, the paper will be referred to as the *Ashland Weekly Press* (as it is by the State Historical Society). Sam Fifield was the proprietor and editor of the *Portage County Press*, which he sold when he moved to Ashland—“Sam S. Fifield,” *Portage County Press*, 6/1/72.

Following is the early history of the *Ashland Press*:
6/22/72—first issue of the *Ashland Weekly Press*—Samuel S. and Henry O. Fifield, editors
6/1/74—Henry Fifield sold his interest to his brother
3/5/88—first issue of the *Ashland Daily Press*—Samuel S. Fifield, editor
5/31/89—sold to Joseph M. Chapple
1889-98—Joseph M. Chapple, editor
1898-May 1946—John C. Chapple, editor
1946-1956—John B. Chapple, editor
(Guy M. Burnham served as city editor from 1891-1912)
15. *AWP* 6/22/72. This explicit declaration of adherence to “Republican principles” perhaps reflects Sam Fifield’s political ambitions. Shortly after this first issue of the *Press*, he was chosen chairman of the Town Board of Supervisors, and in future years would be elected a member and speaker of the State Assembly and then Lieutenant Governor.
16. “The Harbor Of The Lake” and “Terrible Gale on the Lake,” *AWP* 11/23/72; “The Harbor Of Ashland,” *AWP* 6/7/73.
17. *BP* 7/1/71, 7/8/71, 7/15/71. Martin stated that Ashland County subscribed \$20,000, but this is incorrect—Martin 1941, 13; see *The Legislative Manual For The State of Wisconsin 1876*, 326.
18. “Ashland!” *AWP* 1/4/73; also see: Andreas 1881, 66-70. These periodic reports of “improvements”—usually for a preceding year—dealt primarily with the construction, remodeling, and additions to mills, factories, businesses, residences and other structures, and to village streets, bridges, and so on, on which a dollar amount could be placed. They usually did not include information about changes in the social, cultural, or governmental areas of village life.

19. Burnham, *ADP* 5/18/28-5/19/28. These were the new Ashland's first docks. An 1878 plat showed the Wisconsin Central dock at the end of Grant (Ellis) Avenue; the Vaughn and Fisher dock at the end of Lake (6th W.) Avenue, both in the Vaughn Division; and Durfee's dock at the end of Wisconsin (14th W.) Avenue in the Old Ashland Division as the former Ingals dock—*Historical Atlas of Wisconsin* 1878, 120. As remarked earlier, the water is quite shallow along the entire southeastern coast of the bay. As a result, these early docks had to extend far into the bay to reach water depths where even the relatively small vessels of that time could tie up. The *Press* complained that "We have some exceedingly attentive neighbors"—probably referring to Bayfield—who tell steamboat captains that "the water at our docks is not of sufficient depth to admit the passage of their boats to them." That, declared the *Press* was not the case, for a steamer "drawing eleven and one half feet" had landed at the Fisher and Vaughn dock without difficulty—*AWP* 7/5/73. The *Press* claimed (in a dig at Duluth and its harbor problems) that "No breakwaters, no canals, no dredging" were necessary in Ashland's "magnificent harbor," but future years would bring both dredging and a breakwater—"Ashland Locals," *BP* 5/25/72.
20. "Ashland!" *AWP* 1/4/73; "Ashland Locals," *BP* 6/1/72, 6/8/72; Burnham, *ADP* 11/5/27, 2/22/36, 7/21/37; *AWP* 9/21/72. For a detailed description of the Ashland Lumber Company's mill and the White factory, see "Lower Town Items," *AWP* 7/12/73.
21. Martin 1941, 27; *AWP* 10/12/72, 10/26/72, 2/22/73, 3/8/73, 4/26/73, 7/19/73. The bridge was a "lean spindling structure," which for many years was "one of the great sights of northern Wisconsin"—Martin 1941, 23. The bridge contractor opened a quarry near or at Houghton Point to obtain brownstone for the piers and abutments of the bridge—"Ashland Locals," *BP* 3/16/72, 3/30/72, 4/6/72. For pictures of the bridge, see Ross 1960, Plate 16; Wisconsin Central Railroad 1879, 8.
22. A contemporary account was "The Event Of The Week," *AWP* 1/11/73. Also see—"The Ashland War," Knight 1999, 35-36; Knight, "This Happened Just 81 years Ago This Very Week," *BCP* 12/31/53; Burnham, "The 65 Year Old McElroy Hall-Bicksler Building," *ADP* 10/14/36; Martin 1941, 23-24; also *AWP* 9/14/72, 12/28/72, 3/29/73; The January 11th *Press* article identified the Bayfield possee as "company A, Bayfield Guards," probably the old militia "company A" of La Pointe County, which was listed in the Wisconsin Adjutant General report for 1853 (this company was not listed in any of the subsequent reports)—*Annual Report Of The Adjutant-General Of The Wisconsin Militia* 1853, 33.
23. "Wis. Central R. R.," *AWP* 6/23/77; *AWP* 10/26/72, 10/4/73, 10/11/73. The 30 mile section from Ashland to Penoque gap required the construction of 61 bridges including the huge structures over the White River and Silver Creek—Martin 1941, 26. Penoque gap is where the Bad River cuts through the Penoque Range on its course to Lake Superior. The Silver Creek bridge was 600 feet long and 90 feet high—for a picture, see Wisconsin Central Railroad 1879, 7.

24. *AWP* 9/6/73, 11/29/73. On November 8 1873, the Wisconsin Central leased the Milwaukee and Northern Railway from Menasha to Milwaukee, from where connections to Chicago and other points could be made—*First Annual Report of the Wisconsin Central Railroad*, 8; *AWP* 12/13/73.
25. The other companies were the Wisconsin and Lake Superior Mining and Smelting Company, discussed earlier; the Magnetic Iron Company—see: *Report Upon The Magnetic [Bladder Lake] Iron Property*, 1865; *AWP* 1/28/74; *Property Of The Magnetic Iron Co.*, 1872; and the Milwaukee Iron Company—see: *AWP* 1/28/74; Nesbit 1985, 163-164; *Wis Laws* 1866, PL, C86; also see: “The Penoka Iron Range,” *AWP* 7/29/76. The Lapointe Iron Company was chartered in 1859 with Louis F. Leopold and Julius Austrian among the charter stockholders—*The Lapointe Iron Company of Ashland Company*, 1871; *Wis Law* 1859, PL, C67. For the company’s mining operations on the Penoque Range in 1873 and 1874, see: *AWP* 9/21/72, 1/25/73; Goodwin, “Penoka Range And Incidents Related Thereto,” *AWP* 1/25/73; *AWP* 7/26/73, 9/6/73, 9/27/73, 10/4/73, 11/1/73, 11/22/73, 1/3/74; “Assay Of Penoka Iron Ore,” *AWP* 1/10/74; “La Pointe Iron Co.,” *AWP* 1/24/74; *AWP* 1/28/74, 2/7/74, 2/21/74, 3/21/74; “Penoka Iron,” *AWP* 8/29/74; “The Penoka Iron,” *AWP* 9/5/74. The attention of geologists and mining companies was focused on the magnetic ores to the west because during this period that was the type of ore that the iron producing companies in the country were using. Consequently, suggestive evidence of non-magnetic ore deposits to the east was ignored—Aldrich 1929, 21.
26. *Wis Laws* 1873, C292; *AWP* 2/8/73, 4/19/73. For the history of the Wisconsin Geological and Natural History Survey, see Ostrom 1988.
27. See the following in *Geology of Wisconsin: Survey of 1873-1879*: “Iron Ores,” v. I, pt. III, c. I, 621-624; “Introduction,” v. III, pt. III, 53-56. “The Huronian System,” v. III, pt. III, c. III, 152-155, 161-166. Also see “The Iron Range of Ashland County,” *ADP* 4/14/77. Irving observed that the magnetic effects of the Penoque ore beds began to decline at about the Potato River and completely disappeared at the Montreal River. This did not indicate an absence of iron ore, however, but the occurrence of non-magnetic, hematite ore. It was here near the Montreal River and farther east—the Gogebic Range—where the iron ore mining industry would develop.
28. “The Geological Survey,” *AWP* 5/20/76; “Prof. Irwin’s Survey,” *AWP* 7/29/76; “The Penoka Range. A Letter Of Explanation From Mr. C.E. Wright,” *AWP* 8/26/76; “Preparations for the Geological Survey,” *AWP* 5/15/75.
29. Charles E. Wright, “Penoka Iron Range West of the Gap,” *ADP* 12/23/76; *Geology of Wisconsin: Survey of 1873-1879*: “Geological Cross-Section of Penoque Iron Range,” v. III, pt. III, c. 2, particularly p. 252; “Special Examination of Penoque Iron Range West of the Gap,” v. III, pt. IV, c. III, particularly note on p. 301.

30. The steel industry originally developed primarily in the mid-Atlantic states, concentrated in Pennsylvania, and used local sources of ore. After the Civil War, particularly after 1870, iron production increased, based on the demands of an expanding railroad network and a growing population. As the industry expanded, it moved into the midwestern states, the ore deposits on Lake Superior began to be utilized and ore prices rose. In 1873 there was an abrupt decline in ore prices, and small, labor-intensive mining operations, (such as that of the Lapointe Iron Company) quickly collapsed, to be replaced by large, efficient producers—Warren 1973, c. 3; Hogan 1971, v. 1, c. 2-3.
31. “The Music of the Saws,” *AWP* 8/8/74; “Ashland Union Brewery,” *AWP* 8/8/74; “The Town Board,” *AWP* 8/15/74; “Bayfield and Ashland,” *AWP* 8/22/74—reprinted from the *Marquette Mining Journal*.
32. The population of the Town of La Pointe, including the villages of La Pointe and Odanah, was 282—141 males and 141 females.
33. “Work Resumed,” *AWP* 6/3/76; “Through Route to Milwaukee,” *AWP* 10/14/76; “A Few More Days And We’re Out Of The Wilderness,” *AWP* 12/2/76; “Close Connection With The United States,” *AWP* 12/9/76; “All Aboard!” *AWP* 12/9/76; *AWP* 12/16/76; “Through to Lake Superior,” *AWP* 12/16/76; “Bayfield & Ashland Daily Stage Line!” *AWP* 12/6/76 (advertisement); “Bayfield and Ashland Wagon Road,” *AWP* 8/7/75; for the telegraph: “To be Connected With the World by Lightning,” *AWP* 4/1/76, 8/19/76; “Telegraph Office at Ashland,” *AWP* 9/23/76.
34. “Organization of a Fire Company,” *AWP* 4/18/76. Like all early settlements, Ashland had its share of fires—Burnham, *AWP* 9/29/27.
35. “The Future Field For Enterprise In Wisconsin,” *AWP* 4/14/77; “Ashland, the Future Manufacturing Center of the Northwest,” *AWP* 4/21/77; “Wisconsin’s Future Lake City,” *AWP* 5/12/77.
36. In December, custody of the railroad was transferred from the Phillips and Colby Construction company to the Wisconsin Central—“The Wisconsin Central,” *AWP* 12/15/77.
37. “Opening of the Great New Freight and Passenger Route,” *AWP* 6/9/77.
38. “An Important Question,” *AWP* 12/23/76; “The Big Hotel,” *AWP* 3/31/77; “The Big Hotel! Work To Commence At Once,” *AWP* 4/14/77; “The Big Hotel! Its Location, Plans and Surroundings,” *AWP* 4/21/77; “Hotel Items,” *AWP* 4/21/77; “Opening of The Chequamegon,” *AWP* 8/4/77; “Now Open to the Public. The Chequamegon,” *AWP* 8/4/77 (advertisement); Martin 1941, 25-26. The early history of the hotel is recounted in “Ashland’s Great Hotel!” *AWP* 6/10/82; Burnham, “The Famous Chequamegon Hotel,” *AWP* 2/8/36. The first big event held at the hotel was a lavish testimonial banquet to honor Captain W.W. Rich, chief engineer of the Wisconsin Central, for his role in bringing the railroad to Ashland—“Testimonial. Presentation To Capt. W.W. Rich,” *AWP* 10/20/77. The Wisconsin Central sold the hotel in August 1887—“A Budding Boom,” *AWP* 8/13/87; “A

Week at Ashland,” *AWP* 9/22/77. For a long, expansive view of the promise of Ashland as a resort area, see: “Ashland And Vicinity! The Summer Resort Of The West!” *AWP* 6/1/78.

39. *AWP* 4/7/77; “The New Court House. Laying The Corner Stone,” *AWP* 10/13/77; *AWP* 12/1/77; Burnham 1974, 258. For pictures, see: *Ashland And Environs* 1888, np; Thomas 1899.
40. “Mining Work Resumed On The Penoka Range,” *AWP* 12/15/77; “Good News,” *AWP* 12/8/77; “On to the North Pacific,” *AWP* 12/15/77. While the focus of railroad interest in Ashland was on the Wisconsin Central, other developing railroad projects were not ignored. The progress of the North Wisconsin toward the bay was followed in detail by the *Press*, although it appears to have been accepted that its main terminal would not be at Ashland.
41. “Chequamegon,” *AWP* 10/27/77; also see: “A Week at Ashland,” *AWP* 9/22/77.
42. “Houghton Point,” *AWP* 7/5/73; “The Dance,” *AWP* 1/3/74; “Christmas! How it was Observed in Ashland,” *AWP* 1/2/75; “Magnificent Masquerade,” *AWP* 3/4/76; “The Fourth of July,” *AWP* 6/10/76; “La Pointe,” *AWP* 6/17/76; “The Centennial,” *AWP* 6/17/76; “The Day We Celebrate,” *AWP* 6/24/76; “Fourth Of July At Bayfield,” *AWP* 7/1/76; “The Day We Celebrate,” *AWP* 7/1/76; “The Fourth At Bayfield!” *AWP* 7/15/76; “Independence Day! How It Was Observed In Ashland,” *AWP* 7/15/76; also “Christmas Tide At Odanah,” *AWP* 1/1/76.
43. “The Union Mill Co.,” *AWP* 8/3/78; Burnham, “The Union Mill,” *ADP* 2/24/36; Andreas 1881, 69. About 1883 the mill was purchased by W.R. Durfee, one of original stockholders. It was destroyed by fire in the 1890s.
44. “The Ashland Springs,” *AWP* 8/3/78. These “mineral springs” were, of course, the artesian wells or “flowing wells” at what is now Prentice Park—see Burnham 1974, 384, 387-388. “Take A Carriage,” *AWP* 7/23/87; Burnham, “Webb Springs Mineral Water,” *ADP* 2/20/36. The importance that tourism had assumed in the economic life of Ashland is suggested by a large special edition published in 1879. While it described in glowing generalities its lumber industry, mining prospects, and harbor, the largest amount of space by far was devoted to Ashland as a “sportsman’s mecca” and a summer resort, with numerous supporting testimonials—“May Edition,” *AWP* 5/3/79.
45. *BCP* 11/1/79; Burnham, “The Ashland-Bayfield Wagon Road,” *ADP* 9/21/36-9/22/36—in the first of these two articles, Burnham related how he had retraced the route of this road in 1933 and 1934.
46. “Another Saw Mill For Ashland,” *AWP* 12/27/79; Burnham, “The Ritchie Mill,” *ADP* 2/25/36. In September 1885, the mill was sold to Mowatt and Chase from Manistee, Michigan, and was then known as the Mowatt mill—*AWP* 9/12/85.

47. "The New Eldorado!" *AWP* 4/17/80; "Gold at Lake Superior, *AWP* 5/8/80; "Trip to the Range" and other articles, *AWP* 5/15/80; "Here's Richness," *BP* 4/17/80; Burnham, *ADP* 6/23/28; "Silver And Gold Locally," *ADP* 6/25/38; "More Silver," *ADP* 6/29/38; "The Brunschweiler Mine," *ADP* 6/30/38.
48. "The County Debt," *AWP* 11/15/79; "Important Action Of The Board Of Supervisors," *AWP* 3/27/80; "Proceedings Of The County Board," *AWP* 4/3/80; *Wisconsin Blue Book* December 31, 1880, 327; *Wisconsin Blue Book*, December 31 1883, 274.
49. No information about farms could be provided as the "Products of Agriculture" enumeration for Ashland County could not be located.
50. *AWP* 1/8/81; *BP* 7/23/81, 9/24/81, 10/22/81; *AWP* 10/29/81; "Superior Lumber Co." *AWP* 11/15/81. In 1889 the mill was purchased by the Keystone Company from Pennsylvania, which operated it until the timber was exhausted in the early 1900s. Efforts were made to find a profitable use for the mill and dock site, one idea being a grain elevator. This did not work out, and the site was purchased by the Cooperative Coal and Dock Company in 1907, with money raised by stock subscriptions in Ashland, and in Minnesota and the Dakotas. The idea was the coal would be shipped in large carload lots to farmers in those states. This cooperative company was unable to meet the cost of dredging and pile driving, however, and the company was purchased by P. and A. Coal Company—Burnham, *ADP* 11/5/27; 5/22/28-5/24/28.
51. "Gold and Silver," *AWP* 7/23/81; "The Recent Gold and Silver Discoveries," *AWP* 8/6/81; "An Iron Bonanza," *AWP* 10/1/81; "The Recent Ore Discoveries," *AWP* 10/8/81; "Latest From the Mines," *AWP* 11/26/81.
52. "Ashland to Have a New and Elegant Depot," *AWP* 6/4/81; "Ashland's Big Hotel," *AWP* 10/22/81; "The Seasons Improvements," *AWP* 10/22/81.
53. For detailed descriptions of the Ashland lumber mills at this time, see: "Our Industries," *AWP* 4/22/82; "Our Industries," *AWP* 9/23/82; "Ashland!" *AWP* 11/25/82; "Ashland's Mills," *AWP* 5/12/83; Ashland Lumber Company mill overhauled—*AWP* 2/4/82; "Enlarge the Plant," *AWP* 5/12/82; Superior Lumber Company mill expanded—*AWP* 4/8/82, 7/22/82. The *Press* reported in April that 37,250,000 board feet of logs had been "banked" at Ashland for the coming cutting season, and another 6,000,000 at Bayfield, 1,800,000 at Butternut, and 6,000,000 at Jacob—"The Log Crop of 1882," *AWP* 4/22/82. The following month it published a prescient report on the pine supply—"The Pine Supply," *AWP* 5/6/82. In the Chequamegon Bay region, the report estimated that there were "two thousand million feet"—that is, two billion—feet of "merchantable pine." But rather than pronouncing the supply of pine "inexhaustible," the report went on to note that "if the present rate of production is kept up . . . it is fair to conclude that from fifteen to twenty years will see the end of the lumber industry in our State, as far as pine is concerned," a prediction that was almost exactly correct. The concluding paragraph of the report is interesting: "The present generation is reaping a rich harvest from our forests, but the coming generations will have the serious question of what to use for cheap building material. . . ." No doubt without realizing it, the

Press editor or whoever else wrote this report, had here exposed the great crime of the wanton exploitation of our timber and other natural resources: that future generations were robbed of their rightful heritage of the nation's natural riches.

54. *AWP* 11/18/82; it burned and sank near Long Island on August 8 1887—*AWP* 8/13/87. Burnham stated that it was built in June 1884 but this is incorrect as noted in the article in the *Press* and the record from the National Archives published in Burnham's column—Burnham, "The First Vessel [Built] In Ashland," *ADP* 11/5/36; "The First Vessel Built In Ashland" (and other titles), *ADP* 1/7/39-1/16/39. On moving log rafts through the "sand cut," see Burnham, "Rafts Pulled Through Sand Cut," *ADP* 11/2/38, 11/3/38, 11/7/38.
55. *AWP* 5/20/82; "C. St. P. M & O. R. R.," *AWP* 7/1/82; *AWP* 7/15/82; "C. St. P., M. & O. R. R.," *AWP* 10/14/82; "Notice," 10/21/82; "The Ashland Branch of the Omaha," *AWP* 12/2/82; also "Work Commenced," *ADP* 9/9/82 (without explanation, a few issues of the *Ashland Daily Press* appear interspersed on the microfilm with the *Ashland Weekly Press* in what must have been an experimental run, for the *Ashland Daily Press* was not established until March 1888). West of the village the branch line was to divide, one track extending along the shore past the mills and the other passing through the village on Fourth Street to connect to the Wisconsin Central tracks. At this time construction work had passed the end of the bay toward Bayfield.
56. "The Northern Pacific," *AWP* 5/19/83, 6/16/83; *AWP* 6/23/83; "Progress of the N. P. R. R.," *AWP* 10/6/83.
57. *AWP* 5/6/82; a detailed description of the hotel was provided in "Ashland's Great Hotel!" *AWP* 6/10/82; and "Ashland's Great Hotel," *AWP* 7/21/83.
58. "Fire Alarm," *AWP* 2/4/82; *AWP* 5/12/82; "Fire in Ashland," *AWP* 2/17/83; *AWP* 7/14/83; "Fire! Fire!" *AWP* 8/4/83; "The Firemen's Meeting," *AWP* 8/11/83; "A Warning," *AWP* 8/25/83; *AWP* 9/1/83; "Attention Company," *AWP* 9/1/83;
59. "The Time Has Come," *AWP* 8/11/83; *AWP* 8/9/84; "City Water Works," *AWP* 8/16/84; "The Water Works," *AWP* 10/4/84; "Progress of the Water Works," *AWP* 10/18/84; "Ashland to the Front, With a First-Class Water Works," *AWP* 2/7/85; "Ashland Water Company," *AWP* 8/8/85.
60. These events may be traced in the following sources: "The Northern Pacific," *AWP* 6/28/84; "Ashland Gets There," *AWP* 7/19/84; "Completion of the Northern Pacific to Ashland," *AWP* 1/3/85; "It Is Accomplished," *AWP* 6/20/85; "The Largest In The World!" *AWP* 9/20/84; "The Mammoth Ore Dock!" *AWP* 5/9/85 and 6/6/85; "The First Ore Train," *AWP* 7/18/85; "Ore Shipments," *AWP* 8/15/85; for a photograph of the ore dock during construction, see Ross 1960, Plate 18B; for a photograph when completed, see *Ashland And Environs* 1888, np; for a detailed description of the dock and a photograph, see "The Milwaukee, Lake Shore & Western Railroad Co.'s Ore Dock, Ashland Wisconsin," *AWP* 7/24/86; and the annual "improvements" reports for 1883 and 1884; "The Metropolis Of The New Wisconsin," *AWP*

11/10/83; “Ashland, The Metropolis, Population 5,000,” *AWP* 12/27/84; and subsequent reports listed in the bibliography.

61. “Examination Of Ashland Harbor, Wisconsin,” *Annual Report Of The Secretary Of War For The Year 1880*, 1929-1931; “Preliminary Examination Of Ashland Harbor, Wisconsin,” *Letter From The Secretary Of War*. . . . 1885, 11-16; “Ashland Harbor,” *AWP* 1/31/85; “Preliminary Examination of Ashland Harbor, Wis.,” *AWP* 2/7/85. Bayfield was mystified as to why the government insisted on spending large sums of money improving harbors at Duluth, Superior, and Ashland, when its harbor was available without such expenditures. The U.S. Corps of Engineers supported Bayfield’s claim to have “the best harbor in the world” in its report for 1879: “The harbor is under the lee of the Apostle Islands, and is at all times easy and safe of access, and does not require any artificial protection. Bayfield and its vicinity is the great natural harbor of refuge of Lake Superior, and in its deep water and closely-clustering islands nature seems to have left nothing for the engineers to do”—“Examination of Bayfield Harbor, Wisconsin,” *Annual Report Of The Secretary Of War For The Year 1880*, 1929; *BCP* 2/7/85. The threat of competition from the “natural harbors” at Bayfield and Washburn may have provided a strong incentive to the commercial interests in Ashland to seek improvements to their harbor.
62. See the Sanborn Maps for 1884 and 1886 for detailed views of the village at this time. For detailed descriptions of the mills, see “Ashland’s Industries!” *AWP* 6/14/84, 7/12/84.
63. *AWP* 6/23/83. Both the *Ashland Weekly Press* and the *Bayfield County Press* came to view the establishment of the docks at Washburn as part of the inevitable industrialization of the entire coast of Chequamegon Bay—in the words of the former: “The *Press*, though not a prophet or the son of a prophet, wishes to be placed on record as prophesying that the day will come when every available foot of this splendid shore frontage from Redcliff to Ashland will be utilized by docks, elevators, manufacturing establishments, *etc*—*AWP* 9/29/83; also see *BCP* 5/12/83. Fortunately this prophecy did not come true, and the “splendid shore frontage” of the bay remains largely intact today.

Communities

The great lumbering boom from 1890 to 1910 spawned many communities throughout northern Wisconsin (1). Indeed, there were few early communities in the region that did not have some connection to lumbering. As shown in the following table, there were major lumbering operations—the harvesting and sawing of timber into dimensional lumber—in 19 communities located in 12 of the 17 northern counties (2).

<u>Lumber Communities</u>	<u>Counties</u>	<u>Lumber Communities</u>	<u>Counties</u>
Antigo	Langlade	Park Falls	Price
Ashland	Ashland	Peshtigo	Marinette
Bayfield	Bayfield	Phillips	Price
Crandon	Forest	Prentice	Price
Glidden	Ashland	Rhineland	Oneida
Hayward	Sawyer	Shell Lake	Washburn
Marinette	Marinette	Superior	Douglas
Medford	Taylor	Tomahawk	Lincoln
Mellen	Ashland	Washburn	Bayfield
Merrill	Lincoln		

With the decline of the lumbering boom in northern Wisconsin, some of the communities fostered by the boom developed new economic bases and prospered, others endured with reduced populations, smaller economies, and deteriorating material bases, while other communities faded away (3). On Chequamegon Bay the development of Ashland followed the first historical trajectory, and that of Bayfield and Washburn, the second trajectory.

Endnotes

1. Randall E. Rohe, "Lumbering; Wisconsin's Northern Urban Frontier." In: Robert C. Ostergren and Thomas R. Vale (eds). *Wisconsin Land And Life*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1997. Pp. 221-240.
2. Rohe, "Lumbering; Wisconsin's Northern Urban Frontier." Figure 11.3. Wisconsin Lumber Towns, p. 226.

In another source, Rohe identified 115 lumber company towns in the state, 66 or 57.4% of which were located in the northern 17 county region—"Lumber Company Towns In Wisconsin." In: *Old Northwest*, V. 10. Winter 1984-1985. Figure 1. Map Of Wisconsin Lumber Company Towns. P. 412. Also see: Bernice Pearl Landall. "Early Lumbering Communities In Northern Wisconsin." Thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1934. Ashland and Washburn, important lumbering centers on Chequamegon Bay, are not included in Rohe's lists.

3. Donald Reed Field. *The Social Characteristics Associated With Growing And Declining Small Towns In Wisconsin*. MS Thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1965; Deborah J. Frosch. *Pine Barrens Communities: Demographic Changes Associated With Transition In Forest Dependent Communities*. MS thesis, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 2001; Art Gallaher, Jr. and Harland Padfield (eds.). *The Dying Community*. Albuquerque, New Mexico, 1480; Erven J. Long. "The Severson Community: A Glimpse Of Northern Wisconsin In Process." *Land Economics*. V. 25, May 1949, 193-208; Larry R. Whiting (ed.). *Communities Left Behind: Alternatives For Development*. Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1974.

Bayfield 1856-1860

By the early 1850s the Chequamegon Bay area had become well known for its healthy climate and beautiful scenery, and many people came by lake steamer from the east and midwest, staying at the Madeline House at La Pointe (Ross 1960, 119-120; Harris 1976, 141). Among them was Elisha Pike, of Toledo, Ohio, who came in June 1855 to regain his health, on the advice of Frederick Prentice. Entranced by the region, he bought a water-powered sawmill and a log house, and the 80 acres of land on which these were located, about one and one half miles up what is now Pike's Creek (1). He returned to Toledo, sold his farm, and in early October 1855 returned to La Pointe with his family. Shortly thereafter they moved to his house on the mill site on Pike's Creek, thereby becoming the first settlers on the Bayfield peninsula and a pioneer family in Bayfield.

Important men of affairs also came to La Pointe, who while enjoying the natural amenities of the area, assessed the possibilities for lucrative investments in land, timber, and minerals. Included was Henry M. Rice, one of the proprietors of Superior, who as a fur trader must have become acquainted with the Chequamegon Bay region and its rich natural resources. In the spring of 1855 he was granted a patent on 349 acres on the site of an old Indian village on the mainland across the channel from La Pointe (2). He named the townsite "Bayfield" in honor of Henry W. Bayfield, an officer of the British Navy, who made the first systematic surveys of Lake Superior (3). Rice left no record of his reasons for investing in the Bayfield townsite, but some reasonable suppositions regarding his motivation can be made. As a land and townsite speculator, the site must have certainly have appeared to him to be a promising investment; perhaps he even viewed it as a hedge on his investments in the Superior townsite. His vision of the future of Bayfield was probably the same as that held by the proprietors of Superior: that it would become a great entrepôt for the upper and far west, and eventually for Asia. While the idea appears fanciful now, it would have made a great deal of sense at the time. Historically, La Pointe and Chequamegon Bay had been the communication and transportation hub of the western Great Lakes region, and there was no apparent reason why it could not continue to be so. As a candidate for the leading port at the western end of Lake Superior, it was considered to be on a par with Superior. Indeed, the deep and protected roadstead on which the site fronted was at that time much better than Superior's harbor. The Bayfield site was also adjacent to the settlements on the Keweenaw Peninsula, and closer than Superior to the lower lake ports. The difference was only about eighty miles, but this could be significant given the shipping technology of the time, that is small vessels, many of them powered by sails, with limited cargo capacities. Finally, Rice may also have been led to believe that the pieces of drift copper occasionally found in the vicinity of Bayfield and on Madeline Island, carried there by the glacier, were evidence of rich deposits such as those on the Keweenaw Peninsula, promising to make Bayfield a mining center. Such finds certainly led others at later times to entertain this illusion (*BM* 7/4/57).

Whatever his reasons might have been, they were apparently shared by the other men who went together with him to form the Bayfield Land Company (4). Included were Hugh B. Sweeney, Benjamin F. Rittenhouse, and Charles E. Rittenhouse, all from Washington, D.C.; and Hamilton G. Fant from Georgetown. One source lists Fant as a banker, while another describes the four men as "bankers from Washington, D.C." Andreas described the founding of the settlement as follows: "The first settlement was made by a party of nine men, under charge of John C. Henley,

March 24, 1856, who landed on a point now occupied by the residence of Col. John H. Knight. The first tree was felled, and the party erected a log cabin on the spot now occupied by the United States land-office. The cabin was finished March 26 (5). On the twenty-seventh, John M. Free arrived, bringing Maj. McAboy, a civil engineer, and others, to lay out the town (6). They came overland from Superior. A dock was built . . . The first family to arrive was John C. Henley's, on the schooner 'Algonquin,' May 8, 1856, this being the first vessel. Others who came about this time were Andrew Tate, Peter H. Ley, John Hamlin and S.S. Vaughn. Others soon followed. The first steamer to arrive was the 'Lady Elgin,' on June 16, 1856, and the propeller 'Manhattan,' July 7. The propeller 'Mineral Rock' arrived July 27 with an engine and mill machinery with Mr. Kahoe (7). The first frame house was built by John C. Henley, July 16, 1856. The first hardware store was started by John and R.W. McCloud, of St. Paul, under charge of Joseph McCloud, in September of the same year. S.S. Vaughn opened the first provision store in October. The building of a hotel by the Bayfield Land Company was commenced December 25, 1856, and was finished in June, 1857. It was opened by J.H. Nourse. This hotel was burned in 1860, [early 1861], then kept by George D. Livingston." (Andreas 1881, 80; endnotes added.) In August one of the editors of the *Superior Chronicle* visited "the new city of Bayfield" and reported that "three or four houses and a moderate clearing denotes the spot," while "fourteen more are in course of construction," and a "very good wagon road to the St. Croix, connecting with our road by ferry at Sunrise, has been opened" (8). A second pier and an adjacent warehouse were constructed, and during the fall and winter many stores and houses were built with lumber from the sawmill. Despite the destruction of the mill by fire in January of the next year, the development of the little community continued apace.

On April 18 1857, the *Bayfield Mercury*, sponsored by the proprietors of the town and edited by two men they had recruited from southern Minnesota, published its first issue (Andreas 1881, 82). As with all such newspapers in newly founded settlements, one of its principal purposes was to "boom" Bayfield, and the editors immediately set about this assignment. Bayfield, they declared, "with a population of nearly six hundred persons with many good substantially constructed buildings . . . is not by any means a matter of speculation, but a matter of fact, of utility, the wants of the country demand it, and nature has performed its every duty towards it in providing every requisite necessary to supply those wants." It has "the largest, safest and best harbor on the Lake," it is "rich in mines, abounding with timber," "possesses an agricultural country back of it that cannot be surpassed," and "the climate is such as to confer on its inhabitants the choicest and most valuable blessing that any people can enjoy, viz: good health." And it is served by "large and commodious steamers" from Detroit, Buffalo, and Chicago, and will soon be connected to St. Paul by a "daily line of coaches" and "by the 10th of July, 1859, it will be connected with Madison, Wis., by means of a Railroad now under course of construction" (9).

The *Mercury* also published articles from other newspapers or letters from individuals, some no doubt planted by the editors, which praised the new settlement or posed questions that provided opportunities to expound on its advantages and future prospects. One letter, supposedly received by William McAboy, the agent for the town proprietors, questioned whether Bayfield held any advantages "over a thousand other new towns laid out in the West and North-West solely as a matter of speculation." In response, McAboy noted the promise of wealth from the timber and mineral resources of the area, but stated that "commercially the town has still greater prospects"

as the shipping point for the agricultural products of the northwest and west. It was “shorter and cheaper” for these regions to ship through Bayfield to the eastern markets than through Chicago. While this was also true of Superior and other prospective ports at the western end of Lake Superior, Bayfield “has as pleasant situation, as beautiful scenery, as good water” as these other locations, but also “the best harbor for heavy shipping on the whole chain of Lakes.” Indeed, McAboy claimed that when the rivers connecting the Great Lakes were improved, freight would be shipped directly from Bayfield, with “one of the finest harbors in the world,” to European ports (*BM* 7/4/57). A provocative article about Bayfield in the *Detroit Free Press* attracted the ire of the *Mercury*’s editors (reprinted in *BM* 5/30/57). The article mocked the paean to Bayfield that had appeared in the *Mercury*’s first issue stating, “New towns are no marvel these latter days, . . . since they spring up in a day, as it were, . . . hence Bayfield is no marvel.” The *Mercury*’s editors responded with a long editorial, detailing the advantages and auspicious prospects of Bayfield. As at Superior, it was common for the settlers in Bayfield to compare their geographic situation to that of Chicago, and to conclude that since Chicago had rapidly developed as a major entrepôt for its hinterland, the same thing would surely happen in due course for Bayfield. This was certainly the expressed opinion of the *Mercury*’s editors, who concluded their response to the *Free Press* article with the comment that they could “see no reason why our prospects are not equally brilliant with those of Chicago, seven years ago” (*BM* 5/30/57).

A business directory published in the July 11th issue of the *Mercury* listed one hardware store and three provision stores (one in La Pointe), the largest of which appears to have been Vaughn’s store, stocking groceries, dry goods, housewares, drugs and medicines, and so on. Also listed were six carpenters, two contractors, a painter, a blacksmith, an insurance agent, a land office, an attorney, a commission and forwarding agent, and an engineer in Bayfield and a civil engineer at La Pointe. There was also an “arcade” and an “exchange,” the latter apparently a hotel, and the Madeline House and an “exchange” at La Pointe. It was even possible to charter the *Etta*, a “good, staunch sail boat,” for “pleasure excursions.” A large hotel constructed for the proprietors was opened in the summer, and the sawmill was rebuilt in the fall (10). A highlight of July was the arrival of the first wagon from St. Paul, while the “Marine List” published by the *Mercury* listed steamers from Superior, Cleveland, Chicago, and Detroit. (*BM* 7/4/57, 7/11/57).

The religious and educational needs of the community were not neglected either. On March 10 1857, a Methodist church was organized with Rev. James Peet as pastor, and on August 16 of that year a Presbyterian church was established with Rev. Thomas B. Elder as pastor (Elder soon died and was replaced on May 21 1858 by Rev. William McKee). A Catholic church was established in 1858, although there had been Catholic clergy at La Pointe for many years prior to that (Knight, *BCP* 7/16/53). On December 4 1857, a “lyceum” was organized which met at Vaughn’s store for debate and essay reading, but it failed because some who attended insisted on introducing questions designed to embarrass the two ministers in the town (11). A subscription school that had been started in December 1856 was closed the following March, but another was begun in October. In the spring of 1858 a public school district was organized and the first school opened in July with a teacher from Cleveland. Bayfield also received official recognition of its existence. A post office was opened in October 1856, while in December 1858 it was designated a port of entry and a revenue cutter was stationed there the following May. In May 1860, the Indian agency and, in October, the government land office were moved to Bayfield,

from Superior. On March 24 1858, the people of Bayfield, proud of their new town and confident of its future prosperity and prominence, celebrated the second anniversary of its founding “with a substantial picnic dinner” and a dance in the evening (Knight, *BCP* 6/28/56). To enhance further the town’s importance, they were successful in 1859 in having the La Pointe County seat transferred there from La Pointe. The move backfired, however, for in response the citizens at Whittlesey and Bay City succeeded in having Ashland County established, encompassing not only the Apostle Islands but also about two-thirds of the area of La Pointe County (12).

The concept of Bayfield as a major Great Lakes port could only have been based on the assumption that it would also be an important rail terminus. When Rice purchased the Bayfield site, charters had already been granted for several railroads to Lake Superior, including one for the St. Croix and Lake Superior in 1854 that provided for a road to St. Louis Bay with a “branch . . . running to some point at or near La Pointe.” (13). Rice must have had some degree of confidence that this or some other railroad to the Bayfield site would be constructed. To transform his gamble to a near certainty, he arranged to have added to the clause, in the 1856 land grant bill authorizing the construction of the northwest line to the “western end of Lake Superior,” the words “and to Bayfield” (14). The clause was carried over in the Wisconsin law allocating a land grant to the La Crosse and Milwaukee, and subsequently in the amended charter of the St. Croix and Lake Superior. The U.S. General Land Office interpreted the ambiguous language of the clause to mean “a continuous road from the St. Croix to Bayfield [*via* the west end of Lake Superior], and not two roads, one to the west end of Lake Superior, and the other from the same starting point [the St. Croix] to Bayfield” (“Message from the Governor,” 9/9/56, 965; *SC* 9/30/56). This “continuous road” route was necessary if Bayfield was to become a major port, for at the “western end of Lake Superior,” that is at Superior, the line to Bayfield would connect with the railroad from St. Paul and other Minnesota railroads, and with the transcontinental railroad. The great disadvantage of this route was that it made Bayfield totally dependent for its railroad on the prior completion of the line from the St. Croix to Superior. As noted earlier, construction of that line began in November 1856. The following month the *Chronicle* reported that “the portion of the road between Superior and Bayfield will be surveyed and located as soon as practicable, and immediately put under contract.” But the leading citizens of Superior did not share Rice’s vision of Bayfield as a great port competing with or surpassing their city. The line from Superior to Bayfield was referred to as a “branch line,” “a valuable auxiliary to the main trunk.” It would “vie . . . in importance” to the “main trunk” when it became “a portion of the great national thoroughfare that will, at no very distant day, cross our country, from the Atlantic to the Pacific shores” (*SC* 12/16/56, 12/23/56).

This concept of the auxiliary role of the line to Bayfield, and by implication the subordinate position of Bayfield to Superior, aroused the wrath of Bayfield partisans, and an acrimonious dispute between the two towns ensued. In late February 1857, a long letter from one “Hatterstax” of Bayfield throwing down the gauntlet to Superior was published in a St. Paul paper (15). The key question, according to “Hatterstax,” was whether “the road be built to Superior, and *thence* to Bayfield, or will it branch at some intermediate point, and separate roads run to each.” The preferred route was the former, for Bayfield would then “become the *terminus*, and Superior but a way station; all the travel would stop here, and only *pass through* Superior.” But if the road is “forked at some point on the St. Croix,” Bayfield would still have

an advantage in that passengers and freight could be transported directly to St. Paul in less than the time required for a steamer to go from Bayfield to Superior. Since this latter route, “being easily built and the land of much greater value than the other,” would probably be selected by the company, Bayfield would itself build the line to Superior to connect with the one from Hudson. The reason trade from west of Superior would be transported by rail to Bayfield for lake shipment, “Hatterstax” continued, was that Superior’s harbor was not accessible at night or during storms, and was shallow—indeed, “is not considered as a *harbor* by masters of vessels.” While Superior is “shut in by sand bars” and people are mired “to the knees in clay” on the streets, Bayfield was growing rapidly and preparing for its destiny as a “future city.” Soon “every newspaper in the country, shall sing out that ‘Bayfield possesses a better site! a better harbor! and greater advantages for a commercial city than any other point in the Northwest!’ ”

In its response to “Hatterstax,” the *Chronicle* referred to the General Land Office decision that “and to Bayfield” meant a line from Superior to Bayfield, and noted that the St. Croix and Lake Superior was already surveying that route. While another survey was “being made from a point eighteen miles north of Hudson to Bayfield,” this was “the responsibility of the proprietors of the latter town, and not of the railroad company.” The company intended that the “branch road” to Bayfield would be part of “a continuous lake shore road from Superior to [Sault] Ste. Marie, . . . or a connection with some road terminating in the vicinity of Bayfield from the southeast; and not to avail themselves of any peculiar local advantage possessed by that point [Bayfield] . . . As the prospects for realizing [these] connections are increased, the prospects of a road from this place [Bayfield] to Superior will be enhanced. Bayfield, as a commercial point, has no intrinsic worth that is not equally shared by half a dozen other towns in the same vicinity.” Indeed, if the “money and influence” responsible for Bayfield’s prosperity were to be concentrated in Ashland or Bay City, and Bayfield were “to depend wholly upon its natural advantages,” its present situation would be quite different. Refuting “Hallerstax’s” characterization of Superior’s streets and harbor, the *Chronicle* made the case on geographic grounds for Superior as the inevitable pre-eminent port at the western end of the Great Lakes, and concluded by suggesting that “‘Hallerstax’ . . . cast his glances in another direction” toward “rivals nearer to home,” namely Ashland and Bay City.

Finally, in May 1860 the new *Bayfield Press* published an article suggesting that when the board of directors of the St. Croix and Lake Superior Railroad learned of “the superior advantages of Bayfield as a terminus” of their railroad, they would “without further ado make Bayfield the *only* terminus on Lake Superior” (16). The *Chronicle* responded with a particularly venomous attack on its editors (“the trio of *legal* gentlemen”) and Henry M. Rice, the original proprietor of Bayfield. “The efforts made to write Bayfield up and Superior down,” it angrily asserted, “is the last expiring grasp of the residents of that *paper town*; they plainly foresee that great exertions must be made this season, because with the fourth of March next, ends the influence of the ‘trickster’ from Minnesota.” The “trickster” referred to was, of course, Rice, whose influence, the *Chronicle* vowed, would come to an end with the inauguration of a new President, whether it be Stephen Douglas (the Democratic candidate), Abraham Lincoln (the Republican candidate) or John Bell (the candidate of the Constitutional Union party). The chances of “government aid” to “the unlucky owners of property in Bayfield” would thereafter “be very slim” (17).

In their response to the *Free Press* article noted earlier, the editors of the *Mercury* had ridiculed the “wise ones of the nation” who predicted that “a like financial crisis to the one of 1837, will come upon us at an early day, resulting in a general bust up of all our western institutions.” They did not contest that an economic crisis might occur, but only that if “any portion of the Union suffer more than another, that portion will be the east and not the west’ (*BM* 5/30/57). They could not know that such a crisis was imminent, which would spare neither east nor west, and certainly not the new settlements on Chequamegon Bay. Since the *Mercury* ceased publication on September 1857, there is little information available about the impact of the 1857 crisis on Bayfield, or about the subsequent years of stagnation (18). The proprietors apparently did not immediately abandon the town, and seemed to have continued to invest money there. The editor of the *Superior Chronicle*, having spent two days there in August 1859, reported that “they [the proprietors] make it a point to give steady work to all who live in the town, and while engaged in this praiseworthy effort, are making many necessary improvements . . .” (*SC* 8/3/59). The *U.S. Census* of 1860 showed a population of 353, but with 38 (31.4%) dwellings unoccupied, a substantial decline from the “nearly 600 persons” reported by the *Mercury* in April 1857, but certainly not a calamity (*BM* 4/18/57) (19).

Endnotes

1. The sawmill was built by J.T. Welton from Oberlin, Ohio, for the American Fur Company sometime during the years 1845 to 1847. It was located on what is now Pike's Creek on the W1/2 of the SW1/4 of section 21, T50NR4W. It was acquired by Julius Austrian when the company went out of business, acting as the attorney-in-fact for his brother, Joseph Austrian. Austrian bought the land from military bounty landholders. Pike paid \$1,500 for the land, mill, a cabin, and sawed logs—Bayfield County Register of Deeds, *Deeds*, v.2, p. 386, June 23 1855. A note on the deed states, "First saw mill in Bayfield County." Pike immediately mortgaged the mill from Austrian—Bayfield County Register of Deeds, *Deeds*, v. 1, pp. 462-463, June 23 1855. Pike was originally hired by Austrian to repair the mill. "Capt. R.D. Pike," *BCP* 3/30/06; Burnham 1974, 146-148; Knight, *BCP* 10/21/54, 10/28/54; Burnham, *ADP* 1/22/29, 5/1/31; Ross 1960, 119.
2. Bayfield County Register of Deeds, *Deeds*, v. 4, p. 488, March 21 1855. A corrected patent for government lots 1, 2, and 3 was issued—*Deeds*, v.4, p. 487, April 4 1855. The site totaled 348.75 acres in secs. 13 and 14, T50NR4W. On the Indian village, see Verwyst 1895, 432. As noted in an earlier chapter, the white fur traders Alexander Henry and John Johnston also probably resided on the site for a time.
3. Rice and Bayfield were said to be friends—"Capt. R.D. Pike Dead," *BCP* 3/30/06; Ross 1960, 121n. Bayfield had camped on the site during his survey expedition on Lake Superior, and may have vacationed there in later years. Upon learning that the new settlement had been named after him, Bayfield wrote the following letter to Rice—Burnham, "The Naming of Bayfield," *ADP* 8/9/33, 2/16/37:

Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island,
May 11, 1857.

Dear Sir:

I have received with much pleasure your letter of the 9th of April, and the accompanying map of the town on Lake Superior to which you have done me the honor to give the name of "Bayfield". I little thought while camping there among the Indians thirty-three years ago, (1824) that my tent was pitched near the site of a future town that was to bear my name. I trust that you will believe me to be very much gratified by this mark of your kind consideration and appreciation of my labors in those early times and that you will accept my sincere thanks. With every good wish for the prosperity of your town, as well as yourself, believe me to remain, dear sir

Yours very faithfully,

Henry W. Bayfield.

Rear Admiral Royal Navy, Henry M. Rice, Esq., etc.

4. Corporate records for the Bayfield Land Company could not be located.
5. Located on lot 2, block 89—Knight, “The Actual Building of Bayfield,” *BCP* 3/22/56.
6. Bayfield County Register of Deeds, *Deeds*, v. 1, p. 230, May 3 1856. For an eyewitness description of the actual staking and mapping of the new town, see Knight, “Captain Pike Tells,” *BCP* 10/21/54; also see “80th Anniversary,” *BCP* 3/19/36. On the naming of the streets, see *BCP* 1/19/84. Of the original eight avenue names, Fant was changed to Monypenny and Payne to Old Military Road; the others remain as they were first named.
7. Located at the water’s edge between 3rd and 4th streets (block 121), and built by John T. Cahoe (Caho) “an old lumberman from Virginia.” The mill burnt down on January 12 1858, but was rebuilt the following year. Knight, “The Actual Building of Bayfield,” *BCP* 3/22/56; “The Preacher Wasn’t Afraid of Hard Work,” *BCP* 8/6/53, 6/28/56; “Pike Predicted a Great Future for Bayfield Area,” *BCP* 10/28/54. Knight states in her 3/22/56 item that the mill burnt in 1857, but the date given in Peet’s diary of January 12 1858 is considered more reliable—Knight, *BCP* 8/6/53.
8. *SC* 8/19/56—Nazaire La Bonte, an early settler at Bayfield, helped construct this road and described it as follows: “In the spring of ‘57, I, with others, started to cut out the Bayfield and St. Paul stage road as far as Yellow Lake, a distance of about 140 miles. The balance of the route to St. Paul was by way of Wood River to Sunrise over logging roads. Sunrise, 50 miles from St. Paul, was a junction where the St. Paul stage met both the Bayfield and Superior stages and took their freight and passengers”—Knight, *BCP* 3/25/54. Sunrise is located in Minnesota just at the tip of the “nose” of the “Indianhead.”
9. *BM* 4/18/57—the estimate of “nearly six hundred persons” was no doubt one of those exaggerations which were part of the art of townsite “booming.”
10. The *Mercury* for July 4 1857 published a description of the piers, hotel, mill, and many of the houses. The names of the settlers were also listed, including Julius Austrian, Samuel S. Vaughn, and Major William McAboy, agent for the proprietors.
11. Knight, Eleanor. “The Rev. McKee Lamented Decline in Local Culture” and “The Rev. McKee Was an Energetic and Able Citizen,” *BCP* 6/28/56.
12. In 1866 Bayfield County was created from La Pointe County plus land annexed from Ashland County. The county seat remained in Bayfield until moved to Washburn in 1892—*Wis Laws* 1866, G, C146.
13. This clause strongly suggests that consideration was already being given to the establishment of a townsite for a rail terminus and port at the Bayfield location.
14. See the chapter on Ashland.
15. The letter was published along with the *Chronicle*’s response in *SC* 2/24/57.

16. Reprinted in the *SC* 5/26/60.

17. The *Chronicle* continued to react vigorously to reports that the St. Croix and Lake Superior was considering abandoning the route to Superior for one to Bayfield, blaming the proprietors of Bayfield—see *SC* 3/2/61. As the years passed the issue of which route the railroad was to follow became increasingly urgent, for construction had to be completed by June 1866 if all the land authorized for the line by the 1856 land grant law was to be earned.

18. The type, press, and other equipment were sold by S.S. Vaughn to pay the original purchase debt. Part was shipped down the lake and the remainder was used for the first *Bayfield Press*, which began to publish on September 24 1859, but survived only about two and one-half years. Unfortunately, copies of this newspaper did not survive—Knight, “First-Hand Stories of Well Known Bayfield Pioneers” and “The Rev. McKee Was an Energetic and Able Citizen,” *BCP* 6/28/56, “Complete History of The Daily Press,” *ADP* 3/10/26.

19. Reverend James Peet, a Methodist minister from New York, served in Bayfield from September of 1857 to June of 1859. He included in his diaries population data for three years, but his figures are suspect because they are inconsistent with the *Mercury's* April 1857 estimate—even discounting it by half—and the *U.S. Census* figure for 1860:

	<u>10/5/56</u>	<u>3/4/58</u>	<u>3/26/59</u>
men	73	61	42
women	17	37	28
children	<u>22</u>	<u>54</u>	<u>45</u>
	112	152	115

The 1856 figures are from his diary entry for March 3 1858; the 1858 figures from March 4 1858; and the 1859 figures from March 26 1859. *Peet Diaries 1856-1859*.

Bayfield 1870-1885

A second, more enduring period of settlement and resource exploitation around Chequamegon Bay began about 1870. As in the earlier period, the impetus to opening up the far north country came principally from developments at the national, rather than the state level. At the end of the Civil War in the spring of 1865, the United States remained primarily an agricultural nation, with only the beginnings of railroad and communication networks for its vast territory; with rudimentary industries; and with only a minor role in the international arena. Its population, primarily rural, was about 36 million. But a great transformation of the nation began with the post-Civil War boom—not simply an expansion, but a fundamental re-formation of its social, economic, and political structures. Within 35 years, by 1900, the United States was an industrial giant, with rail and communication systems that tied it together from east to west and north to south, and it was among the world's greatest economic, political, and naval powers. Its population had grown to about 76 million, or by 113%, since 1865 due to natural increase and the arrival of over 12 million immigrants (1). For Chequamegon Bay, the years from 1870 to 1900 were the embodiment of the worst features of the so called gilded age, for greed, speculation, fraud, and chicanery put into the hands of the timber, mining, and railroad interests great tracts of forest and mineral lands that were ruthlessly exploited.

The expanding population, settling new lands, establishing farms, and building towns and cities created a huge demand for building materials. At the same time, the expansion of steel production to meet the ever-growing requirements of industry and the railroads created a requirement for iron ore. Chequamegon Bay possessed timber and brownstone for building in abundance, while the Penokee Range contained what appeared to be large reserves of economically exploitable iron ore. While people were well aware of the rich timber and mineral resources of the Chequamegon Bay region, little could be done to exploit them until the railroads penetrated the region. So just as in the earlier period, it was the expectation that railroads would soon be constructed to Chequamegon Bay that brought speculators, entrepreneurs, and settlers back to Ashland and Bayfield.

As noted in the earlier discussion, the construction of railroads to northern Wisconsin had reached no farther by the Civil War than La Crosse in the west (the La Crosse and Milwaukee) and Fort Howard-Green Bay in the east (the Chicago and Northwestern) (2). To encourage construction to the far north region of the state, Congress approved a second land grant act in May 1864 (3). This act granted “every alternate section of public land designated by odd numbers, for ten sections in width on each side of said road” for three lines: in the western part of the state a line “from a point on the Saint Croix river or lake between townships twenty-five and thirty-one, to the west end of Lake Superior, and from some point on the line of said railroad, . . . to Bayfield;” and another line “from the Town of Tomah, in the county of Monroe, . . . to the Saint Croix river or lake, between townships twenty-five and thirty three;” and in the central region of the state, a line “from Portage City, Berlin, Doty’s Island, or Fond du Lac, . . . in a northwestern direction, to Bayfield, and thence to Superior” (4). The completion date for the roads authorized under the 1856 land grant act was extended to May 1869, and for those specified in the 1864 act, the completion date was May 1874.

In the western region of the state, the Legislature in March 1865 conferred on the Tomah and Lake St. Croix Railroad the land from the 1856 and 1864 land grant acts, and in the same month it confirmed the grant under the 1856 act to the old St. Croix and Lake Superior, and conferred on the railroad the additional land provided by the 1864 act, with a completion date of May 1869 (5). In the central part of the state, the Legislature in April 1866 chartered two companies: the Winnebago and Superior, to build from “Doty’s Island [near Menasha on Lake Winnebago] on the most direct and feasible route to Bayfield, thence to Superior, . . . by way of Waupacca, . . . and Stevens Point;” and the Portage and Superior to build from “Portage, by way of Stevens Point, . . . to Bayfield, thence to Superior” (6). Their respective charters provided that from Stevens Point northward the two companies were to construct the road together. With the renewal of the land grant to the St. Croix and Lake Superior in the west, and the grants to two new railroads to Chequamegon Bay in the center of the state, the stage was set for the revival of Bayfield and the resurrection of Ashland. Together these two communities would foster and sustain a boom on Chequamegon Bay from about 1885 to the early years of the new century.

During the 1860s Bayfield had remained a viable community, supported by small-scale fishing, lumbering, and tourism. The 1865 *State Census* showed a population of 269 (143 males, 126 females) for La Pointe County. Most of these people undoubtedly lived in Bayfield, but there was no separate list for the settlement. Many years later, Delia Whittlesey Chapman reminisced about the town during this period (Burnham, *ADP* 4/17/29, 4/18/29). There was one sawmill and a general merchandise store, both owned by Samuel S. Vaughn. There were shingle makers, coopers who made barrels for the fishermen, and blacksmiths who shod the village horses. Many tourists came to stay at Smith’s Hotel and “lingered to eat our white fish and went away to praise it.” After the Civil War, many famous people stayed at Smith’s Hotel, among them Union General William T. Sherman, Confederate General Pierre G.T. Beauregard, and Mrs. Abraham Lincoln and son Robert. The Federal land office, Indian agent, and post office were located there. There was one physician, Dr. V. Smith, and a retired Presbyterian minister, J. Harvey Nourse, who taught school, preached sermons, and held Sunday school and prayer meetings. Father John Cebul attended to the needs of Catholic parishioners in Bayfield and La Pointe. Contact with the outside world was maintained in the summer by steamers which arrived regularly from Chicago and Buffalo, and in the winter by dog sled and Indian packer over primitive trails through the wilderness to the Mississippi river. During the Civil War men left in “twos and threes” to volunteer to defend the Union; while others sent substitutes which, she said, “seemed to me a very cowardly thing to do” (7).

Undoubtedly the most exciting—and in some ways, amusing—event of the Civil War period was the Indian uprising scare. The massacres by the Sioux in Minnesota in August 1862 spread panic among the settlers at Bayfield, who feared that the Chippewa among whom they lived would follow suit. The Chippewa had no intention of attacking the whites, however, and were as frightened of the Sioux, their traditional enemies, as were the whites. Nevertheless, at the insistence of Governor Edward Salomon, a company of paroled Federal soldiers was sent to the settlement. They built a fort and whiled away the time for a year when they departed, there having been no Indian attack or the slightest danger of one for that matter. They left one of their number behind, a victim of an accidental shooting; one settler was also killed by a nervous guard (8).

William Knight, who was to become a prominent citizen of the Bayfield in later years, described the settlement upon his arrival there on December 24 1869 (“William Knight” Knight 1999, 283-284): “On entering the clearing where the town was built, I can remember but three houses. One was opposite Dr. Merten’s house, one on the corner below Stark’s store, and two small houses on Broad Street, down toward the depot. There was a small house where the bank stands and a small house across the street where the Pharmacy (Iverson’s store) stands and over the door was a wooden sign lettered in black letters, ‘S.S Vaughn.’ Below it was a sign on a smaller board with smaller letters, ‘Post office.’ The Vaughn sign was about 8 inches wide and 3 feet long and the post office board about 2 feet. Both boards were nailed to the house over the door. This was the principle store of the town and sold groceries, shoes, dry goods, clothing and hardware. On this street north there were two or three houses and the same number south and a few scattered buildings along the south lake front with but little attention to street location. Up on the hill near the Roman Catholic Church there were some dwelling houses. In fact, about [almost] the whole town was on about six blocks on the flat and those blocks were long from being full. From memory, I can count but twenty families living in the city of Bayfield, and one family living on a farm outside, and that was Elisha Pike, father of R.D. Pike, living on the old homestead on Pike’s Creek. Nearly all of these families were intelligent, well educated people from the East and would be considered the best in any country. It is hardly possible for people who never lived in a community almost entirely cut off from the world to appreciate the friendship and mutual sympathy and kindness that binds them so closely together and to understand the sacrifices they will make for the community.”

The renewal of railroad activity (if not progress) to the south soon had an impact on Bayfield, which was named as the terminal on Chequamegon Bay in the charters of the three roads that were franchised to build to Lake Superior. Aroused from its long slumber, the population began to grow and there was a revival of economic activity. The 1870 *U.S. Census* of the Town of Bayfield (which included all of Bayfield County) showed a total population of 344, up from 269 in the 1865 *State Census*, but not quite back to the 1860 population of 353 (9). Two hundred eighty-eight were born in the United States, principally in Wisconsin (161), with far smaller numbers born in Michigan (22), New York (17), Minnesota (11), and eight other states (31). Fifty-six were foreign-born, principally in Scotland (21), and Canada (17). The most numerous occupation was laborer (66), followed by fisherman (13) and domestic servant (10). The only professional occupation listed was civil engineer; no doctor or lawyer was listed (unless among the illegible entries). One public school with one teacher and 40 students, and one Catholic and two Protestant churches were shown, although teacher and minister were not among the listed occupations. There were two sawmills, one owned by R.D. Pike and the other, the Bayfield Mill Company, by Samuel Vaughn; both employed 25 men, and produced lumber and shingles (10). There was also a brownstone quarry at the south end of Basswood Island that employed 24 men and three women (11).

In March 1870, the Bayfield Hydraulic Company was organized with Samuel Vaughn as president. A reservoir was built in the hills behind the village to collect water, which was piped to the village through hollowed-out logs. There were apparently a number of fountains that discharged water from this system, and the village was fond of referring to itself as the “Fountain City.” In August 1870, the fishermen Nelson and Frank Boutin arrived from Two Harbors. They brought with them 100 fishermen and their families, and fishing equipment, boats and a

schooner named the *Alice Craig*. The Boutins established the first large-scale fishing operation in Bayfield (“The Boutins,” Knight 1999, 100-106). A smaller fishing enterprise was operated by Fred Fischer. Barrel manufacturing to meet the demand of the fisheries was established by Fischer, Louis Bachand, and others.

In October 1870, the *Bayfield Press* was founded by two brothers, Henry O. and Samuel S. Fifield, with the former as editor (12). In its first issue on October 13th, they declared that the paper would be politically independent and “devoted to the interest of Lake Superior,” but in practice this meant “booming” the interest of Bayfield (“Salutatory,” *BP* 10/13/70). The business advertisements in the first issue listed two dealers in real estate, an attorney (Andrew Tate), a life insurance agent (William Knight), two builders and carpenters, one hotel, a blacksmith, a grocery store and a hardware store, and five provision or general merchandise stores (owned by Samuel Vaughn, Robinson Pike, the Boutin brothers, William Herbert, and James Chapman); while Asaph Whittlesey, “Late of the U.S. Land Office,” advertised himself as “General Land Agent, also Agent for Payment of Taxes, Location and Sale of Agricultural, Pine and Mineral Lands And Stone quarries.” (*BP* 10/13/70). The second issue reported that R.D. Pike’s mill had “sawed eight miles of shingles this season;” that Vaughn’s mill had cut 45,000 shingles “one day last week;” that “Mr. Mc Elroy raised 400 bushels of potatoes off from two acres, this year;” that the “Basswood Island quarry” was loading about “600 tons of stone” aboard a vessel going to Milwaukee; and finally that 700 copies of the first issue of the newspaper had been disposed of “in less than three days” (“Brevities,” *BP* 10/20/70, 11/12/70, 6/3/71, 11/11/71; “Bayfield Manufactures,” *BP* 11/19/70). There was also considerable shipping activity—for example, as reported in the second issue of the *Press*, for the period October 13th to 20th, there were five ship arrivals and six departures (“Marine Items,” *BP* 10/20/70). Land communication with the outside world was also opened. In 1869, Bayfield County had constructed a road from Bayfield to the county line near Brule, suitable for travel by loaded wagon teams. In October 1870, Douglas County undertook to complete the road from there to Superior, and the following December, businessmen in Bayfield established regular stage service between Bayfield and Superior; the trip took over two days with stops at stations along the way (13).

Sam Fifield provided a somewhat overdrawn description of the town for the first issue of the *Press*. Bayfield, Fifield said, “is magnificent in its surroundings, and perfect in all its details.” It is “most beautifully located,” with neat houses, shaded streets, gardens, fountains, and “sidewalks in good repair,” while a “system of water works supplies almost every house in town with pure spring water.” The “public buildings” included two churches and a schoolhouse, and “the best kept hotel on Lake Superior.” There were two sawmills, a growing fishing business, and a “Red Sand Stone Quarry . . . on Basswood Island.” The principal exports were lumber, fish, and brownstone. Apples and other fruits are grown, “and in a few years will be raised in great plenty.” He described the harbor as large, deep, and sheltered, and as not requiring any engineering work to make it serviceable. The slow revival of the settlement continued during 1871. In June the *Press* published a map of the “Apostle Islands and Harbor of Bayfield and its Surroundings” (14). The map showed two railroads, the Wisconsin Central and Bayfield and St. Croix, coming into Bayfield (15). The accompanying text noted that construction of the Wisconsin Central had begun at Menasha toward Steven’s Point, and that “Once finished, the route will afford an almost air line railroad outlet from the best harbor on the lake [Bayfield] to

Chicago and the Atlantic seaboard.” In December the *Press* reported on the completion of the location survey for the Wisconsin Central, adding that “in all probability, at an early day . . . active operations on this end of the road” will commence, and “by next year at this time the whistle of the ‘iron horse’ will greet our ears” (*BP* 12/4/71). While the *Press* was correct in its prediction that “active operations” would begin in 1872, they would not take place at Bayfield, for the promoters of the Wisconsin Central had already decided that Ashland was to be the company’s terminal on Chequamegon Bay (Martin 1941, 22).

In January 1872 the *Press* published a list of “buildings and improvements” during 1871, amounting to \$40,215 (*BP* 1/13/72). This willingness of Bayfield’s citizens to invest what was for the times substantial amounts of money in improving and adding to their property, and the thriving lumber, fish, and quarry industries, were certainly evidence of a prosperous and self-sustaining community. But the leaders and investors of Bayfield had—as in 1856—a more expansive vision of the future of their community, described by Sam Fifield in the article referred to earlier (16). Bayfield, he declared, is “the best point on the lake for a railroad terminus;” already it was the lake terminus of two railroads, “and will, in all probability have a branch of the Northern Pacific.” Its harbor was open on an average thirty-five days longer each year than Duluth or Superior, and it was 60 miles nearer New York by water and 70 miles nearer San Francisco by rail, than Chicago. Fifield concluded that “With these advantages and a fair chance in the race, it is expected of Bayfield, that in the years that are to come, she will become a city of commercial importance, second to none on the chain of the Great Lakes.” Fifield’s boasts about Bayfield’s harbor at the expense of Superior and Duluth revived the old rivalry between them. The *Superior Times* replied immediately, belittling Bayfield’s harbor as a “mere roadstead” exposed to the fury of wind and waves from the lake. The *Press* responded in turn by suggesting that the *Times* editor was in danger of being credited “a near relation to the *long eared* portion of the earth’s population” because of his geographic ignorance, while describing the Duluth-Superior harbor as a “frog pond” more suited to “the sailing of birchbark canoes” than as a “haven of safety” (17).

Perhaps even more fanciful than Fifield’s airy predictions about the future of Bayfield’s harbor was his assertion that Bayfield was “the lake terminus of two railroads.” This, of course, was without foundation. The railroads referred to—the Portage, Winnebago and Superior in the central region of the state and the old St. Croix and Lake Superior in the west—were then a long ways away and their progress northward was continually being interrupted by economic, legal, and political factors. Despite the renewal of its land grant, the St. Croix and Lake Superior still failed to make any progress except to do some grading (18). When the completion date of May 1869 passed there ensued a long struggle over renewal of the land grant. Strong opposition came from interests around Duluth, who wanted to maintain the monopoly of wheat traffic on the Lake Superior and Mississippi Railroad, which had reached Duluth in August 1870. Minnesota otherwise supported renewal, the Legislature passing a resolution to that effect in January 1871 with only the representative from Duluth voting against it (*BP* 1/28/71—editorial; “The St. Croix and Bayfield Road,” 1/28/71). Other midwest states—Indiana, Illinois, Ohio—opposed the grant renewal intending by its defeat to stop the movement for extensive railroad land grants (19). Finally, in June 1872 the U.S. Circuit Court in St. Paul ruled that although the conditions of the land grant, that is, construction of the railroad within the specified time period had not been met,

the land would not revert to the Federal government without a specific congressional act revoking the grant (*AWP* 7/6/72).

Meanwhile, in 1871, a group of St. Paul financiers purchased the St. Croix and Lake Superior. They built from Hudson to New Richmond, reaching there on January 1 1872, but failed to obtain any grant land (*BP* 1/6/72). In January 1873 they sold the road to the West Wisconsin, which reorganized it as the North Wisconsin Railroad. The North Wisconsin then undertook to obtain the St. Croix grant, precipitating further controversy and maneuvering in the Legislature over assignment of the grant. Finally, in March 1874 the grants under the 1856 and 1864 acts were divided between the North Wisconsin, which was to build from the St. Croix river or lake (interpreted to mean Hudson) to Bayfield by March 1881; and the Chicago and Northern Pacific Air Line Company, which was to build from a point on the North Wisconsin's line to Superior by March 1879 (20). The North Wisconsin completed the road from New Richmond to Clayton from April to November 1874, but work was then suspended because of financial difficulties.

Bayfield, certainly disheartened by the halting progress of the St. Croix and Lake Superior and then the North Wisconsin, was dealt another blow when it became apparent in early 1872 that the northern terminal of the Wisconsin Central on Chequamegon Bay was to be Ashland. Rather than resenting the resurrected community at the head of the bay, the *Press* declared that while Ashland would develop into a "smart place," "we must remember that we are in another county and that there is room enough on Chawamegon Bay for two flourishing cities," adding an afterthought that "Time will tell the story" (*BP* 1/13/72). A series of articles in the *Press* in March recognized that Bayfield's dream of becoming a great railroad center and commercial city was no longer realistic, and made the case for "The Future Of Bayfield" as a "commercial point," based on lumber, building stone, fisheries, and fruit farming; as a summer resort because of its "peerless and supreme" land and water and "unrivalled natural beauty;" and as an "educational town" in the anticipated "future State of Superior" because of its healthy and invigorating climate and established cultural institutions. In conclusion, it was emphasized that nothing said in the articles was intended to be "antagonistic to a friendly feeling as between Bayfield and . . . Ashland." Ashland's "gigantic claims of the future" as the "Great Iron and Commercial City of Lake Superior" will doubtless be realized, and Bayfield will be "her adjunct—her 'rural belonging'—her best and most petted friend." If Ashland "shall successfully play the role of 'Big Brother,' cannot Bayfield equally well enact the part of the 'Handsome Sister'?" (21).

A "Letter From Bayfield" to the *Milwaukee Sentinel* described what probably was the true situation in Bayfield in the fall of 1872. "Bayfield is a small village of some seven hundred inhabitants" with "saw mills, stores and other outfits sufficient for a place of considerable business. . . . The "fixing of the lake terminus of the Wisconsin Central at Ashland has, however had a chilling influence upon this place. It has grown but little, if any, the past year, while the tide of emigration, business and excitement, sets in towards the new and rising city of Ashland. But the people here are not without hopes of railroad communications with Ashland, Duluth, St. Paul and the rest of world in some good time still coming" (*MS* 9/16/72). In June 1872 the Fifield brothers, no doubt having concluded that at least for the time being the "action" was to be in Ashland rather than Bayfield, moved their paper there. The last issue was published on June 15th with a curt note that "On account of our removal, this week's local is unavoidably small."

There was no local coverage of events in Bayfield from June 1872 to June 1877, when Samuel Fifield re-established the *Bayfield Press*.

Eighteen seventy three opened with the dispatch of a posse of men under Sheriff Nelson Boutin and Robinson Pike to Ashland to deal with disorderly railroad workers, an event which must have enlivened what was probably a dreary New Year's Day in both communities. Having had a taste of "military life" and perhaps to be prepared to deal with future trouble from the unruly elements among the population, a volunteer militia company was organized on February 5th. Named the Bayfield Rifles, the company was the pride of Bayfield, and was an important part of community life for many years (22). Bad luck seemed to dog Bayfield, for on top of the loss of the Wisconsin Central terminal and then of its newspaper, the Bayfield House, a hotel on which the community depended for its summer tourist business, burnt down in March 1873, a total loss (23). But a May article about on-going improvements in the village was hopeful nevertheless. "Bayfield," it declared, "has emerged from the long winter and comes out like a bright new butterfly this spring. Improvements are going on everywhere, and the bright gem of Lake Superior proposes to even outshine itself that season." A jewelry store and restaurant were to be opened soon, the Bayfield House was being rebuilt, various homes and other buildings were being refurbished or added to, the sawmills were running and the fisheries were busy, and "the merchants seem to be doing a fair business, while the "Chaquwamigon Light" and the "Rasberry Light" were in "full blaze nightly" ("Bayfield Items," *AWP* 5/17/73).

Fire struck once again in June 1874, destroying two houses and the buildings occupied by the Indian Agency ("Fire At Bayfield," *AWP* 6/6/74). Some of the county records in the Indian Agency building were lost (Whittlesey, *AWP* 3/16/78). That month the Bayfield Hydraulic Company began the construction of a new dam above the old one and the installation of log pipes with a larger bore, thereby increasing the volume of water available in the village. Fire plugs were to be put in at "the corners of the principal streets," and "hose purchased, and other apparatus furnished, which will provide for the future safety of the village from conflagrations" (*AWP* 6/13/74). A year later, a visitor from Ashland remarked that "We never saw the beautiful village look better, and were pleased to see so many substantial improvements." Included were the planting of shade trees along the streets, "Substantial side-walks," "new fences," "fine gardens," "dwellings painted" and "docks slicked up." Pike's mill was busy as usual, the Boutin fishing crews "report a fair catch," and "the new water works are being put in order as rapidly as possible" (24).

In June 1877 Samuel S. Fifield re-established the *Bayfield Press* (25). The first issue appeared on June 13th, and included advertisements for the *Eva Wadsworth*, a "steam yacht" which operated for years between Bayfield and Ashland; for general merchandise stores by S.S. Vaughn, J.H. Nourse, and A.C. Hayward; and for the "Island House" by William Knight. John H. Knight and Andrew Tate were listed as attorneys, Robert Inglis as express agent, I.H. Wing as agent, and Albert Angus as a "house, sign and ornamental painter." Eighteen seventy eight opened with a festive visit to Bayfield by an invited party of 30 from Ashland, accompanied by the Ashland Cornet Band. Departing Ashland early on New Year's Day on the *Eva Wadsworth*, they were met at the pier in Bayfield at noon by the Bayfield Rifles and a salute from the old canon (26). They were escorted to Smith's Hotel where they were treated to a "hearty dinner" and music by the Cornet Band. Due to threatening weather they were obliged to return early to

Ashland, and so missed the grand ball sponsored by the Bayfield Rifles ("The Open Polar Sea," *BP* 1/9/78). At the end of the month the "fire fiend" struck again, this time at Red Cliff, destroying an Indian Agency building and all government and personal property therein ("The Red Cliff Fire," *BP* 1/30/78). The Bayfield citizenry, finally moved to action, organized a fire company in March (*BP* 3/20/78, 3/27/78).

In July the *Press* published an article on "Bayfield's Prospects" which reviewed all of the old "facts" about the advantages of Bayfield with the usual prediction about its glorious future as a railroad and shipping center (*BP* 6/7/78). But by August optimism had again faded. An article entitled "A New Hotel" began by stating that "It seems that there is no hope of an early completion of the North Wisconsin Railroad through to this place" because the capital to complete it will not be forthcoming until the land grant is secured, and that will not happen for several years due to the litigation over the grant. The answer to the question of "What else could be done," was the construction of a well arranged, comfortable hotel on the right location that could accommodate 200 people. With this hotel and the other hotels and boarding houses filled, 300 "health seekers" could be expected to spend \$1,000 a day, directly benefiting "every producer, laborer, salesman, and mechanic." Such a \$25,000 hotel could be built if a plan were developed, and people donated labor and materials, and subscribed money ("A New Hotel," *BP* 8/21/78; "The City Of The Fountains," *BP* 6/26/78). That the summer tourist business was important to the economy of the village was suggested by a report on port commerce for 1878. It showed that 525 vessels had visited Bayfield during the year, bringing \$71,102 worth of imports, but taking only \$40,851 of exports ("Lake and Harbor Improvement," *BP* 1/29/79). The money spent by summer tourists must have been the major source of income to pay for this large excess of imports over exports.

In April 1879 the *Press* inspected the fishing and lumber businesses, the mainstays of the village economy. It reported that Boutin fisheries operated over 30 vessels, and employed 70 people for the summer; and that it had set 1,200 gill nets that stretched some 90 miles in length. Fresh fish was shipped to the midwestern cities, while salted fish was expected to fill 20,000 half barrels ("A Monster Fishing Business," *BP* 4/23/79). Pike was doubling his lumber mill capacity to meet increased demand, and installing a new engine. The mill cut 40,000 feet of lumber a day, and also manufactured shingles, flooring, siding, and other wood products ("The Lumber Business," *BP* 4/16/79; *BP* 4/30/79). In October Pike had a bit of bad luck when the mill office caught on fire from sparks from the mill smoke stack (for the second time), destroying the upper story before it was extinguished by the villagers, who turned out in a body. The fire endangered the entire village, and the *Ashland Weekly Press* reported that Pike refused to install a spark catcher on the mill stack because it would increase the cost of operating the mill, and that there was a strong feeling in the village against him because he "has subordinated the safety of the village to his own interests" (27).

Another April article suggested that the pessimism of the *Press* about the railroad had lifted somewhat. It declared that "There is substantial ground for this hopeful view" that the North Wisconsin "will terminate at Bayfield, . . . and Deo volente [if God is willing] it will be finished through inside of four years, with elevators erected to receive the wheat that will be shipped eastward over the road via Lake Superior" (*BP* 4/16/79). The prediction about the wheat elevators was never to be realized, but that it would take four years for the railroad to reach

Bayfield was correct. Legal obstructions, financial considerations, difficult terrain, and winter weather resulted in a slow, stop-and-go pace of construction. On May 2 1878, the West Wisconsin, which had become insolvent, was acquired by the Chicago, St. Paul and Minneapolis Railroad (chartered April 30 1878). Two years later, on May 26 1880, it in turn was consolidated with the North Wisconsin and the Sioux City Railway to form the Chicago, St. Paul, Minneapolis and Omaha Railroad Company, usually referred to simply as the “Omaha” (28).

Meanwhile, in the winter of 1877 the construction work that had been suspended at Clayton in November 1874 was resumed. By June 1879 the end of the line was near Granite Lake, some 20 miles north of Clayton, enabling the railroad to apply for additional land from its grant (“North Wisconsin R. R.,” *AWP* 5/12/77; “The North Wisconsin,” *AWP* 6/14/79). And in November an injunction was lifted that had prevented the company from selling or mortgaging any of the lands on which it already held titles, considerably relieving its financial situation (“Victory For The North Wisconsin,” *AWP* 11/8/79). Finally, in October, North Wisconsin officers visited Bayfield, “looking at the lay of the land between Bayfield and Ashland with reference to the best point for the North Wisconsin R.R. to terminate on this bay” (*BP* 10/25/79). The *Press* reported that they “have expressed a very decided preference for Bayfield as the terminus of their road” (*BP* 11/15/79).

The June 1880 *U.S. Census* for the Town of Bayfield (that still encompassed all of Bayfield County) showed a total of 312 whites and 252 Indians (29). The 1870 census had listed 344 whites, so the Town had actually lost some population during the preceding decade. Of the 312 whites, 251 were born in the United States, by far the larger number in Wisconsin (124), followed distantly by Michigan (32) and New York (38), and 14 other states (57). Sixty-one others were born in foreign countries, mostly in Canada (22) and Germany (20), plus seven other countries (19). One hundred thirty-four of the white population were employed in 34 occupations, ranging from laborer to the professions and county officials. The most frequent occupations listed were laborer (18), farmer (15), fisherman (12), and sailor (13). The relatively large number of fisherman, sailors, and coopers (9) suggests the importance of fishing in the economy. Forty-nine of the whites lived in the Town outside of the “Village.” Of these, 15 were farmers and 7 were farm laborers. The only major industry listed was Robinson D. Pike’s sawmill. Powered by a 115 horsepower steam engine, the mill employed an average of 31 males (including “11 children and youth”) for seven months of full-time operation during the census year. The annual output included five million “feet of lumber” and one-half million shingles during the year. Pike provided all of the logs for the mill and shipped his products on his own vessels. The two large fisheries in operation in Bayfield at this time were not listed in the census, nor were Pike’s quarry, the quarry on Basswood Island, or the small sawmills operating in the county. There were seven farms listed, which together owned 1,845 acres of land, but only 496 acres were “improved.” All of the farms had “milk cows” and poultry, and five farms had horses. The principal crops raised by all farms were potatoes and hay.

In this census year of 1880, Bayfield was almost a quarter of a century old. Many people had lived there since it was founded, and certainly many had been born there. It was undoubtedly a stable, closely-knit, family-oriented community. Fishing, lumbering, and tourism provided a comfortable living, while the railroad, creeping ever closer, promised an even more prosperous

future. By November 1880 the tracks of the North Wisconsin were within three miles of Long Lake near Cable (now Lake Owen) (*AWP* 11/27/80). Meanwhile, surveyors were busy laying out the route to Chequamegon Bay (*AWP* 10/16/80, 11/27/80, 12/11/80, 12/18/80). There was no indication as to where the terminal would be located on Chequamegon Bay, however. Indeed, it was not until September 1881 that the Omaha adopted the shore line route around the coast of the bay to Bayfield (*BP* 9/17/81). The suspense was too much for the two *Presses*, and a brief but nasty bragging war over which offered the better site for a terminal broke out at the end of 1880 (30). Actually, the two communities were good friends, closely linked economically and socially. In November 1879 they were finally connected by good county roads suitable for stage travel, and in October 1880 by a telephone and telegraph line (31).

By early May 1882, construction work had passed the end of Chequamegon Bay on the route to Bayfield, and an engineering office was constructed at Boyd's Creek (*BP* 5/6/82). In the fall the grade line was located to Houghton Point and from there to the "steamboat dock" at the foot of Washington Avenue in the village (*BP* 10/14/82, 11/4/82). In 1882, with the slow but steady approach of the railroad, it appeared that Bayfield's expectations of a prosperous future would finally be realized. As the *Press* put it, "The near approach of the 'iron horse' has had a tendency to arouse our citizens from the lethargy that has so long held sway over their homes and there has been a revival of the spirit of enterprise and faith in the future of the Harbor City" ("Bayfield," *BCP* 1/13/83). An article in the *Press* in mid-November noted that "Desirable village lots have sold for \$250, but the best ones have not been put on the market;" and another in early December reported that the total evaluation of real estate in the village had increased from \$53,102 in 1881 to \$86,820 in 1882, or by \$33,718 ("About Bayfield," *BP* 11/18/82; "The Beginning Of The Boom," *BCP* 12/9/82). As if to reflect the more expansive atmosphere, in November the *Bayfield Press* became the *Bayfield County Press*, and changed its format to provide more news ("A New Departure," *BCP* 11/25/82).

An article in the *Press* assessing the "improvements" during 1882 announced that "The Boom Has Struck" (*BCP* "Bayfield!" 1/13/83). While no new industries or major businesses had been established, there had been "a general enlarging . . . of those already in existence." R.D. Pike had completely rebuilt his mill, installing the latest machinery, some of his own invention, and increasing capacity from 30,000 to 50,000 board feet per day, with a view to further enlargement of capacity (32). The dock facilities for the mill were also substantially extended. Samuel S. Vaughn had enlarged his dock and warehouse facilities, and was constructing a new hotel which, in the words of the *Press*, "will be an ornament to the place and prove of lasting benefit to her citizens." (Vaughn had closed down his sawmill earlier.) Boutin and Mahan had erected a "large and commodious dock" at the foot of Washington Avenue; a warehouse with a capacity of 500 tons; and a "large double store and numerous outbuildings." These improvements, plus additions to or construction of residences, retail business, and other buildings, amounted to \$106,000 for the year. Finally, a long *Press* article in early February 1883, reported on Bayfield's fisheries—Frank Boutin, Boutin and Mahan, and Fred Fisher ("Bayfield's Fish Industry!" *BCP* 2/3/83). These firms, plus one small operator, handled 1,973,756 pounds of fish, all except 77,000 pounds retailed in Bayfield were shipped to major midwest cities and Ashland. The total expenditures for the year of the three major firms was \$69,279.

In mid-January 1883 the roadbed was prepared to within nine miles of Bayfield, and in March piles were driven for bridges at Sioux River, Onion River, and Pike's Creek (*BCP* 1/20/83, 3/17/83, 3/31/83). By early June track laying was within 15 miles of Bayfield, and in mid-July had reached McClellan (*BCP* 6/9/83; *AWP* 7/14/83). Meanwhile on June 17th a branch track constructed from the main line west of Ashland (Ashland junction) entered that village and was connected to the Wisconsin Central tracks ("The Omaha," *AWP* 6/16/83; "The Work Is Accomplished," *AWP* 6/23/83). In early August the roadbed was prepared for rails to within a mile of Bayfield, and the line was being graded within the village (*BCP* 8/4/83). But then a crisis arose. The railroad had petitioned the Bayfield County Circuit Court for condemnation of the land in the village, which it needed for a depot and other facilities, and for the appointment of commissioners to ascertain fair compensation to the owners of the land. But the owners demanded higher prices than the company was willing to pay. The railroad suspended construction work, giving as the reason a possible change in grade outside of the village. A rumor circulated, no doubt floated by the company, that the line would bypass Bayfield and the lake terminal would be constructed at Roy's Point, a promontory about a mile and one half northeast of Bayfield. True or not, the rumor galvanized the citizens of Bayfield to action. A citizens meeting was held, the outcome of which was that the railroad was offered the property it needed for \$5,825, a proposition it immediately accepted (33). Finally, on October 12th the last mile or so of track was laid to the newly erected depot under the watchful eye of a crowd of Bayfielders, who kept track layers company all day, and at 4:04P the construction train reached the depot. There was no formal ceremony, but this is how the *Press* described the scene (*BCP* 10/13/83): "As the hands of the clock pointed to the hour, 4:04, the train halted in front of the depot, the star spangled banner was flung to the breeze, the old brass cannon belched forth flame and smoke, the whistles of the various steam vessels in the harbor united with those of the locomotive and the bells of churches and schools in one prolonged salute that echoed and re-echoed from hill-top to hill-top, while from the throats of the excited throng pealed cheer after cheer" (34). The *Press* report went on to recount the "incalculable importance" of the railroad "to Northern Wisconsin and the Great West, as well as this immediate locality." The products of the "rich plains" will reach "this inland seaport" over the railroad, and it "renders available for maritime business one of the grandest harbors in the world."

But for the second time, Bayfield's dream of becoming a major "inland sea port" had "gone-a glimmering." It was generally assumed that the Chequamegon Bay terminal would be at Bayfield, as provided in the 1856 Federal land grant act (35). But rumors began to circulate in May 1883 that as the *Ashland Weekly Press* reported, "the Omaha Company has decided to build their docks across the bay opposite Ashland, at the point between Vanderventer's Creek and 'McClellan' " (*AWP* 5/5/83). Rumor soon turned to fact, when the *Press* reported the following week that a "corps of engineers" had arrived "to take charge of the work of building the coal docks" of the Omaha at that location (*AWP* 5/12/83). People in Bayfield knew about this development, of course, but apparently accepted it calmly. An article in the *Press*, while disputing that the harbor "near McClellan" was the best in the area, simply noted (as it had when Bayfield "lost" the Wisconsin Central terminal to Ashland) that there were not just two, but several sites on the bay suitable for "manufacturing establishments." "All that remains for us to do, as a community," the *Press* counseled, "is to accept this fact in a philosophical manner and redouble our individual efforts to further the interests of that particular locality in which our interests lie" (36). There was much speculation during these early years as to why the Omaha

selected Vanderventer Bay rather than Bayfield as the site for its lake terminal. The answer is simply stated in the annual report for the company for 1882 (*Chicago, St. Paul, Minneapolis and Omaha, Second Annual Report 1883*, 8-9): “At Washburn where it is expected the principal transfer between rail and lake will take place, ample ground for tracks and building are secured, and a substantial dock 150x500 will be ready for use at the opening of navigation this coming season. The natural advantages of this point are its comparatively protected situation, uniformly sufficient depth of water without dredging, and a shore line readily adapted to a convenient track system, while it is reached from the south by a line limited for more than 150 miles to a maximum grade of eight-tenths and curvature of three degrees. Between Washburn and Bayfield, 13 miles, there are two grades of 80 feet to the mile, over which heavy freight traffic is not for the present anticipated” (37).

The other exciting development in 1883 actually began before the railroad arrived: the wooden courthouse, located on the corner of Broad Street and Manypenny (then Fant) Avenue, burnt down early in the morning of February 6th. The court records were in a vault and were untouched. A public meeting was immediately called, at which it was decided to build a brownstone structure on the “public square” on the hill overlooking the village. The cornerstone was laid on September 15th with Masonic Order ceremonies presided over by Edwin Ellis, and the building was completed the following July (now the National Park Service headquarters) (38). Two other events occurred during the summer that in a way symbolized how reality had overtaken the dream of Bayfield’s future. The first event, which could be taken as a reflection of the failed dream of becoming a large commercial city, was the closing of the only bank barely a month after it had opened—in the words of the *Press* report, “it has folded its tent and lit out for Washburn down the bay” (*BCP* 9/1/83, 9/29/83). The second event, which symbolized an actual future based largely on tourism, was the opening of Samuel Vaughn’s new hotel on July 10th. It was celebrated with a grand ball and a banquet attended by a large crowd including 30 couples from Ashland. It was christened the “Endaian House” (supposedly an Indian word meaning “our home”) but that name apparently proved too cumbersome and mysterious and was soon replaced by “Island View House” (later Hotel). It was to be a Bayfield landmark and mecca for tourists for many years (39). Finally, in mid-summer R.D. Pike opened a brownstone quarry (Bayfield Brownstone Quarry Company) on property on Van Tassells Point, about two and one-half miles southwest of Bayfield, and constructed a dock there for shipping the stone (*BCP* 6/9/83; Buckley 1898, 193-195). Stone was quarried along the shore and at two locations further inland (one of which can still be seen on the north side of state highway 13 through the site) (40).

With the railroad finally in place, the *Press* offered its observations on the future of this “section of Lake Superior.” Ashland, Washburn, and Bayfield together could not expect to rival Chicago (quite a change from earlier confident pronouncements that Bayfield itself would someday rank with Chicago), but they will in “no distant day [be] the leading maritime and manufacturing ports of Lake Superior” (*BCP* 10/23/83). A visitor from Ashland in November observed that “the iron horse and the telegraph are both newcomers to Bayfield, but they have come to stay, and give new life and nerve power to its people. It has been a Rip Van Winkle sleep of many years, and the awakening is not yet fully accomplished.” But the “village shows considerable more ‘new wood’ ” than expected, with “quite a number of good substantial residences and several new businesses erected,” plus the buildings of the Omaha railroad, the new county courthouse, and

the “Island View House . . . another good feature of which Bayfield may feel proud” (“As Seen by a Neighbor,” *BCP* 11/10/83).

In early 1885, the *Press* published a comprehensive review of the “state” of Bayfield a little over two years after the arrival of the railroad and the telegraph (“Bayfield for 1885,” *BCP* 1/9/86). The village had certainly grown rapidly during this time: the 1885 *State Census* showed a population of 1,409 (735 males, 674 females) up from 495 (285%) in 1880. The inventory of business and institutions (large and small) included Catholic, Episcopal and Methodist churches; a free graded school, and a parochial school; a lumber mill, quarry, four fish dealers, two merchandise docks with large warehouses; numerous business establishments offering the usual variety of goods and services; and a “roller rink” and “one brass band.” The two largest industries were Pike’s mill and the fisheries. The former, which included planing, lath, and shingle mills, occupied an extensive area between Second and Fifth Streets and Manypenny Avenue to the shore, with extensive wharf and boom facilities extending into the bay (41). The two largest of the four fisheries, Booth and Sons, and Boutin and Mahan, had their warehouses on the merchandise docks at the end of Washington Avenue (see Sandborn Map for 1886). Other indicators of the social and economic health of the village in 1885 included 3,740 tons of freight and goods shipped and received by water, and 165,871 tons by rail; \$125,00 of private and public improvements of various kinds; and \$25,025 of business at the post office and \$1,045 at the telegraph office (also 13 marriages, 47 births, and 23 deaths). The tone of the *Press* review was cautiously optimistic, concluding that “It is not expected that a great city will spring up here in a season, but it is confidently expected that here will always be found a live, prosperous, growing town and the most desirable place for a residence on the shores of the ‘Great Unsalted Sea.’” But Bayfield would have to accomplish this by itself, relying “wholly upon her natural advantages and the energy of her citizens to become a thriving city in the future.” Depending on the railroads (and the non-resident property holders) for help had “time and time again been demonstrated the height of folly.” (*BCP* 3/21/85).

While Bayfield never became the great commercial city and inland port envisioned by its founders—fate selected its rivals at the head of the lake for that honor—it was the “prosperous, growing town” envisioned by the *Press*. It shared with Ashland and the upstart Washburn in the prosperity of the 15 year boom period on Chequamegon Bay, based on lumbering, brownstone quarrying and shipping. Unfortunately it also shared with them, and perhaps bore an even greater burden of hardship than its sister communities, in the economic decline and stagnation that followed the exhaustion of the timber and the collapse of the brownstone market within the first few years of the new century.

Endnotes

1. The exact population figures were: 1865—35,701,000; 1900—76,094,000; the number of immigrants was 12,133,301. For developments in Wisconsin during this period, see: Fish 1907; Merk 1916; Current 1976; Nesbit 1985. To some this era of transformation with all of its great accomplishments was the “age of enterprise,” while to others who saw the accompanying greed, corruption, fraud, exploitations, and materialism, it was the “great barbecue” or the “gilded age.” The latter term was coined by Mark Twain and Charles D. Warner for the title of their novel about the early years of the Grant administration (Ulysses S. Grant, President 1869-1877)—Twain and Warner 1873. The metaphor was originally intended to convey the theme of their novel, that the “veneer of gentility” of the *nouveaux rich* was only a “thin coating of gilt” over the “plain iron” of their humble backgrounds. The term was later appropriated and its meaning expanded to characterize everything that was wrong with the entire period from 1865 to 1900—see Bartlett 1969, 1. Historians continue to debate which term—age of enterprise or gilded age—more accurately characterizes the era as a whole. Some have taken the position that there was a functional relationship involved: that is, that at least some of the exploitation, materialism and even fraud and corruption, and the “robber barons,” of the gilded age were necessary to energize and lubricate the traditional, pre-industrial economic and political structures that otherwise would have impeded the rapid and unprecedented economic transformation that took place. See: Garroty 1968, 1969; Morgan 1970; Trachtenberg 1982. For contrasting views of the period, see Carnegie 1893, 1969; George 1955.
2. Every Wisconsin railroad failed in the panic of 1857. Between 1861 and 1868, although many railroad companies were chartered, only 130 miles of track were constructed.
3. The background of this second land grant is as follows. As noted in the chapter on Superior, the Milwaukee interests that controlled the La Crosse and Milwaukee and the St. Croix and Lake Superior railroads had tried to prevent St. Paul capitalists from constructing a line from that city to the western end of Lake Superior. In the aftermath of the panic of 1857 and with the outbreak of the Civil War, interest in the project faded on both sides of the river, but was soon revived by new developments. The war closed off the Mississippi so that farmers on both sides of the river were forced to ship their products by rail to Milwaukee or Chicago, and the railroads took advantage of their plight by raising freight rates. There was also the possibility of conflict with Great Britain, in which case the canal at Sault Ste. Marie would probably be blocked. The idea, then, was that a railroad to the head of Lake Superior would transport iron ore from the Upper Peninsula to St. Paul, which would become a great manufacturing center. Finally, there was increasing interest in opening the north country to settlement and exploiting its timber interests, encouraged by the proprietors of the townsites at Superior and Bayfield. Interested parties on both sides of the river worked diligently to generate public support for their lines, the Lake Superior and Mississippi and St. Croix and Lake Superior. The struggle was taken to the congressional arena where in March 1864 a bill was introduced to make a land grant directly to the Lake Superior and Mississippi for a line from St. Paul to Lake Superior. (It will be recalled that the Minnesota and Northwestern had been given a grant for a line from St. Paul to Lake Superior, but due to irregularities in the legislative process the grant was eventually lost.) Wisconsin’s Congressional delegation

vigorously opposed the bill on two grounds: that if the grant were made it would be impossible to complete the St. Croix and Lake Superior, the closely parallel line in Wisconsin to the proposed route of the Lake Superior and Mississippi; and that the Wisconsin had not received its fair share of grant land compared to that given to the other midwestern states. In the end, the Senate Committee on Public Lands favorably reported the bill with an amendment to make the grant to the state rather than directly to the railroad company. It also reported a second bill (the provenance of which is unknown but can easily be imagined) providing for extensive railroad land grants to Wisconsin, as noted in the text. Both bills were approved with the support of the Minnesota and Wisconsin delegations on May 5 1864—*US Statutes* 1864, V13, C79, C80. For the Congressional debate see the *Congressional Globe*, 38-1, March 3 1864, v. 34, pt.1, 923-924; March 10 1864, v. 34, pt. 2, 1030-1035; May 2 1864, v. 34, pt.3, 2035-2036; also see Shippee 1918; Martin 1941, 6.

4. The 1856 land grant act provided for six sections in width. Companies eligible to receive grant land under the 1856 law were allotted four additional sections under the 1864 law.
5. Tomah and Lake St. Croix—*Wis Laws* 1865, G, C232. This railroad was chartered by the Legislature in April 1863 to build from the Town of Tomah to the St. Croix River or lake by way of Black River Falls—*Wis Laws* 1863, PL, C243. With its name changed to the West Wisconsin, the company went right to work, beginning construction at Tomah in 1869 and reaching Hudson in 1872, for which it received 20,000 acres of grant land—Canuteson 1930, 110-111; Holmes 1946, 120-121. St. Croix and Lake Superior—*Wis Law* 1865, G, C174, C175.
6. *Wis Law* 1866, PL, C314, C362. Asaph Whittlesey was listed as a charter stockholder of the Portage and Superior.
7. Among those who volunteered were Robinson D. Pike, Elisha Pike's son; William H. Wheeler, son of Rev. Leonard H. Wheeler; and George Warren, one of the twin sons of Truman A. Warren. Three of George Warren's half brothers were also in the war—Charles, Isaac, and Elisha Ermatinger; George Warren was wounded; Charles Ermatinger died from wounds; and Isaac Ermatinger died of disease.
8. "Sioux Uprising," Knight 1999, 29-30; Knight, "Bayfield Feared Indian War 90 Years Ago," *BCP* 10/10/53; Burnham, *ADP* 4/18/29; Burnham, "When President Lincoln Sent Troops To Bayfield," *ADP* 1/8/31, 1/9/31; "Everybody Had to Be Patriot," *MS* 4/22/17; Burnham, *ADP* 1/7/31. A U.S. regulation tombstone was placed on the young soldier's grave in August 1885—"Soldiers Graves," *BCP* 4/9/79, 8/22/85; "Marking Their Graves," *AWP* 4/12/79; Burnham, *ADP* 12/14/33. For the "panic" in Superior, see "Sioux Scare at Superior," Knight 1999, 31-32; Knight, "Warring Sioux Had the Pioneers Really Scared," *BCP* 12/17/53; "Sioux War Of 1862," *WMH*, 6/20; Wolner 1939, 83-87; and throughout Wisconsin, see Quaife 1920, 21; Current 1976, 319-321. The soldier's came equipped with a brass canon—a "six pounder"—that was abandoned as outmoded when they departed. It made a noisy contribution to Bayfield's various celebrations for many years, but its history forgotten, it became the victim of a World War II scrap metal drive—"Bayfield's Brass Cannon," Knight 1999, 35-36; "Historic Old Cannon," *BCP* 7/2/09; Burnham, *ADP* 3/27/31. For a history of

the Sioux uprising in Minnesota, see Theodore C. Blegen. *Minnesota; A History Of the State*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1963, c. 14.

9. The Census covered all of the Town of Bayfield (which was the same as Bayfield County), and did not provide separate data for the village of Bayfield. Most of the people probably lived in the village, however, since there were no other settlements in the county and no substantial farms. There probably were isolated logging camps but these may not have been enumerated.
10. Both the Pike and Vaughn mills were located at the shoreline in the village. The Vaughn mill was powered by a 50 horsepower steam engine, the Pike mill by a 30 horsepower steam engine and a 30 horsepower water wheel or water turbine, whichever was used. According to an 1881 description, Pike constructed a reservoir on the hill above the mill that gave a “head” or “fall” of 58 feet to the mill to provide water pressure for fire fighting. Perhaps this was the source of the water pressure used to operate the water wheel or turbine—Andreas 1881, 82. There was also a mill at Bark Point that employed 35 men, and was operated by a 40 horsepower steam engine. Unfortunately, the capacity figures for these mills are not legible in the manuscript census. Elisha Pike’s old water-powered mill outside of Bayfield was not listed in the census, but other sources suggest that it was still in operation.
11. 1870 *U.S. Census* for Ashland County. Opened in 1868, this was the first of the Chequamegon Bay brownstone quarries,. Both Alanson Sweet, a politician and speculator from Milwaukee, and Frederick Prentice were credited with having opened the quarry. There are also references to Strong, French, and Company and also to the Bass (Basswood) Island Brownstone Company, as owner and operator, however. Stone from the quarry was shipped to Milwaukee, where it was used to build the county courthouse, among other projects. In the great Chicago fire on October 8 1871 the brownstone stood up very well to the intense heat, confirming what laboratory tests had already shown, resulting in a large increase in demand for the stone for rebuilding the city—Buckley 1898, 178-182; Ross 1960, 127; Burnham *ADP* 5/4/31; “Lake Superior Brownstone,” *BP* 11/11/71; “Brown Sandstone,” *BP* 4/20/72; “Bayfield And Vicinity,” *BP* 7/29/71; also: *BP* 10/20/70, 11/12/70, 6/3/71, 10/21/71, 11/11/71, 5/31/84. There apparently was also a quarry on Stockton Island, owned by Samuel S. Vaughn, which provided broken stone for a breakwater at Ontonagon—text accompanying map, *BP* 6/3/71.
12. In the first issue, “Sam. S. Fifield & Bro.” are shown as the “publishers and proprietors,” and “H.O. Fifield” as the editor. Sam Fifield did not locate in Bayfield, however, but remained in Osceola, where he published the *Polk County Press*. Henry O. Fifield was commonly known as “Hank.” The *Bayfield Mercury* was published from April 18 to September 15 1857. The first *Bayfield Press* was published from October 1 1859 to 1861, and the second from 1866 to (possibly) 1868, but there are no surviving issues of these two papers—Oehlerts 1958, 11; Andreas 1881, 82. There was therefore no local coverage of events in Bayfield from September 15 1857 to October 13 1870, when the Fifields established the *Press*; and from June 15 1872, when they moved the paper to Ashland, to June 13 1877 when they re-established it in Bayfield. Occasional items on Bayfield were published in the *Ashland Weekly Press* from June 1872 to June 1877, and there are a few personal documents

available. Andreas provided a description of Bayfield to about 1881, which is drawn on for this discussion—Andreas 1881, 79-83. Following is the early history of the *Bayfield Press*:

10/13/70-6/15/72	Samuel S. Fifield and Henry O. Fifield.
6/15/72	Moved to Ashland.
6/13/77-	Re-established by Samuel S. Fifield, with Morris Edwards as business manager.
5/31/79-	Edwards succeeded by D.L. Stinchfield.
1/24/80	Stinchfield succeeded by W.W. Whitney.
5/22/80	Isaac H. Wing listed as proprietor, D.L. Stinchfield as editor.
5/81	Stinchfield succeeded by Daniel H. Pulcifer.
10/8/81	Pulcifer succeeded by A.C. Stevens.
9/30/82	Currie G. Bell became proprietor and editor until 4/08.
11/25/82	Name changed to <i>Bayfield County Press</i> and five column format adapted.

13. "The Bayfield Road," *BP* 10/13/70; "J.H. McClusky," *BP* 12/24/70; "Winter Route!" *BP* 2/4/71 (stage line advertisement); also *BP* 11/5/70, 11/12/70, 11/26/70.
14. *BP* 6/3/71; the map extends from R6W to R1E.
15. The Bayfield and St. Croix was shown as approaching Chequamegon Bay from the southwest, and then extending to Bayfield along two routes: an "original survey" route extending toward the middle of the peninsula and then turning east into Bayfield; and a "later survey" route along the coast of the peninsula to Bayfield (the route of the Chicago, St. Paul, Minneapolis, and Omaha in 1883). The Wisconsin Central was shown approaching Bayfield from the southwest with no apparent connection to the Wisconsin Central line shown entering Ashland from the south; probably it was part of a proposed railroad between Superior and Bayfield. The Northern Pacific Railroad was shown running from west to east, far to the south of Ashland, terminating abruptly at the lake coast somewhat west of Iron-ton. Despite the assertion in the text that the railroad surveys were "not imaginative" but had been "thoroughly made," a great deal of wishful thinking must certainly have influenced whoever drew this map.
16. The *Press* devoted considerable ink and space to articles reprinted from other newspapers (but probably "planted" by the *Press* editor) describing what a wonderful place Bayfield was, its magnificent harbor, what a promising future it had as a great port at the western end of Lake Superior, and so on—for example "Bayfield And Vicinity," *BP* 11/12/70, 7/29/71, 8/5/71, 8/12/71, 9/2/71; also see other articles listed in bibliography.
17. "Lake Superior," *BP* 10/13/70; *BP* 11/5/70; "The Amende Honorable," *BP* 11/19/70; *BP* 12/10/70; "A Scientific Explanation," *BP* 12/17/70.
18. The discussion of the progress of railroad construction to Bayfield and the long controversy surrounding the so-called St. Croix land grant, is based on Canuteson 1930, c. 6, 8; "C., St. P. M. & O. R.," *AWP* 6/30/83; Nesbit 1985, c. 3; and articles from the *BP*, *BCP*, and *AWP* as cited.

19. On the opposition of Duluth interests, see: "Review of the Duluth Tribune Extra," *BP* 6/24/71; "Our Superior Letter," *BP* 7/1/71; *BP* 1/28/71 editorial; "The St. Croix and Bayfield Railroad," *BP* 1/28/71; "Unfairness Of L. S. & M. Opposition To The St. Croix Land Grant," *BP* 2/24/72. On the opposition of midwestern states, see "Land Grants," *BP* 1/7/71; "Bayfield and St. Croix Railroad," *BP* 2/4/71; *BP* 2/11/71. For the congressional debate, see: *Congressional Globe*, 41-3, January 27 1871, v. 43, pt. 1, *Debates*, 790-791, speeches in the House on January 27 1871, v. 43, pt. 3, *Appendix*, by S.B. Axtell of California, 64-66, J. Proctor Knott of Kentucky, 66-68; W.S. Holman of Indiana, 90-94. Holman's speech was a succinct statement of opposition to the renewal of the St. Croix grant. He declared that the bill to renew the grant was important not only because of the large amount of land involved, "but still more from the fact that the determination which the House may reach upon this bill may fairly be accepted as indicating its future action upon other similar measures; . . . Hence, in discussing this bill, the whole question of the policy of grants of public lands to corporations for internal improvements is properly under consideration." Also see: *Congressional Globe*, 41-3, February 2 1871, v. 3, pt. 2, *Debates*, remarks by Charles Pomeroy of Iowa and others, 910-919; speech in the House on February 2 1871, v. 3, pt. 3, *Appendix*, by John B. Hay of Illinois, 121-123.
20. *Wis Laws* 1874, C126. The 1864 land grant act provided that this "point" or junction was "to be selected by the state." The Legislature then specified that it be the location shown on maps from the earlier surveys for the St. Croix and Lake Superior on file in the Federal land office. The location became known as Superior Junction and later as Trego.
21. "The Future Of Bayfield," *BP* 3/9/72, 3/16/72, 3/23/72, 3/30/72. In an age when competing townsites bombarded each other with bitter attacks, often expressing a real hostility between them, this benign and submissive attitude toward Ashland, an obvious competitor for immigrants, capital, railroads, and fame, was unusual. It was no doubt due to the fact "that a number of property owners in Bayfield are also pecuniary interested in the growth of Ashland"—*BP* 3/23/72. Probably the desire of the Fifield brothers not to antagonize the advertisers and readers of the *Bayfield Press* (and the future *Ashland Press*) in Ashland was also a factor.
22. There had been talk of "getting up a militia company" in 1871—*BP* 7/8/71. As was common practice in the militia, commissioned and non-commissioned officers were elected by the rank and file—Robinson D. Pike was elected as captain, John Gargneu (Gargnon) as 1st lieutenant, and Duffy Boutin as 2nd lieutenant. The company received 60 Springfield breech-loading rifles and ammunition, and "3 non-commissioned officers' swords and belts," on June 3 1873. They received their uniforms in June 1876, described as "a gray cap, jacket and trousers." For a roster of the members of the company on September 10 1873, see Knight, "This Happened Just 81 Years Ago This Very Week," *BCP* 12/31/53. As a state militia company, the Bayfield Rifles was to be inspected annually in the summer by a representative of the state Adjutant General. Many men of the authorized strength of 60 could not be present during the summer because of employment in logging or fishing, however, so the company was unable to pass these inspections satisfactorily. In March 1880, a special law was approved that authorized inspections of the Bayfield Rifles during the winter—*Wis Law*

1880, C300. Interest in the company gradually faded, however, and by 1882 there were no members reported. The company was officially disbanded by the Adjutant General in 1883, and an item in the *Ashland Weekly Press* in March 1883 stated that “the Bayfield Rifles had removed to Ashland”—*AWP* 3/3/83. See: *Annual Reports Of The Adjutant and Quartermaster Generals Of The State Of Wisconsin For The Fiscal Year Ending September 30, 1873*, 7, 12; *Annual Reports Of The Adjutant and Quartermaster Generals Of The State Of Wisconsin For The Fiscal Year Ending September 30, 1878*, 11; *Annual Report Of The Adjutant General Of The State Of Wisconsin For The Fiscal Year Ending September 30, 1879*, 6-10; *Annual Reports Of The Adjutant and Quartermaster Generals Of The State Of Wisconsin For The Fiscal Year Ending September 30, 1880*, 16; *Annual Report Of The Adjutant General Of The State Of Wisconsin For The Fiscal Year Ending September 30, 1882*, 46; *Biennial Report Of The Adjutant General Of The State Of Wisconsin For the Two Fiscal Years Ending September 30, 1884*, 14 (all SHSW-GD); *AWP* 4/5/73, 6/26/73, 6/24/76, 7/15/76, 4/28/77; *BP* 1/9/78; “A Pleasant Affair,” 2/27/78; *BP* 12/11/78; “The Military Ball,” *BP* 2/26/79; “Chapter 300,” *BP* 3/27/80; “Historic Old Cannon,” *BCP* 7/2/09.

23. “Fire At Bayfield,” *AWP* 3/15/73. Bayfield appears to have been plagued with fires. Andreas reported that there were fires in 1860, 1862, 1872, 1873, and 1874, although some of his dates could not be verified—Andreas 1881, 81.
24. “Bayfield Items,” *AWP* 6/5/75. The *State Census* in June 1875 listed 1,030 people in the Town of Bayfield, which still encompassed all of Bayfield County. There were 538 males and 492 females, plus one “colored” male. Most of these people undoubtedly lived in the village of Bayfield.
25. While the *Press* renewed local coverage of developments in Bayfield, occasional issues from these early years are missing, as well as most issues for 1880.
26. The *Eva Wadsworth* was owned by Samuel Vaughn. It served as a ferry between Ashland and Bayfield for many years before being sold to a party in Duluth—Ross 1960, 127; Burnham 1974, 241; *BCP* 6/30/83.
27. “Fire No. 2” *BP* 10/25/79; “Pike’s Office Again,” *AWP* 10/25/79. Pike was one of the leading citizens and a major benefactor of the village, which probably explains why this critical comment did not appear in the *Bayfield Press*. Perhaps to mollify public opinion, he made part of the second floor into an “excellent public hall” when it was rebuilt after the fire—*BP* 11/8/79.
28. On the consolidation, see the biographical sketch of H.H. Porter in “C., St. P., M. & O. R.” *AWP* 6/30/83. The North Wisconsin became the northern division of the Omaha, but continued to be referred to by the former name locally—*AWP* 12/14/78. The Chicago and Northern Pacific Air Line Company had done nothing to construct its road to Superior, despite completion time extensions granted by the Legislature. The struggle for its land grant broke out again, with several railroads competing for it. The company graded 20 miles south of Superior, but no rails were laid. In January 1882, the Omaha took over the railroad. Omitted from the purchase agreement was money to pay the construction company,

suppliers, and laborers engaged to do the grading. There ensued a brief but nasty “railroad war” at Superior and Veazie (located just east of Trego or “Superior Junction”) as the workers resorted to property destruction and violence to obtain their wages. In February 1882 the Legislature revoked the grant to the Chicago and Northern Pacific and conferred it on the Omaha with the condition that the company pay the workers the wages due them—*Wis Laws*, 1882, C10. In November 1882, the Omaha tracks reached the outskirts of Superior near Bluff Creek, where they were connected to the Northern Pacific tracks into town. In the following spring the Omaha completed track laying into Superior to its own depot—*Superior Times* 11/4/82, 11/11/82, 11/18/82; *AWP* 11/18/82. Trains began to run in early December—*AWP* 12/2/82. On December 16 1882 the Chicago and North Western gained control of the Omaha by purchase of one-half of its stock—*Railroads of Wisconsin* 1937, 33-37. On the trouble at Superior and Veazie, see Nesbit 1985, 586-587.

29. There was a separate enumeration for the “Village of Bayfield,” listing 263 whites and 218 Indians. Since there were probably not more than a dozen Indians who resided (or would have been allowed to reside) in the Bayfield settlement itself, the “Village of Bayfield” enumeration district must have included the Indian reservation at Red Cliff. Also, there was no separate enumeration for that location. In any case, the data for the “Village of Bayfield” probably does not reflect the actual population of the Bayfield settlement.
30. *AWP* 12/11/80, 12/25/80; *BP* 12/18/80; “What Is Your Verdict,” *BP* 1/22/81; “A Lesson On Railroads,” *BP* 12/22/81. They had occasionally exchanged barbed comments before then, however—*AWP* 11/22/79; *BP* 12/6/79. The “feud” was unusual in that the same person, Samuel Fifield, was the owner and nominal editor of both papers; it was probably a circulation stunt.
31. “County Road Completed,” *BP* 11/8/79. The Bayfield and Ashland Telephone and Telegraph Company was organized on October 29 1880 by R.D. Pike and other men of means in Bayfield, with capital of \$1,500—Andreas 1881, 82-83; *AWP* 8/14/80, 10/9/80, 10/16/80.
32. *BP* 9/3/81, 9/10/81, 5/27/82, 8/5/82. The mill office caught on fire for the third time in July 1881—*BP* 7/9/81.
33. “Circuit Court—Bayfield County,” *BP* 9/23/82, 10/21/82; *BCP* 11/25/82; “Notice,” *BCP* 6/30/83; “Railroad Racket,” *BCP* 7/21/83, 7/28/83.
34. The depot was located near the corner of Broad Street and Manypenny (then Fant) Avenue, with the boarding platform along Manypenny. The turn table and locomotive house were located along Manypenny in the next block to the east, between Second and First Streets. The track did not extend beyond First Street—see Sanborn Map for 1886.
35. As noted earlier, the 1854 charter of the St. Croix and Lake Superior Railroad specified that a branch of the road from Hudson to the St. Louis River would run “to some point at or near La Pointe, on Lake Superior”—*Wis Laws* 1854, PL, C74. The 1856 Federal land grant act was more specific, providing that the road be built “to Bayfield”—*US Statutes* 1856, C43. But

the first annual report of the Chicago, St. Paul, Minneapolis and Omaha, after it had taken over the North Wisconsin (successor to the St. Croix and Lake Superior) equivocated somewhat, providing that the line would extend to Lake Superior “at or near Bayfield”—*First Annual Report Of The Chicago, St. Paul, Minneapolis And Omaha Railway Company For The Year Ending December 31st, 1881*, 8 (MHS).

36. *AWP* 5/12/83; *BCP* 5/12/83. Robinson D. Pike and also Isaac Wing of Bayfield certainly knew of the plan to build the terminal facilities near McClellan and establish a townsite there, since they were both members of the Bay Land and Improvement Company, the Washburn townsite syndicate. The syndicate was incorporated in June 1883, but Pike and others were engaged in land transactions on the townsite prior to that. Samuel S. Vaughn and Edwin Ellis of Ashland were also members of this syndicate—“Articles of Organization” of the Bay Land and Improvement Company, records of the St. Croix County Register of Deeds; *Biennial Report of the Secretary of State*, October 10 1884, Appendix O, 205; “Washburn,” *WI* 10/23/84.
37. With the construction of the Omaha railroad terminal at Washburn, it soon became clear that despite the eternal optimism of the *Press*, the Omaha did not intend to construct grain elevators and docks on the “best harbor in the world.” The Omaha constructed a spur to Pike’s sawmill, but did nothing else to provide rail service to the waterfront. One William F. Dalrymple conceived of the idea of a railroad to transfer grain and freight between the Omaha terminal in the village to the docks, which it was expected would be constructed along the waterfront. He was a partner with his brother, Oliver, in a large wheat farm in North Dakota. (Oliver Dalrymple operated huge “bonanza” wheat farms in Cass and Traill Counties in eastern North Dakota—Drache 1964; Dalrymple 1960.) The two brothers, along with three other men, organized the Bayfield Transfer Railroad Company, incorporated on July 26 1883. The line was not completed until 1890 or 1891, however. It ran along the shore from its terminal and roundhouse at the foot of Washington Avenue, 3.86 miles to Red Cliff. It continued from the terminal past the city dock at the foot of Rittenhouse Avenue onto a curved trestle that carried it over a short stretch of water then back to land where it connected with the Omaha tracks. The first scheduled train ran on April 25 1898, although “old timers” insisted that it was in operation as early as 1892. Herbert C. Hale, a distant relative of the Dalrymples, was the general manager for the railroad in Bayfield. For years it served as a sort of “Toonerville Trolley,” busily transporting passengers and freight between Bayfield and Red Cliff. Later it was used as a logging railroad, carrying timber to the Wachsmuth and other local mills. The Dalrymples also organized a second railroad, the Bayfield Harbor and Great Western, incorporated on October 7 1885. It was to begin at “a point at or near Bayfield, Wis. in a south-westerly direction to a point on the west line of Douglas County, also, from a point on this route, in a south-westerly direction to a point near Stillwater, Minn.” The plan was to connect to the railroads into St. Paul and Superior, connecting at the latter location with the Northern Pacific, providing a through route over which wheat and other grain products from the farms of Minnesota and North Dakota would be transported to elevators at Bayfield for shipment by water to the east and overseas. In the summer of 1897, the voters and board of the Town of Bayfield approved a subscription to \$25,000 of the capital stock of the railroad. The only part of this line that was built was a six mile section from (near) Roy’s Point to the Raspberry River. (The *Biennial Report Of The*

Railroad Commissioner for 1901-1902 identifies this western terminal of the road as “Greenhurst, Wis.”—36.) There it joined a paper railroad named the Bayfield, Superior and Minneapolis whose tracks were intended to extend to Rocket Creek, which joins the Sand River near Sand Bay. This part of the Dalrymples’ project was inspired by the same motive which was behind the location of the Omaha wheat elevators at Washburn, namely to circumvent the stranglehold of other railroads on the wheat traffic to the lake via Superior-Duluth, Milwaukee, and Chicago. Indeed, William Dalrymple was of the opinion that “the time was not far distant when Duluth would be a town of the past, and would occupy the place Superior has for so long a time. This bay is destined to become the head of the lake. The railroads will come where business is, and this bay stands unrivalled on the chain of lakes for the facilities offered the shipping interests” (*WB* 5/16/85). An elaborate map dated November 1892 showed the proposed village of “Dalrymple,” extending from North Limits Road—renamed “Division Avenue”—to the south boundary of the Red Cliff reservation, including 18 “streets” east to west, and 20 “avenues” south to north. From Washington Avenue in Bayfield to Red Cliff, no fewer than 55 docks project into the waters of the bay. Large marshalling yards are shown in “Dalrymple,” with the dual tracks of the Bayfield Harbor and Great Western branching there from the Bayfield Transfer Railroad. Often referred to as “Dalrymple’s Dream,” the two railroads and the village should more accurately be called “Dalrymple’s Fantasy.” There were no “facilities” and little “business” at Bayfield, nor was there any possibility that the Bayfield Harbor and Great Western would attract the necessary capital or that the “big boys” in the railroad business would have allowed it to prosper if it had been built. Ross 1960, 142 (map), 155-156, 172-173; “The Railroads,” *Papers of Hamilton Nelson Ross* (ARC-A); “Map Showing Proposed Location Of Bayfield Transfer R. Y. Co.’s Docks” 1892 (SHSW-A); *Papers of William F. Dalrymple* (SHSW—A); “Railway Racket,” *BCP* 8/4/83; *BCP* 5/12/83, 8/8/83, 10/13/83; “Another Eastern Outlet,” *BCP* 10/27/83; Knight, “Pest House Days in Old Bayfield Recalled,” *BCP* 3/20/58; Burnham, *ADP* 9/1/33, 10/24/33, 11/24/33, 12/28/33; *Biennial Report Of The Railroad Commissioner Of The State Of Wisconsin, For the Fiscal Years Ending June 30, 1901 and 1902*. Madison: Democrat Printing Company, 1892 (SHSW—GD). The bonds issued to the proposed Dalrymple railroad were returned to the Town of Bayfield and burned—*WN* 5/10/95.

38. “A Disastrous Fire!” *BCP* 2/17/83; “Laying of the Corner Stone of Bayfield County Court House,” *AWP* 9/15/83; *BP* 9/15/83; “Bayfield County’s New Court House,” *BCP* 7/12/84; “The New Court House at Bayfield,” *AWP* 7/19/84; Burnham, “Bayfield’s First Brownstone Courthouse,” *BCP* 6/22/33. Pikes quarry and the Basswood Island quarry supplied the brownstone for the building. “Community Center Dedicated,” *BCP* 6/22/33; also see *BCP* 2/24/83, 3/3/83, 3/10/83, 3/31/83, 7/14/83. As a sort of encore to the courthouse fire, Smith’s Hotel, a landmark of the village from its early days, burnt down on June 11th—“The Blaze at Bayfield,” *AWP* 6/16/83.
39. *BCP* 7/14/83, 8/4/83; *AWP* 7/14/83. Some sources state that the hotel was built by the Omaha railroad, but no evidence of this could be located—Ross 1960, 137-138. There was no mention of hotel construction at Bayfield in any annual report of the Omaha Company, where the expenditure would have been listed. The project was begun as early as November 1879 by Samuel Vaughn, but at some point construction was suspended—“Good News,” *BP*

11/8/79; *AWP* 11/15/79; *BCP* 7/21/83. It was finally completed in July 1883 with a loan of \$2,500 solicited from the citizens of Bayfield, perhaps encouraged by Vaughn's apparent attempt to sell it—*BCP* 4/28/83; 5/26/83; *AWP* 5/5/83; "Vaughn's Hotel," *BCP* 5/26/83; *BCP* 6/9/83. A good description of the hotel is included in "Bayfield!" *BCP* 1/13/83. For photos see Holzhuter 1986, 37; *Ashland And Environs* 1888, np. The building burned to the ground in April 1887, but was rebuilt with funds provided by the people of Bayfield—"The Fire Fiend," *BCP* 4/9/87; *BCP* 7/16/87, 7/30/87. The building was razed in 1913.

One of the tourist attractions of Bayfield during these years was an observation tower referred to as the "old observatory." Actually, there were two such towers. The first was located on the hill where the fire lookout tower now stands. It was a rude, temporary structure 40 feet high constructed by government surveyors as a surveying base point, and called the "government observatory." Located about three miles from Bayfield, it was difficult to reach by the primitive roads of the time, but provided a magnificent view of the Apostle Islands and surrounding area. A sketch of the tower is included in *The Apostle Islands And Lake Superior* 1884, 36. In May 1884 the Bayfield Town Board authorized the expenditure of \$250 to erect a tower on a hill overlooking the village "on the east side of the Broad Street ravine" ("Olsen's hill"). It was a timber structure completed in July 1884, but it eventually fell victim to fire and was not replaced. Informal measurements in August 1885 placed the foot of the tower at 484 feet above lake level, and the observation deck at 561 feet, suggesting a height of 77 feet. Burnham, "Bayfield Observatory," *ADP* 1/16/34-1/19/34; *BP* 10/7/82; *BCP* 3/24/83, 6/2/83, 7/14/83, 5/24/84, 5/31/84, 7/5/84, 8/15/85; "The Old Observatory," *AWP* 4/26/79. In November 1933, the Bayfield County Board received a recommendation to establish an observatory on a high hill back of Bayfield, but took no action on it—*WT* 11/16/33.

40. For an overview of Bayfield in the fall of 1883 in the flowery language of the time, see *Industries Of Bayfield*, October 1883. Lumbering was listed as the "backbone of the place and will be for an age," followed by its "magnificent harbor, which is really a paragon of perfection as a shipping point," and its many advantages which make it an "unparalleled summer resort"—10, 11. The provenance of this document, verbose and full of slight exaggerations, is unknown, but Andrew Tate is given credit for "furnishing much valuable information"—9.
41. The Sanborn Map for 1886 provides considerable detail about the layout and equipment of the Pike mill, as do the maps for 1892, 1898, and 1904. Also see "Capt. R.D. Pike," Knight 1999, 78-88. For a sketch of the mill, *Chequamegon* 1976, 15; for a photograph, see *Ashland And Environs* 1888, np. Robinson D. Pike died in March 1906, and in July the mill was sold to the Wachsmuth Lumber Company, which operated it until September 9 1924—*BCP* 3/30/06, 7/6/06, 9/10/24. It was the last large mill on Chequamegon Bay to go out of business. In less than 50 years, ruthless exploitation by the lumber companies had obliterated the great, "inexhaustible" stands of pine in the Chequamegon Bay region, largely for the benefit of outside markets and financial interests, leaving behind a vast wasteland—the "cutover."

Other Settlements And Communities

Bark Point—A mill site and small settlement located at the end of Bark Point, on the west side of Bark Bay, on the north coast of the Chequamegon peninsula. Settled around 1870, but by whom is not known. Guy M Burnham. “The Roll Call Of Bark Point.” Chequamegon column, *Ashland Daily Press*, February 27 1934; “From Bark Point.” *Bayfield County Press*, March 6 1878.

Barksdale—A row of managers’ houses on the south side of Highway 13, adjacent to the main gate of the E.I. DuPont’s Barksdale Works, constructed during the World War I plant expansion. Also the Town of Barksdale.

Belanger—A settlement of a few houses located along Star Route, between Cornucopia and Bayfield. Named for Frank Belanger, who established a homestead on the site in 1881. Bayfield County Historical Society. “History Of St. Anthony Church And the Belanger Settlement.” *Bayfield County Historical Happenings*, Spring 2000; Guy M Burnham, Chequamegon column, *Ashland Daily Press*, October 10 1933.

Clevedon—A small colony on the south shore of Lake Superior, near the mouth of the Brule River, established by Samuel Budgett of Bristol, England. No longer in existence. The location is marked by Clevedon Road. Guy M Burnham. “Clevedon.” Chequamegon columns, *Ashland Daily Press*, December 21 1933, January 3 1934, January 24 1936; “The New Town At Brule River.” *Ashland Weekly Press*, August 20 1881.

Cornucopia—A small community located on the north coast of the Bayfield peninsula, established in 1900 by the Cornucopia Land Company, so named because of the abundance of “wild fruits, grasses, and vegetation of all kinds” in the vicinity. H. J. Ehlers. “The Story of Cornucopia.” Who’s Who Edition, *Ashland Daily Press*, February 9 1929; “A New Town.” *Bayfield County Press*, June 7 1902; “At Cornucopia.” *Bayfield County Press*, September 27 1902; “Cornucopia.” *Bayfield County Press*, November 8 1902; Guy M Burnham. “Around The Lake.” Chequamegon column, *Ashland Daily Press*, December 24 1929; “Cornucopia Visitors Royally Entertained.” *Washburn Times*, October 19 1911; “Cornucopia Asks Change Of Name To ‘North Pole.’ ” *Washburn Times*, March 28 1940; “Cornucopia Has Interesting Russian Orthodox Church.” *Washburn Times*, June 15 1939; George A Lazorik. “History Of St. Mary’s Russian Orthodox Church, Cornucopia, Wisconsin.” *Bayfield County Historical Happenings*, Bayfield County Historical Society, April 2005; “History Of Port Wing, Cornucopia And Herbster.” Chequamegon Chronicle, *Washburn-Bayfield County Times*, July 1 1976.

Drummond—A small community in southern Bayfield, established in 1882 and named for Frank H. Drummond, an employee of the Rust-Owen Lumber Company. Duane Fisher. “Drummond, Wisconsin: The Rust-Owen Company Town.” *Proceedings Of Ninth Annual Meeting Of The Forest History Association Of Wisconsin*. September 28-29 1984; Edward Skille. “Short History Of Drummond, Up To 1900.” Guy M. Burnham. Chequamegon column, *Ashland Daily Press*, March 3, 5 1934; “Drummond’s Story Interesting One.” Who’s Who Edition, *Ashland Daily Press*. February 9 1929.

Engoe—A small settlement established in 1894-1895 in section 14, between Engoe Road and Nolander Road, named for H. N. Engoe, one of the original settlers. B. Hirsch. "Engoe Settlement." Chequamegon columns, *Ashland Daily Press*, October 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 13, 14, 1930.

Fish Creek—A small settlement located in the Town of Keystone, section 28 south of Highway 2, on Fish Creek Road, between Stefanski Road and Erickson Road. Settled in the late 19th century, principally by immigrants from Sweden. K.B.W. Phelson. "History Of The Fish Creek Settlement." *Washburn Times*, June 6 1907; "Fish Creek Settlement." Bayfield County Historical Society. *Bayfield County Historical Happenings*, Spring 1999.

German settlement—Woodland—An early settlement of people of German descent, located in sections 26, 27, 34, and 35 of the Town of Eileen, south of Ashland, beginning about 1885. Due to the anti-German sentiment during World War I, the name of the settlement was changed to Woodland. R.B. Achilles. "The Old German Settlement." Chequamegon columns, *Ashland Daily Press*, March 12, 13, 14, 1934; "Changes Name." *Washburn Times*, July 4 1918.

Grand View (Pratt)—A site on the Omaha Railroad, north of Cable. Originally named Pratt after Charles H.J. Pratt, an Ashland County clerk. Guy M Burnham. Chequamegon Bay column, *Ashland Daily Press*, January 13 1928; "History Of Grand View, Drummond, Namakagon." Chequamegon Chronicle, *Washburn-Bayfield County Times*, July 1 1976.

Herbster—A small community located on the north coast of the Bayfield peninsula. Probably founded as a logging camp in the early 20th century. Allegedly named after a man named Herbst, a camp cook. Guy M. Burnham. "The Holland Colony." Chequamegon column, *Ashland Daily Press*, August 31 1937; "History Of Port Wing, Cornucopia And Herbster." Chequamegon Chronicle, *Washburn-Bayfield County Times*, July 1 1976; M. Fuhrmann, "Herbster's History." Who's Who edition, *Ashland Daily Press*, February 9 1929.

Holland Colony—A small colony of people from the province of Friesland in Holland who settled on land near Herbster. They had originally landed in Halifax, traveled by train to Winnipeg, where they lived for a year, then moved to Herbster. Guy M Burnham. "The Holland Colony." Chequamegon column, *Ashland Daily Press*, August 31 1937.

Houghton—The Town of Houghton and Houghton Point (originally known as Prospect Point), named for Douglass Houghton, an explorer and Michigan state geologist. Helen M. Wallin. "Biographical Sketch Of Douglass Houghton, Michigan's First State Geologist." Lansing: Michigan Department Of Conservation, 1966; Helen M Wallin. "Douglass Houghton Michigan's First State Geologist 1837-1845." State of Michigan, Geological And Land Management Division, Pamphlet 1, 2004.

Hurley—Named for attorney M.A. Hurley, as compensation for his winning a lawsuit for the Northern Chief Iron Company, which owned the town. Guy M Burnham. Chequamegon column, *Ashland Daily Press*, February 17 1937.

Ino—A settlement allegedly named for a Greek princess, who was queen of Boetia, a region in Greece. When the king of Boetia lost his throne she committed suicide by jumping into the sea and became a marine goddess. Guy M Burnham. “The Truth About Ino.” Chequamegon column, *Ashland Daily Press*, July 6 1929.

Iron River—A village located along Highway 2, between Ashland and Superior, founded in 1891 by John A. Pettingill. P. J. Savage. “The Story Of Iron River.” *Ashland Daily Press*, February 9 1929; Guy M Burnham. “The Iron River Of The Nineties.” Chequamegon column, *Ashland Daily Press*, August 19 1937; Guy M Burnham. “History of Iron River.” Chequamegon Chronicle, *Washburn Bayfield County Times*, July 1 1976; Fred P Lund. *And That’s The Way It Was*. St. Paul: Fred P. Lund 1973.

Marengo—A town located in Ashland County. There are two versions of the origin of the name. One version is that it was named for the Battle of Marengo, fought between French and Austrian forces on June 14 1800, near a city of that name in northern Italy. The second, more likely version, attributed to early French traders, is that the name is a truncated version of Maringouin, the French word for mosquito. Guy M Burnham. Chequamegon Bay column, *Ashland Daily Press*, August 19 1927.

Mason—A site located on the Omaha railroad, north of Cable, possibly named for a locomotive engineer. Guy M Burnham. Chequamegon Bay column, *Ashland Daily Press*, January 13 1928; “History Of Mason And Moquah.” Chequamegon Chronicle, *Washburn Bayfield County Times*, July 1 1976.

Mellen—A railroad junction established in 1886. Originally named Iron City, later named after W.S. Mellen, the president of the Wisconsin Central Railroad. Guy M Burnham. Chequamegon column, *Ashland Daily Press*, May 29 1928.

Mineral Lake (Bladder Lake)—A small settlement and a sawmill, established about 1890. Guy M Burnham. Chequamegon Bay column, *Ashland Daily Press*, March 22 1928.

Moquah—A small settlement located in the town of Pilsen, about six miles west of Ashland. Pilsen is the name of the community in Bohemia, from which many of the early residents emigrated. “Moquah” is said to be a Native-American word for the black bear. Guy M Burnham. “Moquah’s Name.” Chequamegon column, *Ashland Daily Press*, February 15 1937; August Johnanik. “Moquah—A Pioneer Romance.” *Bayfield County Historical Happenings*, Spring 2000. Who’s Who edition, *Ashland Daily Press*, February 9 1929; “History Of Mason And Moquah.” Chequamegon Chronicle, *Washburn Bayfield County Times*, July 1 1976; Lucylle Scott. “Something Of The Development Of Moquah.” *Ashland Daily Press*, February 9 1929.

Nash (Shores Crossing)—A small settlement located on the east coast of the Bayfield peninsula, near the head of the Chequamegon Bay, by the mouth of Whittlesey Creek, established in the late 1850s. The Shores Lumber Company operated in the area, and the site was originally known as Shores Crossing. Renamed Nash, possibly after T.E. Nash, an Omaha railroad agent in Ashland at the time. Otto Regelein. “The Nash Settlement.” Chequamegon Chronicle, *Washburn-Bayfield County Times*, July 1 1976; Guy M Burnham. Chequamegon Bay columns, *Ashland Daily Press*,

November 12 1927, January 13, September 15 1928; Guy M Burnham. "The Nash Settlement." Chequamegon columns, *Ashland Daily Press*, October 30, 31, November 1 1930; William Stocks. "Early Days." Guy M. Burnham. Chequamegon Bay column, *Ashland Daily Press*, April 29 1930; "History Of Washburn, Ondassagon And Nash." Chequamegon Chronicle, *Washburn Bayfield County Times*, July 1 1976; Guy M Burnham. Chequamegon Bay, *Ashland Daily Press*, September 15 1928; Guy M Burnham. Chequamegon Bay, *Ashland Daily Press*, November 12 1927.

O-de-too-win—In 1852 three families from Bayfield—Frank Bellander, Frank Morreaux, and John Gaudin (Anglicized to Gordon)—established a settlement not far from Cornucopia. This "Indian half breed settlement" was called "O-de-too-win," the Chippewa word for settlement. Guy M Burnham. Chequamegon columns, *Ashland Daily Press*, September 12, 13 1933.

Ondossagon—The name of a country school located on the northeast corner of the intersection of Ondossagon Road and Mission Spring Road, and of the surrounding farming region. "History Of Ondossagon." Chequamegon Chronicle, *Washburn-Bayfield County Times*, July 1 1976; W.G. Nohl. Chequamegon Bay column, *Ashland Daily Press*, December 6 1927; Harry Nelson. "Ondossagon Has Much To be Proud Of." Who Was Who edition, *Ashland Daily Press*, February 9 1929.

Oulu, The Finn Settlement—The Town of Oulu is located in northwestern Bayfield County, bordering on Douglas County. It was first settled about 1888 by immigrants from Finland, and is named for a city on the Gulf of Bosnia, in Finland. The Finn Settlement, a second Finnish colony, founded in 1904, was located north of Washburn. Kristiina Niemisto. "An Immigrant's Memoirs." *Washburn Times*, January 29; February 5, 12, 19, 26; March 5, 12, 19, 26; April 2, 1970; Jean Heckla Sirois. "Christmas In The Finnish Settlement." *Washburn Times*, December 18 1975; Hope McLeod. "Miniature Old World Wisconsin To Open In Oulu." *County Journal*, November 1 2012; Oscar Roeseler. "The Davidson Mill." *Wisconsin Magazine Of History*, v. 25, March 1942; "Finn Settlement Marker Near Reality." *Washburn Times*, February 10 1972; "Finn Settlement, Founded 1904." (marker dedication) *Washburn Times*, June 29 1972; "Finnish-American Society Choir Performs." *Washburn Times*, July 3 1975; Janet Leino. "The Life Of My Grandmother, Sandra Kainu." *Washburn Times*, July 21 1983; John I Kolehmainen and George W. Hill. *Haven In The Woods; The Story Of The Finns In Wisconsin*. Madison: State Historical Society Of Wisconsin, 1951; *The Finns In America And Finland: A Bibliography Of The Writing Of John Kolehmainen, 1936-1995*. Mills, MN: Parta Printers 1995; Mark Knipping. *Finns In Wisconsin*. Madison: State Historical Society Of Wisconsin 1977; Richard W.E. Perrin. "Log Sauna And The Finnish Farmstead: Translated Architectural Idioms In Northern Wisconsin." *Wisconsin Magazine Of History*, v. 44, Summer 1962.

Penokee—A small settlement along the track of the Wisconsin Central Railroad, consisting of a small hotel and a water tank for the railroad. Guy M Burnham. Chequamegon Bay column, *Ashland Daily Press*, March 22 1928.

Port Wing—A small community located on the north coast of the Bayfield peninsula. An important lumbering center until the timber was exhausted, later a fishing village. Supposedly named after Isaac Wing, a prominent resident of Bayfield. Guy M Burnham. "Around The

Lake.” Chequamegon column, *Ashland Daily Press*, December 6 1929; “Port Wing Invites Swedish Immigrants.” *The Bridge*, v. 17, no. 2, 1958, 58-61; “Port Wing And Its Educational Example” *Washburn Times*, October 29 1903; Judith Olson Rateau. “A History Of The Swedish Immigrants In Bayfield County, Wisconsin, With Emphasis On The Town Of Port Wing.” Master of Science In Teaching, University of Wisconsin-Stevens Point, May 1977; “History Of Port Wing, Cornucopia And Herbster.” Chequamegon Chronicle, *Washburn-Bayfield County Times*, July 1 1976; Carl V. Dahlstedt. “History Of Port Wing.” Who’s Who edition, Ashland Daily Press, *February 9 1919*.

Prentice—A village in the town of Prentice in Ashland County, located at the intersection of Highways 8 and 13. Established by Alexander Prentice, who constructed a sawmill on the site in 1881. Guy M Burnham. Chequamegon columns, *Ashland Daily Press*, November 2, 3 1937.

White River—The location of a sawmill on the falls of the White River that was constructed about 1856 by J.T. Welton and T.B. Sibley. Guy M Burnham. Chequamegon Bay column, *Ashland Daily Press*, December 10 1927.

Wyman’s Landing—A site located on the east coast of the Bayfield peninsula near the head of Chequamegon Bay, somewhat southwest of Barksdale. It was named for H.D. Wyman, who purchased the land about 1881. Guy M Burnham. Chequamegon Bay columns, *Ashland Daily Press*, September 23, October 13, November 3 1927; January 29 1937; “The Old Townsman Gone.” *Washburn Itemizer*, July 10 1890.

Ashland Daily Press, Chequamegon Region Who's Who Edition, February 9 1929:

History Of Village Of Sanborn	The Story Of Iron River
Highbridge's Story	The Story Of Cornucopia
Marengo's History	Moquah—A Pioneer Romance
The History Of Morse	Ondassagon Has Much To Be Proud Of
Cayuga's Interesting History	History Of Port Wing
Mason's Story Is One Of Interest	Herbster's History
Depot In Tent In Butternut's	Something Of Development Of Moquah
Earliest Days	The Genesis of Ashland
Glidden's History Is Colorful	Nebraska Row On Madeline Island
Peeksville's History	The Interesting History of Washburn
Grand View's Story	The Story Of The Bayfield Community
Namakagon Lake Resorts [Cable]	Mellen's Past Romantic And Its Future
	Vivid With Possibilities

Washburn-Bayfield County Times, Bicentennial Edition, July 1 1976.

History Of Red Cliff	History Of Mason And Moquah
History Of Odanah	History Of Washburn, Ondassagon
History Of Bayfield	And Nash
History Of Port Wing, Cornucopia	History Of Sanborn, Marengo
And Herbster	And Mellen
History Of Iron River	History Of Cayuga, Morse
History Of Barnes And Cable	And Peeksville
History Of Grand View, Drummond,	History Of Glidden
Namakagon	History Of Butternut

Ghost Towns

Many communities were abandoned when lumbering operations ceased. A few of these abandoned communities became ghost towns, their sites marked by scattered ruins and an occasional sign providing historical information. Rohe identified eight such ghost towns in the 17 county region—Shanagolden and Morse in Ashland County, Knox Mills in Price County, Peshtigo Harbor in Marinette County, Heineman and Parrish in Langlade County, Harrison in Lincoln County, and Star Lake in Vilas County (1).

The history of Shanagolden is illustrative of that of other former lumbering communities turned ghost towns (2). In 1901 Thomas Nash and his sons, along with William Vilas, formed the Nash Lumber Company. The company constructed a sawmill on the east side of the East Fork of the Chippewa River in southern Ashland County. The Glidden and Southwestern Railroad tracks ran adjacent to the mill. A small village grew up around the mill site, which the company named Shanagolden after “a small fishing village on the Shanon River in County Limerick, in Ireland, the ancestral home of the Nash family”. Between the river and First Avenue, to the west, were located a boarding house, store, horse barn, and piles of logs. Lining the west side of First Avenue were residences and a community hall and behind them a stable, other residences, and a school. Foot bridges over the river connected the two parts of the settlement. In June 1907 the sawmill at Shanagolden was totally destroyed by fire. When the fire occurred the mill facilities consisted of eight buildings and 250 men were employed. The village population was 300 to 350 people. While the Nash Company improved some of its buildings after the fire, the company’s operations gradually declined. In November 1907, all but a few employees were discharged. The Mellen Lumber Company took over the mill property at Shanagolden, carrying on logging operations and constructing a shingle mill. Shanagolden was briefly revived, with a population of 200 in 1911, but in 1912 the company moved its offices, shops and warehouses to Glidden, and the employees living at Shanagolden moved there. Many houses were moved to Glidden and the post office closed, marking “the passing of a prosperous little village that sprang up like a mushroom a few years ago.”

In 1881 the Bad River Lumbering and Improvement Company built a sawmill on the Bad River, southeast of Mellen in Ashland County. A mill town was also constructed named Jacob’s Station after William H. Jacobs, president of the company. In 1887 the town and timber holdings were purchased by the Penokee Lumber Company, which had been organized by Augustus Morse from Sagenaw, Michigan, and eastern investors. In 1889 the community was renamed Morse after Augusta Morse (3). Lumbering operations continued until the timber in the surrounding region was exhausted. Only a few remaining buildings mark the site of what was once a busy mill town. Knox Mills was a mill town located in the Town of Knox Mills, in southern Price County (4). It was a company town adjacent to a saw mill, named after W.H. Knox, one of the owners of the mill. Two of the original residences now mark the location of this once prosperous mill town. Peshtigo Harbor was located in the Town of Peshtigo, in southern Marinette County (5). In 1836 a water powered sawmill was constructed by the Peshtigo Company on Peshtigo River, some eight miles from its mouth. Lumber rafts were floated down to the Peshtigo Harbor on the mouth of the river on Lake Michigan, where the lumber was loaded on ships for transportation to Chicago or Milwaukee. The location of Peshtigo Harbor is marked by a large granite monument.

Harrison is located in the Town of Harrison, in the northeastern corner of Lincoln County, founded in 1888 (6). The community grew up around a saw mill built by the Wisconsin Valley Lumber Company. It was originally named Mitchell, but renamed Harrison, in honor of President Benjamin Harrison. Star Lake (also Starlake) was located in the Town of Lake, in central Vilas County (7). It was established when the Williams and Salisch Lumber Company began lumbering operations in Vilas County. It was named for the Starr brothers (Bob and Harry), who had a homestead near the mill site. Parrish was located in the Town of Parrish, in the northwestern corner of Langlade County, about five miles southeast of Harrison (8). It was founded by the Prairie River Lumber Company, a subsidiary of the Brooks and Ross Lumber Company, in 1888.

Heineman (or Heinemann) was a small company mill town located in the Town of Ackley, in southwestern Langlade County (9). In 1900 Emil Thomas constructed a saw mill on the Prairie River and named the settlement which grew up around it Trout City, later changed to Earling. In December 1901 Thomas sold out to Sigmund Heineman, who changed the name of the settlement to Heineman. The Heineman Lumber Company made extensive improvements to the mill, and in February 1902 began to operate day and night. By mid-summer 1902 Heineman had become a busy and prosperous community, with two hotels, a drug store, a general store, a school, a dance hall, 35 residences, and a population of 150 people. The Heineman Company purchased more timber land, sufficient to keep the mill operating for eight to ten years. The sawmill was operating day and night, employing 150 men in the mill and 300 in logging camps. Then, with lumbering operations at a peak, most of the mill was destroyed by fire. The company prepared to build a modern, fire-proof mill on the site. But on July 20 1910, the village of Heineman and the mill were destroyed by a great firestorm, the residents finding refuge in nearby communities. The company did not rebuild the mill, but moved its operations to Merrill.

Notes

1. Randall E. Rohe, *Ghosts Of The Forest; Vanished Lumber Towns Of Wisconsin*. Marinette, WI: Forest History Association Of Wisconsin, 2002. In another source Rohe identified five other ghost towns: Spider Lake in Bayfield County, Mineral Lake in Ashland county, Coolidge in Price County, Nashville in Forest County, and Jeffries in Lincoln County; Rohe, "Lumbering; Wisconsin's Northern Urban Frontier." Figure 11.3, p. 226. Also see: Mary Carole McCauley. "Ghosts In The Sawdust: In Search Of Old Towns." *Milwaukee Journal Sentinel*, May 12 1988 (interview with Randall Rohe); and William S. Stark. *Ghost Towns Of Wisconsin*. Sheboygan, WI: Zimmermann Press, 1977.
2. Rohe, *Ghosts Of The Forest*, pp. 61-87; "Shanagolden (community), Wisconsin." *Wikipedia*; Dave Engel. *Shanagolden: An Industrial Romance*. Rudolph, WI: River City Memoirs, 1990; Guy M. Burnham. "Chequamegon" columns, *Ashland Daily Press*, November 6, 7, 8 1928.
3. Rohe, *Ghosts Of The Forest*, pp. 88-111; "Morse (community), Wisconsin." *Wikipedia*.
4. Rohe, *Ghosts Of The Forest*, pp. 112-137; "Price County-Knox Mills," Wigenweb Project; Joyce I. Bant. *Culture And Community Of Knox Mills, 1864-1931*. Hazelhurst, WI: Joyce I. Bant, 1985.
5. Rhoe, *Ghosts Of The Forest*, pp. 138-189; F.C. Burke. *I Lived At Peshtigo Harbor: The History Of An Early Day Saw-Mill Village*. Peshtigo, WI: Peshtigo Times Publishing Company, 1971.
6. Rohe, *Ghosts Of The Forest*, pp. 242-267; "Harrison, Lincoln County, Wisconsin." *Wikipedia*.
7. Rohe, *Ghosts Of The Forest*, pp. 297-312; "Star Lake, Wisconsin." *Wikipedia*.
8. Rohe, *Ghosts Of The forest*, pp. 253-258; "Parrish, Wisconsin." *Wikipedia*.
9. Rohe, *Ghosts Of The Forest*, pp. 190-211; Leland A Fischer, "Town of Ackley, Langlade, County, Wisconsin;" "Life And Death Of A Lumber Town." *Proceedings Of The Tenth Annual Meeting Of Forest History Association Of Wisconsin*. Tomahawk, WI: September 27-28, 1985.

Chequamegon Bay

The Geography of Chequamegon Bay

The northern highland of Wisconsin is a distinctive natural region, covering 12,115,114 acres (95.8% land and 4.25% water), or about one-third of the area of the state. Geographically, the highland is a vast plain (a peneplain) that stretches south from deep inside Canada. It is gently arched with a pronounced southern slope; knobs, ridges, and ranges of erosion resistant rock rise above the plain. The highest point in the region at 1,953 feet above sea level is near Ogema, Wisconsin. The lowest elevation at 600 feet above sea level is the Lake Superior lowland, a sub-region of the Lake Superior basin, which borders the lake and extends southward to the low ranges that mark the northern terminus of the northern highland. For several thousand years all of the state except the southwestern driftless area was covered by an immense sheet of ice known as the Wisconsin glacier, which moved into the state from a northerly direction from spreading centers in Canada. This great ice sheet retreated about 10,000 years ago. The present topography of the northern counties is primarily the result of glacial modification of the substrate, creating unique land forms—eskers, drumlins, kames and moraines—and post-glacial processes of erosion and deposition.

Within this highland, toward the western end of Lake Superior, a verdant peninsula with an attendant archipelago protrudes into the lake, sheltering a large bay on its southeast side. This is Chequamegon Bay, ancient home of Native Americans, whose tranquil beauty has inspired generations of poets and romantics, while its rich resources attracted the fatal thievery of the white man. Oriented in a southwest-northeast axis, the bay is about 12 miles long from the wetlands at its southwestern end to Chequamegon Point and Long Island, which lie partly across its ten mile wide mouth. These features serve as a natural breakwater, protecting the bay against the fury of storms on the main lake. The water is shallower in that part of the bay that lies to the southeast of a line from the outer tip of Chequamegon Point, southwest to the head of the bay, and at the head of the bay itself, than on the northwest side, where it ranges in depth up to 70 feet.

The Chequamegon Bay region lies in the Lake Superior lowland, one of five geographic regions into which Wisconsin is divided. Although the bay region is part of the basin of western Lake Superior, its geologic history is different. The western end of the lake basin (not including the bay area) was formed when a block of crust dropped down to form a rift valley called a graben. The Duluth escarpment to the north and the highland south of Superior are the eroded remnants of the great faults thus created. This rift valley was subsequently filled with sedimentary rocks that were then removed by glacial erosion during the Pleistocene period, giving the basin essentially its present configuration. The major features of the Chequamegon Bay region—the bay itself, the Bayfield peninsula, Apostle Islands, and the Ashland plain—were probably formed by glacial modification of pre-existing drainage patterns in the ancient sandstone during the last glacial age, 10 to 50 thousand years ago. This glacier, the Wisconsin, advanced into Wisconsin from the northeast in great tongues or lobes—the Superior lobe to the north and the Chippewa lobe to the south.

As the glacier retreated, that is as its front gradually melted away, huge quantities of sand, clay, and rocks (drift), which the glacier had scooped up as it advanced, were deposited on the underlying ancient sandstone. The highland of the Bayfield peninsula is a ridge of such glacier drift heaped up on the underlying sandstone between the two glacial lobes to 600 or more feet above lake level. The terrain at the summit, known as the “barrens” is hummocky with numerous circular depressions or “potholes” characteristic of kettle moraine. The predominant type of soil here is sand of various grades of coarseness, except for patches of loamy sand or where organic materials have been laid over or mixed in with the sand.

A large glacial lake, Lake Duluth, formed between the face of the glacier and the highland to the south. The lake deposited a terrace of red clay over the drift material of the peninsula and a thick layer on the Ashland plain and the Apostle Islands. The numerous rivers and creeks that flow down the flanks of the highland into the lake have swept out broad valleys in the soft clay and cut narrow gorges into the sandstone. The Apostle Islands are an extension of the Bayfield peninsula, the channels separating them from each other and from the peninsula having been created by water and glacial erosion.

The Ashland plain rises gradually from the wetlands and bluffs at its coastal margin until it abuts the highland that surrounds it from the northeast to the southwest. This highland area consists of two ranges, the Copper Range and farther south, the Penoque Range. The Copper Range, a continuation of the copper bearing formations of the Keweenaw peninsula, forms the frontal escarpment of the highland. Near the mouth of the Montreal River the Copper Range rises rapidly to an altitude of 500 feet above the lake, trends southwest to the vicinity of the Brunseiler River, and then continues just southwest toward Lake Nemakogon. While eastern portions may attain altitudes of 700 to 800 feet above lake level, for most of its length it ranges from 550 to 650 feet above the lake. Farther south the Penoque Range, a topographical continuation of the Gogebic Range to the east in Michigan, trends generally northeast-southwest, rising to heights of from 900 to 1,200 feet above lake level. It is broadest near the Montreal River, becoming narrower to the west and declining rapidly to the local terrain elevation near Mineral Lake. The Copper and Penoque Ranges are geologically distinct, but topographically they merge into a broad band of highland of which the latter range is the most prominent.

From the far northeastern end of the Bayfield peninsula, the coast consists mainly of sandstone cliffs, heavily sculpted by wave action and overlain by clay. Beginning at Red Cliff the peninsula highland presses close to the coast, and just northeast of Bayfield the rock cliff with its overburden of clay rises to over one hundred feet above the water, while Bayfield itself is built on the steeply sloped flank of the highland, which extends to a low clay bank at the water's edge. Beyond Bayfield the sandstone cliffs reappear and continue toward the southwest, giving way just short of Onion river to high clay banks. Southwest of Onion River there is an extensive wetland formed by that river and the Sioux River farther to southwest. Beyond this wetland there are clay banks and then sandstone cliffs emerge again to form a prominent headland, Houghton Point. Here the highland recedes somewhat from the coast, creating a gradually sloped area, broad behind Houghton Point, but narrowing where the highland intrudes back to the coast farther to the southwest. The coast then continues with sandstone cliffs ten or more feet in height until replaced once again by high clay cliffs, with lower banks and ledges of sandstone.

At the city of Washburn, located along a lowland strip and up the face of the peninsula highland, the coast forms a wide bay, Vanderventer Bay, with low clay cliffs and narrow beaches replaced at its southwest margin by a small marsh where Thompson's Creek enters the bay. Beyond Thompson's Creek the coast is characterized by clay banks of varying heights with sandstone banks or ledges at the bases.

At Bonus Creek the highland recedes from the coast forming a broad lowland encompassing an extensive wetland formed by Whittlesey and Fish Creeks at the head of the bay. At the head of the bay the coast curves around from the southwest to the northeast, the Fish Creek wetland giving way to a broad sand beach, then to clay cliffs ten or more feet high, which front the site of Ashland on the southern lowland. Farther along the coast the clay cliffs give way to a slough at the base of Chequamegon Point. Here the trend of the coast turns from northeast to southeast and is characterized by moderately high clay banks with underlying ledges of sandstone. From Marble Point to the mouth of the Montreal River sandstone bluffs once again predominate.

The entrance to Chequamegon Bay is guarded by the Apostles Islands archipelago, consisting of 22 islands. Early maps differ in the number of islands shown. A French map from 1744 shows ten islands but named them, "I des 12 Apotres," probably the first time the name "Apostle Islands" was applied to the archipelago. A survey chart from 1825 shows the Bayfield peninsula, the bay, and the islands in their nearly correct positions and proportions. Twenty islands are shown, several with their modern names, including Madeline Island with the village of La Pointe in its proper location. The largest island is Madeline, 15,359.5 acres and the smallest is gull, 3.5 acres; total number of acres of the 22 islands is 54,464. An early proposal was to name the islands after states and call the group the "federation islands," but only two have state names, (New) York and Michigan. Madeline Island was named after the daughter of White Crane, Chief of the Chippewa at La Pointe. The names of the other islands reflect geographic features or local traditions.

The Bayfield peninsula highland was created by the Wisconsin glacier as it retreated 10,000 years ago, depositing on the underlying ancient sandstone, as high as 600 feet, a mix of sand, clay, gravel, and rocks scooped up as it advanced from the spreading center near Hudson Bay. Lake Duluth was a large lake of meltwater that formed in front of the Wisconsin glacier as it retreated about 10,000 years ago. The lake laid down a thick mantle of red clay over the Bayfield peninsula and Ashland plain. The peninsula is capped by the barrens, a roughly oval shaped region of hilly sand soils and potholes, bounded by the clay deposits laid down by Lake Duluth. The average water level in Chequamegon bay is about 600 feet above sea level. Elevations in the heavily furrowed northeastern end of the Bayfield peninsula range up to 1,435 feet above sea level, or about 835 feet above the bay water level.

The highland around the bay is drained by at least 14 rivers and creeks between Chequamegon Bay and Port Wing. The largest of these are Fish Creek, which flows northeast, into a slough that drains into the head of the bay, just within the eastern boundary of Bayfield County; the Sioux River, formed by the Big Sioux and Little Sioux Rivers, which flows eastward into a marsh that drains into the bay, between Washburn and Bayfield; and the Bad River, which flows northward into Lake Superior at the base of Chequamegon Point.

Early Maps of Chequamegon Bay

French and English maps record early geographical conceptions of the Chequamegon Bay region and the names that were applied to its major features—the bay itself, Bayfield Peninsula, Chequamegon Point sand spit, and Apostle Islands. A Jesuit map of 1670-71 shows these features in their correct relationship to each other and in their proper position with respect to the west end of the lake and the Keweenaw Peninsula to the east. Nine unnamed islands are shown grouped around the end of the peninsula with one large island in the position of Madeline Island. At the southwest end of the bay appear the words “La Pointe du St. Esprit” and “Mission du St. Esprit,” but no other features are named.

A French map of North America from 1688 shows a less accurate representation of the peninsula and bay. Only one large island is shown labeled “I.S. Michel” or Island St. Michel. At the southwest end of the bay appears the label “Ance [bay] Chagouamigon,” perhaps the first occasion on which the name was applied to the bay. Another French map of 1744 again shows “Ance de Chagouamigon” and within it a “Baye S. Charles,” perhaps referring to Vanderverter Bay at Washburn. Another French map of the Great Lakes from 1755 shows the peninsula and bay with 12 islands grouped around it labeled “I. es 12 Apotres.” A large island in the approximate position of Madeline Islands is labeled “I.S. Michel.” A second large island placed at the end of the peninsula is named “I. du Detour.” The name “Ance Chagouamigon” again appears at the southwestern end of the bay.

A map from 1766 shows the Bayfield Peninsula much exaggerated in size and projecting far into the lake with 14 islands grouped around it labeled “The 12 Apostles.” The Keweenaw Peninsula is mistakenly labeled “Point Cheqomogan.” The far western part of the lake is labeled “West Bay.” A map 1820 is particularly interesting. Scattered on both sides of the peninsula are 28 islands named after the states, the whole being called the “Federation Group.” Chequamegon Bay, itself, is named “Bay of St. Charles” and the sand spit on its northwestern perimeter is labeled, “Point Chegoimagon.” While the peninsula, bay, islands, and sand spit are shown in their approximate relationships to each other, their shapes and sizes are badly distorted. Finally, a lake survey chart from 1825 shows the peninsula, bay, sand spit, and islands in their nearly correct positions and proportions. The bay is labeled “Chaqwamegon Bay” and the sand spit is called “Point Chaqwamegon.” Twenty islands are shown, several with their modern names including “Madelene Island” with the village of La Point in its proper location. According to these maps, the name “Chequamegon” (with spelling variations) was applied to the bay from 1688 onward. The bay was known by other names, however—“Bay of St. Charles” in 1820, “Long Island Bay” in the 1852 survey report, “Ashland Bay” and “La Pointe Bay” in some documents—before “Chequamegon Bay” became firmly established after the Civil War.

There are several ideas about the original meaning of the word “Chequamegon.” They all agree that the word is a corruption of an Indian word that referred to the sand spit, which is now Chequamegon Point, but differ as to what the word was and what it meant originally. A history of the Ojibway people states that the Indian word was “Sha-ga-waum-ik-ong.” Apparently the word meant “the soft beaver dam” because Chequamegon Point was supposedly built by an Indian god “to bar the egress of a great beaver which he once hunted on the Great Lake, and which had taken refuge in this deep bay,” but the “great beaver had easily broken through it” back into the lake. The Europeans used the name Chequamegon with a broad geographic reference, encompassing not only the bay but also the large ill-defined territory to the south and west accessible by the rivers and Indian trails radiating from the bay.

Discovery And Settlement Of Chequamegon Bay

The history of Chequamegon Bay and La Pointe from 1659 to 1855 was shaped by the broad sweep of Wisconsin's history (1). From 1659, when it was discovered by Europeans, to as late as 1840, the fur trade remained the chief occupation around Chequamegon Bay, even after the trade had died out in the rest of the state and the southern region was settled and developing its agricultural and industrial resources. It was only after the Civil War that the mineral and timber resources of the Chequamegon Bay region began to be exploited, and it became more or less integrated with the developed southern region by rail and by the settlement of the intervening territory—"more or less" because much of the north country remained different from the agricultural, industrialized, and urbanized south, as it does today.

The fur trade originated in the demand of the emerging middle classes of England and the continent for luxury goods among which were fur and fur-trimmed garments, particularly beaver hats. The harvesting of the furs of beaver and other animals was an ancient practice in Europe, but the stocks of fur bearing animals began to decline and could not satisfy this new level of demand. In North America conditions for satisfying this new market existed: an unlimited (or at least so it seemed) supply of beaver and other fur bearing animals; a low cost system for collecting the furs, that is, trade with the Indians; and an extensive network of rivers and lakes that facilitated access of men and trade goods to the vast interior and the transport of furs to the coastal collection points. By the beginning of the 17th century there was already limited trade in furs between the French, who came to the Gulf of St. Lawrence to fish, and the Indians, who came to the coastal areas for the same purpose. The crews of the fishing boats exchanged whatever items they could spare for furs that the Indians had acquired. The Indians were, of course, hunters of animals for their furs, hides, meat, and bone. The beaver was particularly important to them because it was large and easy to locate and kill, and for its edible meat and its fur, which they made into robes. The Indian method of processing the beaver furs for robes made the robes particularly valuable to the French. Gradually, the fur trade ceased to be incidental to fishing, as the Indians began hunting animals for furs to trade, and French merchants or their agents came to the Gulf with goods for the same purpose. An important center of this early trade was Tadoussac, to which the Indians brought their furs down the Saguenay and other rivers from the interior. But this trade could not meet the greatly increased demand for furs, so the French began to push up the St. Lawrence and its tributaries and westward into the Great Lakes (and eventually beyond) to tap the vast fur resources of the interior. It was largely through the pursuit of the fur trade by the French, then the British, and finally the Americans that the territory that was to become Wisconsin was explored and settled. There were, of course, other factors operative including missionary work, the search for a passage to the Indies, relations with the Indians, conflict among the Indian tribes themselves, and larger political and military considerations. But underlying all of these, shaping and energizing them to a significant extent, was the fur trade.

The Chequamegon Bay region, rich in fur bearing animals and populated by Indians attracted there by plentiful fish and game, was an obvious place for a fur trading post as the trade moved westward. In addition to a plentiful supply of fur-bearing animals and a population of Indians to hunt them, the bay was at the center of a water transportation network that connected the posts and administrative centers to the east with the northern interior regions. From the Brule River in

the west, to the Montreal River in the east, a network of rivers, streams, and lakes provided access to the northern half of the Wisconsin territory, while easy portages connected to the Wisconsin, St. Croix, and Mississippi Rivers. Within the bay itself, Chequamegon Point connected Madeline Island to the protected travel route along the south shore of Lake Superior from Mackinac and Sault Ste. Marie, while the island was protected against the vagaries of weather on the big lake and was an ideal location for defense against hostile Indians. Ultimately, however, the importance of Chequamegon Bay and La Pointe for the fur trade depended on political circumstances and the economies of the trade, and for these reasons La Pointe was all but abandoned on several occasions while at other times it was a key center for the fur trade in the northwest.

The recorded history of the Chequamegon Bay region, and the first era in the exploitation of its resources, began with the arrival of two French adventurers and fur traders, Pierre Esprit Radisson and Medard Chouart, Sieur des Groseilliers, at the bay in the fall of 1659 (2). The primary purpose of their journey to the west was to discover new sources of furs and to arrange with the Indians to harvest the furs. They departed Three Rivers (Trois Riviers) in August 1659 in the company of a party of Indians (3). In his account of their journey, Radisson wrote that five days after they had crossed Keweenaw Peninsula, they came to “a hollow river which was a quarter of a mile in breadth” (meaning a low-lying river, probably a reference to the Bad River slough). Radisson continued: “ We went on half a day before we could come to ye landing place, and wear forced to make another carriage [across] a point 2 leagues long and some 60 paces broad [Chequamegon Point]. As we came to the other sid we weare in a bay of 10 leagues about, if we had gone in. By goeing about that same point we passed a straight, for that point was very nigh [close to] the other side, which is a cape very much elevated like the piramides [Houghton Point]” (Scull 1967, 193). The hut they built at the head of Chequamegon Bay, which they styled a “fort,” was probably located near Fish Creek, just west of Ashland, although its exact location remains in dispute (Burnham 1931). During the winter of 1659-60 Radisson and Groseilliers traveled to the village of the Ottawa at Lac Court Oreilles and then to those of the Sioux in eastern Minnesota. Returning to Chequamegon Bay, they built a second fort, possibly on Houghton Point, where they spent the remainder of their stay. They returned to Montreal in the spring of 1660 with a rich cargo of furs acquired in the bay region.

Soon after the return of Radisson and Groseilliers to Montreal, Father Rene' Menard and his assistant, Jean Guérin, in the company of seven traders, journeyed to Chequamegon Bay, arriving in the spring of 1661 (Kellogg 1968, 146-152; Kellogg *WMH*, 1920-21). There Menard conducted missionary work among the Ottawa, who were settling in a village near Fish creek. He disappeared under mysterious circumstances in July of 1661 while on a trip to minister to starving Huron Indians living on the upper reaches of the Black River (tributary of the Nemadji) (4). His assistant Guérin was later accidentally killed by one of the traders. The traders intended to stay for only one winter, but were forced by circumstances to spend three difficult winters there (the location of their camp is unknown). Barely surviving, they returned to Montreal in the summer of 1663 with their cargo of furs. The next party to visit Chequamegon Bay consisted of the Jesuit Father Claude Jean Allouez and six traders, who departed Three Rivers with a large party of Indians in August 1665. He arrived at the head of Chequamegon Bay on October 1 1665, where he found the Ottawa at their village on Fish Creek and another village of Hurons,

probably near Bono Creek, plus representatives from five or more other tribes living among them (5). Allouez built a crude chapel and a hut on the shore of the bay, possibly near Thompson's Creek (formerly Vanderverter's Creek), naming his mission "La Pointe du Saint Esprit" (The Point of the Holy Ghost) (6). Despite heroic efforts over a period of three years, he was successful in converting few of the Indians to Christianity, and in the spring of 1668 he was recalled to Quebec from where he was sent to establish a mission at Green Bay.

Allouez was succeeded at the mission by Father Jacques Marquette, who arrived from Sault Ste. Marie on September 13 1669. He apparently occupied the chapel left by Allouez, or else built one on the same site, and was somewhat more successful than Allouez in converting the Indians to the Catholic faith (7). The Ottawa and Huron, and members of other tribes living with them had sought refuge at Chequamegon Bay from the terrible raids of the Iroquois. But their security proved illusory, for in the summer of 1671 they and Father Marquette were driven away by the Sioux, the fearsome "Iroquois of west," the Ottawa fleeing to the Manitoulin Islands in Lake Huron and the Huron with Father Marquette to Mackinac. Marquette's departure marked the end of missionary work at Chequamegon for more than 160 years. The few French traders who remained at Chequamegon Bay after the departure of Marquette and the Indians established themselves at the northwestern end of the Chequamegon Point for protection against the Sioux, and this location became the second La Pointe.

Meanwhile, with the opening of the Detroit River link between Lakes Erie and Huron that peace with the Iroquois in 1667 made possible, Green Bay became the most important French fur trade post in Wisconsin, while Chequamegon Bay languished. The situation was reversed 20 some years later when the Iroquois, siding with the English in their war with France (1689), closed off the lower lakes route, while the Fox and Sauk, acting in concert, isolated Green Bay. In 1692 the French decided to reinvigorate the fur trade in the far northwest. To do this they needed the cooperation of the Chippewa, and that in turn depended on peace between them and the Sioux (8). While the Chippewa and Sioux had become mortal enemies with the invasion by the former of Sioux territory in the northern Wisconsin, the two tribes actually had mutual interests. The Sioux wanted the trade goods that the Chippewa could provide as the middlemen in the fur trade, while the Chippewa needed access to the hunting territory controlled by the Sioux. In 1693 the French sent Pierre Le Sueur to Chequamegon Bay to encourage peace between the two tribes, and in 1695 an uneasy truce was arranged between them. Le Sueur built a small fort on the southwestern tip of Madeline Island, directly across the water from Chequamegon Point, and this new site was the third to be named La Pointe (9).

With the reactivation of the fur trade by Le Sueur, La Pointe and Chequamegon Bay became the center of a great web of trails from the St. Louis River and upper Mississippi Valley in the west to the Keweenaw Peninsula in the east over which cargoes of fur arrived at the annual trader-trapper rendezvous at La Pointe. But in May 1696 the French king, because of a great over supply of furs, issued a decree stopping the fur trade in the west. The posts around Lake Superior were abandoned so in 1698 Chequamegon Bay was once again left to the Indians and the few traders who chose to remain. Twenty years later in 1718, Paul Le Gardeur Sieur de St. Pierre was sent to reoccupy La Pointe and reopen the fur trade. He built a new fort on Madeline Island, somewhat farther north along the coast from Le Sueur's 1693 location, which became known as the "middle fort" (and Le Sueur's location as the "old fort"). In 1720 St. Pierre was

succeeded by his second in command, one Rene' Godefrey, Sieur de Linctot, who in turn was replaced in 1727 by Louis Denis, Sieur de La Ronde. La Ronde was an energetic commandant, encouraging the Indians to take up agriculture, building a dock and a grist mill, and in other ways developing the nascent settlement at La Pointe (10). The La Ronde family—father, then the son and then the widow—remained the custodians of the post at La Pointe until 1749. The men who succeeded the La Rondes at La Pointe were of a quite different stamp, the tentacles, so to speak, of a great octopus of corruption headed by the governor of New France himself, which sucked the wealth out of the fur trade into their personal coffers. In 1759 the French and British were in the final stage of a life and death struggle for control of the French Empire in North America. La Pointe was soon cut off from communication to the east by English control of the St. Lawrence, and in the summer of 1759 the garrison was withdrawn. The few settlers there moved to Sault Ste. Marie or Mackinac, and La Pointe was once again abandoned except for the Chippewa, who, without the trade goods on which they had become dependent, fell on hard times.

There is little information about events and people at La Pointe from 1759 until after the War of 1812, but the tiny and isolated post continued to play an active if diminished role in the fur trade. In 1765 the British, concerned that La Pointe would become a focal point for the hostility of the French-Canadian traders and the Chippewa toward them, sent a small force to destroy the middle fort. In August of that year an Englishman, Alexander Henry, arrived in Chequamegon Bay from Mackinac with a company of voyageurs and a large cargo of trade goods. Earlier while at Mackinac, he had formed a partnership with a French-Chippewa, one Jean Baptiste Cadotte. He landed at an Indian village on the present site of Bayfield, which he said consisted of “50 lodges,” built a “very comfortable house,” and laid in a supply of fish for the winter. In the spring the Indians brought in their winter’s catch of furs, which he purchased with his trade goods, and then returned to Mackinac (Quaife 1921; Verwyst 1895, 432; *BP* 4/1/71; Knight, *BCP* 7/28/55; Ross 1960, 59-61). The next white visitor was apparently the Irish fur trader John Johnston, who arrived at La Pointe in September 1791. His trade goods and supplies were stolen by his men, but he built a cabin and managed to survive the winter, with the help of a young boy who remained with him. He eventually married the daughter of a chief of the Indian village on the Bayfield site (11).

About 1782 Jean Baptiste Cadotte’s son, Michel, arrived in northern Wisconsin as the agent for the Henry-Cadotte partnership, remaining in the vicinity of the Chippewa villages at Lac du Flambeau and Lac Court Oreilles. About 1787 the British North West Company, formed in 1779 by small traders to control competition among themselves and present a united front to the Hudson Bay Company, absorbed the Henry-Cadotte partnership. The company thereby gained control of the fur trade in northern Wisconsin, and Michel Cadotte was appointed the company agent for the area. While touring the Chequamegon Bay region, Michel Cadotte met and married the daughter of a Chippewa chief who lived near the present site of Bayfield. In the late 1790s (most likely) he moved to La Pointe in charge of the company’s trading business there, building a post at the south end of the island just east of the old French fort constructed by Le Sueur in 1693. Cadotte’s new wife was baptized with the given name of Madeleine, which her father declared would henceforth be the name of the big island. So it was to remain (with a minor spelling change) despite early efforts to change it (12).

As American authority was gradually extended into the northwest territory, tariffs were imposed at Green Bay and Mackinac on British goods entering the United States. In 1806 the Michilimackinac Company was organized with the apparent purpose of carrying on systematic smuggling operations to circumvent the American tariffs. It took over the North West Company's fur trading posts east of the Mississippi including La Pointe, but Michel Cadotte remained in charge there. In 1811 in a further attempt to evade the American tariffs and duties, the North West and Michilimackinac Companies became partners with John Jacob Astor in the South West Company, an American firm that assumed control of the La Pointe post. Business prospered during the War of 1812, but after the war, Astor, unsatisfied with his share of the profits from the venture, prevailed upon Congress to pass a law excluding all but American citizens from the fur trade within the boundaries of the United States. Astor then bought out his partners in the South West Company, and his American Fur Company took over the post at La Pointe, Michel Cadotte once again remaining as the company's agent. The American Fur Company's buildings were in the same general area as those of the Northwest Company, that is, on the south end of the island east of the old French fort. In 1818 two men from New England, Lyman Marcus Warren and his younger brother, Truman Abraham, came to the north country as independent fur traders. Proving to be competent traders, and honest in their dealings with the Indians, they were hired by Cadotte and moved to the company's location at La Pointe. In due course they married Cadotte's daughters, and in 1823 took over from him as agents for the American Fur Company, marking the beginning of a new era in the history of La Pointe.

In June 1820, La Pointe was visited by an expedition led by Lewis Cass, Governor of the Michigan Territory. Traveling from Mackinac to the upper reaches of the Mississippi, the expedition passed along the south shore of Lake Superior. It crossed the "Mauvaise" or Bad River onto "Point Chegoimegon," then crossed over to Madeline Island, where they found a Chippewa village and met Michel Cadotte. Included in the expedition as a mineralogist was Henry R. Schoolcraft, who noted that Chequamegon Bay or the "Bay of St. Charles" as he called it, "must, hereafter, become one of the principal harbors and anchoring-ground for vessels of the lake." While Schoolcraft believed that the copper deposits of the Keweenaw Peninsula could be profitably mined, he was pessimistic about the future of the south shore of Lake Superior because both the soil and climate were, in his opinion, unsuited to agriculture. "A country lacking in fertile soil," he noted, "may still become a rich mining country, . . . [b]ut this deficiency must be compensated by the advantages of geographical position, a contiguous or redundant population, partial districts of good land, or a good market. To these the mining districts of Lake Superior can advance but a feeble claim, while it lies upwards of a hundred miles beyond the utmost points of our settlements, and in the occupation of savage tribes whose hostility has been so recently manifested"—prophetic words, indeed (Schoolcraft 1855, 301-302).

Governor Cass visited La Pointe again in July 1826, accompanied by Thomas L. McKenney of the Federal Indian Department, who recalled that they were received by "Mr. Cadotte, who has lived here twenty-five years. . . . He has an Indian wife, a worthy, well disposed woman, and . . . several sons and two daughters, grown. His daughters both married traders." He noted that Cadotte's house was "on the south side of the island, and near its southern termination. . . . This place was once, a hundred years ago, the seat of a Jesuit mission", which he (mistakenly) placed about three-quarters of a mile northwest of Cadotte's house. He went on to say, "Now there is

scarcely a vista of buildings left where the cross stood, and where its mysteries were attempted to be explained to the natives. Once in about two years a priest passes from Montreal to Fond du Lac, to visit the scattered remnants of traders, and some few Indians, who have only traditions, when all is left to nature again" (McKenney 1959, 261-262).

In 1831 and again in 1832, Governor Cass sent expeditions under Schoolcraft to western Lake Superior to try to stop the remorseless warfare between the Chippewa and Sioux in the Lake Superior region (13). As the fur trade frontier moved westward, the French established forts and trading posts in Wisconsin and Minnesota, dealing directly with the Sioux and other tribes. The Chippewa lost their status as middlemen and became hunters and trappers, ranging far into Sioux territory in search of furs. The long if tenuous truce between the two tribes quickly broke down and in the incessant warfare that followed, the Chippewa, skilled woodsmen and with firearms provided by the French, drove the Sioux out of the Lake Superior country. They eventually occupied a substantial proportion of the northern territory of Wisconsin, establishing villages at Lac du Flambeau, Lac Court Oreilles, and elsewhere. The observations of some of the members of the 1832 expedition provided an interesting picture of La Pointe at that time. Douglas Houghton, the expedition's physician, recorded that there were 224 Chippewa Indians at La Pointe, including 118 males and 106 females (Houghton meant all of Madeline Island) (14). Lieutenant James Allan, commander of the expedition's military escort, noted that Lyman M. Warren, the agent of the American Fur Company, "has lived for a number of years at his present residence on the island of La Pointe [Madeline], and has given to this little spot an appearance of civilization. He has built a large, comfortable dwelling, a storehouse, and eight or ten outhouses, which, with the houses of a Mr. Cadotte and family, and those of the subagent, . . . make almost a village. All the buildings are handsomely situated, on a rise of ground, about two hundred yards from the lake, and immediately back of them are cultivated and enclosed fields, in which oats, peas, beans, potatoes, &c. were growing finely. Wheat would grow here, but the want of means to make it into flour prevents its cultivation. The season is too short, and the soil too light to grow corn with any success. The soil of the island is nearly as good as any that I have seen on the lake, but it is light and sandy, and would be thought poor land in Ohio or Indiana. It, however, produces a good luxuriant grass, (genus alopecurus), which I observed, Mr. Warren had appropriated in the raising of horses and cow. The timber is sugar-maple, birch, and pine" (Mason 1958, 185). And Reverend William T. Boutwell, accompanying the expeditions to assess the spiritual needs of the Indians, inspected Warren's farm and noted the agricultural possibilities of the land: "Potatoes are out of the ground and peas also, both of which look well. About 1/5th of an acre of corn Mr. W. has planted, as an experiment, I am satisfied that the soil will, if manured, yield good corn, if the season is of sufficient length. It is a mixture of clay and sand, naturally wet. The grass, where it had sufficient moisture, looked fine. On the whole, I am highly gratified with the appearance of the outdoor concerns. Peas and potatoes Mr. W. has heretofore raised—peas, 100 bushels last year and with a favorable season, he calculates on a yield this year from his seed of 200. With industry and economy, a man may live and support a family. There is much land in N.E., cultivated which is far inferior in quality" (Mason 1958, 314)

During their annual provisioning trip to Mackinac in the summer of 1825, the Warren brothers were converted to Christianity (Widder 1981). Shortly afterwards, Truman, suffering from a severe cold, took a ship for Detroit, but died on board on July 21st. Influenced by his brother's

death and his new religious faith, Lyman Warren decided to establish a mission at La Pointe. He convinced his father-in-law to donate part of his property for a mission, and in the summer of 1827 the Warrens and Cadottes went to Mackinac where on July 26th a deed granting about 2,000 acres to Lyman Warren was recorded (it was on this deed that the name “Magdalen Island” was first used). On the day previous, Lyman Warren and Mary Cadotte were formally married by a priest (Schenk 1990, 7). In February 1830 Lyman brought Jedediah D. Stevens, a young teacher and lay missionary, to La Pointe, but he remained only until March. The following August, Frederick Ayer, another teacher and lay missionary, and Caroline Rodgers, a young mixed blood Chippewa who would serve as interpreter, arrived at La Pointe. Ayer opened a school where he taught the Indians, fur trade employees, and their children. In the spring he returned to Mackinac. Finally, on August 30 1831, a fully qualified missionary, Rev. Sherman Hall, arrived at La Pointe (15). He was accompanied by his wife Betsy, Frederick Ayer, and Elizabeth Campbell, who was to serve as interpreter. Then in August 1832 Rev. William T. Boutwell, a seminary classmate of Hall, joined him at La Pointe (having just returned from Schoolcraft’s expedition to the source of the Mississippi). Later that month Warren returned from Mackinac accompanied by Sabrina Stevens (sister to Jedediah) who would assist Hall and Boutwell. With the arrival of Hall and Boutwell and their assistants, missionary work among the Indians was resumed after a lapse of over 160 years since the departure of Father Marquette. In August 1833 they formally organized a mission church at La Pointe, thought to be the first Protestant congregation in Wisconsin. In 1834-35 they undertook the construction of a mission building, located on the main road along the shore north of the “old Fort.” It was a large building sturdily constructed, which could accommodate the missionary families, visitors, and the school and church activities (16).

The Protestants did not have the field to themselves very long, however, for in July 1835 they were joined by a Catholic missionary, Father Iraneous Frederic Baraga. Baraga, energetic and dedicated to his calling, soon gathered a flock of converts and built a church just north of the new Protestant mission building (17). In 1838 another Presbyterian minister, Reverend Granville T. Sproat, arrived with his wife, and in 1840 Reverend Leonard H. Wheeler, a Congregational minister, arrived with his wife and a young woman teacher. There was now a substantial Protestant missionary establishment at La Pointe, and in 1840 they constructed a new Protestant church in the village, closer to their congregation (18). Reverend Wheeler believed that something had to be done about the deplorable conditions in which the Indians lived, so he proposed to teach them agricultural practices to make them self sufficient. He did not think that Madeline Island was suitable for such purposes, however, and in 1845 he erected a new mission house on the mainland near Bad River. Some Indians already lived there, and many at La Pointe who were not Catholics moved there with Wheeler. He named the site “Odanah” from a Chippewa word meaning village (19). According to his son, William, Wheeler anticipated that the Indians would eventually be forced onto reservations and selected the Bad River location as superior to others in the region, pre-empting the land for the Indians (Burnham 1974, 30-31).

Meanwhile, in 1835 Lyman Warren relocated the American Fur Company agency to a new site, appropriately known as the “new fort,” around which the village of La Pointe grew in its present location. Buildings in the village in addition to the company’s offices, warehouses, and stores, included a hotel, stores, log dwellings, and the mission buildings. While the fur trade continued to prosper, there were clear indications that the fur resources in the La Pointe region would soon

be exhausted, so in 1835 the American Fur Company turned to fishing as a hedge. Fishermen and coopers (to make barrels in which to ship the fish) were brought to La Pointe, and the business flourished for a few years (20). A fur trader who was at La Pointe during this time described the company's operation there as follows: "La Pointe was preeminently the Indian depot for the distribution of goods to the different minor posts, and it was necessarily the headquarters for all engaged in the fur traffic. Fishing was also carried on very extensively. Those who were engaged in this occupation were those who remained at home during the winter, mending their nets and making preparations for the next season's work. Fishing was also a branch of the American Fur Company's business. There was but one store and that was the fur company's. They carried in stock everything that was necessary—groceries, dry goods, hardware, etc. The grocery department occupied a two-story building about the same size as the dry goods department building, one standing on each side of a street leading from a dock about the same place where the present dock is. There was also a banking department, which was situated about 200 feet east of the other buildings. *There was no saloon.* There were two carpenter shops, one operated by Mr. Perinier and the other by Dufault, also one large cooper shop maintained by the company, one blacksmith shop, etc. There was also one very large warehouse for repacking fish; it was about 200 feet long and was situated on the dock. In the rear of these buildings the company also maintained a very extensive garden and orchard, in which were raised all kinds of garden vegetables, grapes, cherries, crabapples, currants, strawberries, etc. . . . All voyageurs, 'runners,' as they were called, were employed by said company. They would take along blankets, clothes, guns, etc., to trade with the Indians for their furs. They took along very little provisions, as they depended mostly on hunting, fishing, wild rice, and trade with the Indians for their support. There were several depots for depositing goods and collecting furs, for instance at Fond du Lac [Minnesota], Sand Lake, Courtes Oreilles, Lac du Flambeau, Mouth of Yellow River, etc. The vessels used on Lake Superior for the fur trade were the 'John Jacob Astor,' a three-masted schooner, the 'Brewster,' and the 'Siskowit' built by old man Perinier" (Verwyst 1916, 178-179).

By 1840 the American Fur Company was in serious trouble because the market for fish had all but collapsed and the demand for pelts, particularly for beaver fur, had also declined due to changes in fashion and in hat making technology. While the company recovered somewhat in the next few years and was able to meet some of its obligations, it failed under the weight of further disasters until what remained of its assets was sold in 1850. The decline in the fortunes of the American Fur Company meant the inevitable decline of La Pointe, since the company was the sole employer there. The major entrepreneur now became Julius Austrian, a German immigrant who had come to La Pointe from Mackinac with Joseph Austrian in 1847. They opened a trade goods store that Julius continued to operate after Joseph went to Eagle River the following year. The Chequamegon Bay region was surveyed in 1852, and when the land was put on sale in May 1853 Julius Austrian (as attorney-in-fact for Joseph Austrian) purchased at Willow River (Hudson) the land on which the village stood. He had the village surveyed and platted, and sold the lots to the original residents for a nominal fee (21). This was indeed fortunate, for speculators would have eventually purchased the land and probably dispossessed the occupants.

But while La Pointe may have been in decline, it was not forgotten. In 1843 a post office was established there and in February 1845 it was designated as the seat of the newly formed La Pointe County, with a suitable courthouse constructed (22). In the mid-1840s the copper boom on the Keweenaw peninsula, about sixty miles across the lake from La Pointe, provided employment for many men as did the opening of the ore mines on the Marquette range. The fisherman of La Pointe also enjoyed a profitable business supplying the mining camps on the upper peninsula, and the village, with its protected and spacious harbor, served as a trans-shipment point for cargo destined for the mining operations there. In his report on the 1849 expedition that explored the south shore of Lake Superior, Owen described La Pointe as a “beautiful village” that had grown up along a “magnificent bay.” “This bay is nearly three miles across, and is capable of containing, at anchor, secure from all winds, a numerous fleet of vessels....It is not only one of the most commanding and accessible situations on Lake Superior, but it presents one of the most agreeable and picturesque lake scenes the tourist can well imagine....As a site for a town, and especially as a place of resort for health and pleasure, La Pointe offers advantages beyond any portion of the mainland in Wisconsin. Its surface is sufficiently level and extensive for all purposes of agriculture; its soil, a retentive red marl, is capable, under a proper system of tillage, of returning to the husbandman a hundred-fold, and of producing fruits and vegetables in perfection. Its gently sloping sandy beach insures a secure footing to the bather. As a fishing station, it is unrivalled. The bays and creeks of the numerous islands and main shore, distant only a few hours’ run, are amongst the best grounds on the whole lake....” (Owen 1852, xxxiii-xxxiv).

As noted elsewhere, by treaties in 1837 and 1842 the Chippewa had ceded all of their land in Wisconsin and Michigan to the government and “gone on the dole.” They were allowed to remain on their land at the pleasure of the President, but that “pleasure” was short lived. Due to pressure from mining and logging interests, the government decided in 1849 to remove them to land reserved for them in northern Minnesota Territory. To force them to move, the payment of annuities in October 1851 was transferred from La Pointe to the Sandy Lake Agency, about sixty miles west of the western end of Lake Superior. The Chippewa sent a large delegation to collect the annuities and inspect the land, but they had to wait until November for the Indian Agent who was to make the payments to arrive. Many died from malnutrition and disease, and the survivors returned to Wisconsin determined to resist removal (Armstrong 1972, pt. 2, 288-292; Clifton 1987). Their recalcitrance was supported by Reverend Wheeler who, while on a visit to New England the following winter, went to Washington to urge the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to allow the Chippewa to remain on the south shore of Lake Superior. Matters were at an impasse because the government would not withdraw the removal order, while the Chippewa were adamant about not moving. Finally, with violent resistance by the Indians looming, a delegation of Indians made an arduous journey to Washington in the spring of 1852 to petition Federal officials to withdraw the removal order, which they finally accomplished through the intervention of President Millard Fillmore (23).

In August 1854 the chiefs of the numerous bands of Chippewa dispersed throughout northern Wisconsin, Michigan, and Minnesota were called to meet with government Indian agents at La Pointe. At this “treaty council,” the titles of the Chippewa to their lands west of the Mississippi River, containing incalculable riches of timber and minerals, were finally extinguished. In return the Chippewa were to receive annuities for two decades, to include “five thousand dollars in

coin; eight thousand dollars in goods, household furniture and working utensils; three thousand dollars in agricultural implements and cattle, carpenter's and other tools and building materials, and three thousand dollars for moral and educational purposes" (*Treaties of the Chippewa* 1974, 1854 Treaty, Article 4). Reservations were established in the Chippewa home territory in northern Wisconsin at Red Cliff, Bad River, Lac Court Orielles, and Lac du Flambeau (24). On September 30th the treaty was signed by 85 Chippewa chiefs and the representatives of the government in front of the Charles Oakes house at La Pointe, which henceforth was known as Treaty Hall (25). It was duly approved by the United States Senate and came into effect in January 1855 (26).

With the approval of the treaty, the Indians at La Pointe moved to the designated reservations, those who were Catholic going to Red Cliff and the remainder to the Bad River reservation (27). A few Indians who were steadily employed at La Pointe were allowed to remain there. The Protestant missionaries left La Pointe, and the center for Protestant missionary work shifted to Reverend Wheeler's mission at Odanah (in later years it was taken over by a Roman Catholic mission). A Catholic missionary priest remained at La Pointe to continue work among the Indians there and at Red Cliff, and to serve the spiritual needs of the whites and "mixed bloods," many of whom were of French-Canadian descent and Roman Catholic (28). Since the reservations at Red Cliff and Bad River and at other locations in northern Wisconsin could not support the traditional hunting-fishing-gathering subsistence culture of the Indians, they were forced to rely on handouts from the government and to submit to acculturation. As Danziger notes, ". . . when the chiefs touched their pens to the La Pointe treaty the bands began a new journey down the white man's road. For nearly a century it was a road without turning, a one-way street to cultural disintegration and crushing poverty" (Danziger 1979, 90). Thus the great historical tragedy of Native Americans was continued among these sad remnants of the Chippewa, who were confined to forlorn reservations on the shores of the mighty lake over which they had once held dominion.

During the same time that the removal of the Indians was depopulating La Pointe, other events occurred that brought short-term prosperity to the village. In 1854-55 the two settlements that were to become Ashland were established, and in 1856 Bayfield was founded. La Pointe became a very busy place, serving as a port of supply for these new communities on the shores of the bay, for the mining camps in the upper peninsula, and for Superior, another newly established town at the far western end of the lake. The son of a school teacher, who came to La Pointe in July 1857 during this period of prosperity, described it in a letter to Father Chrysostom Verwyst as "a busy, hustling little place. The dock was a large structure, furnishing the safest possible landing for all boats. It had upon it a large warehouse, and on the shore adjoining it, there extended along the lake shore, towards Pointe de Fret [Froid], quite a little row of houses; some occupied as stores, some as warehouses and others as cooper shops. There was quite a large building which was used as a hotel on the left hand side as you passed up from the dock, and on the right, another large one, or at least large as I recollect it, which was used as a store by Julius Austrian. Behind this building was a grass plot, and fronting on that, a long row of one-story houses which had been the offices of the American Fur Company. Behind this row of buildings was quite a large garden, surrounded by a high stockade fence, and in my time, that garden produced apples, cherries and currants, besides all of the ordinary vegetables.

“Behind the garden was the old church, standing in the churchyard where, at that time, the dead were buried on the surface of the ground, the coffin being laid upon the ground and surrounded by a little frame-work of logs which was filled with sand from the lake shore. . . .The school-house stood in the church yard, and there must have been an average attendance of from twenty to forty pupils of both sexes. The town proper consisted of clusters of houses built on each side of a road-way running east and west, close to the lake shore, terminating on the west [at] Pointe De Fret, and on the east at Middle Fort, which was either an episcopalian or a presbyterian mission, but at which no missionary was stationed during my time. Still farther to the east was what was called Old Fort, consisting of a clearing on the eastern side of the island, from which all of the buildings had been removed, but which had grown up to grass and second growth timber.

“There were about three or four white families on the island; the people were mostly half-breeds, the descendants of intermarriage between the old voyageurs and the Indian women, and nearly all the men of middle or beyond middle life were Canadian-French and had been voyageurs or *coureurs des bois*, and had evidently settled upon the island to pass their old age there with their families. In addition to the groups of houses at La Pointe proper and Middle Fort, there was a settlement upon the western side of the island, at a distance of one or two miles. The people were a most innocent, affectionate and happy people. They made their own boats and nets, and the barrels, half-barrels and quarter-barrels in which they packed their fish. During the winter they went out trapping. They raised potatoes and other root crops, and one or two of the white men occasionally raised wheat and oats, but very little of it. There were only two or three horses in the entire settlement, and one or two cows. In winter nearly all the hauling was done with dog teams; nearly every family owning from three to four dogs. These animals were fed upon fish heads taken from the fish in the fall, filled frozen into barrels and kept during the winter for dog food.

“The great events were the arrival of the first steamboat in the spring. Payment time in the fall, when everybody went to Bad River on the Reservation to attend the payment. Christmas day, when we had midnight Mass, and New Year’s day, when visits were exchanged, and everybody who had a house kept it open. In the spring and fall great flights of migratory birds used to light upon the island and were killed for food; in June pigeons were particularly numerous. The berry season included strawberries, raspberries and blueberries, and altogether the life, while perhaps monotonous, was of great simplicity and singular beauty. From the time navigation ceased until it opened, we were an isolated community. Provisions were stored and provided for in the fall, precisely as if one were going on a voyage, the first boats used to bring small packages of meat and sausages in their ice-chests, which were sold to such of the inhabitants as could pay for them, and were considered rare delicacies. A more simple, hospitable, honest community could not exist anywhere, and there was an element of cheerfulness and good nature that permeated the entire community which I have never seen since” (Verwyst 1900, 290-293; Burnham, ADP 5/8-5/9/36).

In 1853 the influential business journal *Debow’s Review* predicted that with the opening of the St. Mary’s canal, “La Pointe is destined to become a large place. . . .It is not only one of the most commanding and accessible situations on Lake Superior, but it presents one of the most agreeable and picturesque lake scenes that can well be imagined” (*Debow’s Review*, 10/53, 369).

But rather than growing, La Pointe shrank. From a high point of 463 in 1850, the population declined to 319 or by 31% by 1860. Most of the decline occurred after 1857 as the relative prosperity of earlier years faded in the aftermath of the financial panic. These figures do not show the decline of the Indian population to almost zero with the establishment of reservations at Bad River and Red Cliff. Then, to add insult to injury, the county seat was moved to Bayfield in 1859, and when Ashland County was formed from La Pointe County in 1860, the village of Ashland was designated the county seat of the new county (29). Rather than becoming a “large place,” La Pointe was fated to remain a small, quaint village subsisting on fishing, tourism, and marginal agriculture (30).

Notes

1. This review of the early history of Chequamegon Bay is based on sources listed in the bibliography, particularly Ross 1960, Davidson 1892, Thwaites 1895, Verwyst 1895, and Holzheuter 1986. For the geography of Chequamegon Bay, see endnote 31.
2. Scull 1967; Kellogg 1921-22. See the bibliography for other sources on these two men and their adventures. Etienne Brulé may have visited the Chequamegon region sometime in 1622-23—Butterfield 1898, 107-108, 154-163.
3. Some sources state 1658, others 1660 or 1661, but 1659 is the most commonly cited year—Campbell 1896, 19-21; Verwyst 1916, 177.
4. Some sources claim that Menard did not go to Chequamegon Bay but wintered near present day L'Anse, Michigan, at the head of Keweenaw Bay, and began his fateful journey to the Hurons from there—Kellogg 1968, 148, n. 13. On the possible location of Menard's death, see Schmirler, *WMH* 1961-62.
5. Kellogg stated that when Allouez arrived, "there were seven different tribes with eight hundred warriors clustered around the beautiful shores of Chequamegon"—Kellogg 1868, 153. Thwaites listed Indians from seven tribes beside the Ottawa and Huron encountered by Allouez: "Chippewas, Pottawatomies, Kickapoos, Sauks, and Foxes. . . .Miamis, and Illinois. . . ."—Thwaites 1895, 405-406. Corcoran stated that in addition to a large village at Fish Creek, there was another near Whittlesey Creek, while "scientific investigation of the topography" proves "that there were other settlements near Boyd's Creek, Vanderverter's Creek, between Pike's Bay and Bayfield, at Passabikang, at RedCliff, and on Madeline Island"—Corcoran 1946, 83. "Pa-sa-bi-kong" was the Indian name for the so-called "pageant grounds" about three miles from the village of Red Cliff—Levi 1956, 90. Also see Verwyst 1895, 430-433.
6. The topographical reference of this name is unclear since there is no prominent feature where the mission is assumed to have been located which would deserve this appellation. Perhaps the reference was to the sand spit of Chequamegon Point, which had historical significance for the Chippewas—Thwaites 1895, 405. One source claims that Allouez constructed "several chapels in the region"—"Jean Claude Allouez." Wisconsin Writer's Program, Wisconsin Biographies, Box 9, p.3.
7. Kellogg 1968, 158, 163; Davidson 1892, 437-438; Thwaites 1895, 406-407. The tradition that Marquette built the first Catholic church at La Pointe is false—that was done by Father Baraga in July 1835. Father Chrysostom Verwyst, who came to Bayfield in 1878, asserted that "La Pointe du Saint Esprit" was Houghton Point, and that it was here that Marquette built his church. As evidence he cited Marquette's map of 1670, but on that map "mission du st. esprit" is clearly placed at the end of the indentation denoting Chequamegon Bay, which in any case is too small on the map to show details such as Houghton Point—*AWP* 8/22/85; Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, 1959, v. 59, map between 108-109. In an article published in 1895, Verwyst apparently changed his mind for he referred to the "ordinary abode of Father

Allouez and Marquette, the site of their chapel” at the end of Chequamegon Bay—Verwyst 1895, 439-440.

8. The French first encountered the Chippewa at Sault Ste. Marie, and hence referred to them as “Saultiers” or people of the rapids, but they had come there from their original home north of Lake Superior and Lake Huron. According to William Whipple Warren, the historian of the early Chippewa (of whom his mother was a descendent), the Chippewa first came to Chequamegon Bay from Sault Ste. Marie, perhaps in the late fifteenth century, and settled in a large village at the southwestern end of Madeline Island. He described their movement from the Sault as follows: “At every step of their westward advance along the southern shores of the Great Lake [Superior], the Ojibways [Chippewas] battled with Foxes and Dakotas [Sioux]; but they pressed onward, gaining foot by foot, till they finally lit their fires on the sand point of Sha-ga-waum-ki-ong [Chequamegon Point]. On this spot they remained not long, for they were harassed daily by their warlike foes, and for greater security they were obliged to move their camp to the adjacent Mon-ing-wun-a-kaun-ing (place of the golden breasted woodpecker, but known as La Pointe). Here they chose the site of their ancient town and it covered a space about three miles long and two broad, comprising the western end of the island [Madeline]”—Warren 1984, 96. During one particularly severe winter when they were starving, they resorted to cannibalism, eating the bodies of youngsters poisoned by the witch doctors. After a number years of this practice, perpetuated by fear of the witch doctors, enraged parents killed them. But the Chippewa imagined that the spirits of the dead victims haunted the village and in 1610 they abandoned it, some going to Sault Ste. Marie and others establishing new villages on the mainland across from Madeline Island. It was said that for two centuries the Chippewa shunned the islands and would not spend the night on Madeline Island—Ross 1960, 12-13, Warren 1984, c.6. Hodge notes that “There is nothing found to sustain the statement of Warren” regarding the early settlement of the Chippewa at La Pointe, and the earliest archeological evidence of Indian settlement is from the 1660s—Hodge 1912, 278; Wyatt 1986, 1-3. While Warren used the name Ojibway (also spelled Ojibwa and Ojhibway) in his tribal history, Chippewa is the name by which the tribe was (and is) more commonly known, and the name which appears on treaties and other official documents concerning them—Warren 1984, 35-37; Wyman 1993, 11-12.
9. For 160 years, from the construction of this fort by Le Sueur in 1693 to the establishment of Bayfield and Ashland in the early 1850s, the history of the tiny fur trade, fishing, missionary, and harbor village of La Pointe is the focus of the history of Chequamegon Bay.
10. La Ronde was also deeply involved in the early efforts to develop copper mining around the Ontonagon River in the Upper Peninsula—Ross 1960, 50-52; Burnham, *ADP* 10/5/33.
11. See Johnston’s biography.
12. According to Ross, the Indian name for Madeline Island was “Moningwunakauning—The Home of the Golden Breasted Woodpecker.” He pointed out that the island was not the home of the bird, but only a stopover on its spring and fall migrations—Ross 1960, 11. The island was named “I.S. Michel” or “Island St. Michel” on a French map from 1688—see map section in the Introduction. This was shortened to “Michel’s Island” in some sources, which

stated that it was named after Michel Cadotte, but this is incorrect. Under the French the island was known variously as Isle Detour, La Ronde, La Pointe, and by other names; and under the English as Cadotte, Woodpecker, Magdaline, and so on—Ross 1951, 19; Burnham, *ADP* 8/12/31; Lathrop 1905, 9-10; Thwaites 1895, 410, n.2. The name “I. es 12 Apotres” or “Islands of the 12 Apostles” appeared on a French map of 1755 and Carver labeled them “The 12 Apostles” on his map of 1766—see map section in Introduction. An interesting legend alleges that the island group was named after a band of pirates who inhabited them after the French and Indian War and styled themselves “The Twelve Apostles”—Burnham, *ADP* 10/1/30, 4/14/31. The first recorded use of the name “La Pointe” was by Father Allouez in 1665 for his chapel at the head of Chequamegon Bay. When Marquette left in 1671 the name was applied to the northwestern tip of Chequamegon Point (or Long Island) where a few fur traders remained after his departure. The name was then transferred across the channel to the southwestern tip of Madeline Island when La Sueur built a fort there about 1693. The name finally came to rest in the present village of La Pointe when it was established about 1835. The name was also used until about 1870 to refer to the Chequamegon Bay area generally, and was also one of the early names of Madeline Island—Ross 1960, 37,43,78; Burnham, *ADP* 12/2/31, 7/12/38, 7/13/38. Lyman Warren tried to change the name of the village to “Fort Ramsay” in honor of Ramsay Crooks, president of the American Fur Company, but he was the only one to use the name—Schenck 1990, 14.

13. Schoolcraft also visited La Pointe in the summer of 1831 on the same mission, and held a large council with the Indians. His 1832 expedition traveled to the headwaters of the Mississippi where Schoolcraft identified Lake Itasca as the source of the river—Bray 1970, 58. For a biography of Schoolcraft, see Osborn and Osborn 1942, 294-653.
14. No one on the expedition appears to have noted the number of white settlers there, but Ross commented that “it is doubtful if there were more than fifteen whites” at La Pointe in 1832, including employees of the American Fur Company (which Schoolcraft placed at six), missionaries, and “mixed bloods”—Mason 1958, 154; Ross 1960, 86.
15. In the following summer Mrs. Hall gave birth to a daughter, thought to be the first child of white parents born in the western Lake Superior region—Burnham, *ADP* 11/30-12/5/32.
16. “The traders and others assisted generously with material and labor. The missionaries worked zealously with their own hands besides superintending the building. For church and school purposes they built a basement room of home-made brick, which they manufactured on their own grounds forty rods off. The tall chimney with its three or four great stone fireplaces was erected. The massive beams and joists for the heavy framework were hewed from the luxuriant pine forest by sturdy and willing hands. The walls were built according to the necessary frontier fashion, with strong upright posts hewed square, standing four feet apart along the sills. A deep groove was cut the whole length of each post, on the two sides facing each other along the sills. Short pieces of timber, four feet long, were hewed six inches thick and about twelve inches wide. The ends of these short pieces being cut to fit into the post-grooves, they were slid down from the top of the posts until the space between each in succession was filled, thus forming a solid wooden wall six inches thick, the chinks being filled with clay mud. Outside of this the weather-boarding was nailed on. Inside, the

home-made lath, consisting of narrow cedar strips split out by hand, were nailed on in the picturesque criss-cross style, with diamond-shaped openings to hold the plaster. This consisted of stiff clay mud, of which an unbounded supply was close at hand, and was plastered on two inches thick, possessing a very adhesive quality. The two stories above the basement were divided into rooms of various sizes, for the needs of two or three mission families. The shingles were rived by hand from straight-grained pine blocks, then separately shaved off with a drawing-knife until both surfaces were smooth. There was then no saw-mill on Lake Superior. Every board used, whether for roof-boards, flooring or siding, had to be all sawed out by the laborious 'whipsaw' method; one man standing above and the other below a log, (the lowermost man generally in a pit dug in the ground) and working a long saw up and down by hand, dividing the timber lengthwise." The building "was surrounded by a stockade of cedar posts eight feet in height"—Lathrop 1905, 24-25. It was located toward the south side of the village, oriented west to east, with its west gable end about 60 feet from the beach, according to Ross. In 1951 he measured the building—it was 56 feet long, 25 feet-5 inches wide, and 26 foot-6 inches from the foundation to the eaves. He also drew a floor plan based on his examination of the building, some 50 years earlier, in 1897—Ross 1960, 83-85; map 24.

The building served the missionaries and their families in several capacities until the Protestant mission was abandoned in 1855. Ross noted that by 1897, the "mission building, after serving as a dormitory to assorted itinerants, had fallen into a sad state of disrepair. Part of the roof had collapsed; the floors were in poor condition, with grass growing in the cracks of the boards, and portions of the building were being used as a cow stable." In 1898 the building was repaired and converted into a hotel named the "old Mission Inn." A photograph from 1898 shows that verandas had been constructed around the building at the first and second floors. Within a few years, to accommodate increased patronage, two dormitories were constructed and a large dining room was added to the main building—Ross 1960, 151, 158, 168; plates 6a, 26. The building was razed in 1965—*On The Rock* 1997, 78; Lathrop 1905, 5, 24, 47—pictures; Thomas 1899, 21—picture.

17. Baraga arrived at La Pointe on July 27 1835. He immediately arranged for the construction of a church, which began on August 3rd. Constructed of logs from the dismantled Warren store purchased for \$150, the building was 20x50 feet, 18 feet high, with a steeple. It was located near "middlefort," about 100 feet south of the Indian burying ground. The work was done by volunteers from among the French-Canadian and Indian residents, probably under the direction of Joseph DuFault, a carpenter who had constructed the American Fur Company buildings. Baraga celebrated mass in the still incomplete church on August 9th—Burnham, "The Story of Baraga," *ADP* 9/10/35; Burnham, "The Baraga Paintings," *ADP* 4/28/32; Neill 1892, 31; Ross 1960, map 24.

In September 29 1836, Baraga left La Pointe for Europe, returning on October 8 1837 with money to complete the church—Gregorich 1932, 51-52; Rezek 1906, 71-72. By 1838 the church had become too small for Baraga's growing congregation, and he contracted with the American Fur Company to rebuild and enlarge it. The timbers and boards from the first church were used for the new church, and the inside was plastered. The church was completed in August 1838, and dedicated to St. Joseph on September 2nd. In October 1840

Baraga purchased a 477 pound bell for \$178 from New York, which was installed in the belfry. In July 1841 the church was taken down and rebuilt on its present site; it was rededicated to St. Joseph on August 1 1841—Burnham, “The Story of Baraga,” *ADP* 9/10/35; Ross 1960, 103-104, plate 11, map 21; Verwyst 1900, 185, 203.

There is one description of the interior of the rebuilt church, by Father Otto Skolla who succeeded Baraga in October 1843: “The church at La Pointe is fifty feet long and thirty feet wide. It has a beautiful altar, quite high, with an excellent picture of St. Joseph painted in 1834 by a skilled artist of Laiback named Lang. In the church are forty benches where people knelt and prayed during the celebration of divine worship, and one bench near the altar was reserved for six chanters. There was also a chapel for celebrating Mass in the winter time, and joined to it was a room for the priest to live in”—“Father Skolla’s Report” 1936, 231; also see the drawing of the church by Skolla—Rezek 1906, 361, 366.

The church was filled with paintings and other sacred and secular objects collected by Baraga or given to him as gifts. Eighteen oil paintings hung on the plastered walls of the rebuilt and enlarged church. Three of these are known. “The Holy Family,” was a painting of Joseph working in his shop with Mary and the Child Jesus looking on. It was painted in Laiback, Slovenia (now Ljubljana, Yugoslavia) when Baraga was in Europe in 1836 and 1837, and brought back to La Pointe by him—Verwyst 1900, 187. The second painting, “Descent From The Cross,” was “a rather crude copy of the original which hangs in the Sistine Chapel;” it was also brought from Europe by Baraga—Ross 1960, 165. A photograph of the altar of the 1841 church shows “The Holy Family” painting hanging directly over the altar, and “Descent From The Cross” on the right-hand side—Ross 1960, plate 31; Gregorich 1932, 50; *Ashland And Environs* 1888, np.

The third painting, also of the “Holy Family,” was described by Burnham: “The painting, evidently a copy from an old painting of the Holy Family, depicts the infant Jesus caressing a lamb, and looking up to his parents, Joseph and Mary, who, leaning over, look down into his face;”—it was “11x13 1/2 inches in dimension to the outside of the frame”—Burnham, “The Story Of Baraga,” *ADP* 9/21/35. Burnham suggests that it was painted by one of Baraga’s two sisters or by Baraga himself. Burnham discovered this picture in 1935 in the possession of Lillie (Thomas) Martin of Ashland. She had been given it by her grandmother, Matilda Perinier, who in turn had received it about 1861 for her services to the mission from Father John Chebul, who came to La Pointe in June 1860. Matilda Perinier was the wife of Antoine Perinier, a carpenter for the American Fur Company at La Pointe—Burnham, “The Story of Baraga,” *ADP* 9/15/35-9/23/35. (Burnham appears to have confused this picture with that of the holy family which hung over the altar in the church.)

According to a visitor to the church in the fall of 1873, it contained “many items of interest. Among the most interesting items is the gold and silver service. Many fine oil paintings are hung in the chapel, among them one, ‘Mary and the dead Christ’ [certainly “Descent From The Cross”], that bears unmistakable signs of old age. . . . Among other curious trophies is the Bishop’s bed and his wardrobe, furniture, etc.” *AWP* 9/6/73. Another visitor in 1885 noted that “The altar is furnished with the usual adjuncts of the Catholic ritual, evergreens and flowers, crucifix, missal, pictures of the saints, a Christ on the cross—in wax—and the

virgin and her shrine. The most interesting picture is a ‘Descent from the Cross’ . . .” In the vestry “we find more ancient treasures—censers of antique pattern, silver candlesticks, and in a drawer beautiful priest’s vestments of white and red satin, richly embroidered in lace, no one knows how long ago by the patient fingers of nuns in Old World convents. There is a very good portrait of Bishop Baraga. . . .”—“Memories Of Marquette,” *AWP* 10/3/85 (see note in bibliography on this article). (It is curious that neither of these visitors commented on the larger painting of the Holy Family, which hung in a more prominent place over the altar and was equally old).

The church with all of its priceless historical artifacts was totally destroyed by fire, apparently by arson, on June 15 1901—*BCP* 6/15/01. It was immediately rebuilt with a bell cast from the remains of the old bell, and rededicated to St. Joseph in early December 1901. A suspect was arrested and charged, but apparently was never brought to trial—“In Ruins,” *BCP* 6/15/01; “Church Dedicated,” *BCP* 12/7/01; “Arrested On Suspicion,” *BCP* 6/22/01; Ross 1960, 164-165.

18. “The church was built in the same manner as the Mission House had been built seven years before—with whip sawed lumber, sectional wooden walls, hand-split cedar strip criss-cross lathing, clay-mud plaster, and old fashioned small paned windows”—Lathrop 1905, 31. It was 32 feet long by 25 feet wide, and could accommodate 150 to 200 persons. After the Protestant mission was abandoned, the church fell into disrepair, serving as a hay barn and as a sailmaking loft. In the early 1890s it was repaired and served for a while as a Presbyterian mission church. In 1901 it was purchased by the owner of the Mission House and moved to a site on a hill overlooking the building. It collapsed in ruins in May 1943—Ross 1960, 100, 151, 165-166, 174; Plate 32; map, p. 24; *BCP* 5/13/43; Lathrop 1905, 6, 30, 34—pictures; Thomas 1899, 20—picture.
19. Ross 1960, 111. The 1850 *U.S. Census* listed ten white people in the “Bad River neighborhood,” including Rev. Wheeler as a missionary, his wife and five children, and one teacher, merchant, and farmer. The Chippewa had long used the general area of Odanah as their camp ground during the warmer months, planting gardens, and hunting, fishing, and gathering rice in the sloughs. They called the place Kie-tig-ga-ning—Scott, “Early Settlement Of The Bad River Indian Reservation,” *Chippewa Project*.
20. The *U.S. Census* for 1840 showed a population of 458, and for 1850, 463 (not including Indians except those married to whites).
21. The government lots in sections 30 and 31 of T50NR3W, amounting to 306.28 acres at \$1.25 per acre—*Local Tract Book*, v. 86, p. 77, Plat of the Village of La Pointe. For the record of the transfers to the original occupants, see *Deeds*, v. 1, archives of the Bayfield County Register of Deeds. Also see *New York Daily Tribune*, June 26 1854. The American Fur Company had been allowed to pre-empt 160 acres of land for its own use before the government survey, part of which it parceled out to its employees in irregularly shaped lots. When the company went out of business the land reverted to the government—Ross 1960, 151-152; *Picturesque Wisconsin*, June 1899, 24. There is no evidence that Julius Austrian was a “Government Agent,” as suggested by Ross. It is not clear how Joseph and Julius

Austrian were related—they may have been brothers or Julius may have been Joseph's nephew. In addition to Julius Austrian there was also a Max Austrian living at La Pointe at this time.

22. *Laws of Wisconsin Territory* 1845, 52-53. Included within the jurisdiction of this new county were present day Ashland, Bayfield, and Douglas Counties, and parts of Burnett, Washburn, Sawyer, and Price Counties.
23. The delegation was led by Benjamin G. Armstrong, a white man who had married the niece of Buffalo, an important chief of the La Pointe Chippewa, and became their interpreter and trusted adviser. On the journey to Washington, see Armstrong *WMH* 1972, pt. 2.
24. "For the La Pointe band, and such other Indians as may see fit to settle with them," Article 2 of the treaty specified the boundaries of a reservation that encompassed most of the drainage basin of the Bad, White and Potatoe Rivers, amounting to 124,234 acres. The reservation also included 100 acres on the northeastern tip of Madeline Island. For "The Ontonagon band and that subdivision of the La Pointe band of which Buffalo is chief," Article 2 provided that they each may select, "on or near the lake shore, four sections of land. . . the boundaries of which shall be defined hereafter." The Indians selected land along the southeastern coast of the Bayfield peninsula and the President's executive order confirming their selection, amounting to 13,652 acres, was issued on February 21 1856—*Executive Orders* 1975, 218-221. Carrollissa 1956; "Treaties With The United States Government," c. 11; "Bad River Reservation," c. 12; "The Red Cliff Reservation," c. 15; *Chippewa Project*: Arbuckle, "The Bad River Reservation," Scott, "Early Settlement Of The Bad River Reservation;" Teeple, "Rivers Of The Bad River Reservation." The earliest sawmill on Chequamegon Bay was built about 1846 on the Bad River within the reservation—Arbuckle, "The First Sawmills On The Bad River Reservation," *Chippewa Project*; Burnham, "The Leihy Settlement," *ADP* 9/25-9/28 1934; Burnham, "Leihy's Mill-1846," *ADP* 11/21/34, 12/1/34.
25. The foundation of the house was constructed of fieldstone, while the house itself was of frame construction with clapboard siding. The halls of the first floor were in the shape of a T, and a large fireplace was located where they intersected. The house was located on the east side of front street overlooking Pointe de Froid, with a view in three directions. After the treaty signing, the house passed through several owners, serving for a time as a small hotel. In 1917 it was deeded to the Daughters of the American Revolution on the condition that a chapter be established in Ashland, but this was never done. It burned to the ground on May 10 1923, destroying irreplaceable documents and records concerning the history of La Pointe and Chequamegon Bay, and many priceless historical artifacts. Ross 1960, 95, 117, 166, 172; Plate 8; map, p. 21; Thomas 1899, 23—picture. "Historic Building Destroyed By fire," *BCP* 5/11/23.
26. Armstrong 1972, pt. 2. Article 2 of the treaty also provided that Chief Buffalo "may select one section of land, at such place as he may see fit." Buffalo selected a tract "lying on the west shore of St. Louis bay, . . immediately above and adjoining Minnesota Point." Heavily timbered at the time, the tract lay at the heart of what was to become the city of Duluth.

Buffalo assigned one quarter section to his adopted son Benjamin Armstrong, and one quarter each to his nephew and the nephew's two sons; these three immediately conveyed their allotments to Armstrong. The region had not been surveyed by the rectangular system, and the tract was described by "metes and bounds," which utilizes natural features and compass headings to determine boundaries. Because of the ambiguity of the resulting description, Buffalo's selection immediately "ran into official shoals and reefs, involving primarily two questions, priority of selection and the meaning of the description of the land"—Roberts 1954, 11. A long period of litigation over the property ensued in which numerous parties, including the ubiquitous speculator Frederick Prentice, one of the proprietors of Ashland, was involved. Roberts 1954; Woodbridge and Pardee 1910, c.8.

27. There is no mention of the religious affiliation of the Indians in the treaty, but only of their "band" membership. However, as discussed earlier, Rev. Wheeler had established a Protestant mission at Odanah/Bad River in 1845, while Red Cliff was part of Bayfield's Catholic parish.
28. For information on the priests who succeeded Rev. Baraga, beginning with Rev. Otto C. Skolla in 1845, see Verwyst 1886, 150-152.
29. *Wis Laws* 1860, G, C211; *Wis Laws* 1863, G, C241; Burnham, *ADP* 2/26/35, 2/28/35. The Ashland County seat was moved to La Ponte in 1863 when Ashland was abandoned, but moved back to a revived Ashland in 1873—*Wis Laws* 1863, G, C241; *AWP* 11/8/73. Bayfield County was formed in 1866 from La Pointe County and land annexed from Ashland County, with the county seat in Bayfield—*Wis Laws* 1866, G, C146.
30. According to one observer, "The population varied very much according to the season. In the winter they would number about thirty or forty mixed-blood families, besides a very few Pagan Indian families. In the summer the population would double in all shades"—Verwyst 1900, 198-199. Since the census was taken at the end of June, these population figures may therefore not be accurate for an entire year. For a description of La Pointe at the end of the 19th century (including pictures), see *Picturesque Wisconsin*, June 1899, 19-24.
31. Chequamegon Bay is an inlet of Lake Superior, bounded on the north by the Bayfield peninsula and on the south by the Ashland plain and adjacent wetlands. The bay is protected from the fury of the big lake by the Apostle Island Archipelago. The Bayfield peninsula highland is a mound of glacial till deposited on ancient brownstone, between two lobes of the Wisconsin glacier, the last glacier to cover the northern region about 10,000 years ago. The glacier also deposited a layer of till on the Ashland plain, which extends from the bay coast southward to the Penokee-Gogebic range. These features are covered by a thick layer of red mud laid down by Lake Duluth that formed behind the glacier. Melt water from the glacier drained southwesterly into the Mississippi channel.

Addendum

Glovsky, Dorothy. "Our Chequamegon Bay Area Has A Fascinating History." *WT* 11/2/72.

Chequamegon Bay: A Resource Frontier

It was not a quest for beauty, but greed for resources, which brought white men to the shores of Chequamegon Bay and determined the course of its subsequent history. For Chequamegon Bay was always (and remains) a “resource frontier,” defined as a geographic region, large or small, containing natural resources that could be economically exploited by capitalist investors. Resource frontiers emerged behind the advancing frontier of agrarian settlement in the nineteenth century, providing materials and products (for example, lumber) for the farms, villages, and cities that grew up behind this frontier (1). The capitalist investors, who exploited these resource frontiers and ultimately controlled what happened in them, were not interested in settling and developing the regions except insofar as it contributed to extracting the resources to realize windfall profits. Once the resources had become exhausted, or when opportunities for greater profits from investments elsewhere became available, the investors abandoned a region, moving their investments.

Small communities were established within these resource frontiers to support the resource exploitation with manpower, businesses, and services and to provide a stable legal, political and social environment within which the exploitation could take place. Because such communities were dependent on external financiers, consumers, middlemen, and others, they did not develop the economic and political autonomy and stability that would have enabled them to determine their own destinies, but were continually the victim of decisions and events beyond their control. The history of each such community is, of course, unique, but at a general level they display a similar pattern of historical evolution. This process of evolution involves the establishment and expansion of four bases: an economic base, which drives the process; a population base; a material base, consisting of buildings, houses, streets, utilities, and so on; and a social base, composed of government and other institutions, and networks of close relationships and interdependencies between and among people (social capital) (2). The process begins when capitalist investors begin resource exploitation operations, establishing an economic base. They bring in workers who live in *work camps*, for example, logging camps, railroad camps, and construction camps. Work camps are unorganized, often chaotic, aggregations of males, living in simple, if not primitive, conditions. The development of the economic base triggers the establishment of the population, material and social bases, transforming the work camp into a *settlement*. Finally, with the expansion and consolidation of these four bases, the settlement evolves into a *community*, organized as a village or small city. These communities are often “boom towns,” having evolved rapidly from the work camp stage because of the almost explosive expansion of the economic base and the contingent material, population and social bases. The term, “boom” encapsulates a complex social and economic process inherent in capitalist socio-economic systems involving the intense exploitation of a natural resource by a capitalist enterprise established for that purpose. The prospect of short-term bonanza profits by such enterprises initiates and sustains a boom, while the prosperity generated by the boom nourishes the process of evolution from work camp to community.

The high level of prosperity resulting from a boom breeds unrealistic optimism among community residents, encouraging them to believe that it is a normal condition that will continue indefinitely. But by their very nature booms end, either because the natural resources are depleted or become obsolete, or because the socio-economic conditions change unfavorably. A boom may end suddenly in a “bust” or simply decline or fade until the people in a community

belatedly realize that it is over. The community may recover if a new economic base is quickly developed that generates the prosperity of the boom years. Otherwise, it begins to decline as a social unit. This process of decline may not end in the extinction of the community but may evolve into a stable maintenance level of community existence, supported by an economic base that is not substantial enough to return it to boom prosperity. The typical characteristics of a maintenance community are loss of population, as people leave to pursue their livelihoods elsewhere; a rise in the average age of the remaining population because of the migration of young people; closing of businesses; high rate of unemployment; decrease in the number of churches; decline in the quality of the schools; transfer of many services and of employment to regional centers; deconstruction of material base—buildings, houses, and other structures abandoned or destroyed and not replaced; decline in income; broken and dysfunctional families; individual alienation; and government financial stringency and reduction in services.

For people who remain in a maintenance community—those who do not have the resources to leave, are too old to do so, have no where to go, or are committed to the community as their home—there is a wrenching adjustment to a lower level of material well-being and to diminished expectations for the future. They must also deal with the threat posed by the reality of community decline to the strongly held values and beliefs that were instrumental to its founding, growth, and development. In the latter part of the nineteenth century these values and beliefs included the inevitability of progress as the natural order of things; the capitalist socio-economic order as benign and correct; hard work and dedication as the key to individual and community success and prosperity; and “inexhaustible” resources. People react differently to the threat to the value framework that shapes their view of the world. At one extreme are the realists, who accept the decline of the community as an actuality. Their sense of betrayal of their values and beliefs may result in hopelessness and despondency at the personal level as well as a shared habitual negativism and determination not to be taken in again by promises or schemes for “community betterment.” At the other extreme are those who deny the reality of the decline. They may rationalize the situation by asserting that the decline is only temporary because the advantages and resources presented by the community will make recovery inevitable. People only need to work harder and have confidence in the future so that when the opportunity arises they will be able to take advantage of it. These people remain optimistic regarding the future and do not succumb—at least publicly—to feelings of helplessness. Between these extremes are those who, while accepting the reality of the decline, maintain hope and a positive attitude by assuming that sooner or later something will come along that will restore the community to its former greatness, even if the prospects of that happening are remote. After the first settlers and their immediate descendants have passed from the scene, the decline of the community becomes the normal condition of life for its members as the early, prosperous, dynamic years of the community fade into history. While people may dream of a return to the golden “olden days,” their dream has no basis in the reality of the community’s situation and its prospects for the future.

On Chequamegon Bay a succession of resources—furs, fish, timber, brownstone, and natural harbors—were appropriated and exploited for the benefit of outside investors. The Great Lakes waterway system made it possible to economically and rapidly transport the raw material resources out of the region for processing into final products elsewhere. No important enterprises for manufacturing products from these resources were established, thus reinforcing and perpetuating the region as a resource frontier. When the resources in which they had

invested were exhausted, or had lost value, they abandoned the region, which gradually became impoverished.

The first era of resource exploitation on Chequamegon Bay began with the arrival of two Frenchmen, Pierre Esprit Radisson and Medard Chouart, Sieur des Groseilliers, in August 1659. Radisson and Groseilliers were not mere explorers, but fur traders, and the primary purpose of their journey to Chequamegon Bay was to discover new sources of furs and to arrange for the Native Americans to harvest the furs. Their return to Montreal in the spring of 1660, with a rich cargo of furs, marked the beginning of the first era of the exploitation of the bay's resources by outsiders. For almost two centuries thereafter, the French, then the British, and finally the Americans, driven by a cold, calculating lust for free riches, dominated the bay, plundered its fur resources, ruthlessly exploiting the Native American population. The era finally ended in the 1840s due to changes in European clothing fashion and the exhaustion of the fur stocks. The little community of La Pointe, created by and the center of the region's fur trade for over 100 years, was only able to survive at a subsistence level.

The second era of resource exploitation on Chequamegon Bay, and the modern history of the bay, began with the establishment of the townsites of Whittlesey and Bay City by Asaph Whittlesey, George Kilborn, Martin Beaser, Edwin Ellis, and Frederick Prentice in 1854-1855; and of Bayfield by Henry Rice and his associates in 1856. These men were not ordinary settlers seeking land on which to establish farms, but businessmen who hoped to profit from their speculative townsite investments (3). The resources they hoped to exploit to make their townsites profitable were, for the group at Whittlesey and Bay City, the iron ore deposits in the Penoque Range, and for the Rice group, the natural harbor on which the townsite was located. The conditions necessary for the success of these enterprises were national prosperity, the integration of Lake Superior into the Great Lakes commercial system by the construction of the canal at Sault Ste. Marie, and the construction of railroads from the south to Chequamegon Bay. By the mid-1850s the first two of these conditions had been met and the third, the construction of a railroad, appeared about to be. But fate did not smile on these endeavors, at least not yet. The panic of 1857 and its aftermath and the turmoil of the Civil War years put an end to railroad construction, as well as to lake commerce to the Chequamegon Bay townsites. Whittlesey (renamed Ashland in 1860) and Bay City were deserted, while Bayfield became a sleepy little village supported by small-scale fishing, lumbering and tourism.

Thus, the townsite settlements on Chequamegon Bay in the second half of the 1850s proved to be a false start on the second era of resource exploitation on the bay. The actual beginning was in the early 1870s, when the United States was in the midst of the post-Civil War boom, the beginning of the "great transformation" that would, if haltingly, change it from a largely rural and agricultural nation into a world industrial giant and imperial power by the end of the century. Resources were needed to fuel this change and Chequamegon Bay once again became a resource frontier from which lumber, brownstone and iron ore were ruthlessly extracted: lumber and brownstone for building cities and countless farms and villages, to house the burgeoning population and their works; and iron ore, the raw material for the vast increase in the output of steel, a key component for the expansion of industrial production. Selected indices demonstrating the magnitude of the great transformation from 1870 to 1900 are shown in the following table (4).

Indices Of The Great Transformation 1870-1900

Population	1870—39,905,000 1900—79,094,000
Urban areas 2,500 and larger	1870—663 1900—1,737
Index of manufacturing production	1870-25 1900-100
Steel ingots and castings	1870—68,750 tons 1900—10,188,329 tons
Lumber production	1869—12,756,000 board feet 1899—35,078,000 board feet
Gross national product—current prices	1869-73—\$6.7 billion 1897-01—\$17.3 billion
Value of exports and imports	1870—exports—\$451 million imports—\$462 million 1900—exports—\$1,499 million imports—\$930 million

The third era of resource exploitation on Chequamegon Bay began with the resurrection of Ashland and the revival of Bayfield. Railway construction toward Chequamegon Bay in the central and western regions of the state was at last underway, the Wisconsin Central reaching Ashland in June 1877, and the Chicago, Minneapolis, St. Paul and Omaha completed to Bayfield in October 1883. While the exploitation of the iron ore deposits on the Penokee Range remained the enduring hope of Ashland, and transformation into a major Great Lakes port that of Bayfield, things did not quite work out that way. By 1885 there were four sawmills plus other woodworking establishments at Ashland. It was also an important railroad and lake shipping point, with four railroads, several mill and freight docks and warehouses, and a dock to load ships with ore from the recently opened Gogebic iron ore range. The town had also become something of a tourist mecca, centered on its large and famous Chequamegon Hotel. Bayfield had one large sawmill, with a brownstone quarry located nearby, the first of several which would be opened in future years along the bay shore. The village was also an important tourism center, served by the Island View Hotel. But Bayfield's dream of becoming an important Great Lakes shipping port came to nothing when the Wisconsin Central Railroad located its lake terminal at Ashland, while the Omaha Railroad, although completed to Bayfield, constructed its lake terminal at Vanderver Bay some eleven miles to the southwest, near an old mill site known as McClellan.

The selection of Vanderventer Bay, by the Omaha Railroad for its lake shipping terminal in the spring of 1883, provided the impetus for Washburn's establishment as a speculative townsite by a land company. As its economic base expanded to include shipping, sawmills, and quarrying, the material, population, and social bases were established and consolidated, Washburn developed rapidly from work camp to settlement and then to a growing community, a full participant in and beneficiary of the boom phase of the third era of resource exploitation on the bay. But late in the century the boom began to fade and Washburn, created and sustained by the boom, eventually became its victim. The components of its economic base—shipping, lumbering, and quarrying—did not collapse suddenly and catastrophically, however, but each declined at its own rate over a period of years. Although its economic base was reconstituted to a certain extent by small enterprises and by the Du Pont explosives plant established in 1904 (except for a mini-boom created by the expansion of that plant during World War I), Washburn gradually declined to a maintenance level with no hope (but always the dream) of a return to boom prosperity and growth. During the 1920s and 1930s Washburn struggled to survive on a precarious economic base consisting of fluctuating employment at the Du Pont explosives works, employment in county government and New Deal programs, business brought to town by farms in the surrounding area, public welfare for the large body of elderly (mostly widows), and the initiative of individuals in finding or creating sources of income. The economic consequences of World War II, particularly the expansion of the Du Pont plant to fill war orders, and later the development of tourism and the influx of people to the region from the metropolitan areas, enabled the community to recover to a somewhat higher level of prosperity, but it remained a maintenance community.

Population figures reflect the rapid growth of Washburn and the other Bay communities to prosperity and promise during the second era of resource exploitation and their gradual decline when the era faded after the turn of the century. As shown in the following table, the population of Washburn declined from a peak of 5,178 in 1895 to 2,070 in 1950, or by 60%; that of Ashland from a peak of 14,519 in 1905 to 10,640 in 1950 or by 27%; and that of Bayfield from a peak of 1,689 in 1900 to 1,153 in 1950, or by 32% (5). These figures become even more meaningful as measures of decline when placed in the context of the growth in the population of the state during the same period, from 1,315,497 in 1880 to 3,434,575 in 1950.

Populations Of Chequamegon Bay Communities 1885-1950

	<u>Washburn</u>	<u>Ashland</u>	<u>Bayfield</u>
1885	741	4,348	
1890	3,039	9,956	1,373
1895	5,178 (a)	12,310	1,368
1900	5,005	13,074	1,689 (a)
1905	4,924	14,519 (a)	
1910	3,830	11,594	
1917	6,038 (b)		
1918	6,500 (c)		
1920	3,707	11,334	1,441
1926	3,700 (d)		
1930	2,238	10,622	1,195
1940	2,363	11,101	1,212
1950	2,070	10,640	1,153

a. peak census population

b. unofficial local census

c. estimate on Sanborn map set for September 1918, sheet 1

d. estimate on Sanborn map set for June 1926, sheet 1

The depredation of the two resources that powered the boom on Chequamegon Bay—timber for lumbering, and brownstone for building—had an earlier history of limited and benign exploitation (6). The development and prosperity of the Wisconsin lumber industry—short-lived as it was—rested on a foundation of two natural resources—timber and waterways (7). The timber resource had two linked characteristics: the geographic distribution of the forest coverage and the types of trees. When Europeans arrived in the territory that was to become the state, the part south of a line from Manitowac to Portage and from there to the St. Croix Falls was largely open prairie, punctuated by “oak openings.” North of that line was a 35 to 50 mile belt of hardwoods with a small proportion of pine trees. Extending farther north to the southern shore of Lake Superior was a vast, heavily forested region with about equal proportions of hardwood and pine overall, along with numerous open spaces formed by marshes, small lakes, rock outcrops, grass land, and rivers and streams (8). This northern region is covered by a network of waterways that could not have been more adapted to the needs of the lumber industry than if it had been designed by some great lumber baron. The major arteries of this network are Lake Superior to the north, Lake Michigan to the east, and the Mississippi River to the west. These are connected to the interior by several rivers: into the Mississippi—St. Croix, Chippewa, Black, and Wisconsin; into Lake Michigan—Menominee, Peshtigo, and the Wolf-Fox and Lake Winnebago chain; and into Lake Superior—Montreal, Bad, and Brule. The rivers served the industry by providing waterpower (for the early mills) and transportation of logs to the mills, while the Mississippi and the two Great Lakes were used to move large rafts of lumber to markets to the south.

The lumber industry began along the rivers in the southern part of the forest area. Not only did these rivers provide log transportation and waterpower for the mills, the pine timber tended to be

concentrated along their banks. Of the 38 species of trees in Wisconsin forests, pine, particularly white pine, was preferred (as it was elsewhere). Indeed, for many years “lumbering” meant the harvesting and processing of pine timber. There were good reasons for this preference—the wood was in demand for building purposes because it was light, easily worked and durable, ideal for the balloon frame method for constructing wooden houses and buildings invented in 1833 (9). It also floated well and did not absorb large amounts of water, which suited it for transport in large lumber rafts (10). The first mill was built near De Pere in 1809, and by 1833 government permits had been issued for the construction of several other mills in the Fox River-Lake Winnebago region. These mills served the local needs of this rapidly growing region, although a lumber raft was apparently sent to Chicago in 1834 from a mill on the west shore of Green Bay. In the fall of 1849 there were 46 “saws” in this area with 12 more being built. In the western part of the state, it was reported, in 1843, that the mills on the St. Croix, Chippewa, and Wisconsin Rivers shipped 21 million board feet of lumber, 50 thousand square feet of “hewn timber,” plus millions of shingles and laths down the Mississippi. In 1847 there were 24 mills on the Wisconsin, 13 mills on the Black, 5 mills on the Chippewa and 5 mills on the St. Croix, which together produced a total of 38.5 million feet of lumber, 5.9 million shingles, 9.1 million laths in addition small quantities of hewn timber and logs (11).

Early lumbering on Chequamegon Bay to serve local needs began in the 1840s with the construction of two water-powered sawmills. Between 1845 and 1847 the American Fur Company erected a small mill about one and one-half miles from the mouth of Pike’s Creek (12). The other mill was constructed at the rapids of the Bad River by Ervin Leihy about 1846 (13). The first mill in Bayfield was constructed for the Bayfield Land Company by John T. Cahoe soon after the village was founded in 1856. Located at the water’s edge, it was steam powered. The mill burnt in January 1857 but was rebuilt the following year (14). In August 1858 “a large steam saw mill” was built at Houghton, “capable of cutting twenty thousand feet of lumber per day,” with “machinery for cutting lath and shingles” (15). The 1860 census for the Town of La Pointe in Ashland County showed a steam-powered sawmill with an annual capacity of one million feet, probably at La Pointe village (16). For the Town of Bayport in Ashland County, two mills are shown—the Leihy mill on the Bad River with an annual capacity of 200 thousand feet; and a water-powered mill, the location of which is unknown, with an annual output of 100 thousand feet (17). For the Town of Bayfield in La Pointe (later Bayfield) County, the 1860 census showed two mills—the steam powered mill in Bayfield with an annual capacity of one million feet and the old mill on Pike’s Creek with a capacity of 300 thousand feet (18). About 1860 Samuel S. Vaughn built a steam sawmill in the ravine that marks the west boundary of Memorial Park, possibly constructed from an old mill (the Maddox mill) originally located on the east side of the Houghton Falls ravine. Vaughn’s mill was apparently shut down in 1863 but restarted during the revival of the area in the early 1870s. One of the men who restarted the mill, described it as:

a very small affair. The building was about 30 by 50 and two stories high. The lower part held the engine and boiler, the upper part had the saw and carriage. There was one belt from the engine to the shaft that ran the head block of the saw and was geared so it ran the carriage back and forth as in other mills. The saw was what is called a mutty saw and was on the same principle as the gang saws in the large mills. . . . Two men could do all the work in running the mill. The daily cut would be 1500 to 2000 feet a day. The lumber was what we called Wainy-Board lumber and had to be taken to Bayfield or Ashland to run it through the edger. Of course only the best of logs were taken as the timber was right at the mill on the bank and did not require a team to haul it to the mill (19).

How long this mill operated is unknown. In September 1880, the *Ashland Weekly Press* reported that Vaughn had dismantled the mill, put the machinery in storage in Ashland (White said in Bayfield), and sold the mill building. But Jacobs stated in his reminiscences that Vaughn had a contract to provide “the village of Ontonagon with 80 thousand feet of plank for road purposes.” He does not give a date for this information, but it probably would have been after June 1882, when Vaughn said he came to Chequamegon Bay (20).

Upon returning from Civil War service, Robinson D. Pike built a shingle mill at La Pointe, but it burnt down in May 1869, destroying much of the village along with it. There are no sawmills listed in the Town of La Pointe in Ashland County in the 1870 census (Leihy had moved to Bayfield). In the Town of Bayfield in Bayfield County two mills are shown for the village of Bayfield, one owned by Robinson D. Pike, which was both steam and water powered; and the other the former Bayfield Land Company—Vaughn mill, now owned by the Bayfield Mill Company. There was also a large, steam-powered mill at Bark Point on the northwest coast of the peninsula. The old mill on Pike’s Creek, Vaughn’s mill at McClellan and the mill at Houghton were not listed (21).

In 1880 there was an estimated 3.6 billion board feet of standing “merchantable white pine” along the south shore of Lake Superior from the boundary with Michigan to the boundary with Minnesota (22). A substantial proportion of this pine timber was in the immediate Chequamegon Bay area from the Bad River in the east to the Brule River in the west. The large-scale harvesting of this timber mainly for external lumber markets began with the construction of four mills in Ashland from 1873 to 1881 and the enlargement of the Pike mill in Bayfield (23). They were soon joined by three mills in Washburn. These large, mechanized mills on Chequamegon Bay (and elsewhere in Wisconsin) represented the latest stage in the migration of the lumbering frontier after the Civil War, from Maine and adjacent states through New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Michigan, as the pine forests in those regions were successively exhausted. Within 20 years this lumber producing juggernaut on the bay had consumed most of the surrounding pine timber and the frontier resumed its march westward, first to Minnesota and then to the great, untouched forests of the Washington, Oregon and California. Included in this great transplacement was the whole of the lumber industry—lumberjacks, millmen, managers, entrepreneurs and others, practices, techniques and customs, along with the mill machinery (24).

Shipping on Lake Superior—the water transportation of freight and passengers for profit—began with Native Americans and the *voyageurs* carrying furs and trade goods in canoes, bateaux and Mackinac boats (25). The first decked sailing vessel of which there is a record was built about 1735, followed later by a number of small sailing ships of various designs. Most of these ships were built on Lake Superior, but a few were portaged around the St. Mary's River rapids from the lower lakes. By the late 1840s an extensive commerce had developed on the lake employing primarily schooners but also at least two steamers, the “propellers” *Independence* and *Julia Palmer*, which were portaged around the St. Mary's River rapids in 1845-46. La Pointe, then an important fur trade and missionary center for the western end of Lake Superior, was no doubt frequently visited by these different vessels.

The construction of the canal through the St. Mary's River rapids to connect Lake Superior with the well-developed commercial system of the lower lakes began in 1853 and was completed in May 1855. The prospect of the canal raised the question as to where the port or ports at the western end of the lake would be located. At that time there were two equally suitable possibilities: St. Louis Bay and Superior Bay at the end of the lake, protected by an offshore bar; and Chequamegon Bay, sheltered by the Apostle Islands. In anticipation of becoming a major Great Lakes port, townsites were established at Superior in 1853, and at Whittlesey and Bay City in 1854, and Bayfield in 1856 (as noted above). La Pointe became a very busy little harbor, serving as a transit point for passengers and cargoes to Superior, Bayfield, Ashland, and the boom copper town of Ontonagon, Michigan. Many tourists also arrived there from ports on the lower lakes. Shipping activity on the bay all but ceased after the panic of 1858 and during the Civil War period but resumed with the resurrection of Ashland and the revival of Bayfield in the early 1870s. With the arrival of the Wisconsin Central Railroad at Ashland in June 1877, regular passenger and freight service with the Great Lakes ports was established by the packet lines (26). The volume of shipping activity at Ashland grew steadily from then on with the establishment of sawmills, woodworking factories, and a tourist industry, and the beginning of ore shipments in July 1885 (27). Shipping activity at Bayfield was well developed even before the arrival of the railroad. Ships called regularly during the tourist season, and the trans-shipment business at La Pointe was transferred to Bayfield (28). Schooners, and steam-powered “propellers” and side-wheelers were the most common vessels on the bay during these early years. Fundamental changes in ship technology were already underway, however, which would eventually help settle the question of where the major shipping center at the western end of the Great Lakes chain would be in favor of Superior and Duluth (29).

The quarrying of building stone was an important part of Wisconsin's economy in the latter part of the nineteenth century. An 1898 map of Wisconsin quarries shows about 100 limestone, sandstone and granite quarries, three-fourths of which were located in the southern half of the state (30). Where it was available, sandstone, or brownstone as it is called, had always been an important building stone because it was durable, easy to quarry and work, and cheap. Indeed, in some areas where there was a shortage of suitable building timber, brownstone was cheaper than lumber. The quarries on Chequamegon Bay are located on a formation of sandstone that underlies the Apostle Islands and the Bayfield peninsula, extending from the Montreal River in the east to the St. Louis River in the west and into southwestern Minnesota. This formation, laid down by streams some six hundred million years ago, is known as the Bayfield group. It reaches estimated thicknesses of over 4,000 feet under Lake Superior (Lake Superior syncline). The

stone is composed of quartz grains, cemented with calcite, silica and iron oxide, the last of these giving the stone its red to brown color (31). The first quarry on Chequamegon Bay was opened on Basswood Island in 1868 by the Bass Island Brown Stone Company (32). Stone from this quarry was used in the construction of the Milwaukee County Courthouse in 1870, the “first major civic building to use Lake Superior sandstone.” Stone was also shipped to Chicago, where buildings constructed of it withstood the high temperatures of the great Chicago fire on October 8 1872 (confirming what laboratory tests had already shown), resulting in a substantial increase in demand for the stone for rebuilding the city (33). Other reported minor brownstone quarrying operations during this period included a quarry on Stockton Island in 1871 owned by Samuel S. Vaughn, which provided broken stone for a breakwater at Ontonagon; and operations at Houghton in 1872, which provided stone for the piers and abutments of the Wisconsin Central Railroad bridges over the White River and Silver Creek, south of Ashland (34).

The next large quarry was started in the summer of 1883 by Robinson D. Pike, prominent lumber mill owner and investor from Bayfield. It was located at Van Tassell Point, about two and one-half miles southwest of Bayfield. Stone was quarried along the shore and at two locations farther inland, one of which can still be seen on the north side of Highway 13. Stone from this quarry was used to build the Bayfield County Courthouse in 1884 (now the National Park headquarters) (35). After the Civil War, the market for brownstone greatly expanded. It was in demand for numerous uses in railroad construction as well as by old and new cities as they grew during the population and settlement boom of the period. Also, there was a general expectation, which brownstone met, that large, important buildings—banks, schools, churches, libraries, corporate headquarters, government buildings—should be massive and somber in appearance, reflecting a permanence and stability consistent with the important business carried on inside. Lending expression to this penchant for massive and somber buildings was the Romanesque revival in architecture. Led by the architect, Henry Hobson Richardson, the movement lasted from about 1875 to the mid-1890s (36). The general characteristics of buildings in this style, often built in whole or in part of brownstone, were overall massiveness and solidity, huge rounded arches with recessed doors and windows, with high, steeply pitched roofs punctuated by chimneys and towers. The Washburn Bank building, completed in 1890 of native brownstone, is a “masterful, small-scale example” of this Romanesque architectural style (37). This large national market for brownstone, plus the arrival of the railroad at Chequamegon Bay, in 1883, led to the establishment of an extensive brownstone quarrying industry centered in the Houghton Point region, which flourished until major changes in architectural tastes and style and building construction technology, the decline of railroad construction, and other factors in the late 1890s doomed the quarry companies.

Notes

1. This resource frontier thesis is not proposed as the cause or explanation of everything that happened during the long history of the Chequamegon Bay and its communities. The causes of the events of history are not “simple and sovereign” ones, but complex webs of causes and effects that are often impossible to untangle. On the other hand, the broad course of history can often be understood from the perspective provided by a large-scale factor such as this thesis, even though that factor is not the “cause” of everything that occurred. The Resource frontier thesis is intended only as a perspective from which to gain an overall understanding of the history of Chequamegon Bay. For comments about the resource frontier thesis, see: Slotkin 1985, c. 3; Billington 1966, 160-163; Higgins 1959, 188-191. Charles Gordon Mahaffey applied a similar concept to the larger Lake Superior region within which Chequamegon Bay is located (the Upper Peninsula of Michigan, northern Wisconsin, and northeastern Minnesota)—Mahaffey 1978; Mahaffey and Bassuk 1978. For an examination of other resource frontier regions, including the cutover of the Upper Peninsula of Michigan, see Lyson 1993. Natural resources may be defined as “valued goods the production of which occurs through natural processes or largely without human intervention and the supply of which is severely constrained (if not altogether fixed) by nature”—Young 1982, 1. They may be divided into two broad classes: those that require extraction from the land (ore, oil, timber) and processing into useful and marketable products; and those that are fixed natural features that may require enhancement or improvement to be useful, such as port sites, and water courses, and channels. The words “inexhaustible resources” or “inexhaustible reserves” of ore, timber or some other resource, were stock phrases in the “boom” literature of the time, even appearing in survey or traveler’s reports prepared by people who should have known better. Of course, for the first Europeans and those who followed them, the resources of the North American continent truly appeared inexhaustible. The scale of the natural wealth was beyond anything they had ever encountered or even imagined; the state of technology limited the rate at which resources could be exploited, so that even centuries of exploitation would not threaten to diminish the reserves; and the level of demand for resources was relatively modest. At the same time the view of resources as being inexhaustible reinforced and justified the attitude that they could be used or abused as people saw fit. The idea continued to be espoused because of its usefulness in this regard, even when the factors that gave it credence were no longer tenable.
2. See Putnam 2000, for the concept of social capital and its role in the development of a community, particularly p. 19-20, 274.
3. This was known as “town jobbing.” Speculators would locate a promising site for a town at the confluence of navigable rivers or along such rivers, at river mouths or other promising port locations on the Great Lakes, or at other strategic points and buy the land at the minimum price of \$1.25 an acre. Each of the numerous lots platted on an acre of such cheap land could be sold for many times the original cost of the entire acre, provided that settlers came to their townsite. While additional money had to be spent on “improvements” to the townsite, the investors would still realize substantial returns. Madison, Milwaukee, and several other Wisconsin cities were founded as speculative townsites.

4. On the “great transformation,” see Hays 1995; Higgs 1971; Wiebe 1967; Putnam 2000, 368-383. The transformation continued through World War I.
5. Data from respective federal and state (to 1905) censuses. Full citations for the censuses are in the Bibliography. Actually the federal and state census enumerations may not provide an accurate picture of the population of the village. They were recorded in the summer when the population was at its peak because of the large seasonal work forces employed by the mills and docks. During the winter months when these facilities were not operating the population no doubt declined as many unemployed men—both single and with families—left to seek work elsewhere. Also, as is typical of boom communities, the population at any time during the year was in flux as people, particularly single men, came and left for a variety of reasons. The figures for 1918 and 1926 are estimates shown on the Sanborn map sets for September 1918 and June 1926, which are probably not reliable. The figure for 1917 was compiled from a census carried out by high school students under the auspices of the Commercial Club—“Remarkable Growth Is Shown By Census Just Taken.” *WT* 2/1/17.
6. For a history of Chequamegon Bay and its communities from 1659 to 1883, see L. Larson 2005.
7. Histories of the lumber industry in Wisconsin and the Great Lakes regions include Dopp 1913; Flader 1983; Fries 1951; Kleven 1941; A. Larson 1949; Raney 1935; Roth 1898; Williams 1989. For a history of the American lumber industry through the early years of the 20th century, see Illick 1924.
8. Dopp 1913, c.5; Fries 1951, 5-6; Roth 1898, 10-12; Rector 1953, 43-54.
9. Condit 1960, 22-23.
10. Fries 1951, 6; Dopp 1913, 737.
11. Dopp 1913, 738; Raney 1935, 72-75; Whittlesey 1852, c.5, 471; *The Annual Amount*, S. Report 242, 1844; 6—a “board foot” is a piece of lumber one foot by one foot by one inch thick, hereafter referred to simply as “feet;” Owen 1952, c.4, 149-150; Raney 1935, 75-80.
12. The sawmill was built by J.T. Welton from Oberlin, Ohio, for the American Fur Company sometime during the years 1845 to 1847. It was acquired by Julius Austrian when the company went out of business; he later sold it to Elisha Pike. A note on the deed for the mill states that it was the “first saw mill in Bayfield County.” “Capt. R.D. Pike.” *BCP* 3/30/06; Burnham 1974, 146-148; Knight, “Captain Pike Tells Of His Father’s Coming To Bayfield.” *BCP* 10/21/54; “Pike Predicted A Great Future For Bayfield Area.” *BCP* 10/28/54; Burnham, *ADP* 5/1/31 (Pike mill). John A. Barden, an early settler at the Superior townsite, claimed that a “water power ‘up and down’ sawmill” built “at the falls on Iron River about a half mile from the Lake” in 1854 was the first sawmill in Bayfield County. “First Saw Mills At The Head Of Lake Superior.” *John A. Barden Papers*. Superior: Area Research Center, Superior Public Library, n.d., 68.

13. Arbuckle, "First Sawmills On The Bad River Reservation;" Burnham, "The Leihy Settlement In 1846." *ADP* 9/25-9/28/34; "Leihy's Mill 1846." Burnham, *ADP* 11/21/34; Robert Hanson, "Discovery Of The Leihy Millsite, Built About 1846." Burnham, *ADP* 12/1/34. William H. Wheeler, the son of Leonard H. Wheeler, an early Protestant missionary at La Pointe and Bad River, stated that the Leihy mill was "built between the years 1850 and '53"—Burnham, *ADP* 5/1/31.
14. Knight, "The Actual Building of Bayfield." *BCP* 3/22/56; Knight, "The Preacher Wasn't Afraid of Hard Work." *BCP* 8/6/53.
15. Towns Around The Apostle Islands." *Superior Chronicle* 8/17/58. During a visit to Houghton on August 2 1858, Rev. James Peet recorded in his diary that "There is a steem [steam] saw mill at the place, just put up"—Peet *Diaries*.
16. U.S. Census, 1860, Ashland County, Town of La Pointe, "Schedule 5—Products of Industry."
17. U.S. Census, 1860, Ashland County, Town of Bayport, "Schedule 5—Products of Industry."
18. U.S. Census, 1860, La Pointe County, Town of Bayfield, "Schedule 5—Products of Industry."
19. George A. White, "The Old McClellan Mill." *WT* 7/25/29; Burnham, *ADP* 10/22/28.
20. White, "The Old McClellan Mill." *WT* 7/25/29; *AWP* 1/11/73, 3/8/73, 4/5/73, 9/4/80; Harris 1976, 189; Burnham *ADP* 4/2/29; Jacobs, *ADP* 10/11/28; An item in the *Bayfield Press* in February 1882 reported that "Johnson & Co." on the Vanderverter Bay had cut 1,500,000 board feet of logs during the winter—"Our Lumber Harvest." *BCP* 2/4/82.
21. U.S. Census, 1870, Bayfield County, Town of Bayfield, "Schedule 4—Products of Industry." A steam-powered mill is also listed at Bark Point. No capacity figures for these mills are given. The old mill on Pikes Creek is not listed. Robinson D. Pike was the son of Elisha Pike. Twining stated that a government mill was constructed at Red Cliff and operated for twelve seasons, but it is not listed in the 1860 or 1870 censuses—Twining 1983, 212.
22. The estimated total of white pine timber for Wisconsin in 1880 was 42 billion board feet. Even at this beginning stage of large-scale lumbering in the state, the report noted that "The pine has been destroyed along the entire southern borders of the pine belt, along the banks of the principal streams, and from the lines of railroad, while the hard wood has been often greatly injured or destroyed by fire in these parts of the state where pine has been cut"—Sargent 1884, 554-555.

23. Ashland mills: Ashland Lumber Company, 1873; Union Mill Company, 1879; Mueller and Ritchie Mill, 1880; Superior Lumber Company, 1881—see: “Lower Town Items.” *AWP* 7/12/73; “The Union Mill Co.” *AWP* 8/3/78; “Another Saw Mill For Ashland.” *AWP* 12/27/79; “Superior Lumber Company.” *AWP* 11/15/81; “Our Industries.” *AWP* 4/22/82; U.S. Census, 1880, Ashland County, Town of Ashland, “Special Schedules Of Manufactures—Lumber Mills And Saw-Mills.” For a detailed description of these mills, see the Sanborn map for Ashland for November 1884. Pike mill—“The Lumber Business.” *BP* 4/16/79; U.S. Census, 1880, Bayfield County, Village of Bayfield, “Special Manufacturing Schedule, Lumber Mills And Saw Mills;” for a detailed description, see the Sanborn map for Bayfield for September 1886.
24. Jensen 1971, 8-9; Smith 1974; Twining 1983; Reynolds and Pierson 1925; Kohlmeyer 1956.
25. Nute 1944, 113-121; Ericson 1969a.
26. “Opening Of The Great New Freight And Passenger Route Between Chicago, Milwaukee, North And South Shore Of Lake Superior And The North Pacific.” *AWP* 6/9/77; “South Shore Line.” *AWP* 5/18/78 (advertisement).
27. “The First Ore Train.” *AWP* 7/18/85; “Ore Shipments.” *AWP* 8/15/85.
28. For example, see these advertisements: “Lake Michigan & Lake Superior Transportation Co.” *BCP* 8/13/81; “Gen’l Ticket Agency!” *BCP* 7/7/83; also Knight, “Bayfield Famous In Earlier Years As Port Of Call.” *BCP* 9/15/55.
29. Ericson 1969b.
30. “Map of Wisconsin, showing location of quarries.” Buckley 1898.
31. The Bayfield group consists of three formations: the lowest (oldest) formation is the Orienta sandstone, which outcrops near Cornucopia and underlies the lowland toward the end of the lake; above the Orienta formation lies the Devil’s Island sandstone, which outcrops extensively on that island and along the coast of the peninsula toward Cornucopia; and the uppermost (youngest) is the Chequamegon sandstone, with exposures all along the southeastern coast of the peninsula and on the Apostle Islands. Its thickness is estimated at from 1,000 to 2,000 feet. It is in this formation that the Chequamegon Bay quarries were located. There are extensive outcrops of this rock around the coast of the peninsula and on the islands, so it is easily accessible for quarrying. The stone varies in color from dark brown to reddish brown but is generally uniform in color within a bed. Extensive laboratory tests demonstrated that the stone possesses in full measure the strength, durability, and resistance to high temperatures necessary for building construction purposes. It is somewhat soft when quarried, but the surface hardens when exposed to air, making it resistant to weathering. See Thwaites 1912, 25-45, 101-102; Buckley 1898, 174-178, 210-211; Eckert 2000, 31-35. The Eckert book is an excellent recent study of brownstone quarrying and architecture in the Lake Superior region.

32. Organized by Alanson Sweet and Daniel Wells of Milwaukee. The quarry was located on the south end of Bass Island. The property subsequently passed through several hands by lease or purchase—Eckert 2000, 17-18, 82-83, 223-224; Buckley 1898, 178-182; Ross 1960, 127; *BP* 10/20/70, 11/12/70, 11/11/71; “Bayfield And Vicinity.” *BP* 7/29/71; “Lake Superior Brownstone.” *BP* 11/11/71; “Brown Sandstone.” *BP* 4/20/72; “Our Brownstone.” *BCP* 9/6/90; U.S. Census, 1870, Ashland County, Town of La Pointe, “Schedule 4, Products of Industry;” Burnham, “The Basswood Island Quarry.” *ADP* 5/4/31; “Brownstone.” *ADP* 5/18/34, 5/21/34. In 1978 the quarry was placed on the National Register of Historic Places—“Basswood Island Quarry Listed On Historic Register.” *WBCT* 5/4/78.
33. Eckert 2000, 17-21; Buckley 1898, 174-178.
34. *BP* 6/3/71; “Ashland Locals.” *BP* 3/16/72, 3/30/72, 4/6/72.
35. Buckley 1898, 193-195; Eckert 2000, 185, 230, 284 n. 15.
36. Tallmadge 1927, 166-178.
37. Letter from James Draeger, Chief, Office of Historic Buildings, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, June 1999.

Chequamegon Bay Sandstone

The underlying rock of the Chequamegon bay region is quartz sandstone, deposited to a depth of over four thousand feet in an ancient sea that covered the region. The uppermost three layers of this formation, known as Chequamegon sandstone, is 1,000 feet thick. During the final two decades of the 19th century and the early years of the 20th century, there was a flourishing quarrying industry, extracting stone from the Chequamegon formation on Basswood, Stockton and Hermit Islands, and at Houghton Point and Van Tassells Point. Chequamegon sandstone was in demand because it was dense, strong, and of a uniform reddish-brown color. Some of the stone was used locally but most of it was shipped by rail or water to the growing cities to the south and west.

Until late in the 19th century multi-story buildings were usually constructed by piling large blocks of stone, one upon the other. The taller the building, the larger the proportion of the area of the lower floors, which had to be devoted to the thick foundation walls, needed to support the walls of the upper floors. This imperative limited the height of buildings to a few stories. The solution to this problem was the use of an iron or steel frame, rather than the walls themselves, to support the building. This method made it possible to construct multi-story buildings with thin curtain walls and large areas of glass. Sandstone was not suited for this method of construction. Also people preferred the lighter colors of other types of stone over the somber tones of sandstone. For these, and other reasons, the demand for Chequamegon Bay sandstone rapidly declined, and by the early years of the 20th century the quarries had closed.

The pinnacle of sandstone construction around Chequamegon Bay was the huge Knight hotel on the southeast corner of Main Street and Ellis Avenue in Ashland, opened in January 1892. The building was five stories high with a large central tower 61 feet high. It gradually fell into disrepair and was demolished in 1974 (1).

Other prominent sandstone buildings still in use include: in Ashland, the railroad depot, constructed by the Wisconsin Central Railroad in 1889 (badly damaged by fire in April 2000 but rebuilt), and the city hall, constructed in 1893; in Bayfield, the original county courthouse, constructed in 1884, now the headquarters of the Apostle Islands National Lakeshore; and in Washburn, the county courthouse, built in 1895, and the public library, built in 1905. Many buildings in the three communities were constructed of brick with sandstone facades, including in Washburn, the opera house (1884), the Lemke building (1889) across the avenue from the opera house, and the Meehan block (1895).

1. Kathryn Bishop Eckert. *The Sandstone Architecture Of The Lake Superior Region*. 2000; Whitney Gould, Stephen Wittman, Jana Fothergill, and Jan Johnson. *Brownstone & Bargeboard; A Guide To Bayfield's Historic Architecture*. 1980; *Ashland County, Wisconsin Revisited: A Timeless Photo Journey* 2001; Ashland Historical Society Museum (website): "Knight Hotel, Ashland, WI," and "Hotel Chequamegon In Ashland, Wisconsin."

Chequamegon Bay Hotels

During the boom years on Chequamegon Bay, from the latter years of the 19th century through the early years of the 20th, large hotels were erected in the three Bay cities, Washburn, Ashland, and Bayfield. With the exception of the huge brownstone Knight hotel in Ashland, all of them were constructed of wood.

In Washburn, the Hotel Washburn was built by the Bay Land and Improvement Company on the northwest corner of Bayfield Street and First Avenue East, one block north of the Omaha depot (now Legion Park). It opened in October 1883. The *Washburn Bee* described the hotel as a “two and one-half story building, 75x75, and cost \$13,000. The house is supplied with soft water, electric bells and telephone connections with Bayfield and Ashland. Has large airy rooms, furnished throughout in first-class style, and offers special inducements to summer tourists. Has accommodations for 100 guests.”

Early Saturday morning, February 3 1917, the hotel was totally destroyed by fire. The fire apparently started in the laundry room, and spread rapidly through the dry wooden structure. Because of the poor alarm system, it was forty minutes before the firemen arrive at the scene, by which time nothing could be done to save the building. The *Washburn Times* reported that “The fire could be seen from every section of the city, the sky being illuminated as plain as day. The building being a frame one made a pretty fire. It was not until daylight that the fire burned itself out and all that remains to mark the spot where the popular hotel once stood is a pile of ruins and few chimneys which still remain standing.”

By the 1870s the new city of Ashland had become an important port, industrial center, and something of a tourist mecca. To accommodate the large number of tourists, visitors, and businessmen, coming to the booming city, in May 1878 the Wisconsin Central Railroad opened the Chequamegon Hotel, a large hotel on the block now occupied by the Ashland County Courthouse. The *Ashland Press* described it as “Ashland’s Grand Hotel. It is the largest and by far the finest on Lake Superior, and equal to any of the famous summer resort hotels in the West. Five hundred people can be cared for in first class style.” It was an enormous three story wooden structure, originally 50x120 feet, later enlarged by the addition of a 40x180 feet wing. There was a veranda along the front and sides of the building, with a tower over each of the two corners where the front and sides met. The first floor included a large central court with a fountain, a “grand parlor” 40x43 feet, a dining hall, bowling alley, billiard hall, nurse and children’s dining hall, “water closets,” and other facilities. A sketch shows the parlor “richly carpeted with a brilliant red velvet with a border; the windows are hung with damask drapery, shaded in gold, with elegant furniture to match. . . Its grandest feature, however, is its large old fashioned fire place, with brass dogs and fender, over which is a magnificent oak mantle.” Light was provided by two elegant gas jet chandeliers of latest style and gilt bronze finish.

Also located on the first floor were an office, facilities for guest comfort and convenience, the kitchen, and dining room, described as follows: “The office is large and well arranged. The room is finished in oak with black walnut counter. It contains a neat annex in which are located the clerk’s desk, electric bells, etc. The walls are hung with engravings and the whole

appropriately furnished. Back of and adjoining the office is a barber shop, bath room and closets, fitted up in modern style, a coat room, private office and a splendid reading room, the windows of which open out upon the veranda. In the east wing are also located a nurse and children's dining room, and the servant's hall. The kitchen contains all the modern conveniences, and is large and airy. It has a fully furnished pastry room attached, with a brick bake-oven. Two large ranges and a broiler do service in the meat and vegetable room. Steam heaters, carving stands and patent coffee boilers are located in the serving room. In fact nothing is omitted that belongs to a first class hotel kitchen. The Dining room is a splendid one, and has a seating capacity for one hundred and fifty guests. Its tables are furnished with beautiful linen, fine silver service, and white china. Heavy black walnut cane-seat chairs, a rich side board, and other necessary fixtures finish its appointments. It contains six four-jet chandeliers, all of gilt bronze. The windows and doors are all wired in [screens], thus keeping the room free from flies. Inside blinds give shade and make the room a cool and pleasant place in which to enjoy a hearty meal."

On the second floor there are "sixty large sleeping rooms, furnished in various styles, in black walnut, mahogany, and ash sets, marble top tables, and bureaus, hair mattresses, decorated crockery, Brussels carpets, etc. There are many fine suites of rooms overlooking the Bay, pleasant and comfortable. Upon this floor are located the ladies bath room and other conveniences. The main halls are richly carpeted and the gas fixtures of the latest designs and finish." The third floor is similar to the second floor in its "general features, except that the rooms are smaller. They are nicely furnished throughout. . . . The halls are all the same width, and neatly carpeted with Brussels carpets." Artificial light throughout the building was provided by gas chandeliers and wall fixtures. (These gas fixtures would have depleted the oxygen and emitted toxic fumes, a deadly combination, particularly in small rooms.) In the mid-1890s the hotel was damaged by fire. The core of the building was moved to the northwest corner of Second Street and Seventh Avenue West. It was named the Culver and later the Menard. This building was destroyed by a fire in 1957.

Dwarfing the Chequamegon Hotel in scale and opulence was the Hotel Knight, located on the southeast corner of Main Street and Ellis Avenue. Built by John H. Knight, a well-known, entrepreneur in the region, it opened in early 1892. The hotel was a massive brownstone building, five stories high, with a central tower 61 feet high, facing Main Street. An 1892 pamphlet promoting Ashland described it as "By all odds the most elegant, most complete and most popular hotel in Ashland. The Hotel Knight is practically fire proof, and is strictly first class in every respect. It is furnished with every modern convenience, elevators, baths, electric lights, and has steam heat in every room. There are sample rooms, music hall, wine and billiard rooms in connection, and every appointment is excellent in its details. The building cost over \$200,000 and the furnishings were put in at a cost of \$20,000. The structure is five stories in height, and is built of brown stone. It measures 140x100 feet in dimensions and in design is ornate and massive. The guest rooms number fifty, and are all furnished equally comfortably; while the cuisine is equal to that of the best hotels in the West. The rates are from \$2.00 to \$3.00 per day, and every guest receives the greatest care and attention." Abandoned and falling into disrepair, this former center of Ashland social life was demolished in 1974.

Early Missions And Churches On Chequamegon Bay

The first recorded visit by Europeans to Chequamegon Bay was by two French adventurers and fur traders, Pierre Esprit Radisson and Medard Chouart, Sieur des Groseiliers, in August 1659. They remained over the winter, returning to Montreal in the spring of 1660 with a large cargo of furs. In the fall of 1665 the Jesuit missionary, Father Claude Jean Allouez, arrived at the bay from Quebec with a party of fur traders. He constructed the first chapel on the bay, a crude hut, possibly located near Thompson's Creek. He was recalled to Quebec in the spring of 1668. Allouez was succeeded by Father Jacques Marquette, who either occupied the chapel left by Allouez or constructed a new one on the same site. He was driven away by the Indians in the summer of 1671, ending missionary work on the bay.

In 1695 the French built a small fort on the southwestern tip of Madeline Island, naming it La Pointe. For the next 150 years it was the center of a vast web of trails leading to the east and west over which cargoes of fur arrived at an annual trapper-trader rendezvous. In 1818 two brothers from New England, the fur traders Truman and Lyman Warren, arrived at La Pointe. Proving to be competent traders and honest in their dealings with the Indians, they were hired by Michel Cadotte, a long-time fur trader at La Pointe. They eventually married Cadotte's daughters.

During their annual provisioning trip to Mackinac in the summer of 1825, the Warren brothers were converted to Christianity. Shortly afterward, Truman, suffering from a severe cold, took a ship for Detroit, but died on board on July 21st. Influenced by his brother's death and his new religious faith, Lyman Warren decided to establish a mission at La Pointe. In February 1830 Lyman brought Jedediah D. Stevens, a young teacher and lay missionary, to La Pointe, but he remained only until March. The following August, Frederick Ayer, another teacher and lay missionary, and Caroline Rodgers, a young mixed blooded Chippewa interpreter, arrived at La Pointe. Ayer opened a school where he taught the Indians, fur trade employees, and their children. In the spring he returned to Mackinac. Finally, on August 30 1831, Rev. Sherman Hall, a fully qualified missionary, arrived at La Pointe. He was accompanied by his wife Betsy, Frederick Ayer, and Elizabeth Campbell, who was an interpreter. In the summer of 1832 Mrs. Hall gave birth to a daughter, thought to be the first white child born in the western Lake Superior region. Then in August 1832 Rev. William T. Boutwell, a seminary classmate of Hall, joined him at La Pointe. Later that month Warren returned from Mackinac accompanied by Sabrina Stevens (sister to Jedediah), who assisted Hall and Boutwell. With the arrival of Hall and Boutwell and their assistants, missionary work among the Indians was resumed after a lapse of over 160 years since the departure of Father Marquette. In August 1833 they formally organized a mission church at La Pointe, thought to be the first Protestant congregation in Wisconsin. In 1834-35 they undertook the construction of a mission, building, located on the main road along the shore north of the "old Fort." It was a large building, sturdily constructed, which could accommodate the missionary families, visitors, and the school and church activities.

In 1838 a Presbyterian minister, Reverend Granville T. Sproat, arrived with his wife, and in 1840 Reverend Leonard H. Wheeler, a Congregational minister, arrived with his wife and a young woman teacher. There was now a substantial Protestant missionary establishment at La Pointe, and in 1840 they constructed a new Protestant church in the village, closer to their congregation. Reverend Wheeler believed that something had to be done about the deplorable conditions in which the Indians lived, so he proposed to teach them agricultural practices to make them self-sufficient. He did not think that Madeline Island was suitable for such purposes, however, and in 1845 he erected a new mission house

on the mainland near Bad River. Some Indians already lived there, and many at La Pointe who were not Catholics moved there with Wheeler. He named the site “Odanah” from a Chippewa word meaning village. According to his son, William, Wheeler anticipated that the Indians would eventually be forced onto reservations and selected the Bad River location as superior to others in the region, pre-empting the land for the Indians.

However, the Protestants did not have the field to themselves very long, for in July 1835 they were joined by a Catholic missionary, Father Iraneous Frederic Baraga. Baraga, energetic and dedicated to his calling, soon gathered a flock of converts and built a church just north of the new Protestant mission building.

Historic Names And Locations Around The Bay

Apostle Islands—The entrance to Chequamegon Bay is guarded by the Apostles Islands archipelago. Originally thought to include only 12 islands (hence the name), there are actually 22 islands. The largest island is Madeline, 15,359.5 acres and the smallest is Gull, 3.5 acres; total number of acres of the 22 islands is 54,464. An early proposal was to name the islands after states and call the group the “federation islands,” but only two have state names, (New) York and Michigan. Madeline Island was named after the daughter of White Crane, Chief of the Chippewa at La Pointe. The names of the other islands reflect geographic features or local traditions.

Bad River—Flows northward into the Bad River-Kakagan slough that drains into Lake Superior at the base of Chequamegon Point.

barrens—A roughly oval region of hilly sand soils, which caps the Bayfield peninsula, bounded by red clay deposits laid down by glacial Lake Duluth.

Bayfield peninsula—A highland created by the Wisconsin glacier as it retreated 10,000 years ago, depositing on the underlying ancient sandstone, as high as 600 feet, a mix of sand, clay, gravel, and rocks scooped up as it advanced from the spreading center near Hudson Bay.

Brink’s—The site of Camp Brink, a summer Civilian Conservation Corps camp in the 1930s, located on the former homestead of the Ora Brink family, on Forest Road 236, west of CH 13.

Chequamegon Bay—Lies in the Lake Superior lowland, which extends from about the eastern border with Michigan into Minnesota. The Bayfield peninsula forms the northern boundary of the bay and the Ashland plain, its southern boundary.

Cornucopia—An unincorporated community, on the north shore of the Bayfield peninsula, founded in 1903, so named by early settlers because of the abundance of wild fruits, grasses, and other vegetation in the vicinity.

Engoe—A grouping of farms in the Town of Washburn, settled about 1895, named for H.J. Engoe, one of the original settlers.

Fish Creek—flows northeast, into a slough that drains into the head of the Chequamegon Bay, just within the eastern boundary of Bayfield County.

Glacier—The Wisconsin glacier was the most recent advance of the North American Laurentide ice sheet that covered much of Canada and part of the northern United States; it retreated (melted back) about 10,000 years ago.

Herbster—An unincorporated community located on the north coast of the Bayfield peninsula, probably founded as a logging camp early in the 20th century, said to have been named for a cook in the logging camp named Herbst; a small group of immigrants from Holland were among the early settlers.

Houghton Point—A prominent geographic feature of the southern coast of the Bayfield peninsula near the mouth of Chequamegon Bay, named for Douglas Houghton, a geologist who was an early explorer of the Chequamegon Bay region; originally known as Prospect Point.

Lake Duluth—A large lake of meltwater that formed in front of the Wisconsin glacier as it retreated about 10,000 years ago. The lake laid down a thick mantle of red clay over the Bayfield peninsula and Ashland plain.

Mission Springs—Located on the southern shore of the bay, the alleged site of chapels supposed to have been constructed by the missionaries, Fathers Claude Allouez and Jacques Marquette in 1665 and 1669.

Moquah—A small community in the Town of Pilsen, name derived from the Algonquian name for bear; settled about 1901.

Nash—A small settlement in the Town of Barksdale, located where Highway 13 curves south at the head of Chequamegon Bay, founded in 1857-1858, named after an official of the Omaha Railroad Company; also known as Shore's Landing.

Ondossagon—The name of a school in the Town of Barksdale, near Nash, opened in 1917 and closed in 1990, and of the surrounding rural area.

Oulu—The Town of Oulu, located on the western boundary of Bayfield County, settled in 1904, named after a city in Finland.

Penokee—A highland, or range, south of Ashland, a continuation of the Gogebic Range in Michigan; the name is a corruption of "pewabic," the Native American word for iron.

Port Wing—An unincorporated community on the north shore of the Bayfield peninsula, founded about 1890, probably named after Isaac Wing, a prominent businessman in Bayfield.

reservations—The treaty of 1854 between the United States government and the Chippewa Indians, signed at La Pointe, established two reservations, one at Red Cliff at the tip of the Bayfield peninsula for Indians of Catholic persuasion, and another at Bad River for all others.

rivers—In addition to Bad River, Fish Creek, and the Sioux River, there are at least eleven smaller rivers and creeks between Chequamegon Point and Port Wing that drain the highland surrounding the Chequamegon Bay.

Chequamegon Bay Biographies

Chequamegon Bay Biographies

Allouez, Jean Claude	La Pointe
Andreani, Palolo	La Pointe
Angus, John Daniel	La Pointe
Armstrong, Benjamin Green	La Pointe
Austrian, Juluis	La Pointe
Ayer, Frederic	La Pointe
Bachand, Louis J.	Bayfield
Banfill, John	Bayfield
Baraga, Iraneous Frederic	La Pointe
Bardon, Thomas	Ashland
Bayfield, Henry Wolsey	Bayfield
Beaser, Martin	Ashland
Bell, John W.	La Pointe
Bicksler, Benjamin F.	Ashland
Bono, John B.	Bayfield
Borup, Charles William	La Pointe
Boutin Family	Bayfield
Boutin, Frank	Bayfield
Boutin, Nelson	Bayfield
Boutwell, William Thurston	La Pointe
Brunson, Alfred	La Pointe
Buffalo, or Great Buffalo	La Pointe
Burnham, Guy Miles	Ashland
Cadotte, Michel	La Pointe
Chapman, James	Bayfield
Chapple, John Crockett	Ashland
Dalrymple, William F.	Bayfield
Dufault, Joseph	La Pointe
Ellis, Edwin	Ashland
Ely, Edmund Franklin	La Pointe
Fifeld, Henry O.	Ashland
Fifield, Samuel Stillman	Ashland
Fisher, Charles	Ashland
Goeltz, Conrad	Ashland
Groseilliers, Medard Chouart	La Pointe
Hale, Herbert C.	Bayfield
Hall, Sherman	La Pointe
Henry, Alexander	La Pointe
Johnston, John	La Pointe
Kilborn, George	Ashland
Kilbourn, Byron	Ashland
Knight, Alonzo	Bayfield
Knight, John H.	Ashland

Knight, William	Bayfield
LaBointe, Nazaire	Bayfield
La Ronde, Louis	La Pointe
Le Sueur, Pierre Charles	La Pointe
Leihy, Ervin	Bayfield
Ley, Peter H.	Bayfield
Marquette, Jacques	La Pointe
McAboy, William	Bayfield
Menard, Pere Rene	La Pointe
Moore, Nathaniel Drummond	Ashland
Nourse, Joseph H.	Bayfield
Peet, James	Bayfield
Pike, Elisha	Bayfield
Pike, Robinson Derling	Bayfield
Prentice, Frederick	Ashland
Prince, Eugene F.	Ashland
Radisson, Pierre Esprit	La Pointe
Rice, Henry Mower	Bayfield
Roehm, Martin	Ashland
Skolla, Otta	La Pointe
Stuntz, Albert C.	Ashland
Stuntz, George. E.	Ashland
Stuntz, George. R.	Ashland
Tate, Andrew	Bayfield
Tomkins, William Mawly	Ashland
Vaughn, Samuel Stewart	Ashland
Verwyst, Chrysostom (Christian) Adrian	Bayfield
Warren, Lyman Marcus	La Pointe
Warren, Truman Abraham	La Pointe
Wheeler, Leonard Hemenway	La Pointe
Whittlesey, Asaph	Ashland
Whittlesey, Charles	Ashland
Wing, Isaac H.	Bayfield

Ashland Biographies

Thomas Bardon
Martin Beaser
Benjamin F. Bicksler
Guy Miles Burnham
John Crockett Chapple
Edwin Ellis
Henry O. Fifield
Samuel Stillman Fifield
Charles Fisher
Conrad Goeltz
George Kilborn, Jr.
Byron Kilbourn
John H. Knight
Nathaniel Drummond Moore
Frederick Prentice
Eugene F. Prince
Martin Roehm
Albert C. Stuntz
George E. Stuntz
George R. Stuntz
William Mawly Tomkins
Samuel Stewart Vaughn
Asaph Whittlesey
Charles Whittlesey

Ashland Biographies

Thomas Bardon was born in Maysville, Kentucky on October 22 1848, the son of Irish immigrants. In July 1857 the family moved to Superior, where he continued his common school education and graduated from high school. From 1867 to 1871 he was employed as a surveyor and civil engineer by the Northern Pacific Railroad. In that capacity he visited Ashland in July 1868 for a month, when only Martin Roehm and his family occupied the site. In 1872, having left the railroad, he came to Ashland, where he at first taught school and then went into the real estate and insurance business. Because of his outstanding business abilities, he soon became one of the leading citizens of the community and later of the northwest region. He was married on November 5 1884 to Jennie Grant of Winona, Minnesota. He invested widely in various enterprises and undertakings in Ashland and had extensive holdings of property there and in Ashland and Bayfield Counties and in Minnesota. He was a founder and president of the Ashland National Bank and had wide investments and business responsibilities outside of the local area. In 1874 he was appointed Deputy United States Marshall for the western district of Wisconsin and served as mayor of Ashland from 1897 to 1902. He died in Ashland on February 1 1923 and was buried there. "Thomas Bardon," *ADP* 2/9/29; "Thomas Bardon Passed Away Last Evening," *ADP* 2/2/23; Andreas 1881, 70; Consul Willshire Butterfield, "Thomas Bardon," *Magazine of Western History*, v. 9, November 1888, 32-33; Ellis Baker Usher, "Thomas Bardon," *Wisconsin: Its Story and Biography, 1848-1913*. Chicago: The Lewis Publishing Company, 1914, v. 6, 1412-1413.

Martin Beaser was born on October 27 1822 in Buffalo, New York. He attended common school there, and when 14 years old went to sea on whaling vessels. He made several long voyages, taught himself navigation, and soon rose to positions of command. In deference to his mother he abandoned ocean sailing, and engaged in lake shipping between Buffalo and Detroit. In 1848 he married Laura Antionette Bebee (the sister of Eugene F. Prince's wife) in Perrysburg, New York. In the spring of 1849 the couple went to Ontonagon, Michigan, where he engaged in the commission and forwarding business, selling supplies to copper miners. He also apparently accompanied Charles Whittlesey on his geological explorations of the south shore of Lake Superior and the Penoque Range in 1846. After seven years he sold his business in Ontonagon and with two companions and an Indian guide explored the Brule and St. Louis Rivers. Stopping at La Pointe, he explored Chequamegon Bay where the site of Ashland, then unoccupied, was pointed out to him as a possible terminus of a Lake Superior-Mississippi River canal; he also noted its proximity to the Penoque Range iron deposits. He went back to Ontonagon to close out his business interests then returned to Chequamegon Bay where, finding Whittlesey and Kilborn already on the site, he became their investment partner in the townsite. In November 1866 the family went to La Pointe, where his wife and children along with the household goods were placed aboard a steamer for Ashland. On November 4th as he was returning to Ashland from La Pointe in his sailboat, he fell overboard and was drowned. He was buried at Ashland. Whittlesey, *AWP* 3/30/78; Ellis, *AWP* 7/7/77; "Martin Beaser," *ADP* 2/9/29; Durfee, "The Beasers," *ADP* 2/25/29; Burnham, "The Beaser Tragedies," *ADP* 4/9/30, 4/10/30, 4/11/30, 4/12/30, Burnham, *ADP* 6/19/28; Burnham, *ADP* 2/17/39; Burnham, "The Beaser Graves," *ADP* 7/16/35.

Benjamin F. Bicksler was born in Virginia on January 19 1834. He came to Bayfield and worked as a carpenter and builder, helping to erect the first sawmill on the townsite. In 1858, he married Adeline Pike, daughter of Elisha Pike. Shortly thereafter he moved to Portage, Wisconsin, where he remained until returning to Bayfield in 1868. In 1873, he moved to Ashland, where he continued his trade as builder, constructing many of the prominent buildings in the town, including the first courthouse. When poor health forced him to abandon the construction business, he opened a furniture store, which became a successful enterprise. He died in January 1885 in Ashland and was buried in Bayfield. "Obituary," *ADP* 1/31/85; "Obituary," *BCP* 2/7/85; Burnham, *ADP* 1/3/34; Andreas 1881, 70.

Guy Miles Burnham was born in Aurora, Illinois on March 21 1860, and was a descendent of an old and distinguished Massachusetts family. He attended the state normal school at Cedar Falls, Iowa, graduating from Iowa State College at Ames. He then taught school in Minnesota and Chicago, and was the principal of schools in Alden, Iowa. He married Luella George at Iowa Falls, Iowa, on December 30 1885. One of his students at Alden was Joe Mitchell Chapple, founder of the *Ashland Daily Press* in 1888. In January 1891 Burnham came to Ashland from a teaching job in Chicago at the invitation of Chapple, to help him run the newspaper, as city editor from 1891 to 1912. Later he was the editor of the *Ashland News*. Over the years he became one of the most prominent men in the city. For several years he served as collector of customs for the Chequamegon Bay ports and had charge of the U.S. Public Health Station that served sailors arriving in Ashland. He was also active in political, civic, fraternal, and church affairs. His wife was an accomplished musician; together they organized the Vaughn Chorale Club in 1896 and directed it for several years. He was an avid astronomer and botanist, and a prolific historian of the Chequamegon region. His daily column entitled simply "Chequamegon" appeared in the *Ashland Daily Press* from June 1927 to February 1939, recording a wealth of historical information about the Chequamegon Bay region and its communities, most of which would have otherwise been lost. In 1930 he published a book, *The Lake Superior Country In History And In Story* (reprinted in 1974), which included much of the information from his columns. He died in Ashland on February 28 1939. "Guy M. Burnham, Region Historian, Passes Away," *ADP* 3/1/39; "Guy M. Burnham, 1860-1939," *ADP* 3/1/39; John M. Dodd, "Guy Miles Burnham," *WMH*, v. 23, 12/39, 131-133; *CBR* 288; Guy Miles Burnham. *Genealogy of Guy Burnham*. Ashland, WI: 1900 (SHSW-PC); "Guy M. Burnham," *ADP* 2/9/29; "Mrs. Guy M. Burnham," *ADP* 2/9/29; "Mrs. Guy M. Burnham Passes Away," *ADP* 10/8/35. After his death a scholarship to honor him was supposed to have been established at Northland College, and a new edition of his book published, but neither of these things seems to have been done—"New Burnham Book, Scholarship to Honor His Work," *ADP* 2/28/39. In 1940 a historical society in his name was organized but that, too, seems not to have materialized—"Guy M. Burnham Historical Society is Organized," *ADP* 1/24/40. On the Vaughn Chorale Club see: Burnham, *ADP* 1/18/35, 12/21-12/24/35, 1/4/36, 1/6/36. The first of Burnham's daily "Chequamegon" columns was published in the *Ashland Daily Press* on June 28 1927, although his name did not appear as editor until July 6th. The last column was published on February 28 1939, the day he died—Burnham, *ADP* 6/28/27, 7/6/27, 2/28/39. The column was popular with the readers of the paper, two of whom were moved to write poems in tribute to his work—Pat Galligan, "Guy M. Burnham, Historian of Chequamegon Region," Burnham, *ADP* 3/22/34; and Joe A. Moran, "Of Guy Burnham; A Studied Sketch," Burnham, *ADP* 2/16/38. For a list of topics covered in the Chequamegon columns, see: Guy M. Burnham. "Historical Tales of Chequamegon And The Lake Superior Country." No date of publication, typescript in SHSW-A. Burnham's surviving papers could not be located.

John Crockett Chapple was born on May 27 1876 in La Porte City, Iowa. He attended public schools there and then Cornell College at Mount Vernon, Iowa. In 1889 he moved to Bayfield, where he was employed briefly as a “printer’s devil” on the *Bayfield County Press*. He then moved to Ashland, where he completed his collegiate education at Northland Academy (College) and joined his brother Joseph Chapple at the *Ashland Daily Press*. When Joseph moved to Boston, where he established the Chapple Publishing Company, he employed John for seven years as the superintendent of the printing plant. John returned to Ashland as business manager for the *Ashland Daily Press* and then moved back to La Porte, Iowa, as the editor of the *La Porte City Press*. On November 11 1898, he married Myrta Bowman at La Porte. Returning to Ashland, he served as postmaster from April 1923 to June 1932 and as editor of the *Ashland Daily Press* until his death. He was an enthusiastic advocate for Ashland and the Chequamegon Bay region, publishing occasional historical articles and pamphlets. He participated widely in community affairs, among his many contributions serving as a director of the Ashland General Hospital and of Northland College. He was also active in Republican politics as a member of the state central committee and a member of the Assembly in 1909-10, 1917-1920 and again in 1943-1946. He died in Ashland on May 1 1946 and was buried there. “Chapple, John Crockett,” *DWB*, 75-76; “Complete History of the Daily Press,” *ADP* 3/10/26; “The Squibber, A Friend of Man, Passes On,” *ADP* 5/1/46; “One Year Ago Today, the Squibber, A Friend of Man, for 58 Years With the Ashland Daily Press, Passed On,” *ADP* 5/1/47 (Memorial Edition); “John C. Chapple,” Quaipe 1924, v. III, 331-333; Harris 1976, 382-385.

Edwin Ellis was born in Peru, Maine on May 24 1824. He graduated from Bowdoin College in 1844, and from the University of the City of New York in 1846 as a medical doctor. He returned to Farmington, Maine where he practiced medicine for several years and then moved with his family to St. Paul in April 1854. There he lived on a large farm and became associated with a group of capitalists who were establishing townsites in Minnesota and Wisconsin. In February 1855, as a representative of this group he journeyed to Superior and then to La Pointe, and finally across the bay to the Bay City site. He settled there and played a prominent role in the founding and organizing of the settlement. In 1861 with the decline of Bay City and Ashland after the panic of 1857, he moved to the Wheeler’s mission at Odanah, where he taught in the mission school for four years. He then moved to Ontonagon, where he practiced medicine at the copper mines, and continued to attend to his property interests in Bay City. In the summer of 1872 he returned to Bay City, where he built a large house, and he resumed his medical practice. He was instrumental in securing the Wisconsin Central Railroad for Ashland in 1873, contributing land for dock frontage, depot, and right-of-way from his extensive real estate holdings. He eventually retired from medical practice and devoted himself to his extensive business interests while serving in several public service capacities in the city and county. He was a founder of North Wisconsin Academy (now Northland College), and was in large measure responsible for the establishment of an excellent public school system in Ashland. He married Sophia S. Davis in 1847, but she died after the birth of their first child, and he married Martha Baker in 1850. He was one of Ashland’s most respected and revered citizens. He died in Ashland on May 3 1903. “Death of Dr. Ellis,” *ADP* 5/4/03; “Edwin Ellis,” *ADP* 2/9/29; Whittlesey, *AWP* 4/6/78; *CBR*, 16-17; “Dr. Edwin Ellis—The Father of Ashland,” *ADP* 2/9/29; *AWP* 7/6/72, 7/27/72; Burnham, *ADP* 5/14/28, 5/15/28; Dexter 1968; Harris 1976, *passim*. “Obituary,” “Death of Mrs. Dr. Ellis,” “Funeral At The Residence,” *AWP* 8/29/96 (wife).

Henry O. Fifield was born in Corinna, Maine on August 7 1841, the son of descendants of Revolutionary ancestors. Soon afterwards he moved with his parents and older brother, Samuel, to Bangor, Maine. His mother died when he was eight. In October 1853 the father with his two sons moved to Rock Island, Illinois and in the following April to Prescott, Wisconsin. In 1858, he took a position as a compositor with the *Prescott Transcript*, where he remained until he enlisted in the 1st Minnesota Infantry on April 19 1861, for a three year term. During the war he fought in 23 battles and many skirmishes. He was discharged on May 19 1864, at the end of his enlistment and re-entered the newspaper business. He married Emma L. Walker on September 5 1866. In October 1870 he and his brother founded the *Bayfield Press*, publishing the first issue on October 13th. Henry managed the paper while his brother remained in Osceola where he published the *Polk County Press*. In June 1872, the brothers moved their paper to Ashland. The first issue of the *Ashland Weekly Press* was published on June 22nd. On June 1 1874, Henry sold his interest in the newspaper to his brother and was then employed on different newspapers until March 1880, when he became editor of the *Menominee (Michigan) Herald*, purchasing the paper in June 1881. In 1902 he moved to Wellington, Ohio, where he assumed editorship of the *Wellington Enterprise*, retiring in 1918. He died in Wellington on January 13 1920. "Henry O. Fifield," *Soldiers And Citizens' Album Of Biographical Record Containing Personal Sketches Of Army Men and Citizens In Loyalty To The Union*. Chicago: Grand Army Publishing Company 1888, 586-589; "Mr. Fifield Died This Morning," *Wellington Enterprise*, January 13 1920; "Funeral Services Of Mr. Fifield," *Wellington Enterprise*, January 16 1920; "Close Of Volume Two," *AWP* 6/13/74 (sale to brother).

Samuel Stillman Fifield was born in Corinna, Maine on June 24 1839, the son of descendants of Revolutionary ancestors. When he was three, he moved with his parents and younger brother, Henry, to Bangor, Maine. His mother died when he was ten and he has thrown on his own resources, working as a chore boy and store clerk for a year. In October 1853 the father with his two sons moved to Rock Island, Illinois and the following April to Prescott, Wisconsin. Sam soon obtained employment as a clerk, serving in that capacity with several mercantile establishments and on board river steamers. He then accepted a position as an apprentice and business assistant on the *Taylor Falls Reporter*, moving there in February 1860. Forced by ill health to give up this position in January 1861, he worked as a toll collector on the bridge between Taylor Falls, Minnesota and St. Croix Falls until November 1861. He immediately responded to President Lincoln's mobilization of the militia in April 1861, but was rejected because of his small size and ill health. Returning to newspaper work, he accepted the position of foreman on *Polk County Press* at Osceola, purchasing the paper in April 1862. On September 30 1863, he married Stella A. Grimes at Prescott. Fifield's strong advocacy of Republicanism, forcefully expressed through his newspaper, soon made him a well known figure among the civic, business, and political leaders of the northern counties. This led to his election as assistant sergeant-at-arms for the State Assembly for the 1870 session, the beginning of a long career in Republican politics. In October 1870 he and his brother established the *Bayfield Press*, publishing the first issue on October 13th. Sam remained in Osceola while his brother managed the paper in Bayfield. In June 1872 the brothers transferred their paper to Ashland, naming it the *Ashland Weekly Press*. The first issue was published on June 22nd. Sam sold the *Polk County Press* and moved to Ashland, where he quickly became one of its prominent citizens, elected as chairman of the first Board of Supervisors of the Town of Ashland in July 1872. His political career at the state level also flourished. He was elected as Assembly sergeant-at-arms for the 1871 and 1872 sessions and to a seat in the Assembly for the 1874 through 1876 sessions, serving as speaker for 1876. He was then elected to the State Senate for the 1878-1879 and

1880-1882 terms and finally as lieutenant governor, serving from August 1882 to January 1887. During his government service in Madison he continued his connection with the *Ashland Daily Press*, his brother managing and editing it during his absence. On June 1 1874 he purchased his brother's share in the paper and employed local men to operate the paper during his time in Madison. Returning to Ashland after his term of lieutenant governor ended in January 1887, Fifield took up the newspaper business once again, turning the *Press* into a daily with the issue of March 5 1888. In February 1890, he was appointed postmaster for Ashland and sold the *Press* to Joseph M. Chapple on May 31 1889. Due to a change in administrations, he was replaced in November, but reappointed in 1898 and 1902, serving until retirement in 1914. As other men of affairs typically did at that time, Fifield speculated in land and timber and became well off from his investments, no doubt using his public position to advance his personal interests. He even had a village on the line of the Wisconsin Central in northern Wisconsin named after him because of his extensive timber holdings in the area where it was located, although he never lived there. He was also active in business affairs in Ashland as proprietor of the Chequamegon Hotel, a founder and director of the Ashland National Bank and in other enterprises. He operated a summer camping resort on Sand Island named *Camp Stella* for his wife and also owned a steam yacht named *Stella* on which he and his friends cruised around the bay and among the islands. He died in Ashland on February 14 1915. He was preceded in death by his wife on July 23 1913. *CBR* 2-4; Andreas 1881, 70-71; "Sam S. Fifield," *Polk County Press*, 6/1/72; "Sam S. Fifield," 6/8/72; Rena Lake, *Metropolis of the North; Fifield—Her People and Their History*. Fifield, WI: Rena Lake, 1975 (SHSW-PC); "Ashland Bows Head In Grief Over Death Of Hon. Sam S. Fifield Occurring Last Night," *ADP* 2/18/15; "Fifield Will Made Public Today," *AN*, 2/23/15; John Chapple (comp.). *The Life, Death, Remarkable Writings, And Last Will And Testament Of the Late Lieutenant Governor, Sam S. Fifield*. Chicago: Fifield Centennial, 1974? (SHSW-PC); Harris 1976, *passim*; "Mrs. Fifield Passes Away This Morning," *ADP* 7/23/13; "Mrs. Fifield Laid To Rest Today," *ADP* 7/26/13. "Close Of Volume Two," *AWP* 6/13/74 (purchase from brother); "After Many Years Service," *AWP* 6/1/89 (sale to Chapple).

Charles Fisher was born on November 6 1828 at Coburg, Canada. When he was nine years old he went to Detroit, Michigan where he received his education. From 1849 to 1872 he was employed in various business enterprises in Sault Ste. Marie, Ontonagon, and Detroit, during which he met Edwin Ellis and Samuel S. Vaughn. In August 1873 he came to Ashland with Ellis, and constructed a residence for his family. He formed a partnership with Vaughn in the general mercantile and shipping business. They constructed a dock (the first in Ashland), and a warehouse and store. They operated stores at Silver Creek and White River to provide supplies to construction crews, contracted with the Wisconsin Central Railroad to supply ties, built homes, and entered mineral lands on Gogebic Range. When the partnership with Vaughn was dissolved in 1875, Fisher was active in the building, merchandising and real estate business until his death. Apparently, he also held public offices, but these are not identified in the sources. He married Anna McGlancey of Ireland in 1860. He died on March 7 1899. "Charles Fisher," *ADP* 2/9/29; "Chas. Fisher Dead," *ADP* 3/7/99.

Conrad Goeltz arrived in Whittlesey from Wittenberg, Germany, with his brother Adam in March 1855. His daughter Katherine was the first white child born in the settlement, on November 7 1855. He and his brother moved to Michigan when the settlement collapsed after 1857, but returned in 1871 when Ashland revived. He died in Ashland on March 14 1890. *ADP* 3/15/90 (obituary); *BP* 1/20/72; Ellis, *AWP* 7/14/77; Burnham, *ADP* 1/15/29, 1/16/29.

George Kilborn, Jr. was born in Connecticut about 1800. The family moved to Hudson, Ohio, where he married, and purchased and cleared a farm. He happened to meet Asaph Whittlesey, who told him of his plans to settle at Chequamegon Bay (he was not an “old friend” of Whittlesey, as some sources state). About two weeks later, as Whittlesey was traveling by train to Cleveland to embark on a boat for La Pointe, Kilborn joined him for the journey. Some sources say that he was escaping an unhappy marriage, although the 1860 *U.S. Census* shows that his wife and daughter had joined him at Whittlesey, the daughter being listed as a teacher. He was noted as a dedicated and hard-working settler, who especially enjoyed felling timber and clearing land. He died in July 1870 while visiting his daughter in East Hartford, Michigan. Ellis, *AWP* 7/7/77; Whittlesey, *AWP* 3/30/78. (His last name was spelled in various sources as Kilbourn, Kilburn, and Kilbourne, but most frequently as Kilborn.)

Byron Kilbourn was born on September 8 1801, in Granby, Connecticut. Shortly thereafter the family moved to Worthington, Ohio where his father was the head of a group of colonists. At age 13 he left school to clerk in his father’s store, but disliking business he learned surveying. In 1823 he was employed by the state of Ohio as an engineer in its extensive program of internal improvements. In May 1834 he went to Green Bay, Wisconsin to work as a surveyor of public lands. After exploring the region between Green Bay and Chicago, he settled on the Milwaukee River as the likely place for a commercial port, and in 1835 purchased land across the river from Solomon Juneau’s property. In 1839 the Juneau and Kilbourn settlements were consolidated as Milwaukee village. He was active in political affairs in the state and in Milwaukee, as a member for one term in the Territorial Legislature, as a delegate to the second constitutional convention, and as mayor of Milwaukee for two terms. He was an active promoter of internal improvement projects, organizing and serving as president of the Milwaukee and Rock River Canal Company, the Milwaukee and Waukesha Railroad, the Milwaukee and Mississippi Railroad, and engaged in other railroad undertakings. His political career was ruined by his forced resignation from the Milwaukee and Mississippi Railroad in 1852 because of alleged fraud and mismanagement, and his implication in the scandal over the bribery of state officials to obtain the land grant for the La Crosse and Milwaukee Railroad in 1856. He retired to Florida, where he died on December 16 1870. *DWB*, 250; *Milwaukee Weekly Sentinel* 12/19/70.

John H. Knight was born on February 3 1836 on a farm in Kent County, Delaware (his brothers were Alonzo and William Knight). He attended school part time until he was 20, then read law and also attended law school for one year in Albany, New York, graduating in 1859. He was admitted to practice in New York, but returned to Delaware where it was necessary that he study law for three more years before he was admitted to the bar. He practiced law at Dover until April 1861 when in response to President Lincoln’s call for the militia on the 15th of that month he organized a company of infantry. He served as first lieutenant of the company, while a friend with military experience was the captain. He was soon promoted to captain and eventually accepted a commission in the regular army. He fought in several battles and was severely wounded. During recuperation from his wounds, he married Susan J. Clark on January 19 1863, at Wilmington, Delaware. He returned to service after recovering from his wounds, once again participating in major operations. After the war he was assigned to the Indian agency at Bayfield, where it was anticipated that he might regain his health, broken by his strenuous duty during the war. He arrived there on June 30 1869. After a year he was replaced by a civil appointee. In the fall of 1870, he resigned his commission as a breveted lieutenant colonel in the army and took up the practice of law again. He also made investments in New York City, but lost heavily when the corrupt “Tweed ring” was exposed in 1871. In the latter part of 1871 he

was appointed register of the land office at Bayfield, a position he held until 1879. In 1873 he renewed a friendship with William F. Vilas from his days in law school. Vilas was then a prominent and well-to-do lawyer, politician and university professor in Madison. Knight and Vilas made extensive and highly profitable investments in timberland in northern Wisconsin, for which Knight's position in the land office provided valuable information. While land investments by officials of the land office were not at that time illegal, the two men were attacked by the *Milwaukee Sentinel* and others (inspired by Vilas' political enemies) for shady and improper timberland operations. In the meantime, on June 2 1873, he married Ella B. Clark, a sister of his first wife, who died on June 29 1867. In 1878 he invested in businesses in Ashland, organizing the Superior Lumber Company in 1881. He later moved to Ashland, and was involved in several major business undertakings, and served as the local attorney for the Wisconsin Central Railroad. In 1890 he built the mammoth Knight hotel. Although a Democrat while Ashland was heavily Republican, he was elected its first mayor when it was chartered as a city in April 1887. He was re-elected for a second term but resigned after seven months. In 1890, his supporters nominated him for governor, but he failed to obtain the nomination by one vote and in 1891 was a candidate for the U.S. Senate, but withdrew from the election. He spent his later years tending to his business affairs in Ashland. He died at his daughter's home in Watertown, Wisconsin, on August 22 1903. The funeral was held in Madison and he was buried there in Forest Hill Cemetery. Consul Willshire Butterfield. "John Henry Knight." *Magazine of Western History*, v. 9, November 1888, 27-32 (reprinted in ADP 2/9/29); Andreas 1881, 84; "John H. Knight Dead," ADP 8/22/03; "To Attend Funeral," ADP 8/24/03; "The Knight Funeral," ADP 8/26/03; "Death of Col. John H. Knight," *Wisconsin State Journal*, 8/22/03; Harris 1976, 386-388, 448, *passim*; Burnham 1974, 262-263, 306; "Married," AWP 6/21/73; "Knight, John Henry," DWB 210; Horace Samuel Merrill, *William Freeman Vilas, Doctrinaire Democrat*. Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1954, 27-29, 217-218, *passim*.

Nathaniel Drummond Moore was born near Belfast, Ireland on October 27 1847. When he was 14 years old, he left school to clerk in a hardware store, and four years later purchased a store of his own. Tiring of the mercantile business, he soon sold out and immigrated to the United States. He was without money but with the aid of a friend soon found employment. After a year and a half, he moved to St. Lawrence County, New York, where he worked with his uncle in the lead mines for over a year. He then went to Perth, Canada with a cousin to work in the iron mines, being appointed superintendent within a year. In 1863, he moved to Marquette, Michigan to engage in the mercantile business, but in 1872 moved to Ashland as captain and later superintendent for the La Pointe Iron Company. When this company suspended work because of financial difficulties in 1873, he set out to explore the Gogebic Range, suspecting that it contained deposits of hematite iron ore. He soon found verification of his presentiment in the roots of an upturned tree and the color of stream waters. He was unable to raise money to purchase the property until the following year, when he walked from Ashland to the land office at Wausau to enter the land, just a few steps ahead of wealthy speculators who had heard of the ore deposits. He returned to the Marquette district where he worked for a mining company, during which he was almost killed in a dynamite blast. During his recovery he was cared for by Ellen Montague, whom he married at Negaunee, Michigan, on September 4 1878. Over the years he accumulated a substantial fortune from his investments in iron ore lands and mining companies. About 1881 he returned to Ashland where he went into the grocery business. His wife died there, as did his daughter on June 13 1881. Later he left Ashland for Hurley where he resided for some years. The place and date of death are unknown (he may have returned to

Ireland). John E. Burton, "Pioneer Of The Gogebic," *Gogebic Iron Tribune*, 5/29/86; "Fortunes in Iron," *AWP* 3/27/86; "Nat. D. Moore," Andreas 1881, 73.

Frederick Prentice was born on December 22 1822, in Port Lawrence, Ohio, the first white child born in what was to become Toledo, Ohio. There were no schools nearby, so he acquired only a meager formal education. When he was about 13 his father was disabled and he assumed the responsibility for earning the family's livelihood. He became an interpreter for the Indian traders, and hunted wolves for bounties. When he was 18 he arranged to monopolize the supply of wood to steamboats on the Maume River. He invested his profits from this venture in land from which he sold the timber, then subdivided the cleared land and sold it to settlers at a considerable profit. In 1849 he went to California with the gold rush, where he built a mill and general store in a gulch. A sudden rainsquall swept away the building, and he narrowly escaped with his life, the first of several times that he faced utter ruin. In 1854 he invested in the townsite at Bay City, possibly having become acquainted with the Chequamegon Bay region when at age 15 he undertook an arduous three month journey from Ohio to the head of the St. Croix to deliver \$20,000 for the American Fur Company. In 1857 he purchased land on what was then known as Prospect Point and laid out a town that he named Houghton (perhaps after the Michigan geologist, Douglass Houghton). When the panic of 1857 depressed the Chequamegon Bay region, he returned to Toledo, Ohio. He lost heavily in the panic, selling his land holdings at a loss to pay his creditors, but he recouped his fortune in the following years through lucrative investments in petroleum, land, coal and silver mines, and timber. In 1868 he came back to Chequamegon Bay and invested in a brownstone quarry on Bass Island. Subsequently, he opened quarries on Hermit and Stockton Islands, and on Houghton (Prospect) Point, where he also had a sawmill. He also invested in extensive tracts of timberland in the region. He purchased part of the tract in the Duluth townsite, which had been given to Chief Buffalo by the 1854 Treaty of La Pointe, but eventually lost this investment. Financial disaster struck again in 1879, when a business associate suddenly died leaving notes that he had endorsed and therefore had to pay, and he was also defrauded by an employee. At some point he moved his business affairs to New York City, where he is shown in the 1893 to 1901 city directories as president of the Prentice Brownstone Company with offices on Broadway. In the 1902 to 1913 directories he appears as the treasurer of the Excelsior Brownstone Company at the same location. On May 8 1842, he married Mary Hicks at Toledo, Ohio. He is reputed to have been married four times, but the records of his other marriages were not located. It was reported that he was married in 1895 at the age of 77, and built a lodge on Hermit Island for his bride, but that she refused to live there. He died on March 16 1913, at Cornwall-on-Hudson, New York, and was buried in Toledo, Ohio. His legacy to Ashland is Prentice Park. Clark Waggoner (ed.), *History of the City of Toledo and Lucas County, Ohio*. New York: Munsell & Company, Publishers, 1888; "Rags to Riches; The First White Child in Toledo, Frederick Prentice," *Bend of the River*, November 1980; "Harsh Life Typified First Christmas In Toledo," *Toledo Blade*, December 23 1946; "Daughter of Firstborn Toledoan Still Active," *Toledo Blade*, October 24 1936; "Frederick Prentice, The First White Child Born In Toledo, Gives Early History Of City" (Source unknown—from Toledo-Lucas County Public Library, Toledo, Ohio, Genealogy Biography file.); "Death of Nonagenarian," *Local Press*, March 20 1913 (Cornwall, NY); "Died—Prentice, Mr. Fred," *Toledo Blade*, March 17 1913; Woodbridge & Pardee 1910, v. 1, c. 8; Roberts 1954; Ross 1960, 127 *passim*; Burnham, "The Prentice Brownstone Quarries," *ADP* 5/7/31; Burnham, "The Excelsior Brownstone Co.," *ADP* 5/5/31; "Towns Around The Apostle Islands," *SC* 6/17/58; "F. Prentice, Esq. of New York," *AWP* 8/10/72; Burnham, "Prentice," *ADP* 2/19/36; for pictures of his Cedar Bark Cottage on Hermit Island, see Thomas 1899.

Eugene F. Prince was born in Bangor, Maine on October 17 1832. In 1834 the family moved to Buffalo, New York, where he attended public schools. He was employed at an early age as an office boy in a shipbuilding firm, and rose to be the bookkeeper and secretary. When the firm became financially embarrassed in the panic of 1857, he moved to Whittlesey for the purpose of entering lands on the Penokee Range for the La Pointe Iron Company. He also brought with him a stock of trade goods and engaged in the fur trade with Martin Beaser. He built the first frame house in the settlement with sashes, windows and doors, which he had brought with him, and from lumber whipsawn on the site. In 1860 he moved his family to Ontonagon, and for the next ten years he was engaged in the mercantile business, and spent several navigation seasons on trading and passenger vessels on the Great Lakes. In 1870 he moved to Duluth, where he was the agent of the American Express Company. In 1872 he moved back to Ashland, living in his old home. There he organized the Lake Superior Express Company, and after the railroad to the south was opened in June of 1877, he served for eight years as the agent for the American Express Company. Subsequent to that he established the first brick yard in Ashland, and also sold furniture for several years. He was a long-time member of the school board, serving as its secretary for several years. He was also elected clerk of the circuit court for two years, and held other city and county offices. He married Matilda O. Beebe (the sister of Martin Beaser's wife) on February 11 1852 in Buffalo, New York. He died in Ashland on May 30 1912. *CBR* 52-53; "Obituary," *ADP* 6/1/12; "Eugene F. Prince," *ADP* 2/9/29; *AWP* 2/17/77 (silver wedding); "A Golden Wedding" *ADP* 2/12/02; Burnham, *ADP* 2/4/28;

Martin Roehm came to the United States from Wittenberg, Germany in 1842 at the age of 46, settling first in Buffalo, New York. Sometime later he moved to La Pointe and then in the summer of 1854, to Whittlesey, where he pre-empted a quarter section and built a log house. In the fall of 1856 he married Christina Coelo Madska (or Mouschky—spelling uncertain), a widow with two sons, who had emigrated from Mecklenburg, Germany. Their wedding was the first in Whittlesey. From about 1863 to 1868 they were the sole occupants of the Ashland site, forming a living link between old and new Ashland. During this time the family occupied Martin Beaser's house in Ashland, but spent the winters on their farm on the Marengo River where they raised cattle. These they drove onto Chequamegon Point and then across the water to La Pointe to market them at the assembly for the annual government payment to the Indians. He operated a hotel when Ashland began to revive in 1870. He died in Ashland on April 14 1898. "Death of Martin Roehm," *ADP* 4/14/98. Ellis, *AWP* 7/25/77; Burnham, "The Roehms," *ADP* 11/26/37, 11/27/37, 11/29/37; 2/15/39, 2/16/39; "Martin Roehm," *ADP* 2/9/29; "John Roehm," *ADP* 2/22/45; "Roehm, Oldest Settler," *ADP* 2/23/29 (son). (The land that Martin Roehm homesteaded in 1854 was located a few blocks east of Northland College. In the boom of the mid-1880s, Roehm sold the land to real estate speculators, who laid out lots and built houses; it was known as Roehm's Farm Settlement. Burnham, *ADP* 11/22/37, 11/23/37, 11/24/37.)

Albert C. Stuntz was born in Erie County, Pennsylvania on August 14 1825. In 1847 he came to Grant County, Wisconsin, and then spent a year in the northern pineries. He learned surveying working with his brother (George R. Stuntz) until 1854 (location unknown). In November 1856 he moved to Bay City, where he engaged in survey work on the Penokee Range and adjacent areas. In 1864 he was elected to the State Assembly from the northwestern district, and served the 1865 term. In 1866 he moved to Monroe, Wisconsin, and in 1874 was elected Green County surveyor, a position he held for over forty years. In 1849 he married Nancy C. Brandt, who died in March 1862 at Bay City, and in July 1864 he married Lydia A. Sturdevant. He died in

Monroe on April 17 1914. Burnham 1974, 181; Burnham, *ADP* 11/14/27, 1/23/29; Ellis, *AWP* 7/14/77; *Monroe Journal* 4/18/14; *Monroe Times* 4/18/14; *History of Green County, Wisconsin*. Springfield, IL: Union Publishing Co., 1884, p.55.

George E. Stuntz was born in 1836 in Pennsylvania, and was orphaned by age seven. In 1853 he accompanied his uncle, George R. Stuntz, to Minnesota Point. He was involved with him in his various enterprises at the head of Lake Superior, and with his other uncle, Albert C. Stuntz, in the surveying of the Penokee Range. In the fall of 1861 he enlisted in a regiment of Wisconsin infantry and was severely wounded at the battle of Corinth. He was discharged as unfit for duty but he recovered sufficiently to re-enlist in a Minnesota cavalry regiment, where he served until it was mustered out of service. He took up his surveying work once again but due to ill health and his war wounds died at Superior on April 23 1872. Burnham, *ADP* 11/14/27; "Death of Geo. E. Stuntz," *BCP* 5/4/72; Ellis *AWP* 7/14/77.

George R. Stuntz was born on December 11 1820 in Albion, Pennsylvania. As a youth he attended school when he could, and at age 18 he went to the Grand River Institute in Ohio, where he took engineering, geometry, and geology. In 1842 he moved to St. Louis, where he taught school briefly, then in 1843 was employed as an axeman on a survey party in Iowa. Later that year he moved to Grant County, Wisconsin, where he served as deputy county treasurer and sheriff, and did surveying work. In 1852 he did surveying work under a government contract around the head of Lake Superior. In the spring of 1853, his government contract having been renewed, he did further survey work in that area, including the Superior townsite. He built a trading post on Minnesota Point under a trading license from the Indians (said to have been the first house in Duluth, although this claim has been contested.) In the fall of 1853 he cut a road through the forest to Iron River, used to transport cattle and provisions. In 1854 he built a sawmill at Iron River with machinery he had transported from Sault Ste. Marie, and some of the first lumber produced at the head of Lake Superior was sawn there. He was a member of the group that established the Bay City townsite in 1854, but lived in Duluth the remainder of his life, surveying and exploring, and working to advance the development of the city and surrounding region. While he did not discover the Vermillion iron ore deposits, he was the first to recognize their extent and commercial value. He brought the ore deposits to the attention of investors, but did not share in the great fortunes that were made from their exploitation. He also played an important role in bringing the Northern Pacific and other railroads into Duluth. In September 1872 he married Mary J. Pugsley in Duluth. He died in poverty in Duluth on October 23 1902. Burnham, *ADP* 11/14/27; Ellis, *AWP* 6/30/77; *History of Stuntz* 1941; Theodore C. Blegen. *Building Minnesota*. New York: D.C. Heath and Company, 1928; *Superior Evening Telegram* 10/24/02; Harris 1976 *passim*; Walter Van Brunt: *Duluth and St. Louis County, Their Story and People*. Chicago: The American Historical Society, 1921. v. 1 & 2, *passim*.

William Mawly Tomkins was born on February 24 1845 in Loosely Row, Buckinghamshire, England. In 1850 the family moved to Shullsberg, Wisconsin. His father was a "circuit rider" Methodist minister, so the family moved frequently. Upon the death of his father in 1870, he was compelled to abandon his studies at the University of Wisconsin to support the family. He went into the mercantile business and then became a partner in a gristmill. On July 2 1872, he married Elizabeth Pearce at Adamsville, Wisconsin. In April 1873 he sold his interest in the gristmill and journeyed to Duluth and then on foot to Ashland. Near destitute, he went to work clearing the townsite. His wife and child arrived by boat from Duluth during the summer. From 1873 to 1875 he served as town clerk and began the study of law. He was admitted to the bar

and was elected district attorney in the fall of 1875 and also served as superintendent of schools, county clerk, and county treasurer. He was active in the social and political life of the community, serving on the boards of Northland College and the Vaughn Library. He also pursued a private law practice, invested in real estate, and encouraged the development of agricultural activities. He died in Ashland on May 16 1908 and was buried there. "William M. Tomkins," *ADP* 2/9/29; Andreas 1881, 73; "Gone To His Reward," *ADP* 5/18/08.

Samuel Stewart Vaughn was born in Berea, Ohio, on September 2 1830. Because his family was poor, he received only a few months of education as a youth. In 1849 he moved to Copper Harbor (or Eagle River), Michigan to work as a clerk in his brother's store. On August 4 1852, he (and perhaps his brother) arrived at La Pointe, where he opened a store and became an Indian trader. He learned to speak French and Chippewa, and earned the full confidence of the Indians, serving on occasion as an intermediary between them and the whites. Later he closed his business and returned to Ohio where he devoted a year to remedying his deficient commercial education. He returned to La Pointe and in 1856 moved to Bayfield, where he opened a general merchandise store, erected the first stone building, a sawmill and a pier, and engaged in other business enterprises. On December 22 (or October 22) of 1864 he married Emeline Eliza Patrick in Ohio, and she returned with him to Bayfield. He held several public offices, including postmaster at Bayfield and chairman of the County Board of Supervisors, and he served in the State Legislature for one year in 1871. He was active in supporting and promoting the St. Croix and Lake Superior and the Wisconsin Central Railroads. In 1871, in anticipation of the completion of the Wisconsin Central to Ashland, he moved his family there and platted his property as the Vaughn subdivision of Ashland. He formed a partnership with Charles Fisher, and they constructed a large commercial dock, a warehouse, and a store. They engaged in the mercantile business, providing supplies and ties to the Wisconsin Central Railroad. Well-to-do from his business activities and investments, Vaughn was an important figure in the civic and philanthropic affairs of Ashland for many years. He died in Ashland on January 29 1886. Following plans he had made before his death, his wife carried forward to completion the construction and furnishing of the Vaughn Library; it was dedicated on November 11 1888. Whittlesey, *AWP* 4/6/78; "Samuel Stewart Vaughn," *AWP* 2/6/86; "Samuel S. Vaughn," *ADP* 2/9/29; *CBR*, 80-81; Burnham, *ADP* 5/18/28; "A Business Change," *AWP* 10/22/81; "Vaughn Library," *AWP* 7/16/87; "The Vaughn Library," *AWP* 11/17/88.

Asaph Whittlesey was born on May 18 1826 in a religious community at Tallmadge, Ohio, where he attended common school. After the death of his parents, when he was sixteen years old, he went with a neighbor to northwestern Iowa, where they jointly invested in a tract of land. He soon tired of the isolated location and sold his interest to his partner, returning to Tallmadge. In 1850 he moved to Peoria, Illinois, where he married Lucy Maria Haskell, and established a factory to manufacture candles and soap. The factory burned in 1852, and two years later he returned to Ohio. In June of 1854, acting on the advice of his brother Charles, he traveled with his family to La Pointe, and with George Kilborn and Martin Beaser founded the townsite of Whittlesey near the head of Chequamegon Bay. There he served as postmaster, justice of the peace, and was elected judge of La Pointe County. In 1859 he was elected to the State Assembly for the 1860 term, where he arranged for approval of the law that created Ashland County in March of that year. He was renowned for his journey to Madison to attend the 1860 legislative session, made on snowshoes through unbroken winter wilderness from Whittlesey to Sparta, where he boarded a train for the state capitol. In 1861 he moved to Bayfield, where he served as the receiver of the U.S. Land Office, recently moved there from Superior. At the beginning of

the Civil War he journeyed to Washington to resign his position and volunteer for military service, but neither his resignation nor his volunteer enlistment was accepted. In 1868 he resigned as the Land Office receiver to accept the position of Indian Agent, but resigned in 1869 because of failing health. In 1870 he moved back to Ashland but returned to Bayfield in 1876 where he lived until his death there on December 15 1879. He was buried in Talmage, Ohio. Ellis, *AWP* 7/7/77; "Asaph Whittlesey," *ADP* 2/9/29; Burnham, *ADP* 1/12/29, 1/14/29; "Death of Hon. Asaph Whittlesey," *AWP* 12/20/79, 12/27/79; "Asaph Whittlesey," WPA Writer's Program, Wisconsin Biographies, Box 37 (SHSW-A); Burnham 1974, between pp. 96-97; Charles Barney Whittlesey, *Genealogy of the Whittlesey-Whittlesey Family*. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1941 (SHSW-GC). On Whittlesey's wife, see Burnham, *ADP* 3/23/29, 3/25/29; "An Early Settler Dies," *BCP* 5/11/01; Andreas 1888, 85; "Obituary," *AWP* 8/15/74 (daughter Eugenia).

Charles Whittlesey was born in Southington, Connecticut, on October 4 1808; he was an older brother of Asaph. He attended school there and in Tallmadge, Ohio, where the family moved in 1813. In 1827 he received an appointment to West Point. He graduated in 1831, and served in the Black Hawk Campaign of 1832. He then resigned from the army to pursue a scientific career. In 1837 he was appointed to the geological survey of Ohio for two years, and from 1847 to 1851, he was employed by the Federal government to survey the mines and minerals of the Lake Superior basin and upper Mississippi Valley. From 1858 to 1860 he served on the geological survey of Wisconsin, which was terminated on the outbreak of the Civil War. He resumed his army commission in 1861, serving with great distinction both as a military engineer and as a commander of troops in battle. With his health declining from the rigors of his military service, he resigned from the army in 1863 and resumed his geological explorations in the Lake Superior and Mississippi Valley region. He married Mary E. Morgan, a widow, on October 4 1858. He died on October 17 1886. "Colonel Charles Whittlesey," *Representative Men of Cleveland*, (nd, np) (SHSW-PC); Charles Barney Whittlesey, *Genealogy of the Whittlesey-Whittlesey Family*. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1941 (SHSW-GC); Whittlesey 1875; Whittlesey 1855.

Bayfield Biographies

Louis J. Bachand
John Banfill
Henry Wolsey Bayfield
John B. Bono
Boutin Family
Frank Boutin
Nelson Boutin
James Chapman
William F. Dalrymple
Herbert C. Hale
Alonzo Knight
William Knight
Nazaire LaBonte
Ervin Leihy
Peter H. Ley
William McAboy
Joseph H. Nourse
James Peet
Elisha Pike
Robinson Derling Pike
Henry Mower Rice
Andrew Tate
Chrysostom (Christian) Adrian Verwyst
Isaac H. Wing

Bayfield Biographies

Louis J. Bachand was born in Two Rivers, Wisconsin on April 17 1853. In 1862 he went to Chicago to attend school and in 1866 moved to Bayfield, where he was in the fishing business. In 1876 he was elected town assessor and county clerk in 1880. He married Julia Bono, daughter of John Bono, on December 18 1881. He died in Ashland on October 5 1928 and was buried in Bayfield. Andreas 1881, 83; "Married," *BCP* 12/24/81; "The Reception," *BCP* 12/31/81; "L.J. Bachand Dies Sunday," *BCP* 10/11/28.

John Banfill was born in Topsham, Vermont on February 28 1811. In 1823 he moved to Dover, New Hampshire, then to Boston, and in 1835 to New Orleans where he worked as a mason. He volunteered for service in the Second Seminole War in Florida, and rose to the rank of colonel. He returned to New Orleans, then moved to New York City and then to Albany. In 1838 he moved to Lancaster, Wisconsin then in 1840 to Prairie du Chien where he kept a hotel. He accepted a contract to build the courthouse in Clayton County, Iowa. He returned to Prairie du Chien and kept another hotel, but sold it and moved to St. Paul in 1846. He was active in the development of the city and surrounding area. Later he built a sawmill and bought a farm up the Mississippi River. He was elected to the State Senate and also served as postmaster at Winona, Minnesota. In 1861 he moved to Bayfield where he operated a hotel and participated in public life, serving as school treasurer, judge of probate court, chairman of the county board and in other offices. He married Nancy Foster of New York City in 1838. He died in Bayfield on May 13 1887 and was buried there. Andreas 1888, 83; "Died," *BCP* 5/21/87.

Henry Wolsey Bayfield was born in Hull, England on January 21 1795. He was educated by private tutors, and at age ten was enlisted as a volunteer supernumerary in the Royal Navy. He almost immediately saw action against Spanish and French ships, was wounded, decorated and promoted to midshipman. From 1806 to 1814, he served on various ships in Canada and in the waters off of Spain and Portugal; when the War of 1812 ended he was with the British fleet on Lake Champlain. He was promoted to lieutenant in March 1815, and in January of the following year was ordered to British naval headquarters in Kingston, Ontario. There he was assigned to assist in the Great Lakes survey that began in the summer of 1816. In June 1817 at age 22, he was placed in charge of the surveys of Lake Erie and Huron, assisted by only one midshipman. In the spring of 1823, he began the survey of Lake Superior that was completed in the summer of 1825. He then returned to England where he spent two years at the Royal Navy's hydrographic office to complete the charts of the Great Lakes and connecting waters. Promoted to commander, he returned to Quebec in 1827, and from then to 1840, conducted a detailed survey of the St. Lawrence River, adjacent islands and rivers, and part of the coast of Labrador, having been promoted to captain in the meantime. In 1841 he transferred his headquarters from Quebec to Charlottetown on Prince Edward Island; for the next 15 years he surveyed the coast of that island, Nova Scotia, and other islands and harbors. He was frequently consulted by the Admiralty and the government of Lower Canada regarding navigation of the St. Lawrence River, placement of lighthouses, and other navigational matters. He was a member of several scientific societies, and contributed learned papers on geology and navigational matters to scientific journals. In 1856 he was promoted to rear admiral, and then retired from the surveying service. He continued to live in Charlottetown and was promoted to vice admiral in 1863 and to admiral in 1867. In 1857 his friend Henry M. Rice named the townsite, which he had just established on

the shore of Chequamegon Bay on Lake Superior, in Bayfield's honor. In April 1838 he married Fanny Wright, the daughter of a captain of the Royal Engineers. He died in Charlottetown on February 10 1885, having been an invalid for several years. McKenzie 1976; "Henry Wolsey Bayfield," WPA Writers Program, Box 11—contains errors (SHSW-A); Burnham, *ADP* 8/9/33 (copy of Bayfield's letter to Rice thanking him for naming "Bayfield" in his honor); (Burnham, *ADP* 1/3/34 notes that Bayfield died in "Charlottetown, N.C.," which is incorrect); "Inquiry About Admiral Bayfield Brings Reply From Norfolk, England." *WT* 8/28/41.

John B. Bono was born on April 14 1832 in Detroit. When he was five the family moved to Sault Ste. Marie. Beginning as a cabin boy at age 12, he spent several years sailing the lakes. In 1853 he married Miss Berron (or Mrs. Julia A. Davis) and in 1855 arrived at La Pointe, where he kept a boarding house. Later the family moved to Bayfield, where he established the first hotel in the settlement. In 1867 he sold the hotel and took up his trade of shoe making. In 1876 (or 1870) he leased the Fountain House and apparently also operated a meat market and grocery store. He died on August 10 1885 in Bayfield and was buried there. Andreas 1881, 83; "Death of a Old Settler," *AWP* 8/22/85.

Boutin Family There were apparently eight Boutin brothers—Nelson, Duffey, Solomon, Edward, Frank, Joseph, Benoni, and Felis. There were also at least two sisters, whose names are unknown. Several of the brothers came to Bayfield in 1870, but were not listed in the census for that year because they arrived too late to be enumerated. The 1880 census listed Edward, Joseph, Duffey, Frank, and Nelson as living in Bayfield; there were no Boutins in the census enumeration for Ashland. In January 1905 there were 31 Boutin and related families, totaling 144 individuals, living in Bayfield. Only limited biographical information for Nelson and Frank Boutin could be located. "The Boutin Family," *BCP* 1/6/05; "The Boutins," Knight 1999, 100-106; Knight, six articles on the Boutin family, *BCP* 1/13/55, 1/20/55, 1/27/55, 2/3/55, 2/10/55, 2/17/55; Harris 1976, 321-322; Andreas 1881, 83.

Frank Boutin was born in Canada in September 1833. In 1853, he married Mary Landre of St. Francis, Canada, at Two Rivers, Wisconsin. He came to Bayfield in 1870, where he established a fishing business with his brother Nelson. After about ten years he and his brother went into the general mercantile business. He died in Bayfield on August 3 1911. Andreas 1881, 83; "Prominent Pioneer Resident Passes Away," *BCP* 8/4/11; "Settle Boutin Will Litigation," *BCP* 3/20/14; "The Silent Reaper," *BCP* 10/11/02 (wife's obituary).

Nelson Boutin was born in Canada on August 17 1831. The family moved to Detroit in 1837 and later to Mackinaw City, Michigan. From there Nelson moved to Manitowac County, where he was in the mercantile business, and then he moved to Kewaunee County. While there he was elected to the State Assembly for the 1864 session. Returning to Two Rivers, he went into the fishing business and, with his several brothers and a large group of other fishermen, moved to Bayfield in 1870. There he and his brother Frank established a fishing firm and later went into the mercantile business. He was active in local politics, serving as sheriff for several years, and was elected county treasurer in 1880. He married Lucy Conture of Detroit in 1848. He died in Ashland on December 27 1904. Andreas 1881, 83; "Died At Ashland," *BCP* 12/30/04.

James Chapman was born on May 22 1834 in Sault Ste. Marie, Michigan. Later the family moved to Mackinaw. He attended an academy in Erie, Pennsylvania during the winter and was employed on a U.S. revenue cutter during the summer. In 1849 he moved to Marquette, Michigan, one of the first to settle there. In 1854 he was in Detroit, but in 1856 returned to Marquette and then moved to La Pointe, where he clerked in Julius Austrian's store. He then moved to Bayfield and was employed as a clerk by Samuel S. Vaughn and then in the Indian agent's office. From 1857 to 1866 he served as the postmaster at Bayfield and from 1862 to 1866 as the register of deeds. He was also a member of the town and county boards for several terms and served as deputy collector of customs. In 1871 he opened a general merchandise store in Bayfield and in 1887 was appointed the state fish warden for the Lake Superior region of northern Wisconsin, staying active in both undertakings until the time of his death, in Bayfield on December 8 1890. He was unmarried. Andreas 1881, 83; "Died," *BCP* 12/13/90; Harris 1976, 187, 322.

William F. Dalrymple was born on April 17 1825 in Sugar Grove, Pennsylvania. He was educated in the public schools and attended an academy in Jamestown, New York. He began his career by teaching public school in Warren County, Pennsylvania, where he was soon appointed county superintendent of schools. Later he left teaching and established businesses in timberland and manufactured lumber. As his wealth increased, he purchased extensive tracts of land near Bayfield and in North Dakota, where he was a partner, with his brother Oliver, in a large bonanza wheat farm. He was interested in Bayfield as a lake port for the shipment of wheat, from the west, establishing with his brothers and others, two railroads, the Bayfield Transfer Railroad, and the Bayfield and Great Western Railroad. These were intended to bring the grains from the great farms in Minnesota and North Dakota to extensive dock facilities in Bayfield. The docks were never built, and both railroad projects failed. These railroad projects were only part of Dalrymple's extensive business activities, which he managed from his home in Pittsfield, Pennsylvania through family members and agents. (Herbert C. Hale was the manager in Bayfield for the Bayfield Transfer Railroad). He died on July 21 1901 in Pittsfield, Pennsylvania. *CBR* 1905, 166; "Bayfield Transfer Railway Company (Dalrymple, William F.)" SHSW-A; "W.F. Dalrymple Dead," *BCP* 7/27/01; "Dalrymple," *Warren Mail*, 7/25/01; "Oliver Dalrymple." Judge Charles E. Flandrau. *Encyclopedia of Biography of Minnesota*. Chicago: The Century Publishing and Engraving Company, 1900; "Oliver Dalrymple Dead." *Devils Lake (ND) Daily Journal*, 9/5/08.

Herbert C. Hale was born near Jamestown, New York, on September 15 1868. He was raised on a farm, but attended grade and high school in Jamestown. At age 17 he left school to accept a position as a deliveryman, later a messenger, with the American Express Company. In 1890 he went to Brainerd, Minnesota, where he worked briefly before entering service with the Northern Pacific railroad for a year. He then moved to Bayfield, Wisconsin, as the private secretary to William F. Dalrymple, a distant relative. When Dalrymple's Bayfield Transfer Railroad was constructed, Hale was appointed general manager. He also served as treasurer of the Town of Bayfield and as secretary of the public library board. Sometime after the death of Mr. Dalrymple in 1901, Hale moved to Minneapolis, later to Ashland as manager of the Northland Security Company, and then joined the State Department of Internal Revenue. In September 1924 he was appointed clerk of the Federal Court and lived in Madison. He married Nora Buckler on January 30 1892. He died in Madison on August 10 1947 and was buried in Wausau, Wisconsin. "H.C.

Hale,” *CBR* 196-197; “H.C. Hale Gets Important Court Post,” *BCP* 9/10/24; “Hale Services Set Wednesday,” *Wisconsin State Journal*, 8/12/47 (obituary); “Bayfield Transfer Railway Company (Dalrymple, William F.)” SHSW-A; “Pest House Days in Old Bayfield Recalled,” Knight, *BCP* 3/20/58.

Alonzo Knight was born on a farm in Kent County, Delaware, on April 13 1854 (his brothers were John and William Knight). He attended Mt. Vernon Grammar School in Philadelphia, then the High School, and finally went to Pierce’s Business College to become a bookkeeper. In 1878, he clerked in Philadelphia, and on May 29 1881 he arrived in Bayfield. He was engaged as a bookkeeper for his brother John, and also served as county treasurer. He was not re-elected to that office in November 1890 but refused to turn over the office and vault keys to his successor until forced to do so by a court order. He married Ollie Milligan on September 19 1883. The place and date of death are unknown. Andreas 1881, 84; *BCP* 9/22/83, “Beat At His Own Game,” *WN* 12/5/91; *WN* 12/26/91.

William Knight was born on December 7 1843 on a farm in Kent County, Delaware (his brothers were Alonzo and John Knight). He was educated at schools in Dover, Delaware and at the Hudson River Institute in New York. After the Civil War he was employed in the army’s mustering and disbursing office in Detroit. After two years there, in response to a letter from his brother John, then a captain in the regular army, he went to Fort Sanders, Wyoming, where he clerked in a trader’s store. In 1869, after two years of numerous and occasionally life threatening adventures as a trader in the Wyoming Territory, he went by train and river steamer to St. Paul. From there he planned to go to Bayfield to supervise the Indian Agency, while his brother John, who was still in the regular army and had been assigned as the Indian agent in Bayfield, went east to spend the winter. William took a train to the end of the track toward Superior and a crude stage wagon the remainder of the way. The last boat for Bayfield had already departed, however, so he returned to St. Paul. In a few days James Chapman came to take him to Bayfield, where they arrived on Christmas Eve 1869. On New Year’s Day he joined the community celebration, going from house to house all day long to sample the food and drink, and admire the decorations and the women, who were dressed in their finery for the occasion. He decided to remain in Bayfield and over the years was involved in numerous enterprises, including the mercantile business (with James Chapman and his brother John), supplying wood to take steamers (that soon failed when they changed to coal as fuel), fishing, logging, pine lands, a sawmill on Roy’s Point, proprietor of the Island House hotel, and general manager of the Ashland Brownstone Quarry Company on Presque Island. On October 8 1885, he married Jessie Williamson of Brighton, England. In 1890, he started the Lumberman’s Bank, funding it with his own money because the businessmen in the community had invested in the Northern National Bank in Ashland and refused to buy stock in his bank. The bank was a success, however, and soon gained the support of local businessmen. He was also active in civil affairs, serving at various times as justice of peace, town chairman, county clerk, county supervisor, and county treasurer. In the early 1900s he began to raise potatoes on land that had been logged over, and in 1905 he planted 40 acres of fruit trees. Horticultural experts were skeptical that fruit could be grown so far north, but the venture was successful. He expanded his orchards, others established orchards, and in a few years there was a thriving fruit growing industry in the Bayfield area. To expedite marketing their produce, Knight and others organized the Bayfield Fruit Growers Association. He did not confine his interests to fruit, however, but conducted experiments with

many other plants. In recognition of his outstanding achievements in fruit growing, the State Horticultural Association made him an honorary member. In 1910, at age 67, he was elected to the State Assembly, serving for the 1911 term. A life-long Mason, he moved to the Masonic home at Dousman, Wisconsin, in his later years. He died there on January 13 1941 and was buried in Bayfield. Eleanor Knight biographical series, *BCP* 4/3/58-6/19/58 (12 articles); "William Knight," Knight 1999, 277-290; "Historical Sources Shed Light on Life of William Knight, Lumberman & Horticulturist," *The Bayfield Courier*, November 1998; "William Knight Honored At Birthday Dinner," *BCP* 12/7/33; "Bayfield Pioneer Dies in Masonic Home at Dousman," *Superior Telegram*, 1/15/41; "Last Rites Held for Oldest Citizen Thurs.," *BCP* 1/16/41.

Nazaire LaBonte was born on a farm near Quebec, Canada on April 6 1836. When he was 20, he left home, arriving at La Pointe by steamer on June 9 1856. He wanted to continue on to Superior but lacked the money for the fare, so the next day he rowed across to the new townsite of Bayfield. He landed where the Vaughn dock was being constructed, located at the end of Washington Avenue. Fifty years later he described the townsite: "The only building here then was a log house, . . . built and owned by the Bayfield Land Co. for the accommodation of the men employed by this concern. . . . There was not a woman here and it makes me lonely to make this statement. That part of the town site lying on the flat was covered by a scattering growth of small norway pine; and the only thoroughfare was a trail leading from the dock site to the log house mentioned. The hills now dotted with buildings were covered with mixed woods, mostly hardwood." He worked at first for the small sawmill on the site, and when that burned down shortly afterwards, he cut cordwood, helped build the first road from Bayfield to Yellow Lake, and made fish barrel staves. On April 4 1861 he married Matilda Davis, a stepdaughter of John Bono. He then worked for the government sawmill at Red Cliff for 12 years, then opened and operated a boarding house in Bayfield for many years. He died on October 20 1906 in Bayfield and was buried there. "Bayfield's Early Days—Paper Read at Bayfield's Anniversary By N. LaBonte," *BCP* 4/6/06; "Pioneer Gone," *BCP* 10/26/06.

Ervin Leihy was born near Oswego, New York on October 12 1822, where he grew up on a farm. In 1845 he moved to Chicago and the following year to Bad River, where he traded with the Indians, farmed, and erected a sawmill, the first in Bayfield County. In 1851 he married Angeline Morrin from La Pointe. In 1870 he moved to Bayfield, where he opened a general store and built a residence. While living at Bad River, he served on the town and county boards of Ashland County and after moving to Bayfield held similar positions for Bayfield County. He died in Bayfield on May 31 1901 and was buried there. Andreas 1881, 84; "Death of E. Leihy," *BCP* 6/8/01.

Peter H. Ley was born in Prussia on May 19 1823. He emigrated to the United States as a young man, going first to Detroit, Michigan. There he found employment and was married to Anna (Ann) Sexton, born in County Clare, Ireland, in 1854. On June 15 1856, the couple arrived in Bayfield, where they opened a store that they operated until his death on June 16 1876. "Obituary," *AWP* 6/24/76; Andreas 1881, 84.

William McAboy was born in Virginia about 1810. He graduated from Ohio University as a civil engineer and was first employed on canal works and navigation improvement projects. In 1839 he came to the old northwest, employed by the Federal government to survey Indian roads and reservations. He arrived at the Bayfield town site from Superior on March 28 1854 to do survey work for the Bayfield Land Company and later was the agent in Bayfield for the company. He was the town's first superintendent of schools. Date and place of death unknown. Ross 1960, 121; "Major Mc Aboy," *BM* 8/22/57.

Joseph H. Nourse was born in Washington, D.C. on July 7 1830. The first 11 years of his life were spent in Milroy, Pennsylvania, where his father was a Methodist minister. The next several years were devoted to study at schools in Washington and in Mt. Holly, New Jersey. In 1853 he was appointed by the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions to teach in the Indian territories. Shortly afterwards on March 15th, he married Isabel Rittenhouse of Washington. With his new wife, he made the difficult journey to his assignment, but returned to Washington in 1854 because of ill health. In 1856 he was sent to Bayfield by the Bayfield Land Company as its agent, remaining for two months at the boarding house of Julius Austrian at La Pointe. His stay at La Pointe having benefited his health, he returned to Bayfield in June 1857, accompanied by his wife. In the fall of 1858 he took over management of the Bayfield House, the hotel of the Bayfield Land Company. He also taught school from October 1861 to June 1864 and served terms as county treasurer, town clerk, and collector of the port. In 1864 he moved to Rockland, Michigan for two years and then returned east. In 1868 he moved to La Crosse, Wisconsin to teach in a academy, but poor health compelled him to return to Bayfield in 1869. He was appointed receiver of the U.S. Land Office from 1869 to March 1872 and taught school again from September 1869 to March 1871. In May 1872 he went into the merchandising business with A.C. Hayward, but bought out his partner the following fall and continued the business until his death. From April 1872 and for many years after he was annually elected town treasurer. He died on June 22 1891 in Bayfield and was buried there. Andreas 1881, 85; "The Nourse Family," Knight 1999, 187-197; Edward E. Nourse, "Died," *BCP* 6/27/91; "Pioneer Resident Crosses Divide," *BCP* 8/7/14—his wife's obituary—name given as "Elizabeth;" the next issue of the *Press* apparently included an article on "Mrs. Nourse's life in Bayfield," but the issue is missing on the microfilm copy of the paper.

James Peet was born on November 18 1828 in Palermo, New York. At age 16 he turned to religion and was baptized into the Methodist Episcopal Church in November 1845. He must have received a substantial education for he taught public school, although where and for how long is not known. After that he taught at the Five Points Mission in Brooklyn, New York, "an awfully hard school, ten times more than any of our country schools," so he confided to his future wife Harriet Evens. They were married in Olean, New York on June 15 1854. In February 1855 he received a call from the Wisconsin Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church. He and his wife traveled to Stillwater, then to St. Paul, and finally to Superior. The trip from St. Paul over the military road through the unbroken wilderness to Superior, which they made in mid-February 1856, was difficult, especially for Mrs. Peet, who was expecting their first child. In late June, Elisha Pike, who had come to Superior from Bayfield on business, invited Peet to Bayfield to preach. He journeyed to Bayfield on July 6 1857, while his family remained in Superior. He preached his first sermon in the unfinished church on July 12th. Two days later the Methodist Episcopal Church of Bayfield was formally organized, and at the end of the

month, he was placed in charge of the affairs of the Methodist Conference in La Pointe County. On September 19th Peet brought his family from Superior to live in Bayfield. For two years, until June 1859, Peet was engaged in the difficult task of ministering to people, not only in Bayfield, but also in La Pointe, Odanah, and Ashland. His parishioners were few, and he endured great hardships to serve them, walking between communities over the ice in the winter, and rowing himself across the bay in warmer weather. He was constantly short of money, living hand to mouth and suffering from chronic ailments. On June 5 1859 the family returned to Superior, apparently remaining there until Peet was appointed to the Methodist Episcopal Church in Anoka, Minnesota in the fall of 1861. The following year he was sent to Eureka, Minnesota and in 1863 to nearby Farmington. There he became acquainted with a Union army officer who was organizing a regiment of black soldiers (the 12th Louisiana Infantry—African Descent) and who offered Peet the position of regimental chaplain. He enthusiastically accepted, was appointed a chaplain in the army on November 5 1863, and was mustered to active service on January 18 1864. As he had done in his civilian ministry, Peet carried out his duties to his new charges with great dedication, never sparing himself in his efforts to improve the lot of the black soldiers, so recently released from bondage. His regiment was stationed at various posts throughout the south; unfortunately he soon succumbed to illness brought on by the heat and humidity. He received a medical discharge on May 15 1865 and returned with his family to Anoka, which they considered their home. Soon after Peet became incapacitated due to illness and his family fell on desperate straits, surviving only with the financial and spiritual support of the community. He died in Anoka on November 27 1866. His wife survived him by many years, eventually remarrying. Mary Hawker Bakeman. “James Peet, Minnesota Missionary.” Anoka County Historical and Genealogical Society, 1994; Warren Upham and Rose Barteau (comps.). *Minnesota Biographies, 1655-1912. Collections of the Minnesota Historical Society*, v. 14, 586; Knight, series of eight articles about Peet, *BCP* 7/16-9/3/53, most reprinted in the *BCP* 6/28/56; “The Diary of Rev. James Peet.” Knight 1999, 7-14; Chauncey Hobart. *History of Methodism in Minnesota*. Brooklyn Park, MN: Park Genealogical Books, 1992. (SHSW-PC); “Acknowledgment,” *Anoka Union*, 5/17/66—notice of appreciation of money collected in the community for relief of Peet family; “Died,” *Anoka County Press*, 11/29/66—obituary; “Memorial Services,” *Anoka Union* 12/6/66; “Died,” *Anoka Union*, 7/22/14—wife’s obituary; Harris 1976, 151-154. Most of Peet’s life is extensively documented by the diary that he kept, as required by the Methodist Conference; by letters and documents that he and his wife saved; and by his written recollections and those of family, friends, and colleagues. The diary that he kept during his ministry in Bayfield is in the State Historical Society of Wisconsin archives.

Elisha Pike was born on January 22 1813 in Mattel, Maine. At an early age he moved with his family to Meadville, Pennsylvania, where he grew to manhood. On December 31 1835 he married Elizabeth Kimmey, and in 1847 they moved to Toledo, Ohio. There he contracted malaria and was advised by Frederick Prentice to go to La Pointe for the summer to regain his health. He arrived there in June 1855 and arranged with Julius Austrian to repair an old sawmill, which Austrian owned, located at the confluence of Pike’s Creek and North Pike’s Creek (as later named). He purchased the mill, an adjacent cabin, and land from Austrian, returning to Toledo in September to move his family. They arrived at La Pointe on October 18th. They remained there for several days because of Mrs. Pike’s health, and then moved to the cabin on the mill site where they lived for the remainder of their lives. Elisha Pike was active in public affairs, serving in several local and county offices, and bore the honorific “judge.” He died at his

old homestead on Pike's Creek on October 20 1887. "Died," *BCP* 11/5/87; Burnham, *ADP* 1/22/29; Burnham 1974, 146-148; Knight, *BCP* 8/5/54, 10/21/54, 10/28/54; Ross 1960, 119; "The Golden Wedding," *BCP* 1/6/86; "Died." *BCP* 4/2/92 (wife).

Robinson Derling Pike was born in Meadville, Pennsylvania on April 13 1838. The family moved to Toledo, Ohio in 1845, where he received a rudimentary education. In 1855, after the father Elisha contracted malaria, in Toledo, the family moved to Chequamegon Bay for his health. Shortly thereafter, Robinson went to Detroit and took a commercial course. He enlisted as a private in the 27th Michigan Infantry at Ontonagon on August 13 1862, and later was transferred to the 1st Michigan Cavalry, and commissioned a 2nd Lieutenant. He fought in several major battle including Vicksburg, Spotsylvania, Cold Harbor, and in at "least one Hundred minor engagements, Skirmishes, Raids & c." He was present at Appomattox Court House on April 9 1865 when Confederate General Robert E. Lee surrendered the Army of Northern Virginia, effectively ending the Civil War. After the war he served in the cavalry on the western plains and the reference to "minor engagements" and so on in his service record might refer in part to that period of his service. He was discharged at Fort Bridges in the Utah Territory on March 31 1866. Returning to Bayfield, he purchased a shingle mill on Pike's Creek but it soon burnt down. Then in partnership with Asaph Whittlesey, who furnished the capital, he built a shingle mill at La Pointe. On May 17 1869 the mill's steam boiler exploded, killing one man, seriously injuring several others, and destroying a large part of the village by fire, including the Madeline House and the old fur company warehouses (Lathrop 1905, 41, stated that the fur company's buildings were destroyed in a fire on August 2 1869). Shortly before or just after this catastrophe, he built a shingle mill in Bayfield, and the following year a saw mill which he named "Little Daisy." Soon his dockage and warehouses covered some 20 blocks of the Bayfield waterfront. His entrepreneurial activities were not confined to the lumber business, however. He had extensive real estate holdings, established a telephone line between Bayfield and Ashland, harvested and sold ice, serviced the steamers with cordwood, built the first electric light system for the town, opened a brownstone quarry (still partially visible on the north side of highway 13), was a partner in a company that operated stage line over the Bayfield-Superior wagon road, packed and shipped fish, and was even a member of an olive grower's association in California. He was also active in community affairs, serving as chairman of the County Board, Clerk of County Court, Captain of the Bayfield Rifles (a local militia group), and in other public offices. News items about his business activities, travels, new enterprises, and social events appeared in almost every issue of the *Bayfield Press*. One item from August 1885 described "Capt. Pike's annual picnic" at Big Bay on Madeline Island. His lasting contribution to the region was the State Fish Hatchery on Pike's Creek, dedicated on September 10 1897, for which he donated a large tract of land. He was married to Eva L. Johnson on January 28 1886 in Fostoria, Ohio. (Before he was married he apparently lived at the hotel and boarded with the Tates in the winter when the hotel did not serve meals. Nellie Tate repeatedly referred to him as "Bob" in her diary, but it is not known if others called him by this name. See Tate diary extracts, *BCP* 11/7/57, 1/2/58.) He died on March 27 1906 on a train taking him to Milwaukee for medical treatment; his body was returned to Bayfield for burial. Knight, *BCP*, 8/5/54-11/4/54 (Pike family); "Capt. R.D. Pike Dead," *BCP* 3/30/06; Ross 1960, 124 *passim*; "A Model Mill," *BCP* 6/12/86; Andreas 1888, 85; Burnham 1974, 256-257; Harris 1976, 141, *passim*; *CBR*, 122-123; "A Sad Death," *BCP* 7/31/97 (wife). Jean Seigley. *Marriages In Seneca County, Ohio, 1841-1899*. Tiffin, OH: Seneca County Genealogical Society, 1994, 280; discharge certificate in

the “R.D. Pike” file at the ARC-A; “Capt. Pike’s annual picnic,” *BCP* 8/22/85; Knight, “Capt. R.D. Pike,” *History*, 1999, 78-88. In July 1906, Pike’s Mill was sold to the Wachsmuth Lumber Company. In her biography of Pike, Eleanor Knight states that “He was a Captain in the Army” during the Civil War. His rank on his Army discharge certificate was first lieutenant, however. He may have held the rank of captain temporarily during the war, or, what is more likely, the title was bestowed on him as the leader of the Bayfield Rifles.

Henry Mower Rice was born in Waitsfield, Vermont on November 29 1817 (1816). He received an academy education, then studied law for two years. When he was 19 he went to Detroit, Michigan where he worked as a surveyor for the proposed inter-lake canal at St. Ste. Marie, followed by two years in business at Kalamazoo, Michigan. In 1839 he made an arduous journey to St. Louis, where he was engaged to manage a sutler’s and fur trade store at Fort Snelling, Minnesota. From 1840 to 1842 he operated a sutler’s store at Fort Atkinson in Iowa, and then engaged in the fur trade with various associates out of Prairie du Chien, Wisconsin. In 1847 as a United States commissioner, he negotiated the treaty with the Chippewa, by which they ceded a vast tract of land in Minnesota. In 1852 he secured the final consent of the Sioux Indians to the 1851 treaty under which they were dispossessed of their possessions in that state. As a fur trader and negotiator with the Indians, he became well-acquainted with the territory around the western end of Lake Superior. Realizing the great potential for the future development of its ports and resources, he invested heavily in the townsites at Superior and Bayfield. On March 29 1849, he married Matilda Whitall of Richmond, Virginia, after which they made their home in St. Paul, Minnesota. There he became deeply involved in politics, and was elected the congressional delegate from Minnesota Territory in 1853 and 1855, and a Senator when Minnesota became a state in 1858. He was instrumental in obtaining land grants for Minnesota railroads and changes in the Federal land laws that greatly benefited the settlers, and he procured the enabling act under which Minnesota became a state. During the Civil War he was an ardent Unionist, severing connections with many close southern friends who had gone with the Confederacy, and using his business experience and ability in Congress to gain the adoption of practical measures to mobilize and equip the Union armies. Following the end of his Senate term in March 1863, he was a Democratic candidate for governor of Minnesota, but was defeated. Subsequently he was widely involved in public affairs at the national and state levels until his death in San Antonio, Texas, on January 15 1894. *DAB*, v. 15, 540-541; *NCAB*, v. 21, 273-274; Graber 1949; Alfton 1932; “Hon. Henry M. Rice,” *AWP* 5/13/76; William R. Marshall. “Henry Mower Rice” *Collections of the Minnesota Historical Society*, v. 9, 1898-1900, 654-658; “Death of Henry M. Rice.” *St. Paul Pioneer Press*, 1/16/94; “Hon. H.M. Rice,” *BCP* 1/20/94. Rice seems to have had an attachment to Bayfield that went beyond his financial investment, which continued at least until the 1880s. He apparently spent summer vacations there. He donated 10 acres of land for a town cemetery and 10 acres for a Catholic cemetery. He gave a town lot to one family for naming their son, the first white child born there, Bayfield Kittsteiner, and \$10 to another family for naming the second white child Henry Mower Rice Hochdanner—Knight, “First-Hand Stories of Well Known Bayfield Pioneers,” *BCP* 6/28/56; “Hon. H.M. Rice” (cemetery donation), *BCP* 10/12/70; “What the Honorable H.M. Rice Thinks of The ‘Harbor City,’ ” *BCP* 7/28/83; “Hon. H.M. Rice,” *BCP* 8/25/83; “Mrs. H.M. Rice,” *BCP* 9/15/83; “Some Early History,” *BCP* 4/27/06.

Andrew Tate was born on August 23 1823, in Washington, DC. Nothing is known of his life until age 34, when he moved to Bayfield because of his health, arriving on May 25 1857. He immediately entered into the life of the new community, opening a store and helping to organize the first school. He read law and was admitted to the county court in 1858 and the circuit court in 1861. He occupied a series of public offices including school superintendent, judge, district attorney, clerk of circuit court, county treasurer, and county supervisor. He operated a drug store for many years and served as a reliable source of medical and legal advice for his fellow citizens. He married Nellie G. Hall of Ohio in Bayfield in July 1866, who kept a diary of her life in Bayfield. Andrew Tate died in Bayfield on May 14 1900 and was buried there. Knight, "Tate's Death at 77, Marked End of Era in Bayfield History," *BCP* 6/28/56; Andreas 1881, 85; Knight, 26 articles based on Nellie Tate's diary, *BCP* 8/22/57-2/20/58; "Andrew Tate," Knight 1999, 69-71; "Died," *BCP* 5/19/00; "Died," *AWP* 3/13/80 and "Obituary," *BCP* 3/6/80 (wife's obituaries).

Chrysostom (Christian) Adrian Verwyst was born in Uden, The Netherlands, on November 23 1841. In 1848 the family emigrated to the United States. They landed in Boston where they remained while the father and older sons were employed in various occupations to obtain money to move west. In 1855 they migrated to Wisconsin, settling in Hollandtown in Brown County. There Christian (which was his baptismal name) worked with his father on the family farm and for a neighbor. In 1859 he began to study for the priesthood with a local priest, and then in 1861 entered the St. Francis Seminary in Milwaukee. In 1862 he was drafted for the army, but paid a commutation fee of \$300 and was exempted from service. He was ordained on November 5 1865, after which he was assigned to New London, Wisconsin, with the whole of Waupaca as his mission district. In 1868 he was sent to Hudson, Wisconsin, where he was responsible for St. Croix, Polk, and Pierce Counties. His next parish was at Seneca, Wisconsin, where he remained until 1878, when he was posted to Bayfield, arriving on June 19 1878. In October the Franciscan Order took charge of the Indian mission in the Lake Superior region, and he was transferred to Superior, where he remained for four years. He determined to join the Franciscan Order and was sent to Teutopolis, Illinois, to serve his novitiate. On February 10 1882 he was received into the Order, adopting the name Chrysostom in place of Christian. In 1862 he was sent back to Bayfield, where he remained for several years, with responsibility for missionary work with the Indians over an extensive area of northern Wisconsin. He was then transferred to Superior for three years, and then to Ashland, where he stayed for seven years, working there and in Fifield and Phillips. Due to ill health he was sent to a hospital in St. Louis, Missouri, in 1897, where he remained for over a year. He was then transferred to Los Angeles, California, but disliked the climate—he "grew tired of the everlasting sunshine"—and was sent back to Ashland to serve Chippewa and St. Croix Counties. He was retired to Bayfield in 1912 because of infirmities brought on by age and the hardships of missionary life. He devoted his time to ministering to the local people and to study and writing. He died in Bayfield on June 23 1925 and was buried there. Chrysostom Adrian Verwyst, "Reminiscences of a Pioneer Missionary," *Proceedings of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin*, 1916, 148-185; "Golden Jubilee A Brilliant Festival," *BCP* 7/16/15; "Pioneer Missionary of Wisconsin Dies This Tuesday," *BCP* 6/25/25; "Fr. Chrysostom Dies At Bayfield," *ADP* 6/24/25.

Isaac H. Wing was born on July 8 1832, in Winthrop, Maine where he spent his boyhood. Sometime after graduation from Bowden College he went to Hudson, Wisconsin as the business manager for a sawmill proprietor. When that business failed in the panic of 1857, he read law for a year in a judge's office, and was then admitted to the bar but never practiced. He enlisted in the army on April 19 1861, serving as first lieutenant in company G of the 4th Wisconsin Volunteer Cavalry Regiment. He was taken prisoner but escaped through the enemy lines. His health was broken by his experiences in battle and as prisoner, and he resigned on August 20 1862. Returning to Hudson he served as county clerk before going to Bayfield in 1870 as receiver in the U.S. Land Office located there. In 1882 he resigned that position and entered the real estate and lumber business, where he made a substantial fortune. He retired from business but remained in Bayfield where he was active in civic and philanthropic affairs. He contributed generously to Bowden College, established a scholarship for Washburn High School graduates, and supported other causes. At the beginning of the Spanish-American War in April 1898 he contributed distinctive blue shirts to Company K of the Fourth Wisconsin Volunteers, composed of men from northern Wisconsin, which named itself the Wing Company (or Wing Guards). He was unmarried. He died in Bayfield on August 27 1907. "Col. Wing Is Dead," *BCP* 8/30/07; "Colonel Wing Is Dead," *ADP* 8/27/07; "Col. Isaac H. Wing Passes Away," *Hudson Star Tribune* 8/30/07. "Roster Of Company 'G', " *Roster of Wisconsin Volunteers, War Of The Rebellion, 1861-1865*, v. I, 182; "Col. Wing, etc," Knight 1999, 294—Knight states that Wing "equipped" Company K, but the historian of the company stated that he only provided the blue shirts—Roy C. Hull, "The Story of Company 'K', " *WT* 7/18/29; "The Wing Scholarship," *WN* 11/30/94. Wing's title of "colonel" was honorary.

La Pointe Biographies

Jean Claude Allouez
Paolo Andreani.
John Daniel Angus
Benjamin Green Armstrong
Julius Austrian
Frederic Ayer
Ireneous Frederic Baraga
John W. Bell
Charles William Borup
William Thurston Boutwell
Alfred Brunson
Buffalo, Great Buffalo, or Ke-che-waish-ke,
Michel Cadotte
Joseph Dufault
Edmund Franklin Ely
Medard Chouart des Groseilliers
Sherman Hall
Alexander Henry
John Johnston
Louis Denis Sieur de La Ronde
Pierre Charles Le Sueur
Jacques Marquette
Pere Rene Menard
Pierre Esprit Radisson
Otto Skolla
Lyman Marcus Warren
Truman Abraham Warren
Leonard Hemenway Wheeler

La Pointe Biographies

Jean Claude Allouez was born on June 6 1622 in Saint Didier-en-Forest, Haute Loire, France. He received his early education at Puy, the capital city of his home district, during which he became interested in missionary work. In 1639 he graduated from college at Puy, and then entered the Jesuit novitiate at Toulouse. After several years of theological study he was ordained in 1655, and in 1656 was appointed preacher in the cathedral town of Rodez. Strongly desiring to do missionary work, he was ordered to Canada (New France) and arrived at Quebec in July 1658. He began to learn the Indian languages, and was soon able to preach among the Algonquin tribes along the St. Lawrence River. Judged by his superiors to be “eminently suited for missionary work,” he was promoted to positions of greater responsibility. In 1664 he was appointed to the Ottawa mission in the Lake Superior region and set out for his new post on August 8 1665, arriving at Chequamegon Bay on October 1st. Near the head of the bay he built the mission of Saint Esprit, naming the location La Pointe du Saint Esprit. He remained there until 1668 (1669) when he returned to Quebec. He returned west to Green Bay with Father Jacques Marquette, who replaced him at the Saint Esprit mission on Chequamegon Bay. From there he did missionary work among the various tribes around the shore of Green Bay, Lake Winnebago, and Lake Michigan, and on the Fox and Wolf Rivers. In October of 1676 he journeyed to the Illinois country to take up missionary work there, eventually settling at a mission at Kaskasia. He remained in the Illinois country until his death on August 27 1689 near the site of Niles, Michigan. WPA Writer’s Program, Wisconsin Biographies, Box 9 (SHSW-A); Ross 1960, 30-33; Burnham 1974, 14-16; Burnham, *ADP* 4/19/38.

Paolo Andreani. Count Paolo Andreani was born in Milan, Italy around 1763 of a noble family of that city. Having a scientific bent of mind, on March 13 1784 he carried out the first successful balloon ascension in Italy. In June of that year, he went to Paris where he became acquainted with French scientists and was given responsibility for an expedition to Scotland. Around 1790 he came to the United States on a tour, carrying letters of introduction to George Washington and other people of importance. His comments about the United States, intended to be flattering, got back to Washington, who considered them naïve and superficial, an insult to the proud new nation. He did not meet Washington and his reception by other upper class Americans, despite his aristocratic lineage, was apparently rather cold. Andreani’s tour also had a scientific purpose. During this period French scientists were interested in the true shape of the earth, suspecting that it was not a perfect sphere. It was apparently in this connection that Andreani was at La Pointe in September 1791, where he encountered the fur trader, John Johnston (see Johnston’s biographical note). Andreani toured the Great Lakes and may even have circumnavigated Lake Superior. He visited Grand Portage in 1791 and described in some detail the fur trade at that post and around the Great Lakes. Subsequently, he went to Philadelphia where he was elected to the American Philosophical Society. Apparently toward the end of the century he returned to Europe, but in 1806 came back to the United States for another tour, unfortunately contracting small pox in New Orleans. It is not known if he continued his tour but at some point he returned to Europe, dying in poverty in Nice, France, on May 11 1823. G. Hubert Smith. “Count Andreani: A Forgotten Traveler.” *Minnesota History*, v. 19, March 1938, 34-42; “Andreani, Paolo.” *Dizionario Biografico Degli Italiani*, v. 3, Rome, Italy, 1961, 128; C.H. Chapman. “The Historic Johnston Family Of The Soo.” *Michigan Pioneer*

and Historical Society, v. 32, 1903, 341; Ken Alder. *The Measure Of All Things; The Seven Year Odyssey And Hidden Error That Transformed The World*. New York: Free Press, 2002.

John Daniel Angus was born in Albany, New York in 1813. He learned navigation skills as a young man, and after several years of salt-water sailing, he came to La Pointe in 1835. He was hired by the American Fur Company to captain its vessels, the schooners *Madeline* and *Siskiwit*, transporting fish catches from various lake stations to La Pointe where the fish were packed in barrels and shipped. When the company went out of business he was captain of the *Algonquin*, a small schooner which was the first commercial vessel to enter Lake Superior. Later he was master of the excursion steamer *Illinois*, which ran between Detroit and Sault Ste. Marie. He was at one time keeper of the La Pointe lighthouse on the end of Chequamegon Point, and also piloted boats between Ashland, Washburn, and Bayfield. He died at La Pointe on February 13 1894. Harris 1976, 142; Ross 1960, 115, 116n; Ellis, *AWP* 6/30/77; Burnham, "Boats Of Fur Trade Days," *ADP* 2/11/36; "Early Navigation on Lake Superior," *AWP* 6/19/75; Burnham, "Interview With Captain Angus," *ADP* 3/5/35; *BCP* 2/17/94 (obituary).

Benjamin Green Armstrong was born on July 4 1820 in Alabama. At the age of eight years, with less than three weeks of schooling, he was lured from home by a man who raced horses. In the summer of 1833 he was injured in a fall from a horse in New Orleans and contracted a fever. His health impaired, he abandoned horse racing. After traveling around the upper Mississippi Valley with his brother (the purpose of which is unclear), he went in June 1840 to Hudson, Wisconsin to regain his health. He was accompanied by a young half-breed who taught him the Chippewa language. In 1841 his uncle started him in the trading business and he traveled to the headwaters of the Mississippi to establish a trading post. (A Chippewa guide showed him the small streams and lakes that fed into Lake Itasca and were thus the true source of the Mississippi). Armstrong became well acquainted with the Chippewa and their language and culture, marrying the niece of Buffalo, a powerful chief of the La Pointe band, who adopted him as a son. He became a trusted adviser and interpreter for the Chippewa, striving to protect their interests against the traders, Indian agents and commissioners. In 1852 when Chippewa resistance to the Federal order to relocate them from La Pointe to Sandy Lake threatened to turn violent, he led a delegation of chiefs to Washington, where they were successful in having the order revoked. He played an instrumental role in the treaty signed at La Pointe on September 30 1854, which extinguished the Chippewa title to their lands west of the Mississippi and established reservations for them in northern Wisconsin. Under the terms of the treaty, Chief Buffalo was allotted one section of land, which he selected on the present site of Duluth, giving quarter sections to his nephew and his nephew's two sons and to Armstrong. The following October Armstrong went to Ontonagon, where he joined a company formed to pre-empt land in the newly ceded territory. He established a trading post at or near the present site of Duluth. In January 1855 he set out for La Pointe with the furs he had collected, but along the way was blinded by a substance that either by accident or design had gotten into his eyes and remained so until the winter of 1861 when his sight was restored through the patient ministrations of his wife. In the spring of 1861 Armstrong was appointed interpreter to the Indian agent at Bayfield and to the superintendent of Indian affairs in the northwest. When rumors of an Indian uprising in northern Wisconsin began to circulate, he led a delegation of nine chiefs to Washington, where President Abraham Lincoln promised them that their annuity arrearages would be paid at the end of the war. In 1864 he resigned his position as interpreter and moved with his family to Portage

Lake, Michigan. They remained there until the spring of 1870, but it is not known where they then resided. In November 1874, Armstrong led another party of six Indians east to show them “the great white nation and what civilization really was.” While in Manchester, Maine, he and the group of Indians joined a show called “Washburn’s Last Sensation,” traveling around New England the mid-Atlantic states. The group then returned to northern Wisconsin, where Armstrong moved to Ashland, where he served in various political offices. The date of his move to Ashland is uncertain, but he and his family were listed in the 1880 census of Ashland. He died there on July 31 1900. Armstrong, *WMH* 1972-73; Armstrong 1892; “Benjamin G. Armstrong.” WPA Writer’s Program, Wisconsin Biographies, Box 10 (SHSW-A); “A Son Of Buffalo,” *ADP* 8/1/00 (obituary); “Died,” *AWP* 12/30/82 (wife’s obituary); Burnham, “Story of Armstrong’s Life is Review of History of Ashland,” *ADP* 10/5/33 (son Henry’s obituary).

Julius Austrian was born in Bavaria, Germany, in 1821. He worked as a tanner in France and Germany before coming to the United States in early 1844. He remained in New York briefly and in the fall of that year came to La Pointe where he joined the trading post established there by the Leopold brothers earlier that year. In 1847 his brother (?) Joseph arrived from Germany and they operated the business together (the Leopold brothers having returned to Mackinac) until Joseph moved to Eagle River, Michigan in the spring of 1848. With the demise of the American Fur Company, Julius Austrian became the major entrepreneur and promoter of La Pointe. In May of 1853 he purchased from the government the land on which the village of La Pointe was located, and resold the individual plots to the residents who had settled on them under the jurisdiction of the American Fur Company. In June of 1855 he sold the fur company’s old sawmill on the mainland to Elisha Pike. In 1857 he lived and operated a store in Bayfield, and in 1859 he and several other men incorporated the “La Pointe Iron Company” to mine iron and other mineral ores on any lands owned by the company in Wisconsin. He did not appear in the June 1860 *U.S. Census* of the Town of Bayfield in La Pointe County but was shown as a farmer with 150 acres of improved and 4,000 acres of unimproved land in the Town of La Pointe in Ashland County. In 1862 he moved to Eagle River where he engaged in the general merchandise business. In 1871 he left Eagle River for St. Paul where he established a general commission business and invested in real estate. His investment interests in the Chequamegon Bay region continued, however, and in 1872 he was reported to be one of the largest land owners on the Penoque range. (Many of his land purchases were made as attorney-in-fact for Joseph Austrian.) In 1881 he retired to devote himself to charitable works. In 1849 he married Hannah Leopold, the sister of the Leopold brothers. He died in St. Paul on March 18 1891 (reportedly run over by a horse-drawn beer wagon) and was buried in Chicago. “A Band of Brothers.” *Portage Lake Mining Gazette* 3/17/66; *BM* 7/14/57; Burnham 1974, 288; “La Pointe Iron Company.” Chicago: Evening Post Print, 1871 (SHSW-PC); “An Eventful Life.” *St. Paul Pioneer Press* 3/20/91 (obituary); “Pioneer Portage Lake Steamship Man’s Life” (Joseph). *Houghton Daily Mining Gazette* 6/3/08; “Had a Stirring Career.” *Beloit Free Press* 6/8/08 (Joseph obituary).

Frederic Ayer was born on October 11 1803 in west Stockbridge, Massachusetts. From the age of two years, he lived in New York, where his father was a home missionary. Although destined for the ministry, frail health prevented him from completing the necessary studies. In 1829 he went to the Indian mission at Mackinac, Michigan to teach, but the work proved to be too arduous for him. In the summer of 1830 Lyman M. Warren came to Mackinac on his annual supply trip, hoping to find a Protestant missionary to accompany him back to La Pointe. There was no missionary available, but Ayer volunteered to go to La Pointe with Warren. There he taught the Indians, employees of the American Fur Company, and their children Bible verses, English, and arithmetic. He also learned the Chippewa language and began to compile a Chippewa spelling book. The following spring he returned to Mackinac, but in August went back to La Pointe with Warren and Rev. Sherman Hall, who established the first Protestant mission there. Ayer stayed on during the winter of 1831-32 as a teacher and assistant to Hall. In the spring of 1832 he went to Sandy Lake, Minnesota where he opened a school. He completed his Chippewa spelling book and in the spring of 1833 traveled to Utica, New York to arrange for its publication. In that year he placed himself under the American Board of Foreign Missions, and was put in charge of the mission and school at Yellow Lake, Wisconsin. After two years he transferred to the mission at Pokegama on the Snake River in Minnesota. In 1840 the Indians (Ojibway) fled after the Sioux had attacked their village but Ayer and the other missionaries remained, ministering to the dispersed Indian camps. In 1842 Ayer and his family returned to Oberlin, Ohio where he was ordained at Oberlin College to preach among the Indians. Along with other missionaries he established a mission at Red Lake, Minnesota where he remained until 1849. He then moved to Belle Prairie, Minnesota where he established an independent school for promising Indian children. In 1865 he and his wife volunteered to work among the freedmen, and they went to Atlanta, Georgia to open a school. The school was successful despite the trying conditions in the post-Civil War south. He supervised the construction of a chapel and two houses, and organized a Congregational Church and a temperance society. He died in Atlanta on April 28 1867 and was buried there. “Frederick Ayer, Teacher and Missionary to the Ojibway Indians 1829 to 1850,” *Collections of the Minnesota Historical Society*, v. 6, 1894, 429-437; *MTC* 234; *MB* 25; Burnham, *ADP* 7/28/32, 7/29/32; Widder 1981.

Iraeous Frederic Baraga was born on June 29 1797 in Malavas, Austria. His family was well-to-do but not of the aristocracy. His parents died when he was young and he inherited considerable property and money. His education began under private tutors at an early age, and in 1816 he entered the University of Vienna and graduated in 1821 with a law degree. Having in the meantime decided to enter the church, he broke an engagement and renounced his inheritance in favor of his sister Antonia. He entered the seminary at Laibach, completing the three year course in two years, and was ordained a priest on September 21 1823. He served parishes in his native country for several years, but in 1830 offered himself for service in foreign missions in the United States. He was accepted and arrived in Cincinnati in early 1831, and in the spring was assigned to missionary work in Michigan. He worked among the Indians, enduring great hardships with his life frequently in danger from fur traders who resented his influence among the Indians and from drunken Indians who were supplied with liquor by the traders. Working among the Indians around Grand River, he advised them not to sell their lands to settlers who were pressing northward from Ohio. He was accused by the settlers and traders of fomenting disturbances among the Indians. Although exonerated of this charge, the government forced the

church to transfer him, and he was sent to La Pointe, where he arrived on July 27 1835. In his usual dedicated and indefatigable manner, he set about re-establishing the first Roman Catholic mission on Chequamegon Bay since 1671, beginning the construction of a church three days after his arrival. In September 1836, he went to Europe to seek funds for his La Pointe mission, returning in October of 1837. He was accompanied on his return by his sister Antonia who was to assist him, but she was unable to tolerate the harsh climate and the great difficulties of Indian missionary work, and returned to Europe after two years. While at La Pointe he visited Fond du Lac on the St. Louis River to baptize Indians, but was not able to establish a mission there. In June 1843, he left La Pointe for L'Anse, Michigan to begin a mission there, and when the copper rush to the Upper Peninsula began in 1845 he opened churches and schools to serve the immigrants who poured in to work the mines. In November 1853 he was made Bishop of Sault Ste. Marie, responsible for missions in lower and upper Michigan and northern Wisconsin. In May 1866 he moved the seat of his bishopric to Marquette, continuing in his older years his customary rounds of parishes and establishing churches and schools among the rapidly growing population. He was an accomplished linguist, publishing among other things a grammar and a dictionary of the Chippewa language. He died at Marquette on January 19 1868, and was buried in the cathedral there. "Frederic Baraga." WPA Writer's Program, Wisconsin Biographies, Box 11 (SHSW-A); Verwyst 1900; Gregorich 1932; Rezek 1906; Lambert 1967; *DWB* 24-25; *DAB* 1:584-585; Burnham "The Search For The Countess," *ADP* 4/23/32-4/30/32 (7 articles); Burnham, "The Story of Baraga," *ADP* 9/6/35-10/2/35 (23 articles); Burnham, "Bishop Baraga Escapes," *ADP* 8/14/37. There were festive observances of the 50th and 100th anniversaries of Baraga's arrival at La Pointe: 50th—*ADP* 8/22/85, 8/29/85; 100th —*ADP* 8/23/35, 8/26/35, 8/29/35, 8/30/35, 8/31/35.

John W. Bell was born on May 3 1804 (1803) in New York City. In 1811 the family moved to Quebec, Canada, where young John received a limited education and was apprenticed to a watchmaker, and later completed an apprenticeship in ship building and the cooper trade (barrel making). After working in the salmon fisheries in the Gulf of St. Lawrence and as a cooper in Montreal, he came to Lake Superior. He settled first at the mouth of the Iron River, some twenty miles west of Ontonagon, Michigan. He moved to La Pointe on June 23 1835, where he went into business making fish barrels for the American Fur Company and soon became active in the local and county government affairs of the area. Over years he held practically every town and county office including chairman of the town or county board of supervisors for at least 20 years. Indeed, in November 1868 he was elected as chairman of the board of supervisors, register of deeds, superintendent of schools, and district attorney, and the following year was county judge and assessor. At the same time he continued to engage in the cooper business and fur trade for the American Fur Company. He was present at all Indian payments and treaty councils held at La Pointe for over half a century. In 1865 he led a delegation of 18 principal chiefs of the Lake Superior Chippewa to Washington to obtain overdue Indian payments. Rebuffed as such delegations usually were by those in charge of Indian affairs, they were finally granted an audience with President Lincoln, who ordered that a just settlement with the Indians was to be made. The assassination of the President shortly afterwards brought their efforts to naught, however, and they returned to La Pointe empty-handed. Bell did not abuse the public trust placed in him, although probably much was done in the rough and ready conditions of the time that would not be allowed today. He was a kind and although powerfully built, a gentle person. The numerous public offices that he held and discharged with competence and honesty, and his

open, magnanimous and at times flamboyant character, earned him the sobriquet of “King John,” although he often referred to himself as “Old Whackum.” He was married at La Pointe on June 26 1836. He died there on December 30 1887. “Another Pioneer Dead,” *WI* 1/5/88; Geo. Francis Thomas. “A Thrilling Tale.” *AWP* 1/7/88; Burnham. “King Bell.” *ADP* 4/15/31; William Knight. [John W. Bell]. Burnham, *ADP* 7/9/29; “Memories of Marquette.” *AWP* 10/3/85; Charles M. Sheridan. “John W. Bell was known as ‘King of the Apostle Islands.’ ” *WT* 2/19/31; Ross 1960, 122-123, 144-145; Burnham 1974, 129-131; *On The Rock* 1997, 392-394.

Charles William Wulff Borup was born in Copenhagen, Denmark on December 10 1806. He attended medical college and upon graduation went to the island of St. Thomas in the West Indies to practice medicine. Since the tropical climate there proved to be injurious to his health, in 1827 he moved to the United States. From New York he went to Mackinac, Michigan where he was employed as a clerk by the American Fur Company. Subsequently he was stationed at other company posts, including Yellow Lake, Minnesota and La Pointe. As the company’s chief western agent from 1838-1842, he played an important part in the company’s affairs, and acquired a large fortune. He also continued to practice medicine, being the only physician at that time in the region. There is no information about him from 1842 until 1848, when he established a business in lumberman’s supplies in St. Paul. In 1852 he entered the real estate business, platted an addition to St. Paul, and also established a bank in partnership with his brother-in-law. On July 17 1832 he married Elizabeth Beaulieu. He died in St. Paul on July 6 1859. “Charles William Wulff Borup,” WPA Writer’s Program, Wisconsin Biographies, Box 12 (SHSW-A); Neill 1892, 16, n.2.

William Thurston Boutwell was born in Lyndboro, New Jersey on February 3 1803. He was educated at Philips Exeter Academy and Dartmouth College, graduating in 1828. He then entered Andover Theological Seminary, graduating in June 1831 and was ordained a Congregational minister (with Sherman Hall) at Woburn, Massachusetts. Shortly thereafter he and Hall departed for Mackinaw, arriving on July 13th. There Boutwell studied the Chippewa language and assisted in the mission school (meanwhile Hall went to La Pointe). After three months he moved to Sault Ste. Marie where he met Henry R. Schoolcraft. In 1832 he was invited to join the Schoolcraft expedition to the upper Mississippi valley where he was to look into the possibility of establishing missions among the Chippewa west of Lake Superior. The expedition departed from Sault Ste. Marie on June 7 1832 returning to Fort Snelling on July 24th. On August 6th Boutwell reached La Pointe where he remained to assist Rev. Sherman Hall during the winter of 1832-33. In the summer of 1833 he visited Mackinaw where he was assigned by the American Board of Foreign Missions to work at missions in eastern Minnesota. He returned to La Pointe in August, and from there he journeyed again to Minnesota where he established the first Indian mission in Minnesota, at Leech Lake. In the summer of 1834, while at Leech Lake, he proposed by messenger to Hester Crooks at Yellow Lake, Wisconsin. She was born on May 30 1817, the daughter of an Indian woman and Ramsay Crooks, the president of the American Fur Company. They were married by Rev. Sherman Hall at the fur trading post at Fond du Lac, Minnesota, on October 11 1834 (or in August 1834). They left immediately for Leech Lake, arriving there on November 9 1834. He eventually came into conflict with the Indians and in 1838 he moved to the mission at Pokegama. He remained there until the spring of 1847, when warfare between the Sioux and Ojibway (Chippewa) Indians forced the mission to close. Boutwell abandoned Indian mission work and in June 1847 moved with his family to a

160 acre tract near Stillwater, Minnesota. From there he served the settlers who poured into Minnesota after it was designated a Territory in 1849, traveling as far north as the Falls of the St. Croix River and as far south as the junction of the St. Croix with the Mississippi at Prescott, from his home at Stillwater. His wife, Hester, died on October 15 1853, and on September 26th of the following year he married Mary Ann Bergen of Lancaster, New Hampshire. She died in 1868. He died at his home on October 10 1890. Edward D. Neil, *Memoir of William T. Boutwell, The First Christian Minister Resident Among The Indians Of Minnesota*. St. Paul: Macalester College Contributions, v. 2, pt. 1, 1892; *MB*, 67; Widder 1981; Sister Claire Lynch, *Reverend William Thurston Boutwell (1803-1890)*. November 1983 (MHS); Ross, 1960, 76, 83, 118.

Alfred Brunson was born on February 9 1793 in Danbury, Connecticut. He attended common school in the winter and assisted his father in his business in the summer. When his father drowned in 1806, the family stayed with the mother's brother, who was a shoemaker. Alfred was apprenticed to his uncle, but disliked the work. A strong sense of piety grew up in him at an early age, and he suffered remorse over his and his parents' alleged sinfulness. In 1808 he departed for Ohio to avoid prosecution for having thrown stones through the windows of a house of ill fame. He intended to study law, but responding to an inner compulsion sought to enter the work of the church but was initially rebuffed because he was too young. On August 26 1811 he married Eunice Burr, his childhood sweetheart, and the family moved to the Western Reserve in Ohio where he cleared a farm and the couple did missionary work for the Methodist Episcopal Church. He enlisted in the army in the War of 1812 and during his one year term saw active service against the British on the frontier. Upon release from the army, having declined a commission, he continued with missionary work in Ohio and Pennsylvania. In 1835 he was assigned to service in a large territory along the Mississippi River, and moved his family to Prairie du Chien in July 1836. In 1839 he left missionary work because of poor health, then read law and was admitted to the bar in 1840. In that same year he was elected to the territorial legislature, serving for one session after which he was appointed Indian agent for La Pointe. He arrived there on January 3 1843, after an arduous journey from Prairie du Chien. He completed the necessary business at La Pointe in two weeks and returned home, but came back to La Pointe in the summer of 1843 where he remained into August, traveling back to Prairie du Chien by way of Fond du Lac and the Mississippi River. His appointment as Indian agent was not renewed due to government disapproval of some of his actions. His wife died on October 18 1846, and he married Caroline Birge from Belvidere, Illinois on February 13 1848. In 1850 he ran for election as district judge but was defeated, so he took up missionary work again at Mineral Point. His second wife died in 1860, and in March 1861 he married Malinda Richards of Paris, New York. He served as a chaplain for one year during the Civil War, after which he continued work as a Methodist itinerant missionary until retirement in 1873. He then began a vigorous literary life, serving as a correspondent for several magazines and newspaper, and writing articles and a two-volume autobiography. He died in Prairie du Chien on August 3 1882, and was buried there. "Alfred Brunson," WPA Writers Program, Wisconsin Biographies, Box 13 (SHSW-A); Ella C. Brunson. "Alfred Brunson, Pioneer of Wisconsin Methodism." *WMH*, v. 2, December 1918, 129-148. "Brunson, Alfred," *WBD*, 55-56; Burnham, *ADP* 8/2/32, 3/15/33 (date of service at La Pointe incorrect).

Buffalo, *Great Buffalo*, or *Ke-che-waish-ke*, was a powerful head chief of the Chippewa bands around Lake Superior. He was born in 1759 on Madeline Island, the son of the hereditary Chief *Ou-daig-weos*. While preferring peace, he was also a skilled military leader. In 1825 he signed the Treaty of Prairie du Chien which established the boundary between the Chippewa and the Sioux. He led his warriors in several successive skirmishes with the encroaching Sioux, culminating in a decisive victory over them in a battle on the Brule River on October 1 1842. In 1851 the government discontinued the payment of the annual annuity at La Pointe, despite the provision in the Treaty of 1842 that payments would continue there for 25 years. The Chippewa were told to go to Sandy Lake, Minnesota, for their payments, but when a large body of men arrived there they found the agency destroyed by fire and the agent gone. After much suffering the Indians returned to La Pointe, having concluded that the government intended to remove them to Sandy Lake. A delegation of Buffalo and five other chiefs, with Benjamin Armstrong as their interpreter, journeyed to Washington, where after enduring many discourtesies at the hands of government officials, they were granted an audience with President Millard Fillmore, who rescinded the removal order. The annuity payments were resumed at La Pointe in 1852. On September 30 1854 Buffalo and other chiefs signed a treaty at La Pointe by which all of the remaining Chippewa lands were ceded to the government. In return they were granted reservations at Red Cliff, Bad River, Lac du Flambeau, and Lac Court Oreilles, and annual stipends of money and supplies. In recognition of his special status and esteem in which he was held by the government, Buffalo was granted one section of land in what is now downtown Duluth. He gave part of the land to Benjamin Armstrong, who had married his niece and was his adopted son, and who had served as translator and guided the Indians in the treaty negotiations. Great Buffalo died at La Pointe on September 7 1855, 96 years old. "Great Buffalo," WPA Writer's Program, Wisconsin Biographies, Box 19 (SHSW-A); Morse 1857, pt. 6; *DWB* 148; Armstrong 1972; Burnham, "The Predecessors of Buffalo," *ADP* 2/27/33-3/1/33 (3 articles); Burnham, "Chiefs of the Chippewas," *ADP* 8/26/32-9/2/32 (6 articles); Burnham, "The Death Of Buffalo," *ADP* 4/7/34, 4/9/34; Burnham, "The Three La Pointe Cemeteries," *ADP* 6/22/34; Burnham, "The Father Of Buffalo," *ADP* 7/30/34; Burnham, (Buffalo's name), *ADP* 1/4/38; Roberts 1954.

Michel Cadotte was born on July 22 1764 at Sault Ste. Marie, the son of Jean Baptiste Cadotte and his Chippewa wife, Anastasia. He was educated in Montreal and worked for his father upon his return to Sault Ste. Marie. He then was employed by the North West Company and in 1798 was apparently in charge of a fur trading post in the company's Fond du Lac department in northeastern Minnesota. Sometime prior to 1800 he established a post near the old French fort at La Pointe. He married Equary-Way-Say, the daughter of White Crane, chief of the Chippewa at La Pointe village. She took the Christian name Madelaine, and the largest of the Apostle Islands was named after her (with a minor spelling change). Through his mixed blood and his marriage to a chief's daughter, he gained great influence among the Chippewa, who called him *Ke-che-me-shane* or Great Michel. While his permanent residence was at La Pointe, his trading interests extended widely into Minnesota, where he spent much of his time. He prospered as an independent trader working under contract to the North West Fur Company, and established a comfortable homestead for his family at La Pointe. When John Jacob Astor gained control of the fur trade in the Great Lakes region in 1811, Cadotte became a trader for the American Fur Company. About 1818 the brothers Lyman and Truman Warren arrived from New England at La Pointe, and were employed by Cadotte. They were soon attracted to his beautiful daughters,

and in 1821 Lyman married Mary and Truman married Charlotte. Cadotte then sold his interests in the fur trade to his sons-in-law and retired. He died at La Pointe on July 8 1837. "Michel Cadotte," WPA Writer's Program, Wisconsin Biographies, box 14 (SHSW-A); *DWB*, 64; Burnham 1974, 116-120; Ross 1960, 62 *passim*; Harris 1976, 63 *passim*; Burnham, *ADP* 4/22/38; Schenck 1994; Warren 1984, 299-304 *passim*; Burnham, "The Cadottes," *ADP* 4/23/33-6/14/33 (20 articles); Burnham *ADP* 8/7/29.

Joseph Dufault was born about 1790, place unknown. There are two accounts of his coming to La Pointe about 1810—one account was that he came on his own initiative and was employed by the fur trader, Michael Cadotte, and later by the American fur Company, as a carpenter; the other account was that he came from Montreal in response to a request by the American Fur Company for a builder. In any case, in the employment of that company he supervised the construction of its buildings and other facilities, the Catholic mission church for Father Baraga, and possibly the Protestant mission buildings and other buildings at La Pointe. He was known as "Dufault the builder." Dufault married a daughter of Michael Cadotte. He died at La Pointe on March 8 1873 at age 83, the oldest resident at the time and was buried there. (Some descendants of Joseph Dufault spell the name "Defoe.") Burnham articles: "Joseph Dufault the Builder," *ADP* 7/26-7/27/32; "Dufault the Builder," *ADP* 8/17/36; "Michelle Dufault," *ADP* 3/8/37; "Dufault," *ADP* 1/23/39; "Obituary," *AWP* 3/15/73.

Edmund Franklin Ely was born on August 3 1809, in Wilbraham, Massachusetts. Nothing is known of his early life until 1827, when in Rome, New York, he was converted to Christianity. The following year he began to study for the ministry in Albany, New York, teaching music and serving as a church choir leader to support himself. After completing his seminary studies, he decided to devote himself to missionary work among the Chippewa Indians at the western end of the Great Lakes. In June 1833 he was ordered by the Board of Foreign Missions in Boston to work among the Chippewa of the upper Mississippi valley region, which was then under the direction of Reverend William D. Boutwell. Ely departed Albany on July 5 1833 and after an eventful journey arrived at the La Pointe on August 17th in the company of Boutwell, Lyman Warren, Frederick Ayer, and Hester Crooks, whom he had joined after leaving Machinaw. He noted that the settlement "consisted of 10 or 12 houses and stores, built in the Canadian style [with] sides and roof . . . covered with cedar bark." After a short pause at La Pointe, Ely and Boutwell traveled to Fond du Lac, Minnesota and from there to Sandy Lake, arriving in September 1833. For the next 16 years, Ely pursued his missionary work with the Indians, teaching and proselytizing at their camps and at mission posts scattered around the western end of Lake Superior, including besides La Pointe, Sandy Lake, Leech Lake, Pokegama, and Fond du Lac. During his missionary work he translated a reader, speller, and hymnbook into the Chippewa language. On August 8 1835, he was married to Katherine Bissell (Gonlais) by Reverend Boutwell at the Mackinaw mission. In 1849, concerned about providing a better education for his children, Ely gave up missionary work and the family moved to St. Paul. Since Ely was well acquainted with the country around the western end of Lake Superior, when it was opened for settlement by the 1854 treaty with the Chippewa, he helped survey and lay out the new townsite of Superior. In 1855 he laid out the townsite of Oneota, Minnesota. He constructed a dock and a steam-operated sawmill, engaged in the mercantile and real estate business, and held several public offices. The financial crisis of 1857 made his property and businesses worthless, so in 1862 the family moved back to St. Paul. In 1873 Ely and his wife

moved to Santa Rose, California, for health reasons. He died there on August 29 1883 (1882). Kathryn Johnson, *Paper On Edmund F. Ely*, January 27 1946 (extracted for the most part from Ely's diary) (MHS); "History Of Duluth, And Of St. Louis County, To The Year 1870," *Collections of the Minnesota Historical Society*, v. 9, 1901, 241-278 (includes a short biographical sketch of Ely by his son Henry); Etta Wheeler Merritt, "Oneota," *The Merrits And Iron Ore; Material In Possession Of The St. Louis County Historical Society, 1852-1931*. Superior, WI: Superior Public Library, 1938. There are some discrepancies in biographical details in the various sources: A quotation from Ely's diary in Johnson indicates that his wife's name was Catherine Bissell, while his son in his biographical sketch stated that her name was Catherine Gonlais; Johnson stated that Ely died in 1883, while his son gave the date as 1882.

Medard Chouart des Groseilliers was born in July 1618 in Charly-sur-Marne, France. He entered the Jesuit order as a lay helper, came to New France in 1637, and spent several years in a mission among the Huron Indians. He then went to Trois Rivières on the St. Lawrence River and entered the fur trade with Pierre Esprit Radisson, who later became his brother-in-law, and with whom he was associated in various voyages and enterprises during the remainder of his life (see Radisson). On September 3 1647 he married Helene Martin, a widow and goddaughter of Champlain. After she died in 1651 he married Marguerite Radisson, also a widow, sister of Pierre Esprit Radisson. His date and place of death are unknown. (See Radisson entry for citations to sources on Groseilliers.)

Sherman Hall was born on April 30 1800 in Weathersfield, Vermont. He attended Phillips Academy, and graduated from Dartmouth College in 1828. In June 1831 he graduated from Andover Theological Seminar and was ordained as a Congregational minister. He offered his services to the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, expecting to be sent to an overseas mission. Instead, he accepted the Board's suggestion that he work among the Indians in the Lake Superior region. He was sent to work among the Oneida Indians near Calumet, Wisconsin, but at the request of Lyman M. Warren at La Pointe he went there, arriving in the company of Warren on August 30 1831. His mission was the first among the Chippewa Indians on Chequamegon Bay, since the Jesuit fathers had abandoned the region in 1671. In August 1832 he was joined by Rev. William T. Boutwell, an old friend and seminary classmate. On August 20 1833, Hall, Boutwell, and others organized the first mission church in Wisconsin, and in 1834-35 they built a mission building. From his mission at La Pointe, Hall established mission stations and schools, west and south of Lake Superior, for the Indians. His was one of the largest mission fields in North America. While at La Pointe he learned the Chippewa language and translated parts of the Bible, hymns, and textbooks into that language. In 1852 he moved with his family to Crow Wing Indian agency in Minnesota to work among the Chippewa Indians gathered there. In November of 1854 he resigned as missionary and Indian school superintendent at Crow Wing, and moved to Sauk Rapids, Minnesota where he served as the pastor of a Congregational church. Later he was appointed judge of probate and county superintendent of schools. On June 10 1831 he married Betsy Parker. Their daughter Harriet, born on April 1 1832, was said to be the first white child born in the Lake Superior region. Hall died on September 1 1879 in Sauk Rapids. *DWP*, 155; "Rev. Sherman Hall," WPA Writer's Program, Wisconsin Biographies, box 20 (SHSW-A); Burnham, "The First White Child" *ADP* 11/30/32-12/5/32 (5 articles); Lathrop 1905, 16-20; Burnham 1974, 113-114; Ross 1960, 75-55, *passim*; Widder 1981.

Alexander Henry was born in New Jersey in August 1739. At the age of 21, after the English conquest of Canada, he entered the fur trade and was one of the first traders to be licensed to operate in the newly conquered territory. Between 1761 and 1763 he was at Michilimackinac and Sault Ste. Marie (barely escaping the slaughter of the fort garrison at the former location on June 2 1763). Subsequently he obtained exclusive trading rights for three years on Lake Superior from the English, and while at Sault Ste. Marie in July 1765 he formed a partnership with Jean Baptiste Cadotte, the father of Michel Cadotte. On July 26th he departed for Chequamegon Bay with a large cargo of trade goods. He arrived there the next month and found an Indian village of 50 lodges on the present site of Bayfield. The Indians were destitute, the supply of trade goods on which they had become dependent having been cut off by wars to the east, and he was obliged to distribute his goods to them on credit. He and his men built a cabin at the Indian village, and then laid in a supply of trout and white fish for the winter. He collected a large quantity of furs during the winter, disposing of all of his trade goods, and in the spring of 1766 he returned to Mackinac. In the following years he explored and spent winters on Lake Superior. He searched particularly for evidence of copper and precious metals, his interest having been aroused by a large mass of virgin copper which he had examined on the Ontonagon River during the journey back to Mackinac from Chequamegon Bay. In 1769 he formed a mining company with investors from England, and attempted to mine copper at the Ontonagon River. The effort was a failure, however, and the company was dissolved in 1774. In 1775 he wintered with Indians on the plains of western Canada, but returned to Lake Superior the following spring. He went to Montreal, where he arrived on October 15 1776, then visited France and England. In 1777 he went back to Canada and after a brief visit to the Indian country he returned to and settled in Montreal, where he married and raised a family. He became a general merchant and a partner in the North West Company. He died in Montreal on April 4 1824. (Some sources state that Jean Baptiste Cadotte accompanied him to Chequamegon Bay, but while he refers to "his men" in his description of the journey and stay there, he does not mention Cadotte.) *Alexander Henry. Travels And Adventures In Canada And The Indian Territories, Between The Years 1760 and 1776.* New York: Printed and published by I. Riley, 1809 (particularly pt. 2, c. 1 and 2). Quaipe 1921; series of articles on Henry in the *Sault Ste. Marie Evening News*, Centennial Edition, June 18 1955; Burnham, *ADP* 10/14/31, 1/15/36; Burnham 1974, 114-116, 436; Ross 1960, 59-63; *BP* 4/1/71.

John Johnston was born into a Scotch-Irish family of landed gentry at Craige, Antrim County, Ireland. He received the usual education of those of his station and at 17 years assumed the management of the Belfast waterworks that had been established by his grandfather. Realizing the poor future prospects of this endeavor, he left Ireland for Canada in 1790 to seek his fortune. At Montreal, having been provided with letters of recommendation, he was favorably received by the directors of the North West Company, who suggested that he go to La Pointe at Chequamegon Bay, where the company did not then have a fur trader. After an adventurous journey, he arrived at Madeline Island in September 1791, accompanied by five Canadian voyageurs. There he met Count Paolo Andreani, an Italian scientist, who was engaged in making measurements to ascertain whether or not the earth was a perfect sphere (see Andreani's biography note). Johnston and his companions set to work preparing for the winter, constructing two cabins and laying in a supply of fish and wood. He sent two of the men with supplies to Bad River to camp for the winter. Unfortunately in November, there were Canadian fur traders on

the island who convinced Johnston's men, both at Bad River and on the island, to desert and take with them most of the equipment and supplies. With the help of a young boy (whose race and name are unknown), Johnston, like Robinson Crusoe and his man Friday, in the book, survived the winter managing also to collect a substantial cargo of furs. Indeed, the winter even brought romance into the young bachelor's life, for he fell in love with the daughter of Wabogish or Waubojeeg ("White Fisher"), a powerful Indian chief who lived in the Indian village on the site of Bayfield. Johnston asked the old chief for his daughter's hand in marriage, but the chief, having seen too many marriages between Indian women and white men result in great unhappiness for the women, told him he must wait. He went to Montreal with his cache of skins and returned the following spring to claim his bride (apparently a most reluctant one) and they were married in 1793. Johnston's new wife, whose Indian name was Shagowashcodawaqua or "Woman of the Green Glades," adopted the name Susan. In 1793, Johnston and his wife moved to Sault Ste. Marie, where he built up a considerable establishment as an independent trader at this crossroads of the north country and with his wife raised a family of four sons and four daughters. In 1809 he returned to his home in Ireland with his young daughter Jane (who later married Henry R. Schoolcraft). Despite the entreaties of his family to remain there permanently, he returned to his wife and children at Sault Ste. Marie and never went back to Ireland. During the War of 1812, still a British subject, he assisted them in the capture of the American fort at Michilimackinac (at the tip of the lower peninsula of Michigan, guarding the Straits of Mackinac). Two years later, the fortunes of the Americans in the northwest recovered with Perry's victory over the British lake fleet on Lake Erie. They sent a force to recapture the fort at Michilimackinac and the British asked Johnston for assistance, which he provided in the form of a hundred men armed and outfitted at his expense. The American force sent to take Michilimackinac, having heard of this, moved to Sault Ste. Marie where they plundered and burned Johnston's warehouse, home, and other property. Thus delayed, they were unsuccessful in their assault at Michilimackinac, the fort having in the meantime been relieved. After the war, Johnston resumed his business at Sault Ste. Marie and prospered, although his applications for compensation for his wartime losses were rejected by both the British and American governments. He died at Sault Ste. Marie on September 22 1828, survived many years by his wife. Louis R. Masson, "Mr. John Johnston; An Account Of Lake Superior, 1792-1807." *Les Bourgeois De La Compagnie Du Nord-Ouest*, v. 2, 1890, 137-142; C.H. Chapman, "The Historic Johnston Family at the Soo." *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society*, v. 32, 1903, 304-353; "Johnston Fought Against U.S. In 1812; Soo Raided," *Sault Ste. Marie Evening News*, 6/18/55; Ross 1960, 63-65; Burnham 1974, 120-122; Burnham, "Some Mixed Bloods," *ADP* 8/23/30 (Burnham refers to Johnston as "Johnson"); Osborn and Osborn 1942, 91-94, 516-522, *passim*.

Louis Denis Sieur de La Ronde was born in Quebec on August 2 1675. In 1687 he entered the French navy, and during the next 20 years participated in various campaigns, including eight in New France from 1692 to 1705. On July 20 1709 in Quebec, he married Marie-Louise, daughter of Rene-Louis Chartier de Lotbiniere, with whom he had three sons and three daughters. From 1705 until 1727 he was involved in numerous naval and military adventures, diplomatic intrigues, and personal escapades, some of which served to advance his career and reputation, while others cast him in an unfavorable light with his superiors. On June 6 1727 he was appointed commandant of "Chagouamigon" (La Pointe), succeeding Paul Le Gardeur Sieur de St. Pierre, but did not take up the post until 1731. He soon learned from the Indians about the deposits of rich copper ore on the Keweenaw Peninsula and sent specimens to France for

assaying. In anticipation of favorable results from these examinations, a vessel was constructed to transport ore on Lake Superior to Sault Ste. Marie, while another vessel would be built on Lake Huron to carry the ore to Niagara. In 1733, permission was received to proceed with the enterprise, and mining operations were begun around the Ontonagon River. Two German mining experts were sent from Europe who confirmed the richness of the ore at this and other nearby sites, but cautioned that the cost of transporting the ore would be prohibitive. The promises of riches swept away all doubts and mining continued, however. The enterprise finally collapsed due to the high cost of labor and transportation, and the warfare that once again broke out between those hereditary enemies, the Chippewa and the Sioux, which La Ronde, as the French commandant for the region, was powerless to stop. La Ronde persevered, however, but died at Quebec in 1741, where he was buried on March 25, his dream of riches from copper mining unfulfilled. He was succeeded as commandant at La Pointe by his son Philippe, while his widow was granted the concession of the profitable fur trade at this post, for several years, as a reward for her husband's services to New France. Kellogg 1968, 351-357; *CSHSW*, v. 17, 1906, 299-315; "Denys de la Ronde, Louis," *Dictionnaire Biographique du Canada*. Quebec: Press de l'Universite de Laval, 1974. v. 2, 188-192.

Pierre Charles Le Sueur was born in 1657 in Artois, France. While a young man he was sent by the Jesuits as a lay brother to the mission at Sault Ste. Marie. He was attracted by the fur trade, however, and was soon trading with the Sioux Indians on the upper Mississippi. In 1690 he married Marguerite, daughter of Michael Messier; they had one son and four daughters. In 1693, Le Sueur was commissioned by the governor of New France to reopen the routes between Lake Superior and the Mississippi River, and to maintain peace between the Chippewa and the Sioux and insure their adherence to the French. To achieve this he constructed a post at La Pointe, the first white man's dwelling in the region since the time of Marquette. He traveled extensively among the tribes around the western end of Lake Superior as a representative of New France, and was so successful that he was able to bring the great chiefs of the Sioux and Chippewa to Montreal in 1695, where peace between the two Indian nations was ratified. About 1697 Le Sueur submitted a report to the king in which he proposed to establish a permanent post at La Pointe and to mine copper and lead, but his proposal was rejected because it was thought to be simply a cover for engaging in the fur trade. It was later accepted, however, and he was given 50 men to exploit the mines and engage in trade. In May 1696, the French King decreed that the fur trade in the west was to end and the forts and posts abandoned, leaving the Jesuit priest-missionaries, the so-called "black robes," as the only white men among the Indian tribes in the region. Le Sueur returned east and then went to France; at some point he was captured by the English but was released. In 1699 he was given royal authorization to undertake an expedition from Louisiana up the Mississippi to the Sioux country to the site of a lead mine he claimed to have discovered. He went to Biloxi, Mississippi in January 1700 and later that year ascended the Mississippi River, returning to Mobile with a load of furs and minerals. In April 1702 he returned to France to give an account of his expedition and display the cases of minerals he had collected. His demand to be named a judge at Mobile, Alabama and to be given the authority to undertake other expeditions was granted, and in 1704 he began the return journey to Louisiana. His ship stopped at Havana, Cuba, where Le Sueur contracted yellow fever and died on July 17 1704; he was buried in the church of San Cristobal.

His family, who had departed for Louisiana in a later ship, arrived there in the spring of 1705 only to learn of his death. Kellogg 1968, 251-260 *passim*; "Le Sueur, Pierre," *Dictionnaire Biographique du Canada*. Quebec: Presse de l'Universite de Laval, 1991. v. 2, 445-446.

Jacques Marquette was born in Laon, France, on June 1 1637. He was educated at the Jesuit College at Reims, and entered the Society of Jesus in 1654. He was ordained as a priest at Toul in 1666, and then departed for Canada, arriving at Quebec on September 20th. The following month he went to Three Rivers where he spent eighteen months among the Algonquin and Huron tribes learning their languages. In 1668 he went to Sault Ste. Marie where he renewed a mission that had been established there earlier. He was then sent to the mission of La Pointe du Saint Esprit on Chequamegon Bay, where he arrived on September 13 1669. Driven away by hostile Sioux in 1671, he went to Mackinaw, where he founded the mission of St. Ignatius at Point St. Ignace. In 1673 he was ordered to accompany Louis Joliet in an expedition of exploration. They departed Green Bay on May 17 1673 and crossed the territory that was to become Wisconsin by the Fox River-Wisconsin Rivers route, and explored the Mississippi as far south as Arkansas City, Arkansas by July 17 1673. They returned to Green Bay via the Illinois River and Lake Michigan, arriving there in September. Marquette then went to the St. Francis mission at De Pere, Wisconsin, and remained there until October 1674, when he was ordered to establish a mission at Kaskasia, Illinois. He set out on October 25th but was unable to reach Kaskasia until April 8 1675. After a brief period of missionary work among the Indians, he was forced by illness to leave, and departed for Makinaw. In failing health, death overtook him on May 15 1675, at the present site of Ludington, Michigan. He was buried on the bank of the Marquette River on May 18 1675. Two years later his remains were exhumed and returned to the mission at Point St. Ignace for burial; the location of his grave is unknown. "Marquette, Jacques," *DWB*, 239-240; "Marquette, James," *ACAB*, 213-214; "Marquette, Father Jacques," Harris 1976, 450-451; "Father Marquette," *AWP* 11/7/74; *BCP* 9/19/77.

Pere Rene Menard was born in Paris on September 7 1605. After completing classical studies he entered the Jesuit Order on November 7 1624 in Paris. Upon finishing his novitiate in October 1626 he spent the next few years studying and teaching, and then took the final vows of the Jesuit Order. In March 1640 he was ordered to Quebec, reaching there on July 8th. Little is known about his life from then until 1649 except that he did missionary work among the Indians and learned the Algonquin language. From 1649 to 1656 he lived at Trois Rivières, until he was assigned to the Iroquois mission in the Finger Lakes region of New York. Hearing of a plot of the Iroquois to kill the French missionaries and colonists there, he escaped in the spring of 1658 and returned to Montreal. On August 19 1660 Radisson and Groseilliers arrived at Montreal from their explorations of the south shore of Lake Superior, accompanied by a flotilla of Ottawa Indian canoes. Menard accompanied the Indians back to Lake Superior, a journey of great hardship because the Indians were very cruel to him. The winter of 1660-1661 was spent near Keweenaw Bay in great destitution. In March 1661 he accompanied fur traders to Chequamegon Bay where he worked among the several tribes from the interior of Wisconsin who had congregated on its shores. On May 23rd a messenger arrived from the Huron village on the headwaters of the Black River, reporting that the people there were starving. Compelled by his compassion to go to the village to comfort the sick and baptize the dying, he departed on July 13th, accompanied by a young fur trader and by three Huron guides. The Indians soon deserted them, but Menard insisted on continuing. To reach the Huron village it was necessary to paddle

up one of the tributaries of the Chippewa River, and to ease the task of his young companion of getting the canoe through the rapids, Menard disembarked, intending to meet him by the calmer water farther upstream. But Menard never reached the rendezvous point. His fate remains unknown and his body was never found; most likely he became lost in the dense forest and perished. (Some sources claim that he did not go to Chequamegon Bay, but wintered near L'Anse, Michigan, at the head of Keweenaw Bay and began his final journey from there—Kellogg 1968, 148, n. 13). Campbell 1897; Kellogg, *WMH* 1920-21; Burnham *ADP* 8/9/29; Burnham 1974, 346-347; Ross 1960, 28-29. On the possible location of Menard's death, see Schmirler, *WMH* 1961-62.

Pierre Esprit Radisson was born in 1636 in St. Malo, Brittany, France. In 1651 he moved with his parents to Trois Rivers, New France. In 1651 while hunting along the St. Lawrence River, he was captured by the Iroquois Indians (or Mohawk). Gaining his freedom in 1654, he later was a member of an expedition in 1657 to establish a French colony among the Onondago Indians in New York. His future brother-in-law Medard Chouart des Groseilliers (which see) joined him in the fur trade, and they were associated for many years in journeys and enterprises of exploration and trade. They made two journeys to the far west. There is some question as to when the first one occurred, whether during the period 1654 to 1657 or later, and exactly the territory covered. Radisson claimed that they penetrated as far south as the Gulf of Mexico and explored the Mississippi River, but that is generally considered to have been a fabrication. The second voyage west began in 1659, and took them to Chequamegon Bay, from where they visited Indian tribes in northern Wisconsin and northeastern Minnesota, and possibly penetrated north to Hudson Bay. They returned to Quebec with a rich cargo of furs but because they had gone to Lake Superior without the French governor's permission their cargo was confiscated. Groseilliers went to France to seek the return of the confiscated furs, but was unsuccessful. He and Radisson then switched their allegiance to the English and were engaged in the exploration and settlement of Hudson Bay in order to exploit the rich fur resources there, and were promoters of the Hudson's Bay Company. Subsequently, they returned to the French service (1674) and then again back to the English (1683), and were involved in numerous undertakings and adventures around and involving Hudson Bay. About 1670 Radisson married a daughter of the Kirke family, a descendent of one of the Kirkes who had forced the French to surrender Quebec to the English in 1629. He died in England in 1710. *DWB* 151, 297; Ross 1960, 19-28; Burnham *ADP* 8/29/29, 4/18/38; Burnham 1974, 65-67; Campbell 1896a, 1896b; Bryce 1968; Nute 1978.

Otto Skolla was born in Dalmatia, Austria in 1805. Nothing is known of his life until he joined the Franciscan Order. He resided in the monastery at Carniola, but felt a deep desire to work as a missionary. He wrote to Father Frederic Baraga, then at La Pointe, and in August 1840, received a reply that he would be allowed to do missionary work in the diocese around Detroit. After completing the necessary financial and other arrangements, he embarked for the United States on September 24 1841. After a frightful voyage of three months, he reached New York on December 25 1841. He remained there until the spring, assisting a priest to care for a large congregation. At the beginning of May 1842, he left New York and after a journey of almost two weeks, reached Detroit, where he was received by the bishop. He remained in the Detroit diocese, taking charge of a large congregation of Germans, and carrying out other responsibilities. In June 1843, he was sent to Mackinac, where he remained for two years. In the

autumn of 1845, he was allowed to go to L'Anse, Michigan, to join Father Baraga in his work among the Lake Superior Indians. They proceeded to La Pointe, arriving on October 3rd, and on the following day Skolla said his first mass at the place. After a few days, Baraga returned to L'Anse, and Skolla was left in charge of the La Pointe mission. He remained for eight years (1845-1853), occasionally going to Fond du Lac, Minnesota, to preach and baptize among the Indians there. In the summer of 1853 he was assigned to the Menominee Reservation, which he reached after a roundabout journey through Milwaukee, Detroit, Sault Ste. Marie, and Green Bay. He established his mission on the south shore of a lake near the village of Kishena, where the Indians built a crude church and parsonage. In 1856 a second church was constructed in the village. Father Skolla worked diligently among his Indian charges, preaching, baptizing, and promoting temperance. But vicious slander was spread about him by some malevolent Indians, which eventually reached the ears of the Indian agent, and his small annual government stipend was stopped. He was forced to leave the mission in 1857, returning to the monastery at Carniola, Austria, where he apparently was still living in 1891. "Rev. Otto Skolla, O.S.F., St. Obs." P. Chrysostomus Verwyst. *Life And Labors Of Rt. Rev. Frederic Baraga*. Milwaukee: M.H. Wiltzius & Co., 1900.

Lyman Marcus Warren and Truman Abraham Warren. Lyman Marcus was born in Lanesboro, Massachusetts on August 9 1794. Later the family moved to Champlain, New York, where the father established a tanning and shoemaking business, and where Lyman's brother, Truman Abraham, was born on March 12 1800. About 1817 the two brothers went to Mackinac Island to engage in the fur trade, gaining employment as clerks with George Ermatinger, an independent fur trader. Lyman was stationed at Leech Lake, Minnesota, while Truman was assigned to a station at Lac du Flambeau in northern Wisconsin. There he married a woman of mixed French-Indian blood. In 1821 Lyman and Truman became independent traders for the American Fur Company at Lac du Flambeau, where they met the sons of Michel Cadotte, the factor of the American Fur Company at La Pointe. They moved to La Pointe to work for Cadotte, and in 1821 (1822) Truman married Cadotte's daughter Charlotte, (apparently discarding his first wife and two children) and Lyman married Cadotte's daughter Mary (Marie). In 1823 they bought out their father-in-law, who retired from the fur trade. In the summer of 1824 Lyman and Truman made the annual journey to Mackinac to buy provisions. A Protestant mission had recently been established there, and the missionary, anxious to convert them, gave them several religious tracts that they read during the winter back at La Pointe. In the summer of 1825 they again went to Mackinac. Truman, suffering from a pulmonary complaint, decided to go to the south to recover, but died on board ship on July 21st on the way to Detroit and was buried at Fort Gratiot, Michigan. Lyman, now responsible for his brother's family, as well as his own, carried on the fur trade at La Pointe. Influenced by his brother's death and his reading of religious tracts, he became dedicated to his new faith and decided that a mission should be established at La Pointe. In July 1827, the Cadottes and Warrens journeyed to Mackinac where Lyman Warren and Mary Cadotte's marriage was formalized by clergy and Michel Cadotte deeded some 3,000 acres to his son-in-law, in part for a mission. Unable to secure an ordained missionary for La Pointe, Lyman convinced the missionary teachers Jedediah D. Stevens and Frederick Ayer to come to La Pointe for brief periods. Finally, in August 1831 he returned to La Pointe from Mackinac, accompanied by Sherman Hall and Frederick Ayer. Hall established what was to become an extensive Protestant mission church there. In 1834 Lyman was appointed deacon of the church. Lyman's fortunes subsequently declined, however. In the fall of 1837 he was

expelled from the church at La Pointe for allegedly lewd behavior with a woman and in the following summer was fired for mismanagement by the American Fur Company. That September he was arrested for illegal trade with the Indians and in April 1839 paid a fine of \$4,000. He moved to Chippewa Falls to operate a sawmill in which he had made a small investment in 1835. He also continued working in the fur trade and in 1841 was appointed as the blacksmith and farmer for the Chippewa, raising agricultural products for them. He subsequently applied for the post of Indian sub-agent at La Pointe, but was not appointed, nor was he re-appointed as blacksmith and farmer for the Indians. The sawmill also proved to be unprofitable and then his wife, Mary, died on July 21 1843. In the summer of 1843, Lyman returned to La Pointe for the marriage of his son, William, and was received back into the Presbyterian Church. In the winter of 1844 he brought his wife's remains to La Pointe for interment, then returned to Chippewa Falls where he sold his share in the sawmill and turned his trading business over to his nephews. He planned to travel to New York and then settle in Dubuque, Iowa, but became ill and returned to La Pointe, where he died on October 10 1847. He was buried in the Protestant cemetery there; the location of his grave is unknown. Schenck, 1990; Widder, "La Pointe Mission," *WMH* 1981; Lathrop, 1905; J. Fletcher Williams, "Memoir of William W. Warren," Warren 1984, 9-20. Burnham articles: "The First English Speaking Family Of La Pointe," *ADP* 9/7-9/12/32 (5 articles); "Warren The First Lumberman," *ADP* 9/13-9/15/32 (3 articles); "The Warrens," *ADP* 10/12/31; "The Historical Warrens," *ADP* 6/26/36; "The Warren Brothers," *ADP* 8/26-8/27/30; "La Pointe Founded In 1801," *ADP* 4/3/33 (biographical information on William Whipple Warren); "George P. Warren Of La Pointe," *ADP* 9/19/32, 3/16/34; "James Henry Warren," *ADP* 12/29/36 (biographical information on Truman Warren's two sons from his first marriage). In his "Memoir Of William W. Warren" (son of Lyman), Williams states that "William Whipple Warren, . . . was a descendent of Richard Warren, one of the 'Mayflower' pilgrims." Genealogy sources on Richard Warren do not support this claim, however; none of the names that Williams lists in the supposed line of descent from Richard Warren to William Whipple Warren are shown in these sources. This was confirmed in a letter from the General Society of Mayflower Descendants, November 15 1999 and from a private genealogical researcher, March 6 2000. Robert S. Wakefield and Others (comps.), *Mayflower Families In Progress*. Plymouth, MA: General Society of Mayflower Descendants, 1988. (SHSW-PC); *Genealogy Of The Warren Family From Richard Who Came In The Mayflower, In 1620, To 1720*. Albany, NY: J. Munsell, 1874 (SHSW-PC); William Whipple Warren wrote an early history of the Chippewa or Ojibway people—see Warren 1984. After the death of Truman in July 1825, his widow, Charlotte, married James R. Ermatinger, a family friend, on August 1 1829, at Sault Ste. Marie. Ermatinger was born, probably in Michigan, on October 3 1808 and came to La Pointe to work as a fur trader. After their marriage the Ermatingers moved to Vermillion Falls in the Chippewa Valley, where they established their home and a trading post. In addition to the three children from her first marriage, Charlotte Ermatinger bore seven children with her second husband. Three of her Ermatinger sons, Charles, Isaac, and Elisha served in the Civil War. Charles died of wounds and Isaac died of disease during the war. Her surviving twin son from her first marriage, George P. Warren, also served in the war, was wounded, but survived. She died on March 20 1887 and James Ermatinger died on September 2 1866. Because of his close association with Vermillion Falls, it eventually became known as Jim Falls, the name it bears today. Burnham, "Charlotte Cadotte Warren Ermatinger Of La Pointe," *ADP* 9/16/32; "La Pointe, Green Bay And Prairie Du Chien,"

ADP 6/15/33 (includes biographical information on James R. Ermatinger); Emil H. Gerber, *The Making of Jim's Falls*. Jim Falls, WI: E.H. Gerber, 1989?. (SHSW-GC)

Leonard Hemenway Wheeler was born at Shrewbury, Massachusetts on April 18 1811. After his mother died, he moved with his father and an aunt to Bridport, Vermont, where he attended elementary school. When he was 17, he went to live with an uncle at Middlebury, Vermont where he became strongly committed to the Christian faith. In 1832 he entered Middlebury College (Academy) graduating in 1837, after which he taught school briefly before entering Andover Theological Seminary, graduating in 1840. He also attended medical lectures during his time at the seminary. On April 26 1841 he married Harriet Wood of Lowell, Massachusetts. He had already been appointed by the American Board of Congregational Missions to work among the Chippewa Indians of Lake Superior, and after his ordination in Lowell the couple journeyed to La Pointe, arriving there on August 1 1841. The Wheelers lived among and worked with the Indians at La Pointe for four years, learning their language, culture, and way of life. During this time they shared the large missionary parsonage with Rev. Sherman Hall and his wife, in the basement of which Mrs. Wheeler conducted a school for the Indians. Convinced that conditions at La Pointe were not suitable for converting the Indians to a settled and civilized way of life, he moved the mission in the summer of 1845 to a site at the junction of the Bad and White Rivers, naming it Odanah. In addition to the demanding work of educating and ministering to the physical and spiritual needs of the Indians at La Pointe and Odanah, he served as physician and minister to the settlers at La Pointe and at Whittlesey and Bay City after they were founded, and was active in the civil affairs of the area. On two occasions he made arduous journeys to Washington to plead successfully that the Chippewa not be removed from their northern Wisconsin lands. He made a final journey to Washington in 1862 to warn the government about the dangerous unrest among the Sioux Indians in Minnesota, and while he was there they went on the warpath. The responsibilities of his missionary work, the hard physical labor of building the Odanah mission, the difficult journeys he had undertaken, and his many services to the Indians and settlers, ruined his health and he was forced to retire in October 1866. He moved to Beloit, Wisconsin where he perfected a windmill he had invented to power the corn mill at Odanah, and he and his son William formed a company to manufacture it. He died at Beloit on February 25 1872. (His son, Edward P. Wheeler, became a minister and returned to Ashland to be pastor of the Congregational church there.) "Obituary," *BCP* 3/16/72; "Death of Rev. L.H. Wheeler," *BCP* 3/23/72; *DWB*, 372; "Leonard Hemenway Wheeler," WPA Writer's Program, Wisconsin Biographies, Box 37 (SHSW-A); Davidson 1892, 447-451; Ellis, *ADP* 9/1/77, 9/15/77, 9/22/77; Ross 1960, *passim*; "Memoir of Mrs. Harriet Hood Wheeler," Davidson 1895; "Last of Earth," *ADP* 8/13/94 (wife's obituary); "Island Pioneer Missionary's Son," *ADP* 2/16/23 (son Edward); "Rev. E.P. Wheeler, 88, Northland Founder, Pioneer Here, Killed," *ADP* 6/28/38 (son Edward); *Monroe Times* 5/7/37; *Milwaukee Journal* 5/7/37; "W.H. Wheeler Dies," *Beloit News* 5/6/37 (son William); Burnham, "The Invention of the Wheeler Windmill at Odanah in 1866", *ADP* 10/30/37.

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Maps

Map Sources

Geographical Provinces Of Wisconsin

Agriculture

Economy

Forests

Geography

Industry

Recreation

Historical Map Sources

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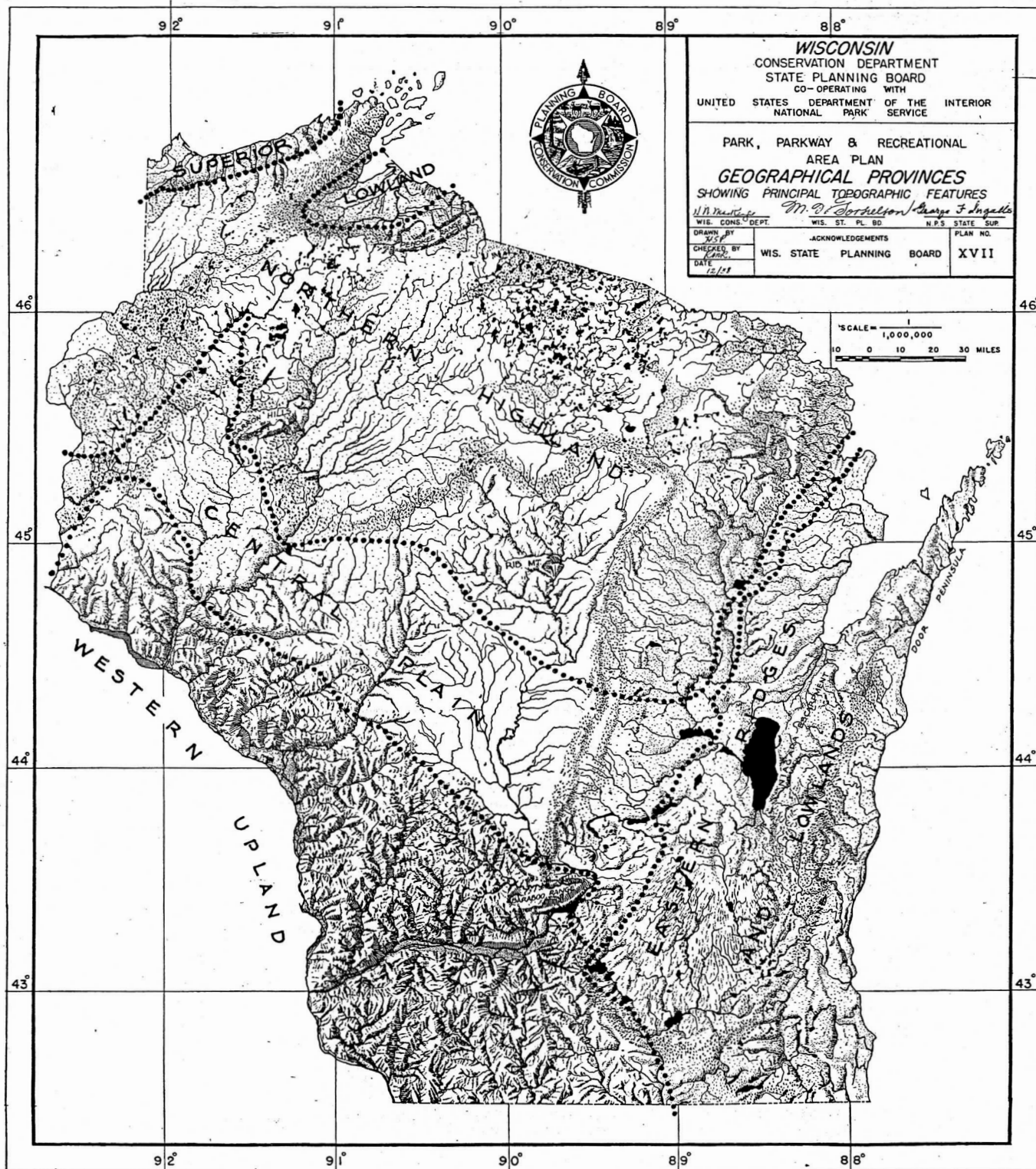
Madison: 1938.

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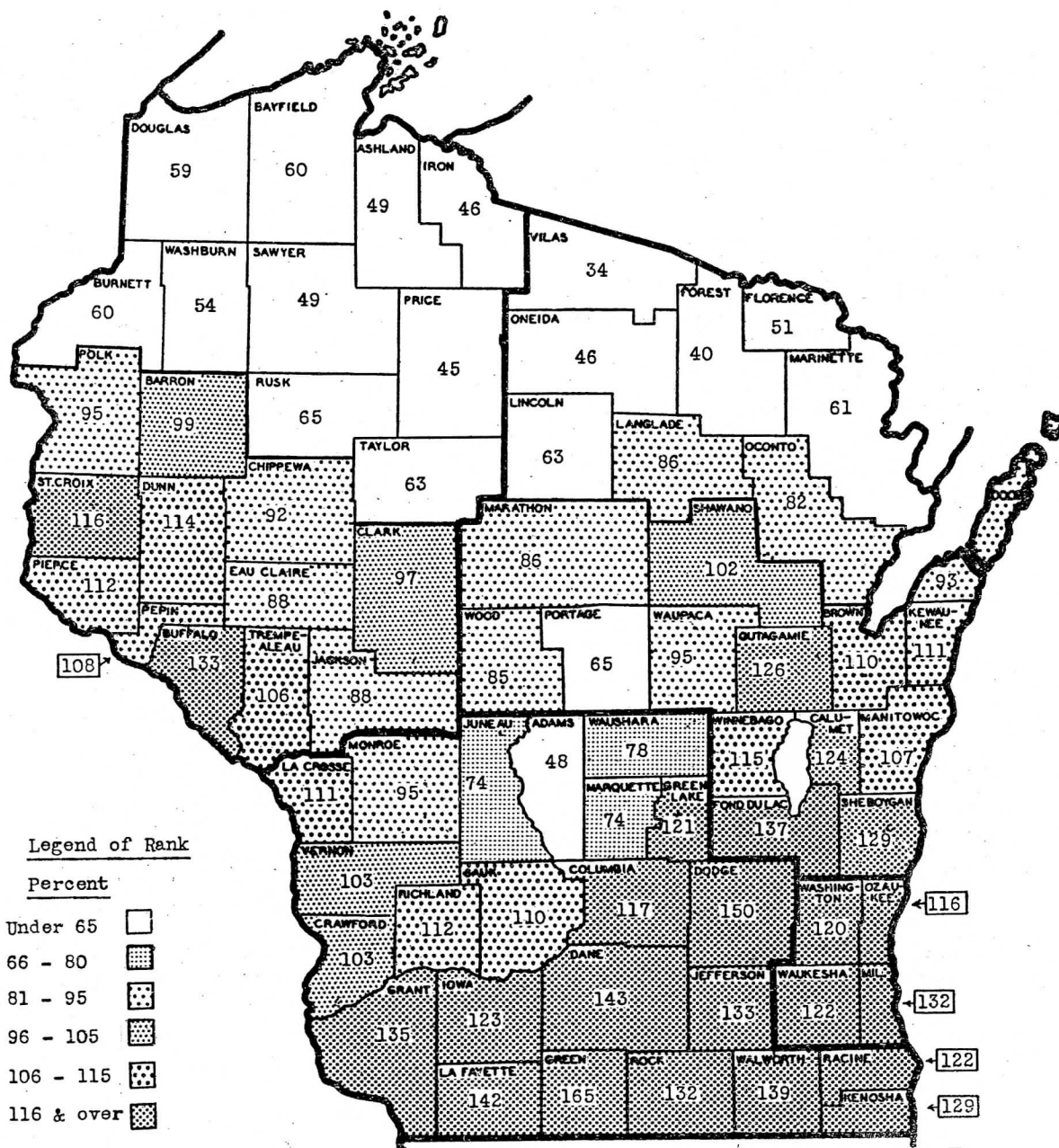
Distribution Of Wisconsin Farms 1934.

Madison: 1936.

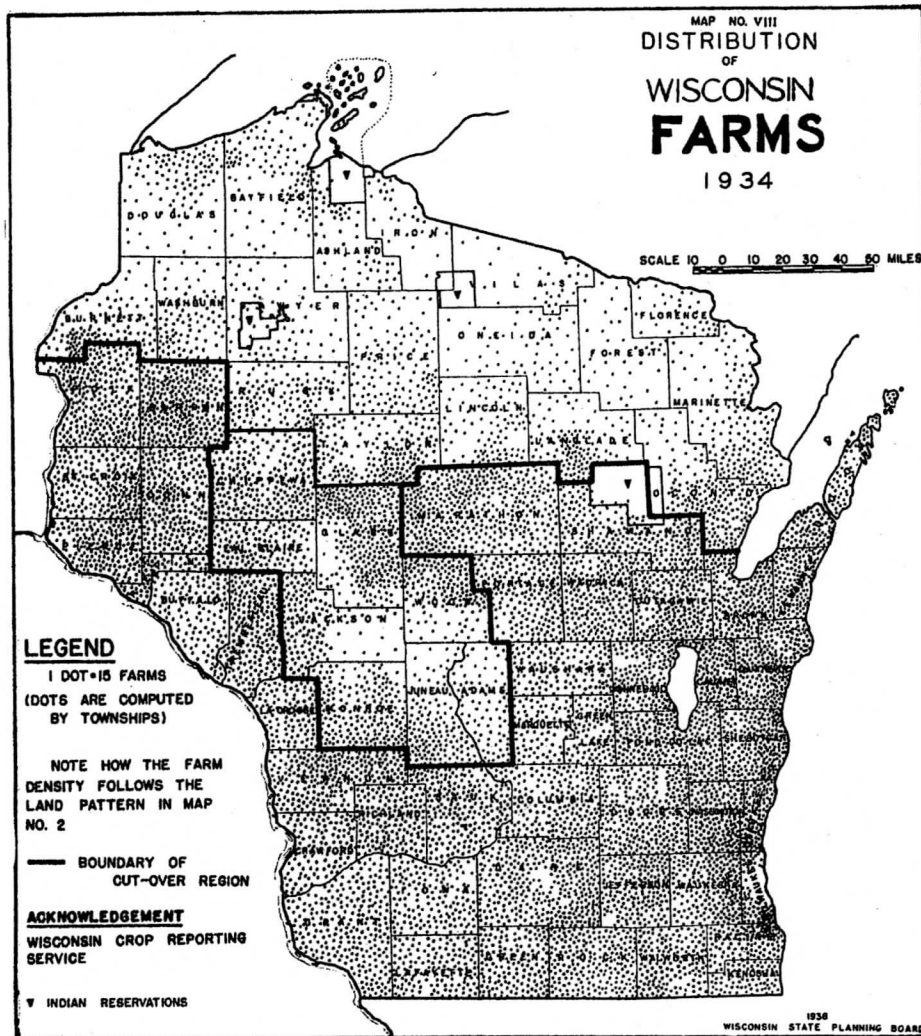
Geographical Provinces Of Wisconsin



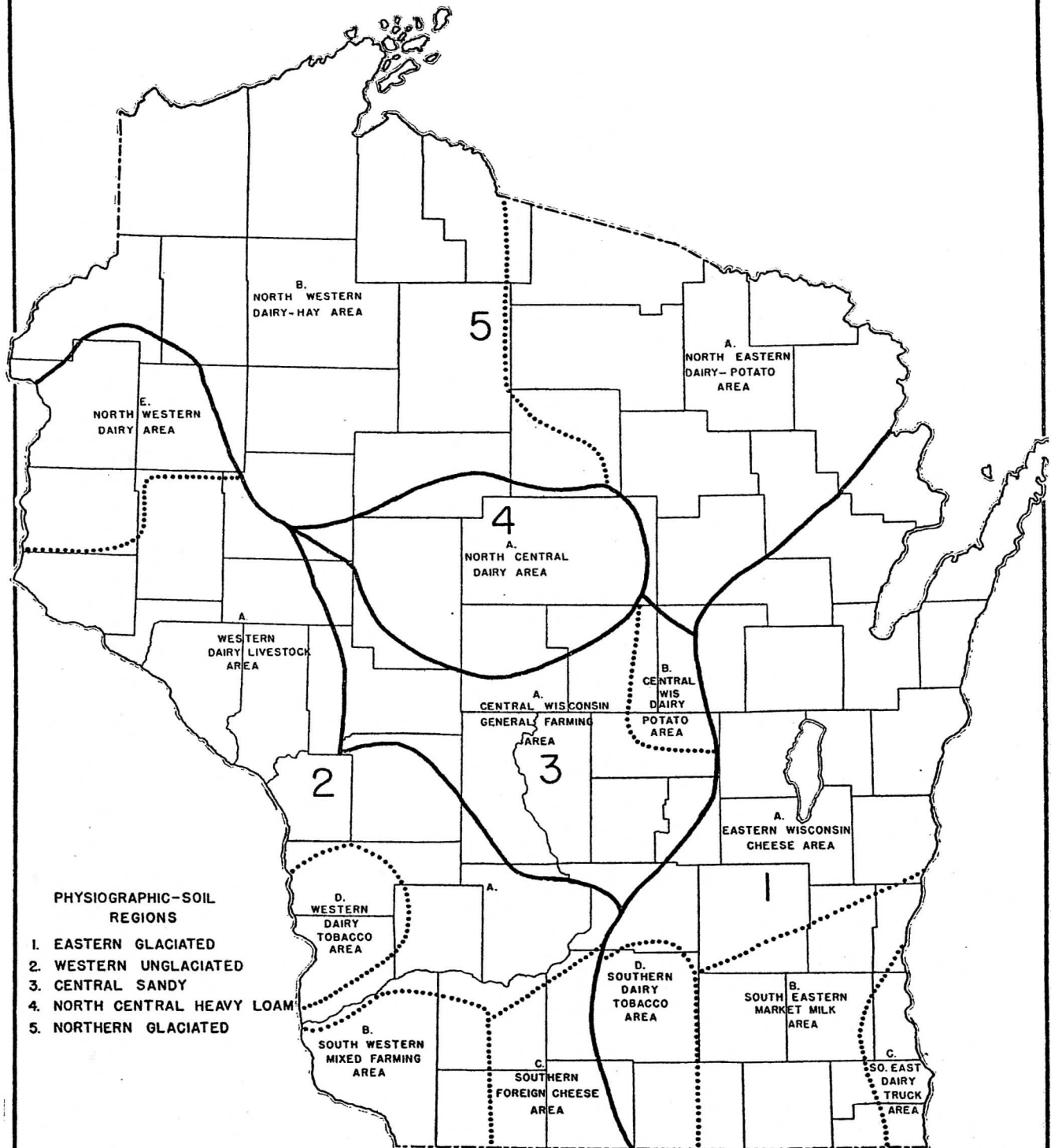
Agriculture



Agricultural Index 1942



CONSERVATION FARM TYPE AREAS

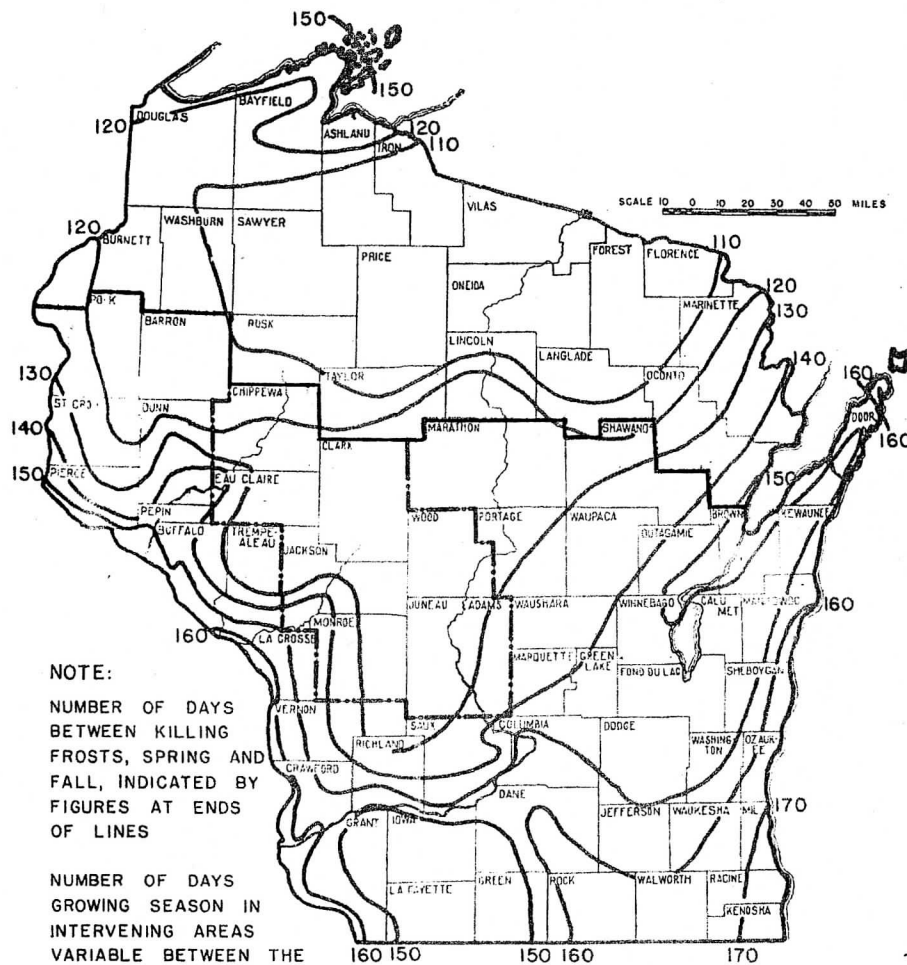


SOURCE: PROF. P. E. McNALL

WISCONSIN REGIONAL PLANNING COMMITTEE - DECEMBER - 1934

MAP NO. VI

LENGTH OF GROWING SEASON IN WISCONSIN AVERAGE NUMBER OF DAYS WITHOUT KILLING FROST



NOTE:

NUMBER OF DAYS
BETWEEN KILLING
FROSTS, SPRING AND
FALL, INDICATED BY
FIGURES AT ENDS
OF LINES

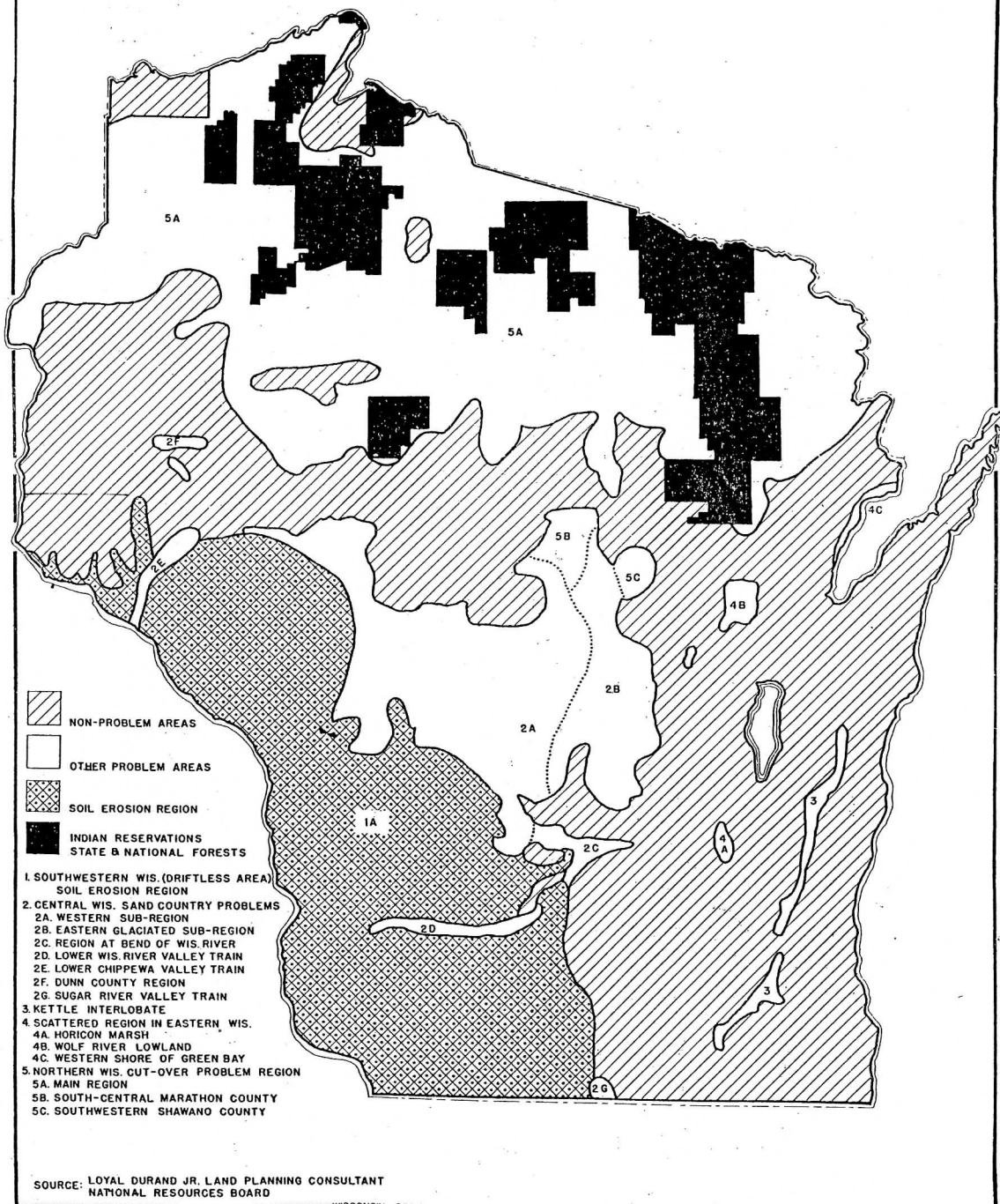
NUMBER OF DAYS
GROWING SEASON IN
INTERVENING AREAS
VARIABLE BETWEEN THE
TWO FIGURES

— BOUNDARY OF CUT-OVER REGION

SOURCE: FOREST LAND USE IN WISCONSIN, 1932

WISCONSIN STATE
PLANNING BOARD
1938

CONSERVATION TENTATIVE LAND-USE PROBLEM REGIONS 1934



Economy

POPULATION WEIGHTED ECONOMIC STATUS

Legend:

- VERY HIGH
- HIGH
- MEDIUM
- LOW
- VERY LOW

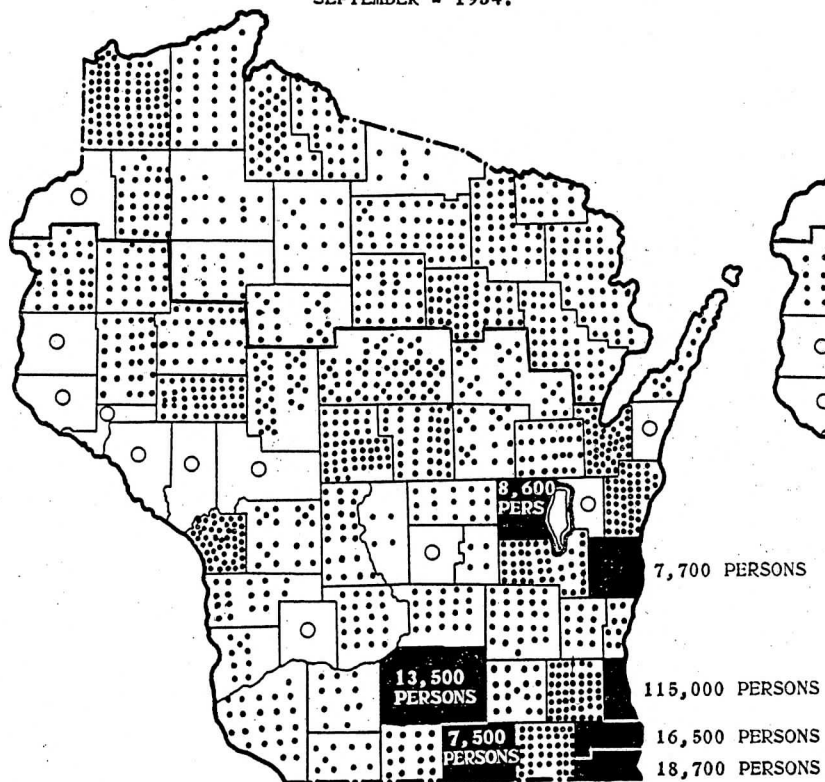
NOTE: MAP BASED ON 1933 FIGURES

POPULATION

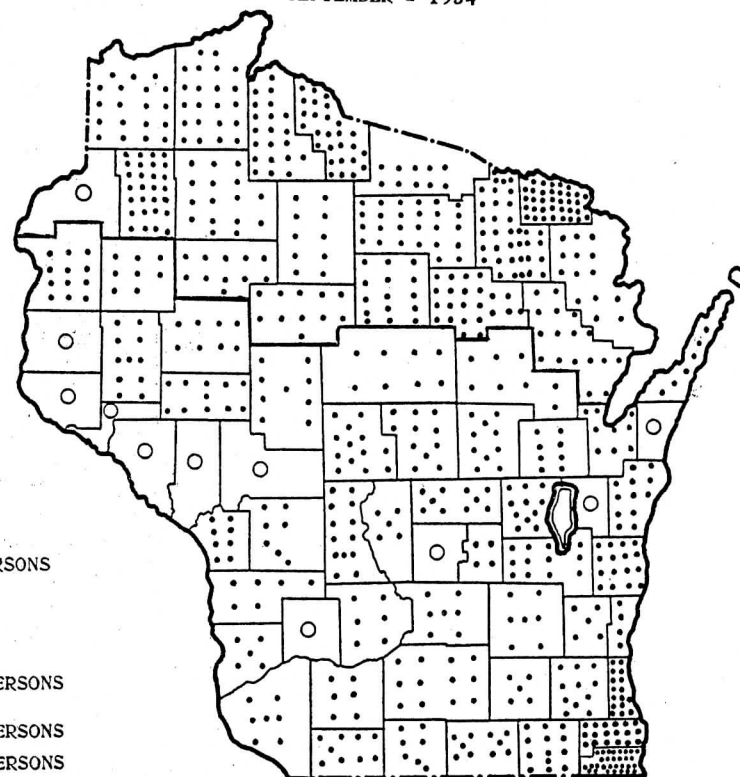
PERSONS ON RELIEF 1934

PERSONS ON RELIEF
SEPTEMBER - 1934.

PER CENT OF POPULATION ON RELIEF
SEPTEMBER - 1934



EACH DOT REPRESENTS ONE HUNDRED PERSONS.



EACH DOT REPRESENTS ONE PER CENT OF POPULATION ON RELIEF.
○ COUNTIES NOT HAVING ORGANIZED RELIEF AGENCIES.

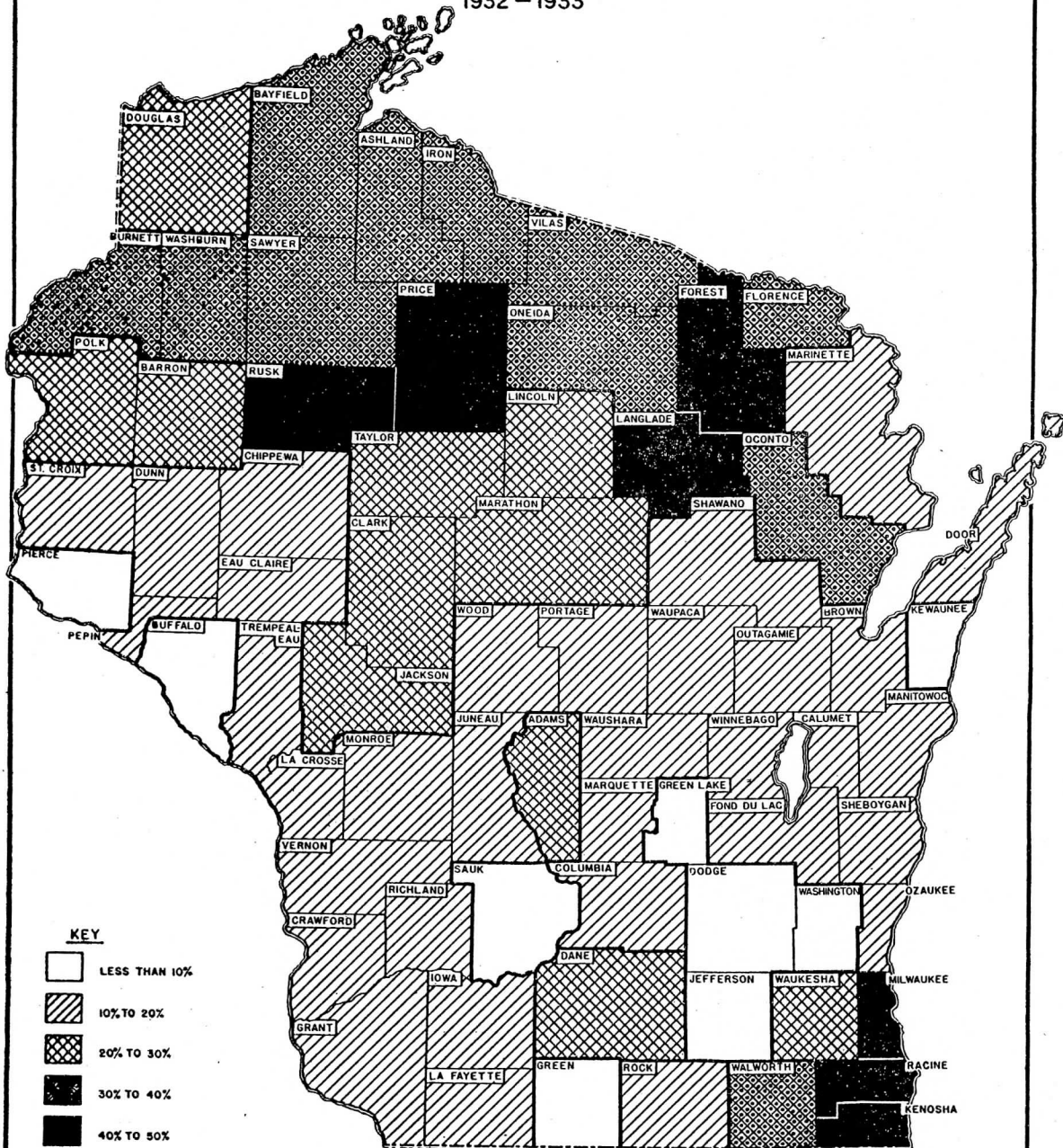
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WISCONSIN REGIONAL PLANNING COMMITTEE- DECEMBER- 1934

GOVERNMENT & TAXATION

PERCENTAGE OF REAL ESTATE TAX DELINQUENCIES OF COUNTY LEVY

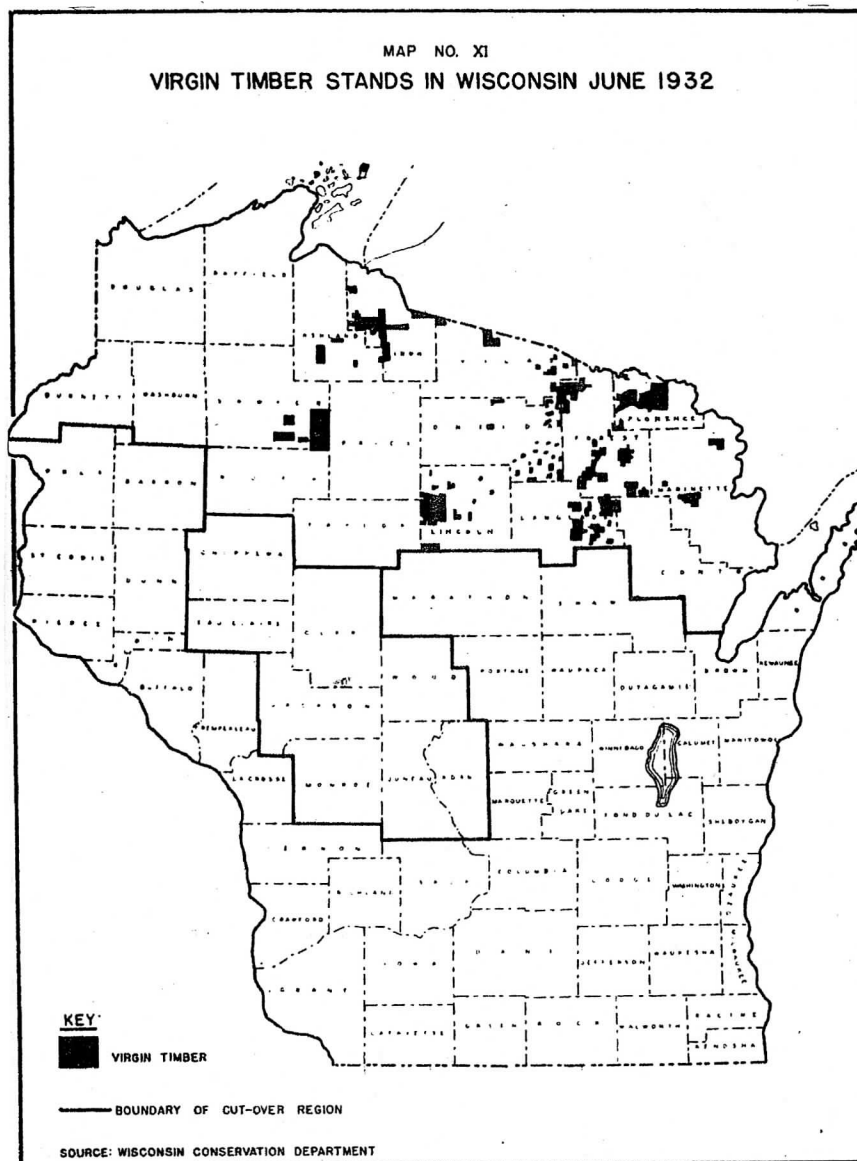
1932 - 1933



SOURCE: DEPT. OF COMMERCE - BUREAU OF CENSUS

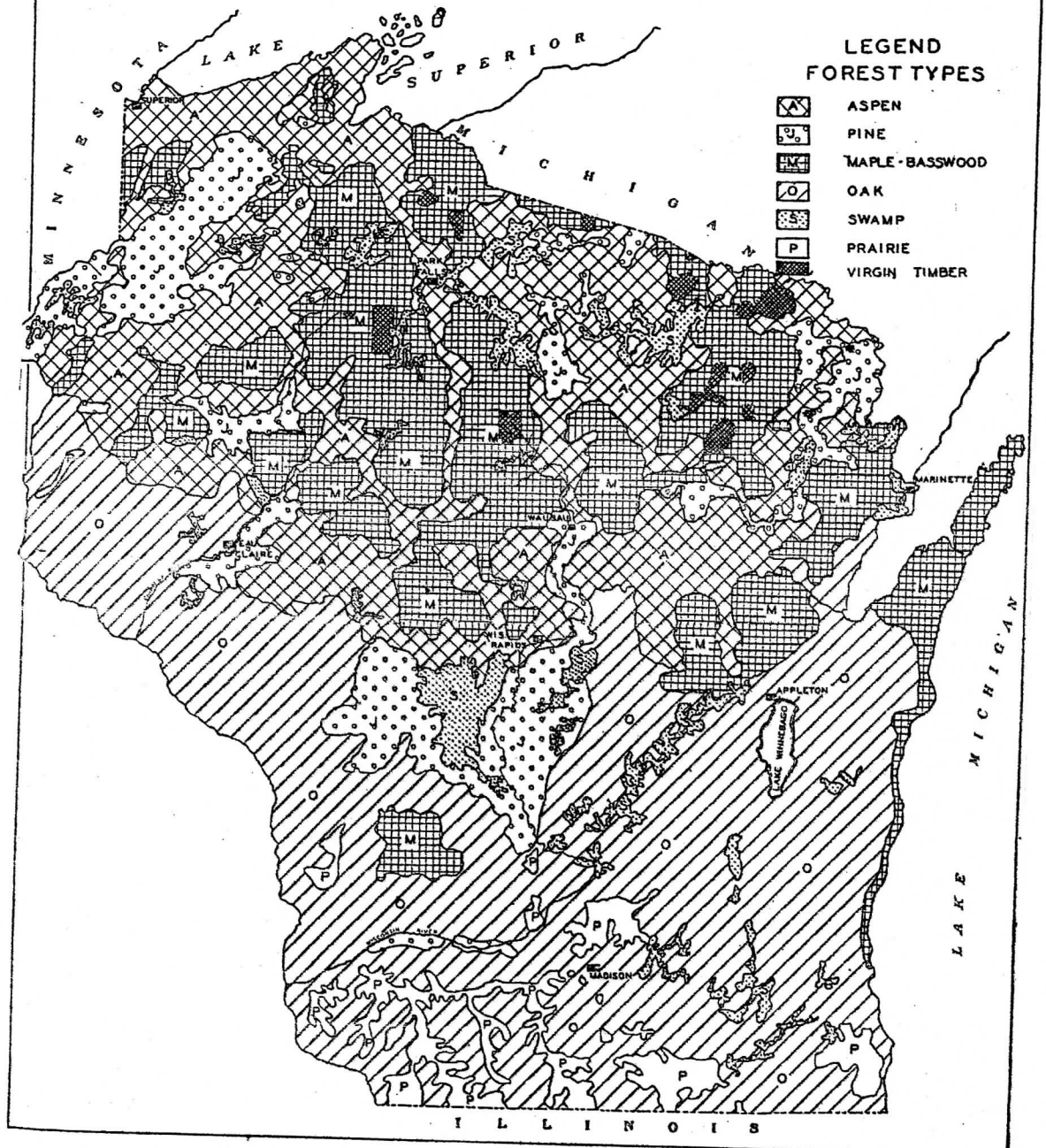
WISCONSIN REGIONAL PLANNING COMMITTEE - DECEMBER - 1934

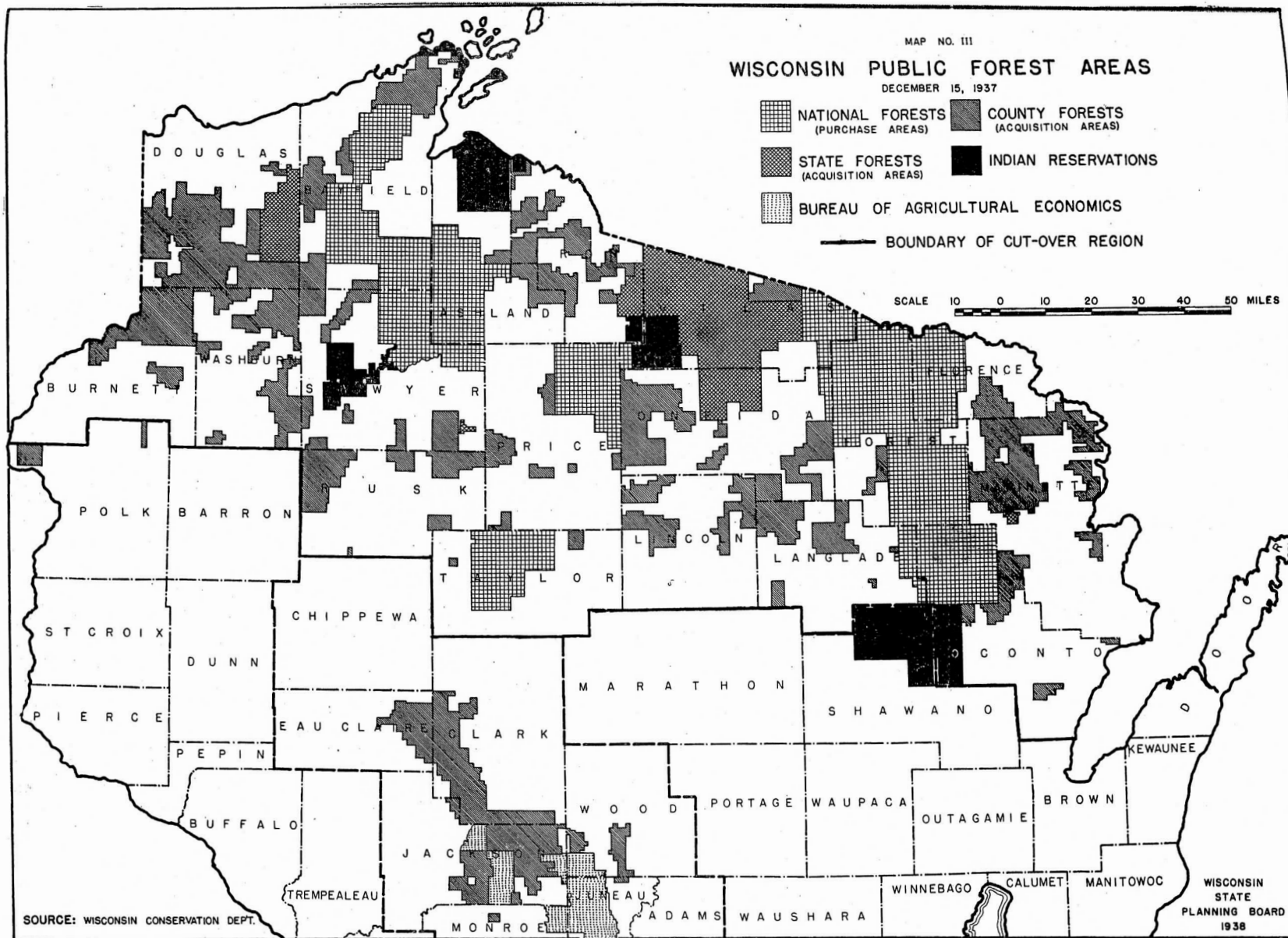
Forests



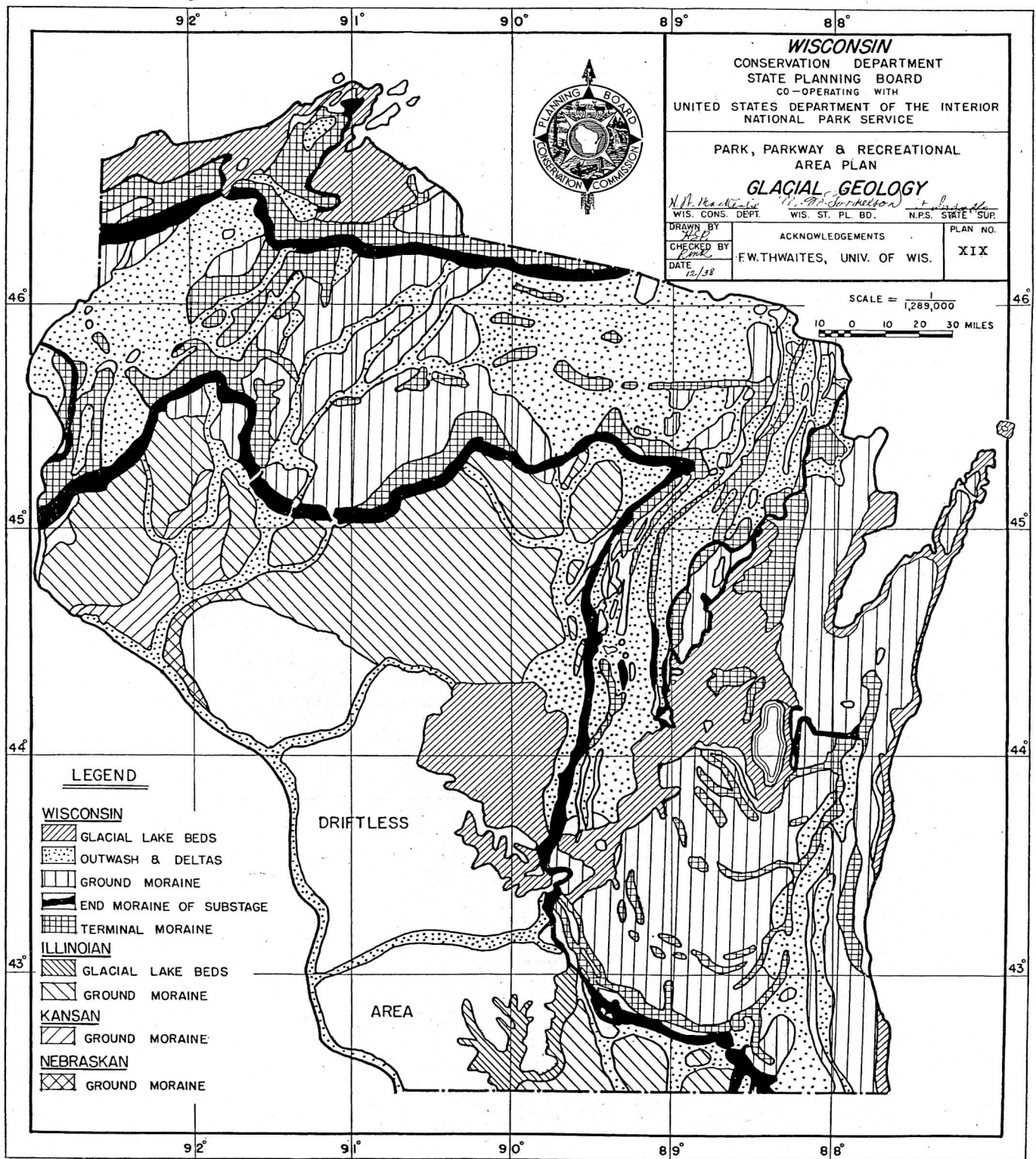
FOREST TYPES

WISCONSIN



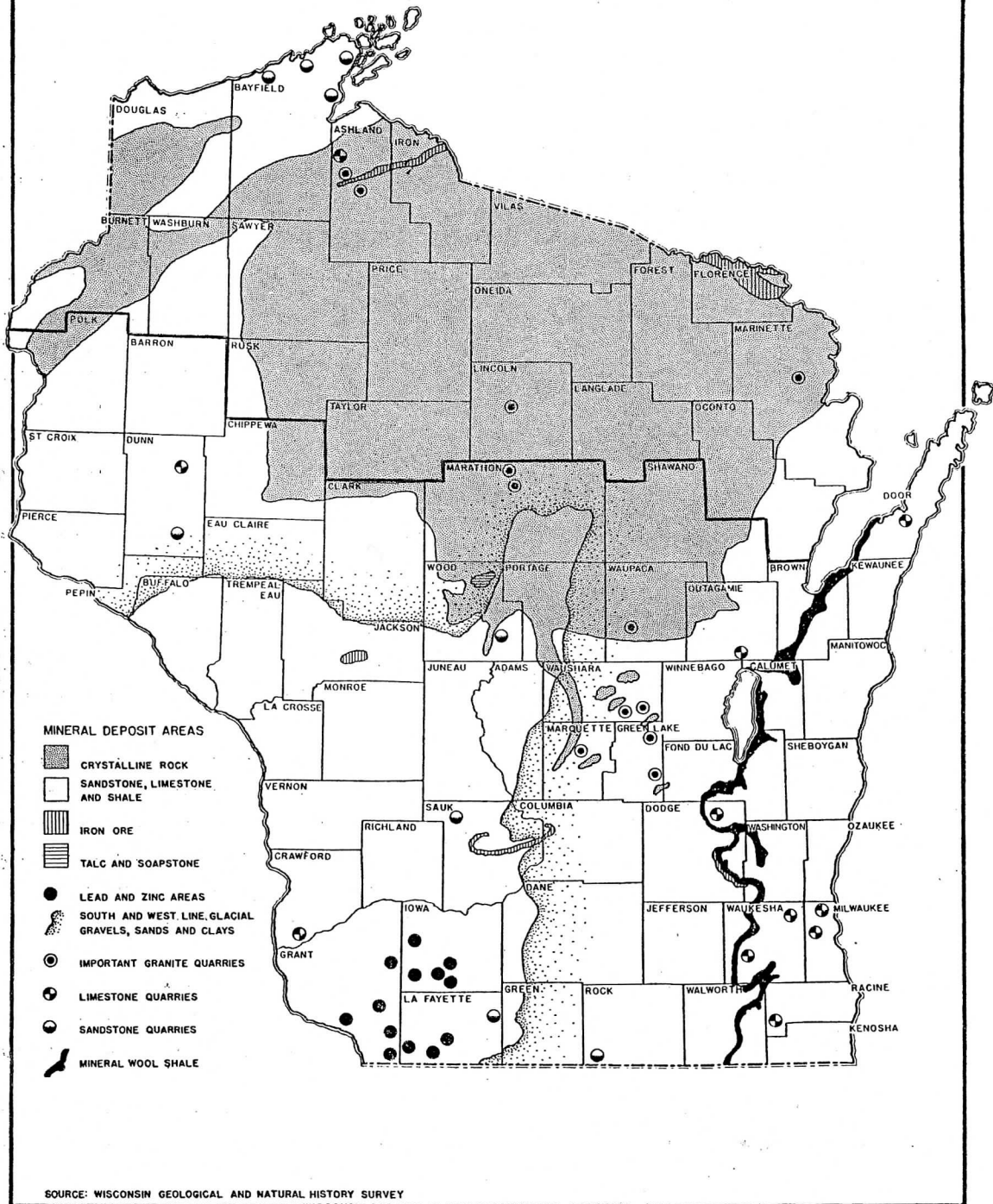


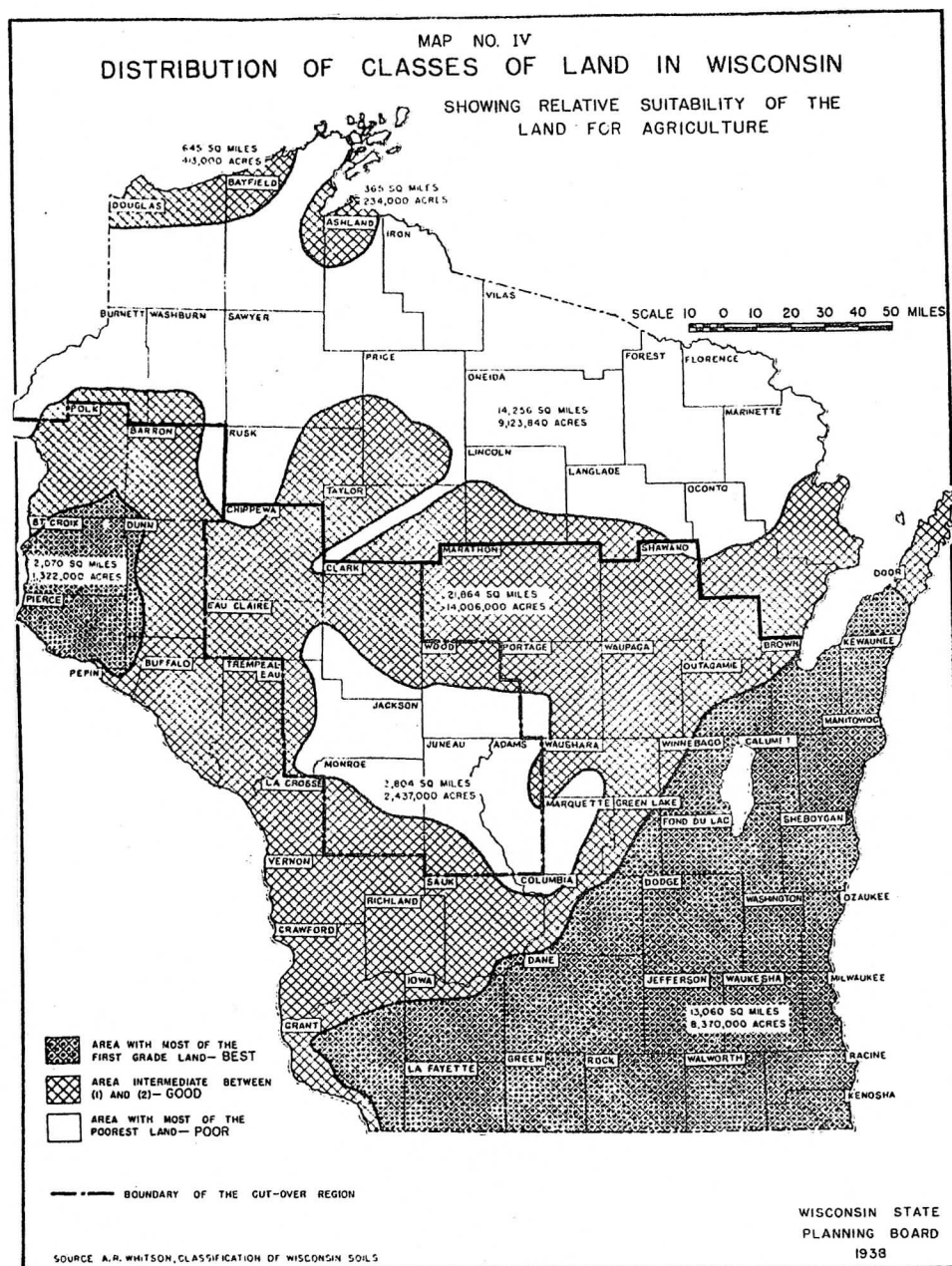
Geography



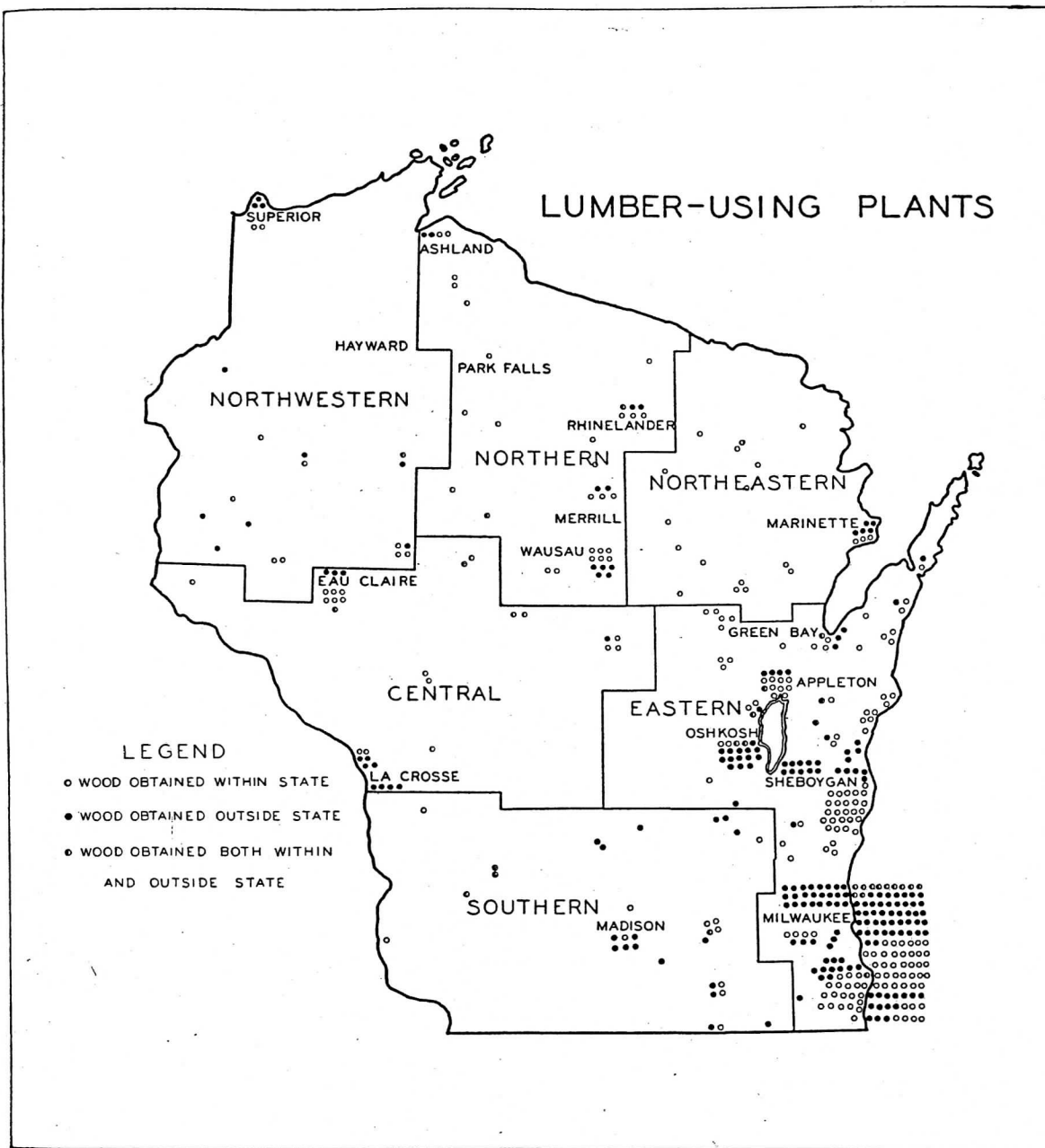
MINERAL RESOURCES

MINERAL DEPOSIT AREAS OF WISCONSIN

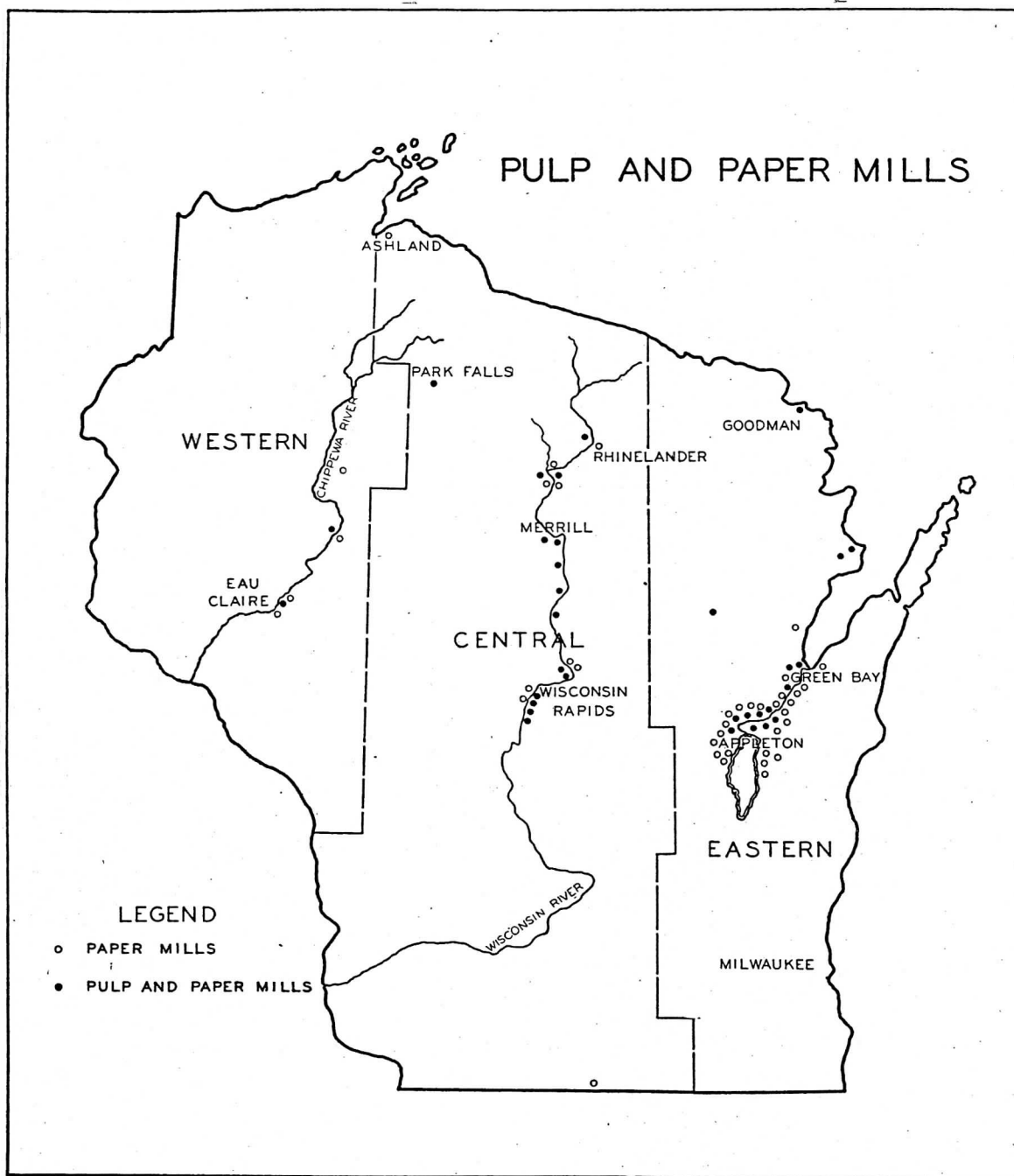




Industry

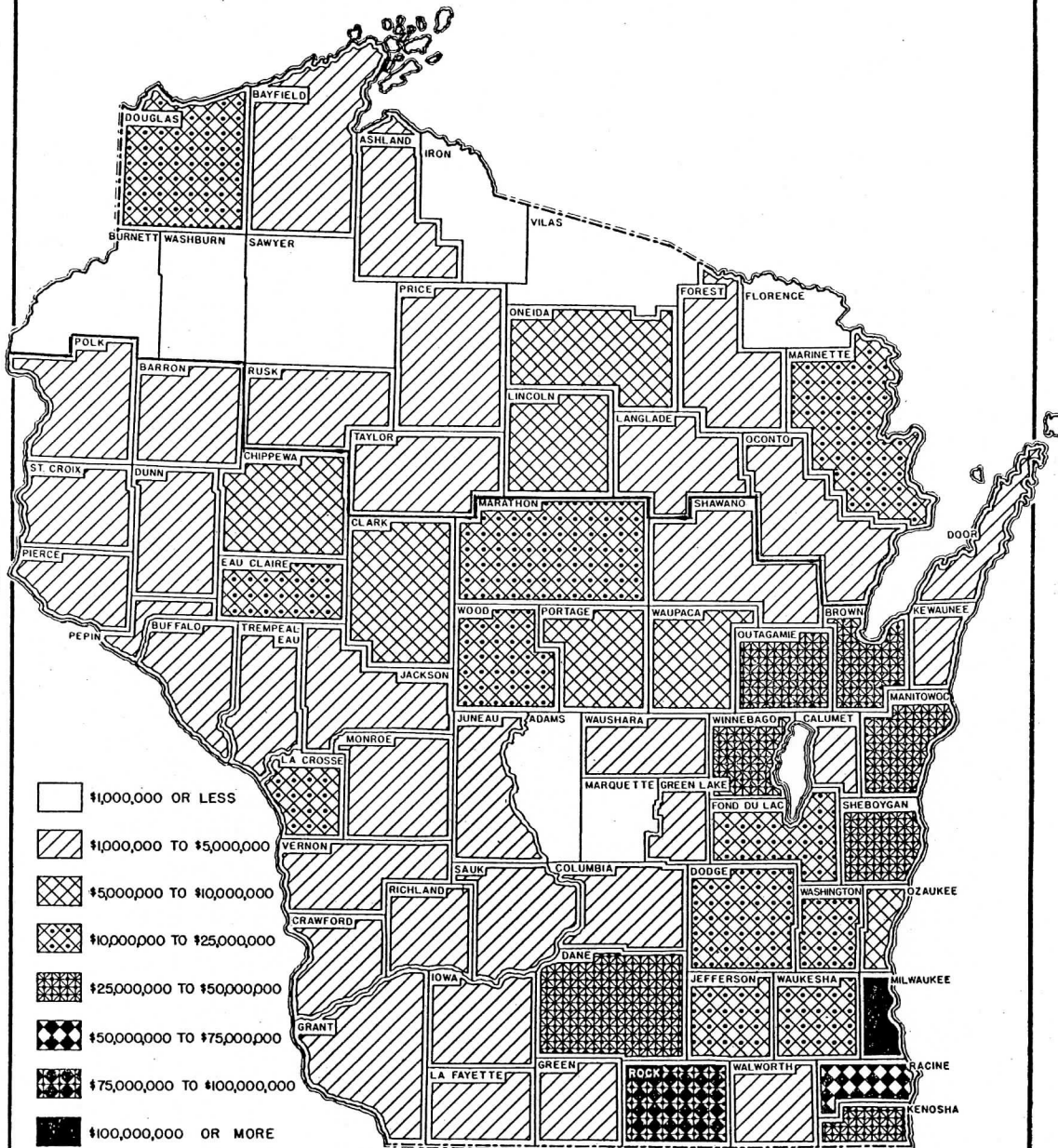






INDUSTRY

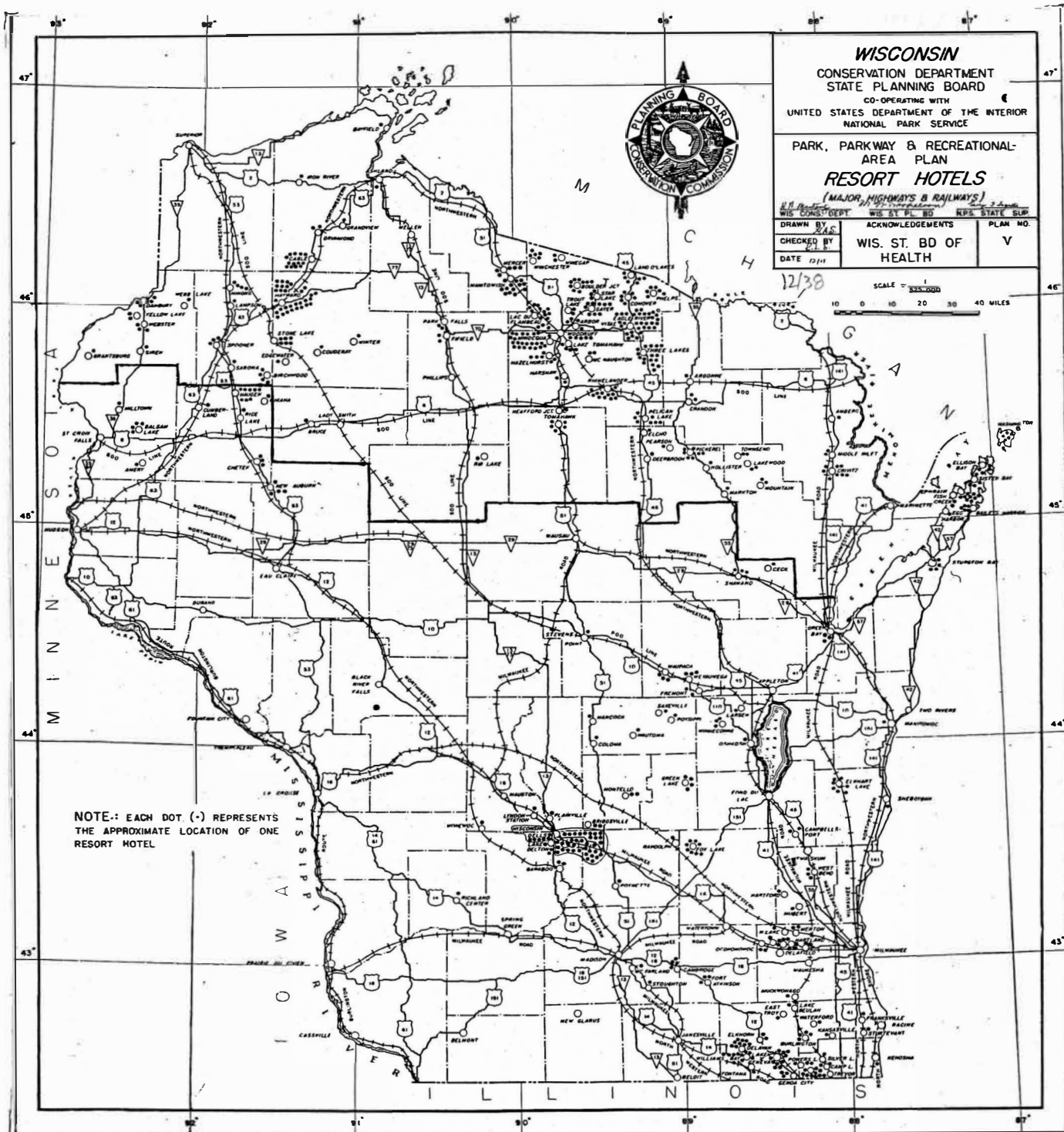
VALUE OF MANUFACTURED PRODUCTS BY COUNTIES 1931.



SOURCE: CENSUS OF MANUFACTURERS 1931

WISCONSIN REGIONAL PLANNING COMMITTEE - DECEMBER - 1934

Recreation



WISCONSIN
CONSERVATION DEPARTMENT
STATE PLANNING BOARD
CO-OPERATING WITH
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

**PARK, PARKWAY & RECREATIONAL-
AREA PLAN
RESORT HOTELS**
(MAJOR HIGHWAYS & RAILWAYS)

DRAWN BY WIS. ST. BD.	ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS WIS. ST. BD. OF HEALTH	PLAN NO. V
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DATE 12/38

