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The Shaw-Hill Farm Site On Sand Island (Apostle Islands National Lakeshore): Biographical and Site-Related Information

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Background

This report has been prepared as part of an on-going project that features early agricultural conditions on the Apostle Islands. Previous reports have primarily dealt with Basswood, Hermit, Michigan, and Sand Islands, although the minimal farming efforts that occurred on several of the other islands managed as part of the National Lakeshore also have been discussed.[1]

The seeds for the this document were planted in September 1987 when I was contacted by Kate Lidfors, at that time historian for the Apostle Islands National Lakeshore, to determine whether I might be able to locate and interpret historical data and information that could be used in developing a long-term management plan for the Shaw-Hill farm site on Sand Island. After agreeing to do so, I was asked to provide the following:

1. Cover the period from 1870-1942, including but not limited to the historical themes of fishing, the Shaw community, island social life that focused on the site, and gardening/agriculture (especially the Burt Hill years) on the site.

2. Undertake oral histories and secure, if available, historic photographs related to the Shaw-Hill site.

3. Provide management recommendations, with such recommendations to be offered in context of other Apostle Islands historic farm sites, and U. S. District Court stipulations for the compensation and life estate restrictions on public use.

This report constitutes the completion of point No. 1 listed above. The second point was undertaken by conducting a total of six formal interviews; four of these were done by Carol Ahlgren, while I did the other two. The interviews are preserved on tape, and complete transcripts are also on file in the National Lakeshore headquarters; much of the information from these interviews has been incorporated into this narrative. One of the interviewees also supplied a number of

photographs of Sand Island life which were added to those that previous investigations had uncovered; these illustrations were copied and now are on file with the National Lakeshore. Management recommendations for the Shaw-Hill site and other former agricultural properties on the Apostle Islands (No. 3 above) are included in a separate document.

Note: All figure captions and sources are listed at the end of the document.

Acknowledgements

As always is the case when undertaking investigations of this nature, the contributions of several individuals must be acknowledged. At the risk of omitting someone, I would like to mention the following people who helped in any number of ways:

All of the reports relating to agriculture on the Apostle Islands National Lakeshore were initiated by Kate Lidfors, former staff historian for the National Lakeshore, and currently regional historian for the NPS in Alaska. Without her vision and concern for history and cultural resource management, none of the three reports on Apostle Islands agriculture would have seen the light of day. Dave Snyder, her successor as Lakeshore historian, has continued to support this endeavor and helped to locate a number of additional historical sources that have been been especially useful in completing the report. Alford J. Banta, the current National Lakeshore superintendent, also has been most helpful throughout the time that the report has been in preparation, as have several staff members.

Carol Ahlgren conducted interviews with several part-time residents of Sand Island who reside permanently in the Twin Cities area. Her former experiences as an oral historian were of great benefit in securing many insights to Sand Island history from several individuals--especially those which feature the Shaw-Hill property.

The contributions of all the individuals who agreed to be interviewed either by Ms. Ahlgren or me--Gerald Biorn, Melvin Dahl, Elizabeth Andersen Hulings, Clyde and Dorothy Jensch, Herman Jensch, and Howard Palm--were absolutely essential in completing this report, as were the observations of several other persons who were interviewed informally--namely Warren Jensch, Elvis Moe, Fred Dahl, and Mary Hulings Rice. Previous interviews that my colleagues and I undertook during 1981 with the late Wm. Noring and Elvis Moe also were invaluable. In addition, the special assistance that Clyde and Warren Jensch provided when I visited the Shaw-Hill property in June 1988 must be acknowledged. Though time and resources were not usfficient to undertake a detailed site investigation during this visit, their insights and knowledge of the enclave helped me immensely in understanding the configuration and layout of former and existing buildings.

It must be mentioned, of course, that any misinterpretations or errors that may have occurred are strictly my responsibility.

Sources and Methods

Since there are very few published commentaries about day-to-day life and agriculture on any of the Apostle Islands, the preparation of this report could be undertaken only by locating and utilizing a number of scattered primary sources. (A primary source provides information dating to the time period under consideration.) The following lists the major sources that have been employed in developing this account of the Shaw and Hill families and the farm site they developed on Sand Island:

- Federal census manuscripts from 1870, 1880, 1900, and 1910 (the only ones available for inspection at the present time), along with the Wisconsin state censuses for 1875, 1885, 1895, and 1905. These sources were especially useful in determining when and where the Shaws and Hills resided in the Chequamegon Bay-Bayfield area at various points in time, and in providing useful social and demographic information such as the year of birth and marriage and the state or country of birth.

- Land records, especially those pertaining to Francis Shaw's initial claim on Sand Island.

- Maps and cartographic sources, many of which were useful in locating buildings, the outline of clearings, and associated changes through time.

- Photographs which depicted local landscape features, activities, and the people who resided on Sand Island. The new photographs that were uncovered as part of this investigation were submitted to the National Lakeshore for copying.

- Gravestones and cemetery records that provided information on birth and death dates for several members of the Shaw and Hill families.

- The meticulous account books maintained by Burt Hill, all of which gave keen insights to the local Sand Island economy for some thirty years.

- The diaries of Burt Hill and his neighbor Frederick Hansen, especially for the detailed information that both provided.

- The extant issues of the Bayfield Press and Bayfield County Press from 1870 to 1942, all of which were combed carefully for information pertaining to Sand Island, and especially for references to the Shaws and Hills. Special issues of the Ashland Press and Ashland Daily Press that featured Sand Island also were located and reviewed.

- Taped interviews were conducted with six individuals or couples who have had long affiliations with Sand Island. These interviews, which total about 10 hours of tape, were undertaken in St. Paul, Minneapolis, and Bayport, Minnesota and Bayfield and New Richmond, Wisconsin. Transcriptions were made of all interviews and are on file in the National Lakeshore archives.

- Several visits were made to Bayfield and vicinity to gather data from local holdings and depositories, to visit with NPS personnel, and to inspect the Shaw-Hill property and other Sand Island sites.

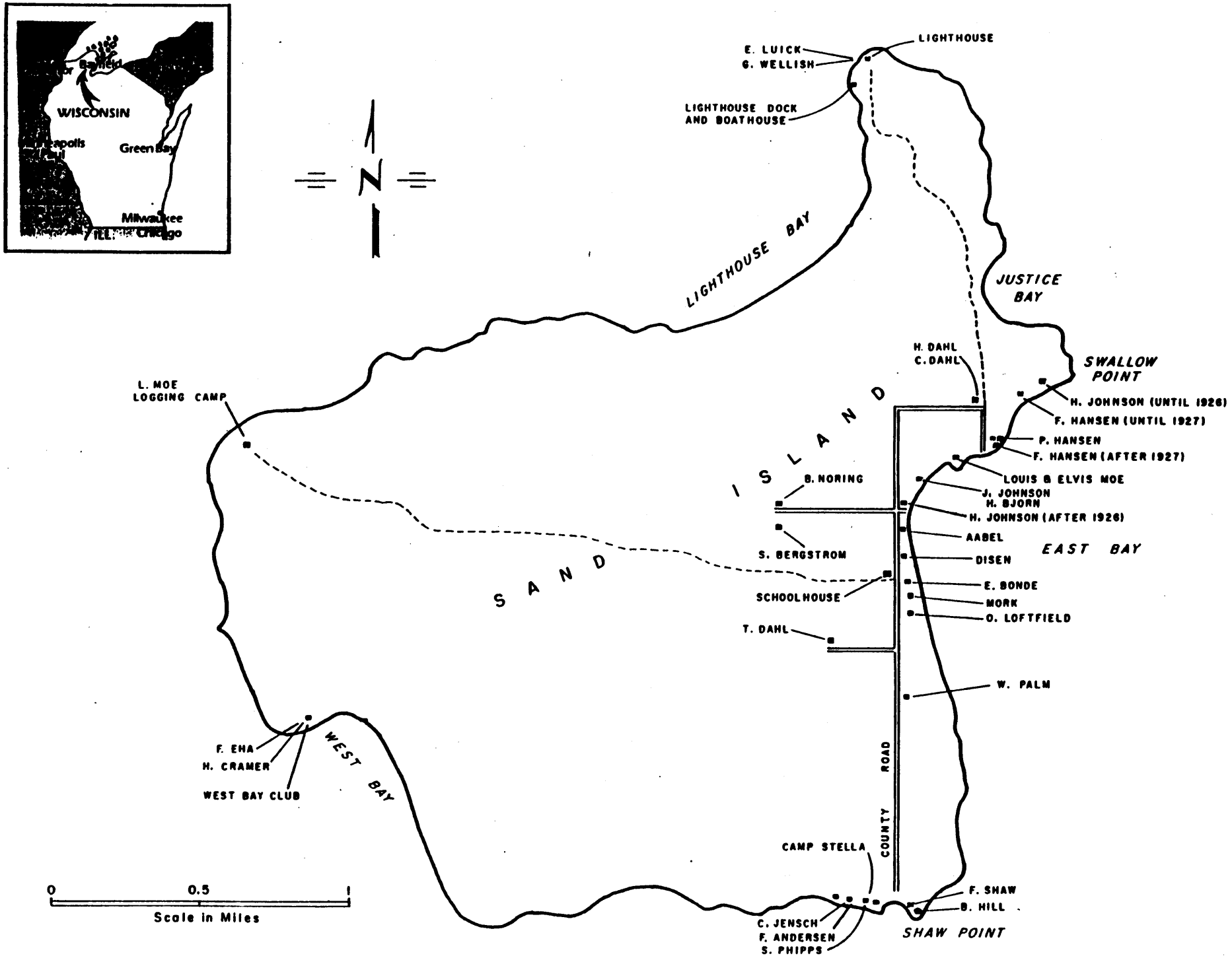
Frank and Josephine (Dutcher) Shaw: Biographical Data

Francis (Frank) Shaw, an early settler and dominant figure on Sand Island for almost four decades, was born in Erie, Pennsylvania in July 1841. His father had been born in Scotland, and his mother in Ireland. Shaw served in the Union Army, and sometime during the latter half of the 1860s he moved the 160 miles or so along the Lake Erie shore from Erie, Pennsylvania to Sandusky, Ohio. While there he married Josephine

Dutcher, a native of the city whose father and mother had been born in the state of New York and Ireland respectively. One account says that their marriage took place on June 21, 1869, while another states that the union occurred in 1871. The former date almost certainly is the correct one, for their oldest daughter, Kathleen, was not born until July 1871.[2]

A number of accounts also give different dates for the arrival of the Shaws on the Apostle Islands. Since the manuscript schedules for the 1870 federal population census list Shaw's name, and the land entry records for Sand Island also note that Shaw acquired property in 1870, that year generally is considered as the date when the family established residence in northern Wisconsin. Closer inspection of various records, however, indicates that during the early 1870s the Shaws moved back and forth between Sandusky and the Apostle Islands several times. (Given the number of boats plying the Great Lakes at this time, such movement was relatively easy.) In 1870, for example, the census listed Frank Shaw as residing in a dwelling with six other fishermen at La Pointe Township (Madeline Island). His 1870 visit probably was made to determine the feasibility of settling in northern Wisconsin and of establishing himself as a fisherman. It would be logical that Shaw also inspected and selected the tract of Sand Island property that he acquired via a Civil War veteran's bonus. The abstract of entry for just over 37 acres of land on Lot 4 of T52-R5-S25 was filed on June 10, 1870. Shaw later acquired Lots 2 and 3, as well as the E 1/2 of the NE 1/4 and the SW 1/4 of the NE 1/4, all in T52-R5-S13 (Figure 1). The acquisitions provided him with a total of 183 acres of land.[3]

On May 13, 1871, the Bayfield Press announced in its local news column that Frank Shaw of Sandusky, Ohio had arrived, and two weeks


WISCONSIN
Green Bay
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LIGHTHOUSE BAY
JUSTICE BAY
SWALLOW POINT
SAND ISLAND
EAST BAY
WEST BAY
SHAW POINT
COUNTY ROAD
LIGHTHOUSE
E. LUICK
G. WELLISH
LIGHTHOUSE DOCK AND BOATHOUSE
H. DAHL
C. DAHL
H. JOHNSON (UNTIL 1926)
F. HANSEN (UNTIL 1927)
P. HANSEN
F. HANSEN (AFTER 1927)
LOUIS & ELVIS MOE
J. JOHNSON
H. BJORN
H. JOHNSON (AFTER 1926)
AABEL
DISEN
E. BONDE
MORK
O. LOFTFIELD
W. PALM
B. NORING
S. BERGSTROM
SCHOOLHOUSE
T. DAHL
L. MOE LOGGING CAMP
F. EHA
H. CRAMER
WEST BAY CLUB
CAMP STELLA
C. JENSCH
F. ANDERSEN
S. PHIPPS
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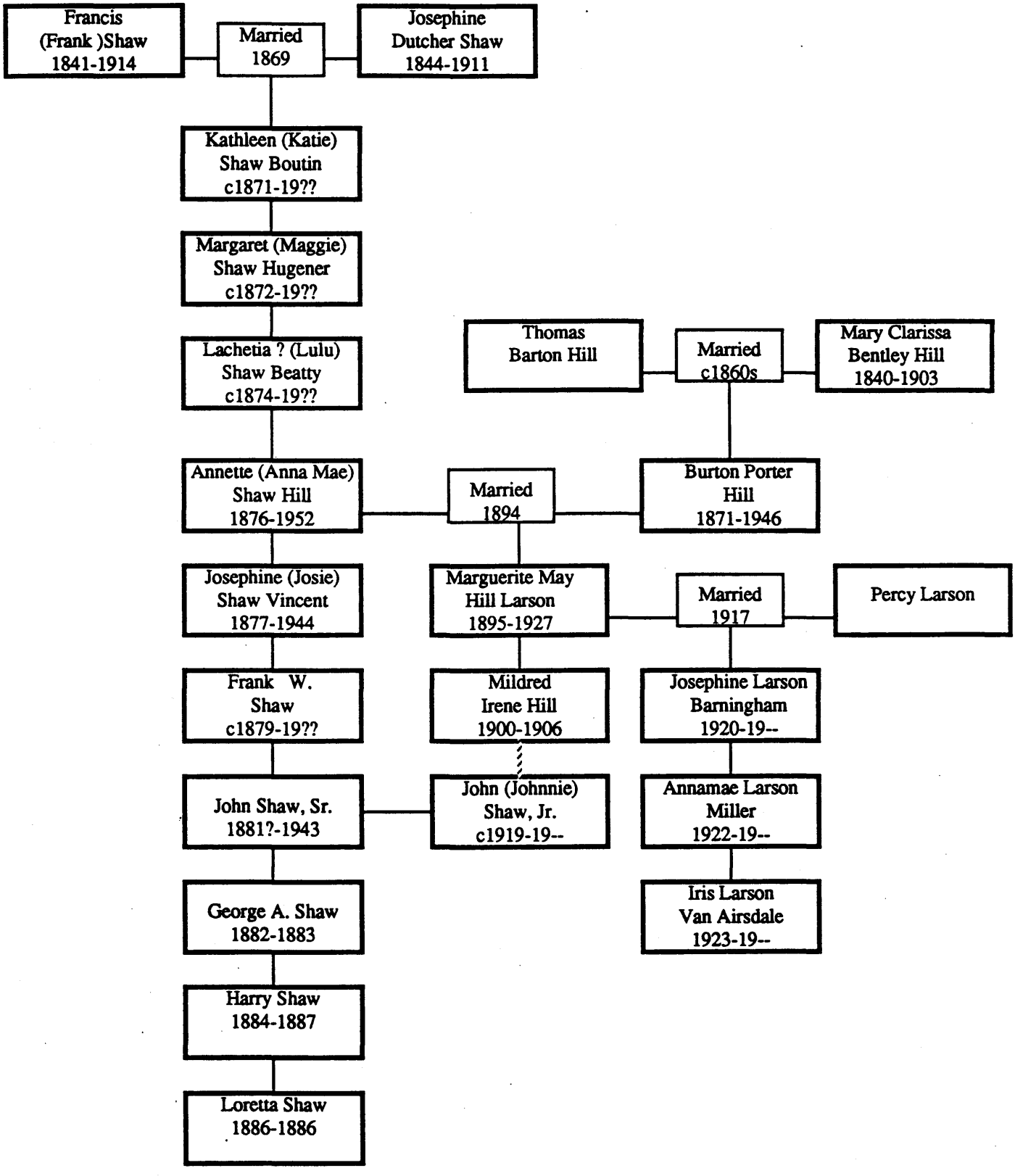
later it was reported that he was putting his pound (pond) nets into Ashland Bay. Another entry shortly thereafter noted that a Lake Superior vessel had delivered two pound nets and 500 half barrels to Frank Shaw. The obituary accounts for both Shaws in 1911 and 1914 also pointed out that they had stayed at La Pointe for the summer of 1871, but had then moved back to Sandusky for the winter months. Though they returned once again to northern Wisconsin in 1872, it appears that Mrs. Shaw continued to travel back to Sandusky at least until 1875 or 1876 since the federal census of 1880 notes that the Shaw's four oldest children--Katie (Kathleen), age 10; Maggie (Margaret), age 8; Lachetia? (Lulu) age 7; and Annette (Anna Mae), age 4--were born in Ohio. Of the remaining children who formed the Shaw family unit in 1880, only Josephine (age 3) and Frank W. (1 year) were said to be born in Wisconsin. However, it must be noted that the 1910 federal census notes that Anna Mae's birth occurred in Wisconsin, while her 1894 marriage record, family Bible, and 1952 obituary notice in the Bayfield County Press state that she was born in La Pointe.[4] Given this evidemce, it is virtually certain that Anna Mae Shaw was a native of the Apostle Islands; and it also appears that the Shaws had made their permanent move to northern Wisconsin by 1875 or 1876. (For information on the Shaw's family tree, and that of the Hills, refer to Figure 2.)

While the Shaws undoubtedly spent time during the 1870s in establishing a homesite on Sand Island, they appear to have maintained their permanent Wisconsin residence at La Pointe throughout the decade. In November 1876, for example, Frank Shaw was elected Treasurer of Ashland County, and assumed his position in January 1877. Shaw's victory was due to the overwhelming majority of votes (79-4)

Figure 2

SHAW-HILL FAMILY TREE



that he received in his home township of La Pointe, since his opponent out polled him in both Ashland (104-46) and the Chippewa Precinct (39-24); hence Shaw won by a total of just two votes. Shaw held the position for two years or less since he did not run in the next election.[5]

The 1880 federal census still lists the Shaws as residing at La Pointe, while the 1885 state census includes them in Bayfield. The 1885 census only lists the name of the head of the household (Frank Shaw), and notes that there were four males and five females in the family unit. Since there were six females in the Shaw household at that time--Josephine and her daughters Kathleen, Margaret, Lulu, Anna Mae, and Josephine--either the census enumerator made an error or one of the girls was away from home at the time. The additional male member was Harry Shaw (1884-1887), who died just before reaching his third birthday. Two other children also died in infancy: George A. (1882-1883) and Loretta (1886-1886). All three children were buried in Bayfield's Old Greenwood Cemetery. There is no manuscript available for the 1890 federal census since all schedules for the entire nation were consumed by a fire, but the 1895 state census lists the Shaw household as having three males and four females. (By this time the oldest daughter, Kathleen, had married S. L. Boutin and was living in Bayfield, and Anna Mae had married Burt Hill in late 1894 and also was a resident of Bayfield.)[6]

Even after the Shaws moved away from La Pointe between 1880 and 1885, they still did not live permanently on Sand Island for a considerable period of time. The 1885 state census clearly differentiates Sand Island from the remainder of Bayfield Township; the Shaws were not included with the residents of Sand Island, but were found in the listing for the Village of Bayfield. The 1895 state census also included them on the roster for the Village. The Shaws could not

be found in the 1900 federal census (they may have been visiting outside the area the day the census was taken, or the census taker may have inadvertently missed them on Sand Island), but the 1905 state census does indicate that they were residents of Bayfield Township--i.e., Sand Island. At this time the Shaws two sons (Frank, age 25; and John, age 23) were still living with their parents and working as fishermen, and their youngest daughter, Josephine (Josie) also resided at home. Three lodgers made their home with the Shaws in 1905--Wm. Terry (age 65), Ambrose Gordon (age 42), and Joseph Roy (age 40); all were fishermen.[7]

By 1910 both of the Shaw boys had left home, Josie remained with her parents but apparently lived in a separate house, and the Shaws fourth oldest daughter, Anna Mae, had moved to Sand Island with her husband, Burt Hill. Also residing with the Shaws in 1910 were four lodgers/fishermen: the previously mentioned Ambrose Gordon, his brother Frank, Eli St. Andrews, and Peter Michelson, the latter being a Norwegian who emigrated to America in the 1850s.[8]

Because of Frank Shaw's skill and abilities as a fisherman, he was able to provide homes for his family both on Sand Island and in Bayfield. (Other Sand Island inhabitants did this too, but perhaps not for such a lengthy period of time.) Indeed, Mrs. Hill's obituary states that her parents--the Shaws--maintained a "summer home" on Sand Island. Newspaper evidence indicates that their Bayfield residence was maintained at the Lake Superior House on Front Street from 1887 to 1895; during this time, the building also served as a business establishment for the Shaws. An 1890 advertisement in the Bayfield newspaper, for example, stated that one could board by the day or week at the Lake Superior House, and fresh and smoked fish were available for purchase from Frank Shaw. In 1894 another notice listed Mrs. Frank

Shaw as the proprietor of the Lake Superior House, and informed readers that she maintained a "first-class confectionary and cigars always (were) on hand." It also appears that after 1895 the Shaws maintained their Bayfield residence at Mrs. Gonyon's (Gonia's?) house on 2nd Street. Undoubtedly there were several reasons responsible for the Shaws having separate residences at both places (Sand Island and Bayfield). Undoubtedly there were greater economic opportunities in Bayfield, but one major factor certainly was the need to provide the Shaw children with access to school. Brief excerpts from the Bayfield County Press illustrate the constant movement that the Shaws maintained between Sand Island and Bayfield. In November 1887 it was noted that Frank Shaw had moved in from Sand Island, while in July 1893 he came from Sand Island to spend the week-end "at home"; in August of 1893 it also was noted that Mrs. Shaw spent a few days "on the farm." Two years later Mrs. Shaw left for Sand Island in mid-July to spend a few weeks on Sand Island, and she did likewise in May 1896.[9]

By 1897 or 1898 it appears that both Shaws were making their permanent home on Sand Island. The children were on their own, several were married, and only the youngest (John) was still in school. Since the three oldest daughters were married and living in Bayfield at this time, John was able to reside with his sisters while attending school in the Village. Indeed, the 1900 census lists John Shaw, a nineteen year old student, as residing with his sister and brother-in-law, Margaret and Joseph Hugener. With so many of their children living in Bayfield, the Shaws now were regular visitors to the Village. A newspaper account from early February 1898, for example, stated that the ice bridge between Sand Island and the mainland had formed and the Shaws were now able to visit their children. Thereafter, and until 1902, several brief reports noted that the Shaws were spending anywhere

from a few days to a week visiting their children. During some years, as in the period from November 1899 to February 1900, the wait was as long as three months. (It might be noted that Shaw and his wife also attended a GAR encampment in Chicago during September 1900.)[10]

There is little doubt that Frank Shaw was an excellent fisherman. Shaw generally employed a crew of several men to help him put in his pound nets during the spring, and he also owned several fishing boats. An 1899 newspaper notice stated that Shaw had four vessels in his fleet, while a 1902 listing stated that he had lifted 3,200 pounds of fish during a single haul in July. Herman Jensch, who was born in 1914 and spent several summers on Sand Island with Burt Hill (Shaw's son-in-law), stated in a 1987 interview that given the size of the fishing dock and all of the buildings on the property, Frank Shaw undoubtedly was "above the average fisherman in his economics." The Shaws also established a farm on their Sand Island property, and just as he did with his fishing enterprise, Shaw employed several men to help him plant and harvest the crops. Lt. Governor Sam Fifield, operator of Camp Stella on Sand Island and an Ashland newspaper publisher, noted in a late nineteenth-century account that Capt. Frank Shaw had established a "good snug farm" at the tip of the island where he engaged in fishing and farming for twenty years.[11]

Apparently the Shaw's year-round affiliation with Sand Island was interrupted in late 1905, for the Bayfield County Press stated that they had moved to the mainland during November. That same winter the Shaws and their youngest daughter Josie spent almost five months visiting relatives in Sandusky and Norwalk, Ohio. They returned in April so that Shaw, now 65 years old, could put in his crops and prepare for the fishing season. Subsequent winters were spent in Bayfield. During the fall of 1908 Mrs. Shaw became seriously ill while residing on Sand

Island, and was brought to the Bayfield home of her daughter, Anna Mae (Mrs. Burt Hill) to recuperate. Mrs. Shaw recovered somewhat, and in early May 1911 was honored by Sand Island friends and neighbors on her 67th birthday; however, she died later that month. The Bayfield County Press, in its brief overview of her life, pointed out that while the Shaws had made their initial residence at La Pointe, their permanent home had been at Sand Island--"where they had established a splendid farm home."[12]

Frank Shaw survived his wife, as did their seven children who reached adulthood: Mrs. Kathleen (S. L.) Boutin, Mrs. Margaret (J. H.) Hugener, Mrs. Lulu (Ward) Beatty, Mrs. Anna Mae (Burt) Hill, Miss Josie Shaw, Frank Shaw, Jr. and John Shaw. Shaw reportedly suffered from heart problems since the time he was in his early 50s; an 1892 account stated that Shaw had been overtaken by heart trouble while on his way to Sand Island, but he had been able to return to Bayfield on the same day and was reported to be on the mend. Despite this apparent handicap, Shaw must have been able to handle hard work and stressful situations rather well. In late 1894, for example, his sailing skills brought him through a severe storm while he was bringing a large load of produce from Sand Island to Bayfield; he saved the produce and boat, but lost the vessel's mast. Shaw continued to fish and farm for several years thereafter, although he did appear before the Board of Pension Examiners in 1897 when he was 56 years old. (This session might have taken place to determine if Shaw was eligible for a Civil War veteran's pension.) Shaw continued to fish and to farm well into his 60s, and in the early 1900s he purchased a number of sheep and contemplated buying goats for his Sand Island property. Even as late as 1909, when he was 68 years of age, Shaw purchased a new hay press in Bayfield so his "fine yield" of hay could be sold to meet local demands.[13]

Shaw sold his fishing equipment and farm to his son-in-law, Burt Hill, in early 1910. After Mrs. Shaw died in 1911, Shaw spent much of his time in Bayfield, even though the Hills maintained their permanent home on Sand Island. The veteran resident of the Apostle Islands made plans to spend the winter of 1912-1913 in southern California with one of his daughters, but apparently he was hospitalized in Ashland before embarking on this trip. While Shaw recovered sufficiently to spend one month on Sand Island during the summer of 1913, he was hospitalized once again by early 1914; his death occurred in Ashland on January 27, 1914. The funeral, held at the Bayfield home of his daughter, Margaret (Mrs. S. L. Boutin) on January 31, was attended by a full force of local GAR members; it also was noted that the Ladies of the GAR sent flowers, and the pallbearers were members of the local Naval Militia. Sadly, however, an ice bridge had not yet formed between the mainland and island, and Shaw's Sand Island relatives and friends could not be informed of his death and funeral until some two more weeks had passed.[14]

Burton and Anna Mae (Shaw) Hill: Biographical Data

Burton (Burt) Hill was born in Appleton, Wisconsin on July 12, 1871, the son of Thomas Barton Hill and Mary Clarissa Bentley Hill. Thomas Hill pursued various jobs and moved the family to several places in the state, including Stevens Point, Menasha, and Ashland. Because of the many moves, Burt Hill never went beyond fifth grade in school. He moved to Ashland in 1887 after his father had secured a position as luggage master at the Wisconsin Central Depot; later that year his mother arrived, and in 1888 the three of them settled in La Pointe where Mrs. Mary C. Hill opened an eating house and later remodeled a summer hotel. Apparently the latter venture was quite successful, for in April 1893 the Bayfield County Press reported that

the hotel would "accommodate the many summer visitors who have already engaged board for the coming season."[15]

In 1889 Burt Hill secured a job as an apprentice in an Ashland printing shop; two years later he began working for the Ashland News. In November of that year he took a job with the Bayfield County Press and quickly became the foreman; he stayed with the newspaper for nineteen years, resigning on April 16, 1910. While in Bayfield, Hill was a community leader and active in many organizations. He joined the Bayfield Volunteer Fire Department in 1899, and was its secretary-treasurer for 10 years; he helped to organize the local Indoor Baseball Association on December 30, 1899, and served as secretary and member of the board of trustees until 1910; he was elected recorder of the AOUW, a short-lived fraternal insurance organization, and served as a delegate to its Grand Lodge meetings held throughout Wisconsin from 1901-1906; he served as a charter member and secretary of the Bayfield Commercial Club from 1906 to 1910; and he was the vice-president of the Booster Club in 1908, also a short-lived Bayfield institution.[16]

Hill married Anna Mae Shaw, who had been born in La Pointe on August 11, 1876--the fourth daughter and child of Frank and Josephine Shaw; the marriage took place on November 7, 1894 in Bayfield's Episcopal Church. The Rev. A. E. Clay performed the ceremony, John C. Chapple of the Ashland Press and Alonzo Wilkinson of Bayfield were the groomsmen, and Jennie Skeldon and Lulu Shaw served as bridesmaids. The new couple clearly had a large host of friends, as indicated by the Bayfield Country Press account of the wedding that minutely listed all of the gifts they received from some 115 people.[17]

Burt and Anna Mae Hill had two daughters, one of whom died in early childhood, while the other succumed as a young woman. Mildred Irene, the youngest daughter, was born on May 25,1900 and suffered a tragic death in 1906 when her clothing caught fire when she was playing with matches. Marguerite Mae, the oldest daughter, was born on December 23, 1895, attended school in Bayfield (where she lived with her aunt), and graduated from high school in 1914. She then studied nursing at St. Joseph's Hospital in Ashland and married Percy Larson of that city on July 24, 1917. (Shortly thereafter, Larson served in the U. S. Army in France during World War I and was severely wounded, but recovered.) The Larsons had three daughters--Josephine Leone (3-9-1920), Annamae Ruth (3-4-1922), and Iris Lucreta (12-18-1923)--prior to Mrs. Larson's death of cancer on December 12, 1927, just shy of her thirty-second birthday. It also should be mentioned that in 1922 the Hills became foster parents for John D. (Johnnie) Shaw, Mrs. Hill's three year old nephew who was the son of John Shaw, Sr. Johnnie Shaw's mother had died while his father was working as a Great Lakes seaman on the ore boats. Prior to arriving at Sand Island, the young Shaw reportedly had been living in foster homes in Sandusky, Ohio.[18]

During the period from their marriage in 1896 until 1910 the Hills spent at least a portion of each summer vacationing on Sand Island with Mrs. Hill's parents, the Shaws. While Burt Hill's job responsibilities in Bayfield limited his stays to one or two weeks, Anna Mae Hill and her two daughters, and later just one daughter, spent up to five weeks on Sand Island. On April 19, 1910 the Hills moved permanently to Sand Island; the move from printshop to the out-of-doors was undertaken in an effort to recover from Hill's health problems, which apparently consisted of "printer's ink disease" and diabetes.[19]

Upon arriving at Sand Island, Hill "began to learn the pound net fishing game." Since Hill had just departed an office job in Bayfield, he initially found the life of a fisherman to be quite difficult; nevertheless, as Hill himself later recalled, he "soon got broke in." Whereas six to eight men had been employed to pound in the stakes by hand, Hill immediately used a gas engine-powered device that Shaw had recently purchased; though the mechanical operation took longer than the hand effort, only two men were needed for the task. Hill also had to learn how to set out and lift up the nets, a task that led to his being "cussed many a time for doing the wrong thing at the right time." Hill quickly learned the skills sufficiently well so that his father-in-law soon was able to quit fishing altogether. The new resident of Sand Island then fished for a few seasons, but concluded he was "getting nowhere." By the fall of 1918 Shaw had given up serious fishing altogether, and one year later he sold his pound driving outfit to Theodore Boutin. Hill then became a full-time farmer, but quickly concluded that he would have been better off had he "continued with the fishing"--primarily because of the high costs associated with getting produce to market.[20]

After Frank Shaw's death in early 1914, Burt Hill and Josie Shaw (Anna Mae Hill's youngest sister) operated the Sand Island holding on a 50-50 basis for a brief period of time, but when this venture failed to be profitable, Hill bought out his sister-in-law. (Elvis Moe, in a 1988 interview, thought that Hill might have spent much of the remainder of his life paying off Josie's share of the inheritance.)[21]

In addition to farming, Hill assisted Lt. Gov. Sam Fifield with the maintenance of Camp Stella during its latter years of operation. (Camp Stella was a well known resort for hay fever sufferers that operated on Sand Island from the 1880s to 1915.) He also helped a wealthy group of

St. Paul people to construct a summer resort and retreat, the West Bay Club, in 1912-13; and thereafter served as caretaker for this property and nearby seasonal homes owned by the Campbell-Jensch family. (In addition to their original building, which was constructed in the early 1900s by Civil War veteran Samuel W. Campbell, the Campbell-Jenschs later acquired Camp Stella.) Hill's work for the Campbell-Jenschs involved serving as an all-around maintenance man and piling up fire wood and ice; he also performed similar services for several of the other seasonal residents. Herman Jensch, a grandson of Samuel Campbell, recalled that Hill "would fix that damn boat, he could piug anything up, he could mend anything." Clyde Jensch, another Campbell grandson, also remembered that one could hear Burt Hill hitting his anvil when he was fixing rakes and tools; Hill "was just marvelous at doing those things," Clyde Jensch recalled.[22]

Hill also did repairs and forge work--especially in preparing various metal fittings that were used on the boats and farms--for some of the other permanent residents of Sand Island. Elizabeth Andersen Hulings especially remembered the shop, which had "everything under the sun. . .in there." Ultimately after the contents of a Kentucky Club Tobacco can had been used in his pipe, Hill would paint the empty containers and employ them for storing small items. Displaying the same orderliness that he exhibited in maintaining his account books, Hill even lined up the nail cans in ranks (6 penny, 8 penny, etc). By salvaging "everything under the sun (from) every broken down place or abandoned place there was," he was able to develop a large collection of neatly ordered items that ranged from door knobs to plumbing pieces--even though there was little plumbing on Sand Island. During his early years of residence on Sand Island, Hill also used the second story of the workshop for making and repairing sails.[23]

Even today, people who had personal contact with the Hills express a virtually universal admiration for them. Herman Jensch noted that "there was nobody like Burt Hill," while Mary Andersen Hulings stated that both of the Hills were the "most special people," and Elvis Moe of Sand Island and Bayfield likewise confirmed that both Hills were "great people." A similar evaluation was made already in 1914 when a local newspaper account pointed out that the "Hill's host of Bayfield friends are always ready to welcome them."[24]

As noted above, Mrs. Hill was highly regarded by her friends and neighbors. Although she was both married and buried in Bayfield's Episcopal Church, several people who were interviewed recalled that Mrs. Hill was a Christian Scientist. Herman Jensch, in fact, remembered that Anna Mae Hill was "full of faith" and always believed that even while everything was good, it could only get better. Elizabeth Andersen Hulings stated that Mrs. Hill "was somewhat of a Christian Scientist," but also served as a practical nurse on the island who would set bones, deliver babies, and sew people up. "She worked it from both ways," recalled Ms. Andersen Hulings. Dorothy Jensch noted that Anna Mae Hill might have said she was a strict Christian Scientist, "but she believed in germs, (and) fixed things (e. g., cuts, broken bones, etc.) that needed to be fixed; she didn't pray over them." Her husband, Clyde Jensch, replied that "Mrs. Hill was the nurse to all of us; she would lance a boil, she could do anything." According to Ms. Andersen Hulings, Anna Mae Hill also was very good at preparing homeopathic remedies for various ills; she would gather different plants from the woods and prepare medicines to combat afflictions ranging from fever to sunburn. Finally, it should be noted that Josie Shaw, Anna Mae's sister, also was a Christian Scientist.[25]

Mrs. Hill was known as a woman of many talents, but perhaps nothing surpassed her reputation as a cook; indeed, many individuals who were interviewed during the late 1980s could still recall the culinary skills she displayed in her Sand Island kitchen from 1910 until the 1940s. Elvis Moe, for example, flatly stated that Mrs. Hill was a "gourmet cook." In fact, Anna Mae Hill's occupation in the 1910 census, conducted only two months after she and her husband had moved to Sand Island in April, was already listed as "cook." Her 1952 obituary also summarized these activities by stating that she had been involved in the operation of a boarding house during the thirty-two years the Hills spent on the island.[26]

Besides the men (such as Ambrose Gordon) who assisted the Hills year-round and lived and boarded with them, a number of fishermen and summer residents sampled the products of Mrs. Hill's table. Burt Hill's diary, for example, noted that large crews of herring fishermen were boarders in 1915 and 1916, and the meticulous account books that he maintained during his tenure on Sand Island list 1936, 1938, and 1940 as especially busy years for fishing crews. Once seasonal homes began to be established on Sand Island, Mrs. Hill also provided board for some of the residents during the summer months. The Andersen family of Bayport, Minnesota boarded regularly with the Hills since Mrs. Andersen was an invalid who could not prepare meals for her family. Burt Hill's account books also noted that the Hulings and Phipps families, as well as other individuals, occasionally boarded with them. The importance of Anna Mae Hill's contributions to the couple's annual income became increasingly important as receipts from farming and Burt Hill's odd jobs declined from the mid-1930s onward. From 1935 through 1940, for example, almost half their total family income was supplied by the

meals that Mrs. Hill provided for boarders, and in one single year--1938--the amount approached 70 percent.[27]

Canning was an especially busy occasion for Mrs. Hill as she preserved berries, apples, chokecherries, sauerkraut, chicken, and steaks. "It was just like a factory," recalled Herman Jensch, "hotter than hell and that range going just like a steam engine," with Mrs. Hill trotting around faster than a cat. Elizabeth Andersen Hulings also described the kitchen as "a wonderful big room and everything going on in there at once." The large root cellar that the Hills kept fully stocked, Jensch reported, was "a dream come true for food addicts--anything you wanted to see--down in the bins." Ms. Andersen Hulings stated that it was a "marvelous storehouse," with bins "big enough to hold an animal." Jams, jellies, pickles, and similar preserved items were kept on the shelves, while staples such as flour and sugar were protected from rodents and other animals by placing them on doors that were hung from the ceiling with heavy wires. The potatoes and rutabagas, of course, were stored in the bins.[28]

The seasonal residents who summered on Sand Island also relied upon the Hills for their dairy products, and would purchase up to two gallons of milk a day from them; butter and cream were also supplied by the Hills (the cream separator was a central feature in the Hill household). In 1941, the last full year the Hills had cows on Sand Island, Burt Hill noted very precisely in his account book that during the summer season the Jensch family had purchased $23.25 worth of milk and cream, the Ehas $19.35, the Phipps $3.36, the Sakrisons $1.48, and the Andersens $0.25; an additional $26.09 was received from the Bayfield creamery. (This amounted to a grand total of $73.78 for milk and cream.) While cream could be sent to Bayfield during those months when passage across the lake was possible, it was necessary to convert

the cream to butter during other times of the year; the skim milk was then fed to the calves and pigs. The Hills also sold other products that their farm provided. In 1937, for example, they received $30.35 for potatoes, $13.74 for chickens, $1.00 for eggs, $2.50 for rutabagas, $0.75 for apples, and $16.61 for two veal calves, while their income from milk, cream, and butter during the year amounted to $114.87.[29]

In 1941, when reflecting upon some three decades spent on Sand Island, Burt Hill concluded: "Our life on Sand Island has been some of varied experiences, some pleasant and some harrowing." Among the latter were various experiences in coping with the vagaries of Lake Superior storms, the isolation, and the problems associated with death, illness, and injury when situated so far from professional medical care. In fact, Hill stated the saddest event to occur on the island during their three decades of residence was the disappearance of their neighbor, Harold Dahl, a fisherman who was lost during a Lake Superior storm on April 18, 1928.[30]

Certainly included among the Hill's personal hardships, while living both in Bayfield and on Sand Island, were such factors as the long delay they experienced before learning of Frank Shaw's death and funeral in 1914, and, of course, the untimely deaths of their two daughters. Herman Jensch recalled that occasionally Hill would discuss how deeply affected the latter had been by the accidental death of his six year old daughter Mildred in 1906; and the Bayfield County Press mentioned that both Hills were quite ill following the death of their other daughter Marguerite in late 1927. Nevertheless, the Hills were optimists, as several interviewees stated, and were able to prevail over such personal tragedies.[31]

Burt Hill also must have experienced some disappointment when, after working so hard to organize several community institutions on Sand Island, they were terminated rather quickly--sometimes due to the acrimony of the island's residents. The Hills, however, apparently did not play a role in the formation of the island's first important institution--the Sand Island School--since they arrived during the same year (1910) that the facility opened. Termed in 1914 as the "furthest north of Wisconsin schools" by the Bayfield superintendent, the Hill's daughter Marguerite was asked to fill out the term of a teacher who resigned during the spring of 1918. Although her husband would be serving with the U. S. Army in France for the remainder of the year, Marguerite refused to continue as the Sand Island teacher for the fall term in 1918. As Hill himself later stated, she "could not satisfy some of the parents which is generally the case with any teacher in any school." Apparently there was a very high turnover of teachers at the Sand Island School, a phenomenon noted by Herman Jensch: "Some of those teachers would almost go out of their minds before the damn contract was over." Alma Dahl likewise stated that teachers didn't seem to like it enough on Sand Island to stay there for years. Though detailed inspection of the school records would reveal many more teachers, the names that turned up in this investigation were Evelyn Cowie, the first teacher in 1910-1911; Aagot Loftfield in 1914; Lilah Peterson in 1916; Marguerite Hill Larson for part of a term in 1918; and Orlan Johnson in 1927-28. (The latter had a harrowing experience when he almost drowned while crossing the ice in December 1927.)[32]

The first Sand Island venture organized by Burt Hill was the Shaw Post Office. Hill made out the application in early 1911 (naming it, quite obviously, for his father-in-law), took the postmaster's examination on May 13, and received his appointment on June 20. The

post office was maintained in a small area that was cordoned off in the log cabin where the Hills resided. S. L. Boutin (Mrs. Hill's brother-in-law) made three trips a week to deliver mail back and forth between the Shaw Post Office and the mainland for a small sum, but delivery posed a much more difficult problem during the winter. As Hill later recalled, "The residents of the island wanted their mail, and it was up to me, as postmaster, to see that the mail was kept on the move." To do so, Hill had to make arrangements to meet the mail carrier from Bayfield at a prearranged point and then wait until his colleague arrived. When it was stormy, the carrier often arrived late, but Hill "would remain there freezing until he came along." For all of his effort Hill received as compensation only an amount that equaled one-half of the cancellations for the office--a sum that declined to very little during the winter months. After enduring these problems for five years, Hill resigned his position in early February 1916, and on May 15 the Shaw Post Office was discontinued. Nonetheless, post marks indicate that for at least one year thereafter (if not longer) the residents continued to use the Shaw Post Office address even after its official termination [33]

Soon after resigning as postmaster, Hill became deeply involved in the organization of the Sand Island Telephone Company. Telephone connections had been made between Madeline Island and the mainland around 1915, and in September of that same year the residents of Sand Island stated that because of the large number of permanent inhabitants and seasonal visitors on the island, they also had need for telephone service. In October 1916 the manager of the Wisconsin Telephone Company visited Sand Island to consider a possible connection via the Northern Telephone Company line which was being erected in the vicinity of Sand Bay. Almost two more years passed, however, before the Sand Island Telephone Company would hold its initial

organizational meeting in the school house on April 20, 1918. A total of $15,000 in stock had been sold by the time the meeting took place. The stockholders elected Burt Hill, Louis Moe, and A. H. Wilkerson as directors; and the directors, in turn, elected Moe president, Magnus Palm vice-president, Hill secretary, and Herman Johnson treasurer. Despite the obvious advantages telephone service would bring, a schism quickly developed among the stockholders when two residents, who had played a major role in organizing the association, were defeated in the election; they and their followers, Hill later recalled, "would have nothing to do with the organization after that."[34]

Despite the lack of harmony, efforts to lay an underground cable to Sand Bay were completed in October 1918, and in November the first message--announcing the signing of the Armistice--went out over the line. Regular service to Bayfield and points beyond commenced on December 17, 1918. The next meeting of the stockholders occurred in April 1919, with O. H. Loftfield, Mrs. Nettie Hansen, and Henry Cramer (operator of the West Bay Club since March 1918) elected as directors; they then selected Cramer as president, Loftfield as vice-president, and Marguerite Larson (the Hills daughter) as treasurer. Even with all the effort, expense (Hill personally lost $70), and good intentions, the cable severed and proved to be too difficult and costly to repair; shortly thereafter the Sand Island Telephone Company faded into oblivion.[35]

Another major organizational activity occurred in 1918 when the residents of Sand Island gathered at the school house on June 15 to consider developing a cooperative store. Unanimous agreement was reached, and on July 19, 1918 a store--the Sand Island Co-operative Association--was opened in the lean-to attached to the log building (i. e., the beach house) that had been constructed by Frank Shaw along the Lake Superior shoreline. (This building addition had earlier served

as the post office and also accommodated the Hill's boarders and guests.) Fred Hansen was elected president, B. K. Noring vice-president, Herman Johnson treasurer, and Burt Hill secretary and manager. According to Frederick Hansen's daily diary, the annual meeting of the cooperative was held on one day in January throughout the 1920s.[36]

Cooperative stores were very common and were developing rapidly throughout the Lake Superior region at the same time the Sand Island organization was formed. Though the vast majority of the stores were initiated by Finnish immigrants, other groups, among them Swedes and Norwegians, also pursued the cooperative ideal. It does not appear that the large cooperative wholesale facility established by the Finns at Superior, Wisconsin--Central Cooperatives, Incorporated--played any role in the formation of the Sand Island facility or in supplying it, but there can be little doubt that local residents were familiar with the large number of stores emerging in nearby communities. Given the small size of the operation, the Sand Island cooperative appears to have functioned much more like a buying club rather than as a full-fledged store.[37]

As manager, Hill received a commission of five percent of the sales for a given year. Though he later explained that this never amounted to more than $80-$100 annually, the stockholders reportedly believed Hill was "acquiring a fortune," and decided to shut down the operation. Though some reports have stated that the Sand Island cooperative was in existence for a few months only, it is readily obvious that the association operated for several years. The last mention of an annual cooperative store meeting to be found in Frederick Hansen's diary occurred on January 6, 1930, although the store might have continued to function for some time thereafter. Howard Palm recalled that it operated at least until 1932, while Melvin Dahl, Herman

Jensch, Elvis Moe, and William Noring all remembered that it existed over a span of several years. Dahl stated that the cooperative served as a small grocery store that offered coffee, sugar, and flour, and Palm pointed out that it was a favorite place for children to purchase penny candy. Herman Jensch gave the most thorough account of its operation, recalling that one went to the Hill's house and said: "I want to get in the store"; someone would then "get the key and down (the hill) you'd go." Jensch also noted that when customers came in Hill marked down the four to six items that were purchased and the buyers would then head back to East Bay along the town road. Jensch also related that Hill obviously was chosen to serve as the manager since he was not fishing and therefore was available; also, everyone knew that Hill was "very methodical and honest as the day is long." Since Hill was an avid reader and a former businessman who knew how to keep good books, local residents agreed that he could take care of things better than anyone else. It should be noted, too, that Mrs. Loftfield operated a private store on East Bay where one could purchase candy, thread, needles, elastic, and millinery items, and also place catalog orders.[38]

Hill stated that while the overall amount of business was small, sales were growing gradually at the time of closure, and the value of the stock, which originally cost $10 per share, was worth $18 when the association was dissolved. One of the members, dubbed the "Mayor of Sand Island" by Hill, apparently failed to pay for much of what he had bought on credit; even as late as 1941, Hill noted that this individual was "still indebted to the association for quite a sum."[39]

Despite their problems, the Hills appeared to have genuinely enjoyed their life on Sand Island. Herman Jensch believes "they had the richest life in the world, because...there was never a dull day." He also stated that the Hill's marriage would have been difficult to surpass as

far as completeness and happiness were concerned (it reportedly was termed "harmony" by Mrs. Hill). Perhaps the following recollection by Jensch summarizes the philosophy of the Hills and the influence they had on others:

> And so, they were isolated. But you could sense something--a feeling for one another that they had...that you wouldn't get any other place. There was (sic) so many nice things unspoken--the way they would operate together. I never heard one say a scolding word to the other, and I was down there for meals, sleep, everything--for years as a kid and for years as I got older. I just gravitated to the place. And he had a hell of a sense of humor--dry as hell. And she was full of faith--all the time. Everything was good, it was going to be better, and she never deviated, never dropped. You could be depressed as hell and go down and see her, and the sun was shining, there was money buried around there if you just looked for it.[40]

Elizabeth Andersen Hulings evaluated their relationship in a rather similar manner, saying that the two Hills were devoted to one another, "very much so." She did say, however, that Mrs. Hill was opposed to the smoking and any drinking Burt Hill and visitors to their home might have done; on the other hand, he didn't like her preaching and coaching. Nevertheless, Ms. Andersen Hulings stated, both were able to "let live."[41]

The Hill's amiable personalities undoubtedly contributed to the rather considerable social life that centered upon their Sand Island home. In Frederick Hansen's daily diary of a quarter century of Sand Island life, hardly a week went by when he didn't record a visit with the Hills. Some of the trips were to get tools, to go fishing or hunting, to

cut ice, to go on picnics, or to get the mail or groceries, but the majority of visits were for social reasons--especially during the winter season when more free time was available and access to the mainland was limited. While the summer residents also would visit with the Hills at their home, Mary Andersen Hulings likewise stated that the biggest parties occurred during the winter when the permanent inhabitants were by themselves; "those (parties) really were the ones." Dances occasionally occurred at the Hills, although more of these events took place at the school. Nothing, however, appears to have been more popular among Sand Island residents than card playing sessions; whist was especially common, although Hansen mentioned that poker sessions occasionally went as late as three o'clock in the morning. The social outlet that the Hills provided for Hansen, and undoubtedly for other residents of the island when boredom encroached upon their lives during the long winter season, was succinctly expressed by the fisherman from East Bay in his diary entry for April 4, 1920: "Nothing doing. Went to Hills." (Mary Andersen Hulings recalled that some of the East Bay residents would say, "it's just like going into a cave when the winter comes on.") Frederick Dahl, Hansen's grandson, believes that the reason Burt Hill and his grandfather were so compatible is because both were similar in their intellectual interests.[42]

In late 1942, the affects of old age, coupled with Burt Hill's diabetic complications, forced the Hills to move to Bayfield; while residing in the Village, they lived above the carriage house on the Frank Boutin estate. When it became apparent that they would have to leave Sand Island, the Hills began to dispose of their property. The majority of the shop tools were sold to Herman Johnson, Jr. for $46.85 in 1942, including the anvil and forge which had been such an important part of Burt Hill's life. Once his medical bills began to mount, especially after

the amputation of a leg in 1944, the Hills sold their home to Fred Andersen, the long-time seasonal resident from Bayport, Minnesota for $600.[43]

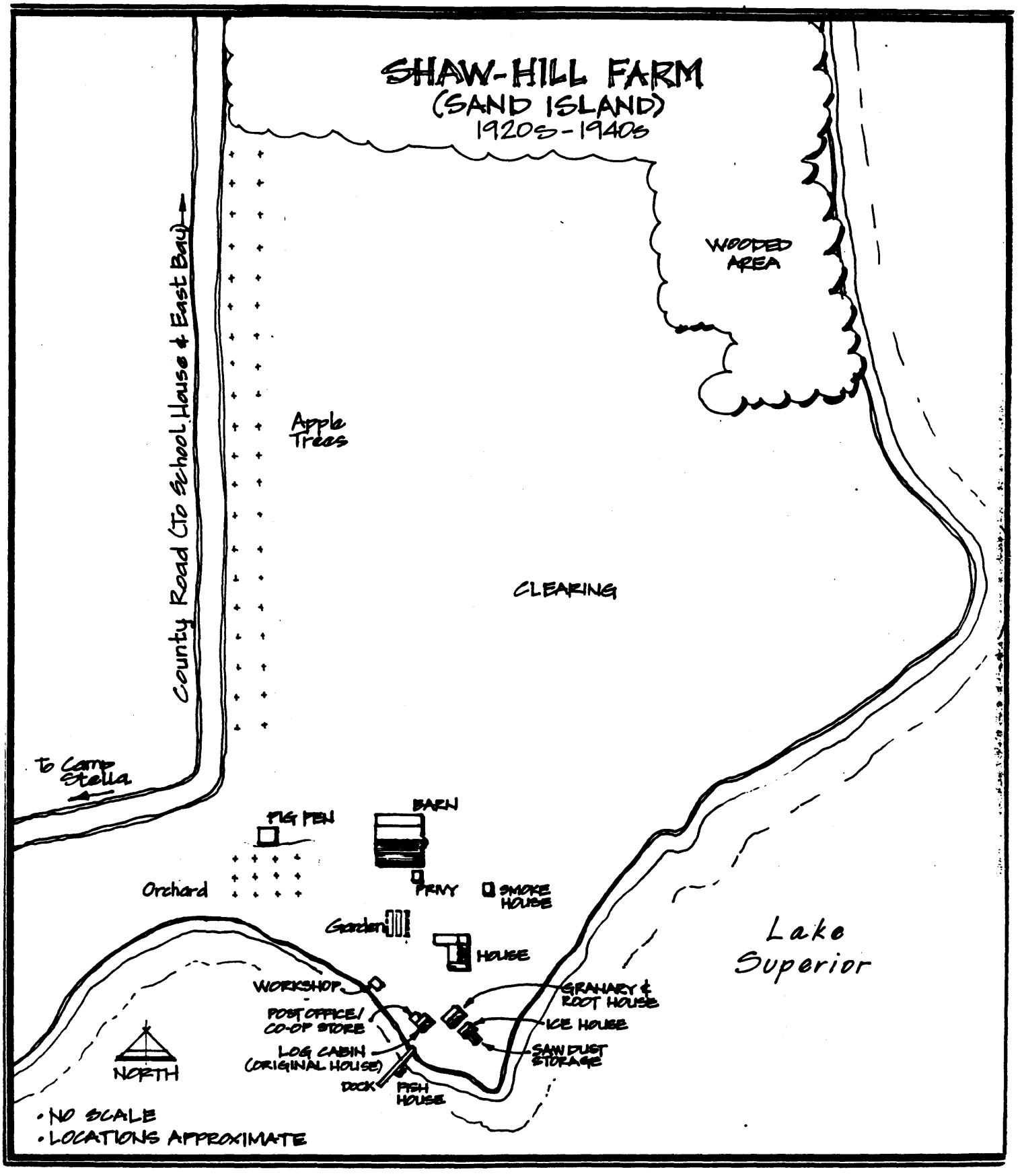
The Hill's celebrated their fiftieth wedding anniversary in November 1944; about two years later, on October 14, 1946, Hill died in his Bayfield home. The funeral was held in the Episcopal Church, the same church where the Hills had been married a half century earlier. Six years later Mrs. Hill died in the Ashland hospital. Mrs. Hill's funeral services also were conducted in Bayfield's Epispocal Church, where she had formerly served as president of the congregation's King's Daughters. Her survivors included three grand daughters--Josephine Barningham of Bayfield (Mrs. Hill had lived the last years of her life with the Barninghams); Annamae Miller who, at the time of her grandmother's death, was living in New York while her husband was with the armed forces; and Iris Van Airsdale of Madison, Wisconsin. Also included among the survivors were the nephew whom the Hills had raised on Sand Island, John Shaw of Plum City, Wisconsin; four great-grandchildren; and Anna Mae Hill's sister, Margaret Hugenor of Hibbing, Minnesota.[44]

The Shaw-Hill Site

As already mentioned, the Shaw-Hill site was owned and occupied by members of the same family for more than 70 years (1870-1942). Though the property on the island probably was utilized as a fishing camp by Frank Shaw during much of the 1870s, it began to serve as the family's summer home by the early 1880s. Though Shaw himself generally spent from April or May to November on Sand Island so he could fish as well as plant and harvest his crops, both Shaws lived permanently on the island for about eight years at the turn of the century (1897-1905) until problems of old age forced their move to Bayfield. A new era was ushered in when Burt and Anna Mae Hill arrived

on the island in 1910. For the next 32 years they would live there full-time, expand the farming activities at the site, provide accommodations for boarders and lodgers, and serve as key persons in the life and activities of the entire island. The following portion of this report will trace the evolution of the Shaw-Hill site on a chronological basis.

The Frank and Josephine Shaw Era: 1870-1910: Though there is relatively little primary information available to describe the Shaw's Sand Island enclave during the 1870s, it would appear that the site served as a fishing camp for much of the decade. Since the Shaws had their permanent residence at La Pointe for most of the 1870s, and Mrs. Shaw appears to have moved back and forth between Wisconsin and Ohio for at least five years, it is likely that the family spent only the summer months on Sand Island. During this period Frank Shaw constructed the log structure that still stands along the shoreline (generally referred to as the "Shaw cabin" or the "beach house"), as well as the one and one-half story hand hewn log and frame (the "Burt Hill House") dwelling that was built further up the slope from the lake (Figure 3). A root cellar, now caved-in but built of the same pine logs used for the cabin and house, was situated just north of the cabin; it had an upper story room that often was used as a summer bedroom. Another building, the "Workshop," was and is situated west of the cabin and along the shoreline; this structure was built to serve as a repair shop and sail loft. Though several docks have existed on the site, there can be no doubt that Shaw very soon constructed a large facility to accommodate his fleet of fishing vessels. One major expansion of the dock occurred during the fall of 1898, for in September 1899 it was noted that a large storm caused $250 worth of damage to the one-year-old structure. A fish house was built at the end of the dock, while photographic evidence


SHAW-HILL FARM
(SAND ISLAND)
1920s-1940s
WOODED AREA
Apple Trees
CLEARING
County Road (To School House & East Bay)
To Camp Stella
PIG PEN
BARN
Orchard
PRIVY
SMOKE HOUSE
Garden
HOUSE
Lake Superior
WORKSHOP
GRANARY & ROOT HOUSE
POST OFFICE/ CO-OP STORE
ICE HOUSE
LOG CABIN (ORIGINAL HOUSE)
SAWDUST STORAGE
NORTH
DOCK
FISH HOUSE
• NO SCALE
• LOCATIONS APPROXIMATE

indicates that other buildings probably existed along the shoreline at Shaw Point.[45]

At some time during the early 1880s the Shaws moved to Bayfield and undoubtedly began to spend longer periods of time on Sand Island. In addition to fishing, the Shaws cleared some land for the purpose of raising crops. It appears that potatoes were the primary product grown on the site during the 1880s. The first mention of produce from the farm to appear in the Bayfield press occurred in October 1886 when the following announcement was made: "Frank Shaw, Emperor of Sand Island, spent a few days in town this week. His potato crop this year is only a trifle over three hundred bushels when it ought to be seven hundred in order to supply the demand, as Sand Island tubers always find ready market." One year later it was noted that Shaw had "moved in" from Sand Island and had "brought one hundred head of as fine specimens of potatoes as were ever raised in any country."[46]

Shaw continued to grow and market agricultural products during the 1890s. A November 1894 account noted that he had managed to bring in a large boatload of produce to Bayfield despite encountering a very severe storm, and one year later it was reported that Shaw had arrived with another sizeable load of produce. In 1896, the produce from the farm arrived in Bayfield already by mid-October. The seven or eight years that the Shaws resided year-round on Sand Island (1897-1905) also saw an increase in agricultural activities at the site. During the summer of 1897 the Bayfield County Press claimed that Shaw's horticultural efforts would produce 200 crates of strawberries, and that the finest strawberries of the season were coming from the Shaw's farm; a similar claim was raised during the subsequent summer.[47]

Since Frank Shaw was primarily a fisherman, and for many years he and his family lived on Sand Island for only a portion of the year, it appears that few efforts were made to raise domestic animals on the site. Nevertheless, some change did occur in these practices once the Shaws became full-time residents of the island. In 1900, at a time when goats were being recommended for farmers throughout the Bayfield area, Shaw was reported to be thinking of raising such animals. While there is no evidence that the Shaws ever brought goats to Sand Island, they did attempt to raise sheep. In late November 1902, for example, Shaw purchased a number of sheep from R. J. Russell who resided on Madeline Island. During April of 1904 Shaw once again was reported to have bought sheep from his same Madeline Island supplier. Shaw was certain, claimed the Bayfield County Press, that sheep raising could be a profitable enterprise in northern Wisconsin, and he intended to give "the wooly animals a fair and impartial trial." Just one year later, however, the Shaws ended their year-round affiliation with Sand Island.[48]

During the forty years from 1870 to 1910 that Frank Shaw was associated with Sand Island, undoubtedly an increasing amount of land was cleared of trees, brush, and rocks. Shaw, for example, took a crew of men to the island to harvest hay in August 1909, while one month later it was stated that the crop was so fine it had necessitated the purchase of a new hay press. This undoubtedly made it easier to sell the hay during a year when the local market was reported to be very good. The 1909 activity concluded the Frank and Josephine Shaw era on Sand Island. In one year the Shaw's daughter and son-in-law would move to the island, in two years Mrs. Shaw would die, and in four years the so-called "Emperor of Sand Island" also would be dead.[49]

The Burt and Anna Mae Hill Era, 1910-194: A new and different era began on the Shaw-Hill site in 1910 when Burt and Anna Mae Hill made their move from Bayfield to Sand Island. For several years he continued with the same activities that Frank Shaw had pursued for so long: fishing and some agriculture. In 1912, it was reported that Hill was being kept busy with 500 bushels of potatoes, and was putting them in the root house to await a better price. Apparently the Hills had not yet purchased any dairy animals since most of the 35 tons of pressed hay were to be used to feed the houses that were owned by the logging camp then operating on the island. In 1917 Hill's horticultural activities were still being noted in the Bayfield press; he reported that agriculture was doing fine on Sand Island in July, while a November account cited the good crop of potatoes that Hill harvested before the frost came. It is likely that once Hill gave up the life of a fisherman in 1918-19, he then built the farm structures that would expand the building complex on the site.[50]

The Hills resided in the Shaw cabin or beach house from April 19, 1910 to May 11, 1915. In addition to the single gable log building, the structure also included the small lean-to on the west side that probably was constructed by Frank Shaw. Though Mrs. Shaw died in 1911 and Frank Shaw lived on Sand Island only for intermittent periods of time between then and his death in early 1914, the Hills did not move into the dwelling (i.e., the Burt Hill house) situated atop the hill until 1915. This probably was because Josie Shaw had equal rights to this property until that year. Indeed, Hill later remarked that the Sand Island partnership which he and his sister-in-law maintained for about one year after Frank Shaw's death was terminated on April 27, 1915; just two weeks later, the Hills moved into the house. Josie remained on the island until June 20, 1917--apparently in her own house situated further north along

the shoreline--at which time she moved to Minneapolis and then to California where she established her own business.[51]

Once the residence on the hill became the home for Burt and Anna Mae Hill, the one and one-half story structure gained a large lean-to addition on its west and north sides in 1916. These additions, which served as the entry, kitchen, dining room, and an area for the cream separator, no longer exist.[52]

Between the Shaw Cabin and the old root cellar is the store house (sometimes called a granary), which may very well have been built by Hill when he began to expand his agricultural operations; the structure is two stories high and has a single gable running in a north-south direction. (Formerly a one room structure was situated above the root house; it was used as a summer bedroom by the hired girl who helped Mrs. Hill with her boarders.) Immediately to the east of the store house is another building, a two story structure constructed by Hill, which served as an ice house for the inhabitants residing in the vicinity of Shaw Point; this structure now has vertical battens that cover the tar papered walls. A single story gabled addition for sawdust storage was constructed along the east wall of the ice house. (Another lean-to was added to the ice house in 1974 by the present owners.)[53]

A major building constructed by Hill but which no longer exists was the barn. Situated about 135 feet north of the house, the barn might have had dimensions of 24' x 36'; it was a frame structure with a single gable that ran in a east-west direction; a second story mow provided storage for hay, while a single story wing extended the roof line to the south. Stalls for six to eight cows and a calf pen comprised the majority of the area under the hay mow, while the southern wing

accommodated the two horses, the bull, and the chickens. A corral or pen was situated immediately north of the barn.[54]

The privy was situated a few feet south of the barn, while the smoke house (still extant) may be found about 35 feet south of the barn site and some 100 feet north of the house. The pig pen was located a considerable distance to the west of the building complex and proximate to the orchard. The garden--a significant and large area for the Hills since they raised and preserved so much of their food--was found between the house and barn but slightly to the west of this axis. Even as late as 1944, the area proximate to the house had close to a score of bird houses.[55]

To support at least six cows, a bull, several young stock, and two horses required a considerable amount of hay--by Sand Island standards at least. Besides his own clearing, which extended to the northern limits of the Hill property, Burt Hill also made the hay on the Campbell's 10-12 acres of land, and did likewise with a field on the former Fifield property. Haying was a busy and active time on the Hill farm. In addition to the hired men, such as Ambrose Gordon, assistance was provided by Herman Jensch and occasionally by Clyde Jensch and the Hugener boys from Superior (Mrs. Hill's nephews). The Jensch boys also were taught to milk cows by Burt Hill. Fred Hansen, after fishing all day, also would walk over from his home on East Bay and help Hill and his crew to put up to three loads of hay into the barn after supper had been eaten. Clyde Jensch remembered "the emergency that went up if there was a cloud, particularly at the time that they wanted to harvest oats or hay." Sometimes the flies were so bad, Hill wrote, that haying had to be done at night. Though the barn was equipped with a grab fork that could be used to lift hay into the mow, much of it was pitched in by hand. Once the hay was in the barn it often was laced with

salt.[56] (Note: salt was often used by farmers to help to cure hay, but it also was employed to prevent spontaneous combustion.)

Hill's cows approached their pasture by walking between a double fence that paralleled the southern end of East Bay Road. As mentioned earlier, milk and cream were sold to the summer time inhabitants of Sand Island, while the extra cream could be transported to Bayfield via the fishing boats that regularly stopped at various docks. Winter provided more of a problem, however, since reliable boat service was not available. While butter was made by the Hills and the other farmers of Sand Island during these months, Elvis Moe recalled that the cows often were allowed to go dry during the winter. By timing the cow's pregnancies so they calved during the spring, the highest months of production thereby occurred at the time when easy transportation to the mainland was available, and when Sand Island's tourist-consumers were evident.[57]

During the late 1930s the complications of age and ill health forced the Hills to end their farming operations, and in 1942 they left the island. Elvis Moe recalled that the barn on the property burned while Burt Hill was in the hospital; this probably occurred in 1944 when Hill was hospitalized for a considerable length of time because of the amputation of his leg. Frederick Dahl remembers that the barn was struck by lightning during a thunderstorm, with the black smoke being evident as far away as East Bay. Though efforts were made to keep the news from Hill, he somehow found out about the loss of his former property; according to Moe, this was not the kind of news Hill should have heard during the time of a serious illness.[58]

Though Hill had always kept his buildings in fine repair, he was not able to do so once health began to occur. Therefore, by the time the

Andersens acquired the property in 1946 the floors had rotted away from the walls in the main house to such an extent that the windowsills were level with the ground. Though the Hills had been able to keep the house reasonably waterproof through regular applications of paint, the structure eventually began to settle around them. "It was just an island floating on top of the mud," recalled Elizabeth Andersen Hulings. To salvage the house, the Andersens (assisted by Carl Dahl's small gasoline engine which powered a cement mixer) poured foundation piers for the building; soon thereafter, they also repaired the beach house or log cabin along the shoreline.[59]

By late 1944, John Chapple, editor of the Ashland Daily Press, was reporting to his readers that for the first time in more than half century, Sand Island would be "utterly deserted." Noting that the Hills already had departed the island because of Burt Hill's health problems, and had sold their property, Chapple also pointed out that the three families still associated with fishing--the Bert Norings, Jake Hansens, and Carl Dahls--would be moving to Bayfield for the winter.[60] Though members of these families would return for the summer months in later years, a unique way of life had ended on Sand Island by the time World War II was over.

Notes

1. W. H. Tishler, A. R. Alanen, and G. F. Thompson, Early Agriculture on the Apostle Islands (Lake Superior, Wisconsin). Bayfield, WI: Apostle Islands National Lakeshore, 1983; and Arnold R. Alanen, Early Agriculture within the Boundaries of the Apostle Islands National Lakeshore: An Overview of Bear, Ironwood, Michigan, Oak, Otter, Raspberry, Rocky, South Twin, and Stockton Islands, and the Mainland Unit (Additional Inofrmation for Basswood Island Also Included). Bayfield, WI: Apostle Islands National Lakeshore, 1985.

2. Much of the information for Frank Shaw has been derived from his obituary notice published in the Bayfield County Press on Jan. 30, 1914, p. 1 (hereinafter referred to as Frank Shaw obituary). Additional background data on Shaw's place of birth in Erie and his later settlement in Sandusky appear in this notice, as does the incorrect 1871 wedding date. Information on the place of birth for the parents of both Mr. and Mrs. Shaw is from the manuscript schedules for the 1880 federal population census (Ashland County). The July 1871 birth day for Kathleen Shaw Boutin is listed in the manuscript census schedule for the 1900 federal population census (Village of Bayfield). The marriage date of June 21, 1869 is listed in Mrs. Shaw's obituary notice, published in the Bayfield County Press, May 26, 1911, p. 1 (hereinafter referred to as Josephine Shaw obituary).

3. Manuscript schedules for the 1870 federal population census (La Pointe Township, Ashland County); federal land entry records for Bayfield County (copy deposited in Archives and Manuscripts Division, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison).

4. Bayfield Press, May 13, 1871, p. 3; May 20, 1871, p. 7; May 27, 1871, p. 3; Frank and Josephine Shaw obituaries; manuscript schedules, 1880 and 1910 federal population censuses; manuscript schedule, 1875 Wisconsin state census; marriage record for Burton P. Hill and Anna May Shaw, November 7, 1894, on file in the Bayfield County Courthouse, Bayfield (hereinafter referred to as Hill marriage record); page from Hill family Bible, photocopy on file in Lakeshore headquarters (hereinafter referred to as Hill family Bible); obituary notice for Anna Mae Hill Shaw, Bayfield County Press, Dec. 11, 1952, p. 1 (hereinafter referred to as Anna Mae Shaw Hill obituary)

5. Shaw's election victory is noted in the Ashland Press, Nov. 11, 1876, p. 4.

6. Information on the Shaws is from the manuscript schedules for the 1880 federal census and the 1885 and 1895 Wisconsin state censuses; obituary notices for Frank and Josephine Shaw; cemetery records for Old Greenwood Cemetery (Bayfield City Hall); and the cemetery headstone for the Shaw family children, Old Greenwood Cemetery, Bayfield.

7. Manuscript schedules for the 1885, 1895, and 1905 Wisconsin state censuses and the 1900 federal census.

8. Manuscript schedules for the 1910 federal census.

9. Bayfield County Press, Nov. 12, 1887, p. 1; February 8, 1890; July 1, 1893, p. 1; August 12, 1893, p. 1; August 4, 1894; July 13, 1895, p. 1; Dec. 14, 1895, p. 1; May 23, 1896, p. 1; Anna Mae Shaw Hill obituary.

10. Manuscript census schedule for the 1900 federal census; Bayfield County Press, Feb. 5, 1898, p. 1; Sept. 24, p. 1; Nov. 5, 1898, p. 1; Jan. 14, 1899, p. 1; June 10, 1899, p. 1; March 24, 1900, p. 1; Sept. 15, 1900, p. 1; May 3, 1902, p. 1.

11. Bayfield County Press, Sept. 9, 1899, p. 1; April 19, 1902, p. 1; interview with Herman Jensch, New Richmond, WI (conducted by Carol Ahlgren), Nov. 21, 1987; the comment by Sam Fifield is from an account (1896?) later published in the Bayfield County Press, Dec. 27, 1956, p. 3.

12. Bayfield County Press, Nov. 24, 1905, p. 1; Dec. 8, 1905, p. 1; April 20, 1906, p. 1; Nov. 1, 1906, p. 1; May 3, 1907, p. 10; June 5, 1908, p. 8; Oct. 23, 1908, p. 8; July 9, 1909, p. 8; Dec. 24, 1909, p. 10; Josephine Shaw obituary.

13. Josephine Shaw obituary; Bayfield County Press, June 11, 1892, p. 1; Nov. 24, 1894, p. 1; Nov. 27, 1897, p. 1; March 31, 1900, p. 1; Nov. 22, 1902, p. 1; April 8, 1904, p. 1; Sept. 24, 1908, p. 8.

14. [Burt Hill], "The Diary of Burt Hill of Bayfield and Sand Island--a Historic Record" (compiled in 1941), in John Chapple, ed., The Wisconsin Islands: The Famous Apostle Islands at the Top of Wisconsin (Ashland: Ashland Daily Press, 1945), p. 7 (hereinafter referred to as Burt Hill Diary); Bayfield County Press, Sept. 20, 1912, p. 4; Nov. 1, 1912, p. 4; June 20, 1913, p. 4; Jan. 30, 1914, p. 4; Frank Shaw obituary.

15. Burt Hill Diary; Bayfield County Press, April 8, 1893, p. 1; birth and death dates for Mary C. Hill are from her headstone in the Old Greenwood Cemetery, Bayfield.

16. Burt Hill Diary.

17. Bayfield County Press, November 10, 1894, p. 2; Hill family Bible. The Burt Hill Diary published by the Ashland Daily Press states that the marriage took place on November 10, 1896; apparently the discrepancy was either due to a typographical error or to Burt Hill's advanced years and ill health, which might have contributed to an inabililty to remember exact dates and years.

18. Burt Hill Diary; Hill family Bible; Bayfield County Press, June 6, 1913, p. 4; May 29, 1914; p. 6; Feb. 16, 1917, p. 8; Nov. 8, 1918, p. 3; July 7, 1922, p. 4; Dec. 15, 1927, p. 1. Information about John and Johnnie Shaw was conveyed to me in a letter from Alford G. Banta (March 27, 1990), commenting on an earlier draft of this report. Burt Hill's Diary stated that Marguerite was born on December 23, 1897, not 1895; however, since the Hill family Bible and the obituary notice for Marguerite Hill Larson note the year as 1895, the latter is obviously correct.

19. Bayfield County Press, July 25, 1896, p. 1; August 21, 1897, p. 1; August 20, 1898, p. 1; August 25, 1900, p. 1; August 30, 1907, p. 8; June 6, 1909, p. 8; Burt Hill Diary; the comment about printer's ink disease is from interviews with Herman Jensch, New Richmond, WI (conducted by Carol Ahlgren), November 21, 1987, and Elizabeth

Andersen Hulings, Bayport, WI (conducted by Arnold Alanen), October 27, 1988.

20. Burt Hill Diary.

21. Burt Hill Diary; interview with Elvis Moe, Bayfield, WI (conducted by Arnold Alanen), July 12, 1988.

22. Burt Hill Diary; interviews with Clyde and Dorothy Jensch, Bayfield, WI (conducted by Arnold Alanen), July 12, 1988; and Herman Jensch.

23. Interview with Elizabeth Andersen Hulings.

24. Interviews with Herman Jensch, Elizabeth Andersen Hulings, and Elvis Moe; Bayfield County Press, Dec. 11, 1914, p. 4.

25. Interviews with Herman Jensch, Clyde and Dorothy Jensch, and Elizabeth Andersen Hulings; information about Josie Shaw provided in A. J. Banta letter to author, March 27, 1990.

26. Interviews with Clyde and Dorothy Jensch, Elvis Moe, and Bill Noring, Bayfield, WI (the latter conducted by Norma Lien and Jan Moran), Dec. 16, 1980, manuscript on file with Apostle Islands National Lakeshore; manuscript schedules, 1910 federal census; Anna Mae Shaw Hill obituary.

27. Burt Hill Diary; Burt Hill account books, 1914-1944 (copies on file with the Apostle Islands National Lakeshore); interview with Elizabeth Andersen Hulings.

28. Interviews with Herman Jensch and Elizabeth Andersen Hulings.

29. Interviews with Herman Jensch, Clyde and Dorothy Jensch, and Elizabeth Andersen Hulings; Burt Hill account books.

30. Burt Hill Diary.

31. Interviews with Herman Jensch, Clyde Jensch, Elvis Moe, and Elizabeth Andersen Hulings; Bayfield County Press, Jan. 5, 1928, p. 5.

32. Letter from B. D. Richardson (Bayfield Superintendent of Schools), Jan. 16, 1914, in Will J. Massingham Papers, Manuscripts and Archives Division, Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul; Bayfield County Press, Jan. 13, 1911, p. 8; Feb. 18, 1916, p. 2; Jan. 5, 1928, p. 1; Burt Hill diary; interview with Herman Jensch; Alma Dahl observation in the video, "The Moes and the Dahls," The Bayfield Video Archives, Vol. 37 (Bayfield: John Hanson, Director; Mary Hulings Rice, Producer), April 27, 1988 (hereinafter referred to as Bayfield Video).

33. Burt Hill Diary; Bayfield County Press, Aug. 11, 1911, p. 8; February 11, 1916, p. 2. Information about the use of the Shaw Post Office address after May 15, 1916 was noted to me in the A. J. Banta letter (March 27, 1990), where it was stated that a November 20, 1917 postcard to Mrs. Fred Hansen has the Shaw name on it.

34. Bayfield County Press, Oct. 22, 1915, p. 1, Dec. 31, 1915, p. 1; April 12, 1918, p. 12; April 26, 1918, p. 8; Burt Hill Diary.

35. Bayfield County Press, October 18, 1918, p. 5; December 27, 1918, p. 1; April 25, 1919, p. 8; Burt Hill Diary.

36. Burt Hill Diary; Frederick A. Hansen, Diary of A Norwegian Fisherman: April 1913 through December 1938--Sand Island, Wisconsin. Frederick H. Dahl, ed. Privately printed, 1989 (hereinafter referred to as Frederick Hansen Diary).

37. Arnold R. Alanen, "The Development and Distribution of Finnish Consumers' Cooperatives in Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota," in M. Karni, M. Kaups, and D. Ollila, eds., The Finnish Experience in the Western Great Lakes Region: New Perspectives (Turku, Finland: Institute for Migration, 1975), pp. 103-130.

38. Burt Hill Diary; Frederick Hansen Diary; interviews with Bill Noring, Herman Jensch, Elvis Moe; and Howard Palm, White Bear Lake, Minnesota, October 17, 1987; and Melvin Dahl, Minneapolis, Minnesota, November 12, 1987 (the latter two interviews conducted by Carol Ahlgren).

39. Burt Hill Diary.

40. Interview with Herman Jensch.

41. Interview with Elizabeth Andersen Hulings.

42. Alma Dahl observations in the Bayfield Video; Frederick Hansen Diary; interview with Elizabeth Andersen Hulings. Frederick Dahl's comment about his grandfather and Burt Hill was made to me in a brief discussion that occurred in Bayfield on November 1, 1989.

43. Ashland Daily Press, October 17, 1944, pp. 1 & 4; Burt Hill account books. Information about the Hills residing on the Frank Boutin estate was supplied by Frederick Dahl in a series of notes, currently in my possession, which were written to Dave Snyder of the Lakeshore staff on June 8, 1989, commenting on an earlier draft of this report (hereinafter referred to as Frederick Dahl notes).

44. Burt Hill obituary notice in the Bayfield County Press, October 17, 1946, p. 1; Anna Mae Shaw Hill obituary. Both obituary notices claim that the Hills were married in 1895, and Burt Hill's Diary says 1896 (see Note 17); nevertheless, 1894 certainly is the correct year, given both the date recorded in the Hill family Bible and their wedding announcement in the Bayfield County Press from November 10, 1894.

45. The information on the buildings comes primarily from the "Shaw Farm, National Register of Historic Places--Nomination Form," 1975 (on file in the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison, WI); photographic evidence on file in the Apostle Islands National Lakesore headquarters building; interview with Mary Hulings Rice; and my personal field notes from a visit to Sand Island (assistance provided by Herman and Warren Jensch) on July 19, 1988 (hereinafter referred to as author's field notes).

46. Bayfield Press, October 16, 1886, p. 1; November 12, 1887, p. 1.

47. Bayfield County Press, November 24, 1894, p. 1; November 2, 1895, p. 1; October 17, 1896, p. 1; July 17, 1897, p. 1; July 31, 1897, p. 1; July 23, 1898, p. 1.

48. Bayfield County Press, March 31, 1900, p. 1; November 22, 1902, p. 1; April 8, 1904, p. 1; November 24, 1905, p. 1.

49. Bayfield County Press, August 6, 1909, p. 8; September 24, 1909, p. 8. Different individuals have been referred to as "Emporer," "King," or "Mayor" of Sand Island. An early source identifying Frank Shaw as the "Emporer of Sand Island" may be found in the Bayfield County Press, October 16, 1886, p. 1.

50. Bayfield County Press, November 1, 1912, p. 2; July 27, 1918, p. 8; November 1, 1917, p. 8; Burt Hill Diary.

51. Burt Hill Diary; "Shaw Farm, National Register of Historic Places--Nomination Form." The location of Josie Shaw's residence was noted by both Elvis Moe and Clyde Jensch as being less than a mile from the farm.

52. "Shaw Farm, National Register of Historic Places--Nomination Form"; interviews with Mary Hulings Rice and Elizabeth Andersen Hulings; author's field notes (assistance provided by Herman Jensch).

53. Ibid.; interview with Clyde Jensch.

54. Interviews with Herman Jensch, Elvis Moe, and Elizabeth Andersen Hulings; author's field notes (assistance provided by Herman Jensch).

55. Author's field notes (assistance provided by Herman and Warren Jensch); Ashland Daily Press, June 9, 1944, p. 3.

56. Interviews with Herman and Clyde Jensch; Burt Hill Diary.

57. Interview with Elizabeth Andersen Hulings.

58. Interviews with Herman, Clyde and Dorothy Jensch, and Elvis Moe.

59. Ashland Daily Press, October 17, 1944, p. 4; interview with Elvis Moe; Frederick Dahl notes.

60. Ashland Daily Press, October 17, 1944, pp. 1 & 4; June 9, 1944, p. 3.

Figure Captions and Sources

Figure 1. Sand Island During the 1913-1936 Interim. The Shaw-Hill property was located at the southeastern end of the island. Source: Frederick A. Hansen, Diary of a Norwegian Fisherman.

Figure 2. Shaw-Hill Family Tree. Sources: Manuscripts schedules from federal and state censuses (1880-1910); Hill family Bible; Burt Hill Diary; newspaper accounts; Greenwood Cemetery records and headstones; and information provided by family members to Dave Snyder of the Lakeshore staff.

Figure 3. The Shaw-Hill Farmsite, 1920s-1940s. Sources: U. S. Geological Survey maps; aerial photographs; recollections of Herman Jensch, Clyde Jensch, and Mary Andersen Hulings; and author's field notes (assistance provided by Herman and Warren Jensch).

Figure 4. Marriage Certificate for Burton P. Hill and Anna May (Mae) Shaw, November 7, 1884. Source: Original copy in Bayfield County Courthouse, photocopy in National Lakeshore Headquarters.

Figure 5. Frank and Josephine Shaw and Four Grandchildren, c. 1906. Though it cannot be determined with complete certainty, it appears that this photograph portrays the two Shaws and four of their grandchildren. Source: Josephine Larson Barningham family album, negative on file in National Lakeshore Headquarters.

Figure 6. Anna Mae Shaw Hill, 1906. Source: See Figure 5.

Figure 7. Burt Hill in the Office of the Bayfield County Press, 1906. Source: See Figure 5.

Figure 8. The Shaw-Hill House, c. 1906. Located at the top of the hill on the property, the residence was situated within a large clearing by the turn of the century. Source: See Figure 5.

Figure 9. View of the Dock and Boat House at Shaw Point, c. 1906. Moored along the dock are what appear to be a tugboat, three or four small fishing boats with masts, and a row boat. Source: See Figure 5.

Figure 10. Early View of Shaw Point Taken from the Dock. Several structures were clustered along the shoreline throughout most of the years that the property was owned and operated by the Shaws and Hills. Source: See Figure 5.

WHAT THEREFORE GOD HATH JOINED TOGETHER LET NOT MAN PUT ASUNDER

THIS IS TO CERTIFY

That Burton P. Hill

and Anna May Shaw

WERE UNITED BY ME IN

HOLY MATRIMONY

At Bayfield, Wis on the Seventh day of November In the year of our Lord 1894.

In Presence of John C. Chapple, Jennie Sheldon, A. H. Williamson, Lulu Shaw

Signed Rev. A. E. Clay.

THEREFORE SHALL A MAN LEAVE HIS FATHER AND HIS MOTHER AND SHALL CLEAVE UNTO HIS WIFE AND THEY SHALL BE ONE FLESH.

GEN. II.

Figure 5

Figure 6

Figure 7

Figure 8

Figure 9

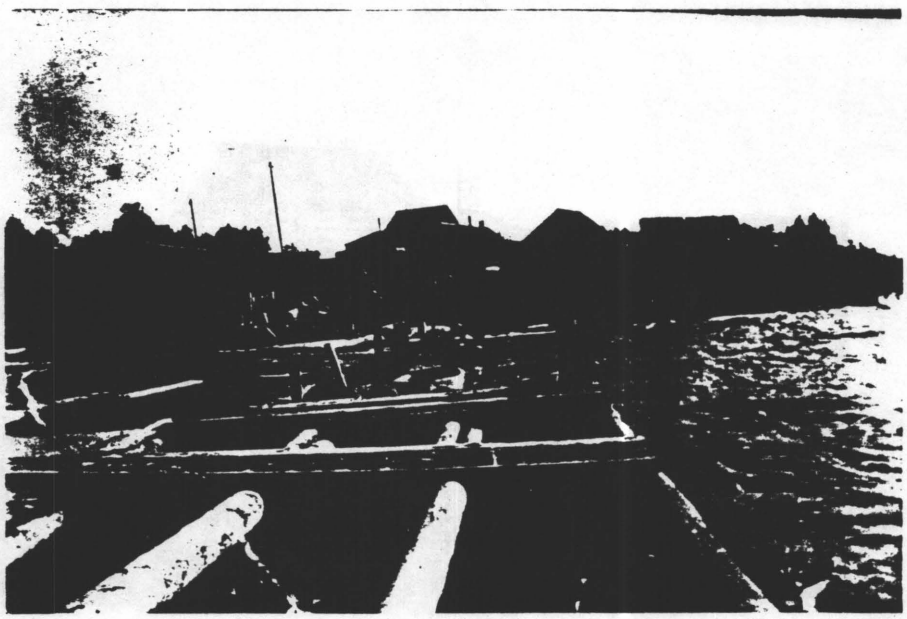


Figure 10