

ORAL HISTORY AND ARCHAEOLOGY OF THE KEITH'S SIDING SITE
LOCATION

by

Amanda Flannery

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ABSTRACT

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Amanda Flannery

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At the beginning of the 20th century railroad logging camp settlements dotted the landscape in Northern Wisconsin in order to supply growing city populations and immigrants moving west with building materials. Many temporary towns were created in order to house the workers and their families and provide basic amenities needed to survive in an isolated environment. These communities typically lasted until the extraction of the hardwood was complete and then communities would abandon their makeshift dwellings and move on to the next stand of trees. Very few of the lumber siding settlements have been documented within the archaeological record. Great Lakes Archaeological Research Center, Inc. conducted a phase II archaeological investigation of the Keith's Siding site (47-FR-147) located in Northern Wisconsin in order to assess the site's eligibility for listing on the National Register of Historic Places (Mier 1996:159). Keith's Siding was a hardwood extraction settlement that operated from 1910-1925 and most extensively during the years 1915-1922. There is evidence also of the reuse of the settlement during the 1930's (Mier 1996:157).

The goal of this research was to systematically conduct oral history interviews in order to compare the information derived from those interviews with the historical documentation and archaeological data to create a richer interpretation of the Keith's Siding site. Multiple lines of evidence were employed to investigate the potential reoccupation of Keith's Siding by Kentucky migrant families. The data were also used to identify the exact location of the site as well as the various names used to label the settlement. Through the amalgamation of historical documentation, oral histories, and the archaeological record it is possible to better understand the families present at lumber settlements as well as the destruction of Keith's Siding by fire. The difficulties of using oral histories as part of the site's interpretation are also presented in this thesis.

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DEDICATION

I would like to dedicate this thesis to my ancestors who braved the hazardous and isolated conditions of lumber camp life to support their families and build their communities in Northern Wisconsin.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT.....	ii
LIST OF FIGURES.....	vii
LIST OF TABLES.....	viii
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION	
Research Goals.....	1
Introduction to Keith’s Siding.....	3
CHAPTER 2: THEORETICAL BASIS	
Historical Archaeology.....	9
CHAPTER 3: HISTORICAL CONTEXT	
Physical Location.....	14
History of Midwest Logging Industry.....	16
Pinewood Era.....	18
Hardwood Era.....	23
Pulpwood Era.....	28
Forest County History.....	29
Kentucky Migrants.....	34
Archaeological Investigation at Keith’s Siding	36
CHAPTER 4: METHODS	
Methods of Archival Data Collection.....	43
Methods of Oral History Collection.....	46
CHAPTER 5: RESULTS	
Maps.....	48
Kentucky Migration.....	60
Families.....	65
Reoccupation of the Keith’s Siding Site Location.....	67
Destruction of the Settlement.....	70
CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION.....	76
REFERENCES CITED.....	81
APPENDIX.....	90

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: Keith and Hiles Lumber Company Camp.....	6
Figure 2: Location of Keith's Siding	8
Figure 3: Lumber Camp bunk beds.....	19
Figure 4: Men harvesting wood near Crandon Wisconsin.....	20
Figure 5: Champine Camp moving the logs down the river	21
Figure 6: Champine Camp on the river.....	22
Figure 7: Construction of the Chicago Northwestern Railroad.....	24
Figure 8: Georg Bailey's Camp near Crandon 1916-17.....	25
Figure 9: Champine Camp transporting lumber by train.....	26
Figure 10: Men loading pulpwood.....	28
Figure 11: Keith and Hiles Lumber Company mill.....	31
Figure 12: Keith and Hiles Sawmill.....	32
Figure 13: Location of the Keith's Siding site.....	36
Figure 14: Keith's Siding site plan.....	37
Figure 15: Pitt's Camp site plan.....	39
Figure 16: Map of Keith's Siding site location.....	48
Figure 17: 1908 Railway Map of Forest County.....	49
Figure 18: 1910 Soo line Map of Forest County.....	49
Figure 19: 1921 Official Railway Map.....	50
Figure 20: 1924 Plat book Map.....	50
Figure 21: 1929 Railway Map.....	51
Figure 22: 1929 Post Route Map.....	52
Figure 23: 1930 Schools Map for Forest County.....	53
Figure 24: 1937 General Highway Map.....	54
Figure 25: 1939 Geological Survey Map.....	55
Figure 26: 1940 Enumeration District Map.....	55
Figure 27: 1950 Quadrangle Map.....	56
Figure 28: Forest County Post Offices.....	57
Figure 29: Pauline Quade's sister on the front of the store.....	61
Figure 30: Mary Champine at a lumber camps.....	66
Figure 31: Cable and Robinson children at Keith's Siding.....	69
Figure 32: Quade family outside the train depot at Keith's Siding.....	69
Figure 33: Pauline and a neighbor standing outside an icehouse.....	70

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: Timeline of Keith’s Siding Existence.....	41
Table 2: Timeline of Events at Keith’s Siding Site Location According to Current Research.....	75

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

Research Goals

This analysis of the Keith's Siding site and surrounding region was accomplished using the methods of historical archaeology which merges the investigation of historical documents and oral histories with archaeological investigation. The goal of this research was to collect oral history interviews from local residents in the Forest County community in order to compare and contrast the data with previously conducted oral interviews, historical documentation, and the archaeological investigation of the Keith's Siding site. Through this analysis I was able to provide an interpretation of the Keith's Siding site as a location that evolved from a lumber industry settlement into small community comprised of families from Kentucky.

Another goal of the research was the collection of archival documentation from the Forest County Historical, Crandon Public Library, and from assorted local residents to provide a context for the Keith's Siding lumber settlement. The types of documentation included: newspapers, maps, technical bulletins, court records, photographs, memoirs, and school records. The historical documentation provided valuable information about the reuse and reoccupation of Keith's Siding, as well as a time line of the initial purchase of the land, the placement of railroad tracks to the site, the beginning of the logging operation, and finally the removal of the spur. Historical maps were evaluated in order to understand the exact location of the site in comparison to the town of Keith and to provide additional information about the location of the building structures in the area. This information was then compared with the oral history interviews to identify if the different types of data supported or contradicted one another.

The other important component of this project was to systematically collect oral history interviews from individuals in the local community who had participated in the lumber industry, had ancestors involved in lumber extraction, or had ties to Keith's Siding. I conducted eight oral history interviews over a two- year period by asking participants with specific questions about Keith's Siding, families in the lumber industry, and the migration of Kentucky residents to Forest County. I also allowed the conversations to flow organically with the interviewees in order to establish a relaxed environment and a more in-depth conversation. All of the interviews gathered were compared with the archaeological investigation and previous oral histories.

Finally, this thesis examines the complexities of conducting oral history interviews. The factors that influence the information collected during an interview are identified and discussed in relation to the impact on the analysis of Keith's Siding. The inherent dangers of reliance on a sole account of a single individual are discussed. The advantages of including oral histories into the examination of an archaeological site are also identified. With an understanding of the role oral history can play in historic archaeology it is possible create a rich and complex research analysis.

This thesis provides a new perspective of the occupation of the Keith's Siding site and its subsequent reuse. In addition, comparing oral histories with archaeological analysis can reveal the differences, illuminate the similarities, and allow for a more multifaceted perceptive of the site and its occupants to emerge. The oral histories compiled allowed for a more personal investigation into the everyday occurrences at the site and revealed information that could not be found through archaeological investigation or historical documentation (Orser 2004: 13).

Chapter two provides an historical overview of the discipline of historical archaeology. Chapter three presents the historical context of the Keith's Siding site. Chapter four provides an organized discussion on the methods used to collect archival documentation and the oral histories. The reasoning for specific individuals being interviewed and the types of questions is discussed. The locations of the historical documents, the method of analysis, and the way in which it was recorded are part of this discussion. In chapter five the results of the data collection are presented. There is an examination of the location of the site and its possible destruction by fire. Finally I will discuss how the results create a more complex picture of the reuse of the site's locality by families and individuals with Kentucky ancestry. Chapter six synthesizes the historical research, archaeological analysis, and oral histories of the Keith's Siding site location. The difficulties of working with oral histories will be discussed as well as the factors that can affect participants' answers and recollections. There are recommendations for future research pertaining to the site and Northern Wisconsin. Finally there is a general plea for more historic archaeology because of the various modes of inquiry available and the ability to cross check the archaeological record with historic documents to either contradict or confirm the evidence presented (Little 1992: 4). The oral histories can provide a wealth of information that would not be available otherwise among the poor and illiterate groups that was the majority of the workforce in the lumber industry (Orser 1996:72).

Introduction to Keith's Siding

The area where Keith Siding was located transferred ownership many times in the late nineteenth and twentieth century. The name "Keith" derived from Mr. Marshall

Dexter Keith (1856-1938) whose family lineage apparently traces back to tenth-century Scotland (Sharpless 2009:8). He was originally from New Bedford, Massachusetts, a son of Eliza J. and Marshall. Mr. Keith married Nellie E. Page in New London, Wisconsin in 1879 and during their marriage had one son, Harry Page Keith. M.D. Keith was a key player in the railroad and lumber industry who later relocated to Crandon, Wisconsin. M.D. Keith and other business moguls created the opportunities for large scale commercial logging to take place in the region (Sharpless 2009:8).

M.D. Keith owned grand houses on Lake Metonga and on Main Street in the center of Crandon. Marshall Keith's marriage to Nellie Page enabled his success in large part. Nellie's father transferred his ownership of the Page and Landeck Lumber Company in Crandon to his son-in-law in addition to a large tract of land in the Crandon Township (Mier 1996: 231), later named Lincoln Township. Other officers of Page and Landeck were Vice President: William Landeck, Treasurers: Herman F. Landeck and Harry Page Keith, son of Marshall Keith. Page and Landeck also owned and operated lumber extraction and manufacturing companies in Glasgow, Kentucky, Woodland, Indiana and Milwaukee (Sharpless 2009:10).

Mr. Keith held many prestigious positions in the area such as the President of the Crandon State Bank and manager of the company store at Page Manufacturing Company, which sold the basic supplies needed by the men in the camps. The company engaged in the harvest of pine, basswood, hardwood, and hemlock but also produced wood products such as wagon hubs, and slack barrel headings (Sharpless 2009:10).

Page and Landeck Company was first established in Crandon in 1890. The company's large-scale lumber mill could be found on Clear Lake just north of the town's

limits. In 1891, Page and Landeck Company came into possession of a considerable amount of logging land in the area, and pushed forward the construction of the Chicago and Northwestern line into Crandon from Pelican Lake in 1901. During this time Mr. Franklin Pierce Hiles of the town of Hiles bought out the Landeck stock of the company and consolidated with Marshall Keith to form the Keith and Hiles Lumber Company Mill (Monte 2002: 50). M.D. Keith's son took the lead as Vice President and for the next thirty years, Keith and Hiles Lumber was one of the largest and most influential lumber companies in the area. The company created labor camps and wood mills in the remotest areas of Crandon, Hiles, and Nashville Townships. In order to boost their business Page and Landeck purchased the Wisconsin and Northern Railroad line around 1905. Keith put in an enormous amount of time and effort to get the extension of the newly-acquired Central and Northern line and catapulted the railroad construction forward in 1907. The Keith and Hiles Company had sole power over the line's operation in 1908(Sharpless 2009: 11). In 1907, the line ran north out of Crandon to Argonne and then five miles south to what would become the community of Keith's Siding in 1915. The Keith Siding lumber operations would run there until 1925 but sporadic occupation and adaptive reuse continued up into the 1940s according to historical records, archaeological data, and oral interviews (Mier 1996:167).

The company of Keith and Hiles Lumber supplied businesses, employment opportunities, and economic growth in the townships in Forest County, which by then included Crandon, Laona, Padus, Blackwell, Wabeno, Argonne, Nashville, Hiles, and Antigo. Keith and Hiles hired around two hundred men during the summer seasons and

possibly five to six hundred men in the winter. The employees of the company labored in sawmills, lumber and siding camps, and railroad maintenance (Sharpless 2009: 11-12).

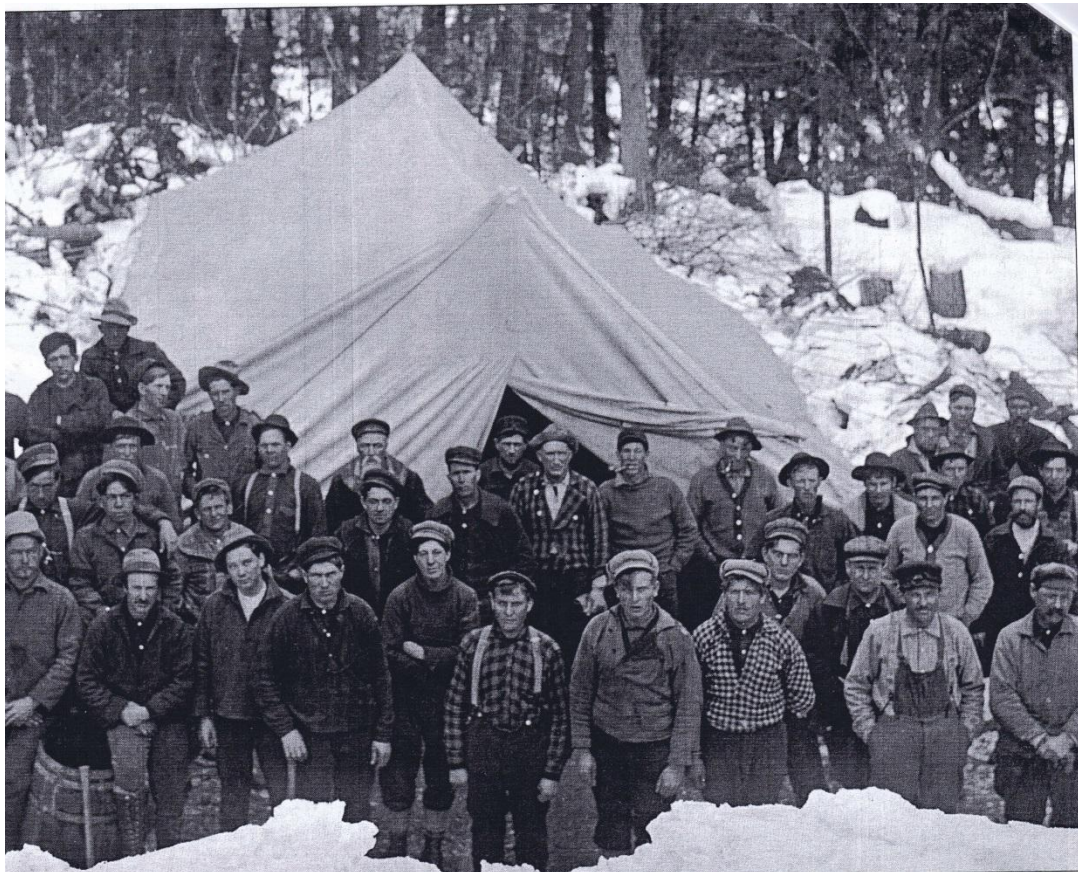


Figure 1: A Keith and Hiles Lumber Company camp 1912 (courtesy of the Crandon Public Library)

The town of Keith Siding was created by the Keith and Hiles Lumber Company for the purpose of harvesting hardwood trees and transporting them to Crandon to be processed by the sawmill. The Wisconsin Northern Railroad line was laid down after 1908 and it was likely that Keith Siding was built shortly after. The occupation of the town according to artifact analysis and historical records was from 1910-1925 and most extensively 1915-1922. This site was not typical of logging era sites previously excavated because it was a fully functioning lumber camp as well as a town site with women and children present (Mier 1996: 157). This site gives insight into the incredible

variation of logging sites as well as the lifestyle of the people of this settlement and the function of this site. Facilities for workers included: school, post office, and general store as well as bunkhouses, cook shacks, stables. The railroad allowed for extraction camps but as soon as the hardwood was harvested the rail camp was abandoned by the lumber company. It was common for buildings and rails to be packed up on flat bed cars and moved to another location (Mier1996:72). According to oral histories the general area was later occupied by families from Kentucky who did not have to pay to live on the lands (Monte 2012, Quade 2013). Currently the lands are owned by the Forest County Potawatomi community (Cloud Cartographics 2005).

CHAPTER TWO: THEORETICAL BASIS

Historical Archaeology

Historical archaeology can be defined as “ a multidisciplinary field that shares a special relationship with the formal disciplines of anthropology and history, focuses attention on the post-prehistoric past, and seeks to understand the global nature of modern life” (Orser 2004:19). The discipline can be characterized as “text aided archaeology” because archival documentation is used to support and complement archaeological analysis. The two sources may illuminate the same research inquiry but in different ways creating the possibility of a more complex analysis (Orser 2004: 19).

Cleland (1983:243) stated that “Historic archaeology is clearly enhanced by the use of available documents, maps, and oral histories. These data provide motivations and processes contributing to the formation of the archaeological record (Dinsmore 1985:10). The use of various avenues of data clearly allows for a system of check and balances in which the archeological evidence either confirms or contradicts the oral histories and historical documentations. More importantly it allows for more research questions to be developed and the research to move forward (Little 1992:219, Purser 1992:32). Using both archaeological remains and texts should not be used to fill in missing information rather it should identify anomalies that could lead to further scientific inquiry (Little 1992:4). The different avenues of information used within historical archaeology allow for a richer interpretation of a site and creates a situation where information can be confirmed or challenged.

Development of Modern Historical Archaeology

The earliest activities associated with historical archaeology began in 1855 with the Jesuit priest Felix Martin, who investigated the site of Sainte Marie I, the location of an early prominent mission. Father Martin recorded the history and crafted a map of the remains of the mission. Around the same time in the United States of America, James Hall excavated the remnants of the home of his prominent ancestor, Miles Standish by recording the soil layers and mapping the stone foundation and artifacts he discovered (Orser 2004:28). During the discipline's infancy archaeologists tended to examine sites tied to famous individuals or with major events in their nation's history and they did not uphold the rigorous scientific standards of today's archaeology. Even so, they contributed to the archaeological record and determined the course of historical archaeology up to the 1960s. The major theoretical basis at this time was that archaeology was a source of information for historians not for anthropologists. Archaeological evidence was used to confirm historical documentation that was often taken as fact (Orser 2004:35).

During the mid 20th century, historical archaeology was closely aligned with cultural anthropology as a result of the focus on peoples' daily lives. Because of this new paradigm archaeologists now defined themselves as "anthropologists of the past" working to reconstruct past people's life ways not just enhancing their cultural histories (Orser 2004:38). In 1962, Lewis Binford was instrumental in transforming archaeology by taking up the anthropologist's viewpoint in which "culture represents a changing adaptation to an environment" allowing them to study social interaction, economics, religion, and kinship (Orser 2004:38). During the 1970's there was a great dissonance among anthropologists and historians as to who should study historical archaeology but

as time passed many individuals realized the benefits of the multidisciplinary form of research. At this time Stanley South championed an anthropological and scientific method towards historical anthropology (Orser 2004:38).

Stanley South (1977: 2-11) argued that historic archaeology had the ability to be quantifiable by counting the artifacts at a site then grouping them into categories in order to compare them in an objective manner to the artifact analyses of other sites that share similar characteristics. The comparison would allow for cultural information to be revealed about people that populated the different sites. This is invaluable information about the daily lives of people who may have otherwise might have been forgotten (Orser, 2004:42). This could allow for categories to form among the sites, such as similar building structures and artifact assemblage found at Pine era sites that differed from that of Hardwood era sites within the lumber industry archaeological investigations. Using South's (1977:2-11) methods of site and artifact comparison at Keith's Siding with other forms of data it was possible to recognize patterns.

There are two dominant approaches to historical archaeology, the first connecting the specific with the global and the second seeing the particular sites as unique and should not be linked with global histories(Gilchrist 2005:332). The research conducted here fits well within the bounds of the goals of historic archaeology laid out by Orser (2004:41) which includes "Providing information useful for historic preservation and site interpretation, documenting the life ways of past people, studying the complex process of modernization and all the cultural and social changes, adaptations, and non adaptations that accompanied it". Lawrence (2003:20-33) finds that this perspective denies that past people were diverse and that each group created their own set of unique cultural

practices(Gilchirst 2005:333). The focus on a global model would only continue to uphold the history of the elite and underwrite the stories of the working class. It was the rebellions against the dominant forces within history that led to the unique character of the non dominant cultures which was evident in the conscious effort to uphold their ethnic identities (Gilchirst 2005:333). Although one does not want to lose the specificity of a site there is evidence of similar patterns emerging within lumber sites and other areas built upon a primary resource throughout the United States (Hardesty 1994, Krog 1977, Lind 1975, Rohe 1994).

Orser (2004:62) defines the direct historical approach that creates a direct link between ethnographic observations and the culture proposed by the archaeological evidence. Archaeology uses a culture that still inhabits a specific area in which the archaeological site is found to reveal the connections between the two cultures. Although the site of Keith's Siding is now an abandoned field the majority of the residents in Forest County can trace their roots back to the turn of the twentieth century when many of the towns were formed (Flannery 2012, Hoffman 2013, Monte 2012, Quade 2012, Spencer 2011). The residents hold on to their traditional ways by having an economy still largely based around the lumber industry although the harvest of the wood is now done with machinery and loggers do not have to live in camps. In addition, the local residents of Crandon celebrate "Kentuck Days" in which they commemorate the migration of settlers from Kentucky by eating southern foods and listening to blue grass bands.

In most recent years historical archaeology has greatly expanded the focus of research to include: the pasts of illustrious, wealthy individuals as well as the marginal, poorly documented sectors of society. Oral history has been a crucial avenue

of exploration when studying the practices of ethnic groups and lives of working class factions (Orser 2004: 13). Purser (1991:26-27) reiterated this notion that oral histories play a key role in recovering the stories of disenfranchised or misinterpreted communities and discovering unrecorded events. Oral histories may only be one interpretation of the past but it still can give insight into the people's perceptions of that past and create research questions that would not have been thought of otherwise (Whitely 2002:405). Purser (1991:27) finds that in recent years the more oral history that is being conducted the more validity that resource is being given and the text is always in the process of "being created, revised, contested, and validated in complex living communities".

The use of oral histories, historical documentation, and archaeological remains will be used to cross reference one another and provide information that would not be available using only one source. This thesis will compare and contrast oral histories, archival documentation, and archaeological analysis in order to create a more in depth understanding of the Keith's Siding site and the reuse of lumber settlements in Forest County, Wisconsin. I will also examine the role oral histories role play in historic archaeological investigation when the accounts do not align with other forms of data.

CHAPTER THREE: HISTORICAL CONTEXT

Physical Location

The site of Keith's Siding is part of the physiographic region known as the Northern Highland of Wisconsin that is connected to the Laurentian Upland dome and is on top of igneous and metamorphic bedrock. The topography of the site is due to a combination of glaciations, weathering, erosion, and sedimentation. The area is covered with rivers and inland lakes with numerous water sources. Current land use of the area of Keith's Siding is agricultural field. The site is surrounded by swampy land and inadequately drained marshes. The Northern Wisconsin climate is the result of higher latitudes and elevations at around 1580 feet above sea level (Finley 1970:51-63). The climate is cold and relatively wet with an annual rainfall of 30 inches and has a distinct winter and summer season. The winter can be long and cold and the average temperature of Forest County is 40 degrees Fahrenheit. The annual amount of snowfall for the site area is 56 inches and there are only 100 days between the first and last days of frost for the town of Crandon (Forest County Weather 2013). The weather can be harsh and there is little time for a growing season in the Northern Wisconsin climate. The soil of the Keith's Siding site is a result of glacial till and outwash and during the peak of the lumber industry the glacial landforms were uncovered when the organic zones were removed. The mineral soils of the site are sands and silts which are common of a glacial outwash plain and near lake margins (Hole 1976:98-99).

The first descriptions of the Northern forests were written by the French explorers and fur trappers during the mid 1600s. The floral and faunal species have

changed as a result of trapping, mining, logging, and farming. Before the population boom the county was covered in hardwood and conifer woodlands as well as prairie grass and swamp. The field survey notes taken in 1832-1866 described the vegetation cover as: pine, hemlock, sugar maple, yellow birch, and beech. The most prominent species in the dry areas and uplands was the white pine. The old growth forests were eliminated by past logging ventures. The unsuccessful attempts to farm the cutover areas further eroded the soils during the 1930s and 1940s. Today Forest County is dominated by second growth forest containing: sugar maple, yellow birch, hemlock, and beech that develop well in the area's loamy soils. The faunal species that populate the site's environment are typical of any hardwood forest in Wisconsin. The early accounts of the area's wildlife included large mammals like: cougar, timber wolf, bobcat, coyote, bear, elk, wolverine, moose, and white tail deer. In addition to several waterfowl, reptiles, and amphibians that populated the swamps and wetlands (McCabe 1972, Schorger 1973).

History of Midwest Logging Industry

Maine lumberjacks migrated to the Midwest in great numbers and were everywhere on the frontier of the Lake States putting up sawmills and lumber camps (Harty 2007: 45). There was evidence of this through the Maine town names given to places in Michigan such as Bangor. One example of a logger following the trade across the country was Isaac Stephenson. He began his career in the lumber industry in New Brunswick, Canada then moved to Maine and finally to Menominee, Michigan and Green Bay, Wisconsin. Stephenson, like many Maine foremen, would return to the state to find workers. He hired thirty bosses because of their experience in the lumber industry on the east coast (Smith 1974: 99). Daniel Stanchfield, a logger, recalled entering into an apprenticeship as a lumber jack in Maine from 1837-44 before taking his skills to the Midwest. For this reason many methods and cultural practices were transferred with the Maine loggers to the Midwest. Tools like the cant dog, peavey stick, boom construction, log marks as well as food and entertainment traveled west with the wood workers. As time went on the ways of the Maine loggers were transformed by the influences of the Scandinavians and other immigrant populations. The practices of the Maine loggers and those of the Midwest made it all the way to the west coast along with the workers from each region (Smith 1974: 100-101).

When the first pioneers ventured to the rich farmland of Southern Wisconsin they built their houses from the lumber harvested by companies in Maine and Canada. Settlers would have to travel with the lumber or have it shipped from the East and both options were cumbersome and expensive (Wells 1978:20). Commercial lumber business began in Wisconsin in the 1830's (Davis 1997:2). The development of commercial

logging was only possible after the development of a consumer population down river in Milwaukee and Chicago as well as the access of trees made legal by the treaty negotiations with the Native Americans in the area (Rector 1983:410). After the Native American populations ceded their lands through some form of government coercion or forceful removal the virgin white pines were seen as a resource to be exploited (Mier 1996:20, Rector 1983:410). The first documented sawmill in Northeast Wisconsin was built on the Menominee River in 1832 by Charles Brush and William Farmsworth, who was assisted by his wife who was known as the French Indian, Queen Marinette. Queen Marinette was skillful in business and helped the early settlers' transition from the fur trade to the lumber industry (Roddis-Connor 1978: 31-38). The industry began with small companies located near rivers and lakes harvesting only pine and soft woods to float down the waterways to sawmills then progressing to massive operations supplied by train and clear cutting every tree within sight until the forests were decimated (Mier1996:20). Following the lumber boom, area settlements had to find another means of economic support such as agriculture or fade away into a ghost town. Eventually National Forests were created and second growth forests took over the landscape. The trees could be harvested by small machine-operated logging or converted into a resource for tourists as a vacation destination (Krog 1986:15).

There are several ways to separate the different eras of the lumber industry because the transformation can be defined by different factors and changes that did not happen simultaneously throughout the Midwest (Karamanski 1984: 25, Overstreet 1982: 55, Stiles1994:5-7). The most comprehensive avenue to break down lumber history within the Lake States was developed by Stiles (1994:9) who defined four key factors

that influenced the progression of the lumber industry: technology, timber type, spatial arrangement, and seasonality. The different eras of logging are described here in a similar fashion that includes: the pine era, the hardwood era, and the pulpwood era.

The Pinewood Era

This era existed from 1840-'s to the 1910-'s and was defined by the harvest of white pine (Stiles 1994: 16). Until the late 19th century logging only included harvesting the white pine in Michigan, Minnesota, and Wisconsin (Rector 1983: 416). There was a great variation of possible Pine Era camp types such as: logger's camp, large company camps, jobber camps, half way house camps, and river drive camps (Karamanski 1989:31). The camps that were favored in the infancy of logging in Wisconsin came to be known as "the state of Maine" camps which consisted of a single building that served all purposes. The room would hold a kitchen range on one side and a heating stove on the other with smoke from the open flames circulating out of the make shift chimney set into the ceiling. The bed the early loggers slept in was crafted out of pole shelf approximately 6 feet wide into the side of the room and then it was swathed with evergreen boughs and hay. The crew would all sleep side by side and hold in the heat with one long blanket (Monte 2002:14, Nelligan 1929:12, Rector 1983: 416). As time went on the number and size of buildings grew and the one bed was replaced with bunk beds.

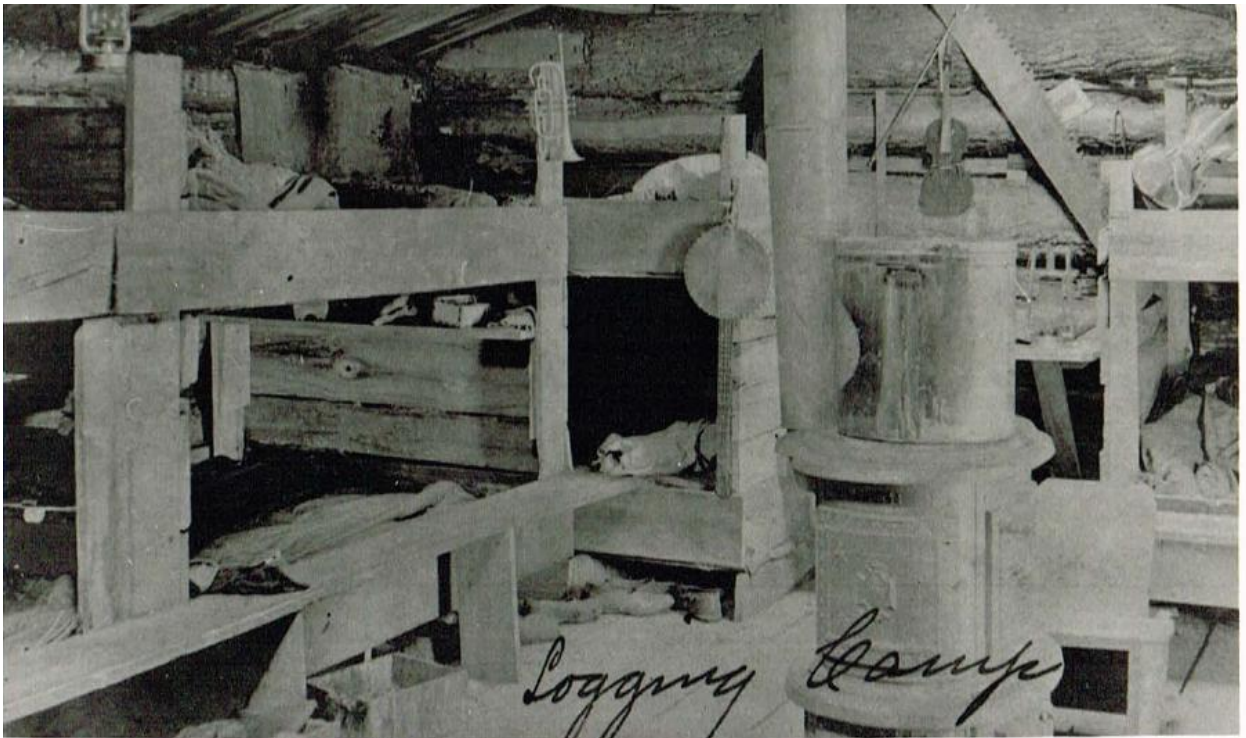


Figure 3: Lumber camp bunk beds (Courtesy of Crandon Public Library)

In the 1880's the dingle camp became popular with separate building for eating and sleeping with an open roofed hallway connecting the two. This style could be of Scandinavian origin because this group favored architecture with open passageways and scooped roofs. The earliest recorded dingle style camp was located in Phillips, Wisconsin in 1878 (Franzen 1999: 341, Rector 1983:414, Rohe 1986:17-28).



Figure 4: Men harvesting wood near Crandon, WI (Courtesy of Crandon Public Library)

When the first commercial loggers started clearing the forests they relied on the power of teams of oxen, water, and hearty men to transport the logs from the woods to the saw mills to be turned into lumber (Stiles 1994: 13). There were a few ways to obtain logs in a legal manner: procure saw logs, purchase standing trees, or buy the land. The process most typically began with a “land looker” which was later known as a “timber cruiser” inspecting an area of forest and locating the nearest streams to judge the potential for navigation and harvest (Rector 1983: 415-416). Around the 1850s crews of less than ten men were allied with a team of four or eight oxen so the camps could be very small depending on the amount of oxen available. Before the Civil War the trees were chopped through the use of an axe in which the lumber jack would start by felling the tree, and

then they would haul the log to the landing on the bank of a river or lake, and finally chop it into smaller logs. The whole process was very labor intensive (Stiles 1994: 13). By the 1870s the use of sleighs to pull logs to the landing became common with the lumber jacks icing down the trails and then dragging the logs with the use of horses or oxen (Rector 1983: 418). When the rivers and lakes started to thaw and the log drive complete the logging activities would not begin again until the next fall (Stiles1994: 16).



Figure 5: Champine Camp moving the logs down the river 1910-1912 (Courtesy of author's personal collection)



Figure 6: Champine Camp on the river 1912 (Courtesy of author's personal collection)

The woodsmen also started using the two man cross cut saw to bring down the trees, which worked much faster (Rector 1983: 418). The annual board feet of lumber cut in 1853 in Wisconsin was 200,000 but twenty years later it reached 1,250,000,000 (Harty 2007:39). The lumber produced in the Midwest was used to build railroads out West as well as for furniture, barrels, wagons, and freight cars which assisted the mounting European population with moving farther Westward (Harty 2007: 106).

During the late 1870's the lumber industry was plagued with a few bad winters when the lakes did not freeze and the ice was not available for the trails so they looked for alternative ways to transport logs. In addition, there were fewer and fewer pines and the sawmills starting closing down around the 1890's so town boosters tried to get the railroad to go through the area in order to attract industry to the land and keep the logging the forests (Karamanski 1989: 40). After the pine was completely harvested, the land by the lumber companies was abandoned or sold as cheap farmland so taxes did

not have to be paid. When the railroad was established the wood could be harvested once again and the logging industry was revived (Rector 1983:417-418, Roddis-Connor 1978:31-38). The advent of the railroad allowed for a way to bring the trees to the city buyers and new access to trees located far from rivers and to hardwoods. Some companies were able to transfer to the use of the railroad as transportation but some were unsuccessful (Karamanski 1984:29, Rohe 1986:26).

Hardwood Era

The use of the railroad in the lumber industry occurred because of the near exhaustion of the white pine in close proximity to bodies of water, the increasing use of hardwoods as building products, and a number of mild winters (Rohe 1994:50). Stiles (1994:9) concluded that the hardwood era occurred between 1890's and 1940's. The first recorded logging railroad began its operation in Northern Michigan in 1877 and within a few years there were seventy five railroads used for the logging industry in the Lake States (Rohe 1994:48-50). After the turn of the 20th century sawmills did not have to be located on a body of water they were instead built near a major rail line. In 1882 the first railroad to reach northern Wisconsin was the Milwaukee, Lake Shore, and Western and within ten years it was purchased by the Chicago Northwestern (Davis 1997:25).



Figure 7: Construction of the Chicago Northwestern Railroad 1906 (Courtesy of the Crandon Public Library)

The Sooline and the Milwaukee Road had also constructed railroad tracks in the area. The railroad made the exploitation of the forest faster, easier, with a larger profit margin (Davis 1997:25, Roddis-Connor 1978:31-38). In Forest County the railroads were run by the Page and Landeck Lumber Company in Crandon, The Hiles Company in Hiles, Flanner-Steger Company at Blackwell, and Menominee Bay Shore in Wabeno (Roddis-Connor 1978:31-38). By 1914, there was a network of rail through the northern area of Wisconsin and Minnesota, so much so that one would only have to walk four or five miles away from one set of rails to reach the next company railway (Rector 1983:423).



Figure 8: George Bailey's Camp in Crandon, WI 1916-1917 (Courtesy of the Crandon Public Library)

There was great variation in Railroad Era camp arrangements such as: large stationary company camps, large mobile company camps, jobber camps, halfway house camps, and chopper village or camp (Karamanski 1984:26-40). The railroads opened the whole forest up to the lumber men with the right of ways of lumber railroads and spurs being dotted with locations of logging camps. Car camps were invented in Northern Wisconsin around 1890 in which a company would mount the buildings on rails (Karamanski 1984:26-40). This type of camp would still have a root cellar, well, and a barn so some archaeological evidence was left behind (Karamanski 1984:26-40, Rohe 1986:27). This was less desirable for lumber jacks who preferred a permanent dwelling with insulation during the cold nights. With the railroads, companies could quickly move from cutover to virgin forest and the saw mill could be relocated to the deep woods as well. Large camps grew into temporary villages with

many living spaces, cook shack, barns, root cellars, warehouses and many more specialized buildings (Karamanski 1989:42).

The railroad camps were often located in the vicinity of two or three uncut sections of forest so the camp could remain in the same location for a couple of years (Karamanski 1984:26-40, Rohe 1986:27-28). Many companies had shops or round houses located within the camp to repair and maintain the trains while others had the repair work done in larger towns (Ryan 1946:300-308). The lumber industry was changing but the majority of the lumber jacks lives remained the same. They still lived within camps and chopped down timber with an axe or saw until the 1930's (Harty 2007:46).



Figure 9: Champine Camp transporting lumber by train (Courtesy of author's personal collection)

Camps associated with railroad transportation became larger with a greater number of men working and more specialized structures. The buildings were often wood framed construction running parallel to the train tracks (Franzen 1999:342). The railroad era camps tended to be made of logs with a roof of lumber and the entire structure covered in tar paper. There were some exceptions; Ed Mercier remembered the finest lumber camp in Northern Wisconsin being located in Odanah. The buildings were constructed with lumber then papered to make them more aesthetic. The residence of the camp used china dishes instead of the more customary tin plates and the houses were entirely furnished (Rohe 1986:28, Monte 2002:58). The more typical camp included a cook shanty, bunkhouse, root cellar, blacksmith work station, and stables. During the last years of this era the lumber camps reached their peak of development with large bunk houses, mess halls, stores, offices, and the typical buildings of earlier years. A Hines Lumber Company camp in 1921 included painted buildings with interior walls covered in plaster, steam heat and electricity, six bunk houses, two dining halls, laundry room, bath house, hospital, locomotive house, and a saw mill (Rohe 1986:28). With the advance of the railroads into the forests towns started forming near the tracks. The towns created a demand for schools that were constructed in towns and sidings as evidenced by school names like: Siding One, Siding Two, and Siding Four Schools (Karl 2006:39).

The railroad camps would transition to cordwood or pulpwood villages for families. The village of Half originated from the Charcoal Iron Company logging camp. When the saw logs were all removed from the area the camp was taken over by

men harvesting cordwood. Usually a small number of shacks housing families with children marked town sites. When the cutover land was cleared of cordwood these families moved on and such towns were abandoned (Karamanski 1989:200).



Figure 10: Men loading pulpwood (Courtesy of the Crandon Public Library)

Pulpwood Era

This period in logging continues from 1938 to the present and includes large corporate logging camps, jobbers, POW camps, and modern labor camps (Karamanski 1984:26-40, Stiles 1994:9). This era began with the prevalent use heavy machinery that was powered by gasoline such as: trucks, dozers, and skidders (Stiles 1994:28). The lumber camp was no longer used and the forests were now controlled by a few large

corporations or small independent operations. There was the practice of more selective cutting of pulpwood for the manufacture of paper products (Stiles 1994:28). The amount of cutover land created the ideal environment for wild fires to break out through the area. The federal initiatives put in place during the Great Depression created the Civilian Conservation Corps who crafted fire roads in the forest and replanted thousands of acres of new trees. In 1932 the government designated large portions of Forest, Vilas, Oconto, and Langlade Counties for Nicolet National Forest. In 1934 acquisition crews were organized to examine lands for purchase through the Emergency Conservation Works Program. Land could be purchased at fifty cents to one dollar an acre because the area was cut over and held little value at the time. Today the Nicolet National Forest has a current allowance of 50,000,000 board feet per year can be cut (Krog 1986:15).

Forest County History

The state legislature created Forest County in 1885 but the county did not experience any real growth until the turn of the century when development began in Crandon and Laona. The years following the Civil War, lumber men arrived in the county and harvested massive amounts of timber and created communities. Around 1900 the Soo line and Chicago and Northwestern built main lines into the county to make the exploitation of hardwoods possible (Karl 2006: 17). Lumber men followed the trains building mills near the tracks and as they cleared the trees groups of settlers moved into the cutover lands. Once the lumber had disappeared factories producing paper products replaced mills and many of the lumber barons took their profits and headed west.

The town of Hiles began as a trading post in the 1860's and was the county's oldest settlement having a prominent sawmill in 1903. The town of Argonne was the agricultural center of the county known for its successful potato fields. Crandon was the seat of Forest County and it was founded by Samuel Shaw along with a group of lumbermen and boosters in 1885. Shaw was a former teacher and member of the administration in the Madison school district. In the 1870's he invested his money in forestland and in 1883 moved his family to Northern Wisconsin (Davis 1995:110). The Shaw's were the first white family to live in Crandon in 1883 and they resided in a log cabin for three years before building a more permanent structure. Shaw surveyed the land, created a plat map, and sold it by lots in 1886. Shaw played a large role in bringing settlers to the town and establishing Forest County. He also started "The Forest Republican" in 1887, the newspaper remains in operation today (Poppy 1997:28). Shaw changed the name of the town from Ayr to Crandon in honor of Major Francis P. Crandon the tax commissioner for the Chicago Northwestern railroad (Poppy 1997:34).

Crandon was not a very successful settlement during its first decade since the railroad went through Argonne and bypassed the community, but when a railroad spur was put in during 1901 the city started to grow. Crandon at the turn of the 20th century had no saloons and only 200 residents. The only form of transportation was stagecoach daily from North Crandon and Pelican. In 1901 the Chicago and Northwestern was built to serve this community as a passenger train and to ship lumber. Besides the Crandon station there were depots in Nashville, Lenox, and five sidings (Poppy 1997:34, Sharpless 2009:9).

Shaw had built a mill and that was sold several times before it became the Keith and Hiles Lumber Company's property. This would be the mill to which the logs from Keith's Siding would be shipped to in order to be made into lumber. The Forest County Court house was built in 1885 and the first school house was established in 1892.



Figure 11: Keith and Hiles Lumber Company Mill (Courtesy of the Crandon Public Library)

The only religious establishment was the Presbyterian Church built in 1890 on Lake Avenue and the Shaws were very active in the church activities. Crandon was home to an active Christian Temperance Union that was quite successful in keeping the city dry although brewing moonshine and illegal bars flourished in Forest County (Davis 1995:112). The moon shine business played an enormous role in the local economy. Producers would hire locals to bottle, package, and deliver the spirits to Southern Wisconsin and Minnesota. While men provided for the family at the lumber camp the rest of the family might operate a still for additional income (Davis 1995:112).

M.D. Keith donated the labor pool from his mill and lumber camps to clear the right of way for the railroads. When the railroad finally ran through Crandon there was an increase in business and population. The largest lumber company in town was the Page and Landeck Lumber Company organized in 1890 by M.D. Keith, J.L. Haile, G.J. Landeck, H.F. Landeck, and H.P. Keith. The company was created to manufacture lumber from hardwoods, pine, and hemlock. The main office was located in Crandon with a sales office in Milwaukee (Karl 2006: 28). The company created their sawmill in 1900 before any railroad was put in place so transportation was an issue. Previous to the mill being created the company purchased enormous tracts of hardwood timber land and once it was functional it ran twenty four hours a day and employed much of the town. The company had five logging camps in operation that produced 1,500,000 feet of lumber each year. Each camp would provide work for about fifty men and it took a crew of ten men to load the logs on and off the train and to their destination at the saw mill (Karl 2006: 28, Poppy 1997:36).



Figure 12: Keith and Hiles sawmill (Courtesy of the Crandon Public Library)

The Page and Landeck Lumber Company owned its own set of tracks as well as its own locomotive. In 1900 there were around fifteen privately owned lumber companies operating near the City of Crandon (Karl 2006: 28, Poppy 1997:37). By 1920 the population reached 1600 and the town included many more stores, amenities, and town functions (Davis 1997:149).

In 1920 the population of Forest County was 9850, the majority of whom were native born and male. The largest groups of foreign born people were Poles followed by the Germans and a small number of Native Americans (Davis 1995:109, Poppy 1997:28). In 1925 the county contained twenty five townships ranging in size from railroad junctions with a few shacks to villages containing mills, a street full of businesses, and neighborhoods. These communities contained a sawmill as the focal point, general store, hotel, saloon, a dance hall, a row of houses near the train tracks and in their prime possibly a theater, church, and school. In the 1920's Forest County was plagued with tax delinquency and the real estate companies had a difficult time selling the cutover land. In 1920 the uncollected taxes equaled \$9334 and within seven years it rose to \$65256 (Davis 1995:130). By 1930 the population increased to 11, 118 because of the people who moved north with the lumber industry, people who took over the cut over as farmers, and the thousands of Kentucky migrants who abandoned their homes in the southeastern mountains. The number one profession in 1930 was lumber jacks, followed by mill worker, farmer, farm laborer, merchant, and railroad workers. Few of these sources of employment lasted all year with many men switching occupations with the turn of the seasons. For a large majority of the population selling moonshine became a profitable endeavor (Karl 2006: 15-17).

The Per Ola Land Company, a branch of the Keith and Hiles Lumber Company, opened an office in Forest County in 1916. The company divided the land they owned into 5000 acres of farm units and allowed farmers the use of stump pulling machines at no cost. The company claimed that in a few years the area would be a paradise for farmers after the lumbermen had cleared the way (Franzen 1992:83). Forest County promoters put up booths at the State Fair and handed out propaganda on the success of farming in the area. The board in Forest County hired someone in 1915 to teach immigrants how to properly farm American soil and the Federal government gave them a surplus of explosives to blast the stumps from the earth (Franzen 1992:83). In the 1930 study of Wisconsin Land Economic Inventory it was found that Forest County contained 40% swamps, water, fields/scattered towns, 52% abandoned brush land, and 10% productive forest (Franzen 1992:83). Many in the area wanted to turn to farming because it had turned out successfully on the east coast and in southern Wisconsin (Davis 1997: 209).

Kentucky Migrants

There were a large number of Kentucky migrants who left the impoverished rural regions of their birth to come to Forest County around 1900. Franzen (1992:83-84, 1995:328) claimed that “the restrictive immigrant quotas enacted in the 1920’s curtailed the flow of European immigrants and laborers from Kentucky and Tennessee were brought in to cordwood camps to maintain production”. Thousands from Kentucky left the South to look for work during the 20th century. They flooded areas of Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, Ohio, and Wisconsin. Many of the employers preferred southern white workers because they were less prone to support union work. The lumber

companies were paternalistic and would hire family and friends of their employees so they were less likely to seek work with another company. The southern migrants integrated into the social scene of the north through mingling at bars and churches (Berry 1996:265-296). They built towns composed solely of former Kentucky residents and gained a reputation for violating the law, making moonshine, and starting fights (Rohe 1994:430). The Kentucky migrants became known as “Kentucks” (Franzen 1995:328). They were described as “a people that settled throughout the woods and were a great help in the logging process. The Kentucks were good Christian people and never did any harm to anyone unless they interfered with their moonshine still. To them that gave cause to shoot someone on site” (Holt 1948:20).

The lumber companies encouraged the temporary settlement of migrants from Tennessee and Kentucky in order to have cheap labor to harvest cordwood. The men that harvested cordwood would often inhabit abandoned lumber camps with their families or live in shacks made of tar paper and boards with dirt floors. The sort of life the migrants from Kentucky lived was not a pleasant one. Sometimes the logging camps were not abandoned before the Kentucky migrants arrived to cut the cordwood. In some cases, the Kentuck camp was then established outside the camp area creating a separate town (Karamanski 1984:26-40,1989:45).

Archaeological Investigation at Keith's Siding

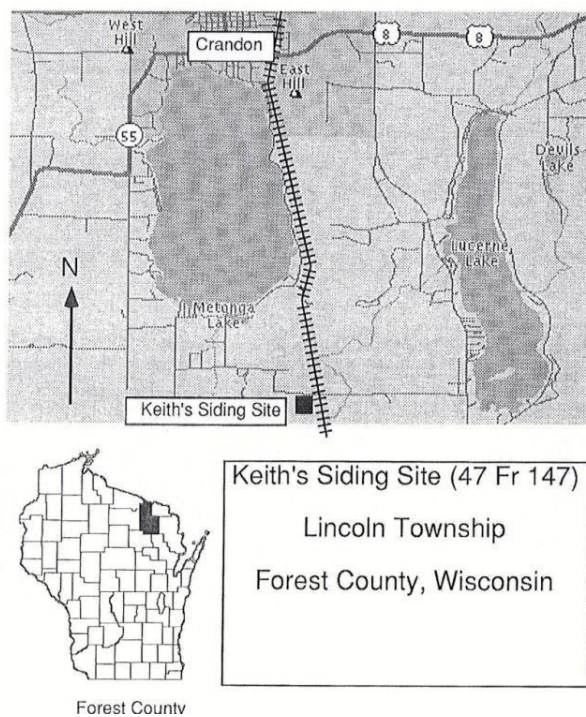


Figure 13: Location of the Keith's Siding Site

(Mier 1996:164)

The phase II archaeological investigation was conducted in order to determine if the Keith's Siding site was eligible for listing on the National Register of Historic Places (Mier 1996:159). Nineteen backhoe trenches were dug at the site with only five producing any significant archaeological remains. There was also an excavation of three test units with two of those units leading to the discovery of intact features. Keith's Siding was dated as a railroad lumber camp by the contents of features 4, 5, and 7. Feature 4 was dated to the early 1920's from artifacts tied to domestic and agricultural activities. Feature 5 was characterized as an outhouse pit with evidence present from industrial, domestic, and agricultural activities during the 1920's (Mier 1996: 152). Feature 7 was found to be a former trash pit with a wide range of artifacts linked to architectural, industrial, agricultural and domestic activities used in the late 1910's or

early 1920's. Features 1 and 2 were domestic refuse middens from the later occupation of the site from 1937-1954. Feature 3 and 6 could not be dated but feature 3 was most likely an animal bone midden and feature 6 was a garbage pit mainly containing scrap metal (Mier 1996: 152).

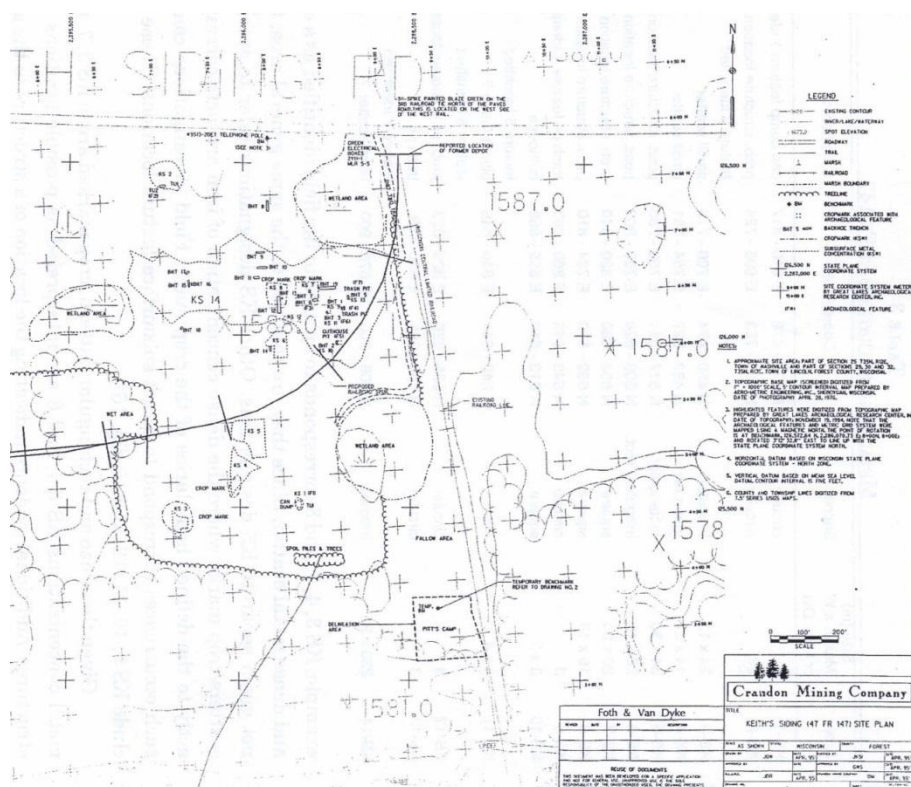


Figure 14: Keith's Siding Site Plan (Mier 1996: 75)

At Pitt's Camp "there were two clusters of structural remains that were identified comprising a total of seventeen features" (Mier 1996:153). On the west side of the site near the railroad tracks was features 9,10,11,12,13,22,23, and 24. Feature 9 was a root cellar that informants remember being used to store perishable foods at the camp. Feature 10 was a platform, possibly a workshop, because of the metal scatter which could be found near the root cellar. Feature 11 was characterized as an oval depression with metal artifacts that could not be dated. Feature 12 was rectangular

depression postulated to be an outhouse but was not excavated. Feature 13 had no known function but animal bone and wire was excavated from the area.

Feature 22 was an undersized oval depression, possibly a midden, with metal artifacts present. Feature 23 was rectangular in shape but could not be dated and its function was unknown although there was window glass recovered. Feature 24 when examined was found to be an oval depression with no artifacts present on the surface (Mier 1996:154).

There was another high concentration of features on west of the tree line including:8,14,15,16,17,18,19,20, and 21. Feature 8 was concluded to be a cellar of a former structure but there was no excavation so no artifacts were recovered. Feature 14 was a well depression with a small sample of metal and glass artifacts being recovered that could be dated from 1904-1933. Features 15 and 16 were not tested. Feature 17 was characterized as an outhouse pit with no time sensitive evidence. Feature 18 was an earthen platform whose function was not discovered. Feature 19 was a refuse pit full of tin cans that were dated at 1925. Feature 20 was a rectangular depression and Feature 21 was an oval depression, both were not excavated (Mier 1996:153).

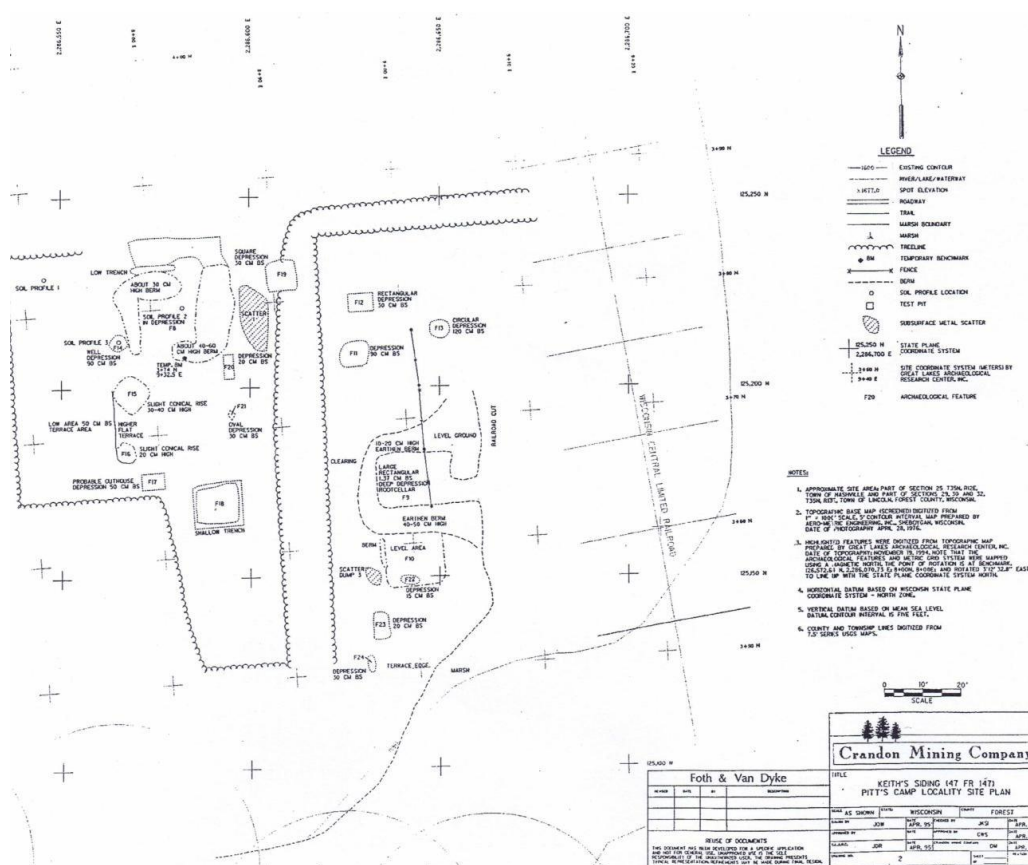


Figure 15: Pitt's Camp Site Plan (Mier 1996: 76)

Pitt's Camp

From the archaeological evidence and informant information Pitt's Camp functioned in congruence with the rest of Keith's Siding from 1910-1925. Although it may have been used as a living space in the 1930s as the archaeological evidence suggests (Mier 1996:161). The purpose and site structure of the Pitt's Camp was more ambiguous and most of what could be concluded was through oral history interviews such as Mr. Lundt explaining that all the supplies transported by the train were deposited at Pitt's Camp and all the perishable food items were stored in the large root cellar at the site (Mier 1996:161). This could supply evidence of Pitt's Camp functioning as a commissary. Through the archaeological investigation, bermed

depressions and pits were discovered that could have been outhouses or a well. The clear spatial separation between Pitt's Camp and the rest of Keith's Siding was notable and could have been due to it functioning as the "locality where company personal conducted maintenance activities on rolling stock and other camp equipment" (Mier: 1996: 161).

The Great Lakes Archaeological Research Center investigators concluded that Keith's Siding was a site involved in both industry specific and domestic activities. The site remnants were a contrast to the early pine era sites because not every space was marked by earthen berms and clear foundations. This was most likely due to the change in technology and transportation during hardwood extractions the railway could be used to move settlement areas more quickly allowing for less permanent buildings (Mier 1996: 157-158). Community layout was determined through the discovery of outhouses and refuse pits creating a clearer map of the layout of an early 20th century railroad camp which generally corresponded to the informant accounts and archival research (Mier 1996: 157-158).

Site Function

There was conclusive evidence from identification of time sensitive and logging related artifacts, archival information, and oral history interviews that Keith's Siding was the site of "an intensive but short term occupation whose activities were carried out between 1910-1924 but the most extensive development being during the period 1915-1922" (Mier 1996:158). The site's purpose was linked to the extraction and transportation of hardwoods to the Keith and Hiles sawmill located on Clear Lake

in nearby Crandon (Monte 2012). There was also reason to believe that it was a community with facilities that workers and their families would need to survive in the remote area such as a post office, general store, and school as well as the typical buildings found at the camps like cook shacks, stables, bunk houses, and workshops (Mier 1996:158). Mier (1996:158) concluded that the site was occupied by Seventh Day Adventists from South-Central Wisconsin and local Potawatomi tribal members to an unknown degree. The site was not the typical all male lumber camp site that had been excavated and investigated by archaeologists and it added valuable information to the archaeological record (Mier1996:158).

Table 1: Timeline of Keith's Siding Existence
(Richards 1998:1-3)

Date	Event	Comment
1906	Talk of a Wisconsin and Northern Railroad line connecting Crandon with other major line	Forest Republican article 1/8/1909
12/4/12	Wisconsin and Northern Railroad purchases right of way for Crandon line	
1/15/1915	Contract cleared for Wisconsin and Northern Railroad right of way	Grading scheduled to be done 9/15/1915
1/29/-3/31/1915	Site was probably occupied as a railroad construction camp	
8/18/1915	In use as Keith's Siding	Logs to be banked at Keith's Siding for Mr. Strenski
11/12/1915	Last spike driven into place	New line now connects Crandon to other towns
12/3/1915	Keith one of new towns located along completed railroad	
9/27/1916	Shawno Lumber Company constructs camp at Keith's Siding	

11/11/1920	Per Ola Land Company purchases land rights	Shawno Lumber Co. retains land and building rights
10/22/1923	Frank and Emma Arndt operate a logging camp at site	
1924	Abandoned	Recollection of Marshall Keith
Mid 1920's	Buildings destroyed by fire	M. Keith recalls fire destroying all building while O. Lundt recalls only the mill
1925	Keith and Hiles Lumber Company purchase land from Per Ola	
1928	Land reverts to Forest County for delinquent taxes	
1930	Keith and Hiles railroad spur removed	
11/10/1931	Purchased by Connor Lumber and Land Co.	
05/13/1933	John and Pearl Cable occupy Pitt's Camp	Forest County deed and oral history of Omer Lundt
1933-1945	Occupancy of Pitt's Camp by various individuals	Oral history of Leo Zelechowski
1940-mid 1970's	Keith Siding site farmed by Leo Zelechowski	
1993	Acquired by Crandon Mining Company	

CHAPTER FOUR: METHODS

Methods of Archival Data Collection

The goal of the archival investigation was to provide additional information about the Keith's Siding settlement and surrounding location. More information was needed regarding the exact location of the settlement, the name of the town, the demise of the settlement, photographs of buildings, the social make up of the group, and the reuse of the settlement. I recorded the data by copying the original or writing notes from the information provided in the historical documentation.

I began at the Forest County Historical Society, an organization run by volunteers from the community whose mission is to preserve and promote the region's history (Forest County Historical and Genealogical Society 2013). The collections at this facility have no database and were minimally organized so I could only search through boxes in the hopes of yielding a useful document. One of the volunteers presented me with a copy of a memoir written by Pauline Quade, who lived at Keith's Siding as a young girl after lumber operations ceased. When going through the boxes of school records I was able to find information that could indirectly be tied to the environment at Keith's Siding pertaining to the lack of funds rural schools were receiving in the area (Committee on Education 1936). There were also two bulletins recovered whose purpose was to convince people to buy the cutover lands because they could be transformed into rich farm lands. One bulletin published in 1914 included an ad placed by the Keith and Hiles Lumber Company advertising for cordwood and farm produce of all kinds (Brady 1906, The County Board Supervisors 1914).

The second location I gathered archival documentation was the Crandon Public Library with a local history section as part of their library collection. The majority of the local history items were not organized and were evaluated by sorting through boxes. I began by speaking to the librarian who was able to identify several maps of the town of Keith. By searching to the microfilm of the local newspaper “The Forest Republican” information was gathered on events at Keith’s Siding, actions of the Keith and Hiles Lumber Company, and the fire at Keith’s Siding. The Borrower’s Register for the Crandon Public Library in 1937-38 named two residence of Keith, Wisconsin: Pearl Cable and Jim Kitchen. The numerous Civil Court records from the City of Crandon detailed land disputes between community members and the company of Keith and Hiles from the 1910’s -1930’s. I was not able to find photographs of Keith’s Siding at the library but I was able to collect images of other local lumber sites that operated at the same time including another Keith and Hiles Lumber Company crew. The library housed the technical bulletin published by the U.S. Department of Agriculture in 1939 detailing the government’s initiative to move rural residents living in cutover lands to more viable farming areas and populated towns (Johnson 1939:62-73). A previous oral history informant recalled that Keith’s Siding’s lumber crew was comprised of Seventh Day Adventist church members originally from South-Central Wisconsin. I searched for information that could substantiate this claim but was unsuccessful at locating any sources that specifically said Seventh Day Adventists resided at Keith’s Siding. But there were court records to prove the existence of the Seventh Day Adventists in other areas of Forest County.

The third location that archival documentation was gathered was from the Forest County Courthouse located in Crandon, Wisconsin. There was a filing cabinet filed with miscellaneous school records throughout the county's history. I collected the school census records found for the Keith's Siding School for the years of 1921-1934 that included names of the students and teachers as well as age range of students, miles traveled by the students to school, and activities in which the students participated. There were also school reports for the rural schools of the township of Lincoln for the years 1924, 1926, 1927, and 1930 that included students from the town of Keith but the school was not listed specifically as Keith's Siding. They may have combined all the information from various rural schools in that specific township because many of the children's names are the same as the ones on the reports from Keith Siding. The names of the students were then used to look up United States Census Records on an online database in order to discover the place of origin of the children attending the Keith School.

The final source of historical documentation was from the local residents in Forest County who were made aware of my thesis research by word of mouth or through the local newspaper. Norman Tribbett, a member of the Forest County Historical Society presented me with letters written to his grandfather in 1927 from the Clerk of the Keith School District refusing to transport Native American children to their school. Clarice Ritchie, a member of the Forest County Historical Society, gave me a copy of three photographs given to her by Pauline Quade from the time when she was living at Keith's Siding. Rhoda Spencer, an informant in the oral history interviews gave me a copy of the memoir of Alberta Flannery, a woman that grew up in at several lumber settlements run by Seventh Day Adventists in the area. Rich Childers, another oral history participant, gave me

a copy of a photo of his aunt and another woman cooking at a lumber settlement in Newald, Wisconsin.

Methods of Oral History Collection

The goal of the oral history interviews was to gather information about the Keith's Siding site location and the lumber industry in the area in general to compare with previous oral histories, the archival documentation, and the archaeological record. This allowed me to recognize similarities, discover contradictions, and create an in depth analysis of the site.

I conducted eight oral history interviews from December 2011 to March 2013 with local residents of the City of Crandon and surrounding townships. The informants were chosen because their families were active in the lumber industry in the region or have ancestors present in the early days of Forest County. Every interview was transcribed by hand because I felt it would put the older interviewees more at ease rather than the use of recording devices or computers. The length of the interview varied in length from a few minutes to an hour according to the knowledge the informant had on the relevant topic. I did not transcribe the extraneous conversation only the information pertaining to the research goals. I did not ask the same questions word for word every time but tailored them to the person with whom I was conversing. Some of the general topics I covered in the majority of interviews were:

- What do you know about the location known as Keith Siding?
- What is your experience with the lumber industry?
- What do you remember about the lumber industry in the area?

- Where there any amenities for the workers at lumber settlement like a church or school?
- Who lived in the area?
- What did people do after the lumber industry declined?

My first interviewee was Rhoda Spencer because she was mentioned as an excellent candidate in a previous investigation (Sharpless 2009). Mrs. Spencer's family ran lumber camps and they were practicing Seventh Day Adventists. My second participant was Mike Monte who had been interviewed previously. Mr. Monte advised me to interview Kay Champine as my third informant, whose parents were active in the lumber industry and Terry Flannery as my fourth participant, who was a former lumber jack and had family ties to logging camps. My fifth interviewee was Zorie Cracraft who is the oldest person living in the city of Crandon. She was in ill health so I gave my questions to her daughter to relay and then they mailed responses to me. After this interview I put an ad in the local newspaper "The Forest Republican" asking for anyone with information on Keith's Siding or the early lumber industry to contact me. Rich Childers phoned me with information about his grandmother cooking at Keith's Siding. A relative of Ray Hoffman suggested him as my next informant because of his family's involvement at logging settlements and because of his advanced age and knowledge. I hesitated to interview Pauline Quade because she was the participant of a previous oral history interview and because I had already obtained her memoir. But I decided to conduct the interview after several people advised me to do so and she was able to provide me with new information and confirm statements she had made earlier.

CHAPTER FIVE: RESULTS

After the collection of the archival documentation and the completion of the oral history interviews the information was compared in order to find congruencies and contradictions. This provided a better understanding of the complexity of the occupation and reuse of the Keith's Siding site location. The results provided information on the migration from Kentucky to Forest County, families at lumber camps, the fire at the camp, the reuse of lumber settlements, the exact location of the site, and the inconsistencies in the spelling of the settlement's name.

Maps

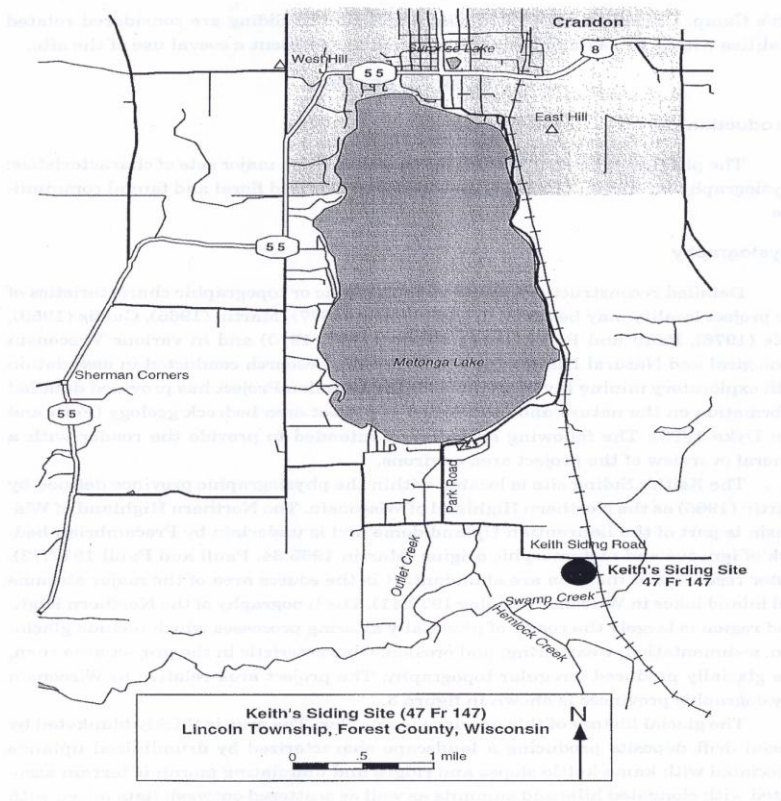


Figure 16: Map of the Keith's Siding site location (Bernsteen 1969, Mier 1996: 5)



Figure 17: 1908 Railway map of Forest County (Mier 1996:55, RR Commission of Wisconsin 1908)

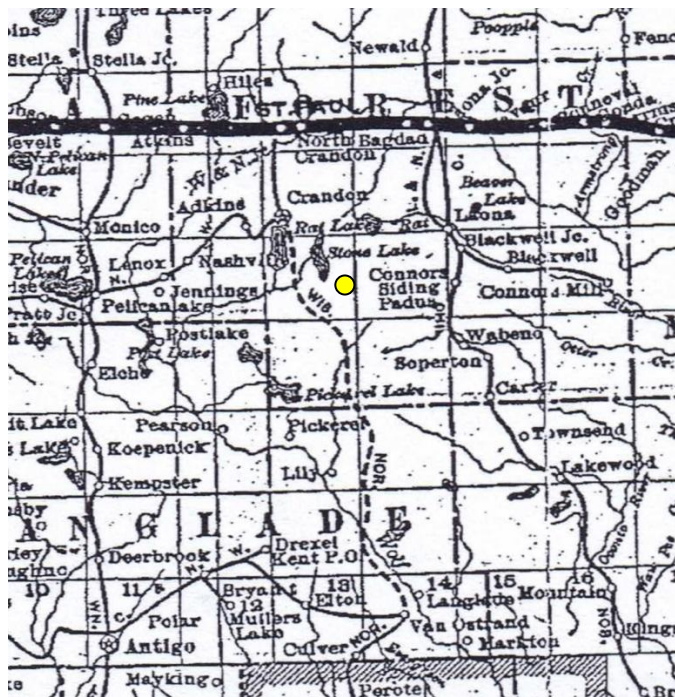


Figure 18: 1910 Soo Line map of Forest County (Mier 1996: 56, Poole Bros 1910)

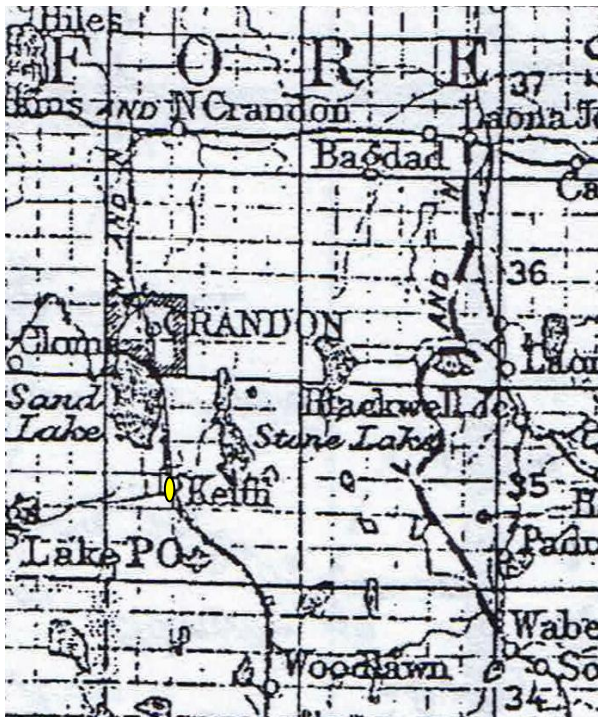


Figure 19: 1921 Official Railroad Map (Mier 1996:61, RR Commission of Wisconsin 1921)

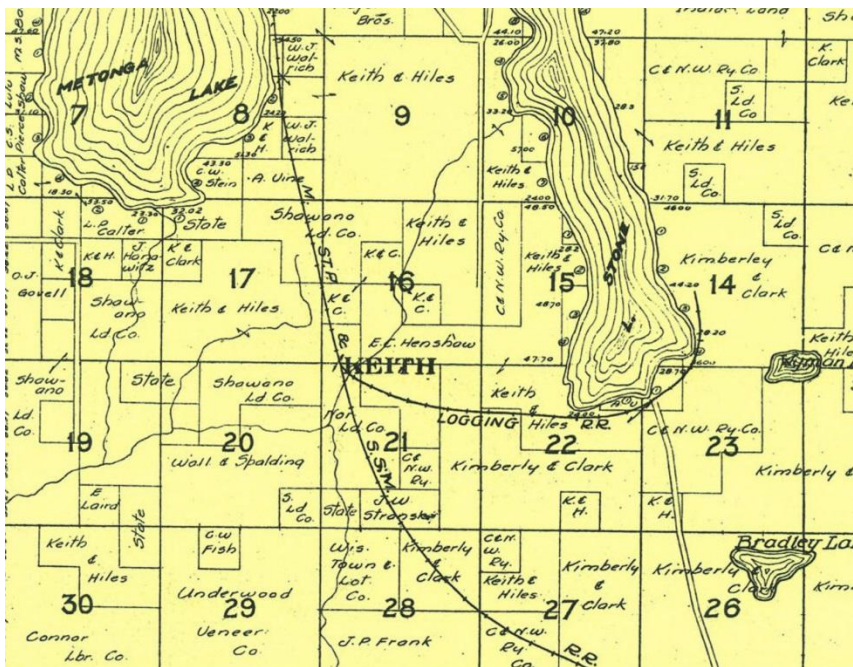


Figure 20: 1924 Plat book map (Hixson Map Company 1924)

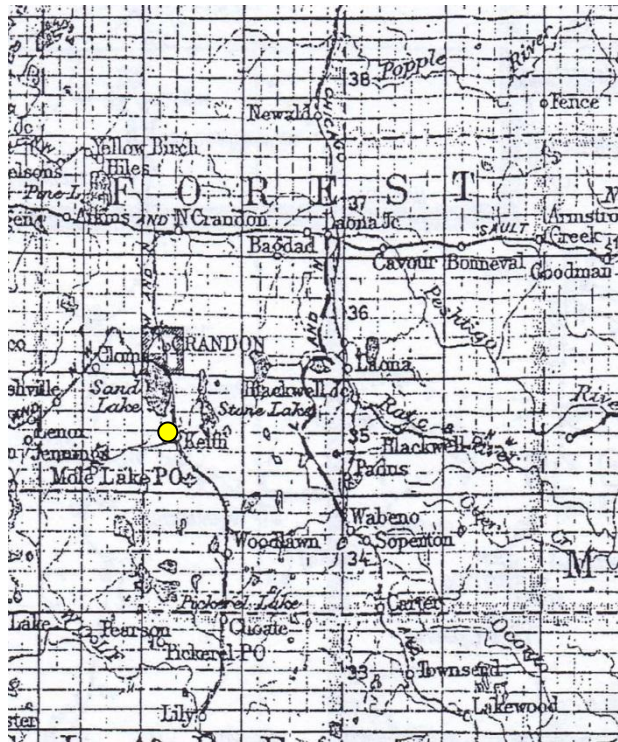


Figure 21: 1929 Railway Map (Mier 1996:58, Railway and Locomotive Historical Society 1967)

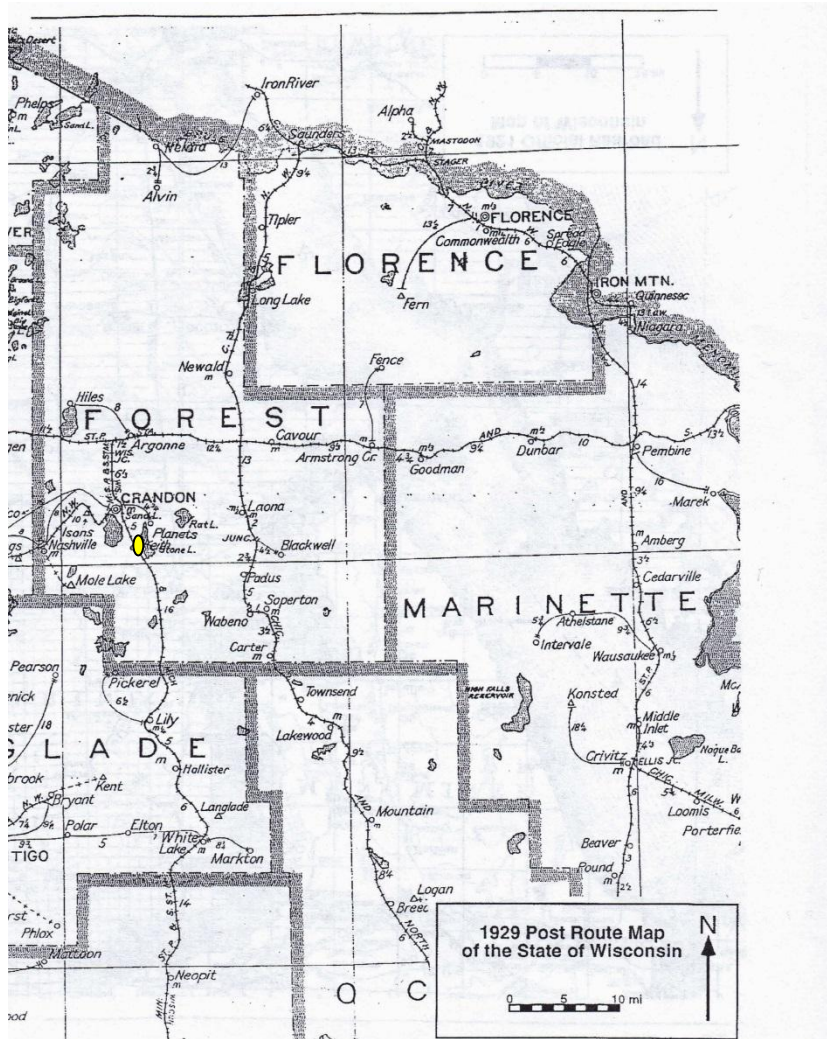


Figure 22: 1929 Post Route Map (Brown 1929, Mier 1996: 63)

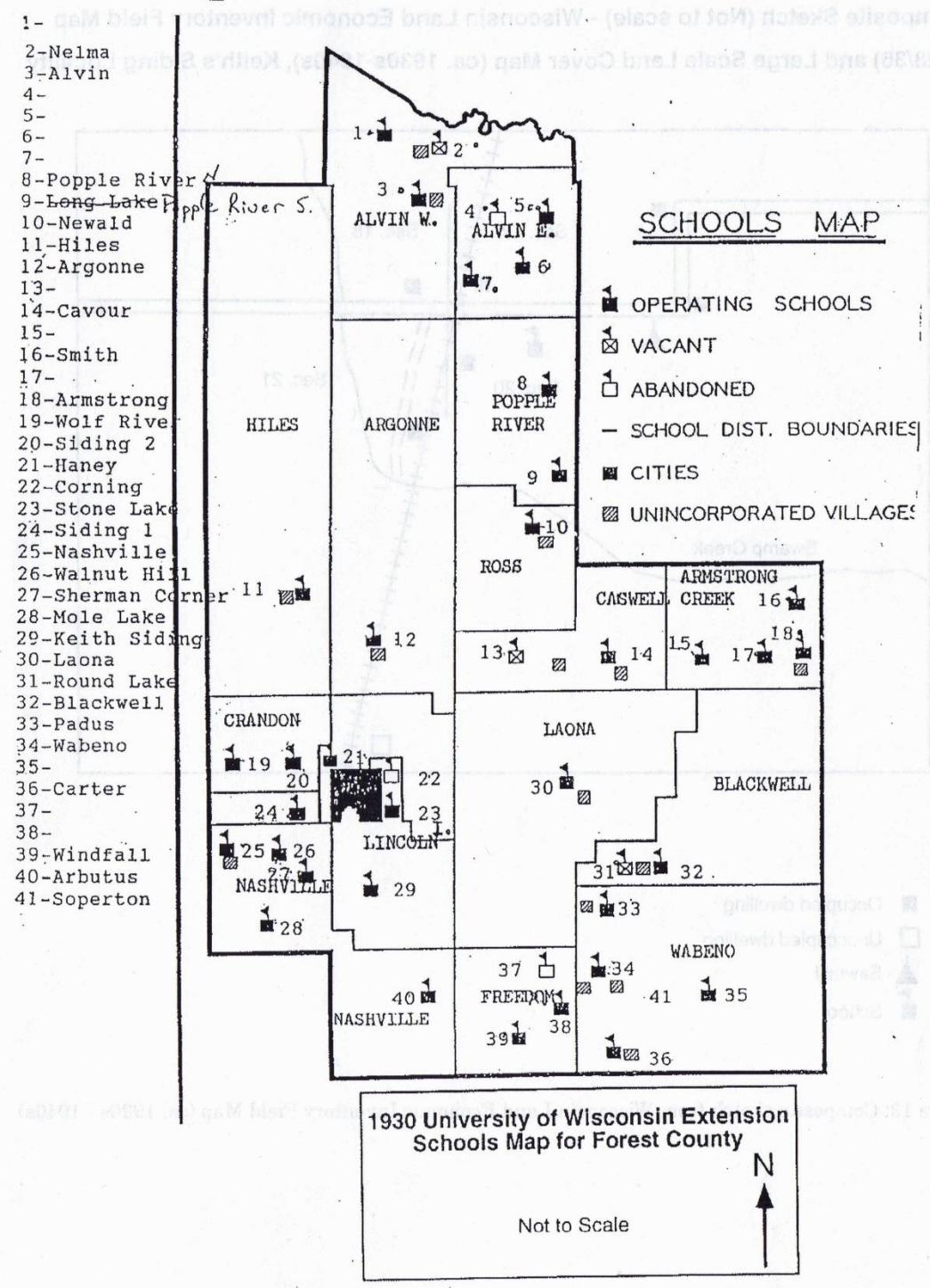


Figure 23: 1930 Schools Map for Forest County (Making the Most of Forest County 1930, Mier 1996: 65)

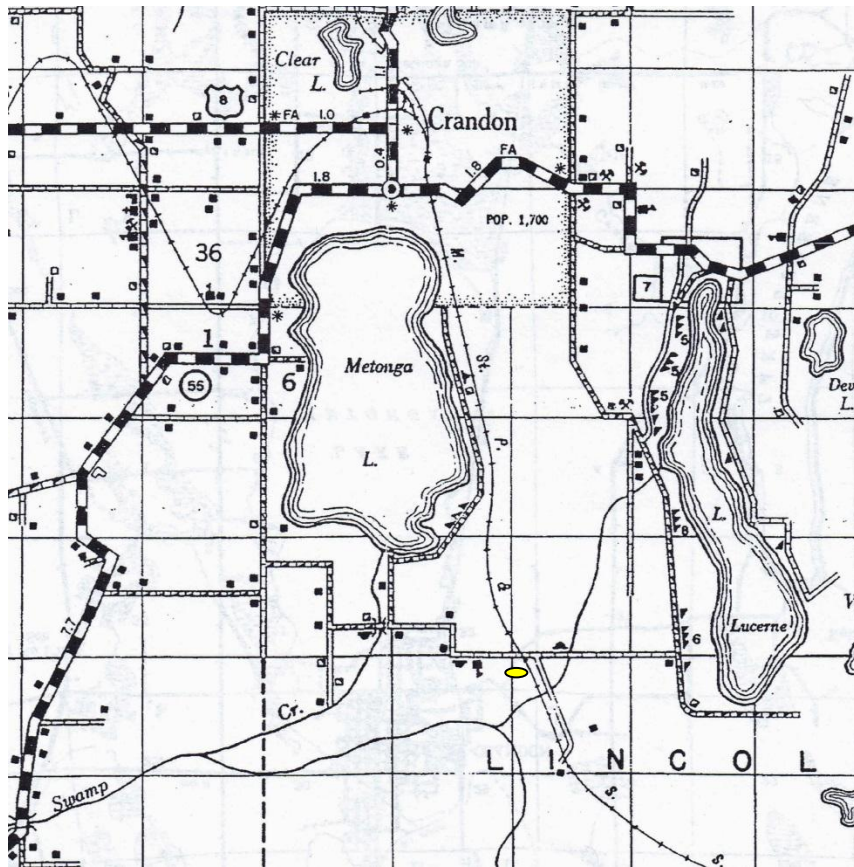


Figure 24: 1937 General Highway Map (Mier 1996: 67, State Highway Commission of Wisconsin 1937)

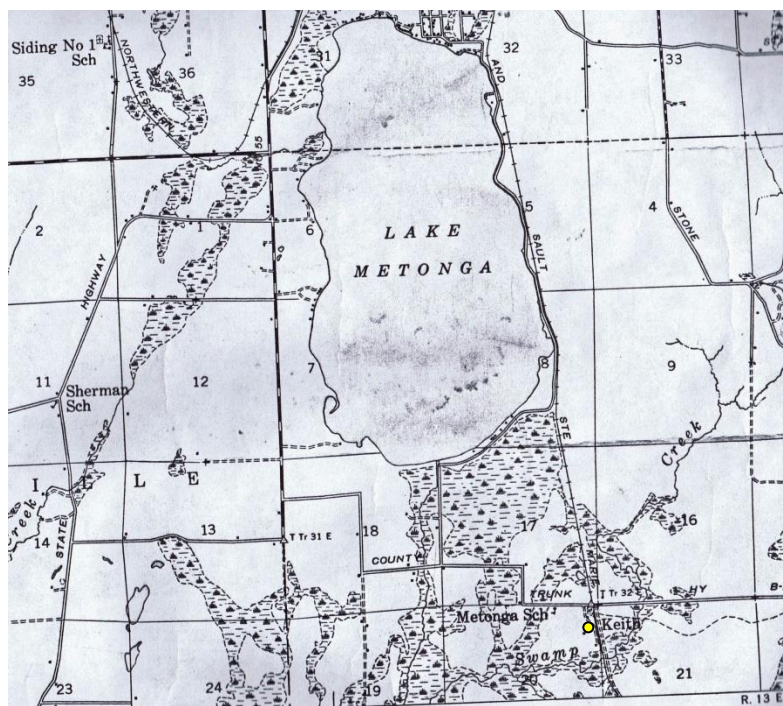


Figure 25: 1939 Geological Survey Map (Courtesy of the Crandon Public Library)

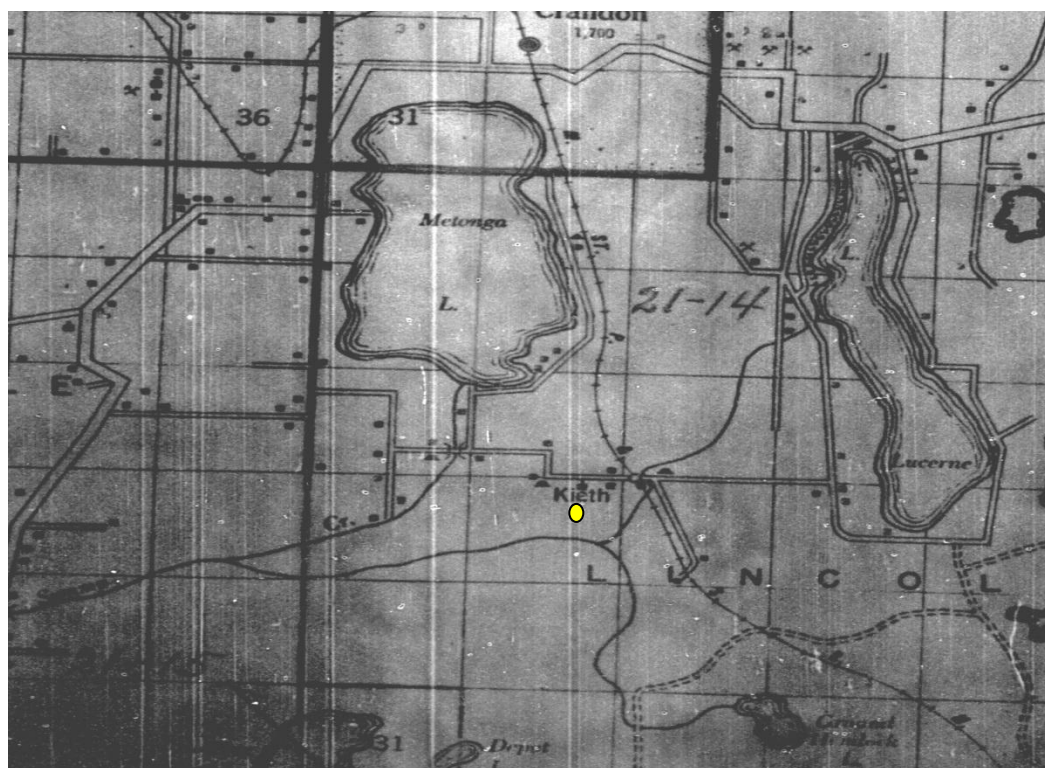


Figure 26: 1940 Enumeration District Map (Mier 1996:58, Wisconsin State Planning Board 1958-59)

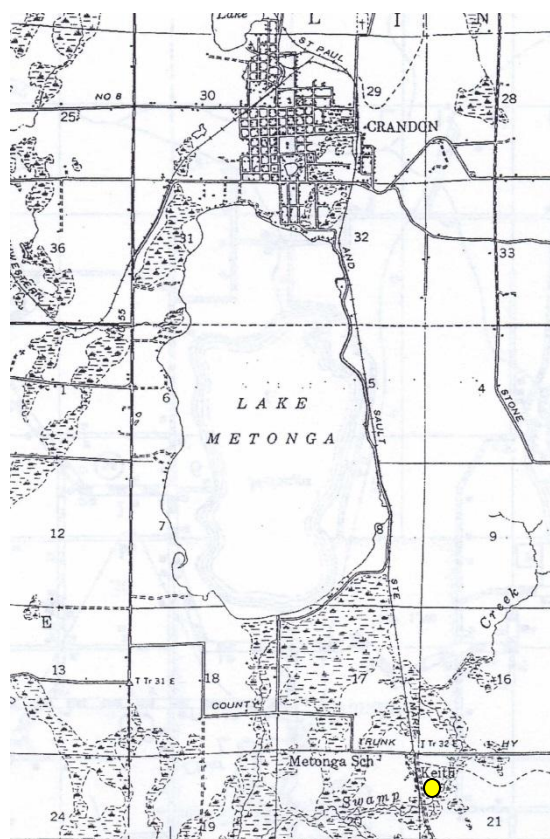


Figure 27: 1950 Quadrangle Map (Mier 1996:69, US

Geological Survey 1950)

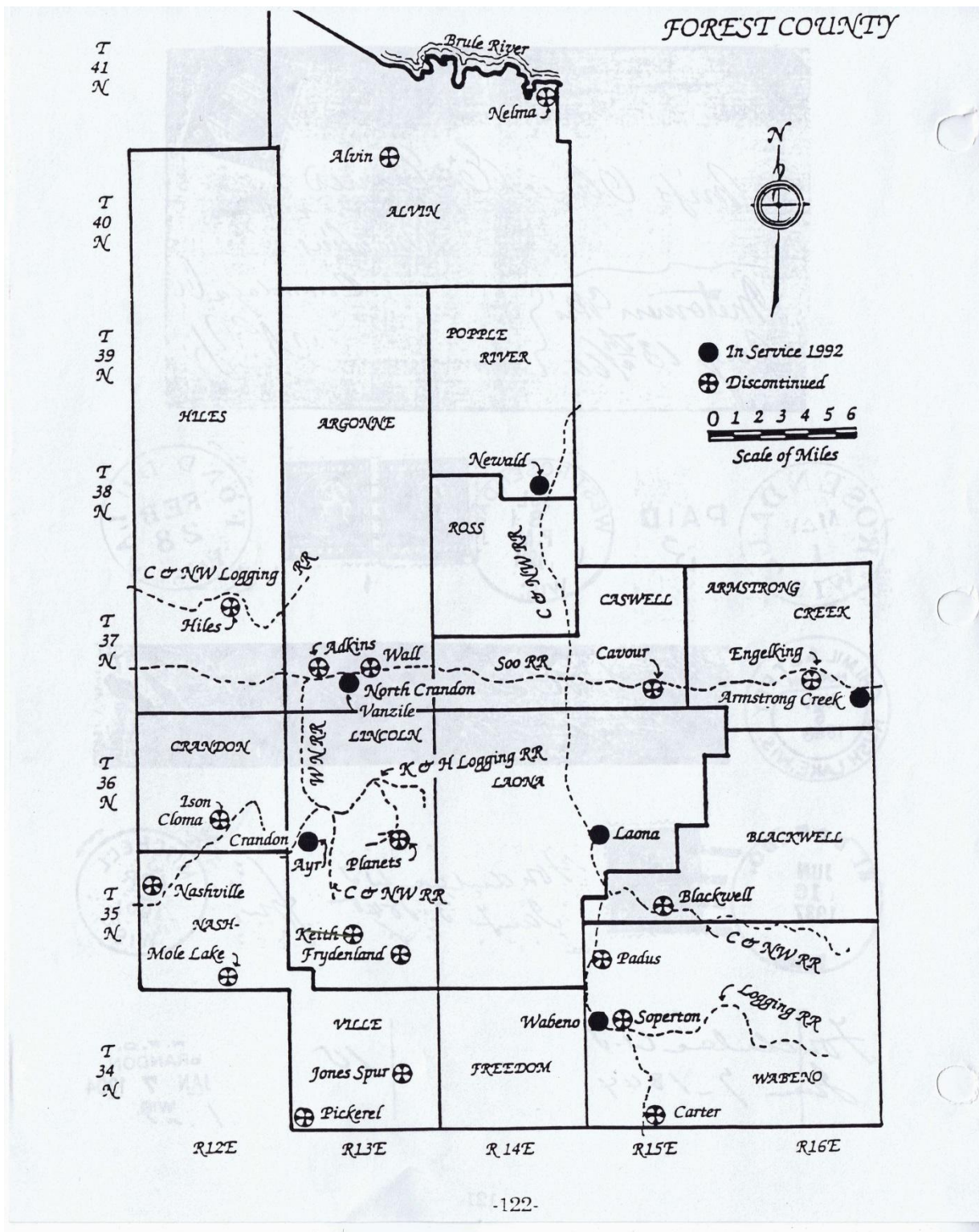


Figure 28: Forest County Post Offices (Moertl 1995:22)

By analyzing the maps above I was able to conclude that Keith's Siding did not exist in 1908 or 1910 evidenced by the yellow mark where it should be located on the railroad maps. In 1921 and 1929 the railroad maps list a town by the name of Keith in the same area known as Keith's Siding. The 1924 Plat book map also listed the area as the town of Keith owned by Keith and Hiles and the Shawno Land Company. The 1930 Schools Map of Forest County indicated a functioning school known as Keith's Siding School in the same area. On the 1937 General Highway map the town of "Keith" or "Keith's Siding" was not listed but there were structures noted slightly west of the site. The 1939 Geological survey map names the site area as Keith with several structures in the vicinity. The 1940 Enumeration District Map depicts the town of Kieth slightly west of the archaeological site with structures near the town as well as the Keith's Siding site area. The 1950 Quadrangle Map labels the town as Keith and places it slightly south east of the Keith's Siding site location. The Metonga School was depicted very near to the site area where previous maps indicated structures were present. The Map of Forest County Post Offices is not very detailed but the town of Keith appears to be in the location of the site. Information included with the map stated that the post office was created by Laurence F. Arndt, the postmaster on May 3, 1924. It ceased to function on July 31, 1933 and the mail service was replaced by the services located in Crandon (Moertl 1995:123). The maps coincide with the archaeological site map and archaeological structures found during the excavation (Mier 1996).

The maps allowed me to postulate that "Keith", "Kieth", and "Keith's Siding" were used interchangeably to describe the same location. It was most common to name the settlement "Keith". The location of the settlement was fairly consistent with the slight

variation possibly due to the accuracy and knowledge of the map maker. In congruence with the maps, previous oral interviews with Marshall Keith and Omer Lundt put the site structures for Keith's Siding in similar positions (Mier 1996:231-234).

Pauline Quade's memoir was entitled "Keith's Siding Days" showing that the area was known as such after logging operations ceased (Quade 2012). The school was probably known as Keith's Siding due to the information from the map and the school census records from 1921-1934 listing the school as "Keith's Siding". Mike Monte also claimed that there was a school named "Keith's Siding" in the site area (Monte 2012). All of the newspaper articles called the location "Keith's Siding" except for the last one published in 1951 which referred to it as the town of Keith (Forest Republican 1918,1922,1923,1941,1951) There were also school reports for the rural schools of the township of Lincoln for the years 1924, 1926, 1927, and 1930 that included students from the town of Keith but the school was not listed specifically as Keith's Siding. They may have combined all the information from various rural schools in that specific township because many of the children's names are the same as the ones on the reports from Keith's Siding. About half of the students were listed as living in Keith and the greater part of the students lived less than two miles away from school supporting the interchangeable use of Keith and Keith's Siding. A letter from the Clerk of the Keith's Siding School District, Mr. L.F. Arndt, addressed the letter from Keith, Wisconsin, more verification that "Keith" and "Keith's Siding" were used interchangeably (Arndt 1927).

The location of the Lake Metonga School near to the Keith's Siding site area on the 1950 Quadrangle Map combined with the previous oral interview of Omer Lundt in which he claimed that he taught at Metonga School may indicate that Keith's Siding and

Lake Metonga School were the same entity. Mr. Lundt claimed to teach at Metonga School with Edward Pelican, Eleanor Kerr, Nola Kincaid, and Virgil Murray (Mier 1996: 235). The same teachers were named in the Keith's Siding School census records from 1921-1934. In Pauline Quade's memoir she explained that she attended the Keith's Siding School and that first she was taught by Omer Lundt and secondly by Virgil Murray(Quade 2012:20). From the similar location and the same teachers' names it appeared that Metonga School and Keith's Siding School may have been the same structure. It was also possible that it could have been renamed or another building was moved to replace the old one. This was confirmed by the previous oral history interview with Pauline Quade when she stated "In the 1940's Metonga School was moved to a location just west of the present house of Leo Zelechowski's son, approximately 50 feet south of Keith Siding Road (Mier 1996: 237). The maps drawn from the information obtained through oral interviews of four of the informants put Keith's Siding School and Metonga School in the same location (Mier 1996: 236-41).The only source that does not fit this explanation was the Keith Siding School census record for 1921 stating that the Metonga School Club provided evening entertainment at the Keith's Siding School. The archaeological evidence neither confirmed nor denied the existence of either schools (Mier 1996).

Kentucky Migration

The migration of individuals and families from Kentucky to Forest County was a prevalent theme in several oral history interviews. Many of the current residents of Forest County can trace their roots back to this time period and this heritage is still celebrated

today through local celebrations like “Kentuck Days”. There are conflicting accounts of the make-up of the logging population of Keith’s Siding but there were many similar accounts that the second occupation of the site was comprised of “Kentucks” as well as the general population of the county.

Pauline Quade stated during the oral interview “Almost everyone that lived at Keith’s Siding was from Kentucky I was born in Kentucky” (Quade 2013). Similarly Quade’s memoir explained:

“The first move here was to a little town called Kent, a small settlement between Bryant and Lily, Wisconsin. Here two children were born, Edgar and Verna. We moved back to Kentucky around 1923 and had two more children William and myself. I think dad worked on a section line for railroads. Our parents’ next move to Wisconsin ended at Monico (June 1930). We lived in a tent that we had pitched on a baseball field. Sometime later we moved to Crandon and settled in an old store building at Keith’s Siding” (Quade 2012:3).

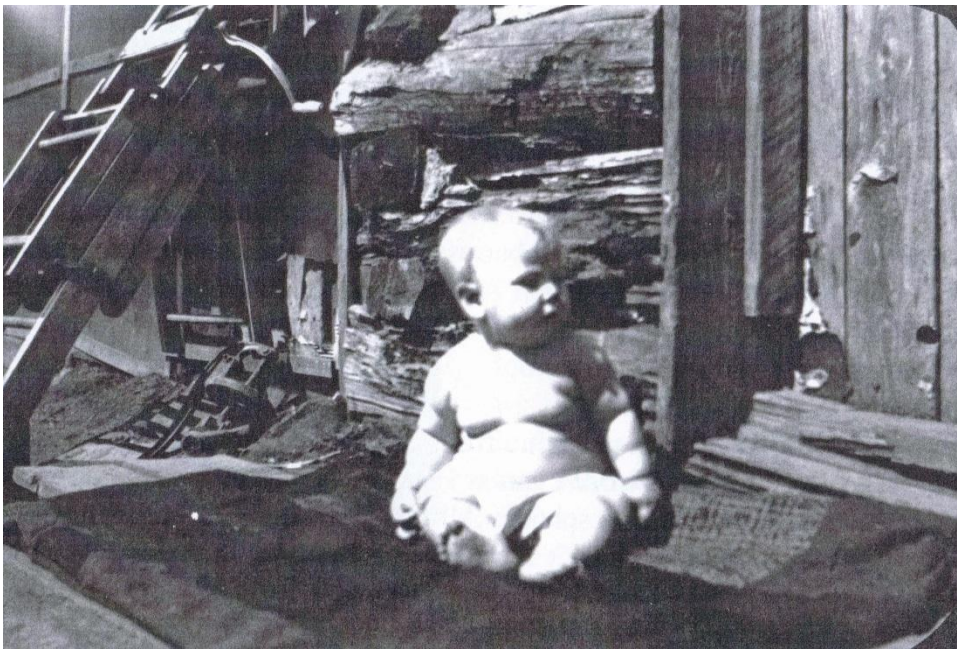


Figure 29: Pauline Quade’s sister on the front of the Keith Siding store (Quade 2012:22)

The school census records were found for the Keith’s Siding School for the years 1921-1934 showing an average of eighteen students ranging in age from 5-16 attended

each year. From the school records I learned the names of students attending Keith's Siding School. I located the students' names in the United States Census Records as well as information on the region that the students originally migrated from. The vast majority of students or their parents were born in Kentucky, followed by Wisconsin, Illinois, and Virginia. There were only two foreign born individuals from Denmark (US Census 1920, 1925, 1930, 1935). Based on the data gathered I infer that the majority of the Keith Siding population from 1921-1934 migrated from Kentucky as was common in the Forest County area (Franzen 1995:328, Monte 2012, Quade 2013, Mier 1996:19, Spencer 2011).

Rhoda Spencer recalled this about Keith's Siding "All the Kentucks came to the area together as a family. A horse drawn bus picked up kids near Keith Siding who possibly went to Stone Lake School" (Spencer 2011). Rich Childers claimed that "my grandmother Elizabeth Chaney "Lizzy" cooked at Keith's Siding for two years and my grandmother's brother-in-law worked at Keith Siding as a logger at some time I don't know when. My grandmother was born in Kentucky and so was her husband John" (Childers 2013). This information was confirmed through the census records (US Census 1920). This informant was the only person related to someone living at the lumber settlement while it was functioning.

Megan Sharpless, a University of Wisconsin Milwaukee student, conducted another series of oral interviews with local Forest County residents in 2009. One of the topics she chose to focus on was the migration of workers from Kentucky when she spoke to Winnie Krueger, a volunteer at the Forest County Historical Society. Krueger explained:

“The migration was definitely due to the Hiles and Page Landeck’s move up here. The pine had all been cut earlier and now only hardwoods existed, which needed to be handled differently, and were no longer able to be floated to the mills due to their weight. Also, most of the woods had been depleted in Kentucky which was a very depressed economy. When mills moved and brought some of their people here they wrote home and said there were jobs so more came anyway they could. They also liked the hilly countryside as it reminded them of home. They had very close-knit enclaves. Glasgow, Kentucky is where many of the people around here came from” (Sharpless 2009: 12-13).

Mrs. Krueger was referring to the Page and Landeck mill closing in Glasgow, Kentucky in 1902 and moving its operations to Crandon Wisconsin. After the move the company changed its name to Keith and Hiles Lumber Company. Many of the men that worked in Kentucky decided to follow the company in order to try to keep their jobs and many generations followed to the Crandon area (Sharpless 2009:13).

Megan Sharpless also interviewed Kay Wayne Parker, who lived at Keith’s Siding in 1940; she described her family’s migration from Kentucky to the Northwoods. Parker explained

“ That her uncle returned home to Tick Ridge near Olive Hill, Kentucky in 1934 to visit his kin, and on his way back to Wisconsin he brought his seventeen-year-old nephew, Clayton Ralph Parker (Kay Parker’s dad), back with him. In 1941, the Parkers and the Kitchens (Parker’s maternal side) relocated the entire family to California. Clayton Parker told his daughter that he lived at Keith’s Siding for some seven years. He had five brothers and sisters: Harlon, Minta, Myrtle, Shade, Dolph and Florence. She did not state whether the siblings lived at Keith’s Siding in the late thirties” (Sharpless 2009:13).

The following informants did not have specific details of “Kentucks” living at Keith’s Siding but they provide information about the migration in general to Forest County. Terry Flannery recalled:

“There was no money in Kentucky because people only had two choices either become a sharecropper or a coal miner. If you were lucky you could work for the WPA building roads through the mountains. Jess Stamper traveled from Kentucky to Laona and found a job in the lumber camps. He returned to Kentucky and told everyone they could

make 10 dollars in Wisconsin to the 1 dollar they could make in Kentucky. Once one family member went everyone picked up and moved to Wisconsin and settled in Forest County including the Flannerys. My mother was born in Kentucky and came here in 1928 because there was still timber and sawmills running” (Flannery 2012).

Hoffman remembered “But there were a lot of Kentucks that worked at the camps as well as quite a few Natives” (Hoffman 2013).

Spencer explained “Marion Flannery and Rhoda (Kegley) Flannery were my grandparents who came from Kentucky. He logged but did not work in a camp. He was more of a farmer” (Spencer 2011).

Cracraft recalled “I moved to the Crandon area in 1934 from Kentucky. Some of the people that were already there from Kentucky were the McMillions, Griffiths, Deatons, Spencers, and Kings. I recall hunting as a major factor in part of the migration to Wisconsin. The family moved here because of the beauty of the area, hunting, and job possibilities” (Cracraft 2012).

Although there were several interviews detailing families traveling from Kentucky and settling in Forest County, a previous interview suggested an alternative explanation. Marshall Keith remembered “Most of the crew came from a Seventh Day Adventist community in South-Central Wisconsin. Potawatomi Indians from nearby came also to the camp to work” (Mier 1996:132). Two other oral history participants also do not have descendants from Kentucky but rather Poland and Canada (Champine 2012, Hoffman 2013). The archaeological investigation yielded no information on the ethnic makeup of the community of Keith’s Siding.

Families

There was archaeological evidence that women and children were present at the Keith's Siding lumber settlement, such as: a doll's leg, compact case, cosmetic jars, canning jars, and decorated white ware (Mier 1996: 160). There was also a previous oral history interview supporting this information, Marshall Keith said "The crew came from a Seventh Day Adventist Community" (Mier 1996: 231). There was no other mention if families specifically inhabiting Keith's Siding lumber settlement but there were several interviews mentioning families at lumber camps in Forest County which can be applied to our analysis of Keith's Siding.

Kay Champine's explained: "My father Harry Champine managed lumber camps in towns in central Wisconsin such as: Mercer, Mosinee, and Pearson as well as Alvin in Forest County from at least 1910-1927. My mother Mildred Champine traveled with her husband and did most of the cooking for the whole camp. The family moved around a lot. All the families lived separately in the camps but they all came together to eat their meals and the women would do the cooking. Mom did most of the cooking for the whole camp. Most were families were related that lived and worked there. They had a teacher that taught the kids in the camps. It seems like they had a very hard life and it was not a great place to live" (Champine 2012).



Figure 30: Mary Champine at lumber camp (Courtesy of author's personal collection)

Another example was Rhoda Spencer recollection “My parents met at a lumber camp. My mother was always moving around to different lumber camps with her parents. Horace Wheeler and Delia Wheeler moved around the area setting up lumber camps. He would advertise for family men who were religious almost all were Seventh Day Adventists. There were seven families that would come together and live in the winter and then moved and live in different places in the summer. They always looked forward to getting back together. They were usually all related. They depended on each other for survival” (Spencer 2011).

Ray Hoffman recalled “My wife was born at the camp, Mayme Jaskie, I was also born at the camp. The company built my family's house and the Jaskie's house but the rest of the camp was just bunkhouses for the single lumber jacks” (Hoffman 2013).

There were families living at lumber camps in Forest County from 1900-1930 most often relatives traveling together from camp to camp. The number of families and the duration of their stay as Keith's Siding Lumber settlement were unclear from the archaeological investigation and historical documentation.

Reoccupation of the Keith's Siding Site Location

There was archaeological evidence for a reoccupation of the site after it was abandoned by the lumber company around 1925. Feature 1 and feature 2 contain artifacts that were dated later than the mid 1920'-s ranging from 1932-1954. Feature two was located on the western edge of the site where the school was thought to be located during reoccupation (Mier 1996: 149). There was also historical documentation and oral history interviews that coincide with the archaeological record making it possible for some families to had settled in the location of the Keith's Siding lumber camp after it was abandoned.

According to The Forest Republican there was a train wreck in 1941 near Keith's Siding and the people living in the area took coal from the wreckage to heat their homes. The article revealed that there was still a small population at Keith's Siding in the early 1940'-s and that the members of that community were struggling financially. The maps of the school and the post office revealed that those facilities existed for the rural residents until 1933. The 1937 General Highway map, 1939 Geological map, and 1940 Enumeration map all showed evidence of structures. The Keith's Siding School census records existed until 1934 supporting the possibility of the reoccupation of the site area.

Pauline Quade wrote an entire memoir chronicling her home at Keith's Siding and described her life at the abandoned lumber settlement in an interview:

“I moved to Keith's Siding when I was three when my father abandoned my family there and didn't come back for two years and then my mother would not let him come back that was 1930. We moved into the old store as a house my mother would use all the shelves to store bread that she made. There was an area upstairs that the people that ran the store would have lived in. Roy Murray would take the cable off of the train and his

wife ran the post office. Keith's Siding was a very small town but we did have a teacher his name was Omer Lundt and he would walk to the school every day down the railroad tracks. They used to have cows that roamed around the area that used to be Keith's Siding and the old logging areas. The Cable Family lived nearby and so did the Murrays. Another family that lived in the area was the Converses" (Quade 2013).

Pauline's memoir included this passage about her family's time living at UV Junction that can provide insight into material culture at reoccupied site areas:

"In the meantime, everything else was scarce and Mom and all of us kids worked hard to gather everything we could find to help us survive. There were several abandoned logging camps within walking distance. That distance could be anywhere within a five or ten mile area. All the old, discarded coats, blankets, underwear, mattresses, wash tubs, milk cans, pots, pans, enamelware dishes or silverware. Whatever we could find we used. Mom sewed quilt tops from all the woolens she found. We ripped covers off the discarded mattresses and these were washed and sewed up again and stuffed with marsh grass for pallets. We didn't have beds for everyone. Some of the mattress covers were used for pillows that we stuffed with ripened cattails. Mom used lumber that we also found to build us a table and benches for eating" (Quade 2012: 6-7).

Mike Monte also mentioned the reoccupation of Keith's Siding "People started to live there during the depression because they did not have to pay any rent. Pauline Quade lived there because her father ran off and her mother needed some place to live" (Monte 2012). In a previous oral history interview Mr. Omer Lundt mentioned "William Cable moved into the structures at Pitt's Camp after its abandonment" (Mier 1996: 234).



Figure 31: Cable and Robinson children at Keith's Siding 1932

(Quade 2012:1)

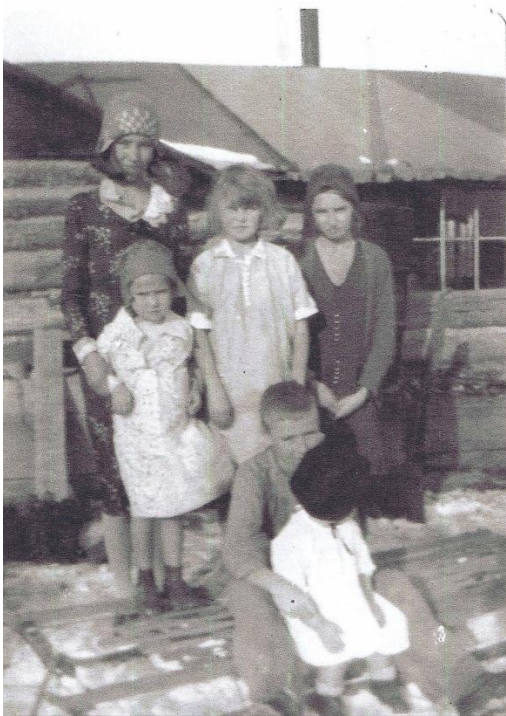


Figure 32: Quade family outside the train depot at Keith's

Siding (Courtesy of Clarice Ritchie)



Figure 33: Pauline and a neighbor standing in front of an ice house (Courtesy of Clarice Ritchie)

Through archival documentation, oral history interviews, and archaeological investigation there was evidence that the Keith's Siding site location was reoccupied after the lumber company abandoned the area in the mid 1920s. There was a school, post office, and families in that area that utilized the material culture left behind by the lumber industry into the mid 1930s possibly early 1940s. The extent of the reuse was uncertain and the research would benefit from a more extensive investigation of the site area.

Destruction of the Settlement

The reasons for abandonment of Keith's Siding site location are not clear because of the contradictory explanations and differing time lines from oral histories, historical documentation, and archaeological evidence. The only archaeological remnants that would provide a possible explanation was the evidence for fire in features 1 and 7. Feature 1 consisted of dark yellowish brown sands mixed with inclusions of ash, animal

bone, black charcoal, and wood fragments. Feature 1 was also dated after the lumber industry ceased at the site so the area could have been burned after it was abandoned. Feature 7 contained organic material mixed with charcoal, ash, and broken artifacts. There were also pockets of ash found as 25-35 cm below surface. This feature had 225 artifacts taken as a sample from several categories such as: building materials, personal items, lumber industry equipment, and food storage and preparation. The median age of this feature was 1920 during the time period of lumber extraction (Mier 1996: 93-117). This may have been a structure burned down unexpectedly with all the material culture left behind.

The article from the July 5, 1918 Forest Republican contained a front page story entitled "Fire Does Great Damage Sunday" which described the fire at Keith's Siding. "The fire had burnt all of the cut logs, ties, cedar, bark, and camps belonging to the Shawno Lumber Company. There was no insurance it is stated. Jake Hoffberger was foreman and he and many of the men lost all their belongings. Four fine pigs also burnt. There were about twenty men employed there" (Forest Republican 1918).

Another article in the American Lumberman dated July 20, 1918 appears to be describing the same incident: "Fire of unknown origin totally destroyed the camps of the Shawano Lumber Co. at Keith's Siding, four and a half miles south of North Crandon: 2,000,000 feet of logs were destroyed, with the various buildings, shanties, blacksmith shop, office, stables, etc. About 125 cords of tanbark at some distance from the camps were also burned" (American Lumberman 1918: 67).

Previous oral histories conducted by the Great Lakes Archaeological Research Center crew coincided with the archaeological and archival explanation of fire at the site

but the date of the fire and extent of damage did not always align. Marshall Keith recalled “By 1924 the town was already abandoned. The loading crew and their families had moved on to a camp where they were needed next. A substantial brush fire occurred in the mid 1920’s burning the town to the ground. The spur track was gone by 1930” (Mier 1996:231). Omer Lundt explained in an interview “The mill house burned down sometime after WWI however he could not remember a fire that destroyed all the buildings. The town was gone by 1930” (Mier 1996:234). Quade did not mention a fire but did describe the buildings “No structures were in the central area of the present hay field in 1932. Some structures which were located along Keith Siding Road during the 1930’s may have been of post 1920’s construction. This cluster of building included a railroad station general store, school, and a saw mill” (Mier 1996: 237). Leo Zelechowski did not mention a fire either “A structure was present in the southeast corner of the hayfield in the 1940’s before WWII (Pitt’s Camp). There was an abandoned post office building located on the north side of Keith Siding Road in 1940. In 1940 no buildings were present in the center of the hayfield that was part of the Keith’s Siding town. He could not remember when the Pitt’s Camp structures disappeared but it was after 1940” (Mier 1996: 240). None of the interviews collected for this thesis mentioned destruction by fire of the Keith’s Siding settlement.

From the information collected through archival documentation, archaeological investigation, and oral history interviews it was probable that there was a fire at Keith’s Siding site sometime between the years 1918-1925 with the extent of destruction unknown. It is unknown if the lumber company rebuilt areas of the lumber camp or abandoned the siding directly after the fire. It was probable that structures were

constructed after the fire and this was the small settlement Pauline Quade's family inhabited and where the post office and school stood.

Since the fire did not result in the complete abandonment of the site area an alternative reason for the final desertion of the site could be found in the archival documentation and oral histories. The technical bulletin published by the U.S. Department of Agriculture in 1939 could explain why the small group of Kentucky migrants finally abandoned the Keith's Siding site location. The bulletin explained that the Forest County's loss of the forest industry and the unsuccessful attempts to convert the cut over to farmland had left the residences with very little income. Many families could not afford basic necessities and the local governments were also in a state of distress because of the lack of taxes being paid. There were thousands of acres of land whose ownership was transferred to the county because of tax delinquency and an inordinate amount of public relief going to Forest County. During three months in 1936, 47% of rural families were getting assistance from the government. The county has received twice the amount of aid as the rest of Wisconsin and has only contributed 0.6% in taxes. The large sections of isolated settlements were causing great costs for public services in many towns. Possible solutions to these issues were the reorganization and consolidation of rural settlements and local government units (Johnson 1939: 61-78, Sorden 1979:15).

The U.S. Department of Agriculture created the solution to the high cost of public services to isolated settlements called "rural zoning". A law was passed in 1939 that prevented the settlement in cutover areas where inhabiting the area would create excessive costs for schools, roads, and other public services and might possibly hinder

the development of forestry and recreation in areas where agriculture had failed. Forest County had 340,560 acres of land with restricted use. This caused the relocation of settlers because they created unreasonable expenses through schools, roads, and financial relief funds. The forced move was supposed to rehabilitate the families' financial situation, provide better schooling, and more opportunity for social events.

Pauline Quade's memoir mentioned having to attend sixth grade at the Crandon School because the rural schools were being shut down. She also described her family's struggle to survive through farming and scavenging from abandoned lumber camps (Quade 2012:20). According to *The Forest Republican* in 1941 there was a train wreck near Keith's Siding in which the community took coal from the wreckage to heat their homes. The article revealed that there were still a few families at Keith's Siding in the early 1940's and that the members of that community were struggling financially.

An article in *The Forest Republican* on October 4, 1951 stated that the Minneapolis St. Paul and the Sault Ste. Marie railroad company filed an application with the public service commission of Wisconsin for authority to remove the tracks located about five miles south of Crandon at Keith's Siding. They wanted to eliminate the station located in the town of Keith as well. This may be the event that finally erased any remnants of a settlement at Keith's Siding.

Table 2: Timeline of Events at Keith's Siding Site Location According to Current Research

Date	Event	Comment
1910-1925	Keith's Siding used for hard wood lumber extraction	Artifact analysis
1918-1925	Destruction by fire	The Forest Republican, Lundt and Keith
1924-1930	Initial abandonment of settlement	Omer Lundt and Marshall Keith
1932	Pauline Quade lived at Keith's Siding	Memoir
1939	Rural Zoning Ordinance put into affect moving rural settlers	U.S. Dept of Agriculture
1940	Site area purchased to become hayfield and Pitt's Camp still stands	Leo Zelechowski
10/23/1941	Train wreck at Keith's Siding	The Forest Republican
10/04/1951	Removal of the tracks and station from Keith's Siding	The Forest Republican
1996	Land purchased by Nicolet Minerals	Platbook
2003	Land purchased by the Forest County Potawatomi Community	

CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSION

There were inconsistencies in information provided by the various data sets used to investigate the Keith's Siding site location and reoccupation. A number of names have been documented including: Keith's Siding, Keith, and Kieth. Discrepancies regarding the exact location of the site and the location of structures at the site exist. The Metonga School and the Keith's Siding School was sometimes a separate entity and in some documentation it was the same building. There were oral histories that claimed Kentucky migrants occupied Keith's Siding while other accounts suggest a Seventh Day Adventist group from South-Central Wisconsin and a few Native Americans. The extent to which women and children were present at the Keith's Siding settlement was unknown. There were discrepancies about when the fire occurred at Keith's Siding and when the initial abandonment of the site occurred. It was unclear when and for how long it was reoccupied by several families and what finally made them decide to leave the area.

This work has determined that there was a community known as Keith's Siding or Keith located five miles south of Crandon at the intersection of Keith Siding Road and the Wisconsin Central Railroad. The settlement was initially occupied in order to extract hardwood to transport by rail to the saw mill by men and at least one woman. There were families that lived at lumber camps in Forest County. There were groups of Seventh Day Adventists and Kentucky migrants that settled in Forest County and either group could have lived at Keith's Siding. A fire did destroy property at Keith's Siding and it was abandoned by the lumber company. There was a reoccupation of families that had access to a school, post office, and train station. They also eventually

left Keith's Siding, the railroad tracks and station was removed, and the area became a hayfield.

There were benefits to the inclusion to oral histories in this investigation, such as the ability to study mobility patterns, the changes in the areas throughout history, and a mechanism to cross reference information gathered from other sources (Gilchrist 2005: 334). Purser (1992:26) noted that oral histories play a key role in recovering the stories of disenfranchised or misinterpreted communities and discovering unrecorded events. Oral histories may only be one interpretation of the past but it still can give insight into the people's perceptions of that past and create research questions that would not have been thought of otherwise (Whitely 2002:405).

Purser (1992:25) finds that in recent years the more oral history that is being conducted the more validity that resource is being given and the text is always in the process of "being created, revised, contested, and validated in complex living communities". Oral histories have value when studying the Keith's Siding site location. The oral traditions can open the doors to new avenues of inquiry (Whitely 2002: 412).

Although oral histories provide information it is always important to remember that oral histories are not purely factual because they were someone's memory so the information will not be objective (Purser 1992: 27). Grele (1985) stated that "oral history is not the past but what the present remembers about the past" (Purser 1992:33). In addition, details are difficult to remember at times and someone may be unintentionally supplying a false characterization or generalizing about an experience (Purser 1991:12-13). Oral histories can have some negative consequences, such as making the research

too complex by providing too many contradicting sources of information. The living residents' relationship with the objects and the landscape may have changed over time making the information about the past reflect their circumstances rather than those of past people (Purser 1991:12-13). At times it can be difficult to connect oral histories with the large social and cultural context because they are so focused on the individual's experiences (Purser 1992: 27). Another conundrum one encounters when conducting interviews is that even if the information presented from several informants coincide that does not necessarily make it factual. There are many reconstructions that are told in a constant manner. The oral history should speak of a structured past in congruence with other social and comparable data (Whitely 2002: 412). The person conducting the interviews can lead the informant to respond a certain way such as the previous interviews conducted on Keith's Siding having more information about a fire while the current interviews have no mention of destruction by fire (Purser 1992:26). Although there is incongruity among the oral accounts this may not be entirely negative because the varying recollections can illuminate the evolving relationship between the community and the material culture and lead to a more pronounced understanding of the evolution of the community itself (Purser 1992: 30).

In the future this research would benefit from an extensive archaeological investigation of the Keith's Siding area thought to be the second occupation of the site by Kentucky migrants. There needs to be more archaeological evidence of the reuse of the site to understand how this affected the material culture and spatial arrangement. In congruence with the archaeological investigation, more oral histories could be gathered

from other families whose descendents were part of the reuse of the site such as the Cables and the Murrays (Quade 2013).

A second excavation of the original site area could yield more artifacts that could provide increased insight into the presence of women and children at the lumber settlement. The goal of the Phase II archaeological investigation was to determine if the site met the criteria necessary to be listed on the Register of Historic places (Mier 1996:163). There were many oral history interviews that stated that families were often present at camps and it would further the analysis to have more archaeological evidence to compare the two resources.

There could be more oral histories collected from informants about the migration from Kentucky to Forest County in order to glean more information about the motivations behind the move and the specific area in which they settled. The additional interviews could be used to understand the settlement of Kentucky migrants at Keith's Siding.

In the future I would like to see more oral histories and archaeological investigations conducted in Forest County in general because there were enormous gaps in the history of the area due to the lack of archival documentation. Besides the accounts of the few wealthy lumber company owners not much is known about the lives of the ordinary citizens that settled in Forest County and more archaeological investigation could provide that information. More oral history can contribute "the inclusion of a wider range of voices, and so helps to justify or challenge the collective "us" from which we claim to speak" (Purser:1992:34).

This thesis attempted to create a more complex analysis of the Keith's Siding site location and its reuse by using various avenues of inquiry including: historical documentation, archaeological investigation, and a collection of oral histories. Through the contradictions and consistencies of the different data sets new areas of research formed as well as new interpretations. Oral histories can aid in filling in the gaps of archaeological investigation and historical documentation, especially when studying working class groups. When the inherent biases of oral histories are taken into account then the value of the information can be appreciated and can create a rich and complex research endeavor.

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Appendix

Interview with Rhoda Spencer 12/29/2011 at 1:00 pm

Location: Rhoda Spencer residence, Crandon, Wisconsin

Age: 86

Question: What do you know about the location known as Keith Siding?

Answer: All the Kentucks came to the area together as a family. A horse drawn bus picked up kids near Keith Siding who possibly went to Stone Lake School.

Question: Do you remember any Seventh Day Adventists that lived in the Keith Siding area?

Answer: I did remember a woman that lived near Keith's Siding who was an Adventist.

Question: Did you ever live at a lumber camp?

Answer: I lived five years next to Grandma Thelma's old place east of the town of Argonne, fourteen years in Clear Water and the rest of the time in Crandon.

Question: What is your experience with the logging industry?

Answer: My mother was fourteen years old when she was married and had her first child when she was sixteen. My parents met at a lumber camp. My mother was always moving around to different lumber camps with her parents.

Horace Wheeler and Delia Wheeler moved around the area setting up lumber camps. He would advertise for family men who were religious almost all were Seventh Day Adventists.

There were seven families that would come together and live in the winter and then moved and live in different places in the summer. They always looked forward to getting back together. They were usually all related. They depended on each other for survival.

Besides Clear Water Horace set up camps in Eagle River, Three Lakes and a couple in Argonne.

Question: What was life like at the lumber settlements?

Answer: All the men had beards to keep their faces warm but when they would breathe it would make their beards freeze solid.

They would pour water on the trail so it would freeze so they could skid the logs with horses.

Most of these people are buried in a private cemetery called Smith Cemetery near Clearwater there is a lot of unmarked graves.

Saturdays were the Holy days at that lumber camp because they were Seventh Day Adventist.

The camp would bring a teacher because of the amount of children in the area.

It was very strict in the camps there was no fighting or stealing. No drinking was allowed in the camps because they did not want any fighting.

My grandmother did all the cooking in all the camps along with the other women. This was how it was in most of the camps.

My grandfather was the headman at all the camps and made all the rules.

There was no company store because food was brought in on the train they fed the men well to keep them working hard.

Question: Where did your family migrate from?

Answer: My family came to the area in 1907. My grandmother was from New York and my grandfather, Horace Wheeler, was from Kentucky. They were steady, sturdy people who always put family first and never did anything questionable.

The Flannery's were different they were always witty and all over the place. None of the Flannery's was alcoholics they never drank much but they loved to pedal the alcohol they were moonshiners.

The Wheeler's were wealthy people they had the first car in Clear Water.

Marion Flannery and Rhoda (Kegley) Flannery were my grandparents who came from Kentucky. He logged but did not work in a camp. He was more of a farmer. My father went to the school on short S.

Question: Where there any Native Americans working at your grandfather's lumber camps?

Answer: No natives at grandpa's camp. Gordon had a native working with him but I don't remember where that was at.

Interview with Mike Monte 1/2/2012 at 1:00 pm

Location: Office of the Pioneer Express, Crandon, Wisconsin

Age: 60s

Question: What do you know about the location known as Keith Siding?

Answer: Paige 1901 had his son in law MD Keith run Keith's Siding it was owned by Keith and Hiles and Paige ran the store. Page and Landeck owned the railroad and area before Keith and Hiles. The logs from Keith Siding went to Clear Lake they were run in by the railroad and sleighed in. There was no sawmill in the town. People lived there and when the last log was cut the people left they set up what they needed to survive because there weren't any cars.

I saw on the 1912 Rail Road map Keith Siding was not listed.

Keith and Hiles also Logged by Otter Creek and owned the town of Lincoln and logged that they bought that from Schlitz family.

The mill owned by Keith and Hiles burned down in 1921.

But people started to live there during the depression because they did not have to pay any rent.

Pauline Quade lived there because her father ran off and her mother needed some place to live.

A siding means a set of tracks and a switch.

They brought in families so the companies didn't have to transport workers every day.

I believe there was a store located there.

Joan Spur just down the tracks had a schoolhouse.

Lundt taught school at Keith Siding he walked there every day from town.

The mill where the timber went from Keith Siding burned down in 1921 so after that no value to the town after that-on Clear Lake

Most owners made as much money as possible and then took it and went back to the big cities down south.

The built a ramshackle town just to keep the workers there.

You know the railroad played a big part in logging.

They moved the tracks wherever the timber was.

In 1906 the Wisconsin Northern Railroad was put in and it went all the way to Argonne and in 1907 the depot was built.

In 1921 Wisconsin Junction from Argonne to Neenah all those individuals' investors in the railroad sold it to the big company.

Crandon had two depots Northwestern and the Soo Line.

Question: Do you know of any other lumber settlements in the area?

Answer: East of Argonne on Highway O Jim Odekirk had a one-room schoolhouse there and a store. They set up a whole town: blacksmith shop, boarding house, hotel but when the lumber was gone people left.

Logging was freedom could move from job to job in different camps.

Another town that disappeared was Nashville it was created by William Rodgers.

Ison another town that disappeared it had a post office and a school.

Wall another one that was just outside of Argonne.

Another town that disappeared was Bonneville were Lidia Bock taught school.

Champine camps around Mosinee, Mercer and North of Argonne.

Argonne had trains really early in the late 1870's so they could always ship things so they did not have a saw mill and they were able to farm more and ship the goods as a way to make money.

In 1902 Franklin Pierce Hiles built town north of the Soo line which was where Hiles built a company store, tons of houses and a park with a fountain that is now Hiles Mill Pond. Sold this to Forester Mueller in 1908 and after some time Charlie Fish bought everything.

Fish also built Echo which he built with a Bavarian theme.

The houses built on Aunt Rhoda's road were built by the government for lumber jack families that ran out of money when all the trees were cut down and there was no more work.

Question: Is there any other information about the lumber industry in the area that you would like to share?

Answer: In 1920's all the forests were gone and it was disgraceful and the towns started to disappear and people moved into Crandon or moved away.

CCC camps replanted the pines and kept Crandon businesses going.

There was a whorehouse located by Highway G on Marge's Road where a woman from Chicago chose that location in order to lure the loggers there and steal all their money.

Interview with Kay Champine 1/4/12 at 6:30 pm

Location: Acorn Apartments Senior Living Facilities

Age: 71

Question: What do you know about the location known as Keith Siding?

Answer: I know of the road called Keith Siding but I did not know there was a town there.

Question: What is your experience with the logging industry?

Answer: My father Harry Champine managed lumber camps in towns in Central Wisconsin such as: Mercer, Mosinee, and Pearson as well as Alvin in Forest County from at least 1910-1927. My mother Mildred Champine traveled with her husband and did most of the cooking for the whole camp. The family moved around a lot.

Question: You were not born during this time. How do you know this information?

Answer: My mother told me about her experiences.

Question: Were there families living at the lumber camps?

Answer: Yes. All the families lived separately in the camps but they all came together to eat their meals and the women would do the cooking. Mom did most of the cooking for the whole camp.

Most were families were related that lived and worked there.

Question: Where there any amenities for the workers like a church or school?

Answer: They had a teacher that taught the kids in the camps.

Question: Is there anything else that you can tell me about living at a lumber settlement?

Answer: It seems like they had a very hard life and it was not a great place to live.

Question: Where were your parents from?

Answer My mother was from Wittenburg, Wisconsin and my father was from Wausau, Wisconsin but their families were from Canada.

Interview with Terry Flannery 1/6/12 at 6:00 pm

Location: Perry Flannery Residence, Argonne, Wisconsin

Age: 72

Question: What do you know about the location known as Keith Siding?

Answer: I don't know much about the area except that Leo Zelechowski owns land in that area and that there is an old railroad line out there.

Question: What is your experience with the lumber industry?

Answer: I used to log myself. My great grandfather, Horace Wheeler owned lumber camps around Clear Water where the Northwestern and the Sooline crossed. My grandfather, Oliver Flannery, and my grandmother, Alberta Wheeler, met in this logging camp where Oliver worked as a lumberjack. He was sixteen and she was fourteen and they ran away and walked along the railroad tracks to Rhinelander where they got married. They then returned to the camp where the Wheeler family accepted the marriage. My father, Gordon Flannery, worked in a lumber camp as a teenage but then the camps disappeared so he made money harvesting and selling ginseng.

Question: What do you remember about the lumber industry in the area?

Answer: Jim Odekirk land on County Highway G was the last lumber camps in the 1960's in which they had farms that supplied the camps with the food and cattle and the company that owned it was Consolidated.

Ayr was the first settlement in the area; there was a lumber camp there before Crandon even existed.

As you drove through the county settlements dotted the area where there were lumber camps and temporary houses. These settlements were filled with people the population really grew quickly. They would live in the towns until the timber was harvested then pack up and move to another area.

Question: Where there any amenities for the workers like a church or school?

Answer: The lumber company would be in charge of hiring a teacher and was a woman that had to remain unmarried and the boss was responsible for housing the teacher. Every settlement had a school.

People lived in shacks or portable housing.

There were cemeteries in every settlement but the graves were often left unmarked.

The store between Argonne and Hiles was where the lumber jacks purchased stuff.

Women that lived in the camps cooked for the lumberjacks.

Question: What do you know about the migration from Kentucky to Forest County?

Answer: There was no money in Kentucky because people only had two choices either become a sharecropper or a coal miner. If you were lucky you could work for the WPA building roads through the mountains. Jess Stamper traveled from Kentucky to Laona and found a job in the lumber camps. He returned to Kentucky and told everyone they could make 10 dollars in Wisconsin to the 1 dollar they could make in Kentucky. Once one family member went everyone picked up and moved to Wisconsin and settled in Forest County including the Flannerys. My mother was born in Kentucky and came here in 1928 because there was still timber and sawmills running.

Interview with Zorie Cracraft via. Correspondence with her daughter Phyllis 3/10/2012

Location: Phyllis Residence, Crandon, Wisconsin

Age: 100

Question: What do you know about the location known as Keith Siding?

Answer: I do not remember the town of Keith. I just remember the area being called Keith's Siding when my family came to Wisconsin.

Question: What was your experience with the lumber industry?

Answer: My family came to farm.

Question: Where was your family originally from?

Answer: I moved to the Crandon area in 1934 from Kentucky. The area was "a little rough" with all gravel roads; no water or sewer and gas lines had not been put in yet. The summer I came to Crandon we could not have anything because of the grasshoppers. I went for a walk with some friends whose baby lost a shoe. The next morning we went to go find it and all that was left was part of the sole of the shoe.

Some of the people that were already there from Kentucky were the McMillions, Griffiths, Deatons, Spencers, and Kings.

I recall hunting as a major factor in part of the migration to Wisconsin. The family moved here because of the beauty of the area, hunting, and job possibilities.

We did not know many people and they were pretty much total strangers in the area. We settled in Riggsville (east of Crandon) and didn't know anything about the area.

Interview with Rich Childers via telephone 1/25/2013 at 3:00 pm

Location: Rich Childers local business, Crandon, Wisconsin

Age: 50s

Question: What do you know about the location known as Keith Siding?

Answer: My grandmother Elizabeth Chaney "Lizzy" cooked there for two years.

My family had a farm in Popple River so they did whatever they could to make money.

My grandmother's brother in law worked at Keith Siding as a logger at some time I don't know when.

They took the train there was no road.

Question: Where was your grandmother originally from?

Answer: She was born in Kentucky and so was her husband John.

Interview with Ray Hoffman 3/21/2013 at 1:00pm

Location: Ray Hoffman Residence in Mole Lake, Wisconsin

Age: mid 90's

Question: What do you know about the location known as Keith Siding?

Answer: Not much I only know of the road near Lake Metonga.

Question: You were not aware of any logging going on in that area?

Answer: No my family only logged near Mole Lake

Question: What is your experience with the lumber industry?

Answer: My father in law, John Jaskie, was the manager of the camp on Swamp Creek it was called McGee's logging camp.

My mother and father lived in Hatley in 1915 but they heard of work at the camp and moved into the camp.

My mother, Elisabeth Hoffman, was a cook at the camp along with Mrs. Jaskie, and a native woman named Alice Randall.

My mother also washed all the clothes for the lumber jacks.

My father was a bull cook which meant his duties were: taking care of the horses, caring for the cattle and butchering them, and did all the heavy lifting in the kitchen.

My wife was born at the camp Mayme Jaskie, I was also born at the camp.

Question: Where there any facilities for the workers like a church or a school?

Answer: The company built my family's house and the Jaskie's house but the rest of the camp was just bunkhouses for the single lumber jacks.

To go to the store or the post office we had to go to Mole Lake.

The children at the camp went to Dry Lake School which is now called Bishop Lake.

Question: Where were your parents originally from?

Answer: Before Hatley my parents were from Poland. I have a children's primer that taught Polish children English.

My family went to church in Jennings as well as my wife's family because a Polish church was in this community.

Before and after church they would visit with the other Polish families and play music.

But there were a lot of Kentucks that worked at the camps as well as quite a few Natives.

Question: What did your family do when the lumber camp closed?

Answer: The camp closed during the depression. After the logging camp closed down my family bought a farm near Swamp Creek Rd. in Nashville. My father would live at the logging camps in the winter and work as a logger but would come home on the weekends. The camp he worked at was Sensis Camp owned by August Sense and another camp was called Camp 1 which had a saw mill and was owned by Duffs.

My father in law bought a farm near Nashville in late 1920's early 1930's that I helped pick potatoes on.

My wife went to the Nashville School and I went to the Mole Lake School once the camp closed down.

Almost everyone in the area were loggers or worked on the railroad and after the lumber business went downhill everyone tried their hand at farming, there were tons of farms in Argonne, Hiles, and Nashville.

Almost everyone was in the moonshining business as well. I had quite a few stills and ran a small operation.

Around 1908 none of the women in Crandon would let a saloon in the town.

I mostly farmed after we left the camp. We cut down all the wood off the 20 acres we bought for logging and made that into lumber. I would cut pulpwood on and off but mostly stuck to farm work.

I remember a lot of killwood being cut for the trains because it didn't matter the quality of the wood because it was used to fuel the locomotives.

Interview with Pauline Quade 3/19/13 at 2:00 pm

Location: Mrs. Quade's daughter's residence, Crandon, Wisconsin

Age: 85

Question: What do you know about the location known as Keith Siding?

Answer: I moved to Keith's Siding when I was three when my father abandoned my family there and didn't come back for two years and then my mother would not let him come back that was 1930. Pauline Robinson was my maiden name.

We moved into the old store as a house my mother would use all the shelves to store bread that she made. There was an area upstairs that the people that ran the store would have lived in.

Roy Murray would take the cable off of the train and his wife ran the post office.

Keith's Siding was a very small town but we did have a teacher his name was Omer Lundt and he would walk to the school every day down the railroad tracks.

There was another little settlement called Jones Spur that had a post office too between Lily and Keith's Siding but by that time their store was closed so it was mostly just a group of houses.

Question: Was there any logging going on at Keith Siding?

Answer: No one was logging at Keith's Siding when I lived there just in the area and they would pile wood by the railroad tracks.

The loggers had a little train that went right through the woods that would haul the lumber to the main track.

Built a viaduct by the railroad track and loaded pulp from that.

We used to have cows that roamed around the area that used to be Keith's Siding and the old logging areas.

Question: Who else was living at Keith Siding at the time?

Answer: The Cable Family lived nearby and so did the Murrays. Another family that lived in the area was the Converses.

Bill Straub was a German man who moved to the area to find work as a logger but could not find work. My mother dated him.

Bill Straub and Pauline's family farmed hay together.

Most people that lived in the area died off they were old when she was a girl.

Almost everyone that lived at Keith's Siding were from Kentucky I was born in Kentucky.

Question: Did a lot of people use the railroad to travel to and from Keith Siding?

Answer: Yes. The train conductors would bring us food and candy when they would drive by daily. We would always watch the trains go by and walk the train tracks.

My mother would cook in an outside stove in the summer because it was so hot in that small store and she would feed drifters that would walk down the railroad tracks sometimes they would be loggers.

Question: When did you leave Keith Siding?

Answer: I left Keith's Siding at 16 to go to Illinois and work in a factory. My mother sent one of my younger sisters to live with me because I was making more money. My mother wanted me to move home to waitress at a small restaurant in Crandon.

My mother made us move home because the landlord wrote her a letter telling her that I was letting men stay the night. But that was not true he was just pissed because he was going to molest my little sister and I stopped him.

Then I moved to Green Bay to work in a sanitarium for people with tuberculosis for three months then my mother made me come home because she thought I would die of disease.

At age 18 my mother had moved to Antigo and I went to work in a glove factory there.

I got married at 19 and helped my husband peel pulp for pulpwood for 14 years until I divorced him for domestic abuse.