HISTORY DATA REPORT ON NORTH MANITOU ISLAND, LEELANAU COUNTY, MICHIGAN

by David L. Fritz Historian

U.S. Department of the Interior National Park Service Denver Service Center Central Team

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SUMMARY OF THE HISTORY DATA REPORT ON NORTH MANITOU ISLAND

Having surveyed the larger currents of North Manitou Island history, it is patently clear that the largest subject connected with that island is logging. Almost the first recorded instance of European/American white contact with the island is the fact that steamboat boilers needed its hardwood to send them on to their destinations. This usage of the wood for steamers lasted as late as the decade between 1910 and 1920; but that is not to say that the volume of firewood harvested stayed at a constant level. Probably much less steamer fuel was taken out after Nicholas Pickard's death in 1876. We know a man named Daniel Buss was still cutting firewood in 1880, and he was doubtlessly succeeded by others who carried on the tradition between then and 1910 when Peter Stormer, Jr., engaged in logging. It is also a fair supposition to conclude that the North Manitou forest rejuvenated itself between 1876 and 1909, because the successors to Pickard were not large-scale entrepreneurs.

Probably the most detrimental cutting of hardwoods on the island was done by the Smith and Hull Lumber Company of Traverse City between 1909 and 1917. Jim Muhn said that they were only taking out hemlock, but probably they went after any forms of merchantable hardwoods that they could get. Their selectivity of tree types would have given protection to those trees that were not commercially valuable. There was one other limitation to Smith and Hull's injuriousness: the lands they owned or had stumpage rights on seemed to be restricted to the western side of the island.

After the departure of Smith and Hull, it is fairly certain that other interests continued to harvest wood from 1917 to 1926 when William R. Angell started to buy up most of the island. There is mention of logging provisions in the title exchange between Smith and Hull and Frank Reed in 1922. From the Bartlett report of 1944 we know that William Angell and his island managers continued to cut wood previous to that date, and perhaps continuously from Angell's acquisition of the island in 1926. It is not probable that this era of wood cutting was very voluminous. It is also known that Angell acquired the services of Robert Larson, a professional Forester, who conducted a timber survey in 1942 and 1943; and that the subsequent cutting program after 1956 was based on Larson's survey which projected the feasibility of cutting a million board feet a year over a thirtyyear cycle. This plan was managed by a professional forester and carried into practice for the next 20 years. It was a commercially profitable venture and without it the island probably would not have generated any funds for the Angell Foundation's charitable enterprises. At the moment when the foundation was handing the island over to National Park Service management (1979) the trustees had been contemplating an even more sophisticated forestry management plan that would utilize the best principles from modern academia, a plan proposed by professors James A. Johnson and Eric A. Bourdo of Michigan Technological University, Houghton, Michigan. Needless to say, it was never implemented.

A secondary subject from North Manitou is the question of managing the deer population there. It is both an adversarial subject to the forest treated above, as well as a threat to the rest of the flora on the island. Doubtlessly William Angell never foresaw what destructive effects deer could have on the island's flora. He had introduced a very few deer in 1926 and by 1944 they were too numerous for the ecological balance between them and the island's vegetation. Angell, as an avid sportsman, thought that his providing a hunting

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experience for his clients would also place comfortable limits on the size of the deer herd so that it would never threaten certain forms of vegetation there. But the herd got out of control on several occasions since 1944 and the damage to certain plant life forms on the island has been severe and may take some time to reverse. An early National Park Service decision in the natural resources plan has set the deer population at 100; after which point the effects on the vegetation will be monitored to see if that number is small enough to allow a restoration of a more natural flora pattern.

There are three tertiary subjects associated with North Manitou Island: farming (including fruit farming), the life-saving and lighthouse service, and the subject of large landowners, especially the Angell Foundation.

The early censuses revealed that farming fluctuated from 1860 to 1880. There were nine farmers in 1860, none in 1870, and seven in 1880. The 1894 Michigan State Census gave considerable data regarding the state of agriculture on the island. Unfortunately, the various tables of that census were irregular in their formats, often mixing data With South Manitou or the other offshore islands. But there were 20 farms on the two Manitous in 1894, 713 tilled acres on both, and the rest of the data 1s useful even if it is confused. That same census demonstrates that 1894 was probably the moment of establishing larger sc ale fruit orchards on North Manitou, because the relevant data table only claims 33 acres of apple trees and one acre of pear trees for both islands. The chance discovery of several 1894 deeds revealed the time of expanding horticulture on North Manitou. for they tell of the arrival of 1500 new pear trees and 2500 new apple trees. It is not clear when the trend toward more cherry trees happened, but Rita Hadra Rosco's account tells that cherries were a major farming item in the 1940s. The care of the fruit trees continued until the 1950s but the surviving trees now suffer from neglect.

General farming declined slowly after 1880, as there were only two farmers mentioned in the 1910 Census. William Angell revived farming after 1926 when his employees recommenced tilling the so il, gr owing oats and hay, by utilizing the cleared land inherited from the earlier eras. The Bartlett report of 1944 tells of this and mentions also 80 acres of active cherry orchards t as well as lesser acreages of apple orchards. Farming remained about this level until the mid-l 950s, when it was discontinued al together. This was all under the administration of either the Manitou Island Association or the Angell Foundation.

Summarizing agriculture on North Manitou, we see that, like South Manitou, logging or wooding preceded it. Farming began in the 1850s and lasted in the form of cutting hay as late as into the 1950 s. Nevertheless, unlike South Manitou Island, the northern island-brother to the pair demonstrated less fertile soil for general farming. This is shown in the disappearance of farmers in the 1870 census. Despite this a few hardy souls tried general farming again by 1880 to meet with frustration a second time. The major exception to this general rule was the Maleski family in the northeast corner of the island who stuck with general farming from the 1880s to the 1950s. Even so, the Maleskis gradually converted into a gardening or truck farming type operation. The basic reason for the failure of general farming on North Manitou was poor soil. The ground was eventually found to be better suited for fruit farming in the 1890s, roughly the same moment of discovery for the nearby mainland counties. One of the few items that fared well on North Manitou soil was the potato. Various types of hay did not do too badly either but even in

the best season hay had to be imported over the winter for farm animals. So by and large the early general farming was subsistence farming. One exception to this was the raising of cattle; but this only worked as long as the open range concept was permitted, till about 1930.

The land areas utilized for general farming on North Manitou were those of the Maleskis on the northeast corner, perhaps forty acres at the most; about fifty acres near the village, which included orchards, gardens and hay fields; about twenty acres in fruit around Carlson's, west of the village; about fifty acres on the west side, half of that being in hay or corn, with some potatoes; and about fifty acres cumulatively on all of the various early homesteads on the south end.

Despite the general statement that North Manitou engaged in subsistence farming, there were always exceptions, such as the early marketing of cattle by boat to Chicago or any other place that cared to buy its beef via Great Lakes steamers. Chicago's proximity gave it pre-eminence, but Milwaukee was an alternate market. The transition to fruit growing in the 1890s made the island more of an exporter. Apples were transported in bushel baskets and cherries in barrels, most of them sent via Leland to market. Similarly incoming supplies for the island came mostly from Leland, particularly their food shortfall requirement, but also seeds, livestock, tools and so on. The exceptions to this rule would be the large items, such as automobiles, which came by lake steamer from Chicago, or Muskegon or Milwaukee.

When the homesteading era was dead or nearly so by the 1920s and the island was mostly dominated by the large land owners, the year-round population had shrunk to very small numbers; then more than ever the island depended for its subsistence on the mainland. Even the growing of animal fodder for the Syndicate's or Manitou Island Association's draught animals was insufficient to keep them over winter. There are a number of stories of winter shortages over the years that tell of North Manitou's farming limitations. Again, the exception had been the export of fruit, apples and cherries, as late as the 1950s.

This report gives only a brief outline of the life-saving station that was manned on North Manitou from 1874 until about 1940. Similar minuscule discussion covers the lighthouse at the southeast tip from 1896 until 1938. Jim Muhn, who did a Historic Resource Study for the entire Sleeping Bear park, wrote more extensively about these subjects in that report. He also gathered a few documents from the National Archives Record Group 26, including architectural drawings of quite a few of these buildings. If a decision is ever taken at some later date to expand on this subject, much of the data is already available in the Sleeping Bear Dunes files.

The last subject, perhaps worthy of some notice, is that most of North Manitou Island almost always was owned by one or a very few large landowners. In the beginning, this ownership was most widely diffused. Albert W. Bacon owned 6,765.9 acres in 1862, to be the biggest landholder. This was nearly half of the island. Among the lesser landowners during the 1860s were Daniel A. Van Valkenburgh with 1,257.82 acres, Nicholas Pickard with 1,221.22 acres, John J. Bagley with 905.75 acres, and Joseph Stringham with 336.2 acres.

By 1900 Bacon's fiefdom was dissipated, as he had probably bought it only for speculation anyway. Then Benjamin and Franklin Newhall of Chicago were the big landowners with 8,359 acres, nearly 60 percent of the island. Gottlieb Patek was next with about 4,000 acres, around 28 percent of the land area. This monopoly was quickly broken when Smith and Hull bought about 4,000 acres, getting most of it from Patek. By 1925 the land had drifted over to other big landowners, mainly Frank N. Reed of Evanston, Illinois, who owned 5,182 acres or about 36 percent of the island. Reed's rivals were the partners Roger Sherman and George M. McConnel who jointly owned 7,911 acres, or about 56 percent of the island. William R. Angell quickly bought out these large holders when he commenced his purchases in 1926. After that Angell slowly bought out the small landowners so that he became the single greatest owner of land for all time on North Manitou. The Manitou Island Association made several land purchases in the 1950s after Angell's decease, so that when the National Park Service land acquisition process was culminated in mid-1984, only 21.80 acres of the exchange involved owners other than the Angell Foundation. Those four small parcels involved about fifteen-hundredths of one percent of the land area of North Manitou Island.

Because of the Angell Foundation's unique relationship to North Manitou Island, a brief summary of it is in order here. The foundation as such only came into existence in 1949, but there were antecedent analogous organizations, all under the guiding hand of William R. Angell. When Angell bought up much of the island in 1926, it was under the aegis of the Security Trust Company, a Michigan trust of Detroit, Michigan, trust #3088. This same trust was referred to in documents of the 1930s and later as the "Detroit Trust Company," and was identical to the earlier entity, because the identifying trust number was the same. The present writer did not get access to this trust instrument mainly because of the sheer volume of Angell Foundation papers. In a March 1985 meeting with Wilbur H. Davis, vice president and treasurer of the foundation, the writer was informed that the bulk of the foundation records were in storage and that they aggregated more than a hundred hazes. Mr. Davis also said that the officers of the foundation were amenable to making these documents accessible to researchers, but that presently they were looking for a repository that would be willing to take custody of the collection and organize it. These papers would give a closer definition of the purposes and activities of Angell with regard to his various charitable organizations. They would also give a detailed history of the Manitou Island Association, which was basically a corporate entity designed to act as an instrument both for the early Trust #3088 and the Angell Foundation itself. Mr. Davis assured the writer that the intent of the various metamorphoses of the trust organizations was to remain in compliance with the changing requirements in the Michigan and federal tax laws over the years.

As has been intimated, Angell died in 1950, but the foundation continued to control North Manitou Island principally by means of the Manitou Island Association. The latter organization managed such things as the logging of the island and the annual deer hunts there. This form of management continued until the acquisition of the island by the National Park Service.

Before launching into the history of the island, a word must be said about National Register properties. The National Park Service, Midwest Regional Office, contracted for a survey of North Manitou Island with the Michigan History Division who, in turn,

contracted with Michigan State University. The Michigan State Historic Preservation Office (SHPO) engaged the services of a graduate student named Hagiwara from Michigan State University at Lansing to do the survey of the structures on North Manitou during the summer of 1979. As a result of that survey the SHPO determined that none of the structures on the island were eligible for the National Register. Since then, park personnel noticed that Hagiwara somehow missed the sawmill in North Manitou Village on the east side of the island. The structure appears to have National Register potential because of the importance of logging on the island and because of the relatively good integrity of the structure. In September of 1985 a new survey of island structures was made and it now appears that six entities will be nominated for the National Register: the United States Coast Guard Station, the sawmill in the village, the large barn in the village, the Katie Shepard Summer Hotel in the village, the large barn on the west side, and the Bournique residence near the south end of the island. An architect participated in the evaluation of all structures.

A BRIEF HISTORY OF NORTH MANITOU ISLAND LEELANAU COUNTY, MICHICAN

A. INTRODUCTION

Since the word "manitou" is an Algonquian term meaning "spirit," "spirits," or "deity," as a name it is bound to recur in geographic place names throughout all of the region where the Algonquian peoples, particularly the Ojibwa, thrived. Thus, there are at least two Manitou Islands in Lake Superior, one amongst the Apostle Islands, and another opposite the tip of the Keweenaw Peninsula of the Upper Peninsula of Michigan. To add to the confusion, there is a Manitoulin Island belonging to the Province of Ontario in Lake Huron. Besides this, there are a sprinkling of towns and other place names of similar structure throughout the central United States. But we are interested only in the North Manitou Island in Lake Michigan that is part of Leelanau County, Michigan, and which lies about 12 miles west of the town of Leland, Michigan.

B. SOME FACTS ABOUT THE EARLY HISTORY OF MICHIGAN

Even though North Manitou Island has evidences of aboriginal occupation in the prehistoric period, the early written accounts for the historic era claim that no Indians were living on the Manitous (North or South) when the European/American whites came onto the scene.¹

Before launching into a recitation of the pertinent facts regarding the island proper, a few remarks about the early development of the State of Michigan are in order. It evolved, of course, out of the Northwest Territory which was established by the Ordinance of 1787. In 1800 the land that is now Michigan, became part of Indiana Territory. In 1805 Michigan became a separate territory unto itself. Between then and 1837, the year of statehood, the territory underwent numerous changes in its land status, there being nearly annual treaties with one Indian tribe or another. After 1836, most treaties with the Indians dealt with their status on reservations or whether they would be given individual allotments of land.²

The first survey of public lands in Michigan took place in 1816; but it was not until 1840 that a land survey took place covering the northern part of the southern peninsula of Michigan. In order to accommodate the onward movement of settlers, various changes in the locations of the land offices took place. An early land office was placed at Detroit in 1804. In 1823 there was a land office at Monroe, Michigan, near Toledo, Ohio. Then, in 1852, a land office was sat up in northern Michigan at Duncan, in present Cheboygan County. As if this step had gone too far into the wilderness, the Duncan office was removed for a moment in 1858 to Mackinaw Island, which had been from the start one of the focal points for the movement of settlers.³

Another rapid switch of the northern land office, to Traverse City, also in 1858, makes an important point about the mode of settlement in the earliest days. At that time most of the incoming Michigan immigrants travelled by boat, moving from lake to lake along the Great Lakes chain on the early steamships and other boats. Nearly surrounded by water, the lower Michigan peninsula was ideally suited for this type of colonization. And so, the coastal areas, and islands were the first places to see the white pioneers.

Thus, by circumstances, North Manitou Island became an early object of interest for potential settlement, but more often it was a way-station for settlers on the mainland. Its providential endowment with a hardwood forest was an added incentive for attracting steamships with hungry boilers that needed wood to burn.

This system of waterborne traffic put the island of Mackinac at the northern tip of the lower peninsula, at the crossroads for commercial traffic and settlement. As early as 1813 Governor Lewis Cass proclaimed Mackinac the county seat of a vast territory that was designated Michilimackinac or Mackinac County. Over the following years this immense county was given varying boundaries, but in 1840 it still contained the northern half of the lower peninsula as well as all of the upper peninsula of Michigan. At that late date Mackinac County held legal jurisdiction over numerous unorganized counties that included present day Grand Traverse County and Leelanau County. Formal subdivision into organized counties came in 1853 for Grand Traverse, 1863 for Leelanau, and in 1855 all the islands adjacent to the northwest portion of the lower peninsula were designated to be Manitou County. The latter county held this designation until 1895 when the islands were divided up among their adjacent mainland counties. It was one of the few instances in the United States where a county name was done away with altogether. More frequently counties ware subdivided while one portion of the original territory kept the original name.⁵

C. THE COMING OF NICHOLAS PICKARD TO NORTH MANITOU ISLAND IN THE 1840s

Despite its huge size in geographic dimensions, Mackinac County numbered only 3,598 inhabitants for the Census of 1850. The state census 4 years later showed only 911 inhabitants for Grand Traverse County. This gives some notion of the sparseness of mainland population in the vicinity of North Manitou Island. Among those enumerated as inhabitants of Mackinac County in 1850 were the four members of the Pickard family, whose name was one of the first to become noteworthy in conjunction with North Manitou Island. There was the father, Nicholas, age 33, identified as a wood dealer who had been born in New York State. The mother, Nancy, was 29, also born in New York. The two children were denominated simply as C. Pickard, age 2, female, born in New York, and "M. W. Pickard", age 1, male, born in New York. The age and birthplace of the children does not necessarily prove that the Pickards had only recently come to Michigan, because various narratives tell that the Pickards commuted frequently to and fro between New York and Michigan.

Even though Nicholas Pickard gets more attention than anyone else in the secondary accounts that deal with the early history of North Manitou Island, there were other names recorded in connection with the place before Pickard. One account stated that a man named Joseph Oliver "removed to Manitou Island" to engage in trapping and fishing in 1820. Oliver, a native of Pennsylvania, may have been on South Manitou, since he was also credited with being the first settler in what became Benzie County.⁸

There were other anonymous early white visitors to North Manitou before Pickard, some of them fishermen, and even woodcutters who started that trade before Pickard. A woman named Margaret Fuller did a travel book in 1843 in which she told of a short stop "at the Manitou Islands" for the steam boat on which she rode; the boat stopped for wood. She wrote that "no one lives here except the woodcutters for the steamboats. Once again,

it is not absolutely certain that this was North Manitou, but another writer stated that when Nicholas Pickard did arrive, there were already two or three families on North Manitou. ¹⁰

The secondary accounts relate various years for Pickard-a coming, from 1844 to 1846. The land records say that his earliest purchase of ground on North Manitou happened on the 8th of November 1849. (See Appendix A.) But he had probably begun cutting wood before that date, for if other woodcutters were pirating the forest in 1843, why not Pickard? Another account was certain that Pickard was well established on North Manitou in 1847. The story went:

In 1847 John LeRue came from Chicago to the Manitou Islands in search of health. At that time there was a pier, or wharf, on each of the two islands where passing steamers used to call for wood; the one on the north Island being owned by Mr. Pickard, that on the south by Mr. Barton. On the north Manitou were two fishermen without families.¹¹

Nicholas Pickard-a first land purchase was made in partnership with Charles Stringham, also giving Mackinac Island as his place of residence. One parcel of 41 acres was in Section 15, Lot 4, T31N Rl4W. This piece was on the southeast shore near the tip, just north of property that much later became Bournique's. This is the place at which Pickard built his first dock on North Manitou and where a succession of docks followed, one of which, in the twentieth century, was called the Peter Stormer Dock, after a more recent owner. An interesting feature about the location of this dock was the fact that neither Pickard nor Stringham owned any inland forest near this parcel. so, they had to either pirate trees in the vicinity or buy them from neighboring landowners. One puzzle was that Section 16 to the west was first purchased by Benjamin and Franklin Newhall in 1900 and then almost immediately transferred over as State School Land as a potential source of revenue. During Pickard's era it was public land and open to temptation to woodcutters.

Pickard and Stringham's other 1849 land purchase was equally strategic, as it was what was then called Lots 3 and 4 in Section 34, T32N Rl4W. This is most of the ground that became North Manitou Village in the twentieth century, and is more frequently referred to in recent land transactions as "an Unrecorded Plat by W. O. Greene, Part of Government Lot 4." The partners also built a wooding dock here.

Pickard was not the earliest recorded landowner on North Manitou. That distinction went to Neil McFadyen of Erie County, Pennsylvania, who bought two parcels of land in Sections 22 and 23, T31N R14W, on October 27, 1848, consisting of 28.75 acres and 16.00 acres respectively. The latter piece of land is particularly worthy of note since it is the southeast tip of the island, the place where the Light House Board built a fog-signal and lighthouse between 1896 and 1898. At the time of the lighthouse construction representatives of the Treasury Department were unable to find the rightful owner of the parcel. They traced McFadyen's patent back to Volume One, page 139, Record of Patents in the Sault Sta Marie district, General Land Office; learned that McFadyen was dead but did not know the date or place, knew that he had not paid his land taxes, could not find his heirs, and knew that McFadyen had paid \$1.25 for each of the 16 acres. The government wanted to seize the land in 1895 for the non-payment of taxes, but it was finally purchased by condemnation proceedings on August 5, 1899. He time William Angell and others acquired the parcel in the 1930s, the land had accreted to a size of 60 acres. When the

National Park Service acquired it in 1984, there were 92.69 acres to this fractional section 23. This one parcel had grown by 76.69 acres in a hundred and thirty-five years, going far toward explaining the 190.93-acre discrepancy between the original land survey and more recent land surveys.¹⁷

Returning to Nicholas Pickard's activities, one of the 1850s steamship captains gave a brief glimpse of the North Manitou wood supply and a few other interesting items.

The islands are of extremely curious formation. Densely covered with wood, [1851) they are never-the-less composed entirely of sand. I was informed by Captain M'Comb of the United States Topographical Engineers that when employed in surveying this group, he desired to plant a surveying station on the crest of a sandhill [Lt. Macomber's Monument?]. On attempting to cut down certain bushes for the purpose, he was much astonished to find that they were the tops of some cottonwood trees. From the still living foliage he came to the conclusion that the drifting sand had completely buried them alive; and believed that two years at the utmost was the period of time required to envelop them to the depth of sixty feet.¹⁸

Most of the accounts about Nicholas Pickard# s cordwood business relate that for a number of years he was teamed up with his brother Simon on North Manitou, but the land records show that only Nicholas bought land on the island. At any rate, all agree that Simon left the trade on North Manitou in 1857 and continued in the same line of work on the mainland, first at Northport and then at Leland. It is probably true that the brothers worked together on North Manitou, but the secondary accounts err by a year in saying that the Pickard dock on the west side of the island was built in 1854. It was July 24, 1855, before Nicholas Pickard bought a suitable site on the west side in Section 1, T31N R15W. This is the place where the piles for the later Crescent City Dock remained in the surf for so many years during the twentieth century. At this place too, Nicholas Pickard owned only the land at the water's edge, a mere 52.47 acres. Once again, he must have bought stumpage rights from his neighbors, most probably from Daniel A. Van Valkenburgh, who began buying up adjacent inland acreage on the west side in 1855, so that by 1861 he owned more than a thousand acres in the vicinity, extending from Pickard's westside dock to the western shore of Lake Manitou.¹⁹

Eighteen Fifty-Five and 1857 were the big years in which Nicholas Pickard bought most of the land that fed his woodcutting business on North Manitou. In 1855 he bought 228.37 acres and in 1857 he bought 730.75 acres on North Manitou. At that moment he was the biggest landowner on the island, but in 1862 he was eclipsed by a man named Albert w. Bacon who bought nearly half of the island that year with the acquisition of 6,765.9 acres. Most of Pickard's twelve hundred odd acres were clustered around the site that later became North Manitou Village on the east side; while Bacon's larger holding covered the central and north-central interior of the island, with shoreline parcels on the west, north, northeast, and southwest coasts.²⁰

D. DETAILS OF THE 1860 CENSUS

One secondary account stated that North Manitou had a population of about 50 families in 1859. Their occupations were said to be farming and wood cutting.²¹ The 1860

Census clarifies this somewhat, enumerating 55 dwellings and 52 families. Three houses were found unoccupied. The population was given as 269, with 156 males and 113 females. Most of the beads of households, 41, were foreign born, the German states predominating, with others from Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Switzerland, France, England, Ireland and Canada. Of the American born heads of a family, the majority came from New York State, with one or the other coming from Pennsylvania and Massachusetts. About half of the children of the foreign-born parents were born within the United States. 22

It is striking to note that out of all of the 1860 heads of a household on North Manitou, only one claimed to ow land on the island. This was John Milland, who gave his occupation as farmer and fisherman, and his land value at \$160. Land records did not turn up Milland's purchase, but he may have held an unregistered deed in a purchase from Pickard or someone else. The listed occupations in the census show that there were 39-day laborers who probably cut wood for Pickard. Besides these, there were nine farmers, seven farm laborers, ten fishermen, three domestics, two carpenters, two blacksmiths, a shoemaker, a wagon maker, a carriage maker, one man who was both a farmer and a fisherman, and one widow.²³

One farmer, Stephen Bower from Bavaria, may have had a larger farming enterprise than most, as seven adult male farm laborers lived under his roof. Similarly, James Westland, a fisherman from Canada, had three other fishermen and a farmer living with him. None of the early land buyers on North Manitou were listed in the census of 1860. But ona name closely associated with the island, that of the Stormers, was listed among the inhabitants. Henry Stormer of Germany was 29 years old then, had a wife named Catherine, also German born, a daughter, Greta, born 7 years before in Germany, and Peter, age 5, born in Michigan.²⁴ The latter was probably the later dock owner who also sold wood to steamers.

An interesting sidelight to the 1860 census was the fact that Manitou County recorded the presence of 180 American Indiana in the rolls, these being distributed over all the islands that constituted the county. No island-by-island breakdown was available, and by 1870 the census reflected the departure of all these Indians for parts unknown. Passed down stories from father to son reveal that Indians still visited North Manitou Island as transients into the 1880s.²⁵

E. SOME OTHER EARLY NORTH MANITOU DWELLERS

A secondary account recites a few more names of people who spent a few years on North Manitou during this era. Moses H. Dexter worked aa a blacksmith there from 1849 to 1857 before he moved to the mainland. John Dalton formerly of New York, worked for Pickard from 1848 to 1866, and part of that time managed one of Pickard's docks. Dalton eventually had a family of eight children, seven of whoa reached their majority. John's older brother Henry also spent a few years on North Manitou working for Pickard. He, his wife1 and four children were counted there with the 1860 enumeration. Frederick Cook, Jr., came to the island in 1856 to do carpenter work in the construction of a sawmill for Edwin H. Munger. He only stayed a year and left when the mill vas completed. This mill was probably near the eastern shore, for all the land Munger bought in 1862, 584.7 acres, was on the east side. C. H. Kahrs was among the Germans who came to North Manitou in 1855 and worked in the wood business. He stayed only 2 years. Andrew Halmond lived on

the island only from 1857 to 1861, after which interval he found his life's work as a ship's captain on the lakes. Cornelius Jones engaged in the wood business on North Manitou from 1849 to 1855. John E. Fisher and Dr. William H. Walker were among the large numbers who used the island as a way- station for some other destination. They passed through in 1854. Charles Oberst, a native of Baden, Germany, was a house and ship carpenter who chopped wood for Pickard from 1855 to 1858. Valentine Lee operated a ferry between Leland and the island from 1858 to 1860. He too left for the mainland. So, the transiency of many North Manitou dwellers was the rule rather than the exception.²⁶

F. THE VILLAGE OF AYLSWORTH

Jim Muhn wrote in his Historic Resource Study for the park that George F. Aylsworth, Sr., took control of Pickard's dock on the west side shortly after 1857. This is probably true, but Aylsworth first acquired a small parcel of 40 acres near the southwest corner of Lake Manitou on July 1, 1864. Most of the land adjacent to that parcel had been bought up by Daniel A. Van Valkenburgh. Van Valkenburgh had bought westside shoreline property in 1855, plus a quarter-section inland from the former during the same year. Similarly, the larger portions of Van Valkenburg's inland acquisitions came in 1861 and 1864. But the present writer did find at least one sale of westside land in 1866 from Van Valkenburgh to Aylsworth.²⁷ This would have been the more likely moment for George F. Aylsworth's takeover of the westside dock and the slow development of the unincorporated and misspelled village of "Ailsworth?" Muhn went on to say that Aylsworth's dock closed in 1873 and that the village withered thereafter.²⁸ It may be that Aylsworth's wooding operation lasted longer, since he did not dispose of his westside docking area until 1884. His widow, Maggie, was still selling some of his holdings as late as 1898.²⁹

G. THE DEATH OP NICHOLAS PICKABD IN 1876

The decade of the 1860a continued to be prosperous for the steamer wooding business on North Manitou Island and for Nicholas Pickard in particular. He was also operating a sawmill there but the secondary accounts tell us nothing about the location of it.³⁰ While continuing operations on the island, he added a pier for wooding on the mainland at Leland in 1873. Over the years his family was sufficiently well off so that it could afford to winter in Buffalo, New York, while spending summers on North Manitou. He had married Nancy Buss of Niagara County, New York, and moat of their eight children were born in Buffalo. Unfortunately, six of the eight children died young and only two survived their father when he passed away in April of 1876. at age 59. He vas survived by Nancy. his wife, a son, Burnside N. Pickard, and a daughter, Mrs. c. A. Rossman.³¹

After Nicholas' death Nancy M. Pickard did not immediately dissipate his North Manitou land holdings totaling more than a thousand acres. In fact, during 1877 and 1880 she bought several parcels; but finally in 1881 through 1886 she started to sell it off.³²

H. ALBERT W. BACON, FIRST LAND MOGUL OF NORTH MANITOU

The most striking change in land ownership on North Manitou during the 1860s was the purchase of 6,765.9 acres of land by Albert W. Bacon of Grand Traverse County, Michigan. Bacon used mainly Military Bounty Land Grant Certificates from the War of

1812, plus a little cash, to buy up almost half of the land on the island. It seems his purpose was mainly speculative, as there is no record that he ever lived on North Manitou. And by 1900 all of his holdings had passed into the hands of other large land speculators.³³

I. DETAILS OF THE 1870 CENSUS

The 1870 U. s. Census for North Manitou indicated that transiency of population was still the most striking feature and that Nicholas Pickard's wood dock was the paramount business. In 10 years, the population had shrunk from 269 to 91. There were now 59 adults and 32 children in 24 households. Of the 59 adults, 40 were male. There were 24 laborers who presumably worked with Pickard's wooding operation. Eighteen wives listed their occupation as "keeping house." Pickard gave his occupation as "wood merchant:11 claimed to own \$35,000 worth of real estate with \$9,000 in personal estate. His wife Nancy was 50 years old at that milepost, his daughter Jessie was 13, and Burnside was 8. There were only two other inhabitants of North Manitou who claimed to own land besides Pickard. These were Hugh Robinson, a butcher, living alone, and William Crandall, a coal dealer, who claimed to own \$4,000 worth of real estate. Besides these, there were seven fishermen, two carpenters, a clerk at: the wood dock, a clerk in a store, and Leander Buss kept a boarding house. The latter man's boarders were not listed with his household. In contrast, Pickard's household boarded the two clerks, a 76-year-old fisherman and a laborer.³⁴

The disappearance of farmers and farm laborers was the most visible change since 1860. The dominance of foreign-born residents was noteworthy. Seventy out of 91 were foreign born; 19 from Norway, 15 from Sweden, 13 from Canada,11 from Poland, 8 from Germanic states, 3 from Denmark, and I from Ireland. Of the American born, 12 were from Michigan and nine from New York.³⁵ An observer could sense that the island was in a transitional stage. The wood business was declining and the island needed some other purpose. Besides Pickard, only three family names seemed to have a lasting connection to the island, those of Anderson, Frederickson and Paetschow. All three recur repeatedly in the Leelanau County deed books, while the names of Anderson and Paetschow appear on stones in the island s cemetery.

J. DETAILS OF THE 1880 CENSUS

By 1880 there was a visible indication that agriculture was reviving on North Manitou Island. Granted that the population had sunk to 73 from 91 a decade before, there were now seven farmers listed among the occupations. There were 19 households, 17 dwellings and 13 married couples, with 34 children. There were three widowers, two widows, six bachelor men, and two spinsters. Though a lot of the children were born in the United States, only seven out of 39 adults were American born. Looking at the foreign-born adults, there were ten from Germanic states, nine Danes, eight Swedes, two Poles, one Swiss, one Norse, and one Canadian. Among occupations in addition to the seven farmers, ware 13 housekeepers (wives), nine fishermen, two sailors, a carpenter, a blacksmith, a washerwoman, only one laborer, and one wood merchant, Daniel Buss. Buss had evidently succeeded Pickard in this business, but his must have been a small operation. The census forms for this year did not provide data on land ownership.³⁶

One of the more interesting entries from the 1880 census was that regarding the Maleski family, since this name probably has had the longest standing association with North Manitou Island, three generations having lived there. As so often happened, the census gave a phonetic spelling of the name "Malshiska". A grandson, Paul Maleski, Jr., says the name really was spelled "Malecheski" until it was shortened to the present Maleski. Adam and his wife Mary were 26 and 28 years old respectively in 1880 and had emigrated from the environs of Oswiecim (or Auschwitz) in the Polish portion of Prussia in central Europe. They had at first settled in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, and their oldest daughter Mary had been born there in 1873. The following year Adam and his brother Frank heard of opportunities on the eastern side of Lake Michigan and moved there. Adam at first got a job cutting cordwood for boats on North Manitou, working for Silas R. Boardman. In a short time, he decided to fend for himself and went into commercial fishing. That was how the census recorded his status in 1880. Besides, he then had five daughters, Mary, Anastasia, Elizabeth, Josephine, and Martha.

Eventually Adam Maleski gave up fishing for a living, acquired several parcels of land in Sections 21 and 28, T32N Rl4W, in the northeast corner of the island, and went into general farming. After 1880 Adam and Mary Maleski had four more children and of the total of nine children, seven lived to maturity, of these, Paul and John, who were born in 1884 and 1886 respectively, will be mentioned again later in this narrative.³⁷

K. SOME FACTS ABOUT NORTH MANITOU IN 1894

Unfortunately, much of the 1890 U.S. Census was destroyed by fire, so we do not have a family-by-family breakdown of population in that year for North Man.1.tou, but we do have the state's statistics on agriculture and industry for 1894. During much of the nineteenth century the state of Michigan put together a compilation of such statistics for years ending in "4," but not until 1894 was there a volume that specifically applied to North Manitou to the exclusion of all other islands or townships. After that data, North Manitou statistics would be lost in the larger numbers for Leelanau County generally.

The first table of statistics for 1894 puts North and South Manitou Islands together. Combined, they had 5,073 acres of farmland; there being 20 farms, 18 cultivated by owners, one rented for money, and one rented for shares. There were 713 tilled acres, including fallow land and grass in rotation, whether pasture or meadow. There were 81 acres of permanent meadow, including permanent pastures, orchards, vineyards, nurseries and market gardens. Seventeen hundred and ninety-four acres of the two islands were in woodland and forest. There were 2,485 acres of other improved lands.³⁸

On livestock, the table applies to North Manitou alone. There were 50 horses altogether; 4 under age 1, 7 between land 2, 7 between 2 and 3, and 32 horses more than 3 years old. There were no mules nor asses. There were 63 cattle who were not milch cow nor oxen. Twenty-five of these were less than 1 year old, 19 were between land 2, 16 between 2 and 3, and three older than 3 years old. There were 26 milch cows, no working oxen, 14 hogs, and 5 sheep. Two fleeces had been shorn from the latter in 1894, producing 6 pounds of woo1.³⁹

There were no pure-bred cattle.⁴⁰

The poultry picture covered both North and South Manitou. There were 975 chickens, 16 turkeys, 5 geese, and no ducks. Three hundred and fifteen dozen of eggs had been sold with a value of \$35. The same table revealed that 134 tons of clover hay had been harvested in 1893, 194 tons of hay other than clover grown, and a total of 234 tons of all kinds of hay harvested. Only 15 tons of hay were sold, with a total value of \$130. Among the dairy products, 8,850 gallons of milk had been produced and 2,950 pounds of butter. No cheese bad been made.⁴¹

Cereals were tabulated for both islands. There were 75 acres of Indian corn in 1893, producing 3,285 bushels; 61 acres of oats producing 1,835 bushels; 115 acres of rye producing 2,888 bushels, of these 550 bushels were sold for \$230; 5 acres of winter wheat producing 120 bushels; 57 acres of spring wheat producing 1,333 bushels; 18 acres of combined winter and spring wheat, yielding 435 bushels with a value of \$213.

The following table covered both islands and "unorganized territory" in Manitou County: There were 76 acres of potatoes, yielding 11,300 bushels, of which 8,600 bushels were sold for \$4,110.⁴³ There were 37 acres of Canada peas, yielding 710 bushels. There were 5 acres of flax that yielded both fifty bushels of seed, 5 tons of straw, and 4,400 pounds of fiber, with a cumulative value of \$50.⁴⁴

Table Seven applied to both Manitous and "unorganized territory". It listed five stands of bees on June 1, 1893, and 8 stands of bees on June 1, 1894. It included 2,500 cords of wood cut to a total value of \$4,300. This table also listed, somewhat redundantly, 91 acres of oats, 137 acres of rye, 9 acres of winter wheat, 36 acres of sprin& wheat, 18 acres of peas, 90 acres of potatoes, 90 acres of clover meadow, 240 acres of other meadows, and 145 acres of pasture (clover, timothy and other). 45

The fruit listing covered both islands. There were 33 acres of apple trees, with 2,075 bearing trees, producing 60 bushels in 1893. There was 1 acre of pear trees, 80 bearing trees producing 9 bushels in 1893. There was 1 acre of vineyards with no data on the results.⁴⁶

One table revealed the state of the North Manitou Island fishery. There were four independent fishermen employed in fishing, and a boy and a girl helped them. Their total investment in equipment was \$900, but there were no statistics concerning their yield.⁴⁷

Even though most of the personal schedules for the 1890 U.S. Census were destroyed by fire, one of the general tables from tha printed volumes gave a clue on population trends in Manitou County between 1880 and 1890. Basically, the county had lost population, shrinking from 1,334 souls to 860; but Manitou Township (presumably North Manitou Island) had gained from 73 people to 105. This increase probably reflects the beginning of an interest in the island as a resort community. Conversely the county's overall loss showed the failure of early agricultural experiments and the decline in the logging industry.⁴⁸

L. AN EARLY SIGN OF FRUIT FARMING ON NORTH MANITOU, 1894

A chance discovery by this writer revealed that Frederick M. Beuham was expanding his fruit farming at this time. Beuham originally bought 160 acres in Section 33, T32N R14W, in 1881. He apparently added more land from Sections 29, 32 and 33, also T32N R14W, in the years that followed, because a random discovery in the Leland deed

books showed that he was selling some land to the (now) famous fruit tree people, the Stark Brothers of Wisconsin, in 1894. The author also ran into another 1894 agreement between Beuham and the Stark Brothers, also filed later with the Leland Register of Deeds, in which the latter promised to ship 1,500 pear trees and 2,500 apple trees to North Manitou, to plant them in various places in Sections 28, 29, 32 and 33, all in T32N Rl4W, and look after them with a 15-year warranty. It seemed as if North Manitou was becoming an experiment station for the Stark Brothers fruit tree business. Apparently Beuham was not the only island dweller interested in fruit trees, as S. R. Boardman and the Mann brothers were mentioned in the agreement.⁴⁹

M. OF LIGHTHOUSES AND LIFE-SAVING STATIONS

To understand the administration of the life-saving station and lighthouse on North Manitou Island, one must consider the changing framework of the Federal bureaucracy connected with them. From 1789 until 1852 the Treasury Department maintained lighthouses. In the latter year the government organized the Light-Bouse Board, still within the Treasury Department. It stayed there until 1903, when it was transferred to the Department of Commerce and Labor. In 1910 the Light-House Board was renamed the Bureau of Lighthouses, but remained in Commerce and Labor. When that department split in 1913, lighthouses went with the Department of Commerce. Meanwhile, the United States Life-Saving Service had been established in 1871 as part of the Revenue-Marine Division of the Treasury Department. By January 1915 the functions of this service had become the responsibility of the newly organized United States Coast Guard. Similarly, the Bureau of Lighthouses was absorbed by the Coast Guard in 1939.⁵⁰

Returning to North Manitou, it was 3 years after the establishment of the Lifesaving Service as part of the Treasury Department, in 1874, that a station was set up on the island. The Treasury Department leased a small parcel of land from Nicholas Pickard on the east side of the island for a dollar a year. Since the land description on the lease is rather imprecise, it is difficult to say whether the location was in Section 3, T31N Rl4W or in Section 34, T32N Rl4W. The description of the parcel was based on a reference to Pickard's sawmill and was only 20 feet wide and was 40 feet deep from the shore of Lake Michigan. The 1900 Atlas of Leelanau County has the label for the life-saving station opposite Lot 1 in Section 3; but there is no placement of a symbol within the lot, so it is impossible to assert the exact location vi.th certitude. The twentieth century extant Coast Guard buildings are in Section 34, T32N Rl4W, which had also once been Pickard property. So, the original station may have always been in Section 34, or it may have been moved there after 1874.

Muhn wrote that the life-saving facility was improved in 1877 by the addition of a single-story frame structure surmounted by a watchtower. The facility was expanded in 1897 when its advantages included a dwelling I a blacksmith shop, a storehouse, a boathouse, a water tower, a storm signal tower, two privies, and a movable watch tower over and above the original station building. The station gave long and useful service, as evidenced in the Coast Guard files; but was eventually phased out with the onset of more modern technology, around 1940.⁵²

Muhn gave a fairly complete narration concerning the construction of the lighthouse and fog signal house near the southeast tip of the island between 1896 and 1898. The water currents depositing sand that added acreage to the southern end of the island

over the past hundred years, also made the Manitou Passage more hazardous to passing ships by bringing the shoal closer to the water's surface. This necessitated the addition of a lightship off the southeast tip around 1910. A number of different ships fulfilled this role off North Manitou into the 1930s. 'With improvements in technology. the lightship was replaced by an automatic shoal light in 1935. The 1956 USGS map of North Manitou showed the shoal light still functioning at that date, as it does today.⁵³

When the government decided to abandon the lighthouse in 1938, William R. Angell bought the entire complex for \$2,600. By then the southeast tip of North Manitou, that is, all of fractional Section 23, T31N R14W, had grown from 16 to 60 acres. The buildings were allowed to deteriorate thereafter. so that today only rubble remains. Snapshots taken by the island caretakers in November 1970 showed how a recent storm had eaten away at a dwelling there. The structure was then close to toppling into the surf.⁵⁴

N. THE 1890s: RESORT DEVELOPMENT AND THE BEGINNINGS OF NORTH MANITOU VILLAGE

Besides the construction of the lighthouse and the blossoming of agriculture and horticulture on the island, the next big development was an attempt in the 1890s to start a resort or summer home complex on North Manitou. The process evolved out of a large land purchase by Silas R. Boardman from Stella J. Platt on June 30, 1890.⁵⁵ In 1894 Boardman and his wife Mary entered a business arrangement with two other married couples, George W. Blossom, his wife Carrie, and Frederick H. Trude and his wife Mary. All three couples were from Chicago. The Boardmans, in selling parcels to the Blossoms and Trudes, drew up a covenant in company with the latter two couples, that placed restrictions amounting to zoning regulations for all future purchases in the development. The covenant was drawn up in reference to a privately drawn plat, referred to in innumerable deeds as the "W.O. Greene Plat." Not even the government lawyers were able to turn up a copy of the actual Greene Plat, but its dimensions were frequently repeated in document after document. It referred to a tract in Section 34, T32N R14W, described as follows:

A part of Government Lot 4, Section 34, North Manitou Island. Commencing at the South Quarter post of Section 34; thence East along the South line of Section 34, 35.00 feet to the point of beginning. Thence North 12° 47' East 1020.00 feet; thence East parallel with said South line of Section 34 to the shore of Lake Michigan; thence Southwesterly along said shore to the South line of Section 34; thence West along said South line to the point of beginning containing 18.33 acres of land more or less. ⁵⁶

The plot was divided into ten equal lots, numbered one to ten counting rom south to north, each being 102 feet wide. The covenant stated that the intent of the subdivision was to utilize the west 300 feet of each lot for cottages and/or dining halls, or sleeping quarters for servants. The eastern portion of each lot was intended for a private park, but boat houses were permitted. Each of the residents was guaranteed access to the public road and to a pier to the east.⁵⁷ In 1894 individual lots were sold for \$75. In 1905 one lot exchanged hands for \$800; in 1914 one went for \$500. In 1922 one went for \$1,000; and in 1926 one was sold for \$300. In the latter years the W.O. Greene Plat was sometimes referred to as the "Syndicate Subdivision". When William R. Angell started to buy some

of these lots, he paid \$2,000 for one in 1926, \$1,400 for one in 1928; and \$250 for one in 1937.⁵⁸

O. A 1900 LAND PLAT MAP

At the turn of the century there was an atlas of Leelanau County that gave land ownership summaries equivalent to the various type plat books that have been used since to give a general idea of land holdings during a given decade. These plats have two serious limitations: they cannot reflect the constant daily transactions in land matters; and they usually do not provide detailed information for small plots or parcels. Prescinding from these difficulties, the 1900 atlas gives a sense of the major currents in land ownership on North Manitou Island at that time. According to the map, Benjamin and Franklin Newhall of Chicago were the biggest landholders, owning about 8,359 acres, more than half of the island. The most noticeable discrepancy in the Newhalls' ownership is the fact that Section 34 T32N R14W, does not reflect the development that became North Manitou Village during the late 1890s. Doubtless this land had passed through the hands of the Newhalls before it got to Stella J. Platt and Silas R. Boardman. The next big landholder in 1900 was Gottlieb Patek who held nearly four thousand acres, about twenty-eight percent of the land area. Aside from these, there were only about a dozen different small landowners listed, owning a total of about 1,067 acres, less than two sections. The map had no owners listed for about 1,141 acres. The small-parcel holders were clustered principally along the southeast shore and the southern tip, with the exception of Peter Swanson in Section 1, T31N R15W, near the old dock on the west side. The names of the other small landowners were: A. Paetschow, E. Cherriman, John A. Swanson, N. Carlson, J. P. Johnson, W.G. Meyer, William Berckeler, A.G. Anderson, L.C. Alstrom, C. Alstrom, and John A. Anderson.⁵⁹

P. THE NORTH MANITOU SCHOOL, 1906

Another anomaly on the 1900 map was the designation of Section 16, T3lN R14W, as "State School Land." Section 16 in each township was always set aside for school land for sale to support a school. Whatever the state's intent regarding a school for North Manitou, it decided that same year that Section 16 would no longer be at the center of its plans, and sold the entire section too Benjamin and Franklin Newhall. But six years later the officers of School District Seven of Leland Township came to an accommodation with John L. Paetschow of North Manitou for an acre of land for a school in Section 3, T3lN R14W. They paid \$600 for the parcel. The location of the acre was described as follows:

Commencing at the NW Section corner of Section 3, T31N Rl4W; thence East on Section line 80 rods to the line running North and South between the NW 1/4 of the NW 1/4 and Lot 1 in Section 3, T31N Rl4W; thence South on said line 80 rods; thence East 1/2° South 55 rods; thence South 4 rods and 18 1/2 links for a starting point; thence South 16 rods; thence West 10 rods; thence north 16 rods; thence East 10 rods to place of beginning. Containing one acre of land, lying in Lot 2 in Section 3, T31N R14W.

The document was signed by Paetschow and the school district officers on September 22, 1906. Edward Fisher, Lewis Dustin and Milton Armstrong were the officers in question. The school district's title to this acre has never been extinguished, not even with National Park Service acquisition in 1984, as this parcel was listed as an exception for Tract #S3-109, also known as a part of Tract #53-122.⁶¹

The school was built in 1907. It was a grammar school with eight grades and one teacher. The number of pupils fluctuated from year to year with a high number of around 25. The school ran every year from its founding until the early 1940s. 62 Appendix Chas more data on the school. The 1956 USGS map had labelled the school as "abandoned".

Q. 1906: LOGGING ON NORTH MANITOU BY SMITH & HULL LUMBER COMPANY

In November of 1906 Smith & Hull Lumber Company of Traverse City, Michigan, bought up more than 4,000 acres of timbered land on the west side of the island. This constituted about six and a half sections, including the old Aylsworth dock area. Smith and Hull bought it all from Gottlieb Patek, a widower from Milwaukee. Patek apparently had extinguished the titles to some of this land held by the Newhalls in 1900. He also saw fit to register some of his earlier unrecorded deeds for this land at the Leland courthouse to prove to Smith and Hull that he indeed owned the land.⁶³

While talking about Smith & Hull Company, a word of background on the principals is in order. The Smiths were a second-generation lumbering family. William Y. Smith, Sr., was born in Constantia, New York, and never attained the distinction his two sons made in the lumbering profession, he died prematurely at age 40 in New York and his two sons headed west to make their fortunes. Both William, junior, and Franklyn H. Smith worked their way up through the ranks, performing nearly every conceivable role in the lumber industry from that of logger in the forest, to laborer in a sawmill, to timber estimator and buyer. The brothers worked for years at the well-known lumber firm of Hanna and Lay of Traverse City, Michigan. But William eventually drifted away from lumbering and went into flour milling, also in Traverse City.⁶⁴

Franklyn a. Smith, born in 1853, eventually teamed up with a member of the Hull family, but the year of this combination is not clear. In one place, the secondary account says Smith and Hull Company was formed in 1886, but does not say which member of the Hull family became the junior partner, The elder Henry S. Hull was of the same generation as Frank Smith, being born in 1845, but it never is stated in the former's biographical sketch that he joined up with Smith. The two gentlemen certainly crossed paths as officers in the Oval Wood Dish Company, but Hull finally settled more into Traverse City banking than anything else. His son, William C., born in 1869, would have been only 17 years old at the time of the alleged partnership formation; so it is more likely that the Smith and Hull team came together in 1894, for in William C. Hull's biographical sketch, it says:

In 1894 Mr. [William C.) Hull, in partnership with F.A. Smith, began dealing in hardwood timber lands, logs, bark, wood and other forest products, handling vast quantities of the same and meeting with very encouraging success in their efforts. Later the style of the firm was changed to that of the Smith & Hull Company.⁶⁵

So, in 1909 Saith and Hull Company started to cut hemlock trees on the west side of North Manitou Island. Once again they used the old site of Aylsworth, soon to be called Crescent City, as their port for exporting lumber to the mainland. This was in Section 1, T31N R15W. Crescent City bad a sawmill, a hotel, a general store, and a railroad. One account said the railroad was six miles long; but it would have taken less than four miles of trackage to reach their northernmost holdings on the northwest corner of the island.

Perhaps their total roadbed amounted to six miles. The trackage was standard gauge and the company had one steam engine. The Sleeping Bear Dunes Files have a few photographs of the railway roadbed, rolling stock, loading dock at Crescent City, a few street scenes from the town including its school, and a few photos of the lumberjacks, cooks and other workers. There is also one photo of a steam skidder in the woods. There is also one photo of a steam skidder in the woods.

An article in the Traverse City Evening Record gave some details about the establishment of the railroad on North Manitou in the Spring of 1909. During May of that year the steamer Nessen brought 29 carloads of railroad materials from Muskegon to the west side of North Manitou Island. Since the boat was loaded to the gunnels, the need for calm weather for offloading was imperative. The 28-ton Shea engine was loaded atop the entire pile and needed a non-pitching deck to enable it to roll safely onto the large new island dock. After unloading the engine, twelve Russell logging cars were taken off the ship, together with stacks of 35-pound (per foot) steel rail segments.

The article went on to state that Smith and Hull company hoped to haul 40,000 board feet of logs to its North Manitou sawmill every day during the cutting season. The longest haul on the rail line was said to be three or four miles, with several branches that cumulatively gave the railroad a total of five miles of track. The company expected to have a six-year cutting run, which proved to be a pretty accurate estimate.⁶⁸

R. SOME DETAILS FROM THE 1910 CENSUS

The 1910 U.S. Census provides an idea how the Smith and Hull Lumber Company dominated activities on North Manitou Island. Out of 118 people whose occupation was listed, about 90 were either directly involved with logging operations or performed services that supported it. There were 35 laborers who performed odd jobs around the sawmill, 29 lumberjacks, a bookkeeper and blacksmith at the lumber camp, several sawmill firemen, one sawyer at the sawmill and another at the shingle mill, a sawmill filer, plus a cook and his assistant at the camp. In support were several night watchmen, a shed keeper, a carpenter at the sawmill, and two engineers, one for the steam skidder and one for the sawmill. Beyond these, all the people connected with the hotel/boarding house could be said to depend upon the prosperity of logging operations for their livelihood. These were the proprietress of the hotel, Carrie Miser, and her hotel keeper, Emma Carter, a barber at the hotel, several servants, the proprietor of a general store, Phillip Thiel, and his store manager, Harold Corce. The manager of the lumber manufacturing operation was Phillip Johnson.⁶⁹

The island had 215 people, 156 adults and 59 children. Because of the nature of island work, there was a preponderance of adult males, 108, of whom 57 were unmarried, plus a number of widowers and married men who had not brought their families along. There were 41 married couples on the island and only a handful of unmarried women. There were only 48 adult women listed in the census. Unlike the 1880 census, the vast majority of the island dwellers were born in the United States, eighty-six percent or 185 out of 215. The foreign born were as follows: ten from Norway, eight from Sweden, seven from Germany, four from Canada, and one from the Netherlands.⁷⁰

After the Smith and Hull people, the largest employer on the island was the United States Life-Saving Service, with six surfmen and its captain Telsbord St. Peters. The

keepers of the lighthouse, Edward Cornell and Rosa F. Wright had kindred occupations, working for the U.S. Government. Then there were two mail carriers, Paul Maleski and Johnnie Paetschow, who may be said to be the first two people mentioned here to have permanent roots on North Manitou Island.⁷¹

Since the census enumeration was taken on May 13, 1910, the count does not reflect the summer-homes people; but it does give a sense of the year-round occupants of the island. There were only two farmers, Adam Maleski and John L. Johnson. It is unclear who hired them, but there were three farm laborers present. They might have worked for Maleski, Johnson, or the overseer for a fruit farm, John Newhall. The Newhall name is associated with large land holdings on the island during this era, and it is certain that the Newhalls associated themselves with the known large-scale fruit business begun there before the turn of the century.⁷²

In 1910 there were only three active fishermen working out of North Manitou. These were John Maleski, the 24-year-old-son of Adam, and Peter Swanson, a Swedish immigrant who came in 1881, and John Paetschow, a 54-year-old bachelor from Germany who had come over in 1892. The younger Johnnie Paetschow, the mail carrier, apparently was his nephew.⁷³

Aside from the above, there were two carpenters who did general work, one medical doctor, Otto M. LaCore, a stonemason named Frank Kimball, and a school teacher named Bella Halvorsen. The most puzzling occupation, if deciphered correctly, was that of Alva L. Bournique. The census report seems to say that he was a "dancing instructor." But since the microfilm reproduction of that particular page is of such poor quality, there are several possibilities: that the faint writing says something else; or that Bournique was playing a joke on the enumerator; or that the statement as interpreted was true. Other sources confirm that Bournique indeed was a dance instructor; but that his school of dance was located in the Chicago area, and not on North Manitou Island. See Appendix C for more data on Alvar Bournique.

The list of occupations for women reflects the state of U.S. society generally. Besides the school teacher, there was one lady who was a laundress, another who was a dressmaker, and only one wife who did not think it redundant to call herself a housekeeper. Of course, we have previously mentioned that the proprietress of the hotel/boarding house was a woman, as was her manager. Besides these there were four young ladies who worked as servants, two at the hotel and two in private homes.⁷⁵

A few family names occur on the 1910 Census that have a long-lasting association with North Manitou Island. There were the Maleskis, who bought a small parcel of land on the northeast shore of the island. Adam and Mary, born in Germany in 1853 and 1852 respectively, farmed there for many years and buried two infant children, probably on the Maleski property, during the 1890s. Little Anna died there on May 5, 1893, and young Peter Maleski died on the 10th of November, 1897. Paul and John had been born in Michigan in 1884 and 1886 respectively and were as yet unmarried in 1910, as indicated by the census.⁷⁶

S. SOME FAMILY NAMES AROUND 1910

The Paetschows too buried some of their family members on the island, but in the cemetery. There were gravestones there for Andrew Paetschow, died November 15, 1896, and Anna Paetschow died May 11, 1885. There was a grave there, too, for John Paetschow, possibly the same one enumerated on the 1910 census. If it was he, he would have been 66 years old at death on December 22, 1922.⁷⁷

Nicholas Feilen was buried in the island cemetery, too, at some unknown date. Nick was a carpenter-bachelor and gave his age as 58 for the 1910 census. In 1927 he sold a parcel of land in Section 3, T3lN Rl4W, to William R. Angell. His brother John Feilen, was buried next to Nick. John died on April 29, 1939. ⁷⁹

Evidences of the Bournique family near the southeast tip of the island survive down to the present. Hagiwara's Survey of the island for the Michigan SHPO in 1979, depicted the main residence, a storage house, two privies, a wash house, a garage, an employees' house, a horse barn, and a storage shed. Alva Bournique had been 44 years old at the time of the 1910 census; his wife Mary was 27, and their two daughters Elizabeth and Mary, were 7 and 3 respectively. Alva Bournique had been 44 years old at the time

The Grosvenor name is now mostly associated with the ferry service between North Manitou and Leland. In 1910 George Grosvenor was a sawyer for the Smith and Hull sawmill. He was then 47 years old, while his wife Dora was 35. Living in their household besides Tracy, the later ferryboat operator, aged 16, was a stepson named Fred Mills, age 31 a married daughter, Ida Lotherchester [spelling?] and her baby, Margaret. 82

There were also samples of the names Swanson, Johnson, and Anderson on the 1910 census, but because of the numerous instances of such family names in most directories, it is difficult to relate the listed names to their correlates in the cemetery. There was a Clara Swenson in the graveyard. She died May 18, 1905; one of her parents was John Swenson's, mother's name unknown. Johanna Swenson died March 26, 1911, and is buried perhaps somewhere on the west side of the island. Nearly every census had listed one or the other Johnson, so it is hard to trace the inter-relationships. Similarly, the Anderson name occurs often in the census as well as the North Manitou land records. Some of the Andersons are in the island cemetery: john Anderson died on May 26, 1907. His parents were John and Eldse. Walter Anderson died December 18, 1922; his brother Karl died on April 8, 1930. The two brothers are buried side by side.⁸³

T. END OF THE SMITH & HULL OPERATIONS, 1917

The Smith & Hull Lumber Company operations on North Manitou lasted until about 1917. With their departure, the town of Crescent decayed into a ghost city and its population dispersed. Peter Stormer, Sr., had had a smaller logging operation contemporaneous with Smith and Hull, but mostly on the southeast end of the island. Re did his milling in Empire and when the mill burned in 1916, he stopped cutting lumber on North Manitou. Among other parcels, he had owned 24 acres in Section 21, T31N R14W. He sold this in 1923 to Sherman and McConnell, the big landowners on the island for that period. By 1925 Peter Stormer Sr. was dead, as his wife was acting as his executrix to dispose of some of his property.⁸⁴

U. THE BIG LANDOWNERS AROUND 1925

There is an undated plat book done by the Hixson Company of Rockford, Illinois, the forerunners of the present Rockford Map Publishers, which shows land ownership on North Manitou at about 1925. Repeating the usual caveats about this type of presentation, the map nevertheless shows the dominance of two principal landowners, Frank N. Reed of Evanston, Illinois, and the partnership of Roger Sherman and George M. McConnell. Reed had bought up about 5,182 acres or about thirty-six percent of the island; and Sherman and McConnell bought up 7,911 acres or about fifty-six percent of the island. Reed's holdings were mainly on the west side and the partners held nearly everything else. Because of this dominance, the holdings of the small landowners seem more interesting. Alva L. Bournique had 435.15 acres altogether, 80 in Section 21, T.31N RI4W, 34.20 acres in Section 28 at the southern tip of the island, 180 acres in Section 22, T31N RI4W, where the Bournique buildings survive, and a 40-acre plot in Section 4, T31N R14W, just southwest of the North Manitou Village. Besides the Bournique holdings, the only other small landowners indicated were 37 acres of Lot 3, Section 3, T31N Rl4W, held by Robert Johnson; Lots 5 and 6 on the east side of Lake Manitou in Section 32, T32N R14W, owned by George Fiske; and the W.O. Greene Plat in Lot 4, Section .34, T.32N Rl4W. The latter was labelled "Syndicate".85

The present writer took note of some of the purchases by these major..landholders of this period in the Leland records. Many of these entries were clustered in 1922 and 1923; it was only a few years after this land speculation that William R. Angell started to buy them out. The first interim step before Angell came into the picture was the sale of the westside holding of Smith and Hull to Frank Reed. This happened on June 15, 1922. The price paid by Reed was \$25,000. 86

Reed did not seem much interested in developing or improving his holdings, because already in 1923, he started to sell small parcels to Sherman and McConne11.⁸⁷ But he sold everything he bought from Smith and Hull, in 1926, to the same pair.⁸⁸ Sherman and McConnell's interest in the island was equally short-lived. They were still buying in 1922, but commenced selling in 1927.⁸⁹

V. WILLIAM R. ANGELL DISCOVERS NORTH MANITOU DURING THE 1920s

When William R. Angell started to buy up North Manitou lands in 1926, there must have been a muddle in the earlier exchange between Reed and Smith & Hull, because Angell dealt directly with Smith & Hull. The Reed purchase in 1922 called for a down payment of \$6,000, annual payments of \$5,000, and a final payment of \$4,000, plus 6 percent interest per annum. The terms of the agreement permitted timber removal only under certain conditions and there were clauses that provided for default on the transaction as well as provision for Reed paying the county taxes. Reed may have only committed a partial default on the terms, because Angell only paid Smith & Hull \$100 for all of their holdings on the west side of the island, excepting Section 1, T3lN Rl5W. Or it may be that the hundred dollars was a token price revealed in the fee simple exchange between Angell and Smith & Hull, with a separate agreement arranged privately. 90

W. THE ANGELL BUY UP BEGINS, 1926

William R. Angell started to buy up the North Manitou lands in 1926, under the aegis of the Security Trust Company, Trust #3088 under Michigan law, Detroit, Wayne County, Michigan. That trust agreement had been drawn up on March 1, 1926.⁹¹

There was an all-encompassing agreement between Angell and Sherman & McConnell, recorded at Leland on November 14, 1927, that had been drawn up on the same day Angell established his Security Trust Company, that is, March 1, 1926. This agreement practically gave Angell the entire island, with but a few exceptions, to be enumerated later. This document also gave a partial clarification of Frank N. Reed's difficulties in 1 922 for trying to buy up lands on the west side of the island. The pertinent paragraph stated:

McConnell and Sherman transferred to Security Trust Company of Detroit [Angell] ••• all interest in a certain contract dated the 15th day of June, 1922, between the Smith and Hull Company, a Michigan Corporation, and Franklyn H. Smith and William C. Hull, as parties of the first part, and Frank N. Reed, as party of the second part which contract was duly recorded in the Register's Office [Leland], June 9, 1923, Liber 49, Deeds, pages 493-6] ••• said contract having been heretofore assigned by the said Reed to the said McConnell and Sherman under date of December 28, 1925 and in and to the premises therein described. 92

Angell was given all of the improvements without additional cost, but the real value of the transaction was not recorded as it was done for "one dollar and other valuable considerations." Sherman and McConnell and their wives signed the instrument in Chicago on the same day Angell established his trust, March 1, 1926. 93

The pieces of land on the island excepted from this transaction amounted to negligible parcels compared to the size of Angell's acquisition. There were the Maleski holdings near the northeast corner of the island in Sections 21 and 28, T32N Rl4W; several exceptions in Section 34, T32N Rl4W, the area that had become North Manitou Village; the George Fiske holdings on the eastern shore of Lake Manitou; the 1-acre school plot in Lot 2, Section 3, T31N Rl4W; several other exceptions along the shore in the same Section 3, Lots 1, 2 and 4; and the Bournique holdings near the southern tip in Sections 21 and 22; as well as a small parcel the Bourniques held on the east side of Section 4, T31N Rl4W.

As a landowner, William R. Angell dominated North Manitou until his sudden death in January of 1950. At that time, he was seventy years old. He was struck down on a Detroit street after stepping into the path of a bus. After his death the trustees of the foundation and the officers of his Manitou Island Association took several years to transition into new management policies.

Angell had made most of his fortune as a successful executive with Continental Motors of Muskegon, Michigan. There was a diversity of other investments as well, but Continental Motors was always the centerpiece. During the 1930s Angell even became an automobile manufacturer in partnership with the Hayes Body Corporation in the building of the Continental Beacon Auto. This venture failed partly because of bad timing, the Great Depression, and bad strategy, trying to gather a share of the economy car market when Ford, Plymouth, and Chevrolet dominated it. Despite the failure of the Beacon, Angell

survived the Depression, and like many manufacturers, was assisted by the production demands of World War II for his automobile engines and other engine accessories. In the course of the company's history, it built its famous Red Seal Engines for more than a hundred automobile manufacturers and made other engines for boats, airplanes, and half the trucks in the country. Years later the company name evolved into Teledyne Continental Motors Incorporated.⁹⁵

After Angell's death, the major concern of the trustees was to promote the stated philanthropic purposes in the trust instrument, namely to preserve the natural beauties of North Manitou Island, as well as to use the island as a tool for generating benefactions for the selected educational and charitable institutions on their list, without at the same time destroying or exploiting the island's unique advantages. ⁹⁶

X. THE W.O. GREENE PLAT

The exceptions to Angell's holdings in North Manitou village during 1927 included a strip of land 5 1/2 chains wide on the south side of Lot 1 sold to Marie T. Bacon; three parts of Lot 3 sold to N. E. Degan and Marie T. Bacon; several parts of Lot 4 sold to Marie T. Bacon and Hans Halsette; and most of the Syndicate lots in Government Lot 4 sometime referred to as the W.O. Greene Plat. All of these were in Section 34, T31N R14W. It apparently was Angell's objective to buy out the small landholders as opportunity offered, but in the beginning he only was able to get a half interest in Lot 3 of the W.O. Greene Plat. 97

In separate transactions Angell bought up portions of the W.O. Greene Plat as follows: Lot 10 from John N. Kail in 1926; Lot 2 from Margaret Rhodes Peattie in 1927; Lot 5 from Katherine a. Shepard, a Chicago spinster, in 1928; an unspecified lot from Sherman and McConnell in 1929; Lot 3 from Vincent M. Reed of Wynnewood, Pennsylvania, in 1937; Lots 7 and 8 from Margaret Londergan in 1958 [Angell was deceased by then, purchase transacted by officers of the trust]; and Lot 1 from Teledyne Incorporated in 1969. Despite these efforts, government lawyers ware doubtful about the legitimacy of some of these claims of title when the National Park Service acquired the entire island in 1984. Among the W.O. Greene Plat parcels, they listed Lots 2, 3, 5, 6 and 10 as "acquired by persons unknown as determined by a deed search in the records of Leelanau County, Michigan."

Holdout owners in the W. O. Greene Plat continued to trade them with non-corporate buyers until as late as 1969. Meanwhile there had been parcels elsewhere on the island that Angell eventually gathered up. In 1928 he ought some parcels in Section 3, T31N Rl4W, Lot 1, part of North Manitou Village from Katharine Shepard. About the same time, he bought adjacent properties in the same section, Lots 2, 3 and 4, from the heirs to the Newhall family. In 1938 he bought title to the lighthouse land at the southeast tip of the island from the U.S. Government. In 1939 he acquired those Bournique holdings near North Manitou Village in Sections 3 and 4, T31N Rl4W. In 1940 he bought Tracy and Della Grosvenor's parcels in Lot 3, Section 3, T31N Rl4W, also close to the village. In 1955 Angell's trustees bought the Maleski holdings in Sections 21 and 28, T32N Rl4W, near the northeast corner of the island. About the same time the trustees acquired other lands adjacent to the Maleski properties in Sections 21, 22 and 28, T32N Rl4W.

Y. BRIEF GLIMPSE INTO NORTH MANITOU SOCIETY, 1926

A 1927 journal article gave a hurried glimpse into the society of North Manitou at the moment when William R. Angell started to think of the place as a refuge from the hurly-burly of twentieth century life:

Today [1927] it is almost as hard to get to the Manitou& as formerly ... There is a mailboat, a small launch, that goes across to Leland from North Manitou when the crossing is not too rough, and the Puritan from Chicago stops there. In the winter the ice forms a link in the chain of islands that welds them to each other and to the mainland, but the most modern transportation is that of the airplane, and this is not as yet regularly in service.

North Manitou Island was host to an airplane party last August (1926) when several Muskegon and Chicago people, including Ross W. Judson, President of the Continental Motors Company, flew to the island for the weekend, in the motor magnate's plane.

After the summer visitor's airplanes have left, and before ice has formed, the problem of transportation to the mainland is a serious one for the islanders. The following item shows how serious.

"Fighting his way through floating ice and a heavy head-sea, Captain Tracy Grosvenor drove his thirty-foot gasoline boat from North Manitou Island, fourteen miles off this port (Leland) to carry the wife of a coastguardsman to a hospital for an emergency operation. There is no doctor on North Manitou and diagnosis was made by submarine telephone by Dr. Fred Murphy of Cedar. Dr. Murphy was at the dock here when the boat arrived and hurried the patient to Traverse City. Captain Grosvenor returned to the island at once, carrying a ten-day accumulation of mail ... "

There is at present a small settlement on each of the Manitous, and a larger colony in summer on North Manitou. There is one woman farmer there who has quite an apple orchard, and the steamer Puritan stops in the late summer to get the apples. A.W. Stace writes that "there has been an attempt at cattle ranching, and there was quite an exciting time last summer when they were trying to catch the cattle that had run wild. Apparently, the long winter and inability to raise sufficient winter feed is against cattle-ranching. There are small lumbering operations on the island, and one company now has a gravel pit there, shipping the gravel by boat to points along the coast. ¹⁰²

The mention of Ross W. Judson in the above quote, brings to mind that William Angell was also an officer in the Continental Motors Corporation at this time and probably was with the Judson party on this visit. From a recent thumbnail biography of Angell, we have confirmation of his visits to North Manitou in the early 1920s. From the beginning he saw the island as a haven of peace and quiet in a modern world. After repeated visits he began to develop concern for the environment there. He saw that the previous indiscriminate timber harvesting had indelibly harmed the pristine fastness of this potential Eden. He thought something could be done to save it. 103

Z. A DEEPER LOOK AT NORTH MANITOU SOCIETY FROM 1925 TO 1928

One of the surfman at the life-saving station on North Manitou Island has provided a fairly complete overview of life there between 1925 and 1928. His name is Giles Merritt and at present he lives in Kernville, California. Through correspondence he has told all that he can remember about that distant time.

Merritt was out of work in July 1925 when he heard there was an opening at the Coast Guard station on North Manitou. He rode the ferry from Leland on Tracy Grosvenor's boat and reached the island a day late for the job. He had brought along his 1917 Harley-Davidson motorcycle. Momentarily stuck on the island, he got temporary shelter with Henry Anderson, who lived near the southern end of the island. He had made Anderson's acquaintance earlier at Cadillac, Michigan. After only one day he received a job offer from John Kinnucan, the Syndicate's island manager. Though Merritt was an electrician by trade, he took the job driving Model T trucks for the Syndicate. His salary was fifty dollars a month plus room and board. His duties included hauling loads of cherries by truck to the packing shed on the north side of North Manitou Village and hauling cattle from the west side of the island to the east dock for shipment by scow to Leland. He picked apples as well and drove a team of horses for hay cutting on the west side. He did cultivating on the farm, as well as any other general farming chores. 104

Merritt says that the Syndicate was made up of about seven companies from Chicago, with Monarch Foods being one of their constituent parts. John Kinnucan was their general manager for the entire island and Peter Oien was their foreman for operations on the west side. When Kinnucan left the job as manager, he was succeeded by Tracy Grosvenor, the ferry operator. The farming aspect of the Syndicate on the east side included the harvesting of cherries, apples, potatoes, corn, hay, and other fodder for the animals such as horses, cow, pigs, and chickens. The cherries were put in barrels and shipped to Chicago by boat. The west aide operation centered on raising farm animals, such as cattle, which were kept in the huge barn there. Peter Oien, (the foreman) his wife Pearl. and his daughter Pearl, lived in the adjacent house. They raised corn and hay too, besides keeping a family garden. This latter produce was for their own use. Similarly, the cottage dwellers in the village on the other side of the island kept family gardens. ¹⁰⁵

After working for more than three months with the Syndicate, Merritt was laid off on the 1st of November, 1925. It only took until the 12th of the same month for a fresh opening to come available at the Coast Guard Station. Merritt applied for the job and was enlisted. As soon as he completed the formalities, the station skipper set him to work by putting him immediately on the watch rotation. Merritt soon found that many of his new duties consisted of the endlessly repeated rescue drills. ¹⁰⁶

The Coast Guard station had a nine-man crew during the time of Giles Merritt's experience, the "skipper" or "captain" (being usually a warrant officer or a chief petty officer) and eight surfmen. In a 24-hour day each surfman stood two two-hour watches atop the boathouse in the cupola. He stood one watch during daylight hours and one at night. After the night watch the surfman went out on a five-mile patrol. The watch stander punched a clock every half hour and the patrol men punched the clock on the hour before their departure and on the hour after their return. The patrols alternated between north and south all night long, winter and summer, rain or snow. 107

When a recruit surfman came on board he had to learn certain requirements within the first three months or he would be discharged from the service with an ordinary discharge. Among the requirements were the learning of Morse code, semaphore signals, international flags, artificial respiration, nautical rules of the road, and so on. He was also exposed to the proper usage of all the equipment provided by the Coast Guard. There were boat drills, beach-cart drills, fire drills, and so on. 108

The regular surfboat was a non-capsizing, non-sinkable boat; but you had to remember to put the drain plug in place to keep it unsinkable. The surfboat could also be rigged for sail; but was ordinarily manned by the whole crew of eight oarsmen with the skipper at the sweep. It did not have a conventional rudder. 109

There was another unusual powered-boat at the station. Merritt was not sure whether it was a two-cycle engine; but thought it had three carburetors and three separate ignition systems. Only two men on the crew, Hans Halseth and Louis Mosier, knew how to operate it. This boat with its twenty-five horsepower Kermath engine could do twelve miles an hour: but it was never used for rescue work. Mainly it was a supply boat for running errands. It was 22 feet long. 110

The surfman got one day a week off and could go ashore on the ferry if the lake were calm enough. It enabled him to do shopping in Traverse City if he was so inclined.¹¹¹

The surfmen were quartered topside in the main station building. The skipper's quarters were on the lower deck. Topside were eight lockers and eight bunks, plus a small library for filling spare time. The surfmen were allowed to lie on their bunks during off-duty moments. Each man had his personally owned bedding, sheets, pillowcases and towels; but the blankets were provided by the station. 112

Giles Merritt can still remember most of the Coast Guard personnel who served during the time he was on North Manitou. Warrant Officer David A. Furst was skipper when he came in 1925 and was replaced by Chief John Busch in 1928. The surf men in 1925 were Louis Mosier, Hans Halseth, George Anderson, Oscar Halstead, Jack Burns, Oscar Grant, Louis Halstead, and Giles Merritt. The two Halsteads were cousins who came from East Jordan, Michigan. George Anderson had been born on the island and was one of the many children of John Anderson, who lived near the southern tip. Merritt remembered many of the transfers, discharges and other changes in crew during his stint as well. The most interesting items were the retirement of Hans Halseth with more than thirty years' service and the enlistment of Harold Stormer, another native son of the island. Stormer came on board in 1927 and Halseth retired in 1928. 113

Giles Merritt also remembers a few of the names of the Coast Guard wives and some of their children during the latter 1925-8 era. These latter children helped to enhance the size of the school population. One of the newly arrived surfmen, Walter Miller of Cedar, Michigan, fell in love with the school teacher, Miss Ann Gallavan, and married her while stationed on North Manitou. Another crew member, Louis Halstead, married one of John Anderson's several daughters, this one named Gertrude. This was another union between a native islander and an outsider. 114

In his wanderings Giles Merritt came to meet nearly all of the island's inhabitants. After more than fifty years he could still recite the names of the native residents there in

the late 1920s. Starting with the northeast corner he remembered the Paul Maleski family; but he could not recall the names of the wife and three children. Paul Maleski, he said, came to the village by horse wagon to get the mail and provisions. As far ashe could remember, the Maleski family farmed for home consumption mostly, and the children would walk to school if the snow were not too deep. The John Maleski family homestead was nearby. Merritt could not remember the first names of John's wife and three children. He did remember that John worked for the Syndicate at that early date and together with other Syndicate employees, operated a sugar bush each spring to the south and southeast of Paul Maleski's place. Other workers in that crew were Peter Oien, Jess Smith, John Anderson and his son Henry. They used several teams of horses to bring in the maple sap and had huge flat pans for firing the concoction both day and night. Logs from the woods provided fuel for the fire. Merritt heard that John Maleski later sold his homestead to the Syndicate. 115

In taking Giles Merritt's 1925-8 tour of North Manitou and considering the permanent residents, we next came to the village. There the most prominent citizen was John L. Kinnucan, the island Syndicate manager. His household included his mother-in-law, "Mother" Revall, a housekeeper, and the children: Della, Margaret, Donald, John Jr. (who also later became island manager), Rex and a daughter called "Toots". John Sr., was also for a time sheriff of Leelanau County. Also living in the village was Kinnucan's east side foreman, Jess Smith, whose wife had been Ella Firestone, and their two children Marvin and Fay. 116

South of the village and the schoolhouse was the residence of Tracy and Della (Firestone) Grosvenor and their son George. The bachelor carpenters, Nicholas and John Feilen, lived in this vicinity too. Tracy Grosvenor operated the mail boat between Leland and the island. Near the southern tip of the island was the Bournique place where Alvar L. and Mary lived with their two daughters, Mary Elizabeth and Mary Louise. At the southeast tip of the island was the lighthouse complex manned by Pat Patterson and two other men whose names Merritt could not remember. West of the Bournique's was the Stormer place. Peter Stormer Jr., had been in the logging and lumbering business on the south end of the island and at this point in time he was pulling out of North Manitou to concentrate his lumber business at Empire on the mainland. He had had a sawmill and a dock about a mile north of the lighthouse; but at this time, he had dismantled it and sold some of his equipment to the Syndicate. 117

Also near the southern end of the island was the home of John Anderson and his large family. John's wife had been a Firestone too, and their children were named Pearl, Henry, George, Gertrude, Arthur, Gladys, Margaret and a younger daughter whose name Merritt could not remember. Of the above children, Pearl had married Peter Oien who was the west side foreman for the Syndicate. The Oiens had a daughter who was also named Pearl and a son named Marcus. ¹¹⁸

Finally, Giles Merritt mentions one other native of North Manitou, the bachelor (then) Malvin Firestone, who was a brother to Ella Smith, Carrie Mosier, Mrs. Anderson, and Della Grosvenor.¹¹⁹

Besides knowing the island dwellers pretty well, Giles Merritt was also a keen observer of island events. Winter weather restricted everyone's activities, but what little

was going on was in sight for all to see. Syndicate workers would harvest ice every winter off Lake Manitou. Merritt observed the two foremen, Jess Smith and Peter Oien, directing John Maleski, John Anderson, Henry Anderson and several others as they guided two teams of horses back and forth between Lake Manitou and the village. At first, they used a small barn for ice storage, but in 1927 the Syndicate built the new large barn on the northern edge of the village. There was a cooperative arrangement between the Syndicate, the Bourniques, Miss Katy Shepard, and the Coast Guard (both the station and lighthouse) for use of the ice in summer. Merritt also noticed that Martin Heath was operating his commercial fishing boat off the west shore during the winter season. Heath was after lake trout and was operating out of Leland. 120

In the spring of 1927, there was a late breakup of channel ice and there were some uneasy moments for the island inhabitants. Animal fodder was in short supply and provisions for the human population were also running low. This was in either late March or early April. By a primitive telephone system that was soon improved upon, John Kinnucan informed Leland that the Syndicate cattle were starving. Hay for the horses was running low as well. A ferry braved the elements and came around the northern end of the island and broke ice to within a quarter mile of the Coast Guard station. At that point it could make no further headway and off-loaded three carloads of hay and food for the people on the ice. The station skipper turned out every man to move the supplies. Among the civilians every man and boy that could be found turned to. Relays of horse teams with sleighs shuttled back and forth on the ice, hauling a few bales at a time. Only one Coast Guard watch-stander manned the station. Everyone worked around the clock. On the second day of the adventure the channel ice broke up and both the Coast Guard supply boat and the mail boat from Leland were able to cross the channel for further commerce. The mail boat got through for the first time in three months. At Leland all loading and unloading had to be done down the face of an ice bank formed by the freezing breakers. 121

On the island, with the arrival of the hay, several loads were hauled by sleigh across the island to the west side. Up to that point, the cattle had been browsing on fruit trees. Now they had adequate fodder. None of the human inhabitants had been in extremis, but several of the Coast Guard surfmen were so short of tobacco that they started smoking old cigarette butts. The station personnel tried to augment their diet by hunting and fishing. Rabbits were abundant and a few were shot. Some ducks were shot, but for some reason were not as appetizing as the rabbits. Some perch were caught through the ice on Lake Manitou and several varieties of fish were caught through the ice of Lake Michigan. Finally, the ordeal was over and the island went back to comfortable rations. 122

The summer of 1927 was a busy one for North Manitou. First of all, there was the laying of a new two-wire telephone line that ran down the east side of the island, thence past the lighthouse complex and along the southwestern shore to the closest point opposite South Manitou Island. The line was to link the two islands with the Sleeping Bear Point Coast Guard Station. In all there were sixteen miles of line strung over 35-foot poles with #12 copper wire on the shore of North Manitou alone. The project was especially interesting to Giles Merritt since he knew that he would be expected to maintain it because of his electrical expertise. The work was done by outside Coast Guard personnel, five men in all, who were the envy of the station because their new uniforms were all designed in the style of a chief petty officer. Yet these outsiders had the thankless job of digging

innumerable five-foot holes to set the poles. The station people had to lend a hand as well, giving up their off days and sending any men that might be in a disciplinary status for such things as AWOL. 123

Once the line was put up, Merritt missed the moment when a ship strung the connecting underwater line between North and South Manitou. But once the system was set up, Merritt was in charge of maintaining it. Here his 1917 Harley-Davidson motorcycle came in handy. Doubtlessly too, the presence of the motorcycle goes far toward explaining Merritt's encyclopedic familiarity with everyone and everything on the island. 124

At any rate, Merritt and his bike had sole responsibility for upkeep of the line, both summer and winter. On the motorcycle he carried a set of lineman's gear, including insulators, hammer, nails, pins, and a portable phone.¹²⁵

On the outward eight-mile trek he occasionally climbed a pole to see if the line was working. If someone cranked up to call during those rare intervals the magneto jolt hit him harder than the standards 110-volt current. Merritt usually stopped and visited the Bourniques as he passed since they had a phone. He became good friends with the family; and he still has a photo or two of himself sitting on the stoop chatting with Alvar L. Bournique. Next, he went through the lighthouse complex, checking their phone. Then he headed west and passed Old Baldy, where the prevailing winds and drifting sand made most of the problems for the telephone line. Usually, a sou'wester storm did the most harm here frequently breaking the line, occasionally knocking a pole down. 126

In summer the trek home aboard his motorcycle was as easy as the outward-bound leg, but in winter the return could be an ordeal. At times he had to drag a toboggan with his electrician's gear. When he went by foot or on snowshoes or skis with the toboggan, he often went cross-country. One route was via Tamarack Lake, then northeastwards through Carlson's place, to the station, a return distance of about six miles. 127

The other events of the summer of 1927 on the island were the establishment of a sawmill in the village, the building of the large barn near the village, a visit from a Fokker Trimotor airplane transport and the planting of deer on the island. All of these things were evidences of changing island management. William R. Angell was bringing some of his business associates to see the island and he began to experiment with innovative notions. The sawmill and barn-building operations will be covered more extensively later in Appendix C. With regard to the deer planting, Merritt thought for years that they had come from Iron Mountain in the Upper Peninsula of Michigan. But in recent years he saw an item in a local paper that said they came from Pennsylvania. All Merritt knows is that he was standing watch when a telegram came saying that the six does and two bucks were being shipped to Leland. Each animal was crated individually and John Kinnucan directed the construction of a corral with fences ten feet high near the village. The deer were transported from Leland in the fall of 1927 on a scow thirty feet long with a fourteen-foot beam. This scow was usually used for transporting furniture, household goods, automobiles, horses, cattle, or any larger item to the island or mainland. 128

The deer were uncrated inside the corral; but within the first twenty-four hours several jumped the ten-foot fence. After a while, all of the deer were freed. In the ensuing year some of the island dogs would chase the deer when they saw them; but John Kinnucan

quickly made a rule that if he ever caught any dog harassing the deer, he would shoot the dog. The multiplication of the deer was a phenomenon that continues to this day. 129

Other forms of wildlife on the island during Giles Merritt's time were duck, rabbits, red fox, silver fox, black fox, and geese. The geese would land and browse where the airplane landing field was later located. This was where the Fokker Trimotor also landed. Merritt said he never saw any raccoon, but since they are generally nocturnal animals, he may just have missed seeing them. 130

The spring of 1928 on North Manitou was almost a repetition of the previous year; but this time food for people was in shorter supply than animal fodder. Giles Merritt remembered that Tracy Grosvenor's mail boat would get through occasionally that winter; but often on the Leland end supplies had to be lowered down a precipitous ice bank into the boat. The channel opened and closed several times that winter and the island dwellers made their grocery and merchandise orders over the old civilian phone line that ran through Leland to Traverse City. Sometimes orders were made with Harold Voice's Leland Mercantile Store and sometimes with Louis Mosier of Traverse City. Mosier had a Model T Ford truck for hauling vegetables and made several trips over the ice in March of 1928. Merritt remembers that Mosier had several long planks on the truck, so that he would bridge the gap with the planks. Merritt says that one day Mosier made two round trips. ¹³¹

A Record-Eagle article on the 6th of April 1928 supports Merritt's story by telling of Tracy Grosvenor's first trip by boat in a month. The article said there were fifty people on the island. Grosvenor got through on a routine mail run and in conversations with the inhabitants, learned that they were unhappy about their diet. There was plenty of canned food; yet they were tired of it. They had a particular hankering for fresh eggs, butter and milk. Someone told Grosvenor "A spring mail order catalog has many uses, but it isn't good eating". The islanders put in an order also for meat, potatoes and tobacco, as all these commodities were running low. Grosvenor then made the victuals-run in short order. 132

Aside from what has been said above about Syndicate farming, Giles Merritt provided something of an overview of island agriculture for the period of 1925-1928. He guessed that both Maleskis combined had about twenty acres under cultivation. On the east side the Syndicate had perhaps thirty acres, counting orchards, hay fields, and potato gardens. On the west side, he thought Peter Oien had had perhaps fifty acres under cultivation. Twenty-five of that was in hay and corn. About three acres there were potatoes. The west side place, though under Syndicate control, was called Swenson's, from an earlier owner. 133

Merritt said that the Franks farm, west of the village, was growing apples while he was there. They had two varieties, Wealthy and Spy. The apples growing near the village ripened before those at Franks.¹³⁴

The Carlson place in Section 4, T31N Rl4W, was deserted at that time, except that the barn was used by the Syndicate to store hay and corn. There had been fruit trees there; however, no one was caring for them and they hardly produced. 135

Near the southern end of the island the Stormer place had only lately been abandoned. Its closeness to Old Baldy and the drifting sand was covering up what little timber that was left from Peter Stormer's logging operation. He had done some farming

too. The Stormer neighbors bad done some gardening. The John Anderson farm nearby had had a garden too, but the *pater familias* looked for odd jobs with the Syndicate and the Bourniques to supplement his income for feeding his large family. The Fredrickson place on the southwest shore, and Johnson's was abandoned, as was the Armstrong place. The Bourniques did some gardening, too, at their summer place. They were assisted by their hired help. Otherwise, aside from the Syndicate, only Paul Maleski Sr., was a practicing farmer. ¹³⁶

AA. THE ANGELL TRUST INSTRUMENT, APRIL 14, 1949

Even though the present writer had recent opportunity to interview one of the officers of the Angell Foundation, Mr. Wilbur H. Davis, of Farmington Hills, Michigan, and obtained a copy of the Trust Instrument for that foundation, he did not have the presence of mind to seek and ask for copies of the trust agreements for several other antecedent and associated entities. Despite this lack, Mr. Davis assured this writer that the Security Trust Company of 1926 and thereafter and other kindred organizations established later by Angell, had the same basic purpose, philanthropy. As Mr. Davis stated, the basic rationale behind updating the legal instrument over the years was to fulfill new tax requirements levied on trusts and similar organizations by the state of Michigan and the federal government.¹³⁷ In capsule form, as stated in the Trust Instrument, the fundamental purpose for establishing the Angell Foundation in 1949 was to achieve the following charitable and educational goals:

To promote and assist in the education, training and development of young people; to establish, capitalize and conduct students' revolving loan funds and make therefrom character loans to worthy, needy young people pursuing or about to pursue regularly offered courses of study in colleges, universities, business and nurses' training schools; to assist in the comfort and welfare of men, women, young people and children, particularly the young, aged, sick, poor, crippled, handicapped, and underprivileged.¹³⁸

The original trust endowment was only a thousand dollars, but there was provision for the trustees to expand the fund indefinitely. The second clause of the instrument specifically stated that the charitable and educational purposes of the trust were intended in the same sense of those terms as defined in the Federal Internal Revenue Laws so as to achieve tax exempt status for the foundation. The trust was designed to exist in perpetuity, but a phrase in clause three provided for the eventuality of dissolving it with the unanimous vote of the trustees. This option is being exercised at the present, for, with the sale of North Manitou Island, this revenue-generating tool of the foundation has been liquidated. There was no mention of the island by name in the Trust Instrument, but the clauses and by-laws of the instrument permitted just such an enterprise for generating monies for its philanthropic purposes. Thus, while the Angell Foundation was a non-profit trustee corporation, like all such entities, it was given the right to pay all its just debts, such as paying the salaries of its employees, in fulfilling its charitable and educational purposes. This foundation, like most others, had ...

... power, authority and discretion to acquire, purchase, receive, accept, take, hold, own, manage, handle, use, operate, conduct, repair, improve, sell, dispose of, convey, exchange, transfer, assign, pledge, mortgage, lease, option or

otherwise use, utilize and deal with any and all real or personal property, effects and things of value at any time in said trust estate; make contracts, borrow money, construct buildings, make improvements, operate properties, engage employees, make, hold and handle investments and reinvestments unrestricted by the provisions of any statutes or rules of courts now or hereafter in force respecting the investments or the holding and use of trust funds and properties, and to do any and all other things which said trustees may in good faith deem expedient and proper to effectuate the purposes of this trust.¹³⁹

All these things could be done without violating the non-profit aspect of the trust; yet for the sake of clarity the trust instrument stated specifically those things prohibited to trustees: no personal ownership of trust property, no personal benefit to trustees beyond just compensation for labor, and so on. The instrument also forbade the trustees from carrying on propaganda in behalf of the trust or from otherwise attempting to influence legislation. ¹⁴⁰

AB. FLASHBACK TO 1927: PLANTING OF DEER ON THE ISLAND

When William R. Angell began his association with North Manitou Island, the place was more of a personal fiefdom than a corporate endeavor. Depending on the source, it is either reported that he introduced deer there in 1925, 1926, or 1927. It is also variously reported that there were five, six, seven, eight, or nine deer in the beginning. One variant of the story said that there were nine deer, four bucks and five does, and that on the day after their arrival two of the bucks were killed by dogs. Probably this latter story is closest to the truth, since it comes from a source that was closer to the period in question, a 1944 wildlife study about the island. Also, the year of planting deer was probably 1927, as Angell as too busy with the purchase of land in 1926 to do it; and must have done it during the following summer, when he had more leisure to contemplate the wildlife situation there.

By chance, a witness to the deer planting, Mr. Giles E. Merritt, now of Kernville, California, wrote to the present writer, and told about the arrival of the deer: "I was there when they planted six does and two buck deer from Iron Mountain, Michigan, 1927. Also had to shoot the dogs that chased the deer. Now there are over 800 deer." 142

AC. THE MANITOU ISLAND ASSOCIATION (M.I.A.)

It should have been no surprise to Angell that the planting of a few deer in a sheltered environment would result in their proliferation. The growing visibility of the deer herd quickly manifested itself and impressed Angell with the necessity for contriving a plan to control and manage the deer population. Therefore, sometime during the 1930s Mr. Angell decided to establish the Manitou Island Association for the purpose of managing the island and also to detach it from his personal estate so that in the event of his death, it would not be tied up in probate or in litigation among his heirs. As for the latter possibility, family members never contested his purposes for Manitou Island, as they were well aware that he had bought it for philanthropic purposea. 143

Therefore, even though Angell had bought up the island, or the preponderance of it under the aegis or title of the Security Trust Company of Detroit (Trust #3088) in 1926, by 1958 this trust had been altered somewhat so that it was referred to as the Detroit Bank and Trust Company, a Michigan corporation, Trustee for the Manitou Island Association

(M,I.A.), a partnership consisting of Avery T. Wing and William R. Angell, a non-profit corporation. ¹⁴⁴ Wing owned five percent of the M.I.A. and Angell ninety-five percent. ¹⁴⁵

In 1937 the M.I.A. applied for and received hunting rights on all the land on the island, even on that of other owners. In addition, they obtained a "breeders license" for managing both the deer and raccoon population. Nineteen thirty-seven was also the first year that deer were shot from the herd, 18 in number, mostly adult males. At the same time the M.I.A. deemed it essential to commence an artificial feeding program, as the deer herd had expanded close to the carrying capacity of the island. The feed was principally oats, apples, and hay. At length, the managers settled upon oats as the principal feed and much of this was raised on the island. From 1940 to 1943 between 2,000 and 3,200 bushels of oats were fed to the deer each winter. The caretakers would use cherry "lugs" or boxes nailed to trees to feed the deer. 146

AD. COMMERCIAL HUNTING OF DEER, 1937, AND THE BARTLETT REPORT, 1944

Commercial hunting of deer, or hunting for a fee, may also have begun in 1937; but if not, shortly thereafter. It is from this date that statistics are available for the annual deer kill. Forty-one were taken out in 1938, 45 in 1939, 95 in 1940, 139 in 1941, 176 in 1942, and 256 in 1943. The latter year was the first time more does than bucks were taken. The rationale for this was that the total deer population was then so high that controlling the female population was the only known remedy for bringing the numbers down. It was at this point that professional help was sought from the state's Department of Conservation. Mr. I. H. Bartlett of that department did a study of the island and came up with a proposal. From his investigations, he determined that the deer population had grown from 750 animals in 1939 to nearly 1,600 in 1943. He came up with two proposals, one conservative, and one liberal.

Plan No. l, the conservative plan, was to reduce the size of the herd to the carrying capacity of the island. He believed this to be 70 to 75 deer per square mile, even though places on the mainland averaged as many as a hundred deer per square mile. Plan No.1 allowed for some artificial feeding, but not much. The reduction method was to allow for a certain amount of winter starvation, plus using the fall hunt for selectively killing smaller or greater numbers of females to adjust the size of the herd at a fixed number. 147

Plan No. 2, the liberal plan, was to allow the herd size to increase and supplement winter feeding heavily by artificial means. The presumption here was that the hunting business was to operate at a profit and that the profits would pay for the winter feeding. In this plan there would be less shooting of female deer. The control aspect of the plan was the allowance of a larger number of hunters to have access to the herd for fall shooting. The inherent weakness of this plan was that the increase in hunters would probably multiply the danger of hunters shooting one another. As time passed, it became apparent too that the cost of artificial feeding became prohibitive and would wipe out any profits. 148

The difficulty with both plans was that neither one took into consideration the effect of the deer herd on the rest of the island's ecosystem. Later studies would reveal the ravages the deer-imposed on the flora.

Besides his observations on the deer herd, Bartlett was quite observant about the general situation on North Manitou Island in 1944. He knew about the holdout landowners, the Maleskis, the Bourniques, the Fisks, and the cottage owners in North Manitou Village. He stated precisely where the 17-acre Maleski farm was in Section 28 T32N R14W. He knew of the 400-acre Bournique family holdings near the southern tip of the island and the 50-acre Fisk land on the east side of Lake Manitou. Besides he recited the buildings in the village owned by the M.I.A.

There was a lodge for about 20 guests, houses for the hired help, barns, sheds and a number of cabins. He told of the summer homes and speculated that the place would be excellent for resort development, a thought that would have made William Angell shudder. He described the terrain, but went into particular detail about the forest in nearly every nook and cranny of the island. He did note, in this regard, the adverse effect of the dear on the ground hemlock. 149

Bartlett also noted what had happened to farming on North Manitou. There were about 20 clearings left over from the era of homesteads and farms. They varied from ten to a hundred acres in size. Most of them were abandoned, but the M.I.A. cultivated some of them for hay and oats to feed the deer. At that time, he said, there were about 80 acres of active cherry orchards and a lesser acreage of apple orchards. The latter had been neglected for the last year or two. The association ran most of this farming, employing farm hands and having the necessary farm animals, barns, sheds and equipment to do the work. It also had a farm house and some barns near the west side for employees to do the work or store the crops over there. 150

Bartlett told of the permanent steam sawmill operating in the village during the winter of 1942-1943 cutting lumber from trees blown down during the big Armistice Day storm in 1940. This mill has been in the present location for a number of years, and was put into good working condition for this last job. In addition to the windfall timber a small logging operation was carried on in the patch of over-mature virgin timber on the north end of the Island. This timber was also sawed at the mill. During the past year the Association hired a trained forester to make a timber management plan for the Island. This plan, I believe, is now complete. ¹⁵¹

North Manitou had regular ferry service to Leland during the early 1940s daily during the summer, two trips a week, when possible, in winter, and three trips a week in fall and spring.¹⁵²

AE. RITA HADRA RUSCO AND NORTH MANITOU ISLAND, 1942-1953

Another observer, contemporaneous to Bartlett, was Rita Hadra Rusco. Her first husband, Jack Hadra, who passed away in 1964, was offered the job of island business manager in 1942 and his wife Rita was given the job as post-master and general store operator. They worked for the Manitou Island Association from 1942 to 1953. They apparently succeeded an earlier couple who helped the M.I.A. to inaugurate the annual deer hunts from 1937 to 1942. Rita Rusco has been writing free-lance articles for newspapers and others in recent years and she plans to do a popular history of North Manitou that will doubtlessly provide a great deal of human-interest material about the kind of people who came to North Manitou Island. 153

Rita Rusco's data about the island coincides closely with Bartlett's observations, but she gives a few more interesting details. She said that when she came in the summer of 1942, the association was expecting a massive cherry crop from the orchards and that the sawmill was to open that fall for the first time in many years. She told how, approaching the eastside dock, the Lombardi poplars marked the place where the dock was located and that a road led westward from the dock.

There was a cluster of houses around the abandoned Coast Guard station on the beach. The road led up from the dock to a ledge about a city block from the shore. Along the ledge to the south were the lodge and a dozen houses, most built in the late 1800s, wooden structures with fieldstone foundations and large porches, many had fireplaces and a couple had stained glass windows.

To the north side of the main road was the power plant and the building that was to be Jack's office. These buildings were more recent, also built of fieldstone. There were three more houses, a carpenter shop, machine shop, huge barn, ice house, tool sheds and a number of buildings to house farm equipment. The sawmill was near the beach, the landing field was on a plateau, and beyond that were apple and cherry orchards and about 25 small cabins for the cherry pickers. ¹⁵⁴

Rita Rusco said that there were about 50 year-round residents on the island in those days and that the association put most of the family members onto their payroll, if only on a seasonal basis. There were year-round employees who cared for the cherry and apple orchards and kept up the buildings and equipment and did the farming, raising oats, alfalfa and potatoes. The association had a number of teams of horses and a dairy herd, plus a few hogs. Most of this was to feed the permanent island dwellers. The year-round employees provided feed to the deer herd in winter, cut firewood for cooking and heating, and tended the sugarbush by making commercial quantities of pure maple syrup. Women and children usually did domestic jobs, working at the lodge during the deer hunting season, or picking cherries. The deer and cherry seasons often required supplemental help, such as guides or pickers, garnered from the mainland.¹⁵⁵

At first there was an inadequate electricity-generating system on the island, but in 1946 a diesel-powered generator was installed that brought the residents up to the mainland's standards for electrical appliances. A major lack was the absence of a regular doctor on the island, so medical emergencies called for summoning help by the primitive party-line phone system that went out on submarine cable. 156

During the 1940s, revenue from the hunting business turned a handsome profit for the association, but later the high cost of winter feed made them look for other sources of income. The association used its corporate contacts to make regular arrangements for contracting hunting parties. Some of the hunting guests came in by air in private planes. The airfield of the 1940s was a somewhat risky proposition, having only 1,700 feet of runway that was boxed in at both ends by orchards that necessitated rapid descents and hurried climbs. Also, the field did not have lights at that time, so that on occasion a truck with lights on was posted at either end of the runway for landings/takeoffs in darkness. These unsafe features of the airport were remedied later. 157

The island of the 1940s still ran a one-room school in government Lot 2, Section 3, T31N Rl4W. It had only eight grades. High schoolers were required to go to school on the mainland.Rita Rusco said that she remembers as many as 11 students at the one-room school.¹⁵⁸

AF. THE DEATH OF WILLIAM R, ANGELL IN 1950 AND THE EFFECTS ON NORTH MANITOU

The end of the Hadras' term on North Manitou occurred in 1953, when he took up a post at Continental Motors. He gave the trustees notice already in 1952 that he would be leaving the island by January 1st, 1953. This had not been a sudden decision, and Hadra fulfilled his commitment to remain as island manager until the affairs of the Angell estate were settled, and the control of the Manitou Island Association was firmly in the hands of the trustees for the Angell Foundation. Hadra kept the post with Continental Motors until his death in 1964. Before the Hadras left the island, however, they obtained a small halfacre beachfront lot in Government Lot 3, Section 3, T31N R14W, a little distance south of the school house. Rita built a cottage on it later in 1966, after her first husband's demise. When the government acquired the island, the Hadra/Rusco property was also purchased, but under a "Lease Back" arrangement that allows the Ruscos to remain. 159

AG. THE MEETINGS OF THE ANGELL FOUNDATION TRUSTEES, 1951 TO 1969

At the moment of Angell's death, the trustees of the Angell Foundation and the board of directors of the Manitou Island Association were somewhat in a state of disarray. The foundation had not been in existence long enough to establish any precedents in policy and the association was unsure that it could continue to operate the island in the black. Many legal aspects had to be clarified, such as whether or not the Angell family could lay claim to all or part of the island. On this problem the family acceded to the deceased humanitarian's desires, that is, to allow the foundation's assets to generate funds for its charitable objectives. The foundation had at least two other sources of income, the Oakland County Farm and the Muskegon Building. For the first few years after Angell's passing, the trustees toyed with the notion of selling the island and converting it into a liquid asset. They reviewed every purchase offer and for a time advertised for buyers. Correlating with the state of the national economy, the trustees' notion of the value of the island fluctuated widely from about a guarter of a million dollars in 1957, to a million in 1959 and 1961. Another perennial topic of discussion among them were various proposals by the trustees to buy out Mr. Avery Wing's five percent interest in the association. Coupled with the buyout strategy was a parallel proposal to bring Mr. Wing into the Foundation as a Trustee after he had sold his interest in the association. This strategy never came to fruition, sometimes because of Wing's inflated idea of the value of the island, \$3,800,000 in May of 1960, or because the trustees thought that various potential purchasers would do violence to Mr. Angell's intended goals for the place. The gamut of buyers varied from oil drillers to Catholic retreat houses, to corporations looking for a vacation resort for their employees, to a federal prison. Fortunately, none of these options came into being. 160

As for matters of practical importance, the minutes of the trustees' meetings revealed their strategies for hiring a new manager (they wavered on this from 1953 to

1956), and how they negotiated the purchases of the Maleski holdings in 1955, and the Bournique land purchases in 1959. ¹⁶¹

AH. THE FLUELLINGS TAKE OVER ISLAND MANAGEMENT, 1960

After Jack Hadra's resignation as island manager in 1953, Tracy Grosvenor took over until 1959, when he was forced to resign because of poor health. Lewis Mosier, brother-in-law to Grosvenor, filled in for a year until 1960, when Marvin Fluelling was promoted from another island job to manager. He had brought his wife Arlene and their children to North Manitou on June 17, 1956. If Fluelling was not a jack-of-all trades when he arrived, he soon became one. He and his wife not only supervised the annual deer hunts and fed the animals through the winters, he became as well a general wildlife manager, releasing pheasants in 1961, guinea hens and chukar partridges in 1962, wild turkeys from 1961 to 1963, and ducks in 1968. He supplemented the presence of smallmouth bass in Lake Manitou with plantings of rainbow trout in 1964, 1965 and 1968, and brown trout in 1972. Some of these experiments succeeded, others failed. 162

AI. THE REVIVAL OF SELECTIVE LOGGING ON NORTH MANITOU, 1956

Under the managership of Tracy Grosvenor came a rebirth of the logging industry on North Manitou. Because of the high cost of winter deer feeding, it was no longer feasible to turn a profit in that category despite the fact that the association would charge a deer hunter \$400 for a 3-day excursion. Part of the problem was that Grosvenor had to restrict the number of hunters to 15 at a time. 163

So, a program of logging was begun on the island about the same time that the Fluellings came on board. State foresters had analyzed the local situation and recommended the removal of a million board feet per annum with a 20-year rotation cycle. The method was called selective cutting and the ground rules included the cutting of only those trees which were 18-inches in diameter or larger at the stump. The loggers were to take only marked trees in specified areas and were ordered to stay away from the usual trails so as to preserve the esthetic scene. In consonance with this policy, dead, hollow trees were left for the shelter benefit of wildlife. Oaks were excluded from cutting both because of their inherent value and their provision of feed for deer and other wildlife. A few American chestnut trees were similarly protected. This program of forestry was perhaps the best state-of-the-art strategy for the time, but it still did not address the rivalry of deer versus trees, nor achieve the sophistication of later university-discovered strategies of the 1970s. 164

The Fluellings succeeded in eminently satisfying the requirements of the M.I.A. until the last day of the association's stewardship. Besides Marvin's wildlife responsibility until September 27, 1979, he learned to handle all of the roles as repairman for the electrical generator, the various appliances, machines, bulldozers, snowplows, snowmobiles, cars, and other things. He became a total twentieth century man, buying his own airplane to take advantage of the association's now much-improved lighted sod airstrip. The runway was extended to 4,500-feet under Fluelling's direction, and with it the Fluellings could get in and out of the island more easily than any previous dwellers there. ¹⁶⁵

Meanwhile, the men selected to oversee the North Manitou Island logging operations were Mr. Peter Jurica of Leland, and his partner, the late Merle Day, who had a

small company, the Lake Michigan Hardwood Company, which centered its operation around the logging requirements of the Manitou Island Association. It was this operation that kept the M.I.A. solvent for more than 20 years. There was a five-page contract between the two organizations that was signed on April 21, 1956, and was renewed annually for the next two decades. The M.I.A.'s satisfaction with Jurica was complete, for in 1975, when a termination of their partnership was in view, the trustees for the Angell Foundation wrote him a most generous reference, citing his high integrity and scrupulous adherence to his contractual obligations. The 1956 contract had hemmed Jurica in quite narrowly; yet he was able to do the job and turn a profit. ¹⁶⁶

AJ. A CHANCE TO MODERNIZE LOGGING METHODS, 1976

Despite Jurica's splendid record, the M.I.A. and Angell Foundation, whose directorships always had overlapping memberships, stumbled across the fact of possible improved forest management, through their associations with various colleges and universities in their grant programs to these schools. Most notable was the association with James Johnson, forester, and Eric A. Bourdo Jr., Dean of the School of Forestry and Wood Products at Michigan Technological University at Houghton. These gentlemen made a thorough study of the North Manitou forest situation and came up with recommendations that not only addressed the total environmental picture on the island, but also considered modern marketing techniques, as well as the most sophisticated forest management techniques to date. Some of their most fundamental recommendations were: 1) That "selection marking" of trees with the criterion, for example, of taking trees with so many inches at the stump, was neither in the best interests of the ecology of the forest, nor the best business practice. In many instances following this practice would result in clear cutting an area and preventing proper rejuvenation. The professors thought that this mode of clear cutting frequently resulted in the destruction of vigorously growing trees which should be left to accrue more high value wood. Their continued growth would add more wood volume in less time than waiting for a sapling to mature. 2) The professors advocated the single tree selection method, i.e., removing trees only when they have reached economic maturity. The academics urged that this principle be extended to include those trees along the scenic roadside strip, which had previously been protected by the Foundation, because the one-by-one removal of such trees would not detract that much from the beauty of the scene and in the long run would enhance it. 3) The single-tree selection method had the added benefit that it usually resulted in less damage to standing trees when felling the selectees. This fact in turn prevented the resultant rot in damaged trees and thereby enhanced the economic profitability of the entire operation. 4) The professors urged that the single-tree selection method be done on a 10-year cycle instead of the old 20-year basis, because the latter cycle did not harvest enough mature trees. The two dons admitted this change would affect esthetics somewhat, but said that the utility of the new rotation was well worth it.¹⁶⁷

The professors also addressed the question of deer versus trees in this way:

From discussion and observation, management objectives of the Angell Foundation are three-fold: timber production, game (deer and turkeys), and esthetic appeal. With adjustments all three are compatible; however, it is not possible to obtain maximum forest production while maintaining the extremely high deer population which the island now

supports, nor can uncut corridors along the island's roads be included in planning forest production or in supplying any substantial amount of deer browse. ¹⁶⁸

Besides these central points, the professors recommended the hiring of a qualified timber resource manager and listed an eight-point program for his guidance. In addition, the study gave the Foundation several tips on how to get better market prices for their timber, how to improve the logging contract to the Foundation's benefit, contained a few remarks on regulating the size of the island's deer herd, and how to enhance timber profits by consideration of selling certain trees for pulpwood. All in all, it was a most valuable analysis of the timber situation on North Manitou, but in a sense, it became academic by its occurrence at the moment when the National Park Service was obviously going to become the new forest manager there. There was at least one concrete result of this new acquaintanceship, Professor Johnson was utilized to do the marking of trees in the 1976 cutting season. Also, when the M.I.A. members met on North Manitou in mid-July 1976, they agreed to proceed with a thousand-dollar grant to Michigan Technological University to do some experimental research on a 40-acre island tract for the planting of wild Black Cherry trees.

AK. THE SIZE OF THE DEER HERD AND ISLAND CONDEMNATION PROCEEDINGS

Since the establishment of Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore on October 21, 1970, the two major subjects of discussion in the press about North Manitou have been the size of the deer herd there and the price to be paid for the island in condemnation proceedings.

As for the deer herd, there has been some controversy regarding the natural increase of the deer on the island since the Fluellings' departure in September of 1979. The deer population was reported in the press to be as high as 1500 in 1977 and when a report about winter deer attrition over three recent winters got into the public press in the spring of 1982, the fact disturbed both National Park Service Superintendent Richard Peterson as well as Angell Foundation President E.R. Hames. Peterson called it a "no-win" situation which tended to make the Park Service look negligent regardless of the truth in the case, and Hames wrote in the margin of his clipping collection:

This sort of reporting is most unfortunate and should never happen ... they draw from two incomplete reports and make no comparison with what happened on the mainland. Also, a two-year statistical report of any kind is not reliable. Further, there are extensive facts over a period of years in the DNR files in Lansing gathered by I. H. Bartlett.¹⁷¹

Despite the controversy connected with the problem, all informed observers knew that the deer herd population problem was one of the more pressing problems that the National Park Service had inherited and would have to address. ¹⁷²

The other highly visible recent issue, the price for North Manitou Island, was finally settled in September of 1983 after 5 years in litigation. From the vantage point of the trustees of the Angell Foundation, the entire reason for prolonging the litigation was to garner the most money for the foundation's charities. ¹⁷³ In September of 1983 U.S. District Judge Noel B. Fox in Grand Rapids finally set the final figure of \$12.2-million as payment

for North Manitou, and at that point the island became the responsibility of the National Park Service. 174

¹ Dr. Charles E. Cleland, Curator of Anthropology and an Assistant Professor at the Michigan State University Museum in East Lansing did a brief survey (an 11-page typescript) for the Angell Foundation in 1966 called *A Preliminary Report on the Prehistoric Resources of North Manitou Island*. A copy was provided to the author by the Midwest Archeological Center, National Park Service, Lincoln, Nebraska. The claim about the historic period derives from Elvin Sprague, *The Traverse Region, Historical and Descriptive* (Chicago: H.R. Page & Co., 1884; reprint ed., Evansville, Indiana: Unigraphic, 1976), 223.

² Sprague, The Grand Traverse Region, 26.

³ Ibid., 27

⁴ Ibid., 28

⁵ Act No. 92 of February 12, 1855, establishing the County of Manitou, is printed in *Acts of the Legislature* the State of Michigan Passed at the Regular Session of 1855, (Lansing: George W. Peck, 1855), 197-9. Act No. 362 of April 4, 1895, disestablishing the County of Manitou, is printed in *Local Acts of the State* of Michigan Passed at the Regular Session of 1895, (Lansing: Robert Smith & Co., 1895), 132-5.

⁶ Sprague, The Grand Traverse Region, 28-9.

⁷ Seventh Census of the United States 1850 Michilimackinac County, Michigan, Records of the Bureau of the Census, Record Group 29, National Archives, Denver Branch.

⁸ Charles Burmeister, "A Short History of Benzie County," Michigan Pioneer Collections, 18 (1892), 503.

⁹ Margaret Fuller, *A Summer on the Lakes in 1843* (Boston: Little and Brown, 1844); cited in Marion Morse Davis, "*A Romantic Chain of Islands*", Michigan History, XI, 347-8.

¹⁰ Davis, A Romantic Chain of Islands, 347.

¹¹ Sprague, The Grand Traverse Region, 223.

¹² See Appendix A

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Enclosures (Tract Map and Current Title Policies for tracts on North Manitou Island), to letter from United States Attorney, Western District of Michigan, to Superintendent, Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore, September 21, 1984, copy in Sleeping Bear Dunes Files; hereafter referred to as NPS Land Acquisition, North Manitou.

¹⁵ See Appendix A

¹⁶ There are copies of two letters in the Sleeping Bear Dunes Files dealing with McFadyen: Letter from E.F. Best (General Land Office, Department of Interior), to the Secretary of the Interior, July 6, 1895, and letter from William H. Sims, (Department of Interior), to the Secretary of the Treasury, August 10, 1895. The information about condemnation proceedings is from a document called "Questionnaire covering Real Estate Owned by the United States", #114, April 1, 1930, copy in the Sleeping Bear Dunes Files.

¹⁷ For acreage data on Section 23, T31N Rl4W, see Appendix A and the NPS Land Acquisition, North Manitou, Tract 55-101. The Sleeping Bear Dunes Files also has copies of several letters concerning William R. Angell's acquisition of the old lighthouse property: W.S. Erwin (Bureau of Lighthouses, Department of Commerce), to the Director of Procurement, Treasury Department, May 18, 1937, plus enclosures; and D.H. Sawyer (Treasury Department), to L.G. Jones (Department of Commerce), September 26, 1938, plus enclosures.

¹⁸ Captain Lauchlin Bellingham Mackinnon, *Atlantic and Transatlantic Sketches* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1852), 118, quoted in Davis, *A Romantic Chain of Islands*.

¹⁹ See Appendix A

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ William F. Lawler, *Michigan Islands*, Michigan History Magazine 22 (July 1938), 300.

²² Eighth Census of the United States, 1860. Kent, Leelanau, and Manitou Counties, Michigan, Records of the Bureau of the Census, Record Group 29, National Archives, Denver Branch.

- ²⁷ Leelanau County Register of Deeds, Liber 23, page 18, 1866 transfer of parcels of land in Section 31, T32N Rl4W from Daniel A. Van Valkenburgh to George F. Aylsworth. Since all of the present writer's notations on land transfers were derived from the Leland courthouse, subsequent notes will refer to them as Leelanau Deeds, with the Liber number.
- ²⁸ Jim Muhn, Historic Resource Study. Sleeping Dunes National Lakeshore, Michigan (Denver: ational Park Service, 1979/1984), 97-8.
- ²⁹ Leelanau Deeds, Liber 24, page 15, George Aylsworth and wife to Reuben Goodrich, 1884, parcels in Section 1, T31N R15W; Liber 24, page 284, Maggie Aylsworth et al to Gottlieb Patek and Charles L. Mann, 1898, Lot 1 and other lands on North Manitou Island, in Section 20, T32N R14W.
- ³⁰ Sprague, The Grand Traverse Region, 247.
- 31 Ibid.
- ³² Leelanau Deeds, Liber 23, page 69, W.H. Harper and wife to Nancy M. Pickard, 1877, parcels in Section 3, T31N Rl4W; Liber 24, page 14, Francis H. Wilder to Nancy M. Pickard, 1880, lands on North Manitou; Ibid., page 19, J.N. Stringham to Nancy M. Pickard, 1880, parcels in Section 15, T31N Rl4W; Liber 23, page 329, Nancy M. Pickard to Henry Fredrickson, 1881, Lot 2 in Section 3, T31N Rl4W; Liber 23, page 330, Nancy M. Pickard to Nels Carlson, 1881, SW 1/4 of the NE I/4, Section 4, page 327, Nancy M. Pickard to Peter Anderson, 1881, Lot 4 of Section 3, page 328, Nancy M. Pickard to Andrew Fredrickson, 1881, Lot 3 of Section 5, T31N Rl4W; Ibid., 333, Nancy M. Pickard to Ludwig Anderson, 1882 W I/2 NE 1/4 SE 1/4, Section 4, T31N Rl4W; Ibid., 92, Nancy M. Pickard et al to Stella J. Platt, 1886, parcels in Section 21, T32N Rl4W.
- ³³ See Appendix A and Atlas of Leland County, Michigan (Knoxville, Texas, Charles E. Ferris, 1900), plat map of North Manitou Island.
- ³⁴ Ninth Census of the United States, 1870, Manitou County, Michigan, Records of the Bureau of the Census, Record Group 29, National Archives, Denver Branch.
- 35 Ibid.
- ³⁶ Tenth Census of the United States, 1880, Manitou County, Michigan, Records of the Bureau of the Census, Record Group 29, National Archives, Denver Branch.
- ³⁷ In addition to the 1880 census, other data came from an interview with Paul Maleski, Jr. by David L. Fritz at Traverse City, Michigan on November 12, 1985.
- ³⁸ Census of the State of Michigan, 1894; Agriculture, Manufactories, Mines and Fisheries, (Lansing: Robert Smith & Co., 1896), Table I, II: 46-7.
- ³⁹ Ibid., Table II, 120-1
- ⁴⁰ Ibid., Table III, 168-9
- ⁴¹ Ibid., Table IV, 216-7
- ⁴² Ibid., Table V, 282-3
- ⁴³ Ibid., Table VI, 348-9
- ⁴⁴ Ibid.
- ⁴⁵ Ibid., Table VII, 416-7
- ⁴⁶ Ibid., Table VIII, 474-5
- ⁴⁷ Ibid., Table LXVIII, Fisheries, 872

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Population of the United States in 1860 (Washington: Government Printing Office 1864), 235; A Compendium of the Ninth Census (1870) (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1872), 58-9; interview with Paul Maleski, Jr., Traverse City, Michigan, November 12, 1985

²⁶ Davis, "A Romantic Chain of Islands", 348-350; Sprague, The Grand Traverse Region, 229, 234, 238, 240-247. Also see Appendix A on Edwin H. Munger's land purchases.

- ⁴⁸ Compendium of the Eleventh Census: 1890; Part I, Population (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1892), Table 3, 217-8; Abstract of the Eleventh Census. 1890 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1894), Table 2, 12.
- ⁴⁹ Leelanau Deeds, Liber 23, page 168, Agreement between F.M. Beuham and Stark Brothers, 1894; Ibid., Liber 24, page 38, Fredrick M. Beuham to Stark Brothers, 1894, parcels in Section 29, T32N Rl4W; and Ibid., page 318, Stark Brothers to Benjamin and Franklyn Newhall, 1899, lands on North Manitou Island in Sections 28, 29, 32 and 33, T32N Rl4W.
- ⁵⁰ Guide to the National Archives of the United States (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1974), Records of the United States Coast Guard, Record Group 26, 522-3.
- ⁵¹ United States Life-Saving Service, Lease of Site on North Manitou Island, September 10, 1874 Records of the United States Coast Guard, Record Group 26, National Archives, Washington D,C.; copy of lease held in Sleeping Bear Dunes Files.
- Muhn, *Historic Resource Study*, 66-7, and endnote 37 on page 75. Muhn covered the lifesaving service and lighthouse aspects of North Manitou in somewhat greater detail than here, utilizing, inter alia, documents from National Archives Record Group 26. He added three appendices germane to this topic at the rear of his Resource Study; these were on the Manitou Passage, Shipwrecks and Ships Rendered Assistance, pages 169 through 188. Muhn also used a number of illustrations on this subject, on pages 37, 39, 41, 43, 45, and 47, He provided, as well, a certain number of document copies and fine architectural drawings of the lighthouse and adjoining buildings from Record Group 26 that are kept in the Sleeping Bear Dunes Files. He noted too, in endnote 37, page 75, that the land title to the station was confused in 1940, as it remains to date.
- ⁵³ Muhn, *Historic Resource Study*. 65-6, endnotes 23 through 33, pages 73-4.
- ⁵⁴ Letter of Marvin and Arlene Fluelling to Wilbur H, Davis of the Angell Foundation, December 4, 1970, with snapshots attached. The quality of the photos was not good enough for reproduction here. A copy of Angell's quitclaim deed was included with a letter from D.H. Sawyer, (Treasury Department), to Mr. L.G. Jones, (Bureau of Lighthouses, Department of Commerce), September 26, 1938, copy in Sleeping Bear Dunes Files. See also endnotes 16 and 17 supra. See also *Leelanau Deeds*, Liber 69, page 427, United States of America to Detroit Trust Co., 1938, all of fractional Section 23, T31N R14W.
- 55 Leelanau Deeds, Liber 21, page 326, Stella J. Platt to Silas R. Boardman, certain lands in Section 21, 22, 27, 28, 33 and 34, all in T32N Rl4W; and certain lands in Section 4, 10 and 31 all in T31N Rl4W, June 30, 1890.
- ⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, as an example of the W.O. Greene Plat: Liber 21, page 350, the Blossoms and the Trudes to John H. Keating of Chicago, for Lot 6 in the W.O. Greene Plat, indenture made November 20, 1894.
- ⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, Liber 21, page 326, Boardmans to Trudes, certain lands in Section 34, T32N Rl4W, private deed notarized November 24, 1894, recorded at courthouse February 26, 1896. The Trudes paid \$500 for the parcel. The covenant drawn up by the Boardmans, Blossoms and Trudes is referred to Ibid., *Liber* 21, page 350, Blossoms and Trudes to John A. Keating, November 20, 1894, date of covenant May 1, 1894.
- ⁵⁸ Ibid., Liber 33, page 133, Frederick R. Trude and wife to Mary Z. Fiske of St. Louis, Lot 4 in W.O. Greene Plat, August 21, 1905; Liber 43, page 91, Effie Leone Burdick and Frederick M. Burdick to Mary Z. Fiske, Lot 3 of W.O. Greene Plat, October 15, 1914; Liber 491 page 412-5, George F. Fiske et al to Franklin N. Reed of Chicago, Lot 3 in W.O. Greene Plat, January 28, 1922; Liber 55, page 113, John V. Fox, Jr., and Laura Mae Fox to John N. Kail of Highland Park, Illinois, Lot 10 of the Syndicate Subdivision, September 15, 1926; Liber 55, page 240, Margaret Rhodes Peattie and Roderick Peattie to Security Trust Company [Angell], Lot 2 of W.O. Greene Plat, October 28, 1926; Liber 55, page 436-7, Katherine H. Shepard, spinster of Chicago, to Security Trust Company, Lot 5 of W.O. Greene Plat, June 2, 1928; Liber 69, page 133, Vincent M. Reed and Edna M. Reed of Wynnewood, Pa., Lot 3 of W.O. Greene Plat, September 1, 1937.
- ⁵⁹ Atlas of Leland County, map of North Manitou Island.
- ⁶⁰ Leelanau Deeds, Liber 27, page 132, State of Michigan to Benjamin and Franklin Newhall, 1900, all of Section 16, T31N RI4W.
- ⁶¹ NPS Land Acquisition, North Manitou, Exhibit A for Tract No. 53-109, exception in Section 3, T31N R14W.
- ⁶² Interview with Mrs. Eleanor Oien, Marcus Oien and Mrs. Donna (Kelenske) Heater at Traverse City, Michigan, November 12, 1985.

- 63 Leelanau Deeds, Liber 33, pages 291-295, Gottlieb Patek to the Smith & Hull Company, November 9, 1906, certain lands in Sections 6, 7, 8, 9, 10 and 17, T31N RI4W. Sections 19, 30 and 31 in T32N RI4W; Lots 1 and 2 in Sections 24, 25 and 36 in T32N RI5W; Page 293: Patek to Smith and Hull Company November 9, 1906, Lots 1, 2, 3 and 4 in Section 1, T31N RI5W, page 294: Phillip and Tillie P. Ettenheim of Milwaukee to Gottlieb Patek, November 9, 1906, certain lands Sections 6, 7, 8, 9, 10 and 17 in T31N RI5W; Sections 24, 25 and 36 in T32N RI5W; Lots 1, 2, 3, 4 in Section 1, T31N RI5W; page 295: Gottlieb Patek to Smith and Hull Company, November 9, 1906, Lots L, 2, 3, 4 of Section 1, T31N RI5W. To clear up a claim by John L. Swenson and his wife Annie, of Leelanau Township, Smith and Hull paid \$150 to the Swensons for a quit-claim on Lots 1, 2, 3 and 4 of Section 1, T31N RI5W. This latter transaction was recorded in Liber 37, page 32 on August 17, 1907. The date of the indenture was August 13, 1907.
- 64 Elvin L. Sprague and Mrs. George N. Smith, eds., *Sprague's History of Grand Traverse and Leelanau Counties, Michigan* (Traverse City, MI: B.F. Bowen, 1903), William W. Smith, Jr's biography is on pages 374-6; Franklyn H. Smith's biography on pages 793-4; Henry S. Hull's biography on pages 416-8; and William C. Hull's # pages 732-3.
- 65 Sprague's History of Grand Traverse 1903, 732.
- ⁶⁶ Muhn, Historic Resource Study. 106-7, endnotes 60-67, page 113.
- ⁶⁷ Sleeping Bear Dunes Files. Muhn's report, pages 83, 85, 87 and 89, reproduces four photos from Mrs. Robert White of Crescent City as well, including depictions of street scene, the sawmill, the hotel/boarding house and one of a railroad engine.
- ⁶⁸ Traverse City Evening Record, May 15, 1909.
- ⁶⁹ Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910 Leelanau County, Michigan, Records of the Bureau of the Census, Record Group 29, Leelanau County, National Archives, Denver Branch. The copy at Denver was of such poor quality that the author consulted another better version at Traverse City, Michigan, in the Mark Osterlin Library at Northwest Michigan College; hereafter referred to as 1910 Census.
- ⁷⁰ *Ibid.*,
- ⁷¹ *Ibid*.,
- ⁷² See endnote 49 above.
- ⁷³ 1910 Census
- 74 Ibid. Also, a letter of Rita Hadra Rusco to David Fritz of November 5, 1985; and a personal interview with Mrs. Donna (Kelenske) Heater by David Fritz on November 12, 1985, in Traverse City, Michigan.
- ⁷⁵ *Ihid*.
- ⁷⁶ 1910 Census and a small file on the North Manitou cemetery from the Angell Foundation records provided by Mr. Wilbur S. Davis, an officer of said foundation, residing in Farmington Hills, Michigan; hereafter referred to as Angell Files.
- ⁷⁷ Angell Files, cemetery data.
- ⁷⁸ *Leelanau Deeds*, Liber 55, page 340, Nicholas Feilen to Security Trust Company [William R. Angell), 1927, parcel in Lot 1, Section 3, T3lN Rl4W.
- ⁷⁹ Angell Files, cemetery data. Rita Rusco says that Nick Feilen died on the date given and that his brother John moved away from the island to his former home in Chicago. The two sources do not agree. Several records in the Angell Files state that there are two markers side by side for the brothers in the graveyard on the island. It may be that a marker was prepared for both brothers, but that only one brother was buried there.
- 80 S. Hagiwara's Survey done for the National Park Service and the Michigan State Historic Preservation Officer [SHPO) in September 1979, with accompanying map; hereafter cited as *Hagiwara's Survey*.
- 81 1910 Census.
- 82 Ibid.
- ⁸³ Angell Files, cemetery data.
- ⁸⁴ Muhn, *Historic Resource Study*, 107 and endnotes 64 and 65 on page 113; *Leelanau Deeds*, Liber 53, page 10, Peter Stormer and wife to Roger Sherman and George M. McConnell, 1923, lands in Section 21, T31N Rl4W; Ibid., Liber 53, page 240, 229, Peter Stormer Executrix to John and Mary Young, 1925, Lots in Empire, Michigan.
- 85 Plat Book of Leelanau County, Rockford, Illinois: W.W. Hixson and Co., n.d. c.1925, map of North Manitou Island.
- ⁸⁶ Leelanau Deeds, Liber 49, pages 493-6, Smith and Hull Company to Frank Reed, 1922, lands on North Manitou Island.

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⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, Liber 53, page 29, Frank N. Reed and wife to George M, McConnell and Roger Sherman, 1923, certain parcels of land on North Manitou Island in Section 21, T32N Rl4W, and Section 3, T31N Rl4W.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, Liber 53, pages 418-421, but especially page 421 where all the lands derived from Smith and Hull were given over to Sherman and McConnell.

⁸⁹ For some purchases, see *Leelanau Deeds*, Liber 49, page 374, 1922, Frank G. Gardner and Sylvan Newhall to Sherman and McConnell, lands on North Manitou; pages 378, 300, 381 and 382 thereafter, show four more transactions of the partners with various members of the Newhall family.

⁹⁰ Leelanau Deeds, Liber 49, pages 493-6, Smith & Hull to Frank Reed, June 15, 1922, certain lands on North Manitou Island; Liber 55, pages 83-4, Smith and Hull to Security Trust Company, June 24, 1926, some lands as above.

⁹¹ This data is repeated over and over in every transaction of the Security Trust Company of Detroit. See for example *Leelanau Deeds*, Liber 55, pages 83-4, Smith and Hull Company to Security Trust Company, July 24, 1926.

⁹² Leelanau Deeds, Liber 55, pages 365-7, McConnell & Sherman to Security Trust Company, recorded November 14, 1927, large tracts on North Manitou Island; the quote is at the bottom of page 366 and top of page 367.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, 365-6

⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁹⁵ Grand Rapids Press, March 1983, "Obscure Beacon Marked End of Line." The clipping lacks a more precise date as it came from Mr. Wilbur H. Davis files, part of the Angell Files.

⁹⁶ W. Craig Keith, "Memorandum", dated December 31, 1976 and January 6, 1976 and January 6, 1977, a 19-page singe-spaced typescript synopsis of meetings of the Trustees of the Angell Foundation, with insertions about the activities of the Manitou Island Association, covering proceedings from 1951 to 1969, passim. Also interview with Wilbur H. Davis, Farmington Hills, Michigan, February 27,1985; and Angell Foundation pamphlet entitled "The Story of William R. Angell and North Manitou Island" (n.p., n.d., the context reveals it to be printed in 1984, and in Michigan, probably the Detroit area by the Angell Foundation).

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 365-7.

⁹⁸ Leelanau Deeds, Liber 55, page 114 and 176, John N. Kail to Security Trust Company, September 17, 1926 and November 29, 1926, Lot 10; Liber 55, page 240, Margaret Rhodes Peattie to Security Trust Company, recorded March 16, 1927, Lot 2; Liber 55, pages 436-7, Katherine H. Shepard to Security Trust Company, recorded June 8, 1928, Lot 5; Liber 55, page 531, Sherman and McConnell to Security Trust Company, land in Section 34, T32N Rl4W, recorded April 30, 1929; Liber 69, page 133, Vincent M. Reed to Detroit Trust Company, Lot 3, September 3, 1937; Liber 116, pages 94-7, Margaret Londergan to Detroit Bank and Trust Corporation, Trustees for the Manitou Island Association, a partnership of Avery T. Wing and William R. Angell a Michigan non-profit corporation, Lots 7 and 8 and other lands on North Manitou, February 4, 1958; Liber 154, pages 570-4, Teledyne Inc. to Teledyne Industries [a subsidiary of Ryan Aeronautical Company and Continental Motors, an Angell Corporation affiliate], Lot 1, December 16, 1969.

⁹⁹ NPS Land Acquisition North Manitou, especially Exhibit A's for Tracts 53-116, 53-117, and 53-118.

See for example Leelanau Deeds, Liber 150, pages 191-4, Josephine Hollister and Russel H. Hollister to Susan H. Wasserman, John H. Hollister and Frederick F. Hollister, Lot 9, recorded June 19, 1969.

¹⁰¹ Ibid., Liber 55, pages 436-7, Katherine Shepard to Security Trust Company, June 8, 1928; Liber 55, page 497, Newhalls and Frank G. Gardner to Security Trust Company, recorded October 11, 1928; Liber 69, page 527, United States of America to Detroit Trust Company, recorded September 19, 1938; Liber 69, page 579, Mary McMunn Bournique, Executrix of the Last Will and Testament of Alvar L. Bournique, deceased, to Detroit Trust Company, recorded May 15, 1939; Liber 73, page 206, Tracy Grosvenor and Della Grosvenor to Detroit Trust Company, recorded February 1, 1940; Liber 110, page 130, Paul Maleski and Josephine Maleski to Detroit T(ust Company, October 27, 1955; and Liber 116, pages 94-7, Margaret Londergan to Detroit Bank and Trust Corporation, February 4, 1958; Liber 73, page 42S, shows transfer of lands in Section 34, T32N Rl4W, from the Estate of Mary Z. Fiske and George F. Fiske to the Manitou Island Association, an Angell affiliate, 1941.

Marion Davis, pages 351-3; the first internal quote is from the *Grand Rapids Press*, December 20, 1926; the second internal quote is from one of several articles written by Arthur W. Stace for the *Grand Rapids Press* during the summer of 1926.

¹⁰³ Angell Pamphlet

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<sup>104</sup> Giles Merritt letter to David L. Fritz dated May 15, 1985.
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- ¹⁰⁵ Merritt letter to Fritz, October 19 and 24, 1985.
- ¹⁰⁶ Merritt Letter of May 15, 1985.
- 107 Ibid.
- ¹⁰⁸ Ibid.
- ¹⁰⁹ Ibid.
- ¹¹⁰ Ibid.
- ¹¹¹ Ibid.
- ¹¹² Ibid.
- ¹¹³ Ibid.
- ¹¹⁴ Ibid.
- ¹¹⁵ Ibid., and Merritt letter of October 19, 1985.
- ¹¹⁶ Merritt letter of October 19, 1985.
- ¹¹⁷ Ibid.
- ¹¹⁸ Merritt letter of May 15, 1985
- 119 Ibid.
- ¹²⁰ Merritt letters of October 19 and 24, 1985.
- ¹²¹ Merritt letters of May 15 and October 19, 1985.
- 122 Ibid.
- ¹²³ Merritt letters of February 21 and May 15, 1985.
- 124 Ibid.
- ¹²⁵ Ibid.
- 126 Ibid.
- ¹²⁷ Ibid.
- ¹²⁸ Giles Merritt letters of February 21, May 15, October 19 and 24, 1985.
- ¹²⁹ Ibid.
- 130 Ibid.
- ¹³¹ Merritt letter of October 19, 1985.
- ¹³² Traverse City Record-Eagle, April 6, 1928.
- ¹³³ Merritt letters of October 19 and 24, 1985.
- 134 Ibid.
- 135 Ibid.
- ¹³⁶ Ibid, and his letter of May 15, 1985.
- ¹³⁷ Davis Interview.
- 138 Copy of Trust Instrument, Angell Foundation, dated April 14, 1949, typescript, seven pages, signed at Detroit, Michigan by William R. Angell, Osborn H. Ensing, Paul S. Christee, Craig Keith, and Everett R. Hames, trustees, excerpt from Clause Two, hereafter cited as Angell Trust 1949. Mr. Davis also gave the author a copy of the first increment of the Trust Instrument, the first six By-Laws of the Angell Foundation, dated October 6, 1949, three pages, typescript.
- ¹³⁹ Angell Trust 1949, Clause Five, page 3.
- 140 Ibid.
- ¹⁴¹ I.H. Bartlett, "The North Manitou Island Deer Herd, A History and Suggested Management Plan," Deer Investigations, Game Division, Department of Conservation, Lansing, Michigan, February 4, 1944, 12 Pages, typescript, page 4, copy derived from Michigan State Library, Lansing, Michigan Clipping File.
- Letter from Giles E. Merritt to David L. Fritz, dated February 21, 1985. Merritt was with the Coast Guard crew on North Manitou from 1925 to 1928, and besides helping to lay the new telephone line (in L927] connecting North and South Manitou, he patrolled the line by motorcycle in summer and by snowshoes and toboggan in winter.
- ¹⁴³ Keith, "Memorandum". pages 2-3.
- ¹⁴⁴ See for example *Leelanau Deeds*, Liber 116, pages 94-7, Margaret Londergan to Detroit Bank and Trust Corporation, certain parcels of land on North Manitou Island, February 4, 1958.
- ¹⁴⁵ Keith, "Memorandum", 1-10, passim.
- ¹⁴⁶ Bartlett, "The North Manitou Island Deer Herd", 5.
- ¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 5-9
- ¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 8-9
- ¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 1-2

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<sup>150</sup> Ibid., 3
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¹⁵¹ Ibid.,

¹⁵² Ibid.

¹⁵³ Rita Hadra Rusco, "Living on the Island", Detroit Free Press (Detroit Section), Sunday October 18, 1981.

¹⁵⁴ Rusco, "Living on the Island".

¹⁵⁵ Ibid.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid.

¹⁵⁹ See also NPS Land Acquisition, North Manitou, passim, and letter of Rita Hadra Rusco to David L. Fritz, dated November 5, 1985.

¹⁶⁰ Keith, "Memorandum", 1-19, passim.

¹⁶¹ Ibid., especially 6, 8-10, 12.

Gordon Charles, wildlife editor for the *Traverse City Record-Eagle* did a series of articles on the Fluellings for that paper in 1978 and 1979. Some of these were reprinted later in affiliated newspapers elsewhere in Michigan. See especially the *Record-Eagle* for November 13, 1979, "They Had a 15,000-acre Yard"; and the *Detroit Free Press*, October 29, 1978, "Great Lakes Islanders"; and the *Record Eagle* for September 27, 1979, "Manitou Isle Caretakers End 24-year Tour of Duty".

¹⁶³ Record-Eagle, November 13, 1979.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶⁶ Copy of contract between Manitou Island Association and the Lake ichigan Hardwood Company, dated April 21, 1956, typescript, six pages with signatures; copy derived from Mr. Davis' Angell Files, Farmington Hills, Michigan. The good reference for Mr. Jurica was in a memorandum from the Angell Trustees to Whom it May Concern, dated June 11, 1975, signed by Mr. W.H. Davis, Vice President and Treasurer, copy in Angell Files.

¹⁶⁷ Eric A. Bourdo and James A. Johnson, "Observations and Recommendations Concerning Forest Management on North Manitou Island", Report to the Angell Foundation, Michigan Technological University, Houghton, Michigan, January 5, 1976, page three.

¹⁶⁸ Bourdo and Johnson, "Observations and Recommendations", 1.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid. In addition to the Bourdo/Johnson report, Mr. Wilbur H. Davis of the Angell Foundation generously gave this writer access to a file of correspondence relating to North Manitou logging, centering on 1976 and 1977. Most of the letters are between Professor Johnson and Everett R. Hames, the latter then coincidentally president of the M.I.A. and the Angell Foundation. The letters contain further tips on logging from the professors and a resume of discussions held at Houghton in late March or early April 1976 and demonstrate the Association's deep interest in learning more about scientific logging. This latter information was in a two-page summary dated April 13, 1976, Angell Files.

¹⁷⁰ Angell Files, two-page summary of a Manitou Island Association Meeting, July 16, 17, 18, 1976, on North Manitou Island, typescript, minutes by Blake Forslund, secretary of the M.I.A.

¹⁷¹ Angell Files, clipping collection associated with North Manitou Island. Everett R. Hames' comments adjacent to an article from the *Leelanau Enterprise* for April 15, 1982, "3-Winter Toll on Island Deer Herd Set at Over 800".

¹⁷² See for example Gordon Charles' three-part series on North Manitou Island in the *Traverse City Record-Eagle* for January 11, 18 and 25, 1975, the Water, Wildlife and Woods Section. The series was reprinted in other papers with which Charles has a working agreement. These reprints illustrate the variable emphasis given by newspapers through their headlines: For Part Two, the *Record-Eagle* stated "Secret for more Deer: Don't Let Them Yard Up". Another unidentified paper prefixed the same article with the title "The Deer Herd Exploded After North Manitou Was Logged Off". Other articles on the subject: Gordon Charles, "Island Deer in For Trouble, Food Supply Dwindles", *Kalamazoo Gazette*, January 16, 1977; Ed Hoogterp, "'Bonus' with Manitou Purchase is a Problem of Too Many Deer", *Grand Rapids Press*, May 22, 1983.

¹⁷³ "The Story of William R. Angell; Colleges Have a Stake in Suit on Island Price", *Grand Rapids Press*, May 22,1983.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid.; "Judge to Decide Value of North Manitou Island," Record-Eagle, May 23, 1983.

APPENDIX A

FIRST PURCHASES OF LAND ON NORTH MANITOU ISLAND*

Key to Abbreviations

1. AC, Ag, Scrip.: Agricultural College Land Grant

2. Cert.: Certificate

3. Hd, HE: Homestead

4. Lic.: License

5. MB, MBL, MBW: Military Bounty Land Grant

6. P.P.: Primary School Land Grant

7. R.: Swamp Land Grant

8. War.: Warrant

* Derived from Michigan State Archives, Record Group 80-116, Lot 71, Tract books, Volume 65, (Leelanau County), Department of the Treasury, State of Michigan.

I. Township 31 North, Range 14 West

LAND	ACREAGE	PURCHASER & ADDRESS I	OATE & TYPE OF PATENT
1. <u>Section 3</u> :			
W1/2 NW1/4	80	Nicholas Pickard North Manitou Island	July 24, 1855 Cash
W/12 SW1/4	80	Joseph Stringham Buffalo, NY	August 22, 1855 Voucher 742-1883
Lot 1	47.10	Joseph Stringham	Sept. 25, 1854 Cash
Lot 2	37.20	Joseph Stringham	Sept. 25, 1854 Cash
Lot 3	37.00	Nicholas Pickard	July 24, 1855 Cash
Lot 4	31.20	Joseph Stringham	July 13, 1857 Cash
2. <u>Section 4</u> :			
NE1/4	160	Nicholas Pickard Manitou Co., MI	August 15, 1857 MBL Vet. 1812 Voucher 742-1883
NW1/4	160	Albert W. Bacon Grand Traverse Co., MI	August 14, 1862 MBL Vet. 1812
SW1/4	160	Albert W. Bacon Grand Traverse Co., MI	August 14, 1862 MBL Vet. 1812
NW1/4 SE1/4	40	Albert W. Bacon	August 14, 1862 MBL Vet. 1812
S1/2 SE1/4	80	Albert W. Bacon	August 14, 1862 MBL Vet. 1812
NE1/4 SE1/4	40	Joseph Stringham	August 22, 1857 MBL Vet.
3. <u>Section 5</u> :			
Entire Section	640	Albert W. Bacon Grand Traverse Co., MI	August 14, 1862 MBL Vet.

LAND	ACREAGE	PURCHASER & ADDRESS I	OATE & TYPE OF PATENT
4. <u>Section 6</u> :			
NE1/4 NE1/4	39.92	Daniel A. VanValkenburgh Buffalo, New York	Feb. 19, 1863 (Cash) Voucher 335/79
NW1/4 NE1/2	39.77	Daniel A. VanValkenburgh	October 9, 1861 (Cash)
S1/2 NE1/4	80.00	Daniel A VanValkenburgh	October 9, 1861 MBL Vet. 1812
NE1/4 NW1/4	39.62	Daniel A. VanValkenburgh	November 14, 1855 MBL Vet. 1812
NW1/4 SW1/4	39.46	Daniel A. VanValkenburgh	November 14, 1855 MBL Vet. 1812
S1/2 NW1/4	80.00	Daniel A. VanValkenburgh	November 14, 1855 MBL Vet. 1812
N1/2 SW1/4	80.00	Daniel A. VanValkenburgh	October 9, 1861 MBL Vet. 1812
SW1/4 SW1/4	40.00	Daniel A. VanValkenburgh	October 9, 1861 MBL Vet. 1812
SE1/4 SW1/4	40.00	Daniel A. VanValkenburgh	February 19, 1863 MBL Vet. 1812 Voucher 335/79
SE1/4	160.00	Albert W. Bacon Grand Traverse Co., MI	August 14, 1862 MBL Vet. 1812
5. <u>Section 7</u> :			
Partial Section	582.80	Albert W. Bacon Grand Traverse Co., MI	August 14, 1862 MBL Vet. 1812
NE11/4	160.00	Albert W. Bacon	August 14, 1862 MBL Vet. 1812
NW1/4	160.00	Albert W. Bacon	August 14, 1862 MBL Vet. 1812
E1/2 SE1/4	80.00	Albert W. Bacon	August 14, 1862 MBL Vet. 1812

LAND	ACREAGE	PURCHASER & ADDRESS D	ATE & TYPE OF PATENT
NW1/4 SE1/4	40.00	Albert W. Bacon	Sept. 3, 1862 MBL Vet. 1812
Lot 1	40.80	Albert W. Bacon	Sept. 3, 1862 MBL Vet. 1812
Lot 2	62.30	Albert W. Bacon	Sept 3, 1862 MBL Vet. 1812
Lot 3	39.70	Albert W. Bacon	Sept 3, 1862 Cash
6. <u>Section 8</u> :			
Entire Section	640	Albert W. Bacon	August 14, 1862 MBL Vet. 1812
7. <u>Section 9</u> :			
N1/2	320	Albert W. Bacon Grand Traverse Co., MI	August 14, 1862 MBL Vet. 1812
SW1/4	160.00	John J. Bagley Detroit, MI	February 7, 1865 Ag. Scrip. Vouicher 297/77
SE1/4	160.00	Nels Carlson North Manitou Island	March 14, 1896 July 9, 1903 March 20, 1905
8. <u>Section 10</u> :			
Partial Section	178.80		
Lot 1	63.40	Edwin H. Munger Erie Co., New York	Sept. 23, 1862 MBL Vet. 1812
Lot 2	59.60	Edwin H. Munger	Sept. 23, 1862 MBL Vet. 1812
Lot 3	55.80	Edwin H. Munger	Sept. 23, 1862 MBL Vet. 1812
Lot 4	52.20	David Sawtell Erie Co., New York	April 11, 1865 Cash
9. <u>Section 15</u> :			
SW1/4 SW1/4	40.00	Andrew Anderson Manitou Co., MI	March 12, 1888 Cash

LAND	ACREAGE	PURCHASER & ADDRESS I	OATE & TYPE OF PATENT
Lot 1	49.70	Edwin H. Munger Erie Co., New York	Sept. 23, 1862 MBL Vet. 1812
Lot 2	53.70	Edwin H. Munger	Sept. 23, 1862 MBL Vet. 1218
Lot 3	62.50	Edwin H. Munger	Sept. 23, 1862 MBL Vet. 1812
Lot 4	41.00	Nicholas Pickard & Charles Stringham of Mackinac, MI	November 8, 1849 Cash
10. <u>Section 16</u> :			
Entire Section	640	Franklin & Benjamin Newhall of Chicago	November 37, 1862 Cash
11. <u>Section 17</u> :			
N1/2	320	Albert W. Bacon Grand Traverse Co., MI	Sept. 30, 1862 MBL Vet.
NE1/4 SW1/4	40.00	Lyman P. Judson Benzie Co., MI	May 3, 1883 Cash
W1/2 SE1/4	80.00	Lyman P. Judson	May 3, 1883 Cash
SE1/4 SE1/4	40.00	Lyman P. Judson	May 3, 1883 Cash
NE1/4 SE1/4	40.00	Albert W. Bacon Grand Traverse Co., MI	Sept. 23, 1862 Cash
Lot 1	38.30	Albert W. Bacon	Sept. 23, 1862 Cash
Lot 2	44.20	Albert W. Bacon	Sept. 23, 1862 Cash
12. <u>Section 18</u> :			
Partial Section	100.70	Joseph Stringham Buffalo, New York	
Lot 1	57.40	Joseph Stringham	June 13, 1885 Cash

LAND	ACREAGE	PURCHASER & ADDRESS DA	ATE & TYPE OF PATENT
Lot 2	43.30	Joseph Stringham	Sept. 25, 1854 Cash
13. <u>Section 20</u> :			
Partial Section	143.40		
NE1/4 NE1/4	40.00	Albert W. Bacon Grand Traverse Co., MI	Sept. 3, 1862 MBL Vet. 1812
Lot 1	39.50	Albert W. Bacon	Sept. 3, 1862 MBL Vet. 1812
Lot 2	42.50	Albert W. Bacon	Sept. 3, 1862 MBL Vet. 1812
Lot 3	21.40	Andrew Anderson Manitou Co., MI Final Proof:	Sept. 6, 1875 HE October 10, 1882
14. <u>Section 21</u> :			
	673.3		
NE1/4	160	Gustaf Olson Swan & Mary Olson Swan Manitou Co., MI - Final Proof:	October 22, 1878 HE April 1886
E1/2 NE1/4	80.00	Peter Hanson Manitou Co., MI Final Proof:	October 4, 1886 HE February 2, 1895
NW1/4 NW1/4	40.00	Albert W. Bacon Grand Traverse Co., MI	Sept. 3, 1862 MBL Vet. 1812
SW1/4 NW1/4	40	Andrew Anderson Manitou Co., MI Final Proof:	Sept. 6, 1875 HE October 10, 1882
W1/2 SW1/4	77.30	Andrew Anderson	Sept. 6, 1875 HE
		Final Proof:	October 10, 1882
E1/2 SW1/4	80.00	Lars Christopher North Manitou Island Final Proof:	December 19, 1884 HE November 5, 1890
W1/2 SE1/4	80.00	Lars Christopher	December 19, 1884 HE
		Final Proof:	November 15, 1890

LAND	ACREAGE	PURCHASER & ADDRESS I	DATE & TYPE OF PATE
E1/2 SE1/4	80.00	Nicholas Feilen North Manitou Island	August 28, 1903 May 19, 1910 HE
		Final Proof:	October 8, 1909
15. <u>Section 22</u> :			
E1/2 NW1/4	80.00	Alvar L. Bournique (No address given)	July 3, 1903 May 17, 1909 HE
		Final Proof:	October 13, 1908
W1/2 NW1/4	80.00	John A. Anderson North Manitou Island Final Proof:	May 6, 1890 HE December 1, 1895
W1/2 SW1/4	80.00	John A. Anderson	May 6, 1890 HE
		Final Proof:	December 1, 1895
NW1/2 SW1/4	40.00	Alvar L Bournique (No address given) Final Proof:	July 3, 1903 May 17, 1909 October 13, 1908
Lot 1	28.75	Neil J. McFadyen Erie Co., PA	October 30, 1848 Cash
Lot 2	68.00	Hendrick Fredrickson Manitou Co., MI	October 3, 1883 Cash
Lot 3	43.30	John Newhall North Manitou Island	July 12, 1970 Cash
Lot 4	54.00	John Newhall	January 27, 1908 Cash
Lot 5	32.20	Alvar L. Bournique (No address given)	July 3, 1903 May 17, 1909 HE
		Final Proof:	October 13, 1908
16. <u>Section 23</u> :			
Fractional	16.00	Neil J. McFadyen Erie Co., PA	October 27, 1848 Cash
17. <u>Section 27</u> :			
Fractional	21.00	Nicholas Feilen North Manitou Island	August 28, 1903 May 19, 1910
		Final Proof:	HE October 8, 1909

18. <u>Section 28</u>:

Fractional	180.90		
Lot 1	20.70	Andrew Anderson North Manitou Island	Sept. 6, 1875 HE October 10, 1882
Lot 2	63.50	Benjamin Newhall North Manitou Island	August 19, 1907 Cash
Lot 3	57.50	Benjamin Newhall	August 19, 1907 Cash
Lot 4	39.20	Nicholas Feilen North Manitou Island	August 28, 1903 May 19, 1910 HE
		Final Proof:	October 8, 1909

II. Township 32 North, Range 14 West

1. <u>Section 19</u>:

Fractional	517.30		
SE1/4	160.00	Albert W. Bacon Grand Traverse Co., MI	Sept. 23,1862 MBL Vet. 1812
SW1/4	160	John J. Bagley Detroit, MI	February 7, 1865 Ag. Scrip. Voucher 297/77
Lot 1	51.00	John J. Bagley	February 7, 1865 MBL Vet. 1850 Voucher 297/77
Lot 2	54.40	John J. Bagley	February 7, 1865 MBL Vet. 1850 Voucher 297/77
Lot 3	47.80	John J. Bagley	February 7, 1865 MBL Vet. 1850 Voucher 297/77
Lot 4	44.10	John J. Bagley	February 7, 1865 MBL Vet. 1850 Voucher 297/77

2.	Section	20:

Fractional	430.70		
NE1/4 SW1/4	40.00	Albert W. Bacon Grand Traverse Co., MI	Sept. 3, 1862 MBL Vet. 1812
W1/2 SW1/4	80.00	Albert W. Bacon	Sept. 3, 1862 MBL Vet. 1812
SE1/4 SW1/4	40.00	Albert W. Bacon	Sept. 3, 1862 MBL Vet. 1812
S1/2 SE1/4	80.00	Albert W. Bacon	Sept. 3, 1862 MBL Vet. 1862
Lot 1	54.80	Daniel A. VanValkenburgh	October 9, 1861 MBL Vet.
Lot 2	64.00	Albert W. Bacon	Sept. 30, 1862 Cash
Lot 3	34.00	Albert W. Bacon	Sept. 23, 1862 Cash
Lot 4	37.90	Albert W. Bacon	Sept. 23, 1862 Cash
3. <u>Section 21</u> :			
Fractional	313.20		
S1/2 SW1/4	80.00	Albert W. Bacon Grand Traverse Co., MI	Sept. 30, 1862 MBL Vet.
SW1/4 SE1/4	40.00	John Maleski North Manitou Island Final Proof:	May 10, 1912 HE May 17, 1918
Lot 1	56.30	John Maleski	May 10, 1912 HE
		Final Proof:	May 17, 1918
Lot 2	36.00	Nicholas Pickard Manitou Co., MI	August 15, 1857 MBL Vet. 1885
Lot 3	46.60	Daniel A. VanValkenburgh Manitou Co., MI	October 9, 1861 MBL Vet.

LAND ACREAGE PURCHASER & ADDRESS.. DATE & TYPE OF PATENT 4. <u>Section 22</u>: Fractional 4.15 5. <u>Section 27</u>: Fractional 292.20 W1/2 SW1/4 80.00 Edwin H. Munger Sept. 23, 1862 Erie Co., PA MBL Vet. 1812 Lot 1 29.00 Nicholas Pickard August 15, 1857 Manitou Co., MI Cash Albert W. Bacon Sept. 30, 1862 Lot 2 69.40 Grand Traverse Co., MI Cash Lot 3 Albert W. Bacon Sept. 23, 1862 52.20 Cash 61.60 Nicholas Pickard Lot 4 August 15, 1857 Manitou Co., MI Cash 6. <u>Section 28</u>: E1/2 NE1/4 80.00 Albert W. Bacon Sept. 30, 1862 Grand Traverse Co., MI MBL Vet. NW1/4 NE1/4 40.00 Albert W. Bacon Sept. 30, 1862 MBL Vet. SW1/4 NE1/4 40.00 Albert W. Bacon Sept. 23, 1862 Cash NW1/4 160.00 Albert W. Bacon August 14, 1862 MBL Vet. 1812 Albert W. Bacon 160.00 Sept. 14, 1862 SW1/4 MBL Vet. 1812 160.00 SE1/4 Edwin H. Munger Sept. 23, 1862 Erie Co., New York MBL Vet.

7. <u>Section 29</u>:

	603.40		
Lake	36.60		
NE1/4	160.00	Albert W. Bacon	Sept. 23, 1862 MBL Vet. 18112

LAND	ACREAGE	PURCHASER & ADDRESS D	ATE & TYPE OF PATENT
NW1/4	160.00	Albert W. Bacon Grand Traverse Co., MI	Sept. 3, 1862 MBL Vet. 1812
N1/2 SW1/4	80.00	Albert W. Bacon	Sept. 30, 1862 MBL
N1/2 SE1/4	80.00	Albert W. Bacon	Sept. 3, 1862 MBL
SE1/4 SE1/4	40.00	Albert W. Bacon	Sept., 3, 1862 MBL
Lot 1	43.00	Albert W. Bacon	Sept 23, 1861 Cash
Lot 2	40.40	Daniel A. VanValkenburgh Manitou Co., MI	October 9, 1861 MBL Vet. 1812
8. <u>Section 30</u> :			
NE1/4	160.00	Albert W. Bacon Grand Traverse Co., MI	Sept. 23, 1862 MBL 1812
NW1/4	160.00	John J. Bagley Detroit, MI Final Proof:	Ag. Scrip. Voucher 297/77 February 7, 1865
SW1/4	160.00	Albert W. Bacon	Sept. 30, 1862 MBL 1812
SE1/4	160.00	Albert W. Bacon	Sept. 30, 1862 MBL 1812
9. <u>Section 31</u> :			
NE1/4	160.00	Albert W. Bacon Grand Traverse Co., MI	Sept 30, 1862 MBL 1812
NW1/4	160.00	Albert W. Bacon	Sept 30, 1862 MBL 1812
SW1/4	160.00	Daniel A. VanValkenburgh Buffalo, New York	November 14, 1855 Cash
NE1/4 SE1/4	40.00	George Aylesworth (No address given)	July 1, 1864 Cash
NW1/4 SE1/4	40.00	Daniel A. VanValkenburgh Manitou Co., MI	October 9, 1861 MBL 1812
S1/2 SE1/4	80.00	Daniel A. VanValkenburgh	October 9, 1861 MBL 1812

10. <u>Section 32</u>:

	394.70		
Lake	245.30		
E1/2 NE1/4	80.00	Albert W. Bacon Grand Traverse Co., MI	August 14, 1862 MBL 1812
E1/2 SE1/4	80.00	Albert W. Bacon	August 14, 1862 MBL 1812
Lot 1	40.60	Albert W. Bacon	August 14, 1862 MBL 1812
Lot 2	46.20	Daniel VanValkenburgh Manitou Co., MI	October 9, 1861 MBL 1812
Lot 3	31.40	Daniel VanValkenburgh	October 9, 1861 MBL 1812
Lot 4	36.10	Albert W. Bacon	August 14, 1862 MBL 1812
Lot 5	43.20	Albert W. Bacon	August 14, 1862 MBL 1812
Lot 6	37.20	Albert W. Bacon	August 14, 1862 MBL 1812
11. <u>Section 33</u> :			
N1/2 NE1/4	80.00	Nicholas Pickard Manitou Co., MI	August 15, 1857 MBL 1855
SW1/4 NE1/4	40.00	Nicholas Pickard	August 15, 1857 MBL 1855
SE1/4 NE1/4	40.00	Nicholas Pickard	August 15, 1857 MBL 1855
NE1/2 NW1/4	80.00	Frederick M. Beuham North Manitou Island Final Proof:	June 4, 1881 HE June 6, 1890

LAND	ACREAGE	PURCHASER & ADDRESS.	. DATE & TYPE OF PATENT
SE1/4 NW1/4	40.00	Frederick M. Beuham	June 4, 1881 HE June 6, 1890
SW1/4 NW1/4	40.00	Albert W. Bacon Grand Traverse Co., MI	August 14, 1862 MBL
NW1/4 SW1/4	40.00	Albert W. Bacon	August 14, 1862 MBL
S1/2 SW1/4	80.00	Albert W. Bacon	August 14, 1862 MBL
NE1/4 SW1/4	40.00	Frederick M. Beuham North Manitou Island Final Proof:	June 4, 1881 HE June 6, 1890
E1/2 SW1/4	80.00	Nicholas Pickard Manitou Co., MI	August 15, 1857 MBL 1855
W1/2 SE1/4	80.00	Nicholas Pickard	August 15, 1857 NBL 1855
12. <u>Section 34</u> :			
Fractional	400.00		
W1/2 NW1/4	80.00	Nicholas Pickard	August 15, 1857 MBL 1855
NW1/4 SW1/4	40.00	Nicholas Pickard	August 15, 1857 MBL 1855
SW1/4 SW1/4	40.00	Nicholas Pickard	August 15. 1857 MBL 1855
Lot 1	59.90	Nicholas Pickard	August 15, 1857 MBL 1855
Lot 2	58.90	Nicholas Pickard Mackinac Co., MI	July 24, 1855 Cash
Lot 3	62.30	Nicholas Pickard & Charles Stringham of Mackinac Co., MI	November 8, 1849 Cash Voucher 297/77
Lot 4	58.90	Nicholas Pickard & Charles Stringham	November 8, 1849 Cash Voucher 297/77

III. Township 31 North, Range 15 West

4	C 4.	4
	Section	٠.
1.	SCCHOIL	1.

Fractional	242.42		
Lot 1	52.47	Nicholas Pickard Manitou Co., MI	July 24, 1855 Cash
Lot 2	54.40	Daniel A VanValkenburgh (No address given)	November 14, 1855 MBL Vet. 1812
Lot 3	67.05	Daniel VanValkenburgh	November 14, 1855 MBL Vet. 1812
Lot 4	68.50	Reuben McCreary Genesee Co., MI	February 2, 1863 MBL Vet. 1812
2. <u>Section 12</u> :			
Fractional	109.50		
Lot 1	59.55	Reuben McCreary Genesee Co., MI	February 2, 1863 MBL Vet. 1812
Lot 2	49.95	Reuben McCreary	February 1863 MBL Vet. 1812
IV. Township 3	32 North, Ra	nge 15 West	
1 Section 24:			

1. <u>Section 24</u>:

Fractional	132.55	John J. Bagley	March 1, 1865
		Wayne Co., MI	Ag. Scrip.

2. <u>Section 25</u>:

Fractional:

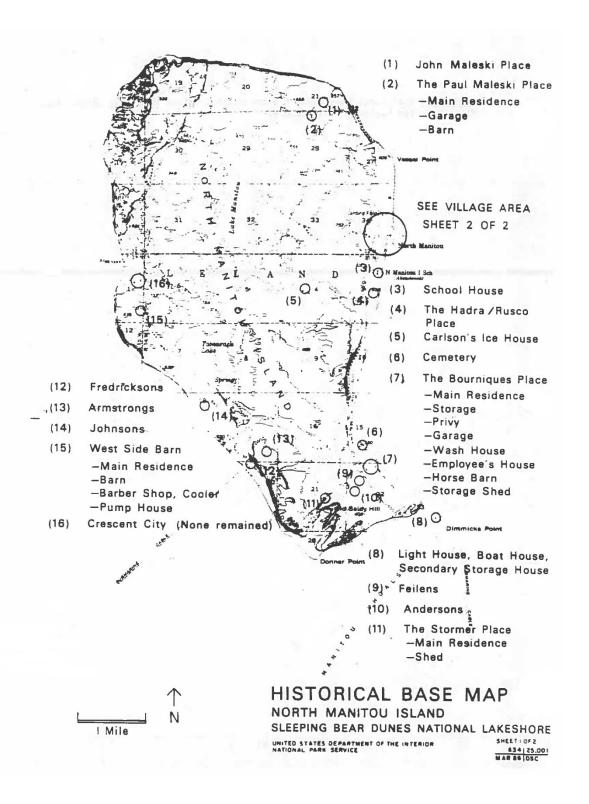
NE1/4 & Lot 1	159.70	John J. Bagley	February 7, 1865 Ag. Scrip.
SE1/4	160.00	Albert W. Bacon Grand Traverse Co., MI	December 13, 1862 MBL
Lot 2	18.95	John J. Bagley	February 7, 1865 Cash
Lot 3	40.40	John J. Bagley	February 7, 1865 Cash

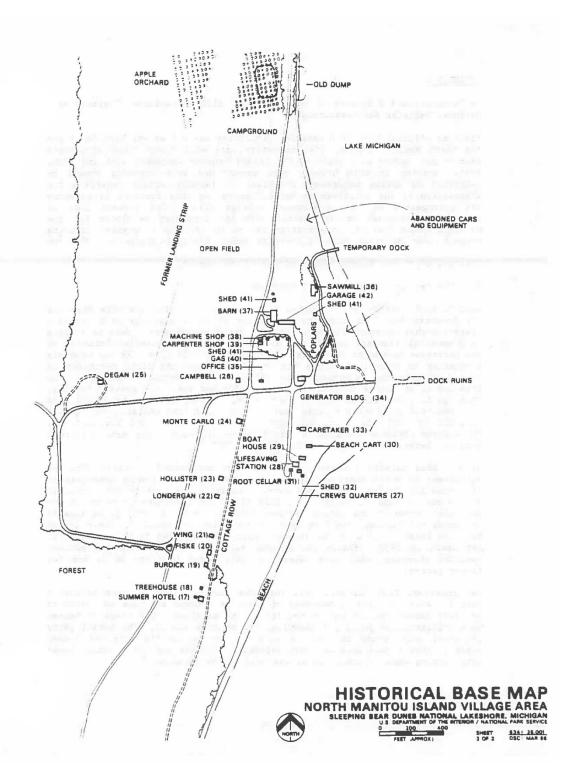
3. <u>Section 36</u>:

Fractional	301.75		
E1/2 NE1/4	80.00	Albert W. Bacon Grand Traverse Co., MI	Sept. 30, 1862 MBL
E1/2 SE1/4	80.00	Daniel A. VanValkenburgh (No address given)	November 14, 1855 Cash
Lot 1	42.80	Albert W. Bacon	Sept. 23, 1862 MBL
Lot 2	38.20	Albert W. Bacon	Sept. 30, 1862 MBL
Lot 3	36.85	John J. Bagley	February 7, 1865 Cash
Lot 4	23.90	Daniel A. VanValkenburgh (No address given)	November 14, 1855 Cash

APPENDIX B

Historical Base Maps of North Manitou Island Combining Recent Data with Data from Hagiwara's 1979 Survey.





APPENDIX C

An Inventory and a History of North Manitou Island Structures; together with National Register Recommendations

Since an official List of Classified Structures has not as yet been developed for forth Manitou Island, the commentary here will cover those structures seen by the author on a visit to the island between September 25th and 27th, 1985. Nothing in this history data report and this appendix should be construed as making management decisions or recommendations regarding the disposition of any buildings on North Manitou, as this function is properly the prerogative of the development concept plan. The present list of structures coincides nearly exactly with the inventory developed for the Michigan State Historic Preservation Office in 1979 by a Japanese graduate student from Michigan State University named Shunichi Hagiwara. The one notable deviation from Hagiwara's list is the sawmill in North Manitou Village, which was inadvertently missed by the survey.

A. The Paul and John Maleski Properties

Adam Maleski came to North Manitou Island about 1875 with his wife Mary and his daughter Mary. At first, he worked for Silas R. Boardman in a cordwood operation that provided firewood for Lake Michigan steamers. Next, he engaged in commercial fishing, basing his operation out of a shoreline location on the northeast corner of the island in Section 21, T32N R14W. He was probably a squatter on this land, since his son John became the first purchaser of this land from the government land office. Adam eventually acquired land from one of the large landholders in the 1880s and went into general farming. This was in the northern half of Section 28, T32N R14W. Here he established his homestead and raised a large family. The first five children were girls, followed by Paul and John, who were born in 1884 and 1886 respectively. These seven children all grew to maturity; but the eighth and ninth children, Anna and Peter, died as infants in 1893 and 1897. ¹

Of the Adam Maleski children, Paul and John maintained a nearly lifelong attachment to North Manitou Island. Paul inherited the family homestead in 1921 when his father Adam passed away. Meanwhile his brother John acquired acres of land in Section 21, T32N Rl4W, the lakeshore property in the northeast corner of the island, between 1912 and 1918. Logically, he engaged in commercial fishing from that base for more than two decades. Their mother Mary continued to live in the pioneer cabin built by Adam in the 1880s until her death in 1930. Family photographs during the 1920s show the pioneer dwelling standing, with Mary Maleski proudly posed in front of it and her flower garden.²

Her grandson, Paul Maleski Jr., told the unusual story of Mary Maleski's burial. When she died in November of 1930, an attempt was made to transport her body across the channel on the ice to the mainland. Two teams of horses were utilized; one pulling a snowplow, the other a sleigh. The burial party proceeded only twenty minutes out onto the ice before the trip was deemed unsafe. They turned back and Mary Maleski's body was kept in a vacant house until spring when a formal burial was held on the mainland.³

Paul Maleski, Jr, gave a pretty clear picture of his family's farming operation. There never was a great deal of land under cultivation, perhaps at most a quarter section for the family, In the nineteenth century oxen were their farm draft animals. Family pictures depict an ox in use after 1900. Later, of course, the Maleskis had several teams of horses to do their plowing and other farm chores. The surprising aspect of their operation was that for a long period of time they raised large numbers of beef cattle. This as possible because of the casual practice of following an open-range concept for much of the island. Some of the cattle were slaughtered for island consumption; but like the commercial fishing operation cattle could be transported to Chicago by steamer in the same way that salted or iced fish could. Besides the Maleskis' holdings, a few beef cattle were kept by small private owners in the central and southern parts of the island, but the principal competitors in this line were the members of the Syndicate.⁴

The establishment of the Syndicate had evolved out of the development of a resort area in the 1890s in what became known as North Manitou Village. At various times there were as many as a dozen members of the Syndicate, with the large landowners functioning as the moving force behind the organization. Through a general manager, the Syndicate engaged in general farming together with cattle raising, and grew oats, rye, wheat, and other forms of fodder for the cattle, Potatoes were an important crop for humans.⁵

The Syndicate had a working arrangement in consonance with the Crescent City logging operations between 1909 and 1917; and the clearing on the west side was the land used for this portion of their total farming program. After the departure of the loggers, the Syndicate continued its farming, mainly to sustain the summer resort dwellers; but it gradually evolved into a different system with the bulk of the island land changing hands in 1926.⁶

Paul Maleski Sr., had had a casual easygoing informal relationship with the Syndicate over a long span of years. The tenor of relations with the Syndicate managers depended on the personalities of the latter, and mainly the Maleskis had a happy *modus vivendi* with them. Eventually John Newhall, one of the large landowners, had to insist on a termination of the open-range concept for cattle. This took place in the 1920s and caused some ill feeling between the Maleskis and the Syndicate. The change compelled the Maleskis to gradually modify their farming toward a truck farming type of cultivation. Earlier, around 1905, the family had planted a few apple and cherry trees; but they were never really in the orchard business in the way the Syndicate was.⁷

When William R. Angell bought up most of the island's land in 1926, he naturally took in hand the direction of the Syndicate strategy through his managers. The first major effect this had on the Maleski family was that it lured John Maleski to give up fishing and work for the Syndicate as its orchard manager. Around 1940, John Maleski sold his land to the Syndicate as well. The changing situation gradually started to squeeze Paul Maleski Sr. out of farming. He had had at least one side job from as early as 1910 as island mailman, and probably kept this job till as late as 1940. Through the 1930s, his cattle herd dwindled to a few animals. The idyllic life on an island retreat was coming to an end.⁸

Paul Maleski Jr., reminisced nostalgically about this island life. He remembered fondly the earlier beauty of his father's farm. He was struck with the neatness of it – the almost garden-like cleanliness of their yards with the grass neatly trimmed. He showed a

few family pictures that illustrated this tidiness, and one picture of a 1920s Model-T Ford carries that lasting impression up to the present, for Paul Junior still has the antique car in his possession, it being still in excellent condition.⁹

Summarizing the Maleski family love affair with North Manitou Island, Paul Maleski Junior, had a bittersweet overview of the experience. His grandfather and father were the ones most deeply mesmerized by the island paradise syndrome. In his own view, life on North Manitou was a strange blend of placidity and loneliness. He remembers as a boy sitting on the eastern shore of the island after dark, seeing the blinking lights on the Michigan mainland, and wondering what experiences of wider social contact he was missing. He really wanted to escape, and so left in 1938 and 1939 to join the CCC. Then in 1939 he enlisted in the Coast Guard and served away from the island. He came back after the war and helped his parents liquidate their land interests on the island. His father's declining health paralleled the family decline in truck farming. They sold out to the Manitou Island Association in 1955, and his father died in 1976, aged 93, having endured many years of poor health. This latter fact had also colored his son's attitude toward the total island experience.¹⁰

1. The extant structures: In Section 28, T32N R14W the Paul Maleski farm, only the house is still standing, but just barely. Very little of the tarpaper roofing remains to keep out precipitation. The architecture is undistinguished and it has insufficient significance to be considered eligible for the National Register. The roof on its adjacent barn is collapsed and the structure is nearly a total ruin. An adjacent automobile garage still stands, but is badly deteriorated. It did its work in conserving Paul Maleski Sr's, Model-T Ford from the elements for many years. A few of the family apple trees still survive around the house and garage. Their presence makes the point that the Maleskis had only a few fruit trees for family consumption and that they never had an extensive orchard. In

In Section 21, T32N Rl4W, the John Maleski house still stands upright, but is in an advanced state of decomposition. It is not considered eligible for the National Register for the same reasons given for the Paul Maleski house supra. After John Maleski abandoned this house as a residence, he utilized it as an ice house for several years. The ice was cut from the surface of Lake Manitou. Several of the John Maleski outbuildings have fallen nearly flat from decrepitude.¹²

B. North Manitou Village

1. The Coast Guard Station or Life-Saving Station

When a station was established near Pickard's dock in the 1870s, the U.S. Life-Saving Service was part of the Revenue-Marine Division of the Treasury Department. An 1877 report indicated that their North Manitou facility consisted of a single-story frame structure surmounted by a watch tower. Soon the station was compiling a record of vessels assisted. Records are incomplete on the expansion of the life-saving station, but it probably coincided with the construction of the lighthouse near the southern tip of the island in the 1890s. At any rate, by 1897 the life-saving station included a dwelling, a blacksmith shop, a storehouse, a boathouse, a water tower, a storm signal tower, two privies, and a movable watch tower in addition to the station building. The extant structures were probably built during this era. ¹³

In 1915 the Life-Saving Service was incorporated within the United States Coast Guard and while this changed the bureaucratic framework, the function and duties of the North Manitou Station remained the same. An article in the Traverse City Record-Eagle for April 21, 1933 told of the closing of the station as an economy measure. It was thought that the keeping of three Coast Guard stations, North and South Manitou and Sleeping Bear Point, in such close proximity, was an extravagance. At that time the crew was reduced from its usual nine man complement to two. Captain A.C. Johnson and Fred Dustin stayed on as a skeleton caretaker crew, while John Firestone, Roscoe Cloud, Dorman Pelky, Carl Walters, Oscar Grant, Clement Brow and Julius Wheeler were transferred to various Michigan stations. ¹⁴ The skeleton crew concept was retained until the time of World War II. Shortly after its closing, the Manitou Island Association bought the property and buildings from the government. Since that time the main station building functioned as the residence for the island's manager. With the advent of the National Park Service, the building continues to serve a similar function. ¹⁵

a. The extant structures: The following old structures at the Coast Guard station date from the 1890s, and perhaps longer: the crews quarters building, the main station building, the surf boat house, and the beach cart house. In 1932 the Coast Guard renovated the main station building. The main aspect of this work was the addition of a porch on the east side. In the years that followed the Manitou Island Association removed the cupola from the surfboat house and otherwise changed the fabric on all of the buildings through routine maintenance, The National Park Service followed that precedent in upgrading the roofing and siding of these buildings. Despite these alterations to the historic fabric, the Coast Guard complex will be nominated to the National Register. Besides the extant structures, five concrete abutments for the former lookout tower remain northeast of the surfboat house closer to the water's edge. ¹⁶

2. The Cottage Row Structures

West of the Coast Guard station and on a slight elevation within Section 34, T32N R14W, stand the survivor buildings of an 1890s resort development that frequently was referred to in legal documents as the "W.O. Greene Plat."

a. The Summer Hotel-Shepard Cottage. Starting at the southern edge of the W.O. Greene Plat with Lot #1 (each of the lots were approximately a hundred feet wide and three hundred feet deep), stood the Shepard cottage which was built in 1895 by Mrs. William Shepard and her daughter Katherine of Chicago. Soon after the turn of the century, the Shepards began to operate the place as a summer hotel. Katherine eventually inherited the hotel from her mother and continued to operate it independently until about 1930 or 1932. Katherine was affectionately known as Miss Katie by the year-round inhabitants of the island. She apparently was a life-long spinster. In 1928 she sold some of her island land, including lot #5 in the W.O. Greene Plat, and other parcels elsewhere. She eventually sold out entirely to the Manitou Island Association and they continued to operate the hotel in a fashion similar to Miss Katie's into the 1970s. The M.I.A. used the structure behind the hotel as a kitchen/dining room for its guests. The latter structure is in an advanced state of decay; but the hotel/cottage has sufficient structural integrity as well as architectural

- significance as to render it potentially eligible for the National Register. It will be nominated in the future.¹⁷
- b. The structure in Lot #2 of the W.O. Greene Plat is now referred to as the Tree House. Before the Tree House was built here, there was a different cottage at the rear of the lot (away from the lake) that was the Rhodes Cottage, constructed in 1895-6. The Tree House was built for a daughter in the Rhodes family, Margaret Rhodes Peattie; and it outlasted the original Rhodes cottage which was in poor condition and torn down in 1944. The Tree House is in similar bad condition now and is not worthy to be considered for the National Register.¹⁸
- c. The house on Lot #3 of the W.O. Greene Plat is known as either the Blossom cottage, or Burdick s, or as Tanglewood. This is the oldest remaining cottage on the island; but it was transported to its present location in 1894. Previously the house had been located at a place near the present-day site of the power plant. For a time, the house was occupied by Mrs. Silas R. Boardman's elderly sisters. Boardman had been one of the planners of this resort development concept in the 1890s. Many of the people connected with its ownership and residence were from the Chicago area. The house is presently in a rapidly deteriorating condition and is of insufficient integrity or significance for consideration for nomination to the National Register.¹⁹
- d. The house on Lot #4 is the Fiske cottage. It was built in 1894 by Frederick H. Trude and Mary W. Trude, his wife, both of Chicago. Afterwards it was acquired by George F. Fiske and his wife Mary Z. Fiske. The Fiskes and their heirs occupied the house for many summers. The Fiskes also owned shoreline property on the eastern shore of Lake Manitou; but they never built a residence at that place. The first owners of the house of Lot #4, the Trudes, Frederick H. and Mary W., were also heavily involved with the planning of the resort, together with the Boardmans and a third family, George W. Blossom and his wife Connie R. All three families were from the Chicago area. The Fiske cottage is not considered significant from either an architectural or historical standpoint and is therefore not regarded as eligible for the National Register.²⁰
- e. The so-called Wing cottage on Lot #5 of the W.O. Greene Plat was built in 1894 by Howard and Shirley Foote. It was acquired by William R. Angell in 1928 and was known as the Angell cottage in 1942. Angell let his partner, Avery Wing, use the cottage for many years. Wing was a junior partner in the Manitou Island Association, owning one-twentieth of the stock to Angell's nineteen-twentieths; but he never owed the Wing cottage.²¹
- f. Lot #6 is presently vacant.
- g. The Londergan cottage occupies Lot #7 in the W.O. Greene Plat. It was built by Miss Margaret Riggs and occupied by her until 1947. The date of its construction is uncertain. Previous to Hiss Riggs' ownership, the proprietors were Mr. M.G. Leljencrantz and his wife Adeline. Miss Riggs sold the place to Margaret Londergan, who sold it to the Manitou Island Association in 1958. The house is not considered significant architecturally nor historically, and is therefore deemed ineligible for the National Register.²²

- h. Lot #8 of the W.O. Greene Plat is presently vacant.
- i. The Hollister cottage is on Lot #9 of the W.O. Greene Plat. It is uncertain when this structure was erected; but Mrs. Rita Hadra Rusco saw it in place when she came to the island in 1942. Mrs. Rusco says that the house was a Sears-Roebuck prefabricated structure that replaced an earlier much larger summer house owned by the Alford-Hollister family. This latter house had been destroyed by fire. The Hollister cottage has no particular distinction to render it eligible for the National Register.²³

In a recent letter, Mrs. Josephine (Alford) Hollister wrote:

My Grandparents ... Howard and Josephine Foote ... and two other families from Chicago spent the summer of 1893 on North Manitou with Mr. Boardman, who owned a good deal of the eastern half of the island and raised draft horses. The Footes and the Trudes arranged to buy a tract of land comprising ten cottage lots [the W.O. Greene plat]. Building began the next summer. The first Foote cottage is standing [in Lot #5]. [It is now called Wing.] After a few years, the Trude cottage was bought by Mr. George Fiske. Howard Foote sold his property in 1900 and built a larger cottage on Lot #9. After Mrs. Foote died, he gave this to his children and it was used for many summers by his daughter Shirley Foote Alford. During that time, it was known as the "Alford cottage". It burned in 1934 and she replaced it with the present cabin which she, in turn, gave to her children. I spent many summers there with my family and it was usually called the "Hollister cottage", although one of my brothers retained his interest. It is now owned by Susan Hollister Wasserman and her brothers, and by their cousins Ross and Jeanne Jay Alford. At such time as any of them are able to use it again, it might be referred to as the Wasserman, Hollister, or Alford place.²⁴

Mrs. Hollister also sheds some light on the island's fruit farming and on the large landholders:

Mr. Franklin Newhall, who was a wholesale fruit merchant in Chicago, planted the orchards. His son Benjamin bought Mr. Boardman's property and several of the independent farms and increased the acreage devoted to fruit. He lost the island to the group of men who held his mortgage [in the 1920s], and their interests were bought up by Mr. Angell until, substantially, he owned it all. The fact that he and, later, his Foundation closed it to everyone but invited guests made it difficult for former residents who still had interest in North Manitou to maintain contact.²⁵

From the context of Mrs. Hollister's remarks, it can be seen that she prides herself in historical accuracy and she constructs her statements not only on personal knowledge, but also on research she has done in the Burton Historical Collection in Detroit, as well as information from newspaper files, libraries and other historical collections in the Midwest.²⁶

j. The Monte Carlo cottage is on Lot #10 of the W.O. Greene Plat and was built by a relative of Mr. Silas R. Boardman around 1893-4. The owners used it as a rental

property nearly from the beginning, and an early practice was for groups of male college students to rent it for a summer and utilize it as a gambling den with unending card games. The cottage came into William R. Angell's hands in 1926. It has insufficient significance to be considered eligible for the National Register.²⁷

3. Other Dwellings in the Village Area

- a. The Degan Cottage: There is a road that runs due west from the old village dock and as one reaches the forest at the western extremity of the clearing, one sees the surviving dwelling of what was once two Degan family houses. Both structures were on the north side of the road; but the easternmost of the two was hit by lightning about 1956 and burned. Before that fire, the southern end of the airfield runway ran between the two buildings. The cottages were both built in 1902, the eastern one being the larger of the two, and the surviving structure is showing some external signs of deterioration. The structure is not considered either architecturally nor historically significant and is therefore deemed ineligible for nomination to the National Register.²⁸
- b. Campbell Cottage: East of the Degan cottage on the west side of a road that proceeds north from the village stands the Campbell or Kinnucan cottage. It was built during the Newhall period sometime between 1895 and 1898. Old pictures show that the Campbell cottage was once located on the south side of the east-west road, opposite its present location. The Kinnucan name is also associated with this dwelling because of its occupancy in the late 1920s and early 1930s by John L. Kinnucan Sr., island manager for the Syndicate; and John L. Kinnucan Jr., island manager for the Manitou Island Association in the 1930s and early 1940s. Presently the house has relatively new shingling on the roof; but the character of the house is neither distinguished for its architecture nor its history; so, it is deemed ineligible for the National Register. Its two outbuildings have new roofing as well, and they are in as good condition as the house.²⁹
- c. The Halseth House. This dwelling is just north of the Coast Guard station; but south of the east-west road, and across the road from the present power-house building. There is a possibility that the house had once been a part of the Coast Guard Complex; but some Coast Guard architectural drawings from 1932 do not show any service-owned structures in that relative position. A Paul Maleski Jr., photograph from the 1930s shows a row of three houses in that area, the southernmost one being directly behind the beach cart house. The northernmost of the three matches the structure and design of the present dwelling, which is in usable condition. The name Halstead is attached to the dwelling from an insurance map of September 1953. Giles Merritt knew both a Halstead and a Halseth at the Coast Guard Station between 1925 and 1928; but the name Halseth more properly attaches itself to the house. The Halseth House will be included in the National Register nomination forms for the Coast Guard complex.³⁰
- d. The Office: This is the curious looking fieldstone building constructed in 1939 for the administrative purposes of the Manitou Island Association. While quaint, it is not considered to be either architecturally nor historically significant and is therefore not eligible for the National Register.³¹

4. The Sawmill

Several hundred yards north of the Coast Guard station is the abandoned sawmill of the Syndicate and later of the Manitou Island Association. Giles Merritt, a former Coast Guard surfman from 1925-1928, remembers that the mill was set up by John Kinnucan and his Syndicate employees about the summer of 1927. At first the machinery was not sheltered from the weather; so a roof was put over the mill in 1928. Merritt believes that most of the machinery for the mill had come from the old Peter Stormer mill that had lasted up to that time at a site about a mile north of the lighthouse. Officers of the Northwest Michigan Engine and Thresher Club, who bought the mill's steam engine in recent years, believe the engine could have been manufactured as early as 1875; but certainly no later than 1905.³²

One of the first assignments for the new mill was to turn out lumber for the construction of the new Syndicate barn to be built nearby. Another early assignment was to provide lumber for an addition onto the north side of the village hall, a structure that is no longer extant. Kinnucan supervised this construction as well as changes on his dwelling, the building of a grocery store, and the erection of a small power plant. The latter structure had a 32-volt Delco light plant system. Giles Merritt did the electrical wiring for the grocery store.³³

The workload of the sawmill varied as island requirements dictated. Merritt said that John Anderson was employed nearly continuously with one project or another associated with the mill. When larger undertakings came up, Kinnucan would hire as many men as he needed. For example, he had to find professional barn builders from the mainland when he put up the village barn in 1927. Similarly, a professional sawyer had been utilized for the setting up of the mill machinery. Most of the people who have recollections about the mill. think it made shingles besides the usual lumber. Merritt thinks they made shingles because of the stockpile of cedar near the mill. Another requirement from the mill was for heavy timbers for the village dock, in order to accommodate large steamers bringing in tourists or delivering large items such as automobiles. Giles Merritt could not remember that the mill was making any lumber for export. All of it appeared to be used on the island.³⁴

Mrs. Julia (Craker) Kinnucan could recall the names of some of the men who worked on building the barn. They were William Leo from Suttons Bay, Paul Papa, Mike Pohaulski, John King, and Barney Stanislawski, the latter all from Cedar, Michigan. Mike Hoef built the foundation for the barn.³⁵

Paul Maleski Jr's recollections coincide quite well with those of Giles Merritt. Maleski told how the mill worked off and on, sometime employing as many as ten men. Other witnesses recall that the mill at times used as many as fifty men. That may have been the case. One requirement during the 1930s, that Maleski could remember, was the construction of the cherry pickers' cabins near the northeast edge of the airfield and orchards. The lumber for the cabins was made by the mill.³⁶

A later witness, Mrs. Rita Hadra Rusco, remembers the mill cranking up both in the fall of 1942 and 1943. At that time, she recalls, there was a bunk house north of the mill for the crew and a cook house and quarters for Mr. and Mrs. Raymond Phiel and child.

Phiel and his partner, Edward Cowels, were contractors for this logging and mill operation, working for the Manitou Island Association.³⁷

Mrs. Josephine Alford Hollister had some recollections about island logging and the sawmill:

The sawmill you ask about was operated briefly during World War II and produced very little. When the west side of the island was lumbered in the early years of the century, the sawmill was at Crescent. At the same time, Mr. Stormer was selectively cutting the east side for Mr. Newhall and his sawmill was in the bay [Stormer Dock on the map.] In the late 1950s Merle Day and Peter Jurica had a sawmill north of Lake Manitou.³⁸

Peter Jurica, owner of the Lake Michigan Hardwood Lumber Company of Leland, who began logging on North Manitou in the late 1950s, said his organization never used the village sawmill and that it had been abandoned for some time when he first saw it. Most witnesses agree that it had last been used during the 1940s. Jurica also does not consider the old mill to be significant from a lumberman's point of view, since it had never been a large-scale operation that turned out large volumes of lumber over a considerable interval. Considering the caliber of its technology, Jurica deemed the mill behind the times for the 1940s, and that it could never have been run efficiently or profitably for twentieth century operation.³⁹

Despite Peter Jurica's misgivings, the old sawmill is at least locally significant for its archaic technology and its representation of a type of sawmill whose continued existence is quite rare for the State of Michigan. For that reason, it will be nominated for inclusion in the National Register.

5. The Village Barn and Other Utility Buildings in the Village area

a. The Village Barn: As has been stated above, the village barn was built in 1927 under John Kinnucan's direction with the help of barn builders from the mainland. It is located several hundred yards north of the Coast Guard station; but set back from the shoreline so that it is just east of the north-south road that leads out of the village. The sawmill is to the northeast of it. The barn has had multiple uses during its entire career both under the aegis of the Syndicate and the Manitou Island Association. It has been used for farm animals, the storage of fodder, the sheltering of fruit crops, and for the dressing and packing of deer shot in the annual hunts. A 1953 insurance map referred to it as a barn and packing house.⁴⁰

The barn has significance for its architectural distinctiveness. It is unusual in its possessing four different working levels. For this and its local historical significance, it will be nominated to the National Register.

- b. Two small storage sheds north of the village barn: One of these was built before 1953 and the other since then according to an insurance map from that year. Neither structure has particular significance for National Register consideration.⁴¹
- c. Implement Storage and Garage Building. This structure is adjacent to the southeast corner of the village barn and is on an east-west axis, being about a hundred feet long. The building pre-dates 1953, but has no National Register potential.

- d. Machine Shop and Carpenter Shop: Along the north-south road, just south of the village barn, are the old machine shop and carpenter shop from Syndicate and Manitou Island Association days. The machine shop is the more northerly of the two. Both of these shops were on the 1953 M.I.A. insurance map. Neither is of sufficient significance to be considered for the National Register.⁴²
- e. Small storage shed: Immediately to the east of the machine shop (supra) is a small storage shed. It also predates 1953 and is of no historical significance.
- f. Gasoline Filling Station: The gas station is to the east of the storage shed mentioned above. It predates 1953, but like its neighbor is of no historical significance.
- g. Small Barn: To the east of the gas station lie the remains of a small rectangular barn. The roof has long since fallen in and the north and south walls are caving toward the interior. The east and west walls are buckling outward and trees and bushes are growing in the interior. Some of the interior growth exceeds the former height of the structure. The building is of no historical significance.
- h. Garage Type shed: To the east of the small barn mentioned above, and about a hundred feet to the south of the sawmill, stands an elongated shed with an east-west axis that looks like it would accommodate two or three vehicles. It has no historical significance.
- i. Garage and Generator Building: This building is sometimes referred to as the power house and from its varying architecture was built in several increments. Its physical location is north of the Coast Guard station next to the east-west road coming off the old main village dock. The fieldstone office is to the west of it and a portion of the garage nearest the office is also built of fieldstone. Some parts of the structure predate 1953, but compositely it has no historical significance.

6. The One Room Schoolhouse

A few hundred yards south of the village near the shoreline in Section 3, T31N R14W, lie the flattened remains of the old one room schoolhouse. It was built about 1906 for the children of the island's permanent inhabitants by School District Seven of Leland Township. It is not altogether clear, but for a time there were probably two rival schools functioning on the island from 1909 to 1917. The second school, also for grades one to eight, was on the west side at Crescent City. One of the teachers at Crescent City was Belle Halvorsen, who transferred later to the east side school when the logging town folded up. In the 1909-1910 school year she had about 25 students on the west side. ⁴³

One of the Crescent City pupils was Eleanor (Anderson) Oien who attended Miss. Halvorsen's classes on the west side and transferred over to the east side to finish her grammar school education there. Other former students remember the names of some of the teachers at the east side school. Mrs. Gladys (Anderson) Dustin lived on the west side from 1912 to 1918 and her teacher there for the last half year was Esther Erickson. Miss. Erickson apparently taught the first half year (1918-1919 school year) at the east side school. Mrs. Dustin went to school on the east side until 1922 and continued to live with her parents on the island until 1933. Of the teachers during that interval, she remembers Agnes Kelenske, Carrie Firestone, Belle [Halvorsen?] Payne, Josephine Whitehead, Severt Roen, Agnes Gallivan, Edmond Peters, Lucille Seelig, and Sophie

Smeary. The recitation of such a list of teachers makes the point that there was a rapid turnover for that job, as there was need for only one teacher at a time.⁴⁴

From the above list of teachers. Severt Roen's name was also remembered by Paul Maleski Jr. Maleski had a few photos of the school children with their teacher. Each photo demonstrated the variance in school population. One picture showed eighteen children, another twenty-one. another seventeen, and one only thirteen. The relevant picture had the caption "Last Day of School on May 27, 1926. Our teacher Severt Roen." The picture was dog-eared and cracked with one corner missing. There were 17-1/2 pupils on the photo, as the photographer had misaimed the camera to cut off subjects on the left.⁴⁵

Paul Maleski Jr, remembered that the school population was declining in the 1930s, so that presumptively this was the reason for the school's closing in the early 1940s. Maleski says that his youngest sister, Patricia, born in 1933, was attending the school in 1941 when it closed for good. There were only four pupils that year. He said there was some casual schooling carried on at the Coast Guard's "loafing room" after that, but the Manitou Island Association encouraged the trend to have less and less school age children on the island. They would try to hire managers and help who had no children or were single. The last USGS map of the island, dated 1956, labelled the school as "abandoned".

Another witness of those times, Julia (Craker) Kinnucan remembered a different list of teachers' names. On her list were Mrs. Ada Embree, Miss. Betty Glasier, Edmund Peters, and Geneva Put. Ethel Stormer remembered Carrie Firestone as her teacher in 1919; and teachers for other years were Mary Manning, Agnes Kelenske, Maude Halverson, Severt Roen, and Mrs. Belle Paine.⁴⁷

Mrs. Gladys (Anderson) Dustin remembered that there had been three houses across the road from the school during the 1920. These belonged to Nick Feilen and the other two were the old and new residences of the Paetschows. John Paetschow had run the mail boat prior to Tracy Grosvenor taking it over.⁴⁸

Since the school is in ruins and flattened, it has insufficient integrity to be considered for the National Register.

7. The Hadra Rusco Residence

Located in Section 3 T31N RI4W, near the shore a few hundred yards south of the school, because of its recent construction, is not eligible for the National Register. It is the only private dwelling on the island still occupied by permanent residents. The Ruscos will continue to occupy the place on a "lease back" arrangement with the Government.⁴⁹

8. Carlson's Ice House

In Section 4, T31N R14W, stands the remains of an ice house that was probably built around the turn of the century by the Carlson family. Even though the Carlsons left the island in 1903, the barn or icehouse was of sufficient sturdiness to be useful for storing ice for many decades under the aegis of both the Syndicate and Manitou Island

Association.⁵⁰ It is nevertheless of insufficient architectural or historical significance to be considered for the National Register.

9. The West Side Barn and Associated Structures:

According to Mrs. Eleanor (Anderson) Oien, the west side barn predates the construction of Crescent City in 1909. The name Swenson is most frequently associated with it, and there are several architectural features that tend to confirm its construction around the turn of the century. It certainly played a role in support of the logging town there between 1909 and 1917. Afterwards the Syndicate and Manitou Island Association based a foreman on the west side who superintended the growing of hay and other fodder for the farm animals, as well as vegetables and other crops for the human population. Peter Oien was one such foreman there in the 1920s.⁵¹

Because of its association with the historical events at Crescent City, and its good physical condition the west side barn will be nominated to the National Register.

Other structures in the vicinity of the west side barn date from the Crescent City period and all of them are in such a state of decrepitude as to be worthless and of no historical significance. There was a residence to the east of the barn under the canopy of the heavy forest at the edge of the clearing that has fallen flat. This had once been the foreman's house. Closer to the barn, on its west side, was a combination utility building that had once served for ice storage, a barber shop, and a pump house. The structure is in an advanced state of decomposition and is of no historical significance. A few hundred feet to the northwest of this utility building are the concrete abutments that once supported the west side sawmill at Crescent City. Aside from these above-surface artifacts, there are few visible evidences of the existence of Crescent City.⁵²

10. Island Cemetery

Just north of the complex of Bournique structures, in Section 15, T31N R14W, is the largest single graveyard on the North Manitou Island. Some of the markers are still legible. Others are not or are lost. The Manitou Island Association has provided a partial list of the deceased buried in this place:⁵³

- Clara Swenson, died May 18, 1905, daughter of John Swenson
- Mae Fisher, died May 24, 1904, daughter of Edward (Coast Guard Surfman) and Amanda Fisher
- Nellie Fisher, died May 28, 1905, same parents
- Hilda Carlson, 1885 to May 19, 1905, daughter of Nels and Anne Carlson (there had been a diphtheria epidemic on the island in May of 1905)
- Mrs. John Webb, particulars unknown
- Nicholas Feilen, carpenter, 1852 to April 29, 1939
- John Feilen, carpenter, probably buried elsewhere as he left the island after his brother's death
- Lewella Prause, died June 30, 1913, particulars unknown
- John O. Anderson, 1859-1935
- John Anderson, died May 26, 1907, son of John and Eldse Anderson
- Margaret Anderson, 1914-1927
- Donald Kelenski, died July 2, 1914

- Walter Anderson, died December 18, 1922, his brother died April 8, 1930
- Andrew Paetschow died November 15, 1896
- Anna Paetschow, 1882 to May 11, 1885
- John Paetschow, 1884 to December 22, 1922.

There are graves in other places on the island; but their markers have been lost. Of these we know the fact of death on the following:⁵⁴

- David Allart, died August 21, 1878, son of Charles and Margaret Allart
- Emily Allart, died May 30, 1883, daughter of Charles and Ida Allart
- Anna Maleski, died May 5, 1893, daughter of Adam and Mary Maleski
- Peter Maleski, died November 10, 1897, same parents
- Johanna Swenson, died March 26, 1911, son of Swen Swenson

There were some graves on the southwest side at the old Johnson place in Section 18, T31N, R14W; as well as near the beach somewhere on the west side, but no one seems to know who was buried there. The two Maleski children mentioned above are probably buried somewhere on the old Paul Maleski place in Section 28, T32N R14W.

11. The Bournique Buildings

The complex of Bournique buildings is unique in the sense that it has an affinity to the resort cottages; yet it is isolated from them by a distance of more than three miles, and it was a more elaborate private construction than any other on the island. There is a large story and a half residence with three gable dormers facing to the east and a large open porch also on the east side of the house. About a quarter mile to the west of the main residence is the employees' house. Nearer to the main house is a tall storage shed, a horse barn, a garage, two privies, and a wash house. Around the employees' house are several sheds, a small barn, a privy, and several other small utility structures that have fallen flat. A few trees, the survivors of a small apple and cherry orchard, are scattered throughout the area.⁵⁵

Alvar L. Bournique first applied for a homestead patent on the island on July 3, 1903. He obtained about 152 acres of land in Section 22, T3lN Rl4W, the location of the elaborate summer resort complex. Both Alvar and his wife had unique occupations as ballroom dancing instructors. Their permanent residence was in Highland Park, Illinois. Other neighbors of the Bourniques say there were dance studios as well in Waukegan, Lake Forest, and Chicago, Illinois, and Milwaukee, Wisconsin. The Bourniques spent their summers, May through August, on the island, and had a caretaker to look after the property during the off season. Besides the caretaker, the Bourniques regularly employed permanent island residents to do multiple chores ranging from housekeeping, cooking, laundering, gardening, fruit harvesting, animal care, and so on. There were similar summer jobs generated in the village cottages. There was a minimal class consciousness of the difference in lifestyles between the more plebeian island dwellers and the more aristocratic summer people. There is universal testimony from the onetime children of the permanent residents that the Bourniques had a very harmonious relationship with everyone on the island. Giles Merritt, the Coast Guard surfman, had occasion to visit them frequently while doing his telephone line inspections and still keeps some cherished photographs from those visits. Merritt said

of Alvar Bournique: "Mr. Bournique was a gentle person and treated the old settlers with open arms." Merritt was also called upon to make repairs on Mr. Bournique's Model-T Ford Station Wagon now and then. He says the car was later put into the Ford Museum at Greenwich Park, Michigan.⁵⁶

The 1910 Census shows the Bournique family to consist of Alvar L., Age 44; his wife Mary, Age 27; they were married in 1902 and had two daughters, Mary Elizabeth, born in 1903, and Mary Louise, born in 1907.

Elizabeth later married Millage D. Bullard and had a son with the same name who Yas called Peter. The Bullards lived for many years in Ann Arbor, Michigan. The daughter, Louise, married Wilbur C. Munnecke. They have no children and still live in Leland, Michigan. The Bourniques, of course, were of French descent, their parents coming from Alsace-Lorraine; but Alvar and Mary were born in Illinois and Missouri respectively.⁵⁷

The main house at the Bournique complex merits consideration for nomination to the National Register. The rationale for such nomination would be both its historical association with the resort movement on the island that is local significance, and possibly for architectural significance. The latter aspect should be reassessed by an historical architect, as judgments to date are based on photographs. It may be, upon such eyewitness examination, that the structure may have insufficient physical integrity to merit successful attainment of Register status.

The Bourniques sold some of their island land to the Manitou Island Association in 1939 and probably all of it. Certainly, all of it was in M.I.A. hands by 1958. A 1939 document in the Leelanau County deed books mentions that Mary McMunn Bournique was executrix for the will of Alvar L. Bournique, deceased.⁵⁸

12. The Feilen Homestead

The Feilen brothers, Nicholas and John, came to North Manitou around the turn of the century. They had immigrated from Germany and both brothers were carpenters and lifelong bachelors. Nick died on the island in 1939 and was buried there. He had attained the age of 87 years. Nick had applied for a homestead patent in Sections 21 (80 acres), 27 (21 acres) and 28 (39.2 acres) of T31N R14W, in 1903 and had proved it up by 1910. The brothers also acquired a small parcel of land near the island school, as has been stated earlier, probably to give them greater access to carpentry work in the village.⁵⁹

Whatever remains of the Feilen homestead near the south end of the island must be considered to be in the category of archeological artifacts, either on the surface of the ground or subsurface. None of it is considered eligible for the National Register.

A recent letter from Ethel (Furst) Stormer says that the Feilen brothers came via Chicago to the island and that they built many of the "lovely little cottages owned by the summer resorters".⁶⁰

13. The Anderson Homestead

There were at least two distinct Anderson families that had a connection to the south end of North Manitou Island in the nineteenth century. Andrew Anderson bought up about two hundred acres on the island between 1875 and 1888 on the southwest shore just west of Old Baldy. The 1880 Census said he was 57 years old, a bachelor, and a farmer. John Olaf Anderson, perhaps a relative of Andrew, established a homestead in Section 22, T31N R14W, in 1890. At that time, he had 160 acres. This place was to the southwest of where the Bourniques later located. The 1910 census made mention of several other Andersons on the island, but not John. One was Abraham Anderson, age 44. He and his wife Anna had three children, Alfred, age 8; Ethel, age 6; and Margaret age 2. Then there was a Clara Anderson who was single, age 21, and worked as a servant. The other Anderson, in 1910, was Thomas, aged 38 and single, who worked as a laborer. 61

Somehow John Olaf Anderson did not appear on the 1910 census for the island; but one of his descendants says he was there, having come there from Norway in about 1878 at the age of nineteen. As has been said, John Olaf set up his homestead on the island in 1890 and married Ildri Nerland. Together they had twelve children, eleven of whom were born on the island. Giles Merritt may have only seen the tail end of this large family in 1925-1928, as he recites only eight children: Pearl, Henry, George, Gertrude, Arthur, Gladys, Margaret and a younger daughter. Some of the complications of the Anderson family tree were explained to this writer by Mrs. Donna (Kelenske) Heater. Her mother had been an Anderson. One of the Anderson girls, Eleanor, married Peter Oien, the foreman for the Syndicate on the west side. Another sister, Gladys, married a man named Fred Dustin, who was with the Coast Guard there. By 1985 only four of the Anderson children survived, namely, Eleanor Oien, Gladys Dustin, Maybelle Green, and Hans Anderson.⁶²

Mrs. Dustin recently explained how the Anderson family homesteaded and farmed near the southern tip of the island until about 1909 when John Anderson moved his family to Crescent City where he worked in the sawmill. When the mill closed in 1917, he moved again to the east side into what was then called the "new" Paetschow house near the island school. After a while he moved into the village and bought a house north of the hotel and paid for it with a team of horses. Next, he moved the house to a place close to the beach, but down near the southern tip of the island near the old Stormer mill. John Anderson died in Leland in 1955, nevertheless he was buried in the island cemetery as was one of his daughters named Margurite. The Anderson family sold their island property to the Association in 1936.⁶³

Mrs. Dustin also passed on a few Anderson family anecdotes about farming on North Manitou. The horses used in the house purchase in the village were a surly lot. Only her father could manage them. A mare named Topsy was particularly unmanageable and on one occasion kicked out her brother's front teeth while he was cleaning the stall. John Anderson frequently used his horses for the work he did in behalf of the Syndicate under Mr. Newhall's direction. When Topsy was finally disposed of in the house transaction, the whole family breathed a sigh of relief. Besides some cash aws generated by the deal and Ildri Anderson was able to buy a used sewing machine from Mrs. Grosvenor with it.⁶⁴

The Andersons also had an unruly big black cow that repeatedly got into mischief. Sometimes in the spring it would eat leeks, thus producing milk with an onion flavor. Another time the cow got her head caught in a milk pail. Her worst caper nearly cost her her life. Somehow, she got into the root cellar and proceeded to gorge herself on seed potatoes. As a result, her stomach filled with gas and nearly killed her. The standard remedy, stabbing with an ice pick, was applied and relieved the indigestion.⁶⁵

Gladys Dustin also remembers one of the family home remedies. Part of their yearly cherry crop was converted into cherry wine. When the children got colds, Mrs. Anderson would mix some of the wine with hot water and sugar to produce a homemade cough syrup. As usual, the farm animals got into the act and discovered the cherry mash. Once a rooster found the mash and proceeded to get roaring drunk.⁶⁶

Since the Anderson property, particularly the old homestead in Section 22, has been abandoned for so long, the only above-ground artifacts would fall into the category of archeological remains. There is nothing of National Register category associated with it.

14. The Stormer Place

In 1979 the Stormer dwelling in Section 21, T31N R14W, had already lost its roof. Of the outbuildings, only a collapsed shed evidenced itself above the surface at that time. It is odd that there should be so little evidence of the Stormer family's stay on North Manitou.⁶⁷

Peter Stormer had been born on the island on January 24, 1860. His father was Henry Stormer, born in Germany, who came to America and Milwaukee in 1857. Henry married Anna Lewis, who was also of German birth. They came to North Manitou in 1859 and did some farming. Altogether the Stormers had nine children. In 1864 the Stormers parted company with their island farm and concentrated their labors on a 500acre spread near Empire on the mainland. About 1908 Peter Stormer returned to North Manitou as a logging contractor for the Wilce Brothers Lumber Company of Empire. He did not bring his family to the island until 1913, when they lived in a house that was known as the Carlson Place in Section 4, T31N Rl4W. Later the Stormers bought part of the Armstrong farm in Section 17, T31N Rl4W, near the southwest shore. The farm was used to raise crops to feed the large Stormer family as well as the men in two lumber camps. At first, Stormer shipped his logs off the island for milling to the company's plant in Empire. Stormer had a contractual arrangement with Benjamin Newhall, so that the timber he cut came from all over the island, since at that time, except for the northwest sector of the island, the Newhall brothers owned most of the land. That is why one finds today evidences of Stormers logging both in the north, such as camps in Section 29, T32N Rl4W, and in the south end of the island.⁶⁸

Somewhere around 1917, Peter Stormer had a large dock built on the eastern shoreline about midway between the Coast Guard lighthouse and life-saving station. Nearby he also constructed a sawmill, so that the timber left the island as finished lumber. Because of the sequence of events, it is conceivable that Stormer brought some of his sawmill equipment from Crescent City. Since his operation on the island was

closed down by 1925, it is also possible that he passed on some of the same machinery to the Syndicate for use in its new mill in the village.⁶⁹

Ethel (Furst) Stormer, who married Peter Stormer's second son, Joseph, remembers something of the Stormer farming operation on the old Armstrong place. "They raised a great many cattle and had to keep about 40 to 45 horses for the lumber camps. Consequently, they needed a great deal of grain and hay ... some of which they raised on the island, but large quantities had to be hauled from the mainland, sometimes across the frozen lake during the winter."

All that is now a memory and only the structure ruins near the southwest shore remain. None of it is worthy of National Register consideration.

15. The Armstrong Place

This place has its history interwoven with that of the Stormers, cited above. The Armstrong connection to the land in Section 17, T31N R14W, ended before 1909.⁷¹

16. The Fredrickson Place

In 1883 Hendrick Fredrickson bought 68 acres with cash in Section 22, T31N Rl4W, near the southeast tip of the island. He afterwards bought some land on the southwest shore in Section 20; same township and range. Since none of the elderly former residents recall much about the Fredricksons, it is pretty safe to assume that their connection with the island was severed not long after the turn of the century. Whatever survives of their presence on the land would be in the category of archeological remains. There is nothing of National Register caliber.

17. The Johnson Place

The present writer discovered nothing about the Johnson family's connection with the island other than the notation that they were homesteaders on the southwestern shore in Section 18, T31N Rl4W.⁷³ Evidences of their habitation there would be in the class of archeological remains, but nothing of National Register class.

18. The Lighthouse Complex

In 1892 the Light-House Board weighed various options concerning a light and a fog signal for North Manitou Island. At that time the board favored placement of the light on the northern end of the island to protect the passage between North Manitou and South Fox islands. On February 15, 1893, Congress passed an act authorizing a light and fog signal for North Manitou, but no funds were appropriated. In 1894 the Light-House Board took note of the lack of appropriations for the project in its annual report. On March 2, 1895, Congress appropriated \$20,000 for the light and fog signal. Immediately afterwards negotiations began to purchase a site.⁷⁴

The site finally selected was the southeastern tip of North Manitou, partial Section 23, T31N Rl4W, then consisting of only sixteen acres. The problem was that no one could find the owner, Neil I. McFadyen, or his heirs. McFadyen bought the land on October 27, 1848, for \$1.25 an acre, for a total of \$20.00. Since the government could not find the owner, it eventually cut the Gordian Knot through condemnation

proceedings that were completed on August 4, 1899. The Government had to pay the State of Michigan \$27.55 for the 16-acres. The cost of the condemnation proceedings was \$487.41.⁷⁵

Meanwhile, on April 15, 1896, bids were opened for contracts to build a keeper's double-dwelling and a brick fog-signal house. The contractors began work on these two structures in August of 1896 and by October the fog-signal building was completed. The fog signal boilers and other machinery were built elsewhere and delivered to the island in October by the light-house tender *Amaranth*. Upon arrival, both boilers and stacks were set up, a tank stand built, and the tank placed thereon, the north engine was set and piped to the boiler tank, well, and hand pump, and a well was sunk. This, the north signal, was ready for service and put into operation on November 20, 1896. About the same time, the keeper's double dwelling was completed. During the last month of the year fences and sidewalks were built, and the oil house was completed.⁷⁶

During 1897, plans were in the making to build a cylindrical steel tower for the light. But in 1898 the plans were downgraded to a wooden tower. The light was projected to be a fourth-order lantern. In July of 1898 the work began. First the knoll at the site was leveled and four brick piers were built with footings. Next the posts, sills, caps, and braces were framed. The skeleton frame tower, when completed, was covered with clapboarding. The tower was up in August and the lantern of the fourth order was put in place immediately. The light had an alternating red and white flash every ten seconds, and first operated on September 15, 1898.⁷⁷

Also during 1898, the old landing crib was rebuilt and enlarged. Another crib was built with an ice breaker on the outside, and the boatways were extended some 55-feet. A one-plank walk, 644-feet long, was laid from the boathouse to the dwelling and a lightning rod was put up. There also was a flagstaff on site, sixty feet tall.⁷⁸

In 1900 the boathouse was moved across the point and a crib for a boat landing was built, boatways were put in, and a walk was laid from the crib to the boathouse. In addition, a frame barn and wood shed were built, and various repairs were made around the complex.⁷⁹

In 1903, the area was graded and a top dressing of soil was placed on it. The grounds were then fenced, having a perimeter 151-feet wide and 450-feet long, in a nearly eastwest orientation on a bearing of 100° magnetic. As usual, the annual upkeep repairs were made.⁸⁰

In 1905, extensive upgrading was done to the walkway by laying 464 running feet of concrete three feet wide, plus another 177 running feet of a landing was placed adjoining the boathouse. Finally, a duplex steam pump was installed in the fog-signal plant.⁸¹

Since the general tendency of currents near the southeast end of North Manitou were in the direction of adding to the land area of the place, it also tended to build up a shoal out in the channel near that tip of the island. Because of this the Light-House Board proposed in 1908 that a light-vessel be added off the point to give closer guidance to vessels transiting the passage. A lightship was added in 1910. Despite the general trends of the currents near the light, there was an anomalous erosion in 1912 that started to

gouge away huge amounts of sand from the northeast quadrant of the island's southern tip. By October the surf had washed within a few feet of the fog-signal house. Quickly, the Bureau of Lighthouses sent engineers to place five spur cribs in the surf. The center crib was about fifty feet surfwards from the fog signal. The five cribs were all within a compass of 250-feet of each other. Within a month of their insertion there was a visible effect from their presence. A new beach had been built with the waterline more than fifty feet away from the fog signal. 82

Over the years various lightships served off the North Manitou shoal, and in 1935 the last ship was replaced by an automatic shoal light. A similar device is in place to this day.⁸³

Not too much data has been collected on the lighthouse personnel. The 1910 census tells us that Edward Cornell was lighthouse keeper that year. He was then 49-years old and his wife Johanna was 42. They had three daughters, lda, age 10; Edna, age 2; and Wanetta, a six-month-old baby. Another keeper in 1910 was Ross E. Wright, a 32-year-old bachelor.⁸⁴

Giles Merritt said that while he was on the island between 1925 and 1928, the lighthouse was manned by three crews alternating in shifts. The only name he remembers was that of Guy Patterson, the commanding officer. Merritt also remembers that they had a supply boat and a small dock.⁸⁵

By the 1930s technology had made the lighthouse obsolete, so it was declared surplus to the needs of the Bureau of Lighthouses (its changed name since 1910) in 1937. Since the 1890s, there had been an accretion of land in partial Section 23 from 16 to 60 acres. In 1938 William R. Angell offered the U.S. Government \$2,600.00 for the reservation and this sum was accepted.⁸⁶

Earlier, in 1930, a government inventory listed the values of the structures on the reservation as follows:

Tower (frame) detached – Cost	\$4,967.17
Dwelling (brick)	8,058.00
Fog Signal (brick)	2,461.67
Boat House (frame)	445.00
Oil House (brick) Estimated	267.00
Barn (frame)	650.78
Outbuilding – Privy	63.00
Total	\$16,912.62

These were the costs at the time of construction. The Leelanau County Register of Deeds furnished the government his estimate of the land value of the reservation in 1930 as five dollars an acre, or \$300 for the entire sixty acres. ⁸⁷

When the government sold the lighthouse reservation to Angell in 1938, it reserved to the United States a square plat 25-feet on a side centered on the tower site to be used for lighthouse purposes if considered necessary at some future time. The same deed also gave the government the right of access to this small plat as well as the right to use any dock to get to it for maintenance purposes.⁸⁸

Mrs. Rusco witnessed the fall of the lighthouse tower in October of 1942. She said that there had been no violent storm that occasioned the toppling; but only that continuous erosion had brought it to the point when it fell.⁸⁹

The process of erosion continued unabated thereafter. The Fluellings, caretakers for the Manitou Island Association, took pictures in November of 1970 of the former lighthouse keeper's dwelling to show that waves from a recent storm had so eroded the underpinnings of the house as to bring it the verge of toppling. It has since collapsed and only rubble remains. 90

The destruction wrought by the waves, the wind, and the weather has been so complete, that when Hagiwara took his structure inventory in 1979, he noted only four items: First, he found a small gabled roof on the sand which made him speculate that the rest of the structure was buried in the sand beneath. He thought this structure had been a boat house. Secondly, he saw the ends of a rail track sticking out of the dunes, lending support to his speculation that this had been a set of boat launching rails. Thirdly, he found the remains of a red brick wall, probably the foundations for the keeper's dwelling. Fourthly, he found a structure that he called a storage house. He ven in 1985, there is enough of this wooden structure still standing to render some resemblance to a storage building; but unfortunately, it has no characteristics to relate it to the structures put up around the turn of the century. It probably was added to the complex sometime between 1912 and the 1930s. Even so, its roof is caved in and there are sags in the external walls. Thus there is insufficient integrity to the lighthouse complex so that it cannot be considered worthy of inclusion in the National Register.

19. Miscellaneous Observations

Mrs. Gladys (Anderson) Dustin, who remembers living in Crescent City between 1909 and 1917, gave a list of names she could recall from that era and a fact or two about these people.

She said the Hatches were primarily lumbermen on the west side who also did some farming to feed their animals, and also ran a hotel in Crescent City. The Swensons were homesteaders. Davenport was a lumber inspector on the west side for the Whites. White was a foreman for Smith and Hull Lumber Company.

The following families also lived and worked on the west side: Beamonts, Paynes, Kelenskes, Webbs, Knifers, Dewars, Grosvenors (George, Tracy's father), Andersons (her parents), Dr. LaCours, Grays, and a number of loggers.

Some of the names she recalls from the east side and south end were: The Armstrongs, Fredricksons, Johnsons, Carlsons and Franks had been homesteaders. The Fiskes were summer visitors. ⁹³

Mrs. Dustin thinks her family, the Andersons, acquired their place near the Bourniques through inheritance from her mother's side, the Nerlands. Her grandfather, Matts (Martin) Nerland came over from Norway in 1888 and went directly to North Manitou. Matts Nerland drowned in 1895.⁹⁴

20. Summation of National Register Recommendations

As a result of the discussion above, the following North Manitou Island properties are considered eligible and will be nominated for the National Register:

- a. The United States Coast Guard Station in North Manitou Village.
- b. The Summer Hotel-Shepard Cottage in the Village.
- c. The Sawmill on the North Edge of the Village.
- d. The Large Village Barn.
- e. The West Side Barn.
- f. The Bournique House.

¹ Interview with Paul Maleski Jr., Traverse City, Michigan, November 12, 1985. See also 1880 Census and Angell Files, North Manitou cemetery data.

² See Appendix A for land acquisition data. Also, Paul Maleski interview.

³ Paul Maleski interview.

⁴ *Ibid*.

⁵ *Ibid.*, also letters of Giles Merritt of November 19 and 24, 1985.

⁶ NPS Land Acquisition Files.

⁷ Paul Maleski interview.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Personal observations.

¹² Personal observations and Paul Maleski interview.

¹³ Muhn's Report, 67.

¹⁴ Record-Eagle, April 21, 1933.

¹⁵ Sleeping Bear Dunes Files, Lifesaving Station Folder.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, and personal observations.

¹⁷ Letter from Rita Hadra Rusco to the author, dated November 5, 1985; many of the Leelanau County Deeds have a verbal description of the W.O. Greene Plat, such as *Leelanau Deeds*, Liber 69, page 133, Vincent M. Reed and Edna M. Reed, to Detroit Trust Company, recorded September 10, 1937.

¹⁸ Rita Hadra Rusco letter of November 5, 1985; plus personal observations.

¹⁹ *Ibid*.

²⁰ Ibid., see also, for example, Leelanau Deeds, Liber 22, page 564, Stella J. Platt to Silas R. Boardman, recorded September 25, 1895; indenture made June 30, 1890. This deed shows how the land that became North Manitou Village came into Boardman's hands.

²¹ Rusco letter and *Angell Proceedings*.

²² Letter of Mrs. Josephine Alford Hollister to the author, dated January 15, 1986.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Letter of Mrs. Josephine Alford Hollister to the author, dated January 15, 1986.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Rusco letter and personal observations.

²⁸ Ihid

²⁹ *Ibid.* Also interview with Julia (Craker) Kinnucan, November 13, 1985, Sutton's Bay, Michigan.

³⁰ Sleeping Bear Dunes Files, Lifesaving Station folder; Angell Files, fire insurance map dated September, 1953.

³¹ Rusco letter and personal observations.

- ³² Giles Merritt letter of October 19, 1985; interview with Leonard Clous and Sam Zoo at Buckley, Michigan, November 13, 1985.
- ³³ Merritt letter of October 19, 1985.
- 34 Ihid
- ³⁵ Interview with Julia (Craker) Kinnucan at Sutton's Bay, Michigan, November 13, 1985.
- ³⁶ Maleski interview.
- ³⁷ Rusco letter.
- ³⁸ Hollister Letter
- ³⁹ Interview with Peter Jurica south of Leland, Michigan, November 14, 1985.
- ⁴⁰ Merritt letter of October 19, 1985.
- ⁴¹ Personal observations and Angell Files, fire insurance map of September 1953.
- ⁴² *Ibid*.
- ⁴³ 1910 Census and Merritt letters of October 19, and 24, 1985.
- ⁴⁴ Interview with Eleanor (Anderson) Oien, Traverse City, Michigan, November 12, 1985, letter from Gladys (Anderson) Dustin, Maybelle (Anderson) Green and Hans Anderson of Imperial Beach California, January 19, 1986.
- ⁴⁵ Maleski interview.
- ⁴⁶ *Ibid*.
- ⁴⁷ Kinnucan interview.
- ⁴⁸ Dustin-Green-Anderson letter.
- 49 Rusco letter
- ⁵⁰ Interview with Lester "Pete" Carlson, Leland, Michigan, November 14, 1985.
- ⁵¹ Oien interview; Merritt letters of May 15, and October 19 and 24, 1985.
- ⁵² Personal observations.
- ⁵³ Angell Files, cemetery folder. Rusco letter had the information about the Feilen brothers.
- ⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, also Paul Maleski interview.
- ⁵⁵ Merritt letter of October 19, 1985, and Hagiwara's Survey.
- ⁵⁶ Ibid., interview with Mrs. Donna (Kelenske) Heater, Traverse City, November 11, 1985; interview with Mrs. Eleanor (Anderson) Oien, Traverse City, November 12, 1985; letter from Ethel (Furst) Stormer of October 27, 1985; letter from Mrs. Gladys (Anderson) Dustin of January 19, 1986.
- ⁵⁷ 1910 Census and Merritt letter of October 19, 1985.
- ⁵⁸ Leelanau Deeds, Liber 69, page 579, Mary McMunn Bournique to Detroit Trust Company, recorded May 15, 1939.
- ⁵⁹ See Appendix A and cemetery folder, Angell Files.
- ⁶⁰ Stormer letter.
- ⁶¹ See Appendix A for the land acquisition data; 1880 Census and 1910 Census
- ⁶² Gladys Dustin letter; Donna (Kelenske) Heater letter of February 12, 1985; Merritt leters of May 15, and October 19, 1985; Eleanor Oien interview and Donna Heater interview.
- ⁶³ Dustin Letter.
- ⁶⁴ *Ibid*.
- ⁶⁵ *Ibid*.
- ⁶⁶ *Ibid*.
- ⁶⁷ Hagiwara's Survey.
- ⁶⁸ Stormer letter and Sprague's 1884 History, 466-7.
- ⁶⁹ Stormer letter and Merritt letter of October 19, 1985.
- ⁷⁰ Stormer letter.
- 71 Merritt letter of October 19, 1985.
- ⁷² *Ibid.*, see also Appendix A for land acquisition data.
- 73 Dustin letter
- ⁷⁴ Sleeping Bear Dunes Files, Lighthouse folder.
- ⁷⁵ *Ibid*.
- ⁷⁶ *Ibid*.
- ⁷⁷ *Ibid*.
- ⁷⁸ *Ibid*.
- ⁷⁹ *Ibid*.
- 80 Ibid.

⁸¹ *Ibid*.

82 *Ibid*.

83 Muhn Report, 66.

⁸⁴ 1910 Census.

85 Merritt letter of May 15, 1985.

Sleeping Bear Dunes Files, Lighthouse folder; *Leelanau Deeds*, Liber 69, page 427, United States of America to Detroit Trust Company, recorded September 19, 1938.
Sleeping Bear Dunes Files, Lighthouse folder. *Leelanau Deeds*, Liber 69, page 427.

⁸⁹ Rusco letter.

90 Fluelling photos. Angell Files.
91 Hagiwara's Survey.
92 Personal observations.

⁹³ Dustin letter.

⁹⁴ *Ibid*.

ILLUSTRATIONS

[Not included in donated manuscript]

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