

A Short Survey off of Long Piers Settlement-Era Piers of Door County



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A Short Survey off of Long Piers

Settlement-Era Piers of Door County

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Note: At the time of publication, the Toft Pont and Newport sites are pending listing on the State and National Registers of Historic Places. Nomination packets for these shipwreck sites will be prepared and submitted to the Wisconsin State Historic Preservation Office.

Abstract

In 2023 and 2024, the Wisconsin Historical Society's State Archaeology and Maritime Preservation Program conducted research on a sample of rural coastal commercial ports on the Lake Michigan shore of Door County. Our investigations were generously funded by Wisconsin's Coastal Management Program.

Archival research identified six high-potential targets along the Lake Michigan coastline where traces of lost rural port facilities might survive: Lily Bay, Higgin's Pier (Frogtown), the Mud Bay Quarry Company wharf (Toft Point), Appleport, Rowley's Bay, and Newport. Maritime investigations in mid-summer 2023 confirmed that remnants of 19th century port facilities are extant at five of the six locations; no surviving pier features were found at Lily Bay. In addition, the shattered remains of the schooner *Emma Leighton* were discovered near the Appleport pier, solving a long-running mystery of that ship's whereabouts, and fragments of the schooner *Ebenezer* were relocated and documented at Toft Point.

Stellar weather conditions allowed our maritime fieldwork to be completed ahead of schedule, giving staff time to investigate two targets of opportunity. First, our team was notified that receding sand at Whitefish Bay had exposed large sections of the community's original lumber pier. Second, work at Hedgehog Harbor for a separate study earlier in the season had identified cribbing from one of the three lumber piers documented at that location. Crews visited both locations, mapping in the exposed pilings at Whitefish Bay and tying the crib remains at Hedgehog Harbor into the draft map of the intermingled shipwrecks that characterize that section of shoreline. Following analysis of the Whitefish Bay survey, we were pleasantly surprised to find that our crews might have mapped sections of the early 19th century Clark fishing pier along with the Boalt & Stebbins lumber pier, bringing the total number of piers/wharfs documented in 2023 to eight.

Two locations—Newport and Mud Bay/Toft Point—were determined to be potentially eligible for listing on the National Register of Historic Places. Terrestrial survey was completed at both sites in 2024. Walkover and Ground Penetrating Survey at Newport identified the likely location of the community's post office and general store, and the location of a support structure of unknown function. The extensive terrestrial features at the Mud Bay Quarry/Toft Point site were mapped and photo-documented. Finally, two LiDAR anomalies and a reported pier crib within the southern end of Newport State Park at Duck Bay were investigated. These features were believed to represent a seasonal logging settlement known as 'Bohemia Town'. The terrestrial features proved to be of early 20th century vintage, and are too young to represent a seasonal lumbering community. The crib may date to the period of the lumber boom, but could not be accessed by boat or foot. Further investigation of the crib via kayak is planned for the future.

Newport and Toft Point were determined to be eligible for listing on the National Register of Historic Places, and nominations will be prepared for both.

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The authors of this report would like to thank Wisconsin's Coastal Management Program and the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration Office for Coastal Management for funding our work. Their assistance now and in the past has been invaluable. With the Coastal Management Program's help, we have expanded our efforts to understand Wisconsin's overlooked rural coastal heritage northward along Wisconsin's coastline and gained crucial comparative data on the lost ports of Door County.

The authors would also like to thank Richard Kubicek, Eric Hyde, and Beth Bartoli at the Wisconsin Department of Natural Resources, Jewel Ouradnik and Rowley's Bay Resort, Karen Moran and the Liberty Grove Historical Society, Judy Hollingshead, Jim Cauley, and other Friends of Toft Point, Mandy Banet and the Cofrin Center for Biodiversity, Jim Mielke, Eric Bonow, and other landowners at Appleport, Greg and Janet Kent, Wayne Spritka and Door County Facilities and Parks, the Door County Maritime Museum, and the Door County Historical Society for their kindness in welcoming our team and for their interest in helping us reconstruct the history of Wisconsin's Lake Michigan shores.

Dr. Daniel Joyce lent both his expertise and his ground penetrating radar equipment to our endeavor, and we thank him for his insights and willingness to go above and beyond in the service of archaeology.

A very special thank you goes to volunteers Bob Jaeck, Bob LaViolette, and Tim Pranke, who helped with survey both on land and below the waves.

Much of our background research followed the lines of an earlier ghost port study conducted by Wisconsin Underwater Archaeology Association historians Dr. Dick Boyd, Russel Leitz, and Douglas Weimer. Mr. Leitz was particularly gracious enough to share prior research materials relating to several Door County pier communities.

Special thanks are extended to State Historic Preservation Officer Daina Penkiunas for approving and facilitating this project, and to other members of the SHPO staff.

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Chapter One: Ghosts of Door County

Early Door County historian Hjalmar R. Holand estimated that the Door Peninsula's shores were once fringed with sixty or more piers and docks (1917:157) (Figure One). These tiny ports supported the three industries—lumbering, fishing, and quarrying—that facilitated Euro-American colonization of Door County and sent it on the trajectory that placed it where it is today. Lumbering was paramount among the three. Holand recognized the importance of forest industry to his beloved home county, but was not nostalgic about it. “Perhaps it would be more correct to classify it as a work of destruction,” he said. Noting that industry, by definition, involved the creation of wealth, he pointed out that “[a]lmost every lumber operator in the history of the county has failed in business...the farmers who had logs to sell made less” (Holand 1917:156). Holand reserved most of his disdain for pine, but was slightly more charitable when it came to the harvesting of hemlock, cedar, maple, and beech, which he did have to admit brought “considerable wealth” to Door County.

In the interior counties of the state the pioneer was obliged with infinite toil to roll his maples together and burn them. In Door County, however, thanks to the ease of shipping by water, he was able to split them up and sell them as cordwood. The great abundance of cedar, growing mostly on the lowlands on the eastern side of the peninsula, was also a source of considerable income to the farmers in winter time (Holand 1917:157).

Cedar harvesting, in particular, brought the possibility of success, as it “involved practically no equipment and but little capital” (Holand 1917:158). Even so, Holand treats lumbering as a prelude to the establishment of Door County's agricultural economy, which emerged after 1870 and did not grow to dominate the economy until the closing years of the 19th century (Holand 1917:159).

Fishing, the second of the county's three big industries, persisted longer at a smaller scale. Fishermen traveled north to the bays and islands of the Door Peninsula as early as 1836, seeking whitefish, trout, and herring. After a roaring start, the fisheries were diminished or depleted, one-by-one, within a few decades. Fishing hung on as a contributor to the County's economic landscape well into the 19th century and tales of fishing families appear in the histories of nearly every coastal lumber port (Holand 1917:155–156).

The stone industry literally changed the topography of the county's shores. It is the oldest of the three, with the first known export of stone from Door County taking place at Government Bluff on the shores of Sturgeon Bay. Several communities better known for their lumber exports began as quarry ports, including Bailey's Harbor. Quarrying rose in prominence in the latter half of the 19th century, reaching a peak in the 1890s (Holand 1917:166–168).

All three industries depended on maritime transport. Entrepreneurs—working on their own, in business partnerships, or as part of larger companies—purchased land at suitable spots along the coastline and extended piers, docks, and wharfs out into the lake. They sought water deep enough to accommodate the schooners and steamships that would not only carry their wares but bring colonists and immigrants to their shores. In a time when roads were non-existent or rudimentary,



Figure One: Map of known (red dots) and possible (black dots) pier locations.

the maritime traffic that came to call at these piers was the economic lifeline that fueled the colonization of not just Door County, but eastern Wisconsin and the region as a whole.

The forests and limestone outcrops of Door County were extracted and shipped south by lake to Milwaukee, Racine, Chicago, and other railroad terminals on the southern shore of Lake Michigan. From there, the raw materials and finished products they were transformed into were sent forth to build the infrastructure of the American Midwest. Door County's forests built urban housing in Chicago and pioneer homes on the Great Plains. Door County's forests supported the rails that

linked growing cities. Door County's forests fenced in cattle, held up telegraph lines, and kept the feet of pedestrians free of mud. Door County's whitefish graced the tables of gourmets, and its pickled herring gave immigrant families the taste of home. Holand (1917:268) observed that nearly every harbor on Lake Michigan was built with stone from the quarries of Door County.

Many (though not all) of the Door County ports had accompanying general stores. These stores supplied incoming settlers, allowing them to clear farms. The port complexes and their associated facilities provided opportunities for employment for haulers, fishermen, quarrymen, servants, managers of boarding houses, blacksmiths, lumberjacks and wood cutters, and clerks. Though none were economic powerhouses, they kept local economies afloat for a time, until new sources of income could take over.

On one hand, the rural ports represented sustenance, wealth, and creation. They also had their dark side. The Indigenous peoples of the region were dispossessed and their homeland transformed beyond recognition in part because of the rural ports. The Potawatomi resident on the Peninsula, doing their best to stay in their homes in the aftermath of forced treaties, hostility, and ethnic cleansing, took the brunt of it. Wisconsin is as it is today, and the Midwest is as it is today, because the rural port facilities allowed colonization to happen. The ports allowed the extraction and destruction of the county's resources to happen, at far faster paces than the timber and fish were able to renew themselves. Quarries left scars on the landscape. When the raw materials were depleted, most of the port facilities shut down and faded away.

The Wisconsin Historical Society's State Historic Preservation Office has made investigation of these 'ghost ports' a priority. They represent not just an overlooked rural story, but one that transformed our state and our Nation. Despite their importance, their stories have been nearly forgotten, to the point that the location of some piers had been entirely erased from memory.

Thanks to the generosity of the Wisconsin Coastal Management Program (WCMP) and the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration Office for Coastal Management, in July 2023 archaeologists and volunteers with the Wisconsin Historical Society's State Archaeology and Maritime Preservation Program embarked on a study to investigate the lost coastal communities of northeastern Door County. Door County was chosen for its potential to harbor intact pier remnants, for the relatively late date of some pier communities, and for its distinct geologic and geomorphic setting. Staff hoped to compare findings in this region to the Wisconsin Historical Society's earlier studies at Ronksville in Ozaukee County, several pier sites in Kewaunee County, and Jacksonport in Door County, as well as the Wisconsin Underwater Archaeology Association's study of Clay Banks Township in southern Door County.

Archival research identified six high-potential targets along the Lake Michigan coastline where traces of lost rural port facilities might survive: Lily Bay, Higgin's Pier (Frogtown), the Mud Bay Quarry Company pier (Toft Point), Appleport, Rowley's Bay, and Newport. Maritime investigations in mid-summer 2023 confirmed that remnants of 19th century piers are extant at five of the six locations; no surviving pier features were found at Lily Bay. In addition, the shattered remains of the schooner *Emma Leighton* were discovered near the Appleport pier, solving a long-running mystery of that ship's whereabouts, and fragments of the schooner *Ebenezer* were re-mapped at Mud Bay/Toft Point.

Stellar weather conditions allowed our maritime fieldwork to be completed ahead of schedule, giving staff time to investigate two targets of opportunity. First, our team was notified that receding sand at Whitefish Bay had exposed large sections of the community's original lumber pier. Second, work at Hedgehog Harbor for a separate study earlier in the season had identified cribbing from one of the three lumber piers documented at that location. Crews visited both locations, mapping in the exposed pilings at Whitefish Bay and tying the crib remains at Hedgehog Harbor into the draft map of the intermingled shipwrecks that characterize that section of shoreline. Following analysis of the Whitefish Bay survey, we were pleasantly surprised to find that our crews might have mapped sections of the early 19th century Clark fishing pier along with the Boalt & Stebbins lumber pier. Review of aerial imagery and other archival resources for Appleport disclosed the presence of a late fisheries-era pier at that location as well, and staff at Newport State Park pointed our team towards an exposed crib in Duck Bay, bringing the total number of surviving sites identified in the study to ten.

Two locations—Newport and Mud Bay/Toft Point—were determined to be potentially eligible for listing on the National Register of Historic Places. Terrestrial survey was completed at both sites in 2024. Walkover and Ground Penetrating Survey at Newport identified the likely location of the community's post office and general store, and the location of a support structure of unknown function. The extensive terrestrial features at the Mud Bay Quarry/Toft Point site were mapped and photo-documented. Finally, two LiDAR anomalies at Duck Bay were investigated in the hopes that they might represent cabins belonging to 'Bohemia Town', a poorly-known seasonal lumber camp at Duck Bay. The anomalies proved to be of early 20th century vintage, and may be associated with the Ferdinand Hotz family. The Duck Bay crib may date to the period of the lumber boom, but could not be accessed by boat or foot. Further investigation of the crib via kayak is planned for the future.

As a result of these investigations, Newport and Toft Point were confirmed to be eligible for listing on the National Register of Historic Places, and nominations will be prepared for both.

Chapter Two Appleport (DR-0522)

Introduction: History at the End of the Road

Appleport vanished from the memory of Door County's ports a bit more thoroughly than most. For some time, the location of 'Porth's Pier' was thought to be at Rowley's Bay, in part due to period newspaper's insistence that it was located there. In truth, 'Rowley's Bay' as a placename was applied to an extensive stretch of the Door County coastline. The name of the pier also obscures its origins. Anyone familiar with Door County's history as a fruit producing county might be forgiven for thinking that the name refers to a port involved with apple growing. In reality, the location is named for the first two owners of the complex: Axel Appel and Henry Porth (Appel...Porth).

Appleport

Location and Setting

Appleport is located at the end of modern Appleport Road, between North Bay and Rowley's Bay. The road ends at a paved turn-around overlooking a long, open beach of sun-bleached dolomite cobbles. The shoreline here is extremely shallow for a considerable distance offshore, to the point that much of the site is exposed during periods of low lake levels. Even during high water, one can wade out a considerable distance without wetting anything above the waist.

History

Appleport was founded by a Swedish immigrant named Axel Appel in 1883. He began work on a massive stone-crib-supported pier that year, which would eventually stretch out for over 1,500 feet (*Door County Advocate* 1883a, 1884a, 1885a, 1885b). Shipping commenced when the pier was complete, and by early September 600 cords of tanning bark and 400 cords of wood had passed over the pier's deck and into the holds of waiting schooners. More bark was waiting to go, but prices were low and it wasn't worth the shipping costs to send it south. "...somebody will have to suffer," said the newspapers (*Door County Advocate* 1883b).

When winter set in, Appel sent teams of workmen into the forests to cut cordwood to send south. Appel put five or six choppers on his payroll, at a wage of either a dollar per cord or \$24 with room-and-board per month (*Door County Advocate* 1883e). Shipping came courtesy of the schooners *Challenge* and *Belle* out of Racine and the *Oneida* out of Milwaukee (*Door County Advocate* 1883d, 1887f). Within a year of the complex's founding, Appel found himself in court in the midst of lawsuits that arose when supplier Otto Anderson was found to have cut timber off of Government land before he had title to it (*Door County Advocate* 1884b). Appel soured on pier ownership and sold to Milwaukee businessman Captain Henry Charles Porth.

H. C. Porth worked at a commission house that handled lumber and coal, but had branched out into commissions and suspender manufacturing (Watrous 1909:291; *Weekly Wisconsin* 1886). Porth's commission house retained interest in the schooners *Oneida* and *Black Hawk*, though the *Oneida* is

listed as under the ownership of Anna Porth rather than Captain Porth. Porth began renovations on both the pier and Appel's general store, which was gussied up with new lathe and plaster, siding, and windows. Porth cleared forest around the complex for farming and installed Danish immigrant and ship captain George Eisenhardt as manager (*Door County Advocate* 1884c, 1884d; George Metzler 2024; *Weekly Expositor Independent* 1884).

One of Eisenhardt's first tasks was to extend the pier another seventy-two feet. He weighed down the pier with stockpiled wood as soon as the deck planking was laid. The new cribs were secured with forty-five new loads of stone fill (*Door County Advocate* 1885b, 1885d). Porth tasked the *Oneida* and *Black Hawk* to carry the wood south to Milwaukee's markets when shipping commenced (*Door County Advocate* 1885c, 1885d). Porth also negotiated for purchase of shares in the aging scow schooner *Emma Leighton*, and owned half-interest in the vessel by late April of 1885 (Bureau of Navigation 1885; *Milwaukee Daily Sentinel* 1885a, 1885b).

The *Emma Leighton* joined the other two vessels that frequented the harbor. Porth's new schooner and collected lumber at Pierport, Rawleys Bay, Charlevoix, Manitou, Ludington, and Arcadia, and ferried shipload after shipload to Milwaukee's lumberyards (*Milwaukee Daily Sentinel* 1885c, 1885d, 1885e, 1885f, 1885g, 1885h, 1885i, 1885j, 1885k, 1885l, 1885m, 1885n, 1885o, 1885p). Porth remained in Milwaukee, tending to his businesses there. The growing Porth Manufacturing Co. had offices on 7th Street and a suspenders and webbing factory on West Water Street (Wright 1885).

Things were falling apart in Milwaukee. Porth wasn't feeling well. A cold he had picked up during a visit to Appleport worsened throughout the summer and fall of 1885, leaving him with swelling and pain on the left side of his face. The Porth Manufacturing Co. factory on West Water Street was shut down by the City for unsafe conditions (Siebers 1887:515). Porth's health worsened until the swelling on the left side of his face developed into a "species of goiter" (*Door County Advocate* 1886a). By February, 1886, Porth was dangerously ill and he decided to travel by train to Hot Springs, Arkansas, in the hopes that a warmer climate and the rejuvenating power of the mineral waters there would help. Porth died at the end of the month, at just over thirty years of age. The swelling on his face burst internally (or was inadvisably drained by doctors) and spread infection into his brain. Records list the cause of Porth's death as "meningitis from exhaustion of tumor of jaw" (United States Death Records 1885–1886).

When the news reached Appleport, Captain Eisenhardt headed south to Milwaukee. He attempted and failed to sell his former ship *Black Hawk* there; no-one was willing to buy at his asking price. Eisenhardt—with an unknown amount of input from Anna Porth—determined to keep the business running, but it was decided that "the schooner *Oneida* is as much vessel property as [Porth's] successors care to manage" (*Door County Advocate* 1886b; 1886c). At the end of the year Anna Porth put Appleport up for sale. The notice in the *Door County Independent* (1886) observed that the complex was offered at "a very moderate price" as Mrs. Porth was unable to "give it the attention and time necessary to its successful operation". The property went to prominent Door County merchant George Bassford, Sr. in early February 1887. The property that Appel had created for \$4000 just over four years prior changed hands for only \$1000. Bassford, Sr. turned the complex over to his son, George Bassford, Jr., and Frank Hoyt was installed as the new manager (*Door County Advocate* 1887a).

George Bassford, Jr., in the meantime made plans to move into the Eisenhardt family's former quarters (*Door County Advocate* 1887c, 1887d). George Bassford, Jr., and brothers Henry and Charles, already were well acquainted with the production side of the lumber trade. George and Charles spent much of the winter of 1886–1887 overseeing affairs at 'Bassford's Camp' near Egg Harbor (*Door County Advocate* 1887b). Brother Henry, in the meantime, was in the Dakota Territory. He headed back to Wisconsin to assist George (*Door County Advocate* 1887e).

All three brothers pitched in together. One factor in their decision may have been George Jr's health. He had contracted "inflammatory rheumatism" some time prior, and though time spent in a lumber camp might suggest vigorous youth, he was in fact growing frailer (*Door County Advocate* 1888b, *Door County Independent* 1888). During the course of the year George Bassford, Jr.'s condition worsened and he was given a terminal diagnosis (*Door County Independent* 1888). He withdrew from active management of Appleport. With most of the brothers in the Dakota Territory, and his parents and wife Lizzie preoccupied with his care, Appleport became an unwanted distraction. They found a buyer in German immigrant John Anclam, a lumberman who had hauled three hundred cords of wood to the pier over the winter (*Door County Advocate* 1888a). George Bassford, Jr. died at his parent's home at the age of 29, surrounded by friends and family (*Door County Independent* 1888).

John Anclam's health, in contrast to previous owners, was good, and he was just starting out in life. A familiar face returned to Appleport later that autumn. Axel Appel, having presumably recovered from the financial strains that led him to sell Appleport, bought eighty acres nearby for \$1200, and received a contract to log and ship out 700 cords of wood. At the promised price of \$3.50 per cord, he stood to recover the cost and make a tidy profit besides (*Door County Advocate* 1888c). Appleport stayed out of newsprint for the next several years, as business hummed along uneventfully. By mid-1893, however, neither Anclam nor Appel were finding profit at Appleport. The region's timber was gone. Anclam sold the complex to fisherman John Oleson.

Over the next few years Appleport passed from hand to hand, as various fishing outfits came and went, using the former lumber port as a base of operations (*Door County Advocate* 1893; *Door County Democrat* 1894). Such small schooners and steamers as came to call dropped off salt and barrels, dodging the growing number of nets along the shoreline, and occasionally picked up fish destined for fish companies operating out of Menominee, Michigan (*Door County Advocate* 1896, 1900b; *Door County Democrat* 1905a, 1905b, 1905c, 1906).

William Lee took ownership of the complex in 1894 (*Door County Democrat* 1894), and soon the number of pound nets along the coastline was on the rise. Isaac Hanson, John Larson, and George Larson installed their own nets in 1900, purchasing the needed supplies in Sturgeon Bay (*Door County Advocate* 1900a). That fall, Isaac Hanson and his brother harvested 800 packages of herring, and shipped them to buyer Captain Kalmbach in Sturgeon Bay. Haulers who wanted the work of transporting the salted fish overland were paid 25 cents per package (*Door County Advocate* 1901). In 1902, fishing at Appleport employed twenty men, divided among eleven rigs (*Door County Democrat* 1902).

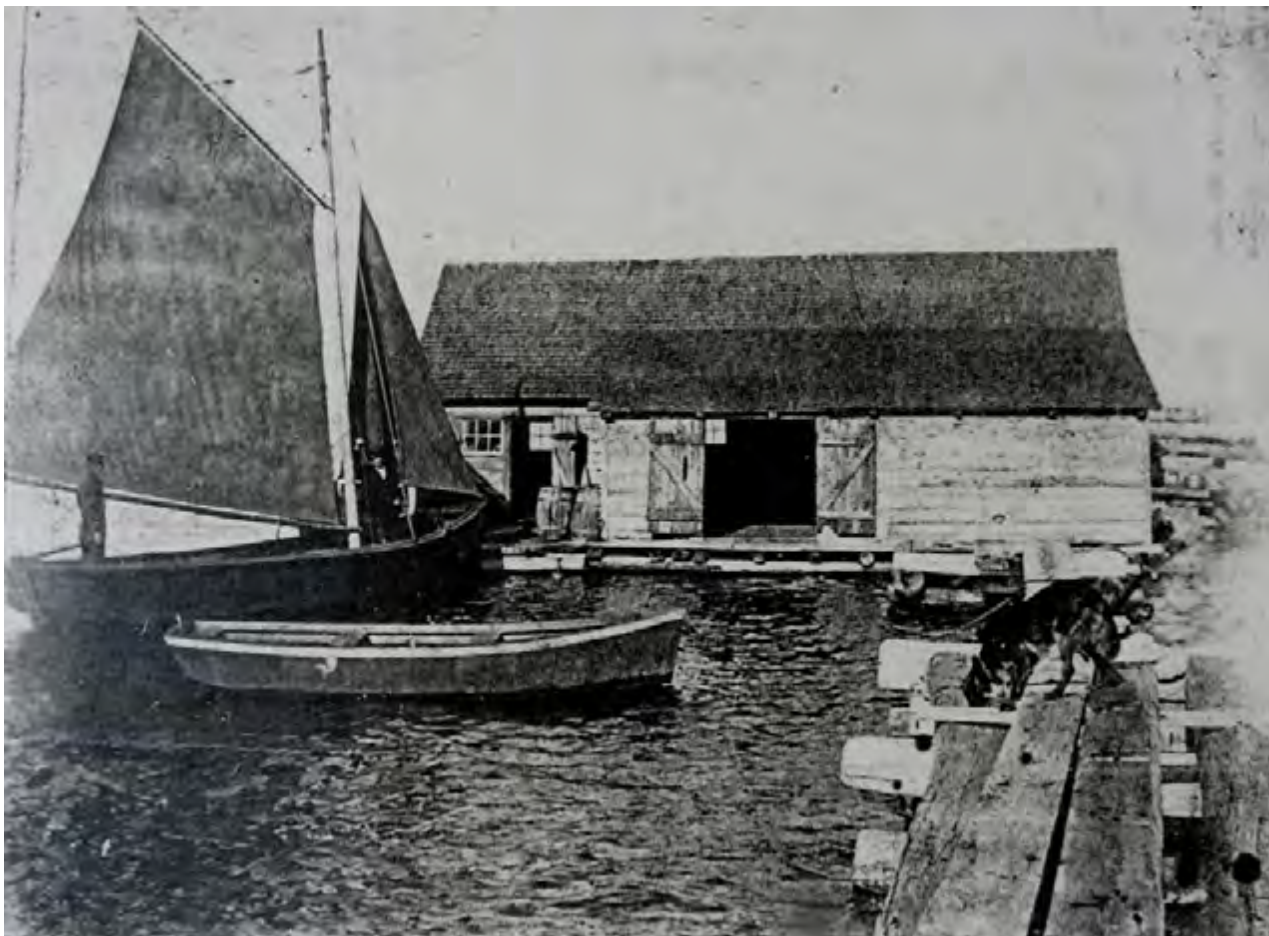


Figure 2: Historic photograph of fishing house and dock at Appleport with small boats. From collection of Jim Mielke.

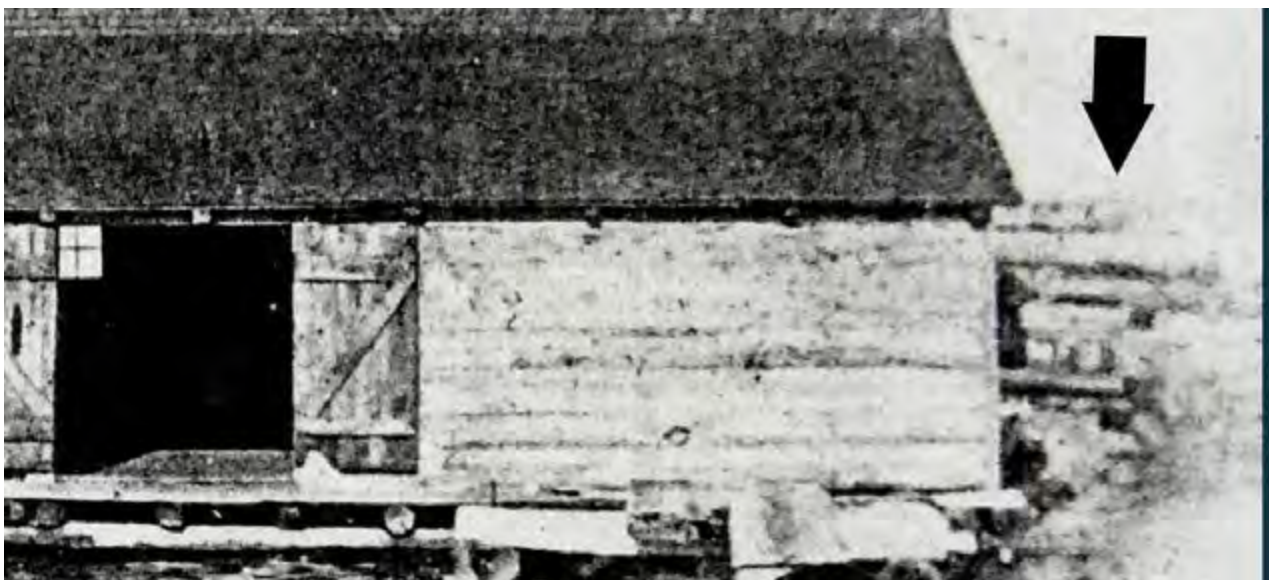


Figure 3: Detail of above image showing cribbing from Appleport's lumber pier (arrow).



Figure 4: A later photograph of Larson's fishing dock at Appleport from the collection of Jim Mielke. Note small cribs from an abandoned fishing dock to left and a structure or machinery on the shore.

Appleport's fishing boom lasted through the first decades of the 20th century. By then, the lumber pier had fallen apart under the impact of storm and ice. Photographs provided to the authors by lakeshore resident Jim Mielke show the remains of cribs both large and small protruding from the water, with a smaller fishing pier and fish house built atop the lumber pier's ruins (Figures 2 to 4). John Larson would eventually take over long-term ownership of the complex, and he used the small mill not only to make crates but to cut lumber to build twine and fishing shanties (Carter 1985). He is mentioned in early newspaper accounts as part of the Larson Bros. outfit, who operated pound nets at Appleport (*Door County Advocate* 1907). At the end of the fishing boom, the Larson family were left alone at Appleport. In search of new sources of income, they planted a cherry orchard, which survived into the 1960s. Larson's twine shacks were used to house migrant workers who came to pick the cherries (Carter 1985).

Today, what was Appleport is home to newer lakeside homes. Some remains of the lumber and fishing piers and fragments of the *Emma Leighton* are exposed to view and visited by the new owners when lake levels are low.

2023 Fieldwork

Investigations at the Appleport site were limited to maritime investigations. Development of lots along the shore and Appleport Road has diminished the potential for intact terrestrial remains of the complex. The location of the pier was identified through archival research and investigation of aerial images. Pier remains and associated features were surveyed with use of a total station set up on shore, assisted by divers maneuvering the transit rod.

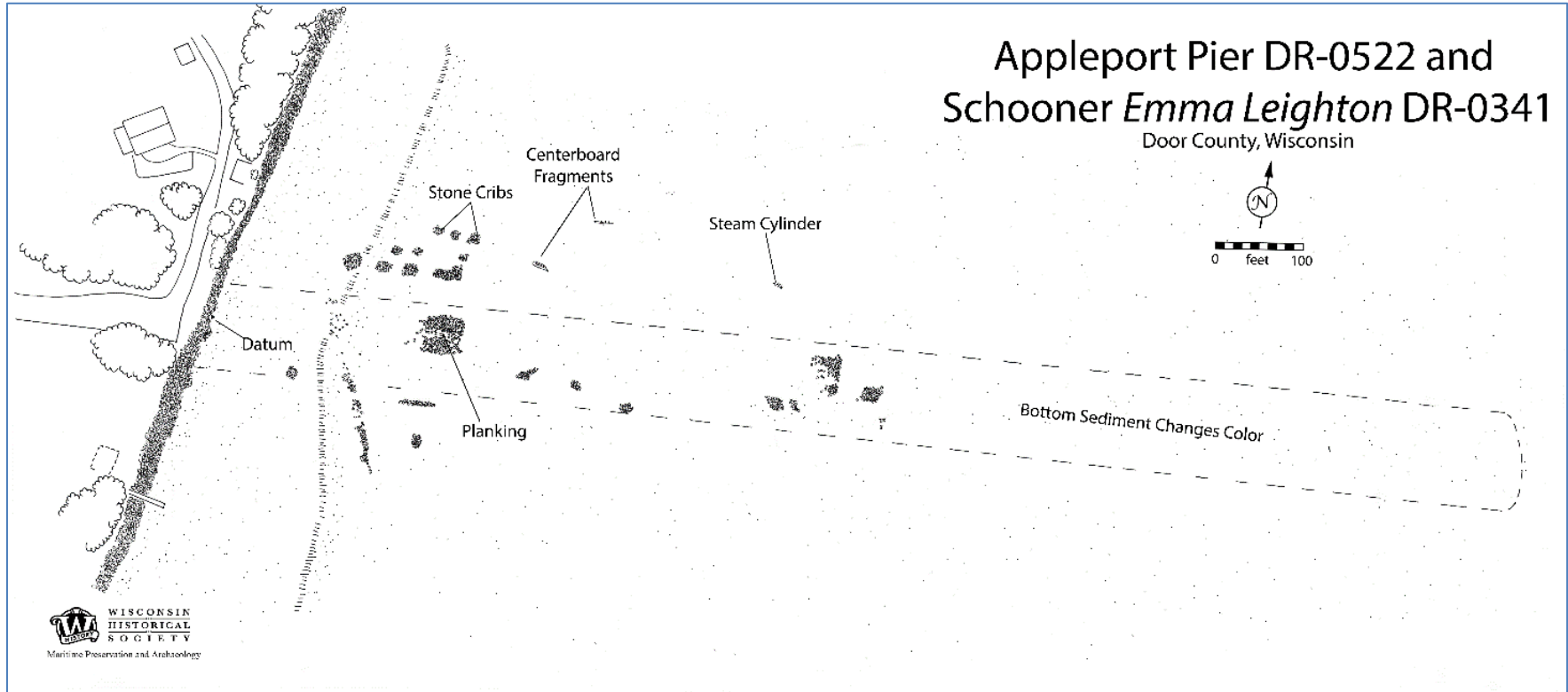


Figure 5: Map of the Appleport pier site (DR-0522) and the debris field from the *Emma Leighton*.

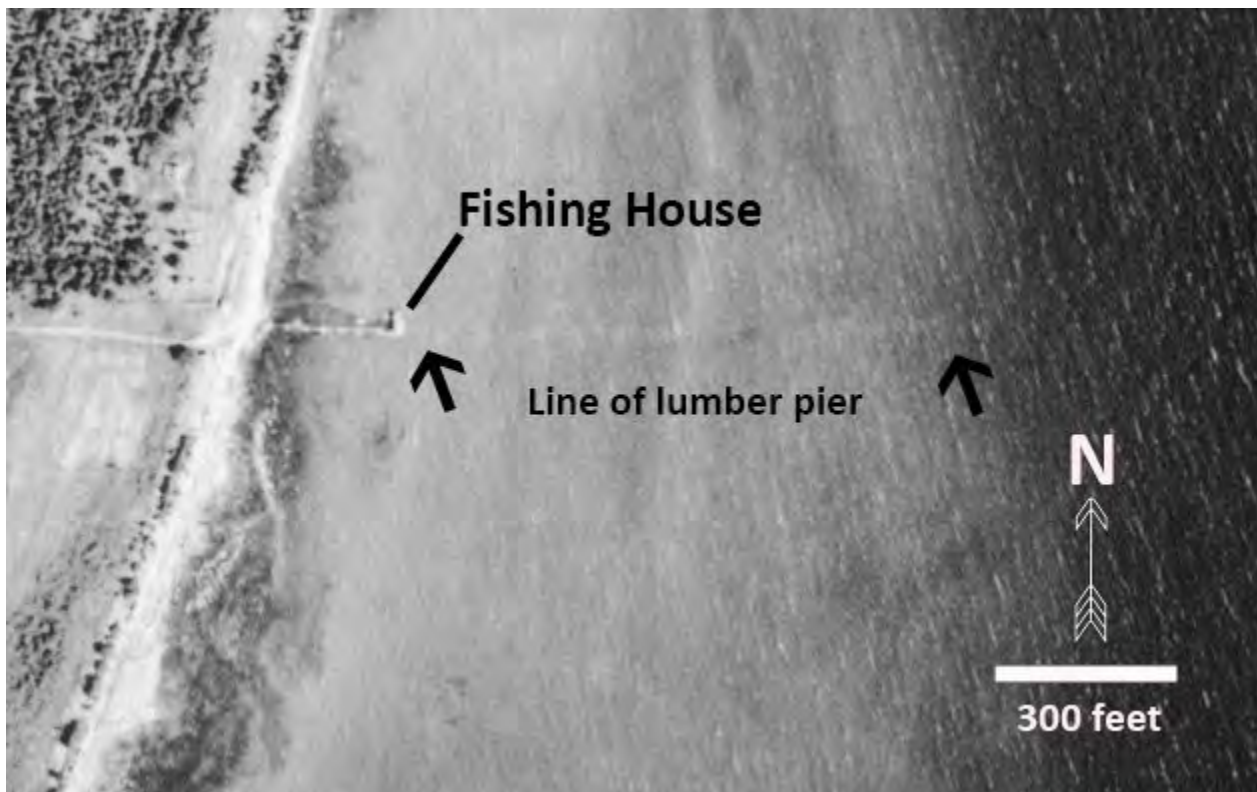


Figure 6: 1938 U.S.D.A. aerial photograph of Appleport showing fishing house and dock built over the line of the Appleport lumber pier. The pier line is visible as a discoloration in the lake bottom.

Appleport Lumber Pier

Survey at Appleport was made difficult by the shallowness of the site, the history of the site, and the geology of the site. First, the shallow site location has left the pier and its surroundings vulnerable to wave and ice disturbance. Second, the passage of the *Emma Leighton* through the body of the pier spilled stone crib fill across the lake bottom. Finally, natural stone is abundant at the site and divers reported some difficulty distinguishing natural concentrations of stone from human-made ones. In the end, divers located one clear crib feature, a partial crib feature, eight small piles of stone that may or may not mark the former locations of crib features, and some elements of either the pier or the *Emma Leighton*.

These features were located along the line of the former pier, which is traceable as a discoloration in the lake bottom visible in aerial imagery. This line can be seen extending outwards from shore at a bearing of 91° , essentially extending the line of Appleport Road—which served as the pier road during the lumber boom—for at least 1,200 feet. The line crosses the better-preserved crib and fishing house near shore, continues outward over a series of shoals, and ends in deeper water (Figures 6 and 8). It does not trace the full 1,500+ foot length of the pier.

The best-preserved crib is located approximately 300 feet out from the end of Appleport Road. It appears as a pile of stone fill with some wooden debris on and around it (Figure 7). This crib is exposed on the surface during periods of low lake levels. The feature measures approximately 50



Figure 7: Planking and other debris on the surface of the fish-house crib.

feet square. This crib structure was re-used as the base for the fishing house seen in Figures 2, 3, 4, and 6. At least one other crib between the fishing house and shore helped support the gangway out to the house. Two more cribs further from shore are visible in the upper right corner of the earlier of the historic photographs of the dock (see Figure 3).

Five small concentrations of stone were noted at intervals along the line of the pier by the dive team. With one exception that m are no more than 10 to 15 feet in diameter, and cannot represent undisturbed crib fill. Whether or not they mark former crib locations, with most fill dispersed or scattered by ice, waves, out-of-control schooners, or other factors is unclear. These features are 360, 420, 490, 640, and 670 feet from shore, respectively.

The partial remains of a second definite crib were located 720 feet from shore. The feature seems to represent the eastern half of a crib, with fill from the western and central portions of the crib missing. The north-south dimension (40 feet) and orientation of the north and east edges are consistent with the preserved crib at Larson's fish house. Seven-hundred and seventy feet from shore and beyond the second lumber pier crib is another concentration of stone that may represent fill from a third crib location. This final feature is approximately 20 feet in diameter.

Four other stone features were noted by divers, but were felt to be of unclear origin and association. Two comprise small piles of stone. One is 100 feet from shore and the other 260 feet from shore. The first is on the southern line of the lumber pier and the second is well south of

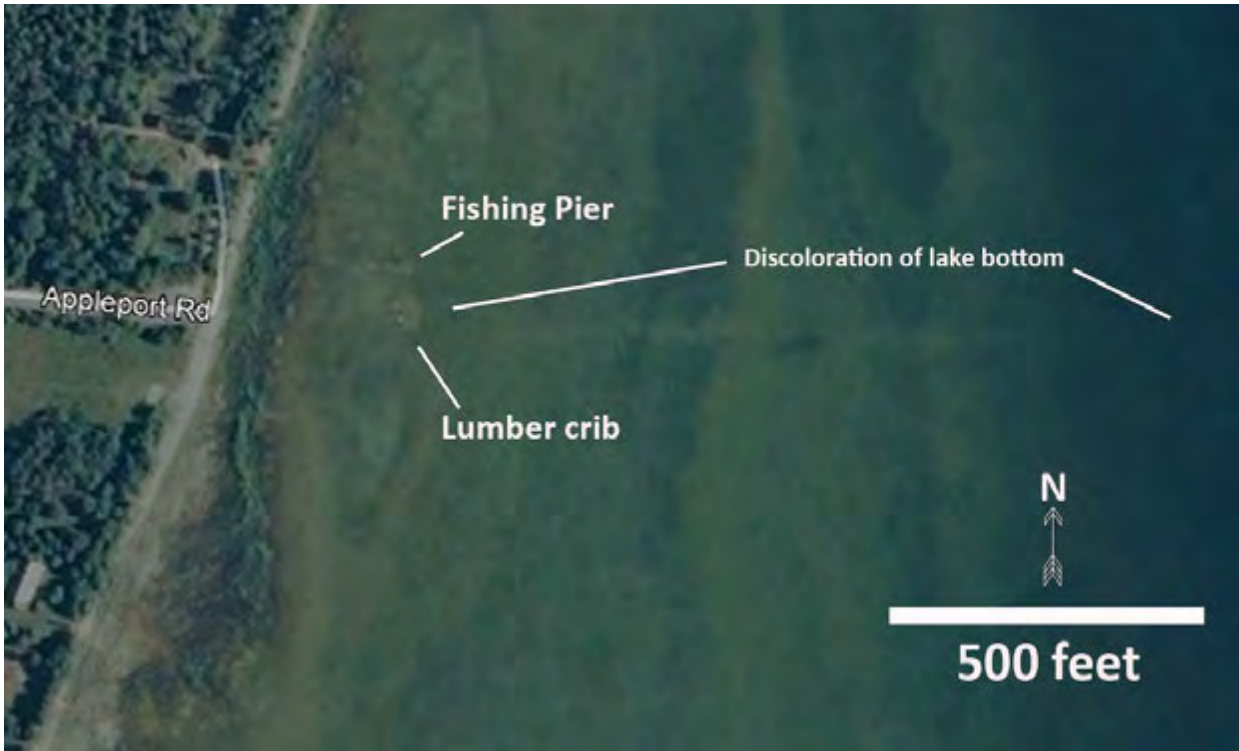


Figure 8: Google Earth Pro images from 2008 (top) and 2010 (bottom), taken during a period of low lake levels, showing the north fishing dock, the lumber crib that supported the fish house, and the line of discoloration marking the course of the pier along the lake bottom.



Figure 9: Photograph of the possible crib fill feature 640 feet from shore.

the line. An east-west-oriented line of stone 40 feet long sits between this second small pile and the fish-house crib, just south of the line of the pier. Finally, a scattered line of stone extends 100 feet southeastward from the center of the line of the pier and the gangway to the fish house past the east-west line of stones and the second small pile, to a point 220 feet from shore.

North Fishing Dock

The remains of a second fishing dock are visible in historic imagery (see left side Figure 4), as well as more recent aerial images (Figure 8). It is located seventy feet north of the line of the Appleport pier and the fish house. This second fishing dock likely had a similar fish house on its end, as the feature has a distinct ‘L’ shape resembling the Larson dock and is of identical size. The remains of at least four small cribs, appearing as circular concentrations of stone twenty feet in diameter, are apparent in aerial imagery taken in a period of low lake levels (2008–2013), available in Google Earth Pro. The base of the fish house for the north dock is difficult to make out, but appears in part in an image dating to 2013. Based on these aerial images, this dock had a gangway/walkway length of at least 180 feet. The base for the fish house was at least 20 feet wide (east-west), and thirty feet long (north-south).



Figure 10: one of the possible crib fill concentrations along the line of the pier nearer the fish-house crib.

Debris Field

Divers moving along the line of the pier encountered various metallic objects within a debris field that extends from the central portion of the pier's length towards the northwest. Some of the objects appear to have come from the schooner *Emma Leighton*, which wrecked at the pier in 1885. Others, such as iron drift pins or spikes (Figure 11), may belong to the structure of the pier. Metal strapping was noted 20 feet southeast of the furthest-documented possible crib feature. An iron spike or drift pin was observed along the line of the pier approximately 1010 feet from shore, and a second was found along the same line roughly 1110 feet from shore.

The final item found in the debris field is extremely noteworthy. Six hundred and seventy feet west of the terminus of Appleport Road and 50 feet north of the historic pier's footprint is an early cylinder and feedwater heater from a boiler-mounted steam engine. A piston rod and cross head extends from one end of the cylinder. The cylinder is 1.5 feet long with a 0.7 feet diameter. Broken pieces of a bar stock crosshead guide lay on the bottom below the crosshead guide. The cylinder is attached to one end of a square log-type feedwater heater. The feedwater heater measuring 6.0 feet long and 0.6 feet square has semicircular brackets at each end indicating this most likely came off



Figure 11: Iron drift pin or spike at possible crib structure found along the line of the pier beyond the possible crib structures.

of a steam traction engine. Opposite the cylinder there is a U-shaped bracket on the feedwater heater that most likely mounted the crankshaft bearings.

Thanks to the efforts of diver and volunteer Tim Pranke, who returned to the site to conduct independent work in the spring of 2024, this object was conclusively identified as part of a Russell & Co. steam engine made between 1880 and 1890. The company name is cast on the feedwater heater for the engine, which was once coated in red paint. Pranke found additional pieces of the engine, including fragments of cylinder jacketing. Pranke reached out to social media and received replies suggesting that the engine dates to the early 1880s (perhaps 1881 or 1882). Russell & Co. produced several types of engines meant to power small mills and threshing machines. Pranke notes that the connecting rod and crankshaft are missing, indicating that the engine was intentionally disassembled (Pranke, personal communication, May 2024).

If this engine does date to the early 1880s, then it predates the establishment of the Appleport complex. It may be noteworthy that Axel Appel is mentioned as owning a threshing machine in that time frame, though the type of machine is not recorded (*Door County Advocate* 1883c).



Figure 12: Russell & Co. steam engine parts on the lakebed near the pier.

The presence of disassembled steam engine parts on the lake bottom raises the question of how they got there. The accounts of the wreck of the *Emma Leighton* do not mention loss of equipment stored on the pier or on shipboard, though neither is out of the question. If this is not Axel Appel's threshing machine, it might have been brought in to run the complex's sawmill. Family memories of the Larson fishing operation do mention that Larson used the sawmill to make planks for crates and twine shacks (Carter 1985), and it is possible that the engine was sold along with the mill and other features of the property. If so, perhaps it is the Larsons who disassembled it and discarded unwanted components onto the lake.

Conclusions and Evaluation:

Appleport's history captures an economic transition from one extractive industry to another. Where forest products once were banked and shipped by schooner, fish were netted, processed, and hauled overland to Sturgeon Bay. Near the end, the Larson family passed through another

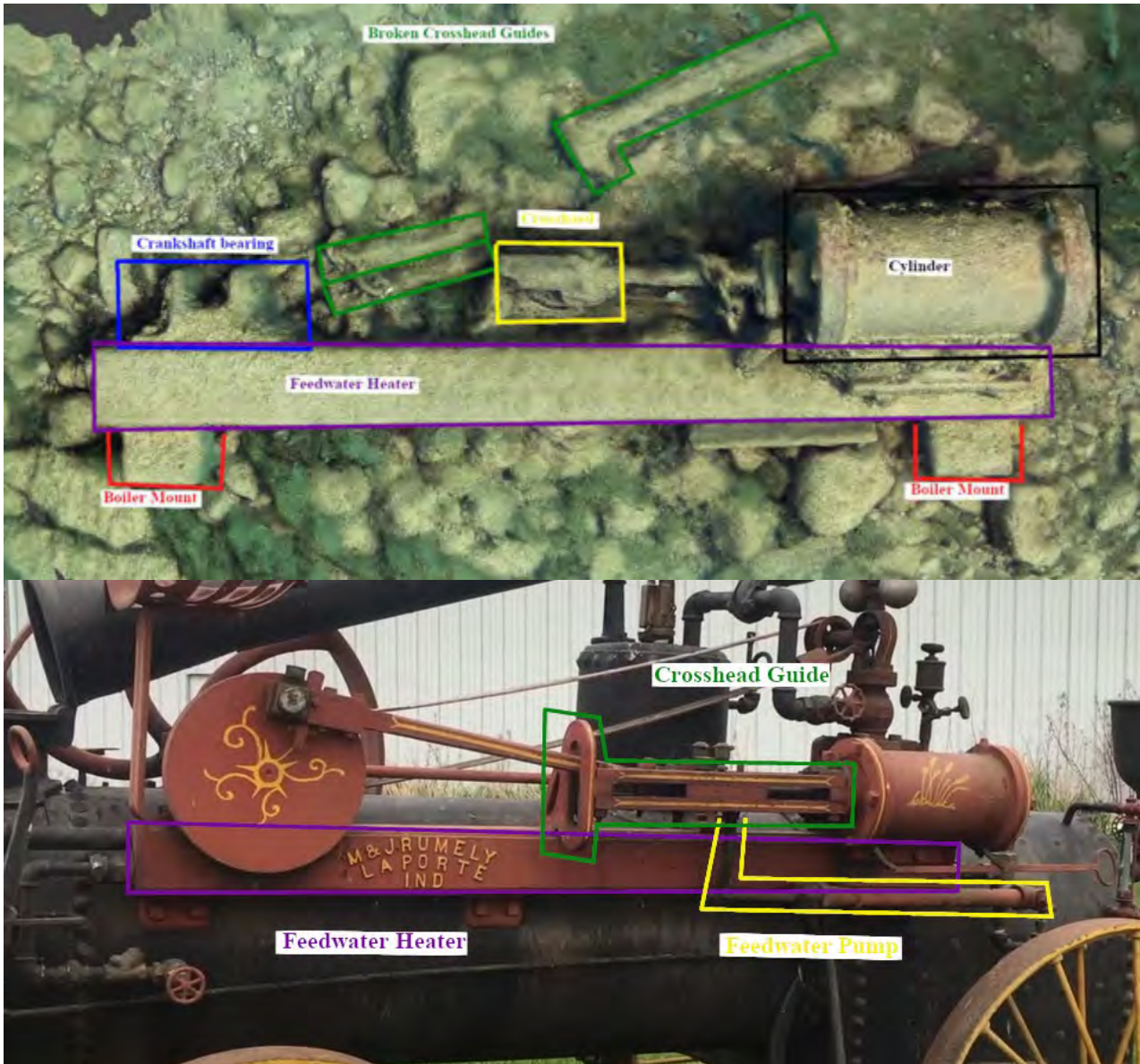


Figure 13: Annotated photograph of the Russell & Co. steam engine parts, with an annotated photograph of comparable parts on a portable steam engine made by the M. & J. Rumely company of La Porte, Indiana. Images courtesy of Tim Prahne.

economic transition, from fishing to fruit. The long-enduring scale of their efforts, and their choice to invest in agriculture, is unique among the documented pier sites in this study.

The identification of Appleport as Porth's Pier helped our team solve a regional mystery concerning the whereabouts of the schooner *Emma Leighton*. Period accounts placed the wreck's location at Porth's Pier "In Rowley's Bay". For some time, it was thought that Porth's Pier must be in that body of water, and thus the *Emma Leighton* must be as well. Repeated surveys, however, failed to find the wreck site. The names of the first two pier owners—Appel and Porth—and their conjoining to form the name 'Appleport' were the keys to solving the issue. Porth's pier was south of Rowley's Bay, and not within it. Our team was accordingly on the lookout for signs of a

shipwreck when survey commenced. We were not there long before a resident of one of the lakeshore homes came to visit and asked if we were there for the ship. She pointed out into the lake, and told us exactly where to find the *Emma Leighton*.

Given the poor condition of the pier and the lack of intact features relating to the complex on land, the Appleport Pier site is not considered to be eligible for listing on the National Register of Historic Places.

Chapter Three: *Emma Leighton (DR-0341)*

Service History

The schooner that made such an impact on Appleport was launched at Port Huron, Michigan on 25 April 1867. The scow schooner boasted one deck, two masts, a square stern cabin and a plain head. It measured 91.2 feet long, 21.3 feet wide and 6.8 feet depth. It was calculated at 82.36 tons, of which 80.79 tons capacity was under the tonnage deck and 1.57 tons of enclosures on the upper deck. The ship was constructed by Master builder Frank L. Leighton (Bureau of Navigation 1867; *Milwaukee Daily Sentinel* 1867a).

Frank Leighton was born in 1834 in Maine. Emma Leighton, the vessel's namesake, was the shipbuilder's wife. In Port Huron in this era, builders frequently moved from one shipyard and/or partnership to another. Frank Leighton is best-known for his partnership with Edmond F. Fitzgerald, the eldest of the famous "Six Fitzgerald Brothers" that each heavily influenced Great Lakes maritime interests. Fitzgerald was born in Ireland on 11 April 1818. He immigrated with his parents and siblings in 1836 and established residence in Port Huron in November 1837 where he engaged in lumbering and went on to sail ships from 1847 to 1866. In 1866 he established a shipyard at Port Huron. We do not know with certainty in which shipyard Leighton constructed *Emma Leighton*, but in early 1869 Fitzgerald and Leighton entered a formal partnership and established the firm Fitzgerald & Leighton Ship Building and Repairing. The firm was located on Merchant Street north of the ferry dock at the foot of Park Street in Port Huron. They maintained a dry dock facility and were dealers in ship materials, ship planks, timbers, deck planks, and spars. The Fitzgerald-Leighton partnership dissolved in 1873 and Leighton formed a new company with Thomas Dunford. In 1879 Leighton left shipbuilding and took employment as Inspector of Hulls for the U.S. Steamboat Inspection Service (Brown 1870; Cutler and Hirthe 1983; DeKrafft 1879; U.S. Census Bureau 1880a)

Emma Leighton was first enrolled on 4 May 1867 at the U.S. Customs House at Port Huron. The registration lists Anna S. Whitman as sole owner of the ship. Anna Whitman, born in 1828 in New Hampshire, was the wife of prominent Port Huron lumber merchant, Thomas R. Whitman. The 1860 and 1870 U.S. Census' lists her occupation as "keeping house". The fact that two Annas—Anna M. Porth and Anna S. Whitman—are listed as sole owners of commercial vessels is both unusual and noteworthy. Such ownership was illegal in Michigan, the home of Anna Whitman and the *Emma Leighton*, only twelve years prior to the vessel's enrollment. Anna Whitman and Anna Porth serve as excellent examples of the progression of women's rights during the nineteenth century, and how commercial enterprises took advantage of those rights. Ownership of vessels by women in the nineteenth century frequently involved men placing assets in their wives' name to avoid bankruptcy, debts, or legal claims. This is not likely the case for the Whitmans as the census indicates that the family enjoyed financial fluidity, but may well have been for Porths. That Anna Whitman took advantage of her state's rights by owning a vessel that hauled lumber for her husband's business is an important illustration of the evolving nineteenth-century Women's Suffrage Movement (Brehm 1987; Bureau of Navigation 1867; Michigan Legislature 1855; U.S. Census Bureau 1860; 1870a).

The vessel's first Master was Captain Ransom S. Holland. Captain Holland lived in Port Huron and was born in Michigan in February of 1841 (Bureau of Navigation 1867; U.S. Census 1870a; 1880b). The movements of the ship in May and June 1867 are not known. On 22 July, *Emma Leighton* cleared Cleveland light for Center Harbor, then the next day it cleared again for Saginaw, Michigan with 180 tons of coal. While in the Detroit River on 27 August 1867 the *Emma Leighton* was struck by the bark *W.T. Graves* in tow of the tug *General Burnside*. *Emma Leighton* lost its foremast, bowsprit, and head rigging in the collision, then began leaking so badly that it waterlogged and had to be taken to the shipyard in Malden (Amherstberg, Ontario) abreast of Detroit. The ship remained out of newsprint for the remainder of the season. It was listed among vessels laid up for the winter at Port Huron (*Cleveland Daily Herald* 1867a, 1867b; *Chicago Daily Tribune* 1867a, 1867b; *Semi Weekly Wisconsin* 1867).

Arrivals at Cleveland from Port Huron with lumber and clearings for Sand Beach with coal were recorded on 3 May, 30 May, and 2 June 1868 (*Cleveland Daily Herald* 1868a, 1868b, 1868c). On 21 August 1868 *Emma Leighton*'s official number (U.S. 8186) was assigned at the Buffalo Customs Office and written onto the margin of the ship's enrollment (Bureau of Navigation 1867). On 28 September the scow cleared Fremont, Ohio for Buffalo with lumber for West & Dana. The arrival at Buffalo went unrecorded. Another entry at Cleveland was noted on 8 November from Port Huron with 107,000 ft of lumber. The vessel spent the 1868–1869 winter in Port Huron (*Fremont Weekly Journal* 1868; *Milwaukee Daily Sentinel* 1867).

In 1869, the ship was reported at Cleveland on 3 May, 30 June, 4 August, and 18 August with arrivals from Port Huron and Alpena with 100,000 feet of lumber, clearing with 200 tons of coal for Detroit and Port Huron (*Cleveland Daily Herald* 1869a, 1869b, 1869c, 1869d). On 20 September, the ship cleared Buffalo for Toledo with 112 tons of coal. Captain Couch was recorded in command of the ship. The change in Master went unreported in the ship's documents. Captain Couch remained in command for the duration of the season. The scow arrived at Cleveland on 25 October delivering lumber from Port Huron before returning home and going into winter quarters at Port Huron (*Cleveland Daily Herald* 1869e; *Buffalo Commercial* 1869; *Buffalo Courier Express* 1869; *Milwaukee Daily Sentinel* 1869).

Newspapers reported a new Master at *Emma Leighton*'s helm at the start of the 1870 shipping season. Captain McFarland (likely Captain Daniel McFarland) was a 35-year-old career sailor. McFarland was born in 1835 in Nova Scotia, Canada. In his twenties, he began moving west for work on the lakes, and lived outside of Port Franks on Georgian Bay. In the late 1860s he immigrated to Port Huron (U.S. Census 1880b). Although reported in newsprint, the change in Master went unreported in the ship's documents. The vessel was recorded at Cleveland on 7 May, 14 May, 23 May, 19 June, and 21 June 1870. The ship arrived from Port Huron with lumber and cleared carrying coal bound for Port Hope and Detroit. The ship's movements during the summer months are not known. On 25 October, the scow was chartered to haul hay from Algonac to Alpena, and on 10 November it was chartered to carry lumber from Au Sauble to Sandusky (*Cleveland Daily Herald* 1870a, 1870b, 1870c, 1870d, 1870f; *Milwaukee Daily Sentinel* 1870a, 1870b).

At the opening of the 1871 season, *Emma Leighton* saw another change in command. Captain Wild took over the helm. Again, the change in Master went unreported in the ship's documents. Early movements of the scow are not known. On 12 July *Emma Leighton* arrived at Buffalo from Toledo with 50,000 barrel staves. The ship was then chartered to move a cargo of stone from Buffalo to Cleveland at \$3 per cord; it loaded and departed the next day. On 29 July the scow was chartered to carry barrel staves from Lexington to Buffalo at \$1.75 per 1000. At Buffalo the vessel took on 90 tons of horseshoes and brought them to Cleveland, arriving 21 August. On 2 September the ship was again chartered for barrel staves from Lexington to Buffalo and arrived at Buffalo on 5 September with 31,000 staves (*Buffalo Commercial* 1871a, 1871b; *Cleveland Daily Herald* 1871; *Milwaukee Daily Sentinel* 1871a, 1871b, 1871c).

On 19 April 1872, *Emma Leighton*'s enrollment was surrendered at the Detroit Customs House for a change in owners and district while away from its homeport. Temporary papers were issued to Captain Richard W. Williams. The ship was sold for \$5,000 to the Durr Brothers (Emil, Lewis, and Charles Durr) and August F. Mueller of Milwaukee. Each of the men were equal quarter-share owners and Milwaukee became its new homeport. The vessel arrived at Milwaukee on 21 May and a permanent enrollment was entered into the rolls (*Chicago Evening Mail* 1872; Bureau of Navigation 1872a, 1872b).

Emil Durr was 31 years old and principal in the newly formed firm Durr & Rugee (with partner, sash, door, and blind factory proprietor, John Rugee). Established at the start of 1872, they were wholesale and retail dealers in lumber, timber, lath, shingles, cedar posts, sash, doors, and blinds located on the corner of Fourth Avenue, Park, and Virginia streets in Milwaukee. Their stock was mostly obtained from Michigan and Wisconsin pineries, and by 1880 their annual sales totaled about \$150,000. Emil's brothers and ship financiers were Lewis Durr, a 26-year-old bookkeeper at the *Milwaukee Sentinel* newspaper and Charles Durr, a 23-year-old hardware store clerk. Although of German heritage all the Durr brothers were born in Wisconsin. Along with the Durr brothers was partner, August F. Mueller, a 30-year-old bookkeeper at John P. Kissinger wine and liquors wholesaler. He was born in Hanover, Germany and immigrated in 1855 (Andreas 1881; Thickens 1872; U.S. Census 1870b).

Nearly a full season of port records exists for the 1872 season, indicating that the vessel was put into typical service as part of Lake Michigan's lumber fleet, bringing wooden goods to Milwaukee and ferrying sundries and manufactured items north in return. On 20 May 1872 *Emma Leighton* cleared Milwaukee for Manistee with sundries. The ship returned to Milwaukee on 3 June arrived with 100,000 feet of lumber from Manistee. On 6 June the scow was chartered to haul 184,167 feet of scantlings and joints to Manistee for E.B. Simpson, and it cleared the port on 12 June for Manistee. On 24 June the ship was chartered to fetch a cargo of joists and boards from Manistee for B.K. Bickford & Co. of Chicago (*Chicago Evening Post* 1872a; *Milwaukee Daily Sentinel* 1872a, 1872b, 1872c, 1872d).

The scow schooner arrived at Milwaukee on 1 July with 75,000 feet of lumber, unloaded and cleared the same day for Manistee. The next arrival at Milwaukee was recorded on 11 July with 90,000 feet of lumber from Manistee. On 15 July it was chartered to carry 82,000 scantling, joists, and edge boards from Filler City to Milwaukee. An arrival at Chicago with 85,000 feet of lumber was entered on 31 July and they were unloaded and chartered the same day to bring 20-24 foot

deck load lumber from Tyler City and a hold full of mill-run joists and scantlings to be sold by Simpson, Ruddicks & Co (*Chicago Evening Post* 1872b; *Milwaukee Daily Sentinel* 1872e, 1872f, 1872g, 1872h).

On 21 August the vessel was chartered to haul 87,000 feet of scantlings and joists from Manistee to Milwaukee. It brought the cargo to Milwaukee on 25 August. The ship unloaded and left the same day for Manistee. On 30 August *Emma Leighton* was chartered to carry 81,000 scantlings, joists, and small timber under 20 feet from Filler City to Milwaukee. Its entry at Milwaukee went unrecorded. *Emma Leighton* next arrived at Milwaukee from Manistee on 5 September with 85,000 feet of lumber and cleared for a return trip to Manistee the same day with 31 barrels of flour. On 12 September the vessel entered Milwaukee from Manistee with 90,000 feet of lumber. Another arrival from Manistee at Milwaukee was recorded on 20 September with 90,000 feet of lumber and the scow unloaded and cleared the same day for White Lake, Michigan (*Milwaukee Daily Sentinel* 1872i, 1872j, 1872k, 1872l, 1872m, 1872m).

When *Emma Leighton* came into Chicago on 1 October it was leaking heavily. The leak started aft of its deadwood, and it was taken to the dry dock for repairs. The ship was back in service in short order. It returned home and cleared Milwaukee for Manistee on 3 October. On the next arrival at Milwaukee, the scow schooner went to the Customs House to register a new Master; now in command was Captain John Hughes, a 31-year-old English-born captain (Bureau of Navigation 1872b; *Detroit Free Press* 1872; *Inter Ocean* 1872; *Milwaukee Daily Sentinel* 1872o; Thickens 1874)

On 24 October the scow was chartered for Manistee to collect a cargo of small timber, scantling, and joists. Its arrival at Milwaukee went unrecorded. Its next entry was 31 October from Ludington with 85,000 feet of lumber. The ship was unloaded and cleared the same day for Manistee. On 7 November the ship brought 90,000 feet of lumber from Manistee. It unloaded and cleared the same day for a return to Manistee. And again, on 12 November it brought 85,000 feet of lumber to Milwaukee from Manistee, unloaded, and cleared the same day for the return trip to Manistee. Its last entry at Milwaukee was not reported, but the ship wintered in the city (*Milwaukee Daily Sentinel* 1872p, 1872q, 1872r, 1872s, 1872t).

Another new Master was appointed at the start of the 1873 season. Captain Robert Turnbull Linklater took the helm when Captain Hughes left to command a tug. Captain Linklater was 33 years old, born in Scotland on 31 January 1838. He was a career sailor who immigrated in 1852 and was naturalized in 1867 (Bureau of Navigation 1872b; U.S. Census 1870b, 1880c). The *Emma Leighton* made 22 trips to White Lake with Linklater at the helm between 18 April and 18 August, each time bringing 90,000 feet of lumber to Milwaukee (*Milwaukee Daily Sentinel* 1873a, 1873b, 1873c, 1873d, 1873e, 1873f, 1873g, 1873h, 1873i, 1873j, 1873k, 1873l, 1873m, 1873n, 1873o, 1873p, 1873q, 1873s, 1873t, 1873u, 1873v, 1873x, 1873y, 1873z, 1873aa). Two accidents occurred during this time. On 18 June 1873 *Emma Leighton* was run into by the steambarge *W.T. Graves*—the same ship that collided with the scow in 1867, but now upgraded to a propellor ship. In the collision *Emma Leighton*'s bowsprit was lifted and its rail was badly broken, as were its jibboom, timberhead, and stanchions. *W.T. Graves* had no watchman on duty at the time of the collision and its captain took full responsibility for the accident (*Buffalo Commercial* 1873; *Milwaukee Daily Sentinel* 1873r). On the evening of 7 July 1873, the brig *N.M. Standart* collided

with the *Emma Leighton* in the Menominee River (Milwaukee). *N.M Standart* was in tow of a harbor tug enroute to the grain elevator. The brig lost its cathead and jibboom. The *Emma Leighton's* fore-shrouds were carried away and its rudder stock was broken (*Chicago Daily Tribune* 1873; *Milwaukee Daily Sentinel* 1873w). Both times, damages were repaired, and the scow was returned to service in short order.

On 26 August the scow delivered 90,000 feet of lumber from White Lake to Milwaukee. Between 15 September and the end of the month, *Emma Leighton* made five trips to Manistee. Each time 90,000 feet of lumber was delivered to Milwaukee, unloaded, and cleared on the same day for a return trip (*Milwaukee Daily Sentinel* 1873ab, 1873ac, 1873ad, 1873ae, 1873af). Lumber was brought from Grand Traverse, Clay Banks, and Sister Bay through the end of the season, and the ship wintered over at Milwaukee (*Milwaukee Daily Sentinel* 1873ag, 1873ah, 1873ai, 1873aj, 1873ak, 1873al).

At the start of the 1874 season, yet another new Master was appointed. Captain S.A. Rees took command from Captain Linklater (Bureau of Navigation). Throughout 1874 the vessel delivered lumber cargos from Muskegon, White Lake, Manistee, Ludington, Racine, Pentwater, and Bass Lake (*Milwaukee Daily Sentinel* 1874a, 1874b, 1874c, 1874d, 1874e, 1874f, 1874g, 1874h, 1874i, 1874j, 1874k, 1874l, 1874m, 1874n, 1874o, 1874p, 1874q, 1874r, 1874s, 1874t, 1874u, 1874v, 1874w, 1874x, 1874y, 1874z). Most cargos were shipped to Milwaukee with arrival, unloading and clearing on the same day, but on two occasions the vessel delivered lumber to Chicago from Ludington (*Daily Inter Ocean* 1874a, 1874b). The ship laid up for the season at Milwaukee on 7 December (*Cleveland Daily Herald* 1874; *Daily Inter Ocean* 1874c; *Detroit Tribune* 1874).

On 3 May 1875, *Emma Leighton's* enrollment was surrendered at the port of Milwaukee for a change in owners. The ship was sold for \$4,000 to Norwegian-born, career sailor Captain John Johnson of Milwaukee, but yet again a woman—Hannah C. Johnson, Captain Johnson's wife—was listed as sole owner. Captain Johnson became its new Master. The ship's homeport and all other measurements and descriptions remained the same. Hannah C. Johnson was 37 years old, born in Norway. According to the 1880 U.S. Census, her occupation was listed as "keeping house" (Bureau of Navigation 1875; *Chicago Daily Tribune* 1875; *Daily Inter Ocean* 1875a, 1875b; *Milwaukee Daily Sentinel* 1875a; U.S. Census Bureau 1880c).

On 4 May 1875 the ship cleared for Ludington to collect its first cargo of the season. In May and June, the scow delivered lumber to Milwaukee mostly from Ludington, but shipments were also received from Manistee, White Lake, Clay Banks, and Egg Harbor (*Milwaukee Daily Sentinel* 1875b, 1875c, 1875d, 1875e, 1875f, 1875g, 1875g, 1875h, 1875i, 1875j, 1875k, 1875l, 1875m, 1875n, 1875o, 1875p). One delivery to Chicago from Ludington was made each month in June, July, and August, and two in September (*Daily Inter Ocean* 1875c, 1875d, 1875e, 1875f, 1875g). At the end of the year, *Emma Leighton* was again amongst the winter fleet at Milwaukee (*Milwaukee Daily Sentinel* 1875q).

Emma Leighton started the 1876 season by receiving general maintenance at the Milwaukee Dry Dock Company on 8 April. Nine shipments of lumber, strips, and boards were delivered to Chicago, Milwaukee, and Kenosha from Ludington, May through September. The 90,000 feet of lumber delivered to Kenosha was consigned to Zalmon Simmons. The ship's movements are

unknown for October and November, but by 13 December it was again in winter quarters in Milwaukee (*Daily Inter Ocean* 1876a, 1876b, 1876c, 1876d, 1876e; *Kenosha Telegraph* 1876; *Milwaukee Daily Sentinel* 1876a, 1876b, 1876c, 1876d, 1876e).

In 1877, lumber, strips, and board shipments continued from Ludington to Chicago, Milwaukee and Racine. The *Emma Leighton* lost a considerable portion of its deckload of lumber during an early November gale on Lake Michigan. In the storm the ship also had its staysail blown away. Captain Johnson decided after the storm to put his ship up for the winter at Milwaukee rather than push later into the season (*Daily Inter Ocean* 1877a, 1877b; *Milwaukee Daily Sentinel* 1877a, 1877b, 1877c, 1877d, 1877e).

Emma Leighton carried several cargoes of lumber, strips and boards to Milwaukee from Ludington in May and June 1878. On 15 July 1878 the ship entered the dry dock at the Milwaukee Shipyard Company again to stem a persistent leak. The movements of the ship are not known for July or August. In September, the scow delivered a cargo of 95,000 strips and boards at Milwaukee. The vessel eluded newsprint in October and by 16 November the ship was put away in winter quarters at Milwaukee (*Milwaukee Daily News* 1878; *Milwaukee Daily Sentinel* 1878a, 1878b, 1878c, 1878d, 1878e, 1878f, 1878g; *Daily Inter Ocean* 1878).

In 1879 *Emma Leighton* delivered cargoes of lumber to Milwaukee and Chicago from Ludington, White Lake, and Muskegon. The Board of Lake Underwriters gave the ship a B2 insurance rating and a value of \$1,400 (BLU 1879; *Daily Inter Ocean* 1879a, 1879b; *Milwaukee Daily Sentinel* 1879a, 1879b).

The vessel's first arrival for the 1880 season was recorded at Milwaukee on 16 April. Twelve deliveries of lumber, strips and boards from Ludington, split equally between Chicago and Milwaukee, were recorded that season. One cargo was delivered at Racine. An accident occurred on 2 June in Milwaukee harbor when the schooner *A.G. Morey* collided with the *Emma Leighton*. The scow's jibboom was broken and the strain upon its lines also broke its rail. The scow was repaired and returned to service with little delay (*Daily Inter Ocean* 1880a, 1880b, 1880c, 1880d, 1880e, 1880f; *Milwaukee Daily Sentinel* 1880a, 1880b, 1880c, 1880d, 1880e, 1880f, 1880g; *Racine Daily Argus* 1880).

Emma Leighton's first lumber cargo of the 1881 season was delivered to Kenosha on 29 April 1881; there Edward Bain received a load of hard pine (*Kenosha Telegraph* 1881). In May the ship made trips from Grand Haven to Chicago, but by the end of May, the ship was calling at Sturgeon Bay for lumber for Milwaukee. In June the scow was chartered to haul lumber from Manistee to Milwaukee. The vessel then sailed for Egg Harbor. On 5 August 1881, *Emma Leighton* sailed through a strong gale from the northeast and lost 500 ties from its deck cargo as it was bound for Milwaukee. Beginning in mid-August, the ship collected several loads of cedar bark and ties from Baileys Harbor. In September the scow fetched lumber from Ludington. While returning to Milwaukee from its second trip to Ludington the ship experienced another strong northeast gale and lost its foremast top. In October *Emma Leighton* collected cargoes at Baileys Harbor and Muskegon for the Milwaukee lumber market. Then, unexpectedly, on 28 October the ship was stripped and put up early for the winter (*Chicago Daily Tribune* 1881; *Cleveland Daily Herald* 1881a, 1881b; *Daily Inter Ocean* 1881a, 1881b, 1881c, 1881d; *Door County Advocate* 1881;

Milwaukee Daily Sentinel 1881a, 1881b, 1881c, 1881d, 1881e, 1881f, 1881g, 1881h, 1881i, 1881j).

The vessel departed Milwaukee harbor for Saugatuck, Michigan on 21 April 1881. It left light on its first run of the season (*Daily Inner Ocean* 1882a; *Milwaukee Daily Sentinel* 1882a). In May and June the ship called at Ludington delivering five lumber cargos to Milwaukee (*Milwaukee Daily Sentinel* 1881b, 1881c, 1881d, 1881e, 1881f). Two cargos of boards were collected at Muskegon and brought to Racine. The ship was next chartered to haul a cargo of lumber from Norwood, Michigan to Manitowoc. *Emma Leighton* collected several cargos from Muskegon and Ludington in July comprised of pickets, Norway strips and boards. Through the middle of August 1882, the ship traveled to Baileys Harbor and Egg Harbor for cordwood and bark. In September the scow collected lumber at Muskegon and Ludington. No information on the vessel's movements in October or November were located (*Daily Inter Ocean* 1881b, 1881c, 1881d; *Milwaukee Daily Sentinel* 1882g, 1882h, 1882i, 1882j, 1882k, 1882l, 1882m, 1882n, 1882o, 1882p, 1882q, 1882r, 1882s, 1882t).

In March 1883, *Emma Leighton* was sold to George C. Thompson of Milwaukee for \$1,558. George C. Thompson was a career sailor, born in Hamburg, Germany on 24 March 1824 and lived on Milwaukee's Jones Island (also known as Fisherman's Island). Before the paperwork was updated to show the change in owner, the vessel sailed for Juddville, Wisconsin. Several trips between Milwaukee and Juddville were made in April and May. On one trip the ship had to turn back to Sturgeon Bay to seek shelter from a storm. Near the end of May and into June the scow collected lumber from Muskegon and Leland, Michigan for Milwaukee (*Door County Advocate* 1883a; *Milwaukee Daily Sentinel* 1883a, 1883b, 1883c, 1883d, 1883e, 1883f; U.S. Census 1880d).

On 13 June 1881, *Emma Leighton's* enrollment was updated at Milwaukee's customs house, registering George C. Thompson as sole owner and Master. Milwaukee remained the ship's homeport and all other information remained unchanged (Bureau of Navigation 1883). That same day, the ship was chartered to carry cordwood from Leland to Milwaukee at \$1.90 per cord. In July the ship brought lumber from Muskegon, Baileys Harbor and Portage (*Milwaukee Daily Sentinel* 1883g, 1883h, 1883i, 1883j). In Milwaukee harbor on 27 July, the *Emma Leighton* was struck by the schooner *Transit*. The *Transit* was in tow of a tug when its towlines parted near the Cherry Street Bridge. The *Transit* became caught in the current and before the tug could recover the schooner, it crashed into the *Emma Leighton* lying at the dock. The scow's headgear was carried away, and the schooner lost part of its sails (*Milwaukee Daily Sentinel* 1883k; *Milwaukee Journal* 1883).

For the remainder of the season *Emma Leighton* carried lumber from Muskegon to Port Washington and from Bailey Harbor, Fish Creek, Ludington, Jacksonport, and Sturgeon Bay to Milwaukee. The ship was windbound at Racine on 9 October 1883 to wait out a gale from the southeast (*Door County Advocate* 1883b; *Milwaukee Daily Sentinel* 1883l, 1883m, 1883n, 1883o, 1883p, 1883q, 1883r, 1883s, 1883t, 1883u). By 6 December the ship was stripped for the season and tied up in Milwaukee harbor (*Marine Record* 1883; *Milwaukee Daily Sentinel* 1883v).

On 22 February 1884 Captain Thompson sold quarter-interest in the scow to Martin Anderson of Milwaukee for \$280 (*Lake Shore Times* 1884; *Milwaukee Daily Sentinel* 1884a, 1884b). Its

enrollment was surrendered at the port of Milwaukee on 8 March for the change in owner arrangement and a new document was entered. Although Anderson was a sailor born in Norway about 1832, and immigrated in 1861, the registration document noted that George C. Thompson would remain the scow's Master. Additionally, tonnage deductions were made under the Act of 5 August 1882 of 4.11 tons for a new net tonnage of 78.25 tons (Bureau of Navigation 1884; US Census 1870b, 1880c). In 1884, *Emma Leighton* was not eligible for insurance and was given an OO rating (Polk 1884). During the season, trips were made to Baileys Harbor, Raesser's Pier in Sturgeon Bay, Ludington, Good Harbor, Portage, Charlevoix, Egg Harbor, Pierport, and Whitefish Bay to collect cordwood and lumber for the Milwaukee market (*Milwaukee Daily Sentinel* 1884c, 1884d, 1884e, 1884f, 1884g, 1884h, 1884j, 1884k, 1884l, 1884m, 1884n, 1884o, p, 1884q, 1884r, 1884s, 1884t, 1884v, 1884w, 1884x, 1884y, 1884z, 1884ab, 1884ac; *Milwaukee Journal* 1884b; *Weekly Expositor Independent* 1884).

Several incidents occurred during the 1884 season. At 2:00 in the afternoon on 24 June 1884, *Emma Leighton* was hauling a cargo of bark taken on at Good Harbor through thick fog that blanketed the channel between the Manitou Islands and Sleeping Bear Dunes. In the murk, the *Emma Leighton* collided with the grain schooner *Samana*. Both vessels were sounding signals. The *Samana* was running before the wind. *Emma Leighton* was on a starboard tack and had the right-of-way. *Emma Leighton* lost its jibboom and bowsprit. The *Samana* lost its mainsail, which was split by the scow's jibboom, and came away from the collision with damaged rail and davits and a missing yawl. Captain Thompson asked how the other Master was going to settle for damages, and received the reply that "he would see him later" (*Milwaukee Daily Sentinel* 1884i; *Milwaukee Journal* 1884a). On 24 September, *Emma Leighton* nearly foundered in a gale while trying to make the Manitous. Signals of distress were answered by the *D.P Hall* and the scow was towed by a tug to Frankfort, Michigan. The tow was harrowing as the line parted three times. Little damage to the scow was sustained as the vessel made Milwaukee with its wood cargo from Charlevoix on 29 September (*Milwaukee Daily Sentinel* 1884u, 1884v). Finally, on 27 October the ship was forced to wait out a southwest blow at anchor in Baileys Harbor (*Milwaukee Daily Sentinel* 1884aa). The ship overwintered at Milwaukee (*Marine Record* 1884).

On 13 February 1885, Martin Anderson sold his quarter-share in the vessel to Captain Porth for \$280 and on 17 April Captain Thompson sold his quarter-interest for \$300 (*Milwaukee Daily Sentinel* 1885a, 1885b). A new enrollment was issued for the *Emma Leighton* at the port of Milwaukee on 28 April 1885 confirming George C. Thompson and Porth as equal co-owners (Bureau of Navigation 1885). The purchase of the *Emma Leighton* added another ship to Porth's fleet.

On 8 September, 1885, the *Emma Leighton* arrived at Appleport to pick up a cargo of lumber at the pier. The vessel tied up and workmen started to load. Just as they did so, a strong gale howled in from the east-northeast, driving heavy seas towards the exposed pier. Captain Thompson ordered his crew to cast off and anchor in safer waters offshore. Sixty fathoms of chain were put out, but the anchors dragged in the force of the gale. The scow, at the mercy of the wind, crashed through the well-built pier. Remarkably, the vessel struck with enough force to carry away seven of the heavy stone-filled cribs that supported the pier decking. The ship's windlass was torn out before the ship was thrown on the beach. In the news accounts of the accident, it was indicated that Captain Thompson had a gentleman's agreement with Mate Charles Olson by which he shared his

ownership the vessel, although the ships documents do not reflect this information, and Porth is listed as the only co-owner. *Emma Leighton* was a total loss. The scow was valued at \$1,200. Its cargo of 40 cords of wood aboard totaled \$60. Its enrollment was surrendered at the port of Milwaukee on 30 September 1885 (Bureau of Navigation 1885; *Door County Advocate* 1885; *Marine Record* 1885; *Milwaukee Daily Sentinel* 1885q). In the aftermath, fragments of the ship and pier, along with any items stored on the pier itself, were strewn over the lake bottom or floated on the water's surface.

Site Description

What little remains of the scow schooner *Emma Leighton*'s lies 330 feet offshore, in the waters of Lake Michigan, 140 feet north of the terminus of Appleport Road (45°11.153' N, -087°02.423' W) (see Figure 5). The wreckage lays perpendicular to shore on a north-south heading, in three feet of water. As noted in the last chapter, the shipwreck pieces were reported to our team by a local cottage owner. Maritime archaeologists visited the site on 25 July 2023 and 20 September 2023. The fragments lie in very shallow water within the surf zone, where there is a lack of quagga mussel colonization on the wreckage. In periods of low water, the fragments are exposed to the open air.

A 19-foot long, 4.5-foot-wide section of the ship's centerboard was found lying flat on the lakebed and perpendicular to shore (Figure 14). The piece is comprised of four boards that are through bolted. The boards are very weathered alternating 0.6 feet and 0.9 feet wide. These planks are 0.15 feet thick. A singular board, associated with the centerboard was located 90 feet northwest of the larger centerboard fragment (Figure 15). That board measures 20.2 feet-long and 1.0 feet wide and has six associated drift pins that extend from both sides of the plank.

Other fragments of the vessel, including a deadeye and chain plate and a hawse pipe (Figure 16), are scattered in the debris field that extends northwestward from the line of the pier. It is likely that these items form part of a much wider scatter. The *Emma Leighton* is noted as having destroyed seven of the pier's heavy stone cribs on her passage through the structure, and striking hard enough to tear vital components from the body of the ship. Given the violence of the collision, and the effects of waves and ice breaking up the vessel in the ensuing years, it would be surprising if more items are not strewn across the shore. A full survey of the debris field is recommended should future investigations be conducted at this location.

Conclusions and Evaluation

Given the poor condition of the wreck, it is not considered to be eligible for listing on the National Register of Historic Places.



Figure 14: The centerboard for the Emma Leighton in 2023, during a period of high water. Note diver standing next to the centerboard.



Figure 15: A centerboard fragment from the Emma Leighton during a period of low water. Photograph courtesy of Eric Bonow.



Figure 17: A hawse pipe in the Emma Leighton's debris field.

Chapter Four

Mud Bay Quarry Company (Toft Point) (DR-0512)

Introduction: From Extractive Industry to Conservation

The Toft Point site retains one of the richest terrestrial components to be found among the lost rural ports of Wisconsin's Lake Michigan coast. Maritime resources include the quarry wharf and the associated remains of the schooner *Ebenezer*. The terrestrial portion of the complex is preserved in nearly pristine condition within the Toft Point State Natural Area, and includes the quarry, stockpiled stone, a lime kiln, worker's housing, icehouse, and structures built for the Toft Point Resort.

The Mud Bay Quarry Company and the Toft Point Resort

Location and Setting

The Toft Point site is located just over two miles (as the crow flies) northeast of downtown Bailey's Harbor, within the Toft Point State Natural Area. The site area is situated on Toft Point, on the south shore of Mud Bay (Figure 17). Wetlands are present to the west and northwest, and in the Ridges Sanctuary that separates the complex from Bailey's Harbor. As with all of the rural port sites in this study, the site area was thickly forested at the time the port was founded. It is the only port in this study that retains its forest cover today. The site location has not been developed for residential or commercial purposes, and retains the highest degree of archaeological integrity of any of the rural ports investigated by the Wisconsin Historical Society to date (Figure 18).

History

The Quarry Years

In 1870, the lime works firm of Buckley & Wing of Manistee, Michigan, purchased the land that would become the Toft Point State Natural Area, with the intention of quarrying high-quality limestone that outcrops along the shore (Figure 19). The stone was destined either for the lime kilns of Manistee, or pier cribs along the Lake Michigan coast (*Door County Advocate* 1871a, 1871b). The venture had the potential to be a profitable one. As Roy Lukes points out in his wide-ranging history of Toft Point, just fifty cribs consumed \$10,500 worth of crib fill—or more—at contemporary prices (Lukes 1998:17). Adjusting for inflation, that figure rises to a quarter of a million dollars today.

After only a few years of operation, however, financial troubles shut the company down (*Door County Advocate* 1874a). Numerous lawsuits were filed by quarry workers and others seeking promised wages (*Door County Advocate* 1871d, 1874, 8 July 1875). Most of the reported amounts are not far below the average annual wages of an unskilled worker at that time, though noticeably below the average national wage for quarrymen (Abbot 1905:366). Thomas Karsten Toft, the on-site manager of the Mud Bay facility, requested substantially more (*Door County Advocate* 1874b).



Figure 17: Location of Toft Point, from the 1899 Plat Map of Door County (Randall 1899), showing relation and distance to Baileys Harbor. The pier to the east across Mud Bay is the Bous Point lumber pier.

Mud Bay Quarry Dock DR-0512
and Schooner *Ebenezer* DR-0336
Door County, Wisconsin

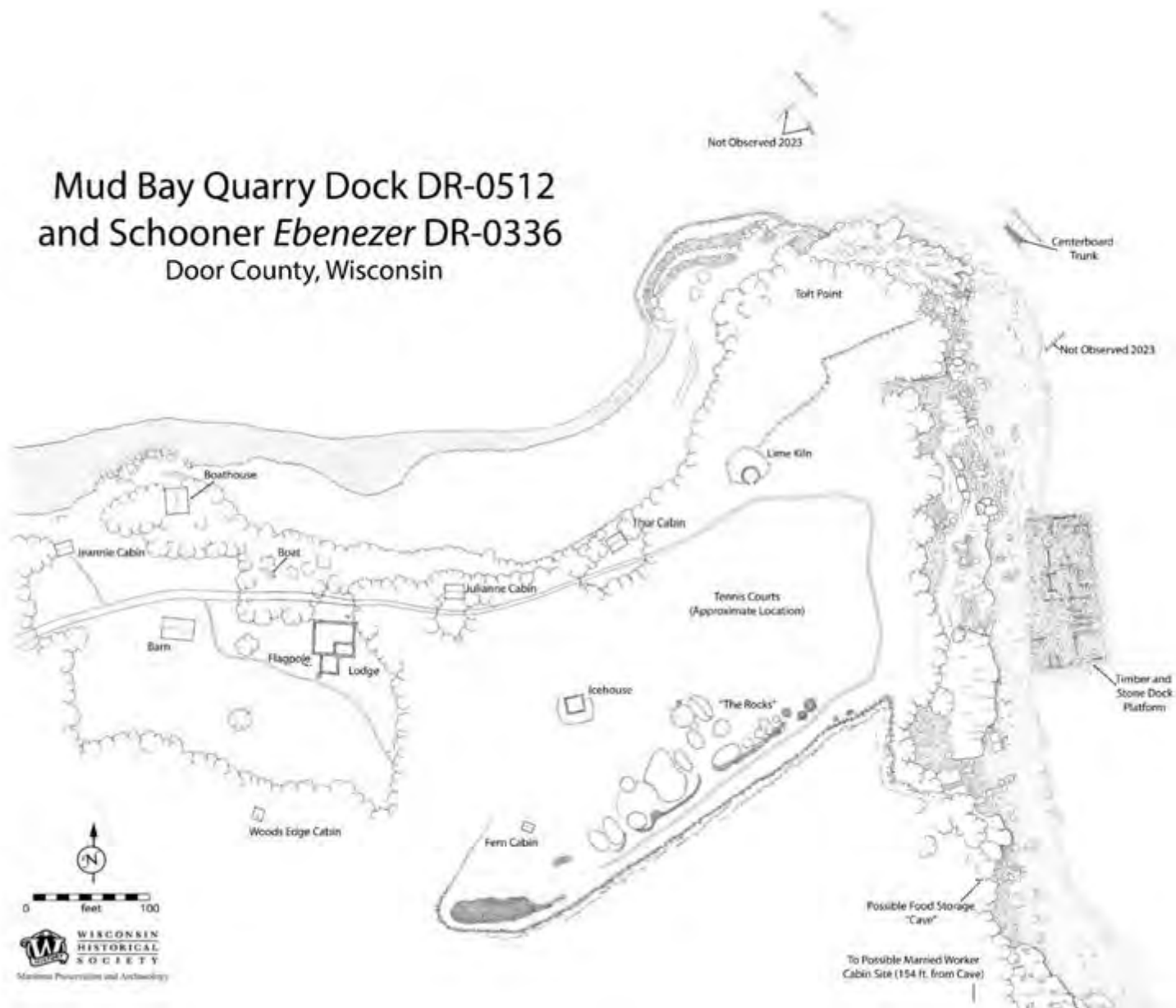


Figure 18: 2023–2024 map of Toft Point, showing structures and archaeological features.



Figure 19: The shoreline at the Mud Bay Co. quarry wharf (submerged to left) at Toft Point.

Thomas Toft had been responsible for management of the local workforce, overseeing quarry operations, and supervising loading of vessels that came to call (Goode 2004, Luke 1998:17). With Buckley & Wing's bankruptcy, the company's assets and lands were seized, and portions of the property were put up for auction to satisfy Toft's claim. In the end, it was Toft himself who took possession of the land, with the first two parcels transferring into his ownership in 1875 (Lukes 1998:248).

Giles Wing and a different Buckley (Jeremiah vs. Edward) signed a contract to buy stone from Mud Bay in April of 1881 (*Door County Advocate* 1881a). The following shipping season, the firm of "Bedford (Jeremiah again) & Buckley," dealers in lime, stone, and coal, came to call instead. L. R. McLachlan, owner of a quarry in Sturgeon Bay, sub-contracted to Mud Bay to fill his own orders (*Door County Advocate* 1881a, 1881b; Holand 1917:167; *Independent* 1881). Shipments of stone from the Mud Bay quarry were loaded onto stone scows and towed by tugs across Lake Michigan. In the early part of the 1882 season, enough of Mud Bay's stone was fed into Manistee's lime kilns to produce ninety barrels of lime each day (*Door County Advocate* 1882a). Toft had "seven or eight" quarrymen on his payroll. With their help, 40 to 50 cords of

stone could be loaded onto the stone scows in a morning's or evening's work (*Door County Advocate* 1882b).

The Toft family kept memories of the quarry life alive and relayed them to author Roy Lukes (1998). Some of Toft's small workforce lived on site. There were two cabins near the quarry reserved specially for married workers and their families. Others traveled to the quarry from farms and homes. One worker, William Tishler, stayed at Toft Point during the work week, then returned to his farm six-and-a-half miles away on the weekends (Lukes 1998:31). Unmarried men lived in the main house and everyone ate there in a lean-to kitchen. The quarrymen's families kept a garden nearer the eastern shore of the point and stored perishable foods in a small cave on the shore. Workers drank straight from Lake Michigan or pulled water from a spring in the quarry floor or a well near the kitchen (Lukes 1998:25–28, 137).

Bedford & Buckley favored the Mud Bay stone for their kilns. They claimed it burned faster and produced a higher grade of lime (*Expositor Independent* 1884). Those in the know extolled Mud Bay's stone as "the best that is to be found anywhere" when it came to lime production (*Door County Advocate* 1889). Though there were larger and better-situated quarries in Sturgeon Bay, and the opening of the Sturgeon Bay ship canal allowed them to ship directly to Lake Michigan without having to pass through Death's Door at the tip of the Door Peninsula, the distinctive qualities of Mud Bay's limestone helped it weather the competition. The Mud Bay quarry was described as having "all the orders [Toft] can take care of" in May of 1889 (*Independent* 1889). Toft, for his part, built a lime kiln of his own on the property (Lukes 1998:28).

The 1892 season was the quarry's last. The quarry fell silent and nature began to reclaim it for its own. Stacks of stone waited in the woods and on the shorelines for schooners and stone scows that would never come. A storm in 1905 destroyed the timber superstructure of the quarry dock and scattered it along the shore (Lukes 1998:85). Thomas Toft moved his family into Bailey's Harbor. They continued to visit Toft Point, however, and their connection to it remained strong.

Rebirth—The Toft Point Resort

Thomas Toft added to his family's holdings during and after the quarry years. Surrounding acreage was purchased from neighbors or acquired via quit claim deeds. Toft did not intend to log any of it. Emma Toft, daughter of Thomas and wife Julia Anne, remembered that her mother had a deep appreciation for nature (Lukes 1998:52–53). The same appreciation was shared by Thomas Toft and instilled into their children. All around Mud Bay and Bailey's Harbor, timber was cut and sold, with some parcels logged over several times until nothing remotely salable was left. Moses Kilgore, owner of Kilgore's pier on the north side of Bailey's Harbor and one of the leading timber merchants in the village, owned timberlands that directly bordered the Toft properties. The arrival of the lumber firm of Chipman and Roesser in 1880 and their subsequent lease of Kilgore's pier accelerated the pace of timbering in the region.

As the surrounding forests fell, the timber on Toft Point attracted more and more unwanted attention. An 1897 letter from Julia Anne Toft to son Will, away at a lumber camp in the Upper Peninsula of Michigan, reported on offers to buy the timber and quarry dock from the Tofts. The proposed purchase price of the quarry dock was \$100. Julia Anne reported that her husband

“would not take the stone off the dock for that” (Lukes 1998:62). In 1919, Thomas Toft suffered a fatal stroke. The family blamed ongoing disputes over the timber and the accompanying stress for his death (*Door County Advocate* 1919; Lukes 1998:68).

Julia Anne and the Toft children (all adults by 1919) debated the future of their family in the aftermath of their father’s passing. Julia Anne had no dependable source of income, and land disputes were still ongoing. A succession of surveyors shifted their property line back and forth before the Wisconsin Supreme Court ruled in favor of the Tofts in 1925 (Lukes 1998:69–70). The sale of Toft Point or the timber that stood upon it would have brought some financial relief, but to part with the land or damage its beauty was unthinkable.

A solution to their woes was hit upon immediately. Tourists were already arriving in Bailey’s Harbor from the southern cities. They sought cooler air and spiritual refreshment on Lake Michigan’s shores. Julia Anne and the Toft children rented out the buildings at the quarry complex, birthing what would become known as the Toft Point Resort. The two-story building that once housed the Toft family and single workmen was remodeled and transformed into a porch-fronted lodge with guest rooms on the second floor. Thomas and Julia Anne’s bedroom became a dining room. A chicken coop became a cabin. New cabins were built using timber gleaned from dead trees. A boathouse and ice house were built (Lukes 1998).

Roy Lukes, historian of Toft Point, described the resort as “undeniably...one of the finest of the rustic summer resorts in the long history of Door County tourism” (Lukes 1998:86). It was rustic to be sure, with no electricity or running water. The cabins were spartan, but guests came. They came to fish, to walk in the woods and picnic on the lakeshore, to take small boats out on the waters of Mud Bay, and to enjoy the cooking the resort offered. Many members of the growing Toft family contributed. They built the cabins, cooked the food, stocked the icehouse, handled the laundry, cleaned the rooms and the fish that the guests brought in, tended the gardens, and foraged for berries and fish to serve. The resort welcomed guests for more than fifty years before the family sold it to the Nature Conservancy (Lukes 1998). The property has since been transferred into the hands of the University of Wisconsin Board of Regents and is designated as a State Natural Area.

2023 Fieldwork

Wisconsin Historical Society Staff made several trips to this location in 2023 and 2024 to document the wide range of surviving features (see Figure 18). Both traditional maritime and terrestrial mapping methods were utilized, supplemented with georeferencing using LiDAR, GPS, and aerial photographs. 3D models were created for select features, such as the lime kiln, a portion of the quarry wall, stockpiled stone, a stone wall, and the foundation of the Toft residence/lodge. All features were photographed with the exception of the quarry dock. Photography of that feature was not possible due to poor water clarity at the time of survey.

Mud Bay Quarry Wharf

Though the 1899 plat map of Bailey’s Harbor Township depicts a pier at Toft Point (see Figure 17), the quarry complex was served by a wharf rather than a pier (Randall 1899). The wharf is



Figure 20: 2013 Google Earth Pro image of quarry wharf at Toft Point (arrow).

located on the east side of Toft Point, approximately 380 feet south-southeast of the tip of the point (Figure 18). It is visible on Google Earth imagery from May of 2013 as a rectangular platform extending out at a bearing of 77° from a submerged rocky ledge that fringes the point's eastern shoreline (Figure 20).

The wharf measures 70 feet east-west by 140 feet north-south. It was constructed using a combination of timber cribbing and stone fill to create a single, massive, solid platform capable of handling very heavy loads. Twenty-seven crib timbers were observed, with one lying at the base of the wharf on its north side. The rest are exposed on the surface of the wharf. The visible timbers and their connections indicate that the wharf's framing is composed of a series of interlocking timbers. The largest visible timber, exposed on the northeast corner of the wharf, is twenty-five feet long. It is unclear at present whether the cribbing was created by emplacing closely-spaced cribs and filling the inter-crib gaps with stone, or whether the cribbing was constructed as a single, large unit before being filled and sunk.

The wharf platform is submerged under two to three feet of water and stands nine to ten feet above the lake bottom (as of 2023, a high-water year). The wharf was once covered with timber decking and other superstructure. Various accounts describe two 'runways' or 'driveways' built to allow carts to move stone over the shore to the wharf, with a 'front' or 'stretch' along the east side (Lukes 1998:137, 166). This 'front' may be the wharf structure itself. One account notes that quarried stone was piled up on the 'front' structure where "scows and boats could get at them easily" (Lukes 1998:166). Emma Toft remembered the wharf as extending 90 to 100 feet out into



Figure 21: Drift of spoil and wastage from quarry along the tree line on the east side of Toft Point.

the lake from the rocks, but it is unclear whether this figure includes the runways, any overhang on the lake side, or includes the exaggerations of memory (Lukes 1998:17). These upper elements were destroyed during a storm in 1905 (Lukes 1998:85). Lukes' history of Toft Point includes a photograph of a heavy iron drift pin driven into the rock ledge along the shoreline, along with a claim that it was used as a tie-up or for the schooners (Lukes 1998:24). This pin was not located in either the 2023 or 2024 investigations of the shoreline, though water levels were high both years; it may be submerged offshore.

Quarry

The Mud Bay quarry extends inland from the quarry wharf. The floor of the quarry is exposed along the shoreline, with some loose rocks and sea stacks along its margins. Portions of the floor at the forest margin and along the shore are obscured beneath a north-south trending drift of quarry spoil and unshipped stone that runs parallel to the shore, 30–60 feet from the shoreline (Figure 21). The exposed floor consists of fine dolostone with some fossils (Figure 22). Testimonials by the Toft family suggest that the quarry floor was worked downwards to the water table (Lukes 1998:53).

The northern quarry face is readily traceable on the north side in LiDAR imagery (Figure 23, see also Figure 18). It is visible as a vertical stone escarpment approximately five feet high where it intersects the shoreline 135 feet north of the wharf (Figure 24). Once away from the shoreline and into the forest, the northern face of the quarry drops in elevation and is obscured beneath forest



Figure 22: Detail of quarry floor at shoreline of Toft Point.

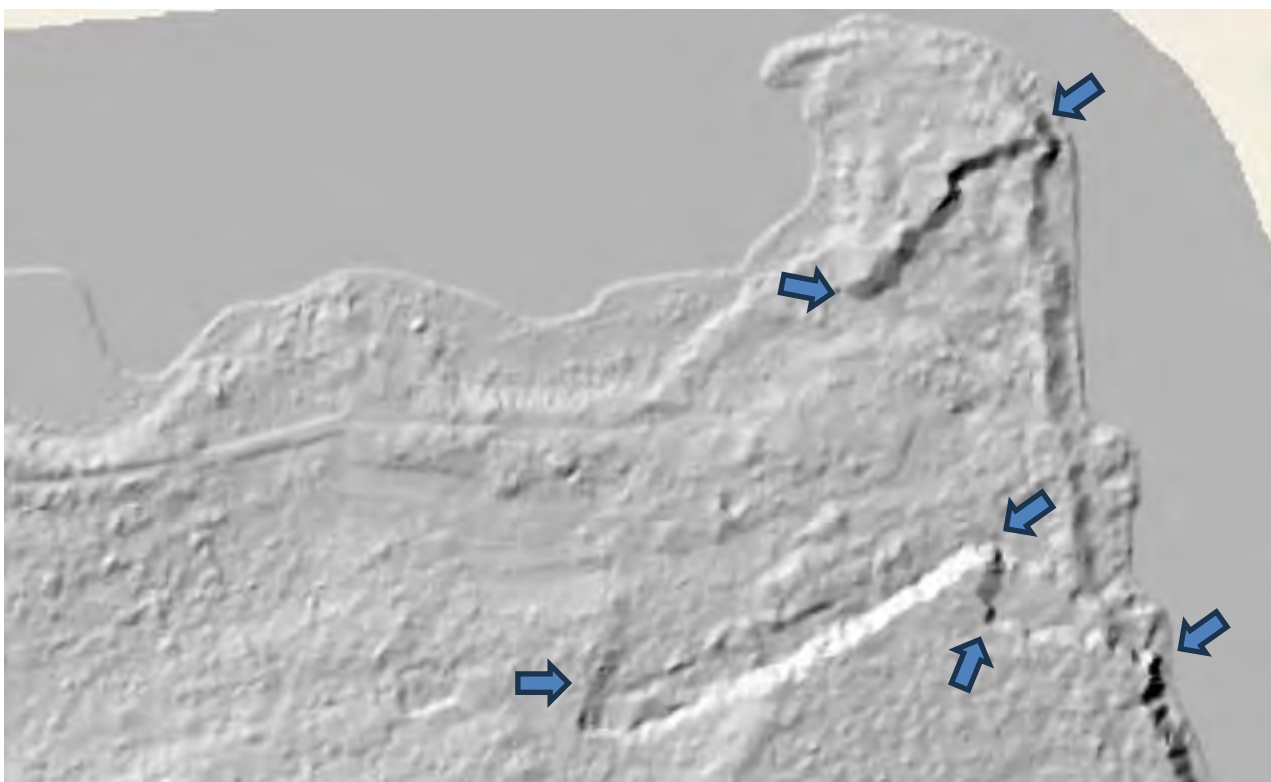


Figure 23: LiDAR view of Toft Point, showing quarry escarpments (arrows).



Figure 24: Northern wall of the Mud Bay/Toft Point Quarry exposed at the shoreline.

duff. It is apparent as a rise in the ground surface. The northern face angles southwestward from the shoreline at a bearing of roughly 248° for 100 feet, jogs southeastward on an approximate bearing of 74° for 20 feet, then returns southwestward on a rough bearing of 230° for approximately 90–100 feet.

The southern face of the quarry is higher, longer, and much more prominent (Figure 25). This appears to have been the more active of the quarry faces. In its current state, the quarry face stands between eight to ten feet high. It rises from the quarry floor in a step-like configuration; a lower face rises between two to four feet, followed by a horizontal ledge of varying widths, followed by an upper face of four to eight feet. The horizontal ledge is wider further from the shoreline.

The south quarry face intersects the shoreline approximately 100 feet south of the wharf. It extends inland at a rough bearing of 280° for approximately 70 feet, steps northward for approximately 75 feet, then runs at a rough bearing of 248° for approximately 390 feet. At that point the wall angles roughly westward for 80–90 feet before curving back towards the northeast at a bearing of 30° for around 100 feet. The elevation of the quarry face drops towards the northeast at this point, eventually vanishing beneath the forest duff.



Figure 25: Southern wall of the Mud Bay/Toft Point Quarry near the eastern shore.

Toft family accounts state that the quarrymen did their work with hand tools and judicious use of blasting powder. Two ‘runways’ for carrying stone—presumably from each quarry face—were established between the quarry and the wharf (Lukes 1998:26–33, 53, 137).

Lime Kiln

The Mud Bay quarry lime kiln is located at the western terminus of the northern quarry face, approximately 130 feet east of the Thor Cabin and roughly 260 feet northwest of the quarry dock (see Figure 18). The circular draw kiln is built of large, rectangular, dolostone blocks (Figure 26). It is approximately 15 feet in diameter on the exterior circumference and eleven feet in diameter in the interior circumference, with walls averaging two feet thick. The shaft portion of the kiln is vertical. No indications of insulating firebrick were observed in the interior.

The south face of the kiln stands roughly six to seven feet high, and the base on this side of the kiln is level with the forest floor. A rectangular drawing eye measuring 31 inches high and 26 inches wide is located at the base of the south side of the kiln. There are no obvious attachment points for a shed roof to shelter the drawing eye, and no remnants of a shed roof were visible. The kiln is inset into a small hill (likely artificial), that rises at an angle of roughly 70° from the south to the north face of the kiln (Figures 27 and 28). The north face protrudes from the summit of the hill for only a few inches.



Figure 26: The lime kiln at Toft Point, looking north.



Figure 27: Screenshot of side elevation of 3D model of the Toft Point Lime Kiln, looking west, showing angle of slope.



Figure 28: Historic photograph of the Toft Point Lime Kiln (far right), showing hill that the kiln is inset into. Photograph taken ca. 1915. WHS Image ID 97534, Ferdinand Hotz Collection.

When in use, dolostone and fuel would have been carted up to the top of the rise and dumped into the vertical shaft. After firing, quicklime was extracted from the kiln via the drawing eye. As Emma Toft noted, however, the Mud Bay kiln never really worked right. It had to be fed with hardwood fuel for four days and nights, an expensive and time-consuming process (Lukes 1998:28). Current lore among the Friends of Toft Point organization holds that it was only fired twice (Jim Cauley, personal communication 2024). There are no obvious piles of waste lime within or without the kiln, possibly confirming this assertion, though lime deposits may be hidden beneath the forest duff and beneath fallen dolostone blocks in the interior of the kiln.

'The Rocks'

Piles of quarried stone are arrayed along the south quarry face, in an area of the site that the Toft referred to as "The Rocks." Several of the piles are in very good condition and are free from duff and disturbances. Others have collapsed, merged with neighboring piles, and vanished beneath the thick blanket of duff that has accumulated since this portion of the quarry was reforested. Additional piles of cobbles, picked up off the beach by Thomas Toft, reputedly stand on Fishhead Point, one half mile southeast of the quarry wharf, and may be visible on Google Earth imagery. Survey did not extend to Fishhead Point, and this portion of the former Toft property should be investigated at a future date.

These piles represent accumulations of stone staged for transport to the quarry wharf. Toft family accounts state that the quarrymen did their work with hand tools and judicious use of blasting powder. Stone was broken down into 50–75 pound chunks, then piled into stacks for later transport. When stone was needed at the quarry dock the men disassembled the piles. At some times, handcarts were used. At others, the stone was loaded onto a two or four-wheeled cart and pulled by a horse named Nell. Later on, tracks were installed to carry stone carts between the quarry and quarry dock (Lukes 1998:26–33, 53, 137).

The Toft siblings later disassembled some of the stone piles at The Rocks and used them to build a wall running parallel with the south quarry face, approximately 25 feet distant from it. At the current time, a nature trail runs through the pine and hemlock forest that has regrown over the quarry between the wall and the quarry face.

The Rocks may be divided into three categories: pristine small piles, amorphous piles, and ‘The Big Pile.’

Pristine Small Piles

Pristine small piles represent relatively undisturbed or rebuilt staging piles. They are not obscured by duff and are circular in form (see Figure 18).

- Feature 1: One of two stone piles visible on the south side of the nature trail, between the trail and the south quarry face. This pile is located at the far eastern extent of The Rocks, near a point where the trail forks to go north or across the stone spoil pile to the shore. This pile is oval in shape, with a long axis parallel to the quarry face. It measures 6.5 by 3.0 feet in diameter and stands 16 inches high (Figure 29).
- Feature 2: The second of the two stone piles on the south side of the nature trail, seven feet southwest of Feature 1. Feature 2 is circular, 5.2 feet in diameter, and approximately 20 inches in height (Figure 29).
- Feature 3: This feature is the easternmost of the stone piles on the north side of the nature trail, 20 feet northwest of Feature 2. It is roughly circular, measures 13.3 by 12 feet, and stands approximately two feet high. It is slightly dished on its upper surface.
- Feature 4: Feature 4 is located immediately southwest of Feature 3. It is roughly circular, measuring 7.3 by 9.0 feet, and stands three feet high.
- Feature 6: Feature 6 is 10 feet southwest of Feature 4. It is circular in shape, three feet in diameter, and stands less than a foot high.
- Feature 8: This feature is a couple of feet southwest of Feature 6. It is circular, measures between 6.0 and 6.5 feet in diameter and is three feet in height. The eastern segment of stone wall intersects the southwest side of this pile (Figure 30).

Amorphous Piles

Amorphous piles represent collapsed or disturbed stone staging features that are buried (in full or part) under forest duff. They are circular, elongated, or of irregular form. The larger and more irregular examples are likely the remains of multiple staging piles. Some have stone exposed to



Figure 29: Features 1 (left yellow flag) and 2 (right yellow flag) on the south side of the trail, with the south quarry wall in the background, looking southeast.

varying degrees at the surface (Figures 31 and 32). Others do not. Limited probing with a metal pin flag was conducted at rises without visible stone to ensure that they contained stone. The amorphous piles continue southwest from the pristine small piles, covering an area 20–40 feet north of the rock wall and 260 feet from the pristine small piles to the Big Pile (see Figure 18).

- Feature 7: This feature consists of an elongated rise oriented perpendicular to the quarry face, approximately seven feet long, three feet wide, and one foot high. It is located immediately to the northwest of Feature 6.
- Feature 9: This feature consists of an elongated rise oriented perpendicular to the quarry face, approximately 16 feet long, seven feet wide, and less than a foot high. It is located immediately to the northwest of Feature 8.
- Feature 10: This feature consists of a circular rise approximately seven feet in diameter and two feet high. It is located immediately to the southwest of Feature 9, just north of the rock wall.
- Feature 11: This feature consists of a circular rise 7.0 to 7.5 feet in diameter and two feet high. It is located ten feet southwest of Feature 10, just north of the rock wall.



Figure 30: Feature 8 (center yellow flag) and the conjoined northern segment of the rock wall (left, at left yellow flag) on the north side of the trail, looking northeast.



Figure 31: Amorphous rise north of the rock wall (yellow flag marks center).



Figure 32: Amorphous rise with higher proportion of rock exposed, north of the rock wall (yellow flag marks center).

- Feature 12: This feature consists of an elongated rise oriented parallel to the quarry face, approximately 28 feet long and 14 feet wide. It is located five feet southwest of Feature 11, adjacent to the stone wall and running parallel to it. The western end of this feature abuts the east side of the gap between the northern and central sections of wall.
- Feature 13: This feature consists of a low, circular rise approximately 13 feet in diameter. This feature is ten feet north of Feature 12.
- Feature 14: This feature consists of a small and low circular rise approximately six feet in diameter. Feature 14 is located fifteen feet northwest of Feature 13, near the northwestern corner of the square formed by Features 13, 15, 16, and 17.
- Feature 15: This feature consists of an elongated rise oriented perpendicular to the quarry face, approximately 26 feet long, 14 feet wide, and three feet high. It is located five feet northwest of Feature 13 and immediately east of Feature 16. The topography of this feature is unusual, in that a linear channel appears to run down the central long axis of the rise, dividing it into two elongated peaks.
- Feature 16: This feature consists of a circular rise approximately 20 feet in diameter. It stands three feet high. This rise is located immediately west of Feature 15, immediately northwest of Feature 14, and five feet north of Feature 17.
- Feature 17: This feature consists of an elongated rise oriented perpendicular to the quarry face. It is approximately 19 feet long, 11 feet wide, and two feet high. This feature is located five feet south of Feature 16, and fifteen feet north of the west end of Feature 9.
- Feature 18: This feature consists of an irregular elongated rise oriented perpendicular to the quarry face, approximately 20 feet long and 10 feet wide. The south end is twenty feet northwest of the west end of Feature 9, and twelve feet north of the east end of the central segment of the rock wall.
- Feature 19: This feature consists of an amorphous rise oriented perpendicular to the quarry face, approximately 35–47 feet long and 25–30 feet wide. This feature is located immediately west of Feature 18, which sits within a curved indentation on Feature 19's east side. A similar indentation is located on the west side of Feature 19. The south end of Feature 19 is rounded, while the north angles towards the southwest.
- Feature 20: This feature consists of a circular rise approximately 15 feet in diameter. This feature is located just north of the west end of the central segment of the rock wall, twenty feet west of Feature 19. The ground between this feature, Feature 21, and Feature 19 is elevated compared to other areas of 'The Rocks' and may be underlain by stockpiled stone.
- Feature 21: This feature consists of a circular rise approximately 10 feet in diameter. This feature is located twenty feet north of Feature 20, ten feet west of the northwest corner of Feature 19.
- Feature 22: This feature consists of an elongated rise oriented perpendicular to the quarry face, approximately 27 feet long, 15 feet wide, and three feet tall. This feature is located just north of the western section of the rock wall, ten feet west of Feature 20.
- Feature 23: This feature consists of an elongated rise oriented perpendicular to the quarry face, approximately 18 feet long, 12 feet wide, and three feet tall. This feature is located just north of the western section of the rock wall, immediately west of Feature 22.
- Feature 24: This feature consists of an elongated rise oriented parallel to the quarry face, approximately twenty feet long, seven feet wide, and two feet high. This feature is not

obscured by duff, but is not circular in form. It is located twenty feet west of Feature 23 and twenty-five feet north of the east end of the Big Pile.

The Big Pile

The Big Pile is located within the western curve of the southern quarry face (see Figure 18). It is the largest stockpile of quarried stone at Toft Point, as the name implies. The pile has an elongated tadpole shape, with a high and steep 'body oriented on an east-west and a lower, tapering 'tail' that angles northwestward to parallel the quarry face halfway along its length. The main body of the Big Pile is nine feet high, seventy feet long, and 16–22 feet wide. The western segment of the tail is three to six feet high, roughly 20 feet long, and tapers from fifteen to ten feet in width. The eastern, angled segment of the tail is lower still, another twenty feet long, and tapers from ten to five feet in width (Figures 33 to 35).

The Stone Wall

The stone wall runs parallel to the north side of the nature trail and to the quarry wall (see Figures 18 and 36). It abuts several of the stone stockpiles on its north side, and ranges in width from one foot to two or more feet. It likewise varies in height from less than a foot to two feet. The wall is broken by two gaps of ten feet, dividing it into norther, central, and southern segments (Figure 37). The ends of each segment curve away from the quarry wall.

- North Segment: This segment extends for 65 feet from Feature 8 southwestward to the west end of Feature 9.
- Central Segment: This segment extends 80 feet from a point twelve feet southeast of the south end of Feature 18 to a point immediately adjacent to the southwest side of Feature 20. A 10 x 10 foot widening 25 feet from the west end of the segment may represent a stone pile that has been incorporated into the wall.
- South Segment: This segment is the smallest and lowest. It extends for only twenty feet, curving around the south end of Feature 22.

Other Features

Two unusual features were noted on the north side of Feature 16. The easternmost is a small, circular pile of stone only five feet wide. The second, to the west of the small stone pile, is a small, square opening in the forest duff (Figure 38). It seems to be a deeper pit or basin cut into the former quarry floor, only about two feet on a side and extending to an unknown depth. Due to an unwillingness to disturb the duff and vegetation in the Natural Area, this feature was not explored further. Emma Toft did note that there was a place in the quarry “with rocks built up around it” where cold drinking water could be had (Lukes 1998:29)



Figure 33: The Big Pile, looking west from a point near the base of the 'tail'.



Figure 34: The Big Pile, looking northeast from the south quarry wall.



Figure 35: The Big Pile, looking north from the south quarry wall. Robert Jaeck (left) and Jordan Ciesielczyk (right) in foreground for scale. Fern Cabin is in background.



Figure 36: The rock wall, looking west along the length of the nature trail.



Figure 37: Opening between the central (left) and northern (right) segments of the rock wall.



Figure 38: Square opening near north side of Feature 16.

Stone Foundation

The foundation of the Mud Bay Quarry worker's quarters, later used as a farmhouse by the growing Toft family, and finally as the lodge for the Toft Point Resort after 1919, are located approximately 270 feet northwest of the Big Pile, roughly 410 feet southwest of the lime kiln, and roughly 630 feet west of the quarry wharf, on the south side of the old farm road/main trail in the northeast corner of a clearing (see Figure 18).

This structure was built in 1871 out of local dolostone and wood shipped over from Michigan by Buckley & Wing (Lukes 1998:137). The structure fronted Mud Bay and the road leading to Toft Point from Bailey's Harbor. Historic photographs and accounts of the building indicate that it originally was a salt-box structure with a two-story, side-gabled front, a one-story 'lean-to' summer kitchen on the rear, and a cellar. The gable ends of the main structure were clad in unpainted vertical board siding, as were any portions of the rear façade not occupied by the 'lean-to'. The front façade was clad in painted horizontal clapboard. The summer kitchen/'lean-to' was clad in cedar shingles, as was the roof. Originally, the summer kitchen was used as a cooking and dining area for the quarry workers. The upper story was home to the worker's sleeping quarters. The southwestern room on the main floor was reserved as the foreman's quarters, and it was there that Thomas and Julia Anne slept.

In later years, the upstairs rooms were taken over by the many Toft children before the family relocated to Bailey's Harbor. When the Toft Point Resort was founded, the rooms were converted into guest rooms and the foreman's quarters were remodeled to serve as a dining room. The front hall of the lodge was used as a gathering and social place during the day and a place where younger members of the Toft family working at the resort could set up cots and sleep during the night (Lukes 1998:73). The southeast corner appears to have been the location of the main kitchen during the later years of the building's lifespan. A model of the resort's kitchen, made by a friend of Emma Toft's is depicted in Roy Lukes' history of Toft Point, and the orientation and placement of windows is consistent only with that corner of the structure (Lukes 1998:154). A screened front porch was added to the west side of the front façade. The porch was furnished with a large porch swing and the quarry worker's bench from the original dining area. After porcupines undermined the summer kitchen, it was demolished and replaced with a square, horizontal clapboard-clad addition in 1925. This addition was later used as Emma Toft's bedroom during her years overseeing the resort (Lukes 1998:73).

The foundation is composed of cut and irregular blocks of dolostone, presumably obtained from the Mud Bay quarry (Figures 39 and 40). The foundation outlining the two-story main structure is twenty inches thick, rectangular, and encloses an area measuring 36.7 feet on the front and rear facades and 24.6 feet on the gabled ends. A one-foot-thick interior foundation wall traces the outline of the cellar, situated in the southeastern corner of the main structure. It measures 18.5 feet parallel to the front facade and 12.7 feet parallel with the gabled ends. The south wall of the cellar is the south foundation of the main structure. The east wall of the cellar is the east wall of the foundation. A filled-in cellar entrance is visible as a depression that cuts through the eastern foundation wall just north of the width of the cellar foundation. The depression is three feet wide.



Figure 39: The foundation of the main lodge. Photograph taken from the main trail/road to Bailey's Harbor, looking south. Jordan Ciesielczyk to left.

The foundation for the east, west, and southern walls of the rear addition is twenty-eight inches thick. The foundation of the north wall of the rear addition is the south wall of the main structure. The square addition measures 16.3 feet on a side. It is somewhat off-center with respect to the rear façade, with the west wall of the addition two and a half feet closer to the west gabled end than the east wall of the addition is to the eastern gabled end. Stone and concrete stairs 42 to 48 inches in width are located on either side of the addition, marking the locations of doors on each side (Figure 41 and 42). An iron drain pipe is present between the east set of stairs and the south wall of the main structure (Figure 43). Based on the model of the kitchen, this pipe would have been near the kitchen sink. A circular stone structure six feet in diameter marks the likely position of the original well at the southwest corner of the extension (Lukes 1998:18). This feature has been filled and is currently occupied by a small conifer. There are no visible indications of a hearth or chimney. Historic photographs and models of the kitchen suggest that the structure was heated via wood stove, with the stove pipe emerging near or south of the gable peak on the central-east end of the structure (Lukes 1998:102, 155).

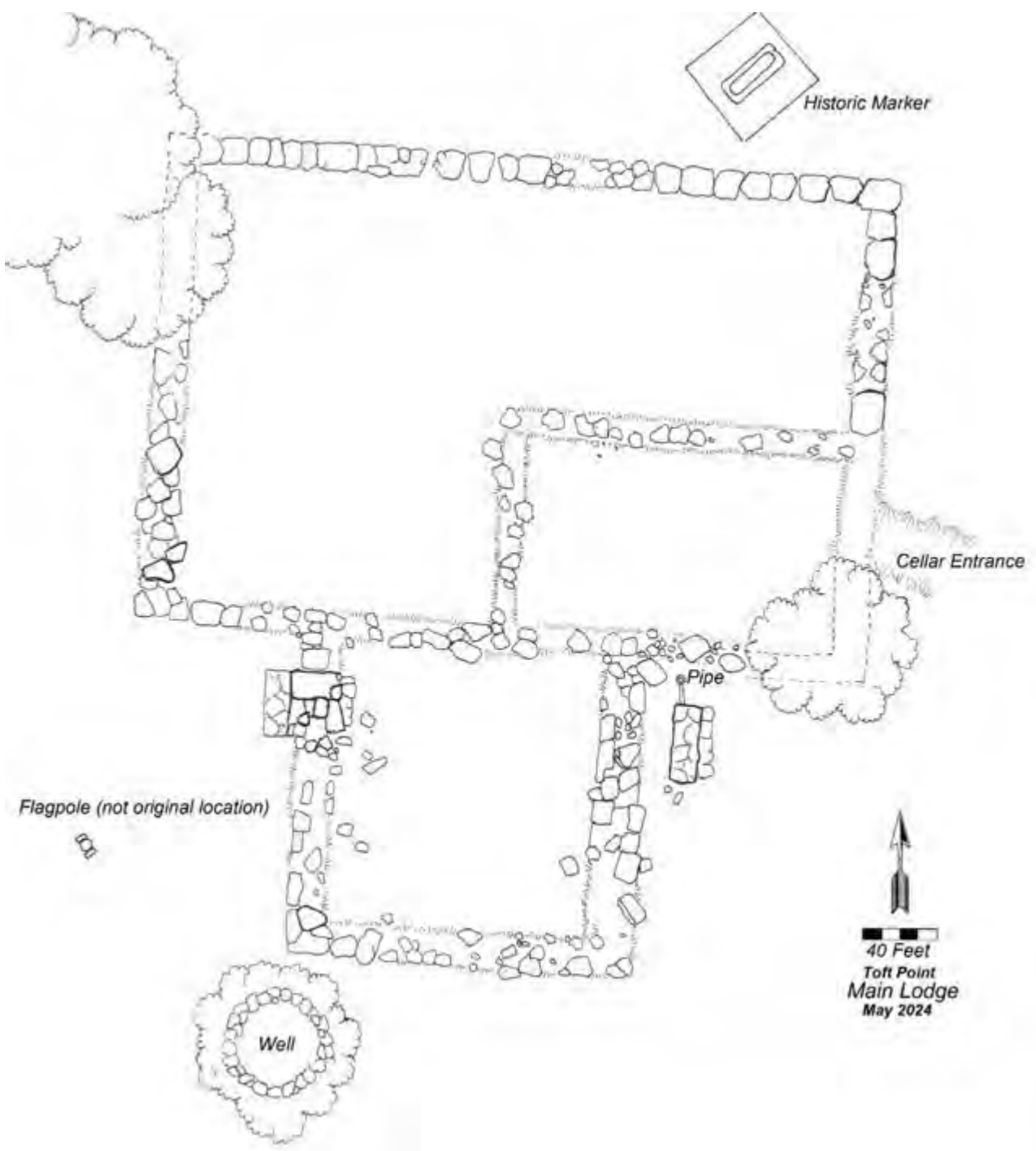


Figure 40: Map of the foundation of the main lodge.



Figure 41: Stairs on east side of southern addition to Main Lodge.



Figure 42: Stairs on west side of southern addition to main lodge.



Figure 43: Drainpipe between east stairs of south addition and the south foundation of the main structure of the main lodge.

Standing Structures

Numerous standing structures relating to various phases of Toft Point's history are arrayed around the site area west of the quarry.

Barn

The barn that now stands at Toft Point was built in 1881 or 1882. After a windstorm uprooted trees on the property in 1941 they were gleaned and used to rebuild the deteriorating east end of the structure. At one time the barn had two 'wings' on the north and south sides; neither survives today (Lukes 1998:28, 39). The surviving portion of the structure does not have access points large enough for livestock or equipment and appears to represent the part of the structure used for hay and small-item storage. Lukes notes that cattle were only kept on the Point in the warmer months during the resort years and resided in a barn in Baileys Harbor during the winter (Lukes 1998:72). This structure also served as worker's housing. It was traditional, during the resort years, to keep one boy and one girl from the local community to assist with duties at the resort. Ruby Weiss Cornell, one of the Toft Point girls, recalls sleeping in a built-in bed on the main floor of the barn (Lukes 1998:75).

The barn is located just over 100 feet west of the lodge foundation, on the south side of the road from Bailey's Harbor (see Figure 18). The two-story, front-gabled, hewn log barn sits on a foundation of rectangular dolostone blocks. The surviving portion (*sans* wings) measures 29.3 east-west by 17.4 feet north-south and is oriented at a bearing of 96° degrees. The logs are square notched and flush with each other on the corners. White lime mortar daubing covers the chinking between the logs.

The front façade faces east and has a plank farmworker door offset on the left side, with ornamental iron hinges fastening the right side of the door to a lumber door frame (Figures 44 and 45). The square-hewn timbers running the length of the building are doubled at the top of the first story, providing support for the hayloft/second story of the barn. The exposed ends of the interior timbers can be seen on the gabled facades. A hayloft door made of vertical boards is set in the center of the east façade just below the gable. It is surrounded by a door frame made of dimensioned lumber.

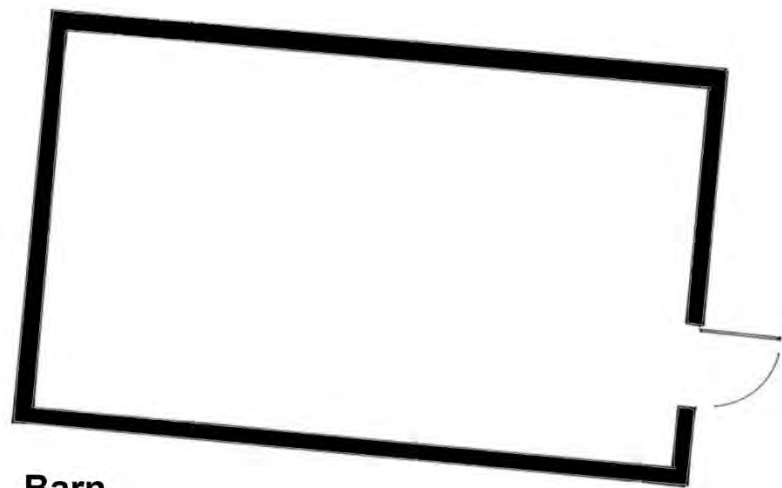
There are no openings on the north façade. The south façade contains a plank farmworker door slightly offset left of center (Figure 46). It has ornamental iron hinges on the left side. It sits within a door frame of dimensioned lumber. The west façade has a rectangular vent opening covered by metal mesh and measuring 45 by 35 inches in the center of the façade approximately halfway up the first story (Figure 47). A second small vent, also covered by a metal mesh, is cut into the top of the dolostone foundation left of center. Both gable ends are clad in vertical boards. The roof has overhanging eaves on all sides and is shingled with newer asphalt shingles. The roof would originally have been shingled with cedar.

Icehouse

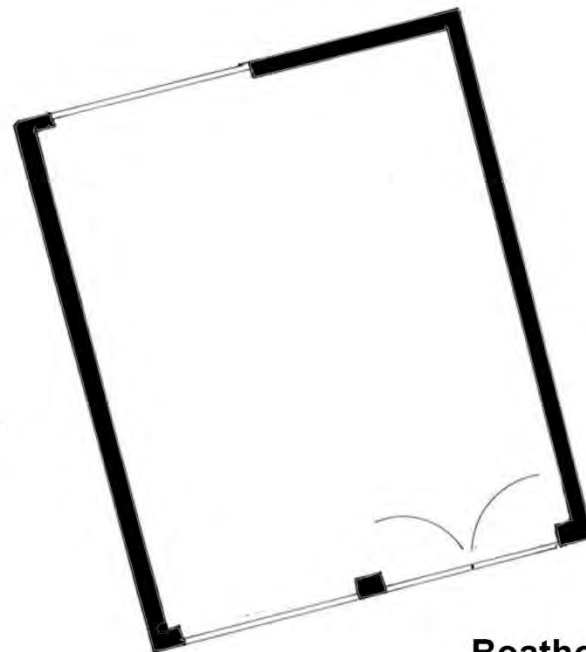
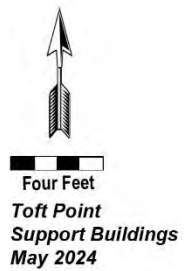
The icehouse was built just before 1920, in the opening months of the Toft Point Resort. Ice was cut from the surrounding lake in the winter months, carried into this structure, and covered with sawdust. In the summer, younger members of the Toft family working at the resort brought ice from this structure into the basement of the main lodge. It was used to keep food in the cellar cool and to assist with ice cream production. The icehouse was used until 1949 when electricity was extended to Toft Point (Lukes 1998:41, 73, 150).

The icehouse is located just over 200 feet east-southeast of the main lodge and 120 feet northwest of the rock wall that borders the south side of The Rocks (see Figure 18). The single story, saddle-notched round log structure sits on a thick foundation of rectangular dolostone blocks that extends well below the surrounding ground surface (Figures 48 and 49). An earthen berm has been built up on the east, west, and south sides of the structure to insulate its contents. The icehouse measures 17 feet east-west by 14 feet north-south and is oriented at a bearing of 350 degrees. The foundation is twenty inches thick. It rises one foot above the ground surface along the front façade, but disappears below the surrounding berm on the other three sides. It drops at least 18 inches below the ground surface, for a minimum total height of 30 inches. The floor of the structure was not probed to determine the full depth of the foundation in order to minimize disturbance to the site.

There are no openings on the east, west, or south facades. There is a single door on the far-left side of the front façade, two feet from the northeast corner (Figure 50). The door is missing. A vertical post extending well above the level of the logs that make up the walls of the structure seems to represent the east (left) side of the former door frame. There is no roof, and historic accounts confirm that the structure never had one. Instead, it was left open so that rain could dampen the sawdust covering the ice inside to provide more effective insulation (Lukes 1998:41, 73).



Barn



Boathouse

Figure 44: Plan diagrams of the barn and boathouse at Toft Point.



Figure 45: The main façade and north side of the barn at Toft Point, looking southwest.



Figure 46: The south façade of the barn at Toft Point, looking north.

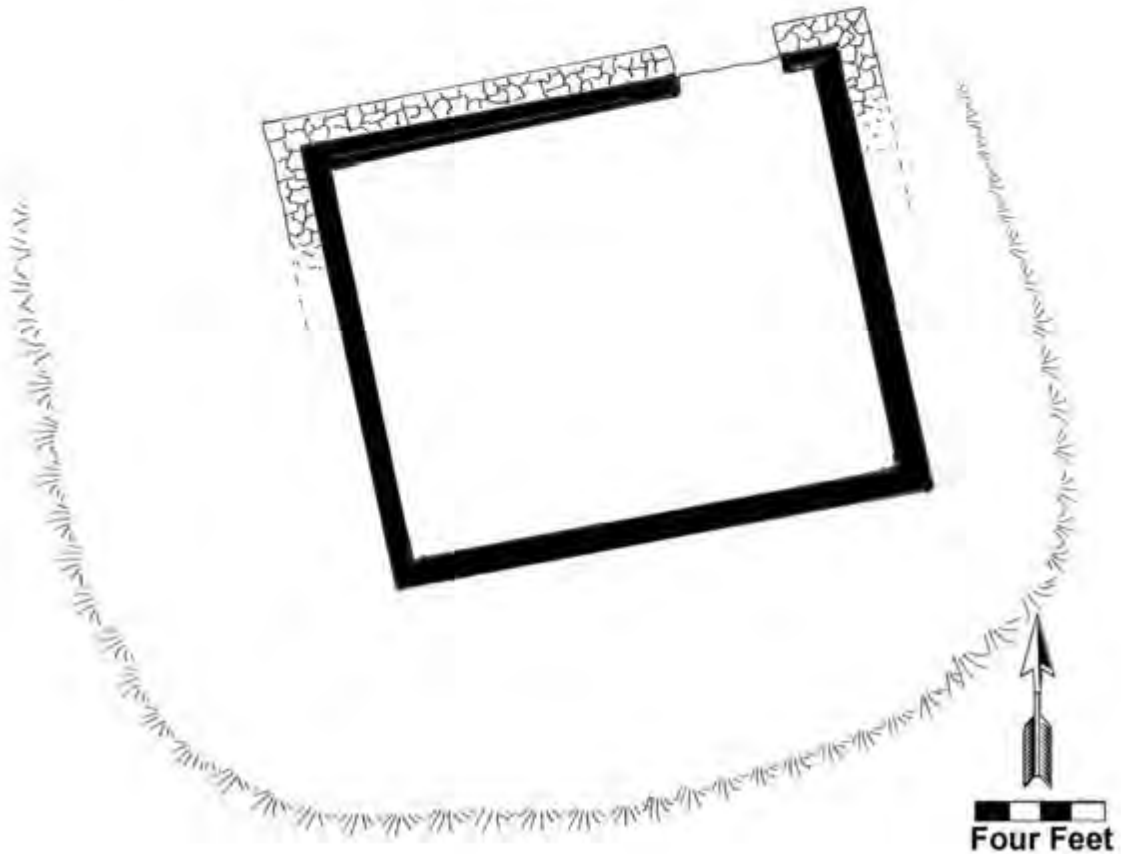


Figure 47: The west façade of the barn at Toft Point, looking east.

Elevation View



Plan view



Four Feet
Toft Point
Icehouse
May 2024

Figure 48: Plan and profile diagrams of the icehouse at Toft Point.



Figure 49: Photograph of the interior foundation of the icehouse, photograph looking north towards entryway.



Figure 50: Photograph of the front façade of the icehouse, looking south.



Figure 51: Abandoned small boat near shore, north of main trail/former road to Bailey's Harbor, east of Boathouse, looking northeast.

Boathouse

The boathouse is located approximately 170 feet northwest of the lodge, on the north side of the road leading to Bailey's Harbor and on the south shore of Mud Bay (see Figure 18). The Boathouse was built ca. 1940 by Mr. Henry Seiler. Despite its name it served multiple functions as storage and shelter for small boats, equipment, and Emma Toft's car (Lukes 1998:83–85). One of the resort's boats is overturned in the brush just north of the road to Bailey's Harbor, approximately 110 feet southeast of the boathouse (see Figure 18, Figure 51). A small dock once extended north from the boathouse into the lake. No maritime survey was conducted at the dock in 2023, and no dock remains are visible from shore. The single-story, front-gabled, vertical round log structure measures 24 feet north-south and 20 feet east-west and is oriented at a bearing of 175° (see Figure 44). The building is situated on a hewn timber sill topping a foundation of rectangular dolostone slabs. The ground surface drops towards the lakeshore, so that the stone foundation is taller on the rear façade than on the front façade.

There are no openings on the east or west facades. Nearly the full width of the front facade is comprised of two sets of wood plank swing garage doors separated by two vertical log elements, extending up almost to the level of the base of the front gable (Figure 52). The rear façade, facing the lake, appears to have once had a single garage swing door on the west side. This door has been replaced with vertical logs to match the appearance of the rest of the structure (Figure 53).

The base of the gable on the north/lake façade rests on a plank sill. The gabled roof rests on timber rafters that are exposed under the overhanging eaves on the side elevations of the building. The roof is composed of modern metal roofing material and is not original to the building.

Jeannie Cabin

This structure was originally a chicken coop used by the Toft family but was remodeled by Mr. Henry Seiler into a guest cabin when the Toft Point Resort was founded (Lukes 1998:83, 85). The cabin is located on the north side of the road to Bailey's Harbor, roughly 100 feet west of the Boathouse and near the shore of Mud Bay (see Figure 18). The rectangular, one-story, front-gabled, one-room, saddle-notched round log cabin measures 15.3 feet east-west and 11.4 feet north-south and is oriented at a bearing of 75° (Figure 54). The spaces between the logs are daubed with white mortar, which obscures the chinking.

The foundation of the cabin was obscured by thick vegetation; no dolostone was visible. The front façade, which faces east, has a green-painted plank door situated left of center (Figure 55). The door hardware is relatively new. The door is inset into a sawn wood door frame and opens onto an exterior concrete pad. The north façade has double six-pane casement windows offset on the west side (Figure 56). There are no openings on the west side of the building. The south side of the building has a centered set of two six-pane casement windows (see Figure 55). Two small stacks of stone resembling porch post supports are situated on the ground in front either side of the south window. All windows and window frames are painted white. All are covered by screens set in green-painted frames.

The roof has overhanging eaves with exposed timber rafters and is shingled with green asphalt shingles.

Juleyanne Cabin

Juleyanne cabin was built in 1937 by Mr. Wiliam Tischler (Lukes 1998:83, 85). The cabin is located on the north side of the road to Bailey's Harbor, roughly 100 feet northeast of the foundation of the main lodge (see Figure 18). The rectangular, one-story, front-gabled, saddle-notched round log cabin measures 15.9 feet east-west and 14 feet north-south and is oriented at a bearing of 270° (see Figure 54). The spaces between the logs are daubed with white mortar, which obscures the chinking.

The cabin sits upon a poured concrete foundation. The front façade, which faces east, has a wood plank door and green-painted wood screen door situated right of center, near the south side of the building (Figure 57). The door is inset into a white-painted sawn wood door frame and opens onto an exterior pad of dolostone flagstones. A pair of six-pane casement windows is located left of



Figure 52: Front façade of Boathouse, looking north.



Figure 53: North/rear façade of Boathouse, looking south-southwest.

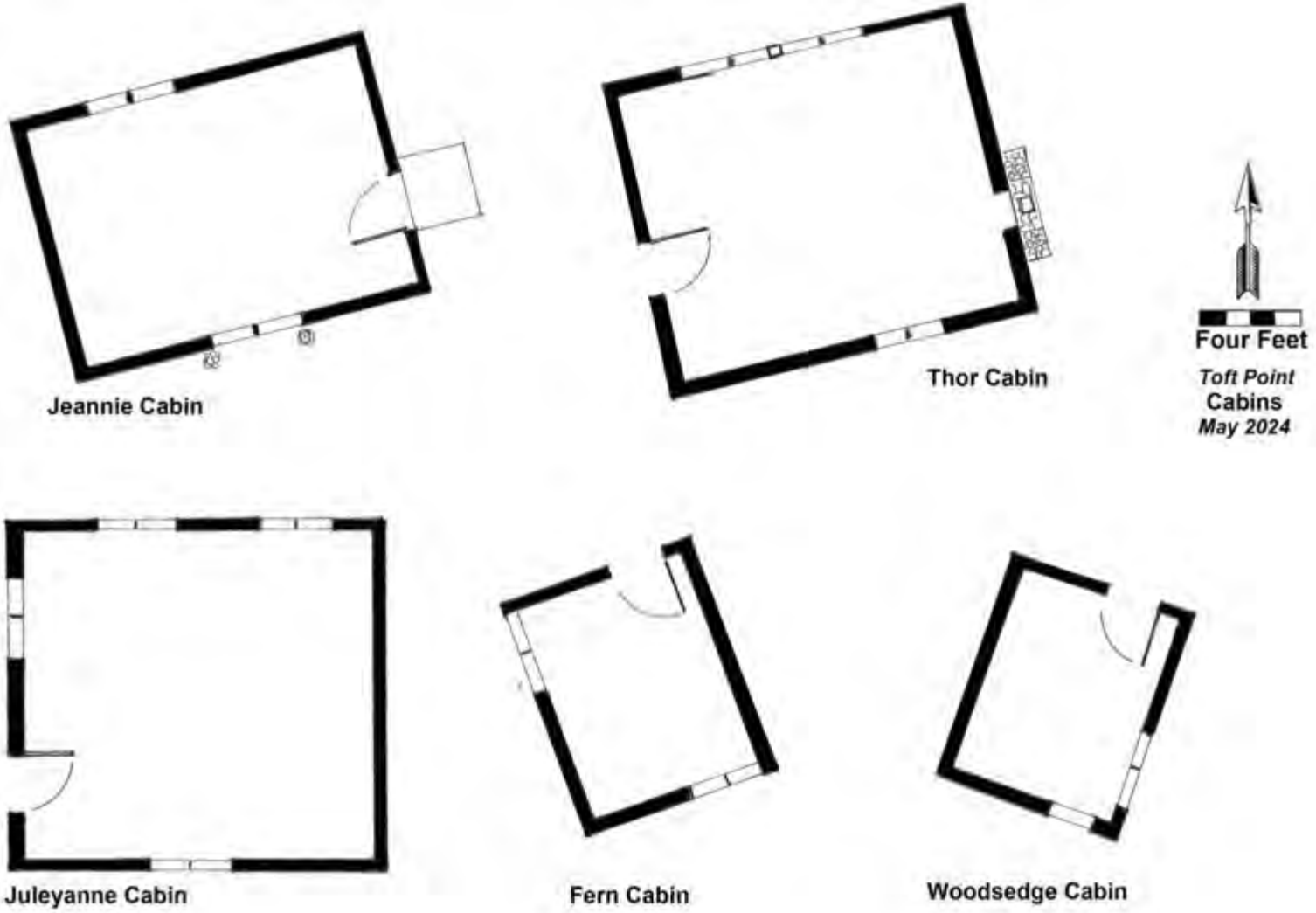


Figure 54: Plan diagrams of cabins at Toft Point.



Figure 55: East (right) and south (left) facades of Jeannie Cabin, looking northwest.



Figure 56: North façade of Jeannie Cabin, looking south.



Figure 57: Front/east façade of Juleyanne Cabin, looking west.

center on the front façade. The front gable end is clad in cedar shingles. The north façade has two pairs of six-pane casement windows placed east and west of center. The western pair is further from the building's northwest corner than the eastern pair is from the building's northeastern corner. There are no openings on the west side of the building. The western gabled end is clad in cedar shingles. The south side of the building has a centered set of two six-pane casement windows (Figure 58). All windows and window frames are painted white. All are covered by screens set in green-painted frames.

A dolostone chimney is located on the west interior of the cabin, and emerges at the gable (see Figure 58). The roof has overhanging eaves with exposed white-painted, round timber rafters and is shingled with green asphalt shingles.

Thor Cabin

Thor cabin was built in 1929 by Thomas Toft's grandson Thorvald Toft and Thorvald's uncle Lucas Haffner. Thorvald lived in the cabin until 1937. The structure was built out of insect-killed hemlock rather than felled trees (Lukes 1998:73). Thor Cabin is located on the north side of the road to Bailey's Harbor, approximately 130 feet west of the lime kiln and roughly 140 feet northeast of the icehouse (see Figure 18). The rectangular, one-story, square-notched hewn log cabin with jerkinhead gables measures 15.8 feet east-west and 13.6 feet north-south. It is oriented at a bearing of 238° (see Figure 54). The spaces between the logs are daubed with white mortar that obscures the chinking.

No dolostone foundation was observed at Thor cabin. The front façade faces west-southwest. A doorway is situated right of center, with a green-painted wood panel door, a green-painted wood screen door, and a white-painted door frame of sawn lumber (Figure 59). A pair of six-pane casement windows is located right of center on the south façade (Figure 60). Two pairs of six-pane casement windows are centered on the north façade, facing Mud Bay (Figure 61). All wood frame windows are painted white. All are covered by screens set in green-painted wood frames.

A dolostone chimney, added later at the request of Emma Toft, is situated left of center on the east façade (Figure 62). The gable ends of the are clad in white-painted horizontal boards. Eaves overhang the structure on all four sides. The exposed rafters and rafter ends are round and painted white. The jerkinhead roof is clad in green asphalt shingles.

Woodsedge Cabin

Woodsedge cabin was built at an unknown date during the resort years. The small cabin is located approximately 160 feet south of the foundation of the main lodge (see Figure 18). The rectangular, front-gabled, dovetail-notched, round log structure measures ten by eight feet and is oriented at a bearing of 20° (see Figure 54). The spaces between the logs are daubed with white mortar that obscures the chinking.



Figure 58: South façade of Juleyanne Cabin, looking north.



Figure 59: Front/west façade of Thor Cabin, looking east.



Figure 60: South façade of Thor Cabin, looking north.



Figure 61: Detail of north façade of Thor Cabin, looking south. Jordan Ciesielczyk to left.



Figure 62: Chimney on east façade of Thor Cabin, looking west.

Woodsedge cabin has a foundation of poured concrete. A green-painted plank door set into a white-painted sawn wood doorframe is located left of center on the front façade (Figure 63). The front gable end is clad in cedar shingles. The west façade has no openings. The south façade has a single six-pane casement window offset on the right side (Figure 64). The gable end of the south façade is clad in cedar shingles. The east façade has a pair of wood-framed six-pane casement windows offset on the left side (see Figure 64). All windows and window frames are painted white. All are covered by screens set in wooden green-painted frames.

Eaves overhang the structure on all sides. The rafters on the east and west sides are exposed, round, and painted white. The roof is clad in asphalt shingles.

This is the only cabin that had an interior that could be accessed. Investigation revealed a small, single room with a plank floor, an unsupported shelf beneath the east window (Figure 65), a small green-painted cupboard set into the south wall next to the window (Figure 66), and unfinished walls. However, a small scrap of wallpaper with a pine cone and branch pattern was noted on a shoe crate in the room. The roof and rafters are of new construction, and it seems that the roof of Woodsedge has been replaced (as have most, if not all of the roofs at the site) (Figure 67).

Fern Cabin

Fern Cabin was built during the resort years to house the boy worker that lived at the resort each season (Lukes 1998:83). The small cabin is located approximately 110 feet southwest of the icehouse (see Figure 18). The rectangular, front-gabled structure is clad in cedar shingles. The corners are framed in sawn planks. The building sits directly on lumber floor joists. It measures 10.3 by 8.4 feet, and is oriented at a bearing of 342° (see Figure 54). The west/front façade has a door offset to the left, with a green-painted screen door and a white-painted sawn wood frame (Figure 68). The south façade has a pair of six-pane casement windows offset on the left side (Figure 69). The east façade has a pair of six-pane casement windows offset on the right side (Figure 70). There are no openings on the north façade. All windows and window frames are painted white. All are covered by screens set in green-painted frames. Eaves overhang the structure on all four sides. The exposed rafters are of milled lumber and painted white. The roof is clad in asphalt shingles.

Misc. Other Features

Roy Lukes' history of Toft Point mentions the existence of two rectangular berms in the woods near the shore, just south of the quarry (Lukes 1998:28). These are identified as cabins set aside for the use of married quarry workers and their families. Traces of one of these berms were tentatively identified in 2024, but vegetation made its outlines difficult to trace (Figure 71). No clear signs of the berms can be seen on LiDAR imagery of the site. This location should be reinvestigated in early spring when ground contours are at their most visible.

The workers who resided in the married worker's cabins utilized a small cave on the shoreline for cold storage, placing butter, meat, and other perishables inside. Emma Toft recollected that the workers had to search for their food on occasion when storms washed the contents of the small



Figure 63: Front façade of Woodsedge Cabin, looking south



Figure 64: South and east façades of Woodsedge Cabin, looking northwest



Figure 65: Shelf and east window from interior of Woodsedge Cabin.



Figure 66: Cupboard and south window in Woodsedge Cabin.



Figure 67: Underside of roof in Woodsedge Cabin.

cave out onto the beach (Lukes 1998:28). A likely candidate for this cave was relocated in 2024 (Figure 72).

Lukes' history of Toft Point also mentions that the Toft family built tennis courts on the point for use by resort guests. This feature is described as "south of the icehouse". No clear indications of the court were observed in 2023 or 2024. However, systematic soil coring could be used to confirm the court's location, since the court surface was built using clay trucked to the site from Baileys Harbor by William and Thorvald Toft (Lukes 1998:152).

A large garden occupied the space south of the lodge and barn, extending to the southeast of both structures. This garden was protected with board fences on the north side early on and enclosed with electrified fencing during the late resort period. Traces of the electric fence can be seen in the form of insulators and wire attached to the barn.



Figure 68: Front/west façade of Fern Cabin, looking east.



Figure 69: East façade of Fern Cabin, looking west



Figure 70: South façade of Fern Cabin, looking north.



Figure 71: Possible berm for married worker's cabin. Robert Jaeck to left.



Figure 72: Possible food storage cave on lakeshore used by residents of married worker's cabins. Robert Jaeck to right.

Conclusions and Evaluation

Toft Point captures the full sweep of the economic changes that transformed Door County. The site retains elements of its original forest cover, and is remarkably free of modern intrusions into its shoreline vistas. It provides a glimpse of what Door County was before the lumbermen came. The quarry, stone piles, lime kiln, and quarry wharf stand as testament to the extractive period, when stone was shipped across Lake Michigan and elsewhere to build the region's harbors and pier cribs. The resort features document a remarkably successful transition to a far more renewable resource—tourism. This resource sustains much of Door County's economy today. Finally, the preservation of the site within a State Natural Area is testament to the Toft family's deep and unshaking philosophy of conservation, and encapsulates the recent movements towards the creation of State and County parks and conservation lands that have preserved much of the county's natural beauty.

As a stone quarry port, Toft Point lacks several of the 'standard' structures found at lumber pier complexes. There is no pier store and no sawmill. With no need to haul many massive loads of

timber, there are no stables for horse or oxen teams. Toft Point, as it existed during the quarry days, never became a social gathering place, nor did it provide support for incoming colonists and settlers beyond a handy place for passengers to disembark. Instead, Toft Point effected change at a distance—in the harbors and piers that it helped to build, and the flow of immigration and lumbering they supported.

Julia Anne Toft is also the only extractive-era pier owner in this study to make a direct jump into the tourist industry. The owners of Rowley's Bay sold out first, and it was up to later, post-lumbering boom owners to transform a location that had diminished into a farmstead into the Wagon Wheel (and later Rowley's Bay) Resort. The owners of Newport had big dreams, but when the railroad failed to come they left. The State of Wisconsin turned the pier site into a tourist haven, not the original owners.

Toft Point is unique in many regards, and significant in many ways. Based on the research and survey conducted to date, the site is considered to be more than eligible for listing on the National Register of Historic Places. A nomination will be prepared following submission of this report.

Chapter Five

Ebenezer (DR-0336)

Service History

The *Ebenezer* was built at Fort Howard, Wisconsin for the partnership of Ole Jorgenson, G. Gunderson, and S. Anderson. Each were equal 1/3 owners residing at Fort Howard. The ship was first registered at the Port of Sault Ste. Marie, Michigan on 19 September 1863. *Ebenezer* was described as a schooner with one deck and two masts and no figurehead. It measured 97 feet 6 inches long, 22 feet wide, 8 feet 10 inches depth and was calculated at 172 42/95th tons. Captain Ole Jorgenson was the ship's first Master and Fort Howard was its homeport (Bureau of Navigation 1863).

The ship was re-enrolled at Sault Ste. Marie in 1864, but the document was lost. Little else is known about its service on Lake Superior (Bureau of Navigation 1864). On 12 May 1865 a new enrollment for the vessel was taken out at the port of Milwaukee for change in owners and districts. Silvester Goodenow of Manitowoc, Wisconsin and William D. Hitchcock of Kewaunee, Wisconsin entered an equal partnership for the management of the vessel. Captain L. Simpson became the ship's Master, and Manitowoc its new homeport.

The schooner spent the 1865–66 winter in Manitowoc. *Ebenezer* was the first ship to sail from the port in the spring. It sailed to Kewaunee to collect a cargo of lumber and entered Milwaukee as the first sailing ship to arrive that season (*Manitowoc Pilot* 1866). No other information regarding cargos or sailing routes was found.

Over the 1866–67 winter Goodenow and Hitchcock arranged the sale of the *Ebenezer* to William H. Horn and Homer Hill of Manitowoc for \$8,500. A new enrollment was entered at the port of Milwaukee on 25 March 1867. Manitowoc remained the ship's homeport and Captain Homer Hill became its next Master (Bureau of Navigation 1867; *Manitowoc Pilot* 1867). In July the ship carried lumber products (primarily shingles) to Milwaukee (*Daily Milwaukee News* 1867). In September of 1867 William Horn established an enterprise with John Schuette with the purpose of shipping wheat direct from Manitowoc to Buffalo. Along with the schooners *O. Torrison* and *Sardinia*, the men used *Ebenezer* to compete directly with the Milwaukee grain market. This bypassed shipping to Milwaukee for reshipment, as had been the norm. *Ebenezer* made trips to Buffalo in October, November, and December. During the second week in December, while upbound, the ship sheltered at St. Helena Island in the Straits waiting out strong headwinds and heavy storms. Upon arriving at Manitowoc, it went into winter quarters (*Buffalo Commercial Advertiser* 1867; *Cleveland Daily Herald* 1867; *Manitowoc Tribune* 1867a, 1867b).

In mid-March of 1868 the ship was fitted out. *Ebenezer* sailed from Manitowoc on 27 March with posts bound for Milwaukee. The success of the Horn-Schuette grain operation must have been short-lived—or at least as far as *Ebenezer*'s participation in it—as the schooner primarily carried lumber that season. Shipments of cordwood and staves were delivered to Milwaukee on 1 May. On 5 May the ship brought shingles, cordwood, dimensioned lumber, and 100 bushels of potatoes to Chicago (*Daily Milwaukee News* 1868a; *Manitowoc Pilot* 1868a, 1868b; *Manitowoc Tribune*

1868a). At the end of August, the schooner was brought into the shipyard in Manitowoc for an overhaul. It required a new deck and was caulked and repainted. Repairs were conducted over several weeks (*Manitowoc Pilot* 1868c; *Manitowoc Tribune* 1868b). In October the vessel brought 624,000 shingles to Milwaukee. In November of 1868, *Ebenezer* was chartered for a short trip bringing 5,000 bushels of corn from Chicago to Milwaukee. The schooner delivered the load and departed the same day for Manitowoc. At 4AM on 18 November, *Ebenezer* was in sight of Chicago when a storm forced the ship to turn out into the lake. A portion of its deck load of lumber was lost before it finally arrived at the port on 19 November (*Buffalo Commercial Advertiser* 1868a; *Daily Milwaukee News* 1868b; *Milwaukee Daily Sentinel* 1868). The ship laid up at Chicago for the 1868–1869 winter (*Buffalo Commercial Advertiser* 1868b).

Ebenezer came out of winter quarters during the last week in March 1869. On 14 April 1869, *Ebenezer* collided with the schooner *Leo* at Grand Haven, Michigan which carried away *Leo*'s main boom and main gaff. *Ebenezer* sustained no injuries (*Milwaukee Daily Sentinel* 1869a). *Ebenezer* carried 65 cords of wood, 900 posts, 100,000 shingles and 8,000 board feet of lumber from Manitowoc to Milwaukee, arriving on 27 April. The ship unloaded and cleared the same day with sundries for Manitowoc. Two more collisions occurred in mid-May. On 17 May at Chicago, *Ebenezer* ran into the small schooner *Hattie* of Sheboygan. *Hattie* lost nearly everything above its deck—jibboom, bowsprit, fore and mainmasts, and rails. *Ebenezer* lost only its jibboom. On 20 May in the Chicago River, the tug *Monitor* with two vessels in tow collided with the *Ebenezer*. All ships incurred some damage, but the extent is unknown (*Buffalo Courier Express* 1869; *Milwaukee Daily Sentinel* 1869b, 1869c).

On 19 June 1869 *Ebenezer* arrived at Manitowoc from Chicago with sundries, loaded railroad ties, and cleared for a return to the city on the same day (*Manitowoc Tribune* 1869). In July of that year the ship received a new coat of paint at the shipyard in Manitowoc. On 20 July the vessel brought 10 barrels of flour, 60 cords of wood, and 1,500 posts from Manitowoc to Milwaukee. It cleared the same day with sundries for Manitowoc. The ship made two trips in August and one in November from Manitowoc to Milwaukee with a combination of wood products, and wheat or flour. Each time the ship cleared on the same day with sundries. The *Ebenezer* remained active through December (*Manitowoc Pilot* 1869b, 1869c; *Milwaukee Daily Sentinel* 1869d, 1869e, 1869f, 1869g).

With excellent winter weather *Ebenezer* continued to sail between Manitowoc and Milwaukee through January laying up in Milwaukee during first week of February. It remained there through mid-April 1870 (*Daily Milwaukee News* 1870; *Manitowoc Tribune* 1870a, 1870b, 1870c). At some point in late March William Horn bought out his partner, Homer Hill, to become sole owner of the ship. A new enrollment was entered at the port of Milwaukee on 14 April 1870 to reflect the change in ownership. Captain Hill was replaced at the helm by Captain L. Simpson (Bureau of Navigation 1870a). In April, *Ebenezer* brought 7,500 posts from Manitowoc to Milwaukee on the 23rd and cleared the same day light for a return trip (*Milwaukee Daily Sentinel* 1870a).

On 2 May 1870 the *Milwaukee Daily Sentinel* (1870b) announced the sale of the *Ebenezer* to Thomas Wendeate for \$4,000. It's not known if the sale was inaccurately reported or if the deal fell through but on 9 May 1870 a new enrollment was entered at the port of Milwaukee for change in

owner and William H. Horn was recorded as retaining 2/3 of the vessel, having sold 1/3 to new Master Captain Robert A. Goss (Bureau of Navigation 1870b).

During this time the ship delivered 1,200 ties and 37,000 posts to Chicago from Manitowoc on 4 May (*Chicago Tribune* 1870a). Also in May, the ship brought 90 cords of wood from Manitowoc, and 4,000 posts from Two Rivers; both cargoes were delivered to Milwaukee. On 26 May the ship delivered shingles to Chicago from Manitowoc (*Chicago Tribune* 1870b; *Milwaukee Daily Sentinel* 1870c, 1870d). At the end of June *Ebenezer* went into the shipyard at Manitowoc for overhauling and was repainted throughout (*Manitowoc Pilot* 1870). Information about the ship's routes and cargoes were not located for the remainder of the season except for one report that on 15 December of 1870 the ship delivered 60 cords of wood, 600 posts, and 35,500 shingles to Milwaukee from Manistee, Michigan (*Milwaukee Daily Sentinel* 1870e).

Information regarding *Ebenezer's* movements during early and mid-season 1871 are unknown. In October and November, the ship was chartered to bring boards, joists, scantling, and culls from Manistee to Milwaukee (*Milwaukee Daily Sentinel* 1871a, 1871b). In the wake of the great fires that devastated the region in mid-November 1871, resulting in massive loss of life and property damage, William Horn solicited charity from the merchants and produce men of Manitowoc. He collected merchandise, food, and household goods—anything and everything—and loaded it on the *Ebenezer*. The ship sailed north to Horn Brothers' pier in southern Door County to distribute the relief to the community. Horn promised expedited payment and return of these favors—something that wouldn't necessarily be granted if the city of Manitowoc lacked confidence in his integrity. After the vessel's mission of mercy, *Ebenezer* was chartered to carry lumber from Muskegon to Chicago (*Chicago Tribune* 1871; *Manitowoc Pilot* 1871).

The ship came out of 1871–1872 winter quarters at Milwaukee during the last week of April and cleared port on 1 May 1872 with sundries for Hayne's Pier in Door County (*Milwaukee Daily Sentinel* 1872a). A month later, the *Ebenezer's* enrollment was surrendered at the port of Chicago for change of owners. William H. Horn sold his 2/3 share in the vessel to Henry Hofer and Charles C. Harder of Chicago. The Harder & Hofer firm was a coal dealership in Chicago. Captain Goss retained his 1/3 share and remained Master. *Ebenezer's* homeport was changed to Chicago (Bureau of Navigation 1872). *Ebenezer* went into the shipyard at Manitowoc in July to receive a new foremast, main top mast, hatch coamings, catheads, and had its rigging reset. It also got a fresh coat of paint. A full overhaul was considered, but with the success of the market it was decided to put the work off for slower times (*Manitowoc Tribune* 1872a).

On 14 October, 1872, while anchored in Maritime Bay, *Ebenezer* was boarded and inspected by an officer from the U.S. Revenue Cutter *Andrew Johnson*. *Ebenezer* had been headed from Chicago to Wolf River light (*Manitowoc Tribune* 1872b). On 6 November the schooner was blown ashore at Ahnapee and filled with water. It remained aground for several days before the tug *Kitty Smoke* was able to pull the ship free. The *Ebenezer* was towed to the dry dock in Manitowoc for repairs. It was reported that the vessel carried no insurance. The shipyard completed its work on 16 November and *Ebenezer* went into winter quarters (*Manitowoc Tribune* 1872c, 1872d; *Milwaukee Daily Sentinel* 1872b).

Ebenezer was fitted out for service at the beginning of April 1873, but remained icebound in Manitowoc harbor for 22 days. The ship was reported passing Detroit downbound on 14 September and upbound on 25 September; the nature of these trips is not known, however (*Manitowoc Tribune* 1873; *Milwaukee Daily Sentinel* 1873a, 1873b; *Buffalo Commercial Advertiser* 1873).

No information was located about *Ebenezer's* movements during the 1874 season, likely due to a downturn in the lumber market. In 1874 and 1875 the ship was valued at \$5,500 and rated B1 (BLU 1874). The ship was tied at the dock in Chicago in September of 1875 when a severe storm blew through and damaged many vessels there. *Ebenezer* had a narrow escape (*Inter Ocean* 1875a). On 24 September the schooner arrived in Chicago with a load of lumber from Kewaunee (*Inter Ocean* 1875b). No other information about shipments during the 1875 shipping season was found.

On 26 May 1876, the *Ebenezer* sailed to Manistee harbor. There, it was run into by the scow *Dan Hayes*. *Ebenezer* lost its fore rigging and *Dan Hayes* lost its bowsprit, jibboom, and headgear. After the incident, *Ebenezer* battled leaks for several months. On 18 August the ship went into dry dock in Chicago for repair (*Inter Ocean* 1876a, 1876b; *Milwaukee Daily Sentinel* 1876). The ship sailed late in the season again, with a trip to the Manitou Islands on 5 December (*Chicago Tribune* 1877).

On 4 May 1877 *Ebenezer* was taken to the shipyard at Chicago to have alterations made to its rig (sails). The schooner was fitted out for the fish trade on the north shore of Lake Michigan (*Chicago Tribune* 1877; *Inter Ocean* 1877a, 1877b, 1877c). One arrival was recorded at Chicago on 24 July 1877 with a cargo of fish.

When the ship cleared port on its return trip to Beaver Island on 27 July 1877, official records indicated that it carried 50 bushels of corn, 400 bushels of oats, 54 barrels of flour, 8 barrels of beef, 8 barrels of pork, 200 barrels of salt, 5 barrels of apples, 5 barrels of sugar, and other various sundries (*Inter Ocean* 1877d, 1877e). One particular bit of cargo was left off the manifest, however. On 10 December, Captain Goss and his crew were arrested by Internal Revenue Collector Bailey (of Grand Rapids) and held on \$1,000 bonds, each. They were charged with illegally dealing whiskey at Beaver Island and their cargo of whiskey was seized (*Hillsdale Standard* 1877). The ship returned to Chicago from Northport with a cargo of fish on 15 December (*Inter Ocean* 1877f).

In early January 1878 a search of Lake Michigan harbors was conducted to find the *Ebenezer* after a month passed without anyone hearing from the ship or its crew. *Ebenezer* was found at St. James harbor on Beaver Island, frozen in with Captain Goss, mate Daniel Richmond, cook Albert Miller, three unnamed sailors, and passenger/trader F. Hardes on board. Those aboard were rescued and captain and crew abandoned the *Ebenezer* in favor of Chicago on 10 January, 1878. The crew returned to the ship in late April of 1878. When spring weather freed the vessel, it was sailed back to Chicago.

Ebenezer's enrollment was surrendered at Chicago on 15 April 1878 for change in owners. Captain Goss sold his 1/3 share in the ship to Henry Hofer and Charles C. Handler. A new registration was

entered listing the new arrangement. Chicago remain its homeport and Captain Goss remained in command (Bureau of Navigation 1878). No information was located for the vessel's cargoes or routes during the season. On 27 August 1878 Harder & Hofer filed for bankruptcy in the U.S. Circuit Court. Among assets listed was a general assortment of merchandise on the schooner *Ebenezer* valued at \$150 and the schooner itself valued at \$1,000 (*Inter Ocean* 1878a). On 1 October, the ship was seized by U.S. Marshal Henry Fink against \$710.87 in unpaid seaman's wages. On 17 October 1878, the *Ebenezer* was sold at auction in Milwaukee to D.W. Chipman for \$1,000 which covered the cost of the claim. Although the ownership changed, no new enrollment was entered at the port. Captain C.H. Brigham took command from Robert Goss on 29 October and *Ebenezer* remained active into December, going into winter quarters 15 December at Milwaukee (*Inter Ocean* 1878b; *Milwaukee Daily Sentinel* 1878a, 1878b, 1878c, 1878d, 1878e, 1878f).

A new document for the ship was entered at the port of Milwaukee on 7 April 1879. John Saveland of Milwaukee and Edward Austin of the Town of Lake, Wisconsin became equal ½ owners of the *Ebenezer*. Milwaukee became its new homeport and Captain C. Johnson became its new Master. In 1879, the *Ebenezer* was given a B2 insurance rating with a value of \$1,800 (BLU 1879; Bureau of Navigation 1879). On 26 May 1879 at the port of Milwaukee, Captain D. Nelson took command of the ship in lieu of Captain Johnson (Bureau of Navigation 1879).

The *Ebenezer* was severely damaged when the ore laden schooner *S. Anderson* collided with it on 14 June 1879, approximately 20 miles south of Port Washington. *Ebenezer* lost its mainmast, and 25 feet of bulwarks, stanchions, and sheer planking on its port side. The *S. Anderson* lost its bowsprit and jibboom. While the schooners were locked together, John Saveland, who was on board the *Ebenezer*, threw his satchel on the deck of the *S. Anderson* thinking he would need to climb onto the *Anderson* to save himself. When the *S. Anderson* pulled away, the satchel remained on its deck and sailed on to Chicago without Saveland. *Ebenezer* was taken to the shipyard in Milwaukee for repairs. It remained out of the newsprint for much of the season. On 20 November 1879 the ship was reported seeking shelter at Sheboygan from a storm (*Inter Ocean* 1879; *Milwaukee Daily Sentinel* 1879).

On 9 February 1880, Jeremiah A. Buckley and Elizabeth "Lizzie" J. Wing of Manistee, Michigan agreed to purchase the *Ebenezer* from Saveland and Austin for \$2,050. Elizabeth was likely acting on behalf of her husband Giles in the aftermath of a bankruptcy. The ship was sent to the Wolf & Davidson shipyard on 1 April to have its centerboard trunk replaced, as that component was thought to be the cause of a persistent leak. Despite the purchase months earlier, the ship was only enrolled on 6 May 1880 at the port of Grant Haven. Captain Chas. Otto became its new Master (Bureau of Navigation 1880; *Chicago Tribune* 1880; *Milwaukee Daily Sentinel*. 1880a, 1880b). Now in the employ of the new Buckley & Wing Co., the *Ebenezer* was put into service carrying stone from the old Buckley & Wing Co. (Edward Buckley, of unknown relation to Jeremiah, and Giles Wing) quarries at Washington Island and Toft Point.

Ebenezer departed Washington Island, Wisconsin on the night of 24 June 1880 bound for Ludington, Michigan with a cargo of stone. Shortly after departing, the schooner began leaking again and the crew was put to work on the pumps to keep the water down. The ship made it as far as Manistee on 28 June when it was forced into the harbor to seek assistance. The tug *Osgood*



Figure 73: A vessel believed to be the *Ebenezer* lies on its side in Mud Bay. WHS Image ID 97535, Ferdinand Hotz collection.

towed the schooner the remaining distance to Ludington. Temporary repairs were made at Ludington, but the leak continued, and the vessel was drydocked at the Milwaukee Drydock Company on 5 July and again on 7 July (*Milwaukee Daily Sentinel* 1880c, 1880d). Bad luck continued for the *Ebenezer*. On the evening of 20 August 1880, as the tug *E.D. Holton* was landing the schooner in the Burnham Canal, 18-year-old linesman John Long was shifting the towline when he was thrown overboard and drowned. While the tug's crew attempted to render assistance to Long, they left the *Ebenezer* unchecked and it ran into a lumber pile. Its railing and bulwarks forward were damaged (*Inter Ocean* 1880a; *Milwaukee Daily Sentinel* 1880e).

On 15 October 1880, Buckley & Wing sent a telegraph to Bailey's Harbor, alerting Thomas Toft at the Mud Bay quarry that the *Ebenezer* was on its way. Toft kept a keg of beer under the stairs of the main house/workers quarters, and messengers in Bailey's Harbor were told they could tap in if they delivered the telegraphs to Toft. This allowed Toft to arrange for loaders to be ready when the ship arrived (Lukes 1998:43). The *Ebenezer* appeared on the horizon in due course, tied up at the quarry wharf, and loaded stone. Toft family lore holds that the captain and the ship's cook were the only crew, and that the captain headed into Bailey's Harbor when loading was done so that he could try to find someone else willing to sign on (Lukes 1998:43). Whether this was true or not cannot be determined from existing records.

As the winds picked up in the late afternoon the ship put out into Moonlight Bay and anchored offshore. The storm that would become infamous as the 'Alpena Gale' set in from the northwest.

About 2AM on 16 October the wind changed to the southeast, increased in severity, and continued into the night. The schooner *Contest* arrived at some point during the storm, seeking refuge in the bay along with the *Ebenezer*. During the evening hours *Ebenezer* dragged its anchors and was blown up on the rocks. Toft family lore holds that the anchors were, in fact, pulled in when the cook panicked, leaving the ship at the mercy of the waves (Lukes 1998:44). The “crew,” however many there were aboard, were rescued from the stranded schooner, but *Ebenezer* was left pounding on the shore (Figure 73). The *Contest* was pushed up on a reef, but without much damage. The Toft generations passed down the report that the captain “almost lost his mind” when he got back to Mud Bay and saw what had become of his vessel (Lukes 1998:44–47). Again, there is no support one way or another for this version of events.

The ship was filled with heavy stone cargo at the time of its stranding. The extent of damage was severe, and the *Ebenezer* was declared a total loss. The captain was offered \$150 for what was left of the vessel, but there is no record if a salvage effort was undertaken (*Inter Ocean* 1880b; *Manitowoc Pilot* 1880; *Milwaukee Daily Sentinel* 1880f, 1880g). A copy of the ship’s enrollment document was surrendered at the port of Grand Haven on 25 August 1881 (Bureau of Navigation 1880). In the aftermath, the Toft family salvaged some items from the ship and put them to use in their own home. Debris from the vessel washed ashore in 1952 and was turned into picture frames (Lukes 1998:44).

2023 Maritime Investigations

What little remains of the schooner *Ebenezer* is scattered on the lake bottom on the north and east sides of Toft Point, in Moonlight Bay, in the waters of Lake Michigan. The shipwreck pieces were reported to Wisconsin Historical Society in 1998 following a Wisconsin Department of Natural Resources archaeological survey (Van Harpen 1995). Some, but not all, of these fragments were relocated in 2023, and the 2023 survey identified fragments not observed in 1993. It would appear that shifting sands and currents are not only exposing and covering wreck components, but shifting their positions over the years. WHS maritime archaeologists visited the site on 27 and 28 July 2023. In this shallow depth in the surf zone, there is a lack of quagga mussel colonization on the wreckage.

The documented fragments of the schooner are grouped into three main clusters (see Figure 18). Cluster A is north of the point itself, between 80 and 185 feet offshore in ten feet of water, and consists of the centerboard fragment, a section of the keel, and two sections of rail and stanchions. Cluster B is located on the northeast side of the point in ten feet of water approximately 240 to 270 feet north of the quarry wharf. It includes the centerboard trunk and an isolated board. Cluster C is located on the east side of Toft Point 150 feet north of the quarry wharf and consists of a section of shelving.

Cluster A

Around the point and into the bay 210 feet northwest of the centerboard trunk are two other fragments of wreckage. One represents a portion of the railing with a single attached stanchion (Figures 74b and 75), presumably one of the two sections observed by Van Harpen in 1998. It is mostly buried in sand. The exposed portions of the rail are 26.4 feet long and 0.5 feet wide, but the

Ebenezer (Schooner) DR-0336

Toft Point, Door County, Wisconsin

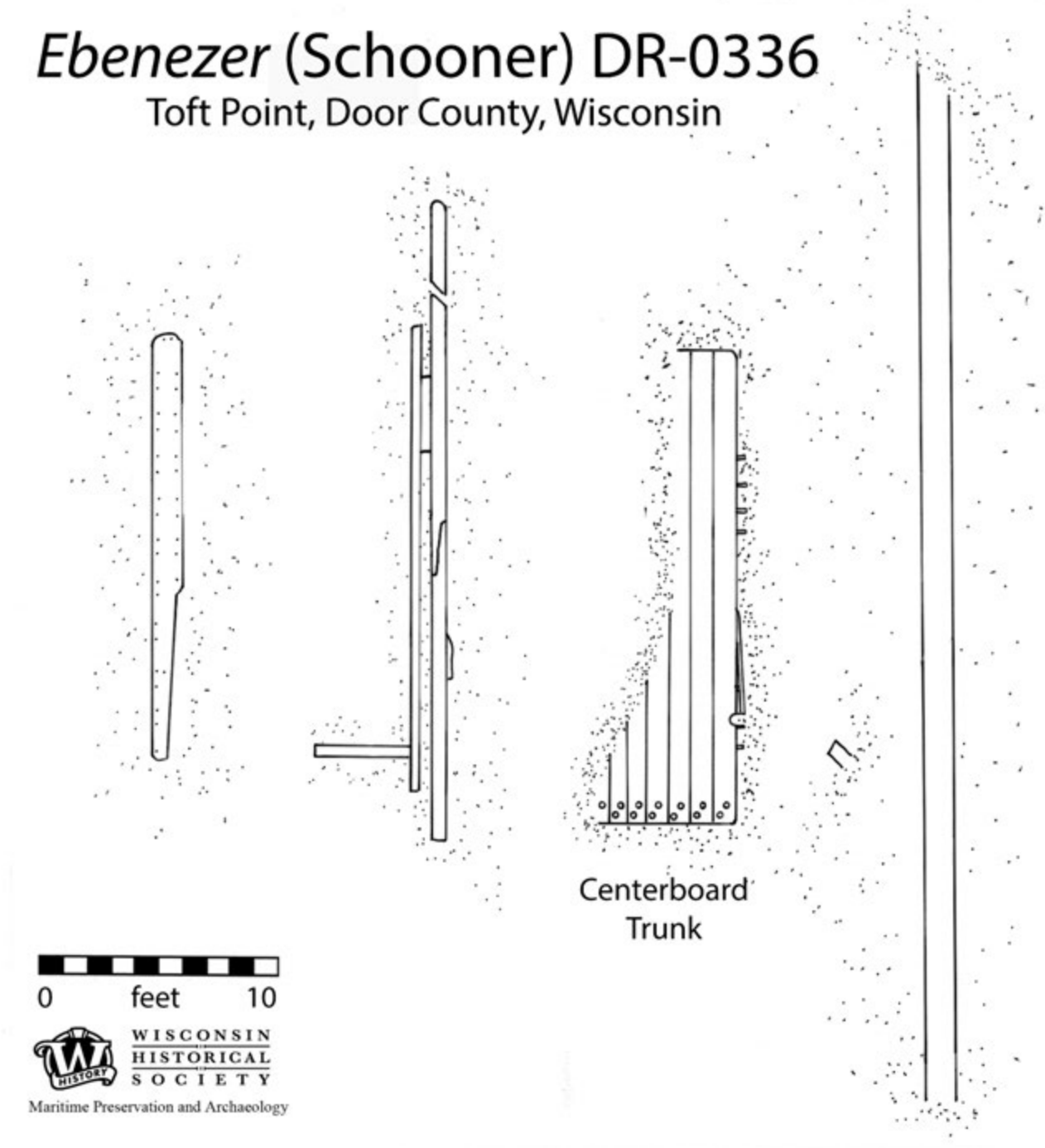


Figure 74: Left to right: a) deck planking, b) rail and stanchion, c) centerboard trunk, d) board.



Figure 75: view of a portion of the rail and stanchion in Cluster A.

overall length is not known as both ends remain buried. A nib-scarf is present in the center of the exposed railing fragment (Figure 76). A single stanchion remains attached to the northernmost end of the railing and measures 4.0 feet long and 0.4 feet wide. The other piece of wreckage is of deck planking. This board measures 17.5 feet long and has half of a nib-scarf (Figure 74a). The board measures 1.1 feet wide and 0.3 feet thick.

The overturned keel fragment identified by Van Harpen was not located in 2023, nor was the second rail and stanchion fragment. Per Van Harpen, the keel included the center board trunk section, mast step, three frames, one piece of ceiling, a small amount of hull planking, and a possible hole for a bilge pump. Van Harpen observed that the vessel was “constructed of extremely heavy material” for a small schooner (1995:26). It is difficult to say which of the two rail sections was or was not located in 2023, but it is likely that the ‘missing’ fragment of the schooner is the larger of the two that Van Harpen noted. That fragment was estimated at fifty feet long, with an eye bolt, possible sockets for boat davits, and a peened rod and washer (Van Harpen 1995:30–33)

Cluster B

A 19.6-foot long, 5.5-foot-wide section of the ship’s centerboard trunk (Figure 74c) was found lying flat on the lakebed and parallel to shore. In 2023 it was mostly covered by sand, although seven boards of the trunk were exposed on the north end. These boards measure 0.9 feet wide at



Figure 76: view of the nib scarf in the rail and stanchion in Cluster A.

the bottom of the trunk, 0.8 feet wide at the top of the trunk and are 0.2 feet thick. The trunk is through-bolted and roved. The lowest board of the trunk is not extant, evidenced by a half hole that would have retained the centerboard's pivot pin. This half hole is on the northernmost end of the trunk 4.2 feet in from its end. This would have been the forward end of the trunk indicating that the ship was facing the lake with its stern into the bay when it went side-to on the point. The pivot pin hole itself measured 0.4 feet in diameter. Van Harpen noted in 1993 that the lifting eye of the centerboard was still attached (1995:36).

Seven and a half feet outside of and parallel to the centerboard trunk is a single board of deck planking (Figure 74d). Forty-two feet of the plank was exposed in the sand. The board measured 1.1 feet wide and 0.3 feet thick. This board was not observed by Van Harpen in 1993.

Cluster C

Van Harpen describes an approximately thirty-foot length of shelving with frames and stanchions attached in this area (Van Harpen 1995:39). This section of wreckage was not relocated in 2023.

Conclusions and Evaluation

Though the site, in isolation, does not meet the criteria for listing to the National Register of Historic Places, the remains of the *Ebenezer* will be included in the NRHP nomination for Toft Point.

Chapter Six

Higgin's Pier (Frogtown) (DR-0495)

Higgin's Pier

Location and Setting

Higgin's Pier is located approximately one mile south of downtown Bailey's Harbor, in Section 29 of Baileys Harbor Township (Figure 77). The pier lies offshore of a right-angle bend in Frogtown Road, not far north of that road's intersection with Chapel Lane. The lakebed at the pier location is characterized by alternating rocky shoals and sand drifts. The shore is narrow and abuts a steep lake bluff that rises up to Frogtown Road, with very little level terrain between the bluff and the road. The area west of Frogtown Road and overlooking Lake Michigan has been heavily developed by modern lakeside homes, so that the stretch of lakeshore where the Higgins Pier complex once stood is now characterized by a mix of manicured lawns, small gardens and landscaped plantings, woodlots and wood lines, and residences.

History

Higgins' Pier was built in 1866 by the father-and-son team of William and Allen Higgins (*Door County Advocate* 1866; Holand 1917:16–20). When the Higgins arrived at Baileys Harbor, a competing lumber complex founded by Moses Kilgore was well-established nearby and what would become the community of Baileys Harbor was springing up to its south. William and Allen purchased a stretch of lakeshore over a mile south of Kilgore's pier and set up their own lumber port.



Figure 77: Location of Higgins Pier (circled) south of Bailey's Harbor (Randall 1899).

By August of 1866, a line of cribs and planking extended 710 feet out into a depth of ten feet of water, with a staging/loading platform at the end no less than 54 feet wide. The pier was designed to hold ten cords of wood at a time, and the newspapers described it as one of the best built on the western Lake Michigan shore (*Door County Advocate* 1866). J. W. Lowell set up a steam sawmill near the pier, though it would operate for only a few years (*Weekly Expositor Independent* 1881).

In August of 1868 William Higgins followed the usual pattern of pier ownership and extended the pier 70 feet further into the lake seeking deeper and safer water (*Door County Advocate* 1868). Unsatisfied, he added another 240 feet of cribs in 1869, bringing it into 13 feet of water and giving the pier a total length of 1,010 feet. Business boomed, and the lumber rush was on (*Door County Advocate* 1869, 1870). In the opening days of 1870, the complex celebrated the opening of the Peninsula House, a tavern and hotel managed by J. T. Wright (*Door County Advocate* 1910). Local residents later remembered the complex at its peak as hosting not only Lowell's saw and shingle mill and the Peninsula House, but also a boarding house run by Mrs. William Higgins, a blacksmith shop, the homes of William and Allen Higgins and their families, gardens, and the residences of the workmen who loaded vessels as a 'hobby' (*Door County Advocate* 1960, 1962). Notably absent is any mention of a pier store. No advertisements for a store appear in the newspapers, nor is a store mentioned in newspaper accounts.

Allen Higgins re-planked the pier in late spring of 1880. On October 16th of that year the Alpena Blow swept into the harbor, throwing no fewer than seven ships sheltering there onto the beach. Higgins' refurbished pier was nearly demolished (*Door County Advocate* 1880). Higgins, by then in sole charge of the pier and about to take a job in the Door County courts, left the pier unrepaired into 1881, then sold the pier, a pile driver, and portions of his land holdings to the lumber commission firm of Chipman & Raesser. They announced that they would tear down the pier, salvage any "serviceable material", and use it to rebuild Kilgore's similarly-damaged pier, which they had just leased (*Door County Advocate* 1882; *Weekly Expositor Independent* 1882). Higgin's pier remained standing despite their intentions and would for many years. The ruins of the pier survived until 1951, when an autumn storm washed it away (*Door County Advocate* 1951).

2023 Fieldwork

Reports from divers and Google Earth imagery confirmed that remains of the pier were present near the wastewater outflow pipe serving the community of Bailey's Harbor. Upon arrival of the Wisconsin Historical Society team at the site in 2023, the remains of crib fill and timbering were observed on the lake bottom in about six feet of water (Figures 78 and 79). Due to the relatively inaccessible location and difficulty obtaining landowner access to set up a survey station onshore, the pier features were mapped in using traditional maritime techniques supplemented with geolocation. The surviving features of the pier are, fortunately, visible on Google Earth imagery, allowing the mapped structures to be precisely placed with relation to the shoreline (Figure 80).

The surviving portions of the pier are located at 45° 03' 00.97" North and 97° 07' 20.29" West and extend from 560 to 685 feet offshore, at a bearing of 83 degrees. Four stone features representing collapsed cribs and one wooden feature were located and mapped. They are aligned into two parallel rows separated by a gap of 15–20 feet. The northern row is composed of two features representing two or three collapsed cribs, with the westernmost feature likely marking the

Higgins Pier DR-0495

Door County, Wisconsin

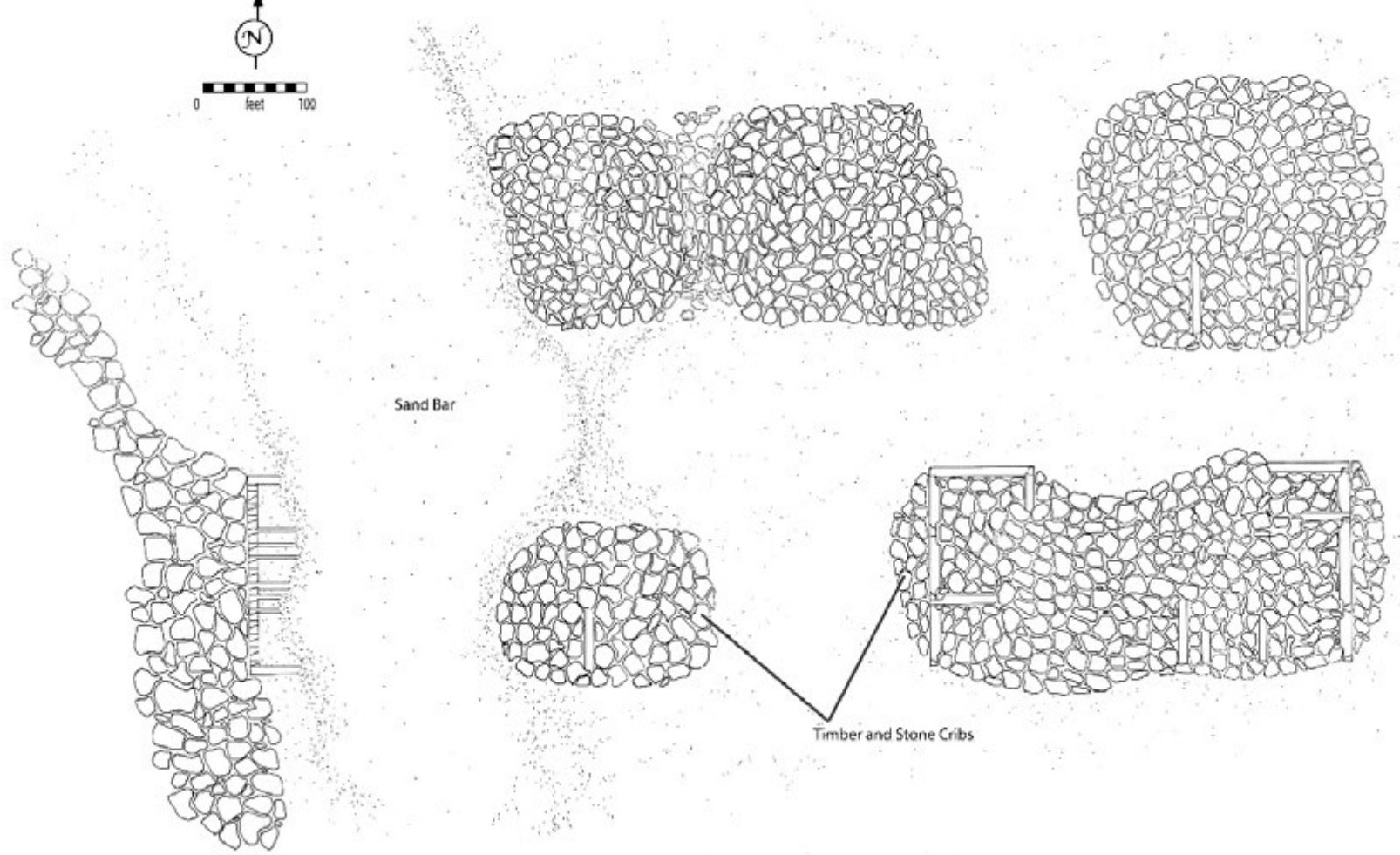
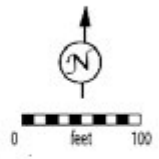


Figure 78: 2023 Map of surviving features at Higgins Pier



Figure 79: Divers documenting shallow cribbing at Higgins Pier in 2023.



Figure 80: Surviving features from Higgins Pier georeferenced using Google Earth Pro imagery, with former line of pier extended to shore.

location of two cribs that have collapsed into a single, overlapping pile of crib fill. The southern row is similar in appearance, except that the eastern feature may represent one or two cribs while the western feature in the row represents a single crib. A section of intricately-joined crib framing protrudes from drifting sand west of the western feature in the southern row. Some portions of the site area were obscured by drifting sand. The shoreward margin of the pier remnants blended in with a rock shoal, making crib fill difficult to pick out. The crib timbers average between seven inches to a foot in width.

Feature 1

Feature 1 is located on the east end of the northern row of cribbing. It consists of a collapsed pile of stone crib fill measuring approximately 31 (N-S) by 27 (E-W) feet. Two cribbing timbers, oriented north and south, are visible among the fill on the south side of the stone pile. Visible portions of these timbers each measure approximately six-and-a-half feet, with the northern ends buried beneath cribbing stone. The timbers are parallel to one another and spaced ten feet apart.

Feature 2

Feature 2 is located on the west end of the northern row of cribbing. It is separated from Feature 1 by a gap of approximately 10–12 feet. It consists of two overlapping piles of stone crib fill. No timbers were noted at this feature. The feature measures 50 feet east-west and 22 feet north-south.

Feature 3

Feature 3 is located on the east end of the southern row of cribbing. It consists of two overlapping piles of stone crib fill. Timbers are visible on the north, east, and west sides, and on the south side of what is likely the easternmost crib of the merged pair. The feature measures 49 feet east-west and 24 feet north-south (Figures 81 and 82).

The crib framing on the east end of the feature is composed of two east-west running timbers marking the north side of the crib, spaced five feet apart, with a 20-foot north-south running timber joined to their eastern ends. Eight feet of the northern timber is visible, while five feet of the southern of the two is visible. Their western ends are buried beneath stone crib fill. The timbers on this end of the crib are joined with variations of dovetail joints. Two notches on the south end of the 20-foot north-south timber mark the location of a matching set of two east-west framing timbers (now missing) that would have braced the south side of the crib, just as the two surviving timbers braced the north side. The gap between these sets of east-west framing timbers measured ten feet.

Three timbers, oriented north-south, protrude from the collapsed stone crib fill on the south side of the east end of Feature 3. From west to east, the visible portions measure six, three, and four feet. The south ends terminate along approximately the same line, in line with the southernmost notch on the north-south timber that makes up the east side of the crib framing for Feature 3.

The framing on the west side of Feature 3 utilizes similar dovetail joints, but the spacing on the 20-foot north-south timber on this side is different than on the north-south timber on the east side.

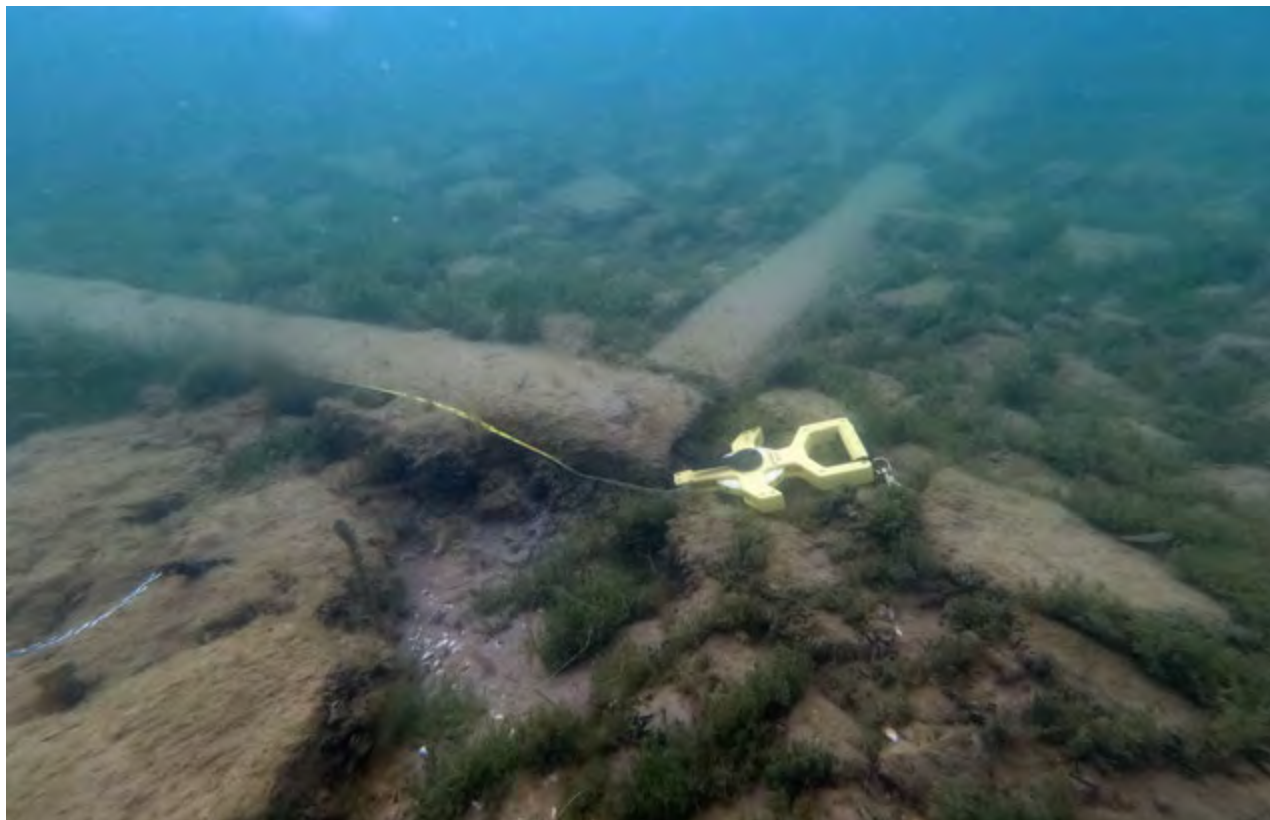


Figure 81: corner of cribbing on Feature 3.



Figure 82: Join of three cribbing timbers on Feature 3.

Notches for three perpendicular (east-west) timbers are apparent, spaced approximately six feet apart. An east-west framing timber with a half-lap joint end abuts the notch second from the south end. This interior timber runs for approximately five feet before vanishing beneath stone crib fill. A perpendicular (east-west) framing timber is still in place on the north end of the western north-south timber, again spaced six feet further. This surviving timber marks the northwestern corner of the crib and extends east for ten feet before encountering an interior north-south timber at a basic butt joint. A drift pin is visible in the north end of the interior north-south timber, presumably joining it to a timber buried below. Four feet of this interior timber are visible; the south end is buried beneath stone crib fill.

Feature 4

Feature 4 is located west of the southern row of cribbing. It is separated from Feature 1 by a gap of approximately 22 feet. It consists of a single pile of stone crib fill. A single timber is present near the center of the south side of this feature. Six feet of the timber are visible; the north end is buried beneath stone crib fill.

Feature 5

Feature 5 is located on the west end of the southern row of cribbing, in line with Features 3 and 4. It is separated from Feature 4 by a gap of 22 feet. It consists of a north-south timber, 20 feet long, marking the west side of a crib. Much of the crib structure is obscured beneath a sand bar. Two groups of three perpendicular (east-west) framing timbers (six timbers total) are joined to the 20-foot timber with dovetail joints (Figure 83). Timbers within each set are spaced one foot apart, and the two sets are spaced two-and-a-half feet from one another. A notch for another dovetail joint is present in the space between the two sets. Three notches are visible north of the northern set, and four south of the southern set. Two more east-west running timbers extend east from the north and south ends of the 20-foot timber and mark the northern and southern edges of the crib. Only between two to four feet of any of the east-west oriented timbers in this feature are exposed; the remainder of each is covered by sand. The 20-foot timber butts up against the rocky shoal on its western side.

Conclusions and Evaluation

Period newspapers took special note of the sturdiness and care that went into the construction of Higgins' Pier, and that care is evident in the ruins today. At least three different joinery methods are apparent in the preserved timbers—drift pin, half-lap, and irregular variations of dovetail joints (see Figures 84 and . These features may account for the relative lack of mentions of damage and rebuilding to be found in contemporary newspaper accounts of Higgins' Pier. Only a small section of the pier was located in 2023, just over halfway along the pier's final length. Changing water levels along this section of shore do not appear to move the shoreline by any appreciable distance, and the distance of this cribbing from shore suggests that it may represent the original (1866) terminus of the pier, situated where the rocky shoals give way to slightly deeper water.



Figure 83: Dovetail notching at Feature 5.



Figure 84: Half-lap notching of a crib timber at Higgins Pier.



Figure 85: Detail of drift pin in notched crib timber Higgins Pier.



Figure 86: Drift pin-secured corner at Higgins Pier.

Aerial imagery from 2010 (Google Earth) shows what may be additional cribbing extending another 250 feet from the mapped cribbing. Extensive survey in this area conducted during the 2023 field season and in the seasons prior has failed to identify crib structures in that location, however. Periodic monitoring of this site is recommended in order to identify any additional features or items exposed as the sand drifts shift.

This site is not considered to be eligible for listing on the National Register of Historic Places.

Chapter Seven

Rowley's Bay (DR-0435)

Introduction: Hanging up a Shingle

Rowley's Bay, like Toft Point, represents another lumber port that found new life in tourism. Unlike Toft Point, the throughline wasn't via the family most associated with the lumber pier. Instead, new owners took over the property and re-imagined the possibilities. They changed the economic base of the area in order to meet changing opportunities and needs. Flexibility and adaptation is the underlying theme of Rowley's Bay. Where most lumber dealers set up one pier, S. A. Rogers built many. When the market changed, Rogers adapted—holding back goods until prices rose, trying new lines of revenue, and otherwise surfing the tides of commerce.

S. A. Rogers' Main Pier at Rowley's Bay

Location and Setting

The Rowley's Bay Pier is located in Section 25 of Liberty Grove Township, on the south shore of a small cove on the west side of Rowley's Bay (Figures 87 and 88). The site is located at the eastern terminus of Wagon Trail Circle, not far northeast of its intersection with the terminus of County Road ZZ. A 20th century, concrete-topped dock/boat launch constructed with metal pilings is located within the pier footprint (Figure 89). Wagon Trail Circle passes between the former locations of Roger's pier store and sawmill on its way to the current dock (Figure 90).

The location has been developed as part of a large tourist resort complex, first known as the Wagon Trail Resort and more recently as Rowley's Bay Resort. The shoreline north of the pier site hosts a modern marina and boat launch area. Areas nearer the sawmill are currently undeveloped, under a cover of manicured lawn (Figure 91). The former pier store location is within tree cover surrounding residences in a private development south of the resort. Rowley's Bay Resort itself, with associated parking lots and outbuildings, is located approximately 660 feet northwest of the base of the former pier.

History

Osborne, Osgood, and Coggsell

It wasn't until 1870, when the firm of Osborne & Co. (also known as Osborne, Coggsell, & Co. and Osborne & Osgood) applied for and received patent title to the land that would someday host the Rowley's Bay Resort, that timbering at Rowley's Bay took off and achieved notice in newsprint (*Door County Advocate* 1874; General Land Office 2024). The firm focused their efforts on the production of cedar poles and posts, railroad ties, and cordwood. In order to ship their wares, the company made use of a pier. Because multiple piers were built over the years in Rowley's Bay, it is unclear if what would become S. A. Roger's main pier is the same structure (*Door County Advocate* 1870).



Figure 87: Location of the main S. A. Rogers pier at Rowley's Bay on the 1899 plat of Liberty Grove Township (Randall 1899).

Elsewhere along the Lake Michigan coast, pier locations were established early and remained more-or-less stable. Not so at Rowley's Bay. The shallow and rocky bay, the presence of wetlands that impeded travel with heavily-laden lumber wagons or sleds, and the abundance of timber and stone made it simpler and more cost effective to put in short-lived piers wherever they were needed. Another problem is just what is meant by 'Rowley's Bay' in newspaper accounts. Correspondents tended to associate the placename with a rather wide section of Door County's coastline, including Appleport and other areas well outside of the bay proper.

A glimpse of Osborne & Co.'s operations is provided in 1871, in the words of a correspondent from Racine who paid a visit.

In the midst of these wilds of nature, a company of man are employed in getting out cedar posts, telegraph poles, rail road ties, and hard wood, for which the country thereabout is so famously known...The settlers are camped out in their little cabins near their field of labor, or, as they have it, they 'Shanty out.' Some board with families living there, but most of



Figure 88: The small cove in Rowley's Bay, looking northwest, with Kendra Kennedy conducting walk-over survey of the shallows north of the modern dock. A small jetty extends from beyond the trees in left center.



Figure 89: The 20th century dock/boat launch at Rowley's Bay, looking west towards shore. The dredged channel is visible to the right. The red roof of the Rowley's Bay Resort can be seen right center.

Rowley's Bay Dock DR-0435

Door County, Wisconsin

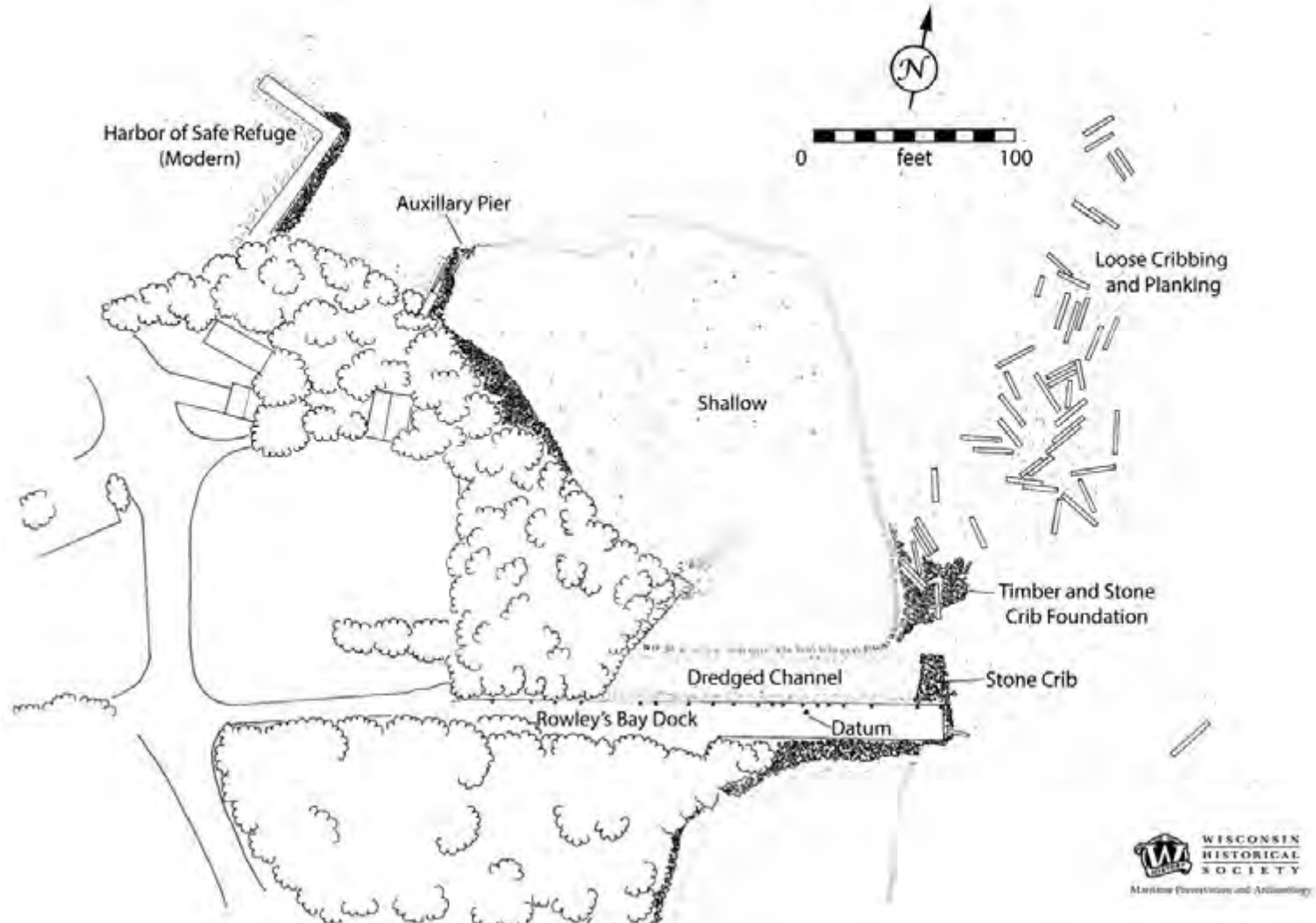


Figure 90: The remains of S. A. Roger's main pier at Rowley's Bay, as mapped in 2023.



Figure 91: The general location of the sawmill at Rowley's Bay, looking towards the former pier. The pier road runs through the trees at right.

them keep bachelor quarters. Our old townsman, Abe Pugh, has just returned from there and reports everything in prime condition, and only the lack of men is felt to do a big season's work (*Door County Advocate* 1871a).

Under A. W. Cogswell's management, that winter's timber harvest netted the company 6,000 railroad ties, 15,000 cords of wood, 16,000 telegraph poles, and 60,000 cedar posts, putting them "a little ahead of anywhere else in the county, always excepting the lumbermen" (*Door County Advocate* 1871b).

The sporadic mentions of Osborne & Co.'s operations afterwards record the winding-down of their interest in Rowley's Bay. The easy timber was likely gone, or nearly so. Economic conditions weren't helping. The prices for timber goods had bottomed out, and Cogswell reported that prospects were "rather poor" (*Expositor* 1875). Not long afterwards, some portions of their Rowley's Bay holdings were sold to P. McIsaac of Iowa, who moved his family to Sturgeon Bay (*Door County Advocate* 1875a, 1875b). His tenure as a lumberman at Rowley's Bay was short. Regardless, McIsaac is noted as "getting out posts and cord wood for the Chicago market" in the summer of 1876 (*Door County Advocate* 1876).

S. A. Rogers

The process by which the various partners of Osborne & Co. withdrew from Rowley's Bay was a complicated one. There were land disputes and lawsuits, some of which went on for years (*Door County Advocate* 1879b; Peterson 1991:50). The heart of the story is that the company's former holdings transferred to S. A. Rogers between 1876 and 1880, giving him eventual possession of "a 4,000-acre tract of swamp lands covered with a pretty good stand of cedar" (*Door County Advocate* 1879a; Holand 1917a:380; Peterson 1991:50–51). Rogers held title to most of the shoreline at one time or another, with his holdings extending well inland, excepting some areas along the eastern shore near the mouth of the bay and a tract of land reserved for his father-in-law, Dr. R. Blawis, who opened a medical office in the lumber complex (Randall & Williams 1899).

Rogers continued the lumber business at Rowley's Bay, though his status as renter, lessee, or owner was still unsettled in the courts until 1880. Shipping was conducted via contracts negotiated with owners of scows and schooners from several ports, including the *Rover* (*Expositor Independent* 1878a), *Hunting Boy* (*Expositor Independent* 1878b), *Potomac* (*Door County Advocate* 1879b), *Venture*, *S. J. Holley*, *Guido*, *Jennie Belle*, *Hetty Taylor* (*Door County Advocate* 1879c), *Tempest*, *Cayhoga* (*Door County Advocate* 1880a, 1880b), *Rob Roy* (*Door County Advocate* 1881b), and *Portch* (*Door County Advocate* 1882b, 1882c), among others.

Rogers had business connections in other states, particularly in New York where his father still resided, and he put them to use. He built a new pier store at what would become his main pier in 1880 (*Door County Advocate* 1880b, 1880d; *Expositor Independent* 1880). Rogers exploited his eastern connections like few other pier owners of the time did. He sent wood products not just to Milwaukee and Chicago, but to New York state as well (*Door County Advocate* 1885b). He directly purchased merchandise for his store in the east and brought it to the distant shoreline of Rowley's Bay. His ads and the newspaper correspondents trumpeted the availability of goods not found elsewhere in the region:

I make a speciality of Mens Underware [sic] bought from the factory in eastern New York, which I am selling very low for Cash or ready pay. Also Coffees bought of the Importers in New York at far below former prices. Try them. Call and examine before you buy elsewhere" (*Door County Advocate* 1881d).

On the lumbering side of things, Rogers offered free rent and year-round work to family men willing to chop cordwood, and wages of eight to ten cents for every railroad tie chopped (*Door County Advocate* 1881a). He bought timber goods brought to his piers "by the load or cargo at market price" with a "liberal advance" on any wood brought to his pier in the winter of 1881 (*Door County Advocate* 1881d). His business strategy worked well enough to purchase additional timberland and pay the wages of seventeen men to cut posts and ties over the 1881–1882 season (*Door County Advocate* 1881c, 1881d, 1881e, 1882a).

In order to move all of the wood, Rogers needed to get it loaded onto ships for transport. Untangling activity at Roger's various piers, as noted, is somewhat difficult since newspaper correspondents did not usually specify which pier was the subject of discussion nor where exactly the piers were located. Known piers established by Rogers (see Figure 92) include:

- The main pier purchased from Osborne & Co., where Rogers' pier store and sawmill were built. This is believed to be the pier documented by our team in 2023.
- A 'second' 150-foot pier or dock at the mouth of the Mink River at the head of Rowley's Bay (*Expositor Independent* 1880, *Door County Advocate* 1880d). This might be the "middle pier" mentioned in an 1885 article (*Door County Advocate* 1885c).
- A 300-foot wharf on the 'east shore' of the bay (*Door County Advocate* 1880d)
- A pier or dock built near the end of modern Juice Mill Road for the use of the J. H. Matthes & Co. cedar oil works (*Door County Advocate* 1885e, *Independent* 1886).
- A 115-foot pier one mile south of "the old one" and one-half mile south of the bay (presumably the main pier and store), possibly in Sand Bay near the eastern terminus of modern Water's End Road (*Door County Advocate* 1882d, 1883a, 1883b, 1883c, 1884a).

Not all of these piers and docks were in use simultaneously. Rogers is described as being the owner of three piers in 1885–1886, presumably the main pier, Sand Bay pier, and cedar works piers (*Door County Advocate* 1885e, *Independent* 1886).

To move wood from the smaller and shallower docks, Rogers purchased the hull of the tug *Henry* for \$50 and converted it to sail so that it could lighter wood to shipping points as needed (*Door County Advocate* 1880b, 1880c). The amount of wood being shipped was still high, but diminishing from the totals achieved by Osborne & Co. The 1882 season saw 27 cargo loads head south, including 42,600 pieces of cedar, 2,260 cords of wood, and 450 cords of tanning bark, in addition to 600 more cords of wood shipped from Rogers' piers by other local residents (*Door County Advocate* 1882d).

In 1883, Rogers initiated construction of saw and shingle mills near the main pier. They began operation in late spring of 1884 (*Door County Advocate* 1883d; 1884b) (Figures 93 to 96). The production of shingles was welcomed, and felt to be "a great convenience for the farmers and others in this vicinity who have heretofore been compelled to send to Sturgeon Bay and west shore points for this commodity" (*Door County Advocate* 1884c). The installation of the mill allowed Rogers to employ more men. Twenty employees drew wages in his employ over the 1884–1885 season and helped to produce 78,000 cedar ties and posts and nearly a million shingles. Nearly a dozen horse teams were needed to bring material to the main pier that season (*Door County Advocate* 1885a, 1885b).

Vast quantities of timber products being shipped meant that vast quantities of timber were being cut, at a pace that far outstripped the forest's capacity to renew. A fire put an end to shingle production in 1888, when the shingle mill burned down. Another fire took the sawmill, but it was rebuilt (Peterson 1991:116). Shipping from Rogers' various piers diminished through the early 1890s. By then, Rogers and his family lived in a fine two-story house near the mill and store, next to a growing farm (*Door County Advocate* 1885d). The schooner *Melitta* handled most of the shipping through this period (*Door County Advocate* 1902).



Figure 92: Known and inferred locations of piers built or operated by S. A. Rogers at Rowley's Bay.

In 1902, S. A. Rogers signed over most of his Door County affairs to son Jay Rogers. He moved to New York with his wife in 1904 and remained there until her death in 1914. By then, a substantial farm had been established next to the lumber complex. Rogers returned to Rowley's Bay to stay with his son. He died there in 1921 (Peterson 1991:120–121). The last load of wood shipped out from Rowley's Bay four years later on the gas hooker *Sophia Fornica*. The various buildings of the complex fell into disrepair or were demolished. The complex's boarding house was razed in 1930 (Peterson 1991:122–123).



Figure 93: Inferred layout of the Rowley's Bay Complex.



Figure 94: Photograph of the sawmill at Rowley's Bay, courtesy of Jewel P. Ouradnik



Figure 95: Aerial photograph of post-lumber complex Rowley's Bay. Note pier crib in water to left of dock, disturbance from store/post office (left arrow), and ruins of sawmill complex (right arrow). Rogers farm in background. Courtesy Jewel P. Ouradnik.



Figure 96: Surviving cedar shingle stamped with brand, grade, and location of S. A. Rogers, found during renovations of the Rowley's Bay Resort buildings. Courtesy Jewel P. Ouradnik.

S. A. Roger's grandson Clinton sold the property to Lou Casagrande in 1948. Casagrande founded a tourist resort in the midst of the old complex that year. By 1970, and the arrival of the Peterson family, the resort had lost its luster. The Petersons took on the challenge of renewing the resort business, and transformed it into the Wagon Trail—and later Rowley's Bay—Resort. In the process, they uncovered much of the property's history in the form of S. A. Roger's business records, buildings, and building materials. They paid great honor to that history, incorporating as much of it as they could into the fabric of the new buildings and in a collection of photographs and other items in the resort's 'History Hallway.' Leonard Peterson was moved enough by what was found to write the definitive history of the Rowley's Bay property, from which some of the information in this section was gone (Peterson 1991).

Tragically, the Rowley's Bay resort burned in a catastrophic fire in 2023, not long after our team conducted investigations of the pier site. Jewel Peterson Ouradnik, manager of the resort, was kind enough to allow us to scan some of the historic photographs saved from the blaze. We wish her and her family the best as the property moves into the newest chapter of its history.

2023 Fieldwork

Wisconsin Historical Society Staff made two trips to this location in 2023. The initial trip was exploratory in nature, as staff attempted to find indications of pier cribs and any traces of the ‘missing’ schooner *Emma Leighton* (see Chapter Three). No obvious signs of either were observed, though numerous loose crib timbers were encountered near the concrete-topped dock at the end of Wagon Trail Circle. Our team utilized a small inflatable launch belonging to volunteer Robert Jaeck to scan the north and east shores of Rowley’s Bay in a search for the reported cedar oil pier and other structures. Shallow water and abundant and dangerous rocks prevented a full investigation, though a suggestive pile of timber was noted near the end of Juice Mill Road, on the shore near an offshore anomaly observed on aerial photographs of the bay. The hazards of navigating even a shallow-draft boat in Rowley’s Bay highlight the difficulties Rogers would have faced lightering wood to the main pier in his converted tug. Peterson (1991) suggests that logs were rafted across, and notes that some wood was moved across the bay on top of lake ice.

After review of a 2001 underwater survey report completed in advance of construction of the current marina, staff returned to search for an intact crib reported by the report’s author immediately adjacent to the concrete-topped dock (Jalbert 2001). This area was not surveyed during the first round of fieldwork due to the presence of sport fishermen on the dock and the possibility of diver entanglement. The second survey failed to find the reported crib structure, but did find elements of a disturbed crib, including crib timbers and stone.

At this time it would appear that S. A. Roger’s main pier has been destroyed. The final crib, located near the dock, was demolished either by natural forces or by dredging of a 25-foot-wide channel on the north side of the dock. This channel existed in 2001, but may have been re-dredged after the crib was documented. The remaining cribs for the pier, which was likely never more than a couple of hundred feet long, have fallen apart and their constituent timbers have been displaced further into the small cove in 12 feet of water.

Divers observed forty-four timbers, many bearing holes near their ends for the attachment of drift pins or other elements used to secure the crib corners (Figures 97 to 100). They are scattered singly or in groups towards the north-northeast, with no discernable patterns in the distribution. The timbers cover an area 260 feet long and 70 feet wide at the widest point near the mid-point of the north-south axis, with the south point of the distribution coinciding with the mouth of the dredged channel. The smallest identified post was ten feet long. Most of the posts were around twenty feet in length. The posts average just over a foot wide.

These posts appear on Google Earth Pro imagery from 2013 (Google Earth Pro, accessed July 2023). The distribution and orientation of the posts, however, does not entirely match what was observed in 2023. It is likely that currents roll the posts around during heavy weather, so that the map prepared in 2023 can only be considered a rough guide to their locations (compare Figure 101 to Figure 90).

Crib fill was observed in two locations. One seems to coincide with the south end of the scatter of posts, in the approximate location of the crib observed in 2001. This scatter of stone extends 40 to 70 feet north of the current dock, in line with the east end of the dock. A second possible crib

extends north from the east end of the dock. This feature is much more rectilinear and measures 12 feet east-west and 25 feet north. No timbers were associated with the latter feature.

Given Rogers' tendency to build piers in new locations, and the presence of an early pier used by Osborne & Co. where Rogers' complex was built, it is not entirely certain whether these timbers came from a single iteration of the main pier or multiple. An aerial photograph of the complex property, taken well after the lumber era was over, shows a single pier crib *south* of the current dock (see Figure 95).



Figure 97: Attachment point on the end of a crib timber. Volunteer diver Robert LaViolette's hand for scale.



Figure 98: Crib timber on the bottom of Rowley's Bay.



Figure 99: A cluster of crib timbers on the bottom of Rowley's Bay.



Figure 100: A cluster of crib timbers on the bottom of Rowley's Bay.

Conclusions and Evaluation

Given the destruction of the pier and disturbances onshore, the Rowley's Bay pier complex is not considered to be eligible for listing on the National Register of Historic Places.

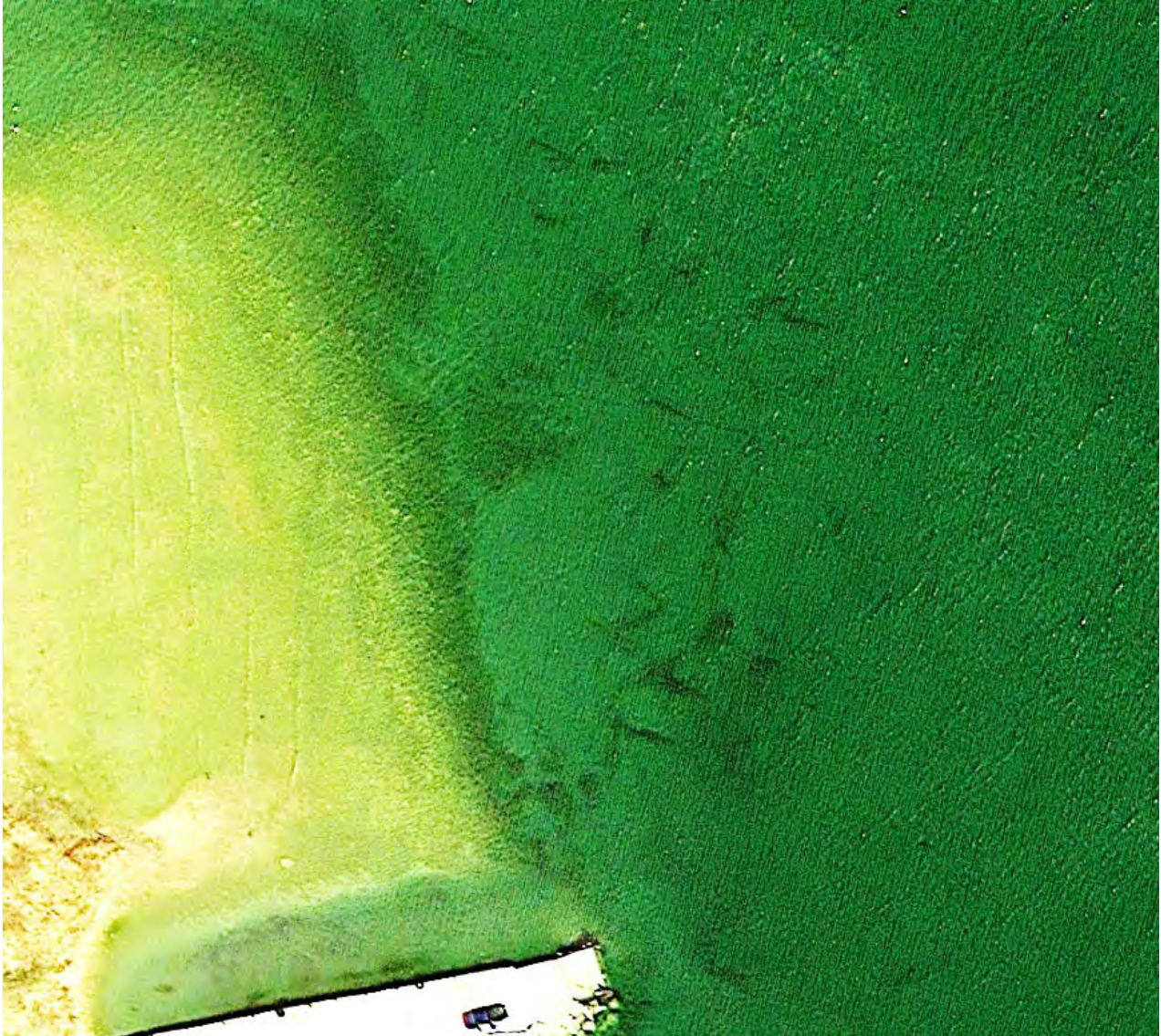


Figure 101: Contrast and brightness-enhanced aerial image of the scatter of crib timbers, from Google Earth Pro 2013. Compare to Figure 90. Dredged channel is visible immediately north and parallel to the dock

Chapter Ten Newport (DR-0136)

Introduction: Big Dreams and Dark Skies

On summer days the sandy beach at Newport State Park is home to brightly colored blankets and umbrellas, sunbathers, and bottles of suntan lotion. Behind the beach is a level, grassy expanse and a brown, wooden kiosk that displays historic photos and facts about old Newport. Newport was a proto-typical lumber boom town. It boasted a large crib pier, a whitewashed store and post office, a sawmill, vast lumberyards, and the usual array of support buildings. Over the course of Newport's life, it evolved from an export complex into a paper town, then from a farmstead to Wisconsin's first Dark Sky park.

Newport

Location and Setting

Newport is located in Section 21 of Liberty Grove Township, in a broad bay north of and 'around the corner' from Rowley's Bay (Figure 103). The site area is within Newport State Park, and specifically occupies areas both inland and offshore from the park's swimming beach, east of Parking Lot #3. Inland areas are covered with a mix of short herbaceous and woody vegetation, with mature trees surrounding the clearing where Newport once stood. The lakeshore is sandy, and the lake bottom is covered with a mix of sand drifts and small rocks.



Figure 102: Location of Newport, on the 1899 plat map of Door County (Randall and Williams 1899).

History

Newport was founded in 1881 by Danish immigrant Hans Johnson. The port had a short life—just two decades—but a briefly thriving one. At its peak, the little community had a population of 300 souls, making it one of the largest port communities studied to date by our team. The port’s roots came from Rowley’s Bay, its southern neighbor. Johnson worked there as a teamster and later a teamster foreman for Osborne & Co., in the days before S. A. Rogers took over. He saved his salary, bought out his overseers, and successfully delivered enough wood to allow purchase of a 320-acre farm. In 1880, he bought 200 acres on the lakeshore, built a pier, and set up a general store (*Door County Advocate* 1970).

The Newport pier eventually stretched out into the lake, supported by a long array of crib piers (Figure 103). Johnson used it to ship the usual forest goods, with a particular focus on cordwood, allowed other parties to ship from it as well (e.g., *Door County Advocate* 1881c). Johnson owned large tracts of land north of Rowley’s Bay, and the newspapers predicted he would be able to ship timber from his new pier “many seasons to come” (*Door County Advocate* 1888). The first year saw cordwood, railroad ties, and posts loaded onto ships at the pier (*Door County Advocate* 1881a). Ten years later, the wood still flowed south, with 2,000 cords of wood sent out in the 1891 season (*Door County Advocate* 1891).

The pier’s relatively exposed, northern location did it no favors. The port saw its first vessel strandings within its first year of operation. The scows *Forest* and *Becker*, along with parts of the



Figure 103: Photograph of the Newport Pier ca. 1895, showing wood staged for loading on a steam ship that has tied up on the north side of the pier and a horse team cooling their feet in the lake in the foreground. Wisconsin Historic Image 43054.

pier, went ashore during a storm in November of 1881. The pier suffered extensive damage, and “seven barrels of pork and beef” and “two or three tons of hay” stored on the pier went into the lake and were lost (*Door County Advocate* 1976). Johnson didn’t hurry to fix the damage. He already had plans to lengthen the pier and add further crib fill to anchor it when the season was done, but the storm and wrecks “knocked his calculations into a cocked hat” (*Door County Advocate* 1881b). Johnson waited until the winter ice set in to begin repairs (*Door County Advocate* 1881c).

The *Becker*, which Johnson would come to own (*Door County Advocate* 1882a), was refloated first, in June of 1882. She continued to carry wood for Newport, nearly coming to disaster in 1890, when the vessel turned over on its way south, killing the cook and leaving the remaining crew nearly frozen in the rigging (*Door County Advocate* 1890, 1976). The *Forest* remained stranded. Owner Harrison Fellows, brother to George Fellows, owner of the Foscoro pier complex, was left to try to retrieve his vessel. Anything removable was taken to Johnson’s barn. The rest of the ship stayed on the beach, and after Fellows sank \$3,500 into efforts to pull it off, he offered the vessel and its accessories for sale as-is for \$1,000. Harrison gave up in July of 1882, and surrendered the vessels enrollment as a total loss. Brother George stepped in, however, and managed to release it with the help of the tug *Gregory* and a batch of buoyant cedar (*Door County Advocate* 1976). As the vessel was towed south, newspaper correspondents described it as “pretty tough” (*Door County Advocate* 1882c).

Storms sent the ill-starred schooner *E. M. Portch* into the pier the next year in 1882, causing the loss of two cribs (*Door County Advocate* 1882b). The pier was repaired again in 1885, with thick lake ice assisting in the repairs (*Door County Advocate* 1885a). Another storm in September of that year nearly did worse damage. Quick thinking by Mrs. Johnson, acting in the absence of her husband, saved it. Seeing the storm, she ordered the workmen to rush to the pier and “fill it with wood as fast and as far as possible”. The extra weight held the structure down, and prevented its full destruction (*Door County Advocate* 1885b).

Besides the *Forest* and *Becker*, other ships in Lake Michigan’s lumber fleet came to call over the years. The alphabetical schooner and former Gospel ship *A.B.C.F.M.* carried cordwood to Milwaukee in 1884 (*Door County Advocate* 1884). The scow *Southside* carried for the port as well (e.g., *Door County Advocate* 1928). Johnson owned the *Southside* for a time, and traded it to new owners in 1893 in exchange for a promise to take three cargoes of wood from Newport to Milwaukee for free (*Democrat* 1893). The *Minne-Ha-Ha* arrived weekly in the later years of the complex and brought “townspeople and loggers in droves” to load it (*Door County Advocate* 1971b).

The port owed much of its success to Captain Peter Knudson, a fellow Dane who partnered with Hans Johnson, and eventually took over from him. Knudson spent several years before his arrival at Newport serving as the light keeper on Pilot Island, a remote and lonely posting for a young man starting a family. In 1888, Knudson received permission to spend the winter on the mainland, and chose to spend it at Newport (*Door County Advocate* 1888). In 1889, Knudson took a position as the keeper of the Peninsula Point light near Escanaba, but switched posting to the light on

Chambers Island before the year was up (*Door County Advocate* 1889a, 1889b). Knudson was back to Pilot Island before long, but resigned his posting in April of 1891 (*The Republican* 1891).

Knudson moved to Newport (*Door County Advocate* 1892a). By April of 1892, newspapers were running advertisements for the firm of Johnson & Knudson, “dealers in General Merchandise and Jobbers in Cordwood, Cedar, Bolts, Etc., Also owners of Newport Pier” and continued to do so through most of 1893 (*Door County Advocate* 1892b, 1893). The pair traded duties back and forth. Knudson was in charge of the store most years. Johnson stepped back in when needed or when Knudson’s wanderlust took over. Johnson lobbied for, and got, a post office (*Door County Advocate* 1970). In 1897 Knudson returned to his ship, the schooner *Iris*, and carried wood from Newport to Milwaukee. Johnson ‘watched the store’ in his absence (*Door County Advocate* 1897). In 1898 Knudson handled the season’s lumbering, while Johnson took “charge of matters outside” (*Door County Advocate* 1898a).

Under the partner’s direction, Newport’s store thrived, and the community grew to include a sawmill, barber, carpenter, justice of the peace (Johnson), two hotels or boarding houses, a creamery, a wagon shop, and even a newspaper seller (Figure 104). The little village was a regular stop on the stagecoach line (*Door County Advocate* 1971a; Peterson 1991:243). Johnson, however, was on his way out. In the spring of 1898 he ran for and won the position of Town assessor (*Door County Advocate* 1898b). By fall, portions of Johnson’s holdings were being put up for sale at auction to satisfy court judgements (*Door County Advocate* 1898c). Johnson was out as assessor by April of 1899, the only member of the Town Board to not be re-elected (*Democrat* 1899). The 1899 plat map shows the pier under Knudson’s sole ownership (Randall & Williams 1899). Johnson shows up in newspapers afterwards as a land agent at Newport, selling off timberlands in Forest County (*Door County Advocate* 1902), and then again serving as Town assessor (*Door County Advocate* 1904).

Just exactly what happened is not entirely clear. Local lore blames alcoholism. In one version, documented by Rowley’s Bay historian Leonard Peterson, Johnson’s lost Newport after the tragic death of his wife from tuberculosis in January of 1887 (*Door County Advocate* 20 January 1887; Peterson 1991:63). The story goes that Knudson left his savings for safekeeping in the still-grieving Johnson’s safe in Newport, perhaps during his 1888 winter there, but found upon his return that Johnson had dipped into the money to buy alcohol. In this telling, the pair had “a violent exchange of words” and Johnson gave the land to Knudson to repay the debt. Leonard Peterson also references an *Advocate* article (no date is provided) in which the claim that Hans Peterson “drunk up all of [Newport’s] funds” is made (Peterson 1991:63).

In 1899, Knudson banked up 2,000 cords of wood at the pier (*Door County Advocate* 1899). The complex had very few years to live. It was essentially all over by 1904. When the timber ran out, the people of Newport moved on in search of better opportunities. Only 40 residents remained by the end of that year (Peterson 1991:243). Knudson remained in possession of the complex and hundreds of acres around it. He wasn’t willing to let the community go. Hearing a rumor that the railroad might come to Newport, Knudson platted out an impressive paper town, capable of hosting over 700 families (Figure 105). Promoters worked to lay rails northward, but the outbreak of World War I put an end to the idea. Knudson’s ambitious plat, which included the pier, was



Figure 104: Before-and-after views of Newport from the same vantage point. Top photograph dates ca. 1895 and is taken from the shore end of the loading platform (Crib 6) on the pier and shows the pier yards, the store and post office (arrow), and numerous outbuilding (WHS Image 43507). Bottom image 2023, Kendra Kennedy to left, Robert LaViolette in lake.

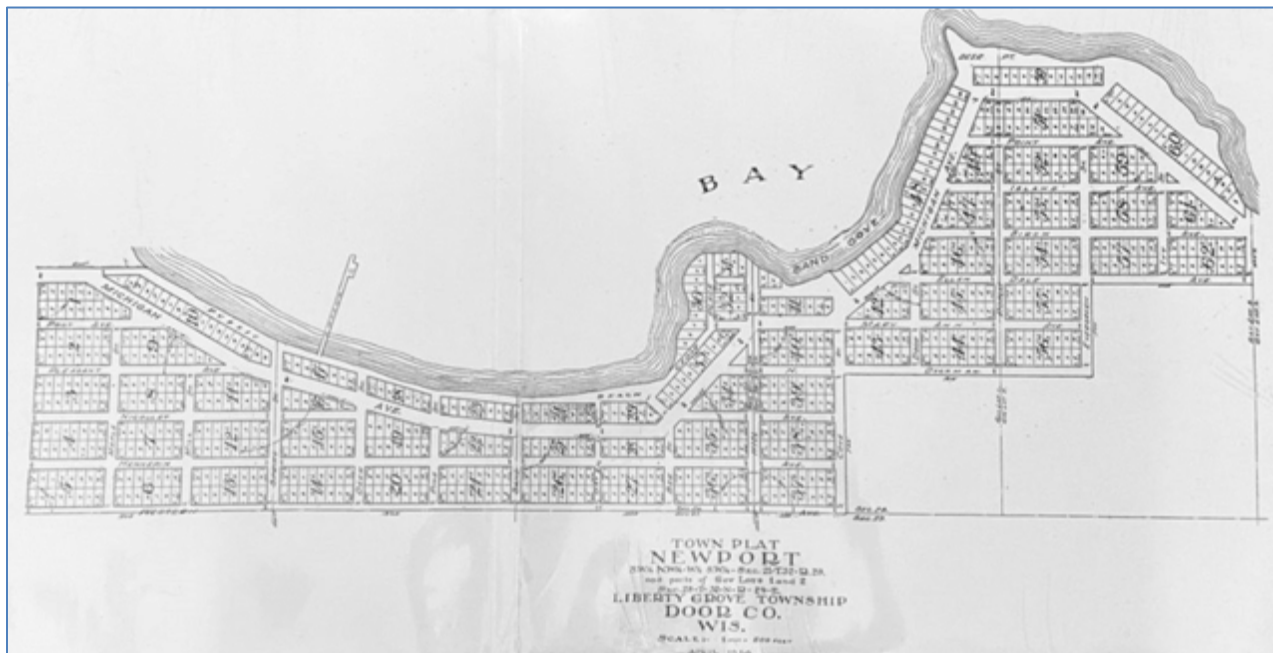


Figure 105: Proposed plat of Newport filed by Peter Knudson in 1915. Note the pier.

vacated a year after it was filed. Newport became, in the words of one later newspaper reporter, “Knudson’s white elephant” (*Door County Advocate* 1971a).

Knudson sold out four years later to Ferdinand Hotz, a jeweler from Chicago, after a period in which Knudson converted the property into his own farmstead. Hotz, the Hotz family lore, purchased land in this section of Door County not just to preserve the logged-over countryside, but as an act of charity towards farmers in “desperate situations.” Door County was not a farmer’s paradise, and after the ravages of logging and tilling, it was hard to make a living from the soil (Apfelbach 1998:19). Hotz went on to become one of the largest landowners in Door County, and his purchase of the Newport complex added to the 7,800 feet of lake frontage he would accumulate (*Door County Advocate* 1971a). One of the barns and a residence were removed and relocated elsewhere in Door County (Apfelbach 1998:32). Otherwise, Hotz allowed the complex to return to nature. The property was sold to the Wisconsin Department of Natural Resources by the Hotz family in 1967.

2023 Fieldwork

Historic images of the Newport pier indicate that it was built using stone and timber crib supports and had a deck of rough wooden planks with a widened timber staging area at its end (see Figures 103 and 104). Prior to the maritime portion of the survey, the line of the pier was inferred from Google Earth Pro images of the Newport State Park swimming beach (Figure 106). The remains of a near-shore stone feature are visible in those images along with the faint outlines of additional features some distance offshore. The pattern of submerged features matches that of cribbing visible above the surface of the water in a ca. 1930s-1940s aerial photo of the future park.

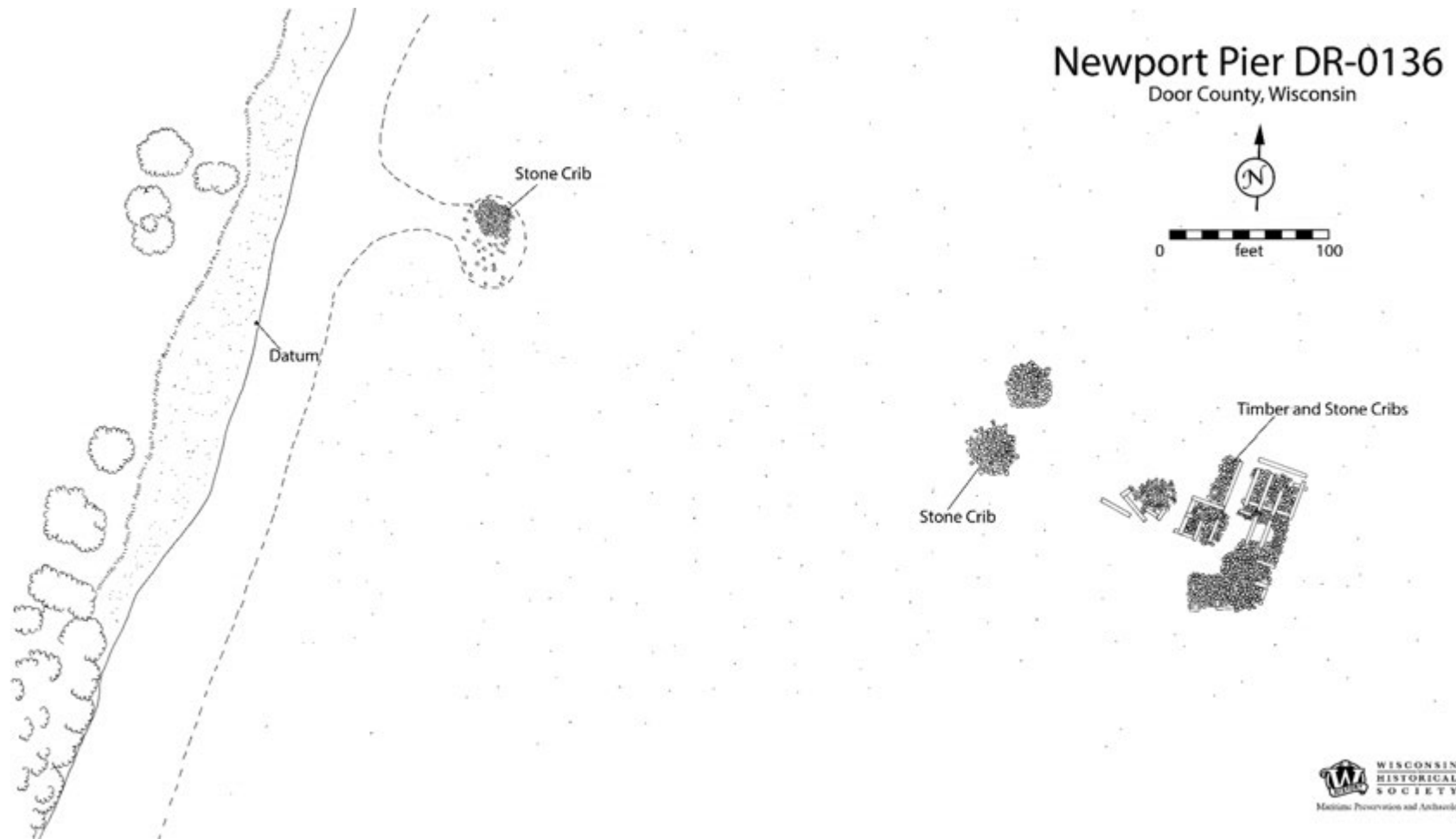


Figure 106: 2023 Map of pier ruins at Newport.

Divers investigating the site identified the remains of two cribs and one large crib structure representing a portion of the turn-around at the terminus of the pier. One other crib feature visible on green LiDAR images (obtained after maritime survey was completed) and aerial photos, as well as the near-shore crib structure, were not located during the time allotted to the Newport survey but were added to the site plan based on aerial photos and LiDAR imagery. The tops of the cribs extended to within four or five feet of the water's surface in 2023, a year of high lake levels, and the bottoms dropped to ten feet below, making these some of the highest-relief cribs noted during the 2023 surveys (Figures 107 to 109).

The pier extended east-southeastward into Lake Michigan at a heading of 110°, and was at least 500 feet long and 25 feet wide. The cribs were built in log-cabin style with drift-pin attachments (Figures 107 to 111).

Crib 1

The near-shore crib consists of a pile of stone crib fill approximately 20–25 feet in diameter, approximately 130 feet from the current high-water shoreline. During periods of low water, this



Figure 107: Volunteer Tim Pranke free dives down from the surface to examine Crib 7.



Figure 108: Timber protrudes from the sloping side of a collapsed crib.



Figure 109: Crib fill rises from a sandy bottom.



Figure 110: A bent drift-pin connects two crib timbers.



Figure 111: Crib fill spills out from a crib structure.

feature is exposed to the open air and is connected to the shore by a linear array of stone and sediment that extends for around 70 feet. No cribbing timbers are visible on aerial photographs at this location, but cribbing timbers and drift pins have washed up on the beach nearby (Figures 112 and 113).

Cribs 3 and 4

A pair of crib features is located approximately 460 feet from the current shore (400 feet in times of low water). The southern of the pair was located by divers and found to be devoid of surviving crib timbers. It is approximately 30 feet in diameter. The northern, based on green LiDAR and aerial photos, is of identical side and shape and likely lacks surviving timber as well.

Crib 5

A single crib feature is located approximately 540 feet offshore (480 feet in times of low water). It consists of a concentration of stone crib fill approximately 25 feet in diameter with some surviving (though displaced) crib framing on the south and southwest sides. One isolated timber 20 feet long lies parallel to the south side, displaced slightly to the west. Two sections of joined cribbing, representing crib corners, are still present on the south side of the concentration of crib fill, though both are askew. The longest segment of joined timber is 20 feet long. All timbers are between a foot and two feet in diameter.

Crib 6

Nine feet further out from Crib 3 is the near-shore end of the long crib platform that supported the turnaround and warehouse structure at the end of the pier. This crib section measures twenty feet by sixty feet, with the long end parallel to shore. The crib framing is formed by interlocking timbers arranged in log cabin fashion (Figures 114 and 115), spaced about seven to feet apart. The longest timber, on the surface on the north end of the east side of the crib, measures 30 feet in length. A perpendicular 20-foot timber, running across the width of the crib, divides it into northern and southern halves. A 20-foot timber bounds the west side of the south half of the crib, connected to perpendicular timbers at the midpoint and south end. These two connecting timbers extend into the crib fill. Two final timbers run from the south edge of the crib towards the north at the midpoint and near right side; both are about 12 feet long.

Crib 7

Another section of the platform is present slightly further on, separated from Crib 6 by a gap of ten feet. Crib 7 is larger, measuring thirty feet wide and seventy feet long, with a 20 x 40 foot extension angling off the south side and oriented almost due west. Timbers in this area are again arranged in interlocking log-cabin fashion, about ten feet apart. This section can be divided into northern, central, and southern sections.

The northern section originally stood as an independent crib. Thirty-foot timbers frame the northern and southern sides, and a 20-foot timber frames the east side. Three timbers running perpendicular to the pier axis sit on the top of the crib fill, anchored to the south framing timber on their south sides. The two closest to shore are 20 feet long. Only twelve feet could be seen of the timber furthest from shore. A portion of a single timber oriented with the long axis of the pier is visible underneath the north end of the eastern framing timber.



Figure 112: A crib timber (left) and drift pin (propped against stump) on the beach at Newport.



Figure 113: A crib timber with drift pin attached on the beach at Newport.



Figure 114: Intact crib structure at the southwest corner of Crib 6. Crib 5 background left.



Figure 115: Intact crib structure at the northwest corner of Crib 6.



Figure 116: Gap in crib fill at central section of Crib 7.

The central section is notable for a lack of crib fill. Two 15-foot timbers oriented perpendicular to the long axis of the pier bridge this gap, supported on either side by fill (Figure 116). A short (8 foot) length of timber is visible at the north end of the western of the two, oriented towards shore.

The south section angles towards the west. It is composed mostly of crib fill, though two timbers oriented on the long axis of the pier are visible in the fill on the east side, above a framing timber that bounds the east side of the crib. Three more short sections of timber are visible on the south edge of this section. The full lengths of these timbers cannot be measured, as they are mostly buried in crib stone.

Terrestrial Investigations

Terrestrial investigations were conducted at Newport 30 April 2024 and 1 May 2024. The goal of survey was to identify the location of the store and post office buildings, with a secondary goal of



Figure 117: Historic photograph of the Newport sawmill. WHS Image 93994, Ferdinand Hotz collection.

identifying traces of outbuildings and support structures. Historic photographs of the complex's sawmill (Figure 117) indicated that it was built on posts with no foundation and sat on the shoreline escarpment. As a result, the building is presumed to have left few traces behind and the location has presumably been heavily altered by fluctuating lake levels and shoreward erosion of the beach escarpment. In contrast, historic photos of the store and post office (Figures 118 and 119) suggest that a foundation was present, and both were set back somewhat from the shoreline.

The terrain in this area is more-or-less level, with dune and swale topography nearer the beach and at sand blow-outs (See Figure 104 and 120). Vegetation consists of short grasses and wildflowers, but evidence of prior brushy cover is evident in the form of cut-off stems and stumps that hampered easy movement of the GPR antenna. This brush is visible on older aerial photographs of the park.

The same aerial photographs indicate substantial back and forth movement of the shoreline at Newport over the past decade, with the lake at high levels at the time of survey. During periods of low lake levels dry land extends another fifty feet eastward. A sandy escarpment roughly four feet high sits at the high water mark and divides the lawn and kiosk area from the swimming beach. Enclosures formed by wooden posts and rope block off some escarpment areas and limit foot traffic down to the beach to particular pathways.



Figure 118: Historic photograph of the pier store and post office, reproduced on the history kiosk at Newport State Park. Note support buildings in rear.



Figure 119: Historic photograph of the pier store and post office ca. 1915–1919.



Figure 120: GPR Survey area, showing grassy terrain and sand blow-out in distance.

Attempts were made to identify the position of buildings by overlaying aerial photos from the 1930s onto modern aerial photographs (Figure 121). The pier road is still visible as a faint linear depression extending east-southeastward from the area of Lot 2 to the line of the pier. The store and post office faced this road on its south side. However, given uncertainty regarding lake levels, shoreline position, escarpment position, and spacing between the main complex and the shore during the period of Newport's existence, their precise position in relationship to the current shoreline is not clear.

Walkover Survey

Walkover survey of the study area identified two crib timbers embedded in the beach near the base of the pier (see Figures 112 and 113). Both are approximately 16 feet long and about a foot in diameter. One has a two-foot iron drift pin still attached. A second two-foot iron drift pin was noted leaning against a tree stump nearby, presumably placed there by a park. These pins are minimally worked segments of iron bar stock, with flattened heads formed by hammering and a pointed, wedge-shaped end.



Figure 121: Overlay of Newport complex layout on modern aerial photograph.

Walkover of the escarpment edge above the base of the pier found numerous artifacts dating to the period when Newport was booming, including porcelain and whiteware tableware fragments, decayed sheet metal, a pocketknife or pen knife, mortar, and a brick fragment (Figure 122). The Newport State Park nature center contains a display of other items found along the beach and escarpment area, including square nails, spikes, machine parts, horseshoes, and a clothes iron (Figure 123). The artifacts observed in the field in 2024 were limited to the area immediately adjacent to the escarpment edge, and some had obviously been brought to the surface during construction of the wooden post and rope enclosures.

Ground Penetrating Radar

Two primary sets of GPR survey blocks were laid out south of the line of the pier road, with the goal of intersecting the store, post office, and any outbuildings or support buildings along the road (see Figures 124, 125). Blocks 1 and 2 are approximately 38 meters from the current water's edge and between 15 to 25 meters from the edge of the current escarpment. Blocks 3 and 4 are along the current escarpment edge. Block 5 was placed at the west end of the current clearing where fragmentary berms and a depression were noted. These features are sited in the approximate location of support structures visible in historic photographs of the com.



Figure 122: Cream brick fragment noted at general location of the pier store/post office, just above the beach escarpment.



Figure 123: Objects from Newport on display in the Newport State Park Visitor's Center.

GPR identified deeper stratigraphy indicative of the existence of relict beach lines and sand dunes.

Blocks 1 and 2 are approximately 38 meters from the current water's edge and between 15 to 25 meters from the edge of the current escarpment. Blocks 3 and 4 are along the current escarpment edge. Block 5 was placed at the west end of the current clearing/

Block 1 is the largest of the GPR survey blocks. It extended 40 meters parallel to the shoreline by 17 meters perpendicular to the shore and was sited just south of the presumed pier road. This block was placed to intercept the possible location of the post office and store buildings, per historic photographs of Newport. Faint anomalies were noted paralleling the shoreline, but reflect the presence of buried dunes (see Appendix A). No traces of structures were observed.

Block 2 is a southward extension of Block 1, measuring 24 meters parallel to the shore and 17 meters perpendicular to it. An anomaly representing a possible wall running roughly east-west was observed in this block (see Appendix A). Small anomalies were observed in the northwest corner of the block. Numerous buildings and outbuildings may have stood in this part of the complex (see Figure 126).

Block 3 was situated along the escarpment edge east of Block 1 in a second attempt to find any trace of the pier store/post office. This block produced surface finds such as historic dishware, a



Figure 124: Location of 2023 GPR survey blocks at Newport State Park.



Figure 125: GPR survey in progress at Newport State Park. Dr. Dan Joyce in foreground, volunteer Bob Jaeck operating unit at left background and Jordan Ciesielczyk at right background.

jackknife, and the fragment of cream brick shown in Figure 122. It measured 24 meters parallel to the shore and 13 meters perpendicular to it. A rectangular anomaly was observed in the northwestern corner of the block, potentially representing the store, post-office, or an outbuilding (see Figure 127) (see Appendix A).

Block 4 was situated at a shallow, semi-rectangular depression along the escarpment edge south of Block 3. It measured eight by nine meters. A circular anomaly was observed at this location, extending from the surface to a depth of just over one-half meter. The nature of this anomaly is currently unclear.

Block 5 was located at an odd topographic feature resembling a corner of a structural berm at the far southern end of the clearing near the lakeshore. It measured ten by 14 meters. Numerous small anomalies were observed here, with a possible wall paralleling the west line of the survey area. However, the possible is not apparent in Z-axis imagery.

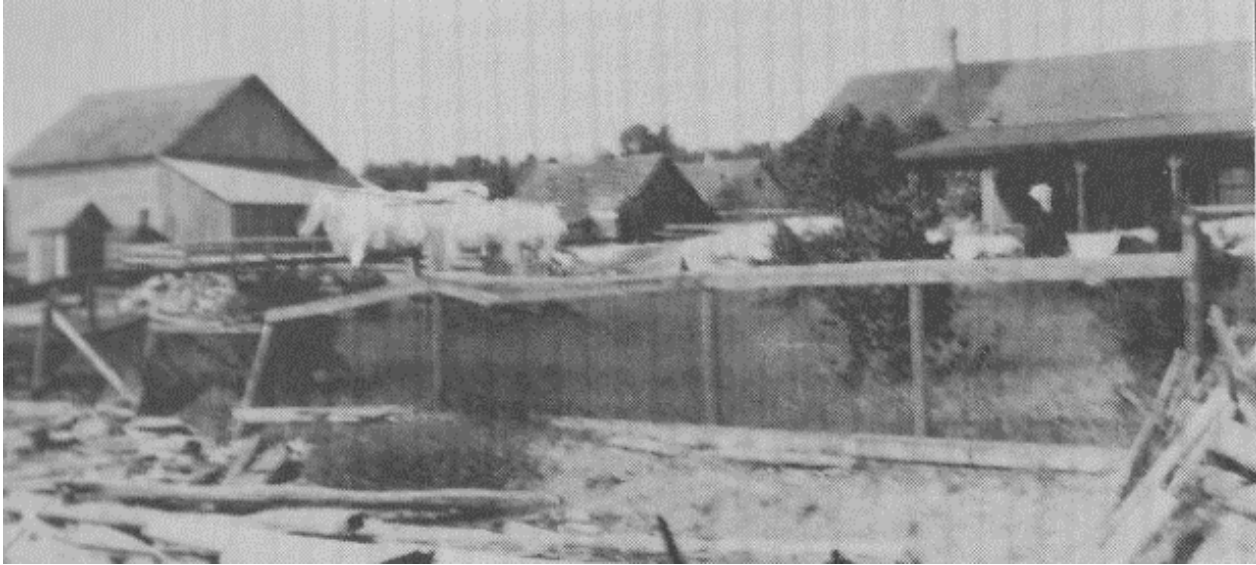


Figure 126: Historic photograph (date unknown) of center of Newport complex. Post office and store are out of frame to the right. Peter Knudson 'summer home' at right (from Newport State Park and Newport Wilderness Society n.d.:3).

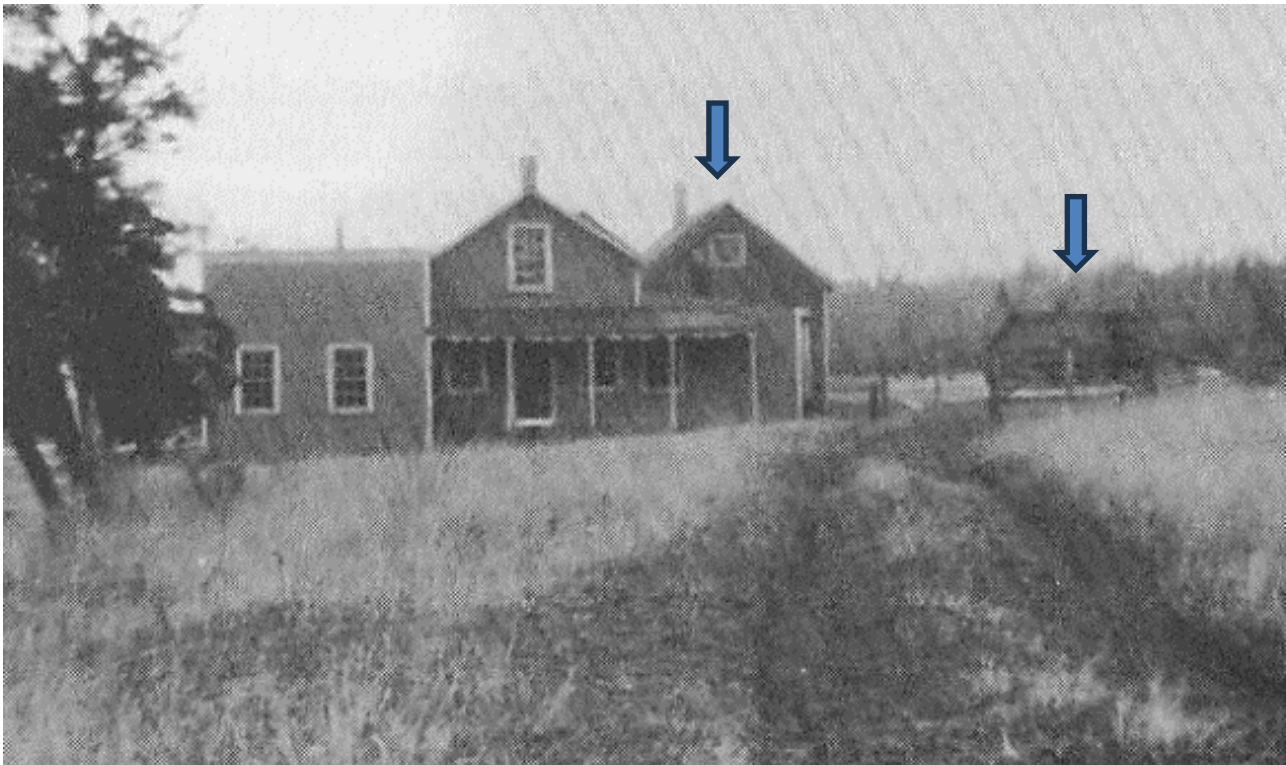


Figure 127: Early 20th century photograph of store and post office at Newport, showing additional buildings behind the store and post office to the right (arrows) (from Newport State Park and Newport Wilderness Society n.d.:4). Presence of chimney on structure to left suggests a manager's/owner's residential structure and/or boarding house.

Conclusions and Evaluation

The offshore portions of Newport are well preserved, and the pier structure is considered to be eligible for listing on the National Register of Historic Places. Onshore portions of the complex proved to be less intact than hoped for, but remnants of foundations do appear to be present. The post office and pier store have largely eroded into the lake, though part of these buildings might (or might not) survive in GPR block 3. Further remote sensing is recommended for this portion of the complex.



Figure 128: Abandoned outbuildings in the vicinity of GPR Block 5 in 1921, looking southeast. Wisconsin Historic Image 94453, Ferdinand Hotz collection.

Chapter Six

Bohemia Town (DR-0137)

Introduction: Solitude on Duck Bay

During our staff's visit to the Newport State Park nature center in the summer of 2023, naturalist Beth Bartoli drew our attention to a photograph of a small pier crib situated near the west shore of Duck Bay. Time and terrain did not permit investigation of the crib, which is located in the southern portion of Newport State Park, so the site was placed on the list of targets of opportunity for terrestrial survey in 2024. A check of archival records identified the crib as part of a dock serving 'Bohemia Town', but little information on the settlement could be identified.

Location

Today, the area is quiet and remote, reachable via hiking trail from the parking lots of Newport State Park. The walk from the nearest lot winds through conifer forest, over occasional outcrops of dolomite. In the vicinity of Duck Bay, a side trail cuts lakeward, rewarding visitors with a view of a small bay, a line of stone extending out to a small pier crib, a line of surf marking reefs and de-vegetated islands guarding the mouth of the shallow bay, and a truly impressive surf line of toxic algae.

History

The location is said to have been a seasonal settlement used by residents of the Rowley's Bay, Newport, and Gill's Rock areas who set up cabins and shanties and logged during the winter months. The Trucker, Charney, and Tlochek families are specifically named in this regard. The income from their winter logging was used to pay off their land, and once their farms were established the settlement was abandoned (Newport State Park and the Newport Wilderness Society n.d.:10).

The true extent of Bohemia Town is unknown. Historic references to it are sparse, and no contemporary photographs could be located. A clearing is evident on the southwestern angle of Duck Bay in 1930s aerial photographs, but no obvious structures are apparent in that photo. Likewise, no LiDAR anomalies are visible in the area of the former clearing. In contrast, two clear LiDAR anomalies were noted inland from the northwestern angle of the bay, on the west side of the Newport Trail.

2023 Investigations

No maritime investigations were undertaken at Bohemia Town. Duck Bay is shallow and fringed with hazardous reefs. Neither our research vessel nor an inflatable launch supplied by volunteer Bob Jaeck were able to safely operate in the bay. In addition, the bay is subject to spectacular and hazardous *Cladophora* blooms; some algae accumulations along the shore are feet thick and resemble stromatolites (Figure 129). Due to these factors, maritime investigation of the dock cribbing was not attempted.



Figure 129: Cladophora accumulations along the shore of Duck Bay south of the dock.

Terrestrial Investigations

The Bohemia Town site was first reported to the Wisconsin Historical Society by Ronald Mason. He noted the presence of structures, including ‘cabins’ and ‘stone foundations’, along with material such as linoleum fragments and asphalt shingles. His report suggested that evidence of the settlement might be present, though the structures identified seemed more substantial than the ‘shanties’ mentioned in the few accounts of the site and the presence of linoleum and asphalt shingles indicated a date potentially later than the settlement era.

Mason’s account did not give a precise location for the site, and time for survey at Bohemia Town was limited in 2024. Investigations focused on walkover of the area where the two LiDAR anomalies were noted (Figure 130). No shovel testing, metal detector survey, or widespread surface survey was attempted. Walkover identified two clear structural depressions with associated debris and an associated can midden.

The remains of the Duck Bay crib are readily visible from shore, and a line of broken stone extends from shore towards the cribbing (Figure 131). It is unclear if this line represents an ice-

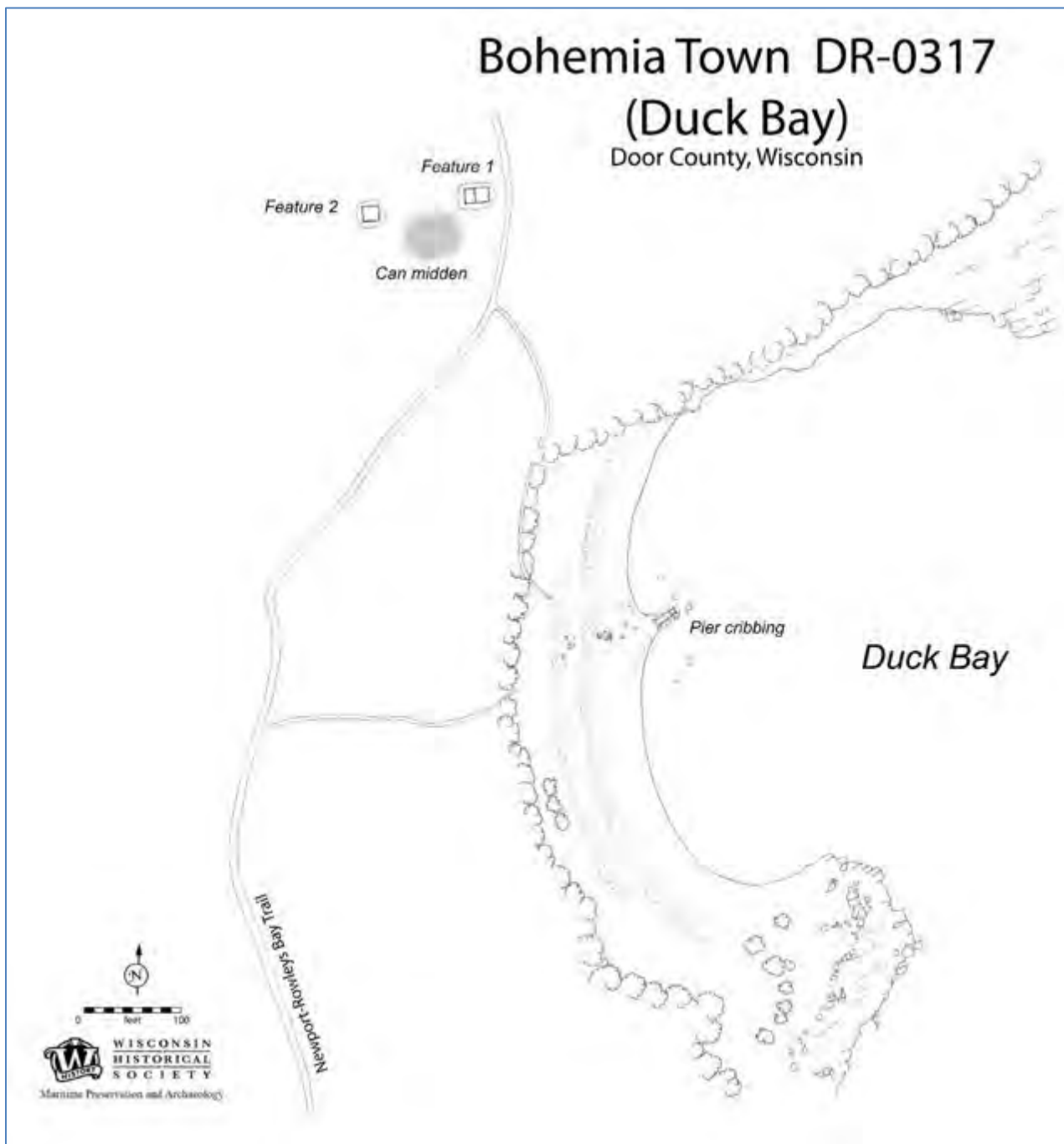


Figure 130: Known archaeological features at Duck Bay.



Figure 131: Remains of the dock at Duck Bay. Extant crib visible at center.

damaged jetty or stone cribbing that has spilled out from now-vanished cribs closer to shore. The presence of a crib and dock here is surprising despite historic accounts, given the extreme shallowness of the bay and the difficulty of entering it. It is unlikely that schooners or larger ships could have entered Duck Bay to load. Smaller materials such as shingles or posts could have been lightered out by small boat, or timber might have been rafted out, but timber exports from this location could never have reached the scale seen elsewhere along the coastline.

Feature 1: large structural berm

Feature 1 is located immediately adjacent to the west side of the Newport hiking trail northwest of Duck Bay (See Figure 130). It consists of a rectangular berm with an interior divider (Figures 132 and 133). The depression is oriented roughly east-west. The berms that outline the feature extend 24 feet east-west and 20 feet north-south (measured from their centers) and are approximately three feet wide and less than a foot high as measured from the exterior. The berm separating the western and eastern halves of the feature is located just over ten feet from the western berm. There is a noticeable break in the center of the south wall of the berm where the interior berm adjoins that side of the feature, potentially representing a door.

The western ‘room’ contains a cellar depression that fills most of this half of the berm. The depression is approximately two feet deep. The northeast corner of the eastern ‘room’ contains a smaller, five-foot square depression approximately one to 1.5 feet deeper than the ‘floor’, resembling a root cellar or sub-floor hiding spot.

Some debris was located in and around this feature, including cans and a tiered chrome-plated hors d'oeuvre tray.

Feature 2: small structural berm

Feature 2 is located 80 feet and slightly south of west of Feature 2 (see Figure 130). It consists of a rectangular berm, nineteen feet E-W by fifteen feet N-S (Figures 134 and 135). The berms are approximately three to four feet wide and stand less than a foot high. They surround a square depression over 26 inches deep. This depression is filled with a layer of leaves covering cans and other refuse. Footing within the depression was hazardous due to the hidden refuse, and the interior was not closely examined for that reason. cursory examination identified cans, other ferrous metal debris, and glass containers, including a screw-top mason jar with an intact lid.

Feature 3: can midden

A concentration of beer cans (Budweiser) and other flat-top beverage cans with church-key openings was found southwest of Feature 1 (Figure 136). These cans post-date 1935 and likely date closer to the mid-20th century.

Conclusions and Evaluation

The relationship of the structural features to Bohemia Town is unclear and in considerable doubt. The artifacts found at the site post-date the lumber boom by decades. The site more closely resembles an early to mid-20th century hunting or fishing cabin and would have been in use during the period when Ferdinand Hotz owned Duck Bay. More formal survey of the Duck Bay area, including metal detector and shovel testing survey, is recommended to pinpoint the lumber boom settlement. The former clearing southwest of Duck Bay and the shoreline adjacent to the base of the pier are recommended as prime survey targets should phase I investigation be initiated. The crib dock has been placed on list of targets to be evaluated via small kayak. At the current time, the site remains unevaluated for the NRHP.

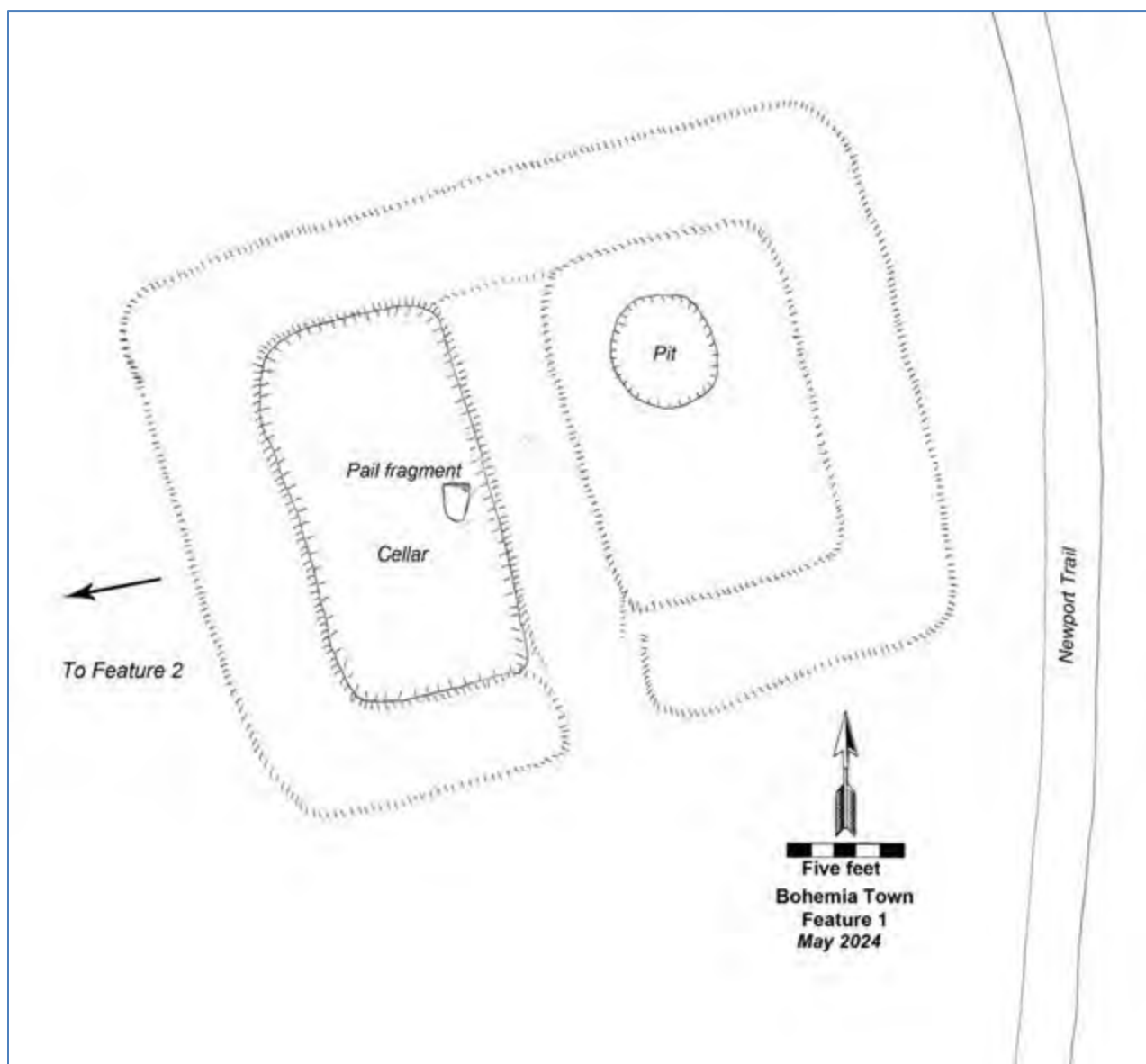


Figure 132: Large structural berm.



Figure 133: Large structural berm, looking southwest from near trail. Jordan Ciesielczyk to left.

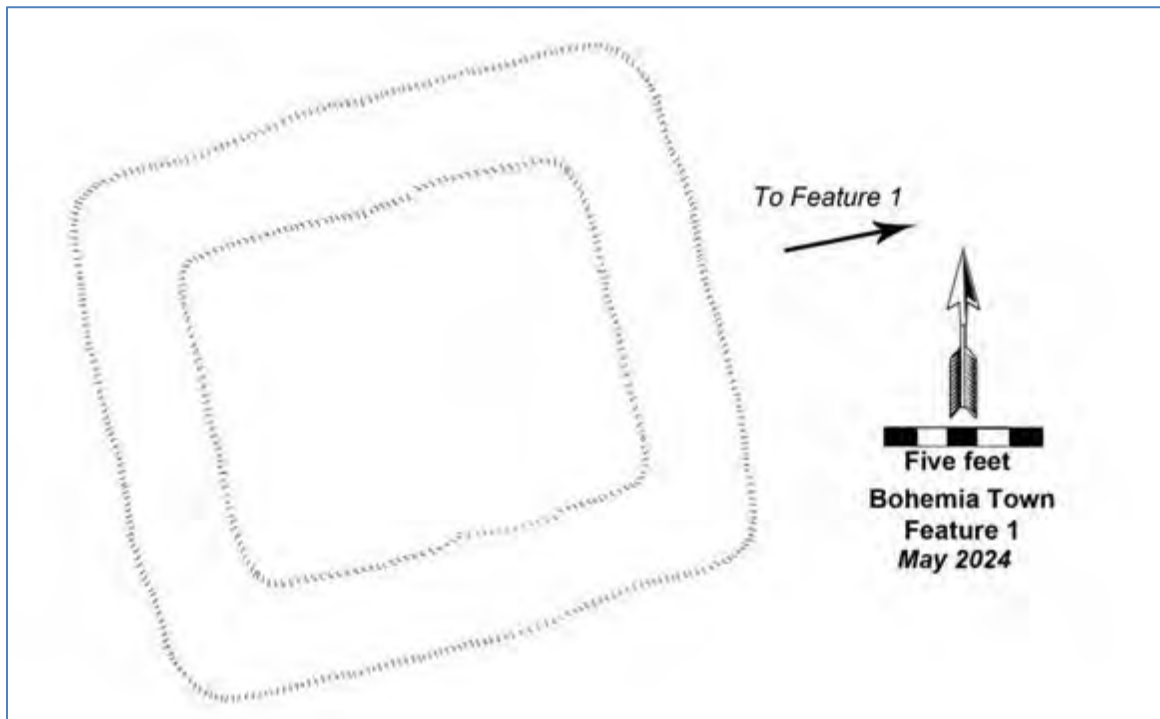


Figure 134: Small structural berm.



Figure 135: Small structural berm.



Figure 136: Detail of can midden.

Chapter Ten: Torstenson's Pier (DR-0518)

Introduction: Crowded Conditions at Death's Door

Hedgehog Harbor was home to not one pier. It was home to three, set within a half mile of each other and operating simultaneously in various states of competition, cooperation, and unease. This was not a case like Rowley's Bay, where multiple piers served a single cause and family. The presence of so many loggers, haulers, choppers, entrepreneurs, and ships, serving three different families, made for somewhat boisterous times. From a historian's point of view, the combination of piers leads to confusion and vagueness. Newspapers didn't always differentiate between the piers or owners, referring only to 'Hedgehog Harbor' in their accounts.

Torstenson's Pier

Location and Setting

Hedgehog Harbor is located on the northern tip of the Door Peninsula, between the community of Gill's Rock to the east and Garrett Bay to the west. It fronts onto Death's Door, the hazardous passage between the mainland of the Door Peninsula and Washington Island. The site is located in the northwestern corner of Section 6, in northern Liberty Grove Township (Figure 137). The shoreline has been developed into a series of large residential homes, some of which have reinforced their shore with rip-rap and other materials. Small piers and docks extend out at intervals from the private lots, and portions of the shore have been dredged and excavated to provide small slips for private boats. A small escarpment drops from the shore into the lake. The bay is shallow and rocky near shore, with some drifts of sand and gravel, and drops down to a depth of ten or feet further out into the site area.

History

The land that would become known as Hedgehog Harbor, after the porcupines that frequented the area, came into non-Indigenous hands in the early 1850s. In the early 1870s Elias Gill and Hans Torstenson arrived, and extended piers into the lake. Gill's pier went up in 1873 (*Manitowoc Tribune* 1873). Gill either tired of pier ownership quickly or found that the venture wasn't as profitable as he had hoped. He put his property up for sale in 1874. His advertisements described the complex as follows:

For Sale. The very desirable property at Hedge Hog Harbor – north end of Door county – known as Gill's Pier, consisting of the Pier, Warehouse, Boarding House, Stables and other buildings, together with 1,300 acres hardwood Timber Lands. An unusual favorable opportunity for a profitable investment and successful business. Locality well known being in the "Door," very near the route of steamers. Terms of payment to suit the purchasers. The whole or only part of the lands might be included in the sale...(*Door County Advocate* 1874b).



Figure 137: The three piers at Hedgehog Harbor, from the 1899 plat map of Liberty Grove Township (Randall and Williams 1899). Voight's Pier is located furthest north, Weborg's pier at center, and Tostenson's Pier to the west. Note also the presence of two additional piers serving the lumber and stone quarry operations in Garrett's Bay to the west.

Though the advertisements ran through the summer, the newspapers reported that Thomas Scott had purchased the property and planned to put out his own dock (*Door County Advocate* 1874a). Instead, he was elected county vice-coroner and moved to Sturgeon Bay (*Door County Advocate* 1874c, 1875).

Hans Torstenson had better luck. Though Gill gave his name to the community that would become known as Gills Rock, Torstenson was described as that community's founder, and received the appellation "The King of Gill's Rock" (Holand 1917:373). Torstenson was one of a group of immigrants lured north by John Ellison, the founder of the community of Ellison Bay. Fellow settler Andrew Weborg set up not far away. Before long, shipping resumed from the harbor. William Voight, who seems to have set up at Elias Gill's former location at Gill's Rock, had a pier in the water as early as 1880 (*Door County Advocate* 1880a, 1880b).

Torstenson's own pier was built around the same time, either over the winter of 1880–1881 or the few winters prior. He installed the usual pier store and service buildings. The complex would eventually encompass a sawmill, blacksmith shop, and post office (*Door County News* 1937). Life at Hedgehog Harbor in the early years was relatively remote and sometimes unusual. Torstenson's pier makes an early appearance in newsprint in a rare account of a 'load and run.' Loaders moving wood to be shipped for Mike and A. Anderson took a break and left the schooner they were moving cargo onto tied up to the pier. When they returned after supper, the ship had "disappeared

in a very mysterious manner,” with the load unfinished. Mike and A. Anderson lost 40 cords of wood. The men lost their day’s pay (*Door County Advocate* 1881c).

With two piers in operation, abundant timber, and easy fishing offshore, Hedgehog Harbor became the place to be. It got crowded.

Hedge Hog harbor, near “Death’s Door,” must be a lively place if all reports are true and a veritable paradise for boarding house keepers. Nearly every shanty in the neighborhood shelters and feeds from five to a full dozen of “regular” boarders, besides the “transient” guests who are on a “prospecting” tour among the fisherman and wood-butchers. In some instances, the accommodations for grub and shelter are so contracted that it has been found necessary to divide the boarders into regular watches—one watch in bed and the other up and cooking, eating &c. (*Door County Advocate* 1881a).

Prior to the mystery of the vanishing ship, the community’s biggest excitements involved shipwrecks and seduction. Ships that came to load or to seek shelter from the storms that made Death’s Door so hazardous went ashore with relative frequency. The schooner *Ardent* hit the shore and was wrecked in October of 1880 when her anchor chain broke near Voight’s pier (*Door County Advocate* 1880a). The more romantic side of the equation boiled to the surface in the spring of 1880 when Mrs. Andrew Weborg and William Mulloch were caught in an affair, leading most of the residents of Hedgehog Harbor’s little ports and lumber camps to form into a mob to run Mulloch out of the area, chasing him as far as Newport (*Door County Advocate* 1881b; *Weekly Expositor Independent* 1881; *Wood County Reporter* 1881).

By early 1882, both Torstenson and Voight were hard at work in the woods, with the excitement of mob violence behind them. Their lumber gangs were sending twenty-five cords of wood per day down to the piers and into the stockpiles in the woods (*Door County Advocate* 1882). Most of the year passed without incident, until Tostenson was arrested for selling whiskey without a license (*Wisconsin State Journal* 1882). The case was weak. Torstenson was cleared in Milwaukee and returned home “released from the grip of Uncle Sam” (*Door County Advocate* 1883a). That spring, Torstenson assumed the office of postmaster for the wider harbor community (*Door County Advocate* 1883b).

The 1883 shipping season was a busy one. Newspapers took note of the number of vessels streaming south from Liberty Grove Township (*Door County Advocate* 1883d). One load, carried on board the schooner *St. Cloud*, only made it as far as Ahnapee (modern Algoma) when the Captain let his ship drift onto a sunken pier crib (*Door County Advocate* 1883c). The schooner *Graham Brothers*, loading at either Torstenson’s or Voights, went ashore in a storm and had to be towed off by the tug *Gregory* (*Weekly Expositor Independent* 1883a). Not long afterwards, the schooner *Maria* loaded with wood at Torstenson’s pier, went ashore in another storm, and stayed there (*Weekly Expositor Independent* 1883b) (see Chapter Eleven). The newspapers reported the happy (for Torstenson) news that the wood had already been paid for (*Door County Advocate* 1883e).

Competition grew even fiercer that winter. Andrew Weborg constructed a pier of his own between Torstenson’s and Voights (*Door County Advocate* 1883f, 1884). Torstenson reacted. He let the

newspapers spread the word that he planned to waive the coming year's dockage fees, in an attempt to entice ships to call at his pier instead of the others (*Weekly Expositor Independent* 1884). By that winter, however, Torstenson and Weborg, along with Andrew Nelson's crew at neighboring Garrett Bay, were all working for the same firm. Mann Bros. hired them all to cut as many sawlogs as they could (*Door County Advocate* 1885a). That job was completed by the end of January, and the choppers turned to cordwood (*Weekly Expositor Independent* 1885).

The middle of the 1880s brought more settlers and some aggravation to Torstenson. He was still postmaster, but didn't want to be. It didn't pay well, for one thing (*Door County Advocate* 1885b). The wood business held more promise. It may have been a promising year for the pier owners, with more busy work to come (*Door County Advocate* 1886a) but it was a hard year for the ships that carried the wood. The schooner *Letty May* hit the beach and had to be rescued (*Door County Advocate* 1885c). The schooner *Japan* went ashore as well (though possibly in nearby Garrett's Bay) (*The Journal Times* 1885), and the scow *Milton* capsized near Two Rivers with a load of Hedgehog Harbor timber, killing the entire crew (*Door County Advocate* 17 September 1885d).

News accounts of the piers start to diminish after this point. The local lumber boom peaked and, as happened up and down the coast, the trade started to fall off. Torstenson still had men in the woods in the winter of 1886–1887, as did Weborg (*Door County Advocate* 1886b). The schooners *Cris Grover* and *Tempest* picked up wood from Torstenson the following summer (*Door County Advocate* 1887a, 1887b). Weborg reacted to the fall-off by putting effort into fishing, stocking up several tons worth of fish to sell in the spring of 1888 (*The Independent* 1888). A portion of Weborg's pier was demolished by ice shortly afterwards, though he vowed to rebuild (*Door County Advocate* 1888).

Torstenson's business kept humming along regardless of the changes. He shipped wood on the *Rob Roy* in 1889, then took a ride south on the schooner to pick up new goods for the store. Storms prevented a return directly to his pier, so he hopped off the *Rob Roy* in Bailey's Harbor, walked across the peninsula to Ellison Bay, then caught a ride north with a Mr. Martin Hanson (*The Independent* 1889a, 1889b). If he had repeated the same trip in late 1891, he would have been able to call home. Torstenson's complex was chosen to host the northern terminus of Door County's telephone line that year (*Independent* 1891).

The following years saw more storms, more strandings, and some struggle. The *Four Brothers* found the beach in 1892 (*The Journal Times* 1892). The tow barges *A. C. Maxwell* and *Sam Flint* washed ashore in 1895 (*Manitowoc Pilot* 1895). All were rescued. By 1893, such cordwood as was being sold was sold at a loss. Torstenson decided that being postmaster was "only a source of trouble and annoyance to his family and himself" and passed it off to Gottlieb Voight (*The Democrat* 1893; *Door County Advocate* 1893). He put advertisements in the newspaper, reminding everyone that he was still in business as a wood dealer (e.g., *Door County Advocate* 1894). The ads stopped in late 1896.

Shipping continued from the harbor, but at a slower pace and smaller scale. Torstenson is mentioned as having nearly 1000 cords of wood stocked up at his pier in 1900 (*Door County Advocate* 1900a). The schooner *Sardinia* called at Voight's pier that year to pick up wood there. While the ship was tied up at Voights, the ship's captain and his family made his way over to

Torstenson's house to visit. The weather turned, the schooner started to strike Voight's pier, and runners went to warn the captain that he needed to move his ship. He did so, but sailed into deeper water to no avail. Torstenson offered one of his outbuildings as a place to stow the *Sardinia's* salvaged outfit while the rest of the schooner broke up on shore (*Door County Advocate* 1900b). That fall, the post office burned to the ground (*Door County Advocate* 1900c).

The few mentions of Torstenson after 1905 show little sign of active shipping at Hedgehog Bay. The short and crowded life of Torstenson's pier had come to an end.

2023 Investigations

The remains of the Torstenson pier at Hedgehog Harbor are located within the wreckage field that marks the last resting places of the schooners *Maria* and *Sardinia* (see Chapter Twelve), approximately 140 feet west of the center of the main wreckage concentration.

Four large concentrations of crib stone and associated timbers were noted at the west end of the wreckage field for the *Maria* and *Sardinia* (Figure 138). All but three timbers are in direct association with a concentration of crib stone. Smaller sections of timber are visible within the stone concentrations. The tops of the cribs are located approximately six feet below the lake surface, and drop down to depths of ten feet at their lower edges.

Feature 1 is located approximately 70 feet west-northwest of the centerboard fragment within the main wreckage field (see Chapters Eleven and Twelve). It consists of a substantial concentration of crib stone, roughly triangular in shape, measuring 16 feet on the northeast side, 16 feet on the northwest side, and 17 feet on the south side. No large timbers were identified in association with this feature.

Feature 2 is a roughly rectangular concentration of crib fill. The eastern edge of this feature is approximately 16 feet west of the western angle of Feature 1. This feature extends approximately 25 feet northeast-southwest and 13 feet northwest-southeast. A fragment of a centerboard is in contact with the southern edge of the crib, extending to the south-southwest for 17 feet. Two boards are present with a six-inch gap between them that exposes a number of iron pins. More pins are present on the 'outer' edge of the boards. The eastern board is one foot wide, and the western less than a foot.

Feature 3 is a 'V'-shaped concentration of crib stone north of Feature 2 and separated from it by a gap of approximately 18 feet. The point of the 'V' is oriented towards the north. The western 'wing' of the feature is 20 feet long and twelve feet wide. The eastern 'wing' is 15 feet long and 12 feet wide. Two timbers protrude from this feature, oriented towards the north. The western timber is two feet in diameter and at least 10 feet long. It emerges from the fill near the western end of the western 'wing' of the feature. The eastern timber is two feet in diameter and at least 16 feet long. It emerges from the center of the feature.

Feature 4 is a large and irregularly-shaped concentration of crib stone east of Feature 3. It is separated from the east 'wing' of Feature 3 by a gap of five feet. The feature is elongated, measuring approximately 36 feet long and between 10 feet wide at the narrowest point near the

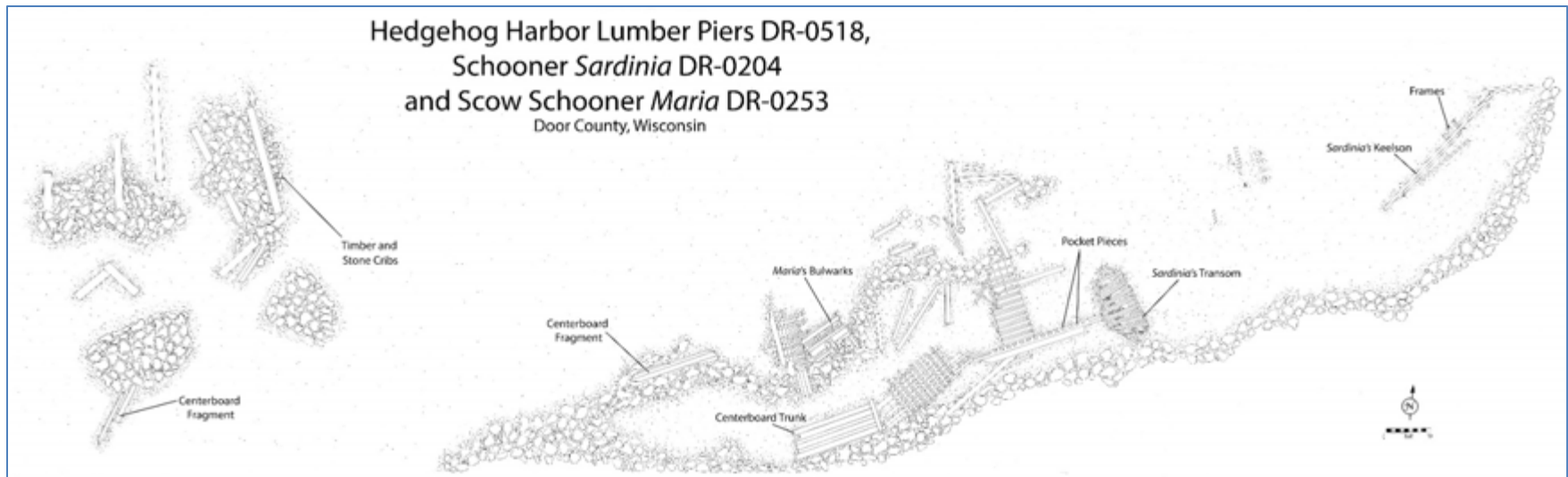


Figure 138: 2023 map of the Torstenson Pier/Maria/Sardinia site.



Figure 139: Location of Torstenson's Pier in Hedgehog Harbor (solid white lines) and observed crib features (black shapes). The wreckage field of the Maria and Sardinia is shaded in yellow. Weborg's pier was located just out of frame to the upper right.

south end and 20 feet at the widest point near the center. A large crib timber measuring 23 feet is located underneath the fill stone on the west side of the feature, running along the side of the fill. Both ends of the timber protrude an equal distance on either side of the covering fill. A second timber two feet in diameter and 25 feet long is located along the east side of the feature. A small fragment of one of the two shipwrecks is underneath the north end of this eastern timber. Three more timbers are within the south end of Feature 4. One is oriented northeast-southwest and is two feet in diameter and 20 feet long. A portion of the northern half of this timber is buried beneath stone fill. Two parallel and adjacent timbers, each one-foot wide, extend from beneath the fill at the south end of the feature, oriented slightly more to the south than the timber just described.

A 27-foot-long large (two-foot) crib timber is oriented north-south, with its southern end approximately half-way between Feature 3 and Feature 4. Two short, 10-foot-long, segments of large (two-foot) crib timber are oriented at right angles to one another halfway between Feature 2 and Feature 3. The right angle formed by the two timbers points towards the north.



Figure 140: A timber protrudes from cribbing stone at Torstenson's Pier.



Figure 141: Cribbing timbers and stones from Torstenson's Pier



Figure 142: Cribbing stones belonging to Torstenson's pier.

Conclusions and Evaluation

The fragments of Torstenson's pier are only part of the larger archaeological and cultural landscape of Hedgehog Harbor. Voight's Pier and Weborg's Pier, along with other wrecks, are yet to be located. The pier remains in isolation are not eligible for inclusion on the National Register of Historic Places. As part of a larger historic landscape, including the remains of the *Maria* and *Sardinia*, they may become eligible as part of an archaeological district.

Chapter Eleven: *Maria (DR-0253)*

Service History

The scow *Maria* was built in 1866 at Port Huron, Michigan for the equal partnership of Fred L. Wells and Edmond Fitzgerald. Frederick Ludlow Wells was a lumber merchant born in New York in 1833. He owned a steam sawmill where he manufactured lumber and lath at the mouth of Indian Creek, a tributary of the Black Creek in Port Huron, Michigan. Wells' partner, Edmond F. Fitzgerald was the eldest of the famous "Six Fitzgerald Brothers" that each heavily influenced Great Lakes maritime interests. Fitzgerald was born in Ireland on 11 April 1818. He immigrated with his parents and siblings in 1836 and established residence in Port Huron in November 1837 where he engaged in lumbering and went on to sail ships from 1847 to 1866. In 1866 he established a shipyard at Port Huron. It was typical for the builder to hold stock as a partial owner in newly constructed vessels until debts were paid—as such it is likely *Maria* was built at the Fitzgerald yard. It is also likely that Alexander Stewart, ship carpenter and builder of record for the scow *Maria* worked at this yard (Brown 1868, 1870; Cutler & Hirthe 1983).

The vessel was described as schooner-rigged with two masts, one deck, a scow stern, cabin, and no figurehead. It measured 95 feet long, 23.1 feet beam, and 7 feet depth. Its tonnage was calculated at 104.74 tons of which 98.98 tons capacity was under the tonnage deck and 5.76 tons capacity was above the tonnage deck. *Maria* was first enrolled at the port of Detroit on 6 July 1866. Port Huron became its homeport and Captain Robert Burns was appointed as its first Master (Bureau of Navigation 1866). The vessel brought several cargoes of barrel staves from Lexington and Port Huron, Michigan to Buffalo, New York in July. No other information about its routes or shipments was located for the season (*Courier & Republic* 1866a, 1866b, 1866c).

On 9 April 1867 a new enrollment was entered at the Detroit Customs House for a change in owner. Lorenzo M. Mason, Detroit lumber merchant, purchased the ship from Wells and Fitzgerald for \$8,500. Captain A.H. Peer took command, and its homeport was changed to Detroit (Bureau of Navigation 1867; *Chicago Tribune* 1867; Clark 1871; *Courier & Republic* 1867). In mid-August the *Buffalo Courier* (1867) reported a scandalous escape by a nefarious captain named William Chappelle who was supposedly in command of the scow *Maria*. Chappelle fled to Canada aboard the tug *Nelson* to escape arrest during a pursuit by the Buffalo police. The charges against the man were not clear and there is no record in the official ship documents of a Master named Chappelle.

No records were located for 1868. On 8 April 1869 a new registration was entered for a change in owner. *Maria* was sold to lumber dealer, Ed P. Campbell of Detroit for \$7,000. Captain Peer continued at the helm and its homeport remained in Detroit (Bureau of Navigation 1869; *Chicago Tribune* 1869; Clark 1871; *Courier & Republic* 1869). On 12 May 1869, *Maria* was sailing from Alpena, Michigan to Toledo, Ohio when off Pointe au Barges on Lake Huron it was overtaken by a gale. The ship began to take on water and the crew was forced to lighten 20,000 board feet of lumber, throwing the cargo from *Maria*'s deck into the water to save the ship from sinking

(*Buffalo Courier* 1869; *Kenosha Telegraph* 1869). The *Maria* was caught in a late season storm on 19 November 1869. The ship was enroute to Alpena with a cargo of supplies when it grounded on Ile Aux Galets (Skillagalee Island), a gravelly, low-lying island in northeast Lake Michigan. It was reported that the “Great Gale” took the ship and all hands in the stranding (*Daily Milwaukee News* 1869; *Manitowoc Tribune* 1869; *New York Times* 1869; *Wheeling Daily Register* 1869). The extent of damage and loss, however, is not known.

The next spring, Ed Campbell sold half of the vessel to merchant, Henry Whiting of St. Clair, Michigan and a new enrollment was entered at the port of Detroit on 23 June 1870 reflecting the change. Captain Richard Armstrong was appointed for the season. With this enrollment the vessel’s official number was assigned: U.S. 50612 (Bureau of Navigation 1870; U.S. Census Bureau 1870b). *Maria* began calling at Chicago and carrying mixed cargos. On 22 September the ship cleared Chicago with 3,000 bushels of oats, 1,5000 bushels of corn, 110 barrels of flour, 75 barrels of pork and other sundries bound for Toledo (*Chicago Tribune* 1870).

On 26 April 1871 the scow was sailing up the Detroit River when it grounded on Fighting Island. It remained stranded for two days. After lightering, *Maria* was pulled off by the tug *Clara*. Outside of the delay to the shipment, the vessel sustained no damage (*Chicago Tribune* 1871). A new enrollment for the ship was entered at Port Huron on 13 May 1871. Captain Richard Armstrong and investor, William H. Porter purchased the ship from Campbell and Whiting. Although the paperwork listed Armstrong and Porter as equal owners, Armstrong took the responsibility of managing owner and retained his role as Master of the ship. As both men lived in Alpena, *Maria*’s homeport was changed to that city (Bureau of Navigation 1871)

According to an article in the *Niles Democrat* (1871), in 1871 Captain Armstrong married Eliza “Betsy” Jane Johnson, a cook from Jackson, Michigan. Betsy Jane sailed aboard *Maria* with her new husband. Betsy Jane had previously been married, but her former husband left for the South to work in post-Civil War reconstruction and had not returned or been heard from for almost two years. He was presumed dead. On 3 December, Betsy’s first husband turned up on a dock in Detroit where the *Maria* was tied up and confronted the captain and the cook. A police officer was called in, and while the man was away, *Maria*’s sails were hoisted, and the ship, Captain Armstrong, and Betsy fled down into Lake St. Clair.

On 17 April 1872 *Maria* was enrolled at Port Huron for a change in owners. Richard Armstrong bought out William H. Porter, and then Captain Armstrong registered 2/3 of the ship in his name and 1/3 of the vessel in Eliza Armstrong’s name (Bureau of Navigation 1872). In May the ship was chartered to bring shingles from Forester, Michigan to Buffalo at \$0.60 per thousand, and in June the ship carried dimensioned lumber from Au Sable (Lake Huron) to Cleveland at \$8.00. On 23 August 1872, a call for information of the whereabouts of the scow *Maria* went out across the Great Lakes. The ship loaded coal at Buffalo and was bound for Detroit, but its arrival was delayed for unknown reasons. Several other ships sailed the same route some days later but did not encounter the scow. The vessel was reported at Detroit the next day. *Maria* completed three round trips between Au Sable and Buffalo in September (*Buffalo Courier* 1872; *Chicago Tribune* 1872a, 1872b, 1872c).

A new enrollment was entered for the scow *Maria* at the port of Detroit on 14 April 1873. Betsy Armstrong's 1/3 share in the vessel was sold to Captain Hubert Mercure of St. Clair, Michigan. Captain Mercure took command of the ship (Bureau of Navigation 1873). Mercure was a 26-year-old, sailor born in Rockwood, Michigan. *Maria* may have been his first vessel (Find-A-Grave). Arrivals and clearing were noted in the Alpena newspaper in September and October (*Alpena Weekly Argus* 1873a, 1873b).

At Detroit on 14 April 1874, it was discovered that Captain Armstrong changed his residence from Alpena to Port Huron without updating the vessel's documents. A temporary enrollment was taken out by Captain Mercure and on 20 April a new enrollment was issued at Port Huron updating Captain Armstrong's address and the vessel's homeport to Port Huron (Bureau of Navigation 1874a, 1874b). In May the ship carried lumber from Alpena to Windsor, Ontario (*Alpena Weekly Argus* 1874a, 1874b).

On the night of 25 July 1874, the *Maria* was two miles above Lexington, Michigan when the ship suddenly capsized and drifted ashore. The incident was caused by improper cargo loading as there was no inclement weather. The next morning the crew removed the lumber to the shore. The ship was righted, and no damage was sustained (*Chicago Tribune* 1874a). While unloading at Inverhuron, Ontario, on 23 September, the ship sank. The services of the tug *Prindiville* from Detroit were required. The scow was successfully raised and towed to Port Huron on 25 September where it filled and sank at the dock for a second time (*Chicago Tribune* 1874b). The extent of repair work required is not known. On 27 November, Captain Mercure was replaced by Captain J.R. Bartlett at Detroit (Bureau of Navigation 1874b).

A new enrollment was entered at Port Huron on 16 April 1875. Armstrong bought out Captain Mercure to become sole owner and Captain Horatio Nelson Jex became the vessel's new Master. Jex, a career Great Lakes sailor, was born in Canada in 1851 and resided in Port Huron (Bureau of Navigation 1875a; U.S. Census Bureau 1870a). A heavy gale blew through the region on 11 May 1875. *Maria* was loading at Morris' Dock at Ninemile Point near Charlevoix, Michigan when it became "disabled". The ship was scuttled to prevent further damage. The scow was raised on 21 May and towed to Port Huron, arriving on 24 May, for repair (*Alpena Weekly Argus* 1875a; *Courier & Republic* 1875; *Daily Milwaukee News* 1875a). *Maria* sailed between Alpena and Chicago with lumber making several trips in June (*Alpena Weekly Argus* 1875b). On 21 June the scow collided with the schooner *Mary McVea* in the Chicago River. *Mary McVea* lost its wire standing rigging, but *Maria* was unharmed (*Daily Milwaukee News* 1875b).

On 27 August 1875, a new enrollment was entered for the scow at the port of Milwaukee for change in owners and districts. Captain Armstrong sold ½ of the vessel to Captain Carl Olaf Melgard of Milwaukee. Melgard became *Maria*'s new Master and Milwaukee became the ship's new homeport. Richard Armstrong's address changed again to Ludington, Michigan (Bureau of Navigation 1875b). Melgard (originally Melgaar but altered upon arrival in the U.S.) was a career sailor born in Norway in 1837. He immigrated to the U.S. in April 1866 (U.S. Census Bureau 1880b).

No records were located for 1876. On 20 April 1877, *Maria* was seized by Deputy U.S. Marshal John Nowell. Outstanding debts were paid, and the vessel was released the next week (*Daily*

Milwaukee News 1877a). Two port records were found for the season. The ship sailed from Racine for Ludington at the end of May and on 19 July the scow was recorded at Buffalo – the cargos for these trips are unknown (*Inter Ocean* 1877a; *Racine Journal* 1877). On 22 November *Maria* was seized by U.S. Marshal Edward R. Fink for unpaid towing services rendered by the Milwaukee Tug Company, totaling \$208. The scow was sold at a Marshal's sale at Milwaukee to Henry Doerfner for \$1,030 (*Chicago Tribune* 1877; *Daily Milwaukee News* 1877b; *Inter Ocean* 1877b, 1877c).

A new enrollment was entered at the port of Milwaukee on 23 March 1878. Captain Carl Melgard acquired the vessel from the auction buyer to become sole owner and Master of the ship (Bureau of Navigation 1878). While in its winter berth in March in Milwaukee and docked near the First Avenue bridge, the vessel received a new port quarter (*Daily Milwaukee News* 1878). More repairs were needed by the end of July and the ship was taken to Milwaukee Shipyard Company for dry dock repairs (*Chicago Tribune* 1878). On the night of 31 October 1878 while sailing off Manitowoc, *Maria* collided with the schooner *Hattie Taylor*. The *Hattie Taylor* lost its jibboom and broke its bowsprit. The *Maria*'s damage went unreported. However, when *Hattie Taylor* entered the shipyard it brought along *Maria*'s martingale entangled in its head rigging (*Palladium* 1878).

The *Maria* was recorded clearing Milwaukee on 29 March 1879 for Holland, Michigan (*Chicago Tribune* 1879). No other trips were recorded in newsprint in 1879. Carl Melgard sold the vessel over the winter months to Joseph Cushing of Milwaukee. A new enrollment was entered at the port of Milwaukee for the change in owner. Captain William Lee, formerly of the scow *Hercules*, took command of *Maria* (Bureau of Navigation 1880; *Milwaukee Daily News* 1880). The *Maria* was fitted out early and put straight to work bringing its first lumber cargo for the season to Milwaukee on 3 April 1880 (*Chicago Tribune* 1880). *Maria* worked as a fruit boat in August and was recorded as the first ship to arrive at Racine from Holland, Michigan with a cargo of fruit (*Racine Daily Argus* 1880).

In May 1881, *Maria* was chartered to carry wood from Charlevoix, Michigan to Milwaukee at \$3 per 1000 board feet. During a round of rough weather on 11 October 1881, *Maria* was forced to seek shelter at Milwaukee. The scow was carrying a cargo of wood bound for Kenosha when it began leaking. While in the harbor at Chicago in early November 1881, the scow was run into by the schooner *A.W. Lucky*. *A.W. Lucky* broke its foreboom while entering the harbor and afterwards collided with the *Maria*, stoving in the scow's port bow (*Chicago Tribune* 1881; *Inter Ocean* 1881a, 1881b).

No records were located for 1882. On 2 June 1883 a new enrollment was entered at the port of Milwaukee for a change in owners. Joseph Cushing sold half of the vessel to John Saveland of Milwaukee (Bureau of Navigation 1883). John Saveland was a former lake captain, vessel owner, and grocer born in 1848 in Milwaukee. He was the fifth son of Norwegian-American Captain Tønnes Saveland whose entire family became involved in the maritime interests of the Great Lakes as captains, vessel owners, shipping company owners, and insurers. John Saveland owned several other vessels throughout his career including the schooners *Supply*, *W.A. Glover*, and *Grace Grummond* (U.S. Census Bureau 1880a; Gjerset 1979). Captain Charles Gebr became the *Maria*'s new and final Master. At this registration, the ship was given a deduction in calculated tonnage

under the Act of 5 August 1882 of 5.23 tons for a new Net tonnage of 99.51 tons (Bureau of Navigation 1883). No information about *Maria*'s routes or shipments was located for the season.

On the evening of 5 November 1883, *Maria* was loading wood at Hans Torstenson's pier in Hedgehog Harbor for Racine. The wind had been blowing from the southeast but shifted to the northeast just as the *Maria* prepared to leave. The strong wind and direction prevented the scow from gaining steerage control to clear the pier and the vessel was blown up on the beach. The scow was stripped the next day and left sitting on the rock bottom. Captain Gebr left for Baileys Harbor to notify the owners and receive instructions. Hedgehog Harbor was remote, and to bring a tug in from Milwaukee or elsewhere would take days. Unfortunately, the heavy wind and seas were not in their favor and the scow pounded against the rock bottom and shortly went to pieces. *Maria*'s enrollment was surrendered at the port of Milwaukee indicating the ship was wrecked on Lake Michigan and a total loss. The cargo of wood on board was valued at \$250 (Bureau of Navigation 1883; *Chicago Tribune* 1883; *Daily Times and Express* 1883; *Door County Advocate* 1883a, 1883b; *Inter Ocean* 1883; *Weekly Expositor Independent* 1883).

2023 Investigations

As the remains of this vessel are scattered and co-mingled with those of the *Sardinia*, readers are referred to the end of the next chapter (Chapter Twelve) for the results of the 2023 Investigations.

Chapter Twelve: *Sardinia (of Toronto) (DR-0204)*

Service History

The schooner *Sardinia* was built in 1856 at Penetanguishene in the Coldwater region of Canada West (Ontario), Canada for shipowner, wharfinger, and commission merchant George Laidlaw of Toronto. The ship was 105 feet long, with a 25 feet beam, and a nine-foot depth, was calculated at 140 tons (*Buffalo Courier* 1856; Canadian Census 1861, 1871).

The charismatic 28-year-old Laidlaw was born in Dornoch, Highland, Scotland. He arrived in Toronto around 1855, became employed by the Gooderham & Worts Distillery in Toronto, and gained assets and relationships while establishing his businesses. Laidlaw, however, is noted more for his successes in promoting and forwarding railway interests in Canada beginning in the late 1860s, with the founding of both the Toronto & Nipissing Railway and the Toronto, Grey and Bruce Railway, besides investing in others (Canadian Census 1861, 1871; Clark 2007; Suggitt 1972)

No Canadian official number was located for the *Sardinia* and information about its early history remains sparse. Around noon on 2 April 1859 while sailing off Whitby, Ontario between Toronto, and Cape Vincent on Lake Ontario, two sailors, Patrick Whalen and William McLean were lost overboard. The two unmarried Toronto men were in the yawl off the stern of the ship working to hook on tackle to reef the mainsail when the davit's eyebolt snapped. The sailors were thrown into the water. Captain Godsman lowered the yawl, but just as the boat was within reach they slipped beneath the waves (*Buffalo Courier* 1859; *Chicago Press & Tribune* 1859; *Oneida Sachem* 1859; *Watertown Reformer* 1859). Several trips through the Welland Canal and passing Detroit were recorded in August. The cargos and destinations for the ship are unknown (*Buffalo Daily Republic* 1859a, 1859b).

On 25 August 1860 a three-masted barquentine also named *Sardinia* was launched at Detroit from the Campbell & Owen shipyard. Gordon Campbell initially retained ownership with Captain John McKenna as Master. The bark *Sardinia* measured 142 feet long, 26.3 feet beam, 12 feet depth and was calculated at 385 tons. This capacity allowed the ship to carry 550 to 600 tons or 18,000 to 20,000 bushels of wheat. The next year, the vessel was sold to Captain Ed Darley of Detroit and later to Capt. Lorenzo Dimick of Buffalo. The ship grounded off the entrance to Traverse Bay in November 1874 (*Buffalo Commercial Advertiser* 1860; *Commercial Bulletin* 1861; *Plain Dealer* 1861). Every effort has been made in writing this text to avoid confusion with this other vessel.

On 26 September 1860 while off Cleveland, Ohio the *Sardinia* of Toronto picked up the crew of the capsized yacht *Unknown*. The yachts *Unknown* and *Naomi* had been racing for the championship of the Cleveland Yacht Club, when *Unknown* was struck by a sudden gust of wind that overturned the vessel. The men climbed on the keel and remained there for an hour until the *Sardinia* came alongside. Captain McKay launched the *Sardinia*'s yawl, and the victims were taken aboard. The schooner proceeded on its way with the rescued yachtsmen until the tug *Peter*



Figure 143: *The Sardinia* (Edward J. Dowling Collection, University of Detroit-Mercy).

Smith came up and the crew was transferred over (*Buffalo Courier* 1860; *Cleveland Morning Leader* 1860a, 1860b; *Plain Dealer* 1860).

The *Sardinia* was reported travelling through the Welland Canal from Cleveland to Toronto 25 August 1861 (*Chicago Tribune* 1861). An arrival was reported at Cleveland on 15 September 1862 from Kingston, Canada West (Ontario). Captain Campbell was at the helm. On 9 December 1862 the vessel was reported at Port Colbourne, Canada West waiting on a tow to Cleveland from the tug *Kate Williams*. The ship had on board railroad iron for Stone, Chisholm & Jones (*Cleveland Morning Leader* 1862a, 1862b). On 18 November 1864 the *Sardinia* loaded 9,200 bushels of peas at the Irwin & Sloan elevator at Oswego bound for Toronto, but the ship sank at the dock. Instead of removing the vessel, the owner decided to sell the ship and it was auctioned with rigging, tackle, and apparel in its waterlogged condition at 11AM on 25 November (*Daily Palladium* 1864; *Plain Dealer* 1864; *Oswego Commercial Times* 1864).

The schooner was raised and rebuilt over the winter months. On 15 July 1865 an enrollment for the *Sardinia* was entered at the port of Oswego. Robert Richardson owned $\frac{3}{4}$ and Captain J.V. Tuttle owned $\frac{1}{4}$. Oswego became its new homeport. No master was named on the document, however given subsequent newspaper reports it is evident that Captain Tuttle took the helm (Bureau of Navigation 1865).

On 18 June 1866, the *Sardinia* was loaded with corn from Chicago and bound for Oswego, when it went ashore during a storm on Lake Erie between Fairport and Ashtabula near Madison Dock, Ohio. Captain Tuttle and Mate John C. Biddle had their wives on board. They were determined to get the women to shore and put them in the yawl in command of two sailors. The boat overturned in the surf and the two women drowned (*Ashtabula Weekly Telegraph* 1866; *Cleveland Daily Herald* 1866; *Courier & Republic* 1866; *Daily Journal* 1866). The following card was published in the *Ashtabula Weekly Telegraph* on 23 June:

We wish in this public manner to express our deep gratitude (being entire strangers) to the people of Ashtabula Harbor, for their sympathy and kindness shown us in this hour of deep affliction, in the loss of our dear ones, who were drowned in the late gale off Madison dock, and by God, whose ways are inscrutable, but who doeth all things well, reward them for the kind attention shown us. The bodies were removed to the house of Thos. Mosher. The kindness of himself and family we shall long remember.

J.V. Tuttle, Captain
J.C. Biddle, Mate
Of the Schooner *Sardinia*

On 29 June 1866, the ship was removed from the beach at an expense exceeding \$3,000 and it taken to the dry dock at Buffalo for repairs. 2,000 bushels of corn on board were damaged (*Manitowoc Tribune* 1867a; *Milwaukee Daily Sentinel* 1866). The ship carried coal from Oswego to Detroit in late September and on 5 October it was reported that that Richardson and Tuttle sold *Sardinia* to an equal partnership of Sylvester Goodenow & William Hitchcock of Manitowoc for \$11,500 cash. It was indicated that the ship would primarily be used to move lumber between Manitowoc and Chicago (*Chicago Tribune* 1866a, 1866b; *Hamilton Spectator* 1866). A new enrollment was entered for the vessel at the port of Milwaukee on 5 November 1866. Manitowoc became the ship's new homeport and Captain Louis Simpson was its new Master (Bureau of Navigation 1866).

Over the winter months Sylvester Goodenow was able to buy out his partner and a new enrollment was entered at the port of Milwaukee on 22 March 1867. Sylvester Goodenow owned $\frac{3}{4}$ of the ship, and in exchange for captain's services, $\frac{1}{4}$ ownership was given to Captain Simpson (Bureau of Navigation 1867). On 22 May the ship arrived at Chicago missing its jibboom and bowsprit. The cause of the accident went unreported (*Chicago Tribune* 1867a; *Semi Weekly Wisconsin* 1867). In September 1867 Manitowoc businessmen, William Horn and John Schuette established an enterprise to ship wheat direct from Manitowoc to Buffalo. Along with the schooners *O. Torrison* and *Ebenezer*, they employed *Sardinia* to compete directly with the Milwaukee grain market. This bypassed shipping to Milwaukee for reshipment, which had been the norm. *Sardinia* made several trips to Buffalo that fall. By 26 December, the ship was in winter quarters at Manitowoc (*Chicago Tribune* 1867b; *Manitowoc Tribune* 1867b, 1867c, 1867d; *Manitowoc Pilot* 1867).

Sardinia was caught off Kenosha, Wisconsin during an early season storm on 4 April 1868, and was forced to turn back to Chicago. It waited there for a day before making its way to Manitowoc. On the morning of 13 May 1868, the schooner was in tow into Chicago when the ship's Mate,

Daniel Ramsdell, was struck by the boom and knocked overboard. The boom struck him in his thigh, where he had previously received impact from a mini ball at Vicksburg in 1863. It took the tug twenty-five minutes to turn around and retrieve the man from the water. He was brought back to Manitowoc to recuperate. The ship carried strips, joists, and scantling from Two Rivers to Chicago through July. In August it went into drydock at Milwaukee for recaulking in preparation for the fall grain shipments. No grain shipments were recorded, however. In October Daniel Ramsdell returned to the ship and took command for a run to Bay du Noc, Michigan. The official document was not updated with this change (*Daily Milwaukee News* 1868; *Manitowoc Pilot* 1868a; 1868b; 1868c; 1868d).

Sardinia received an overhauling and was refit at Manitowoc in March. Before the opening of navigation, *Sardinia*'s enrollment was updated on 25 March 1869, for a change of address for the managing owner. Sylvester Goodenow moved to Chicago and with this change *Sardinia*'s homeport was updated to Chicago. Captain Louis Simpson remained Master (Bureau of Navigation 1869; *Manitowoc Post* 1869). In May the ship was chartered to haul joists and scantling from the Magill & Canfield Mill in Manistee to Chicago. In August it was chartered for lumber from Bay City to Chicago and in September it was chartered for joists and small timber from Manistee to Chicago. During a brief lull, the ship was repainted and repaired at Manitowoc in mid-August. A *Sardinia* grounded outside Ogdensburgh harbor in late November. This ship lost its foresail, mainsail, and flying jib. It is not known which of the two *Sardinias* this report pertained to (*Manitowoc Tribune* 1869; *Milwaukee Daily Sentinel* 1869a, 1869b, 1869c, 1869d; *St. Lawrence Republican* 1869)

On 11 March 1870 a new enrollment was taken out at Chicago. Sylvester Goodenow hired a new captain and the ownership arrangement changed. Captain J.C. Johnson took command and with that position acquired $\frac{1}{4}$ share in the vessel. The ship's official number, U.S. 22583, was assigned and added to the document (Bureau of Navigation 1870). *Sardinia* brought several loads of lumber, each of 130,000 board feet, to Chicago from Muskegon in May and June 1870. After unloading, it departed on the same day for a return trip. In October the ship brought lumber from Manistee (*Daily Milwaukee News* 1870; *Milwaukee Daily Sentinel* 1870a, 1870b, 1870c, 1870d). Multiple cargos of lumber and lumber products were delivered from Pentwater, Muskegon and Manistee to Chicago in May, June, September, October, and November (*Chicago Tribune* 1871a, 1871b; *Milwaukee Daily Sentinel* 1871a, 1871b, 1871c, 1871d, 1871e, 1871f).

Over the 1871–72 winter the ship was sold to Captain Martin Howard of Chicago, and he also took command. A new enrollment was entered at the port of Chicago for this change in ownership on 28 February 1872 (Bureau of Navigation 1872). Although the ownership changed, the vessel continued to haul lumber primarily for Goodenow & Hines. On 18 April 1872, the schooner lost its anchor during a storm off Gross Point and retained the assistance of the tug *Miller* to recover it. On 3 July Captain Edward McKay replaced Martin Howard, and on 9 July Captain Howard returned to the helm. On 4 October 1872 *Sardinia* was libeled in U.S. District Court in Chicago for \$50 for supplies obtained from James T. King and Edwin L. Jillette. The dispute was settled the next day, the costs paid, and the case dismissed (Bureau of Navigation 1872; *Chicago Tribune* 1872a, 1872b; *Milwaukee Daily Sentinel* 1872).

Early 1873-season routes for the ship were not located. On 11 August 1873, *Sardinia* arrived at Chicago leaking badly and was taken to the dry dock for repair (*Daily Palladium* 1873; *Manitowoc Pilot* 1873). Following a quick turnaround to stem the leak, the ship was chartered on 29 August to haul joists and scantlings from Manistee to Chicago (*Milwaukee Daily Sentinel* 1873).

On the night of 9 April 1874 *Sardinia* was attempting to enter Chicago harbor when it struck the north pier. Its rigging was damaged. Repair costs totaled \$150 (*Milwaukee Daily Sentinel* 1874a). On 18 June the ship was chartered to haul joists and scantlings from Manistee to Chicago. Captain John Jacobson replaced Martin Howard at Chicago on 15 July, and on 27 July Captain Howard returned to the helm (Bureau of Navigation 1872). While at the Chicago lumber market on 17 September, *Sardinia* had her rigging damaged in a collision with the schooner *C.L. Johnson* (*Daily Inter Ocean* 1874a; *Milwaukee Daily Sentinel* 1874c).

Two days later, on 19 September 1874, *Sardinia* was run into by the propeller *Nebraska* in the Chicago River and sank near the Lake Street bridge. *Sardinia* was left on the bottom near the lumber market dock where it remained vulnerable and exposed to propeller wash and tows being nudged against it as they were docked at the market, while negotiations on the ship's recovery were discussed. On 22 September Captain Brett, representing Ensign & Holt, owners of Union Steamboat Company and owners of the *Nebraska* contracted with Burns & Farrow for *Sardinia*'s recovery and repair. The ship was raised on 25 September and taken to the dry dock. Once examined, it was said that the hole in its side was so large that a team of oxen could have been driven through it (*Cleveland Daily Herald* 1874; *Daily Inter Ocean* 1874b, 1874c; *Milwaukee Daily Sentinel* 1874d, 1874e). On 5 October, *Sardinia*'s masts were removed in preparation for a thorough rebuild (*Daily Inter Ocean* 1874d; *Daily Palladium* 1874; *Milwaukee Daily Sentinel* 1874f).

Sardinia was relaunched from the Burns & Farrow's shipyard at 4PM on 27 April 1875. A new enrollment for the vessel was entered at the port of Chicago on 11 May. A re-measurement was required after the rebuild and it was calculated at 105.2 feet long, 24.7 feet beam, 8.8 feet depth with a gross tonnage of 150.01 tons of which 144.34 tons capacity was under the tonnage deck and 5.64 tons capacity made up enclosures on the upper deck (Bureau of Navigation 1875; *Daily Inter Ocean* 1875a; *Milwaukee Daily Sentinel* 1875a; *Oswego Daily Times* 1875).

On 21 July 1875 the schooner *Sardinia* was libeled for \$1,389 in salvage costs by Lemuel Ellsworth and then on 3 August was again libeled for the cost of its outfit and rigging up of the schooner (*Milwaukee Daily Sentinel* 1875b, 1875c). The result of these cases is unknown. On 15 June *Sardinia* was reported downbound and passing Port Huron, Michigan. While in tow of the tug *Masters* with *Sardinia* cabled first and schooners *Swallow* and *Preston* tied behind respectively, the tug was maneuvering the line past the anchored schooner *Onondaga* in the St. Clair Flats when the *Swallow* was swung against the *Onondaga* causing damage to both vessels (*Chicago Tribune* 1875; *Daily Inter Ocean* 1875b; *Milwaukee Daily Sentinel* 1875b, 1875c).

During a storm on 1 November 1875, *Sardinia* went ashore at South Haven, Michigan. The ship was pulled free and sustained no damage (*Daily Inter Ocean* 1875c; *Milwaukee Daily Sentinel* 1875d). On 10 November while moving through crowded conditions in the Chicago River, *Sardinia* collided with the bark *W.H. Vanderbilt*. *W.H. Vanderbilt*'s bobstays were broken.

Sardinia lost its centerboard winch, and the after-shroud of its mainmast rigging was torn away (*Daily Inter Ocean* 1875d; *Milwaukee Daily Sentinel* 1875e).

Around midnight on the morning of 22 May 1876 *Sardinia* was light, without cargo, and inbound to Chicago harbor. The captain thought the tug *Burton* was coming out to provide a tow, however, the *Burton* became disabled. The *Sardinia* went up against the breakwater and stove in its starboard side bow, breaking its bobstays. The tug *Protection* was outbound at the time and threw a line to the schooner, towing it into the mouth of the harbor where another tug took over. *Sardinia* was leaking so badly that it was towed directly to the Chicago Dry Dock Company. After a month of repairs, on 22 June the ship came out of dry dock (*Chicago Tribune* 1876; *Daily Inter Ocean* 1876a, 1876b; *Milwaukee Daily Sentinel* 1876a).

On 28 August 1876 *Sardinia* was involved in another collision in the Chicago River. Its jibboom was sprung, and a replacement was required (*Milwaukee Daily Sentinel* 1876b). Another close call occurred in the Chicago River on 19 September under significant vessel traffic at the Wells and Clark Street bridges. The steamer *Ohio*, and the tug *Burton* with the *Sardinia* in tow were outbound. The tug *Ferry* with a barge was inbound. In maneuvering, *Sardinia* was swung into the *Ohio* then careened against the protective bridge pilings. Luckily no damage was sustained (*Daily Inter Ocean* 1876c). The ship was forced in at St. Joseph, Michigan on 1 October during a southwest gale. It had been enroute from Chicago to Muskegon when it encountered high, rolling seas. Another southwest gale struck on 9 October and *Sardinia* arrived at Chicago missing its foresail and jibs (*Daily Inter Ocean* 1876d, 1876e).

Sardinia began fitting out during the first week of April 1877. On 17 April while in the harbor at Pentwater, Michigan the schooner was struck by lightning which splintered its foremast and foretopmast. Repairs were made at Pentwater (*Daily Inter Ocean* 1877a, 1877b; *Milwaukee Daily News* 1877a; *Milwaukee Daily Sentinel* 1877a; *Oswego Daily Times* 1877a). At 11PM on 15 May 1877, *Sardinia* was bound from Ludington, Michigan to Chicago with a cargo of lumber. It was sailing in a dense fog ten miles north of Racine, when it was struck by an unknown vessel. *Sardinia* lost its bowsprit and jibboom. The fog was so thick the crew could not tell how badly the other ship was damaged. The schooner put in at Kenosha to assess for further damages before continuing to Chicago (*Daily Inter Ocean* 1877c, 1877d; *Milwaukee Daily Sentinel* 1877b; *Oswego Daily Times* 1877b). On 14 October *Sardinia* was bringing lumber under contract from White Lake, Michigan to Chicago when it encountered a fierce storm thirty miles west of Grand Haven. The ship started to leak and lost part of its deck load of lumber. Damages to the vessel were assessed at \$100 and loss of cargo totaled \$325 (*Daily Inter Ocean* 1877e; *Milwaukee Daily News* 1877b).

On 8 May 1878, *Sardinia* had its headgear carried away in a collision in the Chicago River with the steamer *Pridgeon* (*Daily Inter Ocean* 1878a; *Milwaukee Daily Sentinel* 1878a). On 17 June the schooner was bound for Chicago but lost its deck load of lumber while battling its way through the waves. It was leaking so severely that it was taken to the Doolittle & Olcott's shipyard for recaulking and repairs (*Daily Inter Ocean* 1878b; *Milwaukee Daily News* 1878). The ship was under charter to bring lumber from White Lake, Michigan to Chicago when it was forced to seek shelter at Milwaukee from a nasty gale on 16 October. Charters from White Lake continued

through the end of October (*Daily Inter Ocean* 1878c; *Janesville Gazette* 1878; *Milwaukee Daily Sentinel* 1878b, 1878c).

On 2 May 1879 *Sardinia* was back in the dry dock in Chicago to stop a leak. On 18 May *Sardinia*'s headgear and the smokestack of the tug *Protection* were damaged when a race ensued between the tug *Prindeville* and the *Protection* to pick up the tow of *Sardinia* into Chicago harbor. In July the schooner was chartered to haul lumber from White Lake to Chicago (*Daily Inter Ocean* 1879a, 1879b, 1879c).

The ship's first arrival at Chicago for the season was recorded on 21 March 1880 with railroad ties from Kewaunee, Wisconsin (*Chicago Tribune* 1880a). The schooner was put up for sale on 1 April with a load of shingles and timber on board. No buyers came forward. On 17 April *Sardinia* arrived from White Lake with lumber. Cargoes and routes for the remainder of the season are not known. The ship was towed to the Brower & Carnarvon shipyard near the Erie Street bridge in Chicago on 8 November where it received a new centerboard box, cant frames, deck beams, deck hatch combings, ceiling planking, and a new transom. Work was completed by 10 December and totaled more than \$2,000 (*Chicago Tribune* 1880c, 1880d, 1880e; *Milwaukee Daily Sentinel* 1880a, 1880b).

The schooner remained out of the press for much of 1881. On 21 November the tug *Union* towed *Sardinia* loaded with a cargo of lumber from Chicago to Evanston, Illinois. On 23 November the schooner was attempting to enter the harbor at Manistee when the tow line to the tug parted. The tug left the ship in the breakers to take care of itself. The crew worked throughout the night to work the ship off. They sailed to Frankfort the next morning and *Sardinia* departed Frankfort for Chicago on 28 November (*Daily Inter Ocean* 1881a, 1881b 1881c).

During a storm on 17 May 1882, *Sardinia* broke its centerboard. A new one was installed while in the Lighthouse slip at Chicago (*Daily Inter Ocean* 1882; *Milwaukee Daily Sentinel* 1882). At some point during the 1882 season the ship's 1875 enrollment was stamped for a tonnage deduction under the Act of 5 August 1882. The deduction of 7.5 tons was calculated for a new net tonnage of 142.54 tons (Bureau of Navigation 1875).

No information was located for the ship in the early 1883 season. On 8 September 1883 *Sardinia* was leaving Whitehall, Michigan with a cargo of lumber for Goodenow & Hinds when it struck the pier and became waterlogged. The steambarge *R.C. Brittain* rescued the schooner and brought it inside the harbor. Instead of waiting for a steam pump to be brought in, the captain hired eight additional men to work the pumps and keep it afloat while it continued to Chicago. The ship went into dry dock upon arrival (*Chicago Tribune* 1883a, 1883b; *Daily Globe* 1883; *Daily Inter Ocean* 1883a, 1883b; *Oswego Times & Express* 1883; *Wisconsin State Journal* 1883).

On 12 June 1884 *Sardinia* was three miles outside of Chicago, when the tugs *Alpha* and *Flossie Thieckle* began racing toward the schooner competing for its tow. The *Alpha* struck the *Sardinia* stem on, and staved in its starboard quarter for a cost of \$350 in repairs (*Cleveland Daily Herald* 1884; *Daily Inter Ocean* 1884; *Milwaukee Daily Sentinel* 1884a; *Milwaukee Journal* 1884). The extent of time required at the shipyard is unknown. The ship was reported clearing Frankfort, Michigan on 20 October. No other reports of harbor entrances or clearings were located



Figure 144: The Sardinia in Sheboygan Harbor (Milwaukee Public Library).



Figure 145: *The Sardinia in Sheboygan Harbor.*

(*Milwaukee Daily Sentinel* 1884b). Only one clearing at Chicago was located for 1885. The ship departed Chicago light on 26 October 1885 for Kewaunee (*Plain Dealer* 1885).

A new enrollment was entered for the schooner at the port of Milwaukee on 27 March 1886 for a change in owners. A group of three Sheboygan men organized to paid \$2,500 for the vessel. George B. Mattoon owned 2/3, and Oley Groh and William Lorenz each owned 1/6 share. Oley Groh became managing owner, Captain Rudolf Rieboldt became the new Master and Sheboygan the ship's homeport (Bureau of Navigation 1886; *Plain Dealer* 1886; *Sheboygan Press* 1926, 1932). Early season shipments are unknown. Near the end of September, the ship was chartered to carry hardwood lumber from Traverse City to Milwaukee. From 16 to 20 November *Sardinia* was windbound at Charlevoix. Late season sailing continued into December. On 1 December the schooner loaded cordwood at Whitefish Bay in Door County (*Daily Inter Ocean* 1886a, 1886b, 1886c; *Milwaukee Daily Sentinel* 1886).

Over the winter months, George B. Mattoon sold a portion of his share in the vessel to Watson D. Crocker for \$417. A new document was entered at the port of Milwaukee on 24 February 1887 for the change in owner arrangement. George B. Mattoon owned 1/2, and Oley Groh, William Lorenz, and Watson D. Crocker each owned 1/6 share. Captain Rudolf Rieboldt left to take command of

the schooner *Evening Star*, and Captain Fred Lorenz took over *Sardinia*'s helm (Bureau of Navigation 1887; *Daily Inter Ocean* 1887; *Milwaukee Daily Sentinel* 1887; *Sheboygan Press* 1926, 1932).

The vessel loaded hardwood lumber at Milwaukee in April and July for Sheboygan. In June the ship sailed light from Sheboygan to Benton Harbor, Michigan to collect a cargo of hardwood shipped to the city by rail from John Lesh & Co. of Goshen, Indiana. Thirteen carloads of the lumber arrived by the Wabash Railroad and were transported to the ship which opened a new market of intermodal trade. On 23 October the ship lost its jibboom and two jibs while crossing the lake and was forced to seek shelter in the Sturgeon Bay Ship Canal (*Milwaukee Daily Sentinel* 1888; *Milwaukee Journal* 1888a, 1888b; *Herald-Palladium* 1888a, 1888b; *Weekly Palladium* 1888; *Sturgeon Bay Independent* 1888).

A new captain was appointed for the 1889 season. Captain M. Kilton became *Sardinia*'s Master at Sheboygan on 11 April 1889. The ship again carried hardwood lumber from Benton Harbor to Sheboygan during the season. At 8AM on 2 August 1889 the *Sardinia* arrived off Benton Harbor. Two of the local tugs, the *Belle* and the *L.S. Payne*, spotted the ship waiting for a tow through the canal into the harbor and began racing toward the schooner. Although the *Belle* had a head start, the *Payne* successfully secured the ship's line. The *Sardinia* met the Chicago, Missouri and Western (CM&W) Railway for a load of hardwood there (Bureau of Navigation 1887; *Daily Inter Ocean* 1889; *Herald-Palladium* 1889).

No records for the ship were located for the 1890 and 1891 seasons. On 5 March 1892, Oley Groh and William Lorenz each sold 1/18 of the schooner to Eugene C. Pantzer for \$1. A new enrollment was entered at the port of Milwaukee on 14 March 1892 for the change in arrangement. Oley Groh, William Lorenz, and Eugene C. Pantzer each owned 1/9, along with George B Mattoon who owned 1/2 and Watson D. Crocker who owned 1/6. Captain Chas. Peterson took over as Master (Bureau of Navigation 1892).

No records were located for the 1893, 1894, or 1895 seasons. On 3 June 1896 a new enrollment was entered at the port of Milwaukee for a change in owner. Captain William H. MacDonald of Manitowoc became the owner and Master. Manitowoc became *Sardinia*'s new homeport (Bureau of Navigation 1896). MacDonald had previously owned and sailed the schooner *Conquest*. On 24 September and 9 November 1896, the vessel was reported at Jacksonport, Wisconsin loading lumber at LeMere's dock. The ship was also there on 17 November when a heavy southwest gale sprang up. It put out in the bay to anchor when the starboard anchor chain kinked coming out of the hawsepipe and tore the hawsepipe and a portion of the bow away. The port anchor slipped, and the vessel dragged into shallow water. There, the waves caused it to pound the bottom. Its deck load of lumber was thrown overboard to lighten the ship. The ship survived the storm. Its bow was patched, and the lumber cargo was collected and reloaded before it departed for Sheboygan (*Door County Advocate* 1896a, 1896b; *Door County Democrat* 1896).

Sardinia collected lumber for Sheboygan from Egg Harbor in August 1897. The ship was forced to tie up at Merchant's Dock in Sturgeon Bay and wait for several hours for better wind to make its destination. In September *Sardinia* collected cedar scraps at Brown's Co. dock. This cargo was taken to Milwaukee and sold for kindling wood (*Door County Advocate* 1897; *Door County*

Democrat 1897). During the last week of September 1898, *Sardinia* arrived at Sturgeon Bay to collect a cargo bound for Milwaukee. As the ship arrived, the sailors aboard were offered the opportunity to paint the smokestacks on the island mill for more pay. Captain MacDonald hired men in their place to load the vessel. Once the painting was completed, the sailors didn't return to the ship, but instead "went on a tear and finally fetched up at Algoma" (*Door County Advocate* 1898).

On 16 August 1899 a new enrollment was entered at the port of Milwaukee for a change in owner. Max and Ernest Pfiel of Milwaukee became equal ½ owners and Max Pfiel took command. The brothers purchased the ship for \$500. Milwaukee again became *Sardinia*'s homeport (*Door County Advocate* 1899a; Bureau of Navigation 1899). The ship was reported in Sturgeon Bay during the week of 21 October waiting on favorable winds to sail for Horseshoe Bay to collect a cargo of lumber for Milwaukee. As the ship sat tied up for more than a week Captain Pfiel contacted a towing service to inquire about costs. The quote was \$45 which was \$0.50 more than the captain had paid previously, so the ship continued to wait (*Door County Advocate* 1899b)

In July 1900, Hattie Pfiel, the sister of the owners had been a passenger onboard but went ashore only a few days before *Sardinia* sailed for Hedgehog Harbor. On 6 July 1900 *Sardinia* was loading wood at Hedgehog Harbor for Milwaukee when a violent gale sprung up and the vessel was blown so far up on the beach that it was high and dry (see Chapter Ten). The remote area of Hedgehog Harbor, the age of the vessel and its low value did not warrant the cost of salvage. The heavy wind and seas caused the ship to go to pieces only weeks later. *Sardinia*'s enrollment was surrendered at the port of Milwaukee indicating the ship was a total loss by stranding in Hedgehog Harbor. The value of the ship and cargo was estimated at \$1200 (*Door County Advocate* 1900; Bureau of Navigation 1900; *Daily Inter Ocean* 1900a, 1900b, 1900c; *Duluth Evening Herald* 1900; *Duluth News-Tribune* 1900; *Plain Dealer* 1900).

2023 Investigations: Sardinia and Maria

The remains of the scow schooner *Maria* and the schooner *Sardinia* rest intermixed on the bottom of Hedgehog Harbor 100 feet offshore, 450 feet Southwest of the Weborg Dock boat launch in Gills Rock, Door County, Wisconsin (45°17.200' N, -087°01.433' W) (Figure 146, see also Figure 138). The wreckage lays parallel to shore, in 12 feet of water. Maritime archaeologists visited the site on 11 May 2023 and 24 September 2023. At this shallow depth in the surf zone there is a lack of quagga mussel colonization on the wreckage.

A primary baseline was stretched 100 feet along the main concentration of wreckage (Figures 147 to 155). A secondary base line, 40 feet in length, was stretched along a disarticulated portion of the keelson assembly and trilaterated to the primary baseline. In some cases, it was easy to discern differences between the scow and the schooner features. In other cases, features could be attributed to either ship. The shallow nature of the site, and the harsh winters that frequent the region result in thick ice in the harbor that further scrambles the shipwreck fragments.

A 38-foot section of *Sardinia*'s disarticulated keelson assemblage lies 60 feet northeast of the main concentration of wreckage. Components associated with this section consist of keelson, sister

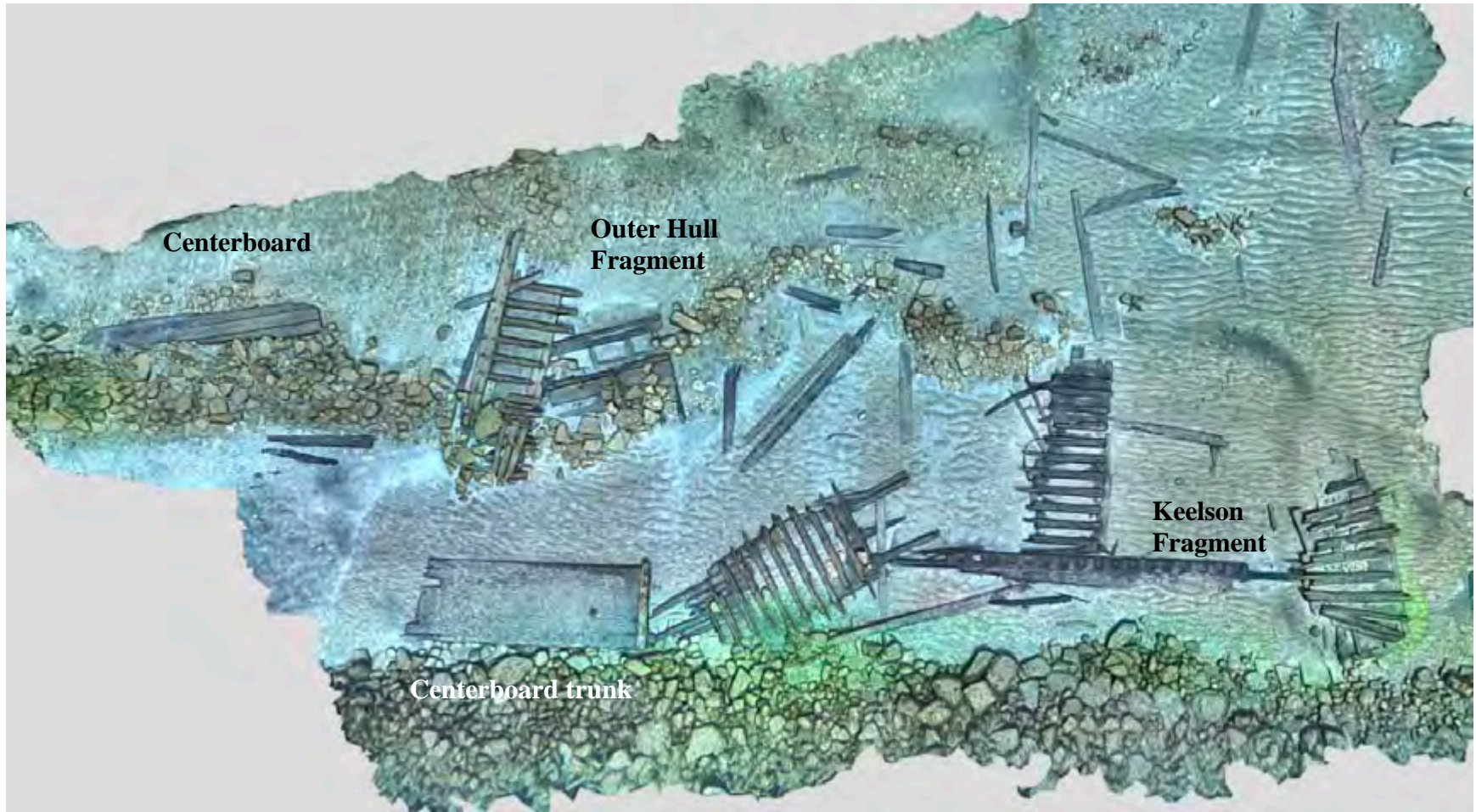


Figure 146: The main wreckage field of the Maria and Sardinia. Photomosaic courtesy of Zach Whitrock.

keelson, and frames. Another 34-foot section of keelson containing pocket pieces lays amongst the main wreckage concentration. The keelson measures 1.3 feet wide including the pocket pieces and is 0.6 feet thick. A 23-foot fragment of sister keelson measures 1.3 feet wide and 0.6 feet thick. No rider keelsons were present. Individual futtocks measure 0.4 feet wide and thick and 0.4 feet wide and 0.7 feet thick. Room occupied by framesets measures 0.8 feet and space varied. This is likely due to the numerous repairs. *Sardinia*'s outer hull planking measures 0.5 feet wide and 0.1 feet thick, and ceiling planking measures 0.7 feet wide and 0.1 feet thick.

Pieces of the scow *Maria* were identified at the southwest end of the site. Scow pieces consistently were grey in color and more heavily eroded. Outer hull and ceiling planking measured 0.15 feet thick. Frame thickness measured 0.45 feet thick however, width varied with seemingly no consistency. One hanging knee was identified. It measured 0.55 feet wide, 1.1 feet long and 2.8 feet tall. A fragment of the deck shelf remained. It measured 0.55 feet wide and 0.8 feet thick. Below the deck shelf was another supporting plank that measured 1.4 feet wide and 0.3 feet thick. The hanging knee was notched over the thicker piece of the deck shelf assembly. Bulwark stanchions measured 0.3 feet thick, but width varied of between 0.45 feet and 0.5 feet wide. On top of the bulwark is the rail cap. It measured 0.25 feet wide and 0.9 feet thick and the board facing inside measured 0.85 feet wide and 0.15 feet thick and was notched into the bulwark stanchions. A fragment of the chine log was identified. It measured 1.2 feet wide and both sides were cut with a taper; one side measured 0.2 feet and the other 0.6 feet.

On the far southwestern side of the site is a nearly complete centerboard trunk. The centerboard trunk measures 21 feet long and 7.5 feet wide. The feature is incomplete and missing planking and end timbers. Six planks of the centerboard trunk are extant. These measure 0.25 feet thick. The width alternates between 1.5 feet and 0.85 feet. The centerboard was not located within the trunk.

A centerboard fragment was located 24 feet outbound and 12 feet north of the centerboard trunk. Overall, the centerboard fragment is 20.5 feet long. It is comprised of four boards that vary from one foot to 0.7 feet wide and are 0.3 feet thick. Another fragment of a centerboard was located 109 feet southwest along the shore and alongside Feature 1 of the stone pier cribbing. 16.4 feet remains of this fragment. It is comprised of two boards 1.0 foot and 0.7 feet wide, and the boards are 0.3 feet thick. Both fragments are through-bolted in similar fashion.

It is uncertain which vessel the centerboard trunk belongs to. Equally it is difficult to determine if either, both, or neither of the centerboard fragments are associated with centerboard trunk or each other.

Conclusions and Evaluation

The *Maria* and *Sardinia* do not rise to the level of National Register of Historic Places eligibility in isolation. However, in combination with each other and the ruins of Torstenson's Pier, these elements comprise a potentially-eligible archaeological district. The possibility of completing a joint nomination for a district will be explored.



Figure 147: Overview of the wreckage field of the Maria and Sardinia.



Figure 148: Wreckage buried under sand drifts in the wreckage field of the Maria and Sardinia.



Figure 149: Fasteners in the wreckage field.



Figure 150: Diver Kendra Kennedy documents frames from the Sardinia.

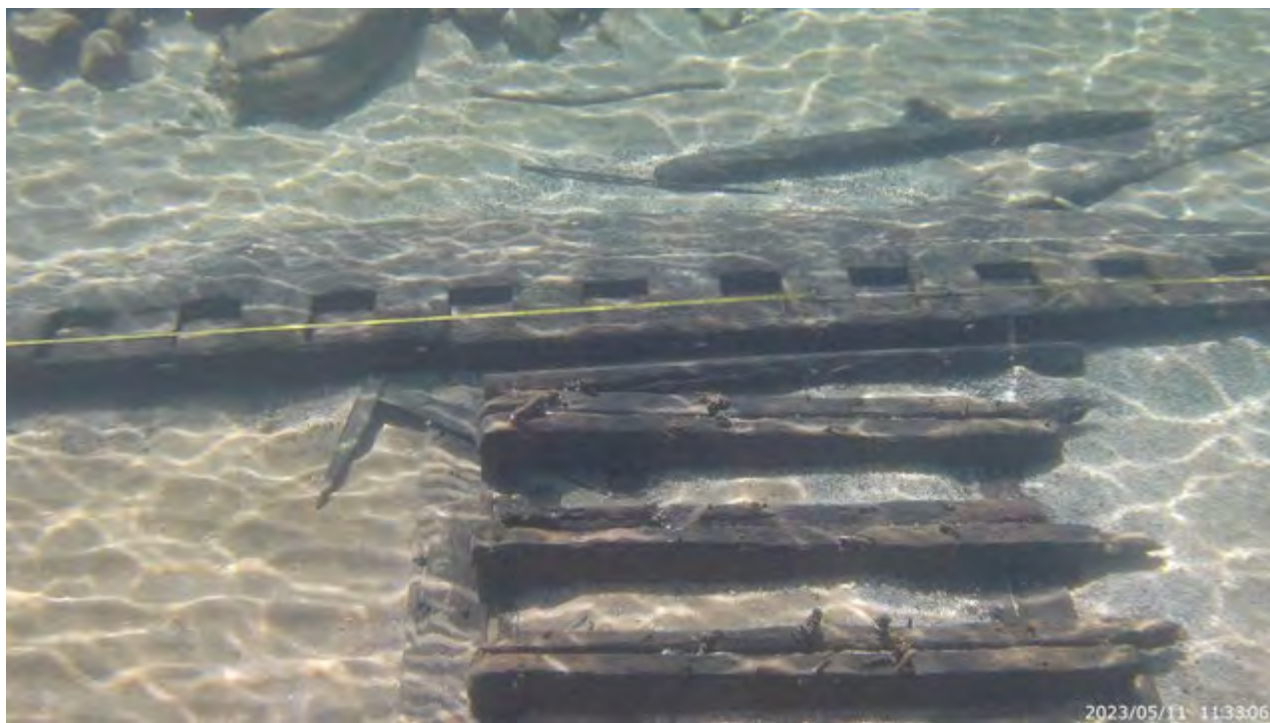


Figure 151: Keelson fragment with pocket pieces and frame from the Sardinia.

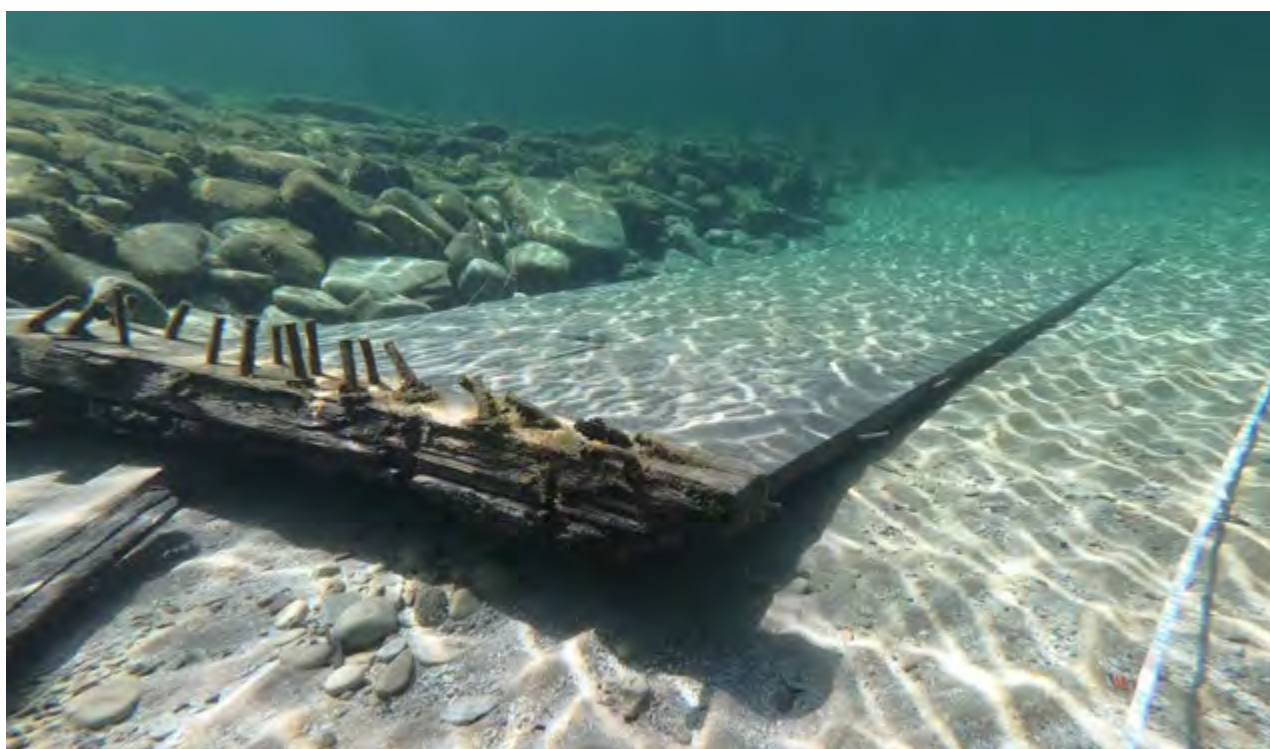


Figure 152: Centerboard trunk with fasteners.



Figure 153: Centerboard from either the Maria or the Sardinia.



Figure 154: Volunteer diver Chris Spoo examines the disarticulated keelson from the Sardinia.

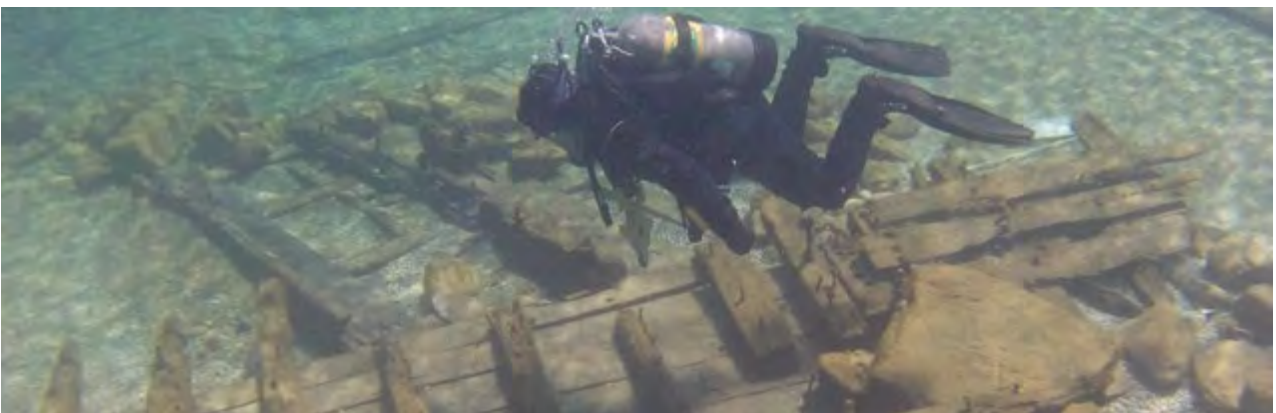


Figure 155: A diver examines hull fragments from the Sardinia and/or Maria.

Chapter Thirteen: Whitefish Bay (DR-0525)

Introduction: The Ghost Port that Survived

Prior to the start of maritime fieldwork in 2023, staff were notified that sand was receding from the shallows at Whitefish Bay, an unincorporated community south of Whitefish Dunes State Park. Pilings from the Boalt & Stebbins lumber pier, constructed in 1878, were exposed. Staff took the opportunity to investigate and map the pier during our fieldwork for this grant, approaching it as not only an example to compare against other lumber piers, but as an example of pile post construction in a region better known for crib piers.

Whitefish Bay is not a ‘ghost port’, *per se*. It is a rural post-lumber boom community similar to other post-boom communities that have hung on along Wisconsin’s central Lake Michigan coast. It has many of the typical characteristics of this type of community: unincorporated status, a very rudimentary street grid extending off of the former pier road, no business district (save for a quite good restaurant and tavern a short distance away on the inland side), a small population, and a small boat launch used for recreational purposes at the location of the former lumber pier. Whitefish Bay’s main distinction, compared to its counterparts further south, is that it is home to many newer structures that face the lake rather than inland—a feature due to the demand for lake cabins and lake views in a tourist-driven region near a State Park.

The Whitefish Bay Pier

Location and Setting

The Whitefish Bay pier site extends into Lake Michigan from a point immediately east of the current boat dock at the end of Whitefish Bay Road (Figures 156 and 157). The lake bottom and beach are sandy. Currents form rows of sand drifts offshore that parallel the shoreline. The bay drops to a maximum depth of 45 feet well offshore, but is only five feet near the current dock.

History

The first pier in Whitefish Bay was built by fisherman John P. Clark ca. 1840. According to local lore, Clark was directed to Whitefish Bay by an Indigenous acquaintance, and subsequently purchased much of the lakeshore at that point. Clark set up a fishing community that included up to thirty fishermen and “several” coopers, shipping up to barrels of fish south in each season (Holand 1917:320–321).

The Whitefish Bay lumber pier was constructed in the summer and fall of 1878 by the firm of Boalt & Stebbins (*Door County Advocate* 1878a). The company constructed the usual pier store (*Door County Advocate* 1878b, 1879) and support structures. The pier suffered near total destruction by ice in 1880 (*Door County Advocate* 1880) and was subsequently rebuilt. Records document extensive remodeling of the pier in 1882, with 100 guard piles installed to protect the



Figure 156: The Whitefish Bay pier, from the 1899 plat map of Door County (Randall & Williams).

structure (*Door County Advocate* 1882). Shoreward portions of the pier were damaged by ice in the spring of 1888 (*Door County Advocate* 1888a). In 1885 the pier was purchased by the V. & C. Mashek Co. Under their ownership the complex grew to include a boarding house, blacksmith shop, and butcher shop (Tipler 1962). Further rebuilding was completed in the winter of 1888–1889, and the pier was replanked in 1898 (*Door County Advocate* 1888b, 1928). A presumably final round of rebuilding occurred in 1903 (*Door County Advocate* 1903). Shipping from the pier continued through at least 1905 before the end of regional lumbering led to the abandonment and deterioration of the structure (e.g., *Door County Advocate* 1902).

The 1899 plat map of Door County depicts a pier structure angling out into Whitefish Bay from the main pier road, which connected the complex with sawmills at Valmey, approximately two miles inland. The V. & C. Mashek Co. operated a saw and stave mill on the shore of the bay one-half mile north of the pier. Structures lined both sides of the pier road, with a post office (‘Voseville’) and warehouse south of the road and the pier store on the north side. The terminus of the pier is depicted with a loading/staging turn-around platform extending from the south side of the structure (Randall and Williams 1899).

No pier is depicted on the 1914 plat map of Sevastopol Township, indicating that the pier was no longer extant or in operation (Nelson 1914). A 1915 account of a church picnic “at Whitefish Bay pier on the lakeshore” presumably refers to the community as a whole, rather than the pier structure itself (*Sturgeon Bay Advocate* 19 August 1915). No pier is visible on the 1938 USDA aerial photograph of the site location (USDA 1938).



Figure 157: 2013 Google Earth Pro image of the modern dock at Whitefish Bay. No pier is visible, but a section of the wreck of the Otter is visible immediately adjacent to the dock (see Chapter Fourteen).

2023 Fieldwork

Currently, the shoreward end of the Whitefish Bay pier is covered by a modern, L-shaped, concrete-topped boat dock. The piling closest to shore sits immediately below the lake side of the dock, 34 feet north of the southeastern corner of the dock. Pilings extend into the lake from this point at a bearing of 103 degrees, reaching a maximum documented distance from shore of 260 feet. The pilings average approximately one foot in width, on par with piles documented at lumber piers in Kewaunee County (Rosebrough et al. 2023).

Two segments of pier pilings were visible in 2023: a nearshore section and offshore section (Figure 158).

Nearshore Section

The nearshore section of the Whitefish Bay pier consists of two parallel rows of pilings (Figures 159 to 162) that extend for at least 75–80 feet lakeward from the modern dock. Pilings may continue beyond this point, but sand drifts obscure this section of the lake bottom. Twenty pilings were observed and mapped in the southern row and fifteen in the northern row.

Whitefish Bay Pier DR-0525

Door County, Wisconsin

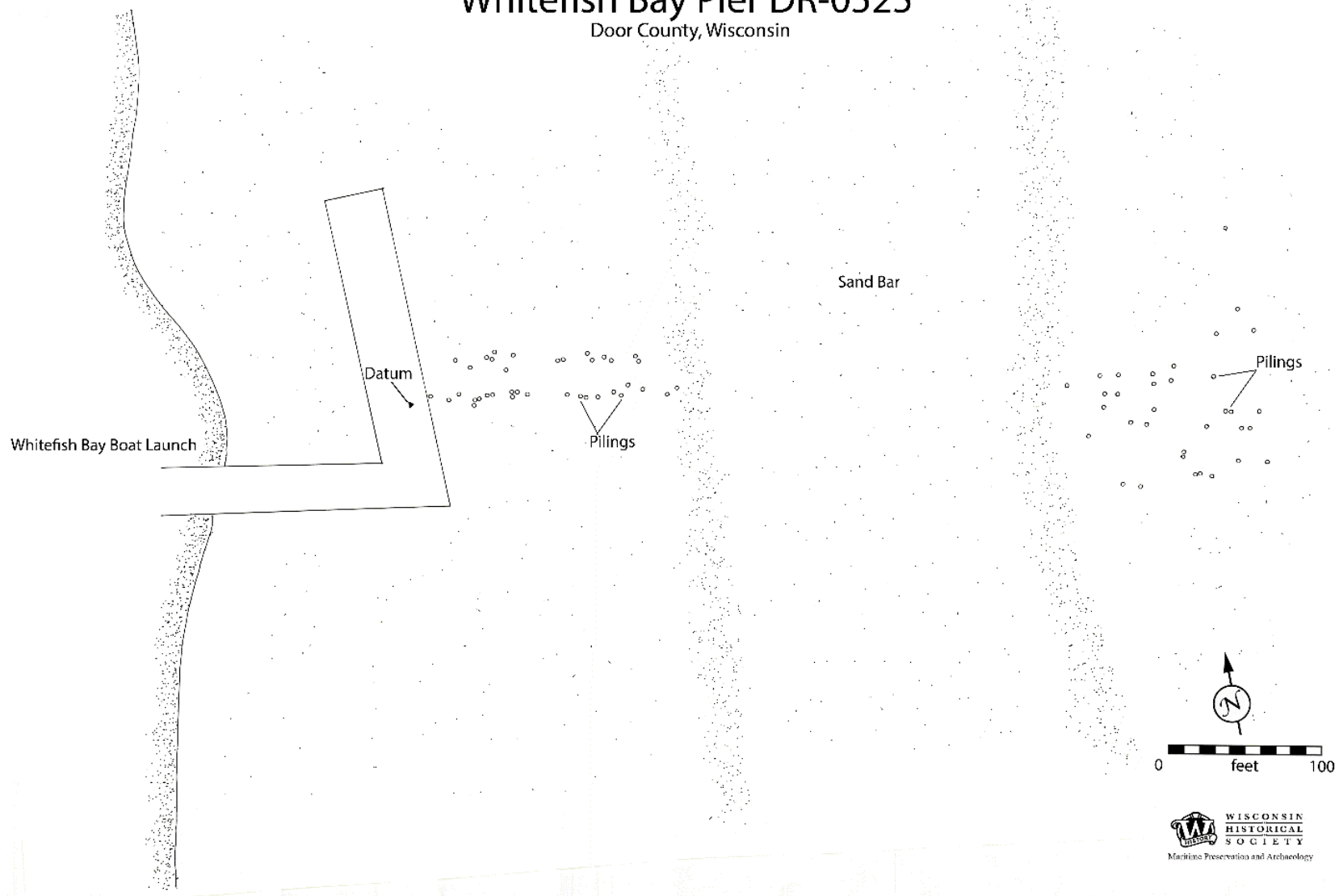


Figure 158: 2023 Map of the Whitefish Bay Pier(s).



Figure 159: Volunteer diver Bob LaViolette holding stadia rod at the position of a pile in the nearshore section, showing proximity to current dock at Whitefish Bay.



Figure 160: Rows of pilings mark the edges of the nearshore section of pier at Whitefish Bay (Image courtesy Greg and Janet Kent).



Figure 161: Pilings and a fallen post in the nearshore section at Whitefish Bay.



Figure 162: A diver investigates the nearshore section of pilings at Whitefish Bay (image courtesy Greg and Janet Kent).

The rows are spaced approximately ten feet apart, giving a rough estimate for the width of the pier decking of approximately 12–15 feet. This section of pier seems at first glance to have been built with two-pile bents. It is inadequate for lumber shipping and is considerably narrower than the widths of pile-built lumber piers in Kewaunee County, which average between 40 and 45 feet in width (Rosebrough et al. 2023).

The pilings in each row are irregularly spaced, but form relatively straight lines with additional pilings scattered both towards the interior and exterior of the pier at distances ranging between two to four feet off-axis. Several pilings are doubled.

Offshore Section

The offshore section of pilings is notably different than the inshore section. A main concentration of thirty observed pilings occupies an area measuring 70 feet east-west and 40 feet north-south, extending from 195 to 265 feet from the outer edge of the current boat dock. A scatter of four additional pilings runs 40–45 feet northwards from the northeastern corner of the main concentration. These pilings also average approximately one foot in diameter, but are spaced slightly further apart with fewer doublings and do not fall within neatly defined rows. The long axis of this section is oriented at a bearing of 93 degrees, and if this line is followed to shore it intersects the beach at the base of the modern boat dock and not where the nearshore section intersects.

Interpretation: Two Piers for the Price of One?

A history of Whitefish Bay written in 1962 identifies the pilings at the foot of the boat dock as the remains of the J. P. Clark fishing pier. This pier was built in the late 1830s or early 1840s, decades before Boalt & Stebbins extended their lumber pier into the bay, and was used as a base for fishing the whitefish that gave Whitefish Bay its name (Holand 1917:320-321; Tipler 1962). At the current time, there is no way to verify this claim, and the author may have conflated the early fishing pier with the later lumber pier.

However, the article confirms that pilings were present, in ruins, at the base of the boat ramp by 1962, and were not within living memory as a working pier or dock. Since no pier or dock is shown at this location in either the 1914 plat map or 1938 aerial photo of Whitefish Bay, the nearshore section is unlikely to represent an early or mid-20th century fishing pier or dock. Three possibilities emerge:

- The pilings represent the J. P. Clark fishing pier, and are the same pilings observed in 1962.
- The pilings in the nearshore section represent only a portion of the full width of the 1878 Boalt & Stebbins pier (or some later version of it)—i.e., two surviving rows of pilings from an original three- or four-post bent pier.
- The pilings represent a post-1962 forerunner of the current metal and concrete boat dock and are not those observed in 1962, though they are located in precisely the same place.

The north-south width of the offshore section is consistent with the widths of the documented three-pile bent lumber piers in Kewaunee County (Rosebrough et al. 2023). The pilings in this

section do not line up neatly, but do fall roughly along three loose lines. Given the numerous rebuilding episodes associated with the Boalt & Stebbins pier it seems likely that this section represents a portion of that pier. The orientation of this section does not match that of the nearshore section, ruling out option #2—or at least ruling out the possibility that nearshore and offshore sections represent contemporary iterations of the Boalt & Stebbins pier. Since option #3 seems unlikely, we are forced to confront the possibility that the nearshore section does indeed represent a portion of the original pier at Whitefish Bay.

The proximity of the piers may be explained by the fact that the Clark pier might still have been extant when Boalt & Stebbins began work on their lumber facility. J. P. Clark fished in Whitefish bay, albeit with pound nets, well after Boalt & Stebbins' pier was put in (*The Expositor Independent* 1878). Since that section of lakeshore was already cleared, with shanties or other structures standing, it would have been a logical place for the lumber port to be set up.

Conclusions and Evaluation:

At the current time, the Whitefish Bay pier segments do not rise to the level of National Register of Historic Places eligibility. However, as with Hedgehog Harbor, Whitefish Bay may have potential as an archaeological district. The reader is referred to the conclusions of Chapter Fifteen for a fuller exploration of this topic.

Chapter Fourteen: *Otter (DR-0532)*

Service History

Note to readers: the following passage was originally prepared for Zant and Thomsen (2002). It is reprinted here since this wreck, along with the Hungarian (see Chapter Fifteen), is associated with the Whitefish Bay pier and affects its potential eligibility for the National Register of Historic Places.

The schooner *Otter* (Official Number U.S. 19125) was built in 1863 by shipbuilder D. Lester in Newport (Marine City), Michigan for use in the lumber trade. The ship was first enrolled at Detroit on 3 September 1863. Its measurements were 105.4' x 25.9' x 11.6' and 270 67/95 tons and described as a schooner with two masts, a square stern and no figurehead. The ship was owned by the partnership of David Gallagher (7/16), Warren Tremain (7/16) and James W. Scott (2/16) all of Marine City, and its first Master was Captain William P. Hicks (Bureau of Navigation 1863).

Changes to the Acts of Congress forced *Otter* to be remeasured in 1865. The ship's document was surrendered at Buffalo, and a new enrollment issued on 10 October 1865. Its tonnage was recalculated at 205.06 Gross tons and 194.81 Net tons. Because Buffalo was outside of *Otter's* home district, temporary papers were issued. A permanent enrollment was entered on 26 October at Detroit as the vessel had arrived home. Captain F. Minor took over as Master (Bureau of Navigation 1865a, 1865b).

The ship's enrollment was again surrendered on 19 October 1866 at Port Huron for a change in owner. David Gallagher bought out his partners to become sole owner, Captain P. Gslanna became Master, and the ship's homeport was changed to Port Huron, Michigan. On 1 February 1868, the ship was sold again. Charles Madder of Chicago became the new owner. Captain J. Thurkanff took over the helm and *Otter's* homeport was changed to Chicago, which would remain the vessel's home for the next thirty years (Bureau of Navigation 1866, 1868).

For the next several seasons, the ship carried cordwood, ties, and other lumber cargoes from Door County ports to Chicago and Milwaukee. The ship ventured as far as Buffalo late in the 1868 season to fetch a cargo of 350 tons of coal for Milwaukee. In April 1869, the schooner lost its main boom and gaff in gale on Lake Michigan. By 1870, the ship was in need of general service and had its decks replaced in order to participate in the grain trade, which required a more watertight vessel (*Door County Advocate* 1868; Hall 1869; *Milwaukee Daily Sentinel* 1868a, 1868b, 1868c, 1869a, 1869b, 1870).

Throughout the 1871 season, *Otter* carried cargoes of corn from Chicago to Oswego for nine cents per bushel and to Buffalo for eight-and-a-half cents per bushel (*Milwaukee Daily Sentinel* 1871a, 1871b). The ship's document was surrendered on 24 February 1872 at Chicago for a change of owners. E. Carlson became the vessel's new owner. Captain H. Hanson became the vessel's new Master and remained at the ship's helm through 1877 (Bureau of Navigation 1872, 1877).

For the next several seasons, *Otter* ran a combination of cargoes of lumber and grain where they could be had. The ship grounded on the middle ground in Sturgeon Bay on 26 August 1873 and again on 10 May 1874 when coming into the port for cedar ties for C.L. Nelson of Chicago. On both occasions, the ship was able to get off without damage or delay, but the latter required the assistance of the tug *W. I. Henry* to pull them free (*Door County Advocate* 1873; *Door County Advocate* 1874).

In May 1874, *Otter* was chartered to bring corn from Chicago to Buffalo at four-and-a-half cents per bushel but was able to gain nine cents for wheat shipped to Prescott, Ontario in August (*Milwaukee Daily Sentinel* 1874a; 1874b). In 1875, the ship called on the Door County community of Horn's Pier near Clay Banks, Wisconsin for posts and other wood cargoes bound to Chicago (*Door County Advocate* 1875). While outbound of Chicago on 22 August 1876, the ship's centerboard became jammed in its trunk and the ship was forced back into the port for repairs (*Daily Inter Ocean* 1876a, 1876b; *Milwaukee Daily Sentinel* 1876). During a storm on southern Lake Michigan in June 1877, the *Otter* was struck by a squall off Waukegan, Illinois, which carried away its traveler and mainsheet (*Daily Inter Ocean* 1877a, 1877b). The ship began calling on ports on Lake Michigan's eastern shore in 1878 and brought lumber from Frankfurt, Michigan to Chicago for \$1.23 ½ per 1000 board feet of lumber (*Daily Inter Ocean* 1878a).

On the night of 23 October 1878, the schooner *Lena Johnson* collided with *Otter* mid-lake, carrying away *Otter*'s jibboom, bowsprit and headgear. *Lena Johnson* lost two chainplates. Both crews blamed the other for the collision. The Mowatt & Rice shipyard completed the repair work on *Otter*, but the owner of the schooner *Lena Johnson* paid for the damage which "settle[d] the question about who was to blame for the collision" (*Daily Inter Ocean* 1878b, 1878c, 1878d, 1878e; *Milwaukee Daily Sentinel* 1878).

Over the 1879–1880 winter, the vessel was overhauled at an expense of \$2,000. In March 1880, the *Milwaukee Daily Sentinel* reported the sale of interests in the ship. First, a ¼ share was reportedly sold to Carrie Hanson for \$550, and then a week later another ¼ share to Capt. C. A. Christianson who was said to take over its helm. Neither of these sales were recorded on the vessel's document (*Milwaukee Daily Sentinel* 1880a, 1880b). On 7 August 1880, a new enrollment taken out at Chicago for a change in Master as Captain Christian Nelson took over the helm (Bureau of Navigation 1880). *Otter* continued calling on ports in Door County for lumber and took ice in its hold on occasion for the Union Ice Co. (*Door County Advocate* 1879, 1880; *Daily Inter Ocean* 1880).

A wreck report was filed alleging \$200 in damage to the schooner caused on 11 November 1881 near Muskegon, Michigan. Additional information about the accident was not located (*Daily Inter Ocean* 1881). Another accident occurred on 4 April 1882 when the *Otter* was struck by the large schooner *Camden* in the Milwaukee River near the abutment of the 6th Street Bridge. *Camden* was under tow of the tug *S.S. Coe* when the tow line parted. Before the tug could recover the ship it struck *Otter*, carrying away several of *Otter*'s stays. Additionally, the bridge sustained minor damage (*Milwaukee Daily Sentinel* 1882).

On 13 May 1882, *Otter* received a new owner and a new enrollment was taken out at the Customs House in Chicago. Captain Christian Nelson became its new owner and Master. Chicago remained

the ship's homeport. However, *Daily Inter Ocean* reported that the sale was for ¼ interest in the schooner sold by E. Carlson to Christian Nelson for \$1000. The ship was given a B 1½ Insurance rating (Bureau of Navigation 1882; *Daily Inter Ocean* 1882; Polk).

During a severe storm on Lake Michigan on 8 December 1885, *Otter* was bound from Chicago for Manistee, Michigan when it disappeared off Waukegan. Because of the age of the craft, it was feared lost in the storm and tremendous seas but appeared in port some days later (*Chicago Evening Journal* 1885). On 23 September 1887 while being towed in the South Branch of the Chicago River, *Otter* lost the end of its jibboom after colliding with the Illinois Central Railroad Bridge (*Daily Inter Ocean* 1887a, 1887b). In mid-September 1889, *Otter* came into Milwaukee for repairs after its main boom and mainmast were broken during a storm off Manitowoc, Wisconsin. The Milwaukee shipyard spliced the damaged pieces together. Repairs costs totaled \$400 (*Milwaukee Daily Sentinel* 1889; *Milwaukee Journal* 1889).

On 13 October 1891, after 48 years working on the Great Lakes, Captain Nelson announced his retirement and put his schooner into winter quarters (*Daily Inter Ocean* 1891). Although Captain Nelson did not sail with the vessel the following season, the ship remained in operation; however, its Master is not known. *Otter* collided with the Van Buren Street Bridge in Chicago on 24 August 1892, losing its jibboom and head gear, as well as tearing away the railing on the approach and part of the sidewalk along the bridge (*Daily Inter Ocean* 1892).

The ship's enrollment was reissued at Chicago on 26 May 1893. Captain Joseph Williams became owner and Master (Bureau of Navigation 1893). Little is known of *Otter*'s operational history in 1893. On 19 April 1894, *Otter* received another new enrollment when Captain John Caesar purchased the vessel (Bureau of Navigation 1894). It should be noted that Inland Lloyds no longer provided insurance ratings for the vessel. *Otter* was one of a large fleet of old schooners commonly described as "floating coffins", wooden ships that should have been dismantled or abandoned rather than jeopardize the lives of sailors (Frederickson 1961). Still another change in owner occurred on 12 April 1895 and a new enrollment was taken out at the port of Chicago when Henry Caesar purchased the ship (Bureau of Navigation 1895).

On 10 October 1895, *Otter* was taking on a cargo of cordwood for Chicago at Mashek's Pier in Whitefish Bay, Door County, Wisconsin. As a gale approached from the east, Captain William Kaufmann pulled out into the bay to wait out the storm under anchor. About 8AM the next morning, *Otter*'s anchor chains parted, and the ship was washed toward the beach, grounding in shallow water opposite the mill (Figure 163). As crew attempted to launch the yawl boat, it was caught by a wave and capsized as it tore away from the men.

Several attempts to rescue the crew were made by local fishermen, but all failed. A telephone call was made to the U.S. Life-Saving Station at the mouth of the Sturgeon Bay Ship Canal. Captain Carl Anderson, his men, and a cart were rowed four miles into to Sturgeon Bay where eight horses were made ready. The lifesavers then went 12 miles overland to Whitefish Bay. The trip was made in less than an hour and a half. By the time of their arrival, *Otter*'s crew of six men, all older sailors, had taken to the rigging. The seas were too fierce for the surf boat, so a beach apparatus



Figure 163: Otter aground in Whitefish Bay. Image from the C. Patrick Labadie Collection.

was set up. A shot line was fired over the schooner and a breeches buoy used to bring the crew to shore (*Door County Advocate* 1895a, 1896a; Frederickson 1961; US Life-Saving 1896).

Otter's last document was surrendered at Chicago on 19 October 1895. The estimated value of the ship was \$1,000; the cargo of 130 cords of wood also owned by Caesar was \$300, for a total loss of \$1,300. The floating coffin did not carry its crew to a watery grave, but they lost everything except the clothes on their backs (*Door County Advocate* 1895a. Frederickson 1961).

When weather conditions improved, *Otter* was stripped of its equipment and cargo. The vessel went to pieces shortly thereafter. Weeks later part of the stern washed up on the beach. By the end of 1896, no trace of the vessel was visible anywhere near shore (*Door County Advocate* 1895b, 1895c, 1895d, 1896b, 1896c, 1897).

2023 Investigations

A portion of the wreck of the *Otter* has been tentatively identified next to the modern boat launch and dock at Whitefish Bay. This fragment is visible in Google Earth Pro aerial imagery from 2013 (see Figure 154) and was investigated briefly in 2009 (Zant and Thomsen 2022) (Figures 164 and 165). No traces of the vessel were observed in 2020, 2021, or 2023. The shifting sands of Whitefish Bay alternately expose and rebury cultural resources, making full survey of the bay a long-term project. At best, all that can be said is that at least a portion of the wreck is present beneath the sand. For a fuller discussion of this issue and its bearing on National Register Eligibility, the reader is referred to the end of Chapter Fifteen.



Figure 164: Part of the anchor of the Otter protrudes above the sand in 2009.



Figure 165: An exposed portion of the Otter in 2009.

Chapter Fifteen: *Hungarian (DR-0527)*

Service History

Launched as a barkentine-rigged canaller, *Hungarian* (Official number U.S. 11177) was constructed at the shipyard of Asa Wilcox at Three Mile Bay, New York. The Wilcox shipyard was the earliest ship building facility in the region. It was established in 1835 and specialized in sailing vessels ranging from 112 to 395 tons (*Buffalo Daily Republic* 1853; *Syracuse Post-Standard* 1920). The ship was built for Henry Fitzhugh and Dewitt Littlejohn of Fitzhugh & Littlejohn and was used in the grain trade to supply their milling operation in Oswego, New York. The boat was enrolled on 20 June 1853 at the port of Oswego and Captain John Davis was listed as its first Master. Its dimensions were reported as 136'9" x 25'6" x 11'2", which was the largest class that could pass through the Welland Canal. It was described as having one deck, three masts, a square stern, and no gallery, with a carrying capacity of 364 21/95 gross tons (*Buffalo Daily Republic* 1853; Bureau of Navigation 1853; Knorr & Hancock). In June 1853, *Hungarian* took on a freight at Oswego of 423 tons of railroad iron for the Upper Lakes (*Buffalo Daily Republic* 1853).

On 4 July 1855, *Hungarian* was involved in a collision with the brig *David Ferguson* near the mouth of the Milwaukee River causing \$200 in damage to *Hungarian*'s rigging and cathead. In September of that year, *Hungarian* experienced an issue with its hull leaking so badly while on Lake Michigan that the ship was required to return to Milwaukee to seek repairs. The cost of repairs and damage to its cargo of wheat resulted in a \$1,500 loss (*Buffalo Daily Republic* 1855; *Buffalo Morning Express* 1856).

It is not known how long Captain Davis remained at *Hungarian*'s helm, but on 8 April 1858, the ship cleared Chicago for Oswego with 15,178 bushels of wheat and 437 barrels of flour on board with Captain G.F. Shattock in command (*Buffalo Courier* 1858). Upon returning to Oswego, the vessel was sold, and a new enrollment was issued on 7 May 1858 for change of owner. William T. Baldwin of H. Baldwin & Co. (a company he shared with his brother Henry Baldwin) became the new owner and Captain John T. Van Alstone, the ship's new Master (Bureau of Navigation 1858). In July, the ship's foretopmast was carried away in a gale and the ship sustained other minor damage. The refit cost the owners \$150. The vessel was returned to service, and in August while travelling north on Lake Michigan with a cargo of corn, the *Hungarian* encountered another fierce gale that resulted in \$2,400 in damage to the ship and its cargo (*Buffalo Commercial Advertiser* 1859).

In September 1859, the ship collided with another vessel off Presque Isle on Lake Ontario causing \$1500 to *Hungarian*'s hull and \$300 damage to its cargo. Information about the identity of the other vessel could not be located (*Oswego Commercial Times* 1860). The *Hungarian* was repaired and returned to service and was listed amongst the winter fleet at Oswego (*Oswego Commercial Times* 1859).

The ship grounded off Fort Gratiot, near the St. Clair River, on Lake Huron in July 1860, but was released without damage. The ship grounded again on 24 August 1860 (near same place) at Sarnia, Ontario. The ship was released again, but the owners sustained a \$100 loss (*Buffalo Morning Express* 1861). With all the groundings and collisions, the Lake Underwriters devalued the ship to \$7,800 and decreased its insurance rating to B1 (Board of Lake Underwriters 1860, 1861).

Hungarian was reported up bound through the Welland Canal on 17 April 1862 with a cargo of salt from Oswego bound to Chicago (*St. Catharine's Evening Journal* 1862). Over the 1862-season, the ship received extensive repairs to regain the A1 insurance rating and its hull was repainted (*Buffalo Courier* 1863). It reported wintering over at Oswego (*Oswego Commercial Times* 1862).

At *Hungarian's* helm at the start of the 1863 season was Captain George Blair who was described as an "energetic mariner" (*Buffalo Courier* 1863). In July 1863, while on Lake Michigan, *Hungarian* sailed into a gale sustaining significant damage to its hull and cargo of corn totaling \$4,363 (*Buffalo Commercial Advertiser* 1864).

Additional repairs were undertaken, and the Board of Lake Underwriters valued the ship at \$8,000 but decreased its rating to B1 (Board of Lake Underwriters 1863). On 4 March 1864, a new enrollment was entered at the port of Oswego for change of owner, and Captain Albert Fitzgerald and Sarah Ann Manwaring (wife of Captain William Manwaring) became equal co-owners and Captain Fitzgerald became the ship's Master (Bureau of Navigation 1864; *Oswego Commercial Times* 1864). The ship's valuation was reviewed and reduced to \$7,000 owing to the large repairs completed in 1862 and 1863 (Board of Lake Underwriters 1864). On 6 October 1864, the ship was caught in a gale on Lake Huron where it lost its headgear and foresail. The vessel was repaired and placed back in service (*Goderich Signal* 1864). Later, the ship stranded on Racine Reef off Racine, Wisconsin in early November, and it was pulled off by a tug (*Daily British Whig* 1864).

The vessel was re-measured at the port of Chicago on 21 April 1865 and a new enrollment was issued. Captain Manwaring and Mr. Mears were listed as the vessel owners, Chicago the ship's homeport and Captain O.W. Davis its new Master. *Hungarian's* new measurements were 136.8' x 25.8' x 10.7' and its tonnage was calculated at 275.3 gross tons (Bureau of Navigation 1865). Vessel sold and a new enrollment was issued on 4 April 1866 at the port of Chicago for change in owners and Masters. David Dall bought out Captain Manwaring's ½ interest for \$5,000 to become managing owner and Captain R. Dinn became the new Master (Bureau of Navigation 1866; *Detroit Free Press* 1866).

The next two seasons were wrought with accidents. On 16 November 1867, the ship was badly damaged when it struck the pier at Muskegon, Michigan, tearing a large hole in its bow (*Detroit Free Press* 1867). In October 1868 while anchored off Cedar River in Green Bay the *Hungarian* lost its anchor and chain. Replacing the items cost \$500. Later the same month the ship collided with schooner *Lumberman* near Chicago and lost its headgear (Hall 1869).

In 1870, the ship was rebuilt and rigged as a 3-masted schooner at the Miller Brother's Shipyard, at Chicago. Following its time at the shipyard a new enrollment was issued at the port of Chicago on

27 September 1870. David Dall became the ship's new owner and Captain A. Thompson its new Master. The ship was re-measured, and its tonnage calculated at 280.81 gross tons (Bureau of Navigation 1870).

In 1871, the Board of Marine Inspectors valued the ship at \$14,000 and gave it an A2 rating. Coming out of repairs the vessel was watertight and was returned to the grain trade carrying wheat, barley and corn between Chicago and Oswego (Board of Marine Inspectors 1871; *Chicago Daily Tribune* 1871; 1873a; *Detroit Free Press* 1871). On 26 June and on 31 July 1872 the schooner was recorded passing down bound through the Welland Canal from Chicago to Oswego with oats (*Daily News* 1872c, 1872d, 1872e). Two more passages through the canal both up bound and down bound occurred in May 1872, but no information on cargos or destinations was recorded (*Daily News* 1872a, 1872b).

On 15 September 1873, *Hungarian* came into Chicago missing her fore and main gaffs, these items having been carried away in a storm (*Chicago Daily Tribune* 1873b). On the night of 27 October 1873, the schooner *Hungarian* was down bound from Chicago and as it crossed Saginaw Bay during a storm, a wave washed over the deck taking the mate and one seaman overboard. However, as the ship rose up in the sea the men were brought right back over the rail of the vessel (*Daily Standard* 1873; *Manitowoc Tribune* 1873).

The Board of Lake Underwriters deprecated the vessel again in 1874, decreasing its value to \$9,000 and continuing its B1 insurance rating (Board of Lake Underwriters 1874). In April, the ship sustained \$100 in damages to its hull while in Chicago's harbor. The cause of the incident is unknown (*Chicago Inter-Ocean* 1874). On 14 July 1874, the ship passed down-bound in the Welland Canal from Chicago to Kingston with corn and on 27 July, it passed upbound to Chicago from Rochester with coal (*Daily News* 1874a, 1874b). On 8 August 1874, three seamen (Joseph Abbott, Charles Vmut and Charles Sewart) signed on at Detroit for a passage to Georgian Bay to load lumber and then on to Oswego.

On 14 August, the ship loaded lumber at the mill at Port Severn, Ontario. The crew was made to assist with loading the vessel and when the three seamen refused to work, they were discharged (*Daily Palladium* 1874; *Oswego Daily Palladium* 1874). On 28 August 1874, the ship passed down through the Welland Canal with lumber from Port Dover for Oswego (*Daily News* 1874c). Upon arriving at Oswego, Captain Fulton was arrested for discharging the seamen at a foreign port. Penalty for the offense was a monetary fine not exceeding \$500, or imprisonment not exceeding six months. It is not known what happened with this incident (*Daily Palladium* 1874). The ship passed up through the Welland Canal on 14 September with coal bound for Green Bay and it is not known if Captain Fulton was at its helm (*Daily News* 1874d).

On 6 June 1875, *Hungarian* was lying at its dock near State Street in the Chicago River, when it was struck by the schooner *Belle Walbridge*. *Belle Walbridge* was fully loaded with lumber and being towed up the river to the Charnley Bros & Co. dock when the accident occurred. *Hungarian* lost several stanchions, which were carried away with its rail, and *Belle Walbridge* lost its jibboom and damaged its hull (*Door County Advocate* 1875).

A combination of economic downturns in the mid-1870s led to an unusually light demand for bulk cargo shipments. This caused many ship owners to consider conscripting their vessels for ocean service and direct trade with European ports to keep their vessels profitable (Monk 2003). On 30 April 1876, the *Hungarian* cleared the port of Muskegon bound for Quebec with 290,000 board feet of lumber from the Ryerson, Hills & Co. Mills. Newspapers hypothesized the ship was venturing so far east in order to seek trade with European markets and offloading in Quebec would allow the ship an easy exit from the Great Lakes (Hall 1877). The schooner carried lumber cargoes to Ogdensburg in June 1876 and Quebec again in September 1876 and May 1877, but a European voyage never materialized (*Daily News* 1876a, 1876b, 1877a).

As *Hungarian* cleared Ogdensburg with a cargo of iron ore bound for Cleveland, it was discovered that its certificate has expired. A temporary enrollment was issued at the port of Ogdensburg on 23 June 1877. A permanent document was issued at Chicago on 26 July 1877 as the ship entered its homeport. Captain J.S. Dall was added as an owner and he became the ship's new Master (Bureau of Navigation 1877a, 1877b; *Daily News* 1877b). The *Hungarian* made trip from Milwaukee to Ogdensburg with oats in October (*Daily News* 1877c).

In April 1878, the boat was chartered to haul oats from Chicago to Buffalo for 2 ¼ cents per bushel. In July 1878, *Hungarian* was chartered to carry coal to Saginaw for 35 cents per ton (*Buffalo Courier* 1878a, 1878b). Then on the night of 11 November 1878, the vessel again struck the pier at Muskegon, Michigan, causing significant damage to the ship's bow and the dock. The light on the pier was 300 feet from its end, which was blamed for the many accidents there (*Chicago Inter Ocean* 1878). The ship was repaired and wintered over at Chicago (*Detroit Post and Tribune* 1879). The damage caused the Lake Underwriters to devalue the ship to \$4,000 in 1879 (Association of Lake Underwriters 1879).

On 10 October 1880, *Hungarian* had taken onboard 100 cords of wood at the Whitefish Bay pier for Messrs. Mueller & Christy of Chicago. Before the ship could get away, a storm blew up and the crew was forced to set anchor to wait out the storm. The anchor dragged and *Hungarian* went ashore on the south side of the pier. In the heavy seas, its cargo shifted, causing the ship's hull to hog. Its spars then went by the board and its hull broke in two (*Buffalo Courier* 1880; *Door County Advocate* 1880a, 1880b; *Independent* 1880; *Memphis Daily Appeal* 1880; *Milwaukee Sentinel* 1880a).

Hungarian's enrollment document was surrendered at the Chicago Customs House on 15 November 1880 and endorsed "vessel a total loss" (Bureau of Navigation 1877b). The ship was insured for \$7000 of which \$2500 was in the Great Western, \$2500 in the Lamar, and \$2500 in the Manhattan. The cargo was not insured (*Milwaukee Sentinel* 1880b).

2023 Investigations

The remains of the schooner *Hungarian* are broken up in Whitefish Bay. One segment lies immediately adjacent to the Whitefish Bay dock, north of the inshore section of the pier. This fragment is visible on Google Earth Pro images dating from 2013, but was buried under sand in 2023. The second fragment is 50 feet offshore, in the waters of Lake Michigan, 700 feet south of the Whitefish Bay Boat Launch, Whitefish Bay, Door County, Wisconsin (44° 54.220' N, 087°

12.975' W). The wreckage lays perpendicular to shore on an east-west heading, in six feet of water. Visible wreckage was exposed between hard-packed sand bars.

A 24-foot long, five-foot-wide section of the hull was partially exposed (Figure 166). The piece represents frames, ceiling, and outer hull planking and a portion of the deck shelf. A second piece lays alongside only three feet to the north. Although this second fragment remains mostly buried by sand with only the ends of the frames exposed, it is likely another section of hull that has separated from the exposed piece at the butt-scarfed futtocks. This second section is 42 feet long and 12 feet wide.

The shipwreck was reported to Wisconsin Historical Society by a local cottage owner in late July 2023. Maritime archaeologists visited the site on 2 August 2023. It should be noted that the wreck had been recently exposed from the sand and in most years, it remains entirely buried. At this shallow depth in the surf zone, there is a lack of quagga mussel colonization on the timbers.

The wreckage rises three feet off the sandy lakebed. Frames measure 0.8 feet room with 1.2 feet spacing. Where repairs were evident and extra futtocks were added the spacing was 0.6 feet. Individual futtocks varied 0.35 feet and 0.4 feet with a 1.0 feet thickness. Ceiling planking varied 1.1 feet to 0.8 feet in width but was uniformly 0.55 feet thick. Several 0.1 feet wide boards were pieced in around the narrower boards, indicating an area of repair. Outer hull planking measured 0.9 feet and 0.8 feet in width and 0.45 feet thick. A piece of the deck shelf remains attached to the hull fragment. The deck shelf is 0.7 feet wide and 0.8 feet thick. Deck beams would have sat on top of the shelf. In between deck beams are chocks. One chock remains. It measures 0.5 feet wide and 0.7 feet thick.

A mast step (Figure 167) has become disarticulated from the keelson and was found four feet aft of the exposed hull section. The mast step is 4.1 feet long, 1.7 feet wide, and 3.5 feet deep, comprised of two pieces of wood each 0.85 feet in width. The mast tenon would have fit into the step, mated to a mortise 1.1 feet long and 0.6 feet wide. A countersunk oval surrounds the mortise that measures 1.7 feet long and 1.6 feet wide. This oval and mortise are not centered on the mast step but are 0.6 feet from one end.

Conclusions and Evaluation:

The *Hungarian* is not believed to rise to the level of National Register of Historic Places eligibility. However, as with Hedgehog Harbor, Whitefish Bay may have potential as an archaeological district, and in that case the *Hungarian* would be eligible as a contributing element. Research conducted in 2022 by the Wisconsin Historical Society, with funding from the University of Wisconsin Sea Grant Institute, identified records referring to seven historic wrecks within the bay (Zant and Thomsen 2022), though one vessel—the *Grey Eagle*—was subsequently discovered around Cave Point and not within the bay proper. Two more, the steamer *Australasia* and the scow-schooner *Success*, are definitely within the bay and have previously been documented (Meverden and Thomsen 2013; Thomsen and Zant 2015). A fourth wreck, the *Otter*, has not been extensively documented but is known to be buried beneath the sand near the modern boat launch/dock. The *Hungarian* makes the fifth vessel found, and the fourth confirmed within Whitefish Bay.



Figure 166: A fragment of the Hungarian, south of the Whitefish Bay pier.



Figure 167: A mast-step from the Hungarian.

Two more wrecks, the schooner *C. Harrison* and the schooner *James Garrett*, are still at large. Captain G. Smith of the *James Garrett* anchored his ship too far from the pier in May of 1889, jury-rigged a cable and line setup in place of the usual ‘quick-escape’ tie-up, and then worked the loaders to the point of exhaustion. When a storm blew up in the night and the crew tried to heave the schooner away from the pier, the make-shift setup failed, snapping the tow post and parting lines. The *James Garrett* dragged its anchors up onto the beach where waves broke it apart. Ten years later, another storm threw a substantial chunk of the schooner through the Whitefish Bay pier, breaking four pilings before it washed lakeward. The *C. Harrison* was caught by a storm while loading at the Whitefish Bay pier in August of 1898. The *Harrison* didn’t even have a chance to heave away before it crashed into the shallows and broke up. Both crews escaped (Zant and Thomsen 2022).

Side-scan sonar survey of the bay, combined with a program of follow up dives, has revealed abundant evidence of Whitefish Bay’s fishing industry in the form of pound net stakes. Though humble, these stakes stand as submerged testaments to the fishing industry that extracted subsistence from the lake just as the lumber industry extracted subsistence wages from the forests. Together, these resources—fishing and lumber piers, pound net stakes, and the remains of the schooners that carried from the piers and met their ends at them, represent the history of Whitefish Bay. As more resources emerge and are documented, Whitefish Bay may rise to the level of listing for an archaeological district.

Chapter Sixteen: Studying Ghosts

The story of the lost ports of Door County is a story of transformation, adaptation, and survival in the aftermath of colonization. King Pine had its day, and the entrepreneurs of Door County wrung every bit of capital out of the peninsula's natural resources. When the forests were gone, the county's residents were left with a dilemma. Some solved it by turning to the lake and trying to support themselves with fishing, a strategy that came with its own countdown clock as fish stocks were depleted. Others turned to tourism, tapping a new and inexhaustible resource. Where once Door County sent its riches to Chicago, Milwaukee, and other ports, now the residents of those ports stream north to Door County and give the money back. We may only hope that the fire that devastated Rowley's Bay proves to be a tragic but brief interruption in this trend.

The residents of a single port—Toft Point—respected both forest and lake and found a future in the celebration of natural beauty. The 'wilds' of Door County now reclaim at least some of their own. Newport and Bohemia Town are within a State Park. Toft Point, thanks to the Toft family, is now a State Natural Area. Whitefish Bay sits at the doorstep of another State Park. Other ports—Appleport, Higgins Pier, and Hedgehog Harbor—are growing in population once more. Lake homes are sprouting where boarding houses and general stores once stood.

Comparisons

A major goal of this study was to examine how life in rural ports changed as one moved north along Lake Michigan's coast. The results of our investigations, and the growing body of archival documentation emerging as a result of this project, has yielded some answers.

Pier Construction

All but two of the piers in Door County were constructed using crib supports rather than pile posts. The exceptions are found at Whitefish Bay on the southern limit of the study area, where the sandy lake bottom permitted piles to be driven with ease. No truly intact cribs were identified in the study. In all cases, crib timbers have loosened, collapsed, come completely apart (Rowley's Bay), or vanished (Appleport), allowing stone crib fill to spill out across the lake bottom. Some timbers and drift pins were observed on shore (Newport). Crib timbers averaged around one foot in diameter, except at Torstenson's Pier where very sturdy two-foot-diameter timbers were utilized instead. Crib construction methods varied from pier to pier, and even within single piers. Drift pin attachments are prominent at Newport and Rowley's Bay. The builders of Higgins' Pier utilized a wide array of attachments, including complex dovetail notching, in addition to simpler notches and drift pins. One notable feature was a tendency for crib builders to use uniform lengths and/or spacings of ten, fifteen, twenty, twenty-five, and thirty feet in their creations.

The topography of the lakeshore determined the final length of each pier. At Appleport, where the lake bottom is shallow for a considerable distance offshore, a long pier was required to reach safe water depths for schooners and steamers. At Toft Point, similar conditions can be found immediately adjacent to shore, so a short but sturdy wharf was used there instead. On the whole,

the piers of northeastern Door County are shorter than comparable piers in Kewaunee County, a feature that owes much to lakeshore conditions. In both counties, builders tended to underestimate how much pier was needed at first, and found that they had to lengthen them later. Brief investigation of archival sources and bathymetric data for the Green Bay side of the peninsula suggests that piers and docks on that side will average even shorter.

Use of crib piers also affected the ability of pier operators to build, extend, and repair major damage. Crib construction is reliant on thick lake ice, so construction and major repair were limited to the winter months when shipping was at a standstill and timber was coming in at regular intervals. In contrast, major repair and construction at pile piers was limited to the warmer months when shipping was underway. This weather-controlled pattern had both pros and cons. Scheduled/needed repair at crib piers did not interfere with shipping to the extent that it did further south. However, badly damaged crib piers could not be repaired as quickly or as easily during the shipping season, and might be sidelined for prolonged periods of time. One notable record from Higgins' Pier mentions use of a pile-driver at that location, and the pile-driver's transfer to Kilgore's Pier (another crib pier), suggesting a possible work-around where temporary piles were used to keep shipping going. Alternatively, the presence of the pile-driver hints at construction features that have not yet been documented or observed.

Pier Destruction

As in Kewaunee County and southern Door County, there are records of piers lost to moving lake ice and storms. A significant difference may be Door County's approach to preventing destruction. The crib pier builders and operators seem to have relied on a combination of sturdy construction and weight to keep their piers in place. Captain Eisenhardt weighed the Appleport Pier down with as much wood as he could load onto it prior to an expected ice shove. Mrs. Johnson had her husband's workers pile wood on the Newport Pier in the midst of a storm, a move that prevented it from being entirely destroyed. In Kewaunee County, such pier-top assemblages are noted only as accidental casualties lost when piers toppled during storms, and not as methods to prevent the piers from toppling in the first place.

Site Placement

In Kewaunee County, each pier community was founded at a point where a creek or small stream enters Lake Michigan. The water flowing into the lake was impounded with earthen and wooden dams. The resulting ponds served to bank timber and, at Sandy Bay, Langworthy, and Foscoro, to power mills (Rosebrough et al. 2023). This pattern was not followed in northern Door County. Rather, port complexes were established at strategic points within sheltered bays and harbors along Door County's coastline. Appleport is an exception, as that location is relatively exposed. There is a single mention among the study sample of a pier associated with the mouth of a river or stream—S. A. Roger's 'Mink River' pier (location unconfirmed). Wood seems to have been stockpiled on dry land or boomed on the lake margins. A photograph of a resting horse team, still hitched to an empty log boom at Newport, can be seen in Figure 103.

Shipwreck

Most of the Kewaunee County pier sites were associated with wrecks, though most ships were pulled free and escaped. Door County's piers appear to have suffered higher rates of loss. Multiple casualties are associated with Foscoro, a port on the Kewaunee/Door County line. Multiple wrecks are known and/or documented at Jacksonport as well, and within the study area at Whitefish Bay and Torstenson's Pier/Hedgehog Harbor. The *Emma Leighton* nearly destroyed Appleport's Pier, and did destroy itself, and the *Ebenezer*'s cargo of stone did it no favors when it hit the lake bottom at Toft Point. These near-shore wrecks are uniformly broken up and scattered.

Operations

Another notable feature of the Door County piers is the approach taken by their owners. Many of the owners, such as Torstenson, allowed local residents and other shippers to move timber from their piers. They charged dockage fees for the privilege, a tactic confirmed by Torstenson's announcement that he would waive dockage in order to draw custom away from a new and competing pier run by the Weborg family. This tactic is known from Kewaunee County, but seems to have been utilized less frequently, since the Kewaunee County piers were often owned directly by lumber shippers and/or mercantile companies. Captain Fellows, who operated the Foscoro complex on the Door/Kewaunee County line is the only owner of a rural port in Kewaunee County recorded as allowing other businesses to use his pier (Rosebrough et al. 2023).

Pier Complexes

As in Kewaunee County, none of the lost ghost ports of Door County were towns or villages as we recognize them today, though Newport came close and Peter Knudson certainly had aspirations that it would be. They had no government of their own and were subject to the Town Boards of their respective townships—units of government used in rural areas of Wisconsin, generally encompassing an area of 36 square miles, more or less. Sometimes, as at Newport, the pier owners or managers served on those Boards. More properly, the rural ports were privately-owned industrial and commercial complexes that included workers housing and supported a few dependent but independent businesses such as taverns and hotels. Though schools, churches, or social venues were often located nearby, those institutions served the wider population of the Township and thus were rarely 'in town', so to speak. Most of the complexes seem to have had very small populations. In Kewaunee County, populations of 50 people are recorded at Foscoro and Carlton/Dean's Pier, while Foscoro peaked at 250. Newport is said to have had a population of 300 at one time, making it the largest and most populous of the rural port communities identified so far.

Housing in the complexes relied on a combination of free boarding houses—often run by the wife of the pier manager or another local woman—purpose-built housing provided rent-free to workers, such as the married workers at Toft Point, and privately-owned housing. The Toft family descendants have stories of Thomas Toft sending word out to Baileys Harbor and surrounding farms when a ship was on its way to pick up stone, so that men wanting to draw some quick wages would come to help. There are also reports of men walking miles and staying on the property for part of the week, then returning home to farm for the rest of the week.

Owners

The owners of pier complexes in Kewaunee County fall into three main types: independent owners, self-made men, and merchant princes. The pier owners at the ports in this study fall more on the 'independent' and 'self-made men' side of the spectrum. There were very few merchant princes (e.g., Giles Wing) and they don't seem to have lasted long. Thomas Toft, Hans Johnson, Peter Knudson, Hans Torstenson, Axel Appel, John Anclam, S. A. Rogers, William Higgins, Edward Buckley, and Allen Higgins were all immigrants or recent colonists who worked their way up in the lumber and stone trades just enough to live comfortably. Some (Anclam, Allen Higgins, and Edward Buckley in particular) did even better than that.

There are very few mercantile partnerships among the pier owners of Door County. Such partnerships as existed seem to have been informal or family-based (Bassford Bros., Johnson and Kundson), rather than reflective of wide-ranging business ties. Kewaunee County's 'Merchant Princes' had business or family ties in Racine, Milwaukee, and Chicago, and were owners in mercantile firms as well as lumber firms. Porth and Eisenhardt, though they had an employer-employee relationship, come somewhat close to this model. Wing and Buckley certainly did, though their partnership and business did not endure. Whitefish Bay had ties to a tangle of wide-ranging business partnerships through Mashek, though he was based in Kewaunee County.

The Hidden

Another noteworthy phenomenon in Door County is the increased prominence of women. Mrs. Johnson was lauded for having saved her husband's pier, and seems to have had the authority to order the workmen to risk their safety moving wood onto its decks to weigh it down. 'Lizzie' Buckley Wing certainly took charge of her own life, leaving her husband and his hardships in order to return to a life of luxury with her brother in Manistee. Besides Lizzie, several other women are mentioned as owners of ships and/or businesses, even if their ownership was a ruse to hide assets in the face of financial hardship. Julia Anne, Emma Toft, Lucy Toft, and the other women who founded and operated the Toft Point Resort are certainly the star players in the story of women at the rural ports. Thanks to their efforts, Toft Point didn't die with the lumber boom.

Surviving

The distances wood was carried grew as settlement spread inland, and the narrowness of the Door Peninsula led to some conflict. Competition over the timberlands and the right to harvest them was fierce. Prolonged legal battles were fought over rights to timber at Rowley's Bay and Toft Point. Company timberlands were cleared of pine, then hardwood, then sold. Farmers and a few final complex-owned woodlots kept the trade going at low levels as the boom came to an end. Most of the ports lasted 20 years before the timber was gone and they had to find other ways to survive.

Fish was one option. Appleport and several of the piers at Hedgehog Harbor went that route, and the Weborg family is associated with fishing and operate a boat launch at their pier location to this day. Agriculture wasn't successful, and none of the pier owners seem to have ever made much profit from their pier stores, Roger's attempts to sell New York underwear and coffee aside. Knudson was desperate to get rid of Newport. He, like the members of the Rogers family, sold out

to wealthy men from outside of the county. Higgins chose politics, and when a storm killed the pier he let it stay dead. Tourism was the way forward. Rowleys Bay and Toft Point took that lesson to heart, and established resorts that found great favor amongst visitors to the Peninsula.

Railroads were the death knell for ports on the southern Lake Michigan coast. Once the railroad lines reached into the interior and linked the region's larger settlements together, railroad towns replaced the coastal ports as commercial distribution centers. It was faster and cheaper to ship via rail. The rise of coal-fired boilers and bunkers and overharvesting in the coastal forests put an end to the cordwood trade. The southern piers ceased operation, and those communities that retained small populations turned inland and away from the lake. In Door County, the port owners were desperate for railroads. Knudson platted the paper town of Newport based on his hopes that trains would come. They didn't. Railroads would have brought pleasure-seekers from the cities—enough to refill the coffers that were running bare.

Conclusion

Wisconsin's coastal counties were forever changed by the rural port complexes, though Door County perhaps less than most. Agriculture never got as much of a foothold on the Door, and large parts of the peninsula are now owned by the public as parks and natural areas. The dense old-growth forests that covered the county, however, are gone—with rare exceptions like Toft Point. The shoreline has great gouges in it from the quarries that dotted its cliffsides. The wood products shipped from Door County's rural ports built America's Midwest and Door County's stone built the harbors of the Great Lakes and held city brickwork together. The families of Door County are proud of this heritage and retain deep links to their collective past. They continue to bear witness to what their ancestors wrought, keeping the ghosts of Door County within living memory.

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- 1880 *Chicago Tribune*. 4 April.

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- 1867 *Cleveland Daily Herald*. 10 December.

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- 1875a *Inter Ocean*. 17 September.
- 1875b *Inter Ocean*. 25 September.
- 1876a *Inter Ocean*. 27 May.
- 1876b *Inter Ocean*. 19 August.
- 1877a *Inter Ocean*. 6 January.
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- 1877f *Inter Ocean*. 15 December.
- 1878a *Inter Ocean*. 28 August.
- 1878b *Inter Ocean*. 1 October.
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- 1877 *Hillsdale Standard*. 11 December.

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- 1866 *Manitowoc Pilot*. 20 April.
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- 1868a *Manitowoc Pilot*. 27 March.
- 1868b *Manitowoc Pilot*. 22 May.
- 1868c *Manitowoc Pilot*. 28 August.
- 1869a *Manitowoc Pilot*. 26 March.
- 1869b *Manitowoc Pilot*. 16 July.
- 1869c *Manitowoc Pilot*. 23 December.
- 1870 *Manitowoc Pilot*. 30 June.
- 1871 *Manitowoc Pilot*. 21 December.
- 1880 *Manitowoc Pilot*. 21 October.

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- 1867a *Manitowoc Tribune*. 3 October.
- 1867b *Manitowoc Tribune*. 12 December.
- 1868a *Manitowoc Tribune*. 7 May.
- 1868b *Manitowoc Tribune*. 17 September.
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- 1872a *Manitowoc Tribune*. 11 July
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- 1873 *Manitowoc Tribune*. 24 April.

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- 1868 *Milwaukee Daily Sentinel*. 11 November.
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- 1870a *Milwaukee Daily Sentinel*. 23 April.
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- 1871a *Milwaukee Daily Sentinel*. 7 October.
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- 1872a *Milwaukee Daily Sentinel*. 2 May.

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- 1874 *Door County Advocate*. 1 January.
- 1875a *Door County Advocate*. 27 May.
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- 1876 *Door County Advocate*. 20 July.
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- 1884a *Door County Advocate*. 13 March.
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 1892a *Door County Advocate*. 19 March.
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 1893 *Door County Advocate*. 4 February.
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 1928 *Door County Advocate*. 15 November.
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 1881a *Door County Advocate*. 17 February.
 1881b *Door County Advocate*. 31 March.
 1881c *Door County Advocate*. 23 June.
 1882 *Door County Advocate*. 19 January.
 1883a *Door County Advocate*. 18 January.
 1883b *Door County Advocate*. 10 May.
 1883c *Door County Advocate*. 24 May.
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 1883e *Door County Advocate*. 15 November.
 1883f *Door County Advocate*. 27 December.
 1884 *Door County Advocate*. 24 January.
 1885a *Door County Advocate*. 8 January.
 1885b *Door County Advocate*. 30 April.
 1885c *Door County Advocate*. 27 August.
 1885d *Door County Advocate*. 17 September.
 1886a *Door County Advocate*. 2 December.
 1886b *Door County Advocate*. 9 December.
 1887a *Door County Advocate*. 2 July.
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1885 *Journal Times*. 21 October.
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1882 *Wisconsin State Journal*. 22 December.

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1881 *Wood County Reporter*. 12 May.

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1873a *Alpena Weekly Argus*. 30 September.

1873b *Alpena Weekly Argus*. 7 October.

1874a *Alpena Weekly Argus*. 6 May.

1874b *Alpena Weekly Argus*. 13 May.

1875a *Alpena Weekly Argus*. 19 May.

1875b *Alpena Weekly Argus*. 9 June.

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1875a *Maria* Permanent Enrollment No. 46. Port Huron, Huron District, Record Group 41. U.S. National Archives, Washington, D.C. Permanent Enrollment

1875b *Maria* Permanent Enrollment No. 17. Milwaukee, Milwaukee District, Record Group 41. U.S. National Archives, Washington, D.C. Permanent Enrollment

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1869 *Chicago Tribune*. 5 May.

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1871 *Chicago Tribune*. 1 May.

1872a *Chicago Tribune*. 25 May.

1872b *Chicago Tribune*. 28 June.

1872c *Chicago Tribune*. 23 August.

1872d *Chicago Tribune*. 4 September.

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1874b *Chicago Tribune*. 28 September.

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 1877b *Daily Milwaukee News*. 5 December.
 1878 *Daily Milwaukee News*. 2 March.
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1869 *Kenosha Telegraph*. 20 May.

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1871 *Niles Democrat*. 9 December.

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1878 *Palladium*. 4 November.

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1880 *Racine Daily Argus*. 25 August.

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1866 *Ashtabula Weekly Telegraph*. 23 June.

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1860 *Buffalo Commercial Advertiser*. 28 August.

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1856 *Buffalo Courier*. 18 August.
1859 *Buffalo Courier*. 9 April.
1860 *Buffalo Courier*. 28 September.

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1872a *Chicago Tribune*. 4 October.
 1872 b *Chicago Tribune*. 5 October.
 1875 *Chicago Tribune*. 16 June.
 1876 *Chicago Tribune*. 23 May.
 1880a *Chicago Tribune*. 22 March.
 1880b *Chicago Tribune*. 1 April.
 1880c *Chicago Tribune*. 17 April.
 1880d *Chicago Tribune*. 9 November.
 1880e *Chicago Tribune*. 10 December.
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 1883b *Chicago Tribune*. 27 September.

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 1874 *Cleveland Daily Herald*. 22 September.
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1860a *Cleveland Morning Leader*. 27 September.
 1860b *Cleveland Morning Leader*. 29 September.
 1862a *Cleveland Morning Leader*. 16 September.
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1861 *Commercial Bulletin*. 16 March.

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1883 *Daily Globe*. 11 September.

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 1874d *Daily Inter Ocean*. 6 October.
 1875a *Daily Inter Ocean*. 28 April.
 1875b *Daily Inter Ocean*. 11 August.
 1875c *Daily Inter Ocean*. 2 November.
 1875d *Daily Inter Ocean*. 11 November.
 1876a *Daily Inter Ocean*. 23 May.

1876b *Daily Inter Ocean*. 23 June.
 1876c *Daily Inter Ocean*. 20 September.
 1876d *Daily Inter Ocean*. 3 October.
 1876e *Daily Inter Ocean*. 10 October.
 1878a *Daily Inter Ocean*. 9 May.
 1878b *Daily Inter Ocean*. 24 June.
 1878c *Daily Inter Ocean*. 28 October.
 1879a *Daily Inter Ocean*. 3 May.
 1879b *Daily Inter Ocean*. 20 May.
 1879c *Daily Inter Ocean*. 9 July.
 1881a *Daily Inter Ocean*. 22 November.
 1881b *Daily Inter Ocean*. 24 November.
 1881c *Daily Inter Ocean*. 29 November.
 1882 *Daily Inter Ocean*. 18 May.
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 1883b *Daily Inter Ocean*. 10 September.
 1884 *Daily Inter Ocean*. 12 June.
 1886a *Daily Inter Ocean*. 20 November.
 1886b *Daily Inter Ocean*. 21 November.
 1886c *Daily Inter Ocean*. 2 December.
 1887 *Daily Inter Ocean*. 10 March.
 1889 *Daily Inter Ocean*. 4 July.
 1900a *Daily Inter Ocean*. 8 July.
 1900b *Daily Inter Ocean*. 9 July.
 1900c *Daily Inter Ocean*. 16 July.

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1866 *Daily Journal*. 22 June.

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1868 *Daily Milwaukee News*. 11 July.
 1870 *Daily Milwaukee News*. 24 June.

Daily Palladium (Oswego, New York)

1864 *Daily Palladium*. 22 November.
 1873 *Daily Palladium*. 15 August.
 1874 *Daily Palladium*. 9 October.

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1896a *Door County Advocate*. 14 November.
 1896b *Door County Advocate*. 21 November.
 1897 *Door County Advocate*. 7 August.
 1898 *Door County Advocate*. 1 October.
 1899a *Door County Advocate*. 26 August.
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1866 *Hamilton Spectator*.

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1888a *Herald-Palladium*. 4 June.

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1878 *Janesville Gazette*. 18 October.

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1867 *Manitowoc Pilot*. 4 October.

1868a *Manitowoc Pilot*. 10 April.

1868b *Manitowoc Pilot*. 15 May.

1868c *Manitowoc Pilot*. 28 August.

1868d *Manitowoc Pilot*. 2 October.

1873 *Manitowoc Pilot*. 21 August.

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1869 *Manitowoc Post*. 5 March.

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1867a *Manitowoc Tribune*. 4 July.

1867b *Manitowoc Tribune*. 3 October.

1867c *Manitowoc Tribune*. 17 October.

1867d *Manitowoc Tribune*. 26 December.

1869 *Manitowoc Tribune*. 12 August.

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1878 *Milwaukee Daily News* 25 June.

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1869a *Milwaukee Daily Sentinel*. 15 May.

1869b *Milwaukee Daily Sentinel*. 26 May.
 1869c *Milwaukee Daily Sentinel*. 14 July.
 1869d *Milwaukee Daily Sentinel*. 23 August.
 1870a *Milwaukee Daily Sentinel*. 24 May.
 1870b *Milwaukee Daily Sentinel*. 17 June.
 1870c *Milwaukee Daily Sentinel*. 22 June.
 1870d *Milwaukee Daily Sentinel*. 13 October.
 1871a *Milwaukee Daily Sentinel*. 25 May.
 1871b *Milwaukee Daily Sentinel*. 12 June.
 1871c *Milwaukee Daily Sentinel*. 13 September.
 1871d *Milwaukee Daily Sentinel*. 22 September.
 1871e *Milwaukee Daily Sentinel*. 30 September.
 1871f *Milwaukee Daily Sentinel*. 28 October.
 1872 *Milwaukee Daily Sentinel*. 19 April.
 1873 *Milwaukee Daily Sentinel*. 29 August.
 1874a *Milwaukee Daily Sentinel*. 10 April.
 1874b *Milwaukee Daily Sentinel*. 18 June.
 1874c *Milwaukee Daily Sentinel*. 18 September.
 1874d *Milwaukee Daily Sentinel*. 25 September.
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 1875a *Milwaukee Daily Sentinel*. 29 April.
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1860 *Plain Dealer*. 27 September.
1861 *Plain Dealer*. 8 March.
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1926 *Sheboygan Press*. 23 April.
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1869 *St. Lawrence Republican*. 30 November.

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- 1868 *Otter* Permanent Enrollment No. 178. Port of Chicago, Chicago Customs District, Record Group 41. U.S. National Archives, Washington, D.C.
- 1872 *Otter* Permanent Enrollment No. 19. Port of Chicago, Chicago Customs District, Record Group 41. U.S. National Archives, Washington, D.C.
- 1877 *Otter* Permanent Enrollment No. 12. Port of Chicago, Chicago Customs District, Record Group 41. U.S. National Archives, Washington, D.C.
- 1880 *Otter* Permanent Enrollment No. 24. Port of Chicago, Chicago Customs District, Record Group 41. U.S. National Archives, Washington, D.C.
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APPENDIX A