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historical data section
package no. 150
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APOSTLE ISLANDS
HOKENSON FISHING DOCK

NATIONAL LAKESHORE / WISCONSIN



HISTORIC STRUCTURE REPORT
Historical Data Section
Pkg. No. 150

HOKENSON FISHING DOCK
APOSTLE ISLANDS NATIONAL LAKESHORE
Wisconsin

HOKENSON DOCK AND FISH HOUSE:	HS-01-138A
HOKENSON ICE HOUSE:	HS-01-138B
HOKENSON RAILS:	HS-01-138D
HOKENSON TWINE SHED:	HS-01-138F
HOKENSON BOAT "TWILITE":	HS-01-138G
HOKENSON POUND NET BOAT:	HS-01-138H
HOKENSON DRYING REEL:	HS-01-138J

by

David L. Fritz

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS	iii
I. ADMINISTRATIVE DATA	1
II. HISTORICAL DATA	5
A. Statement of Significance	5
B. Legal Description of Property and Chain of Title	8
C. Other Hokenson Property in the South Shore Subdivision	28
D. The Peter Hokanson* Homestead and Other Hokenson Land in Russell Township	29
FOOTNOTES	32
ILLUSTRATIONS	40
BIBLIOGRAPHY	85

*The progenitor of the Hokenson brothers spelled his name with an "a;" thus he was Peter, son of Hoka. His wife, Amanda, afterwards adopted the "e" spelling in order to strive for consistency in family documents.

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Figure 1:	<u>Twilite</u> c. 1940	40
Figure 2:	<u>Twilite</u> c. 1945	41
Figure 3:	Original Plat of South Shore Subdivision	42
Figure 4:	Plat Locating South Shore Subdivision	43
Figure 5:	Plat Locating Peter Hokanson Homestead	45
Figure 6:	Fish House and Dock c. 1937	47
Figure 7:	Another Early View of Fish House	48
Figure 8:	Leo Hokenson on the Dock	49
Figure 9:	Early View of Ice House and Dock	50
Figure 10:	High Tide at Little Sand Bay, 1939	51
Figure 11:	Eva Sykes on Dock c. 1940	52
Figure 12:	Anne Doucett on Dock c. 1940	53
Figure 13:	Gary Hokenson in Makeshift Boat, 1944	54
Figure 14:	Dredging Operations c. 1944	55
Figure 15:	Dredging the Hokenson Port c. 1944	56
Figure 16:	Another View of the Hokenson Dock c. 1944	57
Figure 17:	Fish House and Dock c. 1945	58
Figure 18:	The Hokenson Brothers c. 1950	59
Figure 19:	Fish House and Dock c. 1975	60
Figure 20:	Another View of Fish House and Dock c. 1975	61
Figure 21:	Twine Shed c. 1975	62
Figure 22:	Ice House, 1977	63
Figure 23:	Another View of the Ice House, 1977	64
Figure 24:	Interior View of Fish House, 1977	65
Figure 25:	Fish House, 1977	66
Figure 26:	West View of Fish House, 1977	67
Figure 27:	Close up of Crib Logs of Fish House, 1977	68
Figure 28:	East View of Fish House with some repairs complete, 1977	69
Figure 29:	Unrepaired North Leg of Dock, 1977	70
Figure 30:	Repairs Underway on Dock, 1977	71
Figure 31:	Dock Prior to Repairs, 1977	72
Figure 32:	Deck Repairs Nearly Completed, 1977	73
Figure 33:	Repairs Begun on North End of Dock, 1977	74
Figure 34:	East View of Dock, 1977	75
Figure 35:	East View of Twine Shed	76
Figure 36:	Southeast View of Twine Shed, September 1978	77
Figure 37:	Northwest View of Twine Shed, September 1978	78
Figure 38:	South End of Twine Shed Loft, January 1979	79
Figure 39:	North End of Twine Shed Loft, January 1979	80
Figure 40:	The Hokenson Fishery, June 1978	81
Figure 41:	Fish House and Beached <u>Twilite</u> , June 1978	82
Figure 42:	Southern View of Dock and Beached <u>Twilite</u> , June 1978	83

APOSTLE ISLANDS NATIONAL LAKESHORE
HOKENSON FISHING DOCK

I. ADMINISTRATIVE DATA

A. Name and Number of Structures:

Hokenson Fishing Dock, a National Register property consists of four buildings, two boats, a dock, and other assorted structures on the southwest shore of Little Sand Bay, at the northern tip of Bayfield County. The following numbers have been assigned to these historic structures:

Hokenson Dock and Fish House	HS-01-138A
Hokenson Ice House	HS-01-138B
Hokenson Privy	HS-01-138C
Hokenson Rails	HS-01-138D
Hokenson Pump	HS-01-138E
Hokenson Twine Shed	HS-01-138F
Hokenson Boat "Twilite"	HS-01-138G
Hokenson Pound-Net Boat	HS-01-138H
Hokenson Stair	HS-01-138I
Hokenson Drying Reel	HS-01-138J

B. Proposed Use of Structures

Hokenson Fishing Dock will be used to interpret the significant role of the local fishing industry in the Apostle Islands from the late 1920's to about 1960. The entire complex will be restored and maintained to represent the total development as it evolved until about 1960. Through a variety of interpretive media (guided tours, exhibits, and demonstrations), visitors will be able to understand something of the difficult but fascinating life of a Lake Superior fisherman.

C. Justification for Such Use

Hokenson Fishing Dock is a reminder of the early fishing industry in and around the Apostle Islands. Its preservation and interpretation will give visitors an opportunity to see an example of a family fishing unit of the past and its relationship to the islands.

D. Provision for Operating Structures

The structures will serve the Lakeshore as a major facility interpreting the year around effort that went into the fishing industry. The interior of the buildings will be seen only through scheduled interpretation, while the dock, exterior of the buildings, and grounds will be self-guiding.

E. Cooperative Agreement, if any, Executed or Proposed for Operating Structure

No cooperative agreement will be required to operate the structure. However, the potential to have a present-day fisherman participate in several types of demonstrations should be reserved.

F. Brief Description of Proposed Construction Activity

Previous preservation activities related to the Hokenson Fishing Dock include the partial repair and replacement of the dock crib logs and decking, replacement of deteriorated structural members and siding, reroofing of Fish House, temporary bracing and reroofing of the Ice House, and replacement of a portion of the Twine Shed foundation.

Important preservation considerations for the future include completion of the repair and replacement of the dock crib logs and decking, painting of the Fish House, replacement of deteriorated structural members and siding, painting and reroofing the Ice House, and painting and reroofing the Twine Shed.

HS-01-138A through HS-01-138J (collectively referred to as the Hokenson Fishing Dock) in the Apostle Islands National Lakeshore is on the National Register of Historic Places and the List of Classified Structures. This property is of Category IIb significance. This project is subject to the requirements of the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation, "Procedures for the Protection fo the Historic and Cultural Environment" (36 CFR 800). Therefore, at the appropriate stage of planning, the Regional Director shall, in consultation with the State Historic Preservation Officer, apply the Advisory Council's "Criteria for Effect" (Section 800.8) and "Criteria for Adverse Effect" (Section 800.9) and afford the Advisory Council the opportunity to review and/or comment on the proposal.

II. HISTORICAL DATA

A. Statement of Significance

The Twine Shed or workshop (HS-01-138F), the Ice House (HS-01-138B), the Dock and Fish House (HS-01-138A), the Privy (HS-01-138C), the Rails (HS-01-138D), the Pump (HS-01-138E), the Fishing Boat "Twilite" (HS-01-138G), the Pound-Net Boat (HS-01-138H), the Stair (HS-01-138I), and the Drying Reel (HS-01-138J) which constitute the Hokenson Fishing Dock, are structures of signal importance, in that they represent the only intact family type commercial fishing and packing operation within the boundaries of the Apostle Islands National Lakeshore. The evolution of the brothers' fishery illustrates too the economic quandary of the Bayfield Peninsula and the surrounding islands, insofar as timber overcutting had terminated one vast industry; steel technology had made brownstone quarrying there obsolete; the land itself made conventional crop farming well nigh impossible; and the severity of climate made tourism or other recreational pursuits unlikely. Dairy farming seemed to be one of the few apt occupational options open to the Hokenson brothers and dairying is what they tried until misfortune struck them through their farm animals. The brothers lost several animals to disease; one horse died of bots; a second broke a leg; and a third broke its neck jumping in the barn. Thus the Hokensons learned, as had many northern Wisconsin pioneers before them, that fishing on Lake Superior was the one mercantile employment that had a degree of stability, and might give a long term assurance of a livelihood. But eventually even the Lake Superior fishery failed; mainly because of the inroads of the Sea Lamprey (*Petromyzon Marinus*) during the 1950's and 1960's. Fortunately, at least for the Hokensons, the near demise of the fishery came at a time when they were ready for retirement.

Over the span of the centuries, it was fishing on Lake Superior that provided the various tribes of Indians who lived on its shores with a continuing reliable source of sustenance. The first Europeans to traverse the region, the French voyageurs and fur traders, also depended to a considerable extent on fish, and depended on the Chippewa Indians who provided them with fish, as a means of survival when they crossed the area.

The 1830's were the first years when anyone attempted to make fishing something more than a subsistence activity. Then, under the aegis of John Jacob Astor's American Fur Company, a commercial fishing industry developed more rapidly than the contemporaneous society was able to absorb such an abundant fish supply. An additional drawback was that the entrepreneurs lacked sufficient imagination to go beyond the lone variety of salted fish, even though there was an abundance of ice available for packing purposes; nor did they have transportation methods that gave them access to a very broad market. In that era they were obliged to move the fish mainly by boat across the waters of the several Great Lakes, and with this limitation, were unable to penetrate readily into markets further removed from the shoreline.

The Panic of 1837 did not help matters along either, so it was not until after the Civil War that a viable large scale commercial fishery developed in the Apostle Islands region. The principal positive force that enabled the fishery to succeed at that time was the arrival of the railroad to the ports of Lake Superior around 1870.¹ Another major influence on the development of the fishery was the immigration to the Old Northwest of a considerable number of Scandinavians, many of whom had been fishermen in the Old World. These people, competing with the native American Chippewa Indians and a considerable number of descendants of the old French Canadian voyageurs, and others, together constituted the new fishing industry.

It is often forgotten, when the history of northern Wisconsin is recounted, that the commercial fishery of Lake Superior was sustained, very early on, by several fish hatcheries. As the area is usually considered to have been a frontier wilderness until about 1900, most observers conclude that Lake Superior fish remained superabundant by natural propagation. Yet, already in 1872, a major portion of the Commissioner of Fisheries' report was entitled "Inquiry Into the Decrease of the Food Fishes." While the appendix to that report, treating of the Great Lakes, stressed the depletion of food fishes in Lake Michigan through overfishing, the report also stressed that Lake Superior was undergoing a similar assault from growing numbers of commercial fishermen.²

To the credit of early captains of industry in the Bayfield and Ashland vicinity, steps were quickly taken to prevent the utter destruction of the valuable fish population. In 1875 and 1876 Captain R. D. Pike of Bayfield laid the plans for a private fish hatchery which commenced operations soon thereafter at Salmo, south of the town of Bayfield. It was not until 1896 that the state of Wisconsin got into the act when Pike, Colonel Isaac H. Wing, and William Knight, all of Bayfield, donated a total of six hundred acres and the private hatchery, to the state. Thus, before a governmental agency involved itself, Pike and company had been repopulating Lake Superior with millions of lake trout for about twenty years. Despite these conservation efforts, both private and public, the level of trout production for the consumers' table for seventy five years remained fairly constant, when it should have been increasing; and this in the face of massive influxes of artificially reproduced fry and fingerlings.³

The details of construction of the various Hokenson fishery buildings are not very precisely dated, since the brothers kept no exact records, and the county records reflect a time lag of several years between private deeds and publicly registered deeds. From the recollections of Roy and Eskel Hokenson, we know that the brothers first commenced fabrication of the L-shaped Docks and Fish House (HS-01-138A), and the nearest shore structure, the Ice House (HS-01-138B), in 1927. The completion of these two edifices was slow and gradual, extending into the period of time when they began putting up the Twine Shed or workshop (HS-01-138F). The latter building was completed between 1930 and 1931.

Over the years there were additions to the sheds on the docks (HS-01-138A) as well as improvements on the other structures. As the brothers were wholly occupied with the making of these improvements, mainly with lumber they finished on their own planing mill, they did not take time to write down precise dates of these various improvements. A few old photographs, taken after 1937 when the Twilite was built (see Figures 1 & 2), give some idea of the sequence of improvements but little exact dated information. Thus the repaired appearance of the buildings

should reflect the average appearance of the structures over a thirty year span (1932 - 1962), but allow for the progression of additions and improvements. It would make no sense whatever, for example, to tear down the last two thirds added on to the Fish House (HS-01-138A).

B. Legal Description of Property and Chain of Title

The land that was to become the Hokenson Brothers Fishery on Little Sand Bay was originally a part of Government Lots 1 and 2, lots so denominated by the General Land Office Survey of the 1850's. Both of these Government Lots were included in the lands reserved for the La Pointe Band of Chippewa Indians in the aftermath of the Treaty with the Chippewa, of 30 September 1854. They are located in the northern half of the northeast quadrant of Section 32, Township 52 north, Range 4 west, on Lake Superior. The treaty did not specifically set aside lands for the Indians on the Bayfield Peninsula. Rather, it allocated to the La Pointe Band a tract on Lake Superior east of present day Ashland, Wisconsin that has, from 1855 onwards, been known as the Bad River Indian Reservation.⁴

The future fishery tract came to be Indian land by means of administrative determinations made between the Commissioner of the General Land Office in Washington and local land officers on the scene at Bayfield, Wisconsin. Two orders of the General Land Office Commissioner, dated 8 May and 3 June 1863, account for most of the established boundary lines of the Red Cliff Reservation. One modification to the tract dimensions came as the result of a recommendation from Colonel G. W. Manypenny at Bayfield to Commissioner Charles E. Mix in Washington. As a result of these various decisions, the Red Cliff Reservation finally came to consist roughly of a narrow strip of land, usually a minimum of one mile wide; along the shore of Lake Superior, across the northern tip and down the eastern side of the Bayfield Peninsula, terminating at the present day village of Red Cliff.⁵ Thus the future Hokenson fishery land was drawn inside the reservation boundary lines.

In 1895 the United States Congress tried, by means of a joint resolution, to enlarge the Red Cliff Reservation through a grant that would have included all of Townships 51 and 52 north, Range 3 west; Townships 51 and 52 north, Range 4 west; and Townships 51 and 52 north, Range 5 west. Although the joint resolution might have been construed as allocating portions of at least nine of the Apostle Islands, the same legislative endeavor did give sanction to an administrative fiat from the General Land Office of 11 September 1863 that excluded any insular land from the reservation, excluding, of course, that part of Madeline Island which was expressly reserved to the Chippewa by explicit statement in the Treaty of 1854.⁶ Despite this intended largesse to the Indians, the net result was to sustain the reservation boundaries approximately at the same locations established administratively in 1863. The fact that many white settlers were well established inside the projected enlargement area compelled Bayfield Land Office agents to strive to preserve the status quo, which they did. The settlers were in place under provisions of the Homestead Act of 1862, or, in some instances, because of bounties granted to Civil War veterans, or for other reasons.

But there was another intended objective of joint resolution #16 of 20 February 1895 that produced real effects: The resolution provided the administrative machinery for allocating parcels of land to individual Indians. This administrative process was the direct result of the Dawes Severalty Act of 8 February 1887. This act "provided for the dissolution of the Indian tribes as legal entities and the division of the tribal lands among individual members--160 acres to each head of family and 80 acres to each adult single person. Right of disposal was withheld for 25 years, after which time the Indian was to become an unrestricted owner."^{6A} As a result, the Secretary of the Interior drew up a plan dated 5 January 1897, that petitioned the president to approve a list of land selections by individual Chippewa Indians of the Red Cliff Reservation. President McKinley did sign various Letters Patent for the petitioners, but limited the grants with the proviso that the recipients were not to alienate this newly acquired land without explicit presidential authorization.⁷ This policy was generalized for all of the Chippewa Indians of Lake Superior by an act of Congress dated 11 February 1901.

This statute (31 Stat., 766) also stipulated an upper limit of eighty acres per Indian assignee.⁸

One of the Indian applicants, Angelique Soulier, was granted a Letter Patent from President McKinley and the General Land Office, dated 8 May 1897, in which Government Lots 1 and 2 were presented to her under the provisions of the Treaty of 1854. Angelique Soulier was limited by the usual stipulation against alienating her tract.⁹ Her two lots comprised 68.24 acres, and included more than a thousand feet of lakeshore frontage abutting on Little Sand Bay, Lake Superior. The western portion of this acreage eventually became the South Shore Subdivision and one plot of it became the site of the Hokenson Fishing Dock. (See Figure 3)

To illustrate the manner in which the Federal Government allocated such tracts to individual Indians within the Red Cliff Reservation, it is useful to quote the text of the United States Patent to Angelique Soulier as copied into Volume 96 of the Book of Deeds, Bayfield County Register of Deeds, County Court House, Washburn, Wisconsin:

"United States of America to Angelique Soulier. (4-454)
General Land Office No. 163

The United States of America, To All to Whom These Presents Shall Come, Greeting:

Whereas, there has been deposited in the General Land Office of the United States an Order, bearing date January 5, 1897 from the Secretary of the Interior, accompanied by a SCHEDULE with RETURN, dated December 29, 1896, from the Office of Indian Affairs containing a List of selections of Land for Certain Indians residing at the Red Cliff Reservation, as contemplated by the Treaty concluded September 30, 1854, with the CHIPPEWA INDIANS of Lake Superior and the Mississippi, whereby it appears that on the nineteenth day of November 1896, the President, in accordance with the provision of the 3rd Article of said Treaty, approved the selection of Angelique Soulier, being for lots one

and two of Section Thirty-two in Township Fifty-two, North of Range four West of the fourth Principal Meridian, in Wisconsin, containing sixty-eight acres and twenty-four hundredths of an acre, according to the OFFICIAL PLAT OF THE survey of said lands returned to the General Land Office by the Surveyor-General.

NOW KNOW YE, That the United States of America, in consideration of the premises, and in conformity with the said Treaty, the ORDER and RETURN with SCHEDULE Aforesaid HAVE GIVEN AND GRANTED, and by these presents DO GIVE AND GRANT, unto the said Angelique Soulier and to her heirs, the said Tract above described; but with the stipulation that said Angelique Soulier and her heirs shall not sell, lease or in any manner alienate, said Tract without the consent of the President of the United States; TO HAVE AND TO HOLD the same, together with all the rights, privileges, immunities, and appurtenances, of whatsoever nature thereunto belonging, unto the said Angelique Soulier, and to her heirs forever, provided, as aforesaid, that Angelique Soulier and her heirs shall not sell, lease, or in any manner alienate, said Tract without the consent of the President of the United States.

In Testimony Whereof, I, William McKinley, President of the United States of America, have caused these Letters to be made Patent, and the SEAL OF THE GENERAL LAND OFFICE to be hereto affixed.

GIVEN under my hand at the City of Washington the eighth day of May, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and ninety-seven, and of the Independence of the United States the one hundred and twenty-first.

By the President: William McKinley

By M. McKean, Secretary

C.H. Brush, Recorder of the General Land Office

United States General Land Office (seal)

Recorded in Chippewas of Lake Superior and the Mississippi, Treaty of September 30, 1854, Vol. 5, page 389."¹⁰

Such a limitation on the Indians' freedom of action to dispose of their own land, naturally inspired applications to the president to let them sell, lease or alienate their holdings. Copies of numerous Indian agency documents which reflected these efforts were filed in the Bayfield County Register of Deeds Office. A simple transfer of real property from one Indian to another was labelled "Deeds of Lands of Noncompetent Indians". Transfers of land to non-Indian purchasers first required the Indians to obtain presidential permission via a "Certificate of Competency". Such an indenture, over the president's signature, presupposed the literacy and intelligence of the Indian applicant and freed the Indian from further recourse to executive authority in Land transactions.

A typical certificate of competency issued by the Bureau of Indian Affairs under the auspices of a statute (36 Stat. L., 855) of June 25, 1910, specifically tied the issue of an Indian's competency to a designated piece of land. The document stated, for example, that Angelique Soulier, was "fully competent and capable of transacting her own business and caring for her own individual affairs," and that "this certificate of competency . . . does hereby invest her with full power and authority to sell and convey any or all lands above described."¹¹ Implicit in such an authorization was the notion that the Indian in question was no longer required to refer land transaction matters to the President of the United States.

The first transfer of the future fishery site from one individual to another took place on 12 September 1914 when Angelique Soulier sold the westernmost forty acres of Government Lots 1 and 2 to an Indian relative, Chase Gordon, for the sum of eight hundred dollars. Although such a transaction did not absolutely require presidential permission, because the land remained under the supervision of the Secretary of the Interior as Indian land, the warranty deed was submitted to Woodrow Wilson for approval. A copy of the deed was filed both with the Bayfield County Register of Deeds, as well as the Office of Indian Affairs in Washington.¹²

During the same interval Angelique Soulier and other Indians were advertizing, under the auspices of J.W. Dady, the Indian agent at Bayfield, to either sell or lease lands for timber to any interested parties. Since the advertisement was repeated in two different Bayfield papers over several years' time, the Indians must have had difficulty in finding buyers. As was mentioned above, Angelique Soulier succeeded in finding a purchaser (Chase Gordon) for only half of the land she put up for sale in the ads.¹³

Chase Gordon held the lakeshore tract until 13 June 1923, when he sold it to J.P. O'Malley, president of the First National Bank of Bayfield, for the sum of "one dollar and other valuable considerations".¹⁴

It is assumed that Chase Gordon held a certificate of competency for this transaction, since there was no mention in the instrument of recourse to the Secretary of the Interior or to the President. An article in the 26 May 1922 issue of the Bayfield County Press supported this assumption, when it announced that the U.S. Indian Office at Bayfield was closing down mainly because three-fourths of the reservation lands had been opened up through certificates of competency to Indian owners who had sold out to non-Indians.¹⁵

When O'Malley acquired the lakeshore tract on Little Sand Bay, he was probably already acting in behalf of a group of Russell Township residents who wished to improve the lakeshore property. Eskel and Roy Hokenson both stated that the initiative for developing the area that eventually became the South Shore Subdivision came from the residents of Russell themselves.¹⁶ A documentary indication of O'Malley's role as an intermediary is seen in at least one of the early land transfers in late 1923. By a warranty deed of 5 November 1923, O'Malley sold two lots on the waterfront to Napoleon De Mars for the sum of two hundred dollars. This particular deed is of considerable interest for several reasons: first of all, the Document refers to Lots 1 and 2 of a "subdivision,"¹⁷ a term not previously used in land records connected with this parcel of land; secondly, the two lots in question eventually became the site for the Roy and Irene Hokenson residence about fifteen years later. In addition, the

fishery complex was constructed later on the two lots adjacent to De Mars' plot on the west side. Another warranty deed of 9 August 1923, in which O'Malley transfers several other lots in the subdivision to a Mr. Otto A. Kersten of St. Paul, Minnesota, lends further strength to the contention that O'Malley was an agent for others. Again, the telltale word "subdivision" indicated that developers had taken an interest in the land and were going to do something with it.¹⁸

At the time of these transactions, Joseph P. O'Malley was the new president of the First National Bank of Bayfield. He had come to that post in January of 1923, having succeeded one of the founding fathers of that bank, Mr. A. H. Wilkinson. The bank had been established in 1904 and Wilkinson had been its president since 1912.¹⁹ O'Malley followed in the footsteps of his predecessor, having been an officer of the bank since 1905, and later involved the bank in many progressive enterprises promoting the economy of the Bayfield Peninsula. Among these were land development enterprises such as the efforts of the South Shore Club in Russell Township and civic promotions such as the Indian Pageant of 1924.

Of course, O'Malley was but one among many progressive citizens of Bayfield County who wished to boost the region's economy in the aftermath of the decline of local timber and quarrying industries. In the case of the South Shore Club in Russell Township, it was local young men on the ground who envisioned a type of resort on the shores of Lake Superior as a means to entice outside investment as well as tourist traffic into an otherwise remote area of northern Wisconsin.

One of the major problems confronting the Russell promoters was a lack of good roads or any other reliable transportation access to the site. The pages of the Bayfield County Press recite the slow progress of developing a first class road along the lakefront toward Superior, Wisconsin. The issue of 17 December 1925 reported that one segment of the road, Highway 13, was completed to Cornucopia, a distance of about 22 miles along the winding and hilly route.

Even beyond this era, access to points along the periphery of the lake were considered more reliably accessible by water. A cousin to the Hokensons, Halvor A. Reiten of Bayfield, hoped to make this belief in waterborne traffic into a business bonanza by investing in a multi-purpose 108 foot boat, the Thomas Friant. Reiten teamed up with Captain Einar Miller in purchasing the Friant from Mrs. E.G. Endress of Sault Ste. Marie, Michigan in the fall of 1922. The Friant was a relatively large boat for the Apostle Islands Environs, having an eighteen foot beam and displacing 70 gross tons. Miller and Reiten hoped to carry both freight and passengers along the south shore between Bayfield and Duluth, touching at such ports as Cornucopia, Port Wing, Orienta and Superior. They called their enterprise the South Shore Transit Company. It all ended in disaster when ice and a winter storm sank the Friant in January of 1924. No lives were lost, but one more attempt to revive transportation along the south shore had failed.²⁰

Another south shore endeavor at that same period, did not end so dismally. Several articles in the Bayfield County Press in the spring of 1923 reveal the fact that Joseph P. O'Malley, in nominally acquiring Government Lot #2 and the west 11.24 acres of Government Lot #1, was indeed the agent of an organization called the South Shore Club. The fact that O'Malley paid Chase Gordon only "one dollar and other valuable considerations" for the land is a clue to that fact.²¹ Other county documents would confirm this later.

The front page article in the Press issue of 11 May 1923 had more the air of advertizing boosterism about it than the calm factuality of a news story. It tells so much about the plans of the South Shore Club that it is worth quoting in its entirety:

"A big surprise is in store for tourists visiting Bayfield this year. We have been unaware of a great transformation which has been taking place along the new road [italics added] to Little Sand Bay. What was but yesterday a heap of brush, undergrowth and forest, is now one of the finest scenic driveways in the midwest.

The citizens of the town of Russell by their untiring efforts and cooperation have accomplished a feat which less hardy hearts would fear to attempt.

Leaving Bayfield on Wisconsin State Highway 13, turning off to the right at the Carver School House and taking the town highway to Hokenson's farm, [now County Road K] and again turning to the right and proceeding past Mike Beets home, one reaches the new road, and it is then that the majestic beauty of the scene unfolds before your eyes. Words cannot convey its full beauty, and one must see to appreciate the hugeness of it all. Within the short space of one week it will be possible to drive with an automobile from Bayfield to within a distance equal to three or four city blocks of the beach and within two weeks, if nothing unforeseen happens to interrupt the progress of the work, it will be possible to drive right down to the Lake Shore.

The South Shore Club, composed of residents of the Town of Russell, Bayfield County, have purchased several acres of land [italics added] at Little Sand Bay, which property has been platted, [italics added] and lots are now being offered for sale at a very low price, considering the size of the lots, which are 50 X 300 ft. and some of them larger. [See Figure 3] A number of these lots have already been sold, a wealthy resident of Minneapolis having purchased four lots, and a request has been made to reserve two lots for a famous Doctor residing in Minnesota. It is understood that the gentleman from Minneapolis expects to put a crew to work getting his lots in shape and that he will erect a handsome cottage on his property as soon as it is possible to get down to the shore to begin at once the work of improving his newly acquired property. Several other persons have requested that lots be reserved for them, and soon there will be quite a little colony there. Seven lots have been reserved for Park, Club House, and Parking purposes. It is intended that these seven lots and the beach

shall be open to the general public, and the South Shore Club extends to everyone an invitation to enjoy the pleasures which this beauty spot affords. Many other projects are planned here.

Surely the residents of the Town of Russell are to be congratulated, (their labor has been given gratis), for their zeal and untiring efforts have made it possible for the Bayfield Peninsula to offer to the Tourist another big attraction.

No one should fail to visit Little Sand Bay, for to do so will be to miss a real treat."²²

The promoters of the hoped-for resort did not rest on their laurels, for within a month they staged a quite elaborate banquet at the shoreside property so that prospective buyers and patrons would not soon forget the glories of Little Sand Bay. Again the Bayfield County Press gave detailed coverage:

Attended by fully one hundred fifty Bayfield business and professional men, several people from Cornucopia and a number from the town of Russell, the big picnic dinner tendered the Bayfield Men's Club by the Town of Russell Club Wednesday evening, went off with a bang!

The dinner was held on the grounds of the Little Sand Bay Club and was served on great tables built especially for the occasion.

The menu comprised a varied assortment of choice eatables, such as fish, fried or broiled, mashed potatoes, cottage cheese, bread and butter, apple pie, ice cream, coffee, and several other extra frills, not to mention the chicken stew, too. And it was all served piping hot off the stoves in the Club House, cooked and prepared in excellent manner by the men folks of the Russell Club, which demonstrated they are s-o-m-e artists when it comes to the culinary proposition.

Following the dinner "smokes" were passed around and the assembled guests enjoyed a song-fest with Music-Master Mertens doing the stick work leading off a four-piece orchestra. And everybody sang (that is, those who hadn't eaten too much) and those were few and far between.

After the song-fest a number of impromptu talks were given on various topics each of the speakers being highly complimentary to the Russell men-folks. Besides Bayfield men who spoke, and those from Russell, several out-of-town fellows gave talks among these latter being F. S. Mc Cabe, industrial agent of the Omaha, [the Chicago, St. Paul, Minneapolis and Omaha Railroad] Mr. Garwood, of the Milwaukee Journal, Chairman Baker, of Cornucopia, and one or two others including Rev. Fr. Clarence, of Red Cliff.

The members of the Town of Russell Club are deserving of a great deal of commendation for the enterprise shown in establishing the Club headquarters at Little Sand Bay. Here they have a club house, numerous out-door tables, benches, etc, and a splendid highway about two miles in length leading down to the beach and the club house from the main highway. This road was built by members of the club who donated their time to the work. They have shown a wonderful spirit of community co-operation, just the kind which is constantly and continually bringing the Russell community to the front.

Every Bayfield fellow present on Wednesday evening enjoyed himself immensely--he just couldn't believe being treated so royally and "fed-all" so completely."²³

No readily apparent bonanza proceeded from this largesse in advertizing, but a sequence of locally sponsored activities continued. The developers of the South Shore Subdivision established a tradition of Fourth of July picnics at Little Sand Bay²⁴ and eventually a private concessionnaire took over the club's facilities in the late 1930's, and expanded upon them.²⁵

But the commercial possibilities of the subdivision were severely limited by the shortness of the summer and the sharpness of the climate. The lots sold slowly and gradually, but only a few buyers constructed cottages or other buildings on them. Even on the warmest days, the waters of Lake Superior were too frigid to allow small boats to venture out very far from the shore, or to encourage swimming for pleasure. The era of American affluence and large privately owned sailboats had not as yet arrived. Private entrepreneurs had to provide the large excursion boats that could enable the public at large to see something of the Apostle Islands from the surface of the lake. Otherwise it was too dangerous, as storms or squalls could arise very quickly to imperil small boats.

The members of the South Shore Club brought the official record keeping on their enterprise up to date at the county courthouse in late 1925. A map of the South Shore Subdivision was registered in the County Plat Book, complete with the surveyor's description of the property and its dimensions. R.W. Smith, the surveyor, identified J.P. O'Malley as the "Trustee for the officers and members of the South Shore Club, owners or the above described property." O'Malley appended a statement beneath Smith's description, admitting the truth of what the latter averred. The document was notarized on 25 November 1925, approved by the Town Board of the Town of Russell on the 30th, and registered with the county Register of Deeds on the 3rd of December. It is interesting to note that one of the town board members, Fred W. Bloom, was also a member of the South Shore Club.²⁶ [See Figure 3]

The registration of this plat in county records brought to light the fact that the South Shore Club had previously transacted much of its business via private conveyances. Now, in the early months of 1926, the membership started to register its transactions in the county record books. The most important of these notifications was a "Declaration Filed for Record" on 15 January 1926, in which the story was told about the circumstances under which Chase Gordon transferred the entire subdivision into the hands of J.P. O'Malley. In this document, O'Malley reveals that when he received the warranty deed from Chase Gordon on

13 June 1923, he was acting as trustee for Joseph J. Drinville, Sebastian Feldmeier, Robert Feldmeier, E.W. Hokenson, Fred Bloom, C.W. Smith and such other persons, members of the South Shore Club, a voluntary organization. O'Malley added further that in the transaction he had no other role than that of legal representative of the members and disavowed his liability for taxes on the land in question.²⁷

More of these corrective deeds appeared in the pages of the Register's books in the weeks that followed. The South Shore Club officers wanted their lot purchasers to have as strong a title to the land as the club could offer. One other such document of the period is germane to this study: on 17 February 1926 the South Shore Club strengthened the original Warranty Deed to Napoleon De Mars to a Quit Claim Deed. The former document was the real monetary exchange, \$200 being the price, while the latter, a pro forma document, involved only one dollar. This transaction is of interest here because the land in question became the eastern half of the Hokenson fishery complex a short time thereafter. The document had the same clarificatory language as the deed that covered the entire South Shore Subdivision, namely, that O'Malley was the trustee for the South Shore Club who really owned the land, and that the membership included the men listed. The deed went on to say that . . . "the purpose of this instrument [is] to correct and confirm a previous conveyance by said J.P. O'Malley to said Napoleon De Mars recorded in Volume 108 of Deeds on page 334 in the records of the Register of Deeds of the County of Bayfield, State of Wisconsin."²⁸

J.P. O'Malley functioned as the trustee or legal representative of the South Shore Club from its inception until his retirement in 1952. Roy S. Smith served as president of the club even longer than O'Malley acted as trustee, since his signature still appeared on club transactions as late as 1957. Over a thirty year span at least three men functioned as secretary to the organization: Arthur Hagen, Fred Bloom and Albin Engbloom. The nucleus club membership of the early days included Joseph J. Drinville, Sebastian Feldmeier, Robert Feldmeier, E.W. Hokenson and C.W. Smith.²⁹ Although Eskel Hokenson was more frequently mentioned in South Shore Club documents, his two brothers, Leo and Roy, were also active members.

The progressiveness of the subdivision developers was expressed in other ways besides the South Shore Club. Members involved themselves in the establishment of an auxiliary branch to the Bayfield County Farmers' Co-operative Association. For a few years these rural dwellers set up their own battery-powered telephone system, the Northern Peninsula Rural Telephone Company of the town of Russell. The system was useful, but often a nuisance, as each station was summoned by a different number of bell rings, so that at times it seemed as if the bell was ringing continuously. When this private company was eventually integrated into the commercial telephone company, Roy Hokenson complained about the transitional interval when customers were charged for the use of their own equipment without noticeable improvement in service. In time, however, the new company provided new equipment and better service. With modernization, too, the telephone users no longer had to fear the summons of Fred Bloom, who often called out stockholders to help repair lines or to add new customers to the system.³⁰

The Russell farmers and their wives were equally active in forming various social organizations. In 1922 their baseball team got newspaper attention not for winning games but for coming close when they were not even expected to compete. Under the headline "Russell Springs Real Surprise," the Bayfield County Press praised the Russell boys when they lost to Washburn 9 to 4. The battery consisted of two of the Hokenson brothers, with Roy behind the plate.³¹ The brothers were married during those years; Leo first in 1921; Eskel next, in 1923; and Roy in 1924. Their wives added equally to the vivacity of country living by joining one of the two active social clubs in Russell township, the Sunnyside Club and the Wednesday Club. Leo Hokenson made a modest incursion into local politics by running once (unsuccessfully) for constable, and serving as one of three supervisors-for-roads of Russell Township in 1932.³²

To return to the South Shore Club, the most important of the Hokenson activities, one must recognize that it was something of an informal group. In the beginning the club members collectively held the

subdivision and paid taxes on the unsold lots through their secretary. Acquisition or use of individual lots among the members was at first through verbal agreements or unregistered deeds. For example, when the Hokenson brothers commenced construction on their dock and buildings on Lot 3 Block 2 in 1927, the Tax Roll of Russell still listed the owner as the South Shore Club.³³ Similarly, club documents were equally casual, referred to the club variously as "a voluntary organization," "a voluntary association," or "a corporation." In 1942, during the settlement of the estate of a deceased member, a court found in settling the will, that the South Shore Club did not have legal status as a true corporation and had no corporate stock; yet some club deeds thereafter continued to call it a corporation.³⁴

The earliest documented acquisition by the Hokenson brothers in the subdivision was for lots one through five in Block 7, a parcel of land in the southeast corner of the subdivision furthest from the lakeshore. But even here, the brothers did not acquire a registered title deed to the lots until 1934. The same statement is true of Lot 3 Block 2, the incipient site of the fishery structures. On these six lots mentioned above, the brothers held only private deeds granted by the South Shore Club. This casual status lasted from 1934 until 1956. In the latter year the club granted the Hokensons Warranty Deeds on the six lots. Curiously, the fee for the five lots in Block 7 was one hundred dollars, while the fee for the more valuable fishery site was only a dollar. The 1956 deeds referred to previous indentures between the South Shore Club and the Hokensons made in 1934 on January 29th and February 10th respectively.³⁵

Since there was such a time lag between the actual Hokenson acquisition of land in the South Shore Subdivision and the official registration of deeds on these parcels, we have to look elsewhere for more timely clues as to the period when the brothers commenced the development of their properties. The Tax Roll Books of the Town of Russell do provide a better notion of the time sequence of the Hokensons' construction progress. The book for 1924 gave the earliest indication of the existence of the South Shore Subdivision and club, a full year before

the plat was recorded with the county. The club treasurer, Arthur Hager, paid the taxes on most of the subdivision for the membership. One of the few listings of individual owners in the tract for that year was Eskel and Roy Hokenson as taxpayers on Lots One through Five in Block 7. They paid sixty-two cents tax. The entries for 1925 jibe with the newspaper articles describing wondrous developments in the subdivision. Arthur Hager paid out a total of \$57.54 in taxes for the subdivision at large. The notation for Government Lot #1 (the eastern 11.24 acres of the subdivision) cites six hundred dollars in improvements there, which reflects the newly completed club house, tables and benches mentioned in the newspaper article. The tax book also lists five hundred and forty dollars of other improvements, which must apply to the road which the members built.³⁶

The Tax Roll Books for the Town of Russell over the span of fifty years, 1926 to 1976, show that the Hokenson brothers never developed the five lots in Block 7; but the assessed value and tax levied on them make some commentary on the inflation rate during the entire ear: Originally the lots were assessed at a value of five dollars each. The final assessment was one hundred dollars each. The tax grew from the original 62 cents for all five lots, to \$50.60 for the same piece of land.³⁷

During the years 1927 to 1931, the big years of the Hokenson construction, the site of the fishery was carried on the tax rolls under the generic responsibility of the South Shore Club, and the taxes were paid by the treasurer. Thus the Hokenson brothers constructed a Fishhouse and Dock (HS-01-138A), and Ice House (HS-01-138B) and a Twine Shed or repair shop (H-01-138F) on land that was not publicly registered in their names. In fact this situation continued until 1933 when the Tax Roll Books first revealed that the Hokenson brothers were the owners of Lot 3 Block 2, the site of the fishery complex. The assessed value of the land was five dollars, and no improvements were listed in the books. The brothers paid 13 cents tax on the lot.³⁸

The inertia of governmental recording continued until 1935 when Lot 3 Block 2 showed an assessment against improvements for the first time. The fishery lot was assessed at twelve dollars value with fifty dollars in improvements. The total tax was \$1.55 or 2½%. The 1935 tax book also heralded the expansion of the fishery land area by revealing the acquisition of the lots immediately to the east of the buildings. This addition enabled the brothers to put in a graded road that gave them a gradual descent by vehicle to the dock. The subdivision, as platted, provided an access street running north and south between the blocks, but the brothers had to assure themselves of legal access from that street westerly across the hundred foot width of the two adjacent lots. The tax book indicated the occurrence of a land transaction by having the names "Hokenson brothers" penned in beside the name of the previous owner, Napoleon De Mars.³⁹

The history of the De Mars family's acquisition of Lots 1 and 2, Block 2 in the South Shore Subdivision is accurately related in the registered deeds of that piece of land. J.P. O'Malley, acting for the club, gave Napoleon De Mars a warranty deed for the parcel on 5 November 1923. The price was two hundred dollars. Once again, to clarify club bookkeeping, another deed, this time a Quit Claim Deed (for \$1) was issued to De Mars by the South Shore Club "to correct and confirm a previous conveyance," on 17 February 1926.⁴⁰ The tax roll book for 1933 hints at the demise of Napoleon De Mars, since the tax payment entry uncharacteristically lists his wife (or widow) as the tax payer.⁴¹ Lots 1 and 2 then passed somehow, probably by inheritance, into the hands of Carl De Mars and Katherine De Mars, his wife, because the next recorded deed treats them as the owners. On 22 June 1934, they gave over a Quit Claim Deed to Marietta De Mars for one dollar and other valuable considerations. Even though the latter continued to hold the deed to these two lots, the Hokenson brothers paid the taxes on them for 1934, 1935 and 1936. Then, on 17 July 1937, the brothers acquired a Warranty Deed on them from Marietta De Mars for the sum of two hundred dollars.⁴²

To round out the fishery property on the west side, the Hokenson brothers added Lot 4 Block 2 in 1939. Again they paid the tax before they obtained a registered deed. On 8 August 1941 they paid one hundred and twenty-five dollars to the South Shore Club for the property.⁴³ This fifty foot wide strip provided some open space along the west wall of the Twine Shed (HS-01-138F) and insured that there would be no dispute over the location of the artesian well that had been drilled in the ground very close to the lot boundary, west of the Ice House (HS-01-138B) and close to the beach.

With the acquisition of Lot 4, the Hokenson brothers had a compact unit of land for their fishery, Lots One through Four, Block 2, that had an access road running east and west on the south side, and an alley running north and south on the east. A 1940 Quit Claim Deed formally gave over to the Town of Russell the responsibility for the care of those roads.⁴⁴ The brothers held these four lots until the land acquisition process initiated by the National Park Service brought the parcel into the Apostles Islands National Lakeshore. The legal proceedings utilizing eminent domain were started on 10 August 1973, and culminated in government acquisition on 8 March 1977. The Hokenson fishery was designated Tract 01-138 in the legal action, and consisted of 1.07 acres. The Hokensons were paid forty-seven thousand dollars for the fishery.⁴⁵

It is interesting to note the government's description of Tract 01-138 at the time of the National Park Service's acquisition:

The subject parcel is an improved lake shore frontage site comprised of four contiguous platted lots that are 1.07 acres in total area. This parcel is rectangular in shape and measures approximately 213.73 ft. along the shore of Lake Superior (north) at Little Sand Bay and runs to a depth of 227 ft. on the east and 225 ft. on the west with east and west lines lying parallel to each other. The south line measures 213.75 feet and lies along the northerly R/W line of a platted 50 ft. wide street that is ditched on both sides and is black topped. . . .

The improvements to the site consist of an "L" shaped wood cribbed and stone filled dock which has a frame shed [HS-01-138A] on part of its dock area, and the following buildings once used for a private commercial fishing operation:

- a. an ice house [HS-01-138B] built into the lake bank.
- b. artesian well located in the beach area by the ice house.
- c. wood steps and landing up the lake bank.
- d. drilled artesian well w/stand pump on top of lake bank.
- e. a frame twine shed [HS-01-138F].
- f. a frame garage & storage building.
- g. black-topped driveway from alleyway on east line, down lake bank to dock area.⁴⁶

Additionally, there is a summary concerning the South Shore Subdivision which reveals the degree of success attained by the developers: "of the total of 103 platted lots in the subject South Shore Subdivision, there are eight permanent year around homes on 19 lots, 5 seasonal cabins on 9 lots, a former commercial fishing operation w/buildings and dock on 4 lots, a store and rental cabins on 4 lots, [once the property of Herman Johnson, Jr.], 3 mobile homes on 6 lots and the remainder 61 lots are unimproved."⁴⁷ It should be mentioned that 16 of the lots, owned by the Town of Russell, had been open to the public and provided considerable picnic space for tourists. Five of these 16 lots had lakeshore frontage.

It is worth noting that the government descriptions of the individual Hokenson buildings states that they were constructed in 1935. This is at variance with Eskel and Roy Hokenson's statements that they commenced construction in 1927, and completed them about 1931. The government summary merely reflects the tax records which first noted improvements on the property for 1935. Similarly, this resume states that the site functioned as a private commercial fishing operation until 1966; whereas commercial lake trout fishing was closed in Michigan and Wisconsin waters in mid-1962, except for fishing-by-permit to obtain the number of fish needed for biological and statistical data used for the sea

lamprey control program. The other major variety of fish that the Hokensons pursued, the whitefish, was even scarcer than the lake trout in those years and recovered even more slowly. The revival of a viable private commercial fishery came after 1966.⁴⁸

Considering the forty year history of the Hokenson buildings, it is interesting to note how the assessed value on the fishery site, Lot 3 Block 2, reflects, in microcosm, the national inflation rate over the same forty year span. The first tax evaluation by lots, in 1933, assessed the lot alone at a five dollar value; while the final assessment (1976) rated the lot at a six hundred dollar value, a hundred-twenty fold increase, or, expressed another way, a twelve thousand percent increase. The value of the improvements on the lot did not accelerate at an equally frightening rate. As has been mentioned, the first assessment on improvements was in 1935 when the buildings were valued at fifty dollars. This figure doubled in 1944; but doubled again in 1948. Such a two hundred dollar assessed-value for the improvements held steady for the next eighteen years, but went up to two hundred and seventy-five dollars in 1967. Then followed five years of relative stability. But then the improvement assessment doubled again in 1974. The first figure differed from the last by a ratio of one to thirteen (fifty dollars to six hundred and fifty dollars), or by thirteen hundred percent.

Looking at the same assessment figures in terms of the annual tax rate, we find that the tax crept up slowly for the most part from 2.6% in 1933 to six percent in 1967. The sudden jump to a ten percent rate in 1968 takes on judgmental overtones, when one considers that these elderly retired fishermen were hit from one year to the next with a sixty-seven percent increase in the tax rate. This took place after the property had been removed from productivity due to the destruction caused by the sea-lamprey. In addition, the trio of brothers had been reduced to two in 1957 by the untimely death of their beloved brother Leo. The survivors, Roy and Eskel, had to cope with this tax burden when the former was sixty-two and the latter was seventy, in 1962. It would seem that the brothers (and their fishery), which had been so productive for so long, should have been given tax relief when the failure of the fishery and their retirement took place.

Expressed in dollars and cents, the tax on Lot 3 Block 2 started at thirteen cents in 1933; reached the five dollar level by 1947; more than doubled the following year to \$13.50; and slowly climbed to the twenty dollar level by 1966. Then, several years after the brothers' retirement, the tax jumped abruptly to \$28.69 in 1967, more steeply still to \$49.55 in 1968. Continued on upward to \$73.06 in 1975; and made one final leap to \$101.50 during the last year that they owned the fishery (1976). Thus the dollar amount of the county taxes increased seventy-eight hundred percent during the years that they held Lot 3 Block 2, a microcosmic explanation for the mood of taxpayer revolt that arose in the land during the late 1970's.⁴⁹

C. Other Hokenson Property in the South Shore Subdivision

As had been mentioned above in connection with the establishment of the South Shore Subdivision, the Hokensons first registered acquisition in that area had been Lots 1 through 5 in Block 7. But beyond these, the most important acquisition in the subdivision after the fishery, was the site acquired by Roy and Irene Hokenson for their homestead, on Lots 15, 16 and 17, Block 1. On 15 September 1938 the couple acquired the western half of Lot 15 and all of Lots 16 and 17 of Block 1 for the sum of one dollar. They bought this piece of land from Elsie Buechner, a widow, whose residence was in Ramsey County, Minnesota. On 26 March 1962 Roy and Irene Hokenson added the other half of Lot 15 to the parcel in a purchase from Herman Johnson, Jr. The entire piece of land was sold to the U.S. Government as Tract 01-137 under eminent domain proceedings begun in 1973, and completed on 4 March 1977.⁵⁰

Previous to this lakeshore acquisition, Roy and Irene Hokenson had had a cottage on the old Peter Hokanson homestead about two and a half miles from the lakeshore to the southeast, which they had moved into during the summer of 1928. But in 1940, with the able help of Eskel and Leo, Roy completed the construction of a more permanent type residence on the South Shore land, thus providing a greater feeling of security for the fishery, by having someone living in the immediate vicinity of the dock, ice house, and twine shed. When the Roy and Irene Hokenson

residence and property was relinquished to the government in 1977, the couple received forty-six thousand dollars in compensation, plus a lifetime lease to spend their remaining years at their well-loved home.⁵¹

Two other single lots in the South Shore Subdivision were acquired by Hokensons over the years. Lot 1, Block 4 was purchased by Leo in 1927 and passed on by inheritance to his widow, Jeannette, and later to his son, Robert. Robert acquired Lot 1, Block 4 in 1946. No improvements were ever made on these two lots and they were acquired by the National Park Service with the establishment of the Apostle Islands National Lakeshore.⁵²

D. The Peter Hokanson Homestead and Other Hokenson Land in Russell Township

Peter Hokanson [sic],⁵³ father of the three fishery brothers, died intestate on 26 February 1910 and left his widow, three sons and one daughter in possession of a quarter section of dairy farmland.⁵⁴

Peter Hokanson had been born on the 5th of May 1836 in Sweden. The earliest tax books for the Town of Bayfield, about 1880, show him to have been a property owner of a number of lots around town. He was well up in years when he married Amanda Peterson in Ashland, Wisconsin on 17 August 1891. Various county records up to the turn-of-the-century indicate that he was a carpenter, but his sons Roy and Eskel state that he was also an innkeeper for a time.⁵⁵

During his sixty-fifth year, Peter Hokanson applied for entry rights under the Homestead Act of 1862 for a quarter section of land in the southeast quadrant of Section 4, Township 51 north, Range 4 west, in Russell Township only a half mile below the Red Cliff Indian Reservation Boundary. He fulfilled the requirements of a homesteader by clearing the requisite amount of land and establishing a residence, and received his patent on 30 August 1904.⁵⁶ This land was passed on to his widow, sons and daughter at his demise in 1910. Since Amanda Hokanson remarried the following year, and her second husband went into business in Bayfield, the mother, together with the daughter who had

married, renounced their shares in the quarter section on 11 August 1924.⁵⁷

The site of the Peter Hokanson homestead is about three miles southeast of the fishery site on Little Sand Bay. For a few years the stepfather of the Hokenson brothers, Christian Melde, helped with the management of the farming homestead. As late as the spring of 1915 he paid the county land taxes on the quarter section. The following year, 1916, his stepson, Eskel Hokenson, took a firm grip on the farm and started paying the taxes. Apparently by then "Chris" Melde had established himself as a grocer in the town of Bayfield. Two years later Roy and Eskel Hokenson went off to war and the army, while their brother Leo kept the farm going. The tax rolls corroborate Leo's stint as agent for the triumvirate. After the war Eskel resumed the leadership of the brothers as an economic unit.⁵⁸

Soon after the war, in 1921, the Hokenson brothers made the first incremental addition to their farmland with the purchase of eighty acres in the southern half of the southwest quarter of Section 33, Township 52 north, Range 4 west. This piece of land was only about a half mile northwest of the Peter Hokanson homestead and only about a mile southeast of the fishery site. The tax records show that this parcel was never improved upon over a fifty year span; that ownership still remains in the Hokenson family; that the appraised value of the land is about the same now as in 1923, but the taxes have increased about fourfold. The eastern forty acres is now owned by Leo's son, Robert; and the western part by Eskel's son, Gary.⁵⁹

The next purchase of additional farmland came about 1928 when Roy and Irene Hokenson bought eighty acres just west of the original Hokanson homestead in the southern half of the southwest quarter of Section 4, Township 51 north, Range 4 west. Tax records indicate that no improvements were made on this land during the time Roy and Irene owned it; and that the western half was sold to LeRoy Olson about 1943, and the eastern half to Charles W. Groom in 1964.⁶⁰

Bayfield County tax records indicate further that the brothers acquired more land in Section 33, Township 52 north, Range 4 west, in 1932. Thus they had, altogether, eighty acres in the eastern half of the northwest quadrant of the section, and eighty acres in the southern half of the southwest quarter-section. Because of the proximity of these 160 acres to the fishery site, they were the source of the timber used to construct the Dock and Fishhouse (HS-01-138A), the Ice House (HS-01-138B), the Twine Shed (HS-01-138F), the Roy and Irene Hokenson residence and garage, as well as the poles used for pound nets. At least half of this land was acquired at public auction during the 1930's when the previous owners failed to pay their real estate taxes. At present, the parcel to the northeast is held by Roy and Irene Hokenson. The other eighty acres, as has been stated supra, are held by Robert and Gary Hokenson.⁶¹

One final piece of farmland in Russell Township was held and administered by the Hokenson brothers from 1958 to 1965, at least as reflected in the county tax records. Probably they acquired these forty acres as part of their deceased mother's estate. Apparently when Christian Melde died in 1939, Amanda (Hokanson) Melde wanted to live close to members of her family, and so acquired and moved to the forty acre plot on the east side of her first husband's old country homestead on County Road K. It was not until four years after her death in 1954, at age eighty-five, that the Tax Roll Book for the Town of Russell showed that the Hokenson Brothers were paying the taxes and owned the land. In 1965 John E. Hunt bought the forty acres from the brothers.⁶²

FOOTNOTES

1. Matti Kaups, "North Shore Commercial Fishing, 1849-1870," Minnesota History, 46 (Summer 1978): p. 43-58. Kaups said in the article and in a personal conversation with this writer on 9 January 1979, that even though a commercial fishery continued to exist after the failure of the American Fur Company endeavor in the 1830's and early 1840's, the fishing enterprise only blossomed after the arrival of the Lake Superior and Mississippi Railroad at Duluth in 1870. Thus, for a time, the Apostle Island fishermen had to market large volumes of their fish via Duluth until the Wisconsin Central Railroad arrived at Ashland in 1877.
2. James W. Milner's "Report on the Fisheries of the Great Lakes; the Result of Inquiries Prosecuted in 1871 and 1872," in U. S., Congress, Senate, Report of the Commissioner of Fish and Fisheries for 1872 and 1873, S. Doc. 74, 42nd Cong., 3rd sess., 1874, appendix A, p. 14 and 15.
3. Article in the Bayfield Progress of 16 February 1911. This article is particularly valuable in that it recites much of the history of the Salmo Hatchery near Bayfield, and cites a considerable number of the hatchery's statistical achievements up to 1910.
4. Charles J. Kappler, compiler and editor, Indian Treaties, 1778-2883 (New York: Interland Publishing Inc., 1972; reprint edition of 1904 GPO edition), p. 648-52, "Treaty With the Chippewa, 1854;" hereafter cited as Kappler, Indian Treaties.
5. The Red Cliff Reservation boundary lines, as utilized for more than a hundred years, are reflected in Kappler's summary: at the top of p. 936, Volume I of Charles J. Kappler, compiler and editor, Indian Affairs; Laws and Treaties, rev. ed. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1904), also known as Senate Document 319, 58th Cong., 2nd sess.
6. For Kappler's summary of the administrative arrangements with the La Pointe Band of Chippewas, see ibid, p. 933-6.
- 6A. Richard B. Morris, ed., Encyclopedia of American History (New York: Harper & Row, 1965), p. 464.
7. See for example Bayfield County Deed Book #96, p. 11, Bayfield County Courthouse, Washburn, Wisconsin, a United States Patent filed for record. The above document, dated 8 May 1897, is one of many U.S. Patents copied into the Bayfield County Register of Deeds records. This particular instance represents a land grant from the United States of America to Angelique Soulier (a Chippewa Indian), and cites both the Secretary of the Interior's list of grants to Chippewa Indians as well as the presidential authorization for limitations on the same. It is a copy of a record held by the General Land Office and registered in "Chippewas of Lake Superior

and the Mississippi, Treaty of September 30, 1854," Volume 5, p. 389.

8. See Kappler, Indian Affairs, (1904), Volume I, p. 713.
9. See footnote 7 supra.
10. See footnote 7 supra.
11. Certificate of competency to Angelique Soulier, Miscellaneous Records Bayfield County, Volume 87, page 298, Bayfield County Courthouse, Register of Deeds Office, Washburn Wisconsin. Her certificate is dated 1919.
12. Bayfield County Deed Book, Volume 79 p. 234, Bayfield County Courthouse, Register of Deeds Office, Washburn, Wisconsin.
13. See the Bayfield Progress of 16 December 1912 regarding leases. The Bayfield County Press of 26 September 1913 has a long list of Indian owners offering tracts for sale, Angelique Soulier among them. The ad was repeated, with but few changes of names of sellers, in the issue of 28 March 1914. But when the ad was again repeated in the issue of 21 May 1915, the parcel of Angelique Soulier accurately reflected her alienation of the western portion of Government Lots 1 and 2.
14. Bayfield County Deed Book 108, p. 204, Bayfield County Courthouse, Register of Deeds Office, Washburn, Wisconsin.
15. Bayfield County Press, 26 May 1922.
16. Interview of Roy and Irene Hokenson by David Fritz, 16 October 1978; and interview of Eskel and Florence Hokenson, by David Fritz, 16 January 1979.
17. Bayfield County Deed Book 108, p. 334, Bayfield County Courthouse, Register of Deeds Office, Washburn, Wisconsin.
18. Bayfield County Deed Book 109, p. 144, Bayfield County Courthouse, Register of Deeds Office, Washburn, Wisconsin.
19. Bayfield County Press, 12 January 1923.
20. The ambitious plans of Miller and Reiten for the Friant where chronicled in the Bayfield County Press of 27 April 1923. Later issues, of 4 and 11 January 1924, recited the unhappy tale of the Friant's sinking. The story of the Friant was revived again in the pages of the Bayfield County Press thirty years after the sinking, when a local historian, Eleanor Knight, expanded upon some of the major stories and themes of the Bayfield area. Through the mid 1950's she contributed weekly articles on a variety of subjects. She used the issues of 7, 14, and 21 January 1954 to retell the tale of the Friant. Halvor Reiten, one of the survivors, was called upon again in 1976 to recount the incident for the oral history project of

the Northeast Minnesota Historical Center. His narrative is on tape, Catalog No. 52212, Accession No. 2203 at the University of Minnesota at Duluth, Northeastern Minnesota Historical Center.

On the tape and in personal interviews, Reiten shows himself to be a masterful story teller. He is bright and alert into his late eighties.

21. See footnote 14 supra.
22. Bayfield County Press, 11 May 1923. Somewhat unusually, the article provides the name of the author, M.A. Sutton. The caption reads: "AN ATTRACTIVE PLACE FOR THE TOURISTS: M.A. Sutton Tells What Is Being Done at Little Sand Bay in the Town of Russell."
23. Bayfield County Press, 15 June 1923, again on the front page. The caption reads: "Russell Club Banquets Locals; Enterprising Organization Royally Welcomed Local Business Men To It's Club House Last Wednesday Evening; Big Outdoor Dinner Was Served To One Hundred Fifty Guests; Co-operative Spirit Pushing Town To The Front."
24. See for example the Bayfield County Press for 2 July 1925 and 12 July 1928. The former issue announced a picnic complete with "boat races, running races, tug-'o-war, base ball, and many other athletic numbers, and a big dance in the evening." The latter article reported the results of a completed celebration, in which a baseball game between married and single men was won by the former: "of course, the married men won; they always do. Many stayed for supper, while those having cows to milk went home to do the chores and returned for the dance in the evening."
25. Interview of Herman Johnson by David Fritz, of 14 July 1978. Johnson came from a fishing family that originally lived on Sand Island. With the development of the South Shore Subdivision, he acquired several lots on Little Sand Bay to the east of the Hokenson fishery. He then went into fishing in a big way, both pound-nets and gill-nets. At the height of his operation he had three forty-foot fishing boats and serviced seventeen pound-nets. Gradually he branched out into wider endeavors, and made his docking area into a sort of resort which provided hook-ups for recreational vehicles, docking for boats, fuel for boats and vehicles, rental of small boats with or without outboard motors, and sold ice cream, drinks, and cleaned fish for the tourists. Further, he sponsored ball games, picnics, or any other activity that would attract tourists to the area.
26. Bayfield County Plat Book #1, p. 29½, Bayfield County Courthouse, Washburn, Wisconsin.
27. Bayfield County Miscellaneous Records, Volume III, p. 136. The Warrant Deed Transfer between Chase Gordon and J.P. O'Malley of 13 June 1923 is in Bayfield County Deed Book 108, p. 204, Bayfield County Courthouse, Register of Deeds Office, Washburn, Wisconsin.

28. Bayfield County Quit Claim Deeds, Volume 113, p. 72, dated 17 February 1926, Bayfield County Courthouse, Register of Deeds Office, Washburn, Wisconsin. The older Warranty deed referred to was dated 5 November 1923.
29. O'Malley was succeeded by Lawrence K. Blanchard on 12 May 1952, as is shown in Bayfield County Miscellaneous Record Book 161, p. 38, Register of Deeds Office, Washburn, Wisconsin. The Tax Roll Books in the Bayfield County Treasurer's Office reveal the names of the various secretaries of the South Shore Club through the 1920's, 1930's, 1940's and 1950's. A sample listing of the membership occurs in Bayfield County Deed Book 137, p. 251, Bayfield County Courthouse, Register of Deeds Office, Washburn, Wisconsin.
30. Bayfield County Press for 19 November 1925 told of the farmers' auxiliary CO-OP. The issue for 15 April 1927 told of the expansion of the private telephone company. Roy Hokenson reminisced about the original party line in his interview with David Fritz of 10 July 1978.
31. Bayfield County Press, 4 August 1922.
32. Items on the Sunnyside Club or Wednesday Club were frequent in the pages of the Bayfield County Press, as for example the issue of 26 November 1925. Leo Hokenson's loss in an election was mentioned in the issue of 9 April 1925; and his term as road supervisor in the issue of 24 March 1932.
33. Tax Roll Book for the Town of Russell, 1927, Bayfield County Treasurer's Office, Washburn, Wisconsin, p. 22.
34. Bayfield County Miscellaneous Documents, Volume 137, p. 493-5, #142986, Copy of the Will of Martin Halvorson et al Filed for Record on 22 January 1942, Bayfield County Courthouse, Register of Deeds Office, Washburn, Wisconsin. Halvorson died on 30 April 1933.
35. The Warranty Deeds for the five lots in Block 7 and the fishery site on Lot 3 Block 2 were first recorded with the county on 3 February 1956, in Bayfield County Deed Book 167, p. 169 and 170, Bayfield County Register of Deeds Office, Washburn, Wisconsin.
36. Tax Roll Book for the Town of Russell, 1924, p. 30-2. Tax Roll Book for the Town of Russell, 1925, p. 21 and 31, Bayfield County Treasurer's Office, Washburn, Wisconsin.
37. Tax Roll Books for the Town of Russell, 1924 to 1976, Bayfield County Treasurer's Office, Washburn, Wisconsin.
38. Tax Roll Book for the town of Russell, 1927-1933, Bayfield County Treasurer's Office, Washburn, Wisconsin. The relevant entries for 1933 are on p. 35.
39. Tax Roll Book for the Town of Russell, 1935, p. 26, Bayfield County Treasurer's Office, Washburn, Wisconsin.

40. Bayfield County Deed Book 108, p. 334; and Deed Book 113, p. 72; Bayfield County Register of Deeds Office, Washburn, Wisconsin.
41. Tax Roll Book for the Town of Russell, 1933, p. 35, Bayfield County Treasurer's Office, Washburn, Wisconsin.
42. Bayfield County Deed Book 123, p. 637, for the transfer of Lots 1 and 2, Block 2 from Carl and Katherine De Mars to Marietta De Mars; Register of Deeds Office. Tax Roll Books for the Town of Russell, 1934, 1935, and 1936; p. 28, 26, and 29 respectively; Treasurer's Office. The acquisition of the two lots by the Hokensons is registered in Bayfield County Deed Book 162, p. 263, Register of Deeds Office, Bayfield County Courthouse, Washburn, Wisconsin.
43. Bayfield County Deed Book 160, p. 316, Bayfield County Register of Deeds Office, Washburn, Wisconsin.
44. Bayfield County Deed Book 130, p. 295, Bayfield County Courthouse, Register of Deeds Office, Washburn, Wisconsin.
45. Bayfield County Lis Pendens Book 6 [Pending Suits] p. 239; Bayfield County Miscellaneous Documents Volume 301, p. 451, "Judgment in the U.S. District Court for the Western District of Wisconsin, Bayfield County Register of Deeds Office, Washburn, Wisconsin.
46. Land Acquisition Folder for Tract 01-138, Apostle Islands National Lakeshore Headquarters, Little Sand Bay, Wisconsin. It should be noted that the Park records will doubtlessly be moved when the headquarters is relocated in the old county courthouse, Bayfield, Wisconsin.
47. Ibid., p. 14.
48. Bernard R. Smith, J. James Tibbles, and B.G.H. Johnson, Control of the Sea Lamprey (Petromyzon Marinus) in Lake Superior, 1953-70 (Ann Arbor: Great Lakes Fishery Commission, 1974), p. 54.
49. Tax Roll Book for the Town of Russell, 1924 to 1977, Bayfield County Treasurer's Office, Washburn, Wisconsin. The page numbers on which the South Shore Subdivision tax records were entered varied only slightly over the years, since all properties were listed in a fixed sequence. From 1924 to 1948, Lot 3 Block 2 of the South Shore Subdivision was found between p. 20 and 33. A new type ledger was inaugurated in 1949, pushing that property back to p. 85 to 93 from 1949 to 1976.
50. Bayfield County Deed Book 128, p. 598; and Deed Book 183, p. 102; both in Bayfield County Register of Deeds Office, Washburn, Wisconsin.

51. The Bayfield County Press of 19 July 1928 tells of their moving into a new cottage. The Land Acquisition File for Tract 01-137, p. 15, tells of the 1940 construction of the Roy and Irene Hokenson residence. The same file, p. 5, tells of the Amended Judgment on the tract, reducing the payment from \$50,000 to 46,000. Page 18 of this file, dated 14 November 1977, indicates that Roy and Irene Hokenson had been granted a lifetime lease in their home at Little Sand Bay.
52. See Tax Roll Book for the Town of Russell 1927, p. 30; and for 1946, p. 34, Bayfield County Treasurer's Office, Washburn, Wisconsin. The National Park Service Land Acquisition Plat, Segment 01, identifies the last owners of the various lots in the South Shore Subdivision, before their inclusion in the Apostle Islands National Lakeshore.
53. The marriage record of the father of the Hokenson brothers indicates that he spelled his surname Hokanson, in that he was the son of Hokaan Larson. Thus he followed the Swedish system in writing his name; as did his wife, who was Amanda Swenson, being the daughter of Swen Peterson. In the latter case, the American record keepers of Bayfield County sometimes listed her as Amanda Swenson, sometimes as Amanda Peterson. She made a concerted effort, according to her son Eskel, to stabilize the family name with an "e" spelling, as Hokenson. Birth and death records in both the Bayfield and Ashland County courthouses give ample testimony to the difficulty clerks had with Swedish names. There are at least a dozen different spellings of Hokenson in those books.
54. Bayfield County Death Certificates, Volume 4, p. 34. Bayfield County Deeds, Volume 109, p. 57, has a document, dated 11 August 1924, in which the mother, then Amanda J. Melde, and sister, Florence J. Johnson, renounced their shares to the Peter Hokanson Homestead. Another document, in Bayfield County Miscellaneous Records, Volume 91, p. 130, also dated 11 August 1924, is titled a "Certificate of Descent," and states the date and fact of Peter Hokanson's death without a will. Based on the testimony of his widow, Judge H.P. Axelberg certified that she, the three sons, and one daughter, were the remaining legal heirs of his homestead quarter section. All of these records are at the Bayfield County Courthouse, Register of Deeds Office, Washburn, Wisconsin.
55. The date of Peter Hokanson's birth is from Bayfield County Death Certificates, Volume 4, p. 34, Bayfield County Register of Deeds Office, Washburn, Wisconsin. The Tax Roll Books for the Town of Bayfield indicated from the first volume (1880) onwards that Peter Hokanson held quite a few pieces of land in the town. From then until his death in 1910, he held various lots at different times, including the following: Lot 20, Block 63, Lot 3 Block 72, Lot 12 Block 90; Lots 1, 2, 3 of Block 91; Lot 1 of Block 92; and Lots 6 & 7 of Block 107. These records fill in a little information about Peter Hokanson: that one of his business partners was Nils Larson, who apparently was joint-owner of some of the properties; that Lots 1, 2, and 3 of Block 91 were later acquired by Amanda Hokenson's second

husband, Christian H. Melde, and were probably the site of his grocery business; and that at least one parcel of these lands was lost to the Hokenson family due to non-payment of taxes after Peter Hokanson's death.

56. Bayfield County Receivers Receipts, Volume 28, p. 99, dated 16 July 1902, Register of Deeds Office, Washburn, Wisconsin, has a copy of Peter Hokanson's final receipt for a balance of eight dollars, giving him entry rights on the quarter section. His initial payment had been made on 3 September 1901. The elder Hokanson completed some of his land clearing responsibility by selling a Timber Deed to the Red Cliff Lumber Company of Douglas County, Wisconsin at about the same time. For \$1050 he gave the lumber people the right to cut timber for seven years on his land. The deed also authorized the company to make any roads they desired on the land. The Timber Deed is registered in Bayfield County Deeds, Volume 44, p. 430. Hokanson's United States Homestead Patent is registered in Bayfield County U.S. Patents, Volume 37, p. 263, Register of Deeds Office, Washburn, Wisconsin.
57. Bayfield County Deeds, Volume 109, p. 57, Register of Deeds Office, Washburn, Wisconsin. It is interesting to note that the Tax Roll books for the Town of Bayfield for 1910 and 1911 gave a glimpse of the Hokenson personal property for those years. For 1910 Eskel Hokenson paid \$3.45 tax on two horses valued at \$200, four cows valued at \$85, and other personal property valued at \$60. The following year, the livestock enumeration declined by three cows, and the tax was paid by Christian Melde. These animals must have continued to be kept in town, since the 1913 book lists three horses and a cow; the taxpayer being Mrs. Christian Melde. The location of these entries: Tax Roll for the Town of Bayfield, 1910, p. 468; for 1911, p. 234; and for 1913, p. 163; Bayfield County Treasurer's Office, Washburn, Wisconsin. The record of Amanda Hokenson's marriage to Christian H. Melde on 19 January 1911 is in Volume 3, p. 171, of Marriages, Bayfield County Register of Deeds, Washburn, Wisconsin.
58. Tax Roll for the Town of Russell, 1914, p. 1; for 1915, p. 1; for 1917, p. 2; and for 1918, p. 2; all in Bayfield County Treasurer's Office, Washburn, Wisconsin. It should be noted that the payment dates, as cited in the text, were always during the spring following the year date of the roll book.
59. Since these parcels of land are of peripheral interest to this study, the writer did not seek to find the registered deeds for every parcel, but only noted the tax data on them, since this information was more concentrated in fewer volumes. On this piece of land, there was an accidental discovery of a mortgage using this land as security for a \$600 loan from the First National Bank of Bayfield in 1921. This record is in Bayfield County Mortgages, Volume 57, p. 308. Satisfaction of the mortgage is in Volume 62, p. 394, Bayfield County Register of Deeds Office, Washburn, Wisconsin. Once again the tax rolls lagged behind the actual purchase dates, as the Hokensons first paid the taxes in 1924. The entries on their tax

payments can be traced in the annual volumes from 1923 to 1977, Tax Roll Books of the Town of Russell; usually between p. 20 to 24 until 1948; between p. 59 and 65 thereafter; Bayfield County Treasurer's Office, Washburn, Wisconsin.

60. Tax Roll Book for the Town of Russell, p. 2 from 1927 through 1948, p. 5 from 1949 through 1965, Bayfield County Treasurer's Office, Washburn, Wisconsin. Apparently from 1937 to 1943 LeRoy Olson leased or rented the western half of this acreage from Roy and Irene Hokenson, since for four out of the six years he paid the taxes on that portion.
61. Footnote 59 supra and the portion of text to which it refers, delineate the Hokenson ownership history of the southern half of the southwest quadrant of Section 33, Township 52 north, Range 4 west, acquired in 1921. The newer acquisition, in 1932, is covered in two tax deeds from Bayfield County Tax Deeds, Volume 9, p. 20 and 24, Register of Deeds Office, Washburn, Wisconsin. These deeds, together, tell of the Hokenson acquisition of the eastern half of the northwest quadrant of section 33, Township 52 north, Range 4 west. Each of the two parcels were acquired at public auction on 16 August 1932 for the price of the unpaid taxes thereon, which amounted to \$7.42 for each forty acre parcel. The deeds were executed on 31 October and 12 November 1935 respectively.
62. Tax Roll Books for the Town of Russell, 1958 to 1965, p. 4 for each year, Bayfield County Treasurer's Office, Washburn, Wisconsin. The record of Christian Melde's demise is found in Deaths, Volume 22, p. 527, Ashland County Register of Deeds Office, Ashland, Wisconsin. Melde had been born in Tromsø, Norway on 17 May 1879. He was 60 years of age at the time of his death and the death certificate listed his occupation as a grocery store owner. The record of Amanda (Hokanson) Melde's death is from Deaths, Volume 13, p. 5434, Bayfield County Register of Deeds Office, Washburn, Wisconsin.

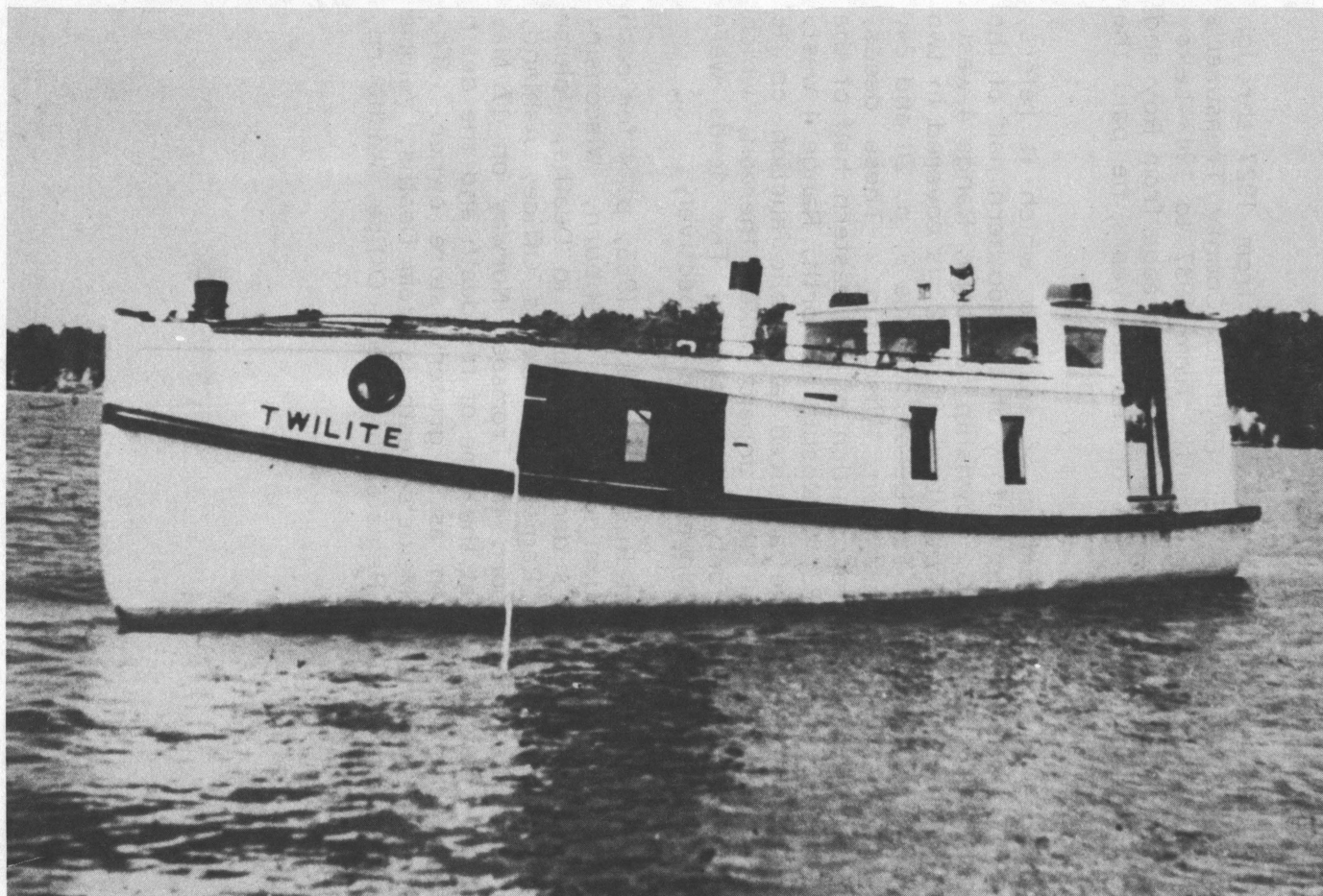


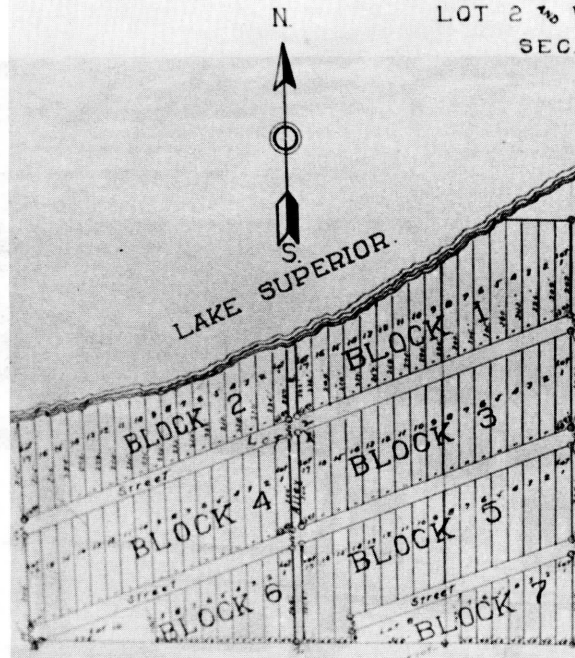
Figure 1: The Twilite [HS-01-138G] around 1940. From the Roy and Irene Hokenson collection.



Figure 2: The Twilite [HS-01-138G] around 1945. From the Roy and Irene Hokenson collection.

SOUTH SHORE SUBDIVISION.

LOT 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ W. 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ ACRES OF LOT 1.
SEC. 32 - TWP. 52 - R. 4 W.



I hereby certify

1. That the South Shore Subdivision as surveyed, plotted and herein mapped by me, comprises, as of LOT 2 and the least 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ acres of LOT 3 of SECTION 32 - TWP. 52 - N. - RANGE 4 WEST, that I have caused to be plotted and square under Section 11 of all Block Corners and at all other corners corner marked with a 0 in the corner map.

2. That all lots contained herein are 60 feet wide east and west.

3. That said survey and map were made by me by order of J. P. O'Malley, Trustee for the officers and members of the South Shore Club, signor of the above described property.

4. That the herein map is a correct representation of all the exterior boundaries of the land surveyed and the divisions herein made.

5. That I have fully complied with the provisions of the Statutes of the State of Wisconsin in surveying and mapping the same.

P. W. Smith, Surveyor

I, J. P. O'Malley, Trustee for the officers and members of the South Shore Club, corner of the land herein plotted and subdivided do hereby certify that we have caused the herein described land to be surveyed, mapped and plotted by P. W. Smith, Surveyor as represented in the within map.

Witness my hand and seal
In the presence of J. P. O'Malley, Trustee
State of Wisconsin
County of Bayfield

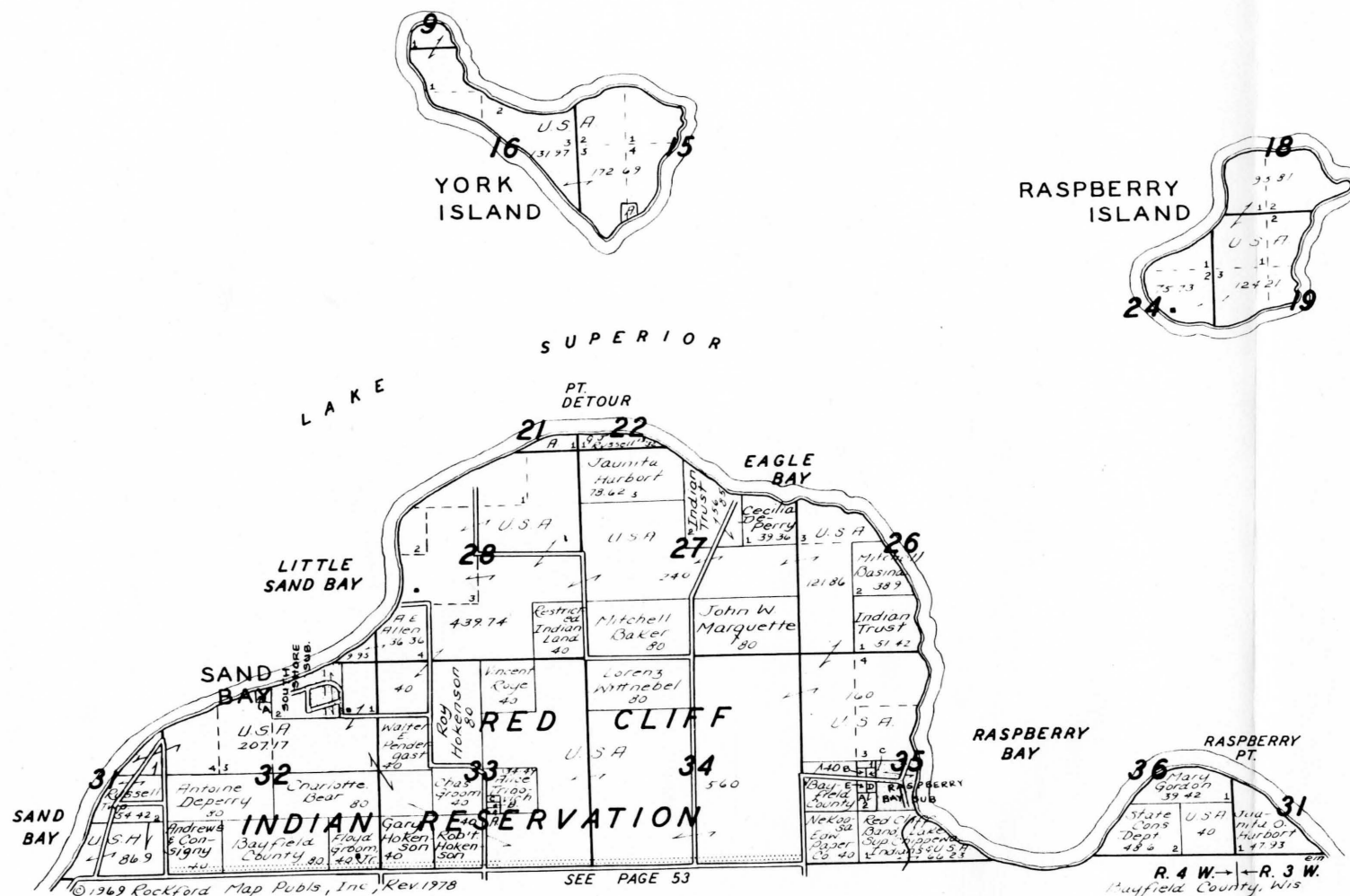
Done and Subscribed to before me
this 22nd day of November, 1925

Notary Public

FILE PLATON SUBDIVISION REGISTERED BY THE
TOWN CLERK OF THE TOWN OF BAYFIELD, BAYFIELD
COUNTY, WISCONSIN, NOVEMBER 24, 1925
November 1925
Bayfield, Wis.
Paul J. O'Malley

My commission expires
NOTARY PUBLIC
STATE OF WISCONSIN
OFFICE IN BAYFIELD, WIS.
Bayfield County, Wis.
Commenced for Service JULY 3, 1925
J. P. O'Malley
NOTARY PUBLIC

Figure 3: The South Shore Subdivision as platted and registered on December 3, 1925 on page 29 $\frac{1}{2}$ of the Bayfield County Plat Book #1, Bayfield County Courthouse, Washburn, Wisconsin.



SMALL TRACTS
NORTH PART RUSSELL
T. 52 N. - R. 3-4 W.

SEC. 15
A - Russell Twp.

SEC. 21
A - Cecilia DePerry - 8.35

SEC. 32
A - USA & Bev. Jensch, et al

SEC. 33
A - Clem. Hansen - 2
B - Thos. Hansen - 2
C - Margurite Hanson - 2

SEC. 35
A - Russell Twp.
B - John Resac
C - John Hunt
D - Anna Ladd
E - Billy G. Farmer

Figure 4: Location of the South Shore Subdivision in Russell Township; Section 32, Township 52 North, Range 4 west. Illustration from Plat Book with Index to Owners; Bayfield County Wisconsin, 1978 Rockford, Illinois: Rockford Map Publishers, Inc., (1979), Page 55; hereafter cited as Bayfield County Plat Book.

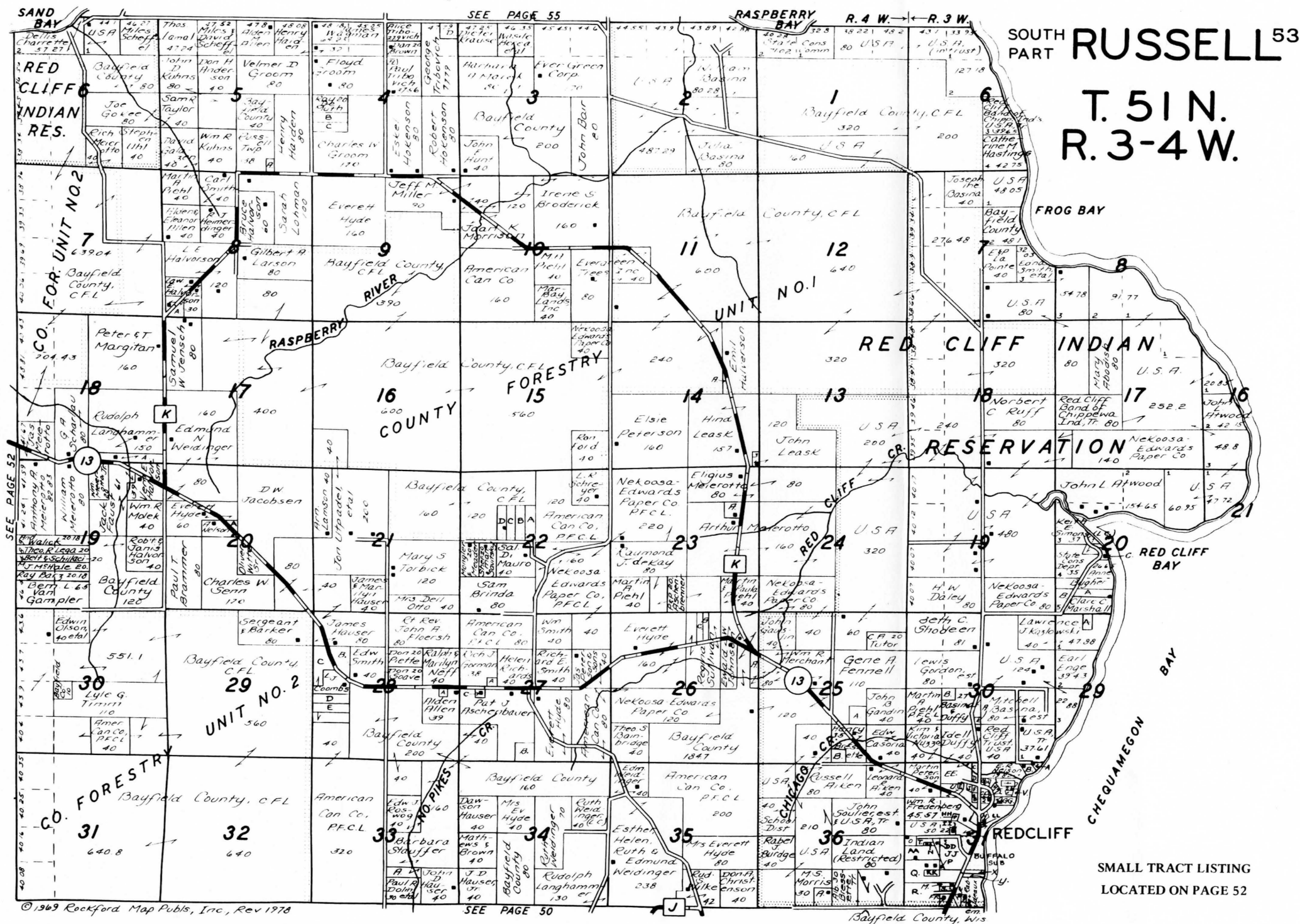


Figure 5: The original Peter Hokanson Homestead now owned by Eskel & Robert Hokenson, is located in Section 4, Township 51 north (Russell) Range 4 west. Note how County Road Loop K comes out from State Highway 13 and rejoins it. Derived from Bayfield County Plat Book, page 53.



Figure 6: Fish House and Dock (HS-01-138A) sometime between 1937 and 1940. The presence of the Twilite [HS-01-138G] establishes the date as 1937 or later. Also, only the first third of the fish house was complete during this period. From the Roy and Irene Hokenson collection.



Figure 7: Fish House and Dock (HS-01-138A) sometime between 1937 and 1940. From the Roy and Irene Hokenson collection.



Figure 8: Leo Hokenson on the dock. The long stretch of empty dock indicates that only one-third of the Fish House was complete at this time. The presence of the Twilite [HS-01-138G] dates the photo between 1937 and 1940. From the Eskel and Florence Hokenson collection.



Figure 9: Ice House (HS-01-138B) at left, Fish House and Dock (HS-01-138A) at right, about 1940. The photo is derived from the January 1941 issue of the Wisconsin Department of Agriculture Bulletin #220.



Figure 10: High tide at Little Sand Bay, 1939. Photo from Eskel and Florence Hokenson collection.



Figure 11: Eva Sykes, passenger for a day, on Dock (HS-01-138A), c. 1940. Photo from Eskel and Florence Hokenson collection.

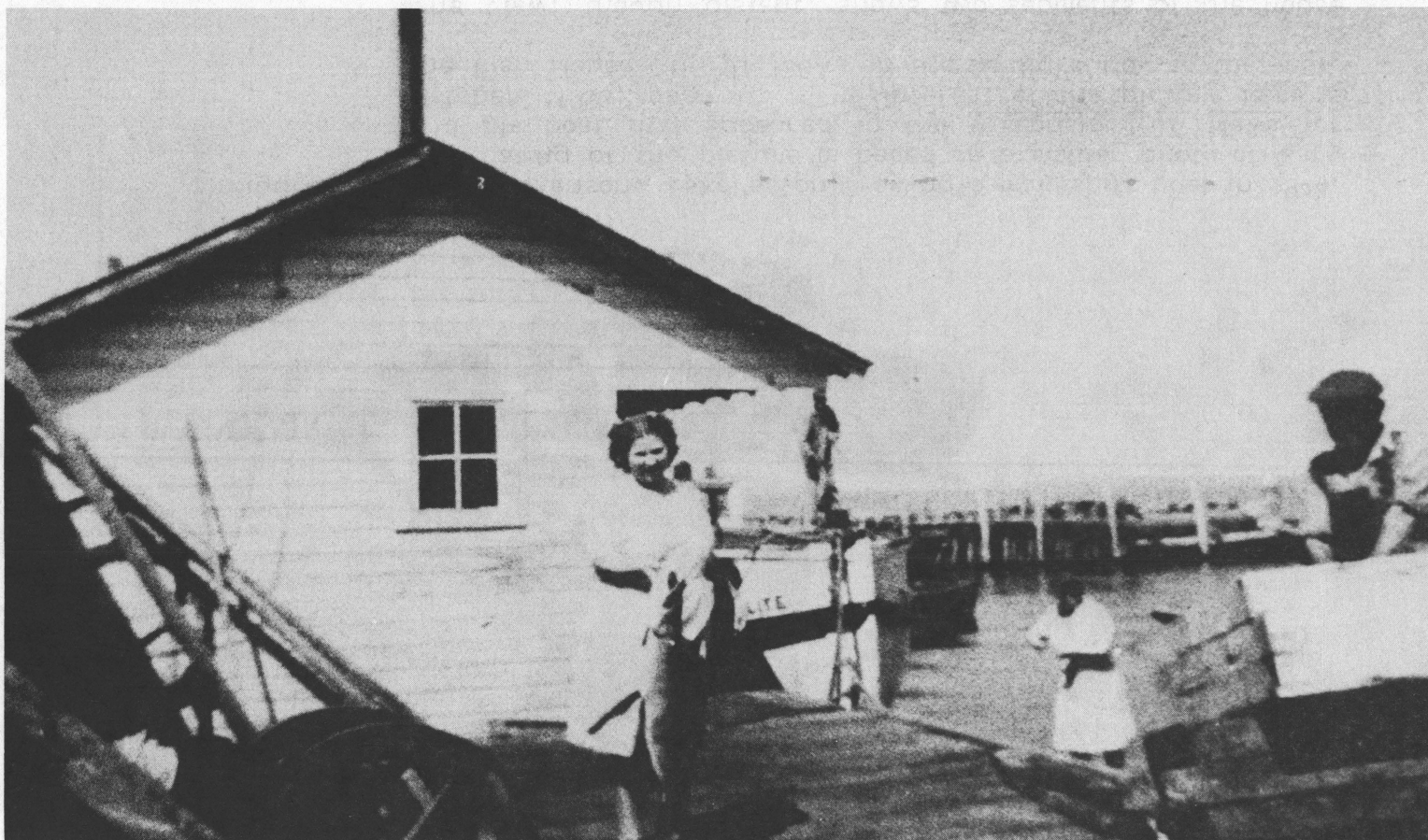


Figure 12: Anne Doucett, passenger for a day on Dock (HS-01-138A), c. 1940. Photo from Eskel and Florence Hokenson collection.



Figure 13: Gary Hokenson, Eskel's son, rowing a makeshift boat in 1944. The dating of the picture is based on a similar photo of Gary and his boat that appeared in the Wisconsin REA News for October, 1953, page 12. The interest of the picture here is the Fish House (HS-01-138A) in the background, to the east.

The view, though distant, shows two segments of the house completed; plus a difference in shading of the two sections. The Fish House is thus two thirds complete; and the picture therefore narrows down the construction period for the final third to the interval 1944-1949. This photo is from the Eskel and Florence Hokenson collection.



Figure 14: Dredging operations c. 1944. The Fish House (HS-01-138A) appears two-thirds complete. From Roy and Irene Hokenson collection.

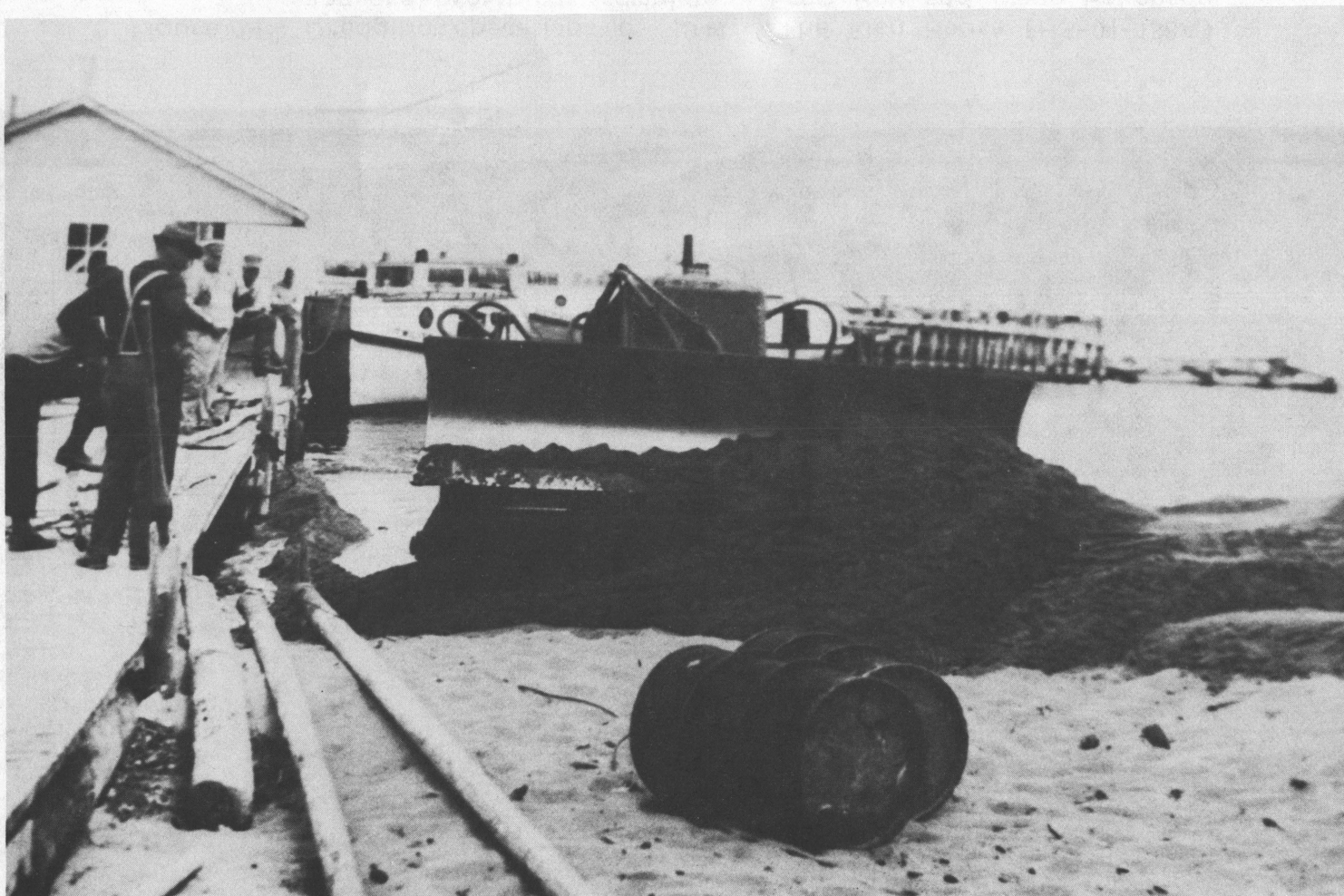


Figure 15: Dredging the Hokenson port c. 1944. More of the outer "L" of the dock shows in the background. From Roy and Irene Hokenson collection.

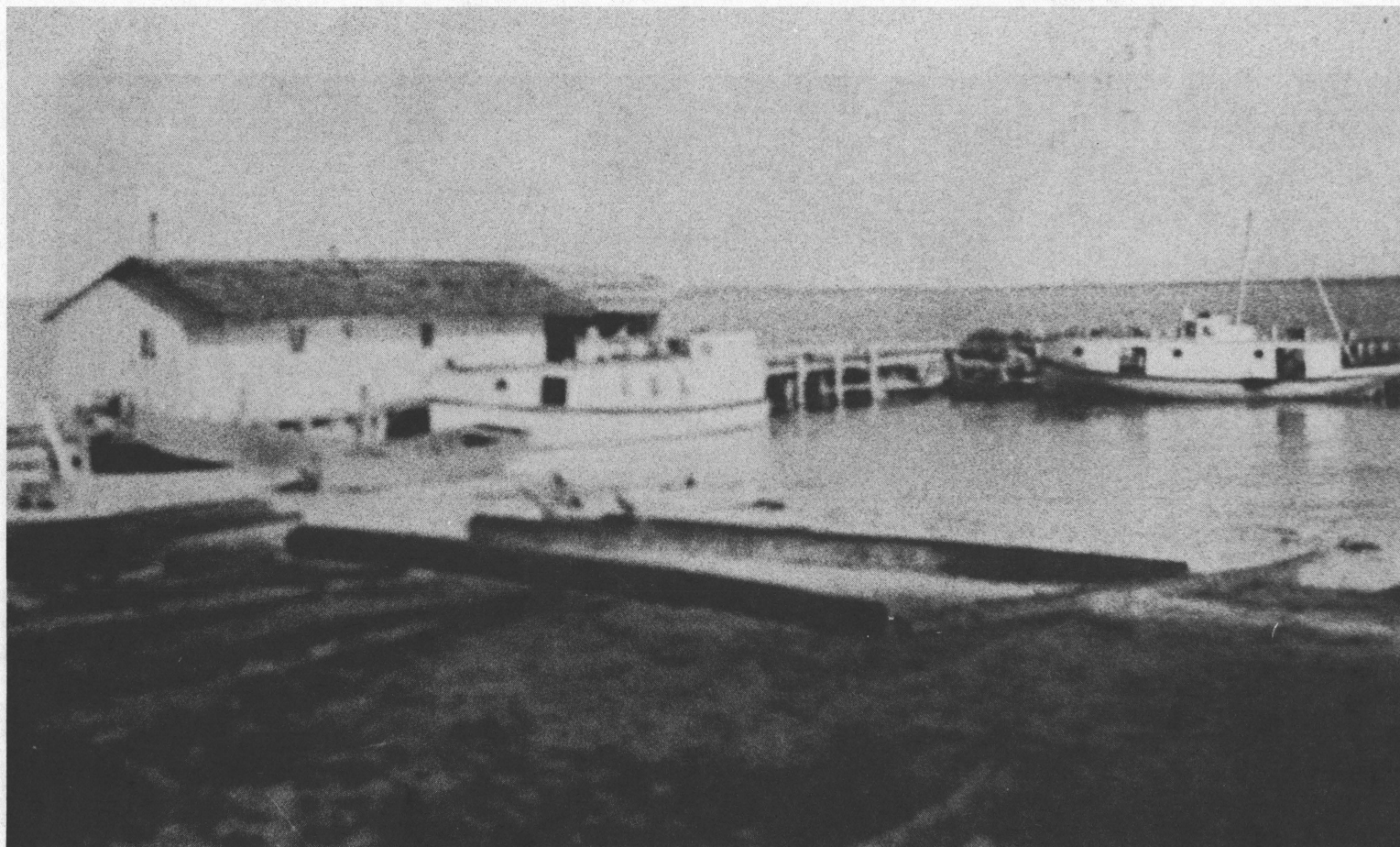


Figure 16: Another view of the Hokenson dock c. 1944, with a visiting fishing boat at the right. From Eskel and Florence Hokenson collection.



Figure 17: The Hokenson Fish House and Dock (HS-01-138A) c. 1945. .
From Roy and Irene Hokenson collection.



Figure 18: Left to right: Leo, Roy, and Eskel Hokenson on the dock at Little Sand Bay c. 1950. Fish House (HS-01-138A) in back ground. This same photo was used for the October 1953 article in the Wisconsin REA News, p. 12.



Figure 19: Fish House and Dock (HS-01-138A) from north end of dock looking toward Ice House (HS-01-138B) on shore, c. 1975. Photo by Herschel L.D. Parnes: negative filed at State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison.



Figure 20: Southeast view of Fish House and Dock (HS-01-138A), c. 1975. Photo by Herschel L. D. Parnes; negative filed at State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison.



Figure 21: Northeast view of Twine Shed (HS-01-138F), c. 1975. Photo by Herschel L.D. Parnes; negative filed at State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison.

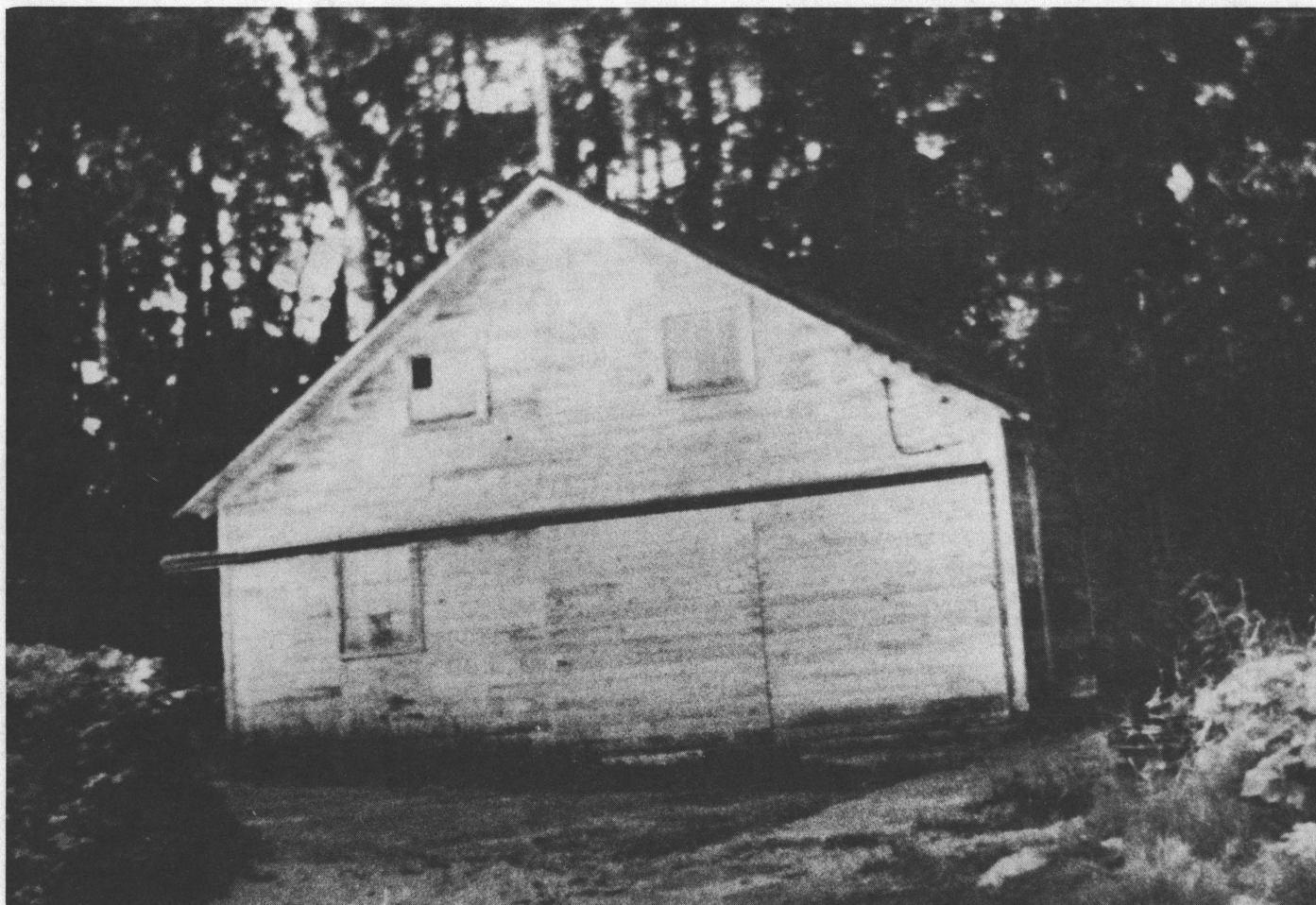


Figure 22: Northwest view of the Ice House, (HS-01-138B), 1977. The interior and exterior walls were temporarily braced in 1977 to stabilize the structure. The exterior siding was treated with a wood preservative and new roofing material was applied over the old roof during that year. Apostle Islands National Lakeshore Headquarters Files.



Figure 23: Northeast view of the Ice House (HS-01-138B). Photo was taken before stabilization work began in 1977. Apostle Islands National Lakeshore Headquarters Files.

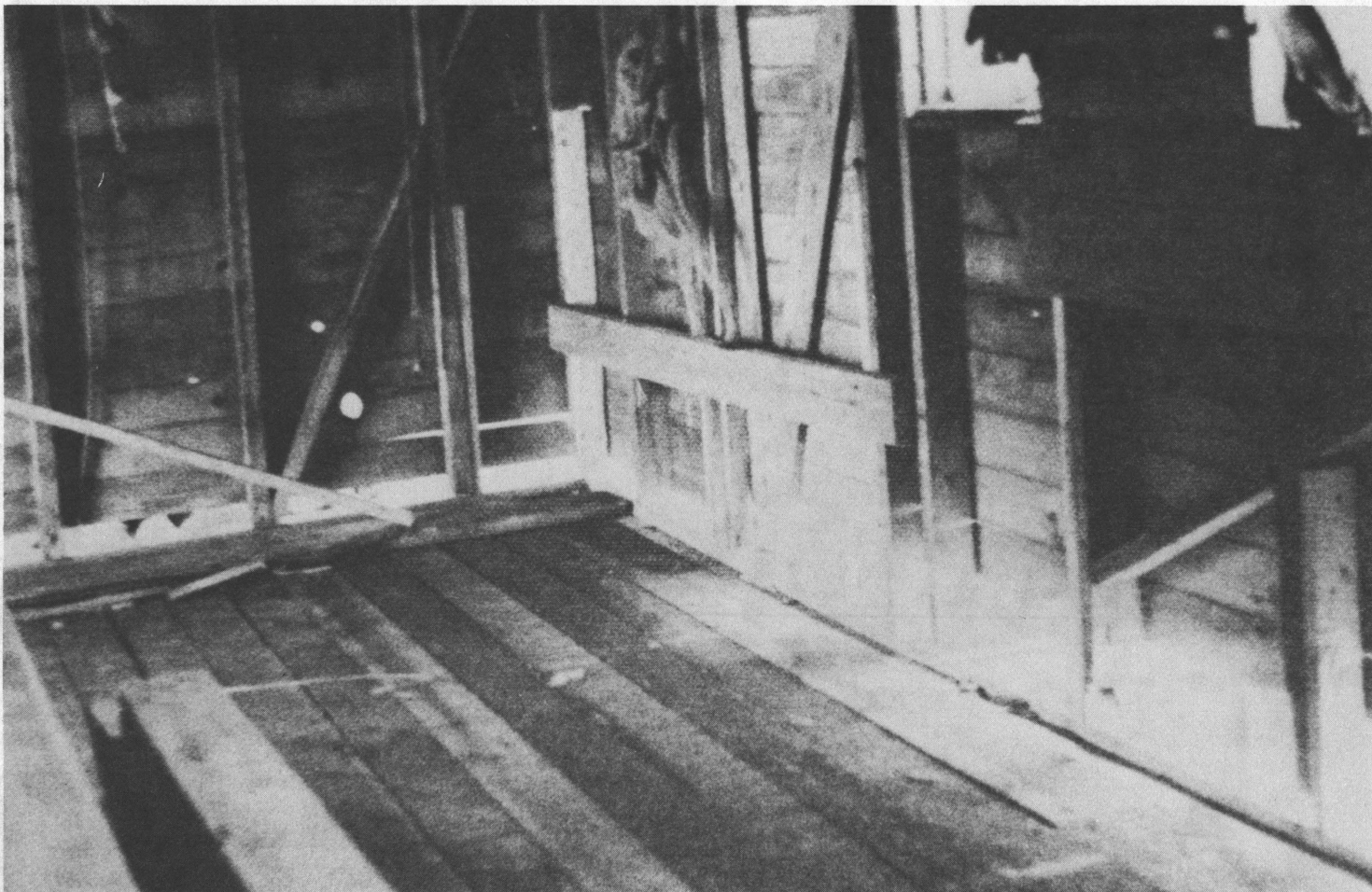


Figure 24: Interior view of the Fish House (HS-01-138A), 1977, showing wall studs being temporarily braced. All deteriorated sill plates had been replaced with a construction grade material. New floor boards were inserted throughout the interior. Apostle Islands National Lakeshore Headquarters Files.

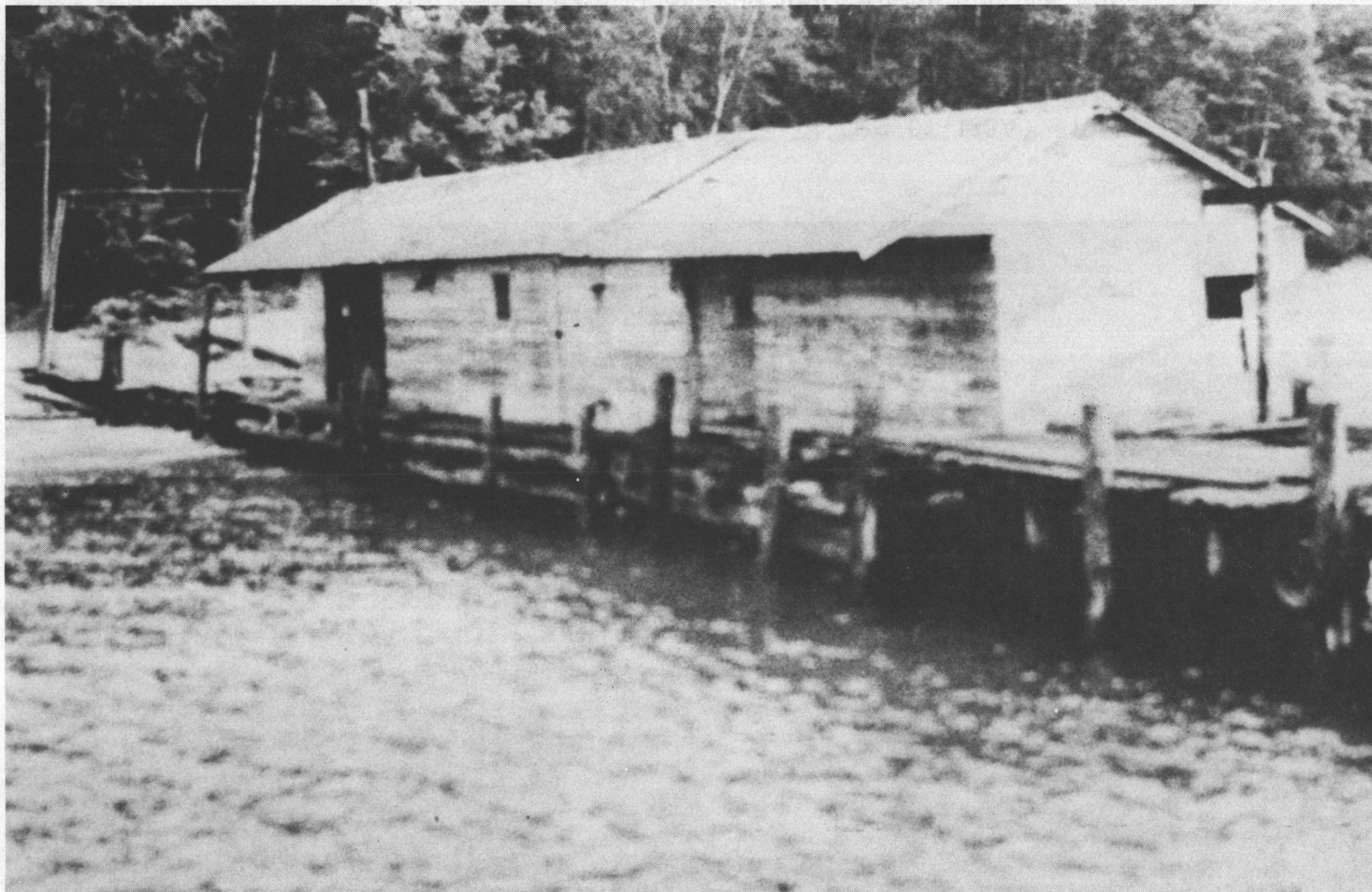


Figure 25: Northeast of Fish House (HS-01-138A), 1977. Apostle Islands National Lakeshore Headquarters Files.

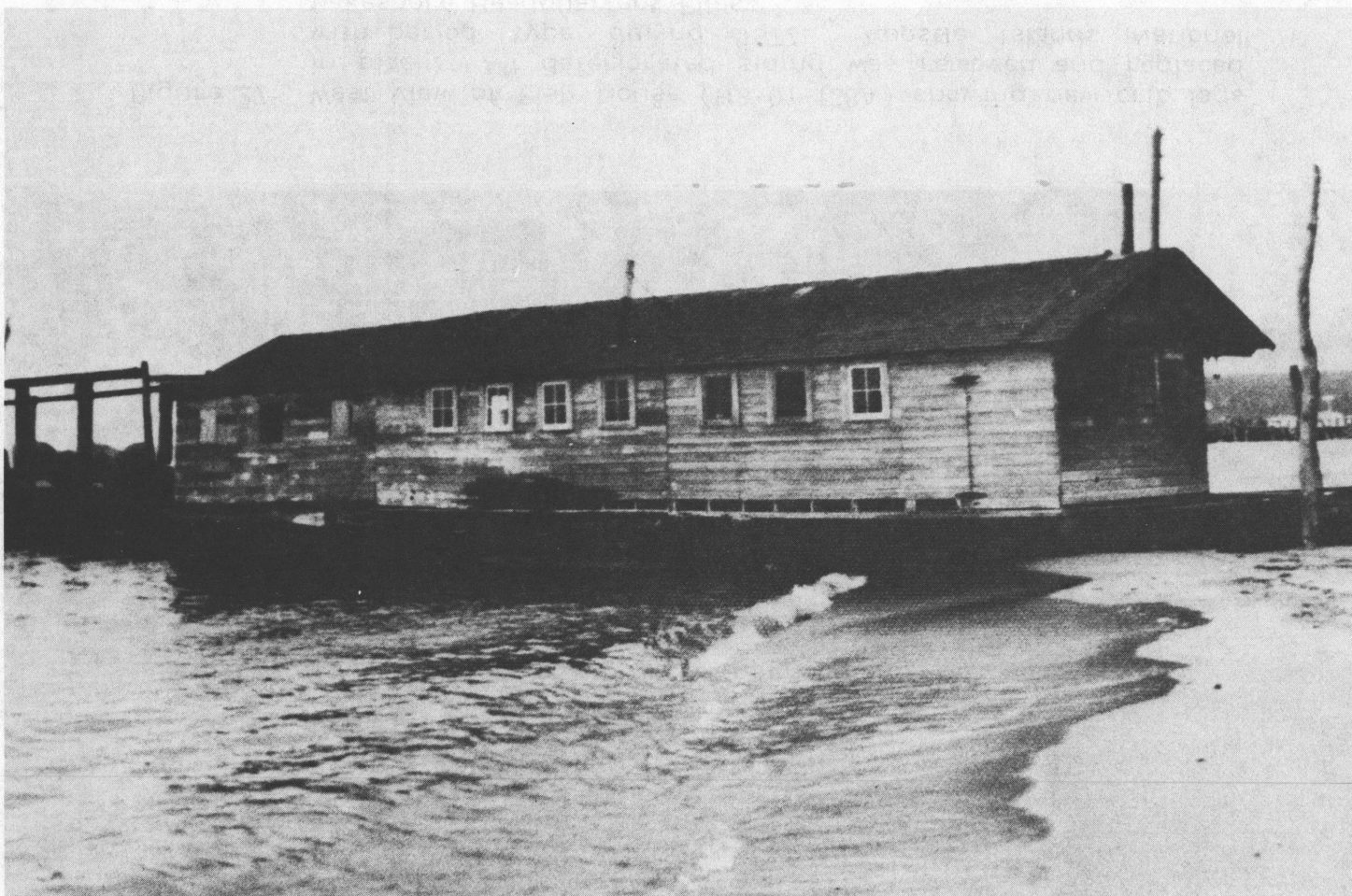


Figure 26: West view of the Fish House (HS-01-138A), 1977. All deteriorated siding and window sashes were replaced with period type material during that year. Apostle Islands National Lakeshore Headquarters Files.

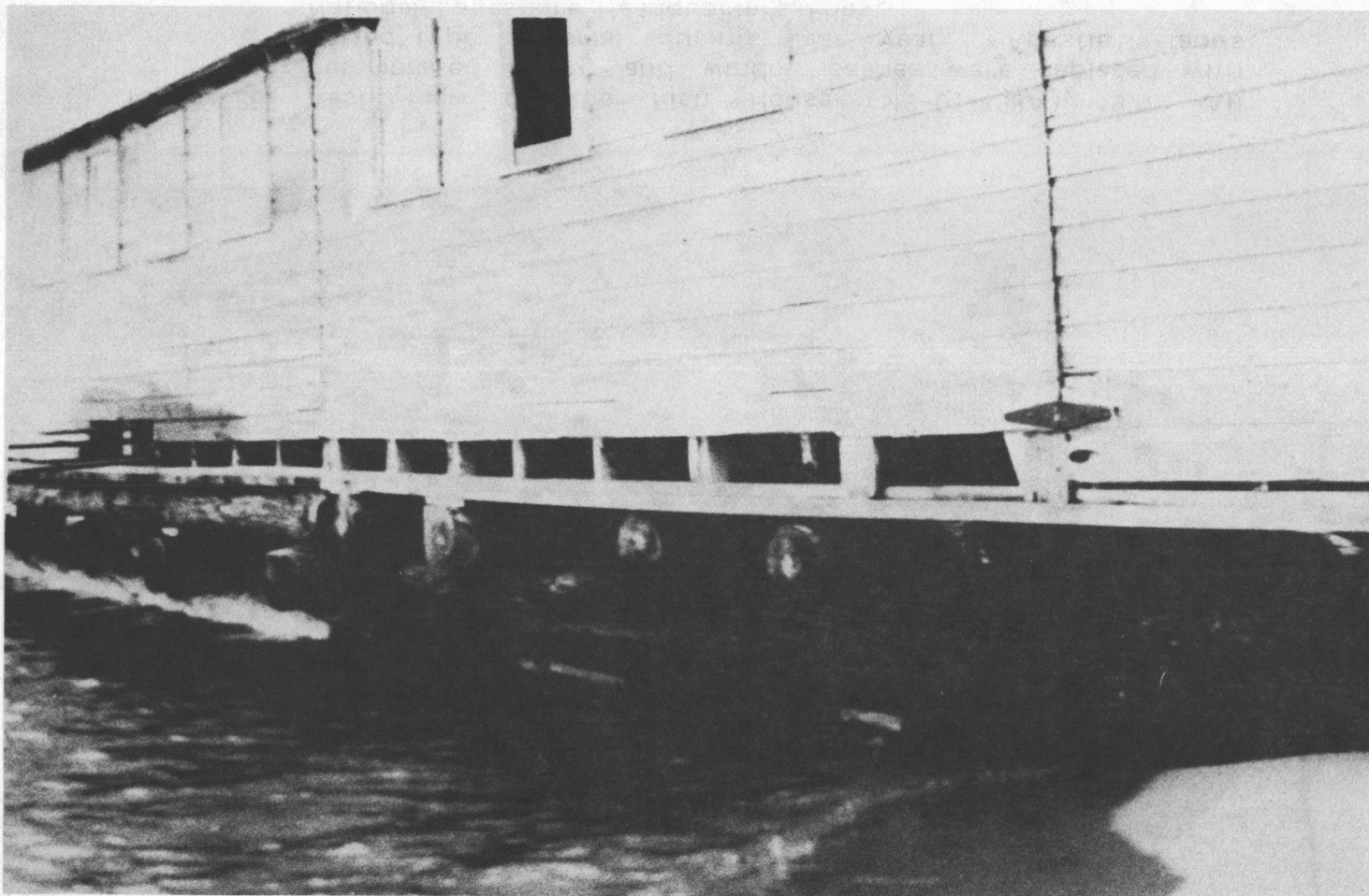


Figure 27: West view of Fish House (HS-01-138A) showing new crib logs in place. All deteriorated siding was removed and replaced with period type during 1977. Apostle Islands National Lakeshore Headquarters Files



Figure 28: East view of the Fish House and Dock (HS-01-138A) showing the new crib logs and decking in place. The majority of the logs from the water line to the floor lines were replaced in 1977. Apostle Island National Lakeshore Headquarters Files.



Figure 29: Looking east on the north section of the Dock (HS-01-138A). This area had not been worked on during the 1977 repairs. Apostle Islands National Lakeshore Headquarters Files.

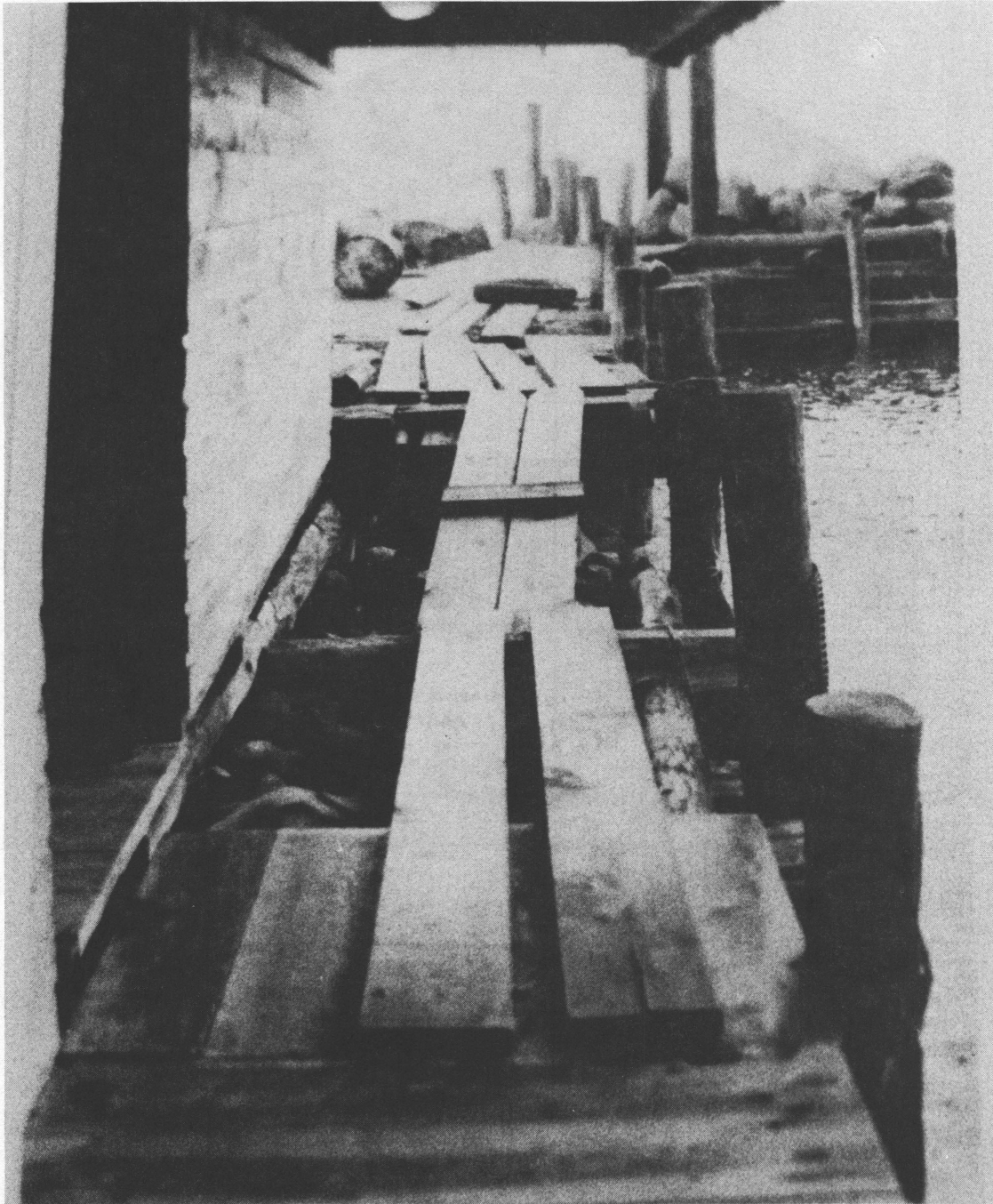


Figure 30: Looking north on Dock (HS-01-138A) walkway, showing construction of 1977. Old decking material was removed and all deteriorated logs were replaced. Apostle Islands National Lakeshore Headquarters Files.



Figure 31: South view of the Fish House and main approach to the Dock (HS-01-138A) 1977. Most of the planking needed to be replaced along with a few main log stringers. Apostle Islands National Lakeshore Headquarters Files.

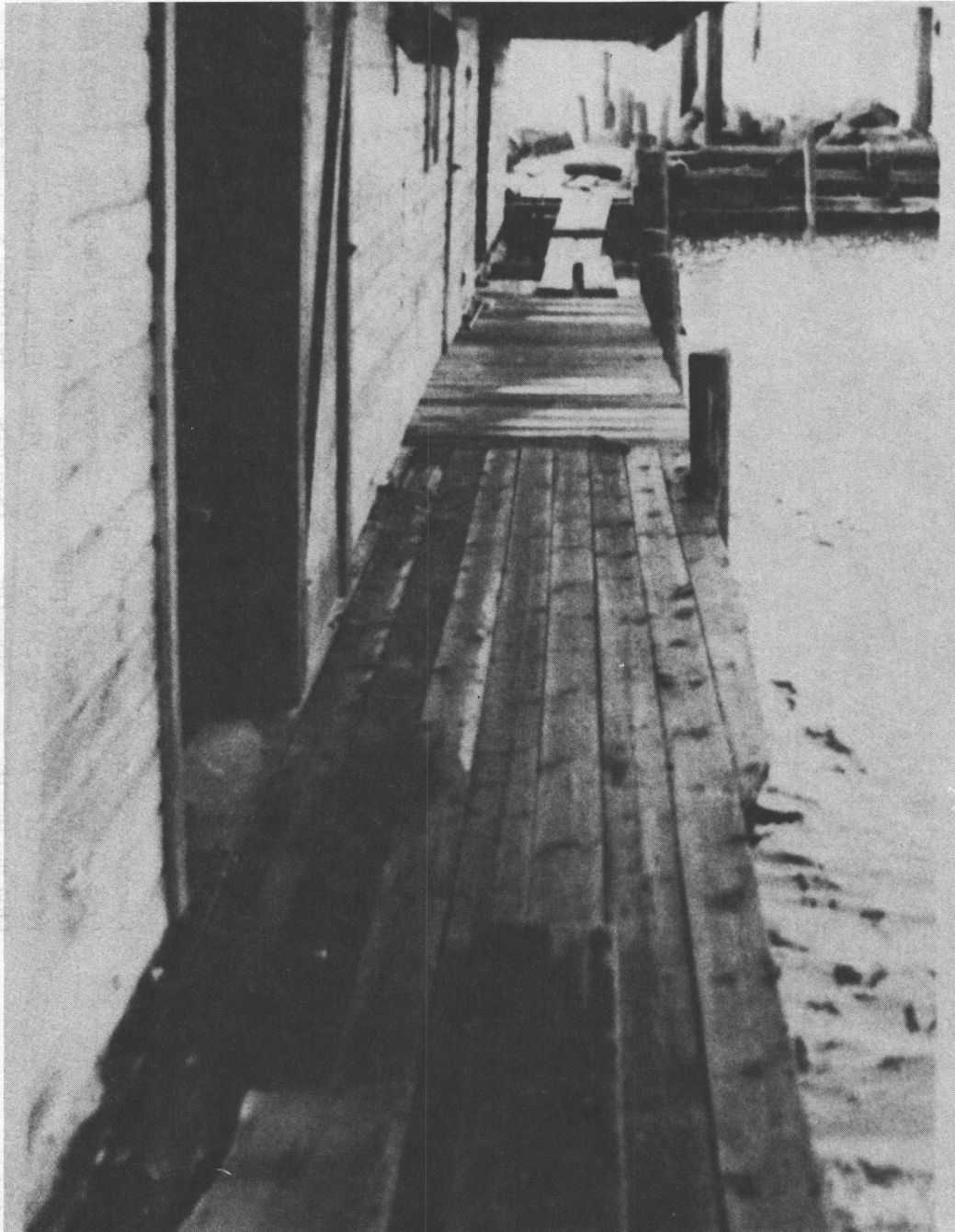


Figure 32: Compare with visual perspective of Figure 31. This photo, taken later in 1977, shows the plank walkway along the Fish House (HS-01-138A) 95% completed. The new planks were laid back in the same manner and design as the previous ones. Apostle Islands National Lakeshore Headquarters Files.

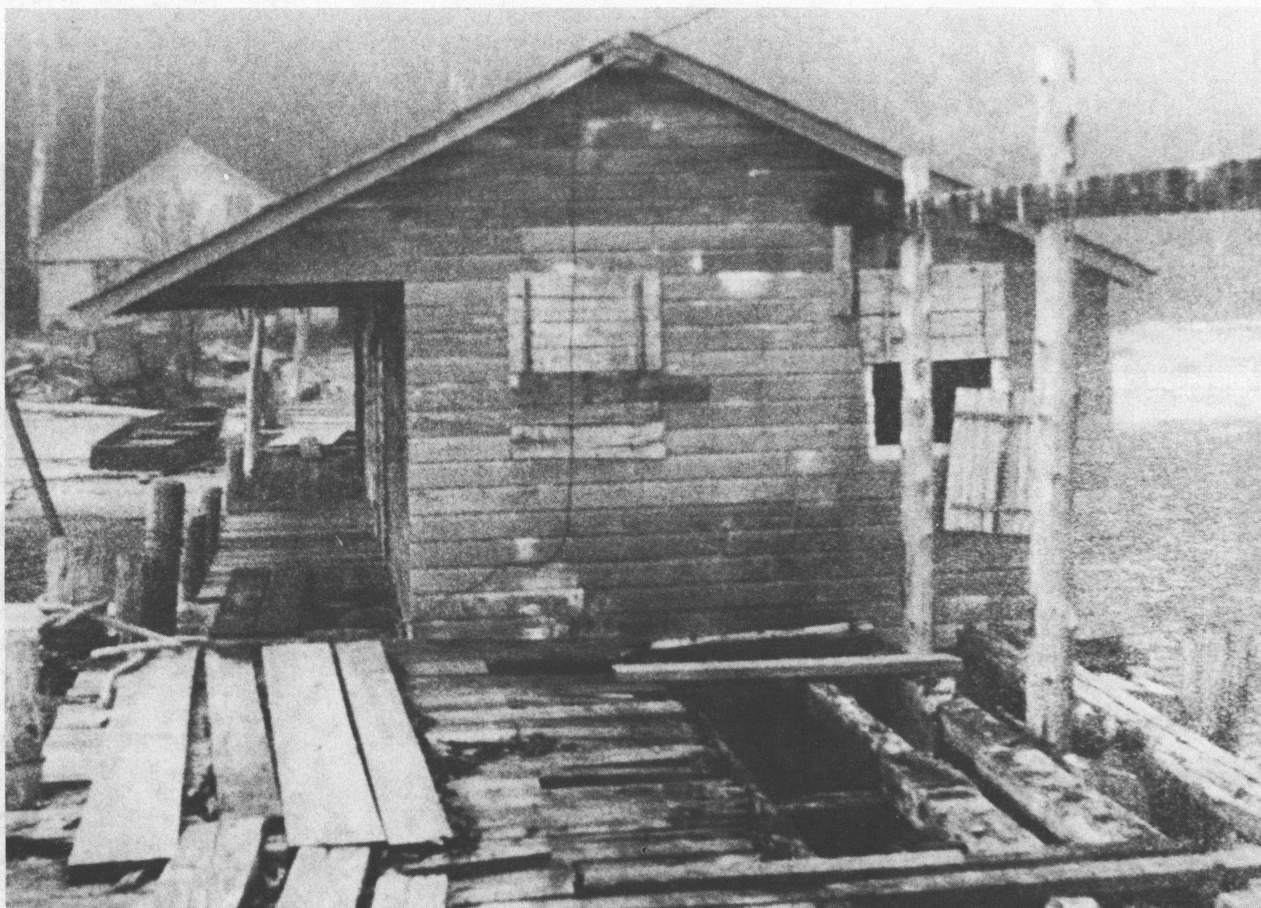


Figure 33: Photo showing the north wall of the Fish House (HS-01-138A), in 1977. All deteriorated decking, cross logs (stringers) and piling were replaced. About twenty feet of the decking from the Fish House needed replacement. Apostle Islands National Lakeshore Headquarters Files.

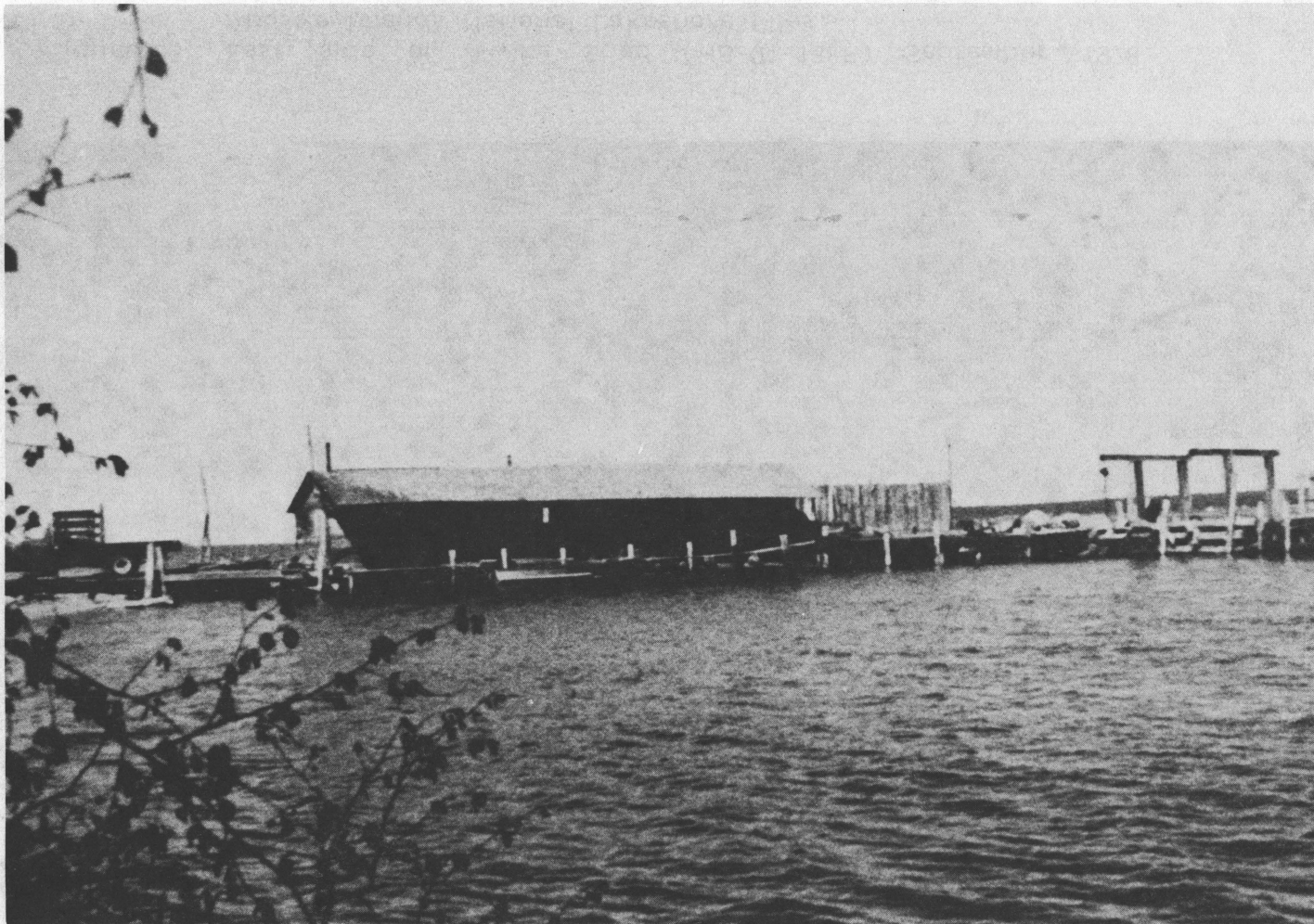


Figure 34: 1977 photo showing the east view of the Fish House (HS-01-138A) and the docking facility. Apostle Islands National Lakeshore Headquarters Files.



Figure 35: East side of Twine Shed (HS-01-138F) September 1978.
Apostle Islands National Lakeshore Files.



Figure 36: View of Twine Shed (HS-01-138F) from southeast in September 1978. Note net drying reel (HS-01-138J) in foreground. Apostle Island National Lakeshore Files.



Figure 37: View of Twine Shed (HS-01-138F) from northwest in September 1978. Apostle Islands National Lakeshore Files.



Figure 38: South end of loft in Twine Shed (HS-01-138F), January 1979.
Storage space for pound-net components.



Figure 39: North end of loft in Twine Shed (HS-01-138F), January 1979.
Storage space for pound-net components.



Figure 40: The Hokenson Fish House and Dock (HS-01-138A) and the beached Twilite (HS-01-138G) as seen from the northeast, June 1978. The Ice House (HS-01-138B) is almost totally concealed among the trees at left.



Figure 41: Fish House (HS-01-138A) and beached Twilite (HS-01-138G) seen from the north or "L" of the Dock June 1978. Note steel tracks or rails (HS-01-138D) for beaching of boat.

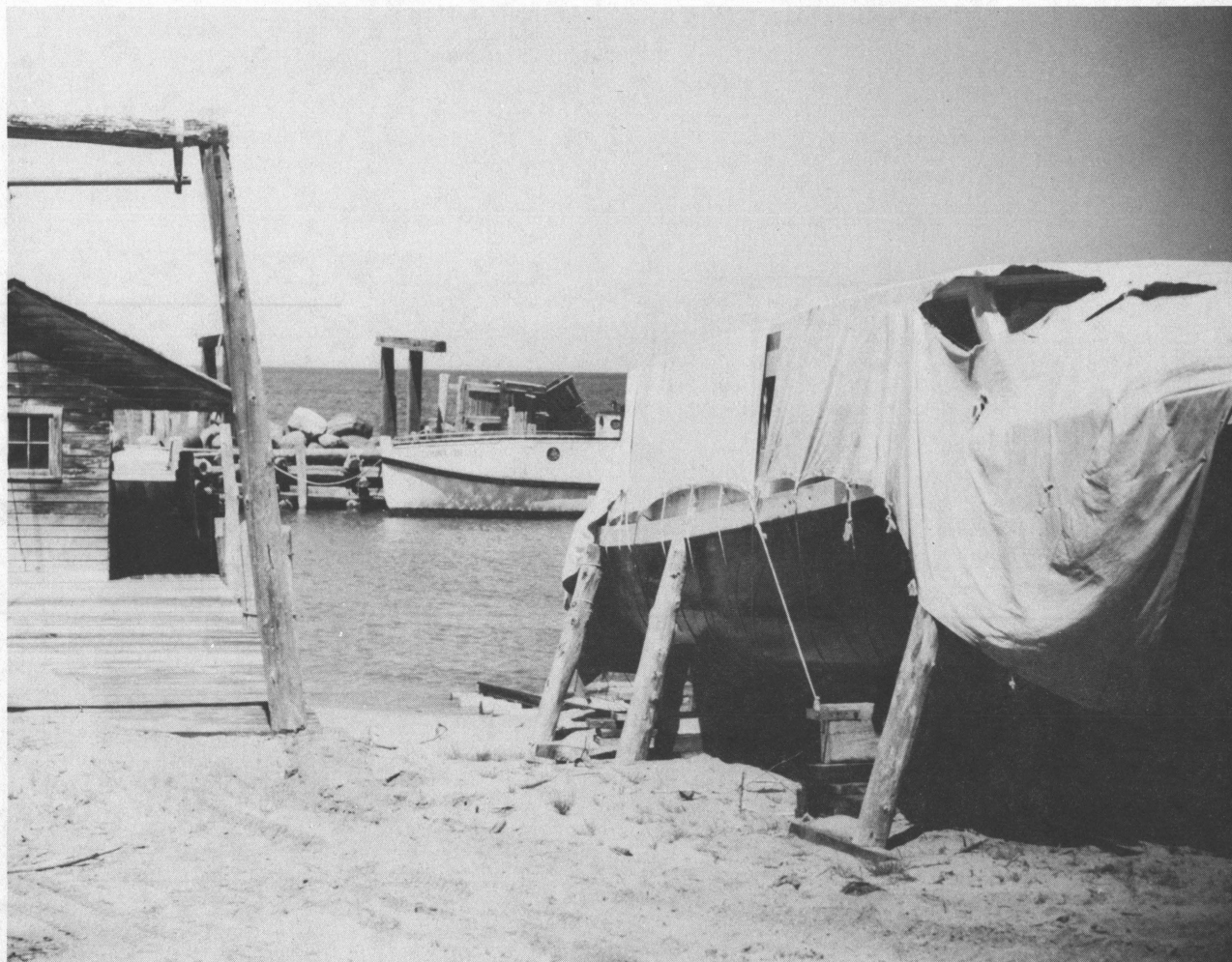


Figure 42. Hokenson Fish House and Dock (HS-01-138A) and beached Twilite (HS-01-138G) as seen from the south, June 1978. Note carriage and timber braces under the Twilite.

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A. Primary Sources

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As the Nation's principal conservation agency, the Department of the Interior has basic responsibilities to protect and conserve our land and water, energy and minerals, fish and wildlife, parks and recreation areas, and to ensure the wise use of all these resources. The Department also has major responsibility for American Indian reservation communities and for people who live in island territories under U.S. administration.

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