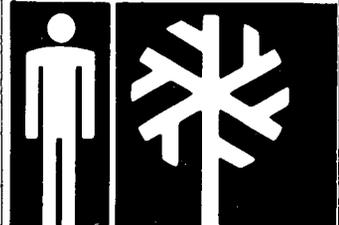


CR OFFICE

historic resource study

february 1979

INDIANA DUNES



NATIONAL LAKESHORE / INDIANA

HISTORIC RESOURCE STUDY
INDIANA DUNES NATIONAL LAKESHORE
INDIANA

Prepared by
A. Berle Clemensen

HISTORIC PRESERVATION DIVISION
DENVER SERVICE CENTER
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
DENVER, COLORADO

February 1979

CONTENTS

PREFACE / iii

HISTORY OF THE INDIANA DUNES AREA / 1

Earliest Inhabitants / 1

White Men Arrive / 2

American Revolution / 3

The Calumet Area Remains a Wilderness / 3

Joseph Bailly / 6

 Background / 6

 Bailly Homestead / 8

 Platting Villages / 11

Railroads and Lumber / 14

Swedish Settlement / 15

 Chellberg Farm / 15

 Borg Farm / 18

 Nelson Farm / 18

German Settlement / 20

 Welkie House / 20

Early Attempt to Create a Sand Dune National Park / 22

Indiana Dunes Becomes a Living Classroom / 25

Regional Change / 27

Indiana Dunes State Park / 28

Beverly Shores / 28

Post World War II / 33

Creation of the Indiana Dunes National Lakeshore / 34

APPENDIXES / 36

PHOTOGRAPHS / 41

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY / 51

P R E F A C E

This historic resource study of Indiana Dunes National Lakeshore provides a general history of the dunes area into which is woven information about sites and structures reminiscent of the historical periods. The study should provide the basic data needed for the development of interpretive exhibits and programs.

Several structures remain from the various historical periods. The Bailly homestead and cemetery, which appear on the National Register of Historic Places, have been restored for interpretive use. Three farms with distinctive brick houses (one is not located on the national lakeshore property) reflect the era of Swedish immigrant settlement. The Chellberg farm is the most nearly complete of these farms. A number of structures displayed at the 1933-34 Century of Progress International Exposition in Chicago are located in Beverly Shores. Mainly of architectural value, they, too, have been nominated to the National Register. The same status applies to the three Lustron homes, which were experimental houses developed by the Kaiser Steel Corporation to meet a post-World War II housing shortage.

At the time this report is being prepared, an Indiana Dunes National Lakeshore expansion bill is before Congress. The area being considered, Beverly Shores, has been included in this study.

My thanks are extended to Superintendent Whitehouse of Indiana Dunes National Lakeshore and his staff, to the personnel of the Michigan City Historical Society, Michigan City Library, Valparaiso City Library, and Porter County Courthouse, and especially to Bertha Stalbaum of the Porter County Historical Society and Dorothy Rowley of the LaPorte County Historical Society.

HISTORY OF THE INDIANA DUNES AREA

The history of the Indiana Dunes National Lakeshore region is one of gradual progression from wilderness to a heavily industrialized area. Slowly, the wilderness of the Indian and fur trader yielded to villages and lumbermen. In turn Swedish immigrants arrived to convert the area to farms. They were probably attracted to the region for its similarity to their native land. Shortly before the 20th century, industrialization developed in the western part of this region known as the Calumet. Additional changes came with the newly created wealth generated by this economic activity. In the 1920s real estate developers subdivided land into various communities along the south shore of Lake Michigan. They hoped to attract the monied people of the area cities to the adjacent less-developed section of the eastern Calumet. Their schemes slowly attracted individuals to such developments as Dune Acres, Dune Forest, Potawatomi Vista, Dune Park View, and Beverly Shores. After World War II the area of the present Indiana Dunes National Lakeshore became a suburb of the surrounding industrial cities.

EARLIEST INHABITANTS

Indians of the Potawatomi, Ottawa, Miami, and Wea tribes dwelled in the area when white men first entered, but evidence remains of earlier inhabitants. All but one of the several aboriginal sites, however, indicates only temporary inhabitation. Prolonged occupation of the Calumet region undoubtedly proved unfeasible since much of the area contained sand dunes and swamps. The one archaeological site of significance is located in the NW¼ of Section 34, Township 37 North, Range 6 West. It is the remains of a large village or camp which overlooks the Little Calumet River about 300 yards south-southwest of the Bailly homestead on the opposite bank.¹

The Potawatomi Indians, belonging to the Algonquian linguistic family, dominated the northern Indiana area by the 1770s. About 1765 they began to move south from the Green Bay, Wisconsin, region and within a few years had settled as far east as Lake Erie. During their history in the Lake Michigan area the

1. U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, "An Appraisal of the Archaeological Resources and Ecological Context of the Proposed Indiana Dunes National Lakeshore," by Marjory Honerkamp, 1968, pp. 26-27, 35 (report located in the Historic Preservation Division files, Denver Service Center). Honerkamp lists 12 archaeological sites in the Indiana Dunes National Lakeshore area.

Potawatomi first sided with the French against the English and then with the English against the Americans.²

WHITE MEN ARRIVE

The French were the first white men to traverse the area of present northern Indiana. Fur trade, which formed the economic basis of the French empire in North America, prompted exploration to the great lakes area by the early 17th century. With the appointment of Jean Talon as the first governor of New France in 1665, the French fur trade expanded at an increased rate. Talon envisioned a great inland French empire traversed by *voyageurs* whose trade would hold the Indians under French domination. Under Talon's aegis the first French party, led by Father Jacques Marquette, passed the Indiana dunes area in 1675.³

Louis Count de Frontenac, who succeeded Talon as governor in the 1670s, sought to maintain his predecessor's policy of expanded fur trade. Intermittent warfare with the British-allied Iroquois, however, slowed French penetration of the Great Lakes area. By 1684 the French had begun to retreat, and the outbreak of King William's War in 1689 compelled them to abandon the area. In 1696 Louis XIV prohibited trade in that region. This order was rescinded, however, at the close of that war, and *voyageurs* again swarmed over the inland waterways by the summer of 1700.⁴

Governor Frontenac realized that fur trade alone would not hold the inland empire. The French had to occupy the region. As a result Frontenac began the construction of forts and trading posts in the great lakes area. In 1700 a warehouse and fort were constructed on Mackinac Island. The next year a post was established at Detroit. Missionaries were sent to the Illinois region.⁵

2. John R. Swanton, *The Indian Tribes of North America* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1971), pp. 247, 249.

3. Ray Allen Billington, *Westward Expansion: A History of the American Frontier* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1959), pp. 103-7; Powell A. Moore, *The Calumet Region: Indiana's Last Frontier* (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society, 1959), pp. 23-24.

4. Billington, *Westward Expansion*, pp. 108-10.

5. *Ibid.*, pp. 112-13.

French fur-trading activity included the Indiana dunes area. To enter that region the French obviously used Indian trails which crossed a corridor around the southern end of Lake Michigan. About 1752 the French constructed the Petite Fort near the mouth of Fort Creek in the present Indiana Dunes State Park and used it as a fur-collecting center for that area. Britain, for a time after its victory in the Seven Years' War (1763), attempted to keep the Ohio River valley as a vast Indian reservation for the benefit of its fur traders. As a result British traders used the Petite Fort for a time, but abandoned it in 1779.⁶ Colonial settlers disrupted the British reservation scheme by moving into the area. Parliament relented its policy, and as a result land speculation abounded until the American Revolution began.⁷

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

One minor skirmish during the American Revolution occurred in the dunes area. In late 1780 a group of Americans from Cahokia (near present East St. Louis), commanded by Jean Baptiste Hamelin, moved to attack a British outpost at St. Joseph in the present state of Michigan. English merchants on Mackinac Island had a warehouse at St. Joseph from which they supplied Britain's Indian allies. Hamelin's party of 16 or 17 men surprised the village while the pro-British Potawatomi Indians were absent. After capturing 22 prisoners and all the merchants' goods they retreated southwest around the Lake Michigan shore. Dagneau de Quindre, a British lieutenant stationed near St. Joseph, raised an Indian party and pursued Hamelin. He overtook the raiders on December 5, 1780, near Petite Fort and killed four, wounded two, and captured seven as well as the supplies.⁸

THE CALUMET AREA REMAINS A WILDERNESS

After the American Revolution white settlement concentrated in southern Indiana leaving the northwest corner a wilderness. Large swamps south of the

6. Moore, *The Calumet Region: Indiana's Last Frontier*, pp. 30-31. No evidence of the fort remains, nor is the exact site known.

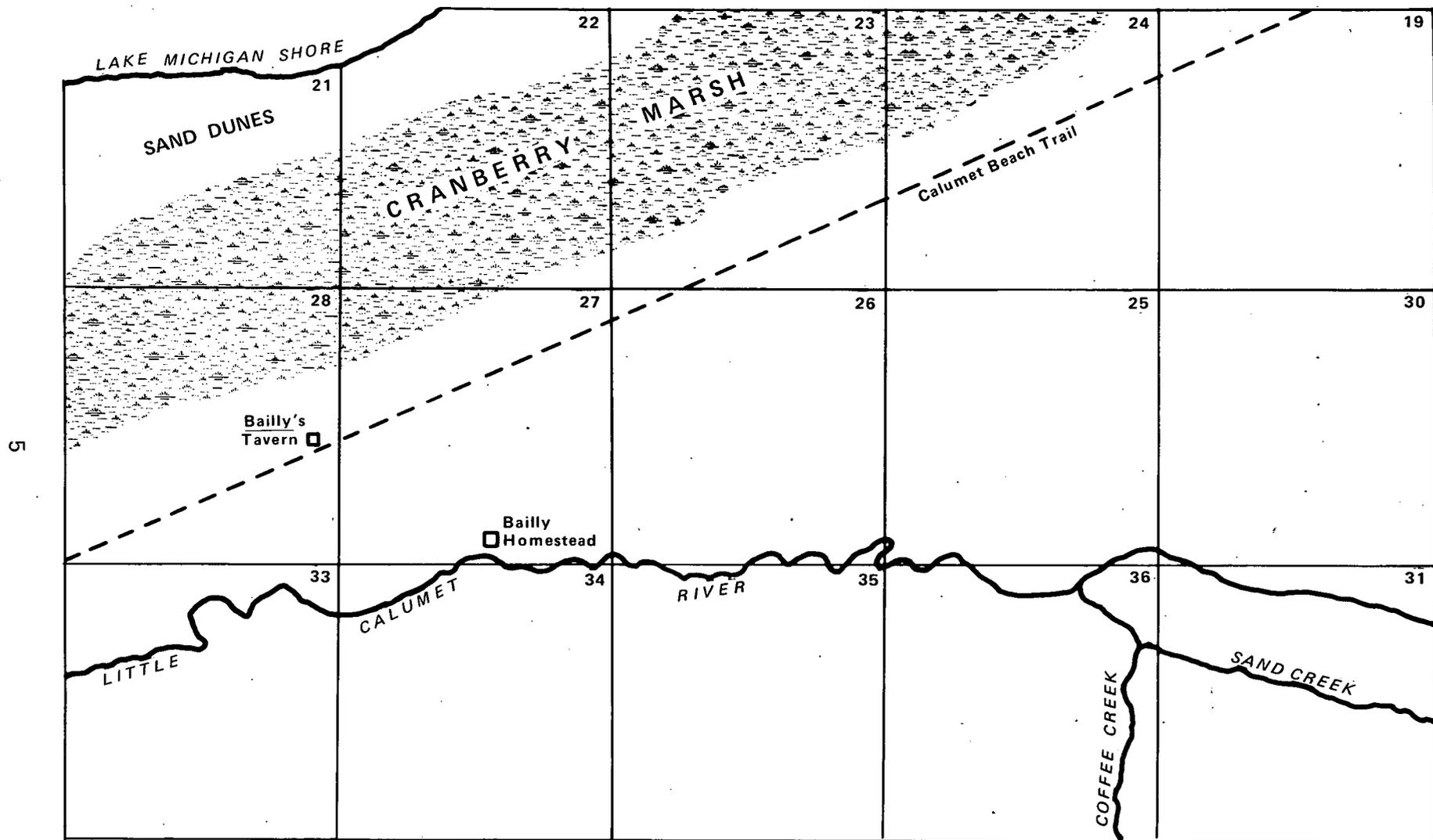
7. Billington, *Westward Expansion*, pp. 132-34.

8. Clarence W. Alvord, "The Conquest of St. Joseph, Michigan, By the Spaniards in 1781," *Missouri Historical Review* 2 (1908):204-5; Moore, *The Calumet Region: Indiana's Last Frontier*, pp. 30-32; Gary *Post-Tribune*, June 29, 1976.

dunes area and in northwestern Ohio inhibited travel into that region. As a result fur traders and Indians remained as the main inhabitants. Joseph Bailly, a fur trader, has generally been credited as the first white settler in the Calumet area. He arrived in 1822. Gravestones at the Bailly cemetery, however, indicate others arrived earlier. Some may have died while passing through the area and were buried there, but the Isaac and Rhoda Schellinger tombstones indicate that they settled nearby. Rhoda in fact remained in the area after her husband Isaac's interment at the cemetery in 1811. She was buried at the cemetery five years later.

In 1822 Joseph Bailly evidently came to northwestern Indiana in an effort to regain a position in fur trading that he had held before the War of 1812. He found the area somewhat different from its present appearance. The Lake Michigan shore provided a significant route through the area. Called the Lake Shore Trail, it served as an early major communication road between Fort Dearborn (Chicago) and Detroit. From the shoreline back almost a half mile ran a series of active and stabilized sand dunes. South of this ridge of dunes the terrain changed to one of swamps and marshes dominated by an almost mile-wide cranberry marsh (figure 1). This marsh extended nearly the entire east-west length of Westchester Township. The first inland trail (the Calumet Beach Trail) followed a sandy ridge south of the cranberry marsh. For the most part it traversed the route of present U.S. Highway 12, but it was ill-defined. Depending on the season and weather, it could follow any number of courses. In 1833 the Calumet Beach Trail became the main road between Detroit and Chicago. Farther south the Sauk Trail roughly covered the route of the present Indiana Highway 2 and U.S. Highway 30.⁹ Upland areas were densely wooded with oak, hickory, maple, and pine trees.

9. Alfred H. Meyer, "Circulation and Settlement Patterns of the Calumet Region of Northwest Indiana and Northeast Illinois: The First Stage of Occupance - The Potawatomi and the Fur Trader - 1830," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 44 (September 1954):246-47, 252, 254, 257. An early traveler, William Johnston, described the terrain as he followed the Lake Shore Trail on a trip to Chicago in 1809. Johnston noted that the shoreline was bounded by a ridge of sand "about 100 feet high." A remarkably accurate observer, he stated that the prevailing northwest wind mounded the sand along the shore. On a dry day, he wrote, the wind "will raise as much sand as darkens the air. . . ." Johnston described the blowout areas from which sand was carried farther inland to form a secondary ridge of sand. He found stunted juniper and cedar trees growing on the sand ridges. Shirley S. McCord, ed., *Travel Accounts of Indiana, 1679-1691* (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Bureau, 1970), pp. 56-57.



BAILLY HOMESTEAD AREA IN 1830

FIGURE 1

JOSEPH BAILLY

Background

Joseph Bailly, a fur trader for most of his adult life, was born on April 8, 1774, into a long established French family in Quebec. At age 18 in 1792 he entered the fur-trading business with an establishment on Mackinac Island. By 1796 he struck out as an independent trader.¹⁰ Bailly apparently prospered. He had one employee, Jean Baptiste Beaubien, who worked the present Chicago-Milwaukee area. By 1800 Bailly had formed a partnership with Dominique Rousseau. To estimate the extent of Bailly's business for that period, Carl Russell compares Bailly's business to that of William Barnett who operated in the same area with similar equipment. Barnett grossed \$6,000 in the period 1796-97 and \$4,500 in 1800-1801. By 1800 Bailly's income allowed him to stake Toussaint Porthier of Grand River with supplies for fur trading. Porthier repaid Bailly with furs he obtained.¹¹ (By the 1820s Bailly had sunk to the position where he needed a stake from the American Fur Company to operate as an independent trader.)

In 1798 Joseph Bailly married an Indian woman, Angelique McGulpin, by whom he fathered five boys and a girl. He left his wife and in 1810 took a second Indian woman as a common-law wife. This Ottawa woman, Marie Le Fevre de la Vigne, was a widow with two daughters.¹² Bailly eventually married Marie Le Fevre after the birth of four of their five children.

The War of 1812 intervened in Joseph Bailly's fur trade, causing him to lose his entire financial holdings. Thirty of the forty active fur traders in the region at the start of the war were French-Canadians. Ten of these thirty aligned with the United States, but Bailly did not. As a result a representative of the British Army, Robert Dickson, wrote to Bailly on March 17, 1813, asking for his assistance in winning the Indians in the area south of Lake Michigan to the British cause. Bailly agreed. In June 1814 he began to supply the Indians with goods to encourage them into a British alliance. An Indian informant told the Americans in the area

10. Carl Russell, "Independent Fur Traders of Northern Indiana," 1962, p. 83 (MS located in the Indiana Dunes National Lakeshore files); Moore, *The Calumet Region: Indiana's Last Frontier*, p. 43.

11. Russell, "Independent Fur Traders of Northern Indiana," p. 84.

12. Ibid., pp. 83, 89; Moore, *The Calumet Region: Indiana's Last Frontier*, pp. 45-46; Elizabeth T. Baird, "Reminiscences of Early Days on Mackinac Island," *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, vol. 14 (Madison: Democrat Printing Co., 1898), p. 43.

of Bailly's activity. As a result a United States force, led by Isaac Burnett, captured Bailly and burned his trading post on the Grand River in Michigan. For his activity Bailly spent three months in prison. Three days after his release on March 14, 1815, Bailly billed the British for \$2,750. This figure represented the loss of his entire fortune, he stated. That government, however, never reimbursed him. Bailly was impoverished.¹³

Following the War of 1812, Joseph Bailly lived on Mackinac Island where he evidently entered the employ of the American Fur Company. By 1816, however, his Canadian citizenship brought an obstacle to his livelihood. To prevent Canadians from profiting in the American fur trade, Congress, in that year, restricted trade licenses to American citizens. John Jacob Astor, who owned the American Fur Company, had sufficient influence to obtain special licenses for the more prominent Canadian traders; however, despite Bailly's connection with the American Fur Company, his trade was evidently not adequate to prompt Astor's intercession to obtain a special license for him.¹⁴ To continue in the fur trade Bailly became an American citizen in 1818, but he remained on Mackinac Island for several more years. Elizabeth T. Baird, who lived on that island, remembered Bailly. She wrote, "He was not gentle, not coarse, but noisy. . . . His loud laughter and speech always betrayed his whereabouts. He was an exceptionally good-natured man, fond of entertaining his friends." Baird also described Bailly's second wife, Marie, as an "unalloyed" Indian "who had been very little among the white people, she was a good woman, and possessed the gift so much prized among her people — that of a good storyteller." Marie told her stories in the Ottawa language.¹⁵

Bailly's income from fur trading for the period 1817-21 was quite small, averaging only \$200 per year. This situation probably provided the determining factor in his

13. Russell, "Independent Fur Traders of Northern Indiana," pp. 18, 89-90; U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, "The Bailly Site: An Archaeological Study of an Early Historic Homestead in the Calumet," by W. Frederick Limp, 1974, p. 10 (report located in the Historic Preservation Division files, Denver Service Center); W. Kaye Lamb, Dominion Archivist, Public Archives of Canada, letter to Earl H. Reed, 1959 (MS located in the Indiana Dunes National Lakeshore files).

14. Carlyle Buley, *The Old Northwest: Pioneer Period 1815-1840* (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1959), 1:400.

15. Baird, "Reminiscences of Early Days on Mackinac Island," pp. 43-44.

decision to become an independent trader once more. In 1821 Bailly applied to the United States War Department for a fur trading license in the Calumet region of northwestern Indiana. He indicated that his capital for the business would be \$400. After he received the license, Bailly obtained \$914.62 in trade goods on credit from the American Fur Company.¹⁶

In 1822 Bailly entered northern Indiana and chose a good location for his fur-trading post near the Calumet Beach Trail. Two developments, however, prevented him from becoming more than a local trader. Not only had fur trading in the area declined, but the American Fur Company controlled most of the remaining trade. Bailly's inability to develop a thriving fur trade was reflected in the \$1,500 average debt that he owed the American Fur Company in the years 1821-25. Olga Schiemann, who researched the Bailly account books for 1822-35 in the Indiana State Library, found no list for the sale of big packets of fur.¹⁷ In the meantime Bailly opened a tavern northwest of his homestead on the Calumet Beach Trail, evidently to augment his income.

The fur trade reached a nadir for Bailly in the period 1828-30. Evidently deeply bereaved by the death of his son Robert in 1827, Bailly allowed his small business to decline. The American Fur Company recorded no transactions with him in the period 1828-30 except charges of interest on past debts.¹⁸ An influx of settlers in the dunes area beginning in the early 1830s, however, led Joseph Bailly to a new vocation — land speculator.

Bailly Homestead

New roads became a factor in opening northern Indiana to settlement. By the mid-1820s the decade-old state of Indiana had launched a scheme to connect the populated southern part of the state by road with the northern region. To accomplish this task required the removal of the Indian inhabitants along a strip of land in the north. The Potawatomi Treaty of 1826 procured this land for the road. The Indian boundary line started at the southern extreme of Lake Michigan

16. Russell, "Independent Fur Traders of Northern Indiana," pp. 93, 105.

17. *Ibid.*, pp. 20, 108; Olga Schiemann letter to Earl H. Reed, July 30, 1959 (MS located in the Indiana Dunes National Lakeshore files).

18. Russell, "Independent Fur Traders of Northern Indiana," p. 97.

and ran due east.¹⁹ It passed about one-half mile south of Joseph Bailly's homestead (figure 2). Bailly found his land in the public domain. In 1829 United States surveyors established section lines in this area. Bailly applied for a land title, and on September 6, 1831, a patent for the SE¼ of Section 27, Township 37 North, Range 6 West, was conveyed to him.²⁰

The Bailly homestead of the early 1830s had a different appearance from the present-day site. Lemuel Bryant, who stayed overnight at Bailly's place in 1832, described the homestead as a collection of little log buildings. One structure served as a dining house while another contained a kitchen. Two others provided sleeping quarters for Bailly and his wife and his daughters. In addition there were a number of outbuildings.²¹ Charles Hoffman, who passed the area in 1833, stated that the homestead "consisted of six or eight log-cabins of a most primitive construction, all of them gray with age. . . ."²² Bailly did not begin to construct the present main house until 1835, the year he died.

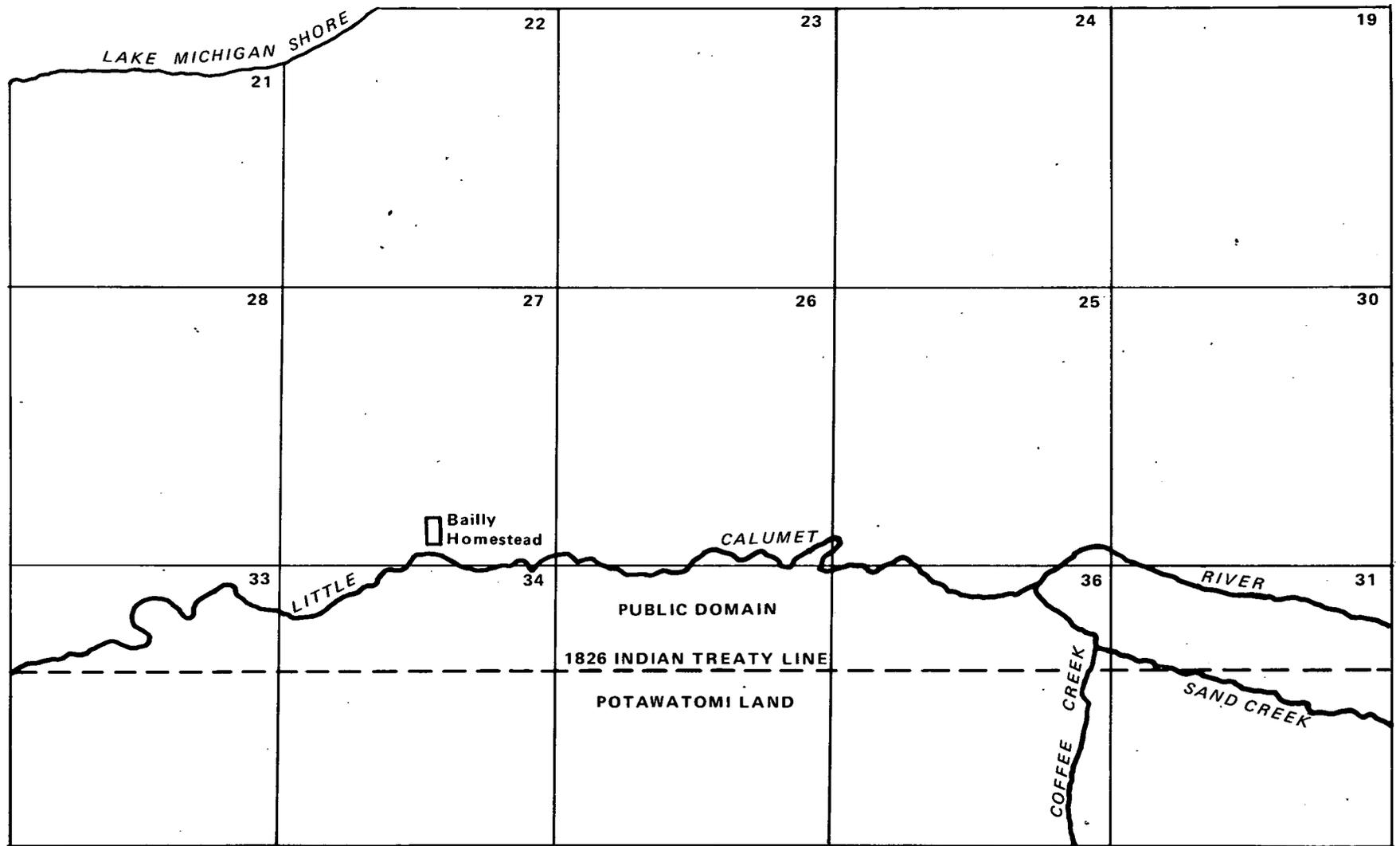
After his death Bailly's property was divided among his heirs and the family left the homestead. Some family members returned in the late 1830s and inhabited the home until approximately 1845. It then remained vacant for 10 years except for a short period when lumbermen resided there. In 1855, Bailly's widow, Marie, daughter Rose Howe and her children, Frances and Rose, returned. From that time until Frances Howe's death in 1917 family members continuously lived in the home. Extensive changes were made to the buildings over this period. In 1919 the School Sisters of Notre Dame from Milwaukee received the deed to the property. They used the main house as a retreat until they abandoned the

19. Charles J. Kappler, ed., *Indian Treaties, 1778-1883* (New York: Interland Publishing Inc., 1972), pp. 273-77; Federal Writers' Project, Indiana, *Indiana: A Guide to the Hoosier State* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1941), p. 59.

20. Russell, "Independent Fur Traders of Northern Indiana," p. 97; U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, "Historic Site Survey: The Bailly Homestead, Porter County, Indiana," by James R. Sullivan, 1958, p. 2 (report located in the Indiana Dunes National Lakeshore files).

21. Lemuel Bryant, "Journal of an Overland and Water Trip from Ashfield, Mass. through New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan, and Indiana to Chicago," April 27, 1832-July ? (MS located in the Chicago Historical Society).

22. Charles F. Hoffman, *A Winter in the West* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1835), 1:230.



1826 INDIAN TREATY LINE

FIGURE 2

property in 1932. Several others owned the estate after that date until the United States government acquired the property in 1971.²³ The existing homestead buildings, which appear on the National Register, have been restored for interpretive use. Restoration included the Bailly cemetery, which is located about three-fourths of a mile north of the homestead.

Platting Villages

In the same year that Joseph Bailly received title to his homestead, a mail route opened between Chicago and Fort Wayne that passed just south of his home. By 1833 a stage route between Detroit and Chicago followed the Calumet Beach Trail just north of Bailly's property (the present U.S. Highway 12). With the opening of communication routes came land speculators who began to lay out townsites. The first of these men, Isaac C. Elston, purchased land on Lake Michigan just northeast of Bailly's homestead in 1831 and laid out the village of Michigan City. The first settlers arrived there in 1833.²⁴

On a national scale a craze developed during this period of Andrew Jackson's presidency for speculation in land and the platting of new towns. The sale of western real estate began to double and then triple. All this activity undoubtedly did not escape the attention of Joseph Bailly. He could observe the efforts of men like Isaac Elston at Michigan City. In addition his daughters, whom he had taken the time to educate, were well-versed in the trends of the time.²⁵ Bailly lacked

23. Howe, *The Story of a French Homestead in the Old Northwest*, pp. 120-22, 136-37; Pioneer National Title Insurance Company, "Ownership of the Bailly Homestead" (MS located in the Indiana Dunes National Lakeshore files).

24. Olga Schiemann, "Roads Across Old Baillytown," *Duneland Historical Society* 2 (November 1956): 9-10; A.G. Hardesty, *Illustrated Historical Atlas of Porter County, Indiana* (Valparaiso: A.G. Hardesty, 1876), p. 23; Jasper Packard, *History of LaPorte County, Indiana* (LaPorte, Indiana: S.E. Taylor and Co., 1876), p. 83.

25. Lemuel Bryant, on a cross-country trip, spent a night at the Bailly homestead. He observed that Bailly's daughters had a fine education and could converse at length on the trends of the day. Bryant also described Joseph and Marie Bailly. "He is a fat dirty fellow & he sits on a rush mat & smokes his pipe for hours together. He is & has been for years a Fur trader and has large fat squaw for a *bosom companion*. A sweet looking creature!!!!!!" Bryant, "Journal of an Overland and Water Trip from Ashfield, Mass. through New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan, and Indiana to Chicago."

the financial wherewithall to follow suit at first, but another Indian treaty provided Bailly with the resources by which he could acquire the wealth to partake in the land speculation. During negotiations for the Treaty of Chicago, signed in September 1833, he applied for reservations for himself and his children. Instead, in lieu of the reservations, he received a cash settlement of \$4,000 for himself and an additional \$2,000 for his children.²⁶

With the \$6,000 obtained from the Treaty of Chicago Bailly acted quickly to join the land speculation. He obviously realized that property adjoining a major road offered the most lucrative return on an investment. He began to purchase land along the Chicago-Detroit road (figure 3). At the same time Bailly platted a village about a mile northwest of his homestead which he named Bailly Town. It lay at the junction of the Chicago-Detroit road and the Chicago-Ft. Wayne mail route. The plat map, which he recorded on December 10, 1834, carried the date of December 14, 1833. His town had 240 lots with streets named for his daughters as well as Napoleon and Andrew Jackson.²⁷ Bailly advertised his town in the December 17, 1833, issue of the *Chicago Democrat*.²⁸

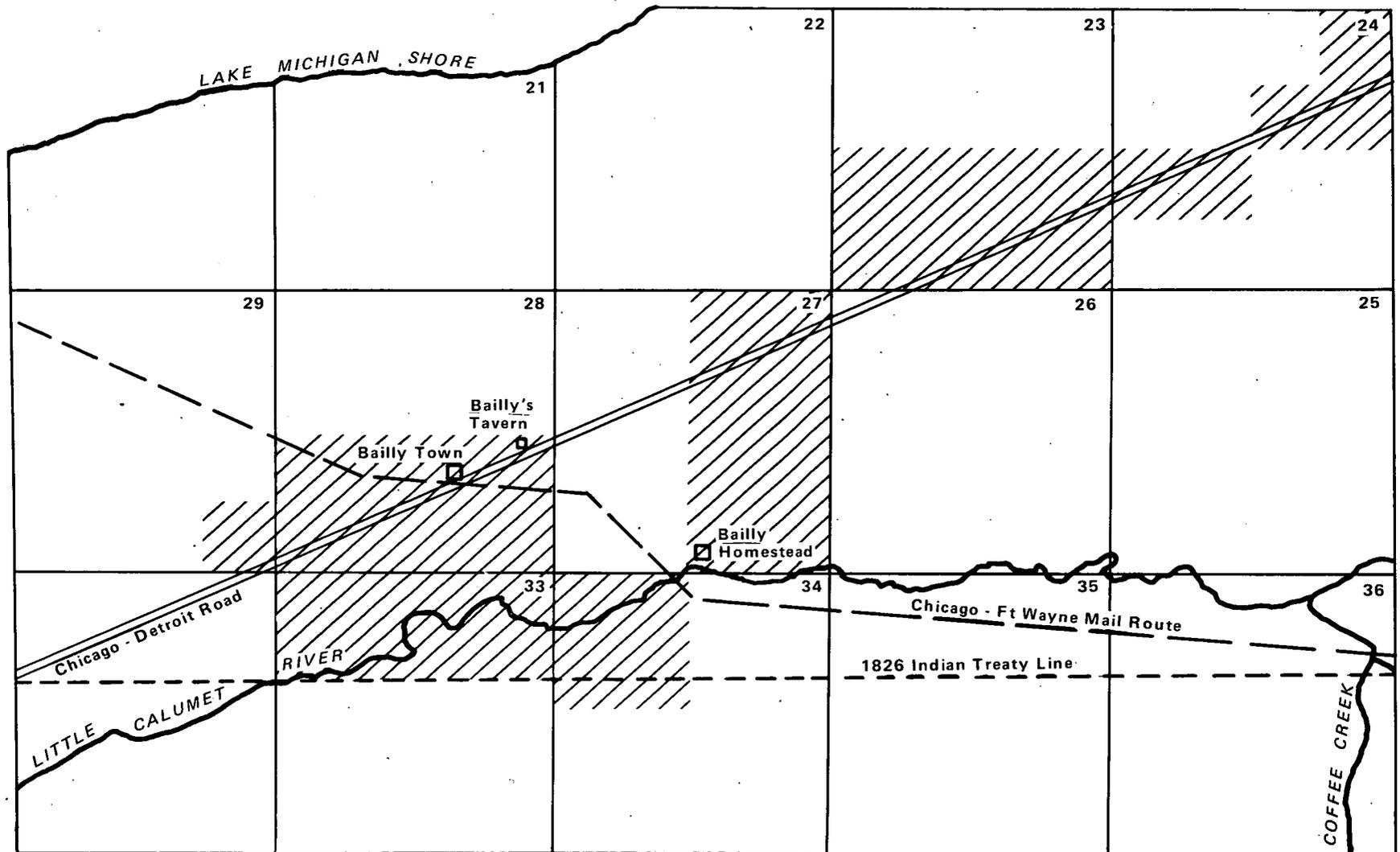
Joseph Bailly soon had competition from a nearby land developer. In 1834 John I. Foster laid out a townsite on the Little Calumet River about a mile and a half east of Bailly's homestead. He named it Waverly. Like Bailly's town it attracted a few buyers. Several families actually resided in Waverly, but by 1837 it had failed.²⁹

26. Kappler, ed., *Indian Treaties, 1778-1883*, pp. 405-6.

27. Deed Book A, Instruments Recorded in LaPorte County, Indiana, 1834-35, p. 2 (located in the Valparaiso City Library); Russell, "Independent Fur Traders of Northern Indiana," p. 97.

28. Schiemann, "Roads Across Old Baillytown," p. 11. The sale of only four lots in Bailly's town are recorded in Deed Book A, Instruments Recorded in LaPorte County, Indiana, 1834-35. The first was sold on June 20, 1835, to Jacob Bigelow of LaPorte County for \$25. The other three were all sold on July 27, 1835. Nathan O. Ross of LaPorte County purchased his lot for \$40 as did B.B. Taylor, also of LaPorte County. George W. Merrill of Chicago obtained his lot for \$20. These sales would seem to contradict Frances Howe's account in her book *The Story of a French Homestead in the Old Northwest*. She stated that her grandfather hoped to attract French-Canadian settlers, some of whom purchased lots in his town.

29. Timothy H. Ball, *Northwestern Indiana from 1800-1900; or A View of Our Region Through the Nineteenth Century* (Chicago: Donohue and Henneberry, Printers, 1900), p. 319.



PROPERTY OWNED BY JOSEPH BAILLY IN 1834 - 35

FIGURE 3

With his newfound wealth Bailly purchased a house in Chicago and began to construct a new family dwelling at the homestead. His wife and daughters began to reside in Chicago for the winter. Joseph Bailly died unexpectedly in December 1835 after his family had taken up their winter residence in that city. A nearby neighbor at Waverly took charge of the funeral and buried Bailly before his family could return.³⁰

New towns continued to appear in the dunes area after Joseph Bailly's death. In 1836 four men, William Morse, Joshua Hobart, Jacob Bigelow, and Leverett Bradley, platted a village at the mouth of Fort Creek on the shore of Lake Michigan. They named it City West. Structures were erected in 1837 and a harbor survey made. The town fared better than many in the area, for it attracted a number of residents. Its planners vied with Michigan City for federal money to construct a harbor. When Michigan City won the appropriation, City West began to decline. A fire destroyed the town in the early 1840s. In turn Michigan City grew to become the main grain market in northern Indiana from 1837 to 1844. After the latter date railroads to the south cut down the passage of grain through its harbor. About 1836, a company from Columbus, Ohio, founded a town at the mouth of the Grand Calumet River near the present city of Gary. This speculative venture, called Indiana City, failed to attract inhabitants and ended with the 1837 depression.³¹

RAILROADS AND LUMBER

The growth of Chicago greatly affected the dunes area. Railroads which pushed to connect that city with the east crossed the Calumet region in the early 1850s. Lumbermen, who cut firewood and lumber during the 1840s for the local market, took advantage of the new transportation opportunity. Sawmills increased to provide ties for the railroad tracks and lumber for the Chicago market. Joseph

30. Ball, *Northwestern Indiana from 1800-1900*, p. 321. Ball interviewed the daughter of the Waverly settler, a man named Beck, who handled Bailly's funeral. She told him of Bailly's death and burial by her father before the family could arrive from their winter home in Chicago. This version contradicted the story told by Frances Howe who stated that her grandfather died from a lingering illness. Howe did say that a Methodist neighbor named Beck took charge of the funeral and buried Bailly, but her version had the family present. Beck's daughter undoubtedly gave the true account.

31. Ball, *Northwestern Indiana from 1800-1900*, pp. 311, 318; Packard, *History of LaPorte County, Indiana*, p. 93; Moore, *The Calumet Region: Indiana's Last Frontier*, pp. 75-77.

Bailly's son-in-law, Francis Howe, began a sawmill operation in the late 1840s, but died during a cholera epidemic in 1850. Another son-in-law, Joel Wicker, assumed control of this lumber business. He began to purchase timberland in the present Indiana Dunes National Lakeshore area including much of the property held by the other Bailly heirs. Wicker, who operated his sawmill near the Bailly cemetery and at Bailly Town, cut the trees on his land and then sold the property in parcels to the Swedish immigrants who began to arrive in the area.³² Although Frances Howe claimed that her uncle (Joel Wicker) induced the Swedes to settle in Westchester township, they were probably attracted to the area because of its similarity to their homeland.

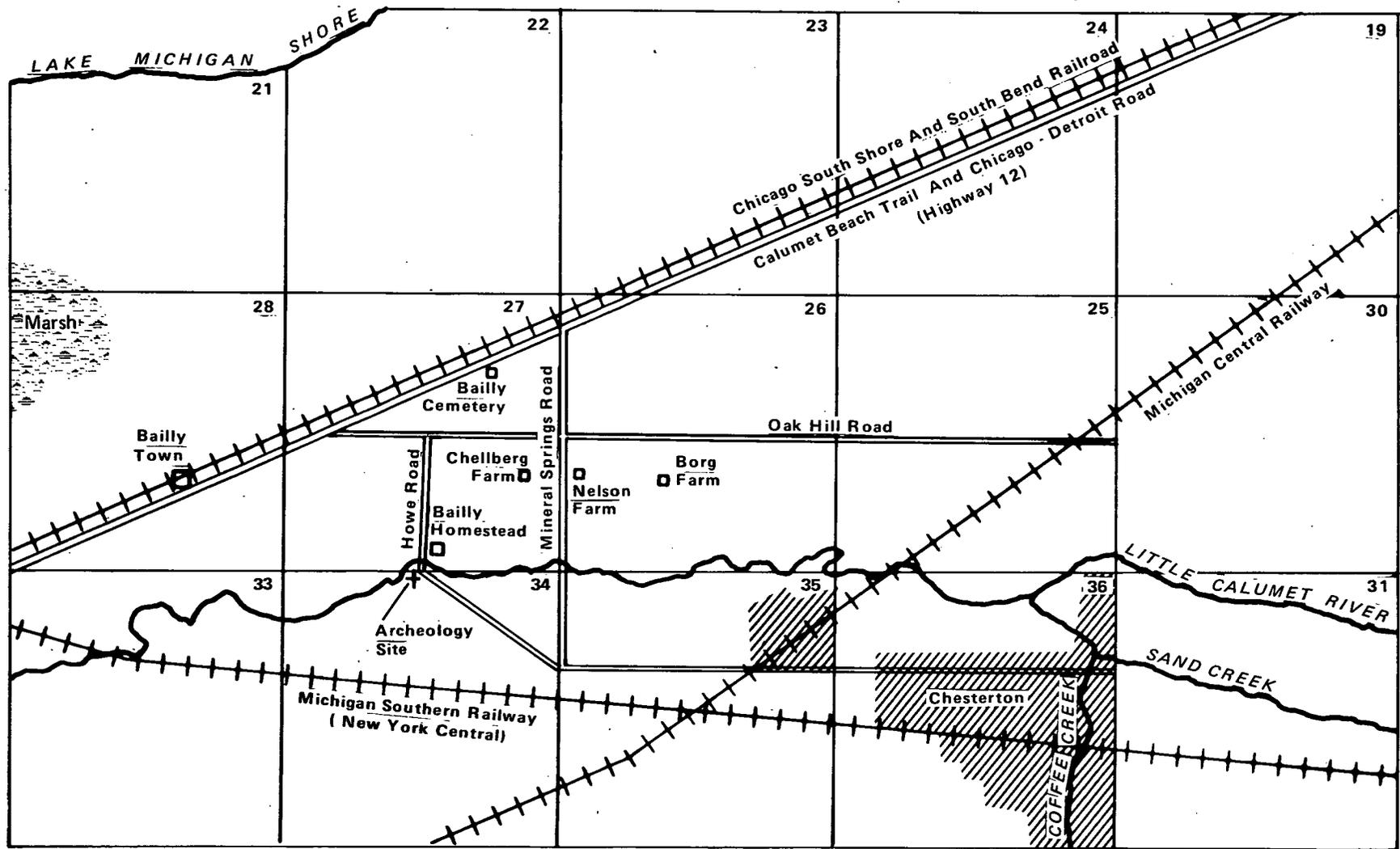
SWEDISH SETTLEMENT

In the 1860s Swedish farms began to dot the landscape in the vicinity of the Bailly homestead. Many of the earliest of these immigrants soon sold their land to other Swedes who became permanent residents. A number of these families intermarried. Three of the families, who settled on land adjacent to the Bailly homestead, left reminders of the Swedish settlement period in the distinctive brick houses which they built on their farms (figure 4 gives the location of these farms).

Chellberg Farm

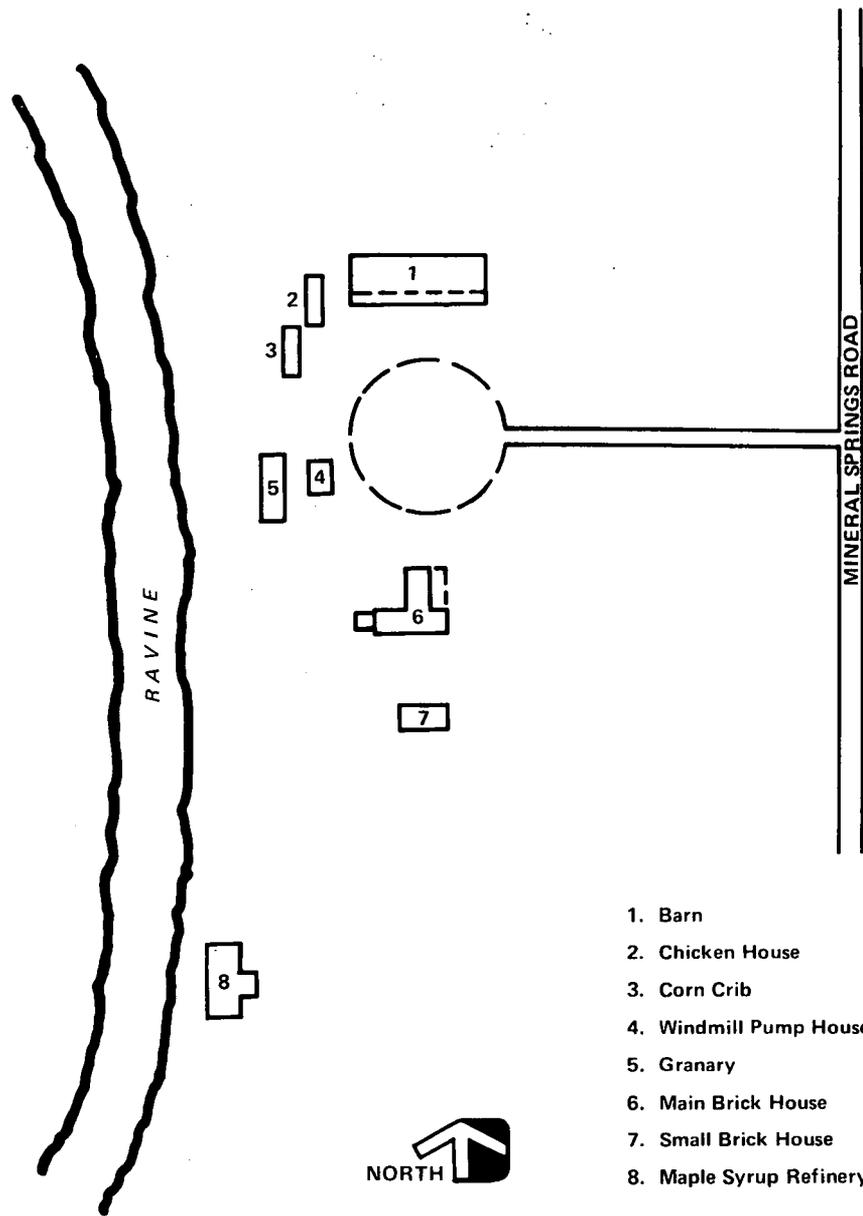
Of the three, the Chellberg farm is the best preserved. The first members of the Chellberg family, Anders and Johana Kjellberg (Kjellberg was later spelled Chellberg), came to the United States in 1863 from Vätene Jotland, Sweden. Anders was a tailor and Lutheran minister. He settled on the E½ of the SE¼ of Section 27, Township 37 North, Range 6 West, about 1874 (figure 5). At first they constructed a wood frame house on the site of the present brick structure.

32. Howe, *The Story of a French Homestead in the Old Northwest*, pp. 138-39; Carl W. Nelson, "The Bailly Cemetery," 1949, p. 5 (MS located in the Indiana Dunes National Lakeshore files); "Indiana Dunes National Lakeshore: General Information on the Bailly Homestead Area," n.d. (MS located in the Indiana Dunes National Lakeshore files). Marquis Childs's (a columnist for the *Washington Post*) great grandfather, Lansing Morgan, probably had a larger sawmill operation than Joel Wicker. Morgan cut millions of board feet of lumber in the dunes area for construction use in Chicago. Much of the land Morgan once owned is now incorporated into the Indiana Dunes State Park and Indiana Dunes National Lakeshore. Marquis Childs, "Story of the Dunes," *Washington Post and Times Herald*, August 25, 1959.



LOCATION OF SWEDISH FARMS, 1890s

FIGURE 4



- 1. Barn
- 2. Chicken House
- 3. Corn Crib
- 4. Windmill Pump House
- 5. Granary
- 6. Main Brick House
- 7. Small Brick House
- 8. Maple Syrup Refinery

CHELLBERG FARM

FIGURE 5

About 1884 it burned, and in 1885 the family constructed their new home from brick obtained at a Porter brickyard. It served as the model for the other two nearby brick farmhouses. Anders Kjellberg built his barn about 1880 with timber obtained from the property. It exemplified the construction skill carried by this Swedish immigrant to his new homeland, since he used mortise and tenon secured with wooden pegs to hold the beam frame together. Over the years other structures were added to the farm including a corn crib, granary, chicken house, windmill pumphouse, and small brick house. The chicken house reflected the concern of Johana Kjellberg to keep her poultry warm since she had the building plastered. Anders's son, C. L. Chellberg, took over the farm about 1887. His major source of income came from his dairy herd, which he milked by hand. He took his whole milk in cans to the nearby Chicago, South Shore and South Bend railway station for shipment to Chicago. Eventually, his son Carl worked the farm. Carl last used the property to raise sheep. Carl's brother-in-law Alden Studebaker constructed a maple syrup refinery on the farm in the mid-1930s and used it until 1948. He obtained sap from about 200 maple trees on the property.³³

Borg Farm

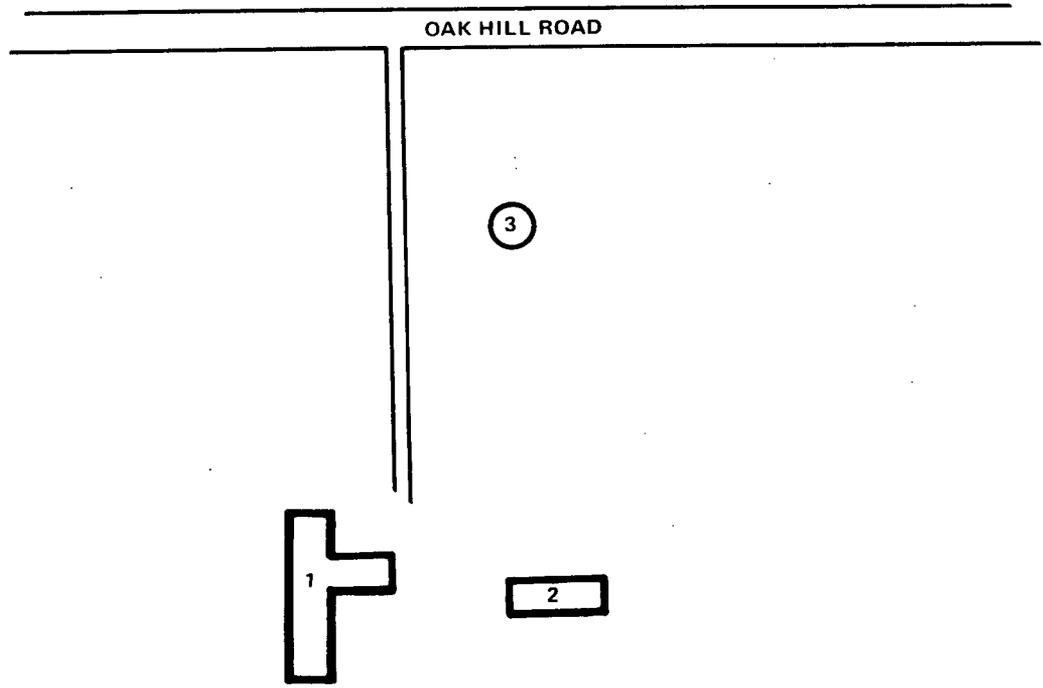
John Borg, who owned the second of the three farms, purchased the W½ of the E½ of the SW¼ of Section 26, Township 37 North, Range 6 West, on September 4, 1866 (figure 6). Like the Chellbergs, he, too, derived his income from milk cows.³⁴ Little remains of the Borg farm except a dilapidated silo, wood frame structure, and a brick house. Borg constructed his brick home in 1888 with a design identical to the Chellberg house. It could be used for any needed repairs on the Chellberg house.

Nelson Farm

The third farm with a brick house is located across Mineral Springs Road from the Chellberg farm on the W½ of the SW¼ of Section 26, Township 37 North, Range 6 West. It is not on the property included in the Indiana Dunes National Lakeshore. Carl W. Nelson named his farm the "Sugar Bush Farm" for the large number of maple trees which had grown on the property. Supposedly, Indians once used these trees as a source of sugar, but by the time Nelson obtained the

33. Taped interview of Naomi Chellberg Studebaker by D. Blink and J. Seiser, August 11, 1975 (tape located in the Indiana Dunes National Lakeshore files); Interview of Naomi Chellberg Studebaker by Berle Clemensen, August 15, 1976. See Appendix A for a chain of title on the Chellberg farm.

34. Interview of Naomi Chellberg Studebaker by Berle Clemensen, August 15, 1976. See Appendix B for a chain of title on the Borg farm.



NORTH

- 1. Brick House
- 2. Wood Structure
- 3. Silo

BORG (THARP) FARM

FIGURE 6

farm in 1913 only one old tree remained. It had an unusual gash in the trunk which he thought the Indians made to obtain sap. The tree, however, obstructed Nelson's farm work and he cut it down.³⁵ Carl inherited the land from his father, C. P. Nelson, a stone mason, who had purchased the property on April 6, 1887. In that year he constructed a small wood frame house which the family inhabited until the completion of their brick house in 1891.³⁶ The brick house, like the Borg home, is an identical copy of the Chellberg brick structure. Both the wood and brick houses still stand as a reminder of the Swedish settlement period (figure 7). The brick house is presently inhabited by Roy Suda.

GERMAN SETTLEMENT

Swedes were not the only immigrants to settle in the area, for Germans, too, came and farmed the land. One of the older houses in the Indiana Dunes National Lakeshore still remains as a reminder of the German settlement.

Welkie House

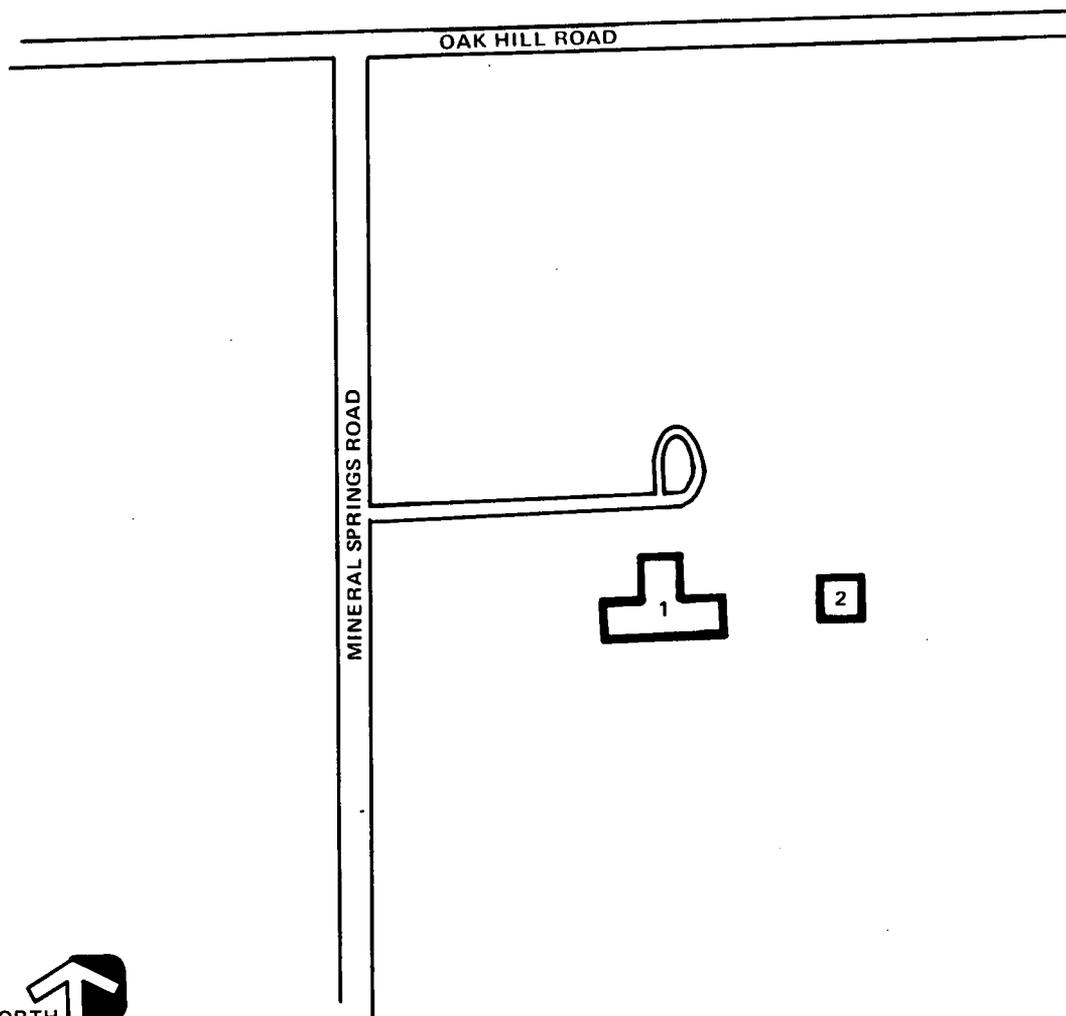
Gottlieb Wilke (Wilke was later changed to Welkie) arrived in northern Indiana from Germany about 1872 and purchased 80 acres of land which is presently located along Highway 20 by Furnessville. Wilke raised strawberries on his land and shipped them to the Chicago market.³⁷

About a year after his arrival in the area, Wilke constructed a house on his property with brick obtained from a Furnessville brickyard. The home has undergone considerable changes. At an undetermined time two additions were added to the house. Two upper floor windows and a first story door on the east side of the original structure have been enclosed with brick. In addition a picture window was installed on that same side and two wider, modern windows replaced the initial openings in the lower floor of the south portion. These latter alterations probably occurred when Ernest Welkie had the interior completely

35. Carl W. Nelson, "The Indian Village on the Sugar Bush," n.d. (MS held by Roy Suda).

36. John Drury, "Sugar Bush Site Rich in History," *Chicago Tribune*, August 29, 1965; Interview of Naomi Chellberg Studebaker by Berle Clemensen, August 15, 1976. See Appendix C for a chain of title on the Nelson farm.

37. Interview of Ernest Welkie by Berle Clemensen, May 3, 1978.



- 1. Brick House
- 2. Original Wood Frame House

NELSON (SUDA) FARM

FIGURE 7

remodeled in 1956. Although the structure is reminiscent of early German settlement in the area, the building has sustained changes of such magnitude as to render its historical significance nugatory.

EARLY ATTEMPT TO CREATE A SAND DUNE NATIONAL PARK

While the Swedish farmers placidly pursued their agrarian livelihood, the allure of cheap, easily obtained sand attracted commercial ventures to the dunes. Beginning in the 1880s sand companies hauled sand from the south shore of Lake Michigan in an ever-increasing volume for railroad track elevation in Chicago and for fill material in area cities. Some of the sand was used for fill on the site of the 1893 Chicago World's Fair. Much of Chicago's concrete pavement contained dune sand, while the gravel made roofing material.³⁸

As many dunes disappeared, concerned area residents sought to halt the sand removal through federal custody of the dunes in the form of a national park. At the same time, industries increasingly coveted the area for expansion. Soon after the beginning of the 20th century, the Illinois Steel Company, a subsidiary of the United States Steel Corporation, found that it could no longer expand around its South Chicago, Illinois, plant for lack of space. As a result that corporation selected a site in the unpopulated area on the southern tip of Lake Michigan for expansion. It quietly began to purchase the land in July 1905, and construction on the first steel mill started on March 12, 1906. Soon that firm commenced work on a new community to house the mill employees. The city was named for the chairman of the United States Steel finance committee, Elbert H. Gary. During the process of construction, dunes were leveled, trees were removed, swamps were filled, and the course of the Grand Calumet River was changed. Within a short time other industries directed their attention to the south shore of Lake Michigan. This situation portended further destruction of the dunes.³⁹

Momentum for saving the dunes increased in the spring of 1916 when tales spread that sand companies intended to remove additional dunes for Chicago fill. Area residents formed a National Dunes Park Association in July of that year to raise

38. Moore, *The Calumet Region: Indiana's Last Frontier*, pp. 100-101.

39. Alfred H. Meyer and Elmer B. Hess, "Gary 'Big Steel' — Geographic Design and Destiny," *Proceedings of the Indiana Academy of Science* 68 (1958): 243, 245; Alfred H. Meyer, "Toponymy in Sequent Occupance Geography, Calumet Region, Indiana-Illinois," *Proceedings of the Indiana Academy of Science* 54 (1945): 155; Louis J. Bailey, "The Founding of Gary," 1916, pp. 2-6 (MS in the Gary, Indiana, Public Library).

money to buy part of the area which would then be deeded to the federal government for the park.⁴⁰ This group attracted the attention of Indiana Senator Thomas Taggart. On September 7, 1916, he introduced a resolution (Senate Resolution 268) into the United States Senate which requested that the secretary of the interior investigate and report to Congress on the desirability of obtaining part of Lake, Porter, and LaPorte counties for a sand dune national park.⁴¹

The secretary of the interior, Franklin Lane, appointed Stephen T. Mather, head of the newly created National Park Service, to conduct the investigation requested by Congress. Mather held a meeting on October 30, 1916, in the Chicago Federal Building to ascertain local opinion about a dunes park. Forty-two prominent individuals, who represented various educational, art, literary, scientific, and business groups, spoke at the hearing. None opposed the establishment of a park. These people voiced their concern for protecting this unique natural area as a place for ecological and geological study and for its recreational value to the area's five million urban residents. In addition two of those testifying related the panorama of the frontier which touched the region.⁴²

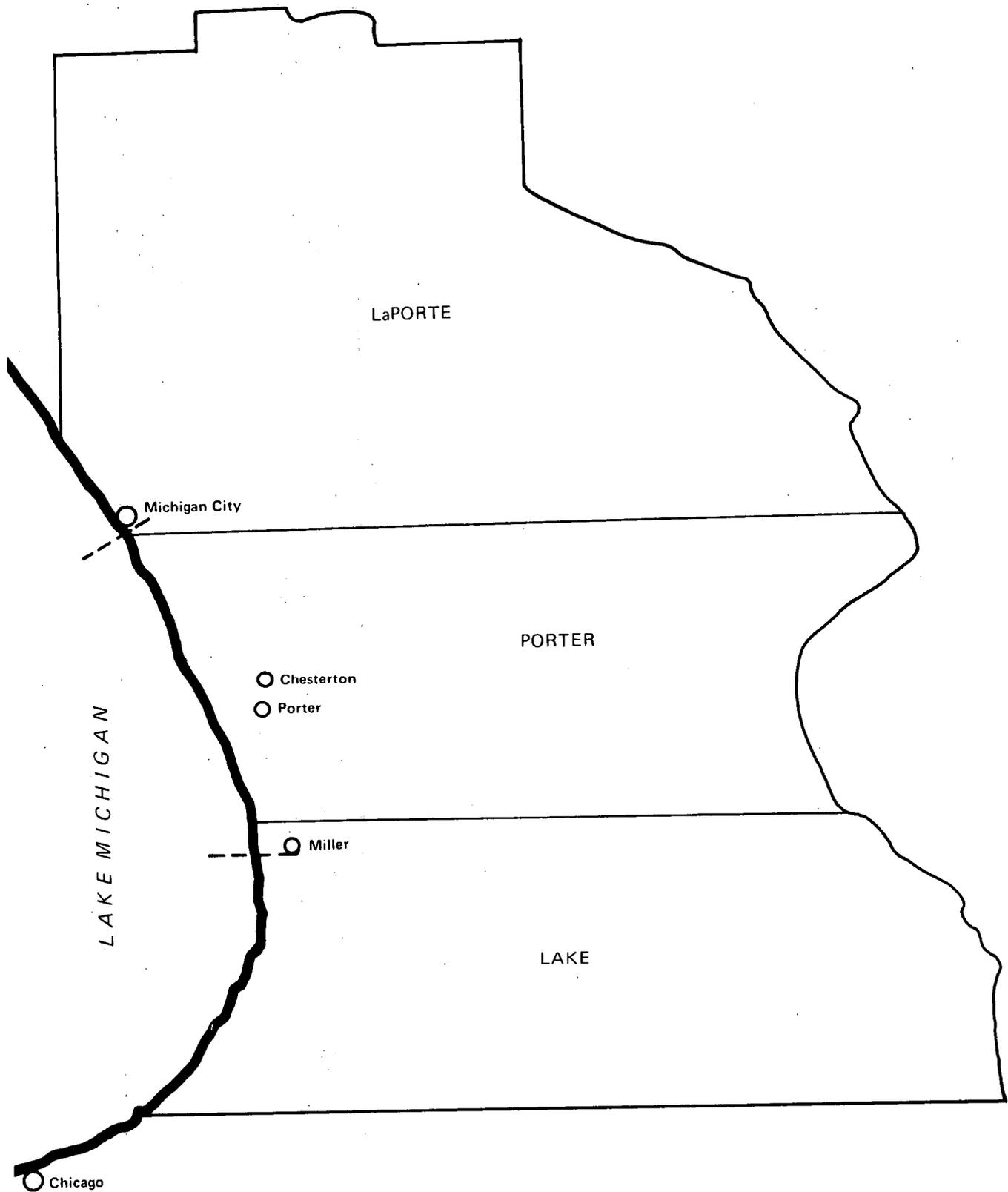
Based upon his observation of the region and the hearing testimony, Stephen Mather concluded that the dunes in Lake County west of Miller and in LaPorte County were "not worthy of consideration with a view to their preservation by the Federal Government" (figure 8). These dunes were too small, isolated, lacking in distinctive scenery, and close to industrial centers, which made them valuable expansion areas. The relatively uninhabited dunes between Miller and the Porter-LaPorte county line offered the ideal location for a park, Mather felt.⁴³

40. Moore, *The Calumet Region: Indiana's Last Frontier*, p. 597.

41. *Congressional Record*, 64th Cong., 1st sess., p. 13962; L.F. Bennett, "The Sand Dune Region as a National Park," *Proceedings of the Indiana Academy of Science* 24 (1916): 261.

42. U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, *Report on the Proposed Sand Dunes National Park, Indiana*, by Stephen T. Mather (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1917).

43. *Ibid.*, pp. 7-8.



AREA RECOMMENDED FOR SAND DUNE NATIONAL PARK BY STEPHEN MATHER

FIGURE 8

On February 28, 1917, the Senate received Mather's report, but took no action. The drama which would culminate little more than a month later in America's entrance into World War I had directed congressional attention away from creating a dune park.⁴⁴

INDIANA DUNES BECOMES A LIVING CLASSROOM FOR EXPANDING KNOWLEDGE OF PLANT ECOLOGY

Although the study of plant life had its origins in antiquity, it did not develop as a serious discipline in North America until after the Civil War. Prior to that time only interested individuals with leisure and money pursued a botanical avocation. Their main concern involved taxonomy, the collection and classification of plants. In 1862 the Morrill Act provided the foundation for increased emphasis on botany as a course of study. This legislation provided for the establishment of land grant agricultural colleges which, by the 1870s, instituted scientific studies in horticulture. These colleges prominently featured botanical courses in their curricula.⁴⁵ The botanists who instructed at these schools, however, continued in the time-honored practice of taxonomy.

In the 1880s one man, Charles E. Bessey, in his capacity as head of the University of Nebraska agricultural experiment stations, began the pioneering work in plant ecology in North America. Using his multilingual ability, he read the works of European botanists who had developed the study of plant ecology on their continent. Bessey encouraged his students to adopt the new methods of ecological investigation. As a result it was from the agricultural school at the University of Nebraska that the early study of plant ecology developed.⁴⁶ If any person can claim the title "Father of North American Plant Ecology," that man is Charles E. Bessey.

44. Moore, *The Calumet Region: Indiana's Last Frontier*, pp. 598-99; *Congressional Record*, 64th Cong., 2nd sess., p. 4481.

45. Paul B. Sears, "Plant Ecology," in *A Short History of Botany in the United States*, ed. Joseph Ewan (New York: Hafner Pub. Co., 1969), p. 124; Andrew D. Rogers, *American Botany 1873-1892: Decades of Transition* (New York: Hafner Pub. Co., 1968), p. 244.

46. Rogers, *American Botany 1873-1892*, pp. 228, 244; Sears, "Plant Ecology," p. 124.

Botanists throughout the United States quickly utilized Bessey's innovations. These men and their students expanded the new methods of plant study to encompass more than Bessey's studies in forestry and horticulture. One such individual, John Coulter, who chaired the botany department at the University of Chicago by the mid-1890s, interested his student Henry C. Cowles in plant ecology.⁴⁷

Henry C. Cowles, born on February 27, 1869, in Connecticut, began his early academic study in geology. His schooling at the University of Chicago brought him into contact with John Coulter, who persuaded him to enter botanical study. Cowles joined the doctoral program as Coulter's first student at Chicago. In the pursuit of his Ph.D. degree his studies led him to the sand dune area in northern Indiana where he discovered a unique area to observe plant ecology. The numerous bogs, swamps, wooded areas, and sand dunes, combined with a moderate climate, presented an unusual microcosm of plant life. For his dissertation study, "Ecological Relations of the Vegetation on Sand Dunes of Lake Michigan," Cowles chose a site (NW¼ of the NE¼ of Section 13, Township 37 North, Range 6 West) between Mount Tom and Mount Holden in present-day Indiana Dunes State Park. In 1899, the year after completing his Ph.D., Cowles published his dissertation findings in the *Botanical Gazette*. This paper and a subsequent one, "Physiographic Ecology of Chicago and Vicinity," which appeared in 1901, again in the *Botanical Gazette*, served as model studies for the many students of plant ecology who followed. Cowles's work and legacy involved pioneering endeavors to understand the natural forces at work in the successional changes of the landscape.⁴⁸

Cowles remained at the University of Chicago as a professor of botany. In 1925 he became department chairman, a post he held until retirement in 1934. During his tenure at that institution, Cowles continued to study plant life throughout the dune area. He frequently returned with students on research trips to allow them the unique experience of an outdoor living classroom which the dunes area offered. His work gained him international recognition as a leader in the field of

47. Rogers, *American Botany 1873-1892*, pp. 244, 311; Sears, "Plant Ecology," p. 124.

48. Harry Baker Humphrey, *Makers of North American Botany* (New York: The Ronald Press Co., 1961), pp. 62-63; Alton A. Lindsey, Damian V. Schmelz, and Stanley A. Nichols, *Natural Areas in Indiana and Their Preservation* (Lafayette, Ind.: Indiana Natural Area Study, 1969), p. 522; Rogers, *American Botany 1873-1892*, p. 199; Jerry S. Olson, "Rates of Succession and Soil Changes on Southern Lake Michigan Sand Dunes," *Botanical Gazette* 119 (March 1958): 125-26.

botany. In 1930 Cowles's fellow botanists elected him president of the plant geography and ecology section of the International Botanical Congress held in Cambridge, England. In addition, to commemorate his work in the dunes region, a bog now located within the Indiana Dunes National Lakeshore in Section 22, Township 37 North, Range 6 West, received his name. In and near this bog are found many examples of the unusual plant life which inhabits the area behind the lakefront dune belt.⁴⁹

Cowles's methodology influenced the study of other facets of ecology. Victor Shelford, a colleague at the University of Chicago, used Cowles's work on plant ecology as the basis for his development of animal ecology.⁵⁰ Others who followed in biology combined the disciplines of plant and animal ecology to develop the study of ecosystems. This field entails the role of plants and animals, including man, and their relationship in the natural environment.⁵¹

Henry C. Cowles left a significant mark on the study of plant ecology. By expanding the work of his predecessors he helped to create an awareness of the delicate balance in nature. His work in the Indiana dunes brought that area to international attention as a unique region for ecological study.

REGIONAL CHANGE

The Calumet area underwent an evolution common to many regions in the early part of the 20th century. Beginning about 1910 many sons of dune area farmers sought their livelihood in the nearby Gary industries. At first they commuted from their farm homes to that city via the Chicago, South Shore and South Bend Railroad. Slowly, their residences shifted to the urban area.⁵²

49. Humphrey, *Makers of North American Botany*, p. 63; Lindsey, Schmelz, and Nichols, *Natural Areas in Indiana and Their Preservation*, pp. 523-25.

50. Sears, "Plant Ecology," p. 129.

51. In the present day the term ecology has come to be loosely defined as the study of ecosystems. Henry C. Cowles, however, studied only that facet of ecology which dealt with plants.

52. Interview of Naomi Chellberg Studebaker by Berle Clemensen, August 15, 1976.

Another, bigger change began to occur in the 1920s. With the proliferation of automobiles and the completion of the concrete Federal Highway 12 in 1923 the dune area became more accessible. Typical of the land boom in the 1920s, real estate investors began to purchase large tracts of dune land along the Lake Michigan shore for subdivision into residential lots. As had happened a hundred years earlier, a second land speculation period began. Developments with such names as Dune Acres, Dune Forest, Potawatomi View, and Beverly Shores appeared. Lot sales proceeded slowly at first, attracting mainly wealthier Chicago residents who wished to relocate in an attractive, less developed area.⁵³

INDIANA DUNES STATE PARK

Proponents of a sand dune national park watched the almost uninhabited area they desired fall under the destructive influence of housing contractors. Unable to obtain federal aid for a park, these citizens turned to the Indiana General Assembly. In 1923 their efforts met with success when the assembly enacted a bill to provide funds through a 2-mill increase on each \$100 of property tax in the state over a seven-year period. The state funds, however, were provided for a greatly reduced area from that originally proposed for a national park. With property value rising from land speculation and the state money unavailable until taxes were collected, private citizens and industrialists began a donation program to acquire the land immediately. The largest contribution came from Elbert H. Gary, who as head of the United States Steel Corporation gave \$250,000. By May 1927 the area comprising the present Indiana Dunes State Park had been purchased.⁵⁴ Soon the state erected a beach hotel to accommodate weekend visitors, and the governor even located a summer capital there for several years.⁵⁵

BEVERLY SHORES

The Beverly Shores community is located along the lakeshore in Porter County. Except for a small tract within the park boundary, it is surrounded by the East

53. Moore, *The Calumet Region: Indiana's Last Frontier*, p. 600; Interview of Naomi Chellberg Studebaker by Berle Clemensen, August 15, 1976.

54. Moore, *The Calumet Region: Indiana's Last Frontier*, pp. 600-601.

55. Childs, "Story of the Dunes," *Washington Post and Times Herald*, August 25, 1959.

Unit of the Indiana Dunes National Lakeshore. A bill before Congress proposes to add the entire area to the national lakeshore. Originally, it comprised an area of active and stabilized sand dunes interspersed with swamps and marshes. The wooded acreage included oak, hickory, maple, and pine trees. Apart from the sawmill operations of individuals like Lansing Morgan and Joel Wicker in the mid-19th century, this terrain undoubtedly inhibited early settlement.

In 1898 an English syndicate purchased a large tract of land lying between the LaPorte-Porter county line and Highway 49 on which it started a cattle ranch. The purchase included the present Beverly Shores area. In 1901 that syndicate constructed the first house in Beverly Shores as a residence for a cousin of the owners who was sent to the United States to oversee the cattle operation. When cattle ranching proved unsuccessful, the syndicate turned to lumbering, but this second endeavor also failed. As a result in 1927 it sold the Beverly Shores tract to the Robert Bartlett Realty Company for a housing development. After Bartlett purchased the land, he hired men to patrol the area on horseback. They used the old syndicate house as a caretaker headquarters for their patrols. This usage resulted in the structure receiving the name "Ranger home."⁵⁶ Located on Wells Road, it still serves as a residence, but some structural changes have been made to the house. The structure has historical merit because of its association with a foreign enterprise which attempted to profit by a unique investment in the dunes area. Although it adds another dimension to the history of Indiana Dunes National Lakeshore, the changes in the house detract from any value as a National Register property.

Aside from the Ranger home, one of the earliest structures in the Bartlett development has been rumored to be a Frank Lloyd Wright house. However, it has been identified as not being a Wright creation.⁵⁷ Built in 1928, the house is located on a hill in the southeast part of Beverly Shores.

By 1929 overexpanded industries with accumulated inventories had begun to decrease employment, with a depressing effect on the economy that was

56. Interview of Norma Schaeffer by Berle Clemensen, May 2, 1978. Norma Schaeffer, who resides in Beverly Shores, has a taped interview with the persons who lived in the Ranger home as children in 1901 when their father came to oversee the English syndicate's cattle operation.

57. Andy Beck, a historic architect on the Rocky Mountain/Midwest Team, Historic Preservation Branch, and an expert on Frank Lloyd Wright houses, has concluded that Frank Lloyd Wright did not design the house.

compounded by the stock market crash in October of that year. This situation boded ill for the real estate developers in the dunes area, and several marginally solvent concerns lost their property for nonpayment of taxes. The developer of Beverly Shores, however, sought to take advantage of a unique opportunity to promote its enterprise. In 1933 a Century of Progress International Exposition opened in Chicago. Architectural firms designed model homes for display, and a history section included copies of such structures as Mount Vernon and the Old North Church. Because of the depression, the exposition directors required that no model homes be too grandiose or expensive. After the fair closed in September 1934, the sponsoring firms were faced with removing their buildings. Rather than expend money to destroy the houses, these companies sought buyers who would transplant them to another location. In the fall of 1934 and spring of 1935 the Bartlett Company purchased six of the model homes from the Home and Industrial Arts Exhibit and several of the buildings from the Colonial Village. Some of these structures were transported by barge while others were brought by land to Beverly Shores, where they were used for promotional purposes.⁵⁸ The Bartlett Company, however, did not purchase the house, "Design for Living," developed by John C. Brown-Moore of New York, which was considered the best home on display.⁵⁹

The remaining five model homes include the Rostone House, Florida Tropical House, House of Tomorrow, Armco and Ferro Enamel House, and Mountain Lodge (figure 9). Because of their association with the Chicago Exposition they possess historical value, but their architectural worth is greater since they were designed as models to demonstrate the latest building materials and techniques.

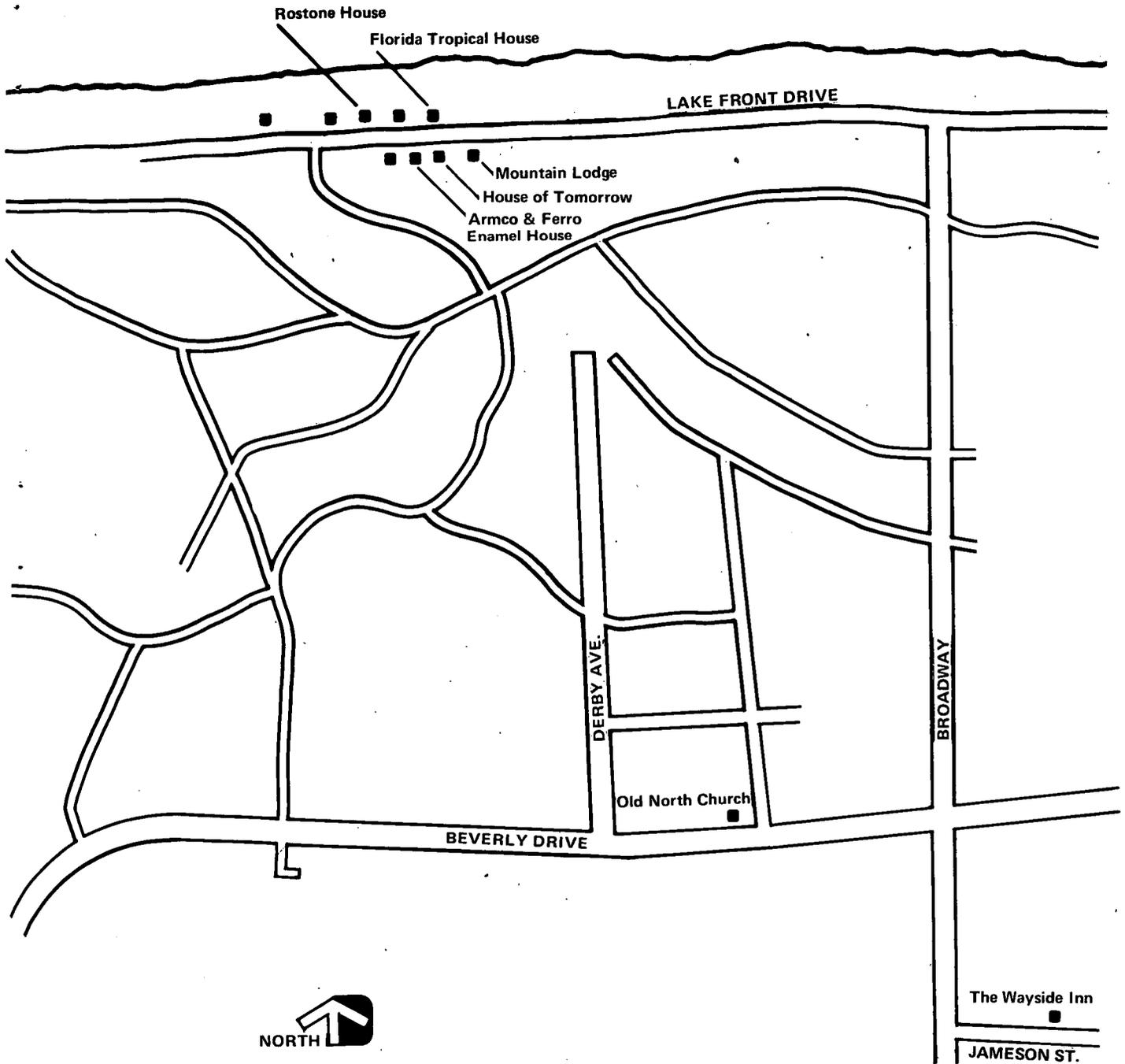
The Rostone House, located on Lots 3 and 4 in Block 187, was a six-room house designed by architect Walter Scholer of Lafayette, Indiana, and constructed for display by Rostone Incorporated and the Indiana Bridge Company. Rostone was a

58. Norma Schaeffer, Chairman of the Beverly Shores Bicentennial Commission, letter to Berle Clemensen, September 27, 1976 (MS located in Historic Preservation files, Denver Service Center).

59. Ralph W. Hammett, *Architecture in the United States: A Survey of Architectural Styles Since 1776* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1976), p. 198.

LAKE MICHIGAN

BEVERLY SHORES



LOCATIONS OF CHICAGO EXPOSITION HOUSES IN BEVERLY SHORES

FIGURE 9

building material composed of limestone and shale, prefabricated in standard sizes. The house had a roof deck, one fourth of which contained a glass-enclosed solarium. It cost \$6,000 to construct.⁶⁰

East of the Rostone House on Lot 8 stands the Florida Tropical House. Architect Robert Law Weed of Miami, Florida, designed the home with features for warmer climates like those found in Florida. It contained a two-story living room overlooked by a balcony. The roof had a sun deck, living deck, and recreation deck.⁶¹

The most interesting of the houses, the House of Tomorrow, is located on Lot 9 of Block 188. Designed by architect George Fred Keck of Chicago and built by Century Homes Incorporated, it had many unique features. Keck planned the structure as a 12-sided circular glass house, the rooms of which were wedge shaped. It was constructed around a center steel column which contained all the utility lines. Originally, the exterior walls were clear glass, and privacy was obtained by pulling drapes and venetian blinds, but a later owner evidently reduced the exterior glass area. All lighting was indirect with no visible fixtures. Doors were electrically controlled. While on display in Chicago, the ground floor contained both an automobile garage and an airplane hangar, but they were removed for transportation to Beverly Shores and not replaced.⁶²

The Armco and Ferro Enamel House is located just west of the House of Tomorrow on Lot 8 of Block 188. Designed by architect Robert Smith, Jr., of Cleveland, it was constructed for the American Rolling Mill Company and the Ferro Enamel Corporation by Insulated Steel Incorporated. It followed a unique plan, for it was a frameless, two-story, seven-room house without structural steel. The walls were made in box-like units which were fabricated at the factory in house-high lengths and welded in various widths. After being assembled the walls were filled with rock wool. The exterior was composed of vitreous white enamel baked on iron panels and nailed with "belyx" nails. A roof deck contained space for a solarium and open porch which was enclosed after it arrived at Beverly

60. *Century of Progress International Exposition, 1933: Official Guide Book of the Fair* (Chicago: The Cuneo Press, 1933), p. 69.

61. *Ibid.*, p. 71.

62. *Ibid.*, p. 70.

Shores. The second floor consisted of four bedrooms with six large closets. It cost \$4,500 to construct.⁶³

The fifth house, located on Lots 11 and 12 of Block 188, was named the Mountain Lodge. It was built of cypress, "the wood eternal," for display by the Southern Cypress Manufacturers.⁶⁴

The two remaining structures brought from the Colonial Village are the Wayside Inn and the Old North Church. The Wayside Inn, named after the inn made famous in Longfellow's *Tales of a Wayside Inn*, is located on Jameson Street some distance from the above five houses. Even ignoring the alterations which took place after its relocation to Beverly Shores, the structure bears only a slight resemblance to its famous namesake. Originally a single-family dwelling, it has been converted into three apartments, each with four rooms and a bath. It is undoubtedly the least valuable of the exposition structures. The final building, the Old North Church, bears little resemblance to its Boston counterpart. Other than as a curiosity and for its association with the Century of Progress Exposition, the structure has no value.

POST WORLD WAR II

After World War II the population of the dunes area continued to grow as more people sought to escape the industrial areas in which they worked. In 1949, to meet the housing demand, the federal government subsidized an experimental prefabrication home designed by the Kaiser Steel Corporation. Called the Lustron home, its fabric consisted of enamel baked on steel. Both the walls and roof were of the same material designed in sections for easy construction on a prepared concrete slab foundation. The public, however, lacked interest in purchasing this style home. Whether from lack of public interest or from pressure by carpenter unions, the experiment soon ended when the government stopped its subsidy.⁶⁵

Three Lustron homes are located in Beverly Shores on Indiana Dunes National Lakeshore property (Lots 2, 3, and 4 of Block 241; Lot 11 of Block 200; and

63. Ibid., p. 68.

64. Ibid., p. 72.

65. Material on the Lustron homes is located in the Indiana Dunes National Lakeshore files.

Lots 10 and 11, re-sub Lot A, of Block 201). One, in the 200 block, is the only three-bedroom house built. The others are two bedroom. They have some historical and architectural value as experimentally planned houses to meet the post-World War II housing shortage, and one could be opened to the public as an example, or they could be used to house park personnel. There are several additional Lustron houses in Michigan City. One could be purchased to provide repair material.

CREATION OF THE INDIANA DUNES NATIONAL LAKESHORE

In the 1950s a second attempt was begun to create a national park in the remaining Indiana dunes. Much of the impetus for this movement came from the development of the St. Lawrence Seaway. Industrialists in the Calumet area laid plans to take advantage of this outlet to the sea by developing a deep water port at Burns Ditch a half-mile east of Ogden Dunes. In conjunction with the port, two steel companies, the National Steel Company and Bethlehem Steel Company, hoped to expand operations to this site. With this attention focused on the dunes area a National Park Service survey in 1957-58 recommended that the "early acquisition for park uses would be in the best interest of public recreation."⁶⁶ In April 1958, based upon the survey, the Advisory Board on National Parks, Historic Sites, Buildings, and Monuments urged the secretary of the interior to initiate the steps to preserve the dunes. Conservation organizations seconded the recommendation.⁶⁷

On May 26, 1958, with the advisory board's report in mind, Illinois Senator Paul Douglas introduced a bill to create an Indiana Dunes National Monument. He stated several reasons for his action. Since the state of Indiana felt it did not have the funds to enlarge the state park and the Army Corps of Engineers had begun to develop plans for a deep water harbor in the middle of the dunes at Burns Ditch, Douglas considered it imperative to protect the remaining 3½ miles of dunes. Oregon Senator Richard Neuberger, adding his comments, implied that the

66. Great Lakes Shoreline Recreation Area Survey, *Remaining Shoreline Opportunities in Minnesota, Wisconsin, Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, Michigan, Pennsylvania, New York* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1959), p. 41.

67. *Congressional Record*, 85th Cong., 2nd sess., p. 9469. Conservationists, who wished to preserve this unique area, probably found a spokesman for their cause on the advisory board since one member came from the Indiana dunes region.

Indiana congressional delegation did not introduce the bill because it was under heavy pressure from economic interests wanting to exploit the dunes area. Two days later Illinois Representative Barratt O'Hara placed a companion bill before the House. Neither bill emerged from the respective Committees on Interior and Insular Affairs.⁶⁸

Most area newspapers appeared to favor a dunes national park, but expressed pessimism about its creation. An editorial in the LaPorte *Herald-Argus* predicted that since business, industrial, and utility interests in Lake and Porter counties and Michigan City as well as Indiana Governor Harold Handley did not favor a park, the bill "has as much chance of success as the proverbial snowball in the proverbial hot place."⁶⁹ A Valparaiso newspaper, however, accused Senator Douglas of desiring to obstruct a deep water harbor for Indiana in favor of the Chicago area.⁷⁰

Congressional opposition dominated attempts to create a national lakeshore for several more years. Senator Douglas introduced succeeding bills in 1961 and 1963 to establish an Indiana Dunes National Monument. On each occasion the legislation failed in the committees. Then in 1964 another bill to create a national lakeshore passed the Senate. Since the National and Bethlehem steel companies had completed their expansion plants at Burns Ditch, a compromise with the forces opposed to a park allowed a deep water harbor at that site. House opposition remained to both this 1964 bill and a second bill which the Senate passed in 1965. Finally, on October 14, 1966, the House approved its own lakeshore bill. In the end, Senate Bill 360 was substituted for the House legislation and was signed by President Lyndon Johnson on November 5, 1966.⁷¹

68. Ibid., pp. 9468-69, 9860.

69. LaPorte (Indiana) *Herald-Argus*, June 2, 1958.

70. Valparaiso (Indiana) *Videlle-Messenger*, June 16, 1958.

71. *Congressional Record*, 87th Cong., 1st sess., pp. 7047-49; 88th Cong., 2nd sess., pp. 23036, 23041; 89th Cong., 1st sess., p. 14221; 89th Cong., 2nd sess., p. 26918.

APPENDIXES

- A: CHAIN OF TITLE, CHELLBERG FARM
- B: CHAIN OF TITLE, BORG HOME
- C: CHAIN OF TITLE, NELSON HOME

A: CHAIN OF TITLE CHELLBERG FARM (E½ of the SE¼ of Section 27, Township 37 North, Range 6 West)⁷²

Joseph Bailly obtained title to the land from the United States government on September 6, 1831.

Joel Wicker, Bailly's son-in-law, received the property from the Bailly estate.

Wicker sold the southern 40 acres to John Oberg on April 8, 1871.

John Oberg mortgaged this land to Anders Kjellberg on April 11, 1874. Shortly after this date Oberg evidently sold it to Kjellberg who also purchased the northern 40 acres. Kjellberg mortgaged the whole 80 acres on January 24, 1876.

About 1885 Anders Kjellberg sold the land to his son C. L. Chellberg.

Ruth M. Chellberg, Naomi Chellberg Studebaker, and Carl L. Chellberg received one-third interest each when C. L. Chellberg died on January 24, 1947.

Naomi Chellberg Studebaker and Carl L. Chellberg sold the land to the United States government.

} is this
account?
Chellberg,
I think,
bought 40
acres from
Wicker in
1872

72. Assessors Books, Westchester Township, Porter County, Indiana, 1857, 1860, 1862, 1865, 1880; Entry Book of Deeds A (1836-1859), B (1859-1869), C (1869-1879), Porter County, Indiana (located in the Porter County Historical Society, Valparaiso, Indiana; Transfer Books and Appraisement Lists, Westchester Township, Porter County, Indiana, 1887, 1899-1903, 1903-1907, 1911-1915, 1915-1919, 1923-1929, 1930-1939, 1940-1949, 1950-1959, 1960-1969, 1970-1974; Transfer Books and Appraisement Lists, Town of Porter, Porter County, Indiana, 1923-1929, 1930-1939, 1940-1949, 1950-1959, 1960-1969, 1970-1974 (located in the Porter County Courthouse, Valparaiso, Indiana).

B: CHAIN OF TITLE BORG (THARP) HOME (N½ of W½ of E½ of the SW¼ of Section 26, Township 37 North, Range 6 West)⁷³

Joel Wicker purchased the property in the early 1850s.

Wicker sold it to Frederick Peterson on April 3, 1866.

Peterson sold the land to John Borg on September 4, 1866.

John Borg willed the land to his daughter Clara and her husband Nels A. Samuelson at his death on March 20, 1902.

Nels A. and Clara Samuelson transferred the land to Nels's niece Anna H. Samuelson on December 31, 1932.

Anna Samuelson sold the property to Arthur E. and Margaret W. Small on March 9, 1936.

The Smalls sold it to Charlotte Small on November 5, 1938.

Charlotte Small sold the land to Warren G. and Marie Dowdy on December 1, 1943.

The Dowdys sold to Waldo P. and Deanette M. Houchin on March 15, 1945.

Sometime later Deanette M. Houchin married James H. Small.

Deanette M. and James H. Small sold to Roy E. and Edith K. Holm on October 10, 1963.

73. Assessors Books, Westchester Township, Porter County, Indiana, 1857, 1860, 1862, 1865, 1880; Entry Book of Deeds A (1836-1859), B (1859-1869), C (1869-1879), Porter County, Indiana (located in the Porter County Historical Society, Valparaiso, Indiana); Transfer Books and Appraisement Lists, Westchester Township, Porter County, Indiana, 1887, 1899-1903, 1903-1907, 1911-1915, 1915-1919, 1923-1929, 1930-1939, 1940-1949, 1950-1959, 1960-1969, 1970-1974; Transfer Books and Appraisement Lists, Town of Porter, Porter County, Indiana, 1923-1929, 1930-1939, 1940-1949, 1950-1959, 1960-1969, 1970-1974 (located in the Porter County Courthouse, Valparaiso, Indiana).

Roy E. and Edith K. Holm sold the land to Isaac and Rebecca Oaks in late 1963.

Isaac and Rebecca Oaks sold the property to Billie Joe and Wilma J. Tharp on June 9, 1964.

The Tharps sold the house to the United States government.

C: CHAIN OF TITLE NELSON (SUDA) HOME (N½ of W½ of the SW¼ of Section 26, Township 37 North, Range 6 West)⁷⁴

Joel Wicker purchased the property in the early 1850s.

Wicker sold it to John and Andrew Johnson on February 7, 1861.

The Johnsons sold the land to Erick Allenquist about 1866.

Allenquist sold the property to John Nelson in the early 1880s.

John Nelson sold the farm to C. P. Nelson on April 6, 1887.

C. P. Nelson's wife, Matilda, received the land when her husband died on June 16, 1913.

Matilda Nelson willed the land to her two adopted children, Carl William and Clara, at her death on November 1, 1945.

Carl William Nelson and Clara Nelson Avery sold the property to Earl H. and Marion Tufts Reed in 1952. Carl W. Nelson retained a life residency on the property. He died about 1958.

Marion Tufts Reed received the land when her husband Earl died in May 1968.

Marion Tufts Reed sold the farm to Alan J. Zimmerman and Floyd S. Irvin on November 1, 1968.

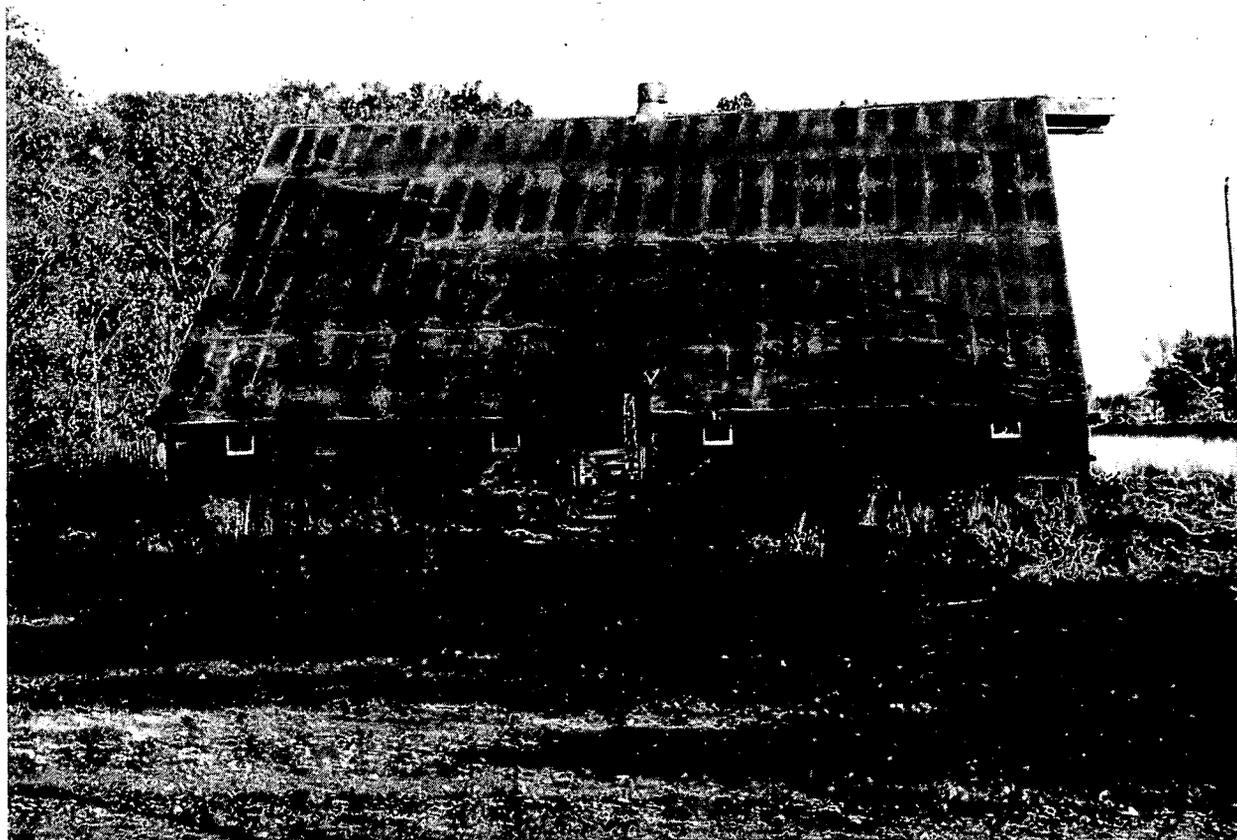
Alan J. Zimmerman and Floyd S. Irvin sold the house to Roy Suda in 1971.

74. Assessors Books, Westchester Township, Porter County, Indiana, 1857, 1860, 1862, 1865, 1880; Entry Book of Deeds A (1836-1859), B (1859-1869), C (1869-1879), Porter County, Indiana (located in the Porter County Historical Society, Valparaiso, Indiana); Transfer Books and Appraisement Lists, Westchester Township, Porter County, Indiana, 1887, 1899-1903, 1903-1907, 1911-1915, 1915-1919, 1923-1929, 1930-1939, 1940-1949, 1950-1959, 1960-1969, 1970-1974; Transfer Books and Appraisement Lists, Town of Porter, Porter County, Indiana, 1923-1929, 1930-1939, 1940-1949, 1950-1959, 1960-1969, 1970-1974 (located in the Porter County Courthouse, Valparaiso, Indiana).

PHOTOGRAPHS



CHELLBERG HOME



CHELLBERG BARN



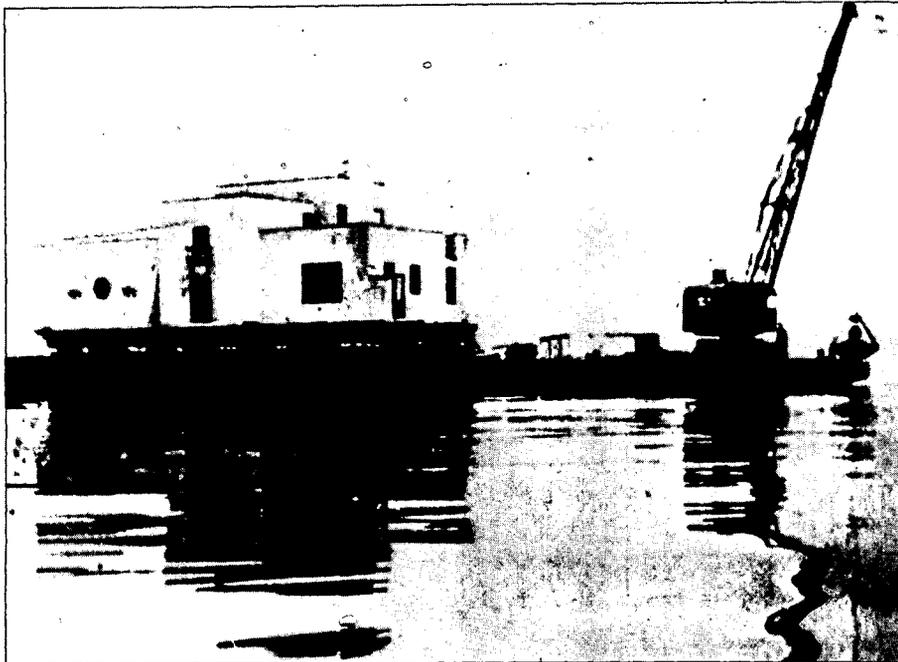
THE WELKIE HOUSE



THE RANGER HOME



HOUSE OF TOMORROW



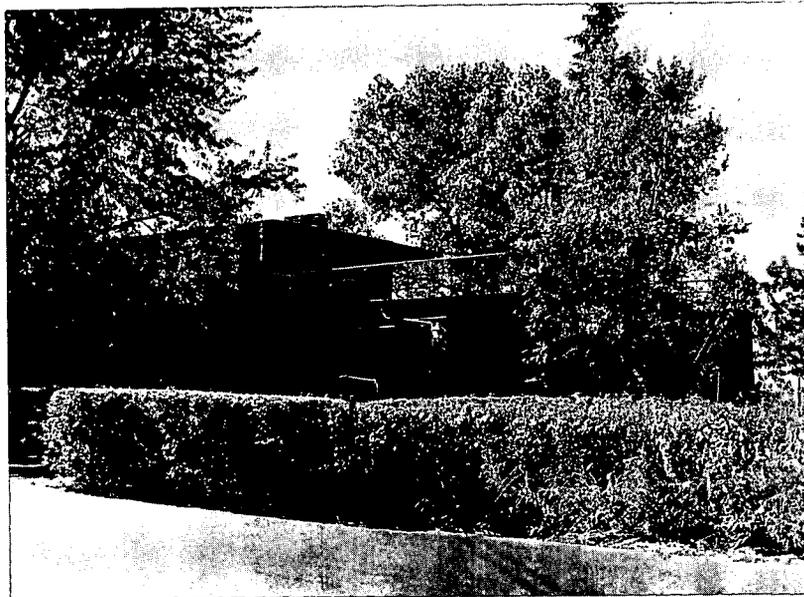
ROSTONE HOUSE IN TRANSIT



OLD NORTH CHURCH



ROSTONE HOUSE



FLORIDA TROPICAL HOUSE



ARMCO AND FERRO ENAMEL HOUSE



THE WAYSIDE INN



THE WAYSIDE INN

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

PRIMARY SOURCES

Printed Government Documents

Great Lakes Shoreline Recreation Area Survey. *Remaining Shoreline Opportunities in Minnesota, Wisconsin, Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, Michigan, Pennsylvania, New York*. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1959.

U.S. Congress. 64th Cong., 1st sess., 2nd sess.; 85th Cong., 2nd sess.; 87th Cong., 1st sess.; 88th Cong., 2nd sess.; 89th Cong., 1st sess., 2nd sess. *Congressional Record*.

U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service. *Report on the Proposed Sand Dunes National Park, Indiana*, by Stephen T. Mather. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1917.

County Records

Valparaiso, Indiana. Porter County Courthouse. Transfer Books and Appraisal Lists, Town of Porter, Porter County, Indiana.

----- . Transfer Books and Appraisal Lists, Westchester Township, Porter County, Indiana.

----- . Porter County Historical Society. Assessors Books, Westchester Township, Porter County, Indiana.

----- . Entry Book of Deeds, Porter County, Indiana.

----- . Valparaiso City Library. Deed Book A, Instruments Recorded in LaPorte County, Indiana.

Interviews

Norma Schaeffer by Berle Clemensen. May 2, 1978.

Naomi Chellberg Studebaker by D. Blink and J. Seiser (taped). August 11, 1975.

Naomi Chellberg Studebaker by Berle Clemensen. August 15, 1976.

Ernest Welkie by Berle Clemensen. May 3, 1978.

Manuscripts

Chesterton, Indiana. Indiana Dunes National Lakeshore. Letter from W. Kaye Lamb, Dominion Archivist, Public Archives of Canada, to Earl H. Reed. 1959.

----- Letter from Olga Schiemann to Earl H. Reed. July 30, 1959.

----- Held by Roy Suda. Carl W. Nelson, "The Indian Village on the Sugar Bush," n.d.

Chicago. Chicago Historical Society. Lemuel Bryant, "Journal of an Overland and Water Trip from Ashfield, Mass. Through New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan, and Indiana to Chicago," August 27, 1832-July ?

Denver. National Park Service, Denver Service Center, Historic Preservation Division. Letter from Norma Schaeffer, Chairman of the Beverly Shores Bicentennial Commission, to Berle Clemensen, September 27, 1976.

Newspapers

Post Tribune (Gary, Indiana), June 29, 1976.

Herald-Argus (LaPorte, Indiana), June 2, 1958.

Videlle-Messenger (Valparaiso, Indiana), June 16, 1958.

SECONDARY WORKS

Much of the printed information on Joseph Bailly is erroneous. It has developed the importance of Bailly in the Calumet region to the point of a legend. Bailly was first mentioned by A. G. Hardesty (*Illustrated Historical Atlas of Porter County, Indiana* [1876]). Hardesty made no mention of Bailly's supposed wealth. Instead, he merely noted that Bailly, the first settler in Porter County, depended upon the

fur trade and trapping for his livelihood. In 1882 the next publication to mention Bailly appeared — W. A. Goodspeed and Charles Blanchard's *Counties of Porter and Lake, Indiana; Historical and Geographical*. One of these authors evidently interviewed the Bailly descendents, for their account contained many similarities to the book printed by Bailly's granddaughter in 1907. They wrote that Bailly had extensive trade with the Indians and that his home was well known and a meeting place for travelers, traders, missionaries, and government officers. The Bailly legend, however, really began in 1907 with the publication of his granddaughter's book (Frances R. Howe, *The Story of a French Homestead in the Old Northwest*). Evidently desirous of providing a foundation for her belief that the family had a superior social status, Frances Howe made her grandfather into a man of high breeding and wealth, one of the most prominent fur traders of his time, whose business extended from Baton Rouge to Quebec. In religious and family matters none cared more than her grandfather.

Next to Frances Howe, the man most responsible for perpetuating the Bailly myth was John O. Bowers. Taking Frances Howe's book literally, Bowers collected family papers and account books which he used as the basis of his work, *The Old Bailly Homestead*, which appeared in 1922. Bowers incorrectly interpreted Bailly's income from the fur trade, saying it approached \$500,000 in some years. Had Bailly's earnings reached that figure, he would have been the foremost fur trader in the United States. In 1927, T. N. Cannon, H. H. Loring, and C. J. Robb produced a two-volume work, *History of the Lake and Calumet Region of Indiana*, in which they used Bowers's book as their source of information on Joseph Bailly. In 1932 Sister Mary Joseph Kennedy wrote a master's thesis entitled "The Pioneer Fur Traders of Northwestern Indiana." Despite the title, it was basically the life of Joseph Bailly. In her superficial work she relied almost solely on the Howe and Bowers books.

Fiction enlarged the myth of Bailly when Julia Cooley Altrocchi published her novel *Wolves Against the Moon* in 1940. Basing it on Bailly's life, she used 5 percent fact and 95 percent imagination to add immeasurably to the erroneous perception of Joseph Bailly. An article written for the South Bend *Tribune Sunday Magazine* of January 10, 1954, used Altrocchi and Howe to maintain the misconception.

John O. Bowers's influence continues to predominate to the present day. Barbara Ray Janowski ("The Bailly Homestead, Indiana," *Daughters of the American Revolution Magazine* [January 1961]) used his work as the basis for her article. Lyn A. Hedrick, whose term paper "Joseph Bailly: A Pioneer of the Calumet Region 1804-1835" (1970) is on deposit in the Michigan City Library, also relied upon Bowers.

Several scholarly works have reassessed Joseph Bailly. Although not totally divorced from the myth, Powell A. Moore (*The Calumet Region: Indiana's Last Frontier* [1959]) did not completely follow Bowers's lead. The two best accounts, Bert Anson's "The Fur Traders of Northern Indiana," a doctoral dissertation at Indiana University (1953), and Carl P. Russell's "The Independent Fur Traders of Northern Indiana" (1962) have reduced the Bailly myth to its proper perspective.

BOOKS

Ball, Timothy H. *Lake County, Indiana, from 1834 to 1872*. Chicago: J. W. Goodspeed, Printer & Publisher, 1873.

— — — — —. *Northwestern Indiana from 1800-1900; or a View of Our Region Through the Nineteenth Century*. Chicago: Donohue & Henneberry, Printers, 1900.

Billington, Ray Allen. *Westward Expansion: A History of the American Frontier*. New York: MacMillan Co., 1959.

Buley, R. Carlyle. *The Old Northwest: Pioneer Period 1815-1840*. 2 vols. Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1950.

Century of Progress International Exposition, 1933: Official Guide Book of the Fair. Chicago: The Cuneo Press, 1933.

Cottman, George S. *Indiana Dunes State Park: A History and Description*. Indianapolis: State of Indiana, 1930.

Federal Writers' Project, Indiana. *Indiana: A Guide to the Hoosier State*. A guide written and compiled by the Federal Writers' Project of the Works Progress Administration in the State of Indiana. New York: Oxford University Press, 1941.

Hammett, Ralph W. *Architecture in the United States: A Survey of Architectural Styles Since 1776*. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1976.

Hardesty, A.G. *Illustrated Historical Atlas of Porter County, Indiana*. Valparaiso, Ind.: A.G. Hardesty, 1876.

Hoffman, Charles. *A Winter in the West*. 2 vols. New York: Harper & Bros., 1835.

Howe, Frances R. *The Story of a French Homestead in the Old Northwest*. Columbus, Ohio: Press of Nitschke Bros., 1907.

Humphrey, Harry Baker. *Makers of North American Botany*. New York: The Ronald Press Co., 1961.

Kappler, Charles, ed. *Indian Treaties 1778-1883*. New York: Interland Publishing, Inc., 1972.

Lindsey, Alton A., Damian V. Schmelz, and Stanley A. Nichols. *Natural Areas in Indiana and Their Preservation*. Lafayette, Ind.: Indiana Natural Areas Survey, 1969.

McCord, Shirley S., ed. *Travel Accounts of Indiana, 1679-1961*. Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Bureau, 1970.

Moore, Powell A. *The Calumet Region: Indiana's Last Frontier*. Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society, 1959.

Packard, Jasper. *History of LaPorte County, Indiana*. LaPorte, Ind.: S.E. Taylor & Co., 1876.

Rogers, Andrew D. *American Botany 1873-1892: Decades of Transition*. New York: Hafner Pub. Co., 1968.

Sears, Paul B. "Plant Ecology." In *A Short History of Botany in the United States*. Edited by Joseph Ewan. New York: Hafner Pub. Co., 1969.

Articles

Alvord, Clarence W. "The Conquest of St. Joseph, Michigan, By the Spaniards in 1781." *Missouri Historical Review* 2 (1908):195-210.

Baird, Elizabeth T. "Reminiscences of Early Days on Mackinac Island." In *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, vol. 14, pp. 17-64. Madison: Democrat Printing Co., 1898.

Bennett, L.F. "The Sand Dune Region as a National Park." *Proceedings of the Indiana Academy of Science* 26 (1916):261-63.

Childs, Marquis. "Story of the Dunes." *Post and Times Herald* (Washington), August 25, 1959.

Drury, John. "Sugar Bush Site Rich in History." *Tribune* (Chicago), August 29, 1965.

Meyer, Alfred H. "Toponymy in Sequent Occupance Geography, Calumet Region, Indiana-Illinois." *Proceedings of the Indiana Academy of Science* 54 (1945):142-159.

— — — — —. "Circulation and Settlement Patterns of the Calumet Region of Northwest Indiana and Northeast Illinois: The First Stage of Occupance — The Potawatomi and the Fur Trader — 1830." *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 44 (September 1954):245-74.

Meyer, Alfred H., and Elmer B. Hess. "Gary 'Big Steel' — Geographic Design and Destiny." *Proceedings of the Indiana Academy of Science* 68 (1958):237-58.

Olson, Jerry S. "Rates of Succession and Soil Changes on Southern Lake Michigan Sand Dunes." *Botanical Gazette* 119 (March 1958):125-70.

Schiemann, Olga. "Roads Across Old Baillytown." *Duneland Historical Society* 2 (November 1956):1-27.

Unpublished Reports

U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service. "An Appraisal of the Archaeological Resources and Ecological Context of the Proposed Indiana Dunes National Lakeshore," by Marjory Honerkamp. April 1, 1968. Located in the Historic Preservation files, Denver Service Center.

— — — — —. "The Bailly Site: An Archaeological Study of an Early Historic Homestead in the Calumet," by W. Frederick Limp. April 1974. Located in the Historic Preservation files, Denver Service Center.

— — — — —. "Historic Site Survey: The Bailly Homestead, Porter County, Indiana," by James R. Sullivan. April 1958. Located in the Indiana Dunes National Lakeshore files.

Manuscripts

Chesterton, Indiana. Indiana Dunes National Lakeshore. "Indiana Dunes National Lakeshore: General Information on the Bailly Homestead Area," n.d.

----- Carl W. Nelson, "The Bailly Cemetery," 1949.

----- Pioneer National Title Insurance Company, Valparaiso,
Indiana, "Ownership of Bailly Homestead."

----- Carl P. Russell, "The Independent Fur Traders of
Northern Indiana," 1962.

Gary, Indiana. Public Library. Louis J. Bailey, "The Founding of Gary," May
1916.

Publication services were provided by the graphics and editorial staffs of the
Denver Service Center. NPS 1388

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.

☆ U.S.G.P.O. 1979: 677-047/15