

Upper Country:

A Journal of the Lake Superior Region



Vol. 2

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Frederic Baraga

Photo essay compiled by Russell Magnaghi and Ted Bays



The Venerable Bishop Fredric Baraga (1797-1868): Statue at his Assinins Mission near Baraga, MI. The kneeling Native, Chief Assinins, holds Baraga's Ojibwa dictionary. The child represents Natives in Baraga's orphanage.

Photograph by: Tom Buchkoe



The remains of Bishop Baraga now lie in this red sandstone chapel on the west side of the Cathedral of St. Peter in Marquette, MI. The Snowshoe Priest is considered for canonization. In keeping with Baraga's possible sainthood, the new chapel includes stain glass windows by artisans from the Conrad Schmitt Co. of New Berlin, WI with iconography detailing Baraga's Missions and labors for Natives across the Lake Superior region. Although historically Upper Peninsula quarries provided red sandstone for regional buildings, the chapel stone came from a discard pile at a defunct Ontario quarry. It was worked into a perfect imitation of the larger cathedral architecture, in reduced scale, by architect Paul Uimari, project manager Rob Berg of Gunlach-Champion Co., and Gillett (WI) Concrete's Dave DeJulianne. The boulders were shipped to Wisconsin and rough cut to blocks, then fine-faced in Marquette. The Bishop Baraga Association and Dr. John and Mary Beaumier supported the project.

Photograph by: Ted Bays



The south window, behind Baraga's sarcophagus, has a border of the eight crests of the dioceses where Baraga served. The crest at the top of the arch shows his Coat of Arms. The larger top center medallion shows the Bishop baptizing Chief Edward Assinins, the first convert at Baraga's L'Anse mission in 1844. Baraga served at that mission 1843-1853. The center medallion depicts the Snowshoe Priest's mode of travel among his many Lake Superior missions. The lower medallion shows the ailing Baraga, helped by Honoratus Bourion, returning to Marquette in 1868.

The west window shows Bishop Baraga sailing to America and across the Great Lakes (top medallion) from his home in Slovenia (center medallion). The large image shows the Bishop blessing with his right hand, while in his left he holds the Ikkitowini Masigainan, his dictionary of the Ojibwa (Chippewa) language. He stands amid the natural splendor of the land he revered.
—Catholic Diocese of Marquette

Photograph by: Ted Bays

The west window, Venerable Bishop Baraga Chapel



Photograph by: Ted Bays



Photograph by: Ted Bays

BISHOP BARAGA HOUSE

Frederick Baraga was a lawyer, an artist and a Roman Catholic priest who came to the U. S. from present-day Slovenia in 1830. Baraga (1797-1868) served Native Americans in the Great Lakes region and wrote A Dictionary of the Otchipwe Language (Chippewa or Ojibwa), published in 1853. Named vicar apostolic of the Sault that year, he became bishop of Sault Ste. Marie in 1857, and transferred the See to the diocese of Marquette in 1866. Baraga lived in a part of this house that was later moved from behind the cathedral ... to this site [615 S. 4th St., Marquette, MI]. He continued working with native people, helping them Baraga died in this house on January 19, 1868. --Michigan Historical Marker HB28



Bishop Baraga's first Upper Peninsula mission, reconstructed on its original site on the east shore of Indian Lake near Manistique, MI. Baraga arrived here in 1832, paddling from Cross Village with his native escorts and guides. He found the local natives already building a church; he baptized 31 of them that summer. They built a larger church in 1833. For many years the site included an Indian burial ground with the remains of chief Ossawinamakee, one of his sons, and others. Spirit houses of various sizes and shapes over each grave survived into the 20th Century. A totem stick identified each deceased. The chief's son Semo maintained the site before removing to Nahma, where he is buried. Baraga also ministered at Grand Rapids, MI and Madeline Island, WI before moving to Assinins in 1843, then to the Sault in 1853, and finally to Marquette in 1866. A bronze statue of Baraga in Grand Rapids was unveiled in 2012. The reconstruction here enlisted Ted Foye and the Manistique High School building trades class; Msgr. F. M. Scheringer; St. Teresa Parish of Germfask; businessmen Patsy McNamara and Jim Miller; and woodcarver Lionel Radofski.

--Vonciel LeDuc & Schoolcraft Co. Historical Museum, Diocese of Marquette

Photograph by: Schoolcraft County Historical Museum



Our Lady of Sorrows Church in Goulais Bay near the mouth of the Goulais River, in the Algoma District north of Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario, marks the site of another Bishop Baraga mission. Baraga tended missions across Ontario, from Bruce Mines to Thunder Bay. —**Ontario Historic Plaque**

Holy Redeemer Mission Church, pictured below, stands in Eagle Harbor, MI on the Keweenaw Peninsula. The original church, constructed in 1854 on land secured by Baraga in 1852, deteriorated with the decline of the copper mining boom in the late 19th century but underwent considerable restoration in the late 20th century when services resumed. This is the oldest of the remaining churches built by Bishop Baraga still in use in the Diocese of Marquette. It was listed as a Michigan Historic Site in 1958 and placed on the National Register of Historic Places in 1972. The famous Our Lady of the Pines Mission Church also survives, several miles to the north in Copper Harbor. -- **The Diocese of Marquette**

Photograph by: Diocese of Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario

HOLY REDEEMER MISSION CHURCH, EAGLE HARBOR, MI.



Photograph by: coppercountry.com

The Italian Colony at Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario

By Gerolamo Moroni

[A report written by the Italian royal Attaché of Immigration, Girolamo Moroni, stationed at Montréal, Québec, Canada. The report was published in the *Bolletino dell'Emigrazione* in 1914. The Italian government published the *Bolletino* between 1907 and 1927 to show prospective immigrants what to expect throughout the world if they decided to immigrate. This report provides an in-depth look into the Italian community at Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario and the social and work conditions facing them. Included in this report are the Magpie and Helen iron mines to the north of Sault Ste. Marie. It is translated and edited by Russell M. Magnaghi.]

Sault Ste. Marie is situated in the Algoma District in northern Ontario, between Lakes Huron and Superior. The city has approximately 12,000 inhabitants and including the suburbs of Steelton, Buckley, and Bay View, approximately 18,000. It is a small industrial city, with laborers working on the railroad, steel, paper and mechanized sawmills.

The Italian colony is composed of approximately 3,000 permanent residents and between the spring and autumn 600-800 seasonal residents. The first Italians arrived in 1895, but the great part came with the opening of the metallurgy industry in 1902. Our people come from Calabria, The Marches and Abruzzi, and Veneto, and a small number from other parts of the Kingdom [of Italy].

In the Italian colony there are no professionals; only one Italian [Catholic] priest; two contractors overseeing building, excavation and sewerage laborers. The Italians of this place have demonstrated a desire for an Italian physician, who would have small pharmacy, as they do not have a pharmacy here.

Italian merchants are not prominent, only 10-12 small commercial retail merchants of home-made food provisions, three butchers, four or five bakeries, and a few fruit shops.

The main trades of our immigrants are barbers with three shops, who make \$12 to \$18 weekly; shoemakers with three shops who make \$9 to \$12 weekly; a carpenter making 30 to 35 cents per hour; bricklayer or mason paid 50 to 55 cents per hour. They work eight hour days and the bricklayers or masons belong to a union. Besides, only the Italian iron blacksmiths makes 12 to 15 dollars a week.

The Algoma Steel Plant is part of the Lake Superior Corporation.¹ They employ 2,500 workers, but in the summer they hire about 3,000 people: of this number 440-500 are Italians. The pay is: common laborer 17 ½ cents per hour working ten hours; for those assigned to the furnaces 20 to 22 ½ cents per hour, working 10 hours in the day shift and 12 hours at night, changing every fifteen days, working [that] day 22 consecutive hours; the mechanic 25 cents per hour for 10 hours of work; some working for contract are paid 65 cents per ton and make an

average of \$3 a day working an eight hour day. The workers are paid monthly and a deduction of 50 cents for insurance, doctor and medical care. In the case of the death of the unfortunate, the parents of the victim receive a direct \$600, but if the Company is responsible due to negligence, the court can make the Company pay between \$1,000 and \$1,500. In general the Italians are treated well, but data shows that the heavy hand work is strong at the Sault Ste. Marie, and there are more claims than the Company pays out.

The Lake Superior Paper Mill Company² employs about 500 people of whom half are Italian. The work continues for the day shift for eleven hours and thirteen hours for the night shift, except for specialized workers who are divided into three groups, working only eight hours. The pay varies from 17 1/2 to 22 cents per hour, specialization work at 25 to 29 cents per hour. The greater part of our workers, fall in the class of common workers and are paid base salaries.

About 15 Italians are employed in the local brewery,³ working nine hours in the winter and 10 in the summer, making to their secondary ability 17 1/2 to 22 cents per hour. About a hundred are employed during the work season in the steam sawmill where they are paid 17 1/2 to 22 cents per hour. During the work season, one of the brick kilns employs about 30 to 35 Italians who are paid 20 to 22 1/2 cents per hour.

A group of about 200 Italians, from the spring through the fall, turn out and are employed by the Algoma Central Railway and another hundred by the Canadian Pacific Railway to load and unload freight and coal and are paid 22 1/2 to 25 cents per hour.

Actually at Sault Ste. Marie there are another 200-300 unemployed Italians waiting for work: the construction of a dry dock costing \$2 million and that will help employ 400-500 persons; at the Steel Plant another large furnace will be added at the cost of \$250,000 beginning on February 1st; and work on a new water canal for the city of Sault Ste. Marie at the cost of \$1 million which will begin in April.

In progress is the construction of a large canal connecting Lakes Huron and Superior, paid for by the Government at \$20 million and the construction of a new steelworks costing \$10 to \$12 million.⁴

The Italian agricultural colony is composed of about twelve families primarily from Calabria, [located] around the city for a distance of eight miles, possessing around 607 hectares [1,500 acres] of 32 to 202 hectares [80 to 500 acres] per family. The soil near Sault Ste. Marie is partially clay and sand; the soil contains small rocks and allows easy cultivation. The lands acquired by our people are still in a natural state, because they bought these in the last two years. Some Italians have paid for 162 hectare [400 acres] \$12,000; 36 hectares [90 acres] for \$7,000; 32 hectares [80 acres] for \$3,300; and the price varies from \$16 to \$200 per acre at a second location of soil. The payments are made in shares in cash to the acquisition of the land and part in 3 or 4 annual installments at 7 percent interest. Some Italians rent the

land paying \$3.20 - \$4.00 per year, other workers like day farmers earning \$35 per month pay, food and lodging. All of these lands for the greater part have been cleared of trees, with cut trunks with roots extracted and for this land they pay 22 to \$25 and more per acre.

The cultivation attended by the Italians are oats, forage, potatoes, cabbage and other vegetables. A certain Pietro Manzo cultivated between 10 and 11 acres in oats, taking 508 bushels [a bushel of cereal is 35.242 liters] that he sells for 40 to 45 cents per bushel, making \$21.33 per acre; he asserts that he has gathered 800 bushels of potatoes, that in bad times he has [seen] ruined part of his harvest. The expense for the cultivation of oats per acre is \$3.00 for tillage and ploughing of the soil, \$2 for seed, and \$4 for harvesting, in general \$9 per acre. Good quality hay, perhaps given three tons per acre, selling for \$13 to \$14 per ton. The expense per acre is \$4 to \$5 earning a net of \$34 to \$35 per acre. The optimum harvest data provided by Italians for potatoes: with the expense of \$15 per acre, they harvest 75 to 100 bushels that they sell at a premium price of \$1.75 to \$2.00 per sack, and at the end of the season earning 80 cents per sack. A sack comprises a bushel and a half. They net earn \$50 to \$65 per acre. The yield for vegetables nets around \$100 to \$125 and more. The taxes, state of the land and the distance from the city, costs 30 to 50 cents per acre. All of this data are provided by the Italian farmers at Sault Ste. Marie.

The Italian colony has two Società di Mutua Beneficenza [Mutual Beneficial Society]: "The Duke of Abruzzi" founded in 1912 with 50 members and the "Guglielmo Marconi," founded in 1912 with 65 members; besides there exists a social club for amusements, where the two societies can meet. This social club was established in 1913 and is composed of 80 members. It has a building that cost \$25,000 [to construct].

In Sault Ste. Marie there is an evening school for adults directed by Reverend G. Martinez, where the English language is taught to about 16 compatriots. Besides the reverend, during the summer vacation and on Saturday the Italian language is taught to about a hundred Italian children of both sexes.

Our colony possesses a Catholic church.⁵

The moral and financial conditions of the Italians in Sault Ste. Marie is very satisfactory, the greatest concern is for the family. Home ownership of the colony amounts to about \$700,000. But our Italians live completely separated from the English and Canadians and have a quarter completely their own called "Little Italy."

The cost of living is rather high: a bachelor worker in the Italian pension pays an average of \$18 per month; instead for eating [here] he pays \$10 to \$12 [a month] for food and \$3.00 to \$3.50 for a room; in general the same room is occupied by five or six people.

Magpie Mine⁶ About 290 km (180 miles) north of Sault Ste. Marie on the Algoma Central Railway is the working of an iron mine called Magpie, which has about a hundred Italians of which 15 are

miners and the rest are common laborers. They first work on contract and earn \$2.75 to \$3.50 per day, while the others earn 17 ½ cents per hour for a ten hour day. In this mine the miners worked ten hours below ground, but a new Ontario Provincial law restricts the longest work time to eight hours. The greater part of the houses are the property of the Italians. The monthly deductions: \$1 for a doctor and medical care; \$1 for insurance; and 60 cents for school. The mining company—Lake Superior Iron and Steel Company—is known as “*L’Unione*.”

Helen Mine⁷ Twelve miles from Magpie is the Helen mine, that belongs to the same Company, which employs about forty Italians. Our people do not work on contract but are paid a fixed wage. The helpers earn around \$2.75 a day, the miners \$3.50. They work ten hour days. The Company pays monthly: \$1 per miner for doctor and medical care; \$1 for insurance; and 60 cents for school. The Italians rent houses from the Company and the Italians provide their own food. The Company provides room and board at the cost to the Italians of \$20 to \$25 per month. The Company does not recognize any unions.

NOTES

¹The Corporation was founded in 1902 by Francis Clergue, an American businessman who settled in Canada and developed the area. Today the company has been purchased by India’s Essar Group.

²The paper mill was founded in 1911 during a business reorganization.

³ The Soo Falls Brewing Company was established in 1907, closed in 2006.

⁴ The Canadian canal was constructed in 1895. This reference is unclear.

⁵ The church titled *Madonna di Monte Carmelo*, or Our Lady of Mount Carmel, was founded in 1910 and closed in 2010 due to declining attendance.

⁶ The mine property was developed after 1909 and operated until 1921. The town site consisted of 14 duplexes and a bunkhouse for single men with cookery and dining facilities. There was a hospital on site, a company store, and a school. Initially there were 300 people at the site with 200 working in the mine.

⁷ The mine began production in 1900 and shipped ore to the Algoma mill creating the Canadian steel industry. The town site consisted of 5 bunkhouses, a school, a large company store and a doctor on site. It closed in 1918 but reopened in the 1930s.

Algoma Ore: The Helen and Magpie Iron Mines

By James Shefchik

The Helen and Magpie mines are situated to the north, northeast of Wawa, Ontario inland from the eastern shore of Lake Superior, about 279 km north of Sault Sainte Marie, Ontario. The Helen mine site is roughly 6 km (about 4 miles) from Wawa up Mine Road. The Magpie mine is situated up the Michipicoten River about 24 km (15 miles) from Wawa. The Magpie Mine site is accessible via boat from the Steephill Falls dam, with a short overland traverse to the mine site or alternatively via bush road.

The discovery and development of the Helen and Magpie mines not only fueled a steel industry in Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario, it also spurred the development of a number of hydroelectric power projects in Sault Sainte Marie and Wawa. High grade iron ore as well as beneficiated or refined lower grade ores from these mines furnished most of the native ore that fed Canadian production of steel during the first two decades of the 1900s. The mines each supported small company towns for workers and families. In the 1950s, Wawa became an established village, mostly populated by individuals involved in the iron industry. The mines not only fueled the Algoma Steel plant and supporting industries at the Soo, operations also involved a number of hoists or lifts, crushers, an aerial tramway, firing plant, rail shipping, and Great Lakes ore freight. The Helen and Magpie mines helped to feed the industrialization of northern Ontario.

An initial gold rush in the area during the late 19th century brought prospectors looking for claims to stake. In 1897, one such prospecting party consisted of Jim Sayers, Ben Boyer, and Alois Goetz. Goetz recollected in a Letter to the Editor in the *Sault Evening Star* in 1925, that he named the local lakes Morgan, Boyer, and Sayers. The party found that Boyer Lake had a reddish tinge to the water, and exploring further, the group encountered a “five foot wall of dense, hard, black-looking rock which I thought was an iron ore. . . I knew it was an iron range.”¹ From 1897-1899 test pits were sunk the hill on which they staked their claims. And by 1900, this hill would become the Helen Mine.

An American developer and entrepreneur with the Lake Superior Power Company in S.S.M., Ontario by the name of Francis Hector Clergue was presented a possible gold sample from his timekeeper. Clergue immediately recognized it as red hematite. The two claimants, Ben Boyer and Jim Sayers, wanted \$500 for their claims. Clergue “took a two months option at \$50 . . . ‘That was the beginning of the Helen Mine and the steel plant at the Sault.’”² The Mine and subsequent refinery would propel Clergue as a leading industrialist of Sault Ste. Marie

Initial work at the Helen Mine, named after Clergue’s sister, began within a year of finalizing the claims. Nine pits were sunk and temporary housing camps were set up. Summer contracted workers were led by “Messers. Powell and Mitchell of Marquette, Michigan, to assess the size of the ore deposit.”³ The deposit was found to have changed from limonite to hematite as the mine was opened. Additionally, a peculiar feature of Helen ore was a

considerable quantity of granular iron pyrites. An account from the Ontario Legislative Assembly in 1919 mentions, “[The granular pyrite] which on being broken into mining, ran like water and in consequence had to be carefully shut off for fear of contaminating the shipping ore.”⁴

Transportation infrastructure followed the development of the Helen Mine. In 1899, the Algoma Central Rail Company was incorporated for the initial purpose of constructing a railway line from Michipicoten Harbour to the Helen mine.⁵ In 1901, Algoma Steel was formed and construction of the current St. Mary’s River power canal was initiated.⁶ Algoma had additionally invested into a deep water harbor and loading dock at Michipicoten Harbour, bid a railway line between the Helen Mine and Lake Superior, and constructed a pig iron refinery on the shores of the St. Mary’s River at Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario. Additionally, four steamships were purchased from England and thus formed the Algoma Central Steamship Lines, a Great Lakes freighter fleet.⁷ A hydroelectric dam was constructed on the Michipicoten River, and was called the “run of the river dam”. This power station supplied the Helen and nearby gold mines with power.⁸

The soft-hematite ore from the Helen Mine began native Canadian steel production and spurred an iron refining industry in Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario. Up to 1900, Canadian steel refineries had relied on imported ore and, “[The] first shipment of Helen ore to blast furnaces in Midland, Ontario, was the first load of Canadian ore to a Canadian port. The date was July 1st, 1900.”⁹

During the Helen Mine’s early years of operation, the majority of miners came from Eastern Europe and the Scandinavian countries. Language differences seem to have posed major barriers to effective communication, and overall workplace safety. Prior to the construction of a company town of cottages, the miners stayed in four tent-camps, each with a capacity of seventy-five miners. An annual report to the Bureau of Mines in 1899 lists mine site infrastructure that included a steam plant or boiler house, cableway and hoist to a 175-ton-an-hour rock crusher, an inclined railway from the railway station to the camp, a lighting plant capable of powering 750 sixteen candlepower lights, an engine house, dining room, along with six steam driven rock drills.¹⁰ Workplace accidents from 1901 to 1913 appear to have included deaths and injuries due to falling ore, unexpected dynamite explosions, and being struck by falling cable. Also among the list are other mining related injuries such as broken bones, bruises, scalp wounds, and falls.¹¹

The Helen Mine operated from July 1900 to 1918, when in April, it is reported that “all recoverable straight sulphur and merchantable ore had been hoisted. Operations were stopped, the plant dismantled and closed down permanently.”¹² The Helen Mine temporarily closed in October due to labor shortages and all equipment was stored in preparation to reopen the mine later in the spring of 1919.¹³ But the mine would wait until 1939, when iron ore bounties would be paid to producers, to once again begin producing iron ore.

A report from the Ontario Legislative Assembly mentions that in 1918, most of the Canadian ore exported was noduled, siderized ore from the Magpie Mine. This process was a form of beneficiation. Siderizing or sintering is the process of firing in order to drive off sulfur compounds and the fired ore was then formed into small nodules for shipment. Additionally, the report mentions mine production of 160,555 tons of roasted ore and shipment of 168,906 tons.¹⁴ Also mentioned are the amounts of ore shipped from the Helen Mine. From a

stockpile was shipped 4,729 tons of pyrites to the acid plant at Sault Ste. Marie, with “27,592 tons of hematite were shipped to the Magpie mine” for beneficiation.

In 1909, three prospectors, “Blackington, Burke, and Gibson discovered a large iron deposit north of the Helen Mine. Algoma Steel Corporation purchased the property and began trenching the main exposed vein, which was of 60 feet wide and 2000 feet long. Diamond drilling indicated that there was a large quantity of ore, averaging at least 33-37% in iron content.”¹⁵

The Magpie ore was a low grade ore rich in sulfur called Siderite. A sintering plant was built nearby the tunnel entrance to fire the raw ore to drive off sulfur compounds before shipment. An electric hoist brought ore from the mine to the plant for roasting.

In 1911, a 12-mile rail spur from Magpie Junction to the Magpie Mine site was constructed to transport mine equipment and the smelter. In 1912, construction on the town and smelter began in earnest, as well as actual mine development. The nearby company town was intended to house single miners. “The mine site included the Magpie mine’s head frame, the sintering plant, boiler house, a large machine shop, a storehouse, assay office and chemical lab, as well as the hoist house.”¹⁶ The company town provided accommodations in camps and cottages for about 300 people.¹⁷ In 1911, the Magpie Mine had seventeen dwellings. The workforce, initially planned at 500 workers, consisted of about 250 people. By 1912, the company town became known as the Town of Magpie Mine, and a school was built for the instruction of sixty students. Thereafter, fifty more houses were constructed, and by 1915 the Town of Magpie Mine experienced a population growth—to 850 people.¹⁸

Initially electric power came from the Helen mine’s former powerhouse. Construction began on a nearby hydroelectric dam in 1906 at the Steephill Falls on the Magpie River. In 1913, Steephill Falls Hydroelectric Power Dam began operation and began powering both the Helen and Magpie mines and company towns. The Steephill dam continued operating until 1924 when it was abandoned. Interestingly, “[The dam] can still be viewed today as one of the only remaining sites of a flat buttress style dam in Canada.”¹⁹

In June of 1914, the Magpie mine survived a forest fire. In May, 1917, the miners struck for an eight hour work day, instead of a ten hour day. In 1918, following Spanish influenza’s passing through the mine, victims were buried in a small cemetery near the mine site, as well as alongside the Algoma rail tracks.

The Magpie mine closed in March 1921 following competition from iron mines south of the border, and with the depletion of hematite ore at the nearby Helen Mine. The local iron industry remained shuttered for the next 16 years.²⁰

Interest in reopening the Helen Mine began in 1937 due to a Provincial government bounty designed to support domestic iron ore production. Also, a newly developed sintering process at a Wawa plant could beneficiate the lower grade siderite ore before shipping to the Algoma Plant. In 1937, the Iron Ore Bounty Act was passed by the Ontario Legislature, provided a bounty of two cents per unit of metallic ore in a ton of iron to be paid to producers of iron ores for a period of ten years.²¹ The Act became effective on January 1, 1939.

Algoma Ore Properties, Limited needed to reconstruct the company town, as it had been razed by a forest fire in 1921. The company estimated the cost of reopening the mine along with new construction at 1.5 million Canadian Dollars. It was additionally estimated

that half a million tons of ore per year would be produced, with a finished sintered product of 300,000 tons. The site's pit would be opened, but by utilizing new mining practices, by 1950 all production from the mine would come from underground.²²

Alongside the development of iron mining operations in 1939, the community at Wawa saw a revitalization with several effects. Following a boom-and-bust of local gold mines and after the closing of the Helen Mine in 1919, Wawa had become a sort of ghost town and buildings in the village numbered eight to twelve. The buildings' owners and residents were among the survivors of a 1921 forest fire. A post office, general store, a butcher, a restaurant, a hotel, along with two other "stores" constituted the initial, remaining amenities at Wawa City. Alongside mine redevelopment houses were moved from nearby localities. The rebirth of the Helen Mine resulted in construction of a road between the sintering plant, Wawa, and the mine. Following the completion of the power station on the Michipicoten River at High Falls, Wawa residents saw electrification. And an additional twenty-three company homes were built near the sinter plant and was known as Sinterville.²³

When the new Helen Mine produced its first load of sintered ore in July, 1939, it was the only iron producer in all of Canada. However, it struggled in its early years through the Second World War. A lack of extending operations at the Helen Mine by management led to the development of additional, nearby iron ore bodies. The sintering plant required continuous operation and a steady source of ore in order to be profitable. An additional mine at the nearby Victoria ore body was proposed. The war years brought labor shortages, saw the cancelling of the iron bounty, and higher wartime operation costs.²⁴

During the late 1940s, Algoma began employing an underground mining method with which to efficiently mine siderite ore. It added a Sink Float Plant and by 1947 was running year-round. By 1950, all ore produced at the Helen mine came from underground mining operations. In 1952, the Township of Michipicoten was incorporated and included the municipalities of Wawa, Michipicoten Harbour, Michipicoten River Village, Michipicoten High Falls, and the Helen Mine. The 1950s are described as Algoma's golden years and saw the development of nearby mines, with additional processing equipment as well as more permanent development in Wawa.²⁵

Wawa expanded greatly due to the iron industry during the 1950s through the 1960s. Algoma provided the town with sewers, water, and electricity, as well as the construction and maintenance of roads throughout the district.²⁶ During the 1960s the Helen Mine and surrounding area sustained production by expansion into nearby iron deposits at the George W. MacLeod and Sir James Mines. The MacLeod Mine was located near Moran Lake and the Sir James Mine was to the northeast of Wawa near Lena Lake.

Algoma suffered during the recession of the early 1980s, laying off half of its mine and mill work force in July, 1982. Further workforce reductions followed in 1986. Through declining ore production and global market competition, Algoma Ore Division announced the closing of the Helen mine in 1996.²⁷

As of December 2014, Essar Steel-Algoma Inc., current owner of Algoma Steel as well as a number of Wawa district mine properties, placed ten properties for sale within northern Ontario. The Helen and Magpie mine sites are currently for sale.²⁸

Though Wawa and the surrounding area experienced a boom-and-bust gold rush initially, true riches came not from gold, but from iron ore. The Helen and Magpie Mines

helped develop Canadian steel through production of native Canadian ores as well as supported a developing steel industry. Northern Ontario and especially Sault Ste. Marie industrialized as relatively nearby iron deposits would be developed in order to fuel the Algoma Steel industry.

The author of this article would like to recommend further reading in Johanna (Morrison) Rowe, *Heart of a Mountain, Soul of a Town : the story of Algoma Ore and the town of Wawa*. A stable URL link is provided in the Notes section

NOTES

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The West Neebish Channel

By Gregg Beukema

Along the eastern edge of Michigan's Upper Peninsula lies the St. Mary's River, one of the busiest and yet most beautiful waterways in the world. Giant ore carriers, some exceeding one thousand feet in length, traverse the river daily. Navigating the St. Mary's requires twenty changes in course along its 65-mile length to dodge the islands, sandbars, and reefs that litter the river.

Near the halfway point in the river lies Neebish Island. Although smaller than Sugar, St. Joseph and Drummond, Neebish was the biggest hindrance because of a shallow rocky narrows along its west side called the West Neebish Rapids.



("Neebish" derives from the Ojibwe word *aniibiish*, meaning "leaf.")

After the construction of the St. Mary's Falls Ship Canal (the Soo Locks), even the channel around the east side of Neebish was the most difficult navigational problem the ships faced. Until the start of the 20th century the ships would tie up at the southeast corner of the island, at a place that became known as Sailors' Encampment, rather than attempt to go through the narrow passage at night. The channel was less than 300 feet wide and both up-bound and down-bound vessels were required to use it.

Since 1857, the U.S. Corps of Engineers has made improvements to the St. Mary's to simplify its transit.¹ Nearly every year the currents in the river require some modification to the channels to allow the passage of the many ships that travel its course.

In 1892 the ship owners and operators of the Great Lakes formed an organization known as the Lake Carriers Association (LCA) to improve conditions for the blossoming lake transportation business.² In 1895 the LCA began publishing its annual report, a document that contains, among other things, a list of harbor and channel improvement recommendations. In its 1897 report, the LCA suggested that the Corps of Engineers (then known as the United States Army Engineers) investigate a new channel around Neebish Island. This channel would separate traffic, up-bound going to the east and down-bound to the west of the island, through what was then known as the West Neebish Rapids, a section of the river that was very narrow, shallow and strewn with large boulders and limestone ridges.³ "This," the LCA said, "would make a grand improvement in the navigation between Lake Superior and Lake Huron."⁴

On March 3, 1899, Congress, realizing the need for iron ore in time of war, passed an act that directed the Secretary of War to initiate a survey of the waters connecting Lake Superior and Lake Huron as well as the St. Clair Flats at the north end of Lake St. Clair, and to provide a plan with estimates for "a safe and convenient channel 20 feet deep between said lakes . . ."⁵ Col. G. J. Lydecker, then District Engineer, Detroit District, in his preliminary report submitted May 29, 1900, proposed adoption of the LCA recommendations, including a channel at the foot of Hay Lake (now Lake Nicolet) through the West Neebish Rapids.⁶

The development of Lydecker's recommendation was undoubtedly influenced by a major tie-up in the river created when the *Douglass Houghton* was rammed and sunk by the barge it was towing at Sailors Encampment on September 5, 1899. Approximately 200 vessels were blockaded. With dual channels in this narrow part of the river, the jam-up could have been averted.⁷ On June 13, 1902, Congress adopted the Lydecker report and appropriated funding for the West Neebish improvements.⁸ On October 13, 1902, Major W. H. Bixby (new District Engineer) recommended that the channel be made 21 feet deep rather than 20, because of the many new ships under construction that could use the increased depth for a much greater cargo carrying capacity.⁹ The modest one-foot increase in hull depth, multiplied by the huge length and width dimensions of the big ships, would result in a major increase in payload.

By the spring of 1904, the contractor had been chosen and preliminary work was underway.¹⁰ The general contractor for the work was MacArthur Brothers of Chicago, Illinois, with A. F. MacArthur as the project manager.¹¹ The firm established an office in Sault Ste. Marie with Samuel J. Mills as office manager. Chief Engineer David Sloan outlined the dimensions of the project.

"We will employ about 300 to 400 men, I can see no reason why we cannot work the year around, as the cut is through rock. There is about two million yards to be removed."¹²

On May 13, 1904, the first crews arrived at the work site. Their first task was to establish a camp for the workmen. A home on the site belonging to John F. Maloney and Capt. Charles Chapman was being used as temporary quarters until the cabins were built.¹³ (In the late 1920s these cabins were towed up the river on the ice to Five Mile Point where several are still being used as tourist cabins at Lanphear's Resort.¹⁴)

The crews first undertook to build temporary dams to create “dead” water, to neutralize strong currents. Once these were built, the crew could build the earthen cofferdams that would hold back the water completely. Shortly after the temporary dams were completed, tug captains from Sailors Encampment began to complain about the increased water flow in the Middle Neebish and Munuscong Channels.¹⁵

The building of the cofferdams was a time consuming but simple process. Steam shovels dug up earth from the bottom of the channel and dropped it into the channel adjacent to the point from which it had been removed. Once this task was completed, two 12-inch pumps were run day and night to drain the first section of the project.¹⁶ The cofferdams held out the incoming water extremely well, with the first one thousand foot section pumped dry by Aug. 7, nearly thirty days ahead of schedule.

The free food that the laborers anticipated, however, was not to be found.

“Contrary to expectations, few fish were found in the section when it was pumped dry. In some of the deeper pools, a few fish were found and something like a half dozen went through the pumps, but the big quantities which were supposed to have been caught between the two dams were missing when the pumping began.”¹⁷

Nor were labor relations smooth at Neebish. On September 1, 1904, one hundred Italian laborers went out on strike after their demand for higher wages was refused. The men were requesting an increase of 25 cents a day for a total of \$1.75 a day.

“The ‘dagoes’ were brought from the city of Detroit several weeks ago and have been engaged in the work of building dams across the channel and making excavations.”

When the Italian workers walked off the job, they attempted to get the other workers to join in with them. When the remainder of the crews continued to work, they were pelted with stones by the strikers, forcing the work to stop until the strikers departed. “Most of the Italians boarded themselves and the wages paid did not include their living expenses.”¹⁸ By contrast, a common seaman on a freighter was paid \$25 a month for the same hours of labor, with room and board, uniforms, and minor health care included. In addition, if a sailor stayed on a boat through the end of the season, he received a cash bonus.¹⁹

Once the nascent rock cut was drained, workers could begin drilling, blasting and hauling. Deep holes were drilled with motors run by compressed air. Into these holes went a measured charge which, when ignited, shattered the rock into manageable pieces. The rock was hauled away with a unique cable system:

To carry away the debris from the bottom of the section immense towers are built each 105 feet in height with spans, two of 800 feet, two of 1,100 feet. From these will run the travelling cables to carry to the dump the rock broken up in the bottom of the section. These traveling cables have a capacity of 13 tons to the load and are the longest travelling cables in proportion to the load they are expected to carry in the world.²⁰

All of the machinery on the site was driven with compressed air. The air compressors, powered by three large wood-fired boilers, had a total of 1,050 horsepower and cost more than \$150,000.²¹ The foundations under these giant boilers remain standing today on the property of Roger Norton.

As the project was going to take four years to complete, a small city grew around Neebish. It contained a boarding house that could feed 700 men at one time, a commissary, a blacksmith shop, offices and many small cabins to house the workers. The contractors felt

that they would provide a better environment for the workers if they were housed in small homes as opposed to sharing one or two large barracks, since many of the workers had brought their families to the rock cut. While all of these buildings were being constructed, the workers lived in what became tent cities with names for each: The City, Hoodoo Town, and Little Detroit, as well as many more colorful titles.²²

Mr. John Mingay of Pickford was 14 years old when he got a job working for the MacArthur Brothers Company. For the first two weeks on the project he was employed as a drillman. This position required John to hold on to a giant drill bit approximately three to four feet long and one and a half inches in diameter. While John held the bit vertically, point down on the rock, his partner—known as the driver—pounded on the end of the bit with a sledge hammer. As often happened on a job with new crews, the driver missed the drill bit and hit John's fingers. He went to the company office and was bandaged. According to John, "It was a good thing it happened on a Saturday." When asked why, he responded, "It hurt too much to do anything on Sunday, but Monday it was not so bad." Since there were no sick days, Monday morning John reported back to work. He was assigned to a team of horses pulling a heavy wagon, "drivin' team." The team hauled rock from the rock cut to the rock pile.

John Mingay was lucky. His injury was minor and non-crippling. There were many serious injuries on the job. The company provided first aid on site, and would haul the worker off to the doctor, if needed. Unfortunately, many of the injuries were crippling or debilitating. For these workers there was no long-term assistance. Workman's compensation was years in the future.

Many of the injuries were caused by exploding tires. Early rubber tires, inflated to 100 p.s.i., exploded when driven over the sharp rock. Surprisingly, even though there was extensive use of dynamite, it caused only one injury, and that was from a falling piece of debris when a supposedly empty box harboring explosive was thrown into the wood stove in one of the workers' shacks.²³

As all of the drilling and blasting was taking place, work also progressed on the approaches to the rock cut. A reporter from the *Soo Evening News* made sure to fully inform readers of the magnitude of the undertakings:

The first dredge one meets when taking a sail down the river is the one nearest the head of Sugar Island, operated by the Two Rivers Dredge and Dock Company. Just a little below this is the big Pan American dredge, the largest on the lakes, the dipper of which has a level capacity of eight yards of the kind of material now being worked on but with the tenacious character of the clay usually brings up ten or even more yards. When it is noted that this company gets 17 cents a yard for its work, it is easy for the observer to figure that practically each dip brings up \$1.70. This might make it appear that there is an enormous profit in the operation of the dredge, but when one considers the expenses of operation and the loss which sometimes results from the necessity of remaining idle for a few days or a week those dollar seventies cease to look so large.

In addition to these two dredges, there were two more engaged in the work between Sugar Island and the mainland. At the point where the Middle Neebish Channel and the West Neebish Channel come together in the southern end of Lake Nicolet, six additional dredges were at work deepening the channel. These dredges were owned by Edward Brothers, C. H. Starke Dredging & Dock Co., James Pryor, Houghton & Co., and Fitzsimmons & Connell. Operating in the area immediately north of the rock cut was one additional dredge belonging

to Edward Brothers. These eleven dredges removed nearly six million cubic yards of material from the river bottom.

South of the rock cut in the new channel an additional group of dredges belonging to the Chicago and Great Lakes Dredging Company were at work removing another four million cubic yards of river bottom. Twelve million cubic yards of material in all were removed in completing the project. Again the *Evening News* seemed in awe of the West Neebish operation when it stated, "It is a gigantic undertaking which can scarcely be appreciated even by spending days in observation and asking questions and yet in order to get the first inkling of what is meant by the new West Neebish Channel it will be necessary to visit the place and see what is actually being done."²⁴

With a few minor exceptions, work continued quite smoothly for the next four years. In February 1905, an ice jam tore away a small portion of the cofferdam and caused a temporary panic but the break was quickly repaired.²⁵

Beginning in the spring of 1908, the Engineers under the direction of Louis C. Sabin (Superintendent at the St. Mary's Falls Ship Canal) began installation of navigational lighting in the channel. In June 1908, the wood cribs at the ends of the rock cut were installed.²⁶

On July 28, 1908, copies of the channel rules were made available at the dock of the United States Revenue Service, the forerunner of the U.S. Coast Guard. Rule number one stated that no vessel would be allowed to exceed a speed of ten miles per hour in the rock cut. Rule number two stated, "No up-bound vessel shall pass the St. Mary's River by way of the West Neebish Channel, and no down-bound boat shall pass by way of the Middle Neebish Channel except vessels of 500 tons or less and vessels making regular local stops on these channels."²⁷ The problem of the narrow passage around Neebish Island was solved.

On Monday, August 10, 1908, many dignitaries began to arrive for the opening of the new channel. Tuesday, August 11, saw this group of fleet managers being brought through the new channel to familiarize them with it so they could act as river pilots for their vessels' first pass-through. These men would board the down-bound vessels at the Soo and return back to the Soo in a launch provided by the LCA, after guiding their boat through the channel. William Livingston, president of the LCA, arrived on Friday, August 15, for the opening of navigation, held on Saturday, August 16.

"What boat will have the distinction of first passing down through?" asked the *Evening News* in its Friday, August 15, edition. It had been hoped that the *Thomas F. Cole*, flagship of the Pittsburg Steamship Co. (the forerunner of the U.S. Steel fleet) would have that distinction, but it was not possible as the *Cole* was on the lower lakes at the time.²⁹

At daybreak on Saturday, August 16, 1908, the *George F. Baker* of the Pittsburg Steamship Company had the honor of being the first ship to pass through the new West Neebish Channel. The ship had tied up in Lake Nicolet (Hay Lake) overnight to be the first one through. It was followed closely by *Conestoga*, a Canadian ship belonging to the Lakeports Navigation Company.³⁰

The long awaited West Neebish Channel was open.

(The *Baker* had a long career on the Great Lakes. In 1965 it was sold to the Kinsman Division of S. & E. Shipping Corporation, and was finally sold for scrap in 1979. The *Conestoga* was not so fortunate. Launched in 1878, the wooden freighter burned to the waterline near

Cardinal, Ontario, May 9, 1922.³¹⁾

The channel survived its first two seasons without any problems. But then on May 21, 1910, the steamer *John B. Ketchum II* grounded near the north end of the cut and obstructed the channel for seventeen days.³² Col. E. J. Dent, District Engineer, in his report of December 3, 1926, recommended that the West Neebish Channel be widened to 650 feet at an estimated cost of \$10.25 million. Col. Spencer Cosby, the Lakes Division Engineer, found Col. Dent's recommendation extravagant. It was estimated that to make the improvements, the channel would have to be closed for three years. By 1920, ships had been built in excess of 600 feet, which made two-way navigation of the Middle Neebish Channel next to impossible. If future developments were to make eventual closing down and widening or deepening of the West Neebish Channel advisable, the Middle Neebish Channel would have to be widened to at least 500 feet to handle two-way traffic. The Board of Engineers for Rivers and Harbors and the Chief of Engineers agreed that widening the Middle Neebish Channel should be given first priority.³³ The river and harbor act of January 21, 1927 authorized the funding.

By the late 1920s lake freighters had grown even larger, with many of the new ships having an available draft of 23 feet. There was only one thing that was restricting this added capacity (and revenue)—the West Neebish Channel. On July 4, 1930, President Herbert Hoover signed a \$145 million rivers and harbors act that among other things authorized the deepening of the West Neebish Channel. The Corps of Engineers wasted no time. The contract was bid, let and begun at the close of the shipping season late in 1930. The general contractor for the deepening was the firm of Connelly Brothers of Minneapolis. The same methods used in the original digging of the channel were used again, namely, build a cofferdam, drain the rock cut, drill, blast and haul away.³⁵ The cabins, mess halls, and offices used by the MacArthur Brothers for the first contract, however, were long gone. Faced with a tight time schedule, Connelly Brothers purchased the old passenger steamer *S.S. Indiana* from the Goodrich Steamboat Line and dug a small slip near the north end of the cut to dock the ship for use as a hotel and general office. The beautiful ship performed its duties perfectly. The workers (only 120 men were needed to complete the job) were very happy with its staterooms (each equipped with hot and cold running water), and its luxurious dining rooms, lounging rooms, barber shop, and showers. The construction superintendent set up his offices in the captain's quarters. Connelly Brothers continued to use the ship for a similar job in the Detroit River.³⁶

Although the contract was completed on time, the Connelly Brothers had two major problems. Rather than build a traveling cableway, they used rubber-tired dump trucks. Unfortunately the tires of the 1930s were still designed to utilize over 100 pounds of air pressure. The sharp rock blasted out of the rock cut punctured hundreds of tires, forcing the contractor toward bankruptcy. Their other problem had much longer lasting effects. The cofferdam on the lower end of the rock cut was released too fast. The rush of water pulled debris back into the channel and for the next few years there were many complaints from ship captains of damage to the bottoms of their ships.³⁷

The channel was reopened to navigation on July 18, 1933.³⁸

The West Neebish continued to serve the freighters faithfully throughout World War II. In the spring of 1949, the *Benson Ford* ran aground and caused another major back-up in the down-bound shipping lane. The Coast Guard was hesitant to have two-way traffic in the

Middle Neebish Channel because of the large ice floes that had been floating down the river. The problem was soon solved, however; the *Ford* was refloated four days later.³⁹

With the advent of the St. Lawrence Seaway in the early 1950s and its project depth of 27 feet, Col. Arthur C. Nauman, District Engineer, recommended that the St. Mary's River channels attain that depth as well, to allow the ships from the St. Lawrence Seaway to travel from the Atlantic Ocean to Duluth without having to stop because of shallower connecting channels. Of course, the governors of the surrounding states were extremely supportive of the proposal.⁴⁰

Unfortunately, in the ensuing years the ships of the Great Lakes had grown to the then maximum width of 75 feet, so once again the West Neebish Channel had to close for another deepening. However, this time there was no change in the river traffic patterns. The work was completed in the winter of 1959-60. Great Lakes Dredge and Dock Co. was the general contractor, with most on-site work performed by the firm of Trailor Brothers of Evansville, Indiana. The Supervising Engineer was Harold Lawson of the Corps of Engineers. The channel was open on schedule for the opening of the 1960 shipping season.⁴¹

Today the West Neebish is a much quieter place than it has been for most of the twentieth century. Until the late 1970s, ship traffic was very busy, with daily averages of 20 to 30 down-bound ships a day. By 1985, this number dropped to about ten. While total transits are down drastically, total tonnage has not dropped as severely, because the 1000-foot long ships of the 1980s carry three to six times the cargo tonnage of their predecessors.

The car ferry *Neebish Islander* makes many transits of the channel each day and the cottagers still come to watch the long ships pass by.

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Serious Celebration: The Pine Mountain Ski Jumping Tournament

By Michael Counter

As Professor Michael Marsden, a popular culture expert at St. Norbert College, in De Pere, Wis., stated in a recent American Popular Entertainments class, “The only way we can tie the past to the future is by celebration.”

Marsden went on to say, “How we amuse ourselves is important, and play is serious business.” The Pine Mountain Ski Jumping Tournament in Iron Mountain, Mich., is a celebration. The ski club and local communities come together each year to stage a celebration of international proportions. The celebration has survived over seventy years, even though the sport itself has been on the decline in the United States.

According to Frank Manning in the introduction to his book *“The Celebration of Society,”* a celebration has four elements: Performance, Entertainment, Public and Participatory.¹ There are also three ingredients of a festive occasion: Conscious Excess (controlled chaos), Edutainment and Juxtaposition.² The Pine Mountain Ski Jumping Tournament contains all of the elements listed above and can, therefore, be considered a true celebration.

Skiing is quite possibly the oldest sport known to man. Since the dawn of history, northern Europeans have looked on skiing as more efficient than walking. A museum in Stockholm, Sweden, claims to have a pair of skis that may be 5,000 years old. In the Middle Ages, armies proficient in skiing controlled snow-covered areas of Europe. As skiing developed into a leisure activity, alpine and Nordic skiing evolved.

But the most spectacular forms of skiing clearly are ski jumping and ski flying, thrilling not only to the jumper but to those spectators who brave the cold to marvel at the sight.

The Birth of Skisport in the U.S.

Ski jumping as a spectator sport fulfills one of the components of celebration—performance.³ During the 1870s and 1880s, the first ski-jumping tournaments in the country were held in Ishpeming, a small mining community near Lake Superior in Michigan’s Upper Peninsula. Today Ishpeming is home to the U. S. National Ski and Snowboard Hall of Fame and Museum. For organized skiing, known as skisport a hundred or so years ago, Ishpeming is the birthplace in the United States.

Norwegian immigrants organized the sport of skiing locally and Ishpeming hosted what was touted as the “Greatest Exhibition of Skiing Ever Witnessed in America,” in 1905.⁴ The U.S. National Ski and Snowboard Hall of Fame has an extensive collection of artifacts and archives relating to the history of skiing. Its 20,000 square feet contain displays about 375 honored members, trophies, clothing and equipment. It also has a gift shop, library and theater (“U.S. National Ski Hall of Fame”).⁵

The first ski-jumping competition in Ishpeming took place on February 25, 1882, and has continued annually since 1888. On February 26, 1926, the new Suicide Hill opened for its first competition. The name “Suicide Hill” was given by a local newspaper reporter named Ted Butler

after jumper Walter “Huns” Anderson was injured in 1926.⁶

Another hotspot for ski jumping in the early years was Red Wing, Minnesota. The Aurora Ski Club, one of the first, held its first major Red Wing tournament in 1887. Mikkel Hemmestvedt arrived from Europe and stole the show. The 24-year old established the first recognized American ski jumping record. Hemmestvedt sailed 37 feet on the McSorley Street hill and earned \$35 in gold for his effort.

The Snus Box Trail

Decades later, local residents Harris Andersen and Bill Ward came up with an ingenious and inexpensive advertising gimmick to promote both Red Wing and the 1928 National Ski Jumping Tournament the city hosted. Noting the great popularity of “snuff” with Scandinavian immigrants – they called the tobacco product “snus” (“snoose”)– Ward and Andersen decided to use empty snuff boxes as a symbol for the ski tournament.

They convinced the makers of Copenhagen snuff to donate their distinctive red containers to Red Wing tourney leaders. Local promoters then tacked up the “snus boxes” on poles, trees, and fences in a wide path across the area. They got the Red Wing Shoe Company salesmen to deliver the boxes to utility poles and snow banks throughout the Midwest, all leading to Red Wing. “Follow the Snus Box Trail” became the watchwords for the 1928 U.S. Nationals.

“It worked,” said Jerry Borgen, author of *The Snus Box Kids*. “Over 25,000 people showed up in our town of about 6,000.”⁷ The system worked so well that when Red Wing hosted the 1936 tournament, organizers built another snus box trail⁸. (Johnson)

The Aurora Ski Club also added some glamour to the 1928 U.S. National Ski Jumping Championships in Red Wing. Club members decided to crown a Queen Aurora to reign over a week of festivities in February that year. But some people were disappointed in the process, as beauty took a backseat to dollars and cents in determining the queen. Those people backing the eight official candidates sold tickets to the tournament in the name of their favorite. Whoever got the most money would be declared the winner. Those supporting Viola Hofschute sold \$635 worth of tickets, the winning total. She proved a winsome choice for one Aurora Ski Club member in particular: Clarence “Babe” Lillethun, Aurora’s president, later married Hofschute.

The Aurora Ski Club hosted several national championships in Red Wing, but its membership dwindled, and it was disbanded in the early 1950s⁹.

One man’s vision brought ski jumping to Iron Mountain, Michigan in the late 1930s.

From 1935 through 1943, the U.S. government spent more than \$11 billion through the Works Progress Administration (WPA), employing millions of workers to carry out public works projects. (The Works Progress Administration was renamed as the Works Projects Administration in 1939.)

The WPA—Pine Mountain

One WPA project was the Pine Mountain ski jump, in Iron Mountain, about 80 miles from Ishpeming’s Suicide Bowl. Giant Pine Mountain, as it’s known (a 90-meter hill), was born of a local politician’s hunch that a giant ski slide would serve the community well.¹⁰

Harold Eskil, a Dickinson County chairman who assisted WPA planning, took time in 1968 to offer his recollections of the Pine Mountain project. When the Roosevelt

administration announced that recreation projects could be eligible for WPA funds, Eskil acted on a “dormant dream” to build a big ski slide. “I knew the spot,” he wrote, “—the northwest end of Pine Mountain.” He described a hike off an old logging road to approach the location: “Alone in zero-degree weather, on snowshoes in snow three or more feet deep, I climbed the northwest face of Pine Mountain. It was a difficult, lengthy climb to the top, but from the top I knew I had the right place for the ski slide. At the top of Pine Mountain, I was amazed at the scenery — the miles of it visible in every direction. With a good road to the top, what a scenic sight-seeing area this could become — with the slide and the ski jump adjacent to it.” The proposed \$26,000 budget for the scaffold alone would equal about \$400,000 today.¹¹

On Feb. 18, 1939, the eve of the inaugural tournament, the Iron Mountain News reported that slightly more than \$70,000 (\$1.08 million today) had been spent on WPA projects in the Pine Mountain area, nearly \$61,000 of it for labor. That work included the road, scaffold, landing hill, parking lot and a few amenities. A crowd of 10,000 to 15,000 was anticipated, the largest ever for a sports event in the Upper Peninsula. “The dual aim of the WPA was to develop projects which would prove to be a lasting benefit to the community and give employment to those in need,” Eskil noted.¹²

The 10th Mountain Division

Ski jumping was given a major boost after World War II across the country and in particular in the Upper Midwest. During World War II, the U.S. Army’s 10th Mountain Division served in combat for only four months, but it had one of the conflict’s highest casualty rates. Of the 19,000 men who served (15,000 who trained, and 4,000 who joined as replacements in Italy), roughly 1,000 were killed. The 4,000 who were wounded included future presidential candidate Bob Dole. The division started out as an experiment to train skiers and climbers to fight in the most difficult, mountainous terrain in Europe. Some of the men who joined the division were skiers already, while others had never seen a ski in their lives. Their training at Camp Hale, near Pando, Colo., included skiing, snowshoeing and rock climbing. They also learned cold-weather survival tactics, such as keeping warm by building snow caves.¹³

The men lived in the mountains for weeks, working in altitudes up to 13,500 feet, in five to six feet of snow and in temperatures that dropped to 20 degrees below zero at night. At the end of 1944, the 10th Mountain Division was finally deployed and began the first of a series of daring assaults against the German army in the northern Apennine Mountains of Italy.¹⁴

After the war, the veterans of the 10th Mountain Division shaped the country’s ski and outdoor industry. More than 60 winter resorts were either founded by these experts or had ski schools run by them. In addition, 10th Mountain veteran Bill Bowerman co-founded Nike and developed the waffle sole running shoe. Veteran David Brower became head of the Sierra Club and one of the century’s most pre-eminent environmentalists. Many 10th Mountain veterans, with their ski skills, knowledge of the land, and enthusiasm, went on to become key figures in the development of the United States’ mountaineering tradition both in skiing and climbing.¹⁵

Volunteer Support

Today with the support of the Kiwanis Ski Club (an independent non-profit organization) and the local community, the Pine Mountain ski jumping tournament lives on as

a successful public event—another component of celebration.¹⁶ Kiwanis Club president Nick Blagec says, “A lot of people don’t know that the complex called ‘Pine Mountain’ is in the Dickinson County park system. It is about eighty acres from the top of the hill to the parking lot below.”¹⁷

Pine Mountain hosts the two-day weekend tournament every February.

Today, Blagec says the club has no debt and just wants to cover costs for the next year’s event.

“We (Kiwanis Ski Club) pay ground travel for all European jumpers and coaches and all airfare both ways. We pay travel expenses for all American and Canadian jumpers and coaches as well. We also pay for officials, judges, time and distance keepers and anyone else that must be here. We must also pay motel and food costs for about six days and what we call ‘day money’ while the jumpers are here. Costs are well over \$90,000. That is ballpark. The overall cost to put on the event is closer to \$150,000, give or take.”

Sponsors, concession stand sales, souvenir sales and booster buttons (admission) help defer the costs.

The Kiwanis Ski Club is about forty-five members strong. But Kiwanis Ski Club member Susie Fox says the organization needs some young blood to join.

“Finding able and young volunteers has been a challenge. The average age of the ‘working’ ski club members is easily 60, probably closer to mid-60’s. There are many tasks that require extreme physical labor and it is a lot to ask of someone that age.”¹⁸

But according to Blagec, “When tournament time comes around, the club members dig in and get the hill prepared and ready for competition. No one gets paid as a club member, it’s all volunteer. The local people and businesses in the area always come through with whatever we need to make it happen. I know when it is over on Monday morning and there are about ten or fifteen people cleaning up, there is a huge sigh of relief, and then about two weeks later we start all over again planning for the next tournament.”

The twin cities of Iron Mountain and Kingsford, Mich., have produced their share of ski jumping talent, and many who have jumped at Pine Mountain have gone on to great success in the sport. Mark Konopacke of Iron Mountain competed in the 1988 and 1992 Winter Olympic Games. He holds two national titles and is a member of the American Ski Jumping Hall of Fame.

“I started jumping when I was 5 years old,” said Konopacke. “There is a rich history of ski jumping in the Iron Mountain/Kingsford area with a number of past national champions and Olympic team members. The Miron Ski Bowl (smaller jump) was four blocks from my house and the local Community Schools program held competitions for kids of any age once a week. My brother, sister and I participated every week.”¹⁹

Blood on the Bedding

A third component of Celebration is that it must be entertaining, and that seems to be an integral part of ski jumping.²⁰ Spills are part of the entertainment value in ski jumping. For the same reason people go to watch crashes in auto races or hard hits in a football game, the danger element sells. It has been said that ABC’s *Wide World of Sports* program and its show opening—when announcer Jim McKay says, “Spanning the globe to bring you the constant variety of sport! The thrill of victory and the agony of defeat”—has contributed negatively to

the sport of ski jumping. As he is saying the words “agony of defeat,” you see ski jumper Vinko Bogataj of Yugoslavia go somersaulting off the end of a ski jump in Germany in 1970. Bogataj survived, but his spectacular failure was shown over and over again. It has been said that the sport has struggled to survive in the U.S. and Canada, and that video, repeated weekly for years, sure didn’t help. The United States ski team believes this misconception reinforced by *Wide World of Sports* persists to this day.²¹

But Konopacke doesn’t totally agree. “I’m not sure I agree that Bogataj’s fall continues to have an impact on the sport today,” said Konopacke. “The U.S. and Canada have lost focus on the sport, which is evident in the fact that a lack of funding exists for grass-roots programs that existed when I was growing up. I agree the video didn’t help, but if we had more ski jumps with grass-roots programs the sport would be in a better place in North America. Ski jumping recently broke away from the U.S. Ski and Snowboard team to form its own governing body. Only time will tell if it was a good decision. Funding is critical and not having to compete with alpine and snowboarding for funds will be great but the jury is still out as to whether or not ski jumping can stand on its own.”

Konopacke doesn’t deny the sport is dangerous. “I have seen a number of bad physical injuries and even a death in my career. Like any sport, you need to have a short memory and focus on your abilities to move past.”

“I believe the danger of the sport is part of the attraction—as much as none of us want to admit it,” says Kiwanis Ski Club member Susie Fox. “In some ways, we all wish we could fly like the athletes – what a cool sensation that must be.” Jerry Borgen of Red Wing, Minn., agrees, saying there are those people who like to see “the blood on the bedding.”²²

But Konopacke says: “The sport is not as dangerous as people think. Obviously there are exceptions.”

There are statistics to support his claim. In the skiing world, the International Ski Federation is known by its French name, “Fédération Internationale de Ski”, abbreviated FIS. The FIS has an injury surveillance system in place. According to their report, elite skiing and snowboarding are a concern. Nearly 1/3 of World Cup athletes interviewed experienced a time-loss injury and about 1/3 of the injuries were so serious that the athletes lost more than 28 days of training and competition. The highest injury risk was seen in alpine skiing, freestyle skiing and snowboard, with approximately 30 injuries per 100 athletes per season. The numbers in Nordic disciplines (ski jumping, Nordic combined and cross-country skiing) were much lower. For ski jumping, it is roughly 15 injuries per 100 athletes per season.²³

Another entertaining component of ski jumping at Pine Mountain is its inclusion of female jumpers. Female ski jumpers have petitioned to join every Winter Olympics since Nagano in 1998, and each time they were denied by the International Olympics Committee (IOC), citing several reasons. “I don’t think there’s any discrimination going on,” says Joe Lamb, the U.S. ski-team representative for the International Ski Federation’s (FIS) ski-jumping committee. “It may seem like that, but there are hundreds of other issues at play, including a history of world championships and a sizable number of athletes.” In fact, ski jumping was the only Olympic discipline to remain men-only. (Technically, Nordic combined was also limited to males, but that’s because it includes ski jumping.) But finally, the IOC conceded and women will participate in the 2014 Olympic games in Sochi, Russia. (Suddath)

Women Welcome

But well before the Olympics admitted them, women were welcomed to Pine Mountain. In 1977, Therese Altbelli of Iron Mountain became the first woman to ever jump a 90-meter hill as she flew off Pine Mountain in front of the hometown crowd. Her best jump was ninety meters, which is 295 feet. Altbelli was inducted into the American Ski Jumping Hall of Fame in Red Wing, Minn. in 2009. She called it “a great honor.” (Altbelli, Therese, YouTube, 6 Dec. 2009)

The women jumpers I spoke with agree with Konopacke. Alissa Johnson and Jessica Jerome, both members of the U.S. Women’s Ski Jumping team, told me they believe the sport is safe. “Ski jumping is actually a very controlled sport,” says Jerome. “There are weather variables which can make things a little sketchy at times, but the idea is that the jumper is always flying with the profile of the hill, so we are rarely more than 15 feet off the ground. It is very technical and the officials are always trying to make it as safe as possible during competitions, so if the weather gets out of hand, the officials will either hold the competition until it passes, or cancel it.” Johnson says, “At a young age you learn how to fall and the necessary ski skills that make the sport a lot safer.”

Burn-barrels and Pasties

A final component of celebration is participation. Ten to fifteen thousand people come each year to Giant Pine Mountain to watch what can be best described as a “visual spectacle.” Today, nearly 60 jumpers from all over the world converge on Iron Mountain every winter to see who can tame the world’s largest artificial ski jump and fly away with the annual Pine Mountain Continental Cup title.

Many area residents look at the Pine Mountain Continental Cup as one giant party.

During the two-day event, tens of thousands of brats, hamburgers and pasties (U.P. traditional meat and vegetable pies) are consumed — along with the beverages of choice. With the large crowds each year, fans stake out their “camps” hours in advance and come equipped with food and burn-barrels for heat, then lounge in their camp chairs and enjoy the competition.

The burn-barrels are always a wise choice, as Pine Mountain Continental Cup competitors have leaped off Giant Pine in temperatures ranging from 2003’s 31-degree “heat wave,” down to the bone-chilling 14-below first-day temperatures in 2006. Despite often-harsh conditions, some foreign competitors look at the Pine Mountain Continental Cup as more than just another day at work. “Of all the jumps in the world, Pine Mountain is my favorite,” Austria’s Stefan Kaiser said. “The people of Iron Mountain make us feel like we’re home. (*“Pine Mountain Party Attracts Thousands”*)

“All our sponsors have their shelters at the hill and they come up with things like bleachers, ice sculptures, some very different foods such as alligator, buffalo and more,” says Blagec. “Drinks are something else. They make certain drinks through ice blocks with holes drilled in. The ice is tinted in all kinds of colors. Or they have several shot glasses glued on a ski with multiple people drinking at the same time. You also see classmates getting together every year or family gatherings for people who live out of town.”

John Jessen, who lives in Quinnesec, Mich. and regularly attends the jumps, says, “For many, it is the last big event of winter; after the ski jumps, you know that spring is just around the corner.”

Jumpers get a chance to mingle with the fans after the competition. Olympian Mark Konopacke shared an anecdote about some of his friends who attended the ski jumps. "Growing up in the area it was always nice for me to be able to go back home and compete at Pine Mountain. It was always a bit tricky to balance the 'being home' part with the competition. I typically would hide out at home or the hotel so I could focus on the event, but would always make it out to the parking lot after the event each day. It was always humbling to see the amount of support but I always wondered how much fun I was missing not being part of the crowd. My favorite story was back in 1985 when I won the tourney on Saturday. I had a great event and went to find some friends at a tailgate to celebrate. After a beer, I heard, 'Hey, Kono's here.' After a few hellos, they started asking how I did. That was the great part; they had no idea. That may not have been the norm but it does speak to the fact that it's just an excuse to have a tailgate party in the snow."

Conscious excess (controlled chaos) is an important ingredient in a celebration. (Cox) This is apparent in the crowds at the Pine Mountain Ski Jumping competition. Officials say they keep the party from getting out of control.

"We as a club want to make it a family affair and work with local law enforcement to keep it that way," says Kiwanis Ski Club president Nick Blagec. "It's not a 'get drunk and stupid' affair, as we close everything down and everyone must leave by 7 p.m. each day, and this works quite well."

As Cox stated, celebration must also be "edutainment"—it must amuse and instruct. (Cox) Some of the top foreign jumpers in the world come to Pine Mountain each year. The American, Canadian and European jumpers are exposed to the local faithful a few different ways. A "Meet The Skiers" event is held at Pine Mountain Lodge on the Thursday evening before the weekend competition. "It allows the public an opportunity to interact with the jumpers, get autographs and talk with officials," says ski club member Susie Fox.

"We also send them to schools in the area to speak with the younger kids, which goes over very well," says Blagec. "Each team (example: Austrian ski jumpers) will also spend a night at a local family's house for supper and talk, and this almost always starts long-term relationships with the families and the skiers." Blagec says that most foreign jumpers speak "pretty good" English.

Side by Side

Another part of a festive celebration is juxtaposition. Juxtaposition is simply the placing of two things that are different near to each other. It has the tendency to draw attention to the qualities of each. (Cox) At Pine Mountain there are other things to see and do. For example, right next to the ski jump is the Pine Mountain downhill ski area and resort. Timberstone Golf Course, built around the ski hill, is considered by *Golf Week Magazine* as one of the top 100 resort golf courses in the United States. Atop giant Pine Mountain there is the Upper Peninsula Veterans Memorial, which pays tribute to members of the armed services. The Upper Peninsula Veterans Memorial represents all 15 counties of the U.P. as well as recognizing in granite the eras of Vietnam, Lebanon-Granada, the Gulf Wars, Korea and World War I and World War II. At the base of each granite marker are paving bricks with the names of those whose memory is honored and shared by others. These pavers are available for sale to honor loved ones. Space has been allocated at the U. P. Veterans Memorial to honor service men and women engaged in the war in the Middle East. ("*U.P. Veterans Memorial*")

To get to the Veterans Memorial, fans can leave the comfort of their burn-barrels and the parking area and walk the 500 steps that bring them to the top of the hill. Along the way, they can get breathtaking views as jumpers ride Giant Pine Mountain. The steps are a story and an athletic challenge in themselves. Tourists and locals walk the steps year-round.

Former San Francisco 49ers and Detroit Lions head coach and now NFL Network analyst Steve Mariucci, who was born and raised in Iron Mountain, told me he used the steps at Pine Mountain to train for athletics when he was in high school. Mariucci, who ski-jumped as a youngster and tries to attend the ski-jumping tournament every year as a fan, was recently involved in a fundraiser with the local YMCA and the Kiwanis Ski Club to replace the worn-out steps.

"We had to pour 500 brand-new steps, wider, with two rails, not just the one down the middle but one on either side, and sell them and put the name of the person who bought the step on a plaque in front of the steps that will be there forever," said Mariucci. "The steps sold for \$10,000 to \$200 depending on where they were. You know: It's John Doe from the class of 1979 from Kingsford or Iron Mountain High School, or the score of the Iron Mountain-Kingsford game, or in memory of a relative, or some crazy saying, it was all kinds of things. Now obviously we censored some of it. Brett Favre bought the fourth step for \$1,000. On the bottom, fourth from the bottom, it's number four, yes it starts down with number one and then number 500 on top. Quite a project, but what was awesome was that we sold it out fast and that's kind of the civic pride people have back in Iron Mountain/Kingsford and Dickinson county, to recognize a need for not only new steps at Pine Mountain, but for the Kiwanis Ski Club and the YMCA. So that got done, and I was happy to be a part of it."

The hope is that ski jumping will continue for years to come at Pine Mountain. It won't be easy to sustain. In European countries like Norway, Austria and Finland, ski jumping is as big as the Super Bowl in the United States. Ski jumping in the U.S. is on the decline.

"Think about how easy it is to go skiing or snowboarding versus ski jumping," said Konopacke. "You have to grow up in an area that has a program and this limits the potential talent pool to draw from. Women's ski jumping is on the rise and the U.S. has been one of the pioneers. The U.S. women's team has a great chance to win a medal in the 2014 winter games but long term I fear they will face the same challenges as the men's team."

"Ski-jumping facilities are also very expensive to build and maintain," says U.S. Women's ski-jumping member Jessica Jerome. "Alpine resorts are located all over the country while equipment for ski jumping is very specialized, and it isn't something you can just buy in a sports store. All these things are small contributing factors as to why it struggles. I think that with the inclusion of women's ski jumping in the Olympics, it will help develop the sport as a whole. But unfortunately, people in certain parts of the country don't have access to a ski-jumping club as well as they do a skating rink or an alpine resort."

Other challenges club members face at Pine Mountain include the ever-unpredictable weather. Strong winds especially can cause tournament officials to cancel one or both days of the tournament. There are no refunds on button sales, so some people get upset when the tournament is canceled. Kiwanis Ski Club officials have a solution, but it will cost money. "We are just getting started on our next project to light the hill," said Blagec. "We want lights so we have more time on the weekend to get two competitions (Saturday and Sunday) in as the wind dies down in the evening and it gets dark or shadows about 4 p.m. We want to have two

tournaments when the skiers are here and our fans deserve two tournaments.” It’s not going to be easy with a struggling economy and businesses closing their doors after many of years of financial and/or material support to the Pine Mountain tourney.

“The Kiwanis Ski Club is unique because it only survives on the donations from area businesses and individuals,” said Mark Pontti, who works for Verso Paper Corp. of Quinnesec, Mich., a local sponsor. “To pull off an event of this magnitude versus our European counterparts (where government funding is commonplace) is truly an amazing feat!” The Pine Mountain Ski Jumping tournament gives people “a chance to renew old friendships and make new ones,” Pontti added.

As Dr. Marsden stated, “The people that play together stay together. A true community is a festive community. They will celebrate together. If they don’t, it’s just not a strong community.” The Pine Mountain Ski Jumping Tournament “is the ultimate celebration and one our area takes great pride in,” added Pontti.

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Breweries in the Lake Superior Basin: An Essay

Russell M. Magnaghi

During the last two decades, micro-brewing has boomed throughout the United States and Canada and within the Lake Superior Basin as well, a story told recently in the *Lake Superior Journal* magazine. This thriving economic and social activity has grown rapidly and as a result we tend to forget about the breweries of the past that dotted the region and provided beer for the thousands who made the Lake Superior basin their new home.

French explorers, voyageurs, soldiers and missionaries introduced the first spruce beer to the region as early as the mid- to late seventeenth century. Unfortunately no records have been uncovered to record this early brewing history. The beer was made with new growth spruce tips, molasses or maple syrup, water, and yeast from natural sources. The French used it especially during the winter months when the lack of vegetables and fruits with vitamin C led to the terrible effects of scurvy, which could result in death. After 1760 and the end of the French and Indian War the British entered the region and continued the practice. The British army provided detailed instructions on making spruce beer to avoid scurvy. General brewing was never an important activity in the Great Lakes because the dominant fur trading libation for the French was brandy, and for the British, rum. Why carry heavy barrels of beer into the interior when high spirits were readily available? Brief mention is made in the latter part of the eighteenth century of spruce beer at Fort Mackinac. The North West Company probably either imported or made spruce beer and regular beer at or close to Fort William. An account of an Irish immigrant family living in the center of the Copper Country attests to making spruce beer in the 1850s. They had originally learned to make an excellent brew in Newfoundland. The unnamed brewster had quite a cottage industry going.

The modern era of brewing in the Lake Superior Basin began in June 1850 when three German immigrants—Nickolas Voelker (grandfather of the famous U.P. author), Joseph Clements, and Nickolas Ritz—opened a small brewery at Sault Ste. Marie. Although their operation at the Soo only lasted for a few years, the pattern of German immigrants making beer had begun. Voelker and Clements quickly moved west and opened breweries in Ontonagon and Eagle River where the copper mines flourished, employing numerous immigrant beer drinkers. This region would become the center of economic activity in the Lake Superior Basin. By 1860, of some 7,282 people in the region, 20 percent were German immigrants. By the late 1850s Frank Knivel, William Ault, William Holt, and Adam Haas were brewing, with malt imported from Detroit.

Saloons quickly developed as social centers for the laborers and miners, with beer readily available for the thirsty patrons. As a picture of the popularity of saloons in 1877, the small mining community of Rockland with a population of only 1,000 had a brewery, while Calumet, with 4,000 people, had twenty-four saloons—a saloon for every 167 people—and Lake Linden to the east with 600 people had a brewery and seven saloons. Although mine managers and religious leaders, especially Methodist ministers, tried to curb the spread of saloons and promote temperance, it was to no avail and prospective saloon keepers found ways around the obstacles before them.

Although there were many small and transient breweries in the Copper Country the growing industry was dominated by the A. Haas and Bosch Brewing Companies. Bavarian-born Adam Haas opened his brewery in Houghton in 1859 and by 1890 the brewery was producing larger and Bohemian beer and “XXX ales.” Beer in bottles was introduced in 1880. The flourishing brewery was forced to close in 1918 with the coming of state prohibition. The brewery reopened in the summer of 1933 with the end of Prohibition and stayed in business until 1954.

The other dominant brewery was Bosch Brewing Company, started by Joseph Bosch. Born in Baden, Germany, he opened his Torch Lake Brewery in Lake Linden in 1874. This brewery also flourished and sold beer by delivery wagon and shipped it in special railroad boxcars. The brewery closed during Prohibition and then re-opened in 1933 with a license from the state of Michigan. They produced an all-time high of 100,000 barrels annually between 1955 and 1961. However, as with the Haas Brewery, they could not compete with the large national breweries like Anheuser-Busch and Miller and closed in 1973, thus ending nearly a century of German-led brewing in the Upper Peninsula.

There were also a number of small breweries that developed and quickly passed from the scene in L’Anse.

The grand operation was the Upper Peninsula Brewery in Marquette, the dream of Charles Meeske and Reiner Hoch. Located to the west of downtown Marquette, it served not only Marquette but also the central Upper Peninsula. Meeske constructed a large fanciful castle-like brewery and naturally sold Castle Beer and continuously put money back into the brewery to maintain an efficient operation producing quality beer. When state prohibition came in 1918, Meeske refused to convert the brewery into a soft drink factory, as many brewers did, and closed the brewery forever. The structure remained an iconic ruin in Marquette until the 1970s when it was razed for a new bank building.

Brewing returned to Sault Ste. Marie in 1882 when a series of small breweries developed. In 1902 the Arnold Brewing Company was incorporated and soon a monumental structure rose along the St. Mary’s River. Five years later the name was changed to the Soo Brewing Company. The brewery flourished under the wise leadership of German-born brewmaster John Leonhard Stroebel. Its product was served on local dining cars of the Soo Line, on lake steamers, and to the garrison at Fort Brady. During Prohibition the Soo company survived by getting into the soft drink business and then re-opened to continue brewing until 1948.

Elsewhere along the western shore of Lake Superior other breweries developed at Superior, Wisconsin; Duluth, Minnesota; and Thunder Bay, Ontario (formerly Fort William and Port Arthur). All of these cities developed in the late nineteenth century as commercial, manufacturing, and transportation centers. Ships and railroads took iron ore, grain, and wood products from the area. As a result they developed growing populations, especially of immigrants—Ukrainians, Finns, Italians, Slovaks, Germans, and many more. In central Minnesota west of Duluth a large population focused on mining on the various iron ranges. Brewers found that the conditions were favorable for their trade. The working population wanted their product and the rail lines could take their brew to those markets.

In 1890 two experienced German brewers, Louis Rueping and John A. Klinkert, set up a brewery in West Superior, Wisconsin, called Klinkert Brewing Company. When Klinkert left the partnership in 1898, the brewery was renamed Louis Rueping Company and then Northern Brewing Company. It developed to become one of the most prosperous industries in Superior and sold its product not only in Superior but in the neighboring resort communities of Spooner and Rice Lake, among others. Later they were able to regularly ship two semi-truck loads of beer to Milwaukee. Despite being a popular brew they ran into a

bad batch of beer that gave them a bad reputation.

By 1967 all regional breweries were on the decline. The Northern Brewing Company closed in 1967 and the label was sold to Cold Spring Brewing Company in Minnesota. Again due to declining sales this brand was also discontinued, in 1995.

Across the bay from Superior, Duluth brewing also became a big industry. In 1857 a group of entrepreneurs, H.S. Burke, Gilbert Falconer, Harry Fargo, and J. Gottlieb, were unemployed in Duluth Township. Gottlieb, a German immigrant who had brewing experience, joined forces with his partners and opened the first brewery in the Zenith City, called the Luce/Busch Brewery. Over the years the following breweries and associated industries came and went: Klein & Kiichli (1859-1981), Gustave Kiene (1869-1876), Kreimer Brothers (1871-1872), Camahl & Busse (1874-1875), Benjamin Decker Brewery (1882-1884), W. Franke & Co. (1884-1885), C.J. Johnson /Scandia Bottling (1901-1906), West End Malt Ale Co. (1910-19145), and E.F. Burg (1907).

The Luce/Busch Brewery struggled through the difficult economy of the 1860s but survived. In 1865 Luce sold the brewery to Nicholas Decker who died a decade later and the brewery was leased to Michael Fink. Fink hired August Fitger in 1882 to run the brewery and within six months Fitger and his partner Percy Anneke bought the brewery from Fink and changed the name from the Decker Brewery Company to A. Fitger & Company Lake Superior Brewery. The new enterprise prospered and grew with the addition of new buildings, equipment (early ice machine was added in 1890) and employees at 600 East Superior Street.

All went well until the arrival of Prohibition in 1920, which shut down the manufacture and sale of beer. Fitger and Anneke turned to legal endeavors such as making Pickwick and other non-alcoholic beverages, candy and distributing cigars. Silver Spray was their most popular brand and they turned part of the brewery into the Silver Spray Boxing Gym. The bartender, Joseph Wisocki, bought their Brewery Saloon and renamed the establishment The Pickwick after Fitger's non-alcoholic drink, which mixed well with illegal alcohol, brought in by patrons.

After Prohibition ended in 1933, Fitger's reopened and continued to prosper. However as with most regional breweries, they could not compete with the big breweries like Anheuser-Busch and Miller and closed on September 19, 1972. Today the large former brewery is home to a hotel, restaurant, shops and a microbrewery.

In 1895 Reiner Hoch, a German brewer, established the Duluth Brewing & Malting Company and was later joined by his business partner Charles Meeske. Both men had gotten their initial start in Marquette, Michigan. Their brewery was one of the few breweries in the nation with its own malting plant, which served many other breweries. The plant survived Prohibition by changing its name to The Sobriety Company and making soft drinks. As with many breweries, the two products interacted despite the legalities. In the 1920s Fitger's bought the Lovit soft drink brand and the rights to Duluth Brewery's beer labels and produced Moose and Rex brands, the latter becoming Fitger's most popular beer.

The end of World War II saw the brewery develop and expand; its market covered the Midwest and north to Alaska. In 1951 they revived their Royal brand with a beer of 5.7 percent alcohol and the result was the Royal 57 label. The new beer became known as "the ketchup beer" because of the connection with the Heinz 57 brand. The name was quickly changed to Royal 58, advertised with the clever slogan "Make a date with 58." The brewery ceased operation in 1966 following the national pattern for regional breweries.

The third and smallest Duluth brewery has a unique history based on socialist ideas brought by

European immigrants. Three West Duluth tavern owners, Martin Smith, F.G. Sandstedt, and Michael J. Gleeson, joined forces in 1907 and opened the People's Brewery. They wanted to "resist the evils of capitalism" by not having to purchase beer from Fitger's or the large national breweries. Prohibition closed the plant in 1920 after which they produced soft drinks. Carl O. Hanson reorganized the brewery after 1933 and again it flourished. They promoted their fine quality beer with the slogan made with "Crystal Clear—Chemically Pure Lake Superior Water." Their better-known brands – Stag and Olde English 600 – found markets in the Pacific Northwest and Puerto Rico. By the early 1950s, Duluth was the only Minnesota city with three breweries, but this ended with the closure of People's in 1956. Commercial brewing returned to Duluth in 1994 with the opening of the Lake Superior Brewery. A year later Fitger's Brewhouse opened as Duluth's first brewpub and is now the highest-producing brewpub in Minnesota.

Thunder Bay, Ontario, about 133 miles northeast of Duluth, was another early center of brewing in the Lake Superior basin. By 1900 Thunder Bay, which consisted of two separate communities –Fort William and Port Arthur –, had become a rail hub for Canadian Pacific and Canadian National Railways, a port for the export of wood products and grain from the Canadian wests, and a manufacturing center for paper. Its population grew and a large immigrant community composed chiefly of Finns, Ukrainians, Italians, Slovaks, and others developed. The first brewery serving the region was the Kakabeka Falls Brewing Company, which opened in 1906 in Fort William. It was created by six local businessmen— Thomas P. Kelly (wine merchant), William C. Lillie (real estate agent), and James P. Doyle, Emil A.D. MacKenzie, John Meagher, and Edwin Smith (all hotel keepers). At the other end of the big lake, in Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario, the Soo Falls Brewing Company, Ltd. built its facility in 1900. The story of these two breweries is tied into Doran's Northern Ontario Breweries, which was founded in 1907 by J.J. Doran and co-founders J.J. Mackey and Richard A. Fee. These three men were from northern Ontario and had great faith in the development of the region. In 1907 they constructed and opened the Sudbury Brewing and Malting Company at Sudbury, Ontario and then expanded their operation. In 1911 they purchased the Soo Falls Brewing Company, Ltd. in Sault Ste. Marie and followed two years later with the purchase of the Kakabeka Falls Brewing Company. In 1919 the company established the Doran's brewing division at Timmons and in 1948 their final acquisition was the Port Arthur Beverage Company in Port Arthur— the oldest plant in the organization, dating back to 1876.

All of the individual breweries operated under their original names until 1960 when all of the operations were consolidated under one management known as Doran's Northern Breweries. Changes took place soon after. Given the fact that the two plants in Fort William and Port Arthur had identical marketing areas and were only a few miles apart, in 1961 the former Kakabeka Brewing Company closed and the Port Arthur plant took over all production. Then in 1971 the company was purchased by the Canadian Breweries, Ltd. But the company continued to operate under the original name. In July 1977 the company was purchased back from Canadian Breweries by its employees, the first such acquisition in North America. It was renamed Northern Breweries, Ltd. and in 1979 expanded its market into southern Ontario. In 2004 it was purchased by an investment group led by Leo Schotte and major changes were introduced. Two years later the company was in a downward spiral and by December 2006 it ceased to exist. A number of its properties have been reused or destroyed by fire. Microbreweries have filled the gap left by the demise of this former beer empire in northern Ontario that lasted over a century.

A new book written by the author of this article, *Upper Peninsula Beer: A History of Brewing Above the Bridge*, will be published by The History Press, April 2015.

The Struggle for Control of Hibbing: The People's Perspective

Paul Lubotina

In the early 20th century, the small mining town of Hibbing, Minnesota gained a reputation as a hotbed for radicalism caused by the large numbers of immigrants who belonged to organizations such as the United Mine Workers (UMW) and Industrial Workers of the World (IWW). These disgruntled miners staged a series of unsuccessful strikes in 1905, 1907, and 1916 that mine owners representing United States Steel Corporation and its local subsidiary, the Oliver Mining Company, repressed with a great deal of violence. Hired deputies, local police, soldiers, vigilantes, and Ku Klux Klan members clashed with striking miners in several bloody encounters. However, there were also other reformers in Hibbing, who sought to change conditions in the mines and the community through less confrontational means. These middle-class progressive reformers modeled themselves after Theodore Roosevelt's Bull Moose Party at the national level, while also emulating governors John Lind (1899-1901), John A. Johnson (1905-1909), and Joseph Burnquist (1915-1921), who won election based on reformist platforms.

In 1899, Minnesotans elected John Lind during a period of extreme hostility toward the established political and religious authorities in the state. Governor Lind won the election with the support of middle-class Americans and Scandinavian immigrants who shared a desire to improve living conditions across the state. During the late nineteenth century, these Scandinavians generally embraced the Republican Party. In contrast, German and Irish Catholic immigrants tended to support the Democrat Party. Many Scandinavians objected to Catholics' use of alcohol, which conflicted with the conservative Protestant values.

At the time, Scandinavian Immigrants sought to demonstrate their equality with Americans by placing one of their fellow countrymen in the state's highest office. Both the Scandinavians and Americans felt that eastern industrialists abused the people of Minnesota through illicit business tactics and their domination of state and local politics. The middle-class progressives sought to rectify the abuses through increased suffrage rights, reduced tariffs, expanded railroad regulation, enforcing anti-trust laws, and enacting temperance legislation. The state's working-class population also supported the progressive movement, which advocated workers' compensation programs, child labor restrictions, and strengthened factory inspections. These progressive reformers initiated comprehensive political and social reform programs that sought to achieve the unrequited promises of American life.

Governor Johnson continued the reform work of Governor Lind throughout the first decade of the twentieth century. By 1912, animosity between Republicans and progressive reformers in Minnesota intensified when, on the national level, Theodore Roosevelt broke away from Republican President Howard Taft and formed the Progressive or Bull Moose Party as a third-party alternative to established politics. By the early twentieth century, third-party politics began to drain American and immigrant support for the Republican Party in Minnesota politics. In Minnesota, the Progressive Party attracted large numbers of middle-class immigrants and Americans, who worked together to expand the political strength of the organization. The trend continued when Joseph Burnquist gained the governorship in 1915, on a progressive platform. However, Burnquist's support of the Minnesota Commission of Public Safety's repression of Socialists and immigrants during the First World War and the ensuing Red Scare brought an

end to Minnesota's Progressive Era, along with reform activities in Hibbing.

Unbeknownst to the people who founded the city, Hibbing sat atop one of the largest ore deposits on the Mesabi Iron Range. The riches buried under the streets of Hibbing would ignite a power struggle for the political and financial control of the city. The possibility of taxing nearly one million acres of iron-bearing lands along the Mesabi Range, including Hibbing, led the Minnesota state legislature to enact a series of laws beginning in 1889, to stimulate mineral exploration and excavation. State land commissioners executed leases and contracts for mining ore on state lands at the rate of twenty-five dollars per quarter section of land a year; for an additional hundred dollars the lease could be extended for fifty years. The state levied an additional twenty-five cent tax per ton of ore extracted. By 1901 the state had issued 3,272 one-year prospecting leases and 550 fifty-year mining leases that collected nearly eleven million dollars in revenue from the forty-three million tons of ore shipped from the region. During the next two decades, the Mesabi mining companies increased production and contributed nearly one hundred million dollars to the state's coffers each year.

The substantial corporate profits and state tax revenue generated by the mines in Hibbing and other communities on the Mesabi Range created a caustic environment as state officials, mining companies, and the people living in the mining towns sought to increase their share of wealth. The Oliver Iron Mining Company ensured its continued domination of the city through support of political candidates who advanced the company's agenda. State officials usually supported the mining companies in any disagreement with local citizens to protect their revenue stream. Meanwhile, opposition formed among a coalition of middle-class Americans and naturalized immigrants, who had obtained voting rights. Between 1900 and 1920, Hibbing's population had grown to approximately 15,000 residents, comprised of 3,300 native-born, or naturalized Americans, 5,500 Scandinavians, and 6,150 Slavic and Italian immigrants.

The political will to oppose the might of the United States Steel Corporation grew out of the independent political development of Hibbing. From the foundation of the city in 1893 to 1907, when the Oliver Mining Company finally consolidated control over the region, the townspeople elected their own governments and established numerous businesses to support the burgeoning population of miners. When the Oliver Mining Company brought in additional workers they began to build numerous company towns or "locations" near the new mines. The region evolved into a two-tiered community with middle-class Americans and immigrants living in Hibbing, while working-class immigrants dominated the surrounding locations. The population of Hibbing enjoyed both legal and taxation rights available to any Minnesota town, whereas the locations remained under the authority of the mining companies and lacked legislative representation. Thus, Hibbing's government operated independently and provided leadership for many working-class immigrants living in the "locations" of the region.

At the beginning of the twentieth century Hibbing's government included a complex web of formal and informal bodies. Officially, the town council consisted of an annually elected mayor, two or three trustees, a recorder, a treasurer, and a municipal judge. Once in office the president and city council appointed the police and fire chiefs along with special committees that oversaw particular construction projects or other civic developments. In preparation for general elections, Americans and naturalized immigrants held caucuses every March to appoint popular candidates for office. Since voting regulations allowed people to choose any candidate for office, regardless of political affiliation, the elections often resulted in unique administrations made up of members from several different political parties. As a result, the city council represented diverse political ideologies.

Hibbing's prominent businessmen also created a Commercial Club that acted unofficially to promote economic expansion in the town. Although a private organization, the Commercial Club worked closely with elected and appointed officials. Members often rotated between seats in the club and city

offices, resulting in a small cadre of individuals dominating local politics. Between 1893 and 1913, the same group of American, English, Irish, Finnish, Swedish, and Italian officials dominated Hibbing's government. Political differences, usually between supporters and detractors of mining policies, often split Hibbing's administrations. The situation also resulted in protracted political battles that prevented effective government.

Additionally, two organizations of middle-class American women worked with both the civic administration and the Commercial Club. The women, often the wives or daughters of city administrators, initiated a series of educational, temperance, suffrage, and social reform programs. While primarily advisory, the Saturday Club and the Hibbing American Association of University Women provided women their first seats in the city government.

On January 23, 1904 women from the Methodist and Presbyterian Churches founded the Saturday Club. The organization's charter stated, "The object of this club shall be to stimulate intellectual development, to make thorough study of current events and literature and to promote a higher acquaintance of women." One of the founding members, Vida Brugger Adams, an 1898 graduate of the University of Minnesota, soon became a leading female figure in the reform movement that swept through Hibbing in the early part of the twentieth century. Vida Adams played an instrumental role in the Saturday Club and helped found the Hibbing American Association of University Women, which organized approximately 120 of the city's college educated women. The association promoted educational development and supported economic development in Hibbing by writing travel brochures. Both organizations worked on special committees to build a public library and other civic improvements such as parks and schools.

The Saturday Club became involved with local politics in 1904, when members decided to build a public library. The women realized they could not collect sufficient funds locally, and lacking any political clout, they asked the local School District Superintendent to contact the Carnegie Foundation to see if the financier would pay for a library. The Carnegie representative agreed to build the library if the town provided a lot and appropriated funds to support the project. When the Town Council agreed to finance the library's upkeep and furnish land for the building site, they also appointed a Library Commission to oversee construction and maintenance of the facility. Village President Wierick created a nine-person board to oversee the project and appointed Mrs. Adams, Mrs. Corey, and Mrs. Jewitt to serve with the men. The Library Commission became a part of Hibbing's political structure and provided women with administrative positions in local government.

Progressive Mayors

Between 1904 and 1906, John Power, Peter McHardy, and Frank Ansley led a succession of progressive governments with the support of immigrant voters. In 1904, nearly six hundred miners swung the mayoral election in favor of John Power who promised an inclusive government that supported both business and workers' interests. In order to address the primary voter complaint of excessive utility prices, the Power administration formed the Power and Light Board to oversee all aspects in the production and distribution of water and electricity in the village. The board regulated prices for power and water in Hibbing and helped to expand services to outlying communities.

Progressive reform continued in 1905, when Mayor Peter McHardy led the first city government to include immigrants. Voters elected two Finns, Trustee John Maki and Justice of the Peace John Ollila, plus an Italian Village Recorder, Peter Bardesonno, and a Swede named John Sundquist as the Village Financial Officer. Of the newly elected officials, Peter Bardesonno had developed portions of South Hibbing and operated the town's first railroad telegraph. John Maki owned and operated the Finnish immigrant store,

while John Ollila was a Finnish temperance movement leader, and John Sunquist worked as a common laborer. Nonetheless, Peter McHardy's administration faced a serious racial problem. The election of Peter Bardesonno resulted in a storm of protests as "white" citizens rejected the election of a "black" Italian to public office. Only a recount of the votes quelled the controversy and allowed Bardesonno to assume his rightful responsibilities as village recorder.

The election of Italian, Finnish, and Swedish officials illustrated the growing political power of immigrants in the town. After 1905, each of Hibbing's immigrant groups began to create formal political organizations. In 1910, Peter Bardesonno and Herman Antonelli formed the Italian Political Club to register voters, plan political platforms, and increase the political power of Hibbing's large Italian population. In 1914, Swedish and Finnish immigrants created The Scandinavian Political Club to achieve similar goals. Even though club membership produced only a few hundred voters, they immediately began to influence local elections. The city averaged approximately twelve hundred voters annually, with candidates usually winning by a small majority. By voting collectively, the immigrants represented the crucial swing votes, which each party courted to win a close election. The American and immigrant reformers increasingly collaborated to effect change.

Immigrants and Americans continued to cooperate during 1906, when they elected another progressive mayor, Frank Ansley. He increased government spending on utilities to extend electric and sewer services throughout Hibbing and surrounding locations. The Ansley administration passed the first pure food ordinance after Dr. Rood, a local physician, treated dozens of people stricken with tuberculosis from eating tainted beef. Dr. Rood successfully lobbied for legislation that allowed inspectors to check all cows in the city for tuberculosis. If inspectors found any infected animal, it would be killed to prevent any possibility of sale to the town's population. The new law alienated many of the poorest people in the city, who relied on beef sales to supplement their income or feed their families. Ansley's increased government spending also angered the village's conservative faction. Ansley lost his re-election bid and Dr. H.R. Weirick, an Oliver Mining Company employee, won the 1907 election.

During his term in office, Mayor Weirick came under increased criticism from progressive reformers who believed he supported mining interests over the needs of the town's population. In 1902, the Oliver Mining Company initially hired Dr. Weirick to provide pre-paid medical services to miners at the local Rood Hospital. By 1907, he had moved into politics and won his first of six consecutive terms as Hibbing's mayor. In the years between 1907 and 1912, Hibbing's population became increasingly dissatisfied with Dr. Weirick. The problems began during the 1909 election, when city officials cancelled the caucus and presented only one ticket headed by Mayor H. R. Weirick and his council choices for office. Progressive voters immediately objected to the single ticket and held their own caucus, which nominated a complete list of opposition candidates for city offices. Despite the uproar of public discontent, Weirick still won the election along with William Wearne, the superintendent of Hibbing's Inland Steel holdings as Village Trustee. The concentration of mining officials in the city's government only fueled the fears of the progressive reformers who believed that eastern corporate interests sought to seize political control of Hibbing. After the election, Weirick's authoritarian behavior and acquiescence to abuses perpetrated by the Oliver Mining Company reinvigorated the city's progressive movement.

The situation worsened after mining officials located a large body of ore directly under Hibbing's business district. The Oliver Mining Company wanted to move out all the buildings in North Hibbing to access to this "mother lode" of ore. After citizens opposed the town's relocation, the Oliver Company began a widespread harassment campaign to force the population out of the area. It began to dig up city streets and destroy power lines to isolate portions of Hibbing. The demolition made movement in and out of the business district exceptionally difficult and dangerous for citizens. With dynamite explosions along

public roads and near the edge of town, the nearby population feared for their lives as large rocks and debris rained down and caused numerous injuries. The mining companies moved large earth-moving equipment along streets resulting in damaged surfaces and the severing of overhead power lines. Citizens complained that when the mining companies destroyed roads, bridges, sewers, or power lines the city had to pay for the repair costs out of its own budget. Mayor Weirick's refusal to check the industrial abuses fueled support for progressive reformers to gain control of Hibbing.

During this period of political strife, an Irish immigrant named John Power and his son, Victor Power grew in prominence among the progressive reformers in the city. In 1863, John Power had emigrated to the United States where he soon joined the Union Army and fought in several battles, only to be wounded in Virginia. After the war ended, Power deserted the army, then reenlisted under an assumed name and spent several years guarding a frontier post in Michigan's Upper Peninsula. By 1867, Power confessed to his earlier desertion, but managed to negotiate a settlement with the army to retain both his real name and rank. After successfully completing his tour guarding copper miners in Northern Michigan, Power attended law school and was later elected to Michigan's House of Representatives. His son, Victor Power, soon followed in his father's footsteps and also attended law school. The pair moved to Hibbing around 1900, where they established a law firm that represented people with grievances against local mining companies. Victor Power's success in numerous suits furthered his popularity and earned him a reputation as "guardian of the people," which furthered his political career.

Mayor Power

The political crisis peaked in late 1912, when a series of grievances propelled Victor Power and his Progressive Party into office. Citizens demanded that the Weirick government replace a bridge, already destroyed during the intimidation campaign, that provided laborers in Hibbing access to the nearby Seller's Mine. When citizens attended the subsequent budget allocation hearing, they found representatives of not only the town council and Commercial Club, but the Oliver Mining Company as well. When the triumvirate of local and corporate authority rejected the citizens' plan for a bridge, many of Weirick's supporters became angry. At the same time as the bridge crisis, a Swedish immigrant named Iver Lein hired Victor Power to stop mining operations near his boarding house in North Hibbing. Lein complained that explosions flung rocks into his yard and endangered both his family and tenants, who had been repeatedly struck by flying debris. Power succeeded in obtaining an injunction that prohibited mining operations near Lein's property. In early 1913, the Oliver Company retaliated by also closing down the Hull-Rust and Burt-Poole mines adjacent to North Hibbing. This action forced several hundred of the city's miners out of work.

The timing of the lockout completely disrupted the Weirick administration's 1913 reelection bid. With most of Hibbing unemployed by the Oliver Company's capricious actions, Mayor Weirick's popularity faded as Power's rose. Victor Power rode a wave of grass-roots immigrant support, just as his father John Power had in the 1904 election, based on the Progressive Party's platform of civic reform and fair government.

Victor Power modeled his Progressive Party after Theodore Roosevelt's 1912 Bull Moose Party platform. Power pledged honesty, economy, and efficiency in the administration of the affairs of the village. He promised to pave and expand road networks, bury overhead wires, and build both municipal parks and playgrounds for the population. Power also wanted to turn the local isolation hospital into a municipal hospital, improve fire and police departments, reduce phone and electric rates, inspect meat and produce, purchase all possible supplies locally, extend streetcar service in town, and install a comprehensive sewer system. The Progressive Party platform resonated with Hibbing's voters, especially the immigrants and merchants who suffered under the oppression of the Oliver Mining Company. Of

eleven hundred registered voters, approximately seven hundred men chose Power for mayor over Weirick's three hundred supporters.

While the broad-based administration gained office with the support of immigrant voters, it also addressed the concerns of the town's female population. The women wanted the new mayor to curb alcohol consumption, gambling, and prostitution. Women began to expand their administrative positions from the board of the city library to school administration. Saturday Club members made curriculum recommendations to the school board that called for expanded educational opportunities for immigrants, along with the erection of a new high-school building. Women also wanted the city to build parks to beautify the town. Mining operations left the region surrounding Hibbing a moonscape of muddy open pits, treeless hills of recently removed cover soil, and large tracts of land nearly devoid of vegetation. By building parks, the women hoped to create safe areas where children could play, while their parents could enjoy concerts or baseball games.

Since both men and women sought to modernize their city, they entrusted Victor Power to obtain the funds needed to achieve their common goals. Victor Power levied a series of new taxes based on laws established before the arrival of corporate mining on the Mesabi Range. In 1907, the Minnesota State Legislature enacted a law that allowed municipalities on the Mesabi Range to tax up to two percent of the value of ore located within their borders. During the Weirick administration the taxes collected amounted to less than one percent and remained low at the request of mining companies. Since Hibbing's environs had an assessed ore value exceeding eighty million dollars, the taxable portion amounted to approximately two million dollars a year. As a lawyer, Victor Power understood the amount of money legally available to Hibbing's government. He began to increase tax levies on the mining companies. Over the next few years the Oliver Company continually complained about paying Hibbing's taxes, which had risen from \$285,000 in 1912 to nearly \$1,700,000 in 1916, not including educational expenses.

The enhanced revenues financed a comprehensive building program that not only improved living conditions but also alleviated unemployment problems. Miners released during the winter season or those unable to obtain summer employment found work with the city. Using excess laborers from the mines, Victor Power extended electric and sewer service throughout Hibbing and nearby locations. New buildings included a city hall, schools, courthouse, and fire stations. Power also paved roads and sidewalks, in addition to the constructing of alleyways that helped to expedite garbage collection. The projects employed numerous destitute men unable to find employment in the mines, including four hundred men hired to extend sewer service to the Alice location. Moreover, Power paid the city employees competitive wages, equal to that of the miners, even though he could have spent much less because of the surplus of laborers in the region. Power's decision to offer fair wages buoyed his support among immigrants while simultaneously alienating the city's mining executives for not cutting wages. Mining officials complained that Power's faulty business practices reduced job competition among miners and drove up wages in the region.

Hibbing's tax requests occurred as the state legislature began to press for more revenues from mining operations on the Mesabi, Vermilion, and Cayuna Iron Ranges. In 1907, Governor Johnson appointed tax commissioners to assess the value of ore in Northern Minnesota. They concluded that nearly two hundred million dollars of taxable ore existed in the region. By 1914, the mines annually produced over twenty-three million dollars' worth of ore. Legislators wanted to establish a heritage fund so that the entire state could benefit from the wealth generated by mining operations. They proposed to use the money to create a general revenue account, along with an endowment to finance public schools and universities. Legislators increased the mining companies' state taxes each year so that by 1923, the rate exceeded twenty percent of annual mining revenues, which in turn amounted to over three million

dollars each year for Minnesota. Thus from 1913 to 1923, the mining companies faced massive tax increases at the state and local level. The city of Hibbing asked for nearly two million dollars, while state assessors demanded three million dollars each year. The mining companies saw these steps as extortion. They fought the tax movement with an extensive propaganda campaign, legislative action, criminal charges, and a refusal to pay taxes.

Community Support and the Tax Crisis

The struggle over taxation sparked a ten-year battle between Hibbing's government, the mining companies, and the state legislature that helped to integrate the middle-class immigrants and Americans in the city. Throughout the ordeal a majority of Hibbing's multi-ethnic, middle-class men and women stood behind the mayor in his David-and-Goliath battle between one small community and the United States Steel Corporation. Power's long history as "defender of the people" and his early legal victories over the Oliver Mining Company help to solidify community support for the mayor. Furthermore, his public works projects, educational reforms, and campaigns against vice garnered additional support from destitute immigrants and female reformers in the community.

Hibbing's diverse population united in opposition to the Oliver Company's attempt to curb ore levies across the Mesabi Range. The mining companies first organized the Lake Superior Tax Association in Duluth to curtail taxation throughout St. Louis County. The Oliver Mining Company sent representatives to every Mesabi community and reached satisfactory tax agreements with all the towns in the region, except Hibbing. When mining officials arrived in Hibbing, Mayor Powers tried to negotiate with Oliver Mining to settle their disagreements but failed to achieve an equitable compromise. Rather than continuing to negotiate, the steel companies and the Lake Superior Tax Association made a concerted effort to remove Power from office and return control of the town to mining representatives.

The Oliver Company's attempted coup began in 1915, with an extensive propaganda campaign played out in local newspapers. Its main point was to illustrate the extravagance of the Power administration. The Lake Superior Tax Association paid for several full-page advertisements in Mesabi newspapers denouncing the spending by Hibbing's government. They depicted Mayor Power as a corrupt politician who used money from the mining companies for his personal aggrandizement. The corporate propaganda called on patriotic citizens to vote for more sensible leadership in Hibbing.

The Oliver Company also sent several officials to a special meeting of the Minnesota House of Representatives to outline excessive expenditures of Mesabi communities. They emphasized that Hibbing's fifteen thousand residents had more electric lights than the entire city of Cincinnati, Ohio. Further, Hibbing hired too many expensive laborers, who worked on extensive construction projects. Mining officials also claimed that numerous Mesabi high schools had better indoor pools than the exclusive Minneapolis Men's Club, while the students grew expensive experimental tomatoes, sat in oak desks, and enjoyed cut glass windows in their classrooms. They compared Hibbing's spending of one hundred thirty-three dollars per-capita to Virginia's thirty-six dollars or Chisholm's eleven dollars. As a result of these expenditures, the Oliver Company called on state legislators to curb Mayor Power's reckless policies.

Legislators responded with the Harrison Bill that proposed a twenty-five dollar per-capita limit on local taxation rather than the two percent assessed value of ore within city limits. As the bill gained support in the state house of representatives, Victor Power devised a plan to stop the legislative action. The mayor and the Commercial Club agreed to demand the highest legally possible levy of 1.6 million dollars. The city council voted unanimously to approve the maximum tax levy and even began an internal investigation of Hibbing's expenditures to demonstrate the community's fiscal responsibility. Rather than cave in to corporate pressure to limit spending, the city accepted nearly fifteen hundred job applications

to work on building projects and called for bids to begin construction on a new court house in South Hibbing. In the short term, as citizens rallied in opposition to the possible return of Weirick's collaborationist government, Mayor Power continued the civic projects unabated.

Despite the Oliver Company's propaganda campaign, Hibbing's non-mining businessmen pledged to support Mayor Power in the tax crisis. They understood that the city needed every enhancement built thus far. The Oliver Company's long history of economic neglect and authoritarian tactics in their attempts to move North Hibbing caused the population to reject the claims of extravagant spending. In order to continue the civic improvements, Hibbing's business community accepted interest-bearing warrants for building supplies issued by the city in lieu of cash payments. Thus, the population financed city expenditures while they waited for another Power legal victory.

Mayor Power viewed the tax crisis as just one of the many personal attacks perpetrated by the mining companies, a situation he thought would likely continue into the foreseeable future. Despite the risks, he publicly proclaimed the city's right to collect taxes and then departed for the capital to stop the passage of the proposed Harrison Bill. Upon arrival at the state capital he began an exhaustive lobbying effort to kill the bill. Soon, he gained headway among progressive legislators and the bill lost support. Power's successful exhortations forced the mining lobbyists to attempt to suspend normal voting procedures and lower the number of ballots needed to pass the bill. The attempted usurpation of congressional protocol cost the Oliver Company numerous supporters, leading to the death of the bill. Power's victory increased his popular support among Hibbing's diverse population.

When Mayor Power returned to Hibbing, more than a thousand citizens greeted him with a torchlight parade and a carnival. The celebration lasted only a short time before the mining companies retaliated by refusing to pay any taxes at all in Hibbing. As the city raised only approximately \$50,000 dollars a year in civic taxes, but needed nearly \$800,000 to continue building projects, Mayor Power recognized the impending financial crisis. The mining companies' actions effectively shut down Hibbing's government by starving them of funds needed to conduct daily business. Within a few weeks Mayor Power met with the city council to discuss the impending financial disaster. The government found no other recourse but to dismiss all village employees including both the police and fire departments, then call in the National Guard to protect the citizens.

On July 28, 1915, Mayor Power sent Governor Hammond a request for the state militia to take over police and fire duties in the city. Power also called on the governor to enact special legislation to force the mining companies to pay their taxes. Governor Hammond stated that he would neither send out the militia nor call a special legislative session, because he was unhappy with the amount of money spent in Hibbing compared with similar sized communities throughout the state. After the rejection, Mayor Power presented the governor with a compromise budget of 750,000 dollars for the mining companies. Governor Hammond responded by consulting with the mining companies at a conference held in Duluth, although Mayor Power was excluded from the negotiations. The governor and the mining companies worked out a settlement where each United States Steel subsidiary company never paid more than fifty thousand dollars a year in Hibbing taxes. Thus in 1916, Hibbing received 750,000 dollars for civic projects, but had only an annual 25,000 dollar operating budget. The amount equaled the figures that Mayor Powers had initially presented to the Oliver Company in 1915, resulting in another victory for the people of Hibbing.

Throughout the First World War era and into the early 1920s, Hibbing's population continued to enjoy heavily subsidized support for its building projects. By 1921, the massive wartime profits declined as European steel suppliers gradually switched back to peacetime production. As wartime orders subsided, Hibbing's importance to the Oliver Company waned. Unemployment rose in the city, just as the city

announced the completion of a nearly 4,000,000 dollar high school and technical college. The figure represented a cost four to six times greater than any other school on the Mesabi Range. As a result of the obvious extravagance of the building, state legislators finally decided to stop the corporate funding of Hibbing's civic improvements. They passed a bill limiting city tax levies to a 160 dollar per-capita tax limit for all individuals and companies in the community. The figure superseded the earlier tax compromise, which provided 50,000 dollars from each United States Steel subsidiary. As a result, the progressive reformers in Hibbing lost the financial ability to enact meaningful change. By 1923, as economic conditions declined with the end of public works, a majority of the voting population turned against the progressive reformers. Mayor Power's popularity also declined and he lost a final bid for reelection to city government.

In an attempt to revive his political career, in 1922 Victor Power ran for a seat in the Senate and he received extensive support from immigrants along the Mesabi Range. Unfortunately, this did not translate into enough state-wide votes and he lost the election. One final campaign for Congress in 1924 also resulted in failure. Without popular support, Power retired from public life, and then died unexpectedly in 1926, of heart failure. Close friends burned many of his personal papers, which left collections of limited use at the Minnesota Historical Society and the Iron Range Research Center. The information that remained provides little insight into the critical decision making process during the tax crisis. Thus, local newspaper reports, often propagandistic reports by Mayor Power and the Oliver Mining Company, remain the only source of information. The lack of papers implies that most key individuals in Hibbing did not want to disclose any background of controversial decisions taken during the Progressive Era.

The Progressive Power Legacy

Nevertheless, during the years of Power's Hibbing administration, the mayor enjoyed the popular support of both the American and immigrant populations in the city. His legal victories over the Oliver Mining Company ensured a steady supply of money to fund the transformation of a backward mining town into a modern community with many of the amenities of a big city. The Progressive Party provided Hibbing with electricity, clean water, paved streets, modern schools, parks, and an electric rail line. Further, Mayor Power employed excess labor from the mines and paid them equitable wages. As a result of these policies, the community backed the mayor during his protracted battles with the mining companies. The political and economic pressures placed on Hibbing helped to weld the diverse population together as the entire community shared in the trials of economic hardships and the elation of building a beautiful city. The extravagance of a four million dollar high school attracted the attention of state officials who responded by cutting off corporate funding of further civic projects. The end of corporate support heralded the end of Hibbing's progressive movement and the public career of Victor Power.

Throughout the Power administration, new patterns of multi-ethnic cooperation developed among the city's populations. Between 1913 and 1923, Hibbing's American and immigrant communities built stronger ties with each other, as they sought tax concessions from the Oliver Mining Company. During the struggles to finance civic improvements, Hibbing's middle-class American, Swedish, Finnish, and Italian reformers' cooperated with each other to achieve a common goal. By working together, Hibbing's reformers built a powerful political party that emerged victorious in several encounters with the Oliver Mining Company. These victories helped to instill a sense of confidence and solidarity among reformers, who then went on to initiate the largest building projects in Hibbing's history.

The battle over financial control of the city was not the only struggle to unite Hibbing's diverse populations. Women created independent reform movements, which they used to integrate into local and state politics.

This extensive list of reforms clearly illustrates the effectiveness of middle-class political cooperation, including immigrant populations, in Hibbing. As a united community, citizens won significant victories over both the mining companies and state officials. While the events lacked the internecine violence and public exposure of the 1907 and 1916 labor strikes, they demonstrate the growing political power of immigrants as they integrated into American society. Rather than fighting in the streets, the middle-class reformers employed legal and legislative methods to obtain their victories. In the process, immigrants conformed to American social and political norms, thereby demonstrating their acceptance of political rules. This contrasts sharply with working-class attempts at forced changes that the mining companies and state officials successfully eluded by repressing the strikes.

NOTES

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***Northern Border: History and Lore of Michigan's Upper Peninsula and Beyond, In Honor of Russell Magnaghi.* Robert Archibald, ed. (Marquette, MI: Northern Michigan University Press, 2014). Pp. 1-339, acknowledgments, photographs, endnotes, selected bibliography. Paperback, \$16.95.)**

By Kathryn Johnson

This edited *festschrift* (celebration of writing) honors the career of Dr. Russell Magnaghi, University Historian of Northern Michigan University, who devoted over four decades to uncovering, documenting, and preserving the history of Michigan's Upper Peninsula. Dr. Magnaghi influenced the eighteen contributing authors as a teacher, colleague, mentor, or through his extensive interviews of the region's population. While in Dr. Magnaghi's honor, the value of this publication equally lies in the continuation of scholarship and nuanced understanding of the Upper Peninsula.

The collection consists of fifteen entries that cover an array of topics. Most center on everyday life and work of the Upper Peninsula including: labor, Native Americans, immigrant cultural traditions, the Great Depression, religion, alcohol, education, and literature. The compilation also features Dr. Magnaghi's selected bibliography and a biographical overview that demonstrates his intellectual affinity for U.P. history.

Labor and immigration often shared organizational roots in the U.P. This is highlighted in Terry Reynolds' piece that explores the role of ethnicity in the labor movement, which focuses on Michigan's three iron ranges during the 19th century. He argues that the prevailing concept of Finnish immigrants leading radical labor actions holds true for the early 20th century in Michigan and Minnesota's mining regions. However, this is not the case for the late 19th century. At various times, the Cornish, Irish, and Swedes influenced the mining industry's labor actions. The changes in ethnic leadership did not necessarily mirror the immigration wave patterns. For example, the Cornish were among the first immigrants to the region but among the last to become labor leaders during the period. There were also other factors, such as national economic conditions, underground versus open-pit mining operations, and individual characteristics or marital status that influenced leadership and labor action outcomes.

Another labor entry, co-authored by Marcus Robyns, Katelyn Weber, and Laura Lipp examined Finnish immigrant radical labor activists on Marquette's iron range in the early 20th century. They argue that previous scholarship attributes failed unionization to corporate paternalism and the labor activists losing their battles during strikes in the 1890s. However, the authors identified several other contributing factors. They point out the immigrants' lack of radicalizing experiences prior to leaving Finland, the conservative nature of the Suomi Synod, Republican dominated politics in the region, and the Socialist Party's lack of leadership.

Bernard Cook, examines the role of Hungarian immigrants in the Copper Country. He explains both push and pull factors that contributed to Hungarians moving to work in the mines during the late 19th and early 20th century. His work highlights their daily lives in the mining towns. It especially focuses on Hungarian involvement in the labor unions and how these immigrants maintained their heritage via ethnic societies. He explains how most Hungarian immigrants left the region as a result of the 1913-1914 copper strike.

Women workers are examined in Phyllis Wong's piece that focuses on Cecilia Kangas, an employee for the H. W. Gossard Company factory in Ishpeming. Wong explains how Kangas obtained her position as a teenager, details work conditions at the garment factory, the influence of unionization, and emphasizes the importance of the lifelong relationships that formed among the "Gossard Girls" even after the factory closed in 1976.

The final labor piece, by Gregory Wood, details the smoking ban in Detroit's auto manufacturing plants during World War II. He posits that the fight over smoking in the workplace widened class divides due to the vast number of labor actions instigated by workers so they could smoke in the workplace. He documents how this demand reflected a national culture that glamorized smoking servicemen fighting in World War II as patriotic. He also traces the influences of federal legislation such as the Smith-Connally Act and national unions such as the CIO and UAW on the fight for smoking in Detroit's auto manufacturing plants.

An intriguing immigration study by Dan Truckey examines Canadians in the Upper Peninsula. He scrutinizes the problems defining Canadian identity. He highlights Canadian cultural exchanges with the Anishinaabeg (Odawa, Ojibwe, and Pottawatomi) who were already established in the region. He emphasizes linguistic differences between Francophones and Anglophones. Another potential problem is the porous border both in terms of geographic features and political regime changes that demarcated the line between the United States and Canada. Truckey explains the push and pull factors for immigration and supplements his arguments with specific biographies to illustrate the various ethnic groups that contribute to Canadian influences in the Upper Peninsula.

Several of the chapters are specific studies of time and place. For example "Story Maps," written by Editor Robert Archibald, situates the Upper Peninsula into the broader environmental historical context of the United States. He intertwines the observations of historical figures with his own experiences and shows how memory and the local environs are connected. He stresses the importance of preserving the natural setting that makes the Upper Peninsula unique.

Steven Brisson explains how the history of Mackinaw is reflected in St. Anne's Parish. This early Jesuit mission, established in 1670, has existed for over five centuries. It witnessed the colonial fur trade, European-Native American (Huron, Iroquois, Ottawa, Winnebago, and Potawatomi) political negotiations, and the changing of nations from the French to the British and later the United States.

Another early outpost in the U.P. is examined by Thomas Friggens, who documents the personality conflicts and isolation that plagued Fort Wilkins in the Keweenaw. The United States established Fort Wilkins in 1844 to protect sanctioned copper mining operations and guard against outlaw miners who hoped to strike it rich. It also protected the mining operations from the Ojibway on the British side of the border who contested the Treaty of LaPoint (1842-1843) that unwillingly ceded their land.

Bernard Peters considers the impact of alcohol among Upper Great Lakes Native Americans in the context of the fur trade. This selection focuses on the "drunken frolic" a term used to describe those times when enough alcohol was present for an entire group to become intoxicated. He argues that alcohol challenged social order and influenced cultural exchanges.

Another regional phenomena is explored in Troy Henderson's work that describes the uncertain existence of "shackers" who lived off the remnants of clear-cut logging lands. Some

shackers lived in total isolation, while others raised their families in these clear cut areas. Henderson argues it is difficult to categorize shackers on account of the variability of characteristics and lack of sources. Yet his diligent research provides us a better understanding of these hermit-like people who made a home where few others would.

A final time and place piece comes from Lori Taylor-Blitz, who documented the history of Ely Township (Marquette County) during the Great Depression. By contextualizing the historical narrative, she discovered that Ely Township mirrored many national trends. For example, immigrant waves between 1880 and 1914 included new arrivals from Canada, England, Ireland, Germany, and Sweden. The available jobs in the Township's six mines provided the impetus for relocating to Ely. During the Great Depression, the Works Progress Administration (WPA) provided some relief for both men and women, but immigrants were increasingly cut from the relief rolls to provide assistance to citizens, especially veterans. Ely Township experienced a small but notable influx of population as individuals sought self-reliance on the land during the Great Depression. She argues that the WPA played an instrumental role in keeping people alive during this period while also building important infrastructure still used today.

Essays on education and the humanities are also included in this work. For over a century, Northern Michigan University has served the local population. Two former university presidents, John X. Jamrich and David Haynes, collaborated to trace the history of NMU when it began as a teachers' college in 1899. They chronologically list the expansion of the university through major turning points that helped NMU develop into an intellectual landmark in the Upper Peninsula.

Ted Bays demonstrates ways the Upper Peninsula is portrayed in literature. From famous novelists Hemingway and Voelker to explorer/scholar Henry Schoolcraft, Bays explains what each author found notable about the region and how the environment influenced their writings. He reminds the reader that this article is a sampling of the references to the Upper Peninsula in literature.

Michael Marsden contributes to this compilation with a view into the deer hunting blind. He includes a poem, ten photographs (provided by Chris and Walt Anderson), and a single page essay about the meditations that may occur while an individual is awaiting the hunt in a shoot shack.

In sum this work demonstrates the extensive documentation of historical research and a wider humanities perspective of literature and poetry related to Michigan's Upper Peninsula. The presented topics are a pleasing read that will appeal to a varied audience including those seeking scholarship or simply more insight into the region. These writings are a meaningful testament that express admiration for the significant contributions Dr. Magnaghi made to Michigan's Upper Peninsula.

**Russell M. Magnaghi. *John X. Jamrich: The Man and the University*.
Marquette, Mich.: Center for Upper Peninsula Studies, 2014. 118 pp.**

By Terry S. Reynolds

John X. Jamrich was the eighth president of Northern Michigan University, in Marquette, Michigan. He held that post from 1968 to 1983, an important period in the university's history. Frankly, not many biographies of university presidents have been published. Most of those that have been published appeared because of the person's accomplishments beyond the realm of his or her university presidency. Thus any biographer of a university president faces difficulties in providing a broad context for his or her subject. This is the case with Magnaghi's biography of Jamrich.

Magnaghi's interesting account of Jamrich's early years depends heavily on Jamrich's manuscript autobiography. Of Slovak ancestry, Jamrich was born in lower Michigan but spent a portion of his childhood in Slovakia. He developed a wide range of interests and skills. He studied mathematics and physics in college, served as a meteorologist in World War II, and became a skilled pianist. His shift from mathematics towards educational administration as a graduate student was circumstantial rather than planned. An appointment as assistant dean of students at Northwestern, accepted because it came with free room and board, prompted the shift. He shifted and completed his PhD in Education in 1951. In 1957, after working in academic administration at small colleges in Iowa and Nebraska, he became assistant director of, and primary data collector for, a massive two-year study of higher education in Michigan. Magnaghi points out that this position gave Jamrich a thorough acquaintance with higher education in Michigan and important contacts across the state, including in the state legislature.

On completion of the study, Jamrich accepted a post at Michigan State University. He would remain there for more than a decade, serving as director of that university's Center for the Study of Higher Education and as Assistant and then Associate Dean of the College of Education. The central role he had played in Michigan's study of higher education made him a highly sought academic consultant during this period.

In 1968 Jamrich became president of Northern Michigan University at a time when the university was in turmoil over a faculty dismissal case. Magnaghi rightly sees Jamrich's primary contribution as guiding the university in its transition from teaching college to regional university. He organizes his account of Jamrich's years at Northern Michigan University topically rather than chronologically. Separate chapters cover new program development, interaction with faculty, athletics, building construction, and students. Jamrich himself provides a largely bulleted account of his post-retirement activities in an epilogue. Appendices provide information on Jamrich's reports and publications, professional activities, and awards.

In dealing with Jamrich's presidency, Magnaghi provides background on the political and economic context within which Jamrich operated, but other contextual materials are missing, notably comparisons with other university presidents and academic institutions during the Jamrich presidency. Thus, for example, we have no good idea how Northern's transition from

college to university compared with similar institutions or how Jamrich's response to Michigan's cuts to higher education in the early 1980s compared to those of other presidents of Michigan universities.

Magnaghi clearly admires Jamrich and appreciates what he did for Northern Michigan University. Although not an intimate acquaintance, he was perhaps too close to Jamrich and his family to provide a dispassionate and objective analysis of Jamrich's work. His account is not at all critical. Magnaghi, however, recognizes this and acknowledges at several points in the work the existence of strong opposing views of Jamrich's performance on particular matters.

Magnaghi notes in the volume's introduction that it is intended to be a "base line" biography, that is, a biography that does not claim to be comprehensive, but instead provides a base from which later scholars can work. It certainly achieves that goal. The volume, however, could have used an additional close copy edit. Too frequently one finds an awkward sentence, a missing word or letter, a quote that has no reference note, or a minor contradiction.