Upper Country:
A Journal of the Lake Superior Region

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FOREWARD

From the Director of the Center for Upper Peninsula Studies

The Lake Superior Basin remains a region cut through the middle by an international boundary which also cuts through the historical presentation of the region. Both nations—Canada and the United States—seem to come to an "end" at the boundary. It becomes "our history" and "their history" and each group of scholars usually goes its separate way. It becomes difficult, except for a few instances, to even obtain publications dealing with the history of the entire region in either nation. Yet, the region is a grand Northern Borderlands whose history was one until the late eighteenth century. Then the international boundary came and subsequent history was split between the two nations. The reality is that the history of the Lake Superior Basin should be united and understood as a region with many common historical attributes.

For many years it has been my dream to see a more focused approach to the heritage of this region—a region with nearly one million people in a vast area that includes a number of metropolitan areas. It is my hope that this publication will develop over the coming years and in the process unite the region's history. We should not let an international boundary block our overview of the region. Following in the footsteps of Herbert E. Bolton, who saw the value of studying the United States-Mexican border region as a unit and thus fathered the Spanish Borderlands concept, I present this publication as a unifying work.

It is hoped that the publication's high standards will attract readers looking for a new experience and also researchers and writers seeking to present their work. This is the first such publication for the Lake Superior Basin and should be seen as a means to highlight the international northern borderlands and allow us to share our rich and varied history.

As the director of the Center for Upper Peninsula Studies, I welcome you to this new publication and hope that you will enjoy and learn from the presentations that follow and that you will consider contributing to its pages in the coming issues. Finally, I should acknowledge that the idea and funding for this publication came from Dr. Susan Koch, the former provost of Northern Michigan University.

Russell M. Magnaghi
Director, Center for Upper Peninsula Studies

An Introduction to *Upper Country: A Journal of the Lake Superior Region*

"Upper Country."

Anyone familiar with early North American history, especially New France in the Great Lakes region, knows the phrase and what it denotes: The vast, remote and challenging terrain bordering the biggest coldest freshwater lake on earth.

Anyone who has lived in or traveled the Upper Country also knows the connotation of the phrase: As with the name of The Big Lake, to us it denotes not only northern-most latitude, as it did for the French in their phrase "pays d'en haut," but also carries a cachet of environmental superiority.

But who said it first?

Probably the missionaries, but which ones, and when?

Referring to natives farther up (that is, farther southwest on) the St. Lawrence River from Quebec, Three Rivers and Montreal (in the 71 volumes of the *Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*), the missionaries and their superiors wrote of "upper Algonkins" (*JR* Vol. 46, Jerome Lalement), "upper Iroquois" (*JR* Vol. 60, Claude Dablon), and "upper tribes" (*JR* Vol. 64, Etienne Carheil); and "their [specific tribes'] country," and "that country" (several instances).

In the *Relation* of Vol. VI 1633 doc. xxi, Father Paul LeJeune, S.J. writes of the ". . . murder of a Frenchman by up-country natives . . ." according to Reuben Gold Thwaites in his Preface; but LeJeune's letter in the original French uses no phrase remotely resembling "pays d'en haut."

Thwaites, the editor of the English translation of the *Relations*, also used the phrase "upper country" in his *Preface* (1896) to Vol. 35, 1669, but the phrase is not in the original letter written by the Jesuit Superior in Kebec, Father Paul Ragueneau.

The phrase never caught on with New France map makers. Nicolas Sanson, the "Father of French Map Makers," used Jesuit sketches and other reports for his pioneering 1656 Map of Nouvelle France. No "Upper Country." The Lake Superior (or Lac Tracy, after the Lieutenant-General of New France)

region is designated on various other maps, including Coronelli's 1688 effort and Guillaume de L'sle's 1718 series, as “Partie du Canada,” “Haute Louisiane,” or by specific tribe names.

But “superieur” in French meant “uppermost.” So by extension, the name of the lake would apply to the surrounding country and the phrase “Upper Country” was implied, at two removes.

Implied but not used.

Cartier or Champlain?--No. The French phrase “Pays d'en Haut” described the territory north and west of Montreal, dependent on the New France colony of Canada (as distinct from other New France colonies such as Acadia, Newfoundland, Louisiana, and later Upper Louisiana—a.k.a. “Pays des Illinois”). The Pays d'en Haut was first explored by Samuel de Champlain in his 1613 excursion from the St. Lawrence almost to Lake Huron via the Ottawa River. Cartier had much earlier (1535) probably glimpsed that inviting terrain—especially wide stretches of the Ottawa River—from the Iroquois camp of Hochelaga near present-day Montreal.

But the phrase does not appear in any of their writings.

It does occur—370 times in 31 documents—in the collections of the Champlain Society in Canada. Champlain's successors found the phrase handy, and employed it.

Among the Champlain Society's collections of the correspondence of the far-roaming Pierre Gaultier de Varennes de la Verendrye, “pays d'en haut” pops up several times, beginning in 1731.

By 1691, the insouciant rascal Antoine de Lamothe, Sieur de Cadillac, reporting from the Mackinac Straits, writes of the fur trade “. . . in the Upper Country.”

“Upper Country” had arrived.

And it stayed. Amid the debates over the controversial trade of the Toledo Strip for the U. P. that preceded Michigan’s admission to the U. S. as a state in 1837, the venerable Henry Rowe Schoolcraft wrote in praise of “. . . the large area of territory in the upper country . . . .” More recently, great historians of the Northwest Territory—Louise Phelps Kellogg, Joseph L. Peyser, Claiborne Skinner—have used “Upper Country” prominently in their works.

Once in use, the phrase got adopted for far-flung applications.

Today the Pays-d'en-Haut is an official regional county municipality in Laurentide, Quebec. And in English, from high terrain hiking trails in California to grades of tobacco in

northern Maryland to the route of St. Paul in Ephesus (via King James's translators), “upper country” denotes altitude, latitude, and apostolic zeal.

*

Youthful zeal in the articles herein stems from their provenance.

They began as term papers for Dr. Russell M. Magnaghi in his Upper Peninsula history classes at Northern Michigan University. Supported by archival and field research and extensively copy-edited, these articles provide aspects of the outposts and inner workings of life in the Lake Superior Region. Of necessity, we focus first on the Upper Peninsula of Michigan, and hope for submissions from other borderlands—especially Canadian—of the Big Lake.

Thanks go to the Provost of NMU for the grant that supports the *Journal*, to our Board of Review, and especially to Dr. Magnaghi for his persistence in shepherding the project to publication.

—Editor

Making Something Out of Nothing: Vernacular Architecture in Michigan's Upper Peninsula

by Mary Hoefferle

Scholars studying the Upper Midwest have described many characteristics of cultural life in Michigan's Upper Peninsula, including the region's foodways (Lockwood, 1991; Magnaghi, 1997), ethnic heritage (Loukinen, 1997), relationship between the Yooper dialect and identity (Remlinger, 2006, 2007), traditions of joke and storytelling (Dorson, 1952; Leary, 1991; 2001), and festival art (Hoefferle, 2009). They and other writers (Frimodig, 1983; Zechlin, 2004) generally characterize Yoopers as resourceful, independent, modest, proud people who often use self-parody to laugh at themselves and "to acknowledge who they are and who they are not" (Leary, 2001, p. 248).

However, no one has examined how these and other cultural traits materialize in the U. P.'s vernacular architecture, specifically in its shacks and seasonal housing. Therefore, very few people outside the region know about the biographies of the shack builders, their construction processes, their motivations for shack production, the shack's distinct aesthetic qualities, or the social functions hosted in these humble dwellings.

Although humble, vernacular architecture merits serious study and has earned at least one serious definition: Brunskill defines vernacular architecture as "a building designed by an amateur without any training in design; the individual will have been guided by a series of conventions built up in his locality, paying little attention to what may be fashionable. The function of the building would be the dominant factor, aesthetic considerations, though present to some small degree, being quite minimal. Local materials would be used as a matter of course, other materials being chosen and imported quite exceptionally" (Brunskill, 2000, pp. 27-28).

Academia aside, a more general neglect belies the shack builders contributions to Yooper culture and neglects the social role that shacks, camps, and other forms of informal housing play among many Upper Peninsula families who use the structures for staying overnight at the beach, for hunting parties, or just for spending time with family and friends.

This article addresses the gap in research by introducing Carl Domitrovich, a shack builder from Ontonagon, Michigan, and provides an examination of his methods and materials of construction, his motivations for building shacks, the social functions of the structures, and his shacks' aesthetic character, which embodies the Yooper traditions of resourcefulness, thrift, and self-reliance.

It is reasonable to ask, "Just what is a shack?" The shack builder himself will answer that question, and distinguish the "shack" from the "cabin" and the "camp" later.

Traditions of Resourcefulness and Thrift

A lifetime of family gatherings at my Uncle Carl's four shacks (all located within fifteen miles of his farm in Ontonagon County), and a love for the shack's unique aesthetic character prompted my investigation into Carl's shacks, writing field notes, making sketches, and taking over one hundred photographs. I conducted an interview with Carl at his farmhouse to find answers to questions prompted by the shacks' physical features. Although my research focuses on Carl and his shack building, his construction experiences are a continuation of a family tradition of resourcefulness transmitted through his father, Frank Domitrovich, Sr. Like other folk builders, Carl learned construction techniques by participating in and imitating his dad's building projects and, of course, trial and error. Throughout my interview with him, Carl repeatedly mentioned his father's informal teaching methods and clever recycling habits. So we begin Carl's story of shack-building with his father Frank.

Frank Domitrovich emigrated from Osojnik, Croatia (formerly Yugoslavia) in 1915 to the Upper Midwest, where he worked as an unskilled laborer at the Quincy Mine in Hancock, in the so-called "Copper Country" of Michigan's Upper Peninsula, and on farms, until he saved enough money to buy farmland near Ontonagon in 1924.

There he and his family operated the Lone Pine Dairy.

Only an old barn and a small house with no running water or electricity stood on the property. Carl remembers that his dad built the chicken coop first:

> In '28 he just took lots of those small balsam trees, squared 'em up, stood them up and down, one next to the other. Then he took some . . . I think he used clay or lime or something . . . plastered it, and it hardened up. He filled in between the trees, then he plastered the whole inside, so the chicken coop had a plaster finish on it. The chicken coop was in the back of the building, and in the front we had a stove. Mother did all her washing in there. We took showers in there. Took a nice pail, punched a bunch of holes, pour some water, hang it on a nail and get under there quick!

Carl mentioned that his father learned this style of construction in Croatia but only employed these building methods on the chicken coop. He quickly realized that other methods and materials were more appropriate for the climate of the Upper Peninsula. Carl said that his dad learned all other building techniques through traditional methods of observation and trial and error. "If Dad saw it done once, he knew how to do it. Everything he saw, what he did here, he never did in Yugoslavia the same way. He just watched other friends and tried it until he got it." As folklorist George Shoemaker (1990) suggests, this pattern of acculturation surfaced in all immigrant groups as they transitioned into ethnic cultures situated in their newly adopted countries.

When asked to recall his earliest shack-building experiences, Carl relayed the following memory: "One time when I was a kid, there were big tag alders all over, and my dad wanted [to use] the land, and wanted us boys to cut the brush down. Before we burnt the trees, we made shacks all over, and when we got them all done, we set them on fire." After Carl finished laughing, he said "When we got older, we built more sophisticated stuff." By "more sophisticated stuff," Carl meant that he, his father and his brothers built all the structures on their farm—the barns, hammer mill, machine shed, and chicken coop, including benches, stanchions and fences. Folklorist Ruth Olsen explains, "Northerners have always been self-reliant, in that they have always had to depend on their own capabilities and resources to get by." (Olsen, 1997, p. 76). Due to their rural location and financial circumstances, these men etched their resourcefulness and hard work into everything they built. In the following stories, Carl retraces his father's building endeavors, use of indigenous materials, and penchant for recycling:

> I helped my dad build the barn down there [he motions toward the north barn]. We went down to the lake [Lake Superior] and we found some long beams washed up on the beach. My dad took and he flattened, hewed them out so they were square, and we hauled them home. When you hew a log, you have to cut a straight line, you know. My job was to go and chop into the right depth. And then Dad would come with a broad-ax, and then take the big slabs off, and it'd go straight.

He never used any electric equipment, just a good sharp ax. After Carl and his dad retrieved the major beams for the skeleton of the barn, they needed more building supplies. They started construction of the north barn in 1947, only two years after the end of World War II. At that time, both building supplies and money were extremely scarce. In response, Carl's dad purchased and recycled an old deteriorating commercial building from a neighboring town. Carl recalls the demolishing and recycling process:

> My brother Frank, my dad . . . three of us tore down that store. We worked . . . we worked for betchya two or three months during the wintertime. Fed the cows and then in between every day, we'd go up and get a truckload.

That building had the lumber going across for the floor joists in one piece--28 feet long! Imagine handling lumber like that? We got enough floor joists for both the house and the barn down there. That store was a big building. Back then, those buildings had two-by-fours up and down with lumber on the inside and lumber on the outside. Then they had that tin covering the walls on the inside. No insulation. Lot of lumber . . . . My job all that winter was to straighten nails, and in the spring when the snow went off, we had piles of lumber all the way from [the bend in the road], all the way up around, up to the barn. We'd sort everything out and pull the nails out. For the cement foundation on this barn [south barn nearest the house], we'd take the horses down to the lake, shovel the gravel, haul it up here, and mix the cement by hand.

Carl continued to give examples of his dad's resourcefulness and intense work ethic:

My dad would salvage almost everything. A railroad track used to go across our farm back here, and the railroad company pulled all the rails out and said, "You can have the rest of it." Dad picked up piles and piles of railroad spikes 'cause they just left them there. Then he'd sell them to a junk dealer. Then the ties, the ties he took all the good ties out. He needed a fence and took the ties and crisscrossed them. [He] used all those old ties, and those big telephone poles! He took all the wire down and piles and piles of wire around. There were coils of wire all over here, and it kept being used up, and used up and pretty soon it's all gone.

Self-Reliance

Carl learned construction methods by watching and working with his dad and family friends who helped build the barns and outbuildings on the farm. Aside from a basic high school wood shop class, Carl does not have any formal training in building construction and never attended college. He learned to be self-reliant by following his father's lead, making a living by dairy farming and logging and providing his own practical education through hands-on experience, solving daily mechanical problems with farm equipment and meeting immediate needs for shelter. Without the financial resources to purchase professional services from carpenters, mechanics, or architects (and often these services were not even available in rural areas), Carl learned to provide for himself and his family.

I interviewed Carl in his home, the house in which he and seven other siblings were born, with his dad serving as midwife. As I glanced around, I asked, "Which of these things did you make by hand?" He began listing items: "The deck, the bird feeders, bird houses, the lamp, this chair, the plant stand, and all the shelves." He also made Adirondack chairs, bunk beds, rolling carts, tables, quilt racks, and futons. Unlike his father, Carl uses a table saw and other electric-powered equipment to make his projects, but he neither uses commercial blueprints nor drafts a plan before he begins his work. He pages through garden books and catalogs such as *L.L.Bean* and builds entire sets of furniture just by looking at a picture.

Shack Attack

As mentioned, Carl learned most of his woodworking and construction techniques from his father and through his own work as a logger. He applied his skills in barn and house assembly, used his knowledge to create countless pieces of furniture and other utilitarian objects, and also exercised these diverse skills in his shack-building. Although Carl's brothers also build shacks, he alone initiated the construction of four of them, all built in beautiful wooded areas of Ontonagon County.

The Dam Shack, the Back Shack, and the Norwich Knobs are named according to their specific locations, and the Weekendica (pronounced "weekend-eet-za") is christened with the family's Croatian-American slang word for "small, weekend shack." The following descriptive survey of Carl's work starts from the newest shack and proceeds to the oldest, examines the distinctions between the terms "shack," "camp," and "cabin," explores Carl's motivation for building the shacks, and concludes with a discus-

sion of the shacks' social functions.

The Weekendica (see Figure 1)

After clearing a small space between his own farm and Ontonagon proper in the mid 1990s, Carl, with help from a couple friends, built the Weekendica primarily for card games on weekends. Carl has never slept overnight in it. He recalled how this particular 16' x 24' one room camp came into existence: "We cut some of the balsam trees. There was no market for it. We thought there was, but then all of a sudden there wasn't. When the wood gets so old, no one wants it. So then we had them sawed up, small logs. And made a shack with it." He made this shack, its accompanying outhouse, and virtually everything in it, from scratch—the tables, benches, the futon, the special hooks fashioned from horseshoes. He even cut the trees and planed the wood for the walls by himself. Chuckling, Carl added, "To me the challenge was to build something, and then don't buy nothing. The only thing I bought down there was the flooring and roofing." The Weekendica's interior is completely and finely finished, with floors and mission-style furniture layered with coats of polyurethane.

The Norwich Knobs (see Figure 2)

In the early 1980s Carl and his two brothers Stanley and George bought a parcel of land about fifteen miles from the family farm. The land rested on twin rock bluffs—the Norwich Knobs—that overlook a vista of trees in all directions. On one of the bluffs his brothers built the Dubrovnik, a modern cabin named for a beautiful coastal city in Croatia. While Carl helped Stanley and George construct their place, he spied a perfect spot for his own shack. He recalled, "So I was cutting trees, one here and one there, going towards the hill there, and then I saw that rock. That'd be a good place to build a shack! So then we put a bulldozer up there. I said 'Well, if I can get a road up there, we'll build a shack.' So I went around and got a road in there, and that's why we built it there. That's a nice view."

As with the Weekendica, Carl purchased only a tin roof and commercially planed lumber for the floor. All other materials came from his logging activities and scavenger hunts for recycled materials. The walls and floor of the Norwich Knobs are left untreated, and the furnishings include an eclectic mix of cast-offs from the family's home, a wooden booth (table and high-backed bench-seats) from a local restaurant, and cooking utensils from thrift sales. Carl's youngest son Peter and his family are now the primary users and caretakers of this camp.

The Dam Shack (see Figure 4)

Over 40 years old, the Dam Shack sits only 500 yards from Carl's farmhouse, on the little feeder stream known as "First Creek." With dynamite and bulldozer, he created the dam in the late 1960s when the U. S. government offered to cost-share if he agreed to build a reservoir to prevent cattle from "slopping around the crick all the time." Even though the dam's original purpose served cattle, Carl made the dam primarily for recreation—fishing and swimming. The actual shack is the old garage from Rogers' Motel, a small tourist business in downtown Ontonagon. After laying a cement floor near the dam, he backed his truck into the garage on its original site, jacked it up, and drove it right up to the farm. Instant shack! As with the other shacks, Carl's recycling expertise appeared here in the building itself and in the outdoor grill, which he made by cutting a hot water heater in half and welding metal legs to the underside. Since Carl's brother George Domitrovich and family use the Dam Shack frequently, they invest a great deal of time and effort to keep it clean, freshly painted, and tastefully decorated. The Dam Shack is strictly a summer place, with no insulation or stove for heat.

The Back Shack (see Figure 5)

We turn now to the Back Shack, an example of Carl's earliest shack-building. Carl explained that his friend Eugene Knickerbocker tore down an old house. So Carl and four or five of his pals, all in their early 20s, reassembled the rafters and framework of the house and recycled its lumber on a new location—the back woods beyond the Domitrovich farm. Without drawing any plans for the structure, the young men just started building. Laughing, Carl said, "For the porch we just peeled some poles and let them dry

a bit, put that up. We didn't have no level or anything. I don't even know if we had a tape [measure]!" For the roof Carl's nose for discarded building materials led him to the Catholic Church in town: "I think they were putting a new roof on the old Catholic Church, and there were a lot of those octagon shaped shingles. Someone had a bunch and they said, 'Free for taking.' So I took that and we put them on the shack. Of course, after a while, that rot. Then we put tin over the top. I don't know how many roofs we had on the flat part!"

The original shack was only one room, but within five years, Carl added a second room to accommodate a kitchen and a small bunk room with a large doorway connecting them. In 1974, a second addition housed a larger living room to make space for his family of five young children and his friends' growing families. Carl sank the floor of this second addition two feet lower than the original shack to allow for easy extension of the established roofline and installed French doors as a partition between the new living room and the old bunk room.

At first glance the shack seems a hodge-podge of lines, shapes and textures, but on closer scrutiny, it illustrates a peculiar sense of order. For example, the front porch demonstrates bilateral symmetry with windows balancing each side of the front door. The two walls that face the road are completely finished with siding but the other two, which overlook the woods, are only covered with tarpaper. The location of the shack on the hill is deliberate: The main windows offer a great view of a small ravine that doubles as a sledding hill in wintertime. Since the users of the shack generally stayed there in the fall and winter, the stove had a very significant and demanding job. This particular stove throws so much heat that Carl covered the walls near it with tinfoil to prevent fire. He also stuffed tinfoil in the cracks between the wall boards to prevent drafts and exclude mice.

Numerous wire hangers and other drying racks dangle above the stove for hanging wet snowsuits, mittens and hats. Tracing the origins of the stove, Carl said, "I think I got the metal for the stove from a guy named Scurvy down in Freda. He tore down some buildings on that old mill site there. Lots of iron in there and I went down and bought a bunch of iron." The stove has the words "Still on the Hill" engraved in the side. The original builders of the shack christened the whole building with this title, but the name just didn't stick. Early on, Carl's siblings dubbed it "Carl's Shack" but it is most often called the "Back Shack," referring to its location in the back woods beyond the farm. Visitors to the shack will find thoughtful, quirky details in every room. The knob on the kitchen cupboard broke off so Carl attached a tiny deer antler to the door instead. He said the tiny "freak" horn came from a big deer that weighed almost 200 pounds. Railroad spikes, nails and hangers serve as hooks for pots, pans, clothing, lanterns or anything else requiring storage off the floor. The users of the shack nailed maps of the Porcupine Mountain State Park, the Ottawa National Forest, and a North Norwich Road hunting map to the kitchen walls. Bungee cords, hunting licenses, a lumberjack saw and wooden cutting boards adorn the walls, adding a decorative but utilitarian touch to the room.

The shack's two outhouses also carry stories of recycling and local history. The old, broken, unusable outhouse has been standing on the property since the infamous Ontonagon fire of 1896 and remains for nostalgia's sake. The functional outhouse offers two holes, and the right hole boasts a fancy arm- and backrest made from a wooden armchair found at the local dump. With his typical flair for imagining new uses for old objects, Carl constructed the entire back wall of the outhouse using three old doors, made the hinge on the entry door out of leather belting from an old piece of machinery, and carved the door handle from a tree branch.

Of all the shacks, the Back Shack best represents Carl's sense of humor and recycling obsession. How can you not laugh when tugging on a deer antler (with fur at the base, no less) to open a kitchen cabinet? Or upon entering the crude outhouse and finding an elegant chair? This shack, with its additions and evolving décor, also track the major transitions of Carl's life, from single young man, to husband, to father, to grandfather. Every recycled board, nail and piece of iron carries a story and a connection to other times, people and places. Even though Carl's skills have evolved from this shack to the most recent, and his aesthetic taste has changed, and he has acquired more technologically advanced building tools, he has never changed the desire to build with humble materials.

Even though Carl does not refer to himself as a designer or an architect, he certainly operates like one, making decisions regarding construction and visual presence of his structures, and developing strategies for building them (Dormer, 1997). Also, folk builders' distinct vision allows them to rethink high style elements in their own manner (Upton, 1985). The Back Shack's sunken living room, cedar shakes, and French doors exemplify Carl's ability to integrate elements from more sophisticated architectural forms into his own buildings.

This rethinking results in a distinct vernacular style.

Is it a Shack, a Camp, or a Cabin?

Carl and his family drew distinctions between the terms "shack," "camp," and "cabin," with each category based solely on its degree of ruggedness. According to Janet, Carl's wife, shacks are rough and rugged, a camp is a "gussied up" shack, and a cabin is the "fanciest" of the three. Janet used the adjective "fancy" when referring to buildings made primarily from store-bought materials and/or with electricity, gas stoves, or plumbing powered by on-site generators. However, she and many other like-minded Yoopers do not necessarily prefer the more elaborate modernized structures. In fact, while she was explaining the differences between shack, camp and cabin, Janet's tone of voice betrayed a hint of "Jackpine Savage" syndrome, that is, "a certain pride in roughness and lack of civilization" (Olson, 1997, p. 66). Places like Carl's Back Shack visually represent the Yooper spirit of "roughing it" or a sense that foregoing convenience, comfort and modern amenities builds moral character and heightens the rustic, sensory experience of life in the woods.

New cabins with their modern amenities offer a different aesthetic sensibility and reflect a different set of values, as illustrated by the Dubrovnik, the more refined cabin built by Carl's brothers (see Figure 3). Modern machines and technology produce materials that have a uniform and predictable aesthetic, which runs counter to the irregularities and idiosyncrasies of the handmade (Dormer, 1997). Carl's work defies predictability and uniformity since he collects his materials from everywhere *but* a store. However, with each successive shack, Carl noticed, "We're upgrading. The Back Shack is the rugged one, then the Norwich is a little bit better, and the Weekendica is better yet." The Weekendica is indeed the most polished in terms of surface finish on walls and floors, but without running water or electricity it still does not meet Carl and Janet's definition of "cabin."

In his discussion of Upper Peninsula summer camps, Jon Saari (1997) mentions that "modesty was a hallmark of camp architecture in general, and it was a modesty enforced by limited means as well as ideals of rusticality" (p. 181). However, he does not differentiate between shack, camp, and cabin according to their *degree* of modesty as Carl and Janet do. Instead he explains that "it is the coming and going from town to camp that justifies the usage" of the words more than the structures themselves (p. 178). In other words, seasonal, temporary quarters surrounded by the natural world comprise a category of architecture that includes shacks, camps, and cabins, with all three terms used interchangeably.

Troy Henderson (2009) offers another perspective on the issue in his study of shanty-boys, lumberjacks, and loggers in the Upper Great Lakes. He describes "shackers" (primarily jobless veteran lumberjack squatters) who moved into abandoned lumber camps once the lumber industry began to fade in the 1920s, similar to hunters repurposing lumber camps for their hunting excursions. The lumber "camps" became "shacks" once the occupants and the function of the structures changed. When the buildings were used for official business (logging) and specific functions (hunting), they were labeled "camps." When squatters occupied the buildings as residents, the label changed to "shack," which suggests that the definitions of the terms depend not only on the buildings' physical attributes, as identified by Carl and Janet, but also the structures' history, inhabitants, and use.

A Shack Builder's Motivations

When I asked Carl why he built the shacks, he responded without actually answering the question: "When friends of ours first come up here [to the U. P.], they couldn't figure this out. They said, 'You already live out in the country. How come you have a shack? How come you have so *many* shacks?'" His friends' comments suggest that shacks primarily provide an escape from the

noise and congestion of an urban area, but this reason does not apply to Carl's situation. Janet thought that this shack-building phenomenon is a "local thing."

She stated, "It's not just this family. Look at all the people in Ontonagon who have camps!"

Helen Hoefferle, my mother and Carl's younger sister, gave a different explanation for his shack fever. She suggested that he and his brothers inherited a genetic urge to build. She reasoned, "They just gotta build something. It's got to do with wanting to build with your hands and make something out of nothing. Instead of knitting or crocheting, they build something out of wood." From my conversations with and observations of Carl over the years, I would posit that his irresistible drive to build shacks and camps stems from a combination of the enjoyment of working with his hands *and* his need for special, away-from-it-all places specifically designed for socializing, relaxation, and communing with nature.

What Do You Do at Camp/In a Shack?

It never occurred to me until recently that everyone in my extended family has spent time at one or more of Carl's shacks/camps, gathering in every season for a diverse range of social activities. As the oldest building, the Back Shack hosted the most events—birthday and Christmas celebrations, wedding anniversaries, sledding parties, a Catholic mass to honor religious educators, hayrides, a party for a great aunt visiting from Canada, the 25th anniversary of the shack, snowmobile parties, and partridge feeds. Originally, Carl, as a young man in his 20s still living with his parents, built the shack as a place to socialize, drink beer and play cards with his male friends without parental interference. When he married and had children and grandchildren, the shack continued to provide special psychological and social space to "be away" from the routines of daily life on the farm.

Non-family members used the shack too. A group of hunters who had been staying at a base camp belonging to Carl's neighbor, needed a new resting place when their usual getaway deteriorated with age. Carl said to them jokingly, " I'll rent you my hunting shack." The hunters accepted the offer and continued their annual pilgrimage to his shack during hunting season until the late 1990s. The hunters told Carl that they "don't even care if they ever see a deer." They just love going "up there" to the shack. Due to advanced age and changing interests, the hunters no longer meet at the shack, and even Carl and family have found other places to spend their leisure hours. As of November 2011, mice, raccoons, and other woods critters are the shack's only visitors.

Each of Carl's other shacks and camps all seemed to have their social season. The Dam Shack hosted countless summer events— birthday parties, Sunday swimming parties, picnics and cook-outs, Fourth of July fireworks, and sleepovers. The Norwich Knobs offered the best views of autumn's red and yellow days, the best routes for spring hiking, and an overnight snowmobile destination to break up winter's monotony. Carl seemed to build the Weekendica solely to provide a perfect setting for all-afternoon cribbage games with his best friends.

Carl's shacks certainly provide unique contexts for social engagement. They are gathering places and vacation spots for families who do not have the time or the financial means, or maybe even the inclination, to travel much farther than the borders of Ontonagon County. The shacks ooze memories, and their physicality visually preserves the Domitrovich and Yooper traditions of selfreliance, resourcefulness, and thrift. "Humble artifacts have important messages if we can figure out how to read them. They are statements made in mud and wood" (Glassie, 1975, p. ix). Carl's statements made with wood, deer horns, and old church shingles remind us of a humble, enterprising do-it-yourself mentality that we rarely see in our store-bought, professionally-built, contemporary suburbs and cities. Carl's vernacular architecture testifies to a richness of life with family and friends and expresses the joy of making something out of nothing.

Figures

Figure 1: Weekendica

Figure 2: Norwich Knobs

Figure 4: Dam Shack

Figure 5: Back Shack

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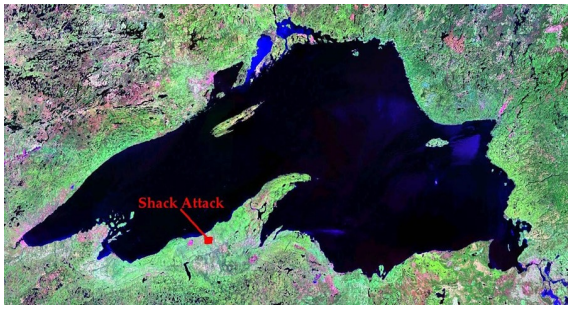

Late to the Party: The Upper Peninsula in the 1932 and 1936 Elections

by Daniel Homernik

Although the 1932 election in the United States would become famous among political scientists and historians for its dynamic nature and effect on U. S. history, the national realignment effected in 1932 did not occur throughout the Upper Peninsula of Michigan until 1936. The 1932 national election was known as a realignment election, where political loyalties across the country changed very rapidly and a new political landscape was born.

Realignment

For a realignment election to take place, a number of things usually have to occur: (1) A social or economic crisis occurs; (2) The crisis intensifies political debate and politicizes society; (3) It manifests itself in sudden, massive and permanent shifts in the bases of the political parties; and (4) The election produces very high voter turnout as well as high turnover within parties and elected bodies.[1] These criteria matched the national scene in 1932, when the Great Depression deepened and Prohibition fell out of favor. With these issues, voter turnout in 1932 broke all previous records, with some turnout rates as high as 90 percent. The 1932 election made sweeping changes to the U. S. politcal landscape still felt today. New England and other northern states, including Michigan, formerly Republican, suddenly became Democratic strongholds, and the Democratic Party returned to power for the first time in decades.

However, in the Upper Peninsula, which had always been strongly Republican—Marquette County in particular—the crisis did not bring about a major political change. In fact, the 1932 election was much the same as past elections in that almost all the Democratic candidates were soundly defeated. Changes in Marquette County did not occur until after Franklin Delano Roosevelt was elected and his policies—especially the Works Progress Administration (WPA) and Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC)—began to affect people locally. This new political reality would become apparent in 1936, when only one Republican in the county was elected, thus shocking the state GOP leadership.

In essence, while the rest of the nation was going through its realignment election in 1932, Marquette County stayed loyal to Republicans and did not shift to the Democratic Party until 1936.

Great Depression

To understand the political climate of the early 1930s, one must first understand the most important forces of the time. The Great Depression was certainly the first and most important issue on every voter's mind on November 8, 1932.

On "Black Tuesday," October 31, 1929, after weeks of increasing instability, the New York Stock Exchange crashed. Sixteen million stocks were traded over that dark day, and the industrial index dropped 43 points—almost 10 percent—essentially wiping out all the gains of the previous boom years and making many companies' stock worthless.[2] After the market crashed, a new and more serious problem emerged: Thousands of banks across the country began closing their doors due to a fatal flaw in the debt and credit structure of the U. S. economy, which during the 1920s had roared through rampant borrowing and buying on credit without substantial collateral.[3] Over 9000 banks closed between 1930 and 1933, with the loss of a third of the nation's money supply. Working class families were hit the worst when millions went to the banks to demand their life savings, only to find that the banks couldn't pay them, and in the blink of an eye countless people found themselves penniless.[4]

The reduction of the nation's money supply due to bank closures also caused severe deflation. Factories and stores began to lower prices and lay off workers to stay in business. This resulted in massive unemployment. By 1932 the U. S. unemployment rate

reached 25 percent, with as many as a third more underemployed.

Unemployment climbed higher in some cities, like Cleveland and

Toledo, with unemployment of 50 and 80 percent respectively.[5] **Depression in the U.P.**

The Upper Peninsula did not feel the full brunt of the Depression until about 1932, when demand for iron and copper dropped dramatically due to harsh tariff laws, such as the Smoot-Hawley Act, opposed by President Herbert Hoover (and many others, including Henry Ford) but signed into law in 1930. In 1929 the price of copper was 18 cents per pound; by 1932 it had dropped to 5.6 cents per pound. This drop in prices caused the copper industry in the U. P. to virtually grind to a halt, and of the six copper mines operating in 1929, only two remained in 1932, leaving over 6,000 miners unemployed.[6] By 1934 fully 45 percent of the U. P. populace was on some form of economic relief.[7] Although iron mining on the Marquette range fared better than the copper mines in Houghton and the rest of the Copper Country, it still came to a near standstill. During the darkest years of the Depression, 1932-33, total ore production dropped from 4.5 million tons in 1930 to a low of 474,000 tons in 1932.[8]

The plight of the working class in the U. P. and the nation was exacerbated by the lack of dedicated relief and welfare programs. Although there were several state, local and private relief organizations, the sheer scope of the crisis swamped them, leaving millions to fend for themselves.

The lack of a social safety net stemmed from the governing philosophy of the ruling party as well as the populace in general during the decade leading up to the Depression. U. S. Secretary of the Treasury Andrew Mellon summarized the Republican view on welfare: "Taxation should not be used as a field for socialist experiment, or as a club to punish success." As a result, the nation's richest saw their taxes cut by almost two thirds during the 1920s. At the time, people generally agreed with Mellon's attitude, as rugged individualism and personal accountability had always been a hallmark of the American way of life.

In 1928, Calvin Coolidge decided not to run for a second term. In his place stepped his Secretary of Commerce, Herbert Hoover. Hoover won the election in a landslide, beating New York Governor Al Smith 444 to 87 in the Electoral College.[9] In Marquette County, Smith managed to win only three of forty-five precincts, with a popular vote of 4,343 compared to Hoover's 13,529.[10] Upon entering office, Hoover was seen as a miracle worker for his post-war relief efforts in Europe. Unfortunately for Hoover, the prosperity bubble of the Roaring Twenties burst less than a year after he took office. At the beginning of the Great Depression, Hoover tried to reassure an increasingly frightened population that "Prosperity is just around the corner." While Hoover did enact some legislation to combat the crisis, most was either poorly conceived or under-funded. Hoover signed into law the Smoot-Hawley Act in 1930, which quadrupled previous tariffs to protect American products from foreign competition. But the effect of the law was counter-productive, causing other countries to raise their own tariffs and drastically reduce global trade, thus creating lower demand for products.

This hit the Upper Peninsula's iron ore and copper mining industry hard, causing an even lower demand for copper and ore, thus increasing unemployment in the area.

Prohibition

The other major issue concerning voters in the 1932 election was

Prohibition. The 18th Amendment to the U. S. Constitution, ratified on January 16, 1919, set a beginning date of January 17, 1920, for the prohibition of the sale of "intoxicating liquors" in the U. S. The separate Volstead Act established enforcement procedures. Almost immediately after Prohibition took effect, a gigantic black market formed to provide people with the alcohol they wanted.

Michigan's long unguarded border with Canada allowed liquor to pour in through Detroit, Port Huron and the Upper Peninsula

and thence into the entire Midwest. Thus bootlegging became, with logging and mining, one of the most lucrative businesses in the U. P. The Red Dust Project, a catalog of hundreds of interviews with U. P. residents during the Depression, reveals just how common it was. Charles Bannon (b. 1920), a resident of National Mine, used to sell old whiskey bottles back to the moonshiners for theater money.[11] George August (b. 1915) said almost everyone he knew was either bootlegging or drinking moonshine.[12] Charles Stakel, a former mining superintendent, has the most telling account of the widespread disregard for Prohibition. Before Prohibition was repealed in 1933 by the 21st Amendment, Stakel was in charge of the YMCA in Marquette County and always got funding because a town marshal named Jack

Lacey would go to a supposedly closed tavern selling alcohol illegally (a so-called "blind pig") and shake down the owners for $1,000 every year and give the money to the YMCA.[13]

Conditions in Marquette County and the rest of the U. P. during the Depression were dire. The mines during this time were only operating at about an eighth capacity, causing widespread unemployment. According to the Cleveland-Cliffs Iron Company (CCI) report for 1933, "Our mines worked on a two day per week basis until April 8th when they were closed and reopened on November 8th on a three day per week schedule."[14] According to Charles Stakel, the mines from 1932 until 1934 were closed all year around except for the winter, because of the incredibly low demand for ore.[15]

However, despite the severe underemployment of the workers and the rough financial shape of the mines, there is no evidence of workers being forced out of their company homes at this time. This policy by the mining companies averted the shantytown problems of other places around the country. Also, during the worst years (1932-1934) of the Depression in Marquette, CCI pushed a strong campaign for residents to grow gardens for food and to limit credit debt to grocery stores. CCI also organized working parties to provide free fertilizer and till the land for residents unable to do so. Citizens were also encouraged to cut their own wood for heat and cooking, but by the end of 1933 all available wood in Negaunee and Ishpeming had been cut.[16]

During this time, CCI was obsessed with keeping costs at a minimum, especially taxes and employee compensation. The former led to a bitter dispute between the company and the Negaunee city government over the size of the city budget. From 1933 to 1936, CCI was constantly trying to get the city to lower its budget.[17] According to Charles Stakel's memoir, the dispute was not only over the taxes paid by the company, but also over schools in the county not getting funding because of errors in land valuations.[18] On several occasions the company threatened to get all the property in the county revalued to make the citizens pay more and thus reduce the tax burden on the company.[19] With higher taxes on citizens, CCI further hoped the people would vote out the current city officials and install people presumably friendlier to the company.

Employee compensation was another topic that came up frequently in the CCI reports. Apparently to avoid any injuries or deaths on job sites, all employees were given thorough health examinations to determine if they were fit for mine work. When workers were found unfit, they were reassigned "in cases where it was mutually beneficial to do so."[20]

The 1932 Election

With the Depression and Prohibition the top issues of the day, the stage was set for a bitter presidential campaign in 1932. An embattled Hoover faced off against former New York governor Franklin D. Roosevelt.

The body of the Republican Party platform in 1932 was to uphold the tariff laws, continue to uphold Prohibition, and withhold payment of the Veterans Bonus until 1944, as originally planned. These stands were not exactly popular with the working class, with disastrous results for the Party. The Democratic platform was essentially the opposite: changes in tariff laws, immediate payment of the Veterans Bonus, and an old age and unemployment insurance plan.

Before the 1932 election, Michigan had always been a loyal Republican state. This was in no small part because the party was founded in Jackson, Michigan in 1854. Although the state had elected a few Democratic governors in the past, no Democratic presidential candidate had ever won Michigan's electoral votes. Considering Michigan's past voting record, it is no wonder that

the GOP State Committee Chairman Howard C. Lawrence predicted that Hoover would carry the state by over 216,000 votes. He only predicted an even break for Democrats in seven counties, including the most populous, Wayne County, which included Detroit. Republicans also anticipated a 20,400 vote lead in the Upper Peninsula. The

Democrats, on the other hand, could sense a shift in popular

sentiment and predicted they would take Wayne County by 150,000 votes, and so take the state; but they did not dispute the predicted

GOP majority in the U. P.[21]

Aside from the fact that Michigan was the GOP birthplace, there were also geographic reasons for Michigan's loyalty to the

Republicans. Since the Civil War, Democrats had been associated with the Southern and more rural voters, while Republicans were usually northern, urban or dependent on single industries such as mining and manufacturing. This trend can be seen in Marquette County's voting record in 1932, where the larger towns were predominantly Republican while the smaller outlying townships were Democratic. The 1932 vote was the largest in the nation's history up to that time, with anticipated vote of 40 million, which would have exceeded the 1928 election turnout by over three million votes. Marquette County printed 21,900 ballots, up almost 4,000 from 1928.[22] Several major ballot initiatives also faced Marquette County voters in 1932.

One was a proposal to build a new highway, known as US-41, to Marquette from the south. There were also two constitutional amendments to the tax code. The first dictated that citizens could be taxed $15 per $1,000 of assessed valuation; the second involved exempting $1,000 of personal property and $3,000 on homestead valuations.[23] Most importantly, there was also the "Red, White and Blue Amendment" for the repeal of Prohibition.

Outside the Upper Peninsula, the election was a landslide for the Democrats. Roosevelt trounced Hoover in the Electoral College by 472 to 89 votes, and by over seven million in the popular vote.[24] The Republican losses in Congress were equally damaging: 101 seats in the House and 12 seats in the Senate.[25] In Michigan, for the first time since the Republican Party was founded, the voters selected a Democratic candidate for President in FDR by over 120,000 votes. In addition, Michigan also elected Democratic candidate William

Comstock for Governor, defeating Wilber Brucker by 156,000 votes.[26]
Also, the most important board in the state, the State Administrative

Board (made up of the Governor, Attorney General, Auditor General,

Secretary of State, Treasurer, Highway Commissioner and

Superintendent of Education) went Democratic for the first time in state history, by a majority of four to three. And this majority was not six to one only because the Highway Commissioner and the Superintendent were not up for election, thus saving them from the purge.[27] In fact, the only saving grace for Republicans was Frank D. Fitzgerald, a rising star in the party and Secretary of State since 1930. Fitzgerald ran for reelection against challenger Burnett J. Abbott and became the sole state Republican up for reelection who returned to office. In a very close race, Fitzgerald won with the help of Upper Peninsula voters, who voted for him overwhelmingly.

Like the rest of the country, the U. P. shattered all previous voting records, with over 17,000 voting for President and 20,000 voting for lower offices. In the city of Marquette, the turnout was remarkable by any standards. Only 578 people didn't vote out of 6,408 eligible and most other cities and townships in Marquette County had turnouts at or above 75 percent.[28] However, the Democratic fever that gripped the rest of the nation did not fully penetrate the U. P.'s past loyalty to the GOP. A slight majority of 8 of 15 U. P. counties went for FDR, with Hoover winning the rest, including Marquette County by 9810 to 7221, or almost 2,600 votes. Hoover lost Marquette by 278 votes, while the heavily Republican towns of Negaunee and Ishpeming gave Hoover the nod

by 1600 and 780 votes respectively. Townships also divided along similar lines, with the smaller ones like Chocolay, Wells and Powell going Democrat, and the larger ones like Richmond and Republic going to the Republicans.[29] Although there were several Democratic strongholds in the county, the county as a whole, with the help of Ishpeming and Negaunee, stayed almost exclusively Republican. In fact, no state Democratic candidate was even close to winning in the county. For example, candidate for Governor Wilber Brucker beat out William Comstock by 2400 votes, only to lose in the larger state-wide vote. Incumbent Lieutenant Governor Luren D. Dickinson also won Marquette County by over 2,000 votes, only to be defeated in the rest of the state by Allen Stebbins, the Democratic challenger. County voters also elected Frank Fitzgerald, the star of the state Republicans, by an almost two to one margin over Burnett Abbott.[30] This same voting pattern continued for Republican candidates for Attorney General, State Treasurer and Auditor General. All were elected by at least 2,000 votes in the county only to be defeated in the state-wide election by a vengeful lower Michigan electorate.

For 12th District Representative, long time Republican incumbent W. Frank James of Hancock defeated challenger Levi Rice of Bessemer by a vote of 11,090 to 5,245.[31] James was finally defeated by Frank Hook of L'Anse in 1934, after almost 20 years in office.

In the local elections, only two of eleven Democrats were elected to office: Theodore A. Thoren was elected to Circuit Court Commissioner and John Siegel won as County Coroner. Both

Democrats won by very close margins, less than 250 votes of over 20,000 votes cast.[32] One milestone for the 1932 local election was the election of Republican Ellen M. Sandell to the post of Register of Deeds; she became the first woman ever elected to office in Marquette

County.[33] On the amendment vote, the "Red, White and Blue Amendment" to end Prohibition overwhelmingly passed in the county with 10,414 voting Yes and 5,053 voting against. In the state the amendment passed by an almost three to one margin: 654,639 Yes, and 251,191 against. Prohibition was ending in Michigan and the U. S. Locally the initiative to build Highway 41 to connect to Lake Street passed as well.[34]

The CCC and the WPA

After FDR took office in March of 1933, he immediately enacted a flurry of reforms known as the New Deal to help ease the Depression and those included the two federal programs most important to the Upper Peninsula: The Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) and the Works Progress Administration (WPA). These two were vital to the area because with the logging and mining industries seriously hindered by the Depression, thousands of men, young and old, were out of work and desperately needed an income. Although during the previous years, unemployed workers were able to make a little money by taking part in the firewood cutting campaigns or other CCI welfare efforts, there was no substantial employment except during the winter months when the mines opened. With the new programs, older men were put to work in various WPA projects throughout the county, including the building of US-41 and other roads, for 25 cents an hour.

Teenagers and men in their early twenties were employed by CCI planting trees outside communities, building parks and other conservation projects—all of which kept them out of trouble and helped contribute to the relative calm that the county enjoyed throughout the period. CCC members were housed in barracks-style camps outside major U. P. towns. The CCC camp closest to Marquette, known as Camp Escanaba, was located eight miles south of Gwinn near the Escanaba River. By 1936, Marquette County had four camps: Escanaba and Little Lake near Gwinn, Big Bay, and Dukes.[35]

Also relevant to the Upper Peninsula was the Emergency Banking Act, which closed all banks in the U. S. for four days so bankers could close insolvent banks and reorganize and reopen those banks that were strong enough to survive. This act had a significant effect on Ishpeming and Negaunee. Two Negaunee banks, Negaunee National and Negaunee State, were closed in 1933. Luckily Negaunee First National took over the former Negaunee National and prevented it from failing.[36] However, both of Ish-

peming's banks failed to reopen after the banking holiday, leaving many individuals without money to survive and no way to earn it.

The positive effect of FDR's policies on Marquette County caused a major shift in the political loyalties of the residents. Although the voting records show a strong Republican majority in the county before FDR was elected, testimonials of residents years later show that the shift to a Democratic majority was mainly the product of the CCC and the WPA. The vast majority of people show a great affection for FDR, with a proportionate scorn for Hoover. Clarence Emanuelson (born 1905) said that the New Deal made life a little better in the county, while he criticized Hoover as a man who "...didn't do anything and thought a working man could live on eight soda crackers a day."[37] William Goldsworthy believed that Hoover was the direct cause of the Depression, while FDR was praised for the WPA and CCC. Bill Peterson also praised FDR and the New Deal, stating that it put a lot of poor people back to work.[38] Whether the criticisms of Hoover were accurate or not, these opinions of area residents indicate a dramatic change of attitude toward the Democrats via FDR's actions, with remarkable results in the 1936 election.

The 1936 Election

By 1936, FDR was a larger than life national force, and the Republican Party was still in disarray. Republicans chose "Alf" Landon, a Kansas governor, as their Presidential nominee.

The Presidential election of 1936 was a predictable landslide, with Landon only winning two states, Maine and Vermont, for a total of eight electoral votes to FDR's 523.[39] In fact, this was the nearest the country had come to a totally unanimous vote since James Monroe was reelected in 1820 with only a single electoral vote against him.[40] This devastating loss prompted a prominent Democratic Party boss to famously joke "As Maine goes, so goes Vermont."[41] Republicans lost in the Senate and House as well.

Landon was so unpopular that in Michigan, Republican gubernatorial candidate Frank Fitzgerald's name appeared at the top of the ticket and Landon's at the bottom.

The Upper Peninsula results were exactly the opposite the 1932 election. FDR won Marquette County by 4,400 votes, with only 7,600 votes going to Landon, and 12,000 going to FDR. The U. P. overall gave FDR a 26,000 vote majority, again almost exactly opposite the 1932 numbers; and FDR won in all U. P. counties but one,

Keweenaw.[42] Marquette voters were even more partisan in their state and local voting. Not one state Republican candidate was elected in the county, and James T. Hodge won the County Coroner position by less than 200 votes, making him the only Republican to win in Marquette County in 1936.[43] Even Frank Fitzgerald, who carried the county easily in 1932, lost to Frank Murphy in the county vote for governor by over 2,000 votes, and in the state Fitzgerald lost by 50,000 votes. With the defeat of Fitzgerald, Michigan was left with the first all Democratic rule in its history.[44] For 12th District Representative, Democrat Frank Hook tripled his winning margin from the 1934 election, again defeating former Representative W. Frank James, and piling up leads in all but two 12th District counties.

In local elections, Ellen Sandell, the first woman elected to office in Marquette, lost her bid for reelection as Register of Deeds by only 150 votes to Axel Senobe. There were other firsts in the county: Michael

J. Khoury and Lloyd Levasseur became the first Democrats in county history to take over the posts of Judge of Probate and County Clerk.[45] Several longstanding Republicans were swept away by the Democratic tide, including William Prin, who had served as County Coroner for 32 years, as well as William Richards, who had served as Inspector of Mines for three consecutive terms. Another astonishing development was the shift in the former Republican stronghold of Negaunee, which became the only city in the county to go straight-ticket Democrat in all five precincts, while in Ishpeming, the other Republican stronghold, only three of the ten precincts went Republican.[46]

Despite Landon's unpopularity, the outcome of the election was not necessarily a foregone conclusion. Some public polls, most notably a *Readers Digest* poll, had predicted that Landon would actually defeat Roosevelt, and both sides considered Michi-

gan a battleground state. Before the election, GOP strategists asserted that their humiliating Presidential loss in 1932 was an accident and that Michigan's longstanding Republican tradition would be upheld in 1936, while Democrats asserted that Wayne County's strong Democratic majority would push them to victory as it had in 1932.

Voter turnout in 1936 exceeded even the record breaking election four years earlier, with Marquette County expecting a record 6,000 votes and Ishpeming and Negaunee also breaking previous records. This high voter turnout occurred throughout the country, obviously indicating that the effects of the Depression, despite New Deal programs, were still deeply affecting the voters and thus energizing turnout.

In conclusion, the national election result of 1932 was a product of social and economic factors that were not present in the Upper Peninsula until after that election. Although Prohibition was deeply unpopular in the region and a factor in the Republican defeat nationally, that alone was not enough to push voters out of the Republican camp. It would take the collapse of the mining industry caused by the Depression in the years following the 1932 election, as well as FDR's welfare programs—especially the CCC and WPA—in the subsequent years of unemployment to finally push Upper Peninsula voters to turn out the Republicans whole heartedly in 1936.

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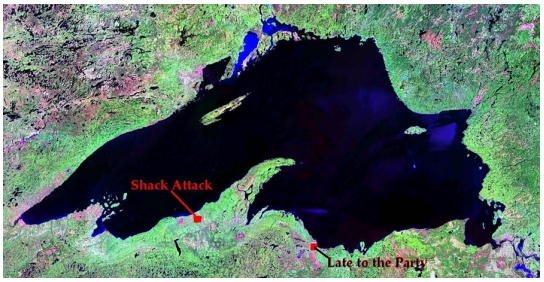

Place mats:
Calumet, Michigan and the State Capital Myth

by Emily Schmitz

Dr. Carl Sagan once said, "Somewhere, something incredible is waiting to be known."

This notion is evident in the Upper Peninsula of Michigan, where land and people are rich with a sometimes elusive history.

In the instance of Calumet, Michigan, famous as the focal point of copper mining in the U. P., vivid history is laced with a fantastic rumor. A myth, its origins unknown, has persuaded some residents of the U. P. that Calumet was the runner-up in the 1847 relocation of the State Capital, losing to Lansing by only one vote.

And while residents of Calumet and other regions of the U. P. believe wholeheartedly that this rumor stems from fact, the lack of evidence from factual sources strongly suggests that this story exists as a myth and nothing more.

If you travel northwest in the U. P. along the scenic, winding highway of US-41 to the town of Calumet, you will encounter a drab village of unoccupied buildings and a few restored sandstones. To the naked eye, Calumet is empty—empty of wealth, population, expansion —but Calumet is also full—full of nostalgia for the past.

But the story that Calumet was the runner-up in the relocation of the State Capital in 1847 is problematic.

It is nearly impossible to trace the exact origins of a myth, especially when that myth has become embedded in local pride. But after examining the historical context of this story, and finding connections to a larger picture, it is easier to come to a conclusion. To create a context for this myth, it is necessary to look at the state of Michigan in the mid-nineteenth century. When Michigan was established as a territory in 1805, Detroit was the principal city and remained at the center of political and governmental activity for many years.[1] However, after the latter half of the 1830s and into the 1840s, Michigan citizens began to take an optimistic outlook on their future in regard to resources in other areas of the state. As Willis F. Dunbar, author of *Michigan: A History of the Wolverine State,* explains, "A few men in Saginaw were proving that Michigan pine had an eastern market. A copper rush to the Upper Peninsula and the discovery of iron in another part of this area, which Michigan people had scorned when they had been compelled to accept it in lieu of the Toledo Strip, helped to give the state the 'life' it needed to emerge from the doldrums of the late thirties and early forties."[2] The decision to move the state capital to a new interior location was symbolic of the state's renewed effort to manage its resources from a central location.

It was also stipulated by the Michigan Constitution. When Michigan was admitted to the Union in January of 1837, the Constitution then adopted provided that the capital would be Detroit for ten years. The seat of government would then be permanently located by the legislature in 1847.

Early in the legislative session of 1847, a bill was introduced to transfer the capital to a new location. The bill was brief, consisting of only a single section that contained a blank space for the name of the place to be selected.[3] Orlando M. Barnes, a state representative in the 1863-64 session and later mayor of Lansing, said, "I doubt if any bill of the same length in this state ever encountered so many changes and motions to change. The great struggle was over filling of the blank."[4]

On February 10, 1847, votes for various locations of the State Capital were taken in committee and on the floor of the House. As can be imagined, the imminent decision sparked a controversy among legislators and Michigan inhabitants. As time passed, the battle became so bitter that no choice could be made and a deadlock ensued.[5]

Detroit supporters were seeking to retain the seat of state government while others battled for a variety of sites, including Ann Arbor, Jackson, Marshall, Battle Creek, Albion, Grand Blanc, Eaton Rapids, Saginaw, Utica and Corunna, as well as minor locations such as Dexter, Byron, Lyons, Caledonia, Charlotte, Owosso—even far-off Copper Harbor at the nether extremity of the U. P.[6] While the bill bounced back from one chamber to the other, there was still considerable sentiment in both chambers for maintaining the capital in Detroit.

Early in the discussions of the bill, Joseph Kilbourne, an Ingham County Representative, submitted Lansing Township for consideration. However, at that time, the Lansing region was still a rough country with very few inhabitants or railroads. Explains Orlando M. Barnes: "Bear in mind that at this time, Lansing was a wilderness. The state still held a school section on which the city is largely

builded. Its central location was the only other consideration that gave friends of this location ground of hope."[7] Barnes also noted that Lansing had "fine waterpower, fertile soil, and beautiful country" as well.

Ultimately both the House and Senate decided on the Lansing Township location and the bill was passed by an eleven to ten margin on March 8, 1847. The site was briefly named "Town of Michigan" but was switched back to Lansing the following year.

Calumet is not mentioned in this relocation episode because the town of Calumet did not exist at the time.

The Calumet area was nothing but shaded forest until the late 1860s. Many fortune-seeking prospectors came to the Keweenaw Peninsula in the copper rush of the 1840s, and this determined the location of the earliest communities there. However, the Calumet area lay inland and remained uninhabited because boats could not enter the Portage River from the south, the nearest water access. A ferry transported passengers and supplies between Houghton and Hancock —still several miles south of future Calumet—until a bridge was built in 1872. The Portage River was widened and deepened and a ship canal was completed in 1873, allowing larger craft to cut through the base of the Keweenaw Peninsula.[8]

Calumet also made an unlikely capital contender because of distance. The distance from Detroit to Lansing is 113 miles, overland; from Detroit to Calumet is over 600, much of it perilous, by water. And the improvement of water travel from canoe paddle to steam propeller did not improve most people's notion of the distance to the Copper Country.

No road existed in the Calumet area until the end of the 1860s, when a macadamized road connected the great Cliff Mine ten miles north of Calumet to the county seat of Eagle River.

The harsh reality of Upper Peninsula winters also compounded the distance factor with difficult travel, requiring snowshoes, dog sled, or sleighs. Starvation and death from exposure were always a threat and loss of a provision ship, especially late in the safe lake shipping season, meant extreme hardship.[9]

Local acceptance and perpetuation of the State Capital myth also flies in the face of the time frame of events in Calumet. While the profitable mining industries did eventually make Calumet prosperous and influential, there was no population to speak of in 1847. The common misperception surrounding the stories Calumet people grew up believing is that Calumet was to become the state capital based on its wealth, prestige, and the rich and diverse population that copper production brought to the area.

Area resident Mary Maki explains: "We always knew that Calumet would have been the state capital because there was more population in Calumet than in Lansing . . . . We always tried to understand what a large place it had been at one time."[10]

Although Douglass Houghton first discovered "rich and abundant ores of copper" in the Keweenaw in 1840, it would be many years before the area flourished. Census records show no population in Houghton county in the year 1845. It was a new county just getting established. The population increased to 708 five years later. The Michigan census of 1854 showed an increase in four years of about 2,000, from 708 to 2,873. By that time, Lansing had been established as the state capital for seven years and had a much higher population of 11,222.[11]

Perhaps the most difficult aspect of tracing the Calumet myth is finding the point when it developed and lodged itself into the Upper Peninsula mindset. It is thought by some that the rumor began as a consequence of the copper golden age drawing to a close, with population decrease and diminishing interest in the area.

Calumet experienced extreme transformations through the years of its copper mining glory days and thereafter. Between 1860 and the 1920s, Houghton County supplied 90% of the world's copper, with Calumet expanding rapidly to accommodate the peak of immigration and industrial growth. Building began booming in 1896, population and mining employment peaked around 1910, and merchants and wealth flooded the region.

In a special industrial edition in June of 1897 (undtd, between June 3-5, p. 1), the Marquette *Daily Mining Journal* described it as "the richest copper region in the world."[12]

Then came "the years that the town committed suicide."[13]

After more than forty years of industrial peace, Calumet erupted in bitter, tragic experiences in 1913 and 1914. Labor strikes, tragic deaths, class discrimination and the exhaustion of the ore supply underground, all put the community on a steep slope of social and economic decline.

Because Calumet was a one industry community, its eventual fate was tied to the supply and price of copper. The Great De-

pression of the 1930s led to a fall in prices so severe that it was impossible for the mines to operate at a reasonable profit and many people left the community to find work elsewhere. This trend continued after a brief resurgence during World War II. The recession of 1949 resulted in unemployment for three-tenths of the Copper Country's work force. Census records indicate a steady decline in population between 1910 and 1970, opposite the dramatic growth of earlier years:[14]

Year	Population of Calumet Township
1910	32,845
1920	22,369
1930	16,033
1940	13,362
1950	10,283
1960	9,192
1970	8,721

The final phase of Calumet's decline was the aftermath of numerous local and nation-wide strikes in the world of copper production.

By 1968, Calumet and Hecla, for decades the dominant company in the Copper Country, had reduced its labor force to fewer than 1,000 men. Then as more C&H miners began moving, the company promised that "it would do everything within its power to reduce the wage disparity between the Calumet Division and other copper producers."[15]

Then another blow: Union officials voted to strike at midnight on August 21, 1968.

Finally, after more than a century of operation and then this long and bitter labor dispute, mighty Calumet and Hecla closed its mines on April 1, 1969. *The New York Times* (17 Aug. 1969, pt. 3) documented the downfall at Calumet by headlining the business section "End Comes in Michigan for Proud Copper Mine," announcing that over 300 clerical workers and supervisors found themselves unemployed. The result was devastating for Calumet and the surrounding areas, for some 80 per cent of the population of Keweenaw County had been directly or indirectly dependent on C&H for their livelihood.[16] The birth of the State Capital myth coincided with the death of King Copper and the ensuing loss of population and spirit.

In a poem titled "Shut-Down,"[17] Upper Peninsula native Ruth B. Malgren says:

We don't catch sight of the carbide light
Some busy miner carries.
There's no more trips in the shaft-house skips
For Toms or Dicks or Harrys.
No more dashing for the "dry"
With joking miners tangling.
No more whistler's roar, no falling ore,
No 'lectric signals jangling.
We miss the sounds of the mine,
Old sounds oft repeated.
Can such a long tenacious life
Really be completed?

Calumet native Arthur W. Thurner is one of the few authors to document evidence of the origin of the State Capital myth. He says, "A turn to heritage marked the 1970s, as the Calumet Village centennial of 1975 resurrected myths like the story that 'only a single vote in the State Legislature voided an attempt to relocate the [Michigan] Capital from Lansing to Calumet.' "[18] Thurner found this statement on thousands of paper place mats used in restaurants and homes in the Calumet area.

However, contrary to Thurner's theory are the memories of many Upper Peninsula residents who recall the story earlier than

the 1970s. Mary Maki, born in Norway, Michigan in 1956, recalls hearing the story prior to moving to Calumet with her family in 1969.

"I probably heard the story from my dad before we moved. [My parents] were trying to explain to me what the Copper Country was all about . . . ."[19]

Paul Hytinen, born in 1955 and a resident of Ishpeming, Michigan since childhood, recalls hearing the story two years prior to the Calumet Village centennial of 1975. "I probably heard it [for the first time] when I started iron ore mining in 1973. There were men from the copper mining industry from Calumet and when those mines shut down, they came to the mine where I worked. They shared those stories with me, along with other copper mining adventures."[20] When asked if he believed the story was created to re-establish some attention to the Copper Country, Hytinen replied, "No, not one bit." Although the state capital rumor was probably created as community boosterism, it endured by giving Calumet people a connection to statewide status and recognition. The fervent words of those native to the U. P. suggest that the Calumet story is something more to them than a mere brush with fame. It is a clear representation of community pride. The story has evolved through the years as a symbolic window to the past, a link from the hard-working founders of early Keweenaw settlements to later generations who did not have the heart to leave their increasingly depressed homeland, which they still saw as "God's Country."

Because of the U. P.'s isolation and sparse population, its few hundred thousand inhabitants have become accustomed to a distinct way of life, a culture of their own. And with that culture comes a distinct blend of pride and humility, based on its boom-and-bust history. The people of Calumet found a way to connect with the village's glorious past—in defending the State Capital story—when their pride as U. P. residents collided with present realities.

Calumet and other small mining towns share a common history of bringing the Upper Peninsula to vibrant life. The past prosperity and vigor of these places may not have endured, but it created bonds with people of the present that have endured as community pride.

The fact is, the seat of government for the state of Michigan for the past 165 years has been Lansing. Another fact is, far-off little Calumet once led the world in copper production and became one of the most vigorous, affluent and heralded communities in Michigan. But the two facts do not mix. Calumet never came close to securing the State Capital any more than Lansing ever led the world in the production of anything except, possibly, laws, wind and one magical basketball player. Although proud and loyal U. P. residents will aver otherwise, there is no valid substantiation that links Calumet to candidacy for the state capital.

The Calumet myth has no truth to it, but the truth is not most significant to some Upper Peninsula residents. More significant—tenaciously so—is the fact that Calumet was indeed once important enough to have birthed such a story.

Arthur Thurner once wrote, "It has been said of turmoil in a community that what is needed to prevent it is to know one another: 'When we know one another, we can live together more peacefully.' Calumet's strength lies there. It is above all a community. Calumet seems to have created that rare and sought-after quality of community where one belongs because common experiences of work, aspirations, sorrow, and joy transcend ethnicity, religion, and class. Never realized completely, this community existed—and exists. This is Calumet."[21]

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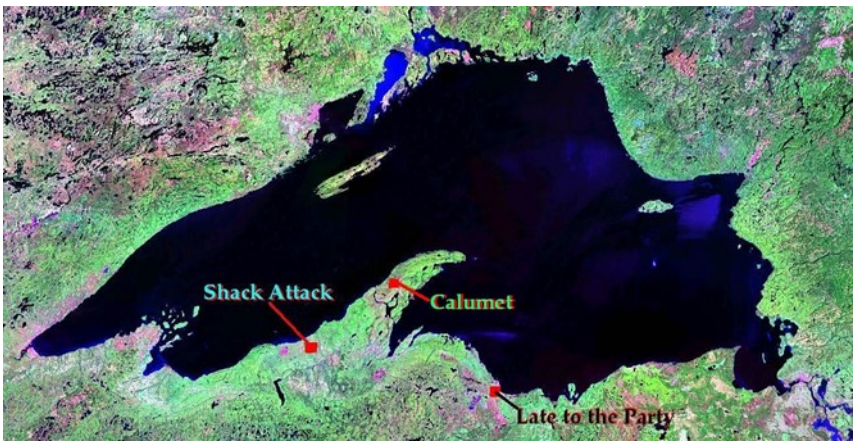


The Upper Country in the War of 1812: A Chronology

compiled by Russell Magnaghi and Ted Bays

Background: Casus Belli

1803-1812: British warships detain U. S. merchant vessels and impress American men for service on British ships; the British commit other acts—trade embargoes, firing on the U. S. ship Chesapeake—that insult the U. S.

Great Britain is heavily involved in the Napoleonic Wars in Europe. Some U. S. elements harbor vague notions of annexing Canada amid more widespread and explicit visions of unfettered Expansion.

Republican "War Hawks" elected to Congress in 1810 press for war.

British fur traders continue to foment disaffection for the U. S. among the Natives.

1807-1812: The British encourage the Native nationalist Tecumseh and his brother the Shawnee Prophet, or Tenskwatawa, to form a confederation to oppose U. S. expansion.

June 1812: President Madison sends a message to Congress detailing British offenses and the U. S. House and Senate send a declaration of war back to Madison, who signs it on June 18. Because none of the Federalist opposition party vote for the war declaration, some contemporaries call the war "Mr. Madison's War." It has also been called the Second War of Independence, after Benjamin Franklin's observation that "The War of Revolution is won, but the War of Independence is yet to be fought."

The War in Michigan Territory & Upper Canada

(Upper Canada, present-day Ontario, was upstream—i.e. southwest—of Lower Canada, present-day Quebec, on the St. Lawrence River.)

pre-1812: Joseph Varnum, the Factor (government trading agent) at Mackinac Island since Nov. 1809, has been instructed to discourage Native trading with the British at Mackinac, St. Joseph Island, Sault Ste. Marie and elsewhere in Canada.

1807: An Odawa leader named Le Maigouis (The Trout) at L'Arbre Croche in northwest lower Michigan begins to promote the nationalist ideas of Tecumseh and travels to the Mackinac Straits area to speak against the Americanization of the Natives there.

Early summer 1812: Life continues as usual for the Great Lakes and Upper Country. People cross the unguarded U. S.-Canada border frequently and freely to visit and trade. British traders are active at Sault Ste. Marie and Mackinac.

July-August 1812: Territorial Governor General William Hull loses the American ship Cuyahoga Packet, with strategic papers, to the British. Hull mounts an ill-conceived and poorly executed invasion of Canada, retreats, and surrenders Detroit to a smaller British force under Isaac Brock, Aug. 16. Hull also orders the evacuation of Ft. Dearborn (Chicago) to Fort Wayne in Indiana Territory, and those retreating are ambushed and massacred by Natives.

Jan.-Oct. 1813: General William Henry Harrison, replacing Hull as Commander of the U.S. Army of the North-West, leads an attempt to re-take Detroit. Some of his troops fall to the British at Frenchtown along the River Raisin south of Detroit and poorly guarded prisoners are massacred by Natives.

Oliver Hazard Perry defeats the British on Lake Erie, Sept. 10; with Lake Erie supply lines cut, the British leave Detroit to American reoccupation later in Sept. Harrison defeats the British at the Battle of Thames River in Canada, Oct. 5, and Tecumseh is killed, ending the British-Native alliance.

The War in the Upper Country

Summer 1812: General Brock notifies the Scottish fur trader Robert Dickson of the war and advises him to gather Native allies at Fort St. Joseph, on St. Joseph Island in the St. Mary's River. Dickson, a trader in the Upper Country since 1786, assembles a force of 400 Natives from Michigan, Illinois and Wisconsin, his vast field of influence.

July 17, 1812: The British force from Fort St. Joseph, commanded by Captain Charles Roberts, moves on Mackinac Island. In addition to the Natives, the force includes a Sgt. and two gunners of the Royal Artillery and 44 men and officers of the 10th Royal Veteran Battalion. They commandeer the trading ship Caledonia and on the night of July16-17 succeed in an undetected landing on the north end of the Island at a site still called British Landing. The British force haul their artillery pieces 2 miles up the slope to the heights above the American fort—a dominant position. The small garrison at Fort Mackinac, commanded by Lt. Porter Hanks, consists only of 61 soldiers, and no Native allies. When Captain Roberts sends a demand for surrender, Hanks accedes and papers of capitulation are signed on "The Heights of Michilimackinac" that day. The march of folly has shed no blood on Lieutenant Hanks' watch. Hanks later reports "This, Sir, was the first information I had of the declaration of war." With communication, as with field generalship, British General Brock has again out-foxed the far-flung Americans. Captured, paroled, and returned to Detroit to await court-martial, Hanks dies when his prison cell is struck by British artillery.

Summer 1812: The British improve an earthen redoubt on the Mackinac Island Heights with a blockhouse, stockade, and powder house and name it Fort George.

Summer 1813: The British continue to hold Mackinac and Sault Ste. Marie but their supply lines falter. Natives gather at Mackinac to support the British and quickly exhaust supplies there. The British establish an intermediate supply depot on Nottawasaga Bay at the south end of Lake Huron's Georgian Bay.

January 1814: Lieutenant Robert McDouall, a Scotsman of the Royal Newfoundland Fencibles, makes his way from York (Toronto) to Nottawasaga Bay with a regiment, voyageurs and craftsmen. They build batteaux and when the ice leaves the waterways they paddle and sail to Mackinac Island with much-needed supplies.

Summer 1814: From Mackinac McDouall sends a small expedition to Prairie du Chien, Wisconsin to retake the post there after American forces under General William Clark had taken it in early June and built Fort Shelby nearby. The British retake the fort on July 20 after a brief siege.

July 3, 1814: A military force under George Croghan and Andrew Hunter Holmes leave Detroit in a small fleet commanded by Patrick Sinclair, to attack and retake Fort Mackinac. The 3 brigs and 2 gunboats search for the British supply base on Georgian Bay. Failing to find it, they proceed up to the St. Mary's River and on to Sault Ste. Marie and burn the abandoned Fort St. Joseph on the way. At Sault Ste. Marie they raze the North West Co.'s warehouse, trader John Johnston's warehouses, and a small lock that by-passes the river rapids, on July 21. This attack cripples the fur trade and ends the old seigneurial society. The force of 700 includes regulars and Ohio militia. British Capt. Robert McCargoe hides his schooner Recovery in an Isle Royale cove still called McCargoe Cove. He sails to Sault Ste. Marie, arriving a day after the U.S. attack there, thus avoiding the destruction of his ship.

The Recovery goes on to serve British Surveyor Henry Bayfield in his charting of Lake Superior, 1823-1825. McCargoe goes on to serve the (British) North West Co. and Hudson's Bay Co., and the (U. S.) American Fur Co.

July 26, 1814: Croghan's force reaches Mackinac Island and attempts to bomb the fort with their ships' guns, but the cannons can't reach the fort up the slope. Fog precludes further action for a week.

Early Aug. 1814: Croghan returns and lands at British Landing on the north end of the island. McDouall anticipates this move and leads a force of 140 British regulars and 150 Menominee Indians to a breastworks overlooking a field in the Americans' line of march and ambushes the American force. Thirteen Americans including Major Holmes and two other officers die in the

action. The Americans retreat to their ships and sail back to Georgian Bay. A black slave in the American force hides Holmes' body; it is later recovered and given formal burial.

Mid Aug. 1814: The Americans find the British schooner Nancy. This ship, stationed at Mackinac Island in 1813, had thus avoided destruction by Perry in the Lake Erie battle. Refitted at Sault Ste. Marie in the winter of 1813-14, she returned south and shuttled supplies from York (the capital of Upper Canada) to Nottawasaga Bay. The Americans chance upon the ship, hidden up the Nottawasaga River, and attack. The British set fire to their own ship—and its 300 barrels of supplies—and retreated toward York.

Sept. 3-6, 1814: The British take the two American gunboats, Scorpion and Tigress, which had been patrolling the Detour Passage on the west end of Drummond Island to intercept supply canoes rumored heading from Canada to Mackinac. With 4 boats and 2 small cannon, Lieutenant Miller Worsley, a survivor of the Nancy engagement at Nottawasaga, lands on Drummond Island on Sept. 2, sneaks up on the anchored Tigress on Sept. 4, boards her and subdues the Americans. Two days later, Worsley sails the Tigress under American flag toward the approaching and unsuspecting Scorpion. When within gun range, the British fire a daunting volley, board the Scorpion and take her. A force of 200 Ojibwa in 19 canoes is kept in reserve.

October 1814: The Scorpion and Tigress, appropriately renamed by the British Confiance and Surprise, return to Nottawasaga, load supplies brought there from York and sail back to the British garrison on Mackinac Island.

Dec. 24, 1814: Negotiators sign a peace treaty in Ghent, Belgium to end the War of 1812.

July 18, 1815: American forces move into Fort Mackinac. Fort George, on the Heights, is renamed Fort Holmes. The British withdraw to Fort Drummond—still in U. S. territory on Drummond Island.

Aftermath: Status Quo Ante Bellum

Dec. 24, 1814: The Treaty of Ghent returns all of the Upper Peninsula, including military posts, to the U. S. In general, the state of affairs before the war returns. But: Although not prohibited de jure, impressment of Americans by Britain's Navy is de facto over.

1815-1822: Boundary negotiations and surveys continue, peacefully. Henry Bayfield, a British Royal Topographic Engineer, surveys Lakes Superior, Erie and Huron, 1817-25, and charts much of the St. Lawrence. He sails in the Recovery, the North West Company ship saved by British Navy Captain Robert McCargoe. The international border in the St. Marys River puts St. Joseph Island in British territory, while Drummond, Neebish, Sugar, Lime and 27 smaller islands are in the U. S. To the southeast, Cockburn Island and the large Manitoulin Island chain are British.

Although ceded to the U. S. by the 1783 Treaty of Paris after the American Revolutionary War, Isle Royale, until now in British hands, comes under American control.

1816: U. S. law prohibits trading in U. S. territory by foreigners. Yet British traders at Sault Ste. Marie Canada and on Drummond Island continue to attract Natives to trade.

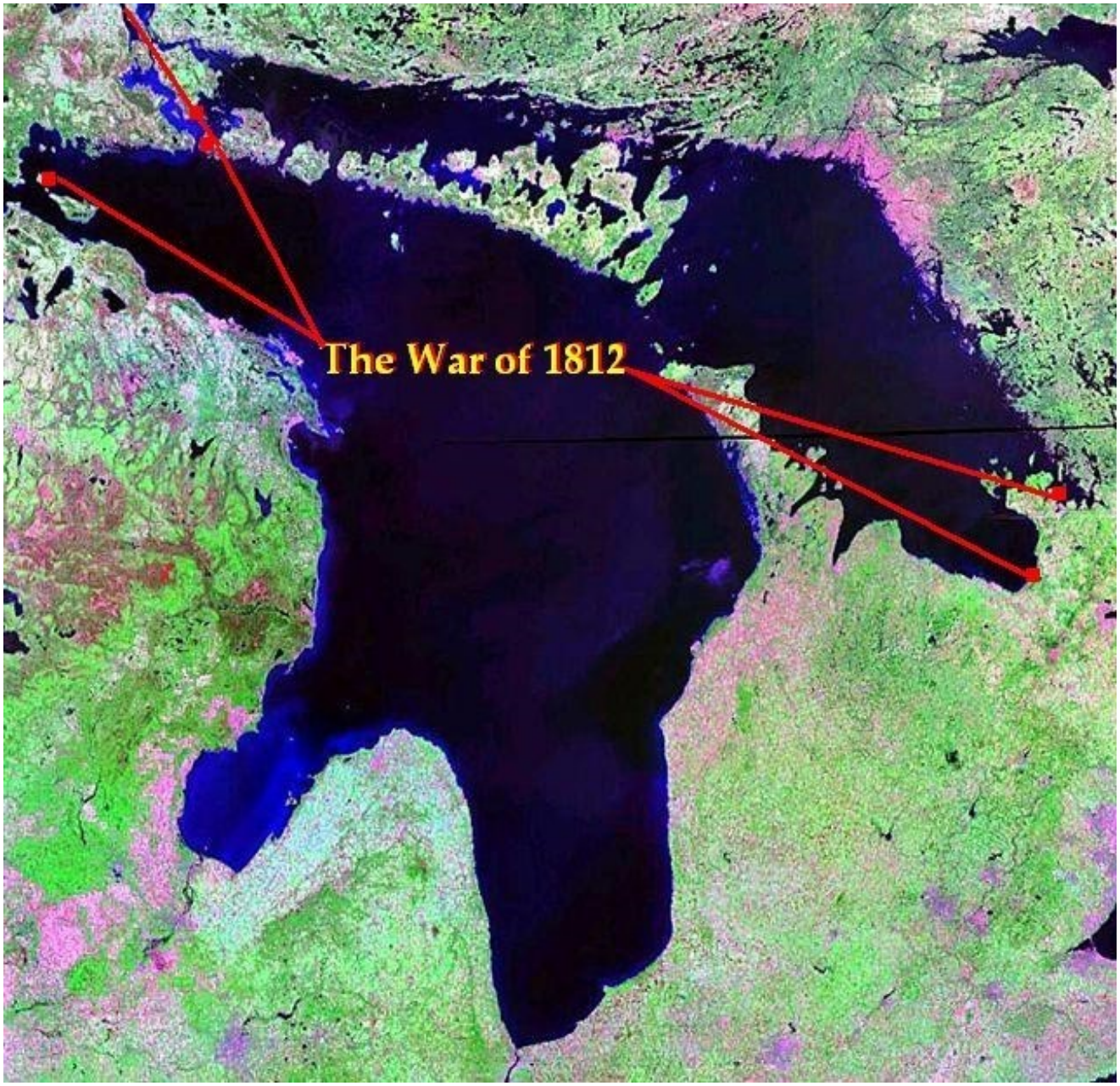
1817-18: The Rush-Bagot Treaty, named for the U. S. and British negotiators, demilitarizes the Great Lakes (and Lake Champlain). This begins the longest peaceful border in the world, the U.S. Canada border.

Per treaty language, a few warships are permitted in the Upper Country: On the upper lakes, each country is allowed 2 vessels of no more than 100 tons burden each, armed with 2 cannon of 18 pounds or less, each.

1818: The Treaty of 1818 establishes fishing rights (for the U.S. off Newfoundland and Labrador), small territorial cessions by both sides consequent on setting the 49th Parallel as the border, and the restoration of slaves.

1820: The British warships on the lakes are dismantled and housed in the Stone Frigate, an imposing building at the Royal Military College in Kingston, Ontario.

1828: The British "fort"—military and civilian buildings intermixed— on Drummond Island is finally removed to Penetanguishene, on the southeast shore of Georgian Bay. Fort Drummond, also known as Fort Colyer, includes buildings salvaged from St. Joseph Island.

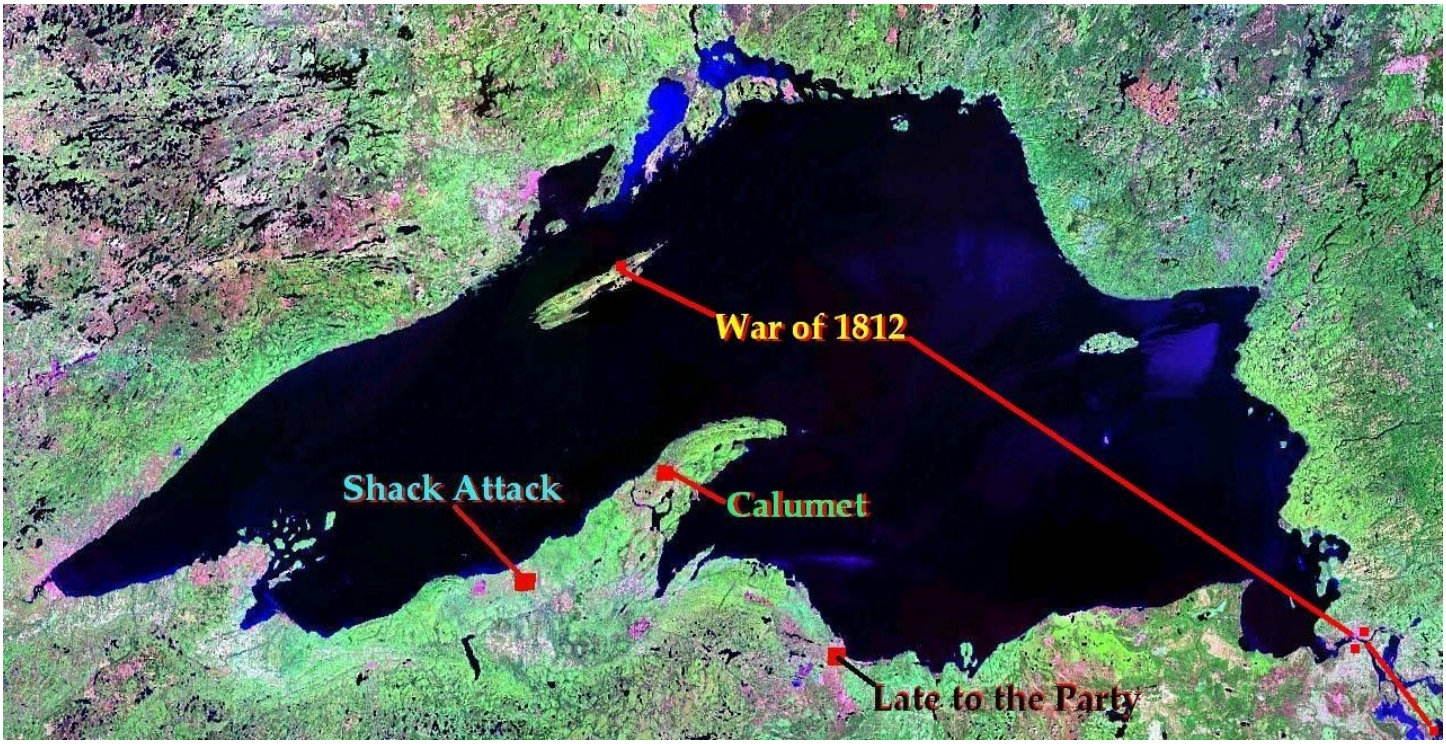


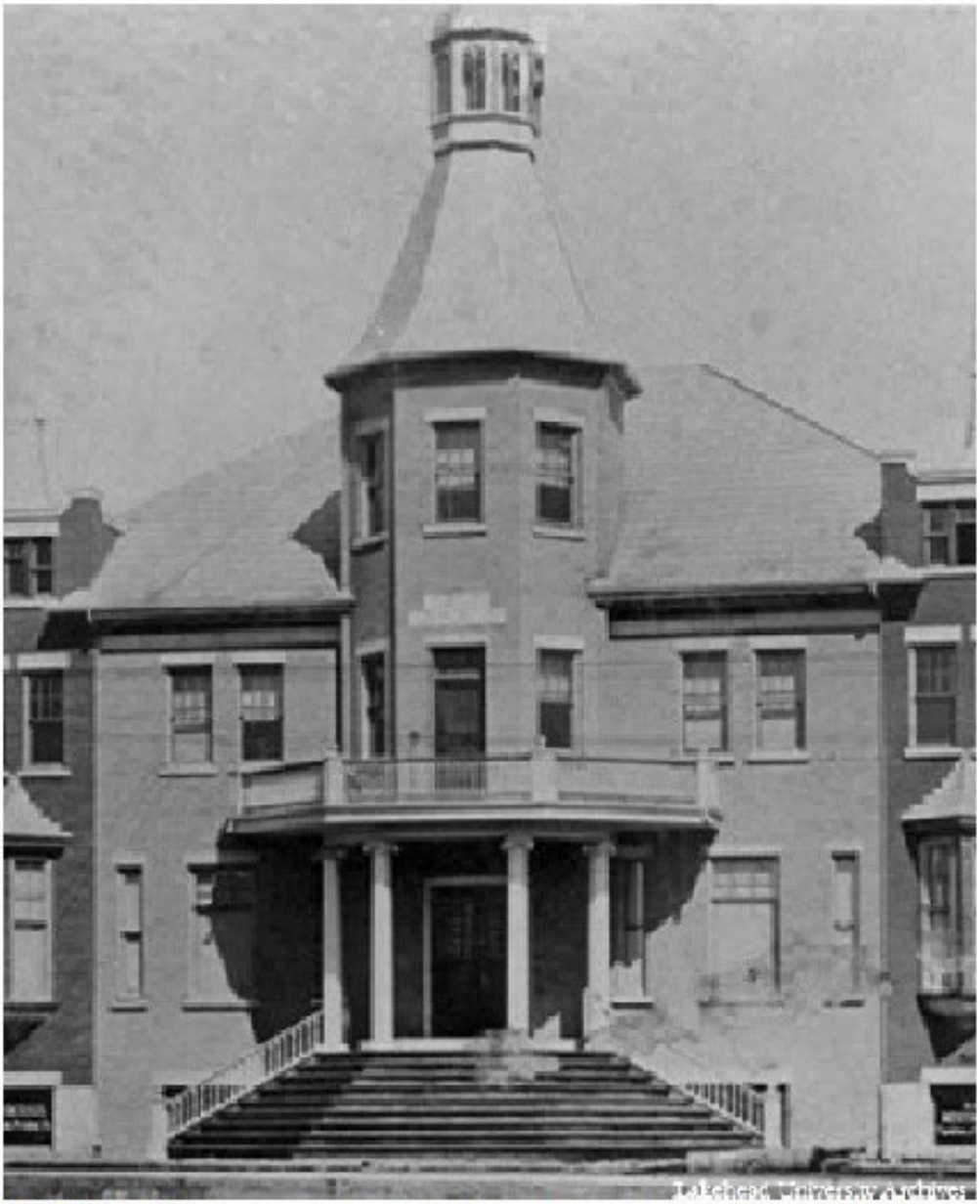
THE NATIVES: In 1814 Philadelphia banker Nicholas Biddle, (whose cousin Edward Biddle and wife Agatha LaVigne, a prominent Odawa, ran a fur trading house on Mackinac Island) publishes Merriwether Lewis' 1807 Journal...., which includes this prescient prescription by the great explorer: "....the first principle of governing the Indians is to govern the whites." Fur traders in the U. S. and Canada now have water routes across the Upper Country all the way to the West Coast. Treaties and laws securing land to the Natives and banning alcohol and sharp dealing with them do not prevent their steady decline, despite the healthy fur trade in the decade after the war.

The Cass Expedition across the U. P. and Lake Superior (1820), then the Erie Canal (1825), plus growing population, provide the routes and impetus—and later the regnant notion of Manifest Destiny provides the justification—for Expansion and Land Ownership, with dire implications for the Natives.

CANADA: Although not a U. K. Dominion until 1867, Canada emerged from the War of 1812 with an enhanced sense of national identity and pride, and at least two figures worthy of lasting memorials: Isaac Brock and Laura Secord, from Queenston Heights action.

British regular soldiers, local Canadian militia and First Nation allies quickly gave the lie to U. S. President Thomas Jefferson's statement that conquering British Canada would be "merely a matter of marching." They dominated the Province of Upper Canada (The Upper Country and southern Ontario) throughout the war. In 2012, Canadians rated Canada's repulse of U. S. invasions in the War of 1812 as second only to national health care in the formation of a national identity.





DESIGNATION: The Finnish Labour Temple, also known as the Big Finn Hall, in Thunder Bay, Ontario, received designation as a National Historic Site of Canada on 12 May 2012. Constructed in 1909-10, the building housed two organizations that reflected the activist and collectivist energies of Finnish immigrants to North America: The Finnish Socialist Local and the New Attempt Temperance Society. The Latin for "Work Conquers All"—*Labor Omnia Vincit*—is carved into the facade. The hall's rooms accommodated many services: Mutual aid and social services; Finnish language publications; a reading room and library; and plays, concerts, dances and sporting events in a spacious auditorium. (Lakehead University Archives, 1910-12)

In 1918 the the Hall housed a cooperative restaurant called Hoito. Founded by 59 bushmen (lumberjacks) who pooled $5 each as "comrade loans," Hoito has endured for almost 100 years. Until the 1970s, it featured long communal tables like the cook shack dining tables of lumber camps. In 1962 the hall was bought by the Finlandia Club of Port Arthur. With the formation of the city of Thunder Bay from Port Arthur, Fort William and several townships, the club became the Finlandia Club of Thunder Bay. The hall still hosts Finnish language plays. The docu-drama "Big Finn Hall," was recently filmed on location. (Parks Canada, Michele Cinanni, Canadian Register of Historic Places.)

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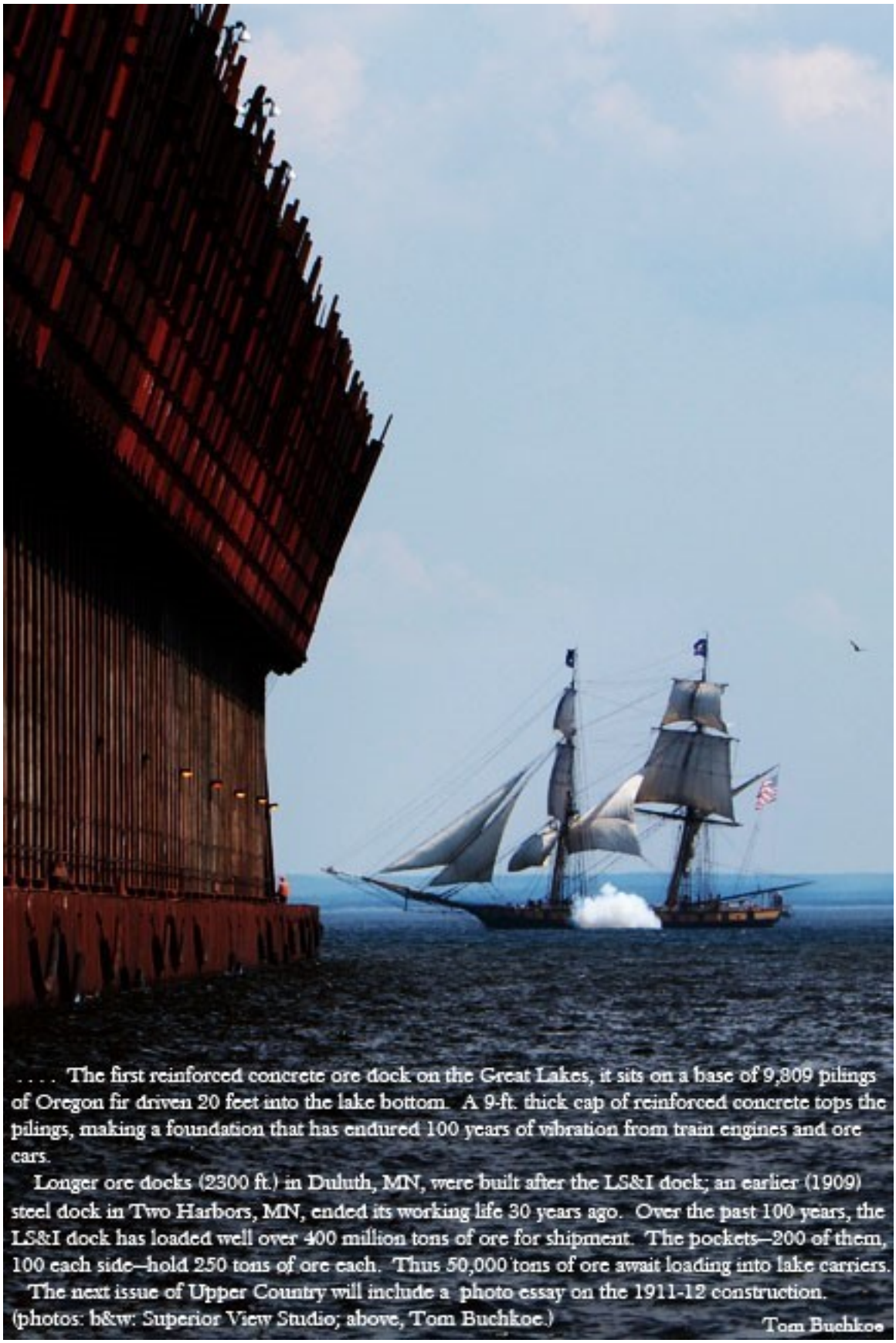
The Lake Superior & Ishpeming Railroad ore dock in the Upper Harbor near Presque Isle in Marquette, MI, celebrated its Centennial this year. Observances included a visit by the brig *Niagara* from Erie, PA—dwarfed by the dock in the color photo, next page. The 1950s black & white photo above shows the ore dock, railroad sheds, yards and roundhouse; the 75-ft. high trestle over Lake Shore Drive; the 2816-ft. breakwater and light completed by the Army Corps of Engineers in 1939; and Presque Isle. Also visible are the remains of the much shorter 1896 wooden ore dock.

Begun in 1911, construction of the ore dock ended in August of 1912 at a cost of $1,250,000; the first load of iron ore went out Aug. 5, 1912. . . .



. . . . The first reinforced concrete ore dock on the Great Lakes, it sits on a base of 9,809 pilings of Oregon fir driven 20 feet into the lake bottom. A 9-ft. thick cap of reinforced concrete tops the pilings, making a foundation that has endured 100 years of vibration from train engines and ore cars.

Longer ore docks (2300 ft.) in Duluth, MN, were built after the LS&I dock; an earlier (1909) steel dock in Two Harbors, MN, ended its working life 30 years ago. Over the past 100 years, the LS&I dock has loaded well over 400 million tons of ore for shipment. The pockets—200 of them, 100 each side—hold 250 tons of ore each. Thus 50,000 tons of ore await loading into lake carriers.

The next issue of Upper Country will include a photo essay on the 1911-12 construction.

(photos: b&w: Superior View Studio; above, Tom Buchkoe.)

Tom Buchkoe

Review: Claiborne Skinner, *The Upper Country: French Enterprise in the Colonial Great Lakes* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008).

Claiborne Skinner's *The Upper Country* is a 200-page narrative of French-Native-British interaction, often belligerent, on the Great Lakes frontier, 1608-1754. Dr. Skinner, an academy professor, wanted a concise but detailed primer on this often neglected period and region. By necessity episodic and character-driven, his account nonetheless moves smoothly from 1497 (Giovanni Caboto) to 1754 (Col. Washington), from the redoubtable Champlain to the rascal Cadillac to the provocateur Duquesne. Grounded in descriptions of the fur trade—THE enterprise in New France—the narrative is garnished with some pungent phrases:

America had a peculiar effect upon people, whether French or English.

A sort of freedom flavored the air. . . .

Finally there was Cadillac himself. As commandant of Michilimackinac, he had replaced La Durantaye's stern, just, efficient regime with a venal corruption which had reduced the most sensitive post in French America to a dram shop and brothel. . . .

They were an extraordinary people, the Canadians of the upper country:

tough, cocky, and capable. They had no counterpart in France and as such appeared a menace to good order. . . .

It was a most peculiar empire, this upper country, built upon the manufacture of men's hats and held together by a class of men who seemed to threaten everything the Bourbons stood for.

Likewise, in his handy *Glossary* of French terms and units of measure, Dr. Skinner is succinct: "*coureur de bois*: early fur trader/smuggler."

Maps—an illuminating dimension of historical writing often neglected—clarify the geography, settlements, troop movements and even some of the critical portages uniting the water routes of the Upper Country.

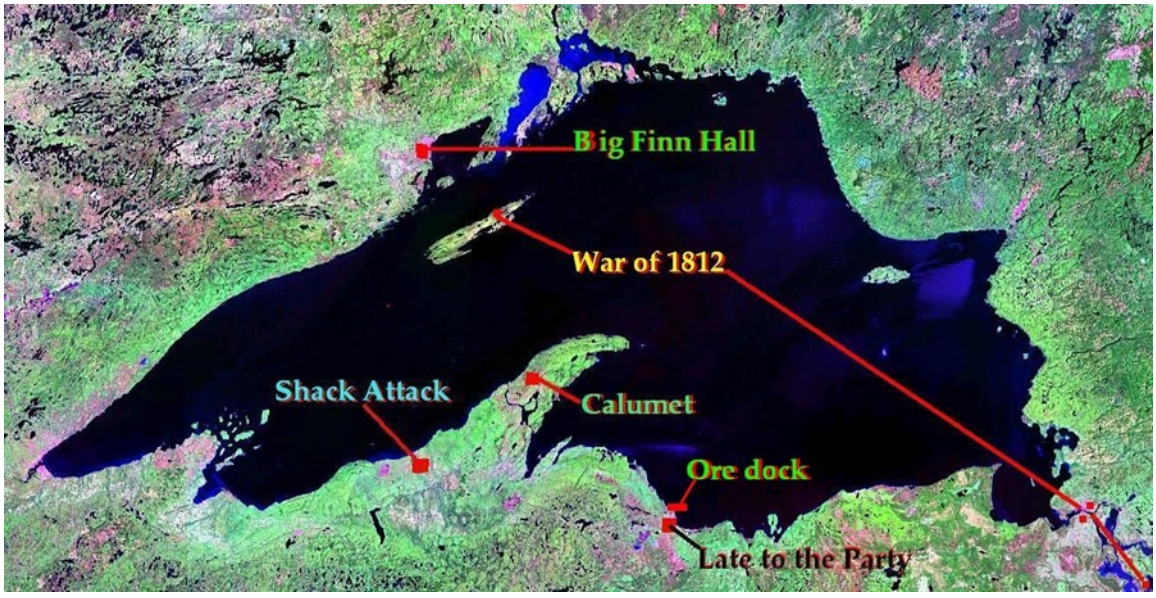
End-notes and a thorough Bibliographic Essay provide points of embarkation for readers who want to explore primary documents or secondary sources.

--Editor

In this issue of *Upper Country:*

"Humble artifacts have important messages if we can figure out how to read them. They are statements made of mud and wood." (Glassie, 1975, p. ix) My uncle Carl's statements made with wood, deer horns [antlers], and old church shingles represent a humble, enterprising do-it-yourself mentality. . . . Carl's vernacular architecture testifies to a richness of life with family and friends and expresses the joy of making something out of nothing.—Mary Hoefferle, "Making Something Out of Nothing."

Charles Stakel, a former mining superintendent, has the most telling account of the widespread disregard for Prohibition . . . . Stakel was in charge of the YMCA in Marquette Co. and always got funding because a town marshal named Jack Lacey would go to a . . . "blind pig" and shake down the owner for $1,000 every year and give the money to the YMCA.—Daniel Homernick, "Late to the Party."



"Upper Country" denotes the vast, remote and challenging terrain bordering the biggest, coldest freshwater lake on earth . . . . As with the name of The Big Lake, to us it not only denotes northern-most latitude, as it did to the French in their phrase, "Pays d'en haut," it also carries a connotation of Superiority.—Editor's Introduction to Upper Country: A Journal of the Lake Superior Region.