

Upper Country:

A Journal of the Lake Superior Region



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Upper Country: A Journal of the Lake Superior Region

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Muting Labor Discontent: Paternalism on the Michigan Iron Ranges

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Corporate paternalism, sometimes called welfare capitalism, was widespread in industrializing America. To attract and hold a reliable labor force, larger companies all over America provided employees with amenities not required by law or negotiated contract, such as low-cost housing, health care, and recreational facilities. Paternalism emerged in the nineteenth century primarily to attract labor to isolated locales. It endured into the twentieth century as one management response to growing tensions in American labor relations. The average number of strikes in the U.S. rose from 71 annually in the early 1880s to almost 2000 annually between 1886 and 1905 and would continue to increase until the 1920s.¹ To combat this growing labor discontent, some employers responded with repression, hiring private armies and spies to break strikes and intimidate labor; labor responded by repudiating capitalism and embracing ideologies that advocated class warfare. Some corporations, however, attempted to find a middle ground between the extremes of corporate repression and class warfare. That middle ground was paternalism.²

Paternalism on Michigan's iron ranges did not differ in its fundamentals from paternalism in other American regions and industries. It emerged to attract labor to an isolated area; it endured to attract and hold the “right kind” of labor and to mute labor discontent. It thus serves as illustrative of how paternalism played out in an important mining region on the geographic periphery of the American industrial system.³

As in other areas, paternalism on the Michigan iron ranges began as a necessity. When the first iron mining companies began operating in Upper Peninsula Michigan in the late 1840s, they faced the problem of attracting labor to a region far from existing Euro-American settlements. In 1845-1846, when government surveyors and mineral prospectors discovered substantial deposits of iron ore on Michigan's north central Upper Peninsula, the nearest European settlement of any sort – the small village of Sault Ste. Marie -- was about 150 miles to the east. Even permanent, Native American settlements did not exist in the immediate area. Making matters worse, the region did not appeal to settlers. Its soils were thin and rocky. In the summers the region's swamps bred hordes of insects that made life miserable; the bitter winter froze the shores of Lake

Superior and effectively cut the region off from the rest of the world. In such circumstances, mining companies had to provide amenities that companies in more settled areas did not.

Housing was the most important. None existed in the area. To attract miners, particularly married miners, housing was a necessity. Mining companies preferred married miners to single miners, believing married miners were a more stable work force, less inclined to cause problems.⁴ Thus, practically all Michigan iron mining companies prior to 1880 erected low-cost, single-family housing to attract married labor. A few examples illustrate the point. On the Marquette Range, the newly formed Marquette Iron Co. in 1864 had 23 dwelling houses with “garden and potato patches attached to each house.”⁵ In 1866 the newly formed Iron Cliffs Company had 38 houses, and the Pittsburgh & Lake Angeline Iron Company had dwellings sufficient for 150 men.⁶ In 1870 the Cleveland Iron Mining Company owned 57 dwellings, while in 1874 the Lake Superior Iron Company provided 104 houses at its four mining locations.⁷ In 1883 the Pittsburgh and Lake Superior Iron Company had 98 residences at Palmer.⁸ On the Menominee Range, which did not ship ore until 1876, the Norway mine, in 1880, employed 400 men and had “the full complement of boarding houses and tenements for the accommodation of its employes [sic],” while at the turn of the century the Chapin Mine had about 90 company houses.⁹

Since sufficient married miners could not be secured, companies had to seek out single men as well. For them, companies erected and operated low-cost boarding houses. A few examples will suffice. The Cleveland mine on the Marquette Range had a company-owned boarding house in 1870 and erected another in 1872.¹⁰ On the Menominee Range, the Milwaukee Iron Company had a boarding house at the Breitung mine in 1873 before the region had shipped a ton of ore. As that range began producing in the late 1870s that company’s successor, the Menominee Mining Company, erected boarding houses near its Chapin and Norway mines.¹¹ On the Gogebic Range, which opened in the mid-1880s, the Palms, among other mines, operated a boarding house.¹²

The quality of company housing varied widely. Since good housing was needed to attract a high quality work force, mining companies had an incentive to provide at least adequate dwellings. In the late 1870s the wife of a mining company superintendent described those she saw as “comfortable” places, where men lived “contentedly with their families.”¹³ A Columbia University student working at the Jackson mine in

1881 noted of company houses: “They are simple, but warm and dry, and are quite an improvement on the usual ones not owned by the company.”¹⁴

Mining companies, of course, did not really wish to be in the housing business. They had no certainty how long their mines would last, so the housing they constructed was usually reasonably sound, but not elaborate. Company construction generally offered no variety, tending toward a standardized style, lot size, and color.¹⁵ Moreover, in times of economic crunch, maintenance could be neglected. This may have been the case with Edith Wicklund Peterson’s company house. She lived in the Chapin Location of Iron Mountain and noted that the windows in her house needed putty so badly that they had to be washed inside and outside at same time to keep the panes from falling out.¹⁶ Nonetheless, a 1920 government study found that the region’s company housing differed “in no particular from the houses erected by individuals for their own use,” that they were built as substantially as other houses in the region, and that they were “generally well maintained.”¹⁷

What made company houses attractive to employees, however, was not the quality, but the low rent – typically \$1 per room per month. In areas around mines in full operation, demand for company housing was “so great” that they were “rarely” vacant.¹⁸ Companies generally set rents for their houses “at cost or even less,” often charging just enough rent to cover maintenance and less than rents charged by private owners.¹⁹

Company stores were a second important aspect of early paternalism on Michigan’s iron ranges. Since Michigan’s iron mines emerged in areas that had no pre-existing mercantile establishments, the early iron ore companies had to provide the means for employees to purchase the necessities of life. Typically their stores set prices no greater (and sometimes less) than mercantile establishments would have. Moreover, company stores tended to extend credit more readily than private establishments, either because they knew the miner better or, more likely, had the ability to tap into his paycheck to insure repayment.²⁰

Examples of company stores, like examples of company housing, are numerous, especially on the early Marquette and Menominee ranges.²¹ On the Marquette Range, the Pioneer Iron Company opened a store in Negaunee in 1858.²² In 1872 the new Republic Mine, located miles from most producing mines on the Marquette Range, opened a store for the convenience of company employees.²³ On the Menominee Range, in the early 1880s the Penn Iron Mining Company opened two stores -- one at Vulcan and one at Norway.²⁴ The Chapin, on the same range, also had a company store.²⁵ On the Gogebic Range, which first shipped ore in

1884, private mercantile providers emerged so quickly after the first mines began to produce that company stores were less necessary and thus less common.

In some regions of the United States, such as the anthracite mining area of eastern Pennsylvania, mining companies used company stores to exploit a captive labor force.²⁶ In Michigan's iron mining areas, however, companies usually provided stores not to exploit, but to attract and hold a workforce. Men working for the Cleveland mine, for example, early had to travel three miles to Negaunee or trade at the Lake Superior Company's store a mile away from the Cleveland location. Thus the company's local agent Jay Malone wrote to company President John Outhwaite in 1867: "I am only anxious to get a store at the mines that will be a credit to the location and that will give satisfaction to the men."²⁷ In 1874 the Champion Iron Company on the Marquette Range decided to abandon the idea of making a profit off its store. "Owing to our remote location, it is necessary to keep a store for the men; and by only keeping a stock of staple articles, such as food and coarse clothing, it is no expense to the company, and will pay a fair rate of interest on the investment."²⁸ The Pittsburgh and Lake Superior Company opened a store in the early 1880s so its employees didn't have to walk five miles to Negaunee for supplies. The company's policy was to run its store and meat market "more as a convenience to its employes [sic] than as a source of profit."²⁹ Companies also, of course, placed certain restrictions on their stores -- most frequently prohibition of alcohol sales.³⁰ Company stores, however, could also be profit centers. The stores at several mining locations made a profit even as their parent mining ventures lost money.³¹

As permanent settlements grew up near successful iron mines, the rationale for company stores evaporated. They increasingly became sources of contention, causing ill will with the local mercantile community and discontent among employees. As a result, companies often sold their stores as soon as practical. In 1877 the Cleveland Iron Mining Company leased its store building to an outside contractor, seeing this as a way to be "clean of all complications" and "attend strictly to our mining."³² In 1876 the Champion Iron Company sold its store to independent merchants, roughly a dozen years after starting it.³³ The Republic Iron Company sold its store's merchandise and leased its store building to private interests in 1875, only three years after its opening, to avoid "the annoyance and disadvantages incident to its continued

prosecution by the Company.”³⁴ One of the largest and most financially profitable of the company stores on the Michigan iron ranges was that of Iron Cliffs, founded in 1867, located in Negaunee, and serving not only Iron Cliffs’ employees but the general public. In 1883 the local agent for Iron Cliffs noted that while there was “no doubt” a necessity for the company’s store when it started, that necessity “had ceased some years ago.” Now, he contended, “the store is a great source of trouble and is the means of causing a great deal of opposition to the company not only from merchants but from private citizens who may have purchased goods from us and felt aggrieved in some way or another. Our own men also find a great deal of fault with it from the mining Captains down to the laborers.” “We ought now,” he concluded, “to follow the example of every corporation that has kept a store in this district and abolish ours.”³⁵ Four years later, Iron Cliffs did just that.³⁶ In 1886 the Menominee Mining Company closed its store at the Chapin mine, a move “hailed with glee” by merchants of Iron Mountain who “always looked with disfavor on company stores.”³⁷ In 1902 the Penn Iron Mining Company, on the Menominee Range, created a separate entity to manage its stores. A local newspaper reported: “This [the Penn’s action]...marks the disappearance of the last of the so-called ‘Company’ stores in this peninsula ...source of much adverse comment by other merchants.”³⁸

The paper was not quite right. When the Mineral Hills district of the Menominee Range near Iron River opened in the early 1910s, the captain of the Forbes Mine ran a small store at the rear of the Forbes Club House for the convenience of his employees. However, when merchants from nearby Iron River began to make deliveries to the area and automobile ownership spread, he closed the store.³⁹ On the Gogebic Range a company store at the Palms-Anvil location still operated in 1921, but it was conducted on a non-profit basis, its requirements for supplies handled through the mining company’s warehouse.⁴⁰ Despite these exceptions, the company store was a rarity on Michigan’s iron ranges by 1890. In fact, an observer on the Marquette Range in 1887 argued that the very friendly feelings between local merchants and the mining companies could be explained in part by the absence of company stores.⁴¹

A third necessity – besides housing and stores -- that early mining companies felt obligated to provide to attract and retain labor was physicians and health care. Practically every early Michigan iron mining company with aspirations to long-term stability and growth retained a company doctor, and some established a

small company hospital.⁴² Practices on the Menominee Range were typical. The leading producer on the range was the Chapin Mine in Iron Mountain. The company owning the Chapin retained John Cameron and J. A. Crowell as the mine's physicians in 1882.⁴³ A few years after, the Chapin built its own hospital and added two nurses. In 1889 the nearby Luddington mine constructed a hospital to care for non-Chapin employees.⁴⁴ Examples from the other two ranges abound. On the Marquette Range, for instance, the annual report for the Champion Iron Company in 1884 noted the construction and furnishing of a hospital for the care of men injured at the mine, and indicated that it was "a want long felt."⁴⁵ On the Gogebic Range, Dr. J. A. McLeod moved to Ironwood in 1887 as mine physician to the Metropolitan Iron and Land Company, then a major actor on the Gogebic. He pushed his company to establish the region's first hospital at Ironwood – the Union Hospital.⁴⁶

To pay for employee medical expenses and the company physician, Michigan iron companies generally assessed miners \$1 a month, which covered "all charges for medical and surgical services and all medicines for the entire month" for miners and their families. These funds were turned over to the physician who held the contract to serve the company.⁴⁷

In cooperation with their work forces, Michigan iron mining companies also supported mutual benefit funds, which were designed to provide financial relief to miners suffering work-related injuries or lost-time sicknesses or to provide financial relief to their surviving families in case of fatal accidents. Generally, each employee contributed a set amount, 50 cents was typical, to the fund. The larger mining companies matched employee contributions. In case of accident, sickness, or death, the fund paid out stipulated amounts to the miner or his family.⁴⁸ At the Jackson mine in Negaunee, the relief fund was initially handled by employees separate from the company, but after the treasurer absconded with the funds, the mine's paymaster took over as treasurer with the company paying interest on the funds being held.⁴⁹

While housing, stores, and health care formed the focus of early corporate paternalistic activities, iron mining companies sometimes undertook other initiatives. These might include building schools, providing lands for churches, or constructing an opera house to provide an entertainment option to saloons.⁵⁰

Like much of the remainder of America, Michigan's iron mines enjoyed comparative labor peace before 1880, although the Civil War and post-war readjustment and the depression of 1873 led to limited and

short lived strife.⁵¹ Periodic regional labor shortages and generally high corporate profit margins before 1890 gave miners leverage and kept wages relatively high. The 1890s changed things. In 1893 the American economy entered a deep depression. Simultaneously, Minnesota's Mesabi Range began shipping ore. The vastness of Mesabi deposits and the ease with which they could be mined, by open pit rather than shaft mines (the dominant method in Michigan by 1890), caused a glut of ore on an already depressed market. Ore prices dropped from \$6.65 a ton in 1887 to \$2.60 a ton by 1897.⁵² Companies responded by shutting down operations or reducing wages in a struggle to survive. Employment in Michigan's iron mines decreased from over 17,000 in late 1892 to 3,500 a year later. Those retaining jobs had their wages severely cut. At one mine the average wage paid to contract miners dropped from \$2.43/day in 1892 to \$1.54 by late 1893.⁵³

Making matters worse, in the late 1890s steel corporations began to buy up iron ore mines, wishing to have control of raw material inputs. Steel firms had no interest in high ore prices since they were, in effect, producing ore for their own use and considered ore production secondary to their much more capital-intensive business of producing iron and steel products. Marginal ore producers often could not compete under these changed circumstances. The number of operating mining companies on the Marquette Range declined from 41 to 18 between 1882 and 1897 and would drop further by 1905; on the Menominee the number of mining employers dropped from 25 to 14.⁵⁴ By 1900 or shortly thereafter it was clear that the vast ores of the Mesabi and the control of ore by steel companies was likely to keep iron ore prices – and profit margins per ton of ore mined – low for the indefinite future, even as the economy recovered. Low ore prices put a downward pressure on wages, a critical problem for Michigan's underground mines where labor made up an estimated 70 per cent of the cost of the ore coming out of the mines.⁵⁵

Low ore prices, layoffs, wage cuts, and labor policies increasingly set by officials in Cleveland or Pittsburgh, rather than by officials on site, provided the kindling for accelerated labor strife on Michigan's iron ranges. The number of strikes on Michigan's ranges rose from five in the 1870s to 22 in the 1880s to 43 in the 1890s, paralleling the national labor picture.⁵⁶ In 1894 a strike on the Gogebic shut down practically all the mines on that range. Strikers and deputies exchanged gun fire, and Michigan's governor dispatched National Guard troops to the district.⁵⁷ In 1895 a two-month-long strike crippled the Marquette Range.⁵⁸ The emergence of labor organizations capable of paralyzing entire ranges presented iron ore companies with a

dilemma. To survive in the new era of low ore prices and slim profit margins, companies had to mine very large volumes, entailing larger than ever capital investments. To earn a return on these large investments, they had to avoid down time and operating inefficiencies caused by labor turnover and discontent. William G. Mather, president of Cleveland-Cliffs, one of the largest underground iron ore companies in Michigan, recognized that something had to be done to defuse labor disruptions and protect the large capital investments that the new era entailed. Mather had visited mining regions in Europe in the 1890s and noted the better treatment afforded miners there.⁵⁹ In 1898 in a presentation to fellow mine managers and executives in the Lake Superior iron district, he argued that if they were to secure peace with labor and secure the steady and efficient output they needed in the new era, employers needed to improve the conditions in which their employees lived and worked, they needed to defuse labor discontent.⁶⁰

Not all mine managers bought completely into Mather's views. To stymie unionization and secure labor peace, some iron mining companies operating in Michigan used a more heavy handed approach. In the aftermath of the 1895 Marquette Range strike, for instance, several companies used a proscription list to rid their forces of prominent union members. Other companies, including Cleveland-Cliffs, used later recession-induced labor cutbacks to purge their forces of "troublemakers."⁶¹ At least one company, US Steel's Oliver Iron Mining Company, was notorious for its elaborate and apparently effective spy system.⁶² But, the larger, better-capitalized companies usually coupled heavy-handed actions with a carrot: an expanded paternalistic program. This "new paternalism," which began to emerge around 1890, differed in emphasis from the old. Its emphasis was not so much on providing amenities to attract labor to an isolated area, although this sometimes occurred; the new paternalism's emphasis was on muting the attractiveness of social revolution and unionization to labor.⁶³

Some of the elements of the "old paternalism" remained. For example, housing continued to be important. The Oliver Iron Mining Company, which purchased the Champion Iron Company on the Marquette Range and the Chapin on the Menominee early in the twentieth century, owned over 300 houses at Champion and 150 at Chapin around 1920.⁶⁴ By 1913 the Corrigan-McKinney Steel Company had built nearly 200 four-to-eight room cottages at its various Michigan mining operations.⁶⁵ When Cleveland-Cliffs erected a large charcoal-fueled blast furnace at Gladstone in 1896, one of the first things it did was erect 54

houses for the furnace's workers.⁶⁶ In 1936 Cleveland-Cliffs owned around 500 houses at its various mines and furnaces.⁶⁷ On the Gogebic Range, company housing accommodated around 100 families at the Newport Mining Company's Palms-Anvil locations near Ramsey. These had space for gardens, gravel walks, picket fences, and some plantings.⁶⁸

Moreover, after 1890 iron mining companies began to pay more attention to housing quality, especially in opening new mining locations. When CCI erected new housing near its Cliffs Shafts mine in 1901, the cottages had indoor plumbing. The mine agent commented: "There is certainly no more partial way of bettering the condition of our employees than by furnishing them good sanitary houses, with pleasant surroundings, at a rental within their means. Such houses increase a man's self respect and make him a better citizen, and I believe a more competent workman."⁶⁹ When CCI opened the Austin mine on the Marquette Range around 1905, it erected 40 houses, each "well built," enclosed by a white picket fence with a vegetable garden in the rear. The streets were tree lined.⁷⁰ When CCI opened the North Lake region west of Ishpeming in 1908 and 1909, it not only constructed 150 houses but put in attractive lawns, shade trees, electric lights, and a water and sewer system. A professional architect designed the gates on the fences put around the houses; the houses were painted five different colors.⁷¹ At Gwinn, on a newly opened southern extension of the Marquette Range, CCI in 1908 constructed a model company town, retaining Warren J. Manning, a nationally known landscape architect to lay out the town with landscaped streets, parks, and lots. CCI erected a complete water and sewer system, hospital, school, clubhouse, railroad station, and business block.⁷² On the Michigan side of the Gogebic Range the Oliver Iron Mining Company in 1908 planned a model suburb with 55 new houses, good rock streets, and cement walks.⁷³ On the Wisconsin side of the Gogebic the Montreal Mining Company had 118 houses by 1918, all furnished with electrical service, but no other utilities. In the 1920s the company added additional units with electricity, water, and sewer service, while upgrading the older units with basements and water and sewer service.⁷⁴ The company generally painted the houses every five years and provided landscaping from a company-owned nursery.⁷⁵

A 1920 government report found 27 per cent of iron mining employees in Michigan and Minnesota were still housed in company-owned dwellings.⁷⁶ What about the other 73 per cent? Many of them owned their own homes, even though they were often located on company-owned land, for which they were charged a

low annual rent.⁷⁷ Since towns grew up adjacent to many of the mines, by 1920 many miners rented or owned houses in those towns.

Iron ore companies also began to pay more attention to the surroundings of company housing. For example, in areas where city or village officials did not offer regular garbage collection, companies often provided the service.⁷⁸ In 1894 Cleveland Cliffs established awards for the best kept premises and best vegetable gardens of their company-owned houses.⁷⁹ The Oliver Iron Company later instituted a similar contest.⁸⁰ Cleveland-Cliffs officials were convinced the contest significantly improved the appearance of its communities.⁸¹ Between 1895 and 1915 Cleveland-Cliffs went further, actively promoting gardening by experimenting with the best varieties of vegetables and fruits for Upper Peninsula Michigan's climate and creating a nursery to provide plants for beautification projects. The company for a period offered seedlings, landscaping plants, and even fertilizer to its employees at minimal costs.⁸²

Cleveland-Cliffs simultaneously made an attempt to clean up and beautify the grounds around its offices and mining sites, also using Warren Manning's services. Manning noted: "The Cleveland-Cliffs Company is among the first mining firms in the country to carry out professionally-made plans of the grounds at their mines."⁸³

Expanded housing and related services were accompanied by expanded physician services under the new paternalism. One key element was construction of new and better hospitals, some of which, according to a state agency, were "among the best in the country."⁸⁴ In 1918, for instance, Cleveland-Cliffs erected a 50-bed hospital in Ishpeming that was fully state-of-the art.⁸⁵ On the Gogebic, iron mining companies, headed by Oliver, erected and equipped a new hospital in 1909; in 1924 Pickands, Mather and the M. A. Hanna Company built a new, modern fireproof hospital at Wakefield on the Gogebic.⁸⁶ The Penn Mining Company on the Menominee Range improved its hospital in Norway in 1917.⁸⁷ In 1929 the thirteen mining companies operating around Iron River Michigan, jointly established a General Hospital Company to erect a modern hospital at Iron River.⁸⁸

A completely new element in the paternalistic package was a visiting nurse service. Companies hired nurses to visit the homes of employees to carry out routine health checks and offer advice and instruction in sick care, hygiene, and pre-and post-natal care to the wives and dependents of miners. Cleveland Cliffs

initiated its visiting nurse program in 1908. By 1913 CCI had three visiting nurses working under the direction of company-employed physicians. The nurses made 5000 to 10,000 professional home visits annually.⁸⁹ CCI used its visiting nurses for multiple functions. In addition to promoting health care and sanitation, they also identified families in need of food, fuel, or clothing and kept track of pensioned employees.⁹⁰ At the recommendation of the visiting nurses, in 1908 CCI established a rest home for overworked wives of company employees, since many of these had large families (and some had boarders, in addition) and had never had a vacation. In 1914, to take a typical year, the rest home served 107 guests whose average stay was eight and a half days.⁹¹ By the 1910s visiting nurse programs had become a common element in the paternalistic packages of Lake Superior ore mining companies.⁹² Some miners, however, suspected that mining companies were using the nurses to spy on them.⁹³

Expanded recreational facilities were also a major element in the new paternalism. Through them, employers hoped to entice mine workers and their families away from saloons and questionable activities by providing what owners regarded as wholesome entertainment and activities. The idea was not completely new. An early example occurred on the Menominee Range at Quinnesec, where the mine owner erected a two-story opera house in the late 1870s, intended to replace saloons, which the company prohibited in the town.⁹⁴ The Menominee Mining Company opened a reading room for its employees in 1881.⁹⁵

These early examples of company-sponsored recreation facilities were greatly expanded under the new paternalism. Cleveland-Cliffs took a systematic approach. Before going into the club house business, company president William G. Mather solicited reports from “experts in social matters.”⁹⁶ On their recommendation he approached his board of directors in 1905 for support in erecting club houses for company employees. By 1920 CCI had club houses in two of its districts and had financed Y.M.C.A.'s, often in cooperation with other mining companies, in two others.⁹⁷ Even the relatively small and isolated American mine on the Marquette Range had a club house.⁹⁸ On the Gogebic Range, the Anvil location near Bessemer on the Michigan side had a club house, while on the Wisconsin side of the range the Montreal Mining Company founded the Hamilton Club, which formed “the center of [regional] social activity” with pool tables, four bowling alleys, card and reading rooms, an ice cream parlor, and a “splendid auditorium.”⁹⁹ The company club houses were heavily used. For example, Cleveland Cliffs reported in 1921 that the attendance

at the Gwinn Club House and its appendage – a cabin on Bass Lake four miles away with row boats and a dock and associated outdoors activities -- was nearly 104,000 for the year.¹⁰⁰ On the Menominee, the Baltic Mine's club house had yearly attendance of about 20,000, with the daily average around 60 in 1909 and 1910.¹⁰¹ In an era in which many homes still had no running water, company officials often opened club houses one day a week to women and children for bathing and other activities.¹⁰²

Prior to 1900, few mining companies paid much attention to their dries, the houses where miners changed from dirty mining clothes to street clothes. Most were simple wood structures, with wooden lockers. They often were not heated and did not have bathing facilities. Miners' clothes did not dry between shifts. The new paternalism brought new brick changing houses featuring showers with hot and cold running water, good ventilation, metal lockers, a system to dry work clothes, and, often, comfortable facilities in which to eat lunch.¹⁰³ Companies, likewise, began to provide toilet facilities down in the mines themselves.¹⁰⁴

Safety was also an element of the new paternalism. Cleveland-Cliffs was a leader in this field. Company president Mather saw safety as an essential element in keeping an experienced and contented labor force. In early 1900 he informed his general manager that the company needed some system to "incite" foremen and bosses to promote safe practices and required regular accident reports.¹⁰⁵ A bit more than decade later CCI in 1911 became one of the first American mining companies to hire a full-time safety director, William Conibear. Under Conibear the company became one of the strongest promoters of the "Safety First" movement. Within a few years Conibear replaced miners' candles with carbide lamps, required a telephone in every mine office to summon aid more quickly, and specified that a canary be kept at each mine, a traditional means of detecting poor air quality.¹⁰⁶ Since only 20% of the company's work force was of either American or English origin in the 1910s, Conibear printed safety circulars in multiple languages.¹⁰⁷ He required supervisors to prepare detailed reports on all injuries and deaths and eventually made maintenance of a safe working environment an element in the remuneration of supervisory personnel.¹⁰⁸ In addition, CCI promoted first aid instruction, training more than 1000 of its employees in first aid and establishing five mine rescue stations fully equipped with apparatus.¹⁰⁹ Other companies instituted similar systems.¹¹⁰ The system apparently worked. In Michigan iron mines the annual fatality rate dropped from 4.6 per 1000 men employed

(1901 to 1910) to 2.75 between (1910 to 1930), and the rate of decline for non-fatal accidents was even greater.¹¹¹

Mining companies had different traditions for selecting mine bosses. Oliver, for example, traditionally drew its mining captains only from academically trained mining engineers. At least one Michigan Range company, however, experimented with promotion from within.¹¹² Cleveland-Cliffs established an educational department just before World War I to train miners to become electricians and shift bosses. The evening course focused on subjects like mining law, first aid, explosives, ore sampling, geometry, and machinery. Although viewed at first with suspicion, the program gained popularity when the company agreed to select its new shift bosses from graduates of the school.¹¹³ In addition, since CCI's workforce, like the work forces of most of the region's mining companies was largely foreign-born, the company sponsored classes in English at their clubhouses.¹¹⁴

Finally, leading ore companies also established pension plans. After a detailed study of costs, Cleveland Cliffs' system, initiated in 1909, provided a small pension for employees who had worked by the company for twenty-five years or more.¹¹⁷ Oliver Mining Company followed suit shortly thereafter. By 1924 its Chapin Mine on the Menominee range had retired fifty-six employees, whose average monthly pension averaged around \$24.

Mining company paternalism extended to other areas of daily life. In many cities, mining companies built, maintained, or supplied the water to municipal water supply systems. They frequently donated land for churches and sometimes provided them with additional services, such as heat.¹¹⁸ They supported athletic teams and bands in their mining locations.¹¹⁹ And in many areas, mining companies built schools for the children in isolated locations.

Various mining companies practiced very specific practices. Mining companies in Iron Mountain, for example, presented employees with a large turkey every Thanksgiving.¹²⁰ William Mather for some years provided Christmas presents to children at the large number of timber operations the company had to provide fuel for its charcoal iron furnaces and timber for mine supports.¹²¹ The Morris Mine on the Marquette had an underground Christmas party annually in the 1920s and 1930s.¹²² Some companies sponsored sports clubs.¹²³ On the Marquette range, CCI monitored store prices as a way of deterring store owners from raising prices.¹²⁴

The company also experimented with subsidizing train service from outlying locations to larger towns.¹²⁵ When Ishpeming's hotel burned down, S. R. Elliott, manager of CCI mines, helped Ishpeming businessmen to erect a replacement hotel. At the Palms-Anvil location near Ramsay on the Gogebic, the mining company, besides providing housing, a club house, and a hospital, also plowed land for a community farm.¹²⁶ Both Cleveland-Cliffs on the Marquette and Oglebay-Norton on the Gogebic established nurseries to supply their employees with shrubs and decorative plants at cost.¹²⁷ On the Gogebic, the Oliver Iron Mining company in 1919 built an air field for the area around Ironwood, and company officials were instrumental in securing a Carnegie Library for the city.¹²⁸

Early in the Great Depression of the 1930s, mining company paternalism filled a major vacuum before the introduction of government work and relief programs. Oliver on the Gogebic, for example, allowed employees to cut wood on its properties, turned a blind eye when people took coal from stockpiles, and provided garden plots, plowed the ground, and provided fertilizers to its employees.¹²⁹ Cleveland-Cliffs did much the same on the Marquette range – plowing up, fencing, and fertilizing garden plots, providing seed for those who could not afford it, running water lines when drought came, and providing poison when the region was hit by a plague of grasshoppers. In addition, the company issued wood permits to allow employees to secure a wood supply for the winter and helped them transport the wood back home. In 1933 the company provided 1673 gardens and 3043 wood permits. The mining superintendent regarded the projects as among “the most successful and worthwhile...ever undertaken” by the company.¹³⁰

The numerous benefits offered by the new paternalism were, of course, not altruistic. Iron ore companies hoped to gain a healthier, happier, and more stable labor force, keep wages as low as possible, and stave off unionization.¹³¹ Paternalistic practices like housing and improved change houses often simply reflected the prevailing social hierarchy. The houses of mine superintendents were larger and placed more prominently on the landscape than those of the miners, and some dries were constructed so mine superintendents and bosses had separate (and better) changing areas.¹³² Companies also frequently used paternalism to influence the morals or politics of their employees. For example, at Gwinn, Cleveland Cliffs placed so many restrictions on the number and type of businesses it would permit in its new model town that New Swanzey, a town filled with saloons, emerged nearby. Club houses were designed to lure miners from

saloons by offering an alternative form of alcohol-free recreation. When this did not work, as at Gladstone, where Cleveland-Cliffs opened a clubhouse around 1903 near its new charcoal furnace, superintendent Austin Ferrell sold liquor in the clubhouse on the grounds that it would be possible to limit intake in the club, but not in commercial saloons.¹³³ Companies could reward preferred workers with greater access to company houses. Low-cost company housing allowed companies to keep wages lower and, even if not frequently used, the knowledge that companies could use their control over housing to evict undesirables gave corporate leverage. That leverage was used sparingly, but the threat was there and occasionally used.¹³⁴

The visible elements of paternalism were supplemented by a less visible side: the strong influence on the local political, judicial, and financial machinery exerted by mine company officials and their associates, often in a paternalistic manner. The examples are numerous, but one from each of Michigan's iron ranges will suffice to illustrate the point. On the Marquette Range, Charles Stakel served as superintendent at the Republic mine between 1916 and 1925. In 1920, after discovering that both the township and the local school district were deeply in debt, he ran for township supervisor and, making full use of the influence and resources his position as superintendent of the area's sole major employer could bring to bear, was elected. Once elected he cleaned up the township's and school district's indebtedness, improved area roads, rehabilitated the village of Republic's water system, improved the village's ability to fight fires, improved collection of the township's electric and water bills, promoted rural electrification, and actively worked to improve local dairy herds.¹³⁵

Charles E. Lawrence served as superintendent of Pickands, Mather & Co. mines around Caspian, Michigan, on the Menominee Range in the early twentieth century. As manager of the local mines, he erected club houses with reading rooms, showers, citizenship classes, and other amenities for employees and families at the Baltic and Caspian mines. But, like Stakel, he was also active in local policies. He flew the Republican flag from the Caspian shaft house and sent his Lincoln car with chauffeur to pick people up to vote. Elected first president of Caspian in 1918, he held that office almost every year until 1933. He was a director and founder of the Upper Peninsula Development Bureau, promoted various institutions for children, was founder and president of the Iron County YMCA, and president of two local banks at various times. According to one author, "Caspian looked upon him as first citizen."¹³⁶ Finally, Oscar E. Olson, chief mining engineer for

Oliver on the Gogebic Range, was by the 1930s serving on the local school board, the hospital board, the board of elders of the Presbyterian Church, and was an official in the Masonic Temple.¹³⁷

Whether it was true or not, miners feared that if they did not vote correctly they could lose their jobs. Harry Larson, who worked on the Menominee Range, noted that at election times "A mining official would run for Township supervisor and would always win out over everyone else. The talk was that if you did not vote for the mining man you would lose your job at the mine."¹³⁸

Superintendents, however, were instructed to maintain good relations with their workforce. In 1905 the outgoing superintendent of the Ashland Mine in Ironwood instructed his young successor to "be *always fair* and almost always cordial and pleasant" with his workers and "never be too busy to give attention to their ease" and ensure they are treated "in every way and all the time...humane and considerate," without regard for nationality, politics, and religion. He was also advised to be a Republican, but, if he couldn't it was okay to be a Democrat, but, he added, "in that case you cannot be so active."¹³⁹

How successful was paternalism? Company officials certainly thought the programs worked in terms of improving living conditions on the mining ranges and the lives of their employees. Cleveland-Cliffs mine superintendents in reporting to corporate headquarters in Cleveland, for example, frequently noted the positive impact of the prizes awarded for best kept premises and best gardens on the appearance of mine locations.¹⁴⁰ They say the activities sponsored in the club houses were "potent factors in increasing the esprit de corps of the employee."¹⁴¹ The visiting nurse program showed great "direct benefit and value" and was an "efficient agency" in extending sanitation to miners and their families.¹⁴² It was, according to one CCI official, "one of the best avenues we have for the development of good public relations."¹⁴³ Similarly, hospitals were considered the "best channel we have for the creation of good will and good public relations in the community."¹⁴⁴ An Oglebay-Norton Company report based on a study of other companies' paternalistic practices claimed that having a welfare director (to direct the paternalistic programs) and visiting nurses was "directly reflected" in decreased labor turn over. The report also suggested that the more attractive a company's properties, the better its chances of attracting "the better class of laborer."¹⁴⁵

To some extent paternalism worked. From the late 1890s to the early 1940s, almost a half century, labor unions found no foothold on the Michigan Ranges. Fear may have played a role, but paternalism

certainly helped. What made paternalism particularly effective was its ability to split the labor community. Paternalism's obvious benefits made it difficult for labor activists to sell the picture of the corporation as "soulless" parasite. And this encouraged conservative elements within labor to favor a strategy of accommodation rather than confrontation.¹⁴⁶ The words of the wife of a Michigan iron miner on the Menominee Range well express the attractions that paternalism had to some: "They paid small wages but they also provided you with a house, very cheap rent--for instance, our house had four rooms down and four rooms up, and was five dollars a month rent. There was a big garden around it already fenced. We paid a dollar for our lights, a dollar for the water, and a dollar for the doctor. Eight dollars a month was all it cost us for all of them. They call it paternalism now, the unions call it paternalism. But to us, we were quite satisfied with it."¹⁴⁷

The Great Depression of the 1930s dealt the first major blow to paternalism on the iron ranges. Declining economic conditions eventually led mining companies to cut back on paternal amenities. Cleveland Cliffs provides a very good example. In 1932, with practically no orders for iron ore, CCI reduced pension payments by 50% to many on its rolls and suspended all new additions.¹⁴⁸ The company quit subsidizing Ishpeming's Y.M.C.A., allowing it to close its doors in 1935.¹⁴⁹ Maintenance on the houses it owned lapsed, making company housing less attractive.¹⁵⁰ The superintendent of the Cliffs Shafts mine in 1934 referred to company houses in Ishpeming as "exceedingly shabby."¹⁵¹ CCI simultaneously began to make increased efforts to get out of the housing business by selling its houses.¹⁵² By 1948 only 15 of 226 miners employed at the Cliffs-Shaft Mine who rented homes rented company-owned homes.¹⁵³ The company also abandoned its annual prizes for best kept premises and gardens, although they would be revived briefly later.¹⁵⁴ Likewise, the company dispensed with the services of its landscape architect Warren Manning, who had annually reviewed company mining sites for beautification purposes.¹⁵⁵

Even more central, however, to the unraveling of paternalism was New Deal legislation that made it easier to organize labor unions and court decisions that prevented companies from establishing company unions as a counter measure. Paternalism was essentially an attempt by companies to find a middle ground between a "big stick" approach and labor radicalization. Labor tolerated that compromise only because it

lacked a viable alternative. When a more acceptable alternative emerged they turned to that. In the late 1930s and early 1940s the United Steelworkers, taking advantage of the new labor legislation, offered that alternative – collective bargaining – and successfully organized virtually all of the Michigan iron mines by overwhelming votes.¹⁵⁶

With the coming of collective bargaining, iron mining companies accelerated the dismantling of their paternalistic systems, especially after a three-and-a-half-month-long strike in early 1946, the first significant iron mining strike in Michigan in 50 years. In its aftermath – a victory for organized labor -- Charles Stakel, CCI's general manager for mines, announced the closing of the company's North Lake and Gwinn clubhouses, the end of support for the high school at Gwinn, the elimination of donations for firemen's tournaments, bus service subsidies, and gifts to bowling and baseball teams, and termination of prizes for homes and gardens. He also announced that rates for the use of the company hospital at Ishpeming would go up.¹⁵⁷ In the decade following the 1946 strike, Cleveland-Cliffs dropped other elements of its paternalistic system one by one. In early 1947 it discontinued its direct relief efforts to impoverished current and former employees in the form of groceries.¹⁵⁸ In the early 1950s it disposed of its hospital in Ishpeming and shortly after terminated its visiting nurse program.¹⁵⁹ The company also accelerated its sale of company-owned housing. Other companies followed the same pattern. When its miners left the company union to join the United Steel Workers in the early 1940s, Oliver ceased providing free rent, firewood, and other services, putting the money, instead, into the state-mandated unemployment compensation fund.¹⁶⁰ In the late 1940s mining companies around Wakefield and Ironwood withdrew support from the local hospitals they had built, often turning them over to Catholic sisterhoods.¹⁶¹

Paternalism was a compromise between the extremes of blatant corporate repression and social revolution that was acceptable to Michigan iron ore companies. For approximately a half century it contributed to labor peace and muted labor radicalization on the Michigan iron ranges. Mining operators dismantled the system only when it became clear that a different compromise would triumph: government-regulated collective bargaining and a constant but controlled struggle between big labor and big business featuring strikes and negotiations.

¹ Florence Peterson, *Strikes in the United States, 1880-1936* (Washington: Govt. Printing Office, 1938), 21.

² Good accounts of paternalism in America are Stuart D. Brandes, *American Welfare Capitalism, 1880-1940* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1976) ; Andrea Tone, *The Business of Benevolence: Industrial Paternalism in Progressive America* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1997); and Margaret Crawford, *Building the Workingman's Paradise: The Design of American Company Towns* (New York: Verso, 1986).

³ In the Lake Superior mining regions, paternalism in copper mining has been covered by Larry D. Lankton in *Cradle to Grave: Life and Death in the Lake Superior Copper Mines* (Cambridge, Mass.: Cambridge University Press, 1991) and *Hollowed Ground* (Cambridge, Mass.: Cambridge University Press, 2010), as well as in his "Paternalism and Social Control in the Lake Superior Copper Mines," *Upper Midwest History* 5 (1985): 1- 18. Arnold Alanen has discussed paternalism in the iron mining districts of Lake Superior in several publications, but with a focus more on the Minnesota iron ranges than those in Michigan. See, especially, Alanen, "Companies as Caretakers: Paternalism, Welfare Capitalism, and Immigrants in the Lake Superior Mining Region," 364-391, in Rudolph J. Vecoli and Suzanne M. Sinke, eds., *A Century of European Migrations, 1830-1930* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1991), but also "The Planning of Company Communities in the Lake Superior Mining Region," *Journal of the American Planning Association* 45 (1979): 256-278, and "The 'Locations': Company Communities on Minnesota's Iron Ranges," *Minnesota History* 48, no. 3 (Fall 1982): 94-107.

⁴ The president of one of Michigan's largest iron ore mining enterprises stated this explicitly in 1898. See William G. Mather, "Some Observations on the Principle of benefit Funds and Their Place in the Lake Superior Iron Mining Industry," *Proceedings of the Lake Superior Mining Institute* [hereafter *PLSMI*], 5 (1898): 17: "We want married men in our employ, because they do not change about from one place to another, as is the habit of unmarried men."

⁵ Marquette Iron Co., *Prospectus for the Organization of the Marquette Iron Co. of Lake Superior, Michigan* (New York: L. H. Biglow, 1864), 5.

⁶ Iron Cliffs Co., "Financial Statement to Feb. 28, 1866," Folder 1, Box 19, RG 68-102, Iron Cliffs Co. Papers, Archives of Michigan, Northern Michigan University Repository, Marquette, Mich.; Pittsburgh & Lake Angeline Iron Company, *Act of Incorporation, with the Articles of Association, By-Laws, &c. of the Pittsburgh & Lake Angeline Iron Company* (Cleveland: Fairbanks, Benedict & Co., 1866), 22.

⁷ Cleveland Iron Mining Co., "Statement of Condition, Inventory, etc., May 18, 1870," Item 2749, MS 86-100, Cleveland Iron Mining Company and Cleveland-Cliffs Iron Company Papers, Archives of Michigan, Northern Michigan University Repository, Marquette, Mich. [MS 86-100 is hereafter cited as CIMC-CCIC]. Lake Superior Company figures compiled from the inventory found in *Report, Lake Superior Iron Company, December 31, 1874* (Boston: Rand, Avery, & Co., 1875), 20-23 [copy Longyear Research Library, Marquette, Mich.]

⁸ *A Brief History of the Pittsburgh and Lake Superior Iron Company* (Pittsburgh, Penn.: Pittsburgh and Lake Superior Iron Co., 1883), 17.

⁹ A. P. Swineford, *The Menominee Iron Range...* (Marquette, Mich.: The Mining Journal, 1880), 19; Michigan, *Fifteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Labor and Industrial Statistics* (1898), 293.

¹⁰ "Cleveland Iron Mining Co., "Statement of Condition, Inventory, etc., May 18, 1870"; Cleveland Iron Mining Co., *Annual Report of the Directors to the Stockholders for the Year ending May 21, 1873* (Cleveland: Sanford & Hayward, 1873), 11.

¹¹ Mary Louise Dulan, *Born from Iron: Iron Mountain, Michigan, 1879-1979* (Iron Mountain, Mich.: Iron Mountain Centennial Committee, 1978), 26, 44; Swineford, *Appendix to Swineford's History of the Lake Superior Iron District* (Marquette, Mich.: Mining Journal, 1873), 46; Swineford, *Menominee Iron Range*, 19.

¹² Palms Iron Mining Company, *Palms Mine* [New York: the Company, 1890], 10 [copy Library of Michigan]; Michigan, *Fifteen Annual Report of the Bureau of Labor and Industrial Statistics* (1898), 300. For a more complete discussion of boarding houses (both company-owned and privately-owned) on Michigan's iron ranges see Paula Stofer, "An Examination to the Socio-Cultural Roles of Boardinghouses and the Boarding Experience on the Michigan Mining Frontier, 1840-1930," PhD dissertation, Michigan State University, 1997.

¹³ Mrs. Nelson Powell [Florence] Hulst, "Pioneer Life on the Menominee Iron Range," *Wisconsin Magazine of History*, 7 (1923-1924): 407.

¹⁴ Francis Bacon Crocker and John Bonsall Porter, "The Specular Iron Mines of the Jackson Iron Mining Co., Negaunee, Michigan," Master's thesis, Columbia University School of Mines, 1881, 60.

¹⁵ Albert D. Taylor, "The Montreal Mining Co., Oglebay, Norton & Co. Agents Improvements Report, October 1921," Montreal Mining Company Records, 1921-1931, Wisconsin State Historical Society, Madison, Wis. [hereafter MMC-WiHS]; Michigan, *Twenty-first Annual Report of the Bureau of Labor and Industrial Statistics* (1904), 104.

¹⁶ Dulan, *Born from Iron*, 124. For another complaint see E. Clyde and Cordella Trudgen, *Forty-Eight Years in the Iron Mines*, [Marquette, by the authors, 1980], 9.

¹⁷ Leifur Magnusson, *Housing by Employers in the United States* [Bulletin of US bureau of Labor Statistics, no 263] (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1920), 115, 116, 120.

¹⁸ Magnusson, *Housing by Employers*, 122. Michigan, *Fifteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Labor and Industrial Statistics* (1898), 287-300, provides information on rental rates for company houses in Michigan.

¹⁹ "Meeting of the Board of State Tax Commissioners, Negaunee, Mich., Sept. 25, 1913," 20, 40, 55, 59, 70, 72, and 96 in Folder 5, Box 4, RG 83-100, Dept of Natural Resources, Appraisals of Mines and Wells, 1913-1926, Archives of Michigan, Lansing; "Annual Report of the Montreal Mining Company, 1943," 33 (typescript, Iron County, Wisconsin, Historical Society, Hurley, Wis.); "Housing Report for Mining Properties of Oglebay-Norton & Co., August 1921," 19, MMC-WiHS; William G. Mather to C. V. R. Townsend, May 6, 1912, Folder 2, Box 2, R. A. Brotherton Collection, Acc. 03-048A, Michigan Tech Archives and Copper Country Historical Collections, Houghton, Mich.; Michigan, *Twenty-first Annual Report of the Bureau of Labor and Industrial Statistics* (1904), 104.

²⁰ "A New Corporation," *The Current* (Norway, Mich.), June 14, 1902.

²¹ For some examples see Quinnesec Centennial Committee, *Quinnesec Michigan Centennial, 1876-1976* [Quinnesec, Mich.: Quinnesec Centennial Committee, 1976], 34, 35; *Mineral Hills Golden Jubilee Historical Album* (Ishpeming, Mich.: Globe Printing, 1968), 64; Dulan, *Born from Iron*, 113; and Kenneth D. Lafayette, *Flaming Brands: Fifty Years of Iron Making in the Upper Peninsula of Michigan* (Marquette: Northern Michigan University Press, 1977), 10, 30. These could easily be multiplied. *Mining Journal* (Marquette, Mich.), May 28, 1870, says that a store built and stocked by mining companies “was...the beginning of a plan which has since been carried out in all the mining locations—that of company’s store for the supply of goods to the employees of the company.”

²² C. T. Harvey to Wm. Pearsall. May 13, 1858, and May 29, 1858, Folder 38, Pioneer Iron Company Papers, Longyear Research Library, Marquette, Michigan.

²³ Republic Iron Company, *Articles of Association, By-Laws, Etc., of The Republic Iron Company* (Cleveland: Sanford & Co., 1875), 15.

²⁴ The Vulcan store is mentioned in Swineford, *Annual Review for 1880*, 141; see also Marcia LeMire, *Vulcan 1920 Revisited* (np: by author, 2008), 14-16.

²⁵ *Dickinson Diggings: The Quarterly Publication of the Dickinson County genealogical Society*, 24, no. 3 (Aug. 2005): 1.

²⁶ Harold W. Aurand, *From the Molly Maguires to the United Mine Workers: The Social Ecology of an Industrial Union, 1869-1897* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1971), 47f, and Curtis Seltzer, *Fire in the Hole: Mines and Mangers in the American Coal Industry* (Lexington, 1985), 19.

²⁷ Jay C. Malone to John Outhwaite, April 16, 1867, Item 2792, CIMC-CCIC.

²⁸ Champion Iron Company, *Report of the Treasurer to the Directors of the Champion Iron Company for the Year Ending Dec. 31, 1874* (Boston: Rand, Avery, & Co., 1875), 4.

²⁹ *Brief History of Pittsburgh and Lake Superior Iron Co.*, 18-19.

³⁰ *Mining Journal*, Nov. 6, 1869; “The Menominee Ranger” in *ibid.*, July 5, 1879; and Hulst, “Pioneer Life,” 408, illustrate the desire by companies to prevent the sale of intoxicating liquors in their locations. See also C. T. Harvey to Wm. Pearsall., June 11, 1859, Folder 38, Pioneer Iron Company Papers, for the Pioneer Iron Company’s efforts in Negaunee, and Sarah E. Cowie, *The Plurality of Power: An Archaeology of Industrial Capitalism* (New York: Springer, 2011), 72-73, for the Jackson Iron Company’s efforts in the charcoal iron village of Fayette.

³¹ A good example is the Washington Mine. In 1866 the mine’s owners relied on profits from the company store to pay two-thirds of their pay roll through the winter of 1866-1867, hoping that by May the mine could pay its own way (“Annual Report to President and Directors of the Washington Iron Company to Dec. 31, 1866,” Box 1, Peter White Papers, Bentley Historical Library, Ann Arbor, Mich.). In 1870 the store’s profits were over \$14,000, while the mining account showed a loss (“Report to President and Directors of the Washington Iron Company for 1870,” *ibid.*). The store’s revenues paid nearly two thirds of the company’s expenses for labor during the winter of 1869-1870 (“Report, Washington Iron Company 1869,” *ibid.*). The company store turned a profit of \$11,792 in 1872 while the company was “barely able to do a living business” (“Annual Report to President and Directors of the Washington Iron Company for 1872,” *ibid.*). In 1870 the Iron Cliffs store sold \$200,000 in merchandise and cleared \$20,000 over expenses at a time when the company had yet to make sufficient money to pay a dividend (E. S. Green to H. Benedict, Jan. 16, 1871, Folder 3, Box 39, RG 68-102, Iron Cliffs Company Papers).

³² Samuel L. Mather to J. C. Morse, Nov. 16, 1877, Item 2780, MS 86-100, CIMC-CCIC.

³³ Champion Iron Company, *Report of the Treasurer to the Directors and Stockholders of the Champion Iron Company for the Year Ending Dec. 31, 1876* (Boston: Rand Avery, & Co. 1877), 7.

³⁴ Republic Iron Company, *Articles of Association*, 15.

³⁵ Alexander Maitland to C. J. Canda, Sept. 16, 1883, v. 21, RG 66-36, Iron Cliffs Co. Papers-II, Archives of Michigan, Northern Michigan University repository. See also “Annual Statement of the Iron Cliffs Company for the year ending November 30, 1887,” handwritten document in the historical file drawers in Cliffs Natural Resources headquarters, Cleveland, Ohio.

³⁶ Iron Cliffs Co., *Annual Statement of the Iron Cliffs Company for the year ending November 30, 1887*, in historical files, Cliffs Natural Resources, Cleveland.

³⁷ *The Current*, March 27, 1886.

³⁸ “A New Corporation,” *The Current*, June 14, 1902; LeMire, *Vulcan 1920 Revisited*, 17.

³⁹ *Mineral Hills*, 64.

⁴⁰ “Housing Report for Oglebay-Norton,” 27.

⁴¹ *Daily Iron Agitator* (Ishpeming, Mich.), Dec. 31, 1887.

⁴² Lafayette, *Flaming Brands*, 98; C. B. Burr et al., ed., *Medical History of Michigan*, v. 2 (Minneapolis & St. Paul, Minn.: The Bruce Publishing Co., 1930); 549; Dulan, *Born from Iron*, 61-63; E. M. Libby, “The Company Surgeon,” *PLSMI*, 15 (1910): 195-200. A good account of a company physician’s life is Charles Van Riper, *My Father, Doctor Van* (Marquette, Mich.: John M. Longyear Research Library, 1982). It deals with Paul Van Riper, physician to the Champion mine for decades.

⁴³ George J. Eisele, *History of Chapin Mine: an interesting insight into the growth and development of this industry* [Iron Mountain, Mich.: George J. Eisele, 1923], 9. This was originally printed in the *Iron Mountain News* (Iron Mountain, Mich.), Sept. 7, 1923. Eisele was the assistant superintendent of the mine.

⁴⁴ Dulan, *Born from Iron*, 118

⁴⁵ Champion Iron Company, *Report, Champion Iron Company for the Twelve Months Ending April 30, 1884* (Boston: Cashman Keating & Co., 1884), 10.

⁴⁶ Burr, *Medical History of Michigan*, v. 2, 591.

⁴⁷ F. P. Mills to Jay C. Morse, Nov. 11, 1873, Item 2774, CIMC-CCIC; Dulan, *Born From Iron*, 61; Dulan, *Our Frontier Days on the Menominee Range* (Iron Mountain, Mich.: Keep Michigan Beautiful, Inc., 1973), 37; Mather, “Some Observations,” 13-14, 19, and table following 20; Mather, MS speech, May 23, 1904, 2, Folder 34, Container 4, William Gwinn Mather Family Papers, MSS

4578, Western Reserve Historical Society, Cleveland, Ohio. See also Libby, "Company Surgeon,"; Burr, *Medical History of Michigan*, v. 2, 628; "Iron Mountain," *The Michigan Miner*, 1, no. 11 (Oct. 1, 1899): 11; and Michigan, *Twenty-First Annual Report of the Bureau of Labor and Industrial Statistics* (1904), 108.

⁴⁸ Michigan, *Twenty-First Annual Report of the Bureau of Labor and Industrial Statistics* (1904), 109; Mather, "Some Observations," 13-14, 17-19.

⁴⁹ Crocker "Specular Iron Mines of Jackson Iron Company," 67-68.

⁵⁰ For an examples of lands donated for school construction see, Samuel Redfern to B. Leurzie[?], Feb. 13, 1894, Folder 4, Box 62, RG 68-102, Iron Cliffs Company Papers; Redfern to School Dist. of Maple Ridge, May 3, 1894, *ibid.*; *Quinnesec*, 27-28; and Dulan, *Frontier Days*, 42. *Iron Port* (Escanaba, Mich.), April 16, 1881, mentions that the Chapin mine provided half the cost for a Methodist church at the Chapin Location. On the Gogebic, miners built the Methodist church near the Newport mine, but the Newport Mining Co. furnished the building's heat. The mining company also provided the church with electricity and water (JoAnn Fleming, *Ironwood, Michigan: The Growing Years, 1888-1925* (Ironwood, Mich.: s.n., 1985 ?), 76; C. J. Canda to T. J. Houston, March 26, 1875, Folder 2, Box 34, RG 68-102, Iron Cliffs Co. Papers, for a deed from Pioneer Iron Co. to Trustees of the First Methodist Episcopal Church of Negaunee.

⁵¹ Terry S. Reynolds, "Calm or Conflicted: Labor-Management Relations on the Michigan Iron Ranges, 1855-1904," *Michigan Historical Review*, 33, no. 2 (Fall 2007): 13-14.

⁵² Crowell & Murray, Inc., *The Iron Ores of Lake Superior* (Cleveland: The Penton Press Co., 1930), 85 (for 'Old Range' Bessemer ores).

⁵³ Henry R. Mussey, *Concentration in the Mining Industry: A Study of Concentration in Lake Superior Iron Ore Production* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1905), 124-125; Michigan, *Eleventh Annual Report of the Bureau of Labor and Industrial Statistics* (1894), 426, 432.

⁵⁴ Mather, "Some Observations," 11.

⁵⁵ This was the estimate of Cleveland-Cliffs president Mather in "Some Observations," 12.

⁵⁶ Reynolds, "Calm or Conflicted?," 14, table 4.

⁵⁷ For the Gogebic range strike see Michigan, *Twelfth Annual Report of the Bureau of Labor and Industrial Statistics* (1895), 511-12; *Ironwood News Record* (Ironwood, Mich.), July 7, 14, and 21, 1894; Charles H. Morse to Gov. John T. Rich, July 20, 1894, Folder 10, Box 183, RG 44, Archives of Michigan.

⁵⁸ Herbert J. Brinks, "Marquette Iron Range Strike, 1895," *Michigan History* 50 (1966): 293-305; "Marquette Iron Range Strike," in Michigan, *Thirteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Labor and Industrial Statistics* (1896), 350-363.

⁵⁹ For example, William P. Blake, "Provision for the Health and Comfort of Miners – Miners' Homes," *American Institute of Mining Engineers, Transactions*, 3 (1874-75): 218-228.

⁶⁰ Mather, "Some Observations," 10-20.

⁶¹ "Marquette Iron Range Strike: Miners' History of the Strike," in *Thirteenth Annual Report*, 360-361; Wm. P. Dillingham, *Immigrants in Industries*, v. 16, pt. 18 (Washington: GPO, 1911), 395, 398 [vol. 16, pt. 18 deals with iron ore mining].

⁶² See, for example, Frank L. Palmer, *Spies in Steel: An Expose of Industrial War* (Denver: The Labor Press, 1928), 25, 41, 50, 56. Palmer focuses on the Minnesota ranges, but does mention use of the Oliver spy system on the Gogebic Range in Michigan on the pages cited.

⁶³ For instance, Cleveland-Cliffs managers on the Marquette Range acknowledged in 1915: "We have always to remember that this is a Non-Union district, and unless the companies treat the men fairly and liberally, it will result in their organizing..." H. R. Harris, Austin Farrell, C.V.R. Townsend, and M. M. Duncan to Wm. G. Mather, July 12, 1915, "Wages, Labor" file, Boyum files, Box 2, Cliffs Natural Resources Empire Mine historical records room, Palmer, Michigan.

⁶⁴ Meeting of the Board of State Tax Commissioners, "Negaunee, Mich., Sept. 25, 1913, folder 5, box 4, RG 83-100, Dept of natural Resources-Appraisals of Mines and Wells, Michigan State Archives [Champion]; Eisele, *History of Chapin Mine*, 5; "Menominee Range: Operations of the Oliver Iron Mining Company," *Iron Mining and Agriculture: Upper Peninsula of Michigan* [Souvenir Edition of the *Mining Journal*, Marquette, Mich., March 1, 1913], unpaginated [Chapin]. Eisele boasted that Chapin company houses were rented at less than \$6/month, that rents had not been raised in fifteen years, and that there was no charge for water.

⁶⁵ "Corrigan, McKinney & Co.," *Iron Mining and Agriculture*.

⁶⁶ Cleveland-Cliffs Iron Co. [hereafter CCIC], *Agents' Annual Reports & Statistics*, 1908, v. 2, pt. 1, 13, Item 2089, CIMC-CCIC.

⁶⁷ Information scattered through CCIC, Ore Mining Department, *Annual Report of the General Manager*, 1936, Item 2007, CIMC-CCIC.

⁶⁸ Taylor, "Montreal Mining Co. Improvements Report, 1921," 14-15, MMC-WiHS.

⁶⁹ CCIC, *Agents' Annual Reports & Statistics*, 1901, v. 1, sect. 5, 17, Item 2067, CIMC-CCIC.

⁷⁰ Arnold R. Alanen, "The Settlements of Marquette County, Michigan," 17, in William H. Mulligan, Jr., ed, *Historic Resources of the Iron Range of Marquette County, Michigan, 1844-1941* (Marquette, Mich.: Economic Development Corporation of the County of Marquette, 1991).

⁷¹ *Iron Ore* (Ishpeming, Mich.), June 19, 1915, and Sept. 15, 1917; Alanen, "Settlements," 14, 20; CCIC, *Agents Annual Reports and Statistics*, 1910, v. 1, pt. 3, 93, Item 2093, CIMC-CCIC; *Mining Journal*, April 26, 1961.

⁷² Alanen, "Settlements," 21-25; W. H. Moulton, "The Sociological Side of the Mining Industry," *PLSMI*, 14 (1909): 97; "Swanzy District" and "The Cleveland-Cliffs Iron Company" in *Iron Mining and Agriculture*; J. E. Jopling, "A Brief History of the Cleveland-Cliffs Iron Company," *Michigan History* 5 (Jan-April 1921): 164-165; Harlan Hatcher, *A Century of Iron and Men*

(Indianapolis, Ind.: Bobbs-Merrill, 1950), 226-227; and W. H. Manning, "Villages and Homes for Working Men," *Western Architect*, 16 (August 1910): 84-88.

⁷³ Fleming, *Ironwood Michigan: Growing Years*, 68 (entry for Oct. 19, 1908).

⁷⁴ "Report on Employee Housing at Montreal, 1931," MMC-WiHS, 2 pages. For Oliver's efforts to improve the appearance of its housing see "Menominee Range Operations of the Oliver Iron Mining Company," *Iron Mining and Agriculture*.

⁷⁵ "Down 3,000 Feet; See Wisconsin's Noted Montreal Mine," *Milwaukee Journal*, June 25, 1939.

⁷⁶ Magnusson, *Housing by Employers*, 115.

⁷⁷ For example, Iron Cliffs charged a tenant 50 cents a month in 1891, but could terminate the lease on 30-days notice (Lease for Land at Negaunee, Sept. 23, 1891, Folder 9, Box 2, RG 68-102, Iron Cliffs Papers III). By 1897 some lots leased for \$12-\$20 a year (Rent Ledger, 1897-1903, RG 66-35, Iron Cliffs Papers II).

⁷⁸ Moulton, "Sanitation for the Mine Locations," *PLSMI*, 18 (1913): 40-41.; Magnusson, *Housing by Employers*, 120.

⁷⁹ Moulton, "Sociological Side, 96; *Daily Mining Journal* (Marquette, Mich.), Jan. 25, 1901; "The Cleveland-Cliffs Iron Company," *Iron Mining and Agriculture*; *The Cleveland-Cliffs Iron Company* (Cleveland: Cleveland-Cliffs Iron Co., 1920), 60.

⁸⁰ Charles A. Gulick, *Labor Policy of the United States Steel Corporation* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1924), 176. Photographs of some of the winning Oliver Mining Company prize houses and gardens on the Gogebic Range are in the Iron Range Research Center in Hibbing, Minnesota.

⁸¹ For example, CCIC, *Agents' Annual Reports and Statistics, 1902*, v. 1, Pt. 3 (Mine Agent's Annual Report), 29, Item 2069, CIMC-CCIC.

⁸² For Cleveland-Cliffs two decade long attempt to promote agriculture on Michigan Upper Peninsula see Terry S. Reynolds, "'Quite an Experiment': A Mining Company Attempts to Promote Agriculture on Michigan's Upper Peninsula, 1895-1915," *Agricultural History*, 80 (2006): 64-98.

⁸³ "Landscaping on an Iron Range," *Explosives Engineer*, 271-276.

⁸⁴ Michigan, *Twenty-First Annual Report of the Bureau of Labor and Industrial Statistics (1904)*, 108.

⁸⁵ CCIC, Ore Mining Department, *Annual Report of General Manager, 1918*, 729-730, Item 1989, CIMC-CCIC; Hatcher, *Century*, 245.

⁸⁶ "Gogebic Range: Operations of the Oliver Iron Mining Company," *Iron Mining and Agriculture*; "New Hospital at Wakefield," *Skillsings' Mining Review*, 13, no. 21 (Oct. 4, 1924): 1.

⁸⁷ *The Current*, Dec. 23, 1916; Jan. 13, Feb. 3, and Oct. 20, 1917.

⁸⁸ See Folder 8, Container 14, MSS 33, RG XIII, Jones & Laughlin Steel Corporation Records, Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania, Pittsburgh, Penn.

⁸⁹ For example, CCIC, Ore Mining Department, *Annual Report of the General Manager, 1930*, 535, Item 2001, CIMC-CCIC, reported 9992 visits and 1684 different patients in 1930. This is a fairly substantial number for a company whose annual employment averaged 2088 between 1926 and 1930.

⁹⁰ CCIC, Ore Mining Department, *Annual Report of the General Manager, 1921*, 607, 614, Item 1992, CIMC-CCIC. *Ibid.*, 1938, 612, Item 2009, indicates that CCI gave special relief to 54 families in the Marquette district in addition to making donations to incapacitated employees.

⁹¹ Moulton, "Sociological Side," 92-93; "The Cleveland-Cliffs Iron Company," *Iron Mining and Agriculture*; The Cleveland-Cliffs Iron Company, *The Cleveland-Cliffs Iron Company: An Historical Review of This Company's Development and Resources Issued in Commemoration of Its Seventieth Anniversary, 1850-1920* (Cleveland: Cleveland-Cliffs Iron Company, 1920), 59-60; Moulton, "Industrial Relations Work of the Cleveland-Cliffs Iron Company," in *The Cleveland-Cliffs Iron Company and Its Extensive Operations in the Lake Superior District* (Cleveland: Cleveland-Cliffs Iron Co., 1929), 49-50; CCIC, *Agents' Annual Reports and Statistics, 1914*, Mine Agent, 595, Item 2106, CIMC-CCIC. By 1913 the Oliver Mining Company had also established a rest farm near Ishpeming ("Oliver Iron Mining Company," *Iron Mining and Agriculture*).

⁹² Charles E. Lawrence, "Social Surroundings of the Mine Employee," *PLSMI*, 16 (1911): 125. Eisele, *History of Chapin Mine*, 5, indicated that the mine "constantly" employed a visiting nurse who rendered excellent service to families of employees in sick rooms and in welfare work. See also Moulton, "Sanitation," 42. In 1914 a meeting of nurses held in CCI's offices included visiting nurses of the Oliver Mining Company on both the Marquette and Menominee Ranges, as well as nurses employed by Pickands, Mather at Palatka and the Metropolitan Mining Company on the Gogebic. See CCIC, *Agents' Annual Reports and Statistics, 1914*, Mine Agent, 589, Item 2106, CIMC-CCIC.

⁹³ For example, Pete Benzoni, *Beyond the Mine: a Steelworker's Story* (Superior, Wis.: Savage Press, 1997), 35.

⁹⁴ Hulst, "Pioneer Life," 414.

⁹⁵ *Iron Port* (Escanaba, Mich.), Dec. 31, 1881.

⁹⁶ Austin Ferrell to William G. Mather, Jan. 17, 1902, in CCIC, *Agents' Annual Reports & Statistics, 1901*, Annual Report of Mine Agents, v. 1, sect. 9, Item 2067, CIMC-CCIC.

⁹⁷ For the approval see CCIC, *Minute Book 1891-1906*, entry Dec. 4, 1905, Cliffs Natural Resources historical records, Headquarters building, Cleveland, Ohio; Moulton, "Sociological Side," 88; and *The Cleveland-Cliffs Iron Company*, 1920, 60-61. CCI also had a clubhouse near its charcoal furnace at Gladstone, Michigan.

⁹⁸ J. R. Thompson, "Report: American-Boston Mining Co.," Aug. 4, 1917, Folder 4 (American-Boston correspondence general), Box 1, Hanna Mining Co. Series 2 papers, Iron County Museum, Caspian, Michigan. The Oliver Iron Company had a club house at the Champion mine on the same range, Van Riper, *Doctor Van*, 10.

⁹⁹ For the Anvil mine see Albert D. Taylor, "Montreal Mining Co. Improvements Report," 14, MMC-WiHS; for the Hamilton Club, see Carroll C. Taylor, "The Gogebic Iron Range," *PLSMI*, 25 (1926): 32-33; Mary Woitkieleviz Mossey, "The Iron Ore Miner's Daughter," typescript, Iron County, Wisconsin, Historical Society, Hurley, Wis., not dated; and *Milwaukee Journal*, June 25, 1939.

¹⁰⁰ CCIC, Ore Mining Department, *Annual Report of the General Manager, 1921*, 271, Item 1992, CIMC-CCIC.

- ¹⁰¹ Lawrence, "Social Surroundings, 126. Nearby the Caspian mine also had a club house: "Description of Mines on the Menominee Range," *PLSMI*, 16 (1911): 33. See also, Bernie Hoffmann, *Recollections of Old Crystal Falls* (Crystal Falls, Mich.: by the author, c1990): 123, for club houses at Palatka provided by Pickands Mather and Mountain Iron by Oliver.
- ¹⁰² Lawrence, "Social Surroundings," 124-125.
- ¹⁰³ Moulton, "Sociological Side," 91, and "Sanitation for Mine Locations," 38; John S. Mennie, "A New Changing House at the Cliffs Shaft Mine," *PLSMI*, 9 (1903): 121-6; Floyd L. Burr, "The New Change House at Vulcan Mine," *ibid.*, 18 (1913): 211-223; William Kelly, "A New Changing-House at the West Vulcan Mine," *ibid.*, 8 (1902): 70-74; "A Model Dry," *The Current*, Nov. 24, 1910 (Aragon Mine); *Iron Ore*, March 31, 1906 (Section 16 mine, Oliver Iron Co.); Dan S. Young, "A Modern Change House on the Gogebic Iron Range," *PLSMI*, 30 (1939): 147-159; and Albert H. Fay, "Examples of Modern, Sanitary Dry Houses," *Engineering & Mining Journal*, 88 (Oct. 23, 1909): 822-824.
- ¹⁰⁴ Moulton, "Sanitation for Mine Locations," 39.
- ¹⁰⁵ William G. Mather to M. M. Duncan, Jan 29, 1900, in CCIC, *Agents' Annual Reports and Statistics, 1899*, sect. 1, Item 2063, CIMC-CCIC; see also *Agents' Annual Reports and Statistics, 1900*, sect. 1, 56, Item 2064, *ibid.*, where the mine department's general agent reported that having to do regular accident reports made shift bosses more alert to preventing accidents.
- ¹⁰⁶ CCIC, *Agents' Annual Reports and Statistics, 1914*, Mine Agent, 551 ff., Item 2105, CIMC-CCIC.
- ¹⁰⁷ For the ethnic breakdown of CCI's workforce in 1901 see CCIC, *Agents' Annual Reports & Statistics, 1901*, v. 1, sect. 4 ½, 57, Item 2067, CIMC-CCIC, which breaks down the 1810 employees of the company in November 1901 by nationality and mine. The leading ethnic groups were 24.7% Scandinavian, 21.9% Finnish, 19.2% English, 10.6% Polish. Irish, French, and Italians composed between 5 and 8% of the workforce each. American's were only 2.5%, and many of those were in the general office or laboratory.
- ¹⁰⁸ The company printed safety rule books in three languages: English, Finnish, and Italian. See CCIC, *Agents' Annual Reports and Statistics, 1913*, sect.1, 381, Item 2103, CIMC-CCIC. Supervisor remuneration for safety performance was through a "safety bonus" system instituted in 1929. See CCIC, Ore Mining Department, *Annual Report of the General Manager, 1929*, 2, Item 2000, CIMC-CCIC, and William Conibear, "Development of Safety in the Iron Mines of Michigan," *PLSMI*, 29 (1936): 180.
- ¹⁰⁹ "The Cleveland-Cliffs Company" *Iron Mining and Agriculture*; "Will Conibear First Mine Safety Inspector," *Mining Journal*, June 29, 1950 [special Cleveland-Cliffs Centennial issue]; William Conibear, "Safety Work at the Cleveland-Cliffs Iron Company," 52-55, in *The Cleveland-Cliffs Iron Company and Its Extensive Operations* (1929).
- ¹¹⁰ See, for instance, "Final Report. First Conference. Upper Peninsula County Mine Inspectors; Upper Peninsula Company Safety Engineers; Lake Superior Mining Division staff of the United States Bureau of Mines," Houghton, Mich., April 23-25, 1919," 10, 30-33, typescript, Michigan Technological University Archives and Copper Country Historical Collections, Houghton, Mich., and Gulick, *Labor Policy of United States Steel*, 138,143, 151.
- ¹¹¹ Wm. Conibear, "Development of Safety," 180; see also CCIC, Ore Mining Department, *Annual Report of the General Manager, 1955*, Safety Department, Table III, Item 2026, CIMC-CCIC.
- ¹¹² "Final Report. First Conference." 22.
- ¹¹³ F. C. Stanford, "Training of Workmen for Positions of Higher Responsibility," *Transactions of the American Institute of Mining Engineers*, 59 (1918): 612-626; CCIC, *Agents Annual Reports and Statistics, 1914*, 622f, Item 2106, CIMC-CCIC; and *Iron Ore*, July 31, 1915.
- ¹¹⁴ For an example of the classes at the Gwinn clubhouse see CCIC, *Annual Report of General Manger, Mining Dept, 1921*, 620, Item 1992, CIMC-CCIC.
- ¹¹⁵ Moulton, "Sociological Side," 94-96; *Iron Ore*, May 22, 1909. According to CCIC, *Annual Report of General Manager, Ore Mining Dept., 1930*, 524, Item 2001, CIMC-CCIC, 120 pensions were in force at the end of that year. Trudgen, *Forty-eight Years*, 22, complained that the pension was not even enough to buy groceries. *Iron Ore*, April 11, 1914, castigated the Lake Angeline Company for not having a pension system.
- ¹¹⁶ Eisele, "Chapin Mine," 6. For others who initiated pensions see *Lake Superior Iron Co., Semi-Centennial Celebration, Ishpeming, Michigan, June 24, 1903* (Ishpeming, Mich.: *Iron Ore*, 1903), 16. See also "Oliver Iron Mining Company," *Iron Mining and Agriculture*.
- ¹¹⁷ For examples, see *Quinnesec*, 36; *Mineral Hills*, 29, 39, and Dulan, *Born from Iron*, 39.
- ¹¹⁸ For example, on the Gogebic Range, the Newport Mining Company in Ironwood provided land and, for a time, free heat, electricity, and water. See, Fleming, *Ironwood: Growing Years*, 76 (entry for Sept 27, 1913). At Gwinn on the Marquette Range, Mather donated land for a Methodist and a Lutheran church in 1909, provided no liquor be sold on the premises.
- ¹¹⁹ For example Benzoni, *Beyond the Mine*, 47; *Caspian: The Caring City, 1918-1993* (Iron River, Mich.: Caspian Diamond Jubilee Book and Iron County Historical and Museum Society, [1993]), 93-94.
- ¹²⁰ *Iron Mountain Press* (Iron Mountain, Mich.), Nov. 25, 1897.
- ¹²¹ CCIC, *Agents Annual Reports and Statistics, 1905*, v. 1, Sec. 4, 44, Item 2080, CIMC-CCIC.
- ¹²² "Underground Christmas Parties Part of Morris Mine's History," *Mining Journal*, Dec. 2, 1957.
- ¹²³ Bruce K. Cox, *Oliver's Iron Men Book Four* (Agogebic press, 2008), 1, 3, 4.
- ¹²⁴ CCIC, *Annual Report for year Ending Dec. 31, 1930, Ore Mining Department*, 571, Item 2001, CIMC-CCIC.
- ¹²⁵ CCIC, *Agents Annual Reports and Statistics, 1914*, v. 2, 238, Item 2106, CIMC-CCIC.
- ¹²⁶ Taylor, "The Montreal Mining Co. Improvements Report," 15-16, MMC-WiHS. Cleveland Cliffs leased garden plots, with 1500 leases in force by 1920. See *Cleveland-Cliffs Iron Company* (1920), 42.
- ¹²⁷ *Iron Ore*, May 28, 1904; Taylor, "The Montreal Mining Co. Improvements Report," 46, MMC-WiHS.
- ¹²⁸ Fleming, *Ironwood, Michigan: Growing Years*, 99, and "Note," *The Michigan Miner*, 2, no. 11 (Oct. 1, 1900): 23.
- ¹²⁹ Florence E. Brownfield, *Three Michigan Mining Locations: Chinatown, Monticello, and Reno* (Tustin, Calif.: Florence E. Brownfield, 1996), 10, 74, 164, 166.

- ¹³⁰ CCIC, *Annual Report of the General Manager, Ore Mining Department, 1932*, 2, 33, Item 2003, CIMC-CCIC. That year CCI only employed 631 miners (average employment had been more on the order of 2000-2500). The company extended its garden and wood programs to laid off employees and the surrounding community.
- ¹³¹ Magnusson, *Housing by Employers*, 21.
- ¹³² For example John S. Mennie, "A New Changing House at the Cliffs Shaft Mine," *PLSMI*, 9 (1903): 124.
- ¹³³ CCIC, *Agents' Annual Reports and Statistics, 1904*, v. 1, pt. 7, 37, Item 2077, CIMC-CCIC; Mather speech, May 23, 1904.
- ¹³⁴ Dulan, *Born from Iron*, 123-124, reports that in the late 1890s Superintendent McNaughton of the Chapin expelled Joseph Tamborini from Chapin Mine Company housing due to his outspoken political views. Tamborini had to move in the dead of winter, forcing him to sell his cows, pigs, and chickens and find emergency lodging for his wife and daughter. See also *Iron Port*, April 27, 1889, for an accusation that a similar action was taken at Fayette, and Van Riper, *Doctor Van*, 9, for an instance at Champion.
- ¹³⁵ Charles Stakel, *Memoirs of Charles J. Stakel: Cleveland-Cliffs Mining Engineer, Mine Superintendent and Mining Manager* (Marquette, Mich.: Marquette County Historical Society, 1994), 75-97. Stakel continued to be politically active in his subsequent posts. See also, "A Bond of Interest," *Harlow's Wooden Man*, 13, no. 5 (1978): 30, and *Mining Journal*, July 7, 1943. Daniel Homernik, "Late to the Party: The Upper Peninsula in the 1932 and 1936 Elections," *Upper Country: A Journal of the Lake Superior Region*, 1 (2013): 30, notes Stakel's role in trying to maintain funding for the Ishpeming YMCA during the Great Depression.
- ¹³⁶ *Caspian: The Caring City*, 32, 35.
- ¹³⁷ "Oscar Edward Olson: A Biography," 10, Folder 1, Box 3, MS 71-42A, Oscar Edward Olson Papers, Bentley Library, Ann Arbor, Mich.
- ¹³⁸ Recollections of Harry E. Larsen, *Quinnesec*, 51. See also Marcia Bernhardt, ed., *Men, Mines and Memories: Iron Mining in Iron County, Michigan* (Caspian, Mich.: Iron County Museum, 2001), 26 (May 1974 interview with Mrs. Walter Hawke, whose husband was a miner) and Donald Gerry to Stewart Holbrook, n.d. (but Holbrook reply was Oct. 11, 1938), 28. Stakel, at Republic, made use of loyal employees to hand out election materials, set up observers across from the polling station to identify who had voted, and hired sleighs to carry ballots to those who had not yet voted. See Stakel, *Memoirs*, 77-79.
- ¹³⁹ H. F. Ellard to John H. Bush, Nov. 7, 1905, Folder 3, Box 4, RG 76-90, Cleveland-Cliffs Land Department Papers, Archives of Michigan, Northern Michigan University Repository, Marquette, Mich.
- ¹⁴⁰ For examples see CCIC, *Agents' Annual Reports & Statistics, 1910*, v. 1, pt. 3, 108, Item 2093, CIMC-CCIC; *ibid.*, 1905, sect. 4, 44, Item 2080; and *ibid.*, 1900, sect 1, 58, Item 2064.
- ¹⁴¹ CCIC, *Agents' Annual Reports & Statistics, 1901*, v. 1, sec. 2, 32, Item 2067, CIMC-CCIC.
- ¹⁴² Moulton, "Sociological Side," 92; Moulton, "Sanitation," 42.
- ¹⁴³ CCIC, *Annual Report of General Manager, Ore Mining Department, for year ending Dec. 31, 1945*, 616, Item 2016, CIMC-CCIC.
- ¹⁴⁴ CCIC, *Annual Report of General Manager, Ore Mining Department, for year ending Dec. 31, 1945*, 629, Item 2016, CIMC-CCIC.
- ¹⁴⁵ "Housing Report for Oglebay-Norton," 26, 38, and Taylor, "Montreal Mining Co. Improvements Report," 7, MMC, WiHS.
- ¹⁴⁶ Arthur E. Puotinen, "Finnish Radicals and Religion in Midwestern Mining Towns, 1865-1914," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1973, 83, 144.
- ¹⁴⁷ Transcript of interview with Mrs. Ethel Hocking, August 24, 1972, Debra E. Bernhardt transcripts, Bentley Historical Library, Ann Arbor, Mich. The interview is reproduced in *Caspian: Caring City*, 31-32. The daughter of an Italian miner, commenting on the Montreal Mining Company's paternalistic program, declared "They [employees] were happy." See Russell and Emma Penrose, *The Underground Iron Ore Mines* (v. 1, The Immigrants – The Penrose, Losero, and Samuel Peterson Families of Iron County, Wisconsin and Gogebic County, Michigan) (Seguin, Texas: by the author, 1995), 3.33. Russell Penrose, *Montreal The City Beautiful: Montreal, Iron County, Wisconsin: An Iron Ore Mining and Residential Community, Circa about 1900-1982* (n.p.: by the author, 1995), 4, commented on the "deep sense of comfort and security" that came from "knowing the company and all families in town had a mutual interest and desire to assure the well being of everyone."
- ¹⁴⁸ CCIC, *Minute Book, 1932-1936*, Dec. 16, 1932 entry, Cliffs Natural Resources headquarters, Cleveland, Ohio.
- ¹⁴⁹ CCIC, Ore Mining Department, *Annual Report of the General Manager, 1939*, 572, Item 2010, CIMC-CCIC.
- ¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 1931, Item 2002, 42; *ibid.* 1932, Item 2003, 31-32, 166.
- ¹⁵¹ CCIC, Ore Mining Department, *Annual Report of the General Manager, 1934*, 36, Item 2005, CIMC-CCIC.
- ¹⁵² For example, CCIC, Ore Mining Department, *Report of the General Manager, 1936*, 47, Item 2007, CIMC-CCIC.
- ¹⁵³ Robert Joseph Goodman, "Ishpeming, Michigan: A Functional Study of a Mining Community," Ph.D. dissertation, Northwestern University, 1948, 113.
- ¹⁵⁴ CCIC, Ore Mining Department, *Report of the General Manager, 1932*, 380, Item 2003, CIMC-CCIC.
- ¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 379.
- ¹⁵⁶ Significantly, the United Steelworkers had greater difficulty in organizing Cleveland-Cliffs, the company with the most extensive paternalistic program on the Michigan iron ranges, than in organizing employees in other mining companies. See Reynolds, *Iron Will: Cleveland-Cliffs and the Mining of Iron Ore, 1847-2006* (Detroit, Mich.: Wayne State University Press, 2011), 149.
- ¹⁵⁷ CCIC, Ore Mining Department, *Report of the General Manager, 1946*, 1-2, Item 2017, CIMC-CCIC.
- ¹⁵⁸ CCIC, Ore Mining Department, *Report of the General Manager, 1954*, 441, Item 2025, CIMC-CCIC..
- ¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 468; *ibid.*, 1951, 1, 512, Item 2022, for hospital.; *ibid.*, 1952, 446, 470, Item 2023, for visiting nurses. In 1946 the Penn Mining Company sold its hospital to the city of Norway for a nominal sum (William J. Cummings, "Columbia Hospital," *Dickinson Diggings: The Quarterly Publication of the Dickinson County Genealogical Society*, 21, no. 2 (May 2002): 1).
- ¹⁶⁰ "Oscar Edward Olson: A Biography," 10-11.
- ¹⁶¹ CCIC, Ore Mining Department, *Report of the General Manager, 1949*, 574, Item 2020, CIMC-CCIC.

Corporate Supported Ethnic Conflict on the Mesabi Range, 1890-1930

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One of the common ways corporations sought to thwart the rise of unions in the late 19th and early 20th century was by fomenting ethnic conflict among workers. For example, Andrew Carnegie and William Frick frequently played on ethnic tensions to break strikes in their ironworks. Beginning in the 1870s, the steel barons initially hired English, Irish, and German to work in their Pennsylvania plants. When those employees went on strike in the 1890s, the corporation brought in South Slavs, Poles, and Italians to replace the striking Western Europeans.¹ In 1941, workers at Henry Ford's River Rouge plant staged a sit down strike that Harry Bennett, the company's security chief tried to break. He armed African-American workers with clubs and knives, then sent them to attack the striking employees. While the attempt failed, because of intervention by Edsel Ford on behalf of the employees, the cases illustrate the way companies promoted ethnic tensions to stop unionization.² The tactic of using Eastern European and African-American workers to replace American and Western European would be played out in the mining towns of Minnesota's Mesabi Iron Range. During the early 20th century, the United States Steel Company and its subsidiary the Oliver Mining Company, repeatedly raised ethnic tensions to prevent workers from effectively bargaining collectively or expanding the power of labor unions. This paper will detail the origins of ethnic tensions and how the various mining companies on the Mesabi Range manipulated local ethnic groups as they sought to retain control over the ore fields.

In 1892, Charlemagne Tower, Frank Dietrich von Ahlen, and the Merritt brothers controlled most of the mining operations on the Mesabi Range, but the situation soon changed. In the late nineteenth century millionaires such as John D. Rockefeller, Andrew Carnegie, Henry Oliver, and James J. Hill began to invest heavily in Mesabi mining operations. They all shared a common goal: the "vertical integration" of Mesabi ore into their economic holdings. If a single company acquired the Mesabi ore fields, had the ability to transport the raw materials to the steel towns of Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, and Pennsylvania, and possessed enough manufacturing capacity, they would control America's steel market.³ Each industrialist began to acquire land throughout Saint Louis County and vied with other investors to control the region.

The 1893 Depression permanently altered the economic structure of the Mesabi Range. Initially, the Merritts merged their Mountain Iron holdings with von Ahlen's mines in Hibbing in order to increase their control over all operations on the Mesabi Range. When the Merritts attempted to buy out their business partners in 1893 they overextended their finances and were unable to continue operations in Mountain Iron without new investors. The Merritts turned to John D. Rockefeller, Sr., for financial assistance. As founder of the Standard Oil Company and the architect of American financial trusts, Rockefeller had the funds to assist the Merritts even while the country suffered from an economic depression.⁴ He bought \$400,000 in bonds from the Merritts to improve their railroad connections and docks in Duluth. Rockefeller then formed the Lake Superior Consolidated Iron Mines Company, which merged six of his mining and iron companies with the Merritt's holdings and provided them with an additional half-million dollars. By 1894, renewed financial difficulty caused by the deepening depression forced the Merritts to ask Rockefeller for more aid. This allowed Rockefeller to gain a controlling interest in the company but he promised to sell the stocks back to the family the following year. When the Merritts failed to buy back or renew their options in 1895, Rockefeller gained control of the Lake Superior Consolidated Iron Mine Company's operations in Mountain Iron and Hibbing.

Rockefeller then moved to take over mining operations around Lake Vermilion. The process was relatively easy because Charlemagne Tower wanted to sell both the Minnesota Iron Company and the Duluth & Iron Range Railroad so that he could retire. Rockefeller bought the companies along with additional mines and property. He then concentrated on organizing all the new operations and improving the transportation of ore from Minnesota, across the Great Lakes, to the steel mills.

While Rockefeller was busy acquiring locally owned mines, Henry E. Oliver began an independent operation to supply his steelworks with Mesabi ore. In the 1880s, Oliver, who had become wealthy from manufacturing farm machinery, switched his interests to railroad building and smelting steel. He first visited Minnesota in 1892 to learn more about the Mesabi Range. Once convinced of the viability of Mesabi ore he formed the Oliver Iron Mining Company. He then began obtaining leases near Mountain Iron and Virginia to consolidate his hold on ore shipments, which ensured a constant supply to his Michigan and Pennsylvania mills.

Oliver had to formulate a safe manufacturing process for the Mesabi's soft ore because it exploded in furnaces built for hard hematite ores. Lacking adequate finances for the project, he contacted Andrew Carnegie for technical and financial assistance. After introducing the Bessemer Furnace to America in 1873, Carnegie already controlled most American steel manufacturing.⁵ In order to gain Carnegie's cooperation in the joint venture in 1893, Oliver gave Carnegie half of his mining stocks and eventually turned over control of the Oliver Mining Company to the steel-making giant. By 1897 Carnegie and Oliver had pioneered a new smelting procedure that enabled them to use the cheaper soft ore and undercut the steel prices of those still relying on hard ores.⁶

As the only manufacturers capable of processing soft ore, Carnegie and Oliver leased property from other investors in the region. In order to obtain additional supplies, they leased Rockefeller's Mesabi mines near Mountain Iron and paid him royalties on all ore shipments. They also turned to James J. Hill, leader of the Great Northern Railroad, and leased his railroad property that ran through Saint Louis County. Hill later formed the Great Northern Mining Trust and regained control of his mining property on the Mesabi Range, thus transforming the mining operations near Chisholm into the only major competition to Oliver Mining Company.⁷ With a major hold on the Mesabi region, Carnegie and Oliver began to discount the price of their ore from four dollars a ton to two dollars and fifty cents.⁸ When the new price forced many smaller companies out of business, Carnegie and Oliver bought the companies and gained a firmer financial hold on the region.

The consolidation process culminated in 1901 with the formation of America's first billion-dollar business, the United States Steel Company (USSC). J. Pierpont Morgan sought to unite 60 percent of the United States' steel-making capacity under his control by purchasing Carnegie Steel and merging his Federal Steel Company with Rockefeller's Lake Superior Consolidated Iron Mines.⁹ As the owner of America's wealthiest investment firm and with close financial ties to the federal government, Morgan had the financial capability for the buyout and merger.¹⁰ Carnegie, who wanted to retire from the steel business to pursue a philanthropic career, asked Charles Schwab, President of Carnegie Steel, to broker the financial transaction. Carnegie sold his holdings to Morgan, who in turn merged with Rockefeller and formed the United States Steel Corporation. Oliver Mining became a subsidiary of the new corporation and the leading corporate entity on the Mesabi Range. The move brought 41 mines, 1000 miles of track, and a fleet of 112 ships under the

direct control of Henry Oliver, who then used his new holdings to take control of more leases and competing businesses. By 1907 the Oliver Mining Company controlled 913 million tons of ore out the region's total of 1.2 billion.¹¹

As the dominant economic power in St. Louis County, Oliver Mining began to exert increased control over the region. What had once been a series of independent mining operations now came under the centralized control of Henry Oliver. In order to speed up production and ore shipment Oliver began to standardize hours and wages across the Mesabi region. Whereas workers previously left low-paying or dangerous work, they now found similarly poor conditions at all the Oliver mines. If the laborers protested against their working conditions or joined a strike, they soon found themselves “blackballed” from any of the mines run by the Oliver Company. The Oliver Mining Company employed several additional oppressive tactics to stop any further attempts at unionization in Mesabi mines. These included mass layoffs, importing new immigrant groups to increase ethnic tensions among miners, and hiring spies to identify union leaders.

Among the immigrant groups, Hibbing and Chisholm's Swedish community materialized first through the assistance of mining and railroad corporations. Edmund J. Longyear, the inventor of the diamond-tipped drill bit, played a leading role in transporting skilled workers from Michigan to Minnesota. In the 1890s, he established the Longyear Mine near Hibbing, as well as the Pillsbury Mine in Chisholm. Longyear brought the initial group of Swedish immigrants from Marquette, Michigan, mining operations to begin the geological exploration of the Western Mesabi Range. The Swedes operated numerous diamond-tipped drills that easily cut through rock and allowed surveyors to quickly map the boundaries of ore fields. Once the mapping had been completed, new mining operations began in several locations near Hibbing and Chisholm.¹² As experienced surveyors and miners they soon found themselves in supervisory roles over the newly arriving immigrant populations in the region and provided the labor needed to extract the iron ore.¹³ James J. Hill, who owned the Great Northern Railway and Great Northern Mining Company, believed that Swedes were especially diligent and trustworthy employees. He advertised in both the United States and Europe for Swedish and other Scandinavians, not only to work directly for the Great Northern Company but also to populate the areas surrounding his rail-lines.¹⁴ As the railroad stretched north out of St. Paul to Hibbing, immigrants had corporate encouragement to take the lucrative mining jobs on the Mesabi Iron Range.

The Swedish population in Hibbing soon built both a Lutheran and Methodist church, along with the *Söner af Vasa* (Sons of Vasa) Temperance Hall.¹⁵ The churches and temperance movement served as forces of political conservatism that also sought to preserve Swedish heritage in Hibbing. These organizations settled local disputes among individuals or political and religious factions. With few major problems encountered within the enclave, the community developed into a stable, middle-class minority group that supported both the Republican Party and local temperance movements. At the state level, a series of Scandinavian-born governors led Minnesota's progressive-era reform movement. Between 1899 and 1918, Governors Lind, Johnson, Eberhart, and Burnquist transformed the state through a series of insurance, conservation, anti-corruption, and labor reforms. While not always successful in their endeavors, the governors set the tone of Minnesota's century-long course toward a liberal state government.

Like the Swedes, the Finnish population also started in northern Michigan, moved to the Mesabi Range, and eventually comprised nearly half of Hibbing's immigrant population. Unlike the Swedish population, the Finnish immigrants arrived in Hibbing divided by two ethnic factions, one Finnish-speaking (*Fennomen*), the other Swedish-speaking (*Svencomen*). Each set up separate social organizations and religious institutions. *Svencomen* attended the Swedish Lutheran Church in Hibbing and built a separate Sons of Vasa Temperance Hall with the help of the local Swedish population.¹⁶ Similarly, *Fennomen* constructed a Finnish Lutheran Church, two temperance halls, and the Workers' Hall for Socialists. Thus, the two groups of Finnish immigrants who moved to Hibbing had their own agenda and cooperated little with one another.

The first Italian immigrants arrived in Duluth during 1869 from Lombardy via Winnipeg. Between 1875 and 1881 the number of miners from Northern Italy quadrupled. Most went to work on the Mesabi Range.¹⁷ The Northern Italians, called Austrians by local newspapers, came from Piedmont, Lombardy, Venice and Tyrol. The central Italians originated in Emilia-Romagna, the Marches, and Umbria. Both the Northern and Central Italians arrived first and dominated the Vermilion area that needed experienced underground miners. Meanwhile, Southern Italians from Abruzzi-Molise, Campania, Calabria, and Sicily found unskilled labor positions in the open-pit mines around Hibbing and Chisholm.¹⁸ Thus, the Northern and Southern Italians separated geographically in a fashion similar to the conditions in Italy. Southern Italians dominated the southwest end of the Mesabi Range while the Northern and Central Italians controlled the

northeast portion. The dominance of two thousand unskilled Italian laborers around Hibbing led to a large militant population ready to embrace radical methods and organizations.¹⁹ They supported radical labor unions such as the Western Federation of Miners and the Industrial Workers of the World, organizations that often resorted to strikes as a means to improve wages and working conditions for immigrant laborers. Both unions contained a large number of Italians who contributed leaders and demonstrators to the three major strikes on the Mesabi Range. As a result, the Southern Italians encountered opposition from the few Northern Italians in Hibbing and earned a reputation as radicals among the other immigrant groups, especially the Finns and Slovenians.

Slovenian missionaries led the South Slavic movement to the Great Lakes region. The migration started in the early nineteenth century, when Bishop Frederic Baraga from Ljubljana began missionary work among Native-Americans in Michigan, Minnesota, and Wisconsin.²⁰ The Slovenes had initially settled in Michigan's Upper Peninsula where they found work in the copper mines on the Keweenaw and Marquette Ranges. Approximately three thousand Slovenians followed Catholic leaders to the Mesabi Range after reading about their experiences in local publications. The experienced miners moved to Minnesota where they helped to explore and map iron ore deposits on the Mesabi Range. They also excavated the initial underground shafts near Tower and Sudan. Then, as the vast western mining districts around Hibbing and Virginia opened, the demand for unskilled laborers increased, eventually attracting over ten thousand Slovenian, Croatian, and Serbian workers to Minnesota.²¹

Following the example set by the Slovene population from Michigan, more Slavic immigrants followed James J. Hill's Great Northern Railway as it moved north out of Minneapolis and Saint Cloud. Another Slovenian priest, Fr. Joseph Buh, had been leading missionaries from Saint Cloud before expanding his work to Duluth and Saint Louis County.²² In 1892 Fr. Buh arrived in Tower to begin a Catholic mission among miners in the Mesabi Range. After building the first rectory in Tower he started nine missions in Ely, Two Harbors, Biwabik, Hibbing, Virginia, Mountain Iron, McKinley, Eveleth, and the Vermilion Indian Reserve.²³ He also opened the first Catholic Church in Hibbing and led the Slovenian Catholic movement on the Mesabi Range.

Hibbing's Slovenian population worked closely with Croatian immigrants and the two then founded St. Joseph's Catholic Church in the nearby town of Chisholm. The Serbs also founded their own Orthodox Church in Chisholm. The Catholic and Orthodox congregations remained at odds, discouraging interfaith marriages and maintaining minimal contacts with each other. The situation further declined after 1907 when the Slovenians supported radical Italians in a strike that the Oliver Mining Company broke by importing Montenegrin Serbs. The Serbs remained in Hibbing until the First World War when many returned home to protect their families from the invading Austro-Hungarian armies. The remaining Serbs finally began to cooperate with the other Slavs in the local Yugoslav Movement (United Slav) that arrived in America after the 1919 foundation of the Yugoslavian state in Europe. The Slovenians then played prominent roles in Hibbing and Chisholm as doctors, merchants, and politicians.

In Hibbing, where inter-ethnic conflict played a part in the daily lives of the town's immigrant populations. Swedish, Finnish, Italian, and South Slavic immigrants struggled through periods of discrimination, although over different lengths of time. In Hibbing, class status and political participation played major roles in the ethnic assimilation of immigrant groups. Middle-class Swedish, Finnish, and Italian immigrants assimilated into American society before working-class laborers from the same ethnic groups. Working-class immigrants endured a protracted period of adjustment as they sought a political voice in the community through participation in various socialist parties. These ethnic battles not only comprised the majority of immigrant interactions during the early period of community development, they also contributed to the assimilation process by uniting diverse enclaves along class lines.

The protracted fighting began after 1894, when large-scale mining operations in Hibbing and Chisholm, attracted the first wave of Cornish, Northern Italian, Swedish, and *Ostrobothnian* (Western Finland) Finnish immigrants to the region. These skilled underground miners dominated the available high-paying positions on the Mesabi Range. Underground miners made more money because they were paid by the ton for the ore removed. Moreover, they worked throughout the year. An experienced miner working a rich vein could earn nearly four dollars a day or 96 dollars a month for his labors. These open-pit mines only operated during the seven frost-free months in Northern Minnesota. The mining companies considered the open-pit miners unskilled laborers and paid them two dollars a day or 48 dollars a month.²⁴ In comparison, an Oliver

Mining foreman earned 80 to 120 dollars a month, plus production bonuses, while a District Superintendent earned over 6,000 dollars a year, plus production bonuses.²⁵ Between 1900 and 1908 the emphasis of mining operations surrounding Hibbing and Chisholm evolved from underground mines to open-pit excavations.

The transition made the roles of experienced hard-rock miners obsolete as the mining companies brought in much cheaper unskilled immigrant need for unskilled laborers to remove cover soil and ore. The opportunity to work in the mines attracting a second wave of working-class Finnish, Southern Italian, Slovenian, Croatian, and Serbian immigrants. As the number of underground mines declined, skilled positions became scarcer and job competition increased, leading to increased conflict among the contending immigrant groups trying to survive in the harsh conditions.

Most of the Cornish immigrants left for new underground mining opportunities opening in the far western states, while the Swedish, Finnish, and Northern Italian miners who stayed began to take supervisory positions in both the remaining underground and burgeoning open pit mines. Southern Italian, South Slavic, and newly arrived Finnish laborers then replaced the experienced miners in excavation operations. The American citizens of the region recognized the first wave of Swedish, Finnish, and Northern Italian supervisors and merchants as middle class. The immigrants had obtained lucrative jobs, bought homes, attended Church, and promoted temperance activities. Thus, by 1907, the established European immigrants conformed to the American ideals and sought to protect the mining companies and their economic policies.

The arrival of second wave groups of Finnish, Southern Italian, and Slovenian laborers further complicated the ethnic relations of Hibbing's diverse population. For example, Finnish immigrants from *Ostrobothnia* who arrived after 1900 consisted of displaced rural laborers, while the Helsinki and Tampere industrial regions also contributed a large number of Marxist Social Democrats who fled political persecution by Russian officials. Many of the *Ostrobothnian* immigrants suffered from alcoholism and had grown up in a culture of violence that endorsed the use of knives to settle personal disputes. Called *puukkojunkkari* or the "knife-fighters" in Finland, they soon earned the names "Black Finns" or "Jack Pine Savages" by the Americans because of their constant drunken state and frequent fights in Hibbing's saloons.²⁶ Local newspaper reported one dramatic incident where four drunken Finns attacked Night Patrolman John McHale with their guns and knives. The officer initially attempted to stop the men from firing their guns on the street,

only to be stabbed in the face and neck by the assailants. Afterwards a gun battle ensued but the Finns were too drunk to hit the patrolman. A posse soon formed and tracked down the Finns, arrested three who narrowly avoided a lynch mob.

Because of the frequency of these types of incidents, issues of ethnicity, race, and class merged into a toxic quagmire that increased conflicts between the diverse populations of the Mesabi Range. The Marxist “Red Finns,” along with the “Black Finns,” were seen as distinctly inferior to the middle-class immigrants who had more effectively assimilated American political and cultural norms. Thus, middle-class Finnish immigrants denounced the activities of “Red” and “Black” Finns, thereby reinforcing their “white” status among Anglo-Protestant Americans.²⁷ Further, Anglo-Protestant Americans recognized a racial difference between “white” Finns and “Black” or “Red” Finns.²⁸

As a result, Hibbing effectively split into three major racial and class groups; Americans occupied the top political and industrial positions, “white” middle-class Northern Europeans along with a small minority of Northern Italians the second, and a third consisted of “black” Northern and Southern European laborers. The Americans regarded all the Europeans as inferior but made allowances for “white” Northern Europeans and Northern Italians. Northern Europeans and Northern Italians considered the dark-skinned, Southern Europeans racially inferior. They applied some of the same terms, such as dirty, ignorant, lazy, and untrustworthy to their new Latin and Slavic neighbors as they had used in Europe. Conversely, the Latin people of Southern Italy and the Slavs from Slovenia felt culturally superior to the people of Northern Europe, whom they considered cold and barbarous.

After 1900, relations among Americans, “white” Europeans, and “black” Europeans began badly and declined over the next few years. Initially, Northern Europeans resented the job competition created by the arrival of Southern Europeans. They complained that “blacks” had come to the United States and taken their jobs.²⁹ The attitude of Northern Europeans clearly indicated that they had adopted American nativistic theories and racial attitudes toward the Southern Europeans. The “white” Finns and Swedes did not want the “black” Italian and Slovenian workers in their towns any more than their American neighbors wanted them.

As a result, the Mesabi Range split into two types of communities, with the towns of Hibbing and Virginia forming “white towns” because of their large Nordic populations, while neighboring Chisholm and

Eveleth became “black towns” because of the large numbers of Italians and Slavs who lived in the communities. Tensions between the two communities remained high, but often turned deadly when miners received their monthly paychecks and began to binge on alcohol. The Nordic miners expressed their racist and nativistic prejudices with physical attacks against Southern Europeans. In one 1905 occurrence twenty Italians and five Finns began throwing rocks at each other. The violence escalated into a gun battle that left one Finn severely wounded with a bullet in his head before deputies broke up the fight.³⁰

The prejudices and conflicts led to stereotypes that the anthropologist John Syrjamaki collected while investigating the region in the late 1930’s. He found some of the common perceptions of Southern Europeans by Americans and Nordics were: “1) You can’t expect much from foreigners from Southern and Eastern Europe, it has been said that you can’t make a silk purse out of sow’s ear; 2) Slavs and Italians need a boss over them who will yell and swear at them. They expect it and you can’t get any work out of them if they are not driven because there is no use trying to reason with them; 3) Southern Europeans don’t make good farmers here on the Range and not many live on the land. The reason is that they don’t have enough initiative to do anything without a boss over them; 4) You can count on the Northern Italians, but do not expect much from the Southern Italians. They are the short, black bunch and you can always spot them as being no good.”³¹ Thus, the Anglo-Protestant Americans and “white” middle-class immigrants distinguished the racially superior Northern Italians from the inferior “black” working-class, Southern Italian and Slavic populations. The racial distinction helped to reinforce the superior position of middle-class immigrants, but also contributed to an increase in racially based abuses of Southern Europeans in the mines surrounding Hibbing.

Since Swedish, Finnish, and Northern Italian immigrants dominated the supervisory positions in the mines, the middle-class immigrants had the power to act on their prejudices against the working-class Southern Europeans. The most important job a supervisor had in the early twentieth century was to push out a maximum amount of ore, in a minimum amount of time, for the lowest cost. All other considerations, such as worker safety and labor relations, remained secondary concerns during the early phases of Hibbing’s development. When the demand for increased production combined with traditional prejudices against dark-skinned people, conditions in the mines for Southern Europeans deteriorated.

The foremen, especially the Swedish, gained a reputation for cruelty and indifference to Southern European laborers.³² A typical attitude of the time was that mules were more important than laborers because animals cost money to train, whereas miners feed themselves and can be easily replaced. Foremen became adept at manipulating laborers by arbitrarily changing wages and replacing anybody who slipped below expected output levels. Additionally, laborers had to submit to a system of gifts and kickbacks, which included forced sexual favors from miners' wives, in order to keep their jobs or gain employment in lucrative positions.³³

In addition to the overt abuses perpetrated by supervisors, miners also faced abysmal working conditions. Since supervisors did not want to promote Eastern and Southern European miners to authoritative positions, the bosses could not effectively communicate with most of the laborers. As a result, training for itinerant miners remained rudimentary. Miners also worked ten-hour shifts, using only hammers, picks, and shovels to remove hundreds of tons of ore each day. The long hours and heavy work usually caused the average miners' health to fail after five years. Once incapacitated by their work in the mines, immigrants usually turned to farming as a means of survival.³⁴ The combination of hard work, long hours, uncaring supervisors, a lack of communication, and a large body of unskilled workers led to at least 583 injuries or deaths between 1905 and 1915 in the Mesabi mines.³⁵

Harsh working conditions in the mines caused hostility to rise between the working and middle-class immigrant populations of Hibbing. Miners resented their treatment at the hands of both middle-class immigrants and Americans. Instead of quietly enduring their injustices, working-class miners turned to violent retribution as a means of revenge. During the nineteenth century, Southern Italian peasants killed abusive aristocrats to extract economic and political conciliations from reluctant leaders. In Hibbing, the tactic surfaced in 1905, when an Italian immigrant named Sam Mastrianna tried to murder mining superintendent Grier Thompson after he refused to compensate the laborer for his loss of a foot in a mining accident. Rather than support the injured miner, local newspapers characterized Mastrianna as shiftless and lazy for not working at an easy job given to him by Thompson.³⁶ The incident not only illustrated the overt racism of mining officials and the local newspapers, but also the conditions that helped radicalize the immigrant laborer populations.

Shortly after the incident, these immigrants organized the first labor unions and adopted collective action to improve their working conditions.

In 1904 and 1905, the Western Federation of Miners and the Industrial Workers of the World organized around cadres of Finnish, Slovenian, and Italian Socialists. In the summer of 1905, the first in a series of major strikes erupted as workers sought better wages and safer conditions in the mines. While the 1905 strike ended in defeat, the immigrants continued to organize and strengthen their unions. As a result of unionization activities, Theofilo Petriella, an Italian immigrant, led another major Mesabi Range strike in 1907 that shut down mining operations across the length of the mining districts and Duluth. In order to end the strike the Oliver Mining Company, a subsidiary of the U.S. States Steel Corporation, brought in Montenegrin Serbs to destabilize multi-ethnic cooperation in unions and fill vacant positions in the mines.

The Oliver Mining Company's choice to bring in Montenegrin Serbs exacerbated existing racial and ethnic conflicts. Many of the striking Slovenian and Croatians miners came from the *Krajina* located on the northern border of Montenegro. Since the middle of the nineteenth century, the Serbian and Montenegrin governments had implemented an expansionist foreign policy that sought to incorporate Slovenian, Croatian, and Serbian populations of the *Krajina* into a larger Serbian state. The actions of the Serbs alienated the Croats and Slovenians of the region, who abhorred the thought of incorporation into the Serbian Empire. Further, the introduction of additional Eastern European immigrants to the Western European-dominated city of Hibbing, caused additional rifts between the classes. Hibbing's Finnish population already resented the intrusion of Southern European immigrants. By adding more Slavic workers, the Oliver Mining Company raised racial tensions in an already violent situation caused by the strike.

The Montenegrin strike-breakers brought to Hibbing were the last clan-based society in Europe. Centuries of conflict with the Ottoman Empire led to a militarized culture based on men fighting constant wars against Muslims. The men successfully defended the country from repeated Muslim invasions, thereby preventing Montenegro's incorporation into the Ottoman Empire. When not fighting Muslims, the men participated in blood-feuds with other Montenegrin clans that could last for generations.

As a result of the constant wars with Muslims and the blood-feuds, the Montenegrins failed to develop industry or agriculture in their homelands. The country contained few cities and suffered from widespread

poverty. Rather than work, Montenegrin men raided and plundered nearby Muslim communities to support their families.³⁷ In order to provide food for their families, women stayed at home and cultivated their fields, while men stood by to watch for possible attacks by Muslims or other Montenegrins. Additionally, men frequently beat their wives to increase agricultural production or to enforce a strict moral code that permeated Montenegrin society.³⁸

The rampant poverty in Montenegro led the country's Czar Nicholas to enact a broad modernization program for his nation. He passed laws to curb blood feuds, raiding, and the indiscriminate killing of Muslims. Nicholas also increased educational opportunities and improved agricultural production. The modernization program resulted in a major population increase that led to land scarcity. By 1907, overpopulation and burdensome taxes led to a mass migration to America, where the Montenegrins found the Oliver Mining Company eager for their services on the Mesabi Range.³⁹

In the summer of 1907, the Oliver Mining Company transported several hundred Montenegrin strike-breakers to the Mesabi Range. When the Montenegrins replaced Finnish, Italian, Slovenian laborers in the mines, the Mesabi strike broke down. Immigrant laborers needed their jobs to survive in Northern Minnesota, so they returned to work without gaining any concessions from the company. The Italian strike leader and chief organizer, Theofilo Petriella, fled the region, which ended the first attempts to unionize the Mesabi Range, immigrant miners.

Following the strike, the U.S. Steel Corporation barred numerous Finns from returning to work in the mines. The loss of Finnish labor changed the ethnic composition of Hibbing's mines. While Finns dominated most positions prior to the strike, afterwards the Hibbing Mining district reported that they employed over six hundred Americans, thirteen hundred Slavs, nearly four hundred Italians, and only two hundred Finns and one hundred Swedes.⁴⁰ With most of the working-class Finns pushed out of the mines, the Slavs took over their positions as cheap laborers. This development added to the existing ethnic tensions. Thus, the mining companies purposely introduced the Montenegrins to disrupt relations between the Finnish, Italian, and Slovenian workers and preclude the possibility of more labor strife by causing the immigrants to fight each other rather than cooperate collectively.

During the months following the strike, the Montenegrin strikebreakers proved to be more intractable and less productive than the Finnish, Italian, and Slovenian workers they had replaced.⁴¹ Montenegrin culture had traditionally relied on female labor to produce crops, while men fought or raided for their income. While the Montenegrin men proved to be effective strike-breakers, they failed as miners and fell back on traditional methods to obtain money. In 1908, when a forest fire destroyed most of Chisholm, the Montenegrins sacked the town. After the Montenegrins plundered the remaining valuables, local officials called in soldiers from Hibbing to restore order. After a brief struggle the soldiers arrested ninety Montenegrins and returned many of the stolen goods.⁴²

The local middle-class, both the American and European populations, then turned against the Montenegrins who had demonstrated their savagery and backwardness by attacking their neighbors. Supervisors soon adopted the epithet “Monteniggers” for the Slavic strikebreakers and poked fun at their unwillingness to wash or remove their boots when they went to bed.⁴³ The Montenegrins responded by calling their supervisors “*tcuda*,” meaning tobacco chewer, referring to the Swedish propensity for using chewing tobacco. Name-calling soon evolved into a violent ethnic and class-based political struggle among immigrant groups and Americans. The middle-class populations began to organize themselves politically, to stop the growing power of labor unions among the working-class Finnish, Southern Italian, and Slavic laborers who had sought protection from the systematic abuses in Mesabi area mines and towns.

During 1907, ethnic tensions between the American, English, Swedish, and Finnish middle-class populations and the Italian, Slovenian, and Finnish strikers led to the formation of two white supremacist groups, the Guardians of Liberty and the Ku Klux Klan. Hibbing’s Klansmen made their first reported public appearance in 1907, just before the strike began.⁴⁴ The attack began after William Brown, a well-known social reformer, supported the rights of workers to strike. Brown, who was also the superintendent of the Duluth, Missabe & Northern Railroad, received an anonymous phone call. The caller stated that Brown should come downtown and a carriage would arrive shortly to pick him up. When Brown refused, a group of Klan members dressed in hoods surrounded his home and began to beat on the walls with sticks. After a half-hour delay, Brown emerged from his house. The crowd bound and blind-folded Brown, then transported him to an area near the Hibbing Hotel. Once there, the Klan charged him with being a “Benedict without cause,” presumably

for his support of the miners.⁴⁵ Klan members stripped Brown of his clothing and beat him in front of a large crowd. In a bizarre display of public humiliation, Klan members placed Brown on a wagon pulled by elks and paraded the victim around town until dawn.⁴⁶ Most significantly, the attack on Brown predated a much wider expansion of Klan activities in the United States that began during the First World War.⁴⁷

The appearance of the Klan in Northern Minnesota before 1915 indicates the level of racial, ethnic, and class hostility in the region. Anglo-Protestant Americans and middle-class immigrants, especially Swedes and Finns, in the towns of Duluth, Hibbing, and Virginia, supported the Klan. The popularity of the Klan attracted large crowds to public events across the Mesabi Range and Duluth. The following year Dr. Hiram Evans, Imperial Wizard of the Ku Klux Klan, appeared in Hibbing and Virginia for the largest Klan rally in the Northwest. Arrowhead Klan Number Six sponsored the event that brought approximately 6,000 people, representing sixteen Klaverns, from Minnesota, Wisconsin, Michigan, and South Dakota to the Mesabi Range.⁴⁸ Dr. Evans gave a speech where he assailed the Roman Catholic, Democratic presidential hopeful, Alfred E. Smith for his allegiance to the Pope. The festivities ended in a parade of robed Klansmen marching through the business districts of Virginia and a large fireworks display.⁴⁹

The Klan gained strength among the populations of Hibbing and Virginia with a call for “white” unity based on middle-class values, Protestantism, temperance, anti-Catholicism, anti-socialism, and the Republican Party. They shared the desire to suppress the burgeoning political power of all Catholics and Socialists on the Mesabi Range.⁵⁰ The ideology of the Klan conformed to all the major characteristics of “white” Swedish and Finnish immigrants who lived in the region. After the attack on Brown, the Klan increased activity across the Mesabi Range and Duluth. Catholics found crosses burning in front of their churches while attacks on immigrants, especially Socialists, became more common. In 1926, a group of 1700 people attended a speech given by W. Williams of Duluth who presented the goals of the organization to make America safe for white Americans.⁵¹

During the First World War, two events helped stimulate Klan activities on the Mesabi Range. In 1915, the population of the Mesabi Range and Duluth flocked to see the David Ward Griffith’s movie, “Birth of a Nation,” which was based on a Civil War and Reconstruction novel by Thomas Dixon. The movie illustrated how the Klan saved the South from depredations caused by “crazed” former slaves, who “illegally” seized

power with the help of Northern Reconstructionists. In the movie, after an African-American Union soldier tried to rape a white woman, the Klan rose up in revolt and overthrew the “corrupt” government and in the process taught the Northerners the errors of their liberal ideas. The public on the Mesabi Range received the movie as the “naked truth.” Soon they had an opportunity to imitate the Klan members they saw in the movies.⁵²

Nationally, approximately fifty million people eventually viewed *Birth of a Nation*. The movie became an effective propaganda tool for white supremacists and paramilitary groups across the United States.⁵³ In Alabama, William J. Simmons, a former soldier and Methodist minister, used the opening of the movie to gather former Klan members and local fraternal organizations to reconstitute a new and more powerful Ku Klux Klan. In 1915, his small group of fifteen men met atop Stone Mountain and burned the first of many crosses across the United States.⁵⁴ William Simmons also provided a model of Klan support for government agencies that sought to locate and arrest subversives during the First World War. After he joined the national Citizens’ Bureau of Investigation, the Klan began their search for enemy aliens, slackers, strike leaders, illegal alcohol producers, and immoral women who could disrupt the war effort. In Mobile, Alabama, the Klan intervened in a shipyard strike and tracked down draft-dodgers.⁵⁵ The law enforcement activities demonstrated by Southern Klan members reached Northern Minnesota in 1917, after Socialist and Syndicalist immigrants led a series of strikes that shut down mines and lumber mills across the Mesabi Range through their support of the largely working-class, immigrant union, the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW).

Between 1916 and 1917, over ten thousand Finnish, Italian, and Slovenian immigrants staged a series of strikes on both the Mesabi and nearby Cuyuna Iron Ranges, plus a separate strike among lumber workers in the region. Led by William Haywood’s radical union, the Industrial Workers of the World, immigrant strikers shut down lumber and iron production at the critical juncture of America’s entry into the First World War. Additionally, Haywood called on all IWW members to oppose the war by slowing production and draft-dodging.⁵⁶ The fear of immigrant insurrection and anti-war activities led Governor Burnquist to form the Minnesota Commission of Public Safety to coordinate a statewide response to the threats posed by the large alien population. The Commission of Public Safety contacted conservative Finnish leaders to help suppress the anti-war activities of “Red” Finns who dominated the IWW in Northern Minnesota. Finnish Attorney Victor

Gran led the movement to arrest “Red” Finns with the help of Minnesota National Guard troops, with the ultimate goal of Americanizing the remaining malcontent Finnish population.⁵⁷

During the war, Commission of Public Safety Officers, city officials, local police departments, and the Ku Klux Klan all worked in conjunction to suppress IWW activities across Northern Minnesota. Inevitably, violence broke out as National Guard troops and local police officers sacked IWW headquarters in Duluth and Hibbing.⁵⁸ Police even shot at three suspected Finnish IWW members when they tried to hang leaflets in Hibbing.⁵⁹ Violence against immigrant Socialists on the Mesabi Range culminated in the lynching of a Finnish war protester. In September 1918, the Knights of Liberty members, a suspected branch of the Ku Klux Klan, pulled Olli Kinkonnen from his home in Duluth. The attackers first tarred and feather Kinkonnen, then hanged him from a tree in a nearby park. While officially declared a suicide, the Knights took responsibility for an act that “served to warn other slackers.”⁶⁰ The lynching instilled fear that permeated all the immigrant communities and reinforced the class and ethnic divisions in Northern Minnesota.

The murder of Olli Kinkonnen demonstrated the complexity of ethnic relations in Northern Minnesota. The middle-class Finns, under the leadership of Victor Gran, worked with the Anglo-Protestant American population to suppress the “Red” Finns of the region. By joining the Commission of Public safety, the “white” Finns demonstrated their allegiance to the United States. As a result, the “white” Finns found acceptance as patriotic Americans. In order to gain the respect of Anglo-Protestant Americans, the “white” Finns had to repress their fellow “black” or “red” Finnish compatriots. When the Knights of Liberty lynched Kinkonnen they showed the same racial prejudices that the Ku Klux Klan held against African-Americans or Catholics. The lynching also illustrated the racial hierarchy that placed “white” middle-class Finnish and Swedish immigrants above “Red” Finns or “black” Italians or Slovenians who also supported the IWW’s anti-war stance or strike activities.

The alleged superiority of the middle-class Swedish immigrant population also led to the early adaptation of American racial theory and an increased hostility toward African Americans. The Swedish supervisors in the mines around Hibbing already demonstrated their disdain for the working-class Finnish, Italian, and Slavic laborers through their systematic abuse of the workers. When the Swedish population came into contact with African Americans they exhibited the same caustic reactions as their white American hosts.

Similarly, immigrants from Finland, Italy, and the Balkans also abused African Americans on the Mesabi Range to demonstrate their superiority over a more maligned race.

The first interactions between the various immigrant populations on the Mesabi Range and African Americans occurred in the nearby city of Duluth. A few hundred African Americans ventured to St. Louis County where most worked as railroad porters on the Duluth, Missabe & Northern or The Great Northern Railroads. While only a small minority in a largely Scandinavian population, the African Americans experienced the same racial prejudices that were found in any American city of the era. Despite their negative reception in Duluth, a small number of African Americans chose to follow the rail lines and take up residence in the remote town of Hibbing.

Newspaper accounts mention only two male and one female African American who lived in Hibbing or the surrounding countryside. The woman, a pediatric nurse named Hattie Mosely, became a local celebrity because of her courageous work in Hibbing's isolation hospital treating people stricken by influenza, smallpox, and tuberculosis. Locals believed that her black skin protected her from white man's illnesses and placed faith in the nurse's folk medicine based on mustard plasters.⁶¹ Of the men, the elderly "Uncle" Henry Briscoe, a Civil War veteran, lived peacefully as a pensioner in Hibbing.⁶²

The other male African American, A.M. Ross, worked for several years as a barber and musician, only to be run out of town in 1906 for having an affair with a married white woman. The incident unfolded after Ross's angry wife reported the affair to local authorities. Deputies caught the interracial lovers "embracing" in the National Café that also served as a Chinese laundry and hotel.⁶³ After officials arrested Ross and his white lover, the local liberal newspaper ran an account entitled, "Lionized Coon Hurlled from Pedestal." The article illustrated racial attitudes among Hibbing's citizens. The report pointed out that:

Ross, whom the woman endearingly referred to as "Gussie" is a character in keeping with all his blood; he presumes on every acquaintance and incident that would have a tendency to place him on equality with white people. Owing to his ability as a musician he has been given preference over other musicians in the city, and his ability was pampered until he acquired a full-grown notion that he was a little bit better than ordinary run of white folks, and that his credentials for entry into the portals of correct society were genuine. While his social overturning will be killing to him, he will be passed on along by those who endured his presence alone for his musical powers and he will be consigned to the garbage heap, which should have been his resting place long ago. The old saying that 'give a nigger an inch and he'll take a mile,' was never better exemplified than in this case of the colored man in question.

After the arrest, Village Attorney Hughes prosecuted the case in front of Judge Brady, who “adjudged [the couple] guilty of a statutory offense against the peace, dignity, and moral precepts of the great commonwealth of Minnesota.” The judge fined each defendant fifty dollars and told them to leave the area.⁶⁴ Once Ross left Hibbing, no other young, African-American male lived permanently in the town until after the Second World War.

The transient African Americans who visited Hibbing found the community openly hostile. In 1912, J. Edmund Cantrell of Crawfordsville, Tennessee, located near Memphis, came to Hibbing in order to enter his horse in a local race. As a black man, he met with widespread discrimination wherever he went. He described how locals laced his food with cayenne pepper, then insulted, bullied, and browbeat him on numerous occasions. He avowed that conditions in Hibbing were far worse than in the South because Northerners had no experience with Negroes, while at least Southerners knew how to act with a modicum of respect. He stated, “Your town is one of the worst I have visited. I found it impossible to get any service at several of your restaurants on account of my color. But that is the usual condition in the north.”⁶⁵ Cantrell’s statement clearly indicated the overall hostility of Hibbing’s population toward African Americans. Both the American and immigrant populations participated in the racist behavior and with ethnic tensions on the rise because of the abysmal working conditions in the mines, the situation continued to deteriorate.

Conditions worsened for African Americans in 1913 when James J. Hill tried to employ twenty-three “Alabama Africans” at the Kelly Lake train station near South Hibbing as summer laborers. Hill informed the community that a general labor shortage forced him hire only “the best sort” of Negro experienced in northern working conditions. As the black workers received only two-thirds the pay of white employees, the citizens of the region recognized how the situation threatened to lower wages for everyone. Hill promised the local population that they would not have to worry that the black men would visit local stores, hotels, or restaurants, because Great Northern officials would care for all their needs inside the rail yard. Once rumors circulated that 500-1000 additional “Alabama Africans” would arrive in Hibbing, the population threatened a major strike if the black men did not leave.⁶⁶ Hill had no other choice than to remove the men. He did not try to reintroduce African Americans to the Mesabi Range.

Another clash occurred in 1920, when a white woman in Duluth accused three African-American circus workers of rape, which caused general outcry in the community. Since 1899, Duluth's Swedish population had read lurid tales of African-American lynchings carried out in the south after accusations of rape or murder by white women.⁶⁷ The movie "Birth of a Nation" also glamorized lynching as a proper response to the defilement of a white woman by an African American. With racial tensions still high after the recent lynching of Olli Kinkkonen and increasing Klan activities in Duluth, the incident turned into the largest mass lynching of African Americans in Minnesota's history.

After police arrested the suspects, nearly five thousand people surrounded the Duluth jail and then stormed the facility that held the accused rapists. The mob seized Isaac McGhie, Elmer Jackson, and Nate Green, then moved down the street and hanged each man in turn from a city light pole. In the aftermath of the murders many members of Duluth's African-American community moved away out of fear for their lives.⁶⁸ Out of the crowd of thousands who watched and participated in the events, only three men were convicted of the lesser charge of rioting. Two Americans, Louis Dondino and Gilbert Stephenson, along with the Swedish immigrant Carl John Alfred Hammerberg, spent only fifteen months in prison for this crime.⁶⁹

Public and private reactions to the lynchings differed widely. Publicly, Governor J.A.A. Burnquist (1915-1921), a second generation Swedish immigrant, immediately called out the local militia and ordered an investigation of the Duluth event.⁷⁰ Local English language newspapers followed the governor's lead and decried the horrible events. Similarly, the Finnish language papers *Industrialisti* (Industrialist, a Socialist paper) and *Siirtolainen* (Migrant) criticized the actions of the mob, calling the event a lynching and a murder.⁷¹ Privately, the Swedish language newspaper, *Duluth Posten*, failed to address the lynching directly, only mentioning the event as part of an upcoming political speech.⁷² Duluth's other Swedish language paper, *Duluth Scandinav*, supplied graphic details on the rape of a young woman by six gun-wielding black men.⁷³ The lynching also provided insights on Swedish immigrants' personal opinions of African-Americans and their racial attitudes. One Swedish immigrant wrote to his family in Europe, "...I think that you have never seen such a rukus as they had in Duluth the other night, when they lynched three negroes. They sent six of them here to Virginia and they took them out in the woods overnight because they were afraid that they would come and take them also. I for my part have never liked negroes but there is one here who carries the mail

along with us and he is as decent as a white man....”⁷⁴ His words illustrate the dichotomy of Swedish racial attitudes. Publicly, Swedes abhorred the lynchings, but privately they still considered themselves superior to African Americans and lent tacit approval to prevalent racist attitudes of the era.⁷⁵

All of these incidents of rape, assault, and murder occurred either directly or indirectly at the behest of regional mining companies. Early in the twentieth century, the Oliver Mining Company brought in South Slavic, especially Montenegrin immigrants, to destroy the working-class, racial, and ethnic unity fostered by the Italian immigrant, Theofilo Petriella in his role as a union organizer for the Western Federation of Miners. The Montenegrins proved to be effective strike-breakers in 1907, but poor miners and neighbors the following year after resorting to old world tactics of robbing people for money after a forest fire destroyed most of the town. James J. Hill made a similar move in 1913, when the Great Northern Railroad imported African-Americans to ostensibly fill a labor gap. Local immigrants perceived the move as means to lower wages across the board and united in opposition to the arrival of additional African-Americans in the mining district.

While the move failed to achieve its intended result, the public reaction to the appearance of rival African-American laborers points to the indirect effect increasing racial or ethnic tensions by company officials who wish to factionalize a population of workers. This was a more subtle form of manipulation. By placing loyal immigrants in positions of power, such as with the Swedish, Finnish, and Italian mining supervisors. Or, supporting specific politicians and locally influential groups such as the Ku Klux Klan, the mining companies retained their control over the mining districts of the Mesabi Range. The loyal immigrants were rewarded for support with recognition of their middle-class status in American society. Conversely, working-class immigrants from Northern, Southern, and Eastern Europe suffered collectively in a system they had little power to influence. When the working-class immigrants sought to remedy the wrongs they endured on a daily basis through unions, mining officials reacted by ratcheting up racial and ethnic tensions. The tactic was effective, but it cost many African-American and immigrants their lives to the chaos incited by companies as they protected profits and investors, over the aspirations of average workers.

¹ Paul Kahan, *The Homestead Strike: Labor, Violence, and American Industry* (New York: Routledge, 2014), 58

² Eric Arnesen, *Encyclopedia of U.S. Labor and Working-class History*, Vol. 1 (New York: Routledge, 2007), 1342.

³ Thomas J. Misa, *A Nation of Steel: The Making of Modern America, 1865-1925* (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995), 155-157.

⁴ For biographical information on Rockefeller and details on his financial dealings see Ron Chernow's, *Titan: The Life of John D. Rockefeller Sr.* (New York: Random House, 1998) or David Freeman Hawke's, *John D.: The Founding Father of the Rockefellers* (New York: Harper & Row, 1980).

⁵ For biographical information on Andrew Carnegie see Peter Krass, *Carnegie* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 2002), Harold C. Livesay and Oscar Handlin, *Andrew Carnegie & the Rise of Big Business* (New York: Longman, 2000), and Joseph Frazier Wall, *Andrew Carnegie* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1989).

⁶ Henry Oliver Evans, *Iron Pioneer: Henry W. Oliver, 1840-1904* (New York: E.P. Dutton & Company, 1942), 222.

⁷ For biographical information on James J. Hill see Duncan J. Karr, *The Story of the Great Northern Railway Company and James J. Hill* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1939), Michael P. Malone, *James J. Hill: Empire Builder of the Northwest* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1996), and Albro Martin, *James J. Hill and the Opening of the Northwest* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1976).

⁸ John Syrjamaki, "Iron Range Communities." (PhD diss., Yale University, 1940), 53-55.

⁹ Misa, 164-171.

¹⁰ Jean Strouse, *Morgan: American Financier* (New York: Random House, 1999).

¹¹ Syramaki, 56.

¹² Grace Lee Nute ed., *Mesabi Pioneer: Reminiscences of Edmund Longyear* (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 1951), 23-37.

¹³ Edmond J. Longyear and Walter R. Eastman, *Longyear: The Mesabi and Beyond* (Gilbert: Iron Range Historical Society, 1984), 79-82.

¹⁴ Albro Martin, *James J. Hill and the Opening of the Northwest* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1976), 471-472.

¹⁵ *Svensk-Finska Nykterhets-Forbundet af America* (Rock Island: Svensk-Finska Nykterhets-Forbundet af America, 1908), 74-75.

¹⁶ First Emmanuel Lutheran Church, Parishioner Book, Hibbing, Augustan College, Swenson Swedish Immigration Center film E-123.

¹⁷ Andrew Rolle, *Westward the Immigrants: Italian Adventurers and Colonists in an Expanding America* (Niwat: University Press of Colorado, 1999), 66.

¹⁸ Rudolph J. Vecoli, "Italians on Minnesota's Iron Range," in Rudolph J. Vecoli Ed., *Italian Immigrants in Rural and Small Town America* (Staten Island: The American Italian Historical Association, 1987), 180-182.

¹⁹ Vecoli, 456.

²⁰ Darko Friš, "A Brief Survey of the Activities of the Catholic Church among Slovenian Immigrants in the U.S.A., 1871-1941," in *Slovene Studies* (New York: New York, Vol. 14, No. 2, 1992), 206-207.

²¹ Gerald Gilbert Govorchin, *Americans from Yugoslavia* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1961), 9.

²² Sister Bernard Coleman O.S.B. and Sister Verona LaBud O.S.B., *Masinaigans: The Little Book* (Saint Paul: North Central Publishing Co., 1972), 97-107, 146.

²³ Coleman, 170.

²⁴ Barbara Milkovich, *It's Gone; Did you Notice? A History of the Mesabi Range Village of Franklin, Minnesota* (Huntington Beach: Magarac Books, 2000), 46-48.

²⁵ Donald L. Boese, *John C. Greenway and the Opening of the Western Mesabi* (Grand Rapids: Itasca County College Foundation, 1975), 120-122.

²⁶ Hibbing's newspapers recounted numerous occasions of drunken Finns attacking each other and members of the general public. The June 22, 1905, edition of the *Hibbing Sentinel* article entitled "Four Bad Men with Knives For detailed information on the problems of drunkenness and the rise of temperance societies in Hibbing see, John Kolemäinen's "Finnish Temperance Societies in Minnesota" in *Minnesota History* (22, 1941) 391-403.

²⁷ A February 15, 1908, report from *The Mesaba Ore and The Hibbing News* entitled "Not Socialists" reported that, "Approximately 400 enlightened and Americanized Finns met in Eveleth to protest against Finnish Socialists who had given all Finns a bad name in 1907 for going out on strike." They pointed out only two percent of the 300,000 Finns in America were Socialists.

²⁸ In a June 6, 1914, editorial entitled "Fighting Red Flag Socialism," in *The Mesaba Ore and The Hibbing News* differentiated between conservative and socialist Finns. The author pointed out that not all Finns were socialists any more than all Englishmen were murderers just because one murdered another. He observed that Finnish Anarchists were dangerous, not because they were Finns, rather because of their actions. The article stated, "Finns occupy both high and low places in society. Socialism and Anarchy are key dangers to society and they are not confined to the Finnish race alone."

²⁹ John Syrjamaki, "Iron Range Communities" (PhD diss., Yale University, 1940), 260-267.

³⁰ "Pay Day Celebration: Finlanders and Italians Fight with Rocks and Revolvers," *Mesaba Ore and Hibbing Tribune*, February 25, 1905.

³¹ Syrjamaki, 268-270.

³² Many Finnish immigrants came from *Ostrobothnia* and spoke Swedish as their native language. Newspapers of the period did not differentiate between Swedes and Swedish-speaking Finns, resulting in some confusion over the ethnic origins of supervisors.

³³ Miners reported the graft system and sexual indiscretions to state investigators who came to the Mesabi Range during the 1907 and 1916 strikes. Syramaki, 185-186.

³⁴ Syrjamaki, 156.

- ³⁵ Syrjamaki, 195.
- ³⁶ "Would Kill G. H. Thompson," *Mesabi Ore and Hibbing Tribune*, June 8, 1905.
- ³⁷ Christopher Boehm, *Blood Revenge: The Anthropology of Feuding in Montenegro and Other Tribal Societies* (Kansas: University of Kansas Press, 1984), 165-173.
- ³⁸ Christopher Boehm, *Montenegrin Social Organization and Values: Political Ethnography of a Refuge Area Tribal Adaptation* (New York: AMS Press, 1983), 32-41.
- ³⁹ Michael Palaret, *The Balkan Economies 1800-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 357-370.
- ⁴⁰ Boese, 108.
- ⁴¹ "Unsatisfactory as Laborers," *Mesabi Ore and Hibbing Tribune* January 25, 1908.
- ⁴² "Forest Fire Destroys Village of Chisholm," *Mesabi Ore and Hibbing Tribune* September 12, 1908.
- ⁴³ "Montenegrins in Night Robes," *Mesabi Ore and Hibbing Tribune* March 7, 1912.
- ⁴⁴ There is a strong possibility that the Guardians of Liberty were the political arm of the Ku Klux Klan. They espoused the same political, religious, and racial ideologies. A lack of primary sources on the topic forces me to treat the two organizations separately. The Guardians of Liberty appeared to have peaked in 1916, when the Guardians ran a ticket that included Lennie Kugler for president, William Hardy, Oscar Bay, and A. Newberg for trustees, and A. G. Schmidt for recorder. The group called upon all good citizens to oppose any votes for people under Rome's power regardless of party lines. They advocated liberty, free speech, free schools, and a free press. "Religious Bigots Show Their Hand," *The Mesabi Ore and The Hibbing News*, March 4, 1916. After 1916, the Knights of Liberty replaced the Guardians of Liberty in local newspapers as primary supporter of Anglo-Protestant American values. By 1918, the Ku Klux Klan supplanted the knights as chief proponents of white supremacy.
- ⁴⁵ As an Anglo-Protestant American and superintendent in charge of transporting ore away from mines, Brown was expected to support the Oliver Mining Company. By supporting the miners, Brown angered local officials, which triggered the attack. From the newspaper description, local officials appeared to have acquiesced to the incident or possibly even participated in events that transpired.
- ⁴⁶ "Ku-Klux-Klan," *Mesabi Ore and Hibbing Tribune*, June 22, 1907.
- ⁴⁷ The Klan first organized in Pulaski, Tennessee after the end of the American Civil War. By 1867, the Klan spread throughout the former Confederate States, buoyed by support of Southerners opposed to President Lincoln and President Grant's reconstruction plans. Members actively suppressed Reconstructionist and African American attempts to enforce constitutionally guaranteed civil rights laws through widespread acts of violence. However, after the end of Reconstruction, the Klan experienced a general decline in popularity in the South. By the early twentieth century, the Klan lay as a moribund part of folk history in the south until 1915, when William J. Simmons helped to rejuvenate the organization through a call to protect American values. David M. Chalmers, *Hooded Americanism: The History of the Ku Klux Klan* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1987), 2-3.
- ⁴⁸ "Klan Wizard Arrives Here," *Virginia Daily Enterprise*, July 23, 1927.
- ⁴⁹ "Klan Chieftain Hits at Smith," *Virginia Daily Enterprise*, July 25, 1927.
- ⁵⁰ Syrjamaki, 365.
- ⁵¹ "Klan Speaker Talks to 1700 Here Last Night," *Virginia Daily Enterprise*, September 3, 1926.
- ⁵² *Birth of a Nation, The Mesabi Ore and The Hibbing News*, November 13, 1915.
- ⁵³ Kenneth T. Jackson, *The Ku Klux Klan in the City, 1915-1930* (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee Publishing, 1992), 3-4.
- ⁵⁴ David M. Chalmers, 28-30.
- ⁵⁵ David M. Chalmers, 31.
- ⁵⁶ Peter Kivisto, *Immigrant Socialists in the United States: The Case of Finns and the Left* (Rutherford, Teaneck, and Madison: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1984), 141-148.
- ⁵⁷ Peter Kivisto, 156.
- ⁵⁸ In one raid, Hibbing police arrested thirteen alien residents at Stevenson location. The incident began when a Finnish immigrant named Warri Maki made seditious remarks against America. When police went to arrest him a short struggle broke out. Police found fourteen firearms and a great deal of IWW literature among the immigrants. Police officers arrested Warri Maki, Joseph Piese, Vilo Sammucci, Everett Kojarvi, Everett Pakkanen, Alen Olin, and Joseph Storich. A local court found them all guilty of weapons possession and fined each 25 dollars plus court costs. Joseph Povich, Lloyd Millan, Mike Miller, all Austrians (Slovenian), were also convicted and charged the same amount. Nicholas Borlich was fined 100 dollars for weapons and whiskey possession, while Anton Holman was also charged and then freed because of his good reputation. Maki was thought to be the IWW leader of Stevenson location and was found with over \$1,000 when arrested. "IWW Leader Is Found Guilty Of Sedition Today," *Mesabi Ore and Hibbing Tribune*, January 23, 1918.
- ⁵⁹ "Strike Literature Spread Broad Cast Early This Morning," *Mesabi Ore and Hibbing Tribune*, August 8, 1917.
- ⁶⁰ Chris Julin, "The Other Lynching in Duluth," <http://news.minnesota.publicradio.org/projects/2001/06/lynching/olli.shtml> (accessed December 4, 2004).
- ⁶¹ Patricia Mestek, "Hattie Mosely" (Hibbing: Hibbing Historical Society, 1980), 1-3.
- ⁶² "Aged Negro Asks Pension," *Mesabi Ore and Hibbing Tribune*, February 7, 1912.
- ⁶³ The location of the arrest also had importance because Chinese immigrants owned and operated the National Café. The establishment gained notoriety in Hibbing because of the many fights that occurred on the property. The owners also had a more permissive attitude toward sexuality and allowed homosexuals to engage in sexual activity on the property. A few months after the Ross incident, deputies caught four men in a sex act, the men were also arrested and fined. "Invokes the Law," *Mesabi Ore and Hibbing Tribune*, May 16, 1906.
- ⁶⁴ "Lionized Coon Hurlled From Pedestal," *Mesabi Ore and Hibbing Tribune*, January 27, 1906.
- ⁶⁵ "No Place for a Black Man," *Mesabi Ore and Hibbing Tribune*, September 6, 1912.

⁶⁶ “Negro Labor Introduced on the Mesaba Range by the Great Northern Company,” *Mesaba Ore and Hibbing Tribune* May 14, 1913.

⁶⁷ “Hemsk Lynchning” (Ghastly Lynching), *Duluth Posten*, June 15, 1899.

⁶⁸ Michael Fedo, *The Lynching’s in Duluth* (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 2000), 95-102.

⁶⁹ Minnesota Historical Society, *Duluth Lynchings*, December 2, 2004, <http://collections.mnhs.org/duluthlynchings/html/legalproceedings.htm>.

⁷⁰ Governor Burnquist made many controversial decisions during his term in office. As president of the NAACP he was very upset with the lynchings and ordered a detailed investigation of the crime and later enacted anti-lynching laws. However, Burnquist also created the Committee of Public Safety that prosecuted suspected communists during the Red Scare that overlooked the 1918 lynching of Olli Kinkonnen. Fedo, 112.

⁷¹ “Lynchaajia Tutktitaan Edelleenkin,” *Industrialisti*, June 24, 1920, “3 Lynchaaja Asetetaan Syytteeseen,” *Industrialisti*, June 25, 1920, and “Kaksi Miestä Vangittu Lynchauksen Johdosta,” *Siirtolainen*, June 23, 1920.

⁷² “Svenska Nationalförbundets Midsommarfest” (The National Swedish Association’s Mid-summer Festival), *Duluth Posten*, June 25, 1920

⁷³ “Sex Neger Voldtager och en Ung Pige” (Six Negro Villains and a Young Maiden), *Duluth Scandinav*, June 18, 1920.

⁷⁴ Minnesota Historical Society, Letters Box #1, 69, Gabriel Walstedt, June 18, 1920.

⁷⁵ The difference between the publicly and privately expressed racial opinions still exists in Sweden. Since the 1980s, Sweden absorbed nearly a million South Slavic and African war refugees. The Swedish government has professed the equality of the immigrants, but isolated the refugees in “ghettos” around the country. Additionally, Swedish nationalist and white supremacy groups have physically attacked the immigrants and derided the Slavs and Africans as a drain on the national economy. Jacob Pred, *Even in Sweden: Racisms, Racialized Spaces, and the Popular Geographical Imagination* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 2000).

Rumrunning on Lake Superior: The *Arbutus* Story

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The Lake Superior basin to outside folk can be viewed as a relatively isolated part of the Great Lakes system. However, during national Prohibition in the United States (1920-1933) rumrunners traveled Lake Superior carrying their highly demanded but illegal alcoholic beverages to the United States. There are even stories of pilots flying booze into northern Wisconsin from Port Arthur. This is a story that has been by-passed by many historians because of a lack of readily available information. A search of newspapers and a few published sources tell us a different story of what happened on this northern border. The saga of the Canadian tug, *Arbutus* is the subject of this study, which will shed some light on an aspect of this era.

Prohibition in Michigan began in May, 1918, two years before national Prohibition in the United States. This unfortunate experiment, which tried to change American society's drinking habits, turned into a failure due to the fact that moonshine was distilled in the country and rumrunners brought quality British and Canadian whiskeys illegally from Canada into the United States. In the Midwest, the better-known route was across the Detroit River from Windsor, Ontario to Detroit, but there were other routes across the Canadian border. In the Lake Superior Basin liquor entered the United States from communities like Thessalon and Blind River along the North Channel of Lake Huron; across the St. Mary's River at Sault Ste. Marie; across Whitefish Bay from Bachawana Bay to Whitefish Point; and across Lake Superior from the small fishing villages of Port Arthur and Fort William, now Thunder Bay.¹

The quantities of liquor that were sent south never rivaled the hundreds of thousands of cases which passed to Detroit, but thousands of cases of booze crossed Lake Superior. Americans had a long tradition of making moonshine or home distilled whiskey and during Prohibition this was a major business activity in the Upper Peninsula. However, affluent Midwesterners wanted fine British and Canadian whiskeys like Johnny Walker scotch. The destinations for this select liquor were the many resorts located to the south of Lake Superior. There were homes of wealthy Midwesterners on Les Cheneaux Island and on Mackinac Island with the Grand Hotel in the eastern Upper Peninsula; the resorts in northwest Michigan from Harbor Springs to Traverse City; on the Door Peninsula and in northern Wisconsin. If the resorts were not a sizeable market,

liquor once it landed along the south shore of the lake, was trucked southward to Milwaukee, Chicago, and other midwestern urban centers.

On September 1, 1916, Ontario went dry but a unique prohibition experience was set into motion. In Ontario it was illegal to sell liquor to bars or for home consumption, but it could be manufactured and exported. Canadian bootleggers decided to cash in on the liquor trade. One of these was the Bronfman family, immigrants from Romania where their name in Yiddish meant, “whiskey dealers.” They started out in Saskatchewan exporting liquor to other dry areas of Canada and then after 1918 into Michigan and then into the United States. Aiding them was the Canadian Pacific Railway that ran from east to west along the northern route through these towns and cities, thus providing easy access to imported liquor from other provinces. The fact that a member of the Bronfman family owned a large hotel near the waterfront in Port Arthur facilitated the work of the rumrunners.

Rumrunners were active in western Lake Superior with the advent of Prohibition and it became part of the Coast Guard’s work not only to rescue fishermen, but also to intercept whiskey smugglers. The Coast Guard patrolled the waters while customs agents were in charge of the land entry points.² In 1919, the fishermen at Grand Marais, Minnesota sought Congressional assistance to have a Coast Guard vessel stationed in western Lake Superior to provide rescue service. The World War I sub-chaser, *Cook* was stationed in this part of the lake.³ During the summer of 1920, Captain Benjamin Trudell said that they had caught a band of rumrunners on Isle Royale. Trudell, returned in a small motor boat carrying thirty cases of Canadian-made liquor. He also arrested three men who were later tried in Duluth’s federal court. However this was the only seizure by the vessel reported to customs officials. For Captain Trudell the romantic stories of chasing whiskey smugglers on Lake Superior were those of “space writers dreams.”⁴ In reality the vast expanse of water and limited communication technology, the Coast Guard was ill equipped for the task at hand.

When studying the illicit happenings during Prohibition it is difficult to get accurate documentation. Successful rumrunners seldom left a record of their illegal activities. A few have survived in newspaper stories as is true of the *Arbutus* incident, which follows. It also provides insights into how federal enforcement agents tried to handle the rum-running situation, the first of its kind in this part of the country.

The *Arbutus* was a sixty-three foot, wooden hull, Canadian-owned tug, built in 1887. Rumrunners preferred older boats because if they were seized or had to be scuttled there was little loss involved. In mid-November, 1920 the *Arbutus*, commanded by Captain George Stitt sailed from Port Arthur with a cargo of seventy cases of liquor consigned to a Houghton man. On the voyage across Lake Superior the captain and his crew decided to imbibe in their cargo and accidentally landed at Copper Harbor. On the morning of November, 20 the lighthouse keeper, Charles T. Davis, rowed over to the *Arbutus* and learned from one of the crewmembers that they were carrying “a lot of wet goods.” Realizing that this was a rumrunner, Davis drove the dozen-mile to Delaware, Michigan where he called the collector of customs at Hancock and alerted him of the smuggled goods.⁵

At 10:45 a.m. the *Arbutus* weighed anchor and headed southward hoping to reach Houghton, its destination. However, heavy seas and an exhausted coal supply forced the tug to seek shelter at Eagle Harbor. In an effort to carry as much liquor to the United States as possible its coalbunkers was filled with twenty-two cases of Scotch whiskey and forty-eight cases of rye. Seeing that they were not going to make Houghton and land their illegal cargo and now warned that agents were on the way to seize the tug and its captain and crew, Captain Stitt left with a former Copper Country resident, McEachern and traveled to Houghton where they got a room. Stitt registered using his own name, but apparently as an afterthought erased the name and wrote “George Phillips, Duluth” but the “Capt. Stitt” he wrote first was still plainly visible.⁶ By the next morning they were nowhere in sight, having left on a morning train probably towards Sault Ste. Marie, because authorities at Duluth had been warned to watch for them.

Almost immediately complications arose. The presence of the tug in Eagle Harbor placed it under the jurisdiction of Keweenaw County officials, but there were two problems. First, the tug was not docked but anchored in the harbor and thus county officials could take no action. Furthermore, it was Canadian-owned and this created international complications that would have to be handled by the federal government. Without any direction, county officials sat and waited. Neither the captain nor the crew were arrested and all quickly fled.⁷

Now the federal government took action. Chief enforcement agent, Leo J. Grove in Marquette sent his most qualified agent, John Saul to Eagle Harbor to take over the investigation.⁸ Saul, along with the Prosecuting Attorney of Keweenaw County, Nels A. Ruonavaara; Undersheriff Heikkila; and Deputy Sheriff

Roy Trudell headed for Eagle Harbor. They arrested John Dowd, a passenger on the tug and the shipper of the liquor. On the evening of November, 23 Justice Richards of Mohawk, Michigan arranged and placed Dowd in Eagle River's county jail.

Later that afternoon, Saul and the collector of customs, hired a small boat and were taken to the tug. When they boarded the vessel they found only the engineer, James Dampier, who had remained on board the vessel and claimed ownership. Maritime law held that anyone could seize a vessel in an abandoned state. According to Dampier's sworn testimony, the *Arbutus* sailed from Port Arthur with thirty cases of illegal whiskey, although later the number rose to seventy cases. Dampier said once the captain fled and he realized the boat was to be seized, he decided to throw the remaining twenty-one cases of liquor overboard.⁹

As with many enforcement actions during Prohibition the law was vague, especially in this case. Saul concluded to a reporter, "I am not sure what I will do next" after he seized the tug. He sent a full report of the seizure to enforcement officials in Chicago and Grand Rapids and awaited a reply. The report stated that John Dowd who had been arrested owned the liquor and Captain Stitt knew the liquor was on board.¹⁰ According to licenses found on board, Samuel Wright of Fort William owned the vessel.¹¹

A diver was hired and men with grappling hooks searched the twenty foot deep harbor, but to no avail. What Dampier did not say was that when he threw the liquor over board someone in a motorboat alongside of the tug retrieved it, brought to shore and sold the alcohol. All the while, Dowd being held in the county jail, made a written confession to the prosecutor. Federal district attorney, M.H. Walker informed county officials that federal warrants for transporting liquor were issued for both Dowd and Dampier.¹² However, Walker wanted the investigation expanded. The *Mining Journal* reporter wrote that this action "may result in the implication of several persons, some of them prominent in the Copper Country, on charges of smuggling and conspiracy against the government." Federal officials claimed that they had evidence that the liquor was consigned to Houghton citizens and they held a telegram with pertinent information they did not share with the press.

The federal government claimed the vessel was worth between \$4,000 and \$5,000 and according to Federal statutes she could be released if her owners furnished bonds for double her value. Canadian interests who held mortgages on the tug hired a Copper Country attorney to deal with the issue. Matters became even

more complicated. Marquette's enforcement agent, Grove, received information that persons holding mortgages on the tug are not inclined to furnish bonds for her release inasmuch as in the event of her sale the court must recognize the lieu of the mortgage holders.

The reporter concluded that it might turn out that the vessel will be a "white elephant" on the hands of federal agents. The tug was reported leaky and not in good condition, keeping in practice of rumrunners using dilapidated vessels such as the *Arbutus*. The Federal agents did not know what to do with the tug if she was not released. They finally concluded that they would have to hire a licensed pilot to bring the tug to Marquette.

Saul was a confident and diligent federal enforcement agent. He quickly concluded that Dampier had unloaded the liquor and found unmistakable signs on shore that a small boat had landed the cargo, which was dragged up on shore and loaded, into one or more automobiles. He unearthed clues as to the whereabouts of the whiskey and these clues led to finding some of the liquor and in the process wrung confessions from people. The agents were more interested in a "higher ups" involved in the smuggling process. He found that Dowd was merely the transport agent and not the purchaser. Saul was actually seeking the purchaser and the distributors. Dampier had been instructed to unload the liquor and then burn the *Arbutus*.¹³

The tug, now referred to as "the booze ship," finally loaded with coal sailed for Houghton and arrived on December 3. The tug was to continue to Marquette. However a check of its condition worried Captain Thomas Brown of Munising and he was afraid to venture onto Lake Superior until the fog lifted. An inspection of the vessel showed that the ship's compass had been broken during the excitement of the seizure, the original crew and captain familiar with the vessel were gone and the tug was reported to be leaking.¹⁴

When weather conditions improved, Captain Brown headed the tug for Marquette and federal agent, Joseph Pavlok oversaw the voyage. The tug made it to Marquette and was winterized at the Coast Guard station in Marquette. The Canadian owners of the tug convinced federal authorities that they were ignorant of the boat's mission to American waters and it would be returned.

The saga of the *Arbutus* did not end in Marquette. In November, 1921 the tug continued its odyssey on Lake Superior leaving Marquette and headed for Sault Ste. Marie. Due to heavy seas the *Arbutus* foundered some fifteen miles northeast of Grand Marais, Michigan. The Coast Guard rescued its crew, which consisted of: Captain E.A. Fader of Fort William, William Toms of Port Arthur, engineer J.A. Ranger, and Albert

William of Marquette.¹⁵ Can divers visit the hulk? This is probably not an option as this is one of the deepest areas of the lake.

The story could continue as an example of the many legal cases in the Copper Country who were tried in federal court. Most of them got \$500 fine for their involvement in this rum running venture. What sets this story apart is that it is one of the few examples of a rumrunner being intercepted by federal enforcement agents, mainly due to bad judgment on the part of the shippers in Port Arthur and the captain. It also shows how the prohibition enforcement agents and directions were difficult to administer. Although due to the persistence of John Saul, the violators were apprehended and got their day in court.

¹ Ernest Hemingway. "Rum-Running: Canuck Whiskey Pouring into the U.S.," *The Toronto Star Weekly* (June 5, 1920); reprinted: *Dateline: Toronto: The Complete Toronto Star Dispatches, 1920-1924*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 2002, pp. 54-56 and Andrew Lefebvre. "Prohibition and the Smuggling of Intoxicating Liquors between the Two Saults," *The Northern Mariner/Le marin du nord* XI, No. 3 (July 2001), 33-40.

² Jan McAdams Huttenstine. *Remotely Yours: A Historic Journey into the White Point Area*. Paradise, MI: East West Press, 2010, pp. 129; Frederick Stonehouse. *Great Lakes Crime II*. Gwinn, MI: Avery Color Studios, 2007, pp. 145 and 150-151.

³ In a curious development, the *Cook* was originally to be stationed the Grand Marais, Minnesota however due to a clerical error she was stationed at Grand Marais, Michigan until 1925.

⁴ *Brainerd Daily Dispatch* 11-9-1920.

⁵ Copper Harbor Range Lighthouse Journal, Charles T. David reporting, November 20, 1920, Michigan Iron Industry Museum files, Negaunee, Michigan.

⁶ *Houghton Daily Mining Gazette* 11-26, 1920.

⁷ *Calumet News* 11-22 & 23-1920.

⁸ *Ironwood Daily Globe* 10-14-1921. Saul had an interesting career. He remained with the enforcement for over a year and resigned. Leo Grove and the local federal judge praised him for his diligence to duty and getting most of those he caught convicted. To that date he had served the longest in Grove's office: 1 year, 10 months, 15 days. He got a position with the city of Manistique and then worked for Munising. In his 70s he was serving in the state legislature when he passed away around 1941.

⁹ *Calumet News* 11-24-1920.

¹⁰ In the newspaper reports and captain's name is spelling "Stidt" and "Stitt."

¹¹ *Marquette Mining Journal* 11-24-1920.

¹² *Calumet News* 11-26-1920.

¹³ *Mining Journal* 11-29-1920.

¹⁴ *Calumet News* 11-30-1920; *Houghton Daily Mining Gazette* 12-03-1920.

¹⁵ *Ironwood Daily Globe* 11-29-1921.

An Environmental History of the Upper Peninsula of Michigan: An Outline

Robert Archibald Ph.D.

Most of us occasionally indulge in fantasies of an idealized past where life was less complicated by technology, less automobile-centered, where divorce was less likely and violence less frequent. History-themed restaurants comfort us; and we are enthralled by the detritus of the past that bespeaks of simplicity that we discover in antique stores, museums, and historic homes and in our own attics. As we age, we create museums of ourselves and include in these special places those things that remind us of childhood and youth. So we carefully guard school photos, remembrances of those who have passed, perhaps a school report card, maybe a high school yearbook or a pressed flower from a long-ago prom. For most of us, the past is a place of nostalgia and sentiment, and the present is just the present.

The white pine is a stunning tree that once grew in enormous stands in the Upper Peninsula. The Estivant Pines Nature Sanctuary is one small stand of mature trees protected by the Michigan Nature Association near Copper Harbor on the Keweenaw Peninsula.¹ My wife Kathy and I walked through this forest, which may be the last stand of virgin white pines in the entire Upper Peninsula. I imagine forests of these giants scattered all over this land. They soar skyward and even the two of us holding each other's hands cannot get our arms around the trunks. Standing in these pines is a step back in time, before the rapacious felling of the region's forests. Now it is difficult to imagine a nineteenth century mindset in which forests are the antithesis of civilization and conversion of wild lands to farmlands the ideal.²

Not long ago we visited the Kingston Plains located between Pictured Rocks National Lakeshore and the picturesque former lumber mill and fishing village of Grand Marais on Lake Superior. This is a landscape of desolation. Once it was covered with white pines, like the ones that remain in the Estivant preserve, but now it is one hundred year old stumps for as far the eye can see. It is a ghost forest. This forest was logged, and the waste leftover from the logging fed repeated vicious forest fires that sterilized the land, while wind carried away most of the topsoil. My exquisite pleasure in the midst of the Estivant Pines is replaced with a sense of sadness and loss here on the Kingston Plains. I imagine that the Upper Peninsula was a better place before the arrival of peoples from Europe who trapped and hunted some animals to extinction, mined it with

little thought for the consequences, clear cut forests, commercially fished until the lakes were nearly empty, introduced devilish interlopers like sea lamprey, and populated and polluted it. The Estivant Pines and the Kingston Plains are artifacts too; they feed my tendency to fantasize about the past as better than the present. These places also are occasions of nostalgia and sentiment.

I did not like working in my father's fruit and vegetable garden on the south side of the bluff overlooking Ishpeming where we lived. Dad pulled a rusted, but serviceable spring-tooth harrow around the garden with an army surplus Jeep with me straddling and balanced on the top of the harrow to add my weight to make the teeth dig deeper into the soil. Dig it did, loosening rocks and boulders along with the dirt. The follow-up chore was mine and involved monotonously picking up and removing the rocks yanked loose by the harrow. Some were small, some were oval and large, shapes and colors varied, but none of them contributed anything to the fertility of the garden in which crops were marginal in a good year because of the truncated growing season.

Drummond Island, only reachable by ferry from Detour Village, is the eastern most edge of the Upper Peninsula. The Nature Conservancy has a 1210-acre preserve on the Island called the Maxton Plains, and includes a very rare ecosystem called an alvar. Parts of the road into it seem paved, but really it is just limestone bedrock. The plant growth is eerie. Because of the extremely thin soil, some species of trees are stunted versions of varieties we were familiar with. It is, according to the Nature Conservancy, "a mix of arctic tundra and Great Plains prairie plant species."³ This beautiful bizarre landscape and my father's rocky garden are both the product of glaciers that scoured the Upper Peninsula and shaped the land and the waters of today.

Dates are estimates, but the last glaciers in the Upper Peninsula melted away about ten thousand years ago. Glacial ice was thousands of feet thick, and so heavy that it depressed the earth's surface by hundreds of feet, altering the shape of the Great Lakes, changing river courses and obliterating everything in its pathway.⁴ Plants and animals disappeared with each advance. Imagine ice flows thousands of feet thick bearing on the land, receding, advancing and changing everything.

To study geology and life is to study change. This is to be a study of how humans impacted and continue to impact the natural environment and ecosystems of the Upper Peninsula. The glacial history of this

place is a reminder that wrenching environmental change occurred long before humans arrived in the numbers and with the tools necessary to significantly alter this land and to threaten the plants and animals that live upon it.

There is no idealized past, historical or natural. In the environmental history of the Upper Peninsula there is not a perfect past beckoning us. The story is about change wrought by volcanoes, glaciers, fires, wind, rain and humans. We need to discern what change we can influence and how best to do that. We have little influence over future glaciation, but we have great influence in the near term over the quality of life enjoyed here.

Lifestyles of native people in the Upper Peninsula had minimal adverse impacts on the world they inhabited. Before 1620, Étienne Brûlé, became the first European to see the Upper Peninsula when he hiked and paddled the north shore of Lake Huron and reached the St. Mary's River and Lake Superior. Henceforth humans, not glaciers, became the primary agents of environmental change in the Upper Peninsula.

This land was rich in animal, timber and mineral resources. From the beginnings of the fur trade in the seventeenth century on, the Upper Peninsula was connected to the global economy as the source of raw materials that were processed, marketed and consumed elsewhere. Further, the investments needed to harvest furs, cut timber, and dig for minerals came from distance places. It was, and remained, an extractive colonial economy. Those who profited most from the resources of the Upper Peninsula did not live here, and hence did not see and did not live with the environmental consequences of the activities financed by their money nor the profits they made. This fostered a cut-and-run attitude where resource exploitation was conducted with little concern for long-term environmental consequences. In the twentieth century, people slowly realized that human activity could devastate places in ways that were ugly, sometimes irreparable and not healthy for people.

So while an environmental ethic grew in our nation, in the Upper Peninsula that ethic conflicted with a need for jobs in an isolated region where good jobs are too scarce and unemployment rates are high. Recent, sometimes rancorous debates over the development of the Eagle Mine on the Yellow Dog Plains prompted some people to erect signs and glue bumper stickers on their cars that urge others to “stop the whining and start the mining.”⁵

A ledger records the shipment of animal hides of nearly twenty species from Michilimackinac at the straits in 1767. The accounting is staggering; more than 1000 bears, nearly 6,000 otters, almost 10,000 martins, 1500 fishers, 51,000 beavers, 27,000 deer, elk and moose, and lesser numbers of more than a dozen other species.⁶ Only an unknown percentage of the peltry take came from the Upper Peninsula, but since the area was contiguous to the straits, it was certainly trapped and hunted before more distant areas to the north and west. The fur trade decimated the animals of the Upper Peninsula and led to the elimination of some such as fishers, moose, wolves, woodland caribou, and probably wolverines.⁷ The Upper Peninsula ecosystem was profoundly altered by human predation.

Industrial scale copper and iron mining commenced in the 1840s. Population boomed on the copper and iron ranges in the years that followed. Untreated sewage and toxic mining by-products flowed into streams and lakes. Hardwoods were clear-cut to supply charcoal kilns that produced fuel for iron forges and furnaces, and to provide timber to support underground shafts and tunnels. Pits were dug to extract iron ore deposits close to the surface. The three iron ranges, Marquette, Menominee and Gogebic, and the copper range are pock marked with caving grounds, old shaft openings, waste rock piles, and in the case of the Keweenaw, stamp sands and slag containing heavy metals. Dumping of sand and slag displaced twenty percent of Torch Lake, and the water was contaminated with PCBs and other chemicals. Fish from the lake were deformed and had tumors.⁸ Deer Lake, outside of Ishpeming, was contaminated with mercury as water flowed out of underground mine workings and into the lake, and raw and partially treated sewage from the City of Ishpeming caused algae blooms.⁹ Huge chunks of land in the Upper Peninsula will not recover from the deleterious impacts of mining.

The waste rock piles from the Empire Mine dwarf the little town of Palmer. The pit is now twelve hundred feet deep and a mile wide and rock piles tower above the town and the highway. No one will put it on the record, but I am told by those who should know, that the Empire and Tilden mines contain the highest and lowest points in the entire State of Michigan. The impact area encompasses hundreds of square miles. Selenium from the mine has contaminated area watersheds, streams and lakes.¹⁰ When I drive from Gwinn to Marquette on cloudy days, the clouds are tinged pink with emissions from the concentrating and pelletizing operations. There are other sources of point pollution, including power plants, sites such as the former Cliffs-

Dow Chemical site in Marquette and other scattered industrial sites. There is run-off phosphorus pollution in Lake Superior near Marquette and other inhabited areas and along the northern Lake Michigan shoreline.¹¹

In the closing decades of the nineteenth century the last white pine forests stood tall in the Upper Peninsula, but by century's end, the pines were cut for construction on midwestern treeless plains and burgeoning American cities. Within a short time span, forests that some thought would last forever, were clear cut, fires raged repeatedly fed by the detritus of the pine logs, and rivers were ruined by incessant log drives, seasonal dams to float logs, and dynamiting to eliminate obstructions to the careening logs and to break up logjams. Sawmills at river mouths spewed sawdust into rivers and lakes. The Manistique River is still recovering. An Environmental Protection Agency report describes contamination with chemicals, heavy metals and undecomposed sawdust in the harbor and river sediments from the white pine era, and sterile sandy sediment eroded from riverbanks during the log drives.¹² Wetlands were drained, habitats for fish and animals destroyed.

The three Great Lakes surrounding the Upper Peninsula changed too. Fish populations were in precipitous decline by the last decade of the nineteenth century because of overfishing, and numbers were further decimated by the twentieth century onslaught of invasive species. Catches of lake whitefish, lake trout, herring and sturgeon all peaked in the late 1880s and early 1890s.¹³ In the early twentieth century, the beautiful slate blue Grayling, a relic of the glaciers, went extinct in waters surrounding the Upper Peninsula.¹⁴ As the fisheries declined, large-scale industrial-fishing operations like A. Booth and Company monopolized upper Great Lakes fishing and attempted to maintain harvests with huge steam tugs and gill nets, further depleting fish.¹⁵ It is not hyperbole to say that the fish were just scooped out of the lakes.

Well-intentioned people who did not foresee the disastrous results deliberately introduced some invasive species like alewives.¹⁶ But most invasive species arrived as a result of the Erie Canal, Welland Canal and finally the St. Lawrence Seaway. Since the prehistoric formation of the lakes, Niagara Falls provided a natural blockade between the Atlantic Ocean and the lakes above Lake Ontario. The Erie Canal connected Lake Erie to the Hudson River and to the Atlantic and was completed in 1825. The first Welland Canal bypassing Niagara Falls opened in 1829. The first lock at Sault Ste. Marie opened in 1855, and for the first time, commercial vessels could sail from Lake Huron into Lake Superior. A new Welland Canal was

completed in 1919 and the engineering allowed water from Lake Ontario to flow through the canal into Lake Erie. Now aquatic species could swim undeterred from the Atlantic through the canal and into all of the Great Lakes.

The ugly, predatory sea lamprey, the preeminent symbol of aquatic disaster caused by invasive species, became prevalent in the upper lakes. It may have arrived early through the Erie Canal or later through one of the iterations of the Welland Canal, but the devastation of whitefish and lake trout was disastrously apparent. In the three short years from 1936 to 1938, lampreys were discovered first in Lake Michigan, then Huron and finally Superior.¹⁷ Sea lampreys reproduced prodigiously and by 1960 the fish catch was just two percent of its previous level.¹⁸

But the deluge of invasive species in the lakes really began in the summer of 1959 when the St. Lawrence Seaway opened for business. Now ocean ships from anywhere on globe could sail up the St. Lawrence through the lakes and to every port. The evil came in the ballast water pumped on board to balance the ships on ocean voyages and dumped into the Great Lakes before taking on cargo. Duluth is the busiest Great Lakes port; hence millions of gallons of infested ballast water and ballast tank sediments were discharged into Lake Superior.¹⁹ Zebra mussels, quagga mussels, round gobies, Eurasian ruffe, bloody red shrimp and spiny water fleas just begin the list of hundreds of alien species in our lakes.²⁰ Native species were crippled. Food chains were disrupted. Ecosystems were permanently altered.

By the end of the nineteenth, and in the early twentieth century, many began to understand that resources were finite; that we would run out of trees to cut, that mile long gill nets could kill all the fish, that mining left a trail of ruined land, that indiscriminate disposal of toxic waste was not good for people, and that a new balance between development and healthy ecosystems was necessary if the very qualities that made the Upper Peninsula an attractive place were to persist.

In the late nineteenth century, sportsmen were the first to insist upon laws regulating the taking of game and the eventual banning of commercial hunting. In 1873 the state began operation of fish hatcheries to restock depleted whitefish and trout fisheries. In 1881, a bill passed that made it illegal to kill deer, ruffed grouse, quail or wild turkey for any reason other than consumption as food within the state, effectively killing commercial hunting.²¹ While the laws proved difficult to enforce they did reflect a changing ethic.

The barren and burned cutover timberlands were of no economic value to their owners who reaped the rewards of the one-time cut. Some attempts were made to convert the charred stump lands into farmland, with predictable outcomes, given the Upper Peninsula's short growing season and thin soils. The companies that owned and logged the land had huge liabilities for taxes owed on now worthless parcels that they refused to pay. Huge chunks of this land reverted to the state and the National Forest Service purchased other giant parcels for next to nothing. The Upper Peninsula has 16,452 square miles of land, and of that the state and federal governments own 7,000 square miles.²² The rapacious logging gave the Upper Peninsula a fortuitous windfall of land that is now part of a public trust that gives the region a wilderness character and outstanding recreational activities, as well as sustainably managed timberlands.

The Civilian Conservation Corps opened twenty-three camps in the Upper Peninsula during the Great Depression. The young men recruited for the Corps replanted deforested areas, built fire towers, bulldozed truck trails, suppressed forest fires, built bridges and created new campgrounds. Simultaneously the federal government continued to purchase cutover lands and add them to the Hiawatha and Ottawa National Forests.

Other lands were protected from development. The Seney National Wildlife Refuge was created in 1945. Congress passed legislation to make Isle Royale a National Park in 1931 and in 1966 Pictured Rocks became the first National Lakeshore. Other national and state parks followed. The State of Michigan created the first wilderness area in the Porcupine Mountains in 1945. Other federal wilderness areas were created, as were state parks and wild and scenic rivers designations. This movement to protect forests and the life they sustain reflects an evolving view of nature, not as a resource to be consumed but rather as a living system to be enjoyed and conserved because of its intrinsic beauty and value.

As sea lampreys were effectively controlled, commercial fishing regulated and fishing licenses drastically reduced in number, game fish populations in the lakes surrounding the Upper Peninsula rebounded.²³ Upper Peninsula waters are now primarily managed for recreational, instead of commercial fishing.

The prospect for future health of Upper Peninsula ecosystems has improved because of changed attitudes, heightened concern and the growth of grassroots citizen's organizations that are advocates for environmental responsibility and watchdogs over adverse impacts of all types. Some organizations like the

Nature Conservancy and the Sierra Club are national, but others such as the Upper Peninsula Environmental Coalition, Save the Wild U.P., the Upper Peninsula Land Conservancy, the Superior Watershed Partnership and many more are locally or regionally based.

The moose, wolves and eagles are back. Waters are less polluted. Lake trout and whitefish have rebounded and the forests have regrown. Yet threats remain, and some such as invasive species, mineral extraction, chemical run-off and atmospheric pollution are on the rise. Introduction of non-native species has not stopped and control of the dumping of ship ballast has not completely halted.

We live in a thirsty world. Nearly a billion people do not have access to adequate supplies of drinking water, and we need only tune into the news to hear stories of drought and related disaster in our country. The Upper Peninsula sits in the middle of the largest bodies of clean fresh water on the surface of the planet and nearly ninety percent of the freshwater in the United States. Covetous eyes are upon these lakes. There are pressures to divert water, although the states and provinces that border the lakes have routinely opposed such schemes.²⁴ The lakes are a one-time gift of the glaciers. Once consumed, they are gone forever.

There are hard questions for all of us. Lake Superior and the Upper Peninsula are less polluted than other places because very few people live here. Many roadside cafes and shops in the Upper Peninsula sell Lon Emerick's little volume, *You Wouldn't Like it Here.*" The book is full of tongue-in-cheek descriptions of mosquito hordes and horrid winters. It reflects one side of the Upper Peninsula schizophrenia that understands that dramatic population increases will destroy the qualities residents' value most.²⁵ But the Upper Peninsula has historically high unemployment rates in a boom and bust economy. Lack of population growth means that the children leave to find jobs. Many wish it were not so.

This peninsula is not in stasis, but is ever changing. Humans are now the principal agents of change. What we see here is not so much a natural world, but one made by human decisions and ingenuity. The Porcupine Wilderness exists because humans made it so. Bald eagles fly because we reduced contaminants. Moose are here because after humans killed all the animals other people re-introduced them. Sea Lampreys are here because humans let them in. The Upper Peninsula is an artifact of human making. It will be whatever we decide we want it to be.

- ¹ Michigan Nature Association, Estivant Pines, <https://michigannature.org/home/sancts/estivant.shtml>.
- ² Charles E. Twining, "The Lumbering Frontier," in *The Great Lakes Forest: An Environmental and Social History*, ed. Susan L. Flader, 121 (Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press, 1983).
- ³ Maxton Plains Preserve, The Nature Conservancy, accessed July 20, 2015. Also see Stephen N. Stephenson, "Maxton Plains, Prairie Refuge of Drummond Island, Chippewa County, Michigan in Richard Brewer, Ed., Proceedings of the Eighth North American Prairie Conference: 1-4 August 1982, Western Michigan University, Kalamazoo, Michigan.
- ⁴ See discussion in John A. Dorris, and Donald F. Eschman, *Geology of Michigan* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1970), 165-176. Although dated this remains a ready reference on Michigan geology with especially good sections on glacial history.
- ⁵ Editorial, "Stay Request Little More Than Obstructionist," Marquette Mining Journal, September 12, 2011.
- ⁶ Lart, Charles E., "Fur Trade Returns, 1767," *Canadian Historical Review*, Vol. 3, December 1922, p. 358.
- ⁷ Evers, David C., *A Guide to Michigan's Endangered Wildlife*, (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1992) pp. 96-97.
- ⁸ Environmental Protection Agency, "Great Lakes Area of Concern," www.epa.gov/greatlakes/aoc/torchlake/#background. Also see Ankita Mandelia et. al, "Analysis of PCB contamination in the Torch Lake Area of Concern," Department of Civil and Environmental Engineering, Department of Social Sciences, Michigan Technological University, www.mtcws/Education/_Posters-Mandella-Ankita_PCB_Poster_v6_smaller.pdf.
- ⁹ Environmental Protection Agency, "New Releases from Region 5: EPA and City of Ishpeming Complete Work in the Deer Lake Area of Concern, 11/05/2013," yosemite.epa.gov/opa/admpress.nsf.
- ¹⁰ Selenium Monitoring Work Group, June 2009, "An Assessment of Environmental Selenium Levels Around Empire and Tilden Mines, Marquette County, Michigan," www.michigan.gov/documents/deq/sb-swas-report_287994_7.pdf
- ¹¹ Great Lakes Environmental Assessment and Mapping Project, www.greatlakesmapping.org
- ¹² Environmental Protection Agency, "Manistique River Area of Concern, Lake Michigan," www.epa.gov/greatlakes/aoc/manistique/index.html
- ¹³ Margaret Beattie Bogue, *Fishing the Great Lakes: An Environmental History, 1783-1933*, (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2000), 149-171.
- ¹⁴ Eugene T. Petersen, "Wildlife Conservation in Michigan," *Michigan History*, XLIV, (June, 1960), 129-146. Also see Michigan Department of Natural Resources, "Michigan Grayling Only a Memory", www.michigan.gov/dnr/0,4570,7-153-10364-18958-53612-00.html
- ¹⁵ (Bogue, 2000, 264-272)
- ¹⁶ (Bogue, 2000, 162-163)
- ¹⁷ Jeff Alexander, *Pandora's Locks: The Opening of the Great Lakes – St. Lawrence Seaway* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2009), 28, 29.
- ¹⁸ Great Lakes Fishery Commission, "Protecting Our Fishery," www.glfc.org/sealamp/
- ¹⁹ (Alexander, 2009, 92)
- ²⁰ (Alexander, 2009, 375)
- ²¹ Dave Dempsey, *Ruin and Recovery: Michigan's Rise as a Conservation Leader* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2001), 37-42.
- ²² These numbers are derived from statistics on Upper Peninsula forest management units which can be found at Michigan Department of Natural Resources, "Find a Forest," www.michigan.gov/dnr/0,4570,7-153-30301_68515---,00.html
- ²³ Michigan Department of Natural Resources, "The Story of State-licensed Commercial Fishing History on the Great Lakes," www.michigan.gov/dnr/0,4570,7-153-10364_52259-316019--,00.html
- ²⁴ International Joint Commission, "Protection of the Waters of the Great Lakes: Report to the Governments of Canada and the United States," www.ijc.org/php/publications/html/finalreport.html
- ²⁵ Lon L. Emerick, *You Wouldn't Like It Here: A Guide to the Real Upper Peninsula of Michigan*, (Michigan: North Country Publishing, 2007)

Photographing Upper Peninsula Waterfalls

Tod Poirier Freelance Photographer

Photography is one of my passions. The following spread showcases several Upper Peninsula waterfalls. At times a single drop is captivating. In other instances the waterfall's river invites exploration. Some falls are more remote than others, but the hiking is equally magic.

Photography is an artistic medium, a way of working with a pleasing image. To that end the computer is as much a part of photography as a camera. These tools allow for personification of a scene or how the photographer's mind might conceptualizes it. Often what is captured with the camera may be enhanced with the computer to identify specific aspects of the image. Other times the camera exclusively captures the image—each scene is different. Today's cameras are computers in themselves and may manipulate an image as a computer does, or as Ansel Adams did in his darkroom. Ansel would have likely approved of Photoshop, since an artist works with the tools at hand.

The accompanying images sample seven central and western Upper Peninsula waterfalls. Included are a brief description of the falls' uniqueness, simple directions, and points of photography captured in the shots.

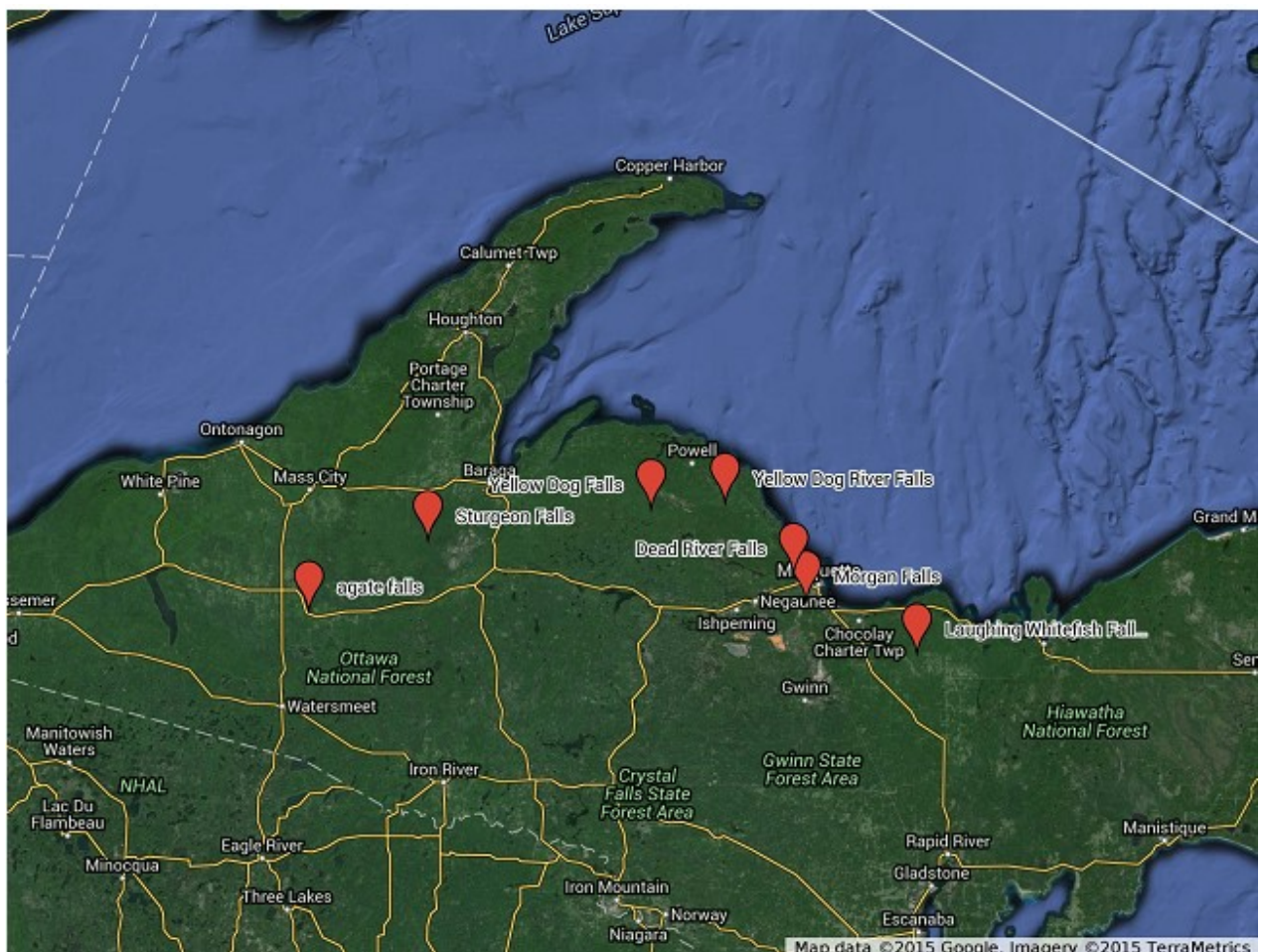
The initial image is a location map of the waterfalls. Some are no more than a five minute walk from the nearest highway. Others are remote and involve hiking to the location to enjoy their beauty. What follows are images of Agate Falls, the Dead River Falls, Laughing Whitefish Falls, Morgan Falls, Sturgeon Falls, the Yellow Dog River Falls, and the Yellow Dog Falls.

These falls and locations have inspired literature, served as ancient portage trade routes, and continue to be favorite camping locations. They are a sampling of why the Upper Peninsula is unique. They also remind us of our responsibility to the environment and provide a touchstone to the region's heritage.

Waterfalls

U.P. Waterfalls

- 📍 Agate Falls
- 📍 Dead River Falls
- 📍 Laughing Whitefish Falls
- 📍 Morgan Falls
- 📍 Sturgeon Falls
- 📍 Yellow Dog River Falls
- 📍 Yellow Dog Falls



Agate Falls



Agate Falls is one of the most stunning drops. It cuts through layered red sandstone and the water pours over countless little shelves.

It is located off of M-28 near Trout Creek on the Ontonagon River. The viewing platform is a couple of minutes' walk under the highway. The platform is situated under the top of the falls looking at it through a few trees. There are trails that cut through the steep hillside to the river below the falls allowing a different vantage point. There is also a rail-road trestle high above the river that is reminiscent of days past. It is also rumored that sometimes large fish swimming up from Lake Superior are stopped at the base of the falls and stay until they return to the lake or a lucky fisherman hooks them.

This shot was taken in summer, 2015 with an ultra-wide angle lens after trying several vantage points, including hiking about halfway up the falls and shooting them sideways. This image has a long exposure to create the 'ghost-like' appearance of the water. It was digitally treated with an infra-red filter to bring out some otherwise hidden highlights.

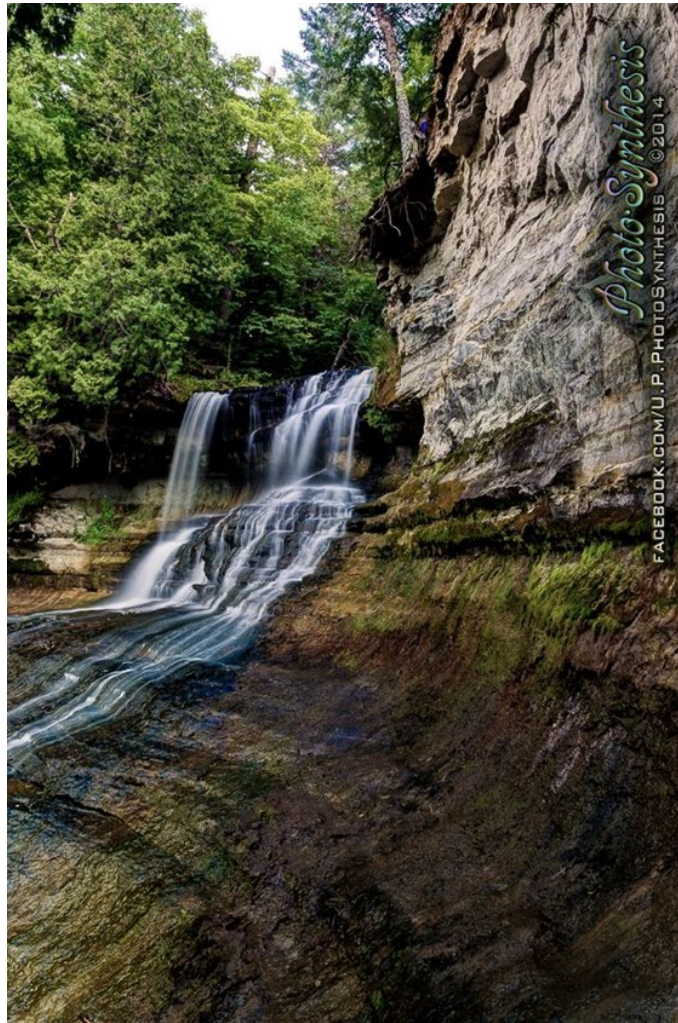
Dead River Falls



The Dead River Falls are near Marquette and a popular destination for the locals. Follow the Forestville Road off Wright Street to the end, park at the lot, and follow the signs. This river has amazing views. This is perhaps my favorite photo of the falls, but far from the biggest drop. There are five major drops along the trail with smaller points of interest throughout the hike. There are many excellent points available to spend the night right under one of the main falls.

This shot occurred in almost-darkness. The long exposure, nearly thirty seconds, makes the scene deceptively bright. It also gives the water a magic quality.

Laughing Whitefish Falls



Laughing Whitefish Falls is an easy hike. This is another set of falls cut out of sandstone. There are also a few shallow caves nearby that may be explored. For the adventurous, there is another stunning hidden falls on a feeder creek downstream. These are accessed by an old logging road about halfway between the parking lot and falls. This hidden trail traverses a small swamp and two foot wide creek. The hidden falls offer a forty foot drop on their way to the main falls.

It is accessible from M-94 east of Skandia. Signs alert visitors to the location. The trail from the parking lot is easy to walk. Steps provide access to the bottom of the falls and many accessible points at the top of the falls.

This shot incorporates the beauty of the environment and Laughing Whitefish Falls. The elements of the composition provide an understanding of the region's rugged landscape.

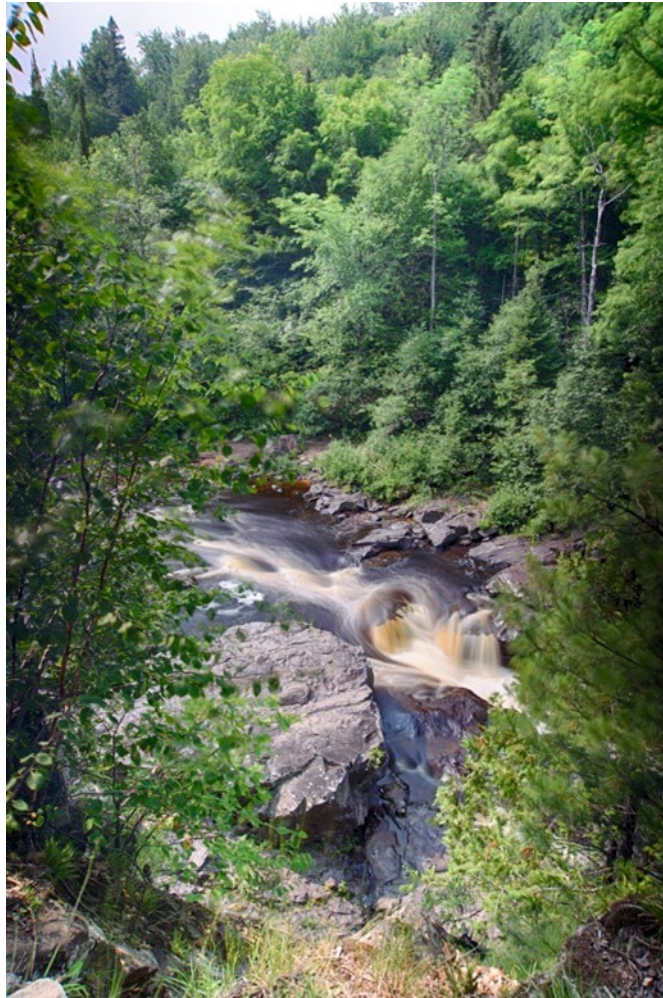
Morgan Falls



Morgan Falls is an unexpected gem at the conflux of the Morgan Creek and the Carp River. They are located off County Road 553 when traveling from Marquette towards Marquette Mountain. There is an unmarked dirt road to the right – Marquette Mt. Rd. The road is usually in rough shape and may only be driven a short distance. Park and walk until the set of stairs and sign for Morgan Falls. The rough trail is worth the experience of the large falls.

Shooting Morgan Falls is a challenge because it is often more crowded than other falls. Also, the trees are close and it is a small waterfall, which compounds the obstacles. These limitations tend to produce similar images of the falls. This image is an experiment with close-ups, wide angles, and shots from low to the ground. In the end, it is the beauty of the falls and the reminder of the time on the trail that matters.

Sturgeon Falls



Sturgeon Falls, not to be confused with Canyon Falls, is in the Sturgeon River Gorge Wilderness. The river through here is absolutely beautiful and on a good day full of trout that will easily rise to a fly.

To access the falls travel west on US-41 towards L'Anse. Head south at the intersection with M-28. Just before Sidnaw, look for the Sturgeon River Gorge sign on Forest Service Road 2200. There is a remote rustic campground on the river past the first bridge. When the road forks stick to the left and watch for the parking lot on the right. The steep trail going to the falls is a series of switchbacks but the view at the bottom is worth the hike.

The geography here is unique – the falls lie on a fault line and the rock above the falls is hard granite while the rock below the falls is soft sandstone. The adventurous explorer may continue downstream where there are stunning sandstone cliffs along the river. This is a quick peek of the falls between the trees on the trail, shot with a long exposure.

Yellow Dog River Falls



The popularity of the Yellow Dog Watershed often obscures the length and splendor of all the river's falls. The most accessible falls are a short walk downstream from where the river crosses County Road 510. While many argue these are the most impressive falls, others prefer the drops further down river. In all there are three public drops and a fourth on Bushy Creek Falls, which is on private property.

Shooting the Yellow Dog is easy as there are many falls and drops and scenic stretches of river. The challenging aspect is focusing on a particular stretch of river to shoot. This black and white is treated with an infrared filter, which increased aspects of the drama and contrast.

Yellow Dog Falls



The Yellow Dog Falls and West Branch Yellow Dog Falls are in the north half of the McCormick Tract, a wilderness area donated to Michigan by the McCormick family. To access these falls, take the AAA road west off of County Road 510. Follow for many miles to Anderson Corner. Here, veer left and travel a few more miles to an unmarked small two-track that will end in the trailhead parking lot.

The trail to the falls meanders through several terrains and crosses the West Branch of the Yellow Dog just downstream of the falls (pictured here) and continues to the main branch of the Yellow Dog. Upstream for the next half mile is continuous falls culminating in a unique split in the river and a double falls around a small island in the stream.

The Upper Yellow Dog Falls are a photographer's paradise. This is another stretch of river that is packed with so many photographic opportunities that it is hard to decide what to shoot. This is the upper third of a falls. Instead of a sheer drop it cascades over a ledge set at varying angles to the perpendicular. An impressive white pine died and dropped across the river about halfway down the falls. This makes shooting them a challenge, but finding the right vantage point to take advantage of features of the falls is one of the better ways of capturing this particular cascade and highlights the power of the water.