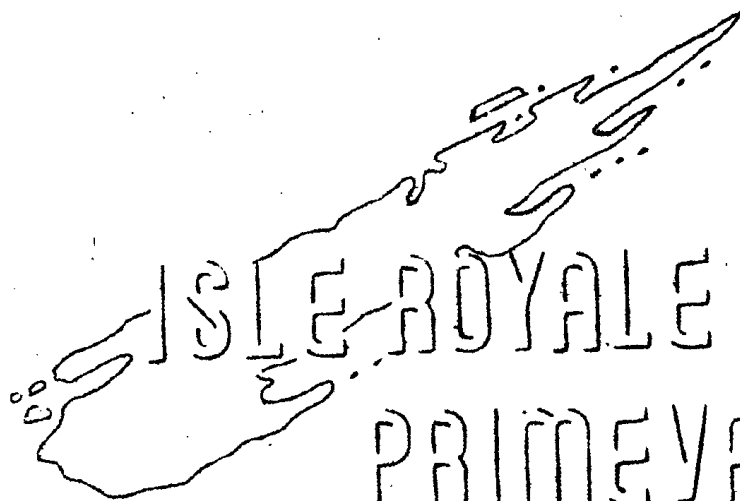
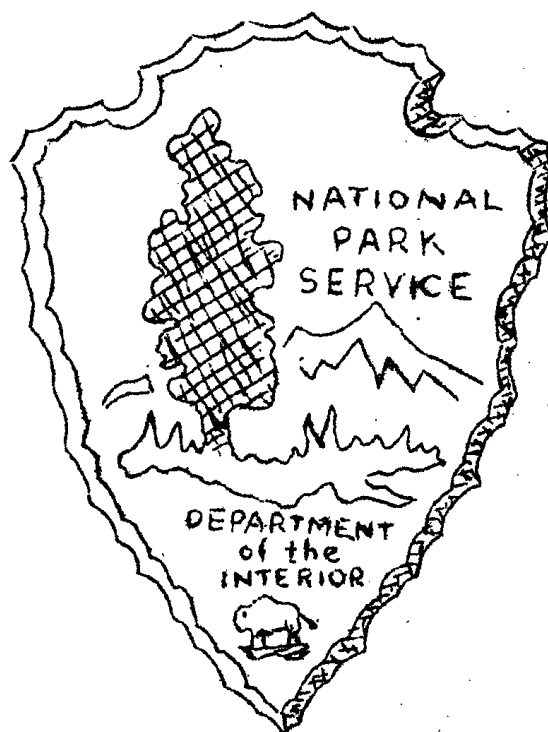




ISLE ROYALE

PRIMEVAL PRINCE

A HISTORY BY
D ROBERT HAKALA
PARK RANGER



May 1953
Revised May 1955

P R E F A C E

This history of Isle Royale, written primarily for administrative use, was accomplished in a winter's period (1952-3), revised May, 1955. It reflects research into the earliest as well as the most recent literature known to exist relating to Isle Royale. Withal, this comprises only a smattering of the wealth of human endeavor that has cheered, comforted, sorrowed the lives of Isle Royale pioneers.

Many who read these pages will note errors, which we will want to correct. Others will recognize that much more ought to be told about various subjects and incidents. It is very important that history be recorded with integrity; perhaps you can help to assure that Isle Royale's destiny will have been founded on honest, accurately inscribed, memorable tradition. Please tell us of your information, remembrances, or impressions. They will be valuable to us.

D. R. Hakala
National Park Service
May, 1955

ISLE ROYALE - PRIMEVAL PRINCE

A HISTORY

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Part	Page
I. <u>THE PHYSICAL AND HISTORICAL SETTING FOR A NATIONAL PARK</u>	1
II. <u>MINERS OF MINONG - ISLE ROYALE PRE-HISTORY</u>	3
<u>Discovery of Ancient Diggings</u>	3
<u>Studies, Theories, Guesses</u>	4
<u>Mound Builders Strong Contenders</u>	6
III. <u>THE COMING OF THE WHITE MAN</u>	
<u>Earliest Explorations - A Search for A Passage to the Far East</u>	7
A. The French Penetrate the New World	7
Distribution of Indian Tribes When First Visited by White Man	8
Exploration of Lake Superior Country - Champlain, Brule, Radisson...	9
Copper Discoveries: New Incentive for Exploration	10
Conflict Between French & British, Along With Indian Troubles	12
Copper Exploitation Constantly Delayed by Indian Wars	14
First Copper Mining on Lake Superior Country by LaRonde	15
B. The British Take Over Where French Left Off.	16
Difficulties Between American Colonists and Great Britain	17
How Isle Royale Came to the United States	18

Part		Page
	Fur Trade Hey-day in Lake Superior Country	20
C.	American Territory	20
	Fishing Operations at Isle Royale	21
	Mineralogical Investigations and Land Surveys	23
	Copper Boom and Bust	25
	Initial Copper Prospects & Operations: 1844-55	25
	Consolidation of Lands, Lakes Survey, and Renewed Copper Speculations: 1871-83	26
	Latest Explorations: 1889-99	27
D.	Human Drama at Isle Royale	28
IV.	<u>HISTORY OF NATIONAL PARK MOVEMENT</u>	
	<u>The Idea is Born</u>	36
	<u>The Uphill Promotion Begins - Lands, Taxes, Politics</u>	37
	<u>Island Life in The 1910's and 20's</u>	39
	<u>The Federal Government Looks - And Is Interested</u>	40
	<u>Director Mather's Pronouncement</u>	41
	<u>Stoll About Stalled: National Monument Compromise?</u>	42
	<u>Studies, Inspections: The Promotion Gains Strength</u>	43
	<u>National Park Service Interest</u>	44
	<u>Isle Royale National Park Project Becomes Reality.</u>	45
	<u>The Promotion In Second Gear</u>	46
	<u>Depression And Recovery</u>	48
	<u>Timber Exploitation Gives Project A Shove</u>	49

Part		Page
	<u>Land Optioning Begins; Opposition Shows Strength</u>	50
	<u>Isle Royale Lands Coming In</u>	52
	<u>Isle Royale National Park Deeded, Delayed, Dedi- cated</u>	53
V.	<u>HISTORY OF ISLE ROYALE AS A NATIONAL PARK</u>	54
	<u>Summary of Legislation Directly Concerned With Isle Royale National Park</u>	60
	<u>Political History of Isle Royale</u>	62
VI.	<u>RECREATIONAL DEVELOPMENT AT ISLE ROYALE</u>	63
	<u>Lodge Operation And Park Visitation Since 1940 . .</u>	66
VII.	<u>CARRYING THE MAILS TO ISLE ROYALE</u>	68
VIII.	<u>BOAT AND PLANE SERVICE HISTORY</u>	69

I. THE PHYSICAL AND HISTORICAL SETTING FOR A NATIONAL PARK

Islands, since the beginning of man's recorded history, have possessed a romantic lure, a promise of security and protection, and an assurance of isolation. Isle Royale has offered all of these. Her geographic situation admirably dissociates her from civilized influences and land uses on the mainland - promoting security and protection of this insular national park. Her moat, Lake Superior, assures a sense of isolation and delineates her bounds as no line or other geographic feature could. And the misty, romantic, distant thoughts with which we associate islands are more than realized in the mystery of her ancient miners, as in the mist of her ephemeral mirages.

Isle Royale's geologic history, as recorded in her rock foundations, goes back near a billion years. Many thousands of feet of lava in that Keweenawan time flowed, cooled and hardened; diastrophic movements of the earth's crust tilted these flows as the Lake Superior basin formed. Now at Isle Royale we see the uptilted, eroded escarpments of these basaltic lava flows - row on row of rock ridges looking from the air like the surface of a gigantic washboard.

Following the extrusion of these lava flows, or perhaps closely associated with it, was the penetration of the rock by metal-laden solutions which filtered through faults in the rock or through the porous lavas themselves where various minerals settled out. During the early history of North America, a primitive civilization found the metal laid down in relative abundance - copper. We today are still able to discover veins containing small fragments or thin sheets of pure copper in many places on Isle Royale. And we find various semi-precious stones which were laid down in a similar way - in vesicles in the porous lavas. On the lake shore in many places the mechanics of water and frost has fragmented the basalt matrix leaving rough stones and bits of copper to the grinding, polishing action of the waves.

Despite the great age of Isle Royale rocks, the island itself is of very recent origin. Geologists have recently estimated that the island has been emerged from Lake Superior only about 5,000 years. Before that time glacial Lake Superior, which had formed in the wake of the receding continental glacier, covered the entire lowland we call the Superior Basin. As a result of the glaciation and recent emergence, the island has a thin mantle of soil over most of its surface; beach development is limited; and bogs, swamps and lakes are numerous. Some morainal soils are found on the southwest end of the island where, as a result, forests are better developed and agricultural use almost possible. The results of glaciation on Isle Royale

are readily discernible not only in the above-water terrain but also in the harbors. Movement of the ice mass southwesterly in the same approximate direction as the strike of the ridges resulted in the excavating and scouring of the lowland areas forming our present fjord-like harbors.

Isle Royale has these physical attributes, then; a bedrock of basalt, and on the southwest corner conglomerate and sandstone, impregnated variously with minerals, the most significant one of which has been native copper; a terrain determined by the arrangement of the uptilted eroded escarpments of lava flows of varying hardnesses, the softer strata weathering more readily than the dense strata forming alternate ridges and valleys which give the island a washboard surface in widthwise direction; a rocky, relatively beachless shoreline, and a thin mantle of soil over most of the island; and a system of islands and peninsulas with deep water harbors between, the continuation below the water of the ridges and valleys of the main island. These geologic features of Isle Royale have their effect in molding her history of human use.

Isle Royale's geographic location is significant likewise in her history. The island lies in the largest fresh-water lake in the world, very near to the northern boundary of the United States. Fifteen to twenty miles of the cold temperamental lake separate her from the north shore (Minnesota and Canada) and fifty to seventy-five from the south shore (Michigan). Nearer to the north shore then, the island has a closer affinity for the plants and animals of that boreal region.

Lake Superior, as a part of a water highway, connects the Atlantic seaboard with the interior of North America. The St. Lawrence River, Ottawa River, Georgian Bay, St. Mary's River, and Lake Superior, connecting with river and lake systems draining from and to the West and Northwest, constitute a natural thoroughfare for traffic into the interior. Isle Royale lies along this route and, as we shall see, has played a prominent part in history as a result.

* Waterway access to Lake Superior from Hudson's Bay and thence to the Atlantic is also available. This was heavily used by the British fur traders in our early history. History has yet to record, however, what real significance this water route, and the one beginning at the St. Lawrence, may have had during American pre-history. We do know this, that the waterways connecting Lake Superior and Lake Michigan were used by an unknown people who mined copper on Isle Royale hundreds of years ago and carried it down the Great Lakes, down the Mississippi to the south and southeast of the present United States and into Mexico.

Isle Royale's geologic features as well as its geographic location have been strategic in guiding its destiny. Its present national park status, indeed, is a recognition in our time of the geologic, geographic and esthetic endowments manifest here.

II. MINERS OF MINONG - ISLE ROYALE PRE-HISTORY

* Discovery of Ancient Diggings

Long before white men arrived on this continent, a people vaguely known to us had discovered native copper on Isle Royale. Likely the first pieces they found were picked up from the gravel of the beaches. And, in searching the beaches further, jagged sheets or fragments may have been found in the mineralized veins intruding the basalt trap rock.

It is interesting and deceptively easy to speculate on such early discoveries, and in the ways that the ancient man may have come to form the copper pieces into tools. The direct evidence concerning the prehistoric mines, mining, and miners is limited; and the literature is so entwined with imagination, Indian legend, and hasty interpretation, that many theories have arisen, almost as many as there have been investigators, amateur and professional. What can be reviewed in this chapter may only introduce prevalent theories and review the broad aspects of our knowledge to date, which may, as the facts emerge, prove to be accurate - or unfounded in fact.

The red man's knowledge concerning the presence of copper at Isle Royale, at Ontonagen, and in the Keweenaw Peninsula of Michigan was related to white man soon after his arrival on this continent. The Indians were not, however, seeking or mining for copper at that time; indeed, they had few copper tools and decorations among them, and viewed copper with superstition. The Chippewas had nuggets of copper which they "cherished as household gods". (Kellogg, Early Narratives 105, 113)

The tribes of the Lakes region as late as 1850 beheld Minong, the Indian name for Isle Royale, in awe and so did not frequent it. Mr. John Linklater, a famous half-breed guide on Isle Royale in the early 1900's, relates that his wife's grandmother and his own grandfather remembered the goings of Chippewas to Isle Royale. The latter recalled the gathering on the Canadian shores and the ceremonies, dances, and appeals to the spirits considered necessary before the trip could be made.

While the presence of copper in this region was known to early white visitors, the ancient diggings were not recognized until about the middle of the eighteenth century. In 1848, it is written, a

prospector by the name of Samuel Knapps, while searching in the Keweenaw area, discovered that the rubble in the bottom of a cave which he was investigating was not natural. He dug through this rubble and came upon a mass of copper. He realized then that the pits and trenches in the area were actually ancient mines. Henceforth all such workings were sought out and excavated by prospectors on the Keweenaw Peninsula, unfortunately without regard for the value of artifacts which may have helped to identify their mining predecessors.

On Isle Royale, where prospecting began about the same time, the Indian diggings were not recognized until 1871. In that year at McCargo Cove thousands of pit mines were discovered, some in the form of trenches, others appearing like shafts up to 50 feet in depth. Masses of copper were found raised up on cribs, drains to some of the deeper mines had been improvised, and the tools with which the ancient miners operated were in evidence.

These tools tell the story of how the mining was done. In the pits or nearby are found hammerstones (oval shaped beach pebbles about 6 inches in diameter) by the thousand battered on one or both ends; wooden and leather receptacle remains; and wooden paddles or shovels. Also present in the pits where the copper had been mined were pieces of burned wood and charcoal. The Indians used fire to heat the copper-bearing rock. They then poured cold water upon the heated rock causing it to spall and crack. Finally, by pounding with hammerstones, the copper pieces were separated from the rock.

Fortunately the intensity and duration of mining activity by whites at Isle Royale was not of sufficient duration to cause all the ancient pit mines to be destroyed as they were on the Keweenaw Peninsula. Today great numbers of these pits may be seen much the same as they were left by the vanished miners.

Following the recognition of the Indian diggings at McCargo Cove, similar pits were found at many other parts of the island. It seems, in fact, that wherever the whites found copper the Indians had already preceded them. The extent of their prospects and the efforts of their labors can hardly be imagined.

Studies, Theories and Guesses

Many studies by archeologists, professional and amateur, have been made on the island, at Keweenaw, and at various camp, village, and workshop sites in the adjacent states. Many theories have arisen as to the identity of the miners. Aztecs, Egyptians, Norsemen, Phoenicians and Indians have been considered. Many people in the Great Lakes Region would like the theory proved that the early miners were Norsemen or related stock. Johan C. Bander, an authority

on Norse mythology, tells of a legend that early in the 11th century a band of Vikings under Vidor penetrated to the Upper Peninsula and operated the mines on Isle Royale. (Bander's theory published in The Detroit News by Richard Lahti of Michigan Department of Conservation). He bases his belief on runic inscriptions found in the province of Helsingford, Norway and on a story given him by an Indian in this country.

"One of the old Norse sagas (quoting Lahti's articles) contains an account of a voyage into a very big lake in a land across the sea. The saga tells of heavy storms, the discovery of the island in a big lake, from which copper was obtained, friendly relations with the inhabitants along the lake, a brief settlement and the return trip with samples of the red metal. Mention was also made of a red prophet whose name, distorted by the historian, was plainly of Indian origin. Bander has also found traces of Norse names and words among Michigan Indians, and legends of a former supernatural race of men who had wings on their heads which could have been the old Norse helmet worn by the Vikings."

The Aztec theory resulted from the fact of their possessing so much copper that is of Lake Superior country origin. Likely this was received through trade.

Fred Dustin in an unpublished manuscript "Prehistoric Copper Mining on Isle Royace", does not hold to much mystery about the identity of the ancient miners. Indeed, he concludes that the Indians carried on active operations until the advent of white men with their harder European metals already fabricated into tools and ornaments. The collection of sherds from three Indian campsites, McCargo Cove, Birch Island, and Chippewa Harbor, as analyzed by George Quimby (see Amer. Antiquity, Vol.4, No.3) were of Algonquian (79%) and Iroquoian (21%) origin. An excavation at the Chippewa Harbor site by Dr. Guthe of the University of Michigan revealed the presence here of only one cultural horizon, that of the above people.

A research expedition under the direction of the Public Museum of the City of Milwaukee in 1928 (West, Yearbook of Public Museum of City of Milwaukee) collected the only human skeletal remains that have been found on the island. These were in a rock ossuary on Houghton Point and consisted of the bones of at least a dozen individuals. Studied by a curator for the museum, the bones showed these interesting characteristics: the skulls were long-headed showing no indication of deformation due to use of the cradle board (which was currently used among the tribes of the area); and shin bones were sharply elongated in cross section, which is characteristic of American Indians but not uniquely so. That these skeletal remains are those of some of the ancient miners has not been established.

Articles made of copper which originated from Isle Royale have been found over most of eastern North America and north into Canada. Tens of thousands of copper artifacts have been found in mounds and burial sites in Wisconsin alone; others in Ohio, and the coastal plain south to Georgia and Florida. The establishment of Isle Royale origin is made possible by the presence with the copper of silver, welded or grown into the copper, not separate from it.

As evidenced by the many work shops found away from the island (none has been found on Isle Royale), it is concluded that the Indians carried the pieces of copper with them after a season's mining activity to villages or camps to the south where tools and ornaments could be formed during the winter months. Wisconsin has revealed the greatest number of village sites, workshops, mounds, and graves containing copper artifacts, these primarily in the counties bordering on Lake Michigan. Michigan, primarily the towns of Houghton and Hancock along the Portage River, also has many workshop sites, most of which have not been located probably because of the sparsely inhabited and less developed nature of the terrain.

Mound Builders Strong Contenders

The presence of copper articles in Indian mounds throughout the middle west is strong evidence that these people may have been the miners. Florida mounds contain articles made of copper, while mounds in Minnesota and Wisconsin contain, in addition to copper articles, sea shells secured from the Atlantic or Gulf coasts. The mound builders were thought to be a pre-Indian race but archeologists now generally agree that prehistoric Indians had skill to fabricate articles of copper. (Kellogg, The French Regime in Wisconsin & Northwest.)

The possibility that the miners may have been of Siouan stock has been considered. Radisson, the first observer of Lake Superior tribes, noted that some of the Sioux wore crescents and stars of copper in their ears. (Wisconsin Historical Collections as cited from Kellogg, The French Regime in Wisconsin and Northwest.) Old camp and burial sites of the Sioux, however, have revealed few artifacts of copper. The Winnebagoes, the Siouan tribe on the west shore of Lake Michigan, must have acquired their copper through trade since only a few copper articles have been found in their ancient sites.

While investigators have searched far from Lake Superior shores for the early miners, evidence increases that the miners may have been tribes approximate to the Great Lakes country when explorers first arrived. Most artifacts are found in Algonquian sites, as those associated with the Menominee and Potawatomi along Lake Michigan. The mounds of Georgia and Ohio are probably Algonquian; the tribes of the Atlantic coast in possession of copper when first observed by whites were of Algonquian stock.

When white man arrived in the Great Lakes country, the Chippewas, an Algonquian race, were migrating westward forcing the Sioux, their hereditary enemies ahead of them. It may be that they were reclaiming their homeland after having been away so long that even their legends of copper mining had been forgotten.

III. THE COMING OF THE WHITE MAN

Earliest Explorations - A Search for A Passage to the Far East

The earliest discoveries and explorations of North and South America were incidental to the search for a route to Cathay and Japan in the Far East. The new world was a barrier to be circumvented. The delineation of South America was well determined by 1524 as a result of Balboa's discovery in 1513 of the Pacific ocean by crossing the Isthmus of Panama, and Magellan's circumnavigation of the world in 1519-22. But the continent to the north was thought, until about 1543, to be the eastern end of Asia. Expeditions sent to the coasts of the new world sought mainly for a passage through the northern continent. Columbus, Balboa, Cabot, the Cortereals, Ponce de Leon, Cortes, Pineda, Gomez, Verrazano, Cabrillo, Cartier, Gilbert, Hudson, and Champlain are among the most noted. Many of these in their reports and diaries spoke of the Indians who wore or possessed articles of copper. When Columbus in his fourth voyage was visited by a trading canoe of Yucatan, the crew, according to Herrera had "small hatchets made of copper, small bells and plates." Verrazano in 1524 saw many plates of copper which the Indians esteemed more than gold ("The Voyage of John de Verrazano," Coll's. N.H. Historical Soc. 2nd Ser. Vol. 1, pp 47-50, 1851). Cartier found the natives in possession of copper. Champlain was presented a piece of copper by an Algonquian who said that there were large quantities where he had taken this, on the banks of a river near a great lake. Powhatan told Newport in 1607 that the copper they had "was got in the bites of rocks between cliffs in certain veins, a great distance north." (Pickering, Dr., Chron. History, p. 926)

Spain was foremost in the exploration and exploitation of the new world. Cortes' conquest of Mexico in 1519 whetted the appetite for wealth to be had. Diaz, accompanying Cortes, wrote that upon entering Trispan they found that "each Indian had, besides his ornaments of gold, a copper axe ... we first thought these axes were made of an inferior kind of gold and collected more than 600." This lake Superior copper, although shiny, must have looked "inferior" indeed when compared with gold.

A. The French Penetrate the New World

The French established probably the first permanent industry in North America - that at Cape Breton. By 1508 French fisherfolk had

established their commerce, and great quantities of cod were carried to French ports each year. Beginnings were also made in the barter with Indians for furs. These two businesses, along with the search for copper mines, were to displace the vain search for a passage across North America and access to the spices and jewels of the Orient.

The St. Lawrence River, leading to the heart of our continent and the Isle of our history, was hoped by Cartier in 1535 to be a highway leading to the south sea. The Indians he encountered here were friendly but reluctant to have the Frenchmen go further. They spoke of the river and rapids to the southwest and the river Ottawa to the northwest which enters into two or three very wide lakes and then a fresh water sea of which they had not seen the end. They said that "...the way to Canada was to the west and that the north shore, before Canada was reached, was the beginning of Saguenay, and that thence cometh the red copper of them named Cavgetdage." (Jes. Rel., Voyage 1535.) At the mouth of the Saguenay, Cartier was given a large red copper knife (Baxter, Cartier, 1700-71; 189.)

Many sought the route to the far east through America, and strong grew the belief that the St. Lawrence led to the far ocean, first passing through a great lake, then along another drainage toward the west. It was for the capable and observing seaman Samuel de Champlain to first find the source of the St. Lawrence and to disprove the presence of a drainage to the west.

Distribution of Indian Tribes When First Visited by White Man

Before proceeding further in our history, let us examine the distribution and disposition of the Indians which inhabited these lands, of which they were to be dispossessed.

The Hurons occupied the country from Georgian Bay, with fishing villages as far west as Gaspé Bay, at the time of Cartier's first visits. South of them were the Iroquois, of related stock - but enemies. When Champlain visited the St. Lawrence country these people had been driven to the west near Georgian Bay and their former area occupied by the Algonquians, a roaming tribe as compared with the sedentary, agriculture-practicing Hurons. The Algonquians were hunters and generally of much lower culture. Some tribes along the Ottawa River and near Lake Nipissing were more advanced. The Hurons occupying the islands of Georgian Bay were the Ottawas of later history. The Chippewas and Potawatomi of Lake Michigan were allied to these.

Southwest of the Algonquians of Lake Michigan dwelt the Illinois and Miami, around the southern end of Lake Michigan. Closely related

to the Algonquians, these had ceased to be nomads. West of the Sault in northern Michigan and reaching to Green Bay dwelt Menominees and Noquet, both Algonquian in origin. Their language was allied to that of the Cree who dwelled north and west of Lake Superior. The Menominee had lived here a long time for they had forgotten about any earlier home. They received their name from the fact of their using much rice and were noted for a remarkable physical development and uniform friendliness to whites.

To the west and south of these resided a Siouan people. In historic time most of the Mississippi and Missouri basins were occupied by the Sioux, some locating as far east as the Appalachians. In later history, forced west by the powerful Chippewas, the Sioux became wholly dependent on the buffalo and horse. The Wisconsin Siouan tribe which is called Winnebago had resided in that area for a long time. Before the coming of white man they had left many unique monuments in the form of mounds scattered over the north-eastern plains country. These mounds were used not only for burial: Some are in the form of animals, hence effigy mounds, which are believed to have been used for ceremonial purposes. The Winnebago had a highly developed totemic system. They had some copper which they secured through trade from Algonquians along Lake Superior and from which they made ornamental articles mainly. (Brown, Chas. E. "Native Copper Implements of Wisconsin" and "Native Copper Ornaments of Wisconsin" in Wis. Archeologist, 111, 42-101.) The Winnebagoes were warlike and constantly hostile, declaring war on all tribes in their reach. The Ottawas neighboring them on the north, an offshoot of the Hurons and primarily a trading nation, harrassed them and forced this independent people into trading with the French.

The relocating of the Indian tribes during the early years of history is of considerable significance to our story. By the time that interest was aroused as to the identity of the early Indian miners, information could no longer be had from the tribes bordering on Lake Superior for they were newcomers. Indeed, it appears that much movement of the various nations had occurred during the centuries before white man's arrival so that the ethnology of the tribes could hardly be traced.

Exploration of Lake Superior Country - Champlain, Brule, Radisson, ...

Champlain got as far west as Lake Huron in his explorations. His explorations were carried west by younger men whom he had apprenticed to the Indians to learn their languages, ways, and woodcraft. Brule and Grenoble were two of these. Champlain had also brought to the New World on one of his later voyages some Recollect Monks to Christianize the natives and care for the spiritual welfare of his

men. About 1624 Grenoble told these missionaries that he had visited a place where the Indians were taking copper from a mine. Lagard, in his Histoire du Canada published in Paris in 1636, said, "There are mines of copper which might be made profitable if there were inhabitants and workmen who would labor faithfully. That would be done if colonies were established ... About 80 or 100 leagues from the Hurons there is a mine of copper from which Truchement Brusle' showed me an ingot on his return from a voyage to the neighboring nation." Brule may have been the first white explorer to Isle Royale.

For thirty years after Champlain's death in 1635 tribal wars with the Iroquois prevented westward progress. The Iroquois, now organized as the Five Nations, halted the ascendancy of the Hurons and their Algonquian allies with whom Champlain had gone to war against the Iroquois soon after his contact with these tribes. He had judged alliance with the Hurons to be the more desirable, since these were powerful, progressive, and seemed tractable to the teachings of the missionaries. To add to the power of the Iroquois, the traders on the Atlantic seaboard - Dutch and English - provided them with firearms in trade for furs.

The wily Iroquois, then, were becoming armed at the time that the French Jesuit Missions, replacing the Recollect Monks, were being established among the Hurons. Despite the danger of massacre or torture at the hand of the Iroquois the missions went on. The Jesuits had a zeal for exploration and a resolve to extend the faith, along with the fur trade, to the Indians. All that they saw and experienced was written down so that the Relations, the publications resulting, tell us considerable about the life and times. While the missions were to leave an indelible record in history, they, along with the savages they had come to convert, were driven out or destroyed by the ferocious Iroquois.

With the onslaught of the vengeful Iroquois, the Algonquian tribes pushed westward until they occupied much of Wisconsin. The decimation which earlier had been wrought the Winnebagoes by disease, war and disaster left the country open to the advance of the fleeing tribes from the east.

The colony of New France had hit bottom with no support from the mother country, herself in the midst of war. The Iroquois pushed their advantage too far, however, for in pursuing the Algonquians to the west they fell prey to hunger, and then defeat at the hands of the banded desperate tribes they had come to destroy.

With the defeat of the Iroquois, the rapidly enlarging fur trade again flourished and traders once more pushed westward. Sieur des Groseilliers and Pierre Esprit Radisson were sent by the Governor of

New France to make new trading alliances with the scattered tribes. One of their voyages took them along the south shore of Lake Superior, over the Keweenaw Peninsula to Chequamegon Bay. They visited the western Minnesota country and traveled the Pigeon River portage route. These traders perceived that the north was the region from which the richest furs could be taken. They returned from a later exploration with a cargo of furs valued at \$60,000, but unfortunately, since they had not received the governor's permission for the trading venture in advance, the whole lot was confiscated. Shortly thereafter, Groseilliers and Radisson deserted to the British, told them of the rich furs to be had in the north country and helped them establish trade from Hudson Bay.

Copper Discoveries - New Incentive for Exploration

In 1660 seven adventurers, Father Rene Menard among them, made their way up Lake Superior. On returning three years later they reported the existence of copper in Lake Superior, bringing with them a large ingot received from the Indians. The difficulty of the route, however, and the harassment of the Iroquois made it impractical to utilize this wealth then. (Pierre Boucher, History of Canada, Paris 1664, reprinted in Can. Roy. Soc. Proc. 1896, sec. 1, 99-168.)

In 1665 Father Claude Allouez was instructed to look for copper mines when he visited this country. Arriving at Lake Superior in 1666 with 400 Indians, he named it Mer de Tracy in token of the obligations the people of the region were under to him. This is the earliest name of the lake. In describing the lake and country he related that "farther to the west, on the same North side, is found the Island which is most famous for Copper, and is called Minong; this is the one in which the Savages have told many people, the metal exists in abundance, and in many places." (Jes. Rel., Vol. LIV.) Later he writes, "the Savages respect this lake as a divinity, and offer sacrifices to it because of its size, for it is two hundred leagues long and eighty broad, and also in consequence of its furnishing them with fish upon which all natives live when hunting is scarce in these quarters ... It happens frequently that pieces of copper are found, weighing from ten to twenty pounds. I have seen several such pieces in the hands of savages; and since they are superstitious, they esteem them as divinities, or as presents given to them to promote their happiness by the gods who dwell beneath the waters. For this reason they preserve these pieces of copper wrapped up with their most precious articles." The Indians were reluctant to talk about the copper but Allouez did learn about the deposits, called "mines" in the accounts, at Isle Royale, Chequamegon Bay, Ontonagon River and Keweenaw Peninsula and secured samples of some ores. The Intendant of New France, Talon, became very interested in exploiting the prospects and commissioned Jean Pere' to find an easier route to Lake Superior and to search further for copper. Pere' found an easier route and a deposit of copper (Jes. Rel. lv, 237);

but from a later venture into the interior he never returned.

The fur trade during these times was revolutionizing the lives of the Indians. They quickly forgot the arts of their barbarous lives when French cloth, kettles, weapons, and ornaments were introduced to them to be had in exchange for their old worn-out beaver robes and raw furs. Their economy changed so that while previously they sought meat and furs only as required for their subsistence, now they had to go deeper and deeper into the forests pursuing game which became scarcer with time. The Indian lost his independence and became a customer of the French.

Jean Talon, first Intendant of New France, served his king, Louis XIV well. The Dutch Republic in Europe had been subjugated in 1672, and France became a nation to be feared. In the New World France had control of the richest valley in the world, an area abounding in minerals, forests, and fur-bearing animals, with potentialities greater than all France. Talon, realizing the value of this territory, took formal possession in 1671 in a ceremony called the pageant of St. Lussou. Talon wanted to awe the Indians with French splendor and power, and to serve notice on other nations colonizing the New World that France had first claim to the interior valleys. Summoned by Perrot, a respected trader and interpreter, fifteen nations were present for the occasion held at Sault Ste. Marie on June 14. With elaborate ceremony, chanting of Latin hymns, prayers, processions, speeches, and exchange of gifts the event was solemnized. With loud voice St. Lussou proclaimed, "In the name of the Most High, Most Mighty, and Most Redoubtable Monarch, Louis, the Fourteenth by Name, Most Christian King of France and Navarre, we take possession of the said place Sainte Marie du Sault, and also of Lake Huron and Superior, the island of Caientoton (Manitoulin), and of all the other countries, rivers, lakes, and their tributaries contiguous and adjacent thereto, those discovered and to be discovered, bounded on one side by the Northern and Western seas, and on the other side by the South Sea, this land in all its length and breadth." So came Isle Royale, along with all other lands of the Great Lakes basin, formally into the French kingdom.

The exploration of New France was pushed with increasing vigor. The next main event that history tells us about, but aside from our story, is the discovery of the Mississippi by Father Marquette and Joliet.

Conflict Between French & British, Along With Indian Troubles

With increasing numbers of whites heading into the interior, the expanding fur trade became difficult for the Governor to control to his own and his legitimate traders' advantage. The Indian flotillas ceased to travel to Montreal with their furs; why should they when fur

traders came out to meet them. While illegal, this interior country trade was carried on by many adventurers who became known as *coursurs de bois*. In 1680 there were about 600 of these illicit traders in the woods.

Duluth and LaSalle, in the meantime, extended the explorations westward making treaties with the Sioux and other tribes, and between the warring nations. The work of these two explorers, along with that of Tonty, Perrot and La Durantaye, in forming alliances among the westward migrating Indians, averted possible disaster for the French, since the combined tribes defeated their common enemy, the ferocious Iroquois.

Later the Iroquois cowed the St. Lawrence settlements. An incapable governor, LaBarre, was forced to make a peace with them before his expedition, sent to destroy the power of the Iroquois, made even one assault. The western tribesmen had been organized by Duluth and others once and for all to whip the Iroquois. When they heard of LaBarre's virtual surrender, however, they quit the warpath and beat it back north and west. The power of the French now became very low, so that flotillas of English, Dutch, and Indians made trips into the Lakes country from colonies in the present middle Atlantic states, taking back loads of furs with them.

But a massacre of Miamis by the Iroquois in 1686 renewed the desire of the western tribes to avenge ancient wrongs. The punitive expedition put in force in 1687 resulted in the defeat and destruction of villages of the Senecas, the western-most tribe of Iroquois. Two English expeditions sent to Mackinac to trade for furs were intercepted. The position of France and her allied tribes was again secure.

During succeeding years, 1687 -, Duluth and his brother La Tourette were employed in asserting French sovereignty over the far Northwest, infringing on the Hudson's Bay Company monopoly, and in opening for the French the greatest fur country yet exploited. La Tourette in 1687 brought to Montreal a large piece of copper, but again wars with the Iroquois put a halt to plans of the governor to exploit the copper deposits. (N.Y. Col. Docs., ix, 344; Margry, vi, 52.)

The British never ceased in their enterprise to break the French monopoly on fur trade in the west. With much greater advantages given in trade, the Indians were lured to trade with the English at Albany or through the Iroquois middlemen. Twice or more times the value offered by the French could be received from the English for furs brought in. Difficulties between the English and French in Europe were extended to the New World, and the constant hostility of the Iroquois made the French position precarious almost continually throughout their regime.

Toward the end of the 1600's despite inter-colonial and tribal difficulties, fur trading was pursued so vigorously that the market became loaded. The King as a result ordered all fur traders out of the west, leaving only the Jesuit Missions. The Indians were henceforth to bring in their furs to Montreal. Except for scattered coureurs de bois this left the west practically abandoned. Then peace was made between the French and English - and the Iroquois as a result were no longer in a position for invasion.

Abandonment of the west appeared early to be a mistake. It became the policy instead, to set up fewer, more highly developed settlements, which materialized at Chicago, Detroit, Mackinaw, Kaministiquia, Chequamegon, and Sault Ste. Marie, the latter about 1750. Each of these commanded an important vantage point but was too distant from the others to maintain a secure hold on the savages who were only biding their time to turn on the French traders and settlers.

Copper Exploitation Constantly Delayed by Indian Wars

While immense fortunes were being amassed by some through the fur trade, the more visionary did not lose sight of the potentialities in copper. In 1710 the Intendant of New France wrote in a report, "It is almost certain that there are copper mines on the borders of this lake (Superior) and in the islands within its extent. There are found in the sand pieces of this metal, which the savages make into daggers for their own use ... They claim that the island Minong and small islets in the lake are entirely of copper. Among the pebbles of this lake are pieces of a lovely green colore which crush easily." (Chlorastrolites?) The French ministry thought the search for these deposits of great importance. (N.Y. Col. Docs. ix, 865.) War with the Fox Nation however prevented explorations.

An uprising, centering in the Fox Nation, against the influence of the French and the invasion of Fox lands led to the practical annihilation of this nation. The fierce resistance of the Fox, however, was responsible for the eventual dislodgment of France from her lofty position, and prepared her for displacement by the British.

The French had been determined to annihilate this troublesome Fox Nation. Other Indian tribes, at first allied with the French in this slaughter, later became suspicious that the fate of the Fox would be their's also, and turned to the assistance of the survivors, increasing the tenuity of the French position. The Sioux, who had been pushed out of the Lake Superior country by the Chippewas early in the 1600's, alone remained peaceable - until the French friendship with the Chippewas and Grees aroused Sioux vengeance.

The first stroke of vengeance by the Sioux was on Jean de la Verendrye, his party of nineteen voyageurs, and a priest. Verendrye

was still in search of a route to the western ocean. He had in 1731 portaged to Pigeon River and traveled up the border lakes to Rainy Lake and Lake of the Woods, where he erected Fort Charles, continuing thence to Lake Winnipeg. On a trip from Fort Charles in 1736 the massacre occurred. La Verendrye and his men had been among the first to traverse the Grand Portage, now commemorated as a national historic site, which in the later 1700's was to see thousands upon thousands of Indians, voyageurs, and traders.

The war with the Fox had come to a point where aboriginal hatred for the French had broadened to include many tribes. With the French empire weakening, there remained no course but to make peace with the Fox and other recalcitrant tribes and to retain what they could of a precarious situation.

First Copper Mining in Lake Superior Country by La Ronde

Prior to the Sioux enmity, further ventures into the interior had begun. In 1722 Governor Vaudreuil had sent three canoes to Lake Superior for exploration, particularly in the vicinity of the Ontonagon River. Not until 1727, however, was any material success achieved, that by a veteran officer of New France, Louis Denis Sieur de la Ronde, who was given charge of the post of Chequamegon. At La Pointe he at last had opportunity to open up the northern mines. La Ronde had heard about that "floating island of copper in the lake which no mortal might approach for it was guarded by spirits who would strike any intruder dead." La Ronde secured some specimens of copper and sent them to France to be assayed. In 1733 he received permission to operate copper mines. He built a sail vessel of twenty-five ton burden at the Sault to serve his enterprise which then developed rapidly.

The main search was at Ontonagon where he established a mine. He employed experts from France and with them explored four places - the Ontonagon River, the mouth of the Black River, and two of the cliffs at the mouth of the Ste. Anne's River (probably Iron River). LaRonde made big plans for settlement and mining, most of which never materialized. But he did succeed in taking out considerable ore and therefore is credited with being the first practical miner on Lake Superior. Actually, enough was realized from his ventures to pay its expenses and to reimburse the Royal treasury. (La Ronde's account in Wis. Hist. Coll. xvii, 306-11; Forsters' (the experts from France) on pages 262-63 and 314-15.)

The feud between the Chippewas and the Sioux stalled exploitation and La Ronde died before he could further promote his mining venture.

This was the last attempt under the French sovereignty to profit from the copper deposits. This was their last opportunity, for the British were pushing ever westward, gaining the trade with the Indians

and alliances with them, which left the French unable to effectually protect their posts and forts. About 1760 the French were decisively defeated by the British at Montreal and Quebec. In 1763 in the Treaty of Paris they ceded their colony which they had thoroughly explored and effectively exploited for furs for over a century and a half,

The island with a kingly name does not appear to have been well known to the French, but throughout their references to copper, Minong appears to be a prominent place for copper deposits. Surely among the hundreds of coureurs de bois and explorers who traveled along the shores of Lake Superior, many must have landed on Isle Royale, so near to the Canadian shore where one of their main posts, Kaministiquia, was located. Likely they trapped beaver on Isle Royale. Likely also some of the samples of copper brought to Montreal and eventually France were found here.

B. The British Take Over Where French Left Off

The British entering the Great Lakes country after the defeat of the French met with considerable animosity from the Indians. Many of those to occupy the territory were to meet death by massacre. Alexander Henry was among the few to escape death at the hands of the Indians at Mackinac. In time he gained the respect and friendship of the Indians and as a result was given the right to exclusive trade in the Lake Superior region.

Jonathon Carver visited Lake Superior about 1766. Perhaps he visited Isle Royale, among other islands in Lake Superior, for he said, "There are many islands in this lake, two of which are very large; and if the land of them is proper for cultivation, there appears to be sufficient to form a considerable province especially on Ile Royale, which cannot be less than a hundred miles long, and in many places forty broad ... Even the French, who always kept a small schooner on this lake, whilst they were in possession of Canada, by which they could have made this discovery, have only acquired a slight knowledge of the external parts of these islands ... Nor was I able to discover ... that they (the neighboring tribes) had ever made any settlements on them, or even landed there, on their hunting excursions ... they suppose them to have been from the first formation, the residence of the Great Spirit, and relate many magical tricks, that had been experienced by such as were obliged through stress of weather to take shelter in them." (From Alexander Henry, Travels and Adventures in Canada.)

Robert Rogers, of Northwest Passage fame, was instructed to carry on copper exploration, engaging a trader, Bostwick, for the purpose. At the Sault in 1767 he hired Jean Baptiste Cadotte and proceeded to Ontonagon River. They bribed Indians to lead them to

the Ontonagon copper boulder, and while Cadotte allayed the fears of the savages with gifts, they broke off pieces with their hatchets.

In the summer of 1767 Alexander Baxter (son of the Russian Consul at London) arrived at Mackinac, sent out as a mining expert. He was satisfied with the prospects and returned to England with Bostwick. They aroused much enthusiasm and gained the backing of Sir Edward Walpole, the Duke of Gloucester (brother of the king) and others. In Canada and the colonies George Grogham, Sir William Johnson, Edward Chinn, Alexander Henry, and Jean Baptiste Johnson were enlisted. Baxter used Point Aux Pins site (near the Sault) for building a barge and forty ton sloop. In 1770 this group, "Proprietors of Mines on Lake Superior", took out a license. Henry had, during his trading enterprise, done much exploration and collected many specimens; by virtue of this experience he was taken into the company. He said of the copper he had seen along the Ontonagon River, "The copper presented itself to the eye in masses of various weights. The Indians showed me one of twenty pounds. They were used to manufacture this metal into spoons and bracelets for themselves. In the perfect state in which they found it, it required nothing but to beat it into shape." He later visited the Ontonagon boulder "of weight, according to my estimate, of no less than five ton. Such was its pure and malleable state that with an axe I was able to cut off a portion weighing a hundred pounds ..."

On land in the vicinity of Michipicoten, Henry mentions frequently finding pieces of copper weighing from one ounce to three pounds. In the season following the building of his sloop, Henry explored the islands north of the Sault. One, the Ile de Pontchartrain, said to have yellow sands, yielded nothing but large numbers of caribou. No predators were on the island, but so many skeletons were found "as to suggest a belief that want of food in this confined situation had been the destruction of many." (Henry, Alexander Travels and Adventure in Canada and Indian Territory.)

The "Proprietors of Mines" established a mine at Ontonagon in 1771. A few men worked during that winter but refused to continue work in the spring after the mine caved in. They had penetrated forty feet into a clay hill and found some copper.

The scene of operations was then changed to the northeast coast of Lake Superior. A vein was followed for thirty feet when it diminished to four inches. The copper taken was sent to England and the company disbanded. (Nute, Lake Superior, has more details.)

Difficulties Between American Colonists and Great Britain

While the Indians appeared peaceable after early years of British possession their attitude was not trustworthy, as had been characteristic of them throughout history. The threat of the Iroquois was of

gravitude. To keep the peace the British endeavored to slow down expansion of her Atlantic colonies westward to offer a breathing spell while peaceful settlements could be made with the Indians. To the colonists it seemed that Britain was deliberately confining them to the seaboard in order to control them more easily.

While the defense and development of the lands to the Mississippi took considerable expense for no immediate return, Britain decided to impose taxes to force the colonies to bear part of the expense. With the Stamp Act of 1765 a conflict was begun which led to the Revolutionary War. The American nationalism already in existence was not inclined to the imperial connection since no economic advantage was apparent and the threat of France seemed removed. During the war the Americans attempted to get the Canadians to join them as the 14th Colony but the Canadians did not have grievances like those of the Americans against Britain.

Fur trading in the Great Lakes region was proceeding during this period of difficulty between Britain and the American colonies. The French traders had been replaced by English, but the voyageurs and the Indians remained essential figures in the business. Even after the Revolutionary War and the Peace of Paris in 1783 the rich fur regions west of Lake Superior and the boundary waters of northern Minnesota remained essentially British until after the War of 1812.

How Isle Royale Came to the United States

In 1783 the Peace of Paris was concluded, one of the sections of which defined the boundaries between Canada and the United States. Benjamin Franklin was on the American commission and in his proposals of 1782 suggested that the whole of Canada be ceded to the United States which would remove any possible threat from the northern frontier of the Republic. This, as expected, was refused but they (the British) were seriously considering a boundary which would follow the 45th parallel from the St. Lawrence to Lake Nipissing. Later, following successes in Europe against the French and an elevation of their prestige, they proposed a boundary following the Ohio River. Finally the Americans offered the British two choices: the 45th parallel extended to the Mississippi; or the Great Lakes waterways to the north-west corner of the Lake of the Woods, thence along the 49th parallel to the headwaters of the Mississippi. The British chose the latter. After describing the boundary to Lake Huron, the treaty read, "... thence through Lake Superior northward of the Isles Royale and Philippeaux, to the Long Lake; thence through the middle of said Long Lake and the water communication between it and the Lake of the Woods, to the said Lake of the Woods." What was not known at that time is that the 49th parallel never crosses the Mississippi. The map used by the Commissioners, that of John Mitchell published in 1755, showed the

Mississippi arising much further north than it does. Isle Royale on this map was shown to be further south than it is; an imaginary island Philippeaux was included to the south of that. Benjamin Franklin is said to have insisted on swinging the boundary line north to include Isle Royale. The British thought Isle Royale worthless and had no objection to this.

It soon became apparent that this boundary would not work so that in 1796 a joint survey was proposed. The British agreed also to remove their traders and garrisons from American soil. A concession was made to Canada in this treaty, Jay's of 1794, that the citizens, including Indians, of both countries were "freely to pass and repass by land or inland navigation ... and freely to carry on trade and commerce with each other." With American expansion this could not last. As long as settlement pushed westward, successive surrenders of territory were followed by new demands.

Indian resistance in the west, abetted by British trade with them for furs and presents to them of supplies and provision of arms and munitions, continued against Americans, with such as Tecumseh leading the enemy tribes. Augmented by maritime controversies the War of 1812 resulted. The war was not effective in making any changes; rather confusion, reluctance, and even refusal of armies to fight characterized this war. Isle Royale, while nominally an American possession by the 1783 treaty, was occupied by the British. To avoid capture of the schooner Recovery, the British-owned Northwestern Company secreted her in one of the island's long narrow harbors, there to await the end of hostilities.

With the end of British - French hostilities in Europe, the British forces were transferred to Canada placing the United States in a bad position. With renewed threats of war in Europe, however, Britain decided to seek a peace without annexations. The Treaty of Ghent, 1814, resulted in no clarification of the boundary from Lake Superior westward; the commissioners could agree only to the provision of a joint commission to identify the line. While Great Britain claimed that the "customary waterway", as understood after the Revolutionary War to be the boundary, was the St. Louis River at the western extremity of Lake Superior, the Americans held that the Kaministiquia River in Thunder Bay was the beginning of the waterway. Finally with the Webster-Ashburton Treaty of 1842, the boundary was fixed as it now exists. An extraordinary provision of this treaty is that the "Grand Portage, from the shore of Lake Superior to the Pigeon River, as now actually used, shall be free and open to the use of the citizens and subjects of both nations."

During the years following the defeat of the French in Canada, the border lakes country was little affected by wars, treaties, and changes of government.

Fur Trade Hey-Day in Lake Superior Country

The two decades on either side of 1800 saw the hey-day of fur trading in the northwest and travel by portages and canoe through the waterways from the St. Lawrence to the interior northwest. Isle Royale, while it may not have played a prominent part in the fur trade drama, was adjacent to the traveled route, was occupied by trappers, and probably started the fur trade in the region.

With Americans in possession of the territory, which Benjamin Franklin had insisted on back in 1782, we can proceed with the American regime of the Isle Royale Story.

C. American Territory

Following accession by the Americans the conspicuous activity in the Lake Superior region remained fur trading. Not until 1803, however, did the American Fur Company establish posts along the border lakes country. In ten years the competition they gave the British companies was so great that the Hudson's Bay Company arranged to pay Astor's company 300 pounds sterling annually not to carry on trade in the border lakes country. This was kept up until 1847 when the American Fur Company went out of business.

According to all records available, and the word of the Hudson's Bay people themselves, that company never had posts in American territory, including Isle Royale.

The Americans were not as fast, as the British had been, in investigating their new domain for mineral wealth. One of the first expeditions of note was that of General Cass in 1819 who had been directed by the Secretary of War to search out and inspect the northwest copper mines along the south shore of Lake Superior. Cass was accompanied by H. R. Schoolcraft, mineralogist and geologist. This venture is reported in Schoolcraft's Narrative Journal of Travels from Detroit, Northwest, ... , 1821.

In 1823 Major Long under the War Department, accompanied by scientific men, explored the border lakes country. In returning they coasted along the northern shore of Lake Superior. Professor Keating, in his report, remarks that copper was frequently seen. No mention was made of Isle Royale.

No further mineral investigations of consequence occurred until those of Dr. Douglass Houghton who visited the Lake Superior shores in company with Schoolcraft in the earlier 1830's. Dr. Houghton's surveys were to have a profound effect on the development and exploitation of the country, so before we proceed with that part of our history, which very intimately includes Isle Royale, the developments of a much older and already proven industry, that of commercial fishing, ought to be related.

Fishing Operations at Isle Royale

The excellence of the fisheries of Lake Superior were very early realized, in fact exploited, by white men after their arrival on Lake Superior. Visitors to the Sault observed the Indians taking whitefish from the rapids of the Ste. Mary's River. Whitefish were also taken along the coast and in the rivers draining into Lake Superior. Fish were indispensable to the Indians as they became to the trader and early settler.

The first organized effort to exploit the fisheries was that of the American Fur Company, headed by John Jacob Astor. In 1823 Robert Stuart, an agent for the original company, wrote to Ramsay Crooks, who was to become president of the company when it reorganized in 1833, recommending that a plan be evolved for exchanging Lake Superior whitefish for the corn, cheese and other food commodities which had to be bought in Ohio and delivered by the company. In this letter Stuart refers to an unprofitable venture by another Stuart and his whitefish speculation. In 1835 the company began its exploration of the lakes with the intent of establishing fishing stations. Crooks had been at Grand Portage and likely knew of the fine fishing in that area. He wrote one Gabriel Franchere in 1835 that the place where the North West Company used to get its fish was "a large island not far from and directly opposite Point Quilwinan." He also wrote to the trader in charge of the Fond du Lac area, William Aitken, to explore the

north shore to Grand Portage and also to visit Isle Royale to locate good sites for fishing posts. Meanwhile the company had constructed at the Sault a schooner of 113 ton named the John Jacob Astor, launched in 1835 to serve the fisheries business. Later the schooners William Brewster, Algonquin, Madeline, and Siskiwit were added or replaced ships in this company's fleet. (Boat information from Swineford, Mineral Resources of Lake Superior. Most of information regarding fisheries from Nute, Lake Superior.)

A port was established at Grand Portage in 1836 and in the next year at Isle Royale, the latter placed under the direction of Charles Chaboillez, a half-breed, who employed about twenty-five men as coopers, fishermen, and boatmen. Chaboillez also contracted nine fishermen who received \$4 for each two hundred pounds of fish. The Isle Royale stations were located at Siskiwit Bay, Rock Harbor, Belle Isle, and Washington Harbor.

Trout, siscowet, and whitefish were caught in Isle Royale waters from June to November. Two thousand pounds was considered a normal complement for Isle Royale, 300 to 500 pounds for Grand Portage.

La Pointe was the center of the industry from which the John Jacob Astor and later vessels plied.

The venture was a success until the panic of 1837. By 1842 prospects had not brightened causing the failure of the company.

Records of the American Fur Company, as reviewed from Nute, Lake Superior, give us information on methods and equipment used in fishing. One report mentions that the mesh size for whitefish was six inches, for trout five and one-half inches. Floats, headlines, and leads were much the same as now.

After 1840 commercial fishing declined in favor of two other industries that were emerging in the lakes country. Settlers arriving on Lake Superior shores, however, began fishing without delay, likely because most of them - Norwegians, Swedes, Finns - had made a livelihood from fishing in their homeland. During ensuing years, among the major fisheries to operate were those established at Bayfield, St. Louis River, Ashland, the stretch between Ontonagon and L'Anse, Marquette, Whitefish Point, Sault Ste. Marie, and along the north shore from Duluth to Isle Royale.

Charles Jackson, U.S. Geological Surveyor, observed the fisheries operation on Isle Royale at the time of his reconnaissance of the island in 1847. Regarding the abandoned location of an American Fur Company post near Washington Harbor, he relates on August 6, "Mr. Corey accompanied us in his boat from his location (on north shore)

to Washington Harbor, and, as we crossed over the bay, he went to one of the small islands where the Franklin Company has a location, while we went to Card's point, and camped near his cabin. The American Fur Company formerly had a location here for Siskowit and trout fishing, and had cleared a considerable tract of land and corded up the cut wood, which is now all rotten - the company having soon abandoned the place." On August 11 he, "... visited the fishing station formerly established here by the American Fur Company and found Messrs. J. Blackwood, George Bolles, David Bube, and Frederick Myers engaged in packing Siskowit and lake trout. They informed us that they caught, salted, and packed up sixty barrels of fish last season, between July and November, and they calculate to pack upwards of 500 barrels of them this year."

Mineralogical Investigations and Land Surveys

Jackson's main observations were, of course, mineralogical. Aside from copper prospects, he was shown the curious greenstones by John H. Blake of the Ohio and Isle Royale Mining Company. Jackson named the new mineral, chlorastrolite, publishing a description of it in the Journal of Boston Society of Natural History, Volume 5.

An earlier geologist, the one responsible for the first definite information on the copper deposits of Upper Michigan and Isle Royale, Douglass Houghton, state geologist, visited the island in the early 1830's. Later he began a combined geological and topographical survey of the mineral lands under a commission from the State of Michigan. His first report in 1841 aroused the interest of the nation in the potential wealth of the region, only recently referred to as "a wild tract of twenty thousand miles of howling wilderness." When Michigan was admitted as a state in 1837 the Upper Peninsula was accepted in exchange for the Toledo tract with extreme reluctance. The copper and other mineral lands, in addition to the wealth of lumber, were to change that attitude in a few years. (Channing, The Story of the Great Lakes, 1909.)

After Houghton's preliminary reconnaissance, which earned him the appellation of "backwoods mineralogist", he entered into a contract with the U.S. Government to execute the linear survey in connection with the other surveys so that mining locations could be granted. William A. Burt, surveyor, had only recently invented and demonstrated the merit of the solar compass which greatly expedited the survey through the metalliferous lands. Houghton was able to complete only one year of this work when he met a tragic death by drowning in Lake Superior off Eagle River late in the fall of 1847. His work had been well begun so that his successors readily completed it.

The lands that were being explored and surveyed had only recently been acquired from the Indians by treaties. The following are pertinent-

ent to the mineral lands: 1. With Ottawas and Chippewas, concluded March 28, 1778; ratified May 27, 1836 ceding lands now in the Upper Peninsula bordered on the west by the Escanaba and Chocolate Rivers. 2. With the Menominees, concluded September 3, 1836; ratified February 15, 1837 ceding a tract east of Escanaba River, south to Green Bay, and west to Menominee. 3. With Chippewas of Mississippi and Lake Superior, concluded October 4, 1842; ratified March 23, 1843 ceding the remainder of the district washed by Lake Superior to the north and present Michigan-Wisconsin boundary line. Isle Royale was included in this treaty, although it is said that the Indians have questioned this.

In anticipation of the development of the mineral lands and expulsion of the Indians, Fort Wilkins, located near Copper Harbor on the Keweenaw Peninsula, was authorized by the War Department in 1844. Its purpose was "to countenance the miners and protect them, and to encourage the migration of the Indians from Michigan when the time for their removal came." (James Fisher, "Fort Wilkins" in Mich. Hist. 29, 1945.)

In 1847 William Ives was pushing his rectangular survey of Isle Royale. It is probable that more difficult country to traverse had never previously been surveyed so that the excellence of Ives' work warrants special note. In that year much activity was seen on the island which, according to Lane (Geol. Survey of Mich. Vol. VI), "presented perhaps as lively a scene as ever in its history."

Jackson's report of 1849 shows that the island margin in 1847 was dotted with explorations. Thousands had responded to Houghton's pronouncement regarding copper, and hundreds of these wanted a chunk of the "floating island of copper". Jackson gives us an idea as to the developments present and envisaged. In his journal, contained in his Report of the Mineral Lands of the State of Michigan, he relates an account of a visit to Isle Royale arriving July 24 at Rock Harbor where he examined the works of Epidote and also of the Ohio and Isle Royale Company which "now employs about fifty-two men and has made great improvements at Rock Harbor - erected good buildings, cleaned a large area of land, made a good bridge. The soil is fertile producing most culinary vegetables in abundance. It is probable, if mining operations should prove advantageous on Isle Royale, that a village will spring up in this place, and since the improvements alluded to were first made by Mr. Leander Ransom of Cleveland, the place is properly named in his honor, 'Ransom'." Of Rock Harbor, Jackson says, "Rock Harbor is the largest and most beautiful haven in Lake Superior, is deep enough for any vessels, and is perfectly secure from every wind ..." Regarding prospects of settlement of Isle Royale he stated, "... The island is unfrequented, and is a most unpromising place for settlers at present, there being no communications with the other and more settled portions of the country and this

island during the long winters of that country. If adventurous persons chose to purchase lands and settle here, I should most strenuously advise the government to offer no obstructions by mineral reservations. A settler is justly entitled to all he finds if he is willing to live there. The soil of the island is good, and the timber is sufficiently abundant and sound. The harbors are beautiful and secure, and the fisheries are the best on the lake."

Copper Boom and Bust

The copper deposits on Isle Royale, which had so long been a popular part of the lore of the lakes country, were to prove disappointing. The rush for copper to the Keweenaw and Isle Royale was to result in wealth for only a few, in bankruptcy and disappointment for many more, and, perhaps the main contribution to this region, the immigration of thousands of Irish, Cornish, German and other European peoples.

Accounts of the periods of mining activity on Isle Royale are presented accurately in Lane's report so that for our purpose we need only review the major mining endeavors.

Initial copper prospects and operations, 1844-55

Soon after the opening of Isle Royale to prospecting, scores of prospects were in evidence about the island: Washington Island, Huginin Cove, Todd Harbor, Amygdaloid Island, Duncan Bay, Scoville Point, Mott Island, Siskowit (across from Mott), the Ransom area, Lea Cove, and Chippewa Harbor. Thousands of exploratory pits, trenches, and large fire-scarred areas must have been in evidence, for it is reported that in order to better ascertain the nature of the substrata the prospectors used the medium of forest fire.

By 1850 only the Todd Harbor and Siskowit works were still in prospect. A German engineer named Koch thought the Todd prospect looked promising as did that of the Siskowit mine. A stamp mill, using water from a waterfall nearby for motive power, was built at Todd. Shafts were sunk to 63 and 67 feet and about 50 ton of 10% ore raised.

The Siskowit operation was the most enduring of those worked during this early period. Charles Whittlesey was in charge of this operation, having traveled to the island on the Julia Palmer, the first steamer on the lake. A steam engine was used here with ten miners employed underground and thirty on the surface. Captain William Tonkin, later of the Atlantic Mine on the mainland, thought that a good mine would result if the shafts were sunk up to six hundred feet. One had been sunk to five hundred and another to a third level, the

two shafts angling toward one another. The dump so conspicuous today at the water's edge, contains columnar traprock. The remains of shafts, foundations, and an old stack are back about a hundred feet from the water's edge. About 150 tons of copper was mined.

One other location deserves mention here, that called Shaw's or Smithwick's location near Rock Harbor Lodge. This shaft went down to ninety feet; in 1848 three men were working it. At first the vein here was soft and contained considerable copper, then it entered columnar traprock in which the copper was almost worthless. The traprock penetrated here parallels Rock Harbor and was worked in various places including the more productive Siskowit Mine location.

Soon after prospecting had begun it became apparent that a lighthouse was needed to guide vessels into Rock Harbor. On March 3, 1853 the Congress appropriated \$5,000 for the establishment of a light at Middle Islands Passage; in 1855 construction was begun. After 1870 the light was discontinued for several years; in 1874 it was thoroughly repaired and a boathouse and dock built. The light then continued until 1879 when it was abandoned. This structure remains a prominent landmark, a reminder of the early shipping and mining days at Rock Harbor. As it happened, the lighthouse was hardly needed, for all operations in Rock Harbor had ceased by 1855, and for a period only a few fishermen and unproclaimed adventurers visited Isle Royale shores.

Consolidation of Lands, Lakes Survey, and Renewed Copper Speculations, 1871-83

During the Civil War the lands of Isle Royale were becoming consolidated until the North American Mineral Land Company owned most of the area above the sandstone belt at the southwest end. When the engineers of the Lakes Survey arrived on Isle Royale in 1867, and until 1871 while they were employed in making a map of the island, no exploring was going on. Then extensive explorations began by the corporation, some members of whom had been prominent in earlier surveys and prospects on the island.

The major discovery of this period was the old Indian diggings near McCargo Cove. In 1872 a force of men was put to exploring the Minong range where the ancient operations extended from McCargo Cove to Todd Cove. The cobble-stones used for hammers by the ancients could be collected by the thousands. Some pits were up to thirty feet deep, some had drains and stopes. In 1874 the company, named the Minong Mining Company, began reopening these pits. Some large masses of copper were removed: 5720 pounds; 12,000; 3317; 4175; and others. The first named mass was exhibited at the Centennial Exposition at Philadelphia in 1876 and must have aroused considerable interest in the mineral lands. A mill was built and a considerable settlement begun at McCargo Cove.

Work was stopped at the mine in 1881 with tributors, one of whom is named in Lane's report as John F. Johns, working two seasons longer. The property is credited with the production of 249 tons, 650 pounds of ingot copper.

Another promising development had begun before the Minong prospects were being exploited, that of the Island Copper Mining Company which was organized in 1873 to exploit a copper-bearing conglomerate north of the head of Siskiwit Bay. Three shafts were opened to 50, 150, and 200 foot depths, the deeper two being connected on first and second levels. The prospect looked good, a settlement was established, and a stamp mill built. The next year, 1876, the mill burned and the discouraged company folded up. The mine had produced about 68½ tons of copper.

The only other mine that operated during this period was the Saginaw near Rock Harbor. This venture was also short-lived, producing 25½ tons of copper.

The Latest Explorations, 1889-99

Following the abandonment of the Minong Mine, the holdings of the North American Land Company, which owned this property in addition to most of the island north of the conglomerate and sandstone belt southwest of Siskiwit Bay, became transferred to the Isle Royale Land Corporation. This corporation came to own about two-thirds of the island surface, and the stock was largely held in England. This land-holding company had its headquarters on the island at Washington Harbor at the present location of Windigo Inn. The headquarters settlement was known as Ghyllbank Copper Company.

An offshoot of the company, named the Wendigo Copper Company, did much exploratory work at the head of Washington Harbor. Numerous of its costeans or trenches may be seen along the ridges in the immediate vicinity of the lodge. The remains of shafts and prospects are found along Washington Creek about two miles upstream. The biggest contribution of this company, and perhaps the most important piece of work accomplished during the entire period of mining history on Isle Royale, was the systematic series of diamond drill cores which provided 9,000 feet of cross section of Isle Royale's rock structure. The geological column represented by these cores was of singular importance in deciphering the stratigraphy of the Keweenaw series. This was the basis for interpreting the geologic history of Isle Royale and the Lake Superior basin in general.

No mines resulted from the Wendigo explorations. The prospect work in this vicinity ceased after 1899, the last known copper exploration on Isle Royale. The Isle Royale Land Corporation, however, had

alternative plans for the island - the development of a summer resort and the exploitation of the timber. Already people had begun to visit Isle Royale for camping. A steamer, the Hiram R. Dixon, made stops at the island during the summer season on her way from Port Arthur to Duluth. A number of fishermen resided on the island and set their nets about its shores. According to Lane's report, from which most of the above information has been taken, "... John F. Johns lets a cottage on an island north of Washington Island to (camping) parties, or they camp in tents or in the deserted lighthouse at Rock Harbor and at other points The scenery is of that fiord type of scenery, which lends such a charm to the coasts of Maine and Norway, and is not unworthy of comparison with them. It is not surprising, therefore, that the company planned to make a summer resort on the island. Rock Harbor was the place they had fixed on and a town site surveyed close to the erstwhile Ransom."

The Island Copper Company succeeded to the lands of the North American Land Corporation, including Wendigo's, but never engaged in mining. This company was to still own most of these properties when Isle Royale was proposed for National Park status.

The "copper fever", contracted in the 1840's, had given purpose to Horace Greeley's "Go West, young man, go West." He indeed, had been drawn to the Copper Country to participate in the speculation and described well the nature and outcome of most of the operations - "Shareholders who had raised their \$10,000 to \$50,000 in fond expectation of early returns, found in time that every cent, and generally more, had been expended in constructing a rude pier whereon to land their supplies, cutting a road thence to their location, building a few rude shanties, drawing up their tools, powder, edibles, etc., and beginning to scratch the earth; another and still another assessment being required - not to secure returns but to sink a shaft on the vein far enough to determine that they had any ore or metal to mine. ... Such is, in essence, the history of most mining enterprises on Lake Superior." (From "Horace Greeley and Michigan Copper" by Mentor L. Williams, Mich. History, June 1950.)

D. Human Drama at Isle Royale

Our history so far has pretty much amounted to a framework of the reasons why Isle Royale was sought out and exploited, and the geographic and political forces affecting the development of this part of the United States. The human drama - the way of life of our Isle Royale progenitors - deserves at least as much space here as the heart does in the body.

Before the opening of the Lake Superior mineral lands to prospecting and eventual mining, the explorers into the country lived on

what they could carry on their backs, or take with trap and rifle. The life of the explorer and Indian were much the same.

Women and children at the fur trading posts were rare, and little wonder, for when the Indians went off the warpath, massacre intent, no one was likely to be spared torture or quick death.

The agrarian pioneers relentlessly advanced into the interior, establishing a sedentary civilization at the expense of the hunting -- fur trapping, nomadic life of the *coureurs de bois*, voyageurs, and Indian tribes. The "howling wilderness" of the Upper Peninsula saw the footprints of white women and children in any number long after the thriving communities of the lower state considered themselves metropolises.

In the middle eighties when peace with tribes of the Lake Superior basin was assured and treaties consummated, the luster of copper, the savor of whitefish, and the straight boles of white pine offered a promise of jobs and security to thousands of immigrants, and wealth to speculators from the eastern cities and even from countries in Europe.

The hazards encountered by the early prospectors to Isle Royale would alone make a saga comparing with the earliest ventures across the Atlantic 350 years previous. The power of Lake Superior was to be reckoned with in terms of lives lost, and boats smashed on reefs. Short summer seasons, terrible storms, and sleet, snow, and cold must have been punctuated by curses, prayers, and shrieks of those challenging Lake Superior's supremacy. Those were the years when man was still engaged in conquering nature, when the elements were formidable compared to the present.

One of the earliest and most tragic tales is that related of Charlie and Angelique Mott, a halfbreed Frenchman and his Indian wife who remained on the island over winter 1845 to guard a claim. The story, first appearing as a poem by Rev. George Duffield, appears in Swineford, Lake Superior Mining District, 1870.

Charlie and Angelique had traveled to Isle Royale in the employ of copper prospectors. A likely copper prospect, where a large nugget had been found in the water nearby, was located. The enterprisers prevailed on Charlie and Angelique to remain to guard their claim, promising that a ship would come to the island with provisions for them later in the fall. The supply boat never showed up, and Charlie and Angelique were left with scant provisions. During the hard winter Charlie first took sick from the hunger, and, out of his head, began to sharpen a knife, saying that he must have a sheep to eat. Angelique, his intended victim, managed to get the knife from him.

Charlie died of starvation, and Angelique too was very close to death but managed to subsist on roots. She had been tempted to eat Charlie, during her intense hunger, but prayer kept her from it. She did build a separate shelter for herself to help resist that terrible temptation. Then one day she observed rabbit tracks. Pulling hairs from her head, she made a snare with which she caught one, and later others. In the spring she found an old piece of net and a wrecked canoe which she was able to repair and use. When her and Charlie's employers finally returned, Angelique told them Charlie was asleep. The shocked employer lied that a ship had been sent; Angelique, thankful for her own deliverance, forgave him.

The tale may have been varnished in the telling, but the facts are essentially true.

In the same vicinity, at the Siskowit Mine location about 1847, a similar incident occurred. After the Siskowit prospect had been located and a company formed to mine it, a boat carrying thirteen families was delivered to the place. Cabins were built and work begun. An anticipated boatload of provisions failed to arrive in the fall, leaving this settlement to eke out an existence as best it could. Supplies gave out, oxen were killed. One of the women, soon to deliver a child, needed special consideration. Broth was prepared for her, of rabbit the neighbor said. After the child came, all soon learned that a dog had been killed to nourish the mother. In the spring when the first boat arrived one more person left the island than had traveled to it the previous year. These people were not about to live through another such season.

This Siskowit Mine operation resumed with other pioneers, however. It operated for about ten years, but like all others, previous and subsequent to it, failed because of lean lodes and difficult operation conditions. With the closing of the mines, the miners and their families moved to more promising diggings, probably to the Keweenaw Peninsula.

We have already noted that most of the miners emigrating to Isle Royale and the Copper Country were Cornish, Irish, or German. Bad blood existed between the first two of these nationalities so that fights were frequent between them, especially when rum and whiskey were to be had. During the mining days of the 1850's Isle Royale was visited by boats dealing in rum running. The miners were willing customers. Fights followed resulting in many bruises and black eyes but, according to Judge William E. Smith, nothing worse. An understanding was had between the belligerents that all weapons were barred, except those that nature had provided them. Judge Smith, in a letter to Stoll October 2, 1932, expresses certainty that the persons buried on Cemetery Island were not men, women and children killed during a

racial war but rather the persons who died as a result of the beaching and sinking of the Canadian liner Algoma in 1885.

Whatever is the case, there are several graves on Cemetery Island some with headboards on which the inscriptions are now all but obliterated. One wonders at the nature of the tragedy that took the lives of the three young people whose headboards read:

"Erected in memory of:
Jeremiah Colbert
of Bonmahon County
Waterford, Ireland
Died Oct. 18, 1853, Aged 25 years

In the memory of:
William Hanks of
Coventry who departed
this life on Sept. 11,
1851, Aged 24

Also Infant daughter of
Maurice and Johanna Mickey
Died Oct. 20, 1854

For many years, in the 1920's or 30's, a sentimental mariner, Captain Robert Ellsworth of the Michigan Department of Conservation Patrol Boat #1, decorated these graves. Here is history with a tear.

Settlements of limited extent were once present in the vicinity of all the major mines - Siskowit, Island, Wendigo, and Minong. Today the evidences of former habitation are near obliteration. Clearings persist near the old mine shafts and stock piles and roadways are evident even where forests have invaded the right-of-way. At the Island Mine location at the head of Siskiwit Bay a mining road is used as a trail today to connect with the Greenstone Ridge Trail. At Windigo, too, the greatest part of the trail system follows in the tread of draft animals and miners. So also at McCargo Cove.

High hopes blossomed at the Island Mine in the early 70's. Extensive developments occurred in a few years - houses, stores, docks, a bridge over the Siskiwit River, church, school, and miles of well-drained roadway. A courthouse was erected also, the county seat of Isle Royale County. Indians at times lived nearby, and in the spring tapped the sugar bush on the Greenstone Ridge. The failure of this promising venture was brought on by a fire. A stamp mill had been built in 1875 but burned the next year. Discouraged, the place was abandoned. Today one may still see the boiler, cable, and the machinery near the shafts of a mine which likely paid its stockholders not one copper cent. Here, too, is found a little cemetery - with picket fences outlining the graves.

Sarah Barr Christian, in Winter on Isle Royale, gives us a graphic account of hardships and pleasantries. She tells of the roadway leading two and a half miles through tall pine trees (now aspen and white birch) to the mine "location" in a "democrat wagon" drawn

by a team of black horses - all other draft animals were oxen. Hers was a frame house while all the others were of log. "The Company Store" was stocked "with all in the way of salt meats, fish and such canned vegetables as were available ... we also stored in our own cellars such delicacies as ... smoked hams, barrels of corned beef, kegs of mackerel, dried beef, sardines, and all canned fish available... we had plenty of apples and 'root' vegetables." She tells us that almost all the miners were Cornish; for surface work the men were mostly Scandinavians, Norwegians and Swedish; and for forest work Finns were mostly used. They had a physician, Dr. Bradford Flews, who lost not a patient in the one and a half years on the island. They had a school and teacher; and a Methodist Parson. Mail came by dog-sled, when it came. The most joyous sight of the year was the first boat in the spring. The picture that Mrs. Christian paints is one of surprising cheer, comfort and culture.

At Minong, on McCargo Cove, another settlement loomed prosperous. A substantial dock, store, warehouse, and agent's boarding- and tenement houses sufficient to accommodate seventy men and families were built by 1875. This settlement, like that at Island Mine, had a doctor and a school teacher.

When operations ceased at Minong many of the miners went to work at a new development, Wendigo. John Flexman Johns was one of those who remains known to us through his son Edgar who still visits Isle Royale annually. The Johns family have played a prominent part in Isle Royale history so that a review of their life is illuminating and probably typical of Isle Royale's settlers.

John Flexman Johns was born in Cornwall, England and emigrated to the United States in 1856 as a young man. He lived in Calumet before going to Isle Royale in about 1861 (before the Civil War), cruising around the island in a sailboat. He was employed first at the Minong Mine where Captain Jacka was a mining captain. The settlement boasted a school, likely in one of the company buildings, where Captain Jacka's oldest daughter was a school teacher. In recent years this ex-school marm, Mrs. William Hassard by name, resided at Ashland, Wisconsin. Another former school teacher at Minong, Mrs. George Unsworth, who taught in 1878 later resided in Laurium, Michigan. The school had thirty-five to forty students, according to Edgar Johns, and all grades through the eighth. The Minong community also had a real doctor.

There were eleven children in the Johns family, about half of whom were born on Isle Royale, the others in the Copper Country of Upper Michigan. Edgar Johns was born in Duluth but was brought to the island as a babe in arms.

After the closing of the Minong Mine a period of inactivity followed, caused in part by the discovery of copper in the west where the ores could be taken from the surface and consequently at much less expense. Likely, many of the miners ventured west to these new prospects. The Johns family remained at Isle Royale and adjacent mainland.

The Wendigo operations at Washington Harbor began in 1888. The Isle Royale Land Corporation, called the English Syndicate, owned at that time almost two-thirds of Isle Royale lands; the Wendigo Company was one of its offspring. The Johns were employed here, Mrs. Johns operating a large boarding-house of which only a cellar excavation in a clearing now remains. This company did considerable exploration and development. Its significant contribution was the 9000 foot geological column in the form of diamond drill cores which proved of much value in deciphering the geology of Isle Royale and the Keweenaw Peninsula. The company also cleared the land now occupied by Windigo Inn, built about ten miles of roadway and constructed the old dock. The mining venture failed, like all those previous. While other company employees may have been obliged to leave the island, the Johns had established a foothold. John F. Johns homesteaded the present-day Barnum and Johns Islands, and part of Thompson Island, evicting the fishermen who had set up reels, net houses, fish houses, and docks on Barnum Island. He built a large log hotel and other buildings on Barnum Island about 1890 to accommodate visitors. He also had a cabin on Johns Island which he rented to campers from Duluth and other North Shore cities. John F. Johns was one of the first men, if not the first, to provide visitor accommodations at Isle Royale. In 1953 the island, which for many years had the misnomer Johnson Island, was changed to Johns Island in recognition of this Isle Royale pioneer.

Johns subsequently sold Barnum Island to the man for whom the island is now named, George Barnum, Sr. Edgar Johns, his son, in the employ of George Barnum, Jr., continues to visit the island annually. So, too, does his wife Elizabeth, nee Woolway, whose granddad was Captain Jacka of the Minong Mine.

Before we forget the Minong Mine, one other name ought to be mentioned to help the reader remember this place. According to a newspaper clipping (in possession of Louise Fretter) the Hiram Walker listed as president of the Minong Company is the same Hiram Walker who later founded the Canadian distillery bearing his name.

The Wendigo operation, like that of the Minong, employed a doctor, Dr. William P. Scott of Houghton, who has written an account of his life there from 1890-92. Dr. Scott relates that they had no school, but to occupy his time in the winter he conducted school for the thirteen children in the settlement. Religion played a very small part in

the life of those miners apparently, for when a traveling preacher visited there, the miners suggested that he "go kinda' light on the religion stuff."

The years when miners and their families resided on Isle Royale are few compared with those of fisherfolk who had already preceded them by many years. The first commercial fisheries on Isle Royale were established by John Jacob Astor's firm, the American Fur Company, in about 1835. It is likely that only men occupied the fishery posts but study of American Fur Company papers may show otherwise. With the advent, however, of independent fishermen who became established in practically every suitable harbor on Lake Superior during the later 1800's, fishing became a family proposition.

Families of fisherfolk - Norwegian, Swedes, Finns, French, ... - occupied harbors, on the mainland accessible only by water or wilderness footpath. On Isle Royale water the only means of access so that all news of the rest of the world and the mainland came by boat which delivered groceries and supplies, ice and salt, mail and passengers; and picked up in turn fish, mail and passengers. Generally, especially in recent years, the fisherfolk return to the mainland and cities for the winter months. They don't leave, though, until winter forces them - in December, and they return in the spring as soon as winter lets up - in April. Years gone by, however, have seen many families isolated on the island throughout the winter. Some children, indeed, did not see the mainland or town until they were of school age!

At least one recent year, 1932, saw school in session at Isle Royale. That year Mrs. Dorothy P. Simonson of Calumet shared isolation with six families on the island. Where she taught, however, there were only the Holgar Johnson children and her own son. The Michigan State Traveling Library sent texts and other books to the little school and community on Chippewa Harbor.

In years long past fishermen used to travel seasonally to the island from settlements on the south shore, as Bark Point near the Apostle Islands. Andrew Sivertson, an Isle Royale old-timer who passed away in recent years, was one of these. His brother Sam later arrived from Norway and together about 1892 they set up operations on Isle Royale where Sivertson Brothers Fisheries still operates today. Sam and Andrew's first buildings were on Barnum Island but when John F. Johns homesteaded there they moved across to Washington Island, the present location of the commercial fishing development on the southwest end of Isle Royale. The story is related, without vouching for authenticity, that in the year 1895 or thereabouts when Sam and Andrew arrived for the season they found their dismantled buildings and equipment on the dock, and Johns waiting to show them an official looking document. This document is presumed to have been a homestead claim,

Leander catches in recent years caused Arnold to find other livelihood, but Milford and Myrtle and their children persist at Rock Harbor, their sons working with them, perhaps to carry on after them in the tradition of the hardy fisherfolk of Scandinavia.

Today the lives of Isle Royale commercial fishermen are essentially the same as fifty years ago. Their island homes are cheery and comfortable. Modern conveniences include gasoline lanterns, and in the case of some, bottled gas stoves. Probably the only qualities apparent in their settlements, disproportionate to most livelihoods and peoples elsewhere, are pervading friendliness, generosity, industriousness and lack of affectation.

Visitors to Isle Royale who come to know these people, to share fish cakes and the coffee pot with them, or only to watch them setting or pulling nets in the cold lake, take back with them warm remembrance not to be forgotten: names like Anderson, Mattson, Edåsen, Hanson, Bangsund, Rude, Eckel, Ekmark, Skadberg, and Nicoliason; tang of fiords, of fisheries, and of Isle Royale where hardy fisherfolk have established and carry on a proud tradition.

There is yet another group of people who have a history of summer residence on Isle Royale, the summer cottagers and resorters. We can best follow their story while reviewing the development of recreational use of Isle Royale in a later chapter.

II. HISTORY OF THE NATIONAL PARK MOVEMENT AT ISLE ROYALE

The Idea is Born

The potentialities of Isle Royale as a park were first envisaged in conservation and tourist gatherings in the early 20's. The earliest recorded statement is that of The Detroit News which states that park status for Isle Royale was first suggested by Albert Stoll, Jr., and David R. Jones while returning from the island. Jones, then head of the State Park System organized in 1919, wanted Isle Royale to be made a state park and urged Stoll to foster the movement.

The suggestion was posed to George E. Miller, editor of The Detroit News, who approved the idea, but suggested that Isle Royale's possibilities for national park status should be examined. The first public announcement, an editorial by Stoll, appeared in The Detroit News on December 3, 1921, which read in part that Isle Royale "... is today practically the only bit of unspoiled nature east of the Mississippi" and that "the State of Michigan is now facing an opportunity to reserve this bit of native wonderland for its children." The Detroit News, as an organ of promotion, had printed the first of hundreds of articles and editorials to follow, arousing public interest in an isolated insular wilderness known but to a few.

The State Conservation Commission, influenced by Jones, expressed its approval of The Detroit News campaign; with the object "of making Isle Royale a park", by passing a unanimous resolution in December, 1921 stating that it "heartily endorses this enterprise and pledges its earnest cooperation in every way possible to bring about the desired result." The members of the Commission present at this meeting were Galster, Lawrence, Miller, Morston and Roth. The resolution was signed by John Baird, Director.

Albert Stoll, Jr. lost no time in broaching the idea of preserving Isle Royale as a park or sanctuary to the foremost conservation people in the country. Among these were Governor Groesbeck, Emerson Hough, Enos Mills, William D. Marsham, Judge Arthur Tuttle, Robert H. Rayborn, George Shiras III, David Fairchild, W. T. Hornaday and officials of the Michigan Department of Conservation, U.S. Forest Service, and U.S. Geological Survey. Replies from all of these conservationists were favorable, providing substantial encouragement and backing; and good material for editorials and feature articles promoting the idea.

State Director of Conservation John Baird (December, 1922) preferred federal to state ownership for the island, asserting that failure in the project to get federal status would be regretted in the future.

Cautioning and protesting voices were also heard.. W.T.Hornaday of the New York Zoological Park wrote Stoll, "There is always a chief drawback to an island as a game preserve and that is that the surplus game is unable to migrate into contiguous territory ... the surplus game might become embarrassing." Hornaday obviously did not have a national park in mind. (His thought was to echo through the years, however, prediction of a problem to face the Service.)

George E. Bishop, then and now Secretary-Manager of the Upper Peninsula Development Bureau, expressed the view that the State might better develop the four state parks already established in Northern Michigan, stating that "Only a small fraction of the state's citizens ever would find it possible to visit Isle Royale ... it is a more expensive undertaking than the average citizen can afford on his vacation period. Use of Isle Royale is and always will be restricted largely to owners of yachts." Interested primarily in the tourist business of the Upper Peninsula, Mr. Bishop had little faith that Isle Royale would result in much added influx of visitors to the Upper Peninsula, which could be effected by the more economical and practical development of the Porcupine Mts., Huron Mts., and Grand Island as State parks. Being from the Upper Peninsula, Bishop had an awareness of the remoteness of Isle Royale and the consequent difficulties of development and use not anticipated by most park proponents. His evaluation was all too realistic, as has been demonstrated to the present time.

The first approach to the National Park Service was that by Rep. James C. Cramton of Michigan who broached the idea of Isle Royale for national parkhood to Director Mather. Mather recommended the question be put before the meeting of the National-State Park Conference in May, 1922. Arno B. Cammerer, as Acting Director, was quoted in the Munising News as favoring the area for park purposes "... where scenery and plant and animal life may still be observed as they were before white men came to this continent."

Considerable public interest was aroused in Isle Royale by the archeological investigations of Ferguson in 1922 featured in the News. Ferguson had previously spent considerable time on Isle Royale and wrote many feature articles for the News relating his experience on the island.

The Uphill Promotion Begins - Lands, Taxes, Politics

In the first two years of the promotion public interest ran high and governmental cooperation seemed assured. However, lands, most of

which were in private ownership, would have to be acquired.

In 1922 the biggest landowner was the Island Copper Company with 92,000 acres of Isle Royale's 134,000 acres. This company sold 66,500 acres of its timber land in that year to the Minnesota Forest Products Company composed of Minneapolis and Duluth men. According to terms of the sale, only mature trees would be cut, most approved methods of re-forestation followed, the natural beauties, game, and fish preserved, slashing destroyed and precautions taken against fire. The Minnesota Forest Products Company announced that it had no present intentions of cutting but would hold the timber in reserve.

The Island Copper Company reserved for itself the land around bays and harbors as well as all shore rights. A land corporation called the Isle Royale Land Corporation which preceded the Island Copper Company, after failure of mining ventures by predecessor mining companies, had plans in the early 1900's for developing the island as a summer resort. As early as this time camping parties from Duluth were frequenting Isle Royale.

The suspicion prevailing with some seemed to be well founded, that the principal land holders were behind the scheme promoting the park in order to get out from under a tax burden, or to gain big profits from selling the frontage on lakes and harbors. The Island Copper Company, which owned 21,243 acres of the island after selling 63,661 acres to the Minnesota Forest Products Company, had reserved all mineral rights and rights of entry to explore. The Island Copper Company had expressed willingness to turn over the remainder to state or Federal governments for a park, also reserving mineral rights, the right of exploration and selection of surface for mining operations. Such a gift would, of course, eliminate all taxes on the land, yet reserving the mineral rights.

In an editorial in the Detroit Free Press, which paper appeared to lead the opposition, the question "What do we want Isle Royale for" was propounded by Frank A. Osborn in successfully opposing an endorsement of Groesbeck's administration at the Kalamazoo County Republican Convention in May, 1923. The thoughts expressed in the editorial highlight the planks of the opposition to the Isle Royale movement, opposition which thus appeared in the political front. " ... an isolated, inaccessible island ... why should tax money ... be expended to create there a playground for a highly privileged few? ..." At a place "no better and probably no worse than the forest primeval in scores of places on Michigan's mainland, near water, accessible to the state's 700,000 motorists and other visiting tourists over state-improved trunk line highways." Another loaded argument, the editorial asserted, was that 90% (exaggerated) of the land was held by two Minnesota outfits.

With arguments like these to oppose the Isle Royale movement, it

is all the more remarkable that progress could be made in Michigan, a state which can boast water frontage exceeding that of the entire Pacific seaboard bordering on the United States.

Island Life in the 1910's and 20's

The island was being enjoyed by a "privileged few" so far as its potentialities were concerned. Lodges were operated at four places on the island during the 1910's and 20's -- Singer Island (Washington Island), Tobin Harbor, Belle Isle, and Rock Harbor. Scores of individuals in addition had private cottages, low quality frame structures used only during the summer months. All of the island landowners and visitors at that time must have considered themselves "privileged".

The enjoyment of Isle Royale was distinctly not restricted to the moneyed class. Rates at the lodges went like this:

Island House & Cottages (Washington Island), accommodations for 200 guests.

Hotel	\$3.50/day	\$23.00/week - American Plan
Cottages	\$4.00/day	\$26.50/week - American Plan

Belle Isle - \$21.00/week and up - American Plan

The rates at other establishments were comparable.

As for swank, the Island House, representative of others, advertised "no pretense, no mahogany, no dressing for dinner - just plain, downright home comfort of the plainest and best variety."

The summer residents of Isle Royale, aware of the potentialities of Isle Royale as a nature preserve of some kind and fearful of exploitation of the forest and wildlife resources, had organized in 1922 as the "Citizen's Committee of Isle Royale." Membership was composed of nearly all cottage owners and annual summer residents on the north-east end of Isle Royale where three of the lodges and all but a few cottages were located. At a meeting at Rock Harbor, August 17, 1922, a motion was adopted that "the Conservation Department, John Baird, Director, be informed that it is the earnest desire of this committee that Isle Royale be taken over by the State of Michigan as a Timber and Game Preserve. Signed Ralph W. Emerson, Sec'y." Likely this Committee had no concept of national parkhood at that time, which would deprive them of the ownership of property and cottages on the island.

A series of feature articles in the News, copiously illustrated and very entertainingly written, were published around 1922. Laurie York Erskine, the author, had spent much time on the island with the

residents, the fisheries, visitors, and wildlife. His accurate, dramatic presentation of the island story remains of considerable interest.

On January 28, 1924 the Conservation Commission passed the following resolution "...that the Conservation Commission offer to the Federal Government its holdings on Isle Royale and go on record as being willing to cooperate in every possible way in aiding the Federal Government to reserve the entire island for a game and bird sanctuary. The Commission reserves to the State of Michigan the sand and gravel rights in the coastal waters of Isle Royale and the fishing rights in said coastal waters."

The State Department of Conservation at that time made patrols to Isle Royale, which was under its protective jurisdiction. With increasing public interest in the island, many photographs and movies were made of island features and wildlife. Movies made by James H. McGillivray of that department were to have considerable use in park promotion.

The Federal Government Looks - And Is Interested

With much of the spade work accomplished and interest in the park movement increasing all around, Stoll wrote (February 1924) to the Secretary of Interior Hubert Work describing briefly the geography, geology and wildlife of the island; and reviewing the efforts and successes so far in getting backing for the Isle Royale National Park idea. He included copies of the Conservation Commission resolution supporting the movement and a letter from T.F.Cole, representing the Island Copper Company, who offered 5,000 acres of land to the Government without charge. At that time, according to Stoll's figures, 56,361 of the island's 132,000 acres was assured to the Federal Government free of cost. This included 9,121 acres still in the public domain, which the Hon. William L. Spry, Commissioner of the General Land Office, had assured would be withdrawn from entry with the Secretary's approval.

In this letter Stoll prompted the idea that the Department of Interior "... express a willingness to accept by gift of deed the lands now offered and assured, and withdraw the unappropriated public lands from further entry, and recommend to the President the creation of a national monument..." The News would attempt to obtain without cost as much of the remaining area as possible. "With this assurance from you we will be better able to interest the remaining landowners in this project..."

In reply, Secretary Work expressed great interest in the idea. With Director Mather of the National Park Service, he had reviewed a

film of the island taken recently by McGillivray which convinced him of at least national monument caliber for the island. He said that he would gladly accept title to the lands for the Government and recommend to the President that he establish a national monument if "... all but a negligible portion of the lands in private ownership be secured for the United States."

Following up this advantage, the News sent a personal representative to Washington to urge Secretary Work to secure the President's approval for withdrawal of all federal lands on Isle Royale pending establishment as a national park. Results came fast. On March 22, 1924 President Coolidge issued a proclamation withdrawing the public lands from entry "pending advisability of including such lands in a national monument."

On March 24 the state took steps to withdraw state-owned lands from sale.

During the summer of 1924 an official party from Washington, D.C. made an inspection visit to the island with a view to recommending that President Coolidge proclaim it a national monument. Headed by Director Mather of the National Park Service the party included: Albert Stoll, Jr.; W.H. Barnum, Duluth; J.H. Rice, Houghton; George R. Rupley, Agent for Minnesota Forest Products Company, Duluth; T.F. Cole, Agent for the Island Copper Company; Oliver W. Mitchell, Chicago; Wm. H. Wallace, Chairman, Michigan Conservation Commission; Alfred Merritt, Postmaster, Duluth; George W. Newett, Ishpeming; Wm. Kuenzel, The Detroit News photographer; Warden Bill Lively; John Baird; and Francis Farquhar, President of the Sierra Club. Captain Robert E. Ellsworth was in command of Michigan Patrol Boat No. 1 which carried the party.

Director Mather's Pronouncement

Following this cruise, Mather was reported as stating that Isle Royale fully measured up to national park standards. Isle Royale "... would make the finest water and trail park I can think of." He continued, "No doubt the time will come when conveyance upon the water will equal in speed and safety those now on land and that in time this virgin island and all its romantic beauty will be cherished as one of America's greatest heritages."

During that summer also, the Detroit Board of Commerce made a tour of the island returning with a recommendation to its board of Directors that the movement to make Isle Royale a national park and game refuge receive the support of the Board.

The extensive holdings of the Minnesota Forest Products Company were now the major obstacle to the creation of Isle Royale National Park or Monument. This company placed a valuation of \$4,054,299 on its lands. A company representative stated that if the area was to be made a national park, they would sell for \$2,500,000, expressing at the same time considerable interest in the park project. The valuation arrived at by the Minnesota Forest Products Company was based on an actual timber tally, and compared favorably with tallies made by other cruisers for other interests in the same area.

Stoll About Stalled: National Monument Compromise?

Mr. Stoll at this point was somewhat discouraged at the prospects. In a letter to Director Mather on March 16, 1925, he reviewed the situation and strongly argued that the holdings of the Minnesota Forest Products Company would not conflict with the establishment of a national park of the 56,000 acres available comprising the eastern twenty-two and a half miles of the island. This area, in Mr. Stoll's opinion, comprised the more interesting part of the island, including McCargo Cove, Rock Harbor, Duncan's Bay, Lookout Louise and the greatest proportion generally of lakes, harbors, and coves. Also he pointed out that this was the finest moose and caribou habitat. This half of Isle Royale alone would be larger than the average national park and larger than any national monument (in existence at that time). Also indications were that the remaining 70,000 acres would come into the Government eventually.

Stoll suggested two methods of procedure by which the holdings of the Minnesota Forest Products Company might be acquired. First, the outright purchase of these lands at the price asked of \$2,500,000. Second, the condemnation of these holdings by the State.

Even another course had been suggested by friends of the project (identity unknown), namely: the "eventual confiscation of these holdings by tax assessment approximating the actual value of the property." In this event it was cautioned care would have to be taken that the rights of the Island Copper Company not be jeopardized since this company had, and the offer stood, offered its land to the Government for national park purposes.

Governor Groesbeck of Michigan was entirely favorable to the condemnation of holdings on Isle Royale. The condemnation value would amount to the actual assessed value plus a reasonable interest.

In February 1926, Director Mather sent Stoll a recapitulation of the timber and land estimate made upon lands sold to the Minnesota Forest Products Company in June 1907 which he had received from F.R. Kennedy, Secretary and Treasurer of the Island Copper Company. This

estimate of values and tallies was apparently that used as the basis of sale to the Minnesota Forest Products Company by the Island Copper Company. Interest in this recap goes far beyond the use then made of it, for it lists the relative kinds and quantities of timber in this tract which occupies most of the west end of Isle Royale.

White Pine	8,500 M bd.ft. @ \$ 6.00	
Maple	1,244 M bd.ft. @ 1.50	
Birch	4,880 M bd.ft. @ 2.00	
Ash	29 M bd.ft. @ 2.00	
Oak	15 M bd.ft. @ 10.00	
Spruce	7,004 M bd.ft. @ 4.00	
White Birch	77 M bd.ft. @ 2.00	
Tamarack	4,600 M bd.ft. @ 4.00	
Cedar	28,000 M bd.ft. @ 3.50	
Balm of Gilead	40 M bd.ft. @ 2.00	
	54,459,340 BFM	\$ 206,505.96

In addition to this were estimates on lagging, poles, posts, cordwood, and pulpwood valuing \$143,907.70. This with the 81,765.52 acres @ .50/acre, or \$40,882.76, gave a total valuation of \$391,356.42. Director Mather suggested that these values be used in dealing with Mr. Rupley of Minnesota Forest Products Company, or if necessary, as a basis for condemnation proceedings.

Studies, Inspections: The Promotion Gains Strength

Despite these developing financial barriers to park promotion, the interest of various outdoor groups, conservationists, and natural scientists was manifest in their statements of support, and various scientific studies initiated at the park. The Izaak Walton League meeting at Chicago in 1925 went on record as approving the acquisition of lands for park purposes. Dr. John N. Lowe of Marquette Normal College made wildlife studies at the island in 1925 and published articles, in one of which he suggested the island be made a partridge sanctuary.

In 1926 the Grand Rapids Press, and associated newspapers, took up the cause. Ben East, outdoor editor, visited the island in that year, after which he became an active crusader.

Studies conducted by the University of Michigan beginning in 1927 resulted in contributions of inestimable value to Isle Royale's natural history. Made possible by the State of Michigan through an appropriation of \$15,000, scientists and scholars made exhaustive geographic, ecologic, and archeologic surveys of the island. The publications resulting are listed in the bibliography.

Another prominent study was directed by the Museum of the City of Milwaukee - the McDonald-Massee Expedition. Archeological studies were made during 1928. Outstanding discoveries included the extensive aboriginal diggings at McCargo Cove, and an ossuary containing skeletal remains of about twelve individuals on Houghton Point. This expedition was enthusiastic about park possibilities and sent President Coolidge a wireless message and later a letter urging that "... action be taken in cooperation with the State of Michigan to make Isle Royale a national park or monument to preserve forever this northern land of woods and lovely waters for the people of this country...."

In the spring of 1929 members of the State Conservation Commission with legislative representatives made a trip to the island which resulted in a reaffirmation by the Commission pledging its help to obtain the land now in private ownership, for acquisition as a national park. W. H. Loutit, chairman of the Commission, said: "Isle Royale must be a national park, and every effort to make it such should be exerted by all of those who are interested in Michigan and its economic future." Later in the same year, the Commission and legislators made another trip to the island. Stoll was included in this party.

National Park Service Interest

That the U.S. National Park Service was becoming definitely interested in Isle Royale park possibilities is established by the designation of Dr. Frank R. Oastler, member of Advisory Board on Educational Problems in National Parks, to make an exhaustive survey of the island covering flora, fauna, geology, transportation facilities, etc. His report, completed in 1929 but not made public until January 1931, stated that there is "... little doubt that the island is eminently fitted to take its place among the jewels that constitute our National Park System." Harlan P. Kelsey, a botanist and collaborator for the National Park Service, made a study also at the island and expressed high praise for the area.

In 1930 Senator Wolcott, chairman of the Special Committee on the Conservation of Wildlife Resources, and others of his Committee are also reported to have inspected the island. Director Albright and Senator Wolcott prepared a detailed report as a result of their joint findings.

On January 22, 1930 Stephen T. Mather, the first Director of the National Park Service, who had served until January, 1929, died. It was Mather who, after arriving at Lookout Louise in 1924, stated: "This is of national park caliber", and later "... it would make the finest water and trail park I can think of." Representative Cramton of Michigan's Seventh District, who was well aware of Mather's impressions and wishes on Isle Royale and who shared his enthusiasm,

proposed that Isle Royale be set aside as a national park in memory of Mather. Representative Cramton, we ought to point out here, was a hard worker for park projects throughout his Congressional career. Director Cammerer, recognizing Cramton's work, stated in a letter to Stoll June 25, 1932 that Cramton probably did as much for the national parks as any of the National Park directors.

Isle Royale National Park Project Becomes Reality

On February 11, 1931, Representative Cramton introduced a bill into the House to establish Isle Royale National Park. Though it was thought the bill could receive little action prior to the adjournment of Congress, Cramton explained that the measure would serve to focus attention on the project.

But events moved much faster than even Cramton anticipated. A report on Isle Royale, submitted to the Public Lands Committee by Director Albright, resulted in a favorable report by that committee. The only amendment which was made called for the inclusion of the small islands surrounding Isle Royale in the National Park.

Senator Arthur Vandenberg introduced a companion bill into the Senate. On March 2 the Cramton Bill passed the House; on March 3 the Vandenberg Bill passed the Senate; and finally President Hoover approved and signed the measure following this joint action.

Responding quickly to this surprise legislation Governor Brucker of Michigan, on March 5 wrote to the Department of Conservation advocating that it offer its state-owned lands on Isle Royale to the Federal Government for national park purposes.

Representative Hartman of Houghton on April 13 introduced a bill to create the Isle Royale National Park Commission which reported out favorably by the Committee on Conservation April 23, passed the legislature, and became law over Governor Brucker's signature May 28, 1931.

In July, 1931 the following prominent men were appointed by the Governor to the Isle Royale National Park Commission: James MacNaughton of Calumet, Chairman; Harry F. Harper, Lansing, Secretary; Edsel Ford, Detroit; William Alden Smith, Grand Rapids; William H. Wallace, Saginaw. The members of the Commission were appointed for four-year terms, to serve without pay. Their job essentially was to acquire title in behalf of the State of Michigan to all lands within Isle Royale and immediately surrounding islands to be held in trust and conveyed and transferred to the United States, all conveyance to be a perfect, unencumbered title by warranty deed. The Commission was given authority to acquire lands by condemnation where necessary. The deed of these lands to the United States would convey exclusive jurisdiction saving to the State the right

to serve criminal or civil process and the right to tax persons, partnerships and corporations and their properties; and saving also the right of persons residing on the island to vote to the same extent that they would be entitled had not lands been conveyed to the Federal Government; and finally, that jurisdiction in the United States would not vest until the Governor of Michigan shall have been notified of assumption of jurisdiction.

The Promotion in Second Gear

An editorial in the Houghton Daily Mining Gazette, April 15, 1931 aptly states the position of that area in the project at stake. "... Depending upon the interest, the vision, and the initiative of the Copper Country, Isle Royale as a national park is the magnet that should draw hundreds of summer tourists to and through this particular section. Here in the Copper Country, we must come to an early realization and appreciation of this signal opportunity that lies right at our door....."

During the summer of 1931 new ammunition appeared in the front lines of the promotion when a movie and lecture program was begun by Ben East, outdoor editor of the Grand Rapids Press, and Walter Hastings, staff photographer of the Michigan Department of Conservation. During February they had visited the island by plane and made a movie of winter scenery and wildlife. Following the expedition Ben East also wrote an article for National Geographic, "Winter Skyroads to Isle Royale."

The summer residents and annual visitors to Isle Royale meanwhile had not become inactive. Reorganizing their committee into the Isle Royale Protective Association, they listed as honorary members: Dr. Frank Castler, Albert Stoll, Jr., E. F. McDonald, Ben East, Harlan P. Kelsey, A.A. Webster, John P. Snigg, B.A. Massee, J.K. Farley, Jr., and Warren Hastings - individuals already prominent in the park movement. E. H. Bailey was named president; Arthur H. Savage, secretary-treasurer of the organization. Mrs. Matthew Farmer of Rock Harbor Lodge was an active member. A letter dated September 5, 1931 to the Director of the National Park Service from the Association clearly stated its wishes and objectives. The members averred that they had organized to promote adequate protection for the flora, fauna and scenic features of the region. They expressed approval of having Isle Royale made a national park, and suggested these principles to guide its destiny:

1. "... the rugged beauty which appeals so deeply to nature lovers should not be diminished by any unnecessary artificial or commercial features..."
2. "... commercial fishing should be under strict regulations such as will protect trolling and casting..."

3. Concessions should operate in conformance with the spirit of these principles.

4. Present summer residents, their children, and grandchildren "should be allowed the enjoyment in the future of the property we now hold. It seems to us a very reasonable assumption that no class of people ever attracted to the island will be likely to surpass the loyalty of our children who have been reared in summer homes here."

The main objective of this organization, while going along with the park idea, was to protect its own interests by seeking life leases for its membership as condition of sale or donation of lands.

Director Albright, in response to this letter, expressed accord with the principles of the Association. He promised with reservations, that life leases would be given the recorded owners at the time of transfer of lands to the Federal Government. This, incidently, gave the summer residents an opportunity to have their children's names recorded as joint property owners and therefore also subject to life lease provisions.

There was concern on the part of others, too, regarding the extent of development that the National Park Service envisaged for Isle Royale. Stuart Perry, editor of the Adrian Daily Telegram, believed that the island's "... value lies in its solitude and primeval condition rather than in any natural wonders. If there were natural wonders, it might be the duty of the public to make them as accessible as possible, but in the circumstances I maintain that the duty of the park management should be to make the place as inaccessible as possible in order that its peculiar value and charm may be conserved." This pure wilderness concept may have appeared radical then. However, the desirability of this principle was to receive much consideration in future years of park planning.

The Isle Royale National Park Commission made its first trip to Isle Royale in August 1931 accompanied by Senator Vandenberg, Acting Director Cammerer, Dr. Roy L. Sexton, Mr. J. Fox, State Conservation Commissioner, S.A. Fontana, Chief of Lands Division of Michigan Department of Conservation, and Mr. Stoll of The Detroit News. The trip was made aboard the Ford Motor Company tug, Barlow. Mr. Cammerer during this trip determined that all the surrounding islands should be included in the national park project, and that owners of private property and residences on Isle Royale should be given life leases if they "played ball" with the Government.

Following this initial venture by the Commission to the park, warm letters of tribute were written to "Pete" Stoll by Cammerer and Vandenberg in recognition of the major part he had taken in the park promotion to date. Pleasant and cooperative relations were established for the hard years yet ahead.

Depression and Recovery

With a depression upon the nation, action on the Isle Royale National Park project seems to have ebbed, although interest did not. No action by the Commission to purchase or condemn the Isle Royale lands was possible until funds were made available.

After March 3, 1932 the name Isle Royale appeared in the news with this spelling officially approved by the U.S. Geographic Board. Previous to this time, back to 1895, the official spelling had been without the final "e", which was now added in keeping with the French origin of the island's name.

A highway to be called the "Isle Royale Trail" was being promoted at this time. It was planned to improve US-41 from Milwaukee to Keweenaw to create a direct scenic route connecting the metropolises to the south with ports of embarkation to Isle Royale. Highways were improved but the "Isle Royale Trail" was forgotten.

To serve the visitation to the park, a demand for which was developing as a result of the promotion, an airplane service was initiated. A 10-place Sikorsky amphibian, S-38, was made available for flights between Houghton and Isle Royale on flights twice daily.

It began to appear that funds to purchase the private holdings would have to come from private philanthropists and through outright donation so that contacts were made with likely prospects. Some progress was made, when a more promising possibility loomed in the form of the recently organized Emergency Conservation Works Program keyed for national recovery.

The National Park Service had approached the Administration to secure, from the ECW fund, money for the purchase of eastern national park lands. The Forest Service had succeeded in getting \$20,000,000 for increasing its holdings in the Lake States and in the East so the parallel logic was suggested that funds might also be allocated to the National Park Service for purchase of private lands in the national parks. Director Albright and Secretary Ickes had proposed to the President that about \$5,000,000 would be necessary, not, however, including the Isle Royale lands because "... no start having been made in Michigan, it would be very difficult to include that project on a list with others in which the states have done so much." Mr. Stoll of the News wrote to Director Albright directing attention to the fact that almost half of the island and all of the outlying islands had been secured by gift or the setting aside of state or federal lands. Perhaps as a result of this letter, an estimated \$775,000 for Isle Royale was included in a memorandum placed before Secretary Ickes by Director Cammerer which showed that \$14,000,000 would clear up the

private land situation in all existing national parks and secure the establishment of all the authorized parks. Senator Vandenberg thought the \$775,000 was exorbitant and proposed that if \$400,000 was made available the job could be done.

The allocation of any federal funds for land purchases in or for a national park, it should be noted, had no precedent. All funds previously had come from private or other-than-federal governmental sources for national park land acquisition. The provision of \$20,000,000 for Forest Service lands, however, appeared to be analogous precedent.

The federal government was reluctant to apply emergency funds for Isle Royale lands until the state had made a contribution and evidence was shown that lands were already being acquired. The Isle Royale National Park Commission, without access to funds, had been unable to act; indeed by 1934 only one member, Edsel Ford, remained on the Commission, the others having resigned or been relieved of duty by Governor Comstock. A threat loomed that the federal government might repeal the Isle Royale National Park Act. George Bishop of the Upper Peninsula Development Bureau, who had earlier opposed the establishment of Isle Royale as a state park, went to bat for the project now, asking the Governor to revitalize the Commission. Bishop said that Isle Royale National Park would "... prove a master stroke in the ultimate development of the tourist and resort business for Michigan and the Lake States." While Comstock did not oppose the park project, he was not favorable to the use of public money for its purchase.

Timber Exploitation Gives Project A Shove

Impetus to the movement to establish Isle Royale National Park was added by the threat in 1935 of the Consolidated Power and Paper Company of Wisconsin Rapids, Wisconsin to cut timber on the island. This company owned land at the head of Siskiwit Bay from which it had planned to cut pulpwood; it had also planned to cut from certain lands of the Minnesota Forest Products Company. These plans were held in abeyance by the company pending governmental or state action to purchase them but in the spring of 1935 it began the construction of its camps. The company stated that it could not refrain from cutting now because a spruce budworm infestation of recent years was destroying much of the forest stand. Also it stated that the lands which it would cut over were located in swamp for the most part and away from all points of visitation.

The imminence of pulpwood cutting on the island, and an apparent indifference toward Isle Royale National Park on the part of the Federal Government, served as expedient stimulants to public interest in the fate of the project. A group of park boosters organized as the Isle

Royale National Park Association to solicit the donation of privately owned lands, and to raise funds through governmental and private subscription to acquire Isle Royale lands. William Duchaine, editor of the Escanaba Press, was the power and provided the voice of the organization through his newspaper. Guy Humner of Iron River was the president.

The work of this organization cannot be slighted. Considerable publicity emanated from and through its membership which significantly increased the force behind the national park movement. The Michigan State Senate sent a resolution to Governor Fitzgerald, elected Governor in 1934, requesting a meeting be called of the Isle Royale National Park Commission to determine what measures could be taken immediately to protect the forest stands on Isle Royale. National Park Service officials urged speed in acquiring the island.

Land Optioning Begins; Opposition Shows Strength

In June 1935, Governor Fitzgerald reappointed the entire Isle Royale National Park Commission. Its first meeting, in the office of The Detroit News, was held to discuss land acquisition at Isle Royale. Attending this meeting were A.R. Rogers of Minneapolis, representing the Minnesota Forest Products Company; P.J. Hoffmaster, Director of Michigan Department of Conservation; Edsel Ford, Detroit; Harry F. Harper, Lansing; S.A. Fontanna, Chief of Michigan lands division; Albert Stoll, Jr. of the News; and H.G. Willemmin of the National Park Service. Mr. Willemmin had been appointed to do the land optioning, working with the Commission and Mr. Stoll of the News. Willemmin, a junior engineer with the National Park Service, had been authorized on June 9, 1935 by the Director's Office, Demaray acting, to proceed with optioning in the name of the Isle Royale National Park Commission.

On the first of August, 1935 it was reported from Washington that four CCC Camps were proposed for Isle Royale and that the President was assigning \$705,000 to buy out the private lands, providing the State of Michigan guaranteed to take up any excess cost. The warrant for \$705,000 was signed by Comptroller John R. McCarl on October 24, 1935.

The next spring, April, 1936, the State of Michigan gave evidence of faith and purpose when the State Administrative Board appropriated \$100,000 to augment the federal fund.

In the meantime, the opposition to the park and/or the government allotment of funds for it was not quiet. In Upper Michigan, Congressman Frank E. Hook had opposed the appropriation of federal funds for the Isle Royale land purchase. He felt that the Federal Government had no right to use relief funds to purchase lands for park purposes

citing the fact that there had been no precedent for federal purchase of any park lands. He pointed out, with critical effect, that 50% of the people in his district were on relief rolls and that the park project would afford no immediate relief.

The Keweenaw County Board of Supervisors backed Hook because Isle Royale as a national park would remove the land from the general property tax rolls, reducing its tax income by approximately 12%.

Senator Vandenberg argued that the acquisition of Isle Royale as a national park presented the greatest development opportunity in the history of the Upper Peninsula and would add immeasurably to the economic well-being of that section by attracting hundreds of thousands of tourists. He reasoned that funds saved by withholding federal appropriations for the project would not instead be spent to provide relief or employment in the Upper Peninsula, and that the Upper Peninsula would receive its recovery funds regardless of money provided for the national park project. Former Governor Chase S. Osborn upheld the Senator's opinions.

In July 1935, the County Board of Supervisors of Keweenaw withdrew its objections to the park with the explanation that the main copper mining companies had assured it that adequate funds would be available for operation of the county government. It would appear that MacNaughton, president of Calumet and Hecla and also chairman of the Isle Royale National Park Commission, had some influence here.

An FERA project began in 1935 which immediately concerned Isle Royale. The former Coast Guard cutter USS SEMINOLE had been transferred from surplus to be operated by local manpower in a passenger run to Isle Royale and in a cruise along the Portage Canal. The vessel was 188 feet long, 30 feet abeam, of all steel construction and offered passage for 125 persons. She was operated by the Copper Country Industries, Inc., a Self-Help Cooperative, in cooperation with the Houghton County Welfare Relief Commission. She traveled to Isle Royale for two seasons after which the operation was discontinued because of competition in the Isle Royale transportation business and the excessive cost of operation. (This information from file of USS SEMINOLE In Houghton County Welfare Office.)

Assistant Director Harold C. Bryant visited the island in 1935 and expressed his enthusiastic support. George Shiras III, while enthusiastic of Isle Royale's park potentialities, thought if Isle Royale were a national park the island might become crowded with discontented tourists. Both Senator Vandenberg and Director Cammerer had given estimates of potential visitation in the 100,000's so that concern of the pure wilderness advocates seemed justified. The barrier of Lake Superior at those times apparently was not as formidable to prospective development and visitation as presently appears to be the case.

Isle Royale Lands Coming In

Option-taking began during the winter of 1935-36. In February two options, representing five sevenths of the island, were accepted by the federal government. The program continued surely, in spite of the tremendous amount of legal work involved. The abstracts of title, obtained from property owners, had to be reviewed by the Solicitor General of the U.S. Department of Interior before they could be accepted. Some of the abstracts were columnious, one weighing over nine pounds.

The government, after feeling out the various property owners, set a rate of \$1 per acre for mineral rights and \$4 per acre for surface rights for all properties. Appropriate increases were allowed for structures and improvements on the land.

The National Park Service began plans for development of the island in 1935 when a landscape architect was sent there to make development studies. Other National Park Service representatives also began duty on the island in charge of CCC activities.

The severe forest fires that ravaged one third of Isle Royale in 1936 came at a time when the State had given up its protective administration and the National Park Service had not yet become established for protection. The fire did not interfere with national park plans for the island, however. The Consolidated Power and Paper Company, engaged in pulpwood cutting at that time, suffered the loss of considerable standing and decked pulpwood in this conflagration.

The federal appropriation for the land acquisition was to expire March 3, 1937 so it was necessary to put all Isle Royale holdings which had not been optioned in condemnation in order to obligate the unappropriated balance. By July, the Federal Government had secured options on nearly ninety percent of the lands. In January, 1938 condemnation suits were begun on 21,997 acres at the District Court in Marquette, Judge Fred M. Raymond of Grand Rapids presiding. By September only thirty percent of the lands remained to be optioned so that plans proceeded for dedication which it was hoped would take place in 1939.

On June 21, 1938 President Roosevelt signed a bill authorizing the U.S. Department of Interior to use as part of Isle Royale National Park the lands previously acquired for conservation and forestry purposes. The lands referred to, which had been acquired for special purposes, could not be used for other purposes without specific legislation.

Isle Royale National Park Deeded, Delayed, Dedicated

With all lands acquired, it remained for the state to cede and the U.S. Government to accept jurisdiction of the island. The state action occurred in January 1939 when Representative John C. Geiggisburg and George N. Higgins introduced a bill, which was passed by both houses in February 1939. In the bill the state reserved the right to tax persons and property, the residents' right to vote as citizens of the state, and the right to serve process on the island. Secretary of Interior Ickes formally established Isle Royale National Park when he accepted the deeds to all lands on Isle Royale in behalf of the United States on April 3, 1940.

Plans for the dedication, cancelled in 1939 because of incompleteness of land acquisition, were resumed in 1940. But the developing state of national emergency again forced cancellation, although it had been hoped that President Roosevelt would be able to dedicate the park.

For a period again, just after the assumption of success, Isle Royale was forgotten. The war years went by, and many who had worked toward the establishment of the park, aged, passed away, or just lost that peak of feeling they must have experienced when the long uphill job was finished. The dedication finally took place twenty-five years after park status was envisaged, fifteen years after its establishment as a national park project, and six years after acceptance of the deeds to the island by the Secretary of Interior.

On August 27, 1946 the ceremony of dedication was held under an ominous sky. Director Drury and Assistant Director Tolson were unable to fly from Houghton because of the foul weather, so Regional Director Merriam presided in Drury's stead. One thousand people heard Governor Kelly officially dedicate the Isle Royale lands to use for perpetuity by the American people. He lauded the efforts of the "... loyal group of American citizens to preserve for all time the natural grandeur with which the isle is so richly endowed."

Assistant Secretary of Interior Chapman accepted the park for the people of the U.S.A., welcoming it to the distinguished family of scenic marvels. He said we "... possess them today only because there have lived in the past and are living in the present men and women who saw that some liberal portions of the America-that-was must be saved, so that we and those who follow us could have some idea of what our country was like when white men first glimpsed its vastness and grandeur."

Senator Vandenberg and former Representative Gramton, co-sponsors of the Isle Royale National Park project, were both absent. Vandenberg,

speaking by proxy, gloried in the accomplishment and predicted that the American people, "... as they learn its (the island's) lure will turn here in ever-increasing numbers to find happiness in its primeval hospitality and to find peace in its majestic silences."

The dedication had begun at 4:00. By 6:30 park headquarters was completely deserted. Only the preps remained, and the work ahead of energetically operating this national park for the use and enjoyment of the people "... in such manner, and by such means as will leave it unimpaired for the enjoyment of future generations."

V. HISTORY OF ISLE ROYALE AS A NATIONAL PARK

The administration and development of Isle Royale by the National Park Service began in 1935, four years after the establishment of the national park project, five years before land acquisition was completed, and eleven years before Isle Royale was dedicated as a national park. Isle Royale's foundations as a national park were built during trying years in our nation's history - years highlighted by depression, recovery and world war. With first quality building stone on hand, however, the project was presaged for success from the start. Indeed, as we have seen, the misfortunes of national history expedited the establishment of Isle Royale National Park.

National Park Service participation began at Isle Royale in September 1935 when Donald M. Wolbrink, Landscape Architect of the Department of Plans and Designs, began development studies.

In 1935 also, Charles E. Shevlin and Shirley W. Allen were assigned at Isle Royale as Foresters in charge of the CCC project beginning on the island the same year. In August of 1935 the Federal Government had announced that four CCC camps were proposed for the island. Records in Isle Royale's files signed by Mr. Shevlin show him as Camp Superintendent at Camp Siskiwit in September 1935, Associate Forester at Camp Siskiwit in October 1935, and Acting Representative in Charge in September of 1936. It appears then that Shevlin was the first National Park Service administrator in charge of the park. His next record shows him as Associate Regional Forester, Region II, in 1938. Mr. Allen, signing his name as Associate Forester in Charge in August 1935, handled administration of the CCC from a Hancock office.

Some of the personnel listed in the earliest payrolls are also still associated with Isle Royale National Park. Louis J. Baranowski in November 1935 was listed as a laborer, and in 1937 as a radio operator, the field of work with which he has been associated since. Joe Colombe was listed as a boat operator in June 1936 payroll, and still operates boats at Isle Royale National Park. Salem Lahti was down as

carpenter in 1937 and continues work at Isle Royale in the maintenance line.

Camp Siskiwit, the initial camp on the island, was under construction in 1935. During the winter of '35-'36 CCC enrollees worked with the Michigan Department of Conservation in live-trapping moose for transfer to the mainland. Isle Royale's moose herd had grown to such a size that the land could not support them all and many were dying, apparently of malnutrition. (See Isle Royale Moose by Hickie.)

In the summer of 1936, at an inopportune time for the Service which had just taken over the reins of park protection from the Michigan Department of Conservation, a disastrous fire occurred which destroyed about one third of Isle Royale's acreage. Eighteen hundred CCC Enrollees from Camp Siskiwit were used to help control the blaze.

Again in the winter of 1937-38, one hundred CCC Enrollees remained on the island to assist in the live-trapping of moose. They also worked at debris disposal (resulting from the fire and an earlier pulpwood cutting operation), and a project called "preparation of materials." Timbers, cedar posts, shakes, and logs used in buildings at Camp Rock Harbor, Mott Island, and Camp Windigo were prepared at Camp Siskiwit during this and the following years. This camp also built the Feldtman Lookout Tower.

Camp Rock Harbor, Co. 364, was in operation in 1937. The men there engaged in fire tower construction on Mt. Ojibway; and dock and warehouse construction at Mott Island. Mott Island had been selected as the headquarters site and the office of the Representative in Charge, George W. Bagglely, installed here. Mr. Bagglely had begun employ at Isle Royale in 1936. The National Park Service at this time had a Houghton headquarters also. Milvaney, now an auditor with the National Park Service, was Assistant Clerk here in 1937. The land presently occupied by the Service at Houghton was acquired in 1938 and by the spring of 1940 headquarters building, warehouses and dock were constructed.

Camp Windigo was constructed in 1939 of portable sections. Co. 3686 of about two hundred men was transferred to this location in 1940 from Camp Siskiwit. In the spring of 1940 work was begun by this company on Cabin "A" of the Windigo Inn development. Crews were also utilized in razing buildings on Washington Island, in dock construction, and in moving the water tank from Washington Island to Windigo.

Both camps Rock Harbor and Windigo operated in 1941, but were disbanded in the fall of that year due to the war emergency. For a while it had been planned to have a small group of Indians from Grand Portage enrolled and located in the park for fire protection, but this plan also had to be dropped.

The short-lived CCC organization on Isle Royale had, in outward appearances, cost the country considerable money. They had been instrumental, however, in doing the initial development work - buildings, docks, trails, and fire towers, and in this had set the park on its feet. These values are tangible; the value of the training and experience given the several hundreds of enrollees who lived and worked on Isle Royale was reaped in richer dividends - in healthy bodies, trained hands and intelligent minds.

Representative in Charge Baggeley's responsibility during the early years was the administration of the CCC organization in the park, and the coordination of National Park Service and CCC work activities. All costs were handled with CCC funds.

Following the completion of the land acquisition program on November 30, 1940 by Land Purchaser Willemin, and the acceptance of the deeds to all land in Isle Royale by the Secretary of the Interior on April 3, 1940, regular funds were for the first time made available to Isle Royale, commencing July 1. During the first year a permanent organization of eight people was set up in addition to those paid for out of CCC funds.

Superintendent	Radio Mechanic
Asst. Clerk-Stenographer	Skilled Laborer
Ranger	Boat Captain
Storekeeper, Junior	Marine Engineer

The first Park Ranger at Isle Royale, Francis R. Crouch, was appointed October 22, 1940. Harold Bailey was appointed Junior Park Naturalist in October 1941. The National Park Service was off to a good start and prospects for the future looked good. Cooperation necessary for the successful management of a park, began with many organizations. The weather station at Mott Island was made an official cooperative observatory; contact had been established with the Indian Service at Grand Portage over matters of common concern and interpretive significance; arrangements were made with the U.S. Coast Guard for aids to navigation installation and maintenance; a concessions contract had been awarded Mrs. Farmer to operate the lodges; a cooperative arrangement was made with the Michigan Department of Conservation to handle fishing license sales in the park; joint moose studies were undertaken with the Fish & Wildlife Service; Custom & Immigration officials were located in the park; Western Union service was instituted in connection with National Park Service radio. The appointment in 1941 of Karl Gilbert as Park Ranger filled the vacancy of Crouch who left the Service.

While Isle Royale was not to have a museum for many years, friends of the island began to contribute documents, artifacts, and items of historic value. Frank Warren, who had a summer home on the island,

presented the park with an extensive and valuable collection of Indian basketry. He and other island residents of pre-park years were to contribute in many ways to Isle Royale's memorabilia.

The onset of the national emergency in 1941 resulted in extreme reductions of personnel, equipment and supplies before the park was in full operation. Jr. Naturalist Bailey left the Federal Service in 1942 to take more urgent pharmaceutical employment; Sr. Clerk Calhoun transferred to the Army Signal Corps in the same month, December; Edwin Johnson left to work in shipyards. The National Park Service loaned to the U.S. Coast Guard two of its surf boats for training purposes. Later the Beaver was transferred to be used for training in submarine patrol duty on the Atlantic. A "30" Caterpillar tractor was transferred to the U.S. Coast Guard in 1943. Baranowski, the radio technician, was inducted into the Army in July, 1943. Engineer White went to Navy duty in October 1944, after which Superintendent Bagglely acted as engineer on the Beaver; Lahti entered the Air Corps; Captain Greenleaf left the National Park Service in April 1945 to pilot ships for the Merchant Marine having passed an examination for Master's license previously. Registration for the draft, and for rationing, was handled at the park winter and summer by Ranger Gilbert. All available scrap was collected at the park, and transported to Duluth without charge by the Winyah, H. Christianson & Sons, owners. To conserve paper, long reports were shortened or eliminated, and the use of photographs curtailed. When the use of government frank was limited, personnel paid official postage out of their pockets. For a while (March 1943) it was even thought that park values would be sacrificed when an engineer from the Bureau of Mines inspected Isle Royale's abandoned mine workings to determine whether any copper could feasibly be removed. His report was negative.

Then, as the war picture improved, personnel began to return following discharge. At the occasion of the surrender of Japan, quiet rejoicement prevailed at Isle Royale, not because of lack of people - a few thousand still managed to make their way there - but rather because quiet contemplation of the event in a wilderness park seemed more appropriate to visitors than the noisy rejoicements of the city. Visitors at the time expressed happiness at being in a place where the eternal values of peace could be so readily appreciated.

Plans for the dedication of the park, cancelled in previous years because of conflicts of one nature or another, were renewed in 1946. With fine cooperation from the press, National Park Service regional and Washington offices, and from local organizations, the dedication was accomplished August 27, 1946. This event marked the climax of Superintendent Bagglely's tenure at Isle Royale.

In November of 1946 Charles E. Shevlin, a former Forester of Region Two office, replaced Bagglely who was transferred to Boulder

Dam Recreation Area as Superintendent there. Other transfers were also made at this time. Karl Gilbert was moved to Rocky Mountain, replaced by C.E. Humberger of Rocky Mountain. The next year a new ranger position was created, filled by E.J. Kurtz; and a fiscal clerk position in 1949, filled by G.W. Muehlenhaupt.

During the administration of C.E. Shevlin at Isle Royale, although prosperous times graced our nation, Isle Royale, with the rest of the national parks, struggled to retain its status quo. Moneys needed for development, maintenance, and public service facilities were cut year following year to a point where buildings, docks and many of the other park facilities and services deteriorated, some practically to ruination. Buildings with considerable potential value, as those of Belle Isle last used in 1946, were left to the elements; docks at many locations about Isle Royale could not be kept in current repair; maintenance on all developments was barely more than superficial. Along with these enforced neglects, boat service to the park retrogressed; visitation diminished to a point where the concessions claimed huge deficits annually; and service to the public claimed an insignificant share of the time of park personnel engaged in higher priority work. The park naturalist position vacated in 1942 was kept vacant up until this revision, 1955, for lack of funds. Limitation of personnel meant at times the contribution of many uncompensated overtime hours by personnel, or assistance by wives of personnel to accomplish necessary work. For example, Chief Ranger Humberger's wife spent much time in preparing the dummy copy of the Ranger Manual. Park rangers and other personnel spent many hours of contributed time preparing promotional and interpretative services at the lodges.

Plans for development and improvement of public use facilities and services were shelved from one year to the next, modified to suit available funds, or eliminated. Master plans, as early as 1941 in the sixth edition, showed elaborate lodge layouts for Rock Harbor and Windigo; campgrounds were to be developed in six places around the island; residences were to be provided for key personnel. These things during the post war prosperity have been held in abeyance, waiting for the emergency to "get over".

Some major improvements were squeezed through, however. Windigo Ranger Station, built in 1947-49, provided a very necessary protection facility at the west end of the island. The ranger, and seasonal personnel employed there, have been housed in the abandoned CCC structures.

The National Park Service transportation service was improved considerably with the acquisition in 1947 through Army surplus of a 114 foot diesel-powered, wooden hull vessel, the present RANGER II. Some other utility boats, a jeep, and various equipment were also secured from surplus.

islands and authorized the Secretary to secure by donation title to any of these lands not now owned by the United States.

The Secretary of Interior made his official designation of the park area in his letter of September 29, 1931 to Chairman MacNaughton of the Isle Royale National Park Commission. The boundary according to this letter, and accompanying Corps of Engineers map, forms an irregular octagon the sides of which coincide with courses on the chart between the several points of departure also printed on the map. The four and one-half mile limit cited in the Act of Congress was arbitrary to assure authority to accept all submerged lands within the boundaries designated on the chart.

Question has existed over the jurisdiction of these boundary waters and whether the state was authorized to transfer title to the submerged lands within the authorized boundaries of Isle Royale National Park.

The National Park Service considered federal jurisdiction essential if it is to have authority to regulate (1) commercial and sport fishing; (2) motor boats and guiding; (3) transportation of passengers by boat operators within the immediate vicinity; (4) handling and transportation of supplies; (5) registration of private boats; (6) sanitation; (7) establishment of seaplane landing areas — and functions of this type which are conducted in part on water although the objectives are generally in the park proper. The Park Service also is technically without police authority for routine protection work where problems of park use may arise on boundary waters.

With respect to the authority of the State of Michigan to convey submerged lands in Lake Superior to the United States for Isle Royale National Park, the question was placed before the Solicitor General for opinion. The Solicitor was of the opinion (April 10, 1945, M.33869) that "the State Legislature may authorize the conveyance of title to such lands to the United States without reserving any public rights" and that "it may be argued that through its Legislature the State had already made such a conveyance by its cession of exclusive jurisdiction over the park." (Act 8, P.A. 1939, Mich.)

The State Attorney General for Michigan in reviewing the Solicitor's opinion disagreed, in an opinion rendered January 2, 1947 in the last instance pointing out that Act 175, P.A. 1931 creating the Isle Royale National Park Commission to acquire land in Isle Royale and convey it to the United States was repealed by Act 111, P.A. 1945 which dissolved the Commission. Thus, he reasoned, legislative action is necessary both to authorize conveyance of the title of lake bottom and to cede exclusive or partial jurisdiction.

The problem was discussed with the Michigan Conservation Commission in January 1949 to the end that such legislation be introduced. House

Bill 306 subsequently was introduced, which would cede jurisdiction over Isle Royale National Park including any submerged lands within four and one-half miles of the shore line of Isle Royale and immediately surrounding islands to the United States "... saving however to the State of Michigan all oil and mineral rights in and to said submerged lands," and "saving further that fishing in said waters shall be subject to and conducted according to State laws applicable thereto..." This bill passed and was made law (P.A. 281) over the signature of Governor Williams, subject however to notification by the federal government of assumption of police jurisdiction over said park. As passed, the bill was an amendment, not anticipated by the Service, to Section 1, Act No.8, P.A. 1939, "An Act to cede jurisdiction over Isle Royale National Park..." This amended Act was not acceptable to the Service because it implied state jurisdiction over all fishing on Isle Royale and failed to relinquish submerged lands by fee simple.

Since this attempt at satisfactory state legislation, the status of the jurisdictional problem over the submerged lands has not changed. The following exception arising from earlier state legislation is significant however. Act 326, Mich. P.A. 1913, as amended, requires lessees to procure written consent of the riparian land owners if material (sand, gravel and rock) is to be taken within 1000 feet from the water's edge. This fringe of lake bottom, then, is under the control of the federal government.

Except for these submerged lands, the boundaries of Isle Royale National Park have been well established by law. By an act approved March 6, 1942 (56 Stat. 138) Passage Island, except for portions reserved by the Secretary of the Treasury for lighthouse and boathouse purposes, was made a part of the park. Also Rock of Ages and Menagerie Island were reserved by the Secretary of the Treasury for lighthouse purposes, and the rest of the islands in the chain formerly comprising the Siskiwit Islands Bird Reservation being made part of the park. The Secretary of the Treasury retains the right to maintain and establish floating and shore aids to navigation in all Great Lakes waters.

Political History of Isle Royale

The following political history of Isle Royale is reviewed from Isle Royale by Judge John G. Stone (IR File 101).

When the Upper Peninsula was one county, Chippewa, Isle Royale was part of it. In 1847 Houghton County was formed and Isle Royale became part of it as Isle Royale Township. Taxes were levied but the township never had a supervisor on the county board. In 1861 when Keweenaw County was formed, Isle Royale became part of it. In 1875 Isle Royale became an independent county with the county seat at Island Mine near

Point Senter. At first only one township, it later became divided into two, the original township remaining Isle Royale and having the government seat at Island Mine. The easterly end of the island became established as Cove Township with the seat at Minong Mine near McCargo Cove. Shortly prior to 1880 mining ceased at the Island Mine and the county seat moved away with records of the mining company to Detroit or Cleveland. Later the books and records of the township were recovered by the state and for a time kept in Lansing. After Isle Royale county had lain dormant until 1885, it was attached to Houghton County, but again in 1897 attached to Keweenaw County to which it still belongs, constituting parts of Houghton and Eagle Harbor Townships.

When Isle Royale became a national park, the state act ceding jurisdiction reserved the right of citizens on Isle Royale to vote, and also the rights to serve process on the island, and to collect personal and property taxes. Few of the fishermen, although residents of the State of Michigan by virtue of the above act and their annual residence on Isle Royale of six months, take advantage of their voting privilege. All of the fishermen reside on the Minnesota shore during the winter months where some of them own property and homes. Their position becomes an unusual one in that while they are required to be residents of Michigan in order to qualify for commercial fishing licenses, their sympathies and logical residence are essentially in Minnesota.

VI. RECREATIONAL DEVELOPMENT AT ISLE ROYALE

From the very earliest years of settlement of the mineral lands region of Lake Superior, the beauty of the landscape, the healthful virtues of the climate, and the curiosities among the natural phenomena stimulated the aesthetic appreciation of pioneers and visitors. Promotional literature, citing the pleasures to be experienced in the newly opened country, was in press as early as 1846. In this year, John R. St. Johns' A True Description of the Lake Superior Copper Country was published in which he describes not only the mining development but also the general scenery and recreational possibilities.

We do not know when the first pleasure camping parties began to visit the island. Lane's Geological Survey, Vol. VI, relates that in the early 1900's camping parties came over from Duluth and used the abandoned Rock Harbor Lighthouse and other places. John F. Johns before 1900 had his log hotel built, and a cabin on Johns Island which he made available to visitors.

The Isle Royale Land Corporation, later the Island Copper Company, had ideas of establishing resorts about 1900. A site had been selected for such a development on Rock Harbor near the location of Ransom.

When the Island Copper people sold certain forest lands to the Minnesota Forest Products Company, they reserved the shore frontage, and even prescribed the manner in which cutting would be done to preserve the forests and protect the wildlife. The company had headquarters which it named Ghyllbank, the site of present Windigo Inn. From this location it had planned to manage its mining and resort ventures.

At Rock Harbor the earliest tourist development was probably that of Kneut Neutson who, having found relief from hay fever and inspiration from beautiful scenery for years previous, established in 1901 a small camp called Park Place at the present location of Rock Harbor Lodge. In his Memoirs of a Pioneer, Neutson relates how he happened upon Snug Harbor, which he named on that occasion in deference to the protection he found there during a storm. He subsequently bought a mile of frontage and later sold lots to prospective cottagers. At his camp he built a number of small cabins for which a demand was soon created by passengers traveling to the island on Booth Line steamers.

Life at Park Place was primitive but attracted visitors from all the midwest. In 1922 one of Neutson's daughters, Mrs. Bertha Farmer, took over the management and rechristened the place Rock Harbor Lodge. Mrs. Farmer ran the lodge for the next twenty years, the last five of which were under permit from the National Park Service.

During the years that Rock Harbor Lodge was developing, other lodges sprung up at various places on the island, and many summer cottagers became established. Other individuals speculated in resort property, or set it aside for future years. All of these people were pioneers in the recreation field at Isle Royale.

One of the holders of extensive resort, cottage, and other sites suited to development was Emmet Hoyt Scott, one of the organizers of the Saginaw Mine in the 1870's. When the mine failed, Scott purchased all the holdings which included such select sites as the strip of land between Siskiwit Bay and Siskiwit Lake, the brown sandstone deposit at the head of Siskiwit Bay, frontage on Chippewa Harbor and Conglomerate Bay, Caribou Island, all of Rabbit Island and Smithwick Island. These lands like all others on Isle Royale were purchased before Isle Royale became a national park. The values that were intrinsic to the Scott's were the particular values sought by the Service to be preserved for posterity.

The Barnums of Duluth were among the earliest people to establish summer homes on Isle Royale. George Barnum, Sr. had acquired a steam yacht, the Picket, in about 1895 after which he and friends made trips around the island. Later, in 1898, the Barnums began their summer residences at Barnum Island residing first in Johns' Hotel, then in a log house, and, finally, to the present time, in the cottage at the west

end of the island. Barmum invited friends of his, as the Andrews and Dunwoodies, to build on this island so that in the early 1900's it became a busy summer settlement.

A lodge was begun shortly after on the island opposite, then called Singer Island after the man who built the Island House. Lodges were also put up at Belle Isle and Tobin Harbor. In 1911, and adjacent years, the tourist business was in full swing. The America, the North American and the Winvah operated to the island then on regular schedule. Captain Tormala's Eagle made trips from Houghton. The lodges, operating on the American plan, were open from June 1 to October 1. The rates charged in those days may be examined with envy:

Hotel	\$2.50/day - \$23.00/week)	) American Plan
Cottages	\$4.00/day - \$26.50/week)	

The prices charged at the other lodges were the same or less. The Island House and cottages were able to accommodate 200 guests. A cow, chickens, and a garden were maintained on the island, presumably at Windigo. Advertising put out by all the lodges emphasized that informality was the rule, hay fever was unknown, and that fishing was the best anywhere. Some of the recreation offered is interesting. Island House had a bowling alley and wireless radio; Belle Isle, F. Schofield, proprietor, had a swimming pool and golf course; Rock Harbor Lodge had a tennis court; and Minong Lodge at Tobin Harbor, Mrs. Helen W. Smith, proprietor, had launch excursions for 50¢, 75¢ and \$1.00. These lodges all operated into the 30's. With the National Park project underway Island House was closed, and later Minong Lodge. A main consideration in abandoning the small island establishments by the National Park Service was the problem of sewage disposal and general sanitation. Belle Isle was used to a limited extent in the early years of the project, but also was abandoned after 1946.

During all the years of lodge operation on Isle Royale preceding park establishment, a private club also was extant. The Washington Club, organized in 1902 and composed of Duluth businessmen, acquired the Washington Harbor frontage and headquarters buildings of the Isle Royale Land Corporation of Liverpool, England, and also Washington Creek flowing through the lands of that company. The stream was leased, in consideration of \$1.00, to the Club. They acquired a lease also on Grace Creek.

There were about 20 members in the club. Its buildings consisted of the Club House with large living room and fireplace, sleeping quarters for ten people, and shower baths with hot and cold water; a men's dormitory; a service building of dining room and kitchen with sleeping quarters for employees; a large boathouse, tool house, water system,

launch, and rowboats. In December 1931 the main club house and servants' house were destroyed by fire. A new building with dining room, kitchen, storeroom and servants' room was built the next year. These buildings exist today as part of Windigo Inn.

Trout fishing was one of the main interests of the members, judging by their lease of the two trout streams on that end of the island. The ruins of an old cabin stands today on a vantage point where Washington Creek enters the harbor. The cabin was used, as oldtimers relate, to guard against trespass on this private fishing stream.

Many of Isle Royale oldtimers persist in visiting the island each year. Previous owners retain life leases so that they can continue during their lifetimes to enjoy the island as they knew it. They maintain their own structures, but they cannot put up other buildings or materially change their cottages. These fine people, who enjoy, appreciate, and respect Isle Royale, as the National Park Service envisages that the visiting public should, look back to other days that saw much life and family fun on the island. Blame it on the times, Isle Royale is suffering growing pains today. The Service looks forward to a future in which all Americans will have an opportunity to enjoy Isle Royale's natural grandeur and to share with one another congeniality as our oldtimers remember.

Lodge Operation and Park Visitation Since 1940.

Following the establishment of Isle Royale National Park on April 3, 1940, the National Park Service took over the reins of lodge operation. Mrs. Farmer was given a contract to operate Rock Harbor Lodge, and later Windigo Inn. Windigo Inn occupied the buildings vacated by the Washington Club whose history we have already reviewed. Operation of such widely scattered developments proved difficult for Mrs. Farmer, whose heart was in her former establishment, Rock Harbor Lodge. She had sub-operators handle Windigo Inn and Belle Isle in 1942. Since 1943 National Park Concessions, Inc., has had the contract to operate lodge and boat services, rental and guide services at Isle Royale. The Johnson Brothers in the early forties had boat rental and guide services at all lodge locations in the park.

Belle Isle and Windigo were not to enjoy prosperity; indeed, Rock Harbor Lodge has had difficulty in remaining in operation. The 30's saw prosperity in lodge operation, but by the time the Service took over, tourist travel to Isle Royale was already on the downgrade. Belle Isle came to be used only for overflow crowds from Rock Harbor Lodge until, after 1946, it was closed completely. Windigo Inn operated sporadically, closed during the war years, reopened in 1949 and closed again in 1951.

operators serving the Isle Royale fisherfolk bought and delivered groceries, equipment, and sundry items for people on their run. They hauled freight, ice and passengers in addition to the mail, on twice weekly trips from Grand Marais, Minnesota. On return trips tons of lake trout, herring and white fish were taken to Duluth.

During the war years, when the Detroit was first put in service, it was difficult to get boat crew members so that operation was erratic. The boat and its operators have since gained a reputation, however, for dependable service, making trips in weather that no craft might be expected to penetrate.

When, in 1947, the mail contract was up for renewal, air mail service to the park was considered. An outfit in Houghton bid in on four-times weekly mail service to the park. The weather, which can be exceedingly foul during much of the year at the park, was likely the primary factor in denying this service.

In 1951 the Messrs. Smythe and Lindquist of Duluth, owners of the Juliette plying out of Grand Portage, secured the contract. The Juliette, a thirty-five foot cruiser, was found to be unsuitable for the trip around the island so that the mail was carried by the Disturbance, owned and operated out of Grand Portage by Sivertson Bros. of Duluth. This boat, under arrangement with Smythe and Lindquist, carried the mail the remainder of 1951 and through the summer of 1952 - with these interruptions. The mail contractors had early in the year attempted the use of the Juliette which, springing a leak on its first trip, was beached at Beaver Bay. The Disturbance finished this trip for her. On another occasion a cruiser named Nautilus was used. This boat came afire at Washington Island and was towed back to Grand Portage - the mail again continuing around Isle Royale via the Disturbance. With the fire damage repaired, the Nautilus carried the mail as far as Tobin Harbor, where it broke down, and the mail was delivered by the operator taking passage on the Detroit. The Disturbance carried the mails the rest of the season.

From 1953 to the present writing the Copper Queen (renamed the Voyageur in 1955) operated by Roy Oberg for Sivertson Bros. has carried the mail from Grand Portage, Minnesota three roundtrips weekly. Island residents today, as for a hundred years past, look forward to the arrival of each mail boat. Roy and his crew of one man, Merle Otto, besides handling mail, deliver salt, ice, gasoline, groceries, milk, new fishing gear, and passengers; and pick up fish for return delivery to the mainland. A trip around the island with the mailboat is a series of visits with fisherfolk, campers, cottagers, park personnel and lodge vacationers.

VIII. BOAT AND PLANE SERVICE HISTORY

The history of an isolated area like Isle Royale would not be

complete without a discussion of the most critical element involved in its visitation and development, that of transportation.

When one reads that Indians crossed from the Keweenaw Peninsula to Isle Royale and thence to the North Shore by canoe; and voyageurs paddled fur laden canoes along the North Shore from Grand Portage to the Sault, — he is not likely to visualize the dangers involved in the unpredictable onset of rough water, fog, high wind, rain and snow. A chronological review of the notes (accumulated by the author to date) on boats and planes serving Isle Royale may develop a proper appreciation of Lake Superior's temperament, as well as of the efforts of man in crossing to this basalt-founded, copper-bound, and mystery-shrouded isle.

In the earliest exploring days, extending to the time of steamers in the mid 1800's, the vessels constructed in Lake Superior, or hauled over or around the rapids at the Sault, were sloops or schooners. One of the first of these was a twenty-five ton sloop built by LaRonde which he used for his mining venture at the Ontonagon, a venture which at least paid its expenses. The name or fate of this vessel is unknown.

In the early 1800's the fur trading companies — British, French, and American — had vessels on the lakes of twenty to one hundred ton burthen, the Discovery, Invincible, Otter, Mink and Recovery. During the War of 1812 the Recovery, owned by the Northwest Fur Company, a British firm, was secreted in one of Isle Royale's harbors.

With the United States actually occupying the Lake Superior and Minnesota country after the War of 1812, the American Fur Company constructed the 113-ton schooner, John Jacob Astor, the first of its vessels to serve the fisheries and fur trade. This vessel was wrecked at Copper Harbor in September, 1844.

Later this Company built other schooners: in 1838 the Wm. Brewster of seventy-five tons; in 1839 the Algonquin, built at Black River, Ohio and hauled over the Sault portage in 1840. This fifty-ton vessel was used to haul the famous Ontonagon boulder to Sault Ste. Marie in 1843. The boulder, removed from its oft visited site on the Ontonagon River, was brought eventually to Washington, D.C. Exhibited in various places along the way it aroused considerable interest in the Copper Country.

The Schooner Madeline of twenty tons was built at LaPointe in 1839 by the American Fur Company for the purpose of collecting fish from various minor stations on the shore of Lake Superior and at Isle Royale. This boat was lost the same year. The Siskiwit of forty tons was built to replace this. She went ashore on Isle Royale reefs in 1841 but was gotten off and repaired.

During the onset of prospecting at Isle Royale and the Keweenaw

Peninsula, many boats were hauled over the Sault portage. Some of these doubtless traveled to Isle Royale; the schooner Chippewa, 20 tons; schooner Florence, 20 tons; schooner Swallow, 80 tons, under command of Captain Smithwick; schooner Merchant, 80 tons, lost in 1846 or '47 with all on board; schooner Uncle Tom, 90 tons; Fur Trader, 60 tons; propellor Independence; schooner Napoleon, 1945, later changed to a propellor; schooner Julia Palmer, 240 tons, drawn over portage in 1846. This boat under command of Captain John J. Stannard, was a side-wheeler, the popular vessel on the lakes in 1846. A staunch sea boat, she met her match in a Lake Superior storm, ending up as the foundation for a wood dock at Waisha Bay. (Most of above from Nute, Lake Superior.)

In 1874, late in the fall, three men in a mackinaw boat heading from Copper Harbor to Port Arthur struck the rocks and broke up on the east end of the island. One of the men drowned, but the others managed to make their way to the Island Mine where they remained the winter.

In 1877, the steamer Cumberland went to pieces on a point later named Cumberland.

In the 1880's the Duluth & North Shore Line operated the tugs Siskiwit, Amethyst and T.H. Camp, and the steamer Agnes, later named the Isle Royale. These boats served the fisheries and carried mail. In 1883 the steamers Maythem and Ella Smith ran irregularly between Houghton, Canada and Isle Royale.

On November 6, 1885 the worst boat accident in Isle Royale history occurred. The two-masted schooner Algoma, Captain John Moore commanding, was under sail from the Sault to Port Arthur, Canada. A stout northeaster accompanied by rain, sleet, and snow had picked up when at 4:00 A.M. the captain decided to haul in sail and change course. Shortly after, off Mott Island, the stern struck a reef wrecking the rudder. Later the whole forward section broke off and disappeared. Some of the crew reached shore in a lifeboat; the other survivors clung to the stern deck until the storm let up sufficiently to permit them to cross to shore on a raft. On November 8 the Athabasca picked up all the survivors, fifty-two less than when the voyage was begun. According to Judge Wm. E. Smith, a number of those who perished were buried on Cemetery Island. Nineteen years later divers from the salvage steamer J.C. Suit reported that they worked among the bones of the victims while removing 150 tons of iron from the wreck.

Booth Fisheries during the 1880's operated various vessels several of which landed at Isle Royale docks. The Hiram R. Dixon, the Easton, and the Barker were in its fleet. The Dixon was later replaced by the Argo, followed by the America.

Captain Singer, who built the lodge on Washington Island, headed a company operating the Moore, Mabel Bradshaw, Ben Ames, and Iroquois.

Isle Royale waters saw many passenger vessels around 1900 continuing for about three decades. Boats of Singer's company, the U.S. and Dominion Transport Company, and the Booth Company continued operations connecting with Isle Royale well into this period.

Other boats operating in the late 1800's included the steamer Nicholas, which was stranded on the southwest point of Caribou Island during a dense fog on May 4, but was later successfully released. In this year also, the Centurian ran on the rocks five miles west of Menagerie Island during a gale and snowstorm. She was presumably saved.

In 1909 the steamer John B. Trevan went aground on Long Point and was abandoned. The crew was taken to the Sault on the tug Favorite.

During the good old days, as Isle Royale cottagers and resorters like to remember, various boats served the island. The America stopped at the four resorts then operating. Captain Tormala's Eagle made runs from Houghton. Booth Lines boats operated; also the North American of the Chicago, Duluth and Georgian Bay Transit Company. H. Christian-sen & Sons, emerging in the transportation and fishery business, operated the Hagel, the Grace I, and then the Winvah, formerly Andrew Carnegie's palatial yacht. In the late 20's and 30's, besides hauling the mail and passengers to Isle Royale, this boat picked up fish from the commercial fishermen on the island and along the north shore. Nute, in her book Lake Superior, records that the Winvah hauled 6,000,000 pounds of fish each season, serving 400 fishermen who operated 300 skiffs and 90 seine boats (about 1930).

On December 26, 1927 the freighter Kamloops disappeared with a crew of twenty-two, two of whom were women. In the spring of the next year several of the bodies were found on shore near McCargo Cove by John Linklater. The boat had struck bottom and sunk near shore.

In 1928, the Peninsula and Northern Navigation Company operated the S.S. United States, the largest boat on the lakes at the time, to Washington Harbor and other points.

That year saw the Peggy B, a sixty-five foot craft, burn to the water-line near Boothe Island. A more disastrous loss was that of the America, which sank on the morning of June 7 inside North Gap, Washington Harbor, after striking a rock shelf while enroute from the Washington Club to Port Arthur. No lives were lost. The bow of the vessel remained above water for several years. By 1952 it had settled so that the bow was two feet under.

On May 27, 1932 another disastrous wreck occurred — that of the George M. Cox of the Isle Royale Transit Company. On the first trip of the season of this excursion boat, which had just been purchased and put into this service after thirty years previous sailing on the

lakes, the Cox hit the rocks near the Rock of Ages lighthouse. The weather was calm and foggy, and just before the vessel struck, the lighthouse siren was heard shrieking. The 118 people aboard were sheltered in the lighthouse until rescue vessels picked them up. The 308 foot vessel, with a 38 foot beam, settled into Lake Superior's depths at a 45-degree angle, a total loss.

In the 30's, the Winyah provided the major service to the island. Inauguration of boat service from Houghton occurred in 1935. The USS Seminole, a former Coast Guard cutter, was put in service by the Copper Country Industries, a Self-Help Cooperative in cooperation with the FERA. This 188 foot steam vessel saw service to the park for a few years but proved too costly an operation.

After the park was established in 1940, records become more complete. The Chicago, Duluth, and Georgian Bay Lines operated the excursion steamers, South American, North American and Alabama variously to Isle Royale and other points on the Great Lakes. The South American carried 750 persons to the park for the dedication in 1946. She continued trips to the park until 1949.

Captain Charlie Kauppi's intrepid vessels, the Copper Queen and Isle Royale Queen, were operating from Copper Harbor, Michigan, early in the 40's. Kauppi provided consistent service to the park annually until the end of the 1953 season. Coast Guard regulations after 1947 did not permit the operation of the Copper Queen from Copper Harbor to the island, but the dauntless Isle Royale Queen has plied on.

Captain Kauppi made his voyage from this earthly realm in 1954. He will never be forgotten by any who rode the waves of Lake Superior with him. His Finnish determination, skill as a boatman, and rustic character are already part of the folk fabric of Isle Royale.

The Colleen operated to the park from Grand Portage in 1941. The next year she drifted onto the rocks near Grand Portage. The three passengers aboard were safely rescued but the boat was a loss. The Colleen II was used after this but proved unsatisfactory for passenger service.

In 1943 the Canadian steamer Prindoc collided with the steamer Battleford near Passage Island and sank shortly afterwards. No lives were lost.

The Christiansen boat Winyah was retired after 1943, replaced by the diesel powered Detroit. This vessel, a former ferry, served the residents of Isle Royale dependably and consistently until 1952 when she was sold.

In 1945 the Sivertson Bros. Fisheries, in competition with Christiansen, began operation of the Disturbance.

In 1946 the Coastal Queen began excursions to Isle Royale from Port Arthur and Fort William, Canada. This run was continued until 1949 when the Noronic burned at the dock in Toronto. The Noronic had connected with the Coastal Queen, which, with the consequent loss of passengers, ceased operation. During this season of the park dedication the South American, Isle Royale Queen, Detroit and Disturbance also operated to the park.

During the winter of 1946-47 the National Park Service acquired from surplus the tug Tonawanda, and the vessel Ranger II. These replaced the Beaver, turned over to the Coast Guard, and the old Ranger both of which had served the Park Service since 1936. The new Ranger is a 114 foot, wooden-hulled, diesel powered, twin screw, Army PS type vessel.

On June 4, 1947 the Emerson struck Canoe Rocks and sank with freight and a loss of twelve lives.

On August 13, 1947 an outboard boat capsized with four persons aboard, all of whom were drowned. Only one of the bodies was recovered, that having lodged under a forward quarter deck. This accident occurred outside of Rock Harbor.

In 1948 the Fingerling, a twenty-one foot cabin cruiser, burned to the waterline and sank off Blake Point. The five persons aboard escaped in a boat which they had in tow.

In 1948 the Nautilus provided passenger service from Grand Portage to Washington Harbor. She made twenty-two trips that season.

In 1949 four boats went aground on Isle Royale. The Faith of Marquette went aground at Duncan Bay, July 26. She was pulled off by the Tonawanda. The Detroit went aground during a fog near Blake Point and was also pulled off by the Tonawanda and repaired at Mott Island. The 134 foot navy training vessel PC-782, off course while entering Malone Bay, became lodged on a reef. She was pulled clear with the combined tow of the Tonawanda, Woodrush, Superior, and Mosquito. Lastly, the navy vessel AMS-51 went aground and was hauled off by the Tonawanda.

In 1951 the Ranger II was, for the first year, put in regular passenger service making, in 1954-55, trips three times weekly from Houghton, Michigan. Classified as a freighter, however, it was permitted to carry no more than sixteen passengers per trip. While the

transportation situation to the park had been bad for several years, this did not materially improve it.

Carrying passengers to Windigo during 1951 was the Juliette, a craft that had seen most of its days. Undependable and unseaworthy as this boat was, it was nevertheless launched again the next year to carry the mail getting as far as Beaver Bay where it sprang a leak and was beached.

On July 15, 1951 the Canadian cruiser Edmar went aground at McCargo Cove and was pulled clear by the Tonawanda.

On July 31 a rowboat with four persons aboard capsized near Blake Point. A commercial fisherman, Jack Bangsund, was fortunately nearby and rescued them.

In 1952, on May 23, a commercial fisherman drowned inside North Gap at Washington Harbor. The lake was calm and no reason other than possible stroke or heart failure could account for the accident. The body was not recovered.

On July 11 a SeaBee of the Isle Royale Air Service, inaugurated only that year, was lost with the pilot and three passengers. Cause of accident unknown. Only a seat cushion from the plane was found.

During 1952 unsuccessful attempts were made to use the Nautilus on the mail run around Isle Royale. On one trip she caught fire, on another a piston let go, and that ended that.

At the end of the 1952 season the Detroit, which had served the park since 1945, was sold.

In 1953 the Copper Queen was purchased from Charles Kauppi by Sivertson Bros. and has to this writing been used by them in mail, freight, and passenger service around Isle Royale from Grand Portage, Minnesota.

This ends the sketch on transportation to Isle Royale. There are many vessels that operated which have not been named here; several periods of history are only poorly represented. The above is probably a fair representation of conditions, however, with accidents and tragedy spaced throughout. Lake Superior, cold, temperamental, and wide, will always be a highway to be treated and used with the greatest of respect. Isle Royale waters, abounding in rocks and reefs, have earned an appellation, "Graveyard of the Lakes."

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Adams, Charles C., An Ecological Survey of Isle Royale, Lake Superior. Report of the University Museum. Publ. by State Biological Survey, Lansing, Michigan. Wyncoop, Hallenbeck, Crawford Co., State Printers 1909.
- Barrett, S. A., "Aboriginal Copper Mines at McCargoe's Cove, Isle Royal", in Yearbook of the Public Museum of the City of Milwaukee, 1924. Vol. 4, 1925.
- Benis, Samuel Flagg, "Canada and the Peace Settlement of 1782-3". The Canadian Historical Review, Sept. 1933, p. 281
- Bradish, Alvah, Douglass Houghton. Detroit, 1889.
- Brown, W. Russell, "Ships at Port Arthur and Fort William", in Inland Seas, Vol. 1, No. 4, Oct. 1945.
- Carter, Clarence Edwin, Editor, The Territorial Papers of the United States, Vol. 10: The Territory of Michigan, 1805-1820. U.S. Govt. Printing Office, 1942, 948 pp.
- Carver, J., Travels Through the Interior Parts of North America in the Years 1766, 1767, and 1768. Dublin, 1779, 503 pp.
- Channing, Edward, The Story of the Great Lakes. N.Y.: MacMillan, 1909.
- Conary, Mrs. Henry, "Interview Tells of Life on Isle Royale Early 1870's." Article in Houghton Mining Gazette 6/21/39.
- Cooper, Dennis Glen, "Geographic Influences on the History and Development of Isle Royale, Michigan." Papers of Mich.Acad.Sci., Arts, Letters, Vol. 24, Part 3, 1938.
- Davis, A. C., "Antiquities of Isle Royale, Lake Superior", Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institute for the year 1874. Washington, D.C., pp. 369-379.
- Duffield, Rev. George, "Angelique: A Story of Lake Superior". A.D.1848. Printed in Swineford, Lake Superior Mining District, about 1870.
- Dustin, Fred, "Isle Royale Place Names" in Michigan History, Vol. 30:4, 1946.
- East, Ben, "Park to the North - Isle Royale", Amer.Forests, Vol. 47, No. 6, 1941.

- Ferguson, Wm. P.F., "The Franklin Isle Royale Expedition", Mich. History Magazine, Vol. 8, Mich. Historical Comm., Lansing, Mich., 1926.
- Fisher, James, "Fort Willkins" in Mich. History Magazine, 29:157-9, 1945
- Forster, John H., "Early Settlement of the Copper Regions of Lake Superior", in Michigan Historical Collections, 7:182, Lansing Mich., 1886.
- Foster, John W. and Josiah D. Whitney, Synopsis of the Explorations... in the Lake Superior Land District in the Northern Peninsula of Michigan. (31 Congress, 1st session, Senate Exec. Doc. No. 1, part 3, Washington, D.C., 1849)
- Foster, John W. and Josiah D. Whitney, Report of the Geology and Topography of a Portion of the Lake Superior Land District in the State of Michigan. Part 1, Copper Lands; Part 2, The Iron Region Together With the General Geology. (31 Congress, 1st session, House Exec. Doc. No. 69, Washington, D.C., 1850-51.)
- Fox, George R., "The Ancient Copper Workings on Isle Royale", The Wisconsin Archaeologist, 10:75. 1911.
- Fredeen, H. E., "The Story of Isle Royale", Dearborn, Michigan, Copyright 1940.
- Gillman, Henry, "Ancient Men of the Great Lakes", in Proceedings AAAS, 1875, 316-31. (1876).
- Gillman, Henry, "The Mound Builders and Platyneism in Michigan," in Annual Report of the Board of Regents, Smithsonian Institution, 1873, 364-90. 1874.
- Greeley, Horace, Recollections of a Busy Life, 243, New York, 1868.
- Haight, Floyd L., "Isle Royale, Our New National Park", in Michigan History, Vol. 30, No. 4, 1946.
- Havighurst, Walter, The Long Ships Passing, New York, MacMillan, 1943
- Henry, Alexander, Travels and Adventures in Canada and the Indian Territories between the Years 1760 and 1776. New York, 1809.
- Herrick, Roy L., "Prehistoric Exploitation of Isle Royale Copper Mines" in Engineering and Mining Journal, May 23, 1930, p. 495.
- Hickie, Paul, Isle Royale Moose, Mich. Dept. Conservation Publ. not dated.

- Hinsdale, W.B., Archeological Atlas of Michigan, Mich. Handbook Series No.4, Univ. of Mich. Press, Ann Arbor, 1931.
- Holmes, Wm. H., "Aboriginal Copper Mines of Isle Royale, Lake Superior", in American Anthropologist, new series 3: 684,689. 1901.
- Houghton, Jacob Jr. and Bristol, T.W., Reports on the Mineral Region of Lake Superior with a Correct Map of the Same and a Chart of Lake Superior. Buffalo, 1846
- Hybels, Robert James, "The Lake Superior Copper Fever, 1841-1847", in Michigan History, 3 installments, June, Sept., Dec. 1950. Vol. 34, No. 2, 3, 4.
- Jackson, Charles T., Report on the Geological and Mineralogical Survey of the Mineral Lands of the United States in the State of Michigan. 31st Congress, 1st session, House Exec. Doc. No.5, Vol. 3, part 2, Washington, D.C., 1849.
- Kellogg, Louise Phelps, The French Regime in Wisconsin and the Northwest, Madison, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1925.
- Kinietz, W. Vernon, The Indians of the Western Great Lakes. 1615-1760. Ann Arbor, University of Mich. press, 1940. Occas. contr. from Mus. of Anthropology, No. 10.
- Lane, A.C., Geological Report on Isle Royale, Mich., Geol. Survey, Mich. Vol. 6, pt. 1, 1898.
- Longstreth, T. Morris, Lake Superior Country, New York, 1924.
- McInnis, Edgar W. The Unguarded Frontier: A History of American-Canadian Relations. Garden City, Doubleday Doran, 1942. 384 pp.
- Miller, Hunter, Treaties and Other International Acts of the U.S.A. Vol. 2, P. 97, Washington, D.C. 1931.
- Marie, Adolph, "Moose of Isle Royale", Univ. of Mich. Press, Mus. of Zoology. Publ. No. 25, 44 pp.
- Nute, Grace Lee, Lake Superior, Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1944.
- Nute, Grace Lee, The Voyageur's Highway, Minnesota's Border Lake Land. St. Paul, The Minn. Hist. Society, 1941, 113 pp.
- Nute, Grace Lee, Calendar of the American Fur Company's Papers. Washington, U.S.Gov't. Printing Office, 1945. 2 Vol. (Amer. Report of the Amer. Historical Assoc., 1944, Vol. 2, 3)

- Nute, Grace Lee, The Voyageur. New York, D. Appleton, 1936. 288 pp.
- Nute, Grace Lee, Caesars of the Wilderness: Medard Chouart, Sieur des Groseilliers, and Pierre Esprit Radisson, 1618-1710. New York, Appleton-Century, 1943. 386 pp.
- Packard, R.H., "Pre-Columbian Copper Mining in North America", in Annual Report of the Board of Regents; Smithsonian Institution, 1892, 175-98. 1893.
- Paullin, C.O., Atlas of Historical Geography of the United States. Washington, D.C. 1932. Plate 89, text pp. 52-55.
- Potter, Richard Milton, "Isle Royale National Park", Forestry School, Michigan State College, 1948. 37 pp. & biblio. Prepared as special problem in course work at Michigan State College, Forestry School. 1948.
- Quaife, Milo M. and Sidney Glazer, Michigan: From Primitive Wilderness To Industrial Commonwealth. New York, Prentice Hall, 1948.
- Quimby, George I., Jr., "Aboriginal Camp Sites on Isle Royale, Michigan." Amer. Antiquity, Vol. 4, No. 3
- Reeder, John T., "Evidences of Prehistoric Man on Lake Superior", Mich. Pioneer and Historical Collections, 30: 115. 1906
- Richard, T.A., "Copper Mines of Lake Superior", Eng. and Mining Journal, 1905. New York and London, 164 pp. illus.
- Robinson, Orrin, "Early Days of the Lake Superior Copper Company." Private publ. 1938, 39 pp.
- Sawyer, Alvah L., A History of the Northern Peninsula. Chicago, Lewis Publ. Co., 4 Vol. 1911.
- Schoolcraft, Henry R., The American Indians, Their History, Condition and Prospects, from Original Notes and Manuscripts. Revised edition, Rochester, 1851.
- Schoolcraft, Henry R., "Account of the Native Copper on the Southern Shore of Lake Superior, with Historical Citations and Misc. Remarks in a Report to the Dept. of War," in Amer. Journal of Science and Arts, 3: 209-10. 1821
- Scott, Wm. E., "Fishing in Lake Superior" in Inland Seas, Vol. 2, No. 2, April 1946.

- Shiras, George, "Hunting Wildlife with Camera and Flashlight", National Geographic, Vol. 1, pp. 187-188. 1935.
- Smith, Samuel L., "Prehistoric and Modern Copper Mines of Lake Superior, Michigan", Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections. 39:140, 1915.
- Smith, Alice E., "A Copper Prospector in 1846", Mich. History. 33:141-54, June 1949.
- Soule, Annah Mae, "The International Boundary Line of Michigan", Mich. Pioneer Historical Collections, Vol. 26, p. 597-633.
- Stevens, Horace J., Publisher, Copper Handbook, Houghton, Michigan. 1st Ed., 1900.
- St. John, John R., A True Description of the Lake Superior Country: Its Rivers, Coasts, Bays, Harbors, Islands, and Commerce ... Also a Minute Account of the Copper Mines and Working Companies. 4, New York, 1846.
- Stone, Judge John G., Isle Royale. Houghton, Michigan. 1937
- Swineford, A.P., Lake Superior Mining District, about 1870.
- Swineford, A.P., "History and Review of the Copper, Iron, Silver, Slate and Other Material Interests of the S. Shore of Lake Superior", 61. Marquette, The Mining Journal, 1876.
- Thwaites, R.G., Editor, Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents. Cleveland, 1899. Vol. 51, p. 65; Vol. 54, pp. 159-61.
- Tousignant, Mrs. E.J., Isle Royale. Ontonagon, Michigan
- Waldron, Webb, We Explore the Great Lakes, New York, 1923. p. 81-84.
- West, George A., "Report of the McDonald-Massee Isle Royale Expedition, 1928", in Yearbook of the Public Museum of City of Milwaukee.
- West, George A., "Copper, Its Mining and Use by the Aborigines of the Lake Superior Region." Bulletin of the Public Museum of the City of Milwaukee. Vol. 4, No. 1, 1929.
- Wharton, Francis, The Revolutionary Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States. Washington, D.C., 1889. 5: 856.
- Whittlesey, Charles, "Ancient Mining on the Shores of Lake Superior" in Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge. 13:2-3. Washington, D.C., 1863.

Williams, Mentor L., "Horace Greeley on Lake Superior, 1848." Inland Seas. Spring, 1950.

Winchell, N.H., "Ancient Copper Mines of Isle Royale". Popular Science Monthly. 19:601-20. 1881.

Winsor, Justin, The Westward Movement. p. 221

Winsor, Justin

____ "Treaty with the Chippewa, 1826, Article 3", in
Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties, Vol. 2, p. 269, 58 Congress,
2 Session, Senate Doc., Vol. 39, No. 319, Washington, D.C. 1914.

____ "Report of the Secretary of Treasury Communicating,
in Compliance with a Resolution of the Senate, Information
Relative to the Character and Condition of the Mineral Regions
in the Lake Superior Country...", in Senate Documents, Vol. 7,
No. 359, p. 12, Washington, D.C. 1846.

