

First Annual Sonderegger Symposium, Morning Session

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RM: I thank all of you for coming. This is the first annual Sonderegger Symposium, and the theme is The People of the Upper Peninsula. We are going to start out looking at the stories we write about the people of the Upper Peninsula, and then go into composites of those people. This morning I would like to recognize Mrs. Sonderegger who is with us, and she represents the Sonderegger family as a fundraiser for the symposium, so we are very thankful for that. There were donations to Northern and it's something that will go on into the future, will help the students, and the public. I'm Russ Magnaghi, Director of the Center for Upper Peninsula Studies, and the Center is putting on the symposium. I think we've got a good group here this morning because everybody knows where they're going, and who everybody else is pretty much so we don't have to worry about lost people. We'll now get into the discussions. The panel will ask the historians questions, and they'll get into the mind of the historian and how he or she got where they are today.

PANEL: For all of you that don't know, this is Mr. Tom Friggen and I'll just get a little of the basic background out of the way. My first question would be can you tell us a little bit about your academic background.

TF: I have a bachelor's degree from Albion College 1971, and a Master's Degree in American History from Wayne State University 1973.

PANEL: My second question would be, "Who or what sparked your interest in history, and in particular, your interest in the history of the UP?"

TF: Probably like many people in the audience, Dad. Growing up, my family traveled a lot and I gained my interest in history from my father, who is not a historian, an engineer, but had an application for history. We traveled a lot, visited historic sites, and as a kid I'd come home and read about the sites that we'd visited, and that really brought things to life for me. I'm sure that's not all that different from many of your experiences as well.

PANEL: My third and final question for me is a two-parter. "Are you currently employed in the UP and if so what is your position? And what groups or societies are you currently active with?"

TF: I am employed in the Upper Peninsula. I am a historian for the Michigan Historical Center, which is an agency for the Department of the State. My position is a regional manager for our agency's Upper Peninsula museum programs. We administer for museums in the Upper Peninsula down across the state, 4 of them are located here in the Upper Peninsula at the extreme northwestern corner Historic Complex, a show of hands, many of you have been there. Has anyone been down to Fayette Historic Town Site on the Garden Peninsula is another location.

My office, the regional office is here in the Marquette range at the Michigan Iron Industry Museum in Negaunee. The 4th Upper Peninsula museum is the Father Marquette National Memorial at St. Ignace. Professional organizations that I am a member of include the American Association for State and Local History, Michigan Museums Association, National Trust for Historic Preservation, Michigan Historic Preservation Network, Historical Society of Michigan.

PANEL: Good morning. What was your first impression when Dr. Magnaghi asked you to come speak today, and what did you think he was going to have you come speak about?

TF: I didn't have a real firm idea until yesterday. My first impression was, as he accurately presented it to me when he first approached me, that was that the morning sessions would be a question and answer period of current Upper Peninsula historians and how we got into the field and what we do. It didn't really surprise me. I was taken aback when I walked in here and the first thing I saw was bringing back very bad memories. I'm here to tell you that you don't need to succeed in chemistry to modestly succeed in history.

PANEL: Well we're glad you're here. Can you give us a little information about your ancestors, as far as where are they from, what role did they play in the history of the Upper Peninsula, maybe what jobs did they perform?

TF: The derivation of surname is Cornish, and with my wife, we moved to the Upper Peninsula to the Kewenaw Peninsula in 1974. My Kewenaw ancestors were copper miners from Cornwall. My great-grandfather came to the Cliff Mine in the Kewenaw in 1874 fully 100 years before this young historian arrived. He worked at the Cliff Mine, became a mine captain at the Allouez Mine, and ended up as mine captain at the Wolverine Mine at the Kersarge location. My grandfather also immigrated from Cornwall where he had been a copper miner, to go to work in the copper mines of the Kewenaw. He ended up boarding in this boarding house that was run by my great-grandmother, and he developed a mutual interest in her daughter and married her. It was fascinating for us on a personal note, and forgive for going into so much personal detail, in several of the structural remains of the area associated with our family's heritage remained there and that was a very special thing for us moving up there. We befriended people who lived, put in a plug to anyone of this age, whether it's with Mackinaw State Historical Park, or as in interpreter with the Michigan Historical Center summer programming, that sort of seasonal experience is a wonderful opportunity for people of any age to learn to think on their feet and to communicate with the public, and to begin developing skills which we all have a need of at all stages in our lives, as well as to begin to develop that background in the history field. A personal story I'd like to relate is that in 1971 I returned to Michilamackinaw, my supervisor was another speaker today. He's Widder, who had in that year become a full time employee for the Mackinaw State Historical Parks. So Keith and I go back longer than either one of us cares to admit today.

PANEL: My last question for me is can you give us the current state of the Copper Harbor Lighthouse? Is it endangered needing any preservation and if so are there any measures being taken and also just a curiosity note how many people each year come to the lighthouse?

TF: The State of Michigan acquired the Copper Harbor Lighthouse in 1957 as an adjunct to the state park in Copper Harbor, with an eye to preserve it and ultimately opening a Lighthouse Maritime Museum. It was simply mothballed until the 1970 when the DNR were responsible for historic sites within the state parks, began to stabilize it and to restore it. It opened as a museum in 1975 with temporary exhibits which were only replaced 3 or 4 years ago. In 1994 we determined (the Michigan Historical Center, DNR Parks and Recreation Bureau) decided that we were going to get serious about the Copper Harbor Lighthouse. That was the beginning of a 4 year project which went back to square one and involved archeological research on the site, intensive historical research which resulted in a Master's Thesis, and another one of the speakers today, Barry James, was a student at the time who did his Master's Thesis on the Copper Harbor Lighthouse. But with that foundation of historical information documentation, that lead us to the step which was a stabilization and restoration on both the 1866 lighthouse and the 1848 keepers dwelling, which lead to totally new exhibits in the 1866 lighthouse, and 2 years later 1998, which incidentally was the sesquicentennial of the establishment of the Copper Harbor Lighthouse, the keepers dwelling was completed and today the Copper Harbor Light Station presents a complete museum experience with state of the art exhibits including computer interactive virtual tours of the site and of the 1866 lighthouse, the period room exhibits traditional museum exhibits and outdoor interpretive trails. Having said that, has anyone visited the lighthouse in the last 2 or 3 years? I highly recommend it to you.

PANEL: Good morning. You had said that your father was a major influence in your role of history. Do you think your love of history has influenced your two children to love history as much as you do?

TF: Their love of making more money than a historian has influenced them more than Dad has. Our younger son has always had a keen interest in history, but not to go into it as a career. I would like to say he gained that interest from his parents, just like I gained it from mine, and many of you gained it from yours. Parents in the audience can relate to this that some of my fondest and warmest memories as a parent are sitting on the couch during Christmas vacation reading children's historical biographies to this son. But he's an economics and management major at Albion College. I would add that our older son Christopher, who is 2 years out of college worked for 2 seasons as a costumed interpreter at Fort Mackinac on the island. Again, interesting aside, David Armer, who is the assisting superintendent of the Mackinaw State Historic Parks, interviewed me and hired me in 1968, to my first seasonal position there, and in 1998 our son Chris and one other seasonal interpreter, were the first second generation Mackinaw State Park interpreters to come back and boy did that make Dave Armer feel old.

PANEL: My next question, could you explain your experience of when you were at Fort Wilkins? Was that when you decided to write *Peace Upon The Trencher*?

TF: Of course I can describe that in a round about way. Like many people during the early 1970s looking to enter into the field of history, I was finishing up my Masters Degree at Wayne State and simply did the shotgun approach. I knew that I wanted to go into outdoor museum work, so I sent letters out all over the country, willing to relocate, to volunteer in order to gain experience that could add to my resume that would lead to a paid position. I wrote a man in Tennessee asking him about a job and he wrote back saying yes we're going to have an opening

because I'm moving to Michigan to become Chief of Museums and Historic Property for the Michigan History Division, one of which is Fayette Historic Town Site which was the subject of my Masters Thesis, when I get to Michigan I'd like to talk to you. So this shotgun approach ended up finding a man who in another month just happened to be moving to Michigan and to become responsible for the historic site that I really had my eye set on. Part of this message is keep the faith. I am something of a fatalist and that some things are destined to happen and what are chances? I was hired in 1974, spent the first three months working in Lansing to get my feet on the ground and to get some training in, and then was assigned a position in the Upper Peninsula at Fayette, you ask? No. At Fort Wilkins, which really bummed me. But the individual hire at Fayette was a far greater experience in museum work and Victoriana. And so I ended up at Fort Wilkins, which was the best that could have happened, this fatalist impression again. Worked 11 years there, moved down here in 1985 when the iron industry museum was being built. Fort Wilkins was a very special experience as you know it's a very magical historic sight. Nineteen Historic structures, 12 of them original, dating to the mid 1840s. 3 more lighthouse original structures. A real museum complex. And a real exciting challenge for a young historian to walk into because comparatively little primary source research had yet been done and very little had been written about Fort Wilkins so it really offered a wonderful opportunity. Speeding along, part of our responsibilities were to research and preparation of research reports became the basis for The Trencher museum exhibits or for future publications, or for reference or for support of archeological research that was scheduled and that particular publication piece actually resulted from them. We came to a point where we felt that we probably had about 95% of the information about food and diet at Fort Wilkins at our hands. And it was begging to be pulled together into one document.

PANEL: My final question is a kind of a hypothetical question. After all of these years in your job, if you could change one thing, what would it be and why?

TF: That's a great question. I'll give you a flip answer and then I'll come back to it. I'm not so sure I'd actively change anything or want to change anything in particular. It's part of this keep the faith message that I've been so blessed in my life professionally and otherwise. Again, not making the money that my kids hope to make and so forth, but perfectly happy and content, and able to provide for my family. Things that I miss, I miss more and more in my more recent career it's more administrative and less research and less opportunity to research and to write. I miss that a lot. I really view myself as an in-the-trenches historian who researches and writes and interprets, but there are tradeoffs there. You accept other responsibilities, and they aren't all that bad either. These are wonderful historic studies here in the Upper Peninsula that our agency in particular are responsible for. I am impressed more and more every single day of my life with Fort Wilkins and with Fayette, both of those sites in particular. They are sites of national significance, not the fact that things of national significance occurred at these sites, but for their state of preservation and for what they represent about a cross section of social, economic, and military lives of ordinary people like ourselves who are simply living, and working, and struggling just to make it through each day like we all can relate to. Learning about ordinary people and learning that history isn't just a matter of names and dates and minutes that are important to our history, but it's a matter of people like ourselves. It's a matter of human nature and the shared experience and that my friends hasn't changed since the days of Fort Wilkins and

Fayette. It hasn't changed across the millennia, and it's not going to change in the future. It's a matter of people. That's exciting

PANEL: I was looking at the Michigan Iron Industry Museum web site, and on it I noticed that there is a page where Michigan Iron Industry Advisory Board, and it said that this is a governor appointed board, and what I would like to know is what criteria determines who is on the board, and what type of policies does this board advise on?

TF: Good question. Criteria is political appointment by the governor who fills those positions. Surprisingly or not, there are some occasions when we as the Historical Agency are sometimes not consulted by the governor's office as to candidates for appointment. More frequently, we are consulted, or at least offered a list of our suggestions or recommendations. This is a non-person panel. The legislation that created this advisory board states that there must be a representative of the Iron Industry, there must be a representative from the County Board of Commissioners, there must be a representative of the city of Marquette, of the Township of Negaunee, and there are three large numbers, I think I'm overlooking, constituent requirements. We also look at it as you tend to do when filling key positions like these, we look for people who not only have an affinity and a passion for the subject matter, but also a well balance for it as a body. Individuals of which can bring particular strengths to the board, whether that be representatives of the legal profession, or financial planning, bankers, or educators, or what have you. So the current make-up is former school superintendents, a couple of teachers, the chairman of the county board of commissioners, a couple of those large people, Aritha Tweedy is the arts and culture person for the city of Marquette as a member of our board. So they are drawn from various elements in our local community. What do they do? It is an advisory board, rather than a policy making board. They are specifically mandated by legislation to advise the Department of State on all matters relating to the Michigan Iron Industry Museum, to assist the museum with donations, whether that is artifact donations or financial donations, to help promote the museum publicly. That's the area of expertise. One of our board members, Frita Wora, who is known in the community, is a producer and videographer on Q Productions, and recipient of one Emmy Award and seven Emmy nominations, but has recently completed a one minute public service announcement which is just a dynamic piece of work for the museum which we are going to be unveiling very shortly. Its expertise like that that we rely on our board members to promote the museum and to promote donations to the museum. This board, through the publication and a donation box, supports education programs at the museum and special events.

PANEL: You said earlier that advice you have to give is to keep the faith. Do you have any more advice to give to historian students?

TF: Get as much experience as you can in the field. Its been my experience over the decades that we are seeing a real change, one that I've observed, in the young people that we recruit to fill our seasonal interpreter positions. If you are looking for experience in this field, we can offer you some very good experience. It strikes me that college age students today have only known a good boom economy. Think about it, for the last 8 years or longer, we have enjoyed a very strong economy. Its very interesting that we in a nonprofit area, looking to fill seasonal positions, are negatively impacted to buy that. You would think it would get easier for us to recruit seasonal employees to work in these very interesting positions n these very interesting

historical sites. It's becoming more and more difficult for us to do that. Part of that is also the increase in college expenses and the need for students to earn top dollar just in order to pay tuition to return in the next semester. I think unlike, in my generation, where I knew what I wanted to do and I knew the way to get there was to gain experience in that field even if I had to volunteer and not be paid, I knew that experience would benefit me in the future. Largely because of the economic pressures on college youth today, just in the expense of college tuition, I'm observing a change there. I would hope that if you have an interest in entering the history field, that you keep focused on that goal and that you gather as much experience as you can working during the winter as in the University archives or the center of UP studies. Possibilities of working during the summers at Mackinaw State historic sites, I mentioned that first only out of generosity, we much would prefer you to come work for our agency at some wonderful historic sties. But keep focused on that and plan ahead. I see in my own sons that they are planning ahead and that is paying dividends for them but I don't think they are planning ahead quite as far as we did. Maybe because of the economy, they won't need to. Plan ahead, continue with your education, be serious with your education, gather as much experience in your particular field while you are in college that you can. When we hire people for full time positions as well as seasonal positions, that means an awful lot to us looking at what sort of experience someone experienced.

PANEL: Thank you very much.

KW: I did a Masters Degree at the University of Wisconsin Milwaukee in 1968. I did my Ph.D. at Michigan State University, finishing up in 1989.

PANEL: Can you give us sort of a broad overview of what you have done in your career?

KW: After I graduated from college in the mid 1960s, which most of you weren't born at that time, was also a time that when you got out of college, you really didn't worry about getting a job. If you had a college degree, there would probably be something for you. I really didn't know what I wanted to do and decided on getting a teaching credential. I went into the Master's degree in history and wound up teaching for 3 years in a high school in suburban Milwaukee. At the same time I also taught an evening course, American History Survey, at the University of Wisconsin Park Side which is in Kenosha. After teaching for 3 years in the high school, during that time, I spent a couple summers working at Mackinaw. My first job there was to put numbers on objects in the collections, not a very exciting job. I was given a list of numbers and turned loose. We did that well enough that we got an American Association Museum Accreditation several years later, so even though we didn't know what we were doing, we pulled it off. In 1971 that became a full time job, as Tom Friggens pointed out, and I worked there until 1997 when I took early retirement with the State of Michigan, and since then I've been working as a part time editor at Michigan State University Press.

PANEL: What made you decide to research areas in the Upper Peninsula rather than in your native of Wisconsin, and why the Mackinaw area specifically?

KW: Well Mackinaw was because that was where I worked. I was being paid to research Mackinaw. That's really how I wound up getting into Upper Peninsula History. In my mind I don't really see these borders because I do research in 18th Century and Pre-Civil War period, where the political boundaries that we perceive of today, the state and national boundaries, they're not really often part of my thinking. When you do history pertaining to Mackinaw, particularly 17th, 18th, and 19th Century history, it is really a history of the western Great Lakes and beyond because of the peoples who passed through the straits, all the native groups, French, French Canadians, British, and Americans, so it's really a very cosmopolitan mix of people and experiences. Trying to comprehend what happened at Mackinaw during this time really gives an understanding of a much broader region, and it links the people's lives here in the Upper Peninsula into the world wide scheme of things that are going on.

Student: You said that you were the editor for Michigan State. Can you tell us what you did there?

KW: Interestingly, what I've done there was working with the Parks Commission we had published a couple of books with the Press as Co-Publishers. The first book was a series of papers that were presented at the North American Fur-Trade Conference on Mackinaw Island in 1991. When we got into that series of papers, I realized that this was beyond the scope of what the Park Commission could publish on it's own. The Park Commission has published an awful lot of stuff over the years, some very good stuff, but nothing quite this long. This turned out to be a book of 537 pages. We weren't quite accustomed to dealing with something that complicated, plus 135 illustrations, graphs, pictures, and the like. We approached Michigan State University Press to see if they might be interested in serving as a Co-Publisher. We worked out an arrangement. I started working with the people at the Press in that capacity. We also had worked on a couple other books with them, one of which wasn't finished until after I started working there. When the opportunity came for me to take the State Early Out Retirement, we decided to do for a number of reasons. My wife and I decided that was the time to do that. There was an opportunity to go work part-time for the Press. Fred Bone, who was the director of the Press, said yeah we have these projects laying around that need some help. So I wound up working on projects that were complicated, often very big, and that the editors and authors needed a considerable amount of help. That's what I've been working on the last few years. One of the things I've worked on was a collective work that had been written 8 or 10 years ago that was going to deal with the ethnic groups of Michigan. It was going to be a single volume with about 28 groups represented. It was a work that had a very difficult history. Even at that point, not all of the essays were ready to be published, they needed more refinement. It was decided that that format wouldn't work. After we had gone to every author, and Russ Magnaghi was one of those authors, saying we need to do this in order to get this thing publishable, and most authors responded. Then the Press decided that this would be too expensive of a proposition. We decided instead to break these into single volumes. A new series that will be coming out next year entitled *Discovering the Peoples of Michigan* will be individual volumes of approximately 60 pages devoted to different ethnic groups in the state. Russ is doing the one on Italians. That's the kind of thing that I've been working on in terms of taking projects that needed extra help and dealing with those.

PANEL: Over the years in the course of your career, have you researched anything other than Michilamackinaw, anything really interesting, and if so could you share that with us?

KW: Well most of my work has centered around the Straits. As I said earlier, when dealing with Mackinaw history, it's not really local history because it takes you into a much broader sense. One of the things I became interested in was some of the early cartography of the western Great Lakes. 1981 was the first chance I had to go to England. I visited a friend of mine who was teaching there. I spent some time doing some research in the Public Records Office and I came across a couple of huge manuscript maps that were dated approximately in the 1760s, they were not identified as to who drew them, but they were really 2 copies of the same map. I had copies of those maps made and you could tell by the evidence of the map itself that these were probably made right after the conquest of Canada in 1760 by British officers who came through the region in 1760-61. That really triggered an interest in this, and it took many years until I finally got that little piece of it completed. It was the type of work that got me into another discipline, the history of cartography and geography, and helped give me an appreciation of not only the Straits, but really of the whole western great lakes region. Similarly, the work I've done on the Mackinaw Mission is not really Mackinaw persae, it's really a look at the region because I think you can look at the lives of the people living in a locality and I like to know what do their lives really tell me about the bigger picture. What are the historical forces that are forming their lives?

PANEL: You had mentioned that you are doing research on immigrant groups in the State of Michigan. Do you have any other research you are planning on doing in the future, something that you'd like to take part in?

KW: I'm going to not be doing too much editing in the next few years. In 2005, Michigan State University turns 150 and as part of the sesquicentennial history, the Press is going to be having a 3-volume history of the university written, and I'm going to be writing the first volume. This is going to be broken up chronologically. The first volume will deal from the creation of the university in 1855, which was known then as Michigan Agricultural College, to sometime in the 1920s. That break isn't real clear where that will be. The second volume will pick up where I leave off, and the third volume will pick up probably in the 1960s at the point where Michigan State had grown to the big university it is today. So for the next three years I will be hiding out in the MSU archives and other places. I look forward to that because it will be a whole new topic for me, and get me more into the history of higher education, of Michigan history persae because I want to see what kind of impact this institution of higher education had on the state and how it interplayed. Being a person from a Wisconsin farm, since Michigan State University used to be Michigan Agricultural College, it really came into being because of agricultural interests in the state. I'm going to get to learn more about agricultural history, which is one of the things I've been wanting to do.

PANEL: When you were doing research in the Mackinaw area, where did you have to go to find information? Was it really difficult, or was it readily available?

KW: Mackinaw is incredibly well documented. There's an enormous amount of manuscript material to be had. One of the strengths of the Parks Commission Programs when I worked there

was we always seemed to have money to purchase microfilm, photocopies, we built a very good researched and specialized library with a lot of printed materials, both primary and secondary sources. So when we would go to repositories, we could have copies made, microfilmed and photocopies. Places that I got to do research in my career, of course there were the local places like the State Archives, but the National Archives in Washington D.C. and the National Archives in Ottawa, Canada, I did work in the Public Records office in the British Library in London, did work at the Houghton Library at Harvard University, where the records of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions Materials are. Another very exciting project to work on was that there is an awful lot of materials in French out there. While I took French as a language in graduate school, I was never very proficient at it, and not having used it, it disappears in a hurry. But we were able to start a project where Professor Joe Pizzer at Indiana University South Bend, who did a lot of work with documents at Fort St. Joseph's in Niles. I approached Joe in 1990 for advice on how we should go about doing the translation project. It just so happened that he was finishing up a couple of books he was working on and said he might be available for that. We were able then to start a project that is still going on, where by he collected 400 reels of micro-film of French documents pre-1760, materials that are in Canadian Archives, copies made of many of the reels of film that are in the National Archives in Paris. He then started to translate some of these materials, of which there have been 2 books published. Those are some of the projects I was working on at the Michigan State University Press. So you can find materials in archives in Spain, Havana, of which many of the copies are from the New Orleans collection. I'm sure there are materials that relate to Mackinaw from Spanish sources because the connection is with the Mississippi River, from New Orleans to here. People are moving about. Other places like the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Minnesota Historical Society, and many more.

PANEL: You had mentioned that the history of Mackinaw was well documented. Could you tell us a little bit about the folklore, the unwritten history of Mackinaw?

KW: Not a whole lot has been done in terms of trying to collect that. Probably the source, and this written, but a very good source of the native stories is school craft. The school craft papers might yield more. There's a very extensive collection of these papers at the Library of Congress. I'm not aware of anybody today who's going around talking to people and interviewing people about the folklore. Of course most of it is going to deal with the native people. It's going to be native materials. The little band of Adawa in Petoskey and Little Traverse Bay is working on some of that within their own group, and there may be other activities, but it's really a neglected area in Mackinaw history.

PANEL: On doing research on the soldiers of Fort Mackinaw, did you find anything that really intriguing or interesting about their life or existence there, like struggles they had to go through?

KW: You're going back a ways, actually Phil Porter who has done more recent research on soldier life at Fort Mackinaw could give you a more up-to-date answer, and probably a more interesting answer. I think one of the interesting things about researching soldier life, although I've done a lot of military history, I've never considered myself a military historian. I'm not particularly interested in guns and battles and that type of thing. I'm really interested in the social life of the people. Certainly a soldier's life at a place like Mackinaw Island was a difficult

life, but also viewing his life is a window on what's going on in the larger community as well as the army. I was sometimes astounded at how little deterred punishments for things like drunkenness seemed to be. The floggings that resulted didn't seem to stop soldiers from getting drunk. What a soldier life in a remote place, and this isn't just unique to Mackinaw because soldiers by enlarge lived in remote places, was a pretty lonely existence with a lot of time to pass and not much to do. I guess that is a rather difficult and solitary life.

PANEL: I read your book on Dr. William Beaumont and I found it interesting that there were so many specifics in it. Can you tell us why you decided to write it about him and how you got these facts?

KW: As I said earlier, the Mackinac State Park Commission has had a very active publication program over the years. There was a publication on Beaumont and they wanted a more recent one. So that was an assignment I was given. The Beaumont materials, some of those references would come from things in national archives, military records. There's a collection of Beaumont's papers at the medical school at Washington University of St. Louis. And so I worked off the microfilm there where Beaumont would make notes on his cases, some of which there may be one or two pages of illustration of that. Beaumont was an interesting character in that he really seemed to have a very inquisitive mind, was able to ask questions, and then carry out the experimentations and with the Alexis A Martin who's one of these people, in history, an opportunity presented itself and he seized it, and that's why he's remembered. In fact, my mentor at the University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee, Reginald Horseman has since written a full-length biography of Beaumont published by the University of Missouri Press in the last three or four years. You might want to look at that if you're interested in learning more about Beaumont's life.

PANEL: This is sort of a hypothetical question. But if you were given the chance to mentor a college history major preparing for a graduate thesis, what would be the advice you would give him or her?

KW: Good question. First point, languages. Learn languages. I feel that I never learned the languages I wish I had. I wish I was stronger in French. I took high school German and didn't really apply myself, and one of the things that I look back on where I really missed an opportunity is my Dad spoke German. I grew up in a place in Wisconsin where German was spoken quite freely. He would have loved it if one of his boys wanted to speak German with him, but I never took advantage of the opportunity. So my first point of advice would be to learn at least one or two languages that would be useful in your career. Generally the most common are French and German. Spanish is also helpful. Secondly, read. Read all the history you can. In today's world with all of the new media, I'm still convinced that the most expansive media is the written word. A book can capture so much more than a 30-minute video. A 30 minute video is wonderful, the visuals and being able to take it into sight is wonderful. I'm not selling that short, but read all you can. There's a lot of good history being written. Read the more recent stuff particularly, so you are getting informed as to how historians are doing history now. Every generation really produces it's own historians. We write our own history. We come informed with our own values and the issues that are important to us. There's been so much done on different ethnic groups and gender and that grows out of the interest we have in our larger

society. 30-40 years ago that interest wasn't there. That's really what history does. I think Tom Friggen's advice to get experience is very good. To work at historic sites, archives, paid positions, or volunteer opportunities. If you work at an archive you handle the real stuff. These are the documents that were written by the real people. It's different than looking at a photocopy or a printed version of it. Also seek out the advice of your professors. Listen to what they might have to say, and people in other aspects of the profession, an archivist, librarian, someone who works in museums. Try and get exposed to as many possibilities. The history profession is much more than simply teaching. I think yet at the heart of history is teaching. I believe when you are writing you are trying to teach. When you are creating exhibits you are trying to teach. I think that there is probably no more demanding work than teaching. Teaching requires no more creativity than anything else. To be able to go each day before a class and to have something to say in a way that is going to stimulate students is really a hard task.

PANEL: If the Governor of Michigan wanted you to produce a new history of Michigan for the millennium, how much of the emphasis would you put on the UP? How would you convince the people of the Lower Peninsula that the UP deserves the type of recognition?

KW: Actually the answer to that I think is quite easy. I think if I were to write a history of the state of Michigan, I would want to write the story that I think the state has to tell. The story of the UP is just as integral to the story of Michigan as the Lower Peninsula and the people of the UP and the people of the lower peninsula as well because they work together.

PANEL: If you could go back and change anything about your career, what would it be?

KW: I would start learning languages in high school, in fact, I would start learning languages at home. I grew up on a farm where we didn't go on vacation. Vacation for me was maybe to go fishing on Memorial Day afternoon if the corn was planted. My window on the world was the view master. I collected stamps and that was interesting look at history because there would be stamps that would commemorate certain things. I learned the presidents because when I was a kid the three cent stamp is what carried a letter not a 33 cent stamp. The stamps were a series. George Washington was the one-cent stamp and Jefferson was the three-cent stamp. I went to a two-room school so I remember our geography textbooks with great affection. They were very ethnocentric but they were big books with maps and picture of people and you could see them in their dress and dwellings. It was a very stimulating thing and I think if I were to do something differently I would want to read more and learn more at a young age. Learn languages. As you go through you education, take your history courses and other disciplines very seriously. I think it is good that you study literature. Its good to have a bit of philosophy, religion, maybe a little political science, and certainly geography. To be able to create the context in your own mind of the history that you are studying is taking place. History doesn't take place in a vacuum. I think to take rigorous academic courses in history. Things such as seminars. Be willing and eager to write papers and to do the research required to write the papers. Believe me it pays off because history is not easy. History often comes across as being easy but it is a very difficult and demanding discipline that you really have to work at. These are all areas that I wish I would have placed more emphasis on as I was going on. History is also a profession where you never stop learning and you never stop expanding. When I went to Mackinaw I was very interested in the mission which I did my dissertation on. My first visit to Mackinaw Island, I went and saw

Mission Church and I said I would like to know the story of that building. So I started researching that largely on my own and by the late 1970s I had really done most of the primary source research I had needed. I didn't know what to do with it. I could have written it up in sort of an administrative history but I said "I have this wonderful story here but I don't know what to do with it." That's when I went and enrolled in the Ph.D. program to acquire the tools to hopefully interpret all of that information in a way that would be much more significant than just listing. You keep growing.

PANEL: Thank you for your time.

KW: Thank you.

RM: We have Paula Stofer who is here from Lawrence Tech University. Paula has done some very interesting work and she will tell us a little more about it. She has been working on researching boarding houses in the UP. She will tell us where you can get info about boarding houses and midwives.

PANEL: What was it about history that sparked your interest to become a historian?

PS: I guess I have to be a little repetitious of the earlier speakers. Family primarily is what got me interested. My grandfather was an engineer and a surveyor but he loved history. That's what spurred my interest from the time I was a child. I widened that with other connections, but that's where it started.

PANEL: Where and when did you get your education, and why did you choose that?

PS: Most people I think have a tendency to fall out of high school when they are 17 or 18 and fall into college. I did that, but only for a year. I started out at Lawrence Technological Institute. It wasn't a university at that time. I had planned to go into teaching because I had a counselor in high school that said you want to go into medicine? Don't be ridiculous you're a girl. You can't do that. This was the 60s and I wasn't smart enough to challenge that idea at that point. So I was thinking I was going to go to the University of Michigan and then I found out that the college fund I was told was there, wasn't. Lawrence Tech was right around the corner. So expediency pretty much became the motivation for choosing where I went. I started in art and architecture and decided I hated that. I really wanted history. By then I had gotten married and my husband was going to school, and we decided that both of us would not be in school at the same time. It was just too hard. So after one year in college, I came back as a 30 year old sophomore and finished a degree in humanities, which bridged the literature, history, anthropology, and folk material, and all that I had come to love. I went from there to a Master's at Oakland University near Detroit and completed that in 1981, and began teaching. I was finally able to go back to complete my doctorate in 1997 from Michigan State, and that was for Anthropology and Social History together.

PANEL: Of all your previous classes and teachers, which class did you find to be the most useful, and which teacher was most influential in your career?

PS: That is very hard. I think probably the person was a history teacher that I encountered at Lawrence, and later he became a colleague and then he sort of stepped in later in my life as a surrogate dad after I lost my own dad. He had a tremendous love of history and always asked me extraordinary hard questions. He was always very patient with me as I struggled to find the answers, and this wasn't necessarily just in class. He was also just a very dynamic presence in my life and set very high standards and seemed to have complete faith that I would always meet those standards.

PANEL: Why did you get interested in boarding houses?

PS: That came out of earlier research that I had been doing on the midwives. I had encountered 3 different midwives who also kept boarding houses. Here again, expediency. I was being pressured to choose a topic for my Ph.D. dissertation. I could not use the research I had already done on the midwives, so I had to figure out something that I could do and maintain it not only with what I had a passion to do, but to make it realistic in terms of family and job and other dimensions. I could not go off to the South Seas and do research in anthropology in that context. I really wanted to combine the historical context with the anthropology. So I fell back on what I already had and realized that if I worked within Michigan and looked at a specific context of the boarding house, that all of the various requirements would probably work out. I initially looked at 2 different avenues for the boarding house idea. One was going to be centered in the Muskegon area looking at the houses that took care of the theatrical people who came up from Chicago and performed during the summertime primarily during the 19th Century along the west coast of the Lower Peninsula. The other area, which is where the midwives had been and where I had specific information about people, was the mining region of the UP. Although it meant a greater distance to get access, it proved to be one of the 3 best decisions in my life.

PANEL: How come a very different paper or presentation of Jeffrey's *Autherian Women: The Female Image* ? Do you have an interest in British folklore and history as well as midwives in Michigan?

PS: Well I mentioned my interest in medical. That came through again when I was working on my Master's and I started looking at a way of pulling together medical issues and women. I was also working in folklore, and I was teaching folk traditions, connecting back to the anthropology. I was pursuing the images of women and that sort of thing through that paper, but really my focus was becoming more and more focused on medicine and women. The scientific revolution brought me into the 16th and 17th and 18th Century and then my focus was shifting very directly towards women and medicine in Michigan because I was literally digging Michigan at that time. I was involved with Michigan Archeology and more and more the focus was home centered, so it seems like probably a very strange connection, but it did work. From that point on it's become more and more the Michigan women lifestyles, which connects back to the medical and boarding houses.

PANEL: We notice that the boarding houses were used for brothels and psychics. Could you elaborate more on those activities and the people who did that kind of stuff?

PS: The Madame Buddha, who was a clairvoyant in Calumet, I have very little information on her specifically, just that she was there. She had apparently put quite a few ads in the newspapers and presumably since she was in that community for a number of years, she was making enough of a living to keep herself going. That's the only evidence I have. I haven't pursued the brothels in tremendous depth. People have suggested that that should be the next study. Take the boarding houses specifically into that one context. Certainly they were a boarding house of a certain type. I didn't specifically go looking for evidence, but it did show up in various communities and it added a little more breadth to the concept of the boarding houses. Certainly there is a great deal written on brothels and prostitution from the 19th Century particularly, and early in the 20th. If I have the time it might be something I will pursue in later years. It sounds like it would be very interesting.

PANEL: What advice would you give to students planning on going into the history field?

PS: Read everything you can get your hands on. Gain as much experience as you can. Look into programs in your community where you might be able to get involved, or create a program perhaps. Talk to the people at a local museum, or look into organizing or joining an oral history project that might be happening somewhere. One of the things that I do with great passion starts students from the 4th grade on in history. That is the History Day Program. The National History Day, which we say in our slogan, is not a day but an experience. It's a year long competition. The big prizes are 4 year scholarships, trips to Europe, \$5,000 checks, and all sorts of fun things given at the National level. We start at the regional level and districts in individual schools. Dr. Magnaghi has been involved with the program and I'm a district coordinator where I live, in the thumb area. Encourage students to get out and participate that history is fun and not just hard work. It is hard, but it is fun. You may end up having a tremendous love for czarist Russia, but if you start asking questions about your neighborhood or block or community and the people there, you learn a tremendous amount about people and research techniques.

PANEL: You mentioned that you were discouraged into going into medicine because you were a woman. Our professor also informed us that in the past women also had a tough time breaking into the history itself. Do you feel this is still existent today? Did you experience it then, and if so what advice would you give to women to make that easier.

PS: I think that the mentality of our society has changed so much since I was 15. I have personally never run into any problems regarding my involvement in history, anthropology, any of those pursuits. I did run into problems when I first started at Lawrence. I was in the architecture program. I was one of 2 female students on the campus at that time. It was that same early 60s era when I had been told by the high school counselor you must be crazy. You can't be a doctor. There was over resentment of my presence on campus. My presence in that program, there were editorials written against women students on the campus. It was primarily an engineering school, and of course engineers were supposed to be men. Again, it's a different era. I don't think there is anywhere near the problem today. I think a lot of it has come about because women have said you must be crazy to think I'm going to take that. A lot of men have said yeah you're right. Go for it. My husband and that professor I was talking about earlier were like that. I gave in to the first, that was the medical thing, but it's like Tom said, some decisions are almost made for you and they become good decisions.

PANEL: Did you run into any general barriers during your research during your research or interviews that you might want to tell others about to be careful with or avoid?

PS: I must confess that I had become aware this morning that I had neglected to ask a direct question of someone that I should have asked about several years ago. I've known Tom Friggens a long time, and I only found out this morning in listening to him, that he has a connection back to a boarding house that I should have asked about years ago. I think being less inquisitive than you should be, being afraid to ask questions, or just assuming that there's no need to ask. Being hesitant to ask the same question in three different ways on three different occasions can sometimes keep you from getting at what you want. It's sometimes only by back tracking, only by re-approaching the subject that you finally get what you want. This is true especially in the kind of research that I do because although I do a lot of the book and archival work, a lot of it also means sitting down and having lemonade across the table with people, many of them elderly. Convincing them in the first place that they know history, is sometimes a little tough. Sometimes I have found that if I bring somebody else with me it helps to break the ice. My daughter is a very personable young woman and loves history too. Sometimes having the two different generations confronting someone who might be 80 or more, I can ask certain types of questions and my daughter will then ask another question and sometimes she can help get into a topic that because of some sort of an age thing perhaps. Like I might be too close to the age of that lady's daughter, so she won't discuss it with me, but she'd talk to a granddaughter in a sense. My late husband sometimes went with me. If I was interviewing a man, sometimes having another man there, my informant would be a little more ready to talk to me. I don't know if he was afraid he might offend a woman saying some of the things he was talking about, things of that nature. Studying the techniques of oral history really does help if you're going to be doing that sort of work with individuals. You don't want to trick people into saying things they don't want to say, but convincing them that what they have to say, what they've seen, experienced, is history, that it is valuable, that people are interested, not to be snoop, but because they really want to know what it was like to experience that or be in this situation, that's something you have to be more convincing about. Once it starts to flow it's amazing what you find out.

PANEL: Are there any specific areas of UP history that you feel have been neglected in research?

PS: I've focused on the people. The more I've done on that, the more I see that others are responding to the same general philosophy of history that I've been responding to. The idea that it's not just the notables that made history. Certainly there are avenues of the experience that need to be uncovered and further developed, but it's in the process of the more we learn we think what's left to find out about. That's going to stimulate more and more an examination of the topics that are out there. There are 2 books now on Beaumont? I'm sure there must be 5 more that just haven't been written yet. I think perhaps the women's experience, especially in an area like the western UP that was predominantly male, there are some stories there. One of the topics I would like to pursue is on? Brockway and her role. We hear about her husband and her family and Brockway Mountain road. What about her? What about all those years she spent up to her eyeballs in snow and being sick and being alone and trying to entertain people who stopped in

and stayed for a week because it was a blizzard and they couldn't leave. I just want to know what it was like and how she lived her life. There are 12 years of diaries and I would love to digest them and have the chance to do something with those and share them with other people.

PANEL: What did you feel you could gain or contribute to the symposium?

PS: Once I found out who was going to be on the panel, I figured I would gain a lot. Again, I talked with the other members over the years but I always come away learning. It's very exciting to do that. What I can contribute? Just to give a few very personal insights and what it takes to pursue historical research and perhaps challenge or inspire someone to enjoy it as much as I do and to take it on. It's not easy. It's well worth it when you can find out something about people's lives that can touch your own, that in itself is very valuable. When you are given an opportunity to share that so that you can perhaps touch another life with somebody else's story. I think you are helping those people continue in ways to influence people that the person they not only would have ever met but to give their life an additional meaning and an additional dimension in the future.

PANEL: Do you think that there is a place for boarding houses in today's society? If so, do you think they will survive?

PS: I think probably the closest thing we have to the traditional boarding house idea now is the B&B. I am a great fan of the B&B. 3 states and 2 countries I have enjoyed B&Bs. Being welcomed into a home is essentially what that experience is about, and I think that it's very rewarding. In some situations, yes, and in fact there are still some boarding houses in existence. I know of one, as a matter of fact, one of the old original ones that's been revitalized and is being used as a B&B as we speak over in Baltic. The people who bought the house about six, lose to seven years ago now, were originally thinking about turning it into a B&B and decided that that might commit them to a little bit too much because they couldn't earn a living off the house with the expensive that they had incurred with having to redo the house because it really had need of a good deal of updating. It would tie them too much to the house with a B&B operation, but they had an opportunity to take in boarders who would need less day to day care because they could just show up for dinner and that sort of thing and wouldn't need the sheets changed everyday and that sort of thing. They could be more responsible for the upkeep of their own rooms, and it's worked out. It's worked out quite well. I think in certain situations, where the community's right, where you have an opportunity to have a specific clientele and they're connected to an organization that's global, and there are young people who move about from country to country so this house in Baltic has become a focus for those people so they almost have a continual list of potential clientele. They're still around. I know that there are some in the South, for instance, that still operate, when the community situation is appropriate.

PANEL: In your research of the boarding houses, did you go into any of the boarding houses themselves? Are there any that are still standing that you went into?

PS: Did I go in invited? Yes. Did I go in even though the sign said, "Stay out! No trespassing"? Yes. With my hard hat on and hoping that the floor didn't give way. So yes. Wherever I could find one still standing, yes. And that involved more lemonade with people

who were still occupying them. I had not gone into every single one that I was able to document that still stands. A couple of them have been divided into apartments, and when I happened to be in the area, I tried to make connections to go in, and the owner was out of town. It just didn't work, but in all but two of those still standing at the time that I did the research, yes. I have been there, and spent a night in one of them. They are neat buildings.

PANEL: The second part to that was did you feel any presence there?

PS: Well, no specific manifestations that bounced on the bed or said, "Boo". Whenever I go into old structures, what I try to do, especially if they are homes, what I try to do is stand looking at the kitchen window, and try to envision what the lady of the house would have seen specifically as she's washing her dishes or whatever. To get a feel for the physical dimensions, and I'm a civil war reenactor so I know how much space it takes for me to be able to move around when I'm in my hoops or if I've just got no hoops, but four layers of petticoats, and a big skirt, and all of that. So I try to get a physical sense of what the space was like to move around in it depending upon the era. Sometimes I think, "Okay Sadie. What was it like? What were you doing here? How did you feel?" and then take myself down, when I have the opportunity, claustrophobic though I am, the historian wins out, and I crawl down into the cellar or wherever and, again, try to envision what it would be like to come down there. Put away the jars of pickles or whatever. Go out to the woodshed and work there or do whatever. I try to project myself really rather than pick up old vibes.

PANEL: Thank you. One last question, kind of on a personal note for me. I noticed on your resume that you had the Trickster Hero, and I'm taking a Native American oral literature class, and that is one of the things I have to report on, the Trickster, do some research, so I saw that on there so I thought I'd ask about that.

PS: Be sure you read Raiden.

PANEL: Thank you.

RM: From 1917 to 1949, all of Northern's students lived in boarding houses. There were boarders on campus somewhere. Boarding houses on the east sides and all over the place. Our next presenter is David Krause. He is at Henry Ford Community College, and he has an interesting background because he is officially a geologist and a historian, and I think one of the things you want to think about is where historians have gone in terms of their careers and the knowledge that they have picked up. You've noticed we had one individual that was going to go into medicine, and said well, gee that was a loss to go into medicine. However, she brings an interesting medical knowledge into the midwives, which then brings her into her where she's at today. So you constantly find these spreads, and so, as everybody's been saying, you want to gain knowledge completely because you never know where you're going to use that knowledge. If you want to go take a course or something, and say why is that important. I'm wasting my time and eleven years later you come back and realize that you're using that to figure out problems about how you're getting some information or something. I hope you've noticed that with all of our presenters today.

DK: Isn't there a bailiff here somewhere? Apparently not.

PANEL: Welcome to Northern. First off, just some basic background. What is your educational background?

DK: Well, it's very different from the others' of course. My background is entirely in science. I have no history background. I'm not quite as intimidated by that thing up there as Tom was, but I have a Bachelor's degree in Astronomy, University of Michigan, Masters in Geology, Michigan State, and a Ph.D. From Michigan, Geology, But I'm also, just this semester, enrolled in the historic preservation program at Eastern, so I'm still in school myself.

PANEL: Seeing that you're not a historian. What are some of the things that prompted you to do a historical research project?

DK: I actually came at it from an interest in the Upper Peninsula. I've told this story before, but I was a seventeen-year-old freshman at the University of Michigan in 1957. And my father, this sounds like a rich kid story but it's really not, my father had given me a brand new '57 Chevy BelAire, 2-door, hard top, v8 white, red and black interior, and that was a magnet for girls. I was not. The car was, and five of them that it attracted was a group of girls with funny names that I later learned were Finnish names that had graduated the same year I did, left their home, and come to Ann Arbor to work as secretaries at the University. Why did you leave your homes? There was no work. Well, where was that? Someplace over the bridge. The bridge? Well, the next spring, Easter. They wanted a ride home. I had a car. Four o'clock after their work, I drove for twelve hours and ended up in a tar paper shack house. Then when I got up the next morning, I saw rock piles and mine shafts, and I was hooked. And I've been hooked ever since. That was it, and the history part came much later. I read history. I was interested in it, but when I was doing a Ph.D. in geology, I wondered, would it be possible to do something that involved history. Luckily, the department at Michigan was open to that, and so I ended up doing a dissertation on the history of the opening of the Keweenaw copper district. And that really was just a continuation of my interest in history and the U.P..

PANEL: Could you please tell us about the research that went into your book, *The Making of a Mining District*?

DK: Well, the research consisted largely, as any research does I guess. One of the first things you do is you read what's already been written. I had no sense of being able to go beyond what I had written, I was simply going to take that and build on it. But the interesting thing that I discovered, and I would try to alert anyone who's interested or considering writing history themselves. Don't necessarily believe everything you read. No matter how well it's done. History is interpretation. It's not just names, and date, and fact. It's interpretations. And when historians interpret, they're putting their own spin on it, but there are other ways of looking at it, and I discovered, to my amazement, after a lot of reading that the story of Douglas Houghton, who was Michigan's first state geologist of course, was basically wrong. Wrong at a fundamental level. And I saw an opening there, and I realized I was going to look at it this way, and when I started looking at it this way, new Vistas opened up, and I began to be able to see that you could take old data and look at it in new ways so no history book is ever final. It's always

open to revision. That's the nature of history. That is something I would keep in mind. If you are writing history or thinking of writing history, even at a fairly elementary level, there is always a new way of looking at the world even the same events that have been covered before. That is what got me going. The research I did confirmed what I was doing but it was there only by looking at it by a certain perspective. That was a new perspective and I was very happy to find it.

PANEL: How did your expertise in geology aid in your research? Specifically what are some of the similarities between doing that type of research and historical research and what are some of the things that are very different?

DK: They are probably more different than similar. From the basic point of view, what I did in my analysis, probably would not have been done by a person who did not have a geological background. Maybe that was one of the problems, initially, that the people who were writing about Douglas Houghton, Henry Schoolcraft, and others, did not have the background that would alert them to the things that I was able to see. My background in that sense helped. As far as doing history, I think the actual doing of it is really quite different from doing scientific research. Primarily in that it is more nuanced and the answers are not as simple and clear. That is something I think you learn by doing. I have no formal background in history at all but I was interested in doing it. I largely felt my own way through it. I hope it turned out well although my interest in history continues. It's much more of an art than a science. It's something that you have to have sensitivities to that you don't necessarily have in scientific investigations. The practice of doing it is the best way of learning it.

PANEL: What were some of the more interesting things that you discovered about Houghton, Schoolcraft, and Jackson?

DK: The biggest one was that the story was wrong basically. The secondary part of that, and this is something I would also alert people to, don't be hesitant to look for deeper implications in even what may seem very local at the time. When I started out, I was doing nothing more than I thought a history of what happened in a certain portion of the UP. What I discovered is what was happening there is in fact a reflection of issues that were much broader than that and actually applied to the entire country. In particular, I realized I could view Houghton, Schoolcraft, and Jackson as local reflections of a change that was occurring in science in America. The armatures were fading away and the professionals were moving in and that phenomenon, which involved the whole country, was in fact represented in those three individuals in that particular setting. In other words, I could read broader historical issues in what at the surface looks very very local. That's another thing I would encourage in people. If you are thinking about doing history be open to the possibility that what you see is a reflection of bigger and more far reaching issues. That is probably the most significant thing that I discovered. What it amounted to is the new professional class of scientists did not understand the geology of this district and the local uneducated people did understand it. That was an eye opener to me too.

PANEL: Having said that, in your opinion, which of the three have the most significant impact on mining and the Keweenaw?

DK: There would be no question that the answer would be Douglas Houghton. Simply because he had the national reputation, he wrote reports, and attracted people here. So there is no doubt that Houghton is the most influential of the three. It was largely his influence that led to what we would call the copper rush. It is also true that of the three, he understood what was going in the geology the least. In spite of the fact that he was our state geologist. That is not in any way to put him down. It is simply to point out that you can be very influential and yet have others discover what is really going on in an area, like in this case, the Keewenaw.

PANEL: That is what you would consider to be what you found most interesting about doing your research was that Houghton was so misunderstood?

DK: Yes. That is the biggest single thing I found on that. But of course that is one episode. Then you have to go on to other things as well. At least of the part that I did, that was the most interesting thing.

PANEL: In writing your book, who was your main target audience? What did you want them to take away from your book?

DK: I hope a new understanding. I think any historian's objective is in the final analysis to help people understand the past. To understand the past you have to understand it as accurately as we can. What we discovered in this case at least was that there was a big piece of that puzzle that people had not understood. Once again, my book or my research is not the final answer on anything, but it's one step in the direction of, hopefully, a more accurate picture of what went on up here in the Upper Peninsula.

PANEL: Considering that it took basically two completely separate areas or schools of researching to do the projects that you've done, what advice would you give someone who was going to tackle a project like your book?

DK: When you are planning on doing historical research, there are two dangers. One is not to plan what you are going to do well enough. The other is to plan too well, what you intend to do. You obviously have to have a plan of attack to begin, but the most interesting parts you discover will be things you hadn't even thought of when you started out. Research has a way of shifting and changing and moving, and you should be sensitive to what the documents you run into are telling you. If they suggest a path that you may not have considered going down, at least investigate the possibility of going in that direction. Also, don't assume that just because someone has done it, that everything is accurate and correct. You would be amazed at the number of writings you can encounter in which dates are wrong, names are wrong, and sometimes that can be critical. I remember one instance where a date was wrong by about two years, but it completely reversed the conclusion that the previous writer had drawn. He had influence going in one direction, the influence actually went in the other direction just by the changing of that one date. So you have to be sensitive to things like that, but the biggest one is you have to be open to the possibility that your research may take you in directions that you weren't thinking about originally. This happens repeatedly. I wonder if I could relate an incident that's not directly connected to what I did before. Last year, I went through Tom's museum, and I was watching a video and they were talking about Italian Fraternal organizations.

There appeared on the screen an image on a pamphlet on an organization called the Jiodordonal Bruno Society. That hit me because of my astronomy background. Jiordonal Bruno was a famous figure. He was burned at the stake by the Roman church in 1600 and that was just before the Galileo affair. That was one of the defining events of the Western Civilization and here in the Iron Museum in the Upper Peninsula I see this. What is Jiordonal Bruno's name doing on that slide here? I talked to professor Magnaghi and he gave me the name of a professor in Minnesota who I emailed. He started telling me about something never dreamed existed and that was radical Italian free thinkers. I thought Italians were all loyal sons and daughters of the church. It turns out there's a whole tradition of radical thought. Jiordonal Bruno became a hero to many of these people. Here is a subject that begs for historical research. Somebody could take that topic and write a Master's Dissertation on it. It came up only because I saw one slide and it rang a bell in the back of my mind. You never know when interesting historical opportunities will come up. Incidentally, I'm hoping to chase that one down myself. This type of thing is lurking all over the place. This summer I went to Bay View, which is a Victorian camp in the Lower Peninsula. It's a landmark. I went there because some friends had a cottage there. There's a little history line. I opened it up and found out that one of the founders of Bay View is a man named Sam Napp. It turns out I had written about Sam Napp in my book. He in fact opened the Minnesota Mine up in the Keewenaw, one of the first really prosperous copper mines opened in that area. Could it be? It turns out it's the same Sam Nap who left the Keewenaw, went to his home in Jackson, became a prosperous citizen of Jackson, and the founder of this now National Historic Monument just outside of Petosky. There's a story begging to be written, and I wouldn't have given that a thought. These sorts of things are all over if we can be sensitive to them. I would strongly recommend just think about these things as you're looking at the world and reading. The opportunities are there to write some real significant history in many areas.

PANEL: Are you planning on writing another book about some aspect of the UP? If so, what would it be on?

DK: What really needs to be written is a book on Alexander Agassi. Agassi was the president for forty years of Calumet and ?. I have often thought of a biography of Agassi. However, a prominent national historian was writing his own biography of Agassi and, therefore, you don't tread on his toes until his book comes out. That book has been coming out for at least 15 years now. Its always "next year" and it's still not here. He's 87. I should have started. Different books on the same subject I am sure can be useful. There are different perspectives on everything. I have no plans for anything further at the moment. Although, little areas such as the Bruno thing, I think about. But I am getting old. I will leave it to the younger ones I guess.

PANEL: When you were researching the more historical side, did you find it difficult to do oral interviews?

DK: Well remember that everybody I wrote about is long dead. So oral interviews were never a part of what I was doing. I have never been a part of oral history. Oral history is a big thing these days... Dates, names, and events... all we have to do is to think in our own lives of how we are capable of viewing our past in ways that make us feel good about what we did in the past. Oral historians have to be very sensitive to the fact that what you are hearing is not history. It is

a perspective on history and to the degree to which you can do it, much of what you hear must be checked. Dates especially but even events. They get telescoped in time and they make more sense in recollection than they really did when they * TAPE CUTS OFF *

RM: I would like to welcome you to the Sonderegger Symposium, the afternoon session. We had a session this morning, sort of conversations with historians that was very enlightening. Everybody enjoyed it. This afternoon we are going to be looking at composites of characters that settled the UP. At the end of the Symposium, it is not on the program, there is going to be a reception that you all are invited too. It will be right out here. We also have a guest book that you should sign, especially if you want to get additional announcements and information connected with the Center for UP Studies. The center for the UP studies was created by the board of controls several years ago. We have various projects that we put on. Usually classes related to UP studies. We have had folklore and ? history. A number of topics that didn't produce over the years and have been available to the public. This is the first symposium that we are putting on. Before I go any further, I guess I should introduce myself. I am Russ Magnaghi, the director of the center. Most of you probably know who I am but some of you don't. This afternoon we will move on to the composite studies. I would like to introduce Dr. Terry Seethoff, the dean of the college of Arts & Sciences.

TS: Thank you Russ. It is a pleasure to extend a welcome on behalf of the college of arts and sciences and the whole university for all of you who have come out this fine afternoon. This symposium is a result of a generous gift Mrs. Marion Sonderegger. When Russ asked me to provide a few minutes of remarks and greetings I began thinking of the value of that gift and the sort of long term benefit that is going to provide to those of use who are very much so interested in the history of the UP. I think of it as the striking of a match to start a bonfire. The wisdom and the thoughtfulness of this very generous gift, which as you can see this afternoon, is bearing great fruit. We expect the annual Sonderegger symposium to bring us together. I just want to offer my heart felt thanks to Mrs. Sonderegger and the family for their generosity. This is a wonderful gift to the University. I want to especially thank Dr. Russ Magnaghi for his leadership in the center of the UP studies and the great help he has been given in this event. Through the good work of Stephanie Russo, Jim Laffry, and the folks in the college office so thanks to them as well. I also want to thank all of you who have come from afar to join us this afternoon, to be part of the presentation, or to be speakers. In addition to faculty from Northern, we have folks from Henry Ford Community College, Lawrence Tech, Michigan State University, and the Michigan Iron Industry museum. Your participation here this afternoon is very much welcomed and I thank you all for coming. Russ suggested the theme for the presentations this afternoon. I think we get to go just as soon as I thank you one last time. Again, welcome.

RM: The first speaker is Dr. John Anderton from the department of geography here on campus. He has been doing a lot of work on the environment and the role of Indians and the use of fire in the UP. This is a topic that is kind of a new topic in a realm of the environment. We will be getting some insights into this with John's presentation.

JA: I was asked to present a composite. This is a very new way of looking at things. It combines history and environmental studies. At this point, what you will see is probably going to be a little different from some of the other speakers. I want to show you what I have been

working on for the last few years and that is looking at the record of fire and the history of Native American use of the landscape. It comes about from recognition that native people did have an influence on landscapes. Traditionally we have often thought about Native Americans being almost invisible and not having much impact of being environmentalists of some sort and not actually impacting their landscape but changing their landscape. In the last 10 or 15 years, we are realizing that that is not true. We are realizing by looking at historic records and from physical evidence. To use historic records and ethnographic records you can document that Native Americans did use fire for domestic purposes for cooking, heating, and drive animals. They were also using fire to modify habitat and to communicate with each other. The other part of this is trying to actually find physical evidence. This crosses the gap to the natural sciences. Biologists and ecologists, they don't always take historic records as gospel truth. They tend to want to see some physical evidence. That is what I have been able to find. In many cases, it's hard to get historic documents and other evidence and then also find physical evidence for those occurrences. Here in the UP we're finding evidence for Native American influences through the use of fire. It's not everywhere. It is a subtle impact, but the places where we find it are red pine patches. These are typically coastal patches near the Great Lakes. This red pine patch on Grand Island is typical of the habitat where you can find evidence of fire. You might be wondering where the evidence is. It's down at the base of the trees. Maybe you've noticed these as you're walking about. If you go into these patches, and there are hundreds in the upper Great Lakes, if you look carefully now and then you will find an old pine tree. Most of these areas were cut, so it's rare to find them. They are typically 200-400 years old. They go back to the time when the land was Native American landscape. Down at the base of the trees is where the physical evidence is. These are fire scars. These red arrows are showing multiple fire scars. If you look down inside at the base of these trees, they record a fire, actually 5 fires that have come through. This is a tree that is out on Grand Island and it's a very nice representative of what you can find in these pine patches. In many cases if you do find fire scars they might not be on a living tree. It might be on a stump of a tree that was cut during the logging era, which is really nice for sampling because you can take a chain saw and take a section of the stump. That allows you to actually look at the fire scars. We've been finding this evidence, we being the U.S. Geological Survey and the Biological Resources Division, and we've been able to find evidence of fires in pine patches pretty much across the northern Lake Michigan basin, into Lake Huron, along the south shore of Lake Superior as well. These little yellow dots show where there is fire evidence. This is the typical setting of these pine patches. It's a low sandy beach ridge setting. I'm sure many of you have been in these settings. It's rolling ridges of sand with primarily all red pine. They are surrounded by hardwood forests. This is an important aspect. It's very hard for fire to spread into these places. The hardwood forests burn, but not very regularly. The fire evidence we found suggests a lot of fires in these pine patches. So fires aren't spreading in, and they're typically not very big, under 600 acres usually, so it's very hard to get a lot of lightning strikes in these places. It's difficult to explain this fire record. Here's a section of a pine stump and the fire scars show right up. These are low fires near the ground probably just burning off the pine needles. It's enough to scar and burn through the bark on the pine trees. The tree had to heal around it. That's what created this little black line that you see in these sections. It's a simple matter of counting the tree rings in between the scars and you can find out how regularly these patches burned. This is the full record. We looked at 39 different patches. These symbols represent fire scars. What we did was pick out a representative tree or stump and count its rings and link it to calendar years. What we found was a lot of fires. Some pine patches burned every

5 years in some cases. Typically it's been every 5-20 years. That starts to come to an end after 1910. We go into a transitional period. It coincides with the time that a lot of these patches were cut for the timber. It also coincides with the major social changes that were taking place in the upper Great Lakes. After about 1925 we don't find anymore of these scars. One of the reasons is those big trees have been cut. I think there are Native American influences here. This is a representative of the people in this region. They were the people using the landscape. They had a very unique system of rounds where they would move from resource to resource. One of the resources was in these very patches. I've attempted to find out what was going on in these patches by using archival information. I've looked at ethnographic studies, historical maps, historical accounts, and I've also found a few oral histories. Charles Henney was on the Houghton Expedition and he camped in some of these pine patches. He talks of them as if they were a park. Giant trees planted very far apart. Often you'll see the term grove used. It was the very open nature of these forests. This indicates that fire was very common in there. Historic maps are filled with indication of these areas being burned. You'll see burnt written on the maps. Burnt land, burnt openings, burnt pine planes, these are common references. Large areas, in some cases entire townships were burnt. What those surveyors were seeing in the 1840s was a landscape that was still under Native American influences. In fact right here in Marquette we had a pine patch, there's no indication of burning on the map, but there are fire scars on the very old pine trees that are still there from the original patch. If you want to go and look they are at the Tourist Park. Some of the early travelers actually saw fire. David Thompson came through the Keewenaw in the late 1700s and had to pull up the canoe because it was too smoky. He makes it sound like the whole place was on fire. Why would Native Americans burn these places? They had a very strong emphasis on the gathering of plant foods, especially berries. These areas were covered with blueberries. They were a major food resource during the late summer for these people. In fact they had a moon named after the blueberry. If you have been involved in picking blueberries at all, you know the connection with fire. If you burn these areas there is usually very good blueberry picking afterwards for several years. It's actually been proven that light fires will improve the density of the plants, they spread out and are more healthy, and you get more fruit from these fires. I think Native American people knew this and used it to their advantage. So I tried to document that native people were using these areas. Here's something from Colonel Woodles in the 1880s who I think lived in Marquette for a while. He recorded people picking berries in the Wisconsin/Minnesota territory, along the shore of Lake Superior. Ethnographic evidence is also an indicator. Francis Densmore was an early ethnographer in Minnesota and she suggested that vegetable products and fish were more important than animal products and deer. In fact berries were part of every meal. She also recorded that this was something that was done by women. There is a gender connection with the use of the landscape. I was also able to find a few oral histories. These are very rare. Jenny Madson was born in about 1897 in the eastern UP and she lived right next to one of these giant blueberry patches. She recorded Native American people coming over from Cross Village. They would sail across, pick the berries in these patches, and then before they left they would actually burn the patch. They'd set the fire so the area would burn over and be more productive the following year. They probably did not burn it every year, but Jenny's recognition was that it was set on fire. Even in the Marquette area I found another oral history from Esther Bistrom. She gave an oral history to Kenyan Boyer back in the 60s when he had the radio program. She said that each Indian family would migrate to their own private blueberry patches. These patches were probably owned by families and were probably maintained by elderly women. She

remarked that the picking was awful now because they weren't burning it anymore. There was a lack of controlled burning. So what we're seeing here is a portion of the adaptation that Native American people had. The Chippewa, Ojibwa, today we refer to them as the Anishinaabe people. They had an adaptation to the forests and lakes that involved spending the summers at a village. All the bands would gather together at individual villages. There was a Grand Island band and a Keewenaw Bay band, and each band had a central summer village that they would gather at. They'd spend the summer fishing, gathering plants and berries, and in the fall they'd fish and then break up into individual family units and go into the interior and spend the winter hunting and trapping. In the spring they'd gather in small groups to make maple syrup. Then they'd start coming back out to these villages. So what we're seeing is evidence of the use of fire to maintain a resource collecting localities, particularly where berries were collected. There were individual families and each major family had their own patch which they were responsible for taking care of. The way to take care of it was by controlled burning. The elderly women had control of this. They were the repository of knowledge. They knew when to burn these places, and passed it on to their daughters and daughter-in-laws. The fire chronology that we see in these patches is by intentional burning. It's very hard to explain it through lightning strikes and fires spreading in. It's not to say that it didn't happen, but there are so many fires and so much evidence that it has to be human influence. The maps and descriptions describe fire maintained ecosystems. The various sources point to Native American use of the forest as blueberry patches and they were burned to improve berry production. After 1910 this fire regime comes to a drastic end. It signals the end of Native American burning practices. This is the time when the patches get cut and harvested, and non-native people really take control over much of the Great Lakes. It becomes illegal for native people to burn. I did find one indication from the records in the forest service of native people being told not to burn their patches in the eastern UP or they'd be arrested because there was a drought and they were afraid of fires. That caused huge economic hardship for one of the Sault Saint Marie bands in the 1930s. My advice to people looking at the landscape, whether you're a land manager or an ecologist, or an environmental historian, is to recognize the influence of native people. We often think they are invisible, but they did have a subtle effect, in some cases much more subtle like fire scars, in other places it may be much more obvious, but we do see a signal from the past.

RM: Our next speaker is Dr. Keith Widder. He's with the Michigan State University Press today, however for many years he worked at Mackinaw Island for the Mackinaw Island State Park Commission. He's produced many of those nice books dealing with the people of Mackinaw. His position is that the story of Mackinaw is a larger story than merely the island or straits area, but it involves much of the Upper Peninsula and even beyond. Today his presentation is going to focus on a group of people that covered a lot of this area, the Metis people of the upper Great Lakes area.

KW: I'd like to spend the next few minutes first giving an introduction of the Metis people. Then I'll take a look at one family, as an illustration, as to how the Metis as a group of people came into being and evolved. Finally I'll take a few minutes at the end to outline some of the choices that a Metis person had as they shaped their worldview and culture. The Metis were a people who drew upon both Native American and European heritage. They evolved over time from the middle to late 17th Century to the 19th Century from marriage and unions that occurred when French explorers and traders came into the region and formed relationships with Native

American women. The children that were born to these unions would have a dual heritage on which to draw. By the 1820s we see that the Metis families that came into being were the result of some very strong and enduring relationships. These were people then who drew upon Chippewa, Ottawa, French Canadian, British, and American heritages. I think the best way of trying to view the Metis in a composite way is to look at the family, and I will do that in just a minute. But a couple more points to keep in mind as we look at the Metis as a people. The geographical setting in which I'm seeing these people living really include the Upper Peninsula of Michigan and much of Northern Wisconsin and Northern Minnesota. The way the people of the region made their living revolved around the fur trade. We usually think of the fur trade as an economic system—the exchange of furs for goods, but it was really much more than that, and to really understand the fur trade, we need to see the fur trade also as a social system and a whole system of kin networks and kinship relationships that tied people together. These were really primarily kin relationships with in the Native American communities of which the traders married into. Within the fur trade itself, there was a hierarchy, particularly among the men, and their families would be in this hierarchy. At the top of the hierarchy were the traders, those men who oversaw operations at a number of posts, clerks who oversaw the operations of a particular post, and they would be assisted by underclerks, there were some men who had the position of runner, which really meant they served as captains or crewleaders on canoes and battol, and then the voyager and the boatmen. The further down you go in this hierarchy; the tendency would be that for the children in the Metis family would be much more closely plugged into the family of their mothers, into the native family. Also, keep in mind that over this span of time from say 1660 up to the 1830s, there was a change in the presence of the European power or imperial power, who are asserting influence, trying to assert control and even sovereignty over the region from French, French Canadian, following the conquest of Canada in 1760, we have the British, and after the War of 1812, really not until after 1815, the American state, the United States asserts its influence and ultimately its sovereignty over that. The Metis family that I will be sharing with you will demonstrate this. And also keep in mind that this is a time throughout this whole period of an expanding world market, which the people in this region are drawn into it as they participate in the trade, and by the 1820s, there's an expanding American market and an expanding American nation to which the Metis have to relate to. By 1820, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois are states, Michigan will become a state in 1837, Wisconsin in 1848, Minnesota in 1858, and that means that all the parts of what made up the old northwest territory will have been incorporated fully into the new United States, and so that means the American law, American political institutions, the English language, what have you, are all part of what this part of the world is about. The family I want to look at is really the family of William Warren. William Warren was born near the 1820s, and I believe died in about 1849, so he lived a very short life, but a very interesting life, and I'm not going to really go into his life, but go into some of his ancestry. John Baptiste Caddot migrated to the Lake Superior country in 1742, and he worked out of Nipogaun for eight years. He then moved to Sault St. Marie, where he traded for over 50 years. John Baptist Caddot married Affenacy, who was a member of a prominent clan of the Chippewa, or Ojibwa people at this time at the Sault. And as a result, John Baptiste forged connections in a trade network with his wife's people through the fur trade. He built his trading operations on the kin network of his wife's people. At first he traded for French interest, French Canadian interest, and later for British interest. And they had children, and in 1756, the Caddot's brought their children to Michilemackinac for baptism. They brought their daughter Marie Renee to be baptized. At the same time, John Baptiste and Affenacy were married by Father

Marie Louis LaFrank. The children of this marriage were sent to Montreal for a French Canadian education. Caddot is functioning as a trader. He is at the top of his hierarchy. He's not content that his children simply receive an education from their mother's people, but he wants to make sure that they get a French Canadian education, and his wife actually accompanied them to Montreal. And in Montreal, the children were constructed in Roman Catholicism. They learned how to read and to write French, and these were all important skills and beliefs, which they would take back with them when they came to live in the Lake Superior country. Also, Caddot transferred his loyalty from the French to the British, following the arrival of the British in the region in the early 1760s. John Baptiste and Affenacy's son, Michael Caddot, returned to the west after his education in Montreal, and settles at LaPointe at Madeleine Island to the west of here in Lake Superior. Michael Caddot married the daughter of White Crane, a local Chippewa Leader. And Michael, like his father, then built a large trade network through the kin relations and relationships of his wife. He worked for the Northwest Company, a British company. He then passed his own trading enterprise on to the Americans through his daughters in 1821. By 1821 we had the American Fur Company and other American fur traders that were very active in the region of the northwest company which is no longer operating in these parts. His daughters Mary and Charlotte married Liman and Truman Warren. The Warrens were Englishmen who came out here ultimately trading for John Jacob Aster. First they traded for one of Aster's competitors but they assumed Aster's post at LaPointe at Lac du Flambeau and LeCouterie. The Warrens trade for Caddot and ultimately they acquired Caddot's interest and they paved the trade for the American Fur Company. William Warren was the son of Liman Warren and Mary Caddot. We see in this family how the Metis family had William Warren at this time is incorporating a French Canadian heritage, Chippewa, and an American heritage. He is bringing together a multicultural world. We also see in this family how the trade passed on from French Canadian to British and ultimately to American sources. In the few minutes I have left, I would like to identify a few areas of life where a Metis child or man or woman had lots of choice of what would make up their world view and the material world in which they lived. We looked in the area of religion. Someone like William Warren would have been exposed to the religious practices of his mother's people, the Chippewa practices. He would have known about Chippewa beliefs. I am not sure if he went on a vision quest to determine the identity of his guardian spirit. Undoubtedly he knew Chippewa children who had. He would have known of the Mettowan society. It would have been a common practice and common knowledge in the Chippewa community of his mother's people. But he also would have known of Roman Catholicism through both his father and mother. His father was a teacher of Catholicism. Michael Caddot (his grandfather) taught Catholicism and things of Catholicism which they were not receiving unless a priest was present. By the 1820s the Metis children would be exposed to evangelical Protestant Christianity at the mission at Mackinaw Island which was established in 1823 and by American missionaries who started to come into the UP and northern Wisconsin and northern Minnesota. In the world of religion, the religious worldview of a Metis child might draw upon any of these and mix them together. A very complicated setting for them. Take a look at dwellings. The Metis child would have been quite comfortable in the bark or skin covered lodges of his or her mother's people as well as the log houses that their fathers would have built to trade in. They would have been familiar with the preparation of food over that fire in the Indian lodge with the smoke hole in the middle for the smoke to escape or cooking in the fireplace. They might have watched their mother and grandmother do both. The method of passing on leads and information was quite different between the Chippewa world and

the European world. The Chippewa world was largely oral culture of traditions and beliefs were passed on orally. While this was true in the American culture, European American culture relied upon books and the printed word. The religious beliefs came from the bible. Chippewa beliefs were passed on orally, often with the aid of scrolls, but it was a very different way of communicating. In the Metis world, both of these methods and systems were part of their world. The food that the Metis ate and prepared through the Chippewa kin came from hunting, fishing, and gathering. The game, deer, fish, was all part of their life. For those who's father was a trader, they would have watched their father run a small farm growing crops like wheat, corn, and potatoes. Maybe even more dramatic, they used domesticated animals for meat and milk. One other thing I want to point out is to say that the Chippewa had an importance for a communal centered world where an individual practiced hospitality and generosity. They had a greater concern for the community and family as opposed to the increasingly individualistic emphasis of life that the Americans brought with them. This led to conflict between the Europeans and the native people, and for the Metis as well. To conclude I'd like to say that by looking at a family helps give us a better insight on what the Metis culture and way of life was. I would also like to point out that in each individual the mix of all these things was different. You can't really say a Metis person was this. Each individual was different. They were a very complicated people and had many aspect of two and sometimes three cultural heritages. Thank you.

RM: Our third speaker is Dr. David Krause who comes to us from Henry Ford Community College. He also comes with an interesting background, he is a geologists who has gotten into history and his presentation is going to be dealing with some of the early explorers that found the copper and minerals that helped open the UP.

DK: I have a couple of overhead projections that I will use. I would like to say a little bit about what we might call the explorer period in the history of the UP. I would throw out dates of something like 1530-1850. That's the interval of time when the individuals who were coming here were coming for a variety of reasons. I will attempt to argue three points. The first of the three is that the land to which these explorers coming from Europe came was a barrier to what they really wanted, particularly in the early period. Remember 1492, Columbus discovers the new world and to his dying day he never believed that this was a new world. He was convinced he had reached the East. He wanted to go to the East and he could never figure out where the great cities were. This is also true of many of those who followed him. The land was a barrier and they wanted to get through it somehow. That really illuminates a number of things that were going on at this time. We all have heard of the fabled search for the Northwest Passage. They wanted to get through. This is a sketch map of what this new land looked like to the people who were coming here. They didn't know what was beyond it. Here we have our normal east coast but that leads us to our second major point I would like to use to illuminate this period. That is that rivers and lakes were roads. Today we think exactly the opposite. If we can encounter a river today, we build a bridge over it to continue. If we come to a lake, we go around it. Anyone who has ever traveled the road that takes you south of Lake Michigan when you go into Chicago, you know the traffic there because everything in the northern US has to go around that lake. It's a barrier. It was exactly the opposite in the explorer period. These were highways and roads. It was the land you wanted to avoid because you didn't know what was lurking in those trees. You are looking for roads to get through this land. It turns out on the eastern coast of North America

there is a huge river. It is the St Lawrence. The Mississippi is bigger but that of course goes into the Gulf of Mexico. You could bypass that mouth easily. You can't miss the St Lawrence because it is a huge gulf opening up right in here and that, therefore, became, particularly for the French, the means by which they could attempt to get through this barrier that they were facing. Probably the best first example is Cartier who came over here searching for wealth for France. He discovered this huge bay and started sailing into it and recorded that he came upon an exceedingly deep and broad river that he could continue to sail up and eventually made it to a high mountain where there was an Indian village. The Indians took him to the top of that mountain and described for him what lay farther into the interior. The curious thing is that you look at that map, or a map of the Great Lakes, now focusing a little more on this area, and Cartier has come into Montreal and the Native Americans point out to him that there is a better way to go through the interior then following down the river. They described to him what we now know as the Ottawa river which leaves the St Lawrence but heads almost exactly due west. They described to him the fact that they could follow this river, go up some lakes, and would eventually get into a fresh water sea in which no man has ever seen the bounds. This is extremely intriguing, he never got there himself but that became the route followed by later French explorers including Champlaine. He ended up following that route up the Ottawa River down the French River and into the great fresh water sea, Lake Huron. Isn't that curious that Lake Huron is the first of the five great lakes to be discovered by Europeans. Well, they no sooner they get there then they are going to follow the lakes, the highways. Shortly there after, by 1620, Brule ends up following the shoreline, discovered a set of rapids that take him up into another vast great lake, Lake Superior. Those who are here in the UP, those who are interested in it, we always have this inferiority complex about that other part of Michigan down there. This is called the Upper Peninsula. Why the Upper? Because the real one is down there. It's interesting that the age of discovery went exactly the opposite way. This was the primary location up here. One of my favorite quotes from the Black Robes who followed the French explorers, the people like Marquette and Baraga who were so very important to the founding up here. But another one Brasante, when he got back to Paris he published an interesting description of the area that he had seen. I like this because it gets things for Michigan in the proper perspective. He writes this: "There are at least as many as 9 Indian nations one of them being the nation of the Sault or Cascade which we hoped would be a passage to reach other nations farther on. They dwell on a lake larger than the freshwater sea. It's clear what he is talking about here. He wants to go through the Sault into Lake Superior. Then he makes the interesting comment. "Between these lakes there is a peninsula or strip of land which divides this lake from the one below called the Lake of the Stinkers." A brief comment there. We now would call it Lake Michigan. Interestingly enough though that that term was the Lake of the Stinkers. It refers apparently to a name that the Native Americans along Lake Michigan gave to themselves, the people of the water that smells. That evidently was their way of describing salt water as opposed to fresh water. The French apparently felt that these Native Americans were describing themselves as having come from a place that was on a body of salt water originally. You can sense their ears perking up after hearing this and wanting to get through this land. If there's salt water over there that means we're back at the ocean and can head to the real east beyond. It's interesting that much of these early efforts were motivated by the attempt to get through this continent and no where better than this huge river that connects the two huge lakes. Later it is discovered that there is another peninsula down there as well, but we know where the important one is. The third element I would try to argue is the role of the search for minerals at

this time among the explorers. It was motivated in the minds of the French primarily by the fact that the Spanish had taken the southern parts of the New World and found them incredibly rich in gold. The French were very jealous of this. There has to be minerals in the part that we're going into as well. It had a couple of embarrassing results, many of you are probably aware of them. Cartier, when he came over here, found all kinds of gold. Unfortunately he found that there was an adjective in front of that word. It was fools gold. I didn't realize this at first, but he actually packed this stuff up and took it to France, and didn't realize it wasn't real gold. The other was that luckily he found diamonds as well. They turned out to be quartz and gave rise to the expression, "False as a Canadian diamond." The point is that there was a mineral that was there and it was copper. They became aware of it very early, and in fact when Cartier was standing on the top of Montreal, Mt. Royal, and the Native Americans were talking to him, they grabbed a whistle or some other device that he had that had a coppery look, and tried by motions to indicate to him that that metal came from way out there beyond those fresh water seas. This was the theme that the French pursued regularly thereafter. Again, one of my favorite references is in 1610 Champlaign met a Native American chief at Montreal, spoke with him for a while about various Indian wars, and then pulled of his sack a piece of copper about a foot long. He presented it to Champlaign and told him that it came from the bank of a river near a large lake. The amazing thing is that there is a high probability that that was a piece of what later became to be called the Ontonogan Boulder, which was a big chunk of Native copper that lay on the bank of the Ontonogan River and that had to be visited by virtually every explorer that went into Lake Superior for many years after. In 1771 Alexander Henry attempted to set up a mine, but it was not until that country became part of the United States that the real development began to focus. It was still however of an exploration nature. The two big names during the 1800-1850 period were Henry Schoolcraft and Douglas Houghton. In 1820 the Federal Government sponsored an official expedition that Henry Schoolcraft led. It was called the Cass expedition because Cass, the Michigan Territorial Governor was involved in that. They made the obligatory visit to the Ontonogan Boulder and realized this area had real potential for mining. In 1831-2 Schoolcraft made two more expeditions and this time he took an assistant, Douglas Houghton. He shortly thereafter become the first state geologist of Michigan. In 1840 Houghton conducted his own explorations and published a report that led to the 1840s Copper Rush. During that period of time literally hundreds of explorers went to that area and established mining around 1848. One last observation concerning these people. One of the characteristics of the explorer was that they go explore and leave. They're transients. They come and they're gone. However there were a few around 1850 that began to change that. One of them was Filo Everet. He was not only a prominent person here in Marquette, but he is also a transitional explorer. Even those who were founding the mines at that time would come here, get a mine started, the company would get started, and the individual would go back to wherever they came from. Everet was different. He was a copper miner. He was looking not for iron, but for copper. While he was at the Soo someone pointed out to him that there were places with iron as well. Marquette is closer than the Copper Country, we'll give it a try. Many of you probably know that story. He ended up contacting Margie Gesic, the Indian chief who led him to a mountain of copper ore. There he established the Jackson Mine named after his hometown of Jackson. Like many others, he left that mine after only a couple year. He made a decision to not go back to Jackson, he was going to stay. He brought his family up here, settled in Marquette, and began to create a new indiginous American society here. So Everet is an example of that transition from the age of explorers to the age of an American society.

RM: Now I'd like to talk about some of the people that so far everybody has been transient except for Filo Everet. I'd like to talk a little bit about the Yankees that came to the Upper Peninsula, who've been coming here since the colonial period, and I want to encapsulate this as to who these people were. By Yankees, I'm talking about people from New England and from New York State. They will see the Upper Peninsula as a western country and a place of tremendous opportunity. The earliest Yankees are people like Robert Rogers, who was common at Mackinaw for two years, and the explorers Jonathan Carver and Peter Pond. These people are all from Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Connecticut. In the American period there are a number of people that come, but most of them are working for the government in some capacity. There's Richard Cooper, who's father was a Congressman. He's the founder of Cooperstown, NY. He was going to be sent here to lead an expedition to check out the copper mines in 1800. The expedition was cancelled for political reasons, and he was followed by New England Congressmen to check out Mackinaw to find out its importance. We have Joseph Varnam who was a government Indian trader. John Jacob Astor was a German immigrant, but lived in New York and started the American Fur Company, which was so prominent in the Upper Peninsula. Other people like Cass was from New England and Henry Schoolcraft was from New York state. In the early 19th Century there was also a group of missionaries who came to the Upper Peninsula. Reverend David Bacon, Reverend William Ferry, Reverend Able Bingham all operated in the Mackinaw and Soo area and came from New England. There are so many New Englander's that in 1808 Augustus Woodworth, the territorial Governor pointed out in a letter, that the French Canadians called these people that were coming Bostonaise. Everybody that came into the area were called Bostonians. Out in California just a little later all the Americans that went out there were from New England and they were all called Bostonians. You also had in the earlier days, coming from New England, these people weren't too friendly to Catholics and you had an anti Catholic feeling that developed around, for instance, Sault Saint Marie. It seems after people settled on the western frontier and got to know each other, this antagonism ended. As a matter of fact, when Bishop Baraga died in 1868, some 3,000 people attended his funeral. Most of those people were protestant and many from New England. Things had changed quite dramatically in some 30 years. Later on when mining developed, you're going to find most of the people involved in mining are going to be connected with New England for a variety of reasons. Douglas Houghton, for instance, is from New York; Edwin Hulbret, the founder of the Calumet and Hecklay mine, is from Connecticut. All of the other people are New Englanders, or we could call them Yankees. They are going to bring with them their technical expertise. This is extremely important. The population of these Yankees was probably about 10 percent, give or take a few. They were the people that had the expertise. They were the professional people in all of these towns from Sault Saint Marie to Marquette to the Copper Country. They were the people who were the physicians, attorneys, and the technicians who were able to open these mines and develop these mines. They also made up the merchant class. They were the people who had the money to open up general stores. They were the people who had finances and the connections with New England banks. That then brings us to the capital that was needed to develop these mines. Most of that capital will come out of New England and out of Boston and New York City and Philadelphia. Boston remains the heart of that money. One fellow pointed out that the stockholders of Calumet and Hecklay in the late 19th century looked like the passenger list from the Mayflower. There were so many New Englanders were caught up in the finances of the Calumet and Hecklay Company. You are going to find that the

directors, for instance we heard this name, Quincy Shaw was a director of the Calumet and Hecklay Company. He was from New England and his son-in-law, Alexander Aggesis, was the president of Calumet and Hecklay. They were all from New England. I just mentioned one that you probably heard of, William A Payne, founder of the investment house, Payne-Weber. He was a New Englander but he didn't live here on a permanent basis. He came here in the summer time but was a big promoter and investor. Paynesdale in the western UP is named after him. We've heard of Filo Evert and many of these other people are connected with the Marquette area, Amis Harlow, Arrow Barney, Samuel Mathers. Samuel Mathers is from Connecticut and was involved in the creation of the Cleveland Cliffs Iron Company. There were New Englanders that thought farming was great in the UP. At least it was better than it was in New Hampshire and Vermont. You did get some farmers and you did get descriptions that the UP was much better farming land than the New England area. The Sault Saint Marie canal, the technical aspects of it were developed by New Englanders and New Yorkers. The organization and the financing of it all came out of New York State. We get into other areas like the lumber industry. The lumber industry is going to get its expertise, the lingo, capital, and the workforce out of Maine. Many of the people that are involved in the lumber industry are from Maine. You are also going to find that the New Englanders tried to bring in their ideas of the Temperance Movement. They had a lot of trouble there because you had a lot of immigrants who weren't into temperance. There were numerous interesting elections that were held over the years. Usually the wets won out against the dries. So this was one idea that did not settle well for people in the UP coming from New England. Many of the laws for the state of Michigan and the UP are of New England origin. Peter White, who is one of the early pioneers of Marquette, not only came in and developed the area but they got involved in many other things. Things such as commission work, insurance, banking, and real estate. Also you have religion, education, the literary production (the earliest newspaper in the area) is going to be produced by a New Englander, an ancestor of the modern mining journal. A lot of the early books describing the UP and then other writers of UP history in the early 20th century, some of you might know the name Al Vasawyer, who writes 3 volumes on the history of the UP. Obviously dated since it was written in the early 20th century. A lot of these people are of direct New England origin, Yankee origin. I'm leaving out the people that play an important role that come from New England and settle in Ohio and then eventually come to the UP or settle in Wisconsin. In my study, I have left them out. You are going to have a tremendous amount of influence coming out of New England and New York State. I have labeled those people as Yankees. You are going to have a tremendous influence from that area coming into the UP. I think many of you are familiar with these names but they have never been brought together. I put together this study to kind of look at not so much the immigrants but the Americans that come from a particular area and have such an impact on the history of the UP.

RM: The next speaker is Judy Demark. Judy has been studying immigration in the Marquette Iron Range and has focused on the Finnish. Today she is going to present some of her findings to us.

JD: Thank you. I have bibliography if anyone is interested to come and get. This is not for students but for our visitors and it is so nice to see people from the community here. I really appreciate it. I hope you haven't heard a talk quite this similar yet. Before I came up to speak, I handed out a piece of paper to a few of the people I knew and I asked them to write one word or

so describing the Finns in the UP. Since today I am going to talk about the Finnish immigrant and what is a typical immigrant, let's see what people's perceptions are. The first word I have is poor, industrious, tenacious, and I like this description tenacious to the point of stubbornness. The last word is a series of words, a phrase, major immigrant group. When historians talk about immigration to the US, they often use the term "melting pot". The melting pot is the idea that foreign-born immigrants came to this country, became Americanized, assimilated into American culture, and thus became part of the melting pot. When I think of the term melting pot, I'm reminded of a dish I like to make on cold winter nights of which I have found being from Florida, we have plenty of up here. It's called cheese fondue. Actually I am making it tomorrow so it will probably smell. It's made by melting 3 kinds of cheese into hot white wine. Then you have one taste of all the cheeses melted together and they become one flavor. Since we are talking about history in terms of food, let's continue with the analogy. I prefer to think of American immigration history more as a salad bowl. You take various vegetables and put them in a bowl and toss them up, put dressing on it and it doesn't come out tasting like one thing. You have little bits and pieces of the tastes of different vegetables: the lettuce, tomatoes, and cucumbers. I really think that is what American immigration history is like. There is not one typical immigrant. Immigrants came over for many of the same reasons and they had some of the same experiences. For each ethnic group the experience was certainly very different. We have Poles, Italians, Cornish, Irish, Africans, Swedes, Norwegians, and Fins just to name a few here in the Upper Peninsula. They have become Americans, but each group retains some aspects of its culture and that's what makes immigration history so much fun. Today I'm going to be talking about one of those special immigrant groups, the Finnish American. The focus of my talk will be the experience of the Finnish who came to Marquette, and the Marquette Iron range between 1880 and 1920. I decided on this time frame and geographic area because I'm studying these areas and that time 1880-1920 was also the time of the heaviest immigration. There were few Finnish immigrants on the Marquette Iron range prior to 1880, so if you're doing a research paper for Dr. Magnaghi before 1880 on the Finns, you can't use anything on Marquette because I have not found any in the census. In talking to people who do Finnish history, I have found that in the cut over regions there were some Finns in Marquette County, but there were very few. Up in the Keeweenaw there were plenty. I've chosen to focus on the two major towns on the Marquette Iron range, Ishpeming and Negaunee. You can see the Marquette Iron range on this map. Actually it shows three different ranges, the Godovic, and Menominee which is divided into east and west around Florence. That's how I got into immigration history. My husband's father immigrated from Cozenza Collabra, Italy, and he went to Chicago and worked on the railroads. Then he went to Florence, WI in part of the Menominee Range and worked in the Florence County Iron Mine, which isn't too far from Crystal Falls. I have lots of stories from Grandpa DeMark. His name was Solotori Demarko, Sam DeMark. That's not what he was called at Ellis Island, that's what his daughter, the eldest child born in Italy decided when she went to school and didn't want to be different from anybody else. Her name was Raquella Demarko but she changed her name to Rachel DeMark. In 1844 a group of surveyors lead by William Burt discovered iron ore near Teal Lake at what would become the village of Negaunee. In 1855 there were only 12 men living year round at the site of the first community and the first mining operation. The community of Marquette was settled in 1849, but did not grow dramatically until the late 19th Century. Ishpeming and Negaunee had very different settlement patterns however. By 1870 in Negaunee, which only had 12 men in 1855, had 3000 people living there. When I looked at the census, and that is where I got most of my research from was

the manuscript census, the line by line study of people living in a certain community. My numbers disagreed with some of the stuff that has been published because I have gone through line by line. This goes to show students you really shouldn't believe everything you read just because it's been published. You need to go and do some of the work yourself to see whether or not it's accurate. The community of Ishpeming began with several miners and their families living in what is known as the Cleveland location in the late 1840s. By 1870 there were almost 4,000 residents in Ishpeming. The population was mostly due to the influx of people coming from other counties, particularly Europe. They came either with their families or alone. They came to work the iron mines and the supporting industries of a growing area. What was the largest ethnic group on the Marquette Iron Range in 1870 according to the census? Irish. That was the largest group. What I would like to do someday is take down the names of all the people who lived in Ishpeming and Negaunee who are from Ireland in 1870. Then go out to the Copper Mines in Montana and try to follow those people up because I really believe the Irish believed that they didn't like underground mining. They liked open pit mining, and once the underground mining started, the Cornish were the experts. They were the ones who were the mine captains and certainly were the largest group for a long time. The Irish I think followed the copper mining out to Montana. I've stopped a couple times and it seems like there's a real Irish heritage in Montana. By 1900, the largest group on the Marquette Iron Range was, though, the group that I'm going to speak about today, the Finnish immigrant. Why did so many Finnish immigrate from Finland in those years and why did so many Finnish people come to the Marquette Iron Range? Well, historians talk about two factors in American immigration history, the push/pull factors. Push factors are those factors that push a person out of their country, and pull are the factors that cause a person to be pulled to a certain area. Why didn't the Fins go to Brazil? There was mining down there, certainly. The key to understanding why most people came to the United States, and why, in turn, so many Fins came to the Marquette Iron Range is economics. Conditions generally have to be pretty bad for people to want to uproot themselves from all they know, and all the people they know, and head to a new land. There were several economic problems in Finland in the 19th century—not the least of which was the famine of 1866, which lasted for two years and caused many, many hardships in Finland. There were other reasons also, such as the compulsory military service, which was inactive in Finland in 1878, and political persecution by the Russian czars. The question to ask is why Fins and other Europeans came to the United States because in the post Civil War years, after 1865, the United States was rapidly industrializing, and there were jobs to be had, and economics is always the biggest pull. Where can you get a job? Where can you get land? In an interview conducted by the Marquette County Historical Society Museum, and they did this back for their exhibit on immigration history, Finnish American Julia Koski of Humbolt, Michigan was asked why her parents Peter Koski and Britta Congus, came to America. She said, "You could pick gold from the streets here," and that's what many people in Europe thought about.