

CULTURAL RESOURCES ON ISLE ROYALE NATIONAL PARK:
AN HISTORIC CONTEXT

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Scarpino, Context for Isle Royale

I respectfully dedicate this context study to the memory of Clara Sivertson and Enar Strom, both of whom taught me a great deal about life on Isle Royale.

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A number of Park Service personnel associated with Isle Royale made contributions that moved this project forward. The Superintendent of Isle Royale National Park, Phyllis Green, provided support in the form of quarters on the Island, staff assistance, and considerable "boat time." During my first trip to the Island hastily arranged over a long Labor Day weekend in 2006, David Newland, Environmental Compliance Specialist, and Kyle McDowell, Park Ranger, transported me and Donald Stevens around much of the coastal line of Isle Royale. Newland had written a Master's thesis about Isle Royale, and he shared his knowledge freely. McDowell was a master navigator who handled the Lorelei deftly and knew the tricky coast of Isle Royale like the "back of his hand."

On my second and third trips to Isle Royale National Park in the summers of 2007 and 2008, Liz Valencia, Chief, Interpretation and Cultural Resources, provided significant and invaluable assistance. She is the keeper of the Park's archives in Houghton, Michigan, and on Isle Royale at the seasonal headquarters on Mott Island. Her grasp of those records proved very helpful in making the best use of the limited time available for primary research. She also made most of the arrangements for my transportation and lodging during two trips to the Park and showed me the "tricks" for ordering and transporting groceries to the Island. In July and August 2007, she guided me through many days of field work on land and on the water. What she knows about the cultural resources on Isle Royale is little short of amazing; I learned a great deal from her. Having now spent much time on the waters of Lake Superior in various types of boats, I came to admire and trust her navigation skills. I am most grateful for the time and knowledge that Liz Valencia contributed to the field work and research associated with this context.

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I very much appreciate the time and the insights provided by the individuals with whom I conducted oral history interviews for this project: Jim Anderson, former fisherman, and his daughter, Carla Anderson, recorded at their family cabin, Johnson Island, Isle Royale National Park, July 2007; Clara Sivertson (deceased), member of a fishing family, holder of a commercial fishing license, recorded in Duluth, Minnesota, January 2008; Richard Edwards, life lease holder, recorded at his home in Ann Arbor, Michigan, May 2008; Laurie Snell, life lease holder, recorded in his office on the campus of Dartmouth College, Hanover, New Hampshire, June 2008; Mark Rude, former fisherman from Fisherman's Home, recorded on Isle Royale, July 2008; Stuart Sivertson, former fisherman, member of a fishing and summer family, recorded on Isle Royale, July 2008; Thomas Gale, co-author of Isle Royale: A Photographic History and son of life lease holder, recorded on Isle Royale, July 2008; Sally and Jack Orsborn, life lease holders, recorded at their family cabin on Captain Kidd Island, Isle Royale National Park July 2008.

Scarpino, Context for Isle Royale

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Samuel Scarpino helped track down science-related sources and crafted a preliminary, but insightful and suggestive, model of the growth of the moose population on Isle Royale in the early twentieth century.

James A. Glass, Director, Indiana Division of Historic Preservation and Archaeology, carved time from a busy schedule to review with me key elements of federal historic preservation policy.

My wife, Virginia Garner, accompanied me on my first field trip to Isle Royale and helped me think through initial impressions of the cultural resources on the Island. She devoted time to solving numerous computer-related formatting problems, listened patiently and commented as I worked through the analysis, and gracefully put up with the hours of evening and weekend labor that went into the research and writing and revising of this context.

My hope is that I have written a useful, interpretive framework for evaluating the significance of surviving cultural resources on Isle Royale National Park, as well as planning for their evaluation, registration, preservation, and use. Much credit goes to all of those who provided assistance. The interpretation and the conclusions, as well as any oversights, errors, or omissions belong to me.

Philip V. Scarpino
Indianapolis, Indiana
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Summary and Purpose

The Project Abstract on the cover sheet of the “Great Lakes Northern Forest Cooperative Ecosystem Studies Unit Task Agreement” offers the following summary of the purpose of this report:

The study will produce a historic context study of the cultural resources associated with the multiple themes of the history of Isle Royale National Park such as Native American and Euro-American mining, navigation and lighthouses, commercial fishing, and the recreation cabin and resort history of the early twentieth century. The study will provide park management with baseline data to help plan the preservation and interpretation of these historic properties.

The “Scope of Work” reinforces this emphasis by stating:

This project will produce a historic context study that is a synthesis of secondary information. It will result in a historical essay and use the existing information to place known cultural resources in a useful historical framework for evaluating how they relate and fit together thematically, geographically, and over time. It will do this in a holistic approach involving all types of cultural resources at Isle Royale and examine their significance within a local, regional, and national context.

The key phrase in the Abstract and Scope of Work is “historic context study.” As employed by the National Park Service, a historic context creates the framework that makes it possible to establish the significance of cultural resources. Historic contexts are also fundamental building blocks of resource-based historic preservation planning.

The task is not to write an original history of Isle Royale; indeed, that has already been done. The task is to create a framework for assessing the significance of surviving cultural resources. As called for in the “Scope of Work,” most of the research for this context came from a reading of published sources and unpublished “gray” literature. The author did carry out considerable field work on Isle Royale and conducted limited research in collections of primary, unpublished, sources in the archival holdings of Isle Royale National Park located at the Park’s landside headquarters in Houghton, Michigan.¹ Research already completed at the United States National Archives in College Park, Maryland, and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, informed the analysis of Great Lakes fisheries. The author also recorded several oral history interviews with individuals who are familiar with the fishing and recreational history of the Island in Duluth, Minnesota; Ann Arbor, Michigan; Hanover, New Hampshire; and on Isle Royale.² These interviews added depth and a variety of first-person perspectives to the overall analysis of the meaning of place over time on Isle Royale.

A number of sources shed light on the historical relationship between people and Isle Royale. The most recent and complete synthesis of the history of Isle Royale is Theodore J. Karamanski and Richard Zeitlin, Narrative History of Isle Royale National Park (1988). The authors undertook considerable research in primary materials, and they read most of the published studies that existed as of 1988. Timothy Cochrane's Minong: The Good Place – Ojibwe and Isle Royale (2009) offers a carefully researched and persuasively argued analysis of the long-term, historical relationship between the Ojibwe people and Isle Royale. Caven P. Clark's Archaeological Survey and Testing at Isle Royale National Park, 1987-1990 Seasons (1995) provides important insight into the patterns of prehistorical use of Isle Royale, as well as historical activities such as commercial mining where all of the surviving cultural resources are archaeological. Also helpful is a PhD dissertation defended in 1978 at the University of Toledo, John J. Little, Isle Royale Wilderness: A History of Isle Royale National Park. Professor Lawrence Rakestraw's Historic Mining on Isle Royale (1965) and Commercial Mining on Isle Royale, 1800-1967 (1968) are brief, somewhat dated, but useful historical works covering those aspects of the Island's history. Thomas P. Gale and Kendra L. Gale co-authored an excellent volume, Isle Royale: A Photographic History (1995).³ Although these authors' research designs do not necessarily emphasize human impact on the face of the land, their work reveals how profoundly people's actions have remade the landscape of Isle Royale and transformed it into a "historical" wilderness.

Cultural resources are the physical objects and structures from the past; the material legacy of human activities on Isle Royale. "Cultural" is the defining word in the phrase. Culture is in large part the behavior, the life ways, of a particular group of people that rests on a foundation of shared attitudes and values. The objects and structures that people create are products of their culture. They also frequently exist in a symbiotic relationship with that culture, becoming incorporated into the group's way of life. An essential part of the context for resources like summer cabins and fishery camps derives from their incorporation into the life ways of the people who have used (and continue to use) them. Their significance is directly related to their active use.

Cultural resources are one manifestation of human material culture, which is a term often used by archaeologists and museum curators to describe the material remnants of human culture. The best definition of material culture was coined by an archaeologist, James Deetz: "That portion of man's physical environment purposely transformed by him according to culturally dictated plans." Deetz's deceptively simple definition opens the door to a complex and sophisticated examination of the relationship between people and their surroundings, including nature and the natural world. Human beings, like most other living organisms, modify their surroundings to better suit their needs.⁴ People undertake this modification based upon the attitudes and values embedded in their cultures. By the early twenty-first century, there were very few

places on the surface of the Earth that had not been so modified as to meet Deetz's definition of material culture.

Rooted in the overlapping fields of environmental history, material culture, and historic preservation, this study will argue that Isle Royale itself is as much a human artifact as it is a natural place. Hundreds of years of human activity have shaped and reshaped the Island, so that Isle Royale National Park as it exists in the present is a cultural landscape or a human artifact intimately integrated into a natural system. Those portions of the Island set aside as wilderness most definitely meet Deetz's definition of "that portion of man's physical environment purposely transformed by him according to culturally dictated plans."

The "environment" of Isle Royale in the present is a product of the interplay between people and nature over an extended period of time, starting with transient occupation by Native Americans seeking nearly pure outcroppings of copper; continuing with the exploitation of furs, fish, copper, and timber from the early nineteenth century through the mid-twentieth century; and culminating with increasing emphasis on recreation and wilderness from the late nineteenth century through the early twenty-first century. It is that long trajectory of history that provides the context for assessing the significance of the surviving cultural resources on Isle Royale National Park and that argues for integrated planning for, and preservation of, cultural resources and wilderness on the Island.

Historic contexts offer more than a traditional narrative history because they link historical process and themes to surviving cultural resources. Cultural resources on Isle Royale exist at a moving fault line between nature and culture. Asking and answering good historical questions can assist with assigning meaning and forging a link between historic contexts and comprehensive plans. On Isle Royale what is the relationship between human and natural history, between wilderness and cultural resources? Why preserve? What to preserve? To what end? When incorporated into a larger planning process, historic contexts can help managers make decisions that are consistent, understandable, and fair in an environment characterized by strongly held and often conflicting opinions about the highest and best uses for natural and cultural resources. In the words of the original project abstract: "The study will provide park management with baseline data to help plan the preservation and interpretation of these historic properties."

Introduction: Isle Royale

On August 11, 1998, The Detroit News published an article titled, "The Campaign to Preserve Isle Royale," which summarized the founding of Isle Royale National Park and the pivotal role played by Albert Stoll, a conservation columnist for the News, in the establishment of the park.⁵ Stoll was one of the key players in creating both the public constituency and the political will that resulted in Congress passing legislation early in 1931 that designated Isle Royale

as a National Park. The Crampton-Vandenberg Act authorized the Secretary of the Interior to develop a new national park. Issues related to private land claims proved thorny, and the legacy of the ways in which the National Park Service settled and administered those claims remains a major challenge associated with managing Isle Royale in the present. By April 3, 1940, the National Park Service had acquired a sufficient amount of private land and officially declared establishment of Isle Royale as a national park. Given the crisis of World War II, dedication took place August 27, 1946. Albert Stoll was among the dignitaries present for the ceremony. A bronze plaque alongside a heavily used wilderness trail on Scoville Point commemorates Stoll's contributions to the creation of Isle Royale National Park.⁶

The author of the August 1998 article in The Detroit News, lead with a description of the Island and a historical summary of the threats that prompted Stoll to become interested in saving Isle Royale:

Isolated by miles of water, the islands remained virtually untouched in the 300 years since French explorer Etienne Anto Brule stumbled across them in the early seventeenth century.

But by 1920, virtually all of Michigan's native white pine forests had been cut down, and copper and iron mines dotted much of the Upper Peninsula. The islands - particularly the 210-square-mile main island of Isle Royale - were attracting lumber and mining companies hungry for new resources to tap.⁷

These few lines draw together and repeat a common blend of fact and myth that surrounds the history of Isle Royale. It is absolutely true that the rapid and wasteful harvest of the pine forests of the Great Lakes states caught the attention of many Americans and helped persuade them that natural resources were not without limit and that active conservation and even government protection was necessary to save what was left. Likewise, copper and iron mines "dotted much of the Upper Peninsula," while the Mesabi Range in northeastern Minnesota produced vast quantities of iron ore, much of which was shipped on freighters across Lake Superior to mills such as US Steel at the southern end of Lake Michigan.

During the first third of the twentieth century actual or potential resource exploitation presented a very real threat to the qualities that recreationists, outdoor enthusiasts, and wilderness advocates prized about Isle Royale. (This pattern of events on Isle Royale was part of a much larger, nation-wide conservation movement, one manifestation of which was the decades-long struggle that produced the Boundary Waters Canoe area of Superior National Forest in northern Minnesota.)⁸ In the 1920s, summer cabins, several hotels, and numerous fishing camps dotted coastal locations on Isle Royale, but most of the land on the Island was owned by a variety of mining companies. Detroit-based Chippewa Cedar and Spruce Company bought 4,750 acres and began logging operations in 1910. In 1922, summer residents of Isle Royale found out

that the Island Copper Company, the largest property holder on the Island, planned to sell 65,000 acres to the Minnesota Forest Products Company, which intended to begin large-scale cutting of pulp wood on Isle Royale. Summer residents organized themselves into the Citizens Committee of Isle Royale to oppose such threats. The Citizens Committee dispatched a request that the Island be designated a state game and timber reserve to John Baird, Director of the Michigan Conservation Department. Baird forwarded their petition to Albert Stoll, outdoor editor of the Detroit News. Stoll visited Isle Royale in September 1921, accompanied by David Jones, Michigan Conservation Department. On that visit, they talked about the Island's potential as a state park.⁹ On August 24, 1923, the Citizen's Committee of Isle Royale unanimously adopted the following resolutions:

Resolved, That the members of the Citizens' Committee of Isle Royale, collectively and individually, make every effort to have Isle Royale controlled by the National Government as a 'forest preserve' and thus be maintained in the condition that nature has left it; and that we solicit, in the accomplishment of this result, the assistance of every one who is interested in the preservation of the beauties of nature and of animal life.

And also Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be posted in every dwelling on the island and be sent to each member of the association and to as many tourists as can be reached."¹⁰

At its August 1923 meeting held at Rock Harbor Lodge, the Citizens' Committee of Isle Royale discussed and expressed several grave concerns recorded in a document dated September 23, 1923, and signed by Maurice D. Edwards, Secretary, and Everett H. Bailey, Chairman. Their concerns included the sale of 80,000 acres to an "Indiana corporation seeking pulp wood"; that the Michigan State legislature had recently defeated a proposal to "acquire the entire island for a state park"; and fears over a proposal to declare an open hunting season "for killing moose and caribou in the island, with the argument that there is insufficient feed for the subsistence of the growing herds and that large numbers of these animals must otherwise perish." It is clear from the rest of the document that the organization viewed hunting as the threat and did not see a looming food crisis for the moose population as credible. Their goal was to have the federal government take over Isle Royale and to protect and maintain it "as a forest and game preserve for the pleasure and benefit of the people of the United States."¹¹

Making common cause with Albert Stoll gained the Citizens Committee an influential advocate and spokesperson, but in the process the Committee lost control of the movement to save "their" island from development and exploitation. They also lost control of the opportunity to define and shape the narrative about the meaning of Isle Royale. By 1923 Stoll was actively boosting Isle Royale as a National Park, and working with Michigan Congressman, Louis C. Crampton, chair of a House subcommittee that partially controlled the budget of the National

Park Service. Crampton helped bring Stoll and his plan to the attention of Stephen Mather, first Director of the National Park Service, who was already interested in expanding the National Park System, especially in the eastern half of the United States. In 1924, Stoll organized a tour of Isle Royale that brought key people to the Island, including Stephen Mather; Secretary of the Interior, Hubert Work; and, Sierra Club President, Francis Farquhar. After his trip to Isle Royale, Director Mather became a believer, and he used his influence to proselytize among conservation groups, including the Izaak Walton League, to support the idea of a National Park on Isle Royale.¹² Stoll and Mather, Work and Farquhar became important players not only in persuading Congress to authorize creation of Isle Royale National Park but also in defining the public story of Isle Royale as a single-theme narrative emphasizing wilderness.

Two black and white photographs taken in 1936 near Siskiwit Bay and housed in the Park's archives at Houghton, Michigan, illustrate the threat posed by harvesting timber for pulp wood. One of images, with the handwritten label, "Pulp Wood Meade Lumber Company," features a medium-sized bull dozer with a covered cab and track-type propulsion, pulling several tandem trailers piled high with pulp-length logs along a well-traveled, frozen, dirt road. The road appears to pass through an active logging zone, and considerable snow on the ground indicates that the operation proceeded during the winter. Logging crews used more than one hundred horses and the bull dozer to haul logs from the forest to the shore. A second image drives the potential threat home with greater force. The hand-written label proclaims: "18,000 Cords Pulp Wood 1 Mile Long," and the picture shows row after row after row of stacked pulp logs perpendicularly intersecting a single row of stacked pulp logs that dominates the foreground. While it is not possible to verify either the 18,000 cords or the mile of logs, the visual impact of all of that pulp wood makes a strong statement. The label, "18,000 Cords of Pulp Wood 1 Mile Long," offers a boast and a declaration of accomplishment; it stands in powerful counterpoint to the attitudes and goals of people seeking to preserve the Island.¹³

Isle Royale was certainly "isolated by miles of water," but the assertion that the archipelago remained "virtually untouched in the 300 years since" a French explorer discovered them is not accurate and misrepresents the history of the Island. Indeed, the story of Isle Royale is one of extensive human modification. By the 1920s, as the movement to protect Isle Royale gathered momentum, the Island itself was far from an undisturbed wilderness, and its isolation had long been broken by its connections to broader rhythms of national and even international developments -- such as logging and mining and the conservation movement that emerged in response to the largely unintended and unanticipated consequences of those activities. There are places on Isle Royale, including the vicinity of the Daisy Farm Campground, the Washington Harbor/Washington Island/Windigo area, and McCargoe Cove that have seen on-again, off-again human occupation for thousands of years. All were sites of prehistoric copper mining, fishing, hunting and gathering; and, all remain in use in

the present.¹⁴ Those locations and any associated archaeological or above-ground remnants of human material culture are as important in understanding the historical meaning of Isle Royale as the flora and fauna and wilderness qualities of the island.

Isle Royale's history was forged in a fundamental contrast between physical isolation and intimate connection to larger patterns of social, cultural, technical, and economic development. Just add salt combined with a pinch of imagination and Isle Royale could be along the coast of Maine or among the Skerries off the West coast of Norway or one of the many islands scattered along the North Sea coast of Denmark. It is no accident that Scandinavian fishermen found their way to the western end of Lake Superior and Isle Royale, where they played an important role in the Island's history.

The essence of Isle Royale is its maritime location, where water, land, and sky overlain by physical isolation have combined to create a uniqueness of place. There is a "feel" to Isle Royale that is directly related to its isolation, which is different from on-shore or in-shore locations like the Pictured Rocks National Lake Shore and Apostle Islands National Lake Shore, on Lake Superior, or Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lake Shore and Indiana Dunes National Lake Shore, on Lake Michigan. Isle Royale is literally and figuratively separated from the mainland; an island apart surrounded by an inland sea of fresh water. Even in the early twenty-first century, Isle Royale is hard to reach, which means fewer visitors than other national parks or lake shores on the Great Lakes and almost no human occupation in the winter. Travelers to Isle Royale must leave the relative safety of the mainland and cross miles of open water on Lake Superior. They reach not a single island but a series of parallel ridges and atolls rising high enough above the lake to support plant and animal life -- but still intimately bound to Lake Superior. Indeed, much of the total acreage embraced by the Park's boundaries is water. Close inshore, a treacherous admixture of deep water close by rock reefs and fluctuating lake levels challenges the skills of boaters. On the Island, hikers leave behind the technological security blanket of modern life to wander in a place where wolves bring down moose; where cell phones do not work; and where even under optimum conditions, emergency medical evacuation can be hours away. In many ways, the nineteenth century "Romantic" term, sublime, captures the feel of Isle Royale -- a combination of spectacular natural beauty layered with a tinge of risk and danger; a blend of peace and tranquility set against the knowledge that nature in that place is beyond human control.

The Island's natural and human history was molded by its isolation in the vast expanse of Lake Superior. Isle Royale is one of the most remote and isolated locations in the lower forty eight states east of the Mississippi River. Travel to Isle Royale requires planning and expense; there are very few "drop in" visitors to the Island. Isle Royale is within distant sight of Thunder Bay and the Canadian shore of Lake Superior, but transit from key U.S. ports of departure involves crossing many miles of open water on Lake Superior. Access is limited

to those who have the means to own seaworthy boats or have the time and money to book passage on one of the few commercial boats and the single sea plane serving the Island. In addition to distance, transportation, time, and expense, Isle Royale is further isolated by the weather on Lake Superior – wind and waves, fog and ice can strand visitors on the Island or bottle them up in mainland ports.

In direct contrast to its physical isolation, the larger patterns of historical development have powerfully influenced the natural and human history of Isle Royale. Native Americans who mined copper on Isle Royale did so in part because it provided them with a unique item coveted along the trading networks that existed among native peoples prior to European contact. Writing in Minong: The Good Place, Timothy Cochran noted that “the ancients came to the Island to mine copper, and Lake Superior copper was traded widely throughout North America.”¹⁵ Historian, Lawrence Rakestraw, explained: “The copper itself was cold-hammered into knives, points, and a variety of ornaments, either on Isle Royale or taken to the mainland and then worked. Artifacts of Lake Superior copper ultimately made their way to the southern Lake States and New England.”¹⁶

Europeans and Americans sought to profit by extracting commodities from the Island and its surrounding waters. Fashion trends and markets in Europe drove a brief attempt to exploit furs on the Island. Nineteenth century copper miners came and went three times, pushed by a growing demand for the metal in an industrializing nation. Commercial fishermen sold catches in expanding urban markets on the mainland, first salted in wooden barrels and then fresh-packed in ice for transport in refrigerated cars on steel rails that literally tied the nation together. Many of the fishermen were Scandinavian immigrants, who joined the great migration from Europe to the United States. The demise of commercial fishing on the Great Lakes as a result of lamprey depredation was directly related to improvements by Canada to the Welland Canal between Lakes Ontario and Erie. (Viral Hemorrhagic Septicemia [VHS] is the one of the latest exotic, invasive species threatening the fishery by hitching a ride into the Great Lakes ecosystem aboard an international, maritime transportation system.)¹⁷ Resorts and recreational cabins and camps were part of a larger pattern rooted in rapidly growing urban and industrial areas of the U.S. The National Park movement was also part of a broad national trend. Each group modified the Island’s environment; sometimes significantly.

Sophisticated scientific research conducted between the late 1950s and the early 1990s demonstrates how profoundly larger patterns of technical development worked against biological isolation of Isle Royale in the latter half of the twentieth century. In 1972, Canadian Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau and US President Richard Nixon, signed the Great Lakes Water Quality Agreement (GLWQA, amended 1978), the first effective, international agreement to regulate and control pollution of the Great Lakes. During the protracted period of

negotiations that finally produced the GLWQA a variety of changes dramatically altered the nature and sources of pollutants in the Great Lakes. Technical developments that began during WWII resulted in the widespread availability in Canada and the United States of hundreds of products, like pesticides, herbicides, and fertilizers that used synthetic organic compounds as their basic chemical components. By the mid-1970s, scientific advancements made it possible to measure a range of contaminants that were hard to detect during the period of negotiations that led up to the GLWQA. Bio-accumulation of synthetic, organic compounds was widely discussed in scientific literature and had entered the realm of public knowledge along with the popularization of ecology. A similar understanding did not exist concerning the route that these products followed from application to water pollution.¹⁸

The GLWQA had mandated further study of the Upper Great Lakes, i.e., Lakes Michigan, Huron, and Superior. In fulfillment of that mandate, the International Joint Commission (IJC) created the Upper Great Lakes Reference Group. In the mid-1970s, Dr. Wayland R. Swain, a scientist working for the United States Environmental Protection Agency, conducted research for the Upper Great Lakes Reference Group on persistent, organic contamination of fish in the Western end of Lake Superior in the vicinity of Isle Royale. As he developed his research design, Swain sought “an isolated remote body of water,” in the expectation that doing so would permit him “to compare levels of contamination in Lake Superior adjacent to Isle Royale with an ecosystem relatively undisturbed by human activity.” He believed he found that undisturbed “isolated remote body of water” in Siskiwit Lake, just inland from Malone Bay on the South side of Isle Royale. Swain sampled fish from Lake Superior and Siskiwit Lake.¹⁹

Laboratory analysis of Swain’s fish samples produced some unexpected and surprising results: Residues of PCBs in trout taken from the supposedly undisturbed and isolated Siskiwit Lake were three times higher than trout caught in nearby Lake Superior. Swain and his team began a quest for the sources of PCBs in Siskiwit Lake and determined that the contamination was not direct. Swain reported that “the respective difference in the contamination of the biota of the two bodies of water, and the reduced possibility of man’s direct effect on the island led to the conclusion that these substances must be airborne in order to impact this remote site.” In order to test the veracity of his initial findings, Swain worked with the National Park Service to obtain snow samples from Siskiwit Lake, which his team compared with snow samples collected from the Duluth metropolitan area. Results revealed PCB concentrations five times higher in the snow gathered around remote and isolated Siskiwit Lake than in the Duluth metropolitan area. Swain reached a dramatic conclusion: “Atmospheric precipitation may be an important pathway accounting for unusually high levels of PCBs in the Isle Royale area, including Siskiwit Lake, a mechanism which, for the most part, has previously been ignored.” Swain was back on Isle Royale in the early 1980s where he discovered Toxaphene in fish samples. Toxaphene

was a synthetic, organic pesticide with a chemical make up similar to PCBs. Swain determined that the closest use of Toxaphene was in the cotton-growing south and on sunflower crops in North and South Dakota.²⁰ Swain's research demonstrated the importance of nonpoint pollution of the Great Lakes, and the degree to which physically and biologically isolated Isle Royale was connected to, and impacted by, larger national and international human activities.

In his classic volume, The Wolves of Isle Royale, Rolf Peterson describes a long-term study of the teeth of moose and wolves designed in part to uncover the environmental parameters of their symbiotic existence on Isle Royale. Peterson's description of the findings as they relate to wolf teeth connect the biology of Isle Royale with two, world-wide patterns of development -- the burning of fossil fuels and the radioactive fallout associated with the above-ground testing of nuclear weapons prior to the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty approved by the United States and the Soviet Union in 1963. Peterson concluded:

In the island's wilderness, which is as pristine as any in the continental United States, wolves have inadvertently recorded [in their teeth] the two largest atmospheric perturbations generated by modern humans – the radioactive fallout from thermonuclear weapons and the accelerating rise in CO₂ from the combustion of fossil fuels. For any thinking human, this should underscore the scale of the modern human enterprise, and should hint at the magnitude of the challenge of maintaining natural processes in our national parks. There is no place on the planet that remains unaffected by human technology, and the most insidious of all environmental risks are those that we cannot see.²¹

Peterson's observation drives home the fact that the idea of wilderness plays such a central role in Isle Royale's narrative that it has become almost synonymous with the meaning of that place. It would be difficult, if not impossible, to assess the significance of the cultural resources on Isle Royale or to plan for their preservation and continuing use without carefully defining the historical relationship between wildness and cultural resources on the Island.

Wildness and Wilderness

An early version of the science of ecology described natural communities as moving through phases from pioneer to climax, which barring disturbances was a permanent and stable system. In many of these models "disturbances" were as likely to be caused by modern humans as natural phenomena. The National Park, with its current mission and management objectives does not represent a climax stage of development on Isle Royale where people are a disturbing influence. Instead, the National Park is part of a long evolutionary trajectory of human and natural history on the Island.

In the 1960s and 1970s, with the advent of Mission 66, the ecology-based environmental movement, and passage of the federal Wilderness Act (1964) and

Environmental Policy Act (1969) and the Eastern Wilderness Act (1975) the mission and management of Isle Royale National Park continued to evolve. President Gerald Ford signed legislation designating nearly all of Isle Royale as wilderness on October 20, 1976. President Ford's signature represented a victory for environmentalists and wilderness advocates who had waged a decade-long struggle with the National Park Service over the location and extent of wilderness on the Island. One of the leaders of the movement to require the Park Service to expand wilderness on Isle Royale was Doug Scott, who had visited the Island on a back packing trip in 1966. Writing many years later, Scott remembered, "I, a kid from the Pacific Northwest, had been in forestry school in Ann Arbor, feeling sorry for myself for being so far from the Oregon Cascades. Yet, having trekked around the grand wilderness areas of Oregon and Washington, I was not prepared for the world-class wilderness environment I discovered on Isle Royale."²²

In 1967 the National Park Service proposed a wilderness plan for Isle Royale that left out about 14,000 acres, including high-use areas at Rock Harbor, Mott Island, Tobin Harbor, Washington Harbor/Windigo, and Belle Isle. Environmentalists and wilderness advocates, including Doug Scott, protested loudly at the single public hearing held by the National Park Service in Houghton, Michigan. In response to this criticism, the Park Service revised its wilderness plan for Isle Royale, only to face renewed protest in 1971 when President Richard Nixon requested that 120,588 acres on Isle Royale be designated as wilderness. In the end, Public Law 94-567 signed by President Ford provided wilderness protection to 131,000 acres, which along with small additions in subsequent years placed about ninety nine percent of land area of Isle Royale under wilderness designation.²³

Historical patterns of use, development, and management on Isle Royale argue strongly that the Island is not presently a wilderness as defined by the Wilderness Act of 1964. Public Law 94-567 signed October 20, 1976, was an omnibus-type wilderness bill, which included Isle Royale. Section 6 states that "The areas designated by this Act as wilderness shall be administered by the Secretary of the Interior in accordance with the applicable provisions of the Wilderness Act." Public Law 88-577 (16 U.S.C. 1131-1136), passed by the 88th Congress, Second Session, September 3, 1964, defines wilderness in the following terms:

(c) A wilderness, in contrast with those areas where man and his own works dominate the landscape, is hereby recognized as an area where the earth and its community of life are untrammelled by man, where man himself is a visitor who does not remain. An area of wilderness is further defined to mean in this Act an area of undeveloped Federal land retaining its primeval character and influence, without permanent improvements or human habitation, which is protected and managed so as to preserve its natural conditions and which (1) generally appears to have been affected primarily by the forces of nature, with the imprint of man's work substantially unnoticeable; (2) has outstanding opportunities for

solitude or a primitive and unconfined type of recreation; (3) has at least five thousand acres of land or is of sufficient size as to make practicable its preservation and use in an unimpaired condition; and (4) may also contain ecological, geological, or other features of scientific, educational, scenic, or historical value.²⁴

Isle Royale clearly possesses wild qualities, although the wildest area in the vicinity of Isle Royale may be the surrounding waters of Lake Superior, with cold depths, shallow reefs, and formidable rocky coasts -- beautiful, unpredictable, treacherous, and potentially deadly. Wilderness designation on Isle Royale is more a matter of managing land and resources to create a wilderness than protecting and preserving a place “where the earth and its community of life are untrammelled by man”; where land retains “its primeval character and influence, without permanent improvements or human habitation,” and, a place “affected primarily by the forces of nature, with the imprint of man’s work substantially unnoticeable.”

Managing Isle Royale as an “actual” wilderness not only denies or greatly diminishes the long and essential role of human history on the Island, but it also severs the intimate links between Lake Superior and Isle Royale; between water and land in shaping the meaning of that place over time. Isle Royale is much more than a remote bit of land set aside for hiking and camping in the middle of Lake Superior. It is a maritime park. The navigation channels in and around Isle Royale represent a fundamental element in shaping and understanding human use of Isle Royale from the time of the ancients to the present. The same can be said of long-used canoe routes and portages, such as the one that connects Chippewa Harbor and McCargo Cove. In a general statement about the North Shore Ojibwe, Timothy Cochrane, Superintendent, Grand Portage National Monument and author of Minong: The Good Place, concludes that “water as much as land contributed to their food base, provided for travel, and was part of daily and ceremonial life.”²⁵

Historian William Cronon employs the term “rewilding” to describe the Apostle Islands National Lakeshore, which he calls “a superb example of a wilderness in which natural and human histories are intimately intermingled.” Cronon adds that if visitors believe they are encountering pristine nature, they will come away not understanding either the complex human history that has helped create today’s Apostles or the degree to which that human history has shaped the nature they encounter in those islands. “In a very deep sense,” Cronon argues, “what they will experience is not the natural and human reality of these islands, but a cultural myth that obscures much of what they most need to understand about a wilderness that has long been a place of human dwelling.” In a similar manner, separating human and natural history on Isle Royale and privileging the wilderness narrative creates a cultural myth that obscures the significance of both the wild areas and the surviving cultural resources.²⁶

Reflecting on the relationship between the Ojibwe, history, and wilderness in Minong: The Good Place, Timothy Cochrane observes that with the establishment of Isle Royale National Park “officials did not understand the historical links between the North Shore Ojibwe and Isle Royale.” Cochrane further notes that “Isle Royale only became attractive as a potential national park . . . after its economic attractiveness hit bottom, when it becomes plain that its copper deposits would not make anyone rich. It then becomes valuable for its insularity, beauty, wildlife, and for many, a faux wilderness with no human past.”²⁷

There is some irony in the fact that the two species most commonly associated with wilderness on Isle Royale are exotics – moose arrived on the Island in the early twentieth century and wolves in the middle of the twentieth century. In the mid-1930s William F. Shiras, field naturalist, wildlife photographer, and author reported that when he first visited Isle Royale in 1886 he neither saw nor heard reports of moose on the Island. He added that “moose are believed to have come first to this island in the early winter of 1912, over an ice bridge from the mainland from either Minnesota or Ontario.” In that same year, he noted that the Michigan State Conservation Commission planted nine white tailed deer on Isle Royale.²⁸ Adolph Murie reporting in 1934 on field work he conducted on Isle Royale in 1929 and 1930 offered “hearsay” evidence that moose had been on the Island in limited numbers around 1880. Murie speculated that hunting may have prevented earlier moose migrants from gaining a foothold. He added that Charles C. Adams did not mention moose in his annotated list of animals on Isle Royale in 1905. Adams and other observers did report the presence of caribou. Murie concluded: “According to persons long familiar with Isle Royale, the last influx of moose occurred during the winter of 1912-1913. That winter was so cold that the water between the island and the mainland to the north froze over.” Caven Clark concludes in Archaeological Survey, that “the presence of moose prior to historic contact has not been demonstrated.” Rolf Peterson has the last word: “Careful archeological work by the NPS has revealed much evidence over the past 4,000 years of Native Americans, caribou, and beaver on Isle Royale, but no indication that moose or wolves inhabited Isle Royale before 1900.”²⁹

Reports by direct observers in the first third of the twentieth century demonstrate a two-decade cycle of rapid expansion and precipitous decline of the moose population on Isle Royale. White tailed deer did not thrive on Isle Royale, but the moose found a new home with an abundance of browse, little competition for food, and no predators, including human hunters. Shiras explained that “For years Isle Royale has been a State game preserve where all shooting is illegal.” He reported a population explosion hitting a peak of over 2,000, followed by a dramatic crash as the collective appetite of the ballooning moose population exceeded the available supply of food.³⁰ Shiras published a poignant photograph taken in 1929, which shows two men with crossed poles ten

to twelve feet long on their shoulders. A young moose, securely trussed at the ankles lies draped feet down over these poles. The caption reads:

HALF STARVED, IT HAD TO BE CARRIED TO NEW FEEDING GROUNDS. A young moose caught by the [Michigan] Conservation Commission, in 1929, was one of many transported to the main shore of the State to relieve the overstocked condition of the island.³¹

Murie estimated that in 1930 the moose population on Isle Royale had increased to more than 1,000 -- a number he immediately qualified by observing, "I think that a count would give a figure far above the estimated minimum. As a rule, wild populations are greatly underestimated, so it would not be surprising if the actual number of moose in 1930 proved to be two or three thousand."³² Murie's field work in 1929 and 1930 revealed that serious overgrazing by the moose was already well advanced. He observed significant depletion of pond weeds and lilies, as well as several varieties of terrestrial vegetation favored by the moose. Murie found that ground hemlock (yew) was "practically exhausted":

Ground hemlock (yew), an evergreen shrub attaining a height of four or five feet, is another important source of food which has been practically exhausted. Adams, in 1905, and Cooper, in 1910, found it growing in profusion. Adams stated that 'it is everywhere abundant in the upland forest.' Today nothing remains of this spreading shrub except the dead branches and a few leaves near the roots. The fact that this shrub is eaten the year round hastened its destruction. Ground hemlock at one time furnished a large amount of food for the moose. Its disappearance has resulted in concentration on the remaining species utilized in winter.³³

Murie concluded that the moose had exceeded the carrying capacity of their range and that their numbers diminished the pleasure people derived from seeing them in the wild. "For the greatest enjoyment of the moose," Murie wrote, "it is not particularly desirable to have them so plentiful that we involuntarily compare the gatherings of them to a prosperous barnyard." Murie offered a strongly worded conclusion: "Over browsing on the island is general. In order to preserve the landscape it is recommended that a drastic reduction of the moose population be made." Along with various forms of hunting, Murie suggested introducing large predators such as bears, mountain lions, or timber wolves. His explanation reveals insight into the multiple roles that wolves would eventually play on Isle Royale:

Since one of these predators might possibly do good work in keeping the moose herd in check, and since there are few places where large carnivores are tolerated, it would seem desirable to introduce one or more of these predators on the island. Aside from the possible utility of the predator as a check on the moose population, such an introduction of a native species would add materially to the animal interests of the island.³⁴

Rolf Peterson observed in 1999 that “following initial colonization early in the 1900s moose increased rapidly. The moose population grew to 3000 or more (5.5 moose/km²) by the early 1930s, then starvation caused a sudden crash in 1934.”³⁵

Despite efforts by the Michigan Conservation Commission to reduce the population and decrease the pressure on the food supply, the moose population continued to plummet. Another survey in the winter of 1931 estimated a population of 500, with evidence of heavy and destructive grazing by hungry moose. By 1934, “all the ground hemlock had been browsed to the roots” mountain ash trees were destroyed, the balsam “had been browsed beyond reach.” Shiras wrote that “Information received by the author from the Michigan Department of Conservation has disclosed that the unusually severe winter of 1933-34 and a heavy snowfall destroyed all the younger moose and that only about 75 adult animals survived.”³⁶

In recent years, the long-held and often-repeated assertion that moose crossed to Isle Royale on an ice bridge or swam from the mainland has come under increasing scrutiny.³⁷ There is no archaeological evidence of moose on the Island during the centuries of occupation by Native Americans. The possibility that moose, like white tailed deer, were deliberately introduced to Isle Royale deserves serious scientific and historical investigation, and at least impressionistically makes more sense than the unproven assertion that a viable breeding population either made the long swim or crossed miles of ice in the dead of winter. It also seems likely that the caribou that predated moose on Isle Royale and the deer that were introduced lost out to the moose in competition for food and disappeared from the Island’s environment.³⁸

The issue of when and how the moose arrived on Isle Royale is much more than an abstract academic conundrum; it gets at the heart of the historical and scientific meaning of Isle Royale. If moose were deliberately introduced, their presence and their travails reinforce the importance of human agency in making and remaking that place over time. How the moose arrived on Isle Royale also intersects with scientific and historical resource management questions: What is “natural” on Isle Royale? Historically what has constituted ecological integrity? Where are the lines between wild and not wild; between natural and not natural? How do the answers to these questions relate to defining, restoring, protecting, and preserving ecological integrity on the Island? How can the answers to those questions enhance understanding of the interplay between natural and human history on Isle Royale? (It is at least worth mentioning that by the standards employed today, the moose “invasion” of Isle Royale in the early twentieth century – no matter if they walked or swam or got a ride – would earn them the labels exotic and invasive based upon the amount of environmental damage they inflicted. The fact that people like moose and want to see them has played a role in their fate and their management on the Island.)

The crash of the moose population and the heavy damage the desperately hungry moose inflicted on the vegetation argues that pristine wilderness on Isle Royale was more in the eyes of the beholders than a reflection of reality on the ground. Even accepting in the absence of proof that the moose swam or crossed the frozen Lake Superior, the boom and bust in the moose population and the associated environmental damage was as much a result of human management practices as it was a natural process. In their darkest hour peering into the abyss of extinction on Isle Royale, the moose were almost literally resurrected from the cooling embers of the great Greenstone forest fire of 1936, which itself was the result of a combination of natural and human causes.³⁹

The Greenstone forest fire of 1936 offers a useful illustration of the interconnected roles of human and natural history in shaping the landscape of Isle Royale. Wild fire is a relatively rare occurrence on Isle Royale, but three years of drought contributed to conditions that made 1936 the worst fire season of the past century or more on Isle Royale. The ignition, acceleration, spread, size, and destructiveness of the Greenstone fire resulted from an almost “perfect storm” of natural phenomena and human activities. On July 25, a human-caused fire began near Siskiwit Bay in the same area where the Meade Lumber Company was harvesting a large volume of pulp wood. Low fuel moisture caused by prolonged drought helped the fire establish itself and spread from its point of origin. Piles of slash and other logging debris, combined with standing, dead trees killed by an infestation of spruce bud worms, fed the flames and created a massive conflagration. Abundant, dry fuel produced a hot ground fire, which consumed the forest and baked the soil.⁴⁰ Donald Wolbrink, Isle Royale National Park Landscape Technician, offered a first-person description of the fire as it grew in size and intensity during the last week of July 1936:

At the present time a fire is completely out of control in the area of the Big Siskiwit River. This fire has been burning for more than a week and Camp Siskiwit is in serious danger. Every available man has been concentrated at Camp Siskiwit since July 25. The park boats and two Coast Guard cutters are standing by to evacuate the camp if necessary. At a distance of 30 miles and more the smoke is like a heavy fog and intense enough to irritate the eyes, and ashes fall like fine snow.⁴¹

Men from the Civilian Conservation Corps stationed on Isle Royale to build the infrastructure for a new national park, as well as mainland camps in Michigan and Wisconsin quickly swelled the ranks of fire fighters to about 1,800. They formed what a reporter for the Grand Rapids Press, described as “the largest fire army” to ever fight a single blaze in Michigan.” The fire eventually burned about one-fifth of Isle Royale, nearly surrounding Siskiwit Lake and extending across the center of the Island from shore to shore. About one hundred of the CCC fire fighters volunteered to spend the winter of 1936-1937 on Isle Royale, where they burned logging slash and scorched trees left behind by the flames.⁴²

The Greenstone fire produced a range of impacts, some of which persist to the present. An article in National Geographic News in May 2000 analyzing federal fire policy noted that, "One study found that the moose population on Lake Superior's Isle Royale more than quadrupled in the decade following a 1936 fire that burned 26,000 acres. The University of Minnesota's Laurtis W. Krefting concluded that fire is the primary agent for maintaining the secondary successional vegetation that moose prefer." The moose population literally rose from the ashes of that fire after a catastrophic population crash caused by a shortage of food. Research summarized by the United States Geological Survey on the Greenstone fire and another 1936 fire on Kabetogema Peninsula in Voyageurs National Park, concluded that "In many places, the fires burned so hot that entire stands of trees were killed and bare rock exposed," and "the very severe fires of 1936 had a profound impact on the geochemistry of soils that is still apparent today." Rolf Peterson reports in The Wolves of Isle Royale on studies of moose teeth collected over a multi-decade period: "Moose, unknowingly acting as biological time capsules, had stored in their teeth a record of large-scale ecological change." Evidence from that research indicates that "the wild fire of 1936 had a major influence on nutrient cycles on the island."⁴³ Canoeists who paddle and portage between the head of Chippewa Harbor and Lake Ritchie and hikers who follow the Greenstone from Chickenbone Lake to Hatchet Lake traverse what at first glance may look like a pristine environment. In fact the forest in a large section of the center of Isle Royale was heavily modified by the Greenstone fire, which itself was a product of natural and human actions.

Eastern Timber wolves walked to Isle Royale on the ice in the winter of 1948-1949, but human land managers made the choice to allow them to remain. There is no archaeological evidence of wolves on the Island during the long period of occupation by Native Americans, and no scientific evidence of multiple crossings to Isle Royale in the modern period. The wolves that trekked to Isle Royale in the late 1940s could not have picked a location in the United States where they would have been more welcome. Wolves had acquired a bad reputation as ruthless predators and had suffered decades of federal and state government policies that encouraged their extermination. In most other places in the 1940s, wolves colonizing a new location would have been shot on sight. Instead, the Timber wolves that wandered over the ice bridge to Isle Royale reached a new national park where hunting was illegal. Park managers thought of the Island in wilderness terms and found themselves faced with a rebounding moose population and the memory of the severe crash of the early 1930s. While they had to deal with an unsuccessful, private effort to introduce four zoo-raised wolves to the Island, park officials and their superiors were open to the spontaneous self-introduction of these predators to occupy the heights at the top of the tropic ladder.⁴⁴ When park managers realized that wolves had colonized Isle Royale on their own, they must have thanked God or their "lucky stars." The combination of wolves and moose arriving on Isle Royale within fifty years of

each other and taking up residence on a physically isolated, ecologically simplified island called out for careful scientific study of their evolving interaction.

In 1958, Durward Allen, Purdue University, and his graduate assistant, Dave Mech, began what would become a continuous wolf-moose study that celebrated its fiftieth anniversary in August 2008. Following the death of fisherman Jack Bangsund in 1959, the Park Service allowed Allen and Mech to use the Bangsund cabin as a base for their summer field work. In 1975, when Allen retired, he turned the project over to Rolf Peterson and the Bangsund cabin continued to serve as a headquarters for field work for the wolf-moose project. For National Register purposes, the Bangsund cabin has become one of the most important buildings in the Park, with significance for its association with fishing and the long-running wolf-moose project.⁴⁵ (For further National Register-related examination of the Bangsund cabin, see “Historic Preservation and Historic Contexts,” discussion of Criterion A and B, below.)

Wolves on Isle Royale have persisted despite significant problems related to inbreeding and a nearly catastrophic introduction of parvovirus, a disease that affects domestic dogs on the mainland. Parvovirus arrived on Isle Royale either on the boots of hikers or “aboard” a pet dog someone brought to the Island, as another biological and human-facilitated connection between the outside and the Island. Wolf populations plummeted from a high of around fifty in 1980 to about fourteen two years later. The wolves have recovered from the crisis caused by parvovirus, and so far as public perceptions go, the wolf-moose project has contributed to a sea change in attitudes towards wolves and other predator species. Nonetheless, due to inbreeding the wolves of Isle Royale walk a genetic tightrope suspended above extinction at the same time that the image of the wolf has become an icon of Isle Royale National Park. Rolf Peterson summed up the inbreeding among wolves on Isle Royale in 1999: “Genetic studies revealed that Isle Royale wolves are highly in-bred, all descendants of a single maternal ancestor. Compared to wolves on the adjacent mainland, they have lost genetic variability.”⁴⁶

In many ways managing land to return it to wilderness and preserving cultural resources in a way that respects and protects their significance and integrity are flip sides of the same coin. Preserving wilderness and preserving cultural resources begins with the same questions: What is it that we wish to preserve? Why preserve? What gives remnants of the past value in the present? What constitutes integrity? Preservation of wilderness and of cultural resources both result from present-day people making choices about value and significance. We preserve things not because they are intrinsically important, but because we assign value and meaning to surviving fragments of our natural and cultural heritage. After all, our ancestors struggled mightily to conquer and tame and eliminate wilderness in the belief that productive nature best served human society and that agriculture was the highest use of land. In some cases, careful assessment would lead to the conclusion that wilderness values trump

cultural resources. When the federal government established the Bob Marshall Wilderness in 1964, the US Forest Service became custodian and manager of more than 1,000,000 acres of roadless land in northwestern Montana with very little direct evidence of human impact -- such was not the case on Isle Royale.

Natural and cultural resources are equally important to understanding and interpreting the meaning of Isle Royale. William Cronon poses a central question about the Apostle Islands that also applies to Isle Royale. "In a much altered but rewilding landscape, where natural and cultural resources are equally important to any full understanding of place, how should we manage and interpret these islands so that visitors will appreciate the stories and lessons they hold?"⁴⁷

The fact that moose and especially wolves are relative new comers to Isle Royale, poses some challenging biological problems; that fact also raises policy issues related to the interpretive and management balance between human and natural history – between natural and cultural resources. In The Wolves of Isle Royale, Rolf Peterson points out a fundamental management issue: "Thus the NPS policy of maintaining 'native' species cannot clearly guide us in our quandary. In an ironic blend of tradition and history, one might argue that neither the wolf nor the moose are purely 'native' species at Isle Royale." Peterson chides the Park's management for its non-interventionist policy in managing an inbred wolf population figuratively walking a tight rope suspended above extinction. "Passive observation," he argues, "can be an easy policy that doesn't require much expense or ecological understanding; perhaps that explains some of its appeal. But our national parks deserve better than rote adherence to tradition."⁴⁸ The same sentiment applies with equal force to management policies that threaten either to diminish or to strip away human history and human material culture in an attempt to create a state of "actual" wilderness that the Island has not experienced for a very long time.

Isle Royale is a wilderness in progress, a historical wilderness, a "rewilding landscape," shaped by the intertwined forces of human and natural history. Thinking about the Island in this manner instead of wilderness as defined by the Wilderness Act of 1964, can place cultural and natural resources in historic context; highlight their significance and interconnections on Isle Royale; and suggest resource preservation and management strategies that respects the contributions of both to defining the meaning of Isle Royale National Park.

Historic Preservation and Historic Contexts

The National Register of Historic Places is the "heart" of the historic preservation program jointly administered by the National Park Service and the various State, Territorial, and Tribal Historic Preservation Offices. National Register Bulletin 16A, the National Park Service's key "instruction manual" for nominations to the National Register of Historic Places, defines the National

Register of Historic Places as “the official Federal list of districts, sites, buildings, structures, and objects significant in American history, architecture, archeology, engineering, and culture. These contribute to an understanding of the historical and cultural foundations of the Nation.” Bulletin 16A further explains that the National Register includes “All prehistoric and historic units of the National Park System,” as well as National Historic Landmarks, and “Properties significant in American State, or local prehistory and history that have been nominated by State Historic Preservation Officers, Federal agencies, and others, and have been approved for listing by the National Park Service.”⁴⁹ For National Register purposes, significance may be local, state, or national, with the most common being local. (National significance demands a special burden of proof required for National Historic Landmark status.)

In order to qualify for listing in the National Register districts, sites, buildings, structures, and objects must usually be at least fifty years old and have achieved significance under at least one of four National Register Criteria:

Criterion A: “Properties can be eligible for the National Register if they are associated with events that have made significant contributions to the broad patterns of our history.” Most of the above-ground resources on Isle Royale that retain sufficient integrity will be eligible under Criterion A. All of the surviving recreational cabins and related out buildings should be eligible for their association with the broad theme of Entertainment/Recreation, which Bulletin 16A describes as “the development and practice of leisure activities for refreshment, diversion, amusement, or sport.” Maritime history is another important theme that covers many of the extant cultural resources on Isle Royale connected with fishing and navigation. The National Register defines “Maritime history,” as “the history of the exploration, fishing, navigation, and use of inland, coastal, and deep sea waters.” Conservation applies to surviving CCC properties on the Island, and Science to the Bangsund cabin and any other properties associated with the wolf/moose project. Ethnic Heritage and Transportation will also be useful on Isle Royale under Criterion A ⁵⁰

Criterion B: “Properties may be eligible for the National Register if they are associated with the lives of persons significant in our past.” In order to be eligible under Criterion B, a property usually must be associated with “a person’s productive life, reflecting the time period when he or she achieved significance.” Properties associated with living persons are generally not eligible. Examples of properties that ought to be eligible under Criterion B include the following: Roy J. Snell’s stature as a writer of children’s books, and his long association with the Snell compound on Tobin Harbor. Roy Snell did some of his writing at the Snell camp. Weston Farmer grew up spending summers on Isle Royale and had a home near Rock Harbor Lodge as an adult. Farmer started Modern Mechanics and Inventions and served as editor for about five years. He was a talented naval architect. The Farmer House in Rock Harbor should present a case for Criterion A. Durward Allen began the wolf-moose project on Isle Royale and employed

the Bangsund cabin (later used by Rolf Peterson and Candy Peterson) as his research headquarters on the Island. Allen died in 1997, so part of the significance of the Bangsund cabin is its association with Allen's stature as a scientist and the founder and first leader of the wolf-moose study. Arthur and Stanley Sivertson formed Sivertson Brothers Fisheries, which also owned a series of boats, Rita Marie, Disturbance, and Voyageur that transported visitors to and from Isle Royale as well as serving the needs of commercial fishermen and summer residents. Sivertson properties on Washington Island that had association with either brother should be eligible under Criterion B.⁵¹

Criterion C: *"Properties may be eligible for the National Register if they embody the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction, or that represent the work of a master, or that possess high artistic values, or that represent a significant and distinguishable entity whose components may lack individual distinction."* While Criterion C will have limited use on Isle Royale, it should not be ignored. Boats built by skilled craftsman associated with the cottages of summer residents and former fisherman should qualify under Criterion C. Historically, boats have played crucial roles in the commercial and recreational life on Isle Royale; they are highly significant material symbols of the full range of human activity on the Island. Conversations with and reminiscences of present and former residents of the Island often reveals that they know which local or regional craftsman made the boats used by their families. In other cases boats represent "a type, period, or method of construction," such as "gas boats/launches," herring skiffs, and the double ended wooden Mackinaws adapted to Lake Superior conditions and favored by many of the fishermen. Boats beached and disintegrating (such as Wright Island in the fall of 2006) represent the loss of key elements of Isle Royale's material cultural legacy. Where it can be proven that a particular local craftsman or carpenter constructed extant buildings, it should be possible to use Criterion C to reinforce significance, such as the Snell cottage, guest house, and store room (moved from Minong resort) built by Art and Ed Mattson or the saddle-notched, log cabins constructed by Emil Anderson at the McPherren Compound on Captain Kidd Island or the cabins and related buildings Duluth carpenter, Ole Daniels, built on Barnum Island from around 1903 to the 1920s.⁵²

Criterion D: *"Properties may be eligible for the National Register if they have yielded, or may be likely to yield, information in prehistory or history."* Criterion D most commonly applies to archaeological sites. In the case of Isle Royale, Criterion D would embrace Native American sites and many more from the historical period for which there are limited above-ground remains. The National Register divides the Archaeology category into "Prehistoric," "Historic Aboriginal," and "Historic Non-Aboriginal."⁵³ For example, all of the material culture associated with thousands of years of copper mining on Isle Royale exists as archaeological remnants. The Island contains an important concentration of ancient, hand dug, Native American mining pits -- frequently in proximity to the ruins of three nineteenth century copper booms. This archaeological record is

significant under Criterion D for the information that it can provide about the story of copper mining on Isle Royale from the ancients through the American period and the end of the nineteenth century. (Although outside the scope of this context, underwater shipwrecks scattered around Isle Royale should be eligible for the National Register under Criterion D. They are certainly significant material symbols of important dimensions of the Island's history.)

Traditional Cultural Values can make up all or part of the argument for listing a property that is otherwise eligible under at least one of the four National Register Criteria.⁵⁴ National Register Bulletin 38: Guidelines for Evaluating and Documenting Traditional Cultural Properties offers a useful definition of culture:

In the National Register programs the word [culture] is understood to mean the traditions, beliefs, practices, life ways, arts, crafts, and social institutions of any community, be it an Indian tribe, a local ethnic group, or the people of the nation as a whole.⁵⁵

Building on the definition of culture, Bulletin 38 describes traditional cultural significance as follows:

One kind of cultural significance a property may possess, and that may make it eligible for inclusion in the Register, is traditional cultural significance. 'Traditional' in this context refers to those beliefs, customs, and practices of a living community of people that have been passed down through the generations, usually orally or through practice. The traditional cultural significance of a historic property, then, is significance derived from the role the property plays in a community's historically rooted beliefs, customs, and practices.

A traditional cultural property, then, can be defined generally as one that is eligible for inclusion in the National Register because of its association with cultural practices or beliefs of a living community that (a) are rooted in that community's history, and (b) are important in maintaining the continuing cultural identity of the community.⁵⁶

Bulletin 38 highlights the fact that traditional cultural properties can be difficult to recognize. Traditional ceremonial sites or places with spiritual or religious associations can look like geographical features or "a culturally important neighborhood may look like any other aggregation of houses." Traditional cultural significance may not come to light as a result of historical or archaeological surveys. Establishing traditional cultural significance requires careful research, including (if possible) interviews with individuals who have direct knowledge of the area under consideration.⁵⁷

There are several cases where Traditional Cultural Properties could play an important part in supplementing and substantiating the case for eligibility to the National Register, as well as more generally for identifying, preserving, and protecting cultural resources on Isle Royale. In Minong – the Good Place,

Timothy Cochrane evaluates pros and cons of a Traditional Cultural Property nomination based upon sacred associations with the modern Grand Portage Ojibwe. Cochrane suggests that a Traditional Cultural Property nomination might be a way for the Grand Portage Ojibwe to “affirm their connection to Minong.” Cochrane points out that “all or part of Minong may be eligible for the national register because of its relationship with Nanabushu, Mishipizheu, Lake Superior, and copper,” adding that a Traditional Cultural Property nomination for Isle Royale “would be remarkable because it would necessarily include a terrestrial and underwater component.” He adds that “the dramatic underwater drop-offs on the north side of the Island and the passage into McCaroge Cove are likely places Mishipizheu might inhabit.” Cochrane also addresses the challenge of attempting to draw distinct borders around “traditional stories and beliefs,” and concludes that “as is customary in many native communities, keeping quiet is sometimes the best policy in protecting important, especially religious, matters.”⁵⁸

Bulletin 38 makes it clear that the Traditional Cultural Property designation does not apply just to locations related to Native American culture. Rebecca S. Toupal, et al, present evidence and analysis that could be used to help develop a case for Traditional Cultural Properties designation for commercial fishing-related properties in The Isle Royale Folkefiskerisamfunn: Familiar Som Levde Av Fiske, An Ethnohistory of the Scandinavin Folk Fishermen of Isle Royale National Park (2002). Summer cabins and associated properties on Barnum and Washington Islands and the surviving cluster of summer cottages in Tobin Harbor have also preserved their traditional uses and functions. In many cases, the same families have returned decade after decade, generation after generation, preserving not only their cabins but also perpetuating the way of life and the social community that those buildings facilitate and represent.⁵⁹

As noted in National Register Bulletin 15, “The significance of a historic property can be judged only when it is evaluated within its historic context. Historic contexts are those patterns, themes, or trends in history by which a specific occurrence, property, or site is understood and its meaning (and ultimately its significance) within history or prehistory is made clear.” Bulletin 15 correctly notes that the concept of historic context is not unique to either the National Register or historic preservation. Rather, defining and explaining context is fundamental to the study of history. The National Park Service’s use of historic contexts to determine the significance of historic properties rests on the premise that “resources, properties, or happenings in history do not occur in a vacuum but rather are a part of larger trends or patterns.”⁶⁰ Establishing those larger trends or patterns represents both sound historical analysis and a major goal of this study.

A historic context is the framework within which one uses research-based evidence ranging from archival materials to pictures to field assessment to establish the case for the significance of cultural resources. Historic Context, as

used in conjunction with the National Register of Historic Places and resource-based historic preservation planning, employs theme, time, and place for assessing the significance of categories or classes resources. A theme, Bulletin 15 notes, “is a means of organizing properties into coherent patterns . . . that have influenced the development of an area during one or more periods of prehistory or history.”⁶¹ Once the context is developed, it can be represented by a variety of property types. The charge to “produce a historic context study,” is, therefore, a charge to employ sound historical method to create a framework for assessing the surviving cultural resources in historic preservation terms. Preparation of a historic context study calls for an analysis not of individual properties but of the cumulative and inter-related historical importance of surviving cultural resources on the island.

That leaves open the need to define the theme(s), time, and place, as well as the range and scope of surviving cultural resources. The theme for this context study is the interplay between people and place that has literally transformed the Island into a cultural landscape. Historic Structures at Isle Royale National Park: Historic Contexts and Associated Property Types (January 1999), already provides brief, individual historic contexts for Mining, Navigation and Maritime, Commercial Fishing, Resort and Recreational Development, and Administration. National Park Service Cultural Landscapes Inventory (1997): Tobin Harbor, Isle Royale National Park does the same for Tobin Harbor organized around Criteria A and C.⁶² The purpose of this context, however, is to establish that the significance of surviving cultural resources on Isle Royale is directly related to the ways in which they fit together as part of the fabric of the Island’s history. The timeframe embraces the long period of Native American occupation and use, but emphasizes the mid-nineteenth century through the 1960s and the fifty-year eligibility limit imposed by the National Register of Historic Places. This period of emphasis also represents the time when patterns of use and development associated with mining, fishing, logging, navigation, recreation, conservation, and administration accelerated and augmented the human impact on the Island. The place is Isle Royale, which includes not only the main island that most people see when they visit, but also the whole archipelago of islands and reefs that together make up Isle Royale National Park.

In addition to meeting at least one of the four National Register Criteria, a property must be significant, and it must possess physical integrity in order to be eligible for the National Register of Historic Places. Integrity links the character-defining physical qualities of cultural resources to the argument for their significance presented in the historic context to make the case for National Register eligibility based on one or more of the National Register Criteria. As Bulletin 15 explains, “Integrity is the ability of a property to convey its significance.” Assessment of integrity “must always be grounded in an understanding of a property’s physical features and how they relate to its significance.” The National Register uses seven criteria, which a property must

exhibit in various combinations to possess integrity: Location, Design, Setting, Materials, Workmanship, Feeling, and Association. Measuring integrity can sometimes be subjective, but “Ultimately,” Bulletin 15 concludes, “the question of integrity is answered by whether or not the property retains the **identity** for which it is significant.” All cultural resources change over time, but to exhibit integrity a property must retain character-defining or essential physical features that represent both its significance and the time period of its significance. For example, a property nominated under Criterion A (important themes or trends) or Criterion B (important individuals), must possess the physical qualities that accounted for its appearance and character during the time period of its association with the event, historical pattern, or individual.⁶³

The concept of integrity, i.e., of essential character-defining physical qualities, offers some common ground for protecting, preserving, and managing cultural and natural resources. Scientists think in terms of ecological integrity, which at its essence is the combination of interrelated physical qualities that comprise a healthy natural system. An environment defined as a wilderness in progress, a historical wilderness, a “rewilding landscape,” a product of human and natural history, invites managers to pay attention to integrity of both the natural and cultural resources. More importantly, it encourages them to plan for the integrity of a system that equally embraces natural and cultural resources.

Resource managers also need to understand integrity because it is essential for nomination to the National Register, and because failure to provide upkeep for properties that are listed in the National Register or eligible for listing can compromise their integrity to the point that they no longer qualify for the National Register. Repairing or maintaining such properties in a manner that fails to respect character-defining features can also compromise their integrity.

Fishermen recycled and reused “everything,” because shipping building materials from the mainland was expensive. They sometimes moved their own buildings to new locations. Fishermen disassembled and reused the lumber from abandoned mining sites such as Island Mine and Minong Mine. The fish house at the Sivertson fishery was a building salvaged from an abandoned CCC camp near Windigo. Fishermen also used inexpensive and available materials from ship wrecks and logs that broke free from rafts being towed to mainland mills. When summer residents bought land and built cottages on Isle Royale they continued the practice of recycling buildings and materials, so that the surviving buildings on Isle Royale are often “of that place,” in that they are at least partly made of reused materials moved and often put to a new use. When assessing integrity for purposes of the National Register, it is important to remember that moving buildings and recycling materials was the normal course of action on Isle Royale. Reuse of buildings and materials was also common in other areas around the Great Lakes, including South and North Manitou Islands at Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore and Rocky Island Historic District on Apostle Islands National Lakeshore.⁶⁴

In undertaking repair or maintenance of cultural resources that are eligible for or listed in the National Register of Historic Places, it is important to do so in a manner that is consistent with “The Secretary of the Interior’s Guidelines for Rehabilitation (codified in 36 CFR 67). The definition of Rehabilitation employed in 36 CFR 67 is as follows:

Rehabilitation means the process of returning a building or buildings to a state of utility, through repair or alteration, which makes possible an efficient use while preserving those portions and features of the building and its site and environment which are significant to its historic, architectural, and cultural values as determined by the Secretary.

This definition emphasizes the importance of undertaking rehabilitation in a manner that places the building(s) in “an efficient use,” while preserving characteristics of the building(s) and its surroundings that are “significant to its historic, architectural, and cultural values.” Among other things, the “Guidelines for Rehabilitation” stress that

Deteriorated historic features shall be repaired rather than replaced. Where the severity of deterioration requires replacement of a distinctive feature, the new feature shall match the old in design, color, texture, and other visual qualities and, where possible, materials. Replacement of missing features shall be substantiated by documentary, physical, or pictorial evidence.⁶⁵

On Isle Royale the material culture of resource exploitation and navigation, of recreation and conservation exists as physical symbols of the intertwined historical movements that shaped and reshaped the “face” of the Island. Their existence; their survival; and their meaning are products of the interaction between human and natural forces. Indeed, the primary artifact is the Island itself, shaped and reshaped by human action over time -- mined and fished and logged and burned and cleared and restored.

The Making of an “Historical Wilderness”: Copper Mining and Fishing

The Ojibwe Period

Fishing and copper mining are inter-related chapters of the “story” of Isle Royale, dating back thousands of years to the life ways of ancient peoples. Commercial copper mining played out in the late nineteenth century, but fishing remains as the longest, continuous human activity on the Island. Timothy Cochrane draws upon archaeological evidence to conclude that in the pre-historic, copper mining period Isle Royale was likely used by multiple groups of Native Americans. Prehistoric people mined, hunted, fished, and gathered on Isle Royale. They canoed back to the mainland with copper in the shape of rectangular bars, awls, beads, and hooks. Cochrane states that these ancient

peoples used Isle Royale frequently and “traveled throughout the Island, living in many locations that are campgrounds today.”⁶⁶

Based upon considerable archaeological analysis Isle Royale contains the most important, identified concentration of prehistoric mining features in the Lake Superior Basin. According to Caven Clark, primary deposits of copper existed in several locations around the Lake Superior Basin. Yet, given the large areas of primary copper sources, “the number and distribution of reported aboriginal copper mines is surprisingly limited. Excluding Isle Royale, prehistoric copper mines are reported from few locations.” In marked contrast, archaeological research has recorded fifteen prehistoric copper mines on Isle Royale, each with from one to more than one hundred pits. Clark is careful to add that these numbers for Isle Royale represent modern archaeological knowledge rather than the “actual distribution and density of copper mining in prehistory, and explains the historic tendency to over-emphasize the role of Isle Royale as the source of prehistoric copper.” Surviving prehistoric mining pits and other evidence of ancient mining activity on Isle Royale represent a significant archaeological resource not only on the Island but also in the Lake Superior region.⁶⁷ These sites should be eligible for the National Register under Criterion D. They require an appropriate level of protection, which may include not publishing their exact locations to reduce the possibility of human impacts that could compromise integrity and information content.

By “the dawn of the historical period,” the Ojibwe had become the sole Native American group making use of Isle Royale. They journeyed to Isle Royale during the summer for subsistence and religious purposes, fishing with spears, hooks, and gill nets depending on their quarry and water conditions. They cured their catch by drying and smoking. Ojibwe also used Isle Royale as a place to find employment and earn income. The American Fur Company began commercial fishing on Isle Royale in 1837, and according to Timothy Cochrane, “they built an enterprise, in large part, upon the subsistence knowledge and many skills of the Ojibwe.” Archaeologist Caven Clark reports that most of the American Fur Company’s fishing establishments on Isle Royale “coincided with prior aboriginal sites and, after termination of AFC fishing in 1841, these sites were subsequently reoccupied as seasonal sites by native groups.” Ojibwe also fished for a large-scale commercial operation run by Hugh H. McCullough between 1848 and 1857, which significantly overlapped with the first American copper boom on Isle Royale, from 1843-1855.⁶⁸ The beginnings of commercial fishing and commercial copper mining by Americans on Isle Royale shared a reliance on traditional Native American knowledge used to exploit a resource for commercial purposes. (Overall, between the mid-1840s and the mid-1850s, when copper mining and commercial fishing overlapped, Isle Royale was a busy place for such a remote and isolated location.)

Commercial fishing and copper mining brought Americans and Europeans to Isle Royale, but the Ojibwe people also remained on the Island. The high

point of the Ojibwe presence occurred in the 1850s, before the Panic of 1857 sent commercial fishing into a tailspin. Some Ojibwe found employment with the mining operations, while others sold the miners fish and wild game. Isle Royale played an important, but changing, role in the economic and cultural lives of the Ojibwe.⁶⁹ They, in turn, were active participants in creating Isle Royale as a historical wilderness. One thing is certain -- so far as the Ojibwe are concerned, their association with the Island was not restricted to copper mining or pre-history and extended into the twentieth century.

McCargoe Cove and Birch Island near its mouth represent geographical bookends that bracket the long history of Ojibwe presence on Isle Royale. For the Ojibwe, McCargoe Cove was a traditional point of entry to Isle Royale. Timothy Cochrane observes that for the North Shore Ojibwe, "their history also speaks to the fact that the front door to Minong was entered through McCargoe Cove, over water or ice from the North Shore of Minnesota and Ontario. The concept of a wilderness isle must be enlarged to include it as an Ojibwe archipelago." John Linklater and his wife, Helen (Tchi-ki-wis) became the last Native American couple to live on Isle Royale. Linklater served as a guide for the wealthy Frank Warren and his family on Isle Royale. He and his wife purchased property on Birch Island, McCargoe Cove, and with another couple, the Linklaters ran a commercial fishery from Birch Island for many years. They fished with pound nets, which set them apart from the other, mostly Scandinavian fishermen on the Island. The Linklaters owned four log cabins on Birch Island. John Linklater continued to guide patrons of Rock Harbor Lodge; he also worked as a game warden and dog musher on the Minnesota mainland during the winter months. Linklater died in 1933, and his wife followed in him in death about a year later. The National Park bought their property, and for many years their cabins stood empty and neglected. Eventually, someone threw their personal property into a nearby swamp.⁷⁰

A photo album in the Isle Royale archives in Houghton, Michigan, with annotations by Weston Farmer, Pete Edisen, and Roy Oberg dated September 20, 1975, offers a brief and poignant history of the buildings and the people on Birch Island. A black and white image of a three-building grouping framed by birch or aspen trees shows a one-room, one-story log cabin with a smaller storage-type building to the left and what appears to be a privy in back of the cabin. There is a handmade table and bench in the foreground, which was overgrown by weeds and looking unused at the time the image was taken in the late 1930s. The caption reads:

Monuments to hope, hard labor, and thrift. Old peeled-log cabin on Birch Island, McCargo Cove. Occupied by Capt. Francis, then by John Linkliter & wife Chicawis. Their son married owner Hanson's daugh[ter].

A second picture depicts a one-room, gable-front, log cabin with a covered, full-width porch. A smaller storage-type addition appears to be attached behind, and

a well-worn path traces a gentle curve through the overgrown yard to the front door. The caption mourns its fate:

A popular and substantial shelter on Birch Island, taken about the time NPS took over. Left to dereliction by the first 'planners,' a modest investment could have restored the treasure.⁷¹

In the middle of the 1970s, the Park Service burned the Linklater's cabins in an effort to create wilderness. Timothy Cochrane observes that "the last material remnant of an Ojibwe home on Minong was gone."⁷²

The American Period: Copper Mining

In Chapter One of Narrative History of Isle Royale National Park, "Copper and the Prehistoric Use of Isle Royale," Theodore J. Karamanski and Richard Zeitlin summarize the work of Archaeologist, Tyler Bastian, who in 1963 wrote a Master's thesis that synthesized much of the archaeology done on Isle Royale up to that time. Among his contributions to knowledge Bastian attempted to experimentally determine how much labor it would have taken to mine copper on Isle Royale with the technology available to prehistoric people. Bastian concluded that the many prehistoric mining pits on the Island were not necessarily the work of large numbers of native miners. In fact, he argued that "as few as fifty miners a year, working only two or three days, would have been a sufficient work force to account for all of the ancient diggings." Karamanski and Zeitlin draw together their summary of Bastian's work by stating, "The primitive technology of the prehistoric era, if persistently applied, was capable of making a major impact on the landscape."⁷³

Bastian's research demonstrated that well before Europeans or Americans discovered or mapped or explored Isle Royale, ancient people with primitive tools has begun transforming the Island's landscape. The pits left behind by prehistoric miners are important for a number of reasons: Because they provide material evidence of the mining activity of Native Americans; because they helped American miners locate deposits of copper on Isle Royale; and because they are a part of the humanized landscape of Isle Royale today. It is still possible to find pounding stones used by Native Americans mixed in with the "poor rock" left over from nineteenth century mining by Americans.

The artifact that may best symbolize Native mining, American mining, and the relationship between the two survives only in photographic form. At the head of McCargoe Cove, on the North shore of Isle Royale, exists the remnants of the Minong Mine, which operated from about 1875-1885. An all-weather, interpretive sign placed by the Park Service near the federal dock close to the head of McCargoe Cove notes that Indians mined nearby about 4,000 years ago and that their mining pits along Minong Ridge are among the oldest known in North America. The sign explains that discovery of those pits led nineteenth century

prospectors to this area and resulted in the establishment of the Minong Mine. A short walk inland from the dock reveals a landscape littered with the material evidence of the Minong Mine, piles of “poor rock,” water-filled pits, mining shafts big enough to walk into, rusting metal rails and containers, and rotting logs still joined together in one corner.⁷⁴

Near the access trail among the scattered ruins of the Minong Mine, the National Park Service has placed another, all-weather, interpretive sign. One of the photos on the sign shows a huge mass of nearly pure copper, weighing 5,720 pounds, sitting on a small, crude rail car made of two rough-cut logs set parallel atop a pair of simple axles with metal wheels. (Thomas and Kendra Gale published an excellent, detailed image of this giant mass of copper on page 29 of Isle Royale.) The photograph of that copper mass serves as a material symbol of the cultural and technical divide that separated Native Americans and Euro Americans as well as what attracted nineteenth century copper seekers to ancient copper mining sites on Isle Royale. The surface of the copper mass is scalloped, and the sign explains that those were the markings that resulted from Indian mining efforts. Given their available technology, composed largely of pounding stones, they took what they could remove from the Island with their open canoes and left the rest behind. They either used the copper themselves or traded using an elaborate system of barter. The scalloped mass remained to mark their discovery, their mining activity, and the limits of their technology and culture in removing copper from the Island. It also caught the attention of nineteenth century miners, who used evidence of Native mining to focus their prospecting for copper and who with much different technology for extraction and transportation and operating in a commodity-based market system took the whole thing. All that remains is a photograph displayed on an all-weather sign, which itself becomes a material symbol of the challenges and contradictions of managing and protecting cultural resources and wilderness qualities on Isle Royale.⁷⁵

American copper miners attempted to exploit the island in three waves (1843-1855, 1873-1881, and 1889-1893). An addition to the 1842 Treaty of LaPointe in 1844 extinguished Ojibwe claims to Isle Royale.⁷⁶ That treaty coincided with the emerging development of the American copper mining industry. Most histories that mention nineteenth century copper mining on Isle Royale, including Karamanski and Zeitlin, tend to focus on techniques and output and conclude that copper mining on Isle Royale never lived up to expectations and was nowhere near as profitable as many sites on the mainland. (On the page 19 of Historic Mining on Isle Royale, Rakestraw provides production figures in pounds of refined copper for the 5 most significant mines.) Karamanski and Zeitlin state in the opening paragraph of Chapter Three, “Historic Mining,” that “Between 1845 and 1925, Michigan’s miners extracted 7,516,526,121 pounds of copper.” Isle Royale produced 210, 839,585 pounds in that same time frame, or just 2.8 percent of the total.⁷⁷ Looked at through this lens, Isle Royale becomes almost a footnote in the story of copper mining in Michigan. Or, at best it offers

an interesting, but distant, chapter in the Island's history that includes hard rock mining, colorful Welsh miners, and the difficulties of trying to live and work and make a profit in an isolated, remote, and challenging location. Examined as a chapter in an on-going and cumulative process of human modification of the Island, copper mining becomes a more important part of the story. The surviving archaeological and above ground cultural resources serve as significant material symbols of an important and long-running theme in the history of Isle Royale.

Mining accelerated the process of environmental transformation of Isle Royale, beginning with the first of three phases of American-era copper mining, 1843-1855. Prospectors sometimes set fire to the Island's brush cover to aid their search for copper. When survey parties arrived in 1847, they visited eleven mining ventures on Isle Royale. Most of the operations were quite small, but there were exceptions. In the Rock Harbor area in the vicinity of the present-day lodge, the Scoville, Shaw, and Smithwick mines represented intermediate-sized operations. In 1847, the Scoville mine had a bunkhouse and a blacksmith shop with a small smelting furnace. Miners at the Smithwick dug two shafts and constructed several buildings, including a blacksmith shop, a root cellar, and several dwellings.⁷⁸ Each company dug for copper and constructed buildings. The blacksmith shop with its small smelter must have used a considerable amount of wood harvested from the nearby forests. The fact that all three of these modest-sized mines operated in proximity to each other would have magnified their impact on their surroundings.

In the first phase of copper mining in Isle Royale, the three largest and most significant mining operations were the Pittsburgh and Isle Royale Mining Company, Todd Harbor; Siskowit mining company with operations at Rock Harbor, Mott Island, Washington Harbor, and near McCargoe Cove; and, the Ohio and Isle Royale Company mined at several locations between Rock Harbor and Siskiwit Bay.⁷⁹ Cumulatively, these operations had a notable influence on the surrounding environment. The Pittsburgh and Isle Royale Company initiated mining operations in the area of Todd Harbor in 1847, where they began with two log cabins and a blacksmith shop. This was the only significant mine on the North Shore during the first phase of copper mining on Isle Royale. Workers built docks and loading facilities that failed to stand up to the winds blowing across Lake Superior from Canada. Rakestraw records that the company struck rich veins in 1849, had about twenty five men employed, and by 1850 had begun construction of a water-powered stamping mill. As was so often the case, expectations exceeded yield and combined with the harsh environment of the North shore and transportation challenges, the mine at Todd Harbor recorded its last year of production in 1853.⁸⁰

The Siskowit Mining Company established its initial headquarters in an abandoned fishing cabin likely left from the short-lived venture of the American Fur Company on Isle Royale. The agent and a few workers explored Mott Island and Outer Hill Island and much of the North Shore from Washington Harbor to

McCargoe Cove. At McCargoe a combined deposit of copper and silver was the company's only profitable venture on the North Shore. According to Lawrence Rakestraw, by 1850 the Siskowit Mining Company centered its activities on the Siskowit Mine in Rock Harbor across from Mott Island. Archaeological investigations, including hammer stones recovered from a fissure mine, demonstrate that Native Americans occupied the site in the period roughly bracketed by A.D. 700-1300. The Company's settlement included a large, log house for the agent, "shanties" for workers with families, and a log store house with barracks for a dozen single workers. Workers burned the grass and vegetation to keep accidental fires from destroying valuable buildings and other improvements. They also put in a vegetable garden. The Siskowit mine did well enough to request the purchase of a steam-powered stamp mill for the 1850 season. Karamanski and Zeitlin state that "the stamp mill allowed miners to ship enough ore to produce 30,912 pounds of refined copper from the Rock Harbor mine in 1850."⁸¹ In the winter of 1852-1853, the stamp mill burned, and Rakestraw describes the response:

The whole work force then took to the woods, cut timber, and had it hauled to the mine site by the only horse on the island, an animal that was old, blind, and lame. There saw pits were set up, the timber whipsawed by hand, and a new mill was ready for installation of machinery by spring.

Faced with a series of financial difficulties and geological challenges, the Siskowit mine closed in 1855.⁸²

In 1868, the Foote Expedition photographed a substantial building abandoned when the Siskowit mine closed. The image published in Gale and Gale, shows a two-story, five-bay, symmetrical, side-gabled house, which given the building techniques of the 1840s, was either timber framed or constructed of logs and then covered with clapboards. The façade on the first floor has a centered door with two windows evenly spaced on either side. There are five evenly spaced windows across the second story. On the right elevation is a one-story attached annex with a side-gabled roof. The façade of this annex has a centered doorway with a window placed symmetrically on either side. It appears to be of log construction with clapboards in the gable end. In all likelihood, this was the original structure and the more substantial, two-story house a later addition. Either wooden shakes or overlapping clapboards cover the roofs of the two-story house and the one-story annex. Small conifers, in the five to ten foot range, have grown up around the building (measured against a man standing on the left edge of the picture).⁸³ This was no simple cabin. It was built to last by people who expected to turn the wilderness into a home while they prospered extracting copper from the Island.

By the late 1840s, the Ohio and Isle Royale Company, had opened mining operations and built a small town very near the modern location of Daisy Farm Campground on Rock Harbor. Caven Clark, writing in Archaeological Survey and Testing at Isle Royale National Park, 1987-1990 Seasons (1995) concludes

that “The Daisy Farm Site clearly ranks with Chippewa Harbor 1 and Indian Point as a significant and archaeologically rich site.” He explains that:

The co-occurrence of copper waste, ceramics, lithic tools, and abundant food remains argues for a lack of spatial separation between activities at this site. The nearest known prehistoric copper mine is 300m to the north at the Ransom Mine site (20IR43), and it is likely that most of the initial processing work took place at or near the site of extraction prior to transporting the raw copper to the occupation site at Daisy Farm.⁸⁴

Lawrence Rakestraw reports that in summer 1847 forty to fifty men cleared the land, constructed houses, and explored for copper. Prospects initially looked promising and the company built a smelter. The Ohio and Isle Royale Company created the town site of Ransom. Karamanski and Zeitlin describe Ransom as the unofficial capital of Isle Royale, with a population of about fifty, and several buildings, including a furnace and blacksmith shops, “an engine house, a smelter, and a dwelling house.”⁸⁵

Mining dramatically altered the landscape of Isle Royale, as places like Todd Harbor and McCargoe Cove and sections of Rock Harbor took on the look of small industrial operations. Workers constructed crude roads and leveled the surrounding forests for lumber such as that used to reconstruct the stamping mill at the Siskiwit mine, for mine timbers, and especially for firewood. The smelter run by the Ohio and Isle Royale Company and the stamp mill owned by the Siskowit Mining Company would have consumed large amounts of wood to fire the boilers that powered steam engines. Directly due to the impact of mining, the North shore of Rock Harbor was almost without tree cover. Intentional and accidental fires around the mine locations had burned the surrounding forest. Smoke hung in the air from wood burned to fire steam engines, heat metal for the blacksmiths, warm crude buildings, and cook food for the miners and crews of support workers. Blasts shook the ground around the mines, and piles of poor rock grew and covered the land. Sailing ships came and went, tying up at docks, off-loading supplies, and taking away copper and copper ore. Trash and garbage and ashes and human waste accumulated. The entire mining infrastructure lay abandoned by the late 1850s when mining died on Isle Royale; that is until it was resurrected and expanded and rose again from the dead in the early 1870s.

Few material remnants of the first wave of copper mining remain on the surface on Isle Royale, but it is possible to view ruins of the Ransom mine on the trail from Daisy Farm Campground to the Ojibway Mountain fire tower. A short distance inland, hidden by forest cover and brushy understory, a mine pit and poor rock piles mark the location of what in the 1840s was a large mine by the standards of Isle Royale. Even so, the Daisy Farm/Ransom Mine area has seen discontinuous, but long-term human use for thousands of years. It is one of the most significant archaeological sites on the Island. The village of Ransom later became the location of a sawmill, a market garden that grew vegetables for the

Rock Harbor Lodge, a camp for the Civilian Conservation Corps, and presently a National Park Service campground. The stamp rock pile from the Siskowit Mine slides down the bank of Rock Harbor across from the National Park Service headquarters on Mott Island. The area around the Siskowit mine has also seen long-term human occupation and use. It was the location of a prehistoric mine and seasonal living area. The American Fur Company established short-lived fishing operation, and there was (in Isle Royale terms) an important nineteenth century copper mine. A heavily used hiking trail follows the shore of Rock Harbor and takes modern hikers past the Siskowit Mine. Remains of the Smithwick mine survive for visitors to view just off the Stoll Trail near Rock Harbor Lodge.⁸⁶

By the mid-1860s, the price of copper had risen and transportation improvements, especially rail access in mainland ports, renewed interest in copper mining on Isle Royale. The North American Mineral Land Company bought about 70,000 acres from the U.S. Government and former mining corporations and sent an exploration team to Isle Royale in 1871. They found significant evidence of mining by Native Americans along Minong Ridge, west of McCargoe Cove. They also located potentially important copper deposits on Siskiwit Bay, another area where Native Americans had mined. The Island Mining Company formed to exploit the copper at Siskiwit Bay. (One of the crew bosses was Alfred Merritt later associated with finding and developing the fabulous deposits of iron ore in the Mesabi Range.) In the summer of 1873 eighty men built a small town and a road to the mine. The Island Mining Company shipped in 400,000 board feet of lumber and within a few years had built a town that became the county seat of Isle Royale County, boasting about 130 residents and a school. The company constructed a stone powderhouse on Senter Point, and supported its mining activity with a substantial dock wide enough for horse-drawn wagons, a steam-powered hoist, a saw mill, a stamp mill, an earth dam to form a small reservoir, and a bed for a small-gage rail line. The mine remained in production until 1878.⁸⁷

A crew dispatched by the Minong Mining Company scouted extensive ancient Native American mining sites near the head of McCargoe Cove in the summer of 1874. They found significant evidence of the presence of copper, and in one pit the amazed and delighted workers uncovered the huge mass of copper worked by prehistoric miners and featured on the interpretive sign erected by the National Park Service. Clark reports in Archeological Survey that “the Minong Mine has seen the longest period of active archaeological research of any site on the Island.” These Native American mining sites, which may be the “largest continuous area of prehistoric copper mining” in the entire Lake Superior basin, constitute a resource as valuable (and a legacy as important) as any of the wilderness qualities protected, managed, and enhanced under the aegis of the National Park.⁸⁸

Work on what became the largest and most productive mine on Isle Royale began in the summer of 1875. Crews began by excavating Native

American pits with open trenches and latter on added deep shafts. The Minong Company made extensive improvements to support the mining operations, including a warehouse and dock near the present day Park Service dock and campground, a wagon road to the mining area, a small gauge rail line, houses, an office, a store, a steam-powered stamp mill, and a blacksmith shop. It required the labor of many horses to haul ore cars from the mines to rail loading platforms. Water for the stamp mill's boiler came from a reservoir backed up behind a dam on a tributary to Chickenbone Creek. The Company constructed a second dock and warehouse at the mouth of McCargoe Cove to accommodate larger vessels. The living area housed about one hundred fifty workers, as well as some members of their families. Production slowed after 1878, but the mine remained in operation until 1883.⁸⁹

The Saginaw mine near Rock Harbor represented the final, noteworthy attempt to mine copper on Isle Royale in the 1870s. Development began in 1877, as the company shipped in a steam engine and hoist and cleared about two acres to build a residence for the miners. The Saginaw mining company began reworking the poor rock pile left behind by the Ohio and Isle Royale Company. They reopened the Ohio and Isle Royale's mining shaft and dug at least one other shaft. The operation shut down in 1878, as both copper and hope played out and expenses outstripped returns.⁹⁰ The Saginaw reopened and further impacted the area of Rock Harbor first exploited by the Ohio and Isle Royale Company. Writing in Archeological Survey, Craven Clark states that in 1987 "remnants of a road lead up to the remains of a brick structure and a stone foundation. Pieces of iron hardware are abundant. On the south side of the broad, marshy swale above the beach there are a number of log structure remains with associated trash."⁹¹

The Island Mine on Siskiwit Bay and the Minong Mine near the head of McCargoe Cove had significant impacts on the surrounding environment of Isle Royale. Copper seekers continued to burn the forest and brush to aid their search. Glenn Merritt told historian, Lawrence Rakestraw, in an oral history interview cited by Karamanski and Zeitlin, that Alfred Merritt had witnessed the use of fire to clear the town site for the Island Mine. A tremendous demand for wood resulted in the deforestation of significant areas around both mines. Workers and miners used native lumber for docks and for shoring up tunnels, and huge volumes of wood fueled blacksmith's fires and the steam engines that ran hoists and ore-stamping machines. Wood heated homes and other buildings and cooked food. The Island Mine had a steam-powered saw mill that produced enough lumber to allow some to be sold on the mainland. Draft animals compacted the ground on which they worked, and the imported hay they ate to supplement native vegetation carried with it the seeds of non-native species of plants. The presence of Timothy grass in locations around Isle Royale as disparate as Booth Island and Scoville Point argues for the continuing impact of imported feed for draft animals, long after the practice ended.⁹²

In the 1920s and 1930s as momentum built for a National Park on Isle Royale, considerable above-ground remnants of the Island Mine and Minong Mine provided evidence that both had thrived as modest-sized industrial villages within the past half century. At present, not much remains at the location of the Island Mine. Fishermen cannibalized the buildings of the former town to salvage all of that lumber imported to build the town in the first place. Their actions are consistent with a long tradition on Isle Royale of recycling building materials (and even entire buildings) from one location and one need to another. In 1936, the Greenstone fire burned all surviving remains of the town that had once been the county seat of Isle Royale County. Pits and huge piles of poor rock mark the mine site, along with remains of the small gage railway. Cribbing from the dock survives below the water of Siskiwit Bay, and the sandstone block walls of the powder house still stood in the late 1980s. Karamanski and Zeitlin described it as “the most substantial terrestrial cultural resource to survive the nineteenth century.”⁹³ At the Minong Mine, the town site burned in the 1880s, but the surviving remnants of the mining activity are extensive and significant. The location of the mines is marked by large piles of poor rock, water-filled pits, and substantial mine shafts. The ground is littered with rusting metal, including containers and rails and the wheels of rail carts. The only remains of the many buildings that once stood at the site are a few notched logs that once formed the corner of the blacksmith shop.⁹⁴

The final attempt to mine copper on Isle Royale began in 1889, driven in part by a rapid expansion of the electrical industry and its growing demand for copper. Exploratory work by the Wendigo Copper Company around Todd Harbor came up short, and the locus of this final “boom” on the Island centered on Washington Harbor. The Wendigo Copper Company built a headquarters complex called Ghyllbank at the head of Washington Harbor at the site of the present-day National Park Service dock and visitor center, including a large office building, store houses and sheds, and a substantial dock. Two photographs of Ghyllbank published in *Rakestraw* dated 1892 show a substantial area inland from the dock and around the buildings cleared of forest cover. One of the images depicts a winter scene with snow on the ground and a toboggan run starting near the headquarters and heading downhill towards the shore. There is a large stack of wood in the foreground and several brush piles on either side of the toboggan run. Two miles inland the company built a small town, Wendigo, on a road they had already constructed, with a number of cabins and two boarding houses for single workers. According to *Rakestraw*, the mining community numbered about 135, and “many miles of road were built in the Washington Harbor area and as far inland as Lake Desor.” Thomas and Kendra Gale included a picture of Richard and Alice O’Neil, with an infant born on Isle Royale, sitting in front of a one-story log cabin alongside an animal shelter and crude wooden fence. The cabin appears to be set in a clearing in the forest, and the caption explains that the O’Neil’s cabin was probably located at the town site of Wendigo. Karamanski and Zeitlin report that “forest fires erupted near Todd’s Harbor in August [1892], consuming one drilling station and redirecting the efforts

of all remaining workers to fighting the conflagration which raged 'entirely beyond control' for three weeks until rains quenched it."⁹⁵

All of the company's efforts and investments failed to produce copper and the Wendigo Company ceased activity and went out of business in the fall of 1892. Little remains at the site of the once-thriving and short-lived headquarters complex of Ghyllbank, except for the submerged log and rock cribs for the dock that may still be viewed from the service and gas dock at Windigo. Inland there are remnants of the mine roads and of the Wendigo town site, but except for cellar holes and earth banks and metal "junk," not much is visible above ground. Nearby, at the location of the copper explorations, steel rails, rusting mining equipment, a badly deteriorated log cabin, and considerable poor rock are all that survive on the surface to mark the location of the final, unsuccessful attempt to extract copper from Isle Royale.⁹⁶

During the "American Period," mining and fishing on Isle Royale took place on the "frontier" fringe of those activities in the Lake Superior Basin. Isle Royale was hard to reach, and sustaining operations there required overcoming obstacles that were either less challenging or non-existent on the mainland. One major difference between mining and fishing was that copper was never very abundant on Isle Royale, compared to other locations around Lake Superior, such as Michigan's Keweenaw Peninsula. Copper mining on Isle Royale did not stand out for either the size of its operations or the productivity of its mines. Despite that comparative fact, commercial copper mining played a key role in the history of Isle Royale; archaeological remnants of Isle Royale's nineteenth century commercial copper mining are an important part of the history of the Island. Most properties on the National Register of historic places are listed for their local significance, and the archaeological remnants of commercial nineteenth century copper mining on Isle Royale definitely possess local significance.

Proximity to the most important, known concentration of prehistoric mining activity in the Lake Superior Basin reinforces and augments the significance of nineteenth century archaeological copper mining sites on Isle Royale. The association of prehistoric and historic archaeological sites adds great depth to the potential for understanding the full history of copper mining on Isle Royale, and by extension the larger Lake Superior region. Indeed, the Island's rich combination of ancient and modern archaeological copper mining sites may be unequalled in the area around Lake Superior. The American miners' practice of using ancient mining pits to locate copper sets up an important dynamic between prehistoric and historic mining on Isle Royale. Minong Mine in McCargoe Cove stands out as the best example of an archaeological site that documents the relationship between ancient and nineteenth century mining on Isle Royale. Caven Clark concludes that "The Minong Mine site is the largest continuous area of prehistoric copper mining on Isle Royale, and perhaps in the Lake Superior basin." Along the top of Minong

Ridge “estimates of the number of aboriginal mining pits and fissures varies from 1500 to 3000.” Other locations such as Daisy Farm and the Siskowit Mine on the North shore of Rock Harbor also illustrate a similar dynamic.⁹⁷

The American Period: Commercial Fishing

In large part because of its location on the “frontier fringe,” the fishery around Isle Royale maintained its abundance well into the twentieth century when other locations on the Great Lakes and even Lake Superior had declined. Writing about the condition of the Great Lakes’ fisheries as they existed in 1900, historian Margaret Bogue concluded that “in the northern portions of the lakes, a fish population composed of species that had been widely distributed in the lakes in 1800 lasted longest, and around Isle Royale in Lake Superior, this remote and beautiful place, the best examples of trout species since the era of exploitation remain.”⁹⁸ In the case of the sustained, comparative quality of its fishery and the concomitant significance of fisheries-related resources, Isle Royale’s physically isolated, maritime location played a decisive role.

By the 1890s, the Great Lakes fisheries were in trouble. In 1893, the governments of Great Britain (acting for the Dominion of Canada) and the United States each appointed one commissioner to serve on a Joint Commission Relative to the Preservation of the Fisheries in Waters Contiguous to Canada and the United States. The commissioners’ final report issued in 1897 reveals that catches of the most valuable commercial species were either in decline or were being maintained through ever more intensive fishing on both sides of the border.⁹⁹ In 1925, the herring fishery of Lake Erie collapsed. The shock of the disappearance of the herring in Lake Erie was followed in the late 1930s, by the failure of the whitefish fishery in Lake Huron, due to the introduction of new, efficient, deep-water trap. Any potential benefits associated with restrictions on the use of this gear were canceled out by the predation of the newly arrived, parasitic sea lamprey. In 1937, Dr. John Van Oosten, prominent Great Lakes researcher with the U.S. Bureau of Fisheries, bluntly stated: “Under present conditions, the Great Lakes fisheries are doomed to commercial extinction.”¹⁰⁰ Despite over exploitation, habitat degradation, and lamprey depredations throughout the Great Lakes and western Lake Superior, the commercial fishery around Isle Royale persisted and remained comparatively strong through World War II.

Lampreys produced an ecological catastrophe in the commercial fisheries of the three upper Great Lakes (Michigan, Huron, and Superior). The sea lamprey was first discovered in Lake Ontario in 1835. Improvements to the Welland Canal allowed the lamprey to bypass Niagara Falls and migrate to Lake Erie, where they were positively identified in 1921. Lamprey continued to spread through the Great Lakes, appearing in Lake Michigan in 1936, Lake Huron in 1937, and Lake Superior in 1938. By the late 1940s, populations had exploded in all three upper Great Lakes, causing a collapse of the trout, white fish, and

chub populations and the concomitant destruction of the commercial fishery.¹⁰¹ The commercial catch of trout in Lake Huron plummeted from 3.4 million pounds in 1937 to almost nothing in 1947, and the commercial harvest of trout in Lake Michigan dropped from 5.5 million pounds in 1946 to 402 pounds by 1953. In Lake Superior, the annual, commercial harvest of trout averaged 4.5 million pounds from the 1920s through the late 1940s; by 1961, the haul of lake trout from Lake Superior fell to about 368,000 pounds.¹⁰² Lampreys did not reach the Western end of Lake Superior in substantial numbers until the 1950s, which meant that the fishery around Isle Royale was one of the last on the Great Lakes to experience the devastation caused by the lamprey.

On Isle Royale, a healthy fishery based upon an abundant fish population of original species, such as trout and white fish, outlasted the boom and busts of nineteenth century copper mining and co-existed for decades with the resort and recreation movements. Many of the surviving cultural resources associated with the commercial fishery on Isle Royale share characteristics with other fisheries in the Western end of Lake Superior – heavy emphasis on gill nets and hook lines (pound nets saw limited use on Isle Royale); double-ended, wooden Mackinaw boats; a demanding and dangerous seasonal occupation; working through and dependent upon wholesale dealers. On the other hand, unlike most other locations on the Great Lakes, including Apostle Islands and Sleeping Bear Dunes, many of the fishery-related cultural resources on Isle Royale represent the “Golden Age” of Great Lakes fisheries. Isle Royale was one of the last places on the Great Lakes working an abundant fishery with species that approximated those found in Lake Superior at the start of the nineteenth century. Isle Royale provided work for more than one hundred fishermen in the 1920s.¹⁰³ At the same time that the movement to establish a national park emerged and gained momentum, these fishermen contributed to creating Isle Royale as a historical wilderness.

Uniqueness of place influenced the fishing culture that developed on Isle Royale, which in turn molded the significance of the surviving fisheries-related cultural resources on the Island. As Timothy Cochrane explained in an article in Western Folklore, “more than a backdrop or some objective reality to which the folklore referred, the Island was a dynamic and experiential part of fishermen’s lives. The island was an active part of folk performance, influencing story outcomes, pervading customs, and material culture competence.” “These fishermen,” Cochrane added, “shared much in common: insular ‘summer’ residences, ethnic bonds and enclaves (most were newly immigrated Norwegians and Swedes), long hours of ‘back-breaking’ labor, dangerous working conditions, unstable fish markets, and yearly moves from the mainland to the seasonal fisheries on Isle Royale.”¹⁰⁴ Living seasonally on Isle Royale and fishing the waters off of the Island offered a distinct experience shaped by the relationship between people and place. Part of the significance of surviving fisheries-related material culture on Isle Royale is directly related to the

uniqueness of the relationship between seasonal fishermen, the Island, and its surrounding fishery.

Human beings have fished the waters of Lake Superior around Isle Royale for thousands of years. Timothy Cochrane's Minong: The Good Place offers an in-depth examination of the Ojibway culture that provides the context for their traditional fishing practices, as well as the Ojibwe's transition from subsistence to involvement in commercial fishing operations. Caven Clark, Archeological Survey, documents numerous examples in the archeological record of Native Americans on Isle Royale who fished for subsistence, along with their involvement in commercial fishing. Rebecca S. Toupal, et al, The Isle Royale Folkefiskerisamfunn: Familiar Som Levde Av Fiske, An Ethnohistory of the Scandinavin Folk Fishermen of Isle Royale National Park (2002), summarizes the traditional fishing practices of the Ojibway people.

Several published sources provide insight into the history of commercial fishing on Isle Royale, including Bogue, Fishing the Great Lakes (2000); Lawrence Rakestraw, Commercial Fishing on Isle Royale (1968); Karamanski and Zeitlin, Narrative History of Isle Royale National Park (1988); and, Toupal, et al, The Isle Royale Folkefiskerisamfunn (2002). Writing in 1968 Lawrence Rakestraw noted that other extractive industries on Isle Royale, like copper mining and timber harvesting, did not enjoy much long-term success. He added that "by contrast, commercial fishing has provided a livelihood for men from the 1830s to the present." (By 2007, commercial fishing had nearly ceased on the Island.) Rakestraw also explained that fishing like mining left an impact on the landscape, noting that, "the clearings made in the wilderness by fishermen for gardens, pasture, or buildings have changed the ecology of the area, through modifications in vegetation types and the introduction of plants and flowers from the mainland."¹⁰⁵ *Sweet william* gone wild in places such as Crystal Cove and Tobin Harbor sometimes marks the location of former residences of fishermen or summer dwellers who intentionally sought to beautify their seasonal homes with colorful reminders of their lives on the mainland. (Most knowledgeable people do not pull Sweet William on sight as they do with unwelcome and less attractive exotics such as Mullen.)¹⁰⁶

Commercial fishing on Isle Royale began with the American Fur Company, which initially set up its fishing head quarters at La Pointe, in the Apostle Islands. As the populations of animals that provided fur declined in the western basin of Lake Superior, the American Fur Company looked to fish as another potentially profitable commodity. The American Fur Company built schooners to transport fish salted and packed in barrels to Sault Ste. Marie, where in the 1830s and 1840s they had to be transported around rapids between Lake Superior and Lake Huron. Fishermen sought Lake Trout, Whitefish, and Siskiwit, the latter being an especially fat trout specific to Lake Superior that was rendered for fish oil and was edible only when salted.¹⁰⁷ As they had done in the case of the fur trade, Native Americans worked in the commercial fishery, but

they did so as employees and not subsistence fishermen. Toupal et al, citing Timothy Cochrane (1989) describes the way in which the American Fur Company drew upon the Ojibway's knowledge and traditional fishing practices but incorporated them into a market system:

The company built on Ojibway fishing knowledge with a variety of new technologies including net materials (twine and cotton), sailing schooners, docks, fish houses, salt preservation, and commercial shipping and marketing. AFC's reliance on Ojibway labor and their knowledge of fish species and fishing grounds extended to the development of small, interactive complexes. AFC fishing stations and Ojibway camps co-existed at several sites including the Card Point Station and Grace Island camp in Washington Harbor, and the Francis Point Station and several small camps in Siskiwit Bay.¹⁰⁸

In July 1837, the American Fur Company established its first Isle Royale fish station on Belle Isle (called Fish Island at that time) at the location of the modern campground. Belle Isle joins the list of places on Isle Royale that have witnessed thousands of years of occupation and use. Archaeologists conducting an excavation on Belle Isle in 1988 found "a broad area of occupation midden with good preservation of faunal material. Copper-working is documented by abundant waste and finished copper artifacts and large hammer stones." The Company expanded to several locations within Siskiwit Bay (Paul Islands, Checker Point, Wright Island, Hay Bay) and added additional fish stations at Merritt's Island, Grace Point, Duncan Bay, and Rock Harbor. Checker Point became the primary fishing station, with a barracks building, cooper shop, warehouse, salt storage, fish house, and administrative office. A first-person account in 1839 reported thirty three men employed in the Isle Royale Fishery, plus Native American women hired to clean the fish. The Lake Superior fishery saturated the market, which in combination with economic damage inflicted by the Panic of 1837 and a shift in fashion from fur to silk, caused the American Fur Company to fail in 1842. With that failure ended the first organized attempt to commercially exploit the fisheries of Isle Royale. There are no surviving above-ground resources from the American Fur Company period. Following the demise of the American Fur Company, independent fishing continued on Isle Royale.¹⁰⁹

A second commercial fishing boom took place on Isle Royale in the late 1840s and 1850s, which substantially overlapped with the first American copper boom (1843-1855). Between 1848 and 1857, Hugh H. McCullough ran a large fishing operation on Isle Royale. In many cases, his enterprise occupied buildings and sites used earlier by the American Fur Company, including Siskiwit Bay (Paul Islands, Checker Point, Wright Island, and Hay Bay). Timothy Cochrane concludes that "it is the size of McCullough's operation that makes it noteworthy." McCullough employed as many as three hundred Ojibwe from Grand Portage and Fort William on the North Shore. Ojibwe fishermen caught siscowet, which McCullough's business sold as rendered oil or salted. McCullough's Ojibwe workforce stayed on Isle Royale into the fall to catch trout and whitefish. He paid his fishermen \$2 to \$3 a barrel, with any charges for

goods from his trading establishments subtracted out. Fishing for the American Fur Company and later for McCullough began to accustom the Ojibwe to a cash economy. Because commercial fishing, and to a lesser extent mining, attracted so many Ojibwe to Isle Royale, they had the chance to find out about and make use of caribou and other resources.¹¹⁰

Commercial fishing continued on Isle Royale on a more limited basis after the demise of McCullough's fishing operation in 1857. Although historical evidence is limited, it is clear that Ojibwe participation continued. During the 1860s, fishermen occupied the abandoned American Fur Company fish house and the Amygdaloid and Isle Royale mining company building on Fish Island (Belle Isle). By 1866, a fishery established on Wright Island just off shore from Malone Bay produced fish oil from siskowit. Fishermen caught siskowit and brought them to a processing facility on Wright Island where they boiled them down in iron vats so that the oil could be extracted – an operation that must have filled the air with olfactory insults.¹¹¹ Several factors, including the Panic of 1857, the Civil War, and a lack of on-shore transportation to move fish to market kept the fishery at a relatively low level until the late 1870s and 1880s.

By the late 1870s, a number of “outside” influences converged to bring a revival to the commercial fishing industry on the western end of Lake Superior and Isle Royale. In 1855, a canal with locks bypassed the rapids at Sault Ste. Marie between Lake Superior and Lake Huron and significantly speeded and improved transit into and out of Lake Superior. The western end of Lake Superior now had much easier access to developing urban centers and markets from Chicago to Detroit to Cleveland to Buffalo and Toronto. Those cities linked the Great Lakes to an expanding railroad system, while the completion of the Lake Superior and Mississippi Railroad at Duluth in 1870 placed rail access much closer to the fisheries on Isle Royale. Steam boats replaced sail boats on the Great Lakes, which allowed shipping lines to operate on more regular schedules. Refrigerated rail cars made it possible to transport fresh fish to market, while a shift from sails to motorized boats and overall improvements in fishing gear made the fishermen themselves more productive. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries' economic difficulties in Scandinavian countries, especially Norway and Sweden, “pushed” immigrants to leave and opportunities in Minnesota “pulled” them to new homes. Toupal et al explain that “many recent migrants found the lake environment of the North Shore similar enough to the marine habitats of Norway that they could apply familiar fishing methods there.” Severin (“Sam”) Sivertson left Eigersund, Norway, for Duluth, Minnesota, as a teenager in about 1890, because people from Eigersund already resided there. This type of “chain migration” was common among the Scandinavians who migrated to Minnesota. Sam Sivertson's grandson, Stuart, remembered him saying that the coastline and trees of Isle Royale reminded him of Norway, where he had also had some experience as a fisherman.¹¹²

For these largely Scandinavian fishermen, fishing was a part-time, seasonal occupation. Most of them spent the late fall and winter on-shore engaged in a variety of occupations. Trout, whitefish, and herring represented the mainstay of the Isle Royale fishery. Norwegian fishermen developed the Duluth-based herring fishery. A typical fishing operation on Isle Royale, whether individual or family, included a boat or perhaps a skiff, set lines, and gill nets (a few of the Isle Royale fishermen used pound nets, especially in places like Siskiwit Bay and McCargoe Cove with the right depth and bottom conditions). Generally they fished for trout from spring to fall, whitefish in the fall, and herring in the spring and fall. Methods of catching included set lines with individual hooks baited with herring for lake trout and gill nets for trout, whitefish, and herring.¹¹³

Unlike the summer residents, many of the fishermen never acquired title to the land upon which they built their homes, fish houses, and docks. Sam Sivertson was one of the few exceptions to that general rule. Sivertson began fishing on Isle Royale by squatting on John's Island (Barnum Island) until he was kicked off by Captain Johns. He then squatted on Washington Island in a less sheltered inlet until Walter P. Singer bought the Island and made plans to build a resort. Finding an active fishery to be an incompatible use, Singer asked Sivertson to leave and sweetened the deal by offering him clear title to land further up the bay on Washington Island, albeit in an even less-sheltered location. In exchange, Sivertson promised never to engage in restaurant or lodging operations. Unlike most fishermen Sam Sivertson owned the land under his fish camp, which stayed in his family until establishment of the National Park.¹¹⁴

The arrival of Scandinavian fishermen brought one big change to the fishery in the western basin of Lake Superior. Another major change in the Isle Royale fishery took place after 1885 when the A. Booth Packing Company, a Chicago-based, wholesale fish-dealing firm, successfully gained control of the Lake Superior commercial fishery. Booth and other wholesale fish companies on the Great Lakes relied on expansion of the fishery to keep up their profits. Alfred Booth's start in buying and selling Great Lakes fish began in 1850 supplying fish for Chicago, but as that city's rail connections expanded Booth increasingly entered broader markets. During the 1880s, in pursuit of whitefish, Booth gained control of the fishery in all of Lake Michigan. The firm bought fish in many locations including the Manitou Islands, which are presently part of Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore.¹¹⁵

A. Booth Packing Company turned its attention to Lake Superior following completion of the Chicago, St. Paul, Minneapolis, and Omaha Railroad to Bayfield, Wisconsin, in 1883, which was close by the Apostle Islands. Operations in Bayfield began Booth's dominance of Lake Superior. By 1885, Booth had joined three other companies exploiting the rich fishing grounds in the vicinity of the Apostle Islands. Ten years later fishermen and dealers in the

Bayfield area complained of declining catches. Booth continued to expand throughout Lake Superior, seeking new fisheries to keep up productivity and profits. In addition to Bayfield, Booth developed fishing and collection centers at Sault Sainte Marie and Whitefish Point, Michigan; Port Arthur, Ontario; and Duluth, Minnesota. Each center served a sector of Lake Superior with steam-powered collection vessels. Booth continued to expand its influence in the Great Lakes region, buying up other fish dealers whose businesses failed in the depression of the 1890s. The formation of A. Booth and Company in 1898 consolidated most of the Great Lakes fisheries on the U.S. side of the border, and placed them under control of a single corporation that existed under provisions of Illinois state law.¹¹⁶ In the short run, expansion and consolidation enhanced the profits of A. Booth and Company. In the longer run, Booth's dominance of the Great Lakes contributed to overfishing and the accelerating downward spiral of the fisheries.

Booth and Company also expanded its control over the Lake Superior fishery by extending credit and equipment to fishermen. Booth had captured most of the business of Isle Royale fishermen by the mid-1890s. After spending about two years working on a herring tug out of Duluth, "Sam" Sivertson began fishing on Isle Royale where he was "grubstaked" by Booth. The relationship between fishermen on Isle Royale and Booth was not always a smooth one, with a brief strike in June 1890 and a short-lived revolt in the spring of 1894.¹¹⁷ Ingeborg Holte describes the dependent relationship between fishermen and Booth in her account of life on Isle Royale:

Unfortunately, for many years, this was the only company that bought fish from the fishermen all along the north shore and on Isle Royale. I expect it is unnecessary to add that there were no wealthy fishermen. Each fisherman's supplies and freight were delivered on account at the beginning of the season. As the fisherman sold fish to the company through the season, his credit was merely deducted from his account. Rarely did the fisherman or his family see cash. He was considered fortunate if his catches for the season covered the account of supplies laid in for the summer.¹¹⁸

Booth's steamers, Hiram Dixon and T.H. Camp, served the Isle Royale fishery and had accommodations for passengers. In so doing, they drew together and integrated the developmental trajectories of commercial fishing and recreation on Isle Royale and in the Western end of Lake Superior. The America joined the Booth fleet in 1902 and helped that company dominate not only fish wholesaling but also transportation of passengers and mail and supplies to and from Isle Royale until the late 1920s. Other companies that conducted business with Isle Royale fishermen established themselves in Duluth, with H. Christianson Fish Company, operator of the Grace J and later the Winyah becoming of the most successful prior to World War II. The Winyah, in particular, joined the cast of vessels that supported the fishery and also facilitated the growing tourist and summer resident trade on the Island.¹¹⁹

Between the 1890s and the 1920s, the largely Scandinavian fishing community on Isle Royale grew and maintained a significant presence on the Island. Information gathered through field work in 1894 by the Joint Fisheries Commission is the best source for estimating the size of the Isle Royale fishery in the mid-1890s. At one point, the investigator's field notes observed that "on Isle Royale there are 23 or 24 boats altogether, and they average 2 men to a boat." At another point, informant C.O. Smith of Duluth reported 130 to 150 men employing about 40 boats engaged in the fisheries of Isle Royale. Some of these fishermen were bachelors, but men also brought their families to the Island for the fishing season. Many of the families continued fishing operations on Isle Royale for several decades: Sivertson, Mattson, Johnson, Holte, Rude, Anderson, Torgenson, Edisen, Seglem, Skadberg, Olson, Eckel, Johns, and Oberg are among the family names that are nearly synonymous with the fishery on Isle Royale. By the late 1920s, around seventy-five families, representing over two hundred people, were fishing commercially on Isle Royale. Considerable intermarriage among the fishing families produced a community that was of the Island -- bound together by common experiences, ethnicity, and family ties.¹²⁰

Fisherman put in long, hard days. Stuart Sivertson, who was born in 1941, began going out on the Lake fishing with his father, Stanley Sivertson, when he was eleven or twelve years old. When he was a youngster, his father fished for trout largely with set lines. A typical day would begin at 3:00 or 3:30 am when they headed out to lift the nets left to catch herring for bait. They would return to the dock for breakfast and then motor off again "baiting on" as they ran out to check on one of their sets. Stanley Sivertson had three sets or long lines, one to the South, one to the West, and one to the North. In the spring and early summer when the water was cold, he would have all three sets out and would check each one every third day. As the water warmed in the summer, Stanley would reduce to a single set that he checked every day. By mid-summer the fishing declined significantly. Each of his sets or "long lines" had sixteen lines in a gang with fifty hooks per line for a total of 800 hooks that had to be pulled from the water, fish removed, hooks re-baited, and returned to the water. Two men could handle one such long line per day. (Clara Sivertson also went out and with her husband Stanley to tend to the long lines.) A good day's catch would be four boxes of fish for a total of two hundred pounds. The fishermen usually planned to be home by about 2:00 pm to avoid the "sun breezes" that required bucking the wind to get back to Washington Harbor. They would spend the rest of the afternoon dressing and packing their fish and getting their gear ready to go out again the next day.¹²¹

At various times between the late nineteenth century and the dedication of Isle Royale National Park in 1946 fishing settlements ranging from substantial to minor inhabited most of the harbor facilities on Isle Royale. Gale and Gale, Isle Royale and Toupal et al, The Isle Royale Folkefiskerisamfunn, provide similar maps that locate Isle Royale's fisheries. Photographs published in Gale and

Gale and Rakestraw, Commercial Fishing on Isle Royale, supplemented by others housed at the Isle Royale archive facility in Houghton, provide useful information about the structure and construction of these fishing settlements as they existed at their peak between the 1890s and the 1950s. Washington Harbor was home to an active commercial fishery from the 1890s until the lamprey invasion of the 1950s.¹²²

A photograph taken in 1896 of the eastern end of Johns Island shows a cluster of three or four chinked, single-story log dwellings on the highest ground in the center of the small section of the island, with considerable area devoted to gardens. There are no tall trees in the picture, and outside the living and gardening spaces the ground cover looks like small trees and brush. Two additional single-story log buildings on the eastern tip could be dwellings or work areas, as they lack docks and have chimney pipes protruding through their gabled roofs. The logs likely came from nearby forests, as did the piles that supported the docks and the fish houses. On the South shore a row of five fish houses connected by docks made it possible to walk from one to the other. As was often the case, the fish houses are mostly over water. They appear to be frame construction clad with rough-sawn, unpainted lumber. Their roofs are nearly flat, and the buildings themselves look much less substantial than those of log construction. Right behind the docks and fish houses are several reels of the type that were common on Isle Royale for drying nets and long lines. Johns provided space for other fishing families, including Sivertson, Stepnis, and Johnson, until he decided to go into the tourist “resort” business in the late 1890s and evicted the fishermen.¹²³

The family fishing spaces on Johns’ Island were typical of most of the commercial fishing operations on Isle Royale in construction and in their modest scale. A few such as Holger Johnson’s Resort and Trading Post in Chippewa Harbor also earned extra money by functioning as rustic fishing resorts. The homes of the fishermen were generally plain and small. Most burned wood for heat and cooking that they either gathered on the shore or cut in surrounding forests. Often they had vegetable gardens, and wives sometimes planted flowers. Some kept cows and chickens. In addition to the dwelling and accompanying outhouse, the “heart” of the fisheries was the dock built on stone and wood cribbing, the fish house at least partially on the dock and over water for processing fish and storing fish and equipment, and a building for storage of nets. Many of the fisheries had an ice house.¹²⁴

Photographs provide useful insight into both the form and the function of fish camps on Isle Royale. An image of the Mattson fishery in Tobin Harbor taken in about 1891 shows a large dock dominated by a one-story fish house clad with unpainted boards. Most of the other buildings are of the same construction, except for a log dwelling, next to which flies an American flag atop a tall pole. Tar paper, or a similar material, nailed on with rough-cut strips of lumber covers the roofs. A large number of drying reels and several boats,

including a wooden “double-ended” Mackinaw with sail indicates a busy fishery. A picture of Fisherman’s Home taken about 1929 shows similar building types and construction, as do images of Ed Kvalvick’s fishery at Hay Bay from about 1937 and the Bangsund and Edisen fisheries in Rock Harbor from the late 1930s or early 1940s. The picture at Hay Bay shows Kvalvick standing with ores in his hands in a double ended wooden Mackinaw, with the fishery buildings and docks behind. Dense forest looms darkly beyond the modest clearing around the fishery. In the early part of the twentieth century, Sivert Anderson, Albert Bjorvek, and John Skadberg also fished from Hay Bay. At that point Hay Bay had been home to fisheries for about a century, as the American Fur Company had a fish station there in the 1830s. Elling Seglem fished out of Fishermen’s Home, and was joined by another Norwegian immigrant, Andrew Rude, in about 1919. Andrew Rude’s son, Sam, and his wife, Elaine, followed at Fishermen’s home, and their son Mark fished as a young man and returned and fished his mother’s permit in the 1980s.¹²⁵

Black and white images of Booth Island in Washington Harbor taken about 1932 show a large and substantial dock with a two-story, rectangular building just behind the dock that dominates the center of the picture. The building, which was likely a warehouse, has rough-sawn dimension lumber as cladding applied vertically on the first story and horizontally on the second. A smaller one-story building with similar construction sits to its right. There are several drying reels visible behind the main warehouse, and what appear to be dwellings scattered up the forested hillside. At least a dozen barrels rest on the dock. A second photo taken about 1935 from the hillside behind the warehouse reveals the rear and right elevations not shown in the 1932 image. The right elevation is clad in horizontal rough-sawn lumber with two large garage-type doors facing east. Stacks of wooden fish boxes sit next to the doors, perhaps waiting to be loaded aboard the Winyah moored at the dock. The roof of the warehouse had been patched so many times that it had the look of a tar paper quilt, and the ridge of the roof at the peak appears to sag slightly.¹²⁶

A. Booth and Company built a warehouse on the island in the 1890s. H. Christiansen Sons bought the Booth properties on Isle Royale following the sinking of the America in 1928, and continued on Booth Island until the 1940s. One of Stuart Sivertson’s earliest memories of Isle Royale concerns a near tragedy when a fisherman at the Booth Island dock was “tapping gas” and set his boat on fire. Sivertson was about four, so the incident that has stayed in his mind all of these years took place in the mid-1940s. In 2007, only scattered surface debris and the submerged cribs of the dock remained at Booth Island to mark the important role that it played in Isle Royale’s commercial fishery for decades. The hill side was more barren and free of trees than in the 1932 photo, likely the result of burning by the National Park Service, and timothy grass grew as a reminder of the hay that once must have been shipped in to feed work stock or milk cows. The fishery on Booth Island was atypical in the Isle Royale experience in terms of its size and scale of operations.¹²⁷

Gear used by the fishermen remained basic but did undergo some changes, with cotton gill nets replaced by linen and then nylon. Wooden (cedar) floats that were often turned locally on small lathes were replaced with aluminum and then plastic. Maintenance requirements shifted and declined with the introduction of new materials. Cedar floats had to be soaked at least once a year in hot linseed oil, dried on racks, and individually hand rubbed to prevent the wood from becoming water logged. Stuart Sivertson remembered preserving the cotton long lines with copper sulfate to keep the algae off and occasionally placing them in a barrel of bark or “log wood” to color the lines. As a young boy of seven or eight Mark Rude helped his grandfather, Andrew, treat the cedar floats in linseed oil employing a fire on the beach to heat the oil. Open Mackinaw boats once powered by sails or oars, changed to accommodate engines and propellers. Dying reels, nets, floats, and even boats abandoned with the decline and demise of the commercial fishery on Isle Royale remain as part of the material legacy of the fishery. While the equipment at the Edisen fishery is well displayed, most of the fishing gear left on the Island and under the jurisdiction of the National Park Service is not inventoried and either sits out exposed to the elements or is jammed into deteriorating buildings.¹²⁸

Great Lakes fisheries, including Lake Superior, were largely unregulated by either the United States or Canada prior to World War II. The State of Michigan regulated the commercial and sport fishing in Lake Superior. After the Isle Royale National Park came into existence in 1940, the Park Service regulated fishing on the interior of the Island and the land on which the fish camps resided. By the late nineteenth century, a joint, international study of the Great Lakes fisheries revealed that they were already in decline. The authors of the study attributed that decline to over fishing but their evidence also clearly points to habitat degradation as well. Even so, the fisheries in the western end of Lake Superior remained relatively strong until the arrival of the lamprey in the middle of the twentieth century. World War II saw an upsurge in activity and in the size of the catch, as fish was not rationed and the government declared fishing an essential occupation that exempted many fishermen from the draft.¹²⁹ In some ways World War II was both the best of times and the worst of times for commercial fishing on Isle Royale.

When the new national park came into existence in 1940, the Park developed a policy toward commercial fishing that avoided immediate termination but that was clearly headed towards significant contraction, while maintaining a modest presence for commercial fishing on Isle Royale. The Park Service allowed fishermen to continue on the Island under a special use permit system. A few who owned their own land also had the chance to apply for life leases. The first superintendent of Isle Royale National Park, Charles Baggeley, made the following statement on the fishermen and the fishery in 1942: “I rather believe that twelve to fifteen families might well be maintained there as commercial fishermen during the off season and guides during the park season.”

In a memo to the Regional Director of the National Park Service, acting Director Hillory A. Tolson wrote [likely in 1948, see note]:

Commercial fishing at Isle Royale is not open to any commercial fisherman who cares to take advantage of its resources. On the contrary, it is a privilege accorded to specific individuals who were established at Isle Royale before the creation of the National Park. This privilege will terminate with the decease or removal of these individuals.¹³⁰

Conrad Wirth, National Park Service Director, argued in a report written in 1955 that the Park should retain commercial fishing at a reduced, modest level out of recognition of its historical significance on Isle Royale. The report stated that the Park Service would encourage the continuation of small fishing operations at twelve locations on Isle Royale, including: Belle Isle (Emil Anderson), Tobin Harbor (Art Mattson), Wright Island (Ed Holte), Fisherman's Home (Sam Rude), Washington Island (Art Sivertson, John Torgersen, Bert Nicoliasen, Tom Ekel), Crystal Cove (Robert Johnson), Hay Bay (John Skadberg), Star Island, Rock Harbor (Milford Johnson), and Old Lighthouse, Rock Harbor (Pete Edisen).¹³¹

The policy directions suggested by Charles Baggley and Conrad Wirth envisioned a limited, but active fishery, run by commercial fishermen. They laid out at least a theoretical management strategy that acknowledged the historical significance of commercial fishing on Isle Royale and that recognized the intimate bond between form and function with fishery-related cultural resources. Active commercial fishing gave meaning and purpose to the surviving cultural resources. The Park Service never carried through with the proposed goal of retaining a limited but active commercial fishery on Isle Royale. In all likelihood, this shift took place because of the combined impact of the lamprey invasion of western Lake Superior; the post lamprey emphasis on sport fishing, and the growing emphasis on wilderness after 1964.

With the commercial fishery already reeling from the new policies adopted by the National Park Service, the lamprey depredation of the 1950s devastated the trout and whitefish populations of western Lake Superior. In 1959, the twelve remaining special fishing permit holders had a terrible harvest, unable to compete with the lamprey for fish. The following year, in 1960, the Michigan Department of Natural Resources (DNR) closed Lake Superior to trout fishing and did not reopen the fishery until 1967. When Michigan DNR reopened the trout fishery it did so under a highly restrictive system of limited assessment fishing, under which specific fishermen were given a territory (often in their traditional fishing grounds) and a quota. They could keep and sell the catch but in exchange had to supply Michigan's DNR with biological data on the fish they caught. Mark Rude's father originally had a territory in his traditional fishing area with a quota of 1,000 lake trout and 10,000 pounds each of white fish and herring. When Ed Holte of Wright's Island died, Michigan DNR awarded Rude

Holte's quota (500 pounds of Lake Trout) and his territory that adjoined Rude's.¹³²

The combined interaction of Park Service regulations and growing emphasis on wilderness, the lamprey, and the corrective actions taken by Michigan's DNR sent the commercial fishery on Isle Royale into free fall. As late as the 1950s, more than twenty families continued to fish seasonally on the Island. By the mid-1960s, only eight fishermen remained and they struggled with catch limits imposed by the State of Michigan. On a field research trip to Isle Royale in 1986, Theodore Karamanski and Richard Zeitlin found that Crystal Cove, operated by Milford Johnson, Jr., was one of three active commercial fisheries. At that point, the Johnson family had been living seasonally on Isle Royale for nearly a century. By 2007, that number had dropped to one as Enar and Betty Strom fished part time from a fish house on Washington Island; the last on the Island to fish under Michigan DNR's assessment permit system. Following a long tradition of fishermen on Isle Royale Enar Strom also maintained many of the buildings and docks on Barnum and Washington Islands. When he died unexpectedly on August 20, 2007, active commercial fishing on Isle Royale died with him. The last commercial fishing license associated with Isle Royale belongs to Clara Sivertson who in January 2008 resided in a nursing home in Duluth.¹³³

After WWII and on through the catastrophe produced by the lamprey, as fishermen gave up and left or failed to return to fish their special use permits or retired or died, the Park had a policy of burning their buildings. Timothy Cochrane points out that the Park Service burned the Hay Bay fishery in his comments on the draft of this report. In January 2008, Clara Sivertson recalled that one summer Art Sivertson was unable to make it to his fishery on Washington Island and the Park Service burned his two houses, net houses, docks, and a community ice house. The Park burned the fishing buildings and structures on Booth Island and the Island Hotel (Singer). Fishermen and cabin owners dismantled some of the abandoned fishery buildings and recycled the lumber and other useful materials into active fisheries or summer cabins. Burning was part of a policy intended to create wilderness in places like Washington Harbor where it had not existed for a very long time. The authors of The Isle Royale Folkefiskerisamfunn concluded: "Some abandoned buildings were burned by the NPS in an effort to return the Island to a pristine 'wilderness' state it had not known for thousands of years."¹³⁴

Burning as a policy was not restricted to Isle Royale National Park. In her comments on the draft version of this report, Kathryn Eckert, former Michigan State Historic Preservation Officer, offered the following observations about the fate of fishing-related buildings at Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lake Shore: "To return the Manitou Islands to wilderness NPS tore down and burned historic structures before conducting the inventories and National Register assessments required by the National Historic Preservation Act."¹³⁵ At Isle Royale, the

practice of burning fisheries-related properties started years before the National Historic Preservation Act and continued after its passage in 1966. In the end, burning contributed to a significant reduction of cultural resources on Isle Royale as well as at Sleeping Bear and other National Park Service properties in the Great Lakes Basin. Those that survive and retain integrity have become the comparatively scarce material remnants of a commercial enterprise that was an important part of Isle Royale's history for over a century.

Little remains of the buildings and docks and the general material culture of commercial fishing on Isle Royale. In 1963 an inventory of properties on Isle Royale reported twenty five fishing-related buildings on Washington Island associated with Sam Miller (6), Carl Ekmark (3), Einar Ekmark (1), John Skadberg (3), Stanley Sivertson (6), and Art Sivertson (6). By 1995, Historic Structures at Isle Royale National Park listed about half that many, along with piles of discarded fishing nets and so forth.¹³⁶ The heavy loss can be partly accounted for by deterioration, abandonment, and reuse; and partly by the direct and intended outcome of the policy of burning practiced by the Park Service.

Kathryn Franks and Arnold Alanen state in Historic Structures at Isle Royale National Park that at one time or another there were over fifty commercial fishing camps on Isle Royale. Only ten survived in various states of maintenance and repair when Franks and Alanen published their study in 1999: Bangsund Fishery in Rock Harbor (which had become headquarters for the wolf/moose project), the Holte Fishery on Wright Island, the Mattson Fishery in Tobin Harbor, the Andrew/Scotland camp on Amygdaloid Island, the Anderson Fishery on Johnson Island, the Rude Fishery/Fishermen's Home on Houghton Point, the Sivertson/Ekmark/Singer property on Washington Island, the Milford and Myrtle Johnson fishery at the McGrath Camp at Crystal Cove, a few of the early Johns' buildings on Barnum Island Washington Harbor, and the Edison Fishery in Rock Harbor. (The Edison Fishery was listed on the National Register of Historic Places in 1977. It has benefitted from significant restoration and an informative public interpretation of commercial fishing on Isle Royale.) Franks and Alanen concluded that three of the surviving fishing camps on Isle Royale possessed a high degree of historical integrity: the Edison Fishery, the Rude Fishery/Fisherman's Home, and the Sivertson/Ekmark/Singer property. They ranked two additional fish camps as possessing medium to high historical integrity: The Holte Fishery, Wright Island, and the Anderson Fishery, Johnson Island. Some of these sites, such as the Johns Hotel, the McGrath Camp, and Wright Island have continued to decline largely due to neglect since 1999.¹³⁷

On Labor Day weekend 2006 the Wright Island fishery site exhibited a significant disconnect between Park Service plans and reality on the ground. A laminated paper sign informed visitors landing at the government dock (rebuilt in 2002) that Ingeborg Holte grew up here, the daughter of fisherman, Sam Johnson, who "rowed his family and all their possessions from Chippewa Harbor to Wright Island in the early 1900s." Ingeborg lived her adult life here, marrying

Ed Holte who also fished from Wright Island. Ingeborg and Ed Holte raised their daughter, Karen, on the island. The sign further explained that the Park's General Management Plan calls for a campground on the Wright Island. It also asked visitors to "Please respect this place and the memories of Ingeborg and her family." "Maintaining a historic scene," the sign stated, "is important at this location." In the early fall of 2006, the former fishery was overgrown with brush and weeds, a wooden boat lay rotting at the water's edge alongside a pile of logs and lumber that could have come from a dock or a boat house. The main cabin of peeled log construction exhibited significant and advanced exterior dry rot on many of the logs. The trim around the door and windows badly needed paint, and the tar paper covering on the roof over the front stoop had torn away. Someone had made a modest attempt to fix things up by replacing the deck on the entryway and the support posts with what appeared to be "hardware store type" dimension lumber that was unsympathetic with the original fabric of the building. The advancing deterioration of the buildings and grounds stood in stark contrast with the goals and sentiments expressed on the laminated sign.¹³⁸

Wright Island boasts a long history as a fishery. Native Americans fished from Wright Island, while the American Fur Company and Hugh H. McCullough employed it as a fish station in the 1830s, 1840s, and 1850s. In the late 1860s, Wright Island was the location of an operation that rendered siskowit for oil. For most of the twentieth century, it was home to a commercial fishery run first by Samuel Johnson and then by Ingeborg and Ed Holte. Wright Island was one of ten locations that in 1955 National Park Service Director, Conrad Wirth, advocated leaving in operation out of respect for the historical significance of commercial fishing on Isle Royale. The Wright Island fishery was National Register eligible in 1999, and a quick examination revealed that it likely remained so in 2006. Stabilization of the resources on Wright Island will be essential to maintaining integrity and National Register eligibility.

For Wright Island, and all other cultural resources on Isle Royale, entropy is the enemy of excellent intentions. In the absence of a management plan that provides for maintenance, time and weather will inevitably combine to compromise physical integrity. Wright Island was one of five remaining fish camps on Isle Royale that in 1999 still possessed enough integrity to qualify for the National Register (Edisen Fishery, Rude Fishery/Fisherman's Home, Sivertson/Ekmark/Singer property, Anderson Fishery, and the Holte Fishery). Those five fish camps survive as the material culture embodiment of the entire history of commercial fishing on Isle Royale.¹³⁹ Yet, minus the human activity that gave those places purpose, they serve at best as lifeless symbols of commercial fishing on the Island. Returning limited commercial fishing to some of these locations offers a strategy that respects the importance of human history and fishing on Isle Royale and that plans for a historical wilderness on the Island. As Charles Baggley and Conrad Wirth noted decades ago, the key to preserving fish camps lays in using them for their original purpose, with people living and fishing there and carrying out on-going maintenance on a seasonal basis.

The Making of an “Historical Wilderness”: Converting Isolation into an Asset

Recreational use of Isle Royale did not begin in any significant way until the end of the nineteenth century. Fur seekers and copper miners, commercial fishermen and loggers came to Isle Royale intending to find and extract resources. They did so in the belief that God created nature to serve humanity; that people were superior to nature; and that human beings improved nature and their own society and economy by developing and using what nature provided. They measured progress in terms of conquering wilderness and making nature productive. Agriculture, logging, mining, and fishing capitalized on nature’s potential and produced socially beneficial results. Other widely held attitudes included the belief that nature’s bounty was limitless, including its capacity to absorb waste. Most people divided nature into “good” and “bad,” with good being species that benefitted humanity and “bad” being those that did not. Deer and cattle were good, while predators like wolves and bears were bad and need to be killed. The U.S. Bureau of Biological Survey (incorporated into the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service in 1940) waged a decades-long campaign against predators, first using hunters and traps and later employing poisons that were cheaper and much more indiscriminate. Most Americans shared a view of government that Abraham Lincoln succinctly and powerfully articulated in a special message to Congress on July 4, 1861. Lincoln asked Congress for funds to wage war against the Confederacy, and he explained his goal of preserving a Union that stood for economic equality of opportunity:

This is essentially a people's contest. On the side of the Union it is a struggle for maintaining in the world that form and substance of government whose leading object is to elevate the condition of men; to lift artificial weights from all shoulders; to clear the paths of laudable pursuit for all; to afford all an unfettered start and a fair chance in the race of life. Yielding to partial and temporary departures, from necessity, this is the leading object of the Government for whose existence we contend.¹⁴⁰

Citizens expected government to promote economic equality of opportunity by, among other things, providing access to land and timber and minerals, which is what happened in the case of Isle Royale. Government exercised very little regulation over resource use. Fish Culture, as it was practiced on Lake Superior in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, was a nearly perfect response to fishing pressure in this political and ideological context. The government paid for raising and releasing desirable species of fish, which expanded supply without placing restrictions on use.

As more and more Americans lived in cities, attitudes towards nature began to change, largely in response to the unintended and unanticipated consequences of rapid and nearly unregulated urban/industrial growth. People

with less and less direct contact began to miss what they no longer had. Several well-publicized examples demonstrated that natural abundance had limits: Extinction of passenger pigeons that had once numbered in the millions and whose flocks sometimes blocked the sun; near extinction of the buffalo on the Great Plains; and the rapid and wasteful destruction of the pine forests of the Great Lakes. Coal smoke smothered and choked cities; domestic sewage and industrial effluent fowled rivers and streams. Urban/industrial growth caused many people to worry about the quality of the places in which they lived, while water pollution, drainage of wet lands, expansion of agriculture, and lumbering threatened outdoor fishing and recreation areas.

Sport hunting and fishing and nature appreciation began to play greater roles in American culture by the last third of the nineteenth century. Many Americans longed for the “strenuous life” and for the contact with nature they believed had shaped the American character. This growing emphasis on sport hunting and fishing, nature appreciation, and the strenuous life was most popular among the white, middle and upper class Protestant people who saw themselves as the descendants of the pioneers who had conquered the wilderness and formed the American character. Part of their interest in nature grew out of a desire to preserve their own culture and values in a changing world where their children would grow up in cities filled with immigrants. As Thomas Dunlap explains in Saving America’s Wildlife:

The next generation would grow up in cities, and not on farms, and it would consist in large part of immigrants and immigrants’ children. It would have no contact with the old civilization. If the virtues formed in the struggle with the wilderness – the virtues that had made America what it was – were to continue to be the bedrock of American life, the new generation would have to be educated to appreciate nature and ‘manly sport with a rifle.’¹⁴¹

By the late nineteenth century, the Progressive conservation movement developed and embraced a broad spectrum of attitudes towards nature from wilderness preservation preached by John Muir, founder of the Sierra Club, to wise use and efficient management advocated by Gifford Pinchot, Chief Forester under President Theodore Roosevelt. While goals and strategies differed widely, what conservationists had in common was a belief that nature’s abundance had limits. In January 1922, fifty-four Chicago fishing enthusiasts, led by advertiser Will Dilg, formed the Izaak Walton League of America. In less than three years, fifty four became more than one hundred thousand, and the organization had persuaded Congress to establish the Upper Mississippi Wildlife and Fish Refuge to protect overflow lands between Rock Island, Illinois, and Wabasha, Minnesota.

The Izaak Walton League had a strong presence in the upper Midwest, and its message conveyed in a slick, color magazine, Outdoor America, looked nostalgically to the past when unspoiled nature supported ample fishing and hunting; it touted the benefits of outdoor experience; and it called upon readers and members to organize and protect the out-of-doors from threats such as

pollution. The first issue of Outdoor America, published in August 1922, set the tone and message for the magazine and accounted for the popularity and appeal of the Izaak Walton League. In an editorial Will Dilg warned that “Already the boy born today is foredoomed to have no fishing at all, unless his parents can take him to far and remote places.” Writer, Robert Davis, captured the profound sense of loss felt by many in his poem, “The Rape of the River.” On a pilgrimage to a favorite stream he had enjoyed as a youth, he found that “Forest and stream in grief had died/By vandals crucified.” His stream was now “putrid, and loathsome – and stinking,” destroyed by owners of a saw mill who discarded their sawdust in his stream. Romer Grey, young son of writer Zane Grey, appealed to fathers to join the Izaak Walton League:

My Dad takes me places where there are a few fish left. And so I have fun. But I wonder what the lots of boys do who are not so lucky as I am. They ought to have places to fish. It was fishing and hunting that made the pioneers of early days such men. I say the Daddies who love to fish should somehow get together and fix it so their boys could also learn to love to fish.¹⁴²

It was against this backdrop of shifting attitudes towards nature that Americans from cities like Chicago and Omaha and Minneapolis and St. Paul and Duluth who could afford to do so sought recreation away from those urban areas. The railroad and steamship lines on the Great Lakes provided access to the out-of-doors, well before the wide spread availability of cars and improved rural roads. Isle Royale was one of the places that attracted them, with its promise of beauty and fishing and hiking and boating and collecting greenstones. Just getting there could be an adventure. Isle Royale’s clean air relatively free of pollen provided relief for people suffering from allergies or respiratory problems at time before antihistamines. Mark Rude’s grandfather, Andrew, left Duluth to fish on Isle Royale about 1919 partly because he suffered from summer time allergies on the mainland.¹⁴³ Even so, the Island was not for everybody. It was isolated and hard to reach, which for the summer residents made travel to the Island, getting supplies and building materials, and maintaining contact with the outside world a challenge. In the days before marine radio and satellite up links, Isle Royale was cut off from the outside world. Summer residents had no electricity, and they hauled water for washing their dishes, their clothes, and themselves. Yet, those who “felt the magic” developed an appreciation for the Island and a bond with the place that passed from parents to children and has persisted for decades.

Recreation and Summer Resorts

Tourist accommodations and summer resorts were the first commercial recreational activities on Isle Royale. For entrepreneurs who started those businesses, Isle Royale’s fishing and outdoor recreation opportunities became a new set of commodities that could be “extracted” from nature --- marketed and sold to buyers who would pay their own transportation costs to the Island.

Whether they did so intentionally or stumbled upon it by chance, these entrepreneurs hit upon a way to convert physical isolation into an asset. Tourism and recreation became the alchemy that turned isolation into “gold.” At the same time, people who traveled to Isle Royale to enjoy its recreational potential or to find relief from hay fever did so as consumers instead of producers. This was a new way of using the Island and of thinking about nature more generally, which eventually helped create a constituency for preserving those unique and increasingly scarce qualities that attracted people to Isle Royale.

Individuals who had been involved in mining and fishing saw opportunity in serving sport fishermen and recreation seekers, actions that further bound together the stories of mining, fishing, and recreation on Isle Royale. When the Wendigo Copper Company went out of business in 1892, its parent company, the Isle Royale Land Corporation, began selling its land for recreational users. The Isle Royale Land Corporation made plans to develop its holdings as a game reserve and a summer resort. “The Wendigo idea,” Karamanski and Zeitlin explain, “was an extension of a nationwide interest in resorts and recreation made possible by the development of railroads and steamship lines. Wilderness resorts were springing up throughout the United States.” Once again, a larger national trend influenced developments on the ground on Isle Royale. The Isle Royale Land Company was ultimately unsuccessful, as was a plan by Duluth businessman, George G. Barnum, to develop a resort on Mott Island.¹⁴⁴ Other entrepreneurs did much better.

In Washington Harbor, John F. Johns, a former mine captain who had also done some fishing, had by 1893 put up a few small tourist cabins and a larger, adjoining “hotel” with a dining room, a sitting room, and a front porch. The Johns Hotel, which is on the National Register of Historic Places and under the care and ownership of the National Park Service, stands vacant and deteriorating. Mr. Johns cut the small-diameter logs for his hotel from a nearby island, which was one-story, made of horizontal log construction up to the roof line. Two windows in the front gable under the roof indicate usable space upstairs.¹⁴⁵

The Johns Hotel is the oldest surviving building representing the resort era on Isle Royale. It dates to the beginning of the recreation and resort movement when some entrepreneurs first began to exploit Isle Royale’s recreational potential. The hotel’s accommodations were rustic but consistent with its roots -- a new commercial niche developed by an enterprising entrepreneur with connections to the commercial fishing industry. In the mid-1890s, the hotel and its guests shared the Eastern end of Johns Island with an active fishery. Historically, the Johns Hotel is one of the most important, standing buildings related to recreation and tourism on the Island. Although the hotel needs stabilization and restoration and no longer co-exists with an active fishery, it still possesses sufficient integrity to make it National Register eligible under Criterion A.

The hotel is also significant for its association with the active career of John Johns under National Register Criterion B. John's career embodies the connections between mining, fishing, and recreation on Isle Royale. He had worked in both mining and fishing. In August 1893, A. J. Woolman, representing the International Joint Fisheries Commission, interviewed John Johns on Isle Royale. The interview revealed among other things that Johns lived on an Island at the mouth of Washington Harbor at the "south end of Isle Royale." Johns reported he had resided in the region for sixteen years but had only been fishing for seven years. Mr. Johns was not the only entrepreneur interviewed by the Joint Fisheries Commission in the western end of Lake Superior to see financial opportunity in recreation. Captain C. O. Flynn, Duluth, owned the steamer R. G. Stewart, which in season he ran to Isle Royale once a week to pick up salt fish. Captain Flynn told the interviewer that for the past two years he had been "down around the island a good deal with pleasure parties."¹⁴⁶ Flynn and Johns were co-participants in the developing the incipient recreation movement on Isle Royale. Flynn transported early recreational users to Isle Royale on a vessel he also used to haul salt fish. His passengers were the kind of mainland residents who sought Johns' simple accommodations and the chance to enjoy the comparatively abundant and unspoiled fishery off the western end of Isle Royale.

The next tourist venture in Washington Harbor was of a much-different quality than the Johns Hotel. Island House Hotel built in 1902 by Captain Walter P. Singer became the first large-scale resort on Isle Royale. Island House was a two-story, wood frame, rectangular building, about 150 feet long, containing 22 bed rooms, a pool room, and a barbershop. A nearby pavilion boasted a bowling alley and a dance floor. There were also 10 guest cottages, each with a nearby outhouse. By 1904, several passenger vessels stopped at the Singer Hotel, including the America and for awhile Singer's luxury vessel, the Iroquois. The Chicago, St. Paul, Minneapolis and Omaha Railroad offered weekend rail/boat excursions to Isle Royale. A wireless radio tower built atop a ridge behind the Island House Hotel in 1910 made it possible to communicate with inbound vessels and allowed guests to make reservations. Hay fever sufferers seeking relief from pollen that made their summers miserable joined the ranks of those flocking to the Island Hotel. Once they enjoyed the Island, well-to-do families from Minneapolis and St. Paul, Duluth, and Omaha began to purchase lots and build summer cabins on Isle Royale. Singer attempted to compete with the Booth Company for the fish trade and passenger business. While those businesses failed, Singer's hotel, run by his wife, Mary, remained the leading resort destination on Isle Royale until the early 1920s, when Belle Isle Resort upgraded.¹⁴⁷

The third major effort to develop the recreational potential of Washington Harbor took place in 1902 when a group of mostly Duluth businessmen organized into the Washington Club bought the two-story, log former headquarters building of the Wendigo Mining Company. The Club also owned an adjoining building that housed a kitchen, dining room, and quarters for

servants. Members created a private rod and gun club that most of the time was “men only.” Their club boasted hot water and showers. The purchase of seventy acres at the head of Washington Harbor along Washington Creek provided members a private preserve where they enjoyed fly fishing for brook trout. While their highest interest appeared to be fishing, they did engage in an unsuccessful attempt to introduce white tailed deer to Isle Royale.¹⁴⁸ The presence of the Washington Club and the Island House Hotel increased the passenger boat traffic in Washington Harbor, which combined with several fishing stations and the comings and goings of fishing boats made the harbor a busy place.

Nearly all of the buildings associated with the tourist cabin and resort business in Washington Harbor are gone. The most notable survivor is the one-story log-constructed Johns hotel on the eastern end of Barnum Island. In the summer of 2007, it was surrounded by encroaching brush and weeds with materials that could have been used for repair and renovation stacked nearby. Johns’ vernacular construction will pose expensive restoration challenges, which should only be undertaken after consultation with experts in that type of work. The Park Service burned the Island Hotel and some of the associated buildings. When Franks and Alanen published their Historic Structures at Isle Royale National Park in 1999, two frame cabins built between 1902 and 1920 survived, along with the radio tower, some fragments of boardwalk, and some ruins of the dock. By summer 2007, the board walk was not in evidence and only the submerged rock and timber cribs remained from the dock. There is no surviving above-ground evidence of the Washington Club. In his comments on the draft version of this report, Timothy Cochrane stated that the Park Service burned the Wendigo Mine/Washington Harbor Club building in the 1980s.¹⁴⁹

Rock Harbor and Tobin Harbor became a second center of tourist accommodation on the East end of Isle Royale. By 1900, Gus Mattson, who had a fishing station in Tobin Harbor was renting rooms to sportsmen, while his wife cooked meals. He was one of several in the fishing industry who saw a further business opportunity in recreation and tourism. Mattson owned boats he could rent for fishing or sightseeing. In 1906, he sold his business to Fred K. Guck, W.H. Faucett, and G. Martini, all of Calumet, Michigan. The new owners changed the name to Tobin Harbor Resort and built additional facilities to augment what they had purchased from Mattson. Their resort had wood framed sleeping cottages and a log cabin dining room with a sitting room. Martini, Faucett, and Guck published a multipage brochure to advertise their resort. Interestingly a note on the back of the copy filed in the Isle Royale Archives at Houghton states that it was found in the Missouri State Historical Society, Columbia, Missouri, in 1972. The brochure offers guests rest and recreation and promises that those who “have tasted of the happiness” “have left Tobin’s Harbor with better and brighter minds, finer physical condition and a renewed general health which years of physicians’ care and attention could not bring about.”¹⁵⁰

Renamed Minong Lodge in the early 1930s, the resort in Tobin Harbor remained a rustic-type retreat and the center of the Tobin Harbor community, which included the resort's guests, summer residents, and fishing families. Tobin Harbor became a busy and crowded place. Boat days attracted summer residents for supplies and mail. Regatta Day, held in the 1920s and 1930s drew large crowds to the resort's sturdy and spacious dock. Richard Edwards, born in 1916, spent parts of several summers during his pre-teen and teenaged years at his family camp on Edwards Island off the mouth of Tobin Harbor. Edwards described the Tobin Harbor resort as "a real center of our social life," and "a kind of focal point for social life." His father and grandfather were both ministers, and they held Sunday evening services in the common area of the hotel. The family often visited on boat days, which he remembered as a big day for getting together and socializing. Fishermen like the Mattsons would bring their fish to the boat and take delivery of ice. The Minong facility remained in business until the late 1930s when the National Park Service bought out the last owners, Helena Smith and her daughter, Grace, and closed the resort.¹⁵¹

In 1901, "Commodore" Kneut Kneutson sailed from Duluth on a Booth steamer; fleeing the mainland pollen that made him miserable with hay fever, he rented quarters from Gus Mattson at Tobin Harbor. Kneutson found relief for his allergies and also "discovered" Snug Harbor an inlet off of Rock Harbor. He purchased half a mile of shore line, including Snug Harbor, and started the Park Place resort, which his daughter, Bertha Farmer, renamed Rock Harbor Lodge when she took over in 1922. Park Place offered, simple, one-room, wood-frame sleeping cabins. One of the few amenities was pails of hot water delivered to cabin doors each morning. Summer residences developed in Rock Harbor when Kneutson sold lots to visitors to Park Place. In 1924, under Bertha Farmer's management, Rock Harbor Resort added a large, two-story guest house, with guest rooms, electric lights, hot and cold running water, and two bathrooms with showers and indoor, "sanitary toilets." (In all likelihood, the sewage from those toilets and the soapy waste water the hot showers ended up in the lake.) The Rock Harbor Lodge also added a tennis court, with lessons available from Coach Orsborn, a high school teacher from Elgin, Illinois. Franks and Alanen conclude that during its "heyday" in the 1920s, "the informal summer community that formed in Rock Harbor as a result of Kneutson's development was equivalent to the community in Tobin Harbor."¹⁵²

The final commercial recreational development took place in Rock Harbor when in 1907 a Scandinavian fisherman named Erick Johnson opened Tourist's Home Resort on Davidson Island in Rock Harbor. Johnson's resort was composed of several one- and two-room cottages with a larger, central dining room. An undated photograph in Gale and Gale shows a one-story, square, wood-framed cottage with a moderately pitched pyramidal roof. A sign on the roof reads, "Tourist Home." The cottage is on the beach very near the water and appears to be set a few feet above the ground on posts or perhaps cement

“piers.” The façade has a centered door (standing open), with a single double-hung window positioned symmetrically on either side of the door and a full-width uncovered deck. There is a two-story building of similar construction behind. Several wooden row boats lie pulled up on shore. In 1910, Johnson sold out to the Davidson family of St. Paul. Many of Tourist Home’s cabins were sold and reused as sleeping cabins at the Tobin’s Harbor Resort. In 1922, the Davidson family built a two-story home on the island that shows some colonial revival influences. It was larger than most summer homes on the Isle Royale and also unusual in attempting to follow a recognized and popular architectural style. The Davidson’s home remains in use as seasonal lodging for Park Service employees.¹⁵³

Among the small universe of buildings that remains from the resort era in Rock Harbor and Tobin Harbor, the guest house built at Rock Harbor in 1924 stands out. It is historically important under National Register Criterion A. (A clever nomination might also make a case for Criterion B, for the guest house’s association with individuals like Kneut Kneutson and Bertha Farmer who played key roles in the history of Isle Royale.) The guest house and the Johns Hotel constitute the equivalent of material cultural book ends for the resort period on Isle Royale. Unlike the Johns Hotel, the guest house has been pretty well maintained, possesses a high degree of integrity, and continues in service with quarters for employees of the current Rock Harbor Lodge upstairs and a sitting room on the first floor.¹⁵⁴

Assessed against the National Register’s measures of integrity (location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association), the guest house retains the highest degree of integrity of any resort-period building on the Island. The guest house is a two-story, wood frame building with some Craftsman features (exposed rafters on the dormers and the roof line, knee brace-type brackets in the gable ends). It joins the Davidson house as one of the few buildings on Isle Royale that reflects an attempt to follow an architectural style. Modern visitors still sit on the broad deck at the water’s edge to enjoy the view and the breezes or maybe to brave the wind and feel the spray for a few minutes on a stormy day. In photographs taken in the 1920s and in 2007, the deck appears remarkably the same from the water. For a building that has seen continuous use for more than eight decades, it looks much like it did in the 1920s. A bold sign that announced, “Rock Harbor Lodge,” to inbound boats no longer adorns the harbor side elevation, and the colors have become “Park Service standard,” green roof and red/brown stain on the exterior. While the whole complex of buildings is much larger than it was in the 1920s and 1930s, the guest house still functions in an active resort-type setting. Compared to other resort buildings on Isle Royale -- in their current uses and present states of repair -- the guest house is the best surviving material cultural symbol of the “mature” resort era on Isle Royale.

Other than the guest house, the cohort of resort buildings that remains in Rock Harbor and Tobin Harbor is small and scattered. Franks and Alanen in Historic Structures at Isle Royale National Park mention two additional structures in the vicinity of the guest house: “The Spruce’s cabin” built by Kneut Kneutson and his son for Kneutson’s Park Place resort in good condition and a much-altered dining room constructed in 1908. The Park Service purchased and burned the Tobin Harbor (Minong) resort, and almost nothing remains near its original location except for some overgrown foundations and a single cabin maintained by the Park. (A sketch map on page 145 of Historic Structures at Isle Royale National Park, dated December 1987, provides a location for the cabin.) Another of the Tobin Harbor resort cabins found a new life at the Snell camp. Joan Snell remembered: “Then the hotel was sold to the Park Service. When Grandpa Snell heard about that, he sought permission to row one of the hotel guest cabins across the water to his place. He also picked up some lumber and windows for an extension, either from the hotel or from one of the other properties.” The Park Service relocated two more of the guest cabins to the Park Headquarters on Mott Island. The Snell family and the Park’s administrative headquarters became part of the long tradition of reusing and recycling buildings and building materials on Isle Royale. For historic preservation purposes, these former guest cabins no longer retain their association with the Tobin Harbor/Minong resort.¹⁵⁵ They have, however, been in their current “homes” for more than fifty years and may be assessed for the significance related to those locations.

In 1912, Fred Schofield opened what became the gold standard for resorts on Isle Royale in the Northeast quadrant of the archipelago. Schofield, who had co-owned the Tobin Harbor resort for a short time, had in mind something much grander. He bought Fish Island and a few additional nearby islands and began the hard work of creating a resort by renaming Fish Island, Belle Isle, and relocating two fishermen, Herman Johnson and John Anderson, who had squatted on the island since the early 1890s. Schofield gave these fishermen nearby Johnson Island, which he mistakenly believed he owned. The two men later gained title, and their grandson, Jim, and great granddaughter, Carla, maintain a summer residence on Johnson Island. Schofield opened his lodge and four cottages in the spring of 1912. Eventually, Belle Isle Resort boasted twenty eight cabins, two bath houses with electric lights, hot running water, and indoor sanitary toilets. Schofield offered his guests a tennis court and shuffle board courts, the latter on cement pads. Lake Superior was far too cold for an enjoyable swim, but Schofield solved that problem by using rock walls to create a sheltered pool that could be warmed by the sun. His greatest effort went into constructing a small nine-hole golf course on top of what had been forest clinging to rock. Building this course required cutting and burning the trees and pouring cold lake water on the hot rock so that it could be broken up and removed and then hauling top soil “mined” from McCargoe Cove several miles away. Schofield successfully overcame these obstacles and the harsh winter climate of northwestern Lake Superior to create a nice little golf course.¹⁵⁶ He wrapped

comfort and recreation around the idea of wilderness and the strenuous life, and by all reports his guests enjoyed it very much.

Belle Isle's fortunes eroded with the sinking of the America in 1928, compounded by the Depression and shifts in transportation away from lake steamers and towards personal autos, supplemented by railroads. Little remains of the once busy, rustically elegant, and popular Belle Isle Resort. None of the original buildings survive, with the exception of a single wood frame cottage. A National Park campground occupies most of the site of the golf course. Adirondack-type shelters and a sturdy federal dock make concessions to use. Sally Orsborn (McPherrin), whose family summered on nearby Captain Kidd Island starting in the mid-1930s, described Belle Isle as lively place. They would cross over for boat days. "Oh, it was beautiful," she reflected. "I loved that big old lodge." "To me it was a travesty when that wasn't kept up, when it was torn down; just such a waste."¹⁵⁷

In the 1920s, Swedish-born fisherman Holger Johnson and his wife, Lucy, operated Johnson's Resort and Trading Post on Chippewa Harbor. Johnson was seeking a way to supplement the income he earned from fishing. The Johnsons catered to fishermen, but they also sold souvenirs to boaters and guests at other lodges who stopped in for a visit. They maintained canoes at some of the interior lakes for the enjoyment of their guests who wanted to hike and try the fishing inland from Lake Superior. Johnson's Resort and Trading Post has gone the way of the other resort properties on Isle Royale. A single log cabin remains along with a few apple trees that still produce small, tasty apples early in the fall and some of the cribbing from the Johnson's dock.¹⁵⁸

During the 1910s and 1920s, four "higher end" resorts, Island House, Rock Harbor, Tobin Harbor, and Belle Isle, and several more rustic operations catered to tourists during the summer season. Fishermen started many of the rustic ventures as a way to generate additional income. The bays and inlets of Isle Royale were busy places in the summer with boats, including large deep-draft craft like the America coming and going on a regular schedule. In 1938, acting on a report prepared by landscape architect, Donald Wolbrink, the Park Service bought all of the resort properties on Isle Royale. For a few years, the Park contracted the operation of Rock Harbor, Windigo, and Belle Isle to Mrs. Bertha Farmer. By the early 1950s, only Rock Harbor remained open.¹⁵⁹ Outside of Rock Harbor only a few scattered cabins, and the deteriorating but highly significant Johns Hotel, survive as the material cultural heritage of the resort heyday on Isle Royale.

Recreation and Summer Residents

During the first half of the twentieth century, there were three clusters of "settlement" on Isle Royale: Rock Harbor/Tobin Harbor on the southeastern corner, Belle Isle/Amygdaloid Channel in the northeastern quadrant of the

archipelago, and Washington Harbor on the far western end. Each of these three population centers included resorts, active fisheries, and the homes of summer residents, which actually and symbolically drew these trends together into a common history of Isle Royale. Given available transportation, the inhabitants of those enclaves had limited interaction with people and places on the Island outside of their own area. The combination of the four flagship resorts (Tobin Harbor [Minong], Rock Harbor, Belle Isle, and the Singer Resort), plus several more rustic facilities, active fisheries, summer cabins, and the comings and goings of numerous commercial and recreational boats made these three population centers busy and even crowded places in the summer. People came to these harbor sites to enjoy themselves and to “get away from it all.” At the same time, summer increases in population compromised water quality, while wood smoke, boat exhaust, and the stink of active fisheries mixed with breezes over the water and competed with the smells of the forest and the lake for the sensory attention of visitors. Fishermen, resort owners and guests, and summer residents were all participants in the process of creating a historical wilderness.

Here were living, functioning, seasonal landscapes that reflected a blend of recreational and social activity combined with the hard, tough work of commercial fishermen. Throughout the first half of the twentieth century, these harbor communities on Isle Royale combined an improbable but increasingly symbiotic mix of working class fishing families and comparatively well off summer residents into active and busy seasonal communities. Summer residents depended on the fishermen to construct and maintain buildings and docks, while the fishermen found an additional source of income providing these services. Richard Edwards described his family’s relationship with fisherman Art Mattson and his wife Inez as blend of social interaction and hired assistance. Art Mattson helped Richard’s family get from Rock Harbor to Edwards Island. Mattson also assisted with the upkeep of the buildings on Edwards Island, among other things putting a new roof on one of the cabins. In August 1946, Art Mattson wrote to Richard’s father, Deane Edwards, telling him that “Mrs. Gale noticed that your door on the store house was open, so we went out and nailed it shut. One of the windows was broken too.” For their part, the Edwards family would also visit the Mattson fishery in Tobin Harbor and go there for dinner. Jack Orsborn, whose father Coach Orsborn came to Rock Harbor from Gary, Indiana, to teach tennis and escape the misery of summer-time hay fever, recalled that his sister babysat for Inez Mattson so she could go out fishing with her husband.¹⁶⁰ Teenage sons of fishermen and summer families earned extra money serving as fishing guides. People enjoyed themselves socializing at the larger resorts. The historical significance of these places is vested in the interplay among the various groups, which is represented by the surviving material culture, and not in isolated categories like resorts, private summer cabins, and commercial fishing.

While a few of the summer homes were large and even grand by Isle Royale standards (the Davidson House in Rock Harbor, the McGrath House at Crystal Cove), summer camps on Isle Royale typically consist of simple, one-

story frame structures, with one or more guest cabins intended for seasonal use. Wood stoves or stone fire places supply heat. Owners usually oriented their cabins towards the water. Materials of construction range from dimension lumber to peeled logs to lumber recycled from other buildings on the Island. While some have generators, most lack electricity and running water, which means dry sinks in the cabins, hauling water for domestic use, and trips outside to the privy (which on Isle Royale often goes by the upper Midwestern vernacular, biffy). California Coolers, such as the one in the Stack/Wolbrink house, pull air from beneath the cabin and circulate it to keep food cool. Summer residents ranging from the Gales to the Andersons to the Orsborns have developed clever and ingenious technologies to heat water for baths or showers. Interiors of cabins that remain in active use reflect the life of those places – stepping inside is almost like taking a walk back in time, with furnishings and “appliances” suitable for a pre-electrical world and decorations that reflect family and social history on Isle Royale, in some cases going back several generations.¹⁶¹

Summer communities represent a maritime culture with boats and boating a part of the fabric of life. Most seasonal residents travel to and from the Isle Royale by boat, and boats are an essential means of transportation while on the Island. Boats and the material culture of boating have been, and continue to be, an essential part of the historic landscapes of summer residences. Timber and rock cribbing provides support for docks, which along with boat houses require maintenance and repair in the face of winter and the relentless siege of the ice. In July 2007, the Savage boat house in Tobin Harbor abandoned to the care of the Park, lay on a rocky shore in shattered piles of lumber. One of the best extant boat houses belongs to the Barnum family on Barnum Island. Upkeep and repair of boats and docks and boathouses and related facilities represents both a major expense and an essential aspect of maintaining the integrity of summer residences.¹⁶²

The Belle Isle/Amygdaloid Channel settlement cluster that included the McGrath’s private resort at Crystal Cove, Belle Isle Resort, the Anderson and Johnson fisheries, and the summer home of the McPherrin family on Captain Kidd Island is the least-used of the three remaining population centers. Andrew Johnson and Conrad Scotland, Norwegian bachelors, fished from Amygdaloid Island from the 1920s to the 1950s, based in the 1930s at the site of the present-day ranger station. All three of John Anderson’s sons (Gilbert, Emil, and Ed) fished at various times from Johnson Island, and Gilbert also led fishing expeditions from Belle Isle. Captain Kidd is the most remote of the inhabited summer camps on Isle Royale. Wind or fog can prevent access and trap people on the island for days at a time. Living there even in the summer is both a labor of love and a challenge. The fact that the McPherrin family has done this for decades speaks to the power of their bond to that place.¹⁶³

In the early 1920s, George W. McGrath, a resident of Omaha, Nebraska, and an executive of the Sheridan Coal Company, built Isle Royale's most opulent private resort on the Northeast end of Amygdaloid Island at Crystal Cove. The McGrath compound used log construction to create a rustic look, but the place was anything but wild. McGrath had installed a generator house away from the main complex so the noise would not disturb his family and their guests. The generator supplied power for electricity and for hot and cold, indoor plumbing. McGrath did not put a privy on his Island. There were three additional cabins along with a boat house and deep water dock substantial enough to accommodate the America and the McGrath's impressive yacht. George McGrath sold his resort to the John Nixon family, also of Omaha, in the early 1930s. Nixon sold out to the National Park Service in the late 1930s, and after a period in which the resort compound was unoccupied, the Park Service allowed a fishing couple, Milford and Myrtle Johnson, to occupy and use the site in the late 1950s. The Johnsons remained at Crystal Cove until they retired in the 1980s. The Johnsons employed a net house and installed several net drying reels. Crystal Cove stood empty after the Johnsons departure in the 1980s, and by fall 2006 and summer 2007, it had become overrun with brush and had deteriorated considerably despite maintenance by the National Park Service, which has included a new dock, some re-roofing, and painting of a few of the cabins. In July 2007 the roofing material on the main house had been breached by the weather, and the overall condition of what had once been a grand home had slipped to the point where it will be expensive and time consuming to effect restoration, especially following the Secretary of the Interior's Standards for Rehabilitation.¹⁶⁴

Crystal Cove and Captain Kidd Island represent chapters in a common story. Sally Orsborn (McPherren) grew up on in Omaha, Nebraska. She recalled that her father Wayne (or Mack) worked for John Nixon also of Omaha. When Nixon purchased Crystal Cove from George McGrath, he also bought Captain Kidd Island, which already had some cabins that had housed the McGrath's servants. Nixon wanted someone he knew living on Captain Kidd, and he invited Wayne McPherren to consider the island as a summer retreat. Sally's father and mother, Margaret, traveled to Captain Kidd in 1935 to see if her mother could find relief from her hay fever.¹⁶⁵

As with so many others, Margaret found relief, and the McPherren family began a summer time association with Captain Kidd Island that through Sally and her husband, Jack Osborn, and their son and his children, was still going strong in July 2008. Wayne McPherren came back to Captain Kidd in 1936 with his wife and two young daughters. Sally was about four at that point. He stayed for a week and then left his wife and daughters alone on Captain Kidd for most of the rest of the summer with only a row boat for transportation. McPherren arranged for fishermen, Emil and Ed Anderson, to check up on his family and to deliver the mail and basics like milk. The fishermen were so concerned that Mrs. McPherren had only a row boat at her disposal that Ed came by with an old skiff

and a motor and taught her how to use the motor boat. As Sally and her sister grew up and had access to small motor boats, they had what she described as a “lively interchange” with the Anderson’s children Jim and Mary on Johnson Island. But, she explained that as Jim approached his teens he went to work fishing with his father. “He had a job,” she said, “We didn’t. We were just sort of at loose ends.” The McPherran family built up and improved their compound, recycling some buildings from other areas and constructing new ones, including a cottage and a boat house. They moved the bath house and likely one of the sleeping cabins from the McGrath resort, and they hauled dirt by boat to create a level lawn around the main cabin and the sleeping cabins. One of the highlights of the McPherran compound is the elaborate wood stove-fired system for heating water for bathing and washing clothes. Sally and her family maintained social contact with the Nixons until they sold out and left in the late 1930s. When the Johnsons moved in the family traveled back and forth for mail and to pick up grocery orders.¹⁶⁶

Franks and Alanen combine the McGrath and McPherran compounds in historic preservation terms due to the interconnectedness of their history and architecture. They note a similarity of design and construction between buildings in the McGrath Compound and on Captain Kidd Island and conclude that they were built by the same person, fisherman Emil Anderson. They state that both compounds possess significant integrity and “retain many of the original structures, the majority of which are in good condition. The McGrath property has a high degree of integrity.” “The McPherran Compound on Captain Kidd Island,” they note, “. . . has eleven surviving structures most retaining high integrity.”¹⁶⁷

Crystal Cove offers a very good example of the likely outcome of leaving historically significant buildings unoccupied and empty -- despite well-crafted plans and good intentions. Placing a long-term lease holder (or special use permit holder) in that complex combined with a “package” that included a historic preservation and natural area covenant, a maintenance requirement, and visitor/park ambassador responsibilities would go a long way towards ensuring the preservation of the complex in a manner consistent with the Secretary of the Interiors standards. The same could be said about the future of the camp on Captain Kidd Island.

Summer cabins and resort properties and active fisheries made the Tobin Harbor/Rock Harbor complex a vital and interconnected summertime community that survives, albeit in attenuated form, to the present. Reverend Maurice D. Edwards of St. Paul, Minnesota, was one of the first people to establish a summer residence in the Tobin Harbor area. Maurice Edwards’ love of fly fishing originally attracted him to Isle Royale in the late nineteenth century. He first camped near the old Rock Harbor Lighthouse and then “squatted” on Edwards Island just outside the mouth of Tobin Harbor until he purchased the island in the early twentieth century at auction with Alfred Merritt running interference to make sure he was successful. Thereafter, Edwards began the more permanent

improvements that still characterize the summer complex on Edwards Island. The family of Roy Snell was one of the last to establish a summer residence in the Tobin Harbor area before establishment of the National Park closed off that option.¹⁶⁸ The Edwards and the Snells and many other summer families joined resort owners and visitors and fishing families in forging a seasonal community in Tobin Harbor that also had significant social and economic interaction with Rock Harbor. Until well into the post-WWII period these two densely settled and heavily used harbors (in Isle Royale terms) existed in relative isolation from other population centers on the Island.

The mail house on Minong Island, now empty and unused, stands as an important material symbol of the seasonal community that existed in Tobin Harbor. Although some of the names and designations on the mail distribution boxes are hard to read, those that survive evoke a time when this facility drew together summer families, fishing families, and Coast Guard personnel associated with the Passage Lighthouse (Stacks, How, Dassler, Edwards, A. Anderson, Gale, Snell, Light House, Mattson, Robinson, Beards, Merritt, Kemmer, Connolly, Wallin, Lichte, and Bell). The Passage Light was also a social and recreational destination, along with Lookout Louise.

Surviving properties located in Tobin Harbor possess the historical and physical integrity that will make them eligible for the National Register of Historic Places. In September 1963, the National Park Service published "The Master Plan for Preservation and Use: Isle Royale National Park, Michigan." That report contains a detailed map of extant life lease holders and special use permits (largely fishermen) as of the fall of 1963. The Master Plan lists eleven summer compounds in the Eastern end of Tobin Harbor and Edwards Island, held by life lease holders, and one special use permit, the Mattson fishery in Tobin Harbor. Life lease holders included, Kemmer, Gale, Merritt, Snell, Seifert, Connolly, Dassler, Stack, Howe, Green, and Edwards. In 1999, Franks and Alanen found that eight surviving properties retained a high level of integrity: Kemmer, Merritt, Snell, Siefert, Connolly, Edwards, Beard, and Stack/Wolbrink. They evaluated four additional Tobin Harbor properties as having high to medium integrity: Gale, How, Dassler, and Savage. In 2007, the Mattson fish house and dock, which had once been a central part of the Tobin Harbor community was in poor repair.¹⁶⁹ Franks and Alanen's Historic Structures on Isle Royale National Park (1999) combined with the Cultural Landscapes Inventory: Tobin Harbor, Isle Royale National Park (1997) and the author's field work in 1996, 1997, and 1998 provide a strong and persuasive case that critical mass of properties exists to support a successful nomination to the National Register of Historic Places in a either a District or a Multiple Property format. Despite a thinning of the human ranks due to age and of the material culture due to destruction and neglect, the people who have lived, and continue to live, in these buildings constitute a community that has existed for over a century. These are people historically bound to each other and to Isle Royale. As Robert Edwards explained:

One evening in the 1970s a number of us were lounging around a campfire, enjoying a fish dinner, reminiscing and doing a little spontaneous singing. As I sat there I could not help thinking how our Edwards grandparents would smile at the sight of their great-grandchildren . . . camping on ground they possessed as squatters long ago. There we were, part of a long family tradition, finding the same pleasure and renewal they had discovered in the beauty of the vast Lake and its 'royale isle.'¹⁷⁰

Unlike Tobin Harbor and Washington Harbor, Rock Harbor's summer homes have not survived as part of a seasonal community. A few remain, which in combination with a number of other important buildings and structures constitutes a significant collection of cultural resources. Several families bought land from "Commodore" Kneut Kneutson and built summer cabins, including Warren, Langworthy, Orsborn, Ralph, Tooker, Davidson, and Manthey. The National Park Service burned many of the summer dwellings and guest cabins in Rock Harbor. Jack Orsborn's family cabin, which had also been briefly occupied by the Snell family, was hauled out on the ice along with other Rock Harbor buildings and torched. Franks and Alanen list three surviving homes in Rock Harbor that had once been private camps, and among that group they rate the Ralph Cabin as the best example, followed by the Davidson House, and the Warren Camp. The former used as seasonal housing by the National Park Service, and the latter serves as the Rock Harbor Ranger Station.¹⁷¹

In addition to summer residences, Rock Harbor embraces a collection of significant historic properties, which instead of constituting an inter-related community are set like small jewels in an intricate tapestry woven from the combined fabric of the natural and humanized landscapes. Franks and Alanen rated the Edisen Fishery as the best surviving example of a small-scale commercial fishery on Isle Royale, with nine historic structures possessing a high overall degree of integrity. The Bangsund Cabin is a material symbol of the wolf-moose project, a major study of predator and prey that has national and even international impact, as well as a former fishery. The Historic Rock Harbor Lighthouse is not only an important relic of navigation history and likely the oldest lighthouse on the Great Lakes, but it also served temporarily as a fishery and it is one of the most important visual symbols on the Island. Mott Island at Park Headquarters has two excellent CCC-constructed rustic-type buildings (a home and a pump house), and the Rock Harbor Guest House is the best extant example of resort-era architecture on Isle Royale.¹⁷² Cumulatively, the surviving cultural resources along Rock Harbor possess the significance and integrity to be nominated to the National Register as a District or perhaps as thematic representatives in an Island-wide Multiple Property nomination. In addition to the above-ground resources, Rock Harbor includes a significant collection of archaeological sites, such as the Daisy Farm Campground, that document the history of human occupation and use of the Island for thousands of years.

Washington Harbor is another area of Isle Royale that has witnessed human occupation and use for thousands of years. Caven Clark reports in

Archaeological Survey the identification of a Native American site on Barnum Island on the East end near the present location of the Johns Hotel. He also discusses significant archaeological findings on Washington Island, including three mining pits at the Singer excavation (201R80), along with hammer stones. Clark explained that “the activities reflected in this site indicate only copper extraction and preliminary fabrication. The nearby occupation site probably served as the focus of related domestic and subsistence activities for the miners of the Singer site.” He also chronicles Native American transient residence at Phelps on Washington Island and a previously unrecorded “Terminal Woodland occupation” at Washington Island 2. Clark concluded that “The Phelps site, in combination with Singer and Washington Island 2, constitutes a configuration of activities associated by proximity and necessity.” A large prehistoric site also exists at North Gap.¹⁷³

After 1892 and the final demise of copper mining on Isle Royale, commercial fishing and increasingly resort and summer residence activity came to dominate Washington Harbor. Rock of Ages Lighthouse (1908), located about 2.5 miles outside the mouth of Washington Harbor, still lights the way for recreational and commercial navigators. On Washington Island near Sunset Point a radio tower from the early twentieth century remains a symbol of the development of radio and of the use of technology to break down Isle Royale’s physical isolation. The wreck of the America sunk in North Gap, June 7, 1928, remains on the bottom visible through the clear waters of Lake Superior. For many years, the America transported passengers, delivered mail and supplies and ice, and hauled away the fresh-caught fish. It remains today as a material symbol of those economic and social activities on the Island, as well as the hazards of navigating around Isle Royale. There was a CCC camp at Windigo during the 1930s, and the harbor continues in relatively heavy use by boaters, summer cabin users, and a range of activities related to National Park facilities. Descendants of original fishing families and of recreational families make common cause and a socially integrated summer-time community on Washington and Barnum Islands, in ways that would not have been typical or possible when a thriving commercial fishing industry meant that one group came to the Island to work and the other to vacation and escape work.¹⁷⁴

George Barnum, a wealthy grain merchant from Duluth, was one of the first to establish a summer compound on Isle Royale. In 1889, Barnum visited the Island and stayed at the Johns Hotel. Barnum returned, and in 1902 he bought the Island, after having Johns and his son build him a cabin on the Western end of what he renamed Barnum Island. George Barnum then invited a number of his friends to build cabins on his island, employing his carpenter, Ole Daniels from Duluth. In relatively short order, Daniels built frame cabins for the Andrews, Ray, and Dunwoodie families, as well as a common dining room on the Eastern end of the Island. By the 1920s, Barnum Island was a busy place, and in that decade Daniels put up five more buildings, including the Ray Cottage and outhouse and two Andrews’ cottages and privy. Barnum Island also has two

boat houses, a large one built in 1910 and a smaller one in the early 1930s. The residents of Barnum Island joined an active community that included the Singer's hotel and several fishing settlements on Washington Island. Despite heavy loss to the overall body of cultural resources in Washington Harbor, many of the surviving buildings on Barnum and Washington Islands represent an active summer community that has persisted for more than one hundred years. Because the same carpenter built most of the buildings on Barnum Island, they demonstrate considerable similarity in workmanship, materials, and design. Franks and Alanen conclude that the "Barnum Colony" possesses a high degree of integrity, and as one of the earliest recreational developments on Isle Royale retains seventeen historic structures: six residential cottages, four privies, two boat houses, a woodshed, and a smoke house.¹⁷⁵

Conservation and Administration

There were two major periods of conservation/administrative construction on Isle Royale. One of those associated with "Mission 66" falls outside the fifty-year cut off for the National Register of Historic Places, but the surviving buildings should be inventoried and rated (Outstanding, Contributing, Non-contributing) so that they can be assessed and nominated if qualified once they reach the age of fifty.

The most important period of conservation activity on Isle Royale took place between 1935 and the outbreak of World War II when the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) supplied work to unemployed young men during the Depression and provided labor that helped Isle Royale undergo the transition from private land to a National Park. Known as "Roosevelt's Army," the CCC employed a rustic style that made use of local materials so that the buildings "fit" into the landscape on which they were constructed. Three CCC base camps at Daisy Farm, Siskiwit Bay, and Windigo provided recruits with jobs and helped the new National Park by building administrative infrastructure and performing a variety of conservation-related tasks. The best examples of CCC rustic architecture are located at the Park's headquarters on Mott Island. Franks and Alanen identify eleven CCC buildings on Mott Island. So much development has taken place on Mott Island since the 1930s that these extant CCC buildings do not possess much integrity as a complex, but some of them retain a high degree of individual integrity. Among those with the highest levels of integrity are the first residential unit built on Mott Island – one-story, with board and batten siding and considerable "cobble" stone construction in the foundation and chimney – and the pump house that remained in service in 2008.¹⁷⁶

Navigation

Isle Royale is fundamentally a maritime park situated in a huge inland sea of fresh water. Navigation is a key theme in the Island's history. Almost every

human being who has ever set foot on the Island navigated Lake Superior to get there. The waters around Isle Royale present challenges and danger to navigators. In the 1840s and 1850s, with the first copper boom and the completion of the navigation locks at Sault Ste. Marie in 1855, lake traffic picked up around Isle Royale. The federal government responded by constructing a lighthouse at Middle Islands Passage, the narrow and relatively shallow primary entrance to Rock Harbor from Lake Superior. The Rock Harbor Lighthouse opened in 1855 and stayed lit for only four years when the government abandoned it, as copper mining ventures on Isle Royale played out and the first boom turned to bust. Rock Harbor Light House is one of the oldest lighthouses on Lake Superior. The next copper boom (1873-1881) prompted the United States Government to construct a second lighthouse, built in 1875 on Menagerie Island off the south-shore entrance to Siskiwit Bay, where the Island Mining Company was headquartered. The government also re-lit the Rock Harbor Lighthouse between 1874 and 1879, to serve the needs of increased copper-related boat traffic going in and out of Rock Harbor. In 1882, as commercial shipping traffic expanded on Lake Superior, pushed along in part by a silver strike on the Canadian north shore, the United States government completed a third lighthouse on Isle Royale on Passage Island, especially for shipping that elected to pass through the three-mile gap between Passage and Blake Point on the Eastern tip of Isle Royale. Traffic into and out of Washington Harbor and more generally in the Western end of Lake Superior prompted the government to start work on the fourth Isle Royale Lighthouse, Rock of Ages, completed in 1908 on a tiny and difficult-to-approach rock atoll just west of the mouth of Washington Harbor.¹⁷⁷

Rock Harbor Lighthouse, owned and maintained by Isle Royale National Park, is listed on the National Register. The fact that it is already on the National Register attests to its significance and the obligation for upkeep. Its active service is directly correlated with copper booms on Isle Royale. Beyond that, the lighthouse served intermittently as a fishery. Situated on the West side of Middle Passage between the open lake and a sheltered harbor, Rock Harbor Lighthouse has become a visual icon on the landscape of Isle Royale. It may be among the most photographed material culture symbols on the Island. Rock Harbor Lighthouse is significant for its relationship to nineteenth century navigation on Lake Superior, for its intimate connection to history of Isle Royale, and for its role as an important material symbol of the Island and the National Park. Along with the Edisen Fishery and the Bangsund Cabin, it is among the most-visited historical sites in the Rock Harbor area. Rock Harbor Lighthouse has benefitted from maintenance and interpretation; the bright white color adding to its visual impact.

The United States Coast Guard owns the three remaining lighthouses at Menagerie (1875), Passage (1882), and Rock of Ages (1908); they are lit but no longer staffed. All are eligible for the National Register, and Rock of Ages and Menagerie are listed on the National Register as part of a Thematic Resource

nomination. Passage is the only lighthouse associated with Isle Royale that has historically and in the present lit an important, commercial shipping lane; the route that connects Sault Ste. Marie with Thunder Bay, Ontario. Lake freighters sometimes shorten the journey by cutting between Passage and the Eastern tip of Isle Royale. Passage also has a long history of social and recreational use, especially by people spending their summers in Tobin and Rock Harbor. Coast Guard personnel associated with the Passage picked up mail in Tobin Harbor and undoubtedly enjoyed social time there as well. Rock of Ages has served traffic headed in and out of Washington harbor for more than a century, providing a beacon for fishing and passenger boats, as well as the commercial vessels that played a key role supporting fishing and recreation on Isle Royale and the Western end of Lake Superior (Hiram Dixon, T.H. Camp, America, Grace J. Winyah, Rita Marie, Disturbance, Voyageur, and others). Menagerie's heyday occurred during the copper booms of the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Of the three Coast Guard-owned lighthouses, it serves the least amount of contemporary marine traffic.

Comparison with Other NPS Sites on the Great Lakes

The original Scope of Work calls for comparison between Isle Royale National Park and other National Park Service units located on the Great Lakes, such as Apostle Islands National Lakeshore(1970), Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore(1970), and Voyageurs National Park (1975). Some of that comparative perspective is woven into the narrative. Keeping in mind that most National Register significance is local, this section addresses ideas and examples that provide perspective for assessing the significance of cultural resources on Isle Royale. Budget and time permitted only a single, one-day site visit to Apostle Islands. A number of reports and National Register nominations commissioned by the National Park Service added depth and perspective to the comparative dimension of this study.¹⁷⁸

The material culture that exists in these federal sites derives its significance from the history of its own place. Preserving a recreational property or a summer cabin or fishing camp or a lighthouse at one of these locations does not somehow "cover" all of them. In historical and historic preservation terms, significance is closely related to use and to integrity, which includes the original relationship of cultural resources to each other and to their surrounding environment.

In common with Isle Royale, Apostle Islands, Sleeping Bear, and Voyageurs are historical wildernesses. In December 2004, for example, President George Bush signed legislation designating about eighty percent of the land area of Apostle Islands National Lake Shore as wilderness.¹⁷⁹ The Apostle Islands, which are located much closer to shore than Isle Royale, have higher visitation and a larger inventory of cultural resources. On both the Apostle Islands and Isle Royale, as the Park Service moves towards restoring wilderness

qualities, it will confront management challenges relative to separating land from water and human history from natural history.

Isle Royale, Apostle Islands, Sleeping Bear, and Voyageurs share several common experiences and themes that are part of the fabric of their historical use and development. Extractive industries such as quarrying, mining, and logging played a historical role in these units. Family farming took place on Apostle Islands and at Sleeping Bear. Navigation was a significant theme in the history of Isle Royale, Apostle, and Sleeping Bear. Historically and in the present, Lake Michigan shipping passed through the busy Manitou Passage between North and South Manitou Islands (now designated wilderness areas) and the Michigan mainland part of which includes the National Lake Shore. The North Manitou Shoal Lighthouse (owned by the Coast Guard), the South Manitou Island Lighthouse (owned by the Park Service), and the Sleeping Bear Point Coast Guard Station and Maritime Museum attest to the historical connections between that place and navigation on the Great Lakes.¹⁸⁰ The Apostle Islands are close to the main commercial navigation route into and out of Duluth. These Islands also presented navigation hazards to commercial shipping following the opening of a navigation lock at Sault Ste. Marie in 1855. Six surviving lighthouses within Apostle Islands National Lakeshore are listed on the National Register of historic places, with the Raspberry Island Lighthouse described as the “Showplace of the Apostle Islands” on the Lakeshore’s official web page (built in 1862; extensively remodeled in 1906; carefully restored in 2006).¹⁸¹ Historically lighthouses on the Manitou Passage and in the Apostle Islands served much more lake traffic than any of the lighthouses on Isle Royale.

Where there are surviving cultural resources on the Apostle Islands, Voyageurs, Sleeping Bear, and Isle Royale, the greatest areas of overlap come with commercial fishing and recreation. Every one of these National Park Service units supported a commercial fishery and experienced significant recreational use. These two themes provide the most comparative value in indentifying, protecting, and preserving cultural resources. All four of these units have (or had) cultural resources associated with fishing and recreation that were lived in and used at the time they come into possession and control of the Park Service. Each has properties related to these themes still occupied by holders of life leases or special use permits or that recently reverted to the Park Service, which raises important issues related to the disposition of those resources when they eventually come under the control of the Park Service.

A useful comparative perspective that might be incorporated into Isle Royale’s planning process can be gained from examining how other National Park units on the Great Lakes have addressed cultural resources under provisions of the National Historic Preservation Act. Apostle Islands, Voyageur, and Sleeping Bear have at least one district or Multiple Property, National Register nomination listed or in process. Sleeping Bear successfully nominated Port Oneida Rural Historic District to the National Register of Historic Places and

subsequently completed an environmental assessment of that endeavor in June 2008 indicating no significant impact. Plans call for the District to remain in service as a kind of living history farm within the borders of a park that also has wilderness as a part of its land management mission. In addition, Sleeping Bear commissioned a study of agricultural landscapes on one of its off-shore locations, North Manitou Island.¹⁸²

Sleeping Bear's Port Oneida Rural Historic District illustrates some of the challenges associated with preserving cultural resources in an environment where established managerial goals clashed with changes in scholarship and in corresponding ways of understanding and practicing historic preservation. Between the late 1970s and the mid-1990s, a growing body of landscape scholarship (combined with social history's emphasis on the ordinary and everyday) drew increasing attention to the historical and cultural significance of rural, vernacular landscapes.¹⁸³ That scholarship contributed to a transformation of the philosophy and an expansion of the boundaries of historic preservation to embrace rural, historic landscapes. Robert Z. Melnick's, Cultural Landscapes: Rural Historic Districts in the National Park System (1984), provided the National Park Service with an introduction to the preservation-related significance of historic landscapes. In 1989, the National Park Service published Bulletin 30: Guidelines for Evaluating and Documenting Rural Historic Landscapes. Bulletin 30 explained in its Introduction that "in recent years, there has been a growing interest among preservationists in recognizing and protecting the cultural values that centuries of land use and occupation have embodied in rural America. Understanding the forces that have shaped rural properties, interpreting their historical importance, and planning for their protection are current challenges in historic preservation."¹⁸⁴ By the early 1990s, the National Park Service had taken a leading, national role in identifying, evaluating, and nominating rural historic districts.

Consistent with these new directions in historic preservation, the Cultural Resources program in the National Park Service's Midwest Regional Office initiated a series of studies of the cultural resources associated with Port Oneida and other locations within Sleeping Bear. The Midwest Regional Office contracted with outside scholars to perform these evaluations because Sleeping Bear's management resisted the "growing interest among preservationists in recognizing and protecting the cultural values that centuries of land use and occupation have embodied in rural America."¹⁸⁵ The National Register of Historic Places listed the Port Oneida Rural Historic District in 1997, although doing so did not guarantee protection of the cultural resources contained within its boundaries or elsewhere in Sleeping Bear.

A continuing managerial disconnect between cultural and natural resources presented a serious threat and led directly to the founding of Preserve Historic Sleeping Bear. According to Kathryn Eckert, former Michigan State Historic Preservation Officer, "before the establishment of PHSB, moldering ruins

was an acceptable treatment alternative” at Sleeping Bear. “In fact,” she noted, “this practice and the destruction of secondary structures (corncribs, privies, chicken coops, and the like) that support the farmhouse and the barn at Port Oneida precipitated the establishment of PHSB.” Preserve Historic Sleeping Bear’s web site reinforces this version of the organization’s genesis:

In 1998, the public was alerted to the park’s intent to demolish over 200 of the 366 historic structures currently identified in the Park. Citizens voiced opposition to the proposed demolition plan at public meetings and urgently pleaded with Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore to save as many historic structures as possible. Immediately, a grassroots effort led by local residents founded Preserve Historic Sleeping Bear (*Preserve*) to advocate for, and assist the Park in saving these priceless historic resources that tell of Great Lakes history and grace the landscape. With the support of Preserve Historic Sleeping Bear, the Park recognized the historic significance of the structures and escalated efforts to protect them.

Preserve Historic Sleeping Bear’s web site concludes that “Today, the historic Port Oneida Rural Historic District, as an example, is recognized by historians as **“one of the most prized historic landscapes in the nation!”** It is unique as one of few intact historic agricultural communities in public ownership.”¹⁸⁶

Preserve Historic Sleeping Bear offers a public/private model of what could be accomplished on Isle Royale through a strong friends’ organization with a focus on cultural resources. Friends of the Apostle Islands National Lakeshore provide an additional example of a private, non-profit working in conjunction with the National Park Service on behalf of cultural resources.

The National Register of Historic Places listed Apostle Islands’ “Rocky Island Historic District” in 2008, under Criterion A, “as a maritime landscape reflecting the commercial fishing culture along the shores of Lake Superior, and the mid-twentieth century regional shift to an economy heavily reliant on tourism and recreation.”¹⁸⁷ (When compared to “Rocky Island Historic District,” recreation and recreation-related cultural resources have a much longer history on Isle Royale.) The shift in use came as a direct result of the decline of the fishery in the Western end of Lake Superior due to over fishing and predation by the lamprey.

“Rocky Island Historic District” encompasses dwellings and related structures on the eastern shore of Rocky Island. All are now owned by the National Park Service and are either presently occupied or were recently occupied by descendants of Scandinavian commercial fishermen who established fish camps in the early 1930s. Many of the buildings covered by the nomination were moved to Rocky Island from other locations; several were moved one or more times on the Island. The nomination includes five fish camps and notes that the Hedland Fish Camp, which was already individually listed on the National Register in 1977, possesses the least integrity, largely because it

has stood empty since 1988. Evidence in the nomination, as well as field examination by the author demonstrates a strong correlation between use and integrity. Some buildings outside of the National Register district that had reverted to the Park remained empty and exhibited considerable deferred maintenance and deterioration. Even though use has shifted from commercial fishing to recreation, the nomination notes that “the island residents, retaining use-and-occupancy agreements, maintained conditions essentially unchanged from those existing in the last years of the commercial fishing era.”¹⁸⁸

Voyageurs National Park has in process a multiple property nomination, titled “Tourism and Recreational Properties in Voyageurs National Park, 1880-1950,” which provides an historic context and nominations for some of the eligible properties. The multiple property identifies several property types: Seasonal estates (“seasonal home complexes built for wealthy tourists and outdoor adventurers who took prolonged vacations in northern Minnesota’s remote areas”); Lakeside summer cottages (“reflect the modest financial capacity of their original owners”); resorts (subtypes, resort complex and resort lodge); and youth camps. Each of these property types includes a close variation of the following language as part of the registration requirements: “The property does not need to retain its significant historic function, but it must retain historic integrity as described herein.” The “Summary of Identification and Evaluation Methods” lists thirteen eligible structures. “Tourism and Recreational Properties in Voyageurs National Park, 1880-1950,” includes four nominations.¹⁸⁹

“Tourism and Recreational Properties in Voyageurs National Park, 1880-1950,” reveals some resource-related issues that are useful for comparative purposes, especially when considering properties related to recreation and tourism. The repeated caveat that “the property does not need to retain its significant historic function, but it must retain historic integrity as described herein,” severs integrity from historical function. In National Register terms, integrity is supposed to link character-defining physical qualities to the case for significance. Sometimes there are good reasons to sever this link, such as adaptive reuse of historic buildings that for one reason or another can no longer fulfill their historic functions (converting an abandoned factory or school to housing would be an example of adaptive reuse). The CCC is never coming back, so “sympathetic” adaptive reuse of CCC-related cultural resources makes sense. On Isle Royale, the Dassler property on Tobin Harbor employed for an artist in the Park program represents adaptive reuse of a sympathetic type. The fact that the Park forced the Dassler family to vacate the Island also highlights some of the multi-faceted challenges of managing cultural resources that remain in private use in a public park. In all likelihood, this particular registration requirement is a function of the fact that most of the properties covered by “Tourism and Recreational Properties in Voyageurs National Park, 1880-1950,” are empty and no longer fulfilling their historic function.

In a National Park or a National Lakeshore, which is a historical wilderness, the unity of form and function, of historical use and integrity, of historic preservation and accurate interpretation is too important to sever – at least without careful thought and planning for the best possible outcome and the most sympathetic end use. Based upon evidence provided with the multiple property nomination, many of the buildings and structures on Voyageurs appear to be abandoned and showing signs of deferred or “catch up” maintenance. What is left at Voyageurs is less “pristine” than similar, surviving cultural resources on Isle Royale.

Voyageurs offers tour boats that allow the visitor to see natural and cultural resources that are otherwise not readily accessible.¹⁹⁰ Such a system, if offered on Isle Royale by the Park, could provide visitors a chance to experience both land and water and to see many of the natural features and cultural resources that are presently not available to those who lack access to a boat. If affordable, this opportunity might actually increase visitation by making it possible to see parts of the archipelago that cannot be reached by hiking, and by giving visitors who are not prepared for or interested in back packing a chance to see and learn about the natural and human history of Isle Royale.

Writing in “*The Riddle of the Apostle Islands*,” William Cronon states that “in keeping with the principle that the Park Service should not be in the business of promoting illusions about a pristine wilderness with no human history, the default management assumption should be that existing human structures and artifacts will not be removed even from designated wilderness. No erasures should be the rule except where absolutely necessary.” Kathryn Eckert, former Michigan State Historic Preservation Officer, refers to a policy at Sleeping Bear that resulted in the erasure of cultural resources: “At Sleeping Bear, before the establishment of PHSB, moldering ruins was an acceptable treatment alternative.” Timothy Cochrane notes that on Isle Royale, “The old paradigm was to erase cultural resources which is clearly wrong, contrary to law, and contrary to the historical realities on the Island.”¹⁹¹

The policy and practice of “erasure” or “moldering ruins” has resulted in the significant destruction and deterioration of cultural resources in four historical wildernesses situated on the Great Lakes: Isle Royale (1931/1946), Apostle Islands National Lakeshore (1970), Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore (1970), and Voyageurs National Park (1975). An important comparative lesson from the experiences of these four National Park Service units is that erasure due to deliberate policy or neglect is not an acceptable outcome for cultural resources in an historical wilderness. All of these National Park Service sites have begun to step away from erasure with the district and Multiple Property nominations evidence of that shift. In all of these cases, the Park Service and wilderness supporters have long-championed a narrative that privileges a cultural myth of actual wilderness. Part of the process of rethinking the role of cultural resources in a historical wilderness should be educating visitors and American

citizens more generally to the fact that erasure is an outdated policy. “Let burn” educational campaigns by the United States Forest Service and the National Park Service give evidence that it is possible to change both established policies and public attitudes. Closer to home, publicity related to the long-running wolf/moose study on Isle Royale has contributed to shifting public attitudes towards wolves.

Beyond that is an essential question: What happens to cultural resources after the Park Service spares them from erasure? Developing management plans that integrate human and natural history is an important next step. Very few people would find wolves in cages or moose in fenced enclosures acceptable preservation and interpretation of those species in a national park. While they would be alive, their existence would be devoid of its essential natural context. By the same token, cultural resources that stand empty are devoid of context – especially those related to recreation and fishing that have come to the Park Service from holders of life leases or special use permits. Cultural resources also have a context that gives them purpose and meaning. Integrity ties the important physical characteristics of cultural resources to their significance, with key measures of integrity being Location, Design, Setting, Materials, Workmanship, Feeling, and Association. These variables are intertwined, physical elements that express context. In many cases, the significance of cultural resources is directly related to use. Management plans need to pay a great deal of attention to the long-term purpose of protecting, preserving, using, and interpreting cultural resources in a historical wilderness. “Mothballing” them against the elements is at best a short-term solution.

Conclusions*

Isle Royale is a place represented by multiple stories – over time one narrative theme emerged dominant over others – and that process itself has a history. A major goal of this context is to reconnect the narrative threads of Isle Royale’s history in order to provide a framework for assessing the significance of the Island’s surviving cultural resources. On Isle Royale, wilderness and the cultural remnants of past and present use are part of an intertwined story. As Aldo Leopold so aptly noted in his seminal work, A Sand County Almanac (1949), “Many historical events, hitherto explained solely in terms of human enterprise, were actually biotic interactions between people and land.”¹⁹² So it was on Isle Royale, where water and land, natural and human history, cultural resources and wilderness are nearly inseparably bound together in a common history of the creation of that place over time. For management purposes, it makes little sense to separate these elements or to privilege one over the other.

* The recommendations presented in this study reflect the opinion of the author and have not been endorsed by the National Park Service.

Nearly everyone who has ever journeyed to Isle Royale shares one common experience; they came as visitors looking for something. The reasons they came, and what they sought has changed dramatically over time. For the prehistoric, indigenous peoples, copper was worth the dangerous trip across the open lake to access Isle Royale. By mining copper and living intermittently on the Island they began a long process of human beings creating a historical wilderness. By the “dawn” of the historic period, the Ojibwe were the only Native American group still using the Island.

The North Shore Ojibwe had a long presence on Isle Royale. They hunted and gathered and practiced traditional life ways on the Island. Ojibwe living on the North Shore and seasonally on Isle Royale also underwent a cultural and economic transition at the same time that their knowledge and skills assisted Americans with the commercial exploitation of copper and fish. They maintained a strong presence on the Island through the middle of the nineteenth century. By the time of the movement to create the National Park gathered force in the 1920s, the Ojibwe presence on Isle Royale had diminished to just a few people. The Park Service paid little attention to the historical relationship between the Ojibwe and the Island when creating the new National Park. Finding ways to recognize Ojibwe’s historical connections to Minong and to invite them to renew their personal association with the Island would respect their centuries-long association with Isle Royale and their role in creating a historical wilderness in that place. A National Register nomination developed in full consultation with the North Shore Ojibwe and organized around traditional cultural values might be a way to begin.

Nineteenth century Americans came for furs and fish and copper and timber. All of these people extracted something from nature, took it away from the Island, and sold it in a national and international market economy. Isolation and distance proved to be liabilities and obstacles in the way of cashing in on nature’s bounty. Each of these groups left their mark on the land. Each contributed to the creation of a historical wilderness.

Starting in the late nineteenth century, increasing numbers of Americans traveled to Isle Royale for recreation and pleasure. Clever entrepreneurs transformed isolation from a liability into an asset; they built resorts that attracted people and persuaded them to pay their own “freight” as they visited the island to enjoy themselves. These tourists engaged the Island as “consumers” of sport fishing and hiking and scenery and relative solitude and of air with a low pollen count. On the heels of the tourists came an increasing number of summer residents, so that by the 1910s Isle Royale had significant concentrations of population in the harbors and inlets around the periphery of the Island. Recreational visitors and summer residents formed a constituency for uses of the Island that were not compatible with extractive industries like logging and mining or crowding of the type that occurred on Mackinac Island.

Other visitors traveled to Isle Royale; instead of mining or fishing or recreational landscapes with intermittent occupation for centuries, they saw wilderness. These visitors came at a time when an important segment of the American population had become interested in, and supportive of, sport hunting and fishing, nature appreciation, and the challenges of the strenuous life. A strong conservation movement sought ways to protect parts of the natural world that still provided opportunities to engage in those activities. Creation of the National Park Service in 1916 and formation of the Izaak Walton League in 1922 represent important institutional manifestations of that point of view.

While Isle Royale was not a pristine wilderness, it was wild when compared to other places east of the Mississippi, and it was isolated and could be relatively easily protected. Visitors like William Shiras (naturalist), Albert Stoll (journalist), Hubert Work (Secretary of the Interior), Stephen Mather (first Director of the National Park Service), and Francis Farquhar (President of the Sierra Club) saw what they wanted to see or what they were prepared to see, and for advocates of parks and wilderness, Isle Royale was a pristine wilderness. These were visitors who eagerly spread the word that Isle Royale was a wilderness that needed to be saved by establishing a national park. The Detroit News, Grand Rapids Journal, Outdoor America, National Geographic, American Forests, and other publications added their editorial support to the growing call for establishing Isle Royale as national park.

Advocates of a national park and of the Island as wilderness held the public relations high ground and their narrative became set in federal policy when Congress passed legislation in 1931. Thereafter, the National Park Service lent its powerful voice to the growing chorus defining Isle Royale as a wilderness area. Isle Royale's public story became a single-theme narrative, supporting a management plan that would eventually strip away much of the material culture representing human history in favor of re-establishing an "actual" wilderness that had not existed on the Island for a long time. Moose and wolves became iconic symbols of wilderness on Isle Royale, even though neither species had a proven presence on the Island before the twentieth century. (Human beings have fished the waters around Isle Royale for thousands of years. If one does not artificially separate human and natural history in managing and interpreting Isle Royale, then an Ojibwe or Scandinavian fisherman offers an iconic representation of Isle Royale at least as valid a wolf or a moose.)

After the dedication of Isle Royale National Park in 1946, wilderness and historic preservation continued to evolve and grow as national movements so that by the 1960s the constituencies existed that gave Congress the political fortitude to pass significant, national legislation. Many of the same attitudinal shifts that gave rise to the historic preservation movement also account for growing interest in the environment and in designating (or establishing), preserving, protecting, and restoring wilderness. Both historic preservationists and wilderness advocates were motivated by a sense of loss. As elements of

the built and natural environments became scarce in the face of accelerating development and resource exploitation, an increasingly urban and suburban population mourned their loss. In so doing, they provided constituencies for the historic preservation movement and the environmental/wilderness movement, both of which turned to the federal government for help in protecting the natural and the built environments. It is no accident that Congress passed and the President signed the Wilderness Act in 1964 and the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA) in 1966.

Even though the national movements that prompted Congress to pass the Wilderness Act and the NHPA had similar attitudinal roots, there was in the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s little overlap or common cause between historic preservationists and environmentalists. These movements developed on parallel tracks a fact that was reflected in the management and oversight missions of the United States Department of the Interior and the National Park Service. Both had missions that called for protecting, preserving, and managing wilderness and cultural resources, but there was little common ground between those responsible for natural resources and those responsible for cultural resources. In the case of the National Park Service, historic preservation was part of its “external” programs, while the National Parks were among the “internal” programs. On Isle Royale, the ecology-based environmental and wilderness movements became powerful advocates pushing the Park Service towards stronger and more comprehensive wilderness policy on Isle Royale, while historic preservation was barely at the negotiating table in the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s. (It is worth adding that at this same time, the North Shore Ojibwe were a “forgotten people” when it came to planning for the management of the Island or any possible role for them in this ancestrally significant place.)

Over several decades, park managers greatly reduced the number of fishing camps, recreational resorts, and summer cabins. What is left today is much less than had been there in 1931 or 1940 or 1946, and most of it is limited to a few locations in Washington Harbor on the far west end of the Island and Tobin Harbor and Rock Harbor on the east and southeast corner. Beyond that, there remains a scattering of other places on the periphery of the Island, Fishermen’s Home and Wright Island on the South shore; and, Crystal Cove, Johnson Island, and Captain Kidd in the far northeast quadrant of the Island, as well as three off-shore lighthouses (owned by the U.S. Coast Guard). Their existence and continued use does not in any significant way interfere with the ability to enjoy most of the Island for back country or wilderness experiences or for kayaking along the shore and among the reefs and islands that constitute the archipelago.

In practice, the use patterns on Isle Royale resemble the designations in the National Park Service’s 1967 wilderness plan. The majority of the land area and nearly all of the interior serves hikers and back packers and others seeking solitude and wildness. At the same time, many coastal and harbor locations

experience heavy boat traffic, including recreation, sport fishing, and scuba diving, as well as the Ranger III, Voyageur II, Isle Royale Queen and other commercial craft that bring visitors to the Island. Summer residences remain in Washington Harbor, Tobin Harbor, and other locations along the shore and as far out as Captain Kidd Island in the extreme north east corner of the archipelago. Park Headquarters on Mott Island is a densely packed, almost suburb-like development with extensive docks, a significant volume of marine traffic, and large work areas visible up and down Rock Harbor and from a popular hiking trail between Rock Harbor Lodge and Daisy Farm. Docks and shore lines at Rock Harbor and Windigo are busy places in the summer season. Interpretive signs and Adirondack-type shelters and board walks of treated lumber above delicate wetlands all make practical concessions and compromises between use and wilderness qualities. No wake zones recognize fragile shore lines and the needs of wildlife like loons. The current pattern of some mixed use on the periphery and wilderness/back country activities on most of the Island makes considerable sense; it respects the important and inter-related roles of natural and human history on Isle Royale; it allows for multiple and compatible constituencies and uses; and it leaves the majority of the Island as undeveloped wild land that permits a first-class back country experience.

While Isle Royale National Park is literally on an island, when it comes to historic preservation the Park is not an island unto itself. The National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA) -- along with related legislation such as the National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA)-- applies to the cultural resources on Isle Royale. Section 1 of the NHPA declares that “the spirit and direction of the Nation are founded upon and reflected in its historic heritage.” Section 2 lays out the policy of the federal government under the NHPA, as amended:

It shall be the policy of the Federal Government, in cooperation with other nations and in partnership with the States, local governments, Indian tribes, and private organizations and individuals to-

(3) administer federally owned, administered, or controlled prehistoric and historic resources in a spirit of stewardship for the inspiration and benefit of present and future generations;¹⁹³

Section 2 states the government’s responsibility to administer prehistoric and historic cultural resources that it owns or controls “for the inspiration and benefit of present and future generations.” In effect, the responsibility for cultural resources under Section 2 of the NHPA is similar to the one that relates to natural resources and wilderness on the Island.

In the case of Isle Royale, Section 106 and Section 110 of the NHPA also apply to the administration and management of cultural resources. Section 106 calls for a review if activities that the federal government sponsors or licenses or pays for have the potential to compromise the defining characteristics of properties that are either on the National Register or are eligible for the National

Register. While there are only a few properties on Isle Royale presently listed in the National Register of Historic Places, the evidence presented in this context combined with several other studies commissioned by the National Park Service demonstrate beyond any doubt the eligibility of many more.¹⁹⁴

Remaining above-ground cultural resources in Washington Harbor and Tobin Harbor greatly exceed the thresholds for establishing historical significance and physical integrity, as does the collection of historic structures in Rock Harbor, ranging from the Rock Harbor Guest House to the Davidson House to the surviving CCC buildings on Mott Island to the old lighthouse to the Edisen and Bangsund cabins. It would be possible to nominate these three areas as separate National Register districts or to think in terms of an Island-wide multiple property nomination that would cover properties with significance related to commercial fishing, recreation and summer use, navigation, and conservation (thereby including the two extant lookout towers). The multiple property approach would embrace Fisherman's Home and Wright Island on the South shore and the McGrath compound, Captain Kidd Island, and Johnson Island in the Northeast part of the Island, which also possess resources with the significance and integrity necessary for eligibility to the National Register. Mining ruins should be "covered" with an Island-wide multiple property nomination employing Criterion D, and Native American archaeological sites an archaeological, multiple property nomination. Either the District or the Multiple Property formats allow for more comprehensive, efficient, and speedy nomination than the alternative of addressing one property at a time.

When Congress approved the NHPA in 1966, the law did not cover properties owned by the United States Government. Many historic preservation constituencies, including the National Trust for Historic Preservation and the National Conference of State Historic Preservation Officers, lobbied to correct that omission. President Richard Nixon, who was neither a historic preservationist nor an environmentalist, recognized the strength of the historic preservation movement in the nation when he signed Executive Order 11593 in 1971, which closed a huge loop hole by requiring federal agencies to comply with the NHPA. Congress incorporated the intent of Executive Order 11593 into Section 110 of the NHPA when amending the Act in 1980. Section 110 makes federal agencies responsible for protecting and preserving historic properties that they own or control by establishing programs or procedures for identifying, evaluating, and nominating those properties to the National Register of Historic Places.¹⁹⁵ Section 110 reinforces the directive that properties eligible for or listed in the National Register must be maintained and managed in a manner that considers the preservation of their defining characteristics.

Following from the NHPA and the Wilderness Act and the historical trajectory of human use and development of Isle Royale, it would make sense to plan for integrated management of the natural and cultural resources on the Island. It is important to protect and preserve the integrity of both the cultural and

natural resources -- to manage both in such a way that their character-defining features (those physical and biological qualities that connect to and embody their significance) remain viable. James Deetz's definition of material culture offers a starting point for thinking about integrated management of cultural and natural resources on Isle Royale: "That portion of man's physical environment purposely transformed by him according to culturally dictated plans." Deetz's definition highlights the fact that the key cultural artifact is the Island itself, with the wilderness and the cultural resources both being the products of the Island's history and transformation "according to culturally dictated plans." As former fisherman, Mark Rude, explained in mulling over the question what should this park represent?

I personally think that the cultural heritage and history of this island are part and parcel of what should be included in the Island. I don't think it's all just flora and fauna and watch it grow and don't touch it.¹⁹⁶

The significance of above-ground cultural resources on Isle Royale is in most cases directly related to their historical and present-day use, as well as their relationship to each other and their terrestrial and maritime surroundings. The buildings clustered in Washington Harbor on Barnum and Washington Islands and in Tobin Harbor are important because they are physical representations of historical and contemporary seasonal communities with a heritage that blends working class commercial fishing enterprises with leisure-time summer recreational use. Historic preservation of the present-day seasonal communities in Washington Harbor and Tobin Harbor is as much about a *mélange* of traditional cultural practices and life ways associated with summer residence and commercial fishing as it is about the buildings that symbolize that context. That fact deserves serious consideration as Isle Royale National Park makes plans for their preservation under provisions of the NHPA.

A sound historic preservation plan should envision nomination to the National Register of Historic Places, a program of maintenance consistent with the "Secretary of the Interior's Standards for Rehabilitation," and continuing use as part of a community that is consistent with, and respectful of, the historic context that defines their importance. Although less viable as modern-day seasonal communities, several of the buildings in Rock Harbor, Fisherman's Home/Wright Island, and the Amygdaloid Channel area derive their significance from the same historical context.

Generally speaking buildings that have reverted to the National Park Service with the passing of life lease holders or the termination of special use permits, such as the McGrath Compound, have not fared well in historic preservation terms. Those that the Park controls and that have continued in use, like the Kemmer Cabin, the Edisen Fishery, and the Bangsund Cabin, generally remain in better shape than those that are empty and unused. The Park will clearly be challenged in terms of funds and appropriately skilled craftspeople to maintain the historic properties it already has, including one historic lighthouse in

Rock Harbor; two CCC properties on Mott Island; the Edisen Fishery and the Bangsund Cabin; and the scattering of other significant historic properties like the McGrath Compound, the Johns Hotel, and the Stack/Wolbrink House.

Particularly in the case of summer cabins and commercial fishing-related buildings, the Park should consider a system of long-term (perhaps ten- or twenty-year), renewable special use permits with the right of first refusal going to families with active life leases or year-to-year special use permits and perhaps families that have left the Island but would like to renew their association with Isle Royale. Couple the special use permits with historic preservation and conservation “easements,” so that as a condition of keeping the permit in effect the holder must maintain the property according to the Secretary of the Interior’s Standards for Rehabilitation and use the property in a manner that is consistent with the Park’s overall land management strategy.

Keeping people in recreational cabins and fisheries under a permit system will require a clear and fair policy, and public education. As Timothy Cochrane noted in his comments on the draft of this report, “But still, to change that course much has to change, including convincing the American public that it should be changed. And it has to be changed in way that benefits all Americans, not just families that have a long tenure at the Island. And it has to change in a way that won’t invite public discord because of appearances of favoritism to a small few. And it has to change in a fiscally responsive and sustainable way.”¹⁹⁷ While these are serious issues, they are not insurmountable -- certainly not as challenging as re-introducing wolves to Yellowstone National Park.

As a regulatory mechanism consider establishing an historic preservation “commission” composed of Park Service personnel and permit holders who review and make recommendations to the Superintendent to approve or disapprove rehabilitation (other than routine maintenance), reconstruction, and demolition. Perhaps working through an established organization like the Isle Royale Friends and Families Association (IRFFA) develop a plan to put the holders of multi-year special use permits “to work” as volunteer advocates for, and even fund-raisers for, preserving and protecting and interpreting the cultural resources on Isle Royale. Members of that organization should be in the mix of public programs offered at Rock Harbor and Windigo.

A multi-year special use permit system will establish a bold and innovative public/private partnership for preserving many of the extant cultural resources on Isle Royale. It will place the responsibility for paying for maintenance and preservation on the permit holders and remove those costs from the Park’s budget (with the Park Service retaining ownership and authority, as well as oversight and supervision); it will give the permit holders a limited voice and a “stake” in the management of cultural resources; and it will ensure that cultural resources are maintained and lived in as elements of functional seasonal communities. (At the present time, with little in the way of guarantees that

special use permit holders or life lease holders will be able to enjoy the results of investing in upkeep and preservation, it is little short of amazing how much money and time some of the families invest in “their” summer places on Isle Royale.) Historic preservation emphasizes using cultural resources either for their original purpose or adaptively reusing them in a manner that is compatible with (sympathetic with) their historic function. Buildings abandoned and standing empty or used out of context may be “saved,” but they are not preserved – any more than placing a stuffed wolf in a Park visitor center would adequately represent, or substitute for, living wolves in a functioning, healthy ecosystem.

Fishing related buildings, including the few surviving fish houses, present a special challenge. These places were historically active fisheries that represented a both a way of earning a living and a way of life; these were working-class landscapes connected to and in many cases embedded in the recreational and seasonal communities that thrived on the Island. Empty buildings and abandoned net reels and even displays of fishing gear are at best static illustrations of an important element of life on the Island for well over a century. Maintaining nets and reels and other equipment is expensive and time consuming and not likely to happen given Isle Royale National Park’s budgetary and personnel constraints.

It makes sense in terms of restoring the integrity of fishing-related properties to encourage and foster a few appropriately scaled commercial fishing operations on Isle Royale, consistent with the regulations of the State of Michigan (similar to the Michigan assessment permit system fished by Enar and Betty Strom until 2008). Provide these fishermen with long-term special use permits, as described above. Restoring limited commercial fishing to Isle Royale would be in the interest of historic preservation by returning some of the buildings to their original use; by reviving a way of life traditionally associated with the cultural resources; and by fostering a kind of living history that few people will ever get to experience. It might be possible for fishermen to add real depth to visitor experiences on the Island (and perhaps supplement their incomes) by taking tourists or summer residents (with proper licenses and permits) out for a day and giving them a first-person experience with commercial fishing and maybe a chance to buy and take home a few fish from “their” catch packed on ice. Fishermen should be available on shore to show tourists around their facilities, to demonstrate equipment use and maintenance, and to answer questions and represent the Park to the public.

After World War II, the Director of the National Park Service and the first Park Superintendent recommended preserving commercial fishing on a modest scale out of respect for its historical importance and because it might be of interest to visitors. In a 1955 policy report, the Director of the National Park Service, Conrad Wirth, stated that “The National Park Service will encourage the continuance of small commercial fishing operations.” George Bagglely, first

Superintendent of Isle Royale National Park, supported continuing commercial fishing on Isle Royale, recommending in 1955 that:

The important part commercial fishing played in the history of Isle Royale could be effectively interpreted to park visitors through the preservation of a typical fishing operational base, complete with the sheds, the net drying racks, the dock and typical boats. Selected fishermen might be employed to help interpret the story of commercial fishing and to demonstrate methods and equipment used.

Superintendent Baggley recognized that the fishery might not survive economically, observing that: “Economic conditions may bring about such an event; with it could come an abrupt abandonment of visible evidence of this historic story.” Director Wirth supported Baggley’s recommendation for limited continuation of commercial fishing on Isle Royale, stating on June 16, 1955:

The hardy fishermen provided a reliable means of communication from the mainland ports to various points on Isle Royale. Their picturesque bases are a source of enjoyment and interest for park visitors. In view of this it seem desirable to continue commercial fishing activity on a modest but representative scale.¹⁹⁸

Since 1955, commercial fishing on Isle Royale has suffered “abandonment of visible evidence” of its historic story. The need for active intervention to preserve not only the buildings but also a historically important way of life is much greater in 2010 than it was in 1955.

A policy that manages Isle Royale National Park as an “actual wilderness,” as opposed to a wilderness in progress, a historical wilderness, a “rewilding” landscape, artificially separates the human and natural histories of the Island. It privileges natural history over human history; it elevates the cultural myth of actual wilderness over reality on the ground; and it separates the terrestrial from the aquatic. In so doing, it diminishes the essence of the Island. Isle Royale is a maritime park – a place where a “speck” of land surrounded by a sea of fresh water has shaped human and natural history. A management plan constructed on that intellectual foundation would go a long way towards protecting and preserving the Island in a way that unites land and water, respects human and natural history, and makes allowance for limited use and a first-class wilderness experience.

End Notes

¹ Field work on Isle Royale included an exploratory trip over an extended Labor Day weekend in 2006 and several weeks in July and August 2007 and July 2008, as well as a day at Apostle Islands National Lakeshore in August 2008.

² Oral history interviews conducted by the author: Jim Anderson, former fisherman, recorded at his family cabin, Johnson Island, Isle Royale National Park, July 2007 (daughter, Carla, present and participating); Clara Sivertson, fishing family, holder of commercial fishing license, recorded in Duluth, Minnesota, January 2008; Richard Edwards, life lease holder, recorded at his home in Ann Arbor, Michigan, May 2008; Laurie Snell, life lease holder, recorded in his office on the campus of Dartmouth College, Hanover, New Hampshire, June 2008; Mark Rude, former fisherman from Fisherman's Home, recorded on Isle Royale, July 2008; Stuart Sivertson, former fisherman member of a fishing and summer family, recorded on Isle Royale, July 2008; Thomas Gale, co-author of Isle Royale: A Photographic History and son of life lease holder, recorded on Isle Royale, July 2008; Sally and Jack Orsborn, life lease holders, recorded at their family cabin on Captain Kidd Island, July 2008.

³ Theodore J. Karamanski and Richard Zeitlin, Narrative History of Isle Royale National Park (Mid-American Research Center, Loyola University of Chicago, February 1988). Timothy Cochrane, Minong: The Good Place – Ojibwe and Isle Royale (Michigan State University Press, 2009). Caven P. Clark, Archaeological Survey and Testing at Isle Royale National Park, 1987-1990 Seasons (Lincoln, Nebraska: Midwest Archaeological Center, United States Department of Interior, National Park Service, 1995). John J. Little, Island Wilderness: A History of Isle Royale National Park, PhD Dissertation, History, The University of Toledo, August 1978. Located in the archives of Isle Royale National Park, Houghton, Michigan; hereafter, NPS Archives, Houghton. Lawrence Rakestraw, Historic Mining on Isle Royale (Isle Royale Natural History Association in cooperation with the National Park Service, 1965), NPS Archives, Houghton; Rakestraw, Commercial Fishing on Isle Royale (Isle Royale Natural History Association in cooperation with the National Park Service, 1968), NPS Archives, Houghton. Rakestraw specialized in what he called "conservation history," and he became one of the leading scholars in that area. His work informed the field of environmental history as it developed in the 1970s and 1980s. See: Lawrence Rakestraw, "Conservation History: An Assessment," Pacific Historical Review Vol. 41 No. 3(August 1972): 271-288. Rakestraw conducted a number of oral histories with people associated with Isle Royale that should be fully transcribed and made more readily available, perhaps on the Internet. Those oral histories could add much to what we know about the history of the Island. Thomas P. Gale and Kendra L. Gale, Isle Royale: A Photographic History (Isle Royale Natural History Association, 1995).

⁴ On historic contexts and historic preservation planning, See: "Planning for Preservation: A Look at the Federal-State Historic Preservation Program, 1966-86," The Public Historian (Spring 1992): 49-66. James Deetz's definition of material culture quoted in Thomas J. Schlereth, "History Museums and Material Culture," in Warren Leon and Roy Rosenzweig, editors, History Museums in the United States (University of Illinois Press), p. 294.

⁵ Patricia Zacharias, "The Campaign to Preserve Isle Royale," The Detroit News, August 11, 1998, <http://apps.detnews.com/apps/history/index.php?id=191>.

⁶ Little, Island Wilderness, NPS Archives, Houghton. Chapter II, "The National Park Impulse," Chapter III, "New Deal to the Rescue," and Chapter VI, "From Private to Federal Hands, 1935-1940," offer a good over view of the formation of Isle Royale National Park and the role of Albert Stoll and the Detroit News. Very useful in understanding the formation of Isle Royale National Park are two photocopied packets of documents titled "Chronological History of the Isle Royale National Park Project." Both are labeled "File Box 2," and both carry the notation: "Return to Albert Stoll, Jr. The Detroit News. These two packets cover the period from September 1921 to August 6, 1946, NPS Archives, Houghton. The author viewed the plaque commemorating Stoll's contributions during field work in summer 2007 and 2008. A good, summary history of Isle Royale may be found in Tim Cochrane, "Isle Royale, 'A Good Place to Live,'" Michigan History (May/June 1990).

⁷ Zacharias, "The Campaign to Preserve Isle Royale."

⁸ See, for example, R. Newell Searle, Saving Quetico-Superior: A Land Set Apart (Minnesota Historical Society, 1977, 1979).

⁹ Karamanski and Zeitlin, Narrative History, pp. 313-316, discusses the connections between the Citizens' Committee of Isle Royale and Albert Stoll. Karamanski and Zeitlin also provide an overview of the property ownership situation and the threats posed by lumbering and pulp harvesting, stating on p. 314 that the "Copper Company planned to sell 65,000 acres of island property to the Minnesota Forest Products Company in early 1922." A resolution passed by the Citizens' Committee of Isle Royale in August 1923 identifies the buyer as an Indiana Company. "Isle Royale Protective Association (Defunct)" ledger-type book, NPS Archives, Houghton, Cab 1, Drawer A, IRPA, contains a membership list of the Citizens' Committee of Isle Royale, undated by annotations, and membership lists and dues payment for the Isle Royale Protective Association, 1930-1937. Additional material on the role of summer residents, including their motivation and goals, exists in Cab. 1, Drawer A, NPS Archives, Houghton; See: letter, July 3, 1941, with significant marginal notations demonstrating activity up to 1955; for example, 36 attended a picnic July 23, 1949.

¹⁰ Resolution, Cab 1, Drawer A, Resolutions, NPS Archives, Houghton.

¹¹ “The Citizens’ Committee of Isle Royale,” Cab 2, Drawer A, “The Citizens’ Committee,” NPS Archives, Houghton.

¹² Karamanski and Zeitlin, Narrative History of Isle Royale National Park, pp. 314-318.

¹³ “Pulp Wood Meade Lumber Company” and “18,000 Cords Pulp Wood 1 Mile Long,” Green Album, unfiled, Lawrence Fitzsimmons, NPS Archives, Houghton. Both photos labeled 1936. Fitzsimmons was a mate on the USS Beaver. Thomas P. Gale and Kendra L. Gale, Isle Royale: A Photographic History (Isle Royale Natural History Association, 1995), p. 143.

¹⁴ On the issue of long-term occupation and use, see: Clark, Archaeological Survey, pp. 73-99.

¹⁵ Cochrane, Minong, p. 2. Clark, Archaeological Survey offers a helpful contextual examination of pre-historic, Native American copper mining, working, and trading on pp. 173-179.

¹⁶ Rakestraw, Historic Mining, p. 1, NPS Archives, Houghton.

¹⁷ “Superior Pursuit Facts about the Greatest Great Lake,” Minnesota Sea Grant, <http://www.seagrants.umn.edu/superior/facts>, reports that the commercial harvest of lake trout from Lake Superior, which had annually averaged 4.5 million pounds from the 1920s to the late 1940s, fell to 500,000 pounds in 1960. Viral Hemorrhagic Septicemia (VHS) in the Great Lakes, Sea Grant, Michigan, <http://www.miseagrants.umich.edu>; Molecular Epidemiology of Viral Hemorrhagic Septicemia Virus in the Great Lakes Region, US Geological Survey, <http://wfrc.usgs.gov/pubs/factsheetpdf/vhsfs2011108.pdf>.

¹⁸ Comparative, historical analysis of the GLWQA presented in Philip V. Scarpino, “Addressing Cross-Border Pollution of the Great Lakes,” in Michael Behiels and Reginald Stuart, Editors, Transnationalism in Canada-United States History into the Twenty First Century (McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2010), pp. 146-167. See also: Don Munton and Geoffrey Castle, “The Continental Dimension: Canada and the United States,” in Robert Boardman, editor, Canadian Environmental Policy: Ecosystems, Politics, and Process (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1992), pp. 205-212.

¹⁹ Wayland R. Swain, “Chlorinated Organic Residues in Fish, Water, and Precipitation from the Vicinity of Isle Royale, Lake Superior,” Journal of Great

Lakes Research (December 1978): 398-407. Swain's quote on the isolation of Siskiwit Lake, p. 399.

²⁰ Swain, "Chlorinate Organic Residues in Fish," pp. 405-06. Swain is discussed in William Ashworth, The Late Great Lakes: An Environmental History (Detroit, Michigan: Wayne State University Press, 1987), pp. 235-36.

²¹ Rolf O. Peterson, The Wolves of Isle Royale: A Broken Balance (New edition University of Michigan Press, 2008; original edition Willow Creek Press, 1995), p.57.

²² Alfred Runte, National Parks: The American Experience, 3rd Edition (University of Nebraska Press, 1997), pp. 241-242, discusses the signing of wilderness legislation by President Ford. Doug Scott quoted in Campaign for America's Wilderness reproducing an article by Doug Scott in The Mining Journal (March 15, 2007), <http://www.leaveitwild.org/news/commentary/341>.

²³ An excellent summary of the decade-long struggle between wilderness advocates and the Park Service may be found in "Isle Royale Wilderness: A Silver Anniversary," Michigan Environmental Council, History Project. While the article is sympathetic to the outcome and lacks citations, it offers insight into the role of the wilderness advocates, including Doug Scott, Oregon native, who began his leadership of the movement when he was a student at the University of Michigan, School of Natural Resources. After he graduated Scott went to work for the Wilderness Society in Washington, D.C., where he remained a leader in the movement to force the Park Service to revise the location and expand the extent of wilderness on Isle Royale. He later served as Conservation Director and Associate Executive Director of the Sierra club. See: <http://www.mecprotects.org/isleroyale.html>. Useful for Scott's views on wilderness in general and eastern wilderness in particular: Doug Scott, The Enduring Wilderness: Protecting our Natural Heritage through the Wilderness Act (Golden, Colorado: Fulcrum Publishing, 2004), especially Chapter 4, "Putting the New Wilderness Act to Work," which includes sections on "Eastern Wilderness and the 'Purity Theory,'" and "National Park Service Resistance to Wilderness Designation." Karamanski and Zeitlin, Narrative History of Isle Royale National Park, Chapter 8, "Lake Superior's Wilderness Park," pp. 312-348 (figures for acres of wilderness on pages 340-42).

²⁴ Public Law 94-567, <http://www.wilderness.net/NWPS/documents/publiclaws/PDF/94-567.pdf> ; Public Law Public Law 88-577, the 1964 Wilderness Act, <http://wilderness.nps.gov/document/wildernessAct.pdf>.

²⁵ Cochrane, Minong: The Good Place, p. 10, map of traditional use areas, pp. 14-15.

²⁶ William Conon, "The Riddle of the Apostle Islands: How Do You Manage a Wilderness Full of Human Stories?" in Nelson and Callicot, The Wilderness Debate Rages On, pp. 634-635. Cronon's management recommendations are similar to, but not the same as, those of the author of this study.

²⁷ Cochrane, Minong: The Good Place, pp. 160, 169-170.

²⁸ George Shiras 3rd, Hunting Wild Life with Camera and Flashlight: A Record of Sixty-five Years' Visits to the Woods and Waters of North America, Volume 1, Lake Superior Region (National Geographic Society, 1935) p.189.

²⁹ Adolph Murie, "The Moose of Isle Royale," University of Michigan, Museum of Zoology, Miscellaneous Publications Number 25 (University of Michigan Press, July 7, 1934), pp. 9-10. Clark, Archaeological Survey, p. 213. Rolf O. Peterson, "Letting Nature Run Wild in the National Parks," in Nelson and Callicot, p. 652.

³⁰ Shiras, Hunting Wild Life with Camera and Flashlight, pp. 187-190, quote p. 190.

³¹ Ibid, pp. 186, 189-191.

³² Murie, "The Moose of Isle Royale, p. 10.

³³ Ibid, "The Moose of Isle Royale," p. 39.

³⁴ Ibid, "The Moose of Isle Royale," pp. 41-44, quotes on pp. 42 and 43.

³⁵ Rolf O. Peterson, "Wolf-Moose Interaction on Isle Royale: The End of Natural Regulation?" Ecological Applications Vol. 9, No. 1 (1999): 10. Peterson cites Murie (1934) and himself (1995), but does not explain how he arrived at the population estimate of 3,000 moose on Isle Royale by the early 1930s.

³⁶ Shiras, Hunting Wild Life with Camera and Flashlight, pp. 191, 195.

³⁷ See: <http://www.nps.gov/isro/naturescience/index.htm>. Since June 2009 the explanation of moose colonization of Isle Royale on the Park's official web site has changed from "sometime early in this century, moose immigrated to the island, probably swimming from Canada's mainland" to "Genetic information also suggest that the island's moose population is most closely related to moose in northwestern Minnesota, perhaps challenging the long-held idea that moose swam across the lake to reach Isle Royale. Did humans bring them here?"

³⁸ The author asked Samuel Scarpino, PhD student in biology, University of Texas, Austin, to run some preliminary "ball park" statistics to determine what the starting size of the moose population would have to have been in the early 20th

century in order to produce total populations of 1,000, 2,000, or 3,000 by 1929. He used Peterson, "Wolf-Moose Interaction on Isle Royale," as his starting point for analysis. He explained that: "In order to investigate the initial migrant population size in 1912, we constructed a simple population growth model using published data on moose density and controlling for the effect of wolf predation. Our results suggest that 50-75 moose would need to arrive in 1912 for a population of 1000-3000 to exist by 1929. These results are robust to moderate increases in the growth rate estimate, for example a 20% increase in growth rate would only result in a 10% reduction in the initial population size (45-68 moose)." He also projected that for the moose to have originated from a single pair, they would need to have arrived in 1874, and that by 1910 they would have produced 174 descendents, who would have been highly visible to observers. While these figures are preliminary, they do suggest the possibility that moose did not swim or wander over the ice in order to colonize Isle Royale and reinforce the need for careful and verifiable historical and scientific research.

³⁹ Peterson, mentions the important role of the 1936 fire in bringing back the moose population in, "Wolf-Moose Interaction on Isle Royale," p. 10.

⁴⁰ "Fire Management Plan 2004 for Isle Royale National Park," United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, NPS Archives Houghton, Map of burn, p. 17; description, p.18. This plan uses the name "Greenstone Fire."

⁴¹ "Isle Royale National Park Landscape Technician's Report by Donald Wolbrink, - Junior Landscape Architect, June 20 to July 31, 1936, in Don Wolbrink, Pre-Park Survey of Isle Royale (1937), NPS Archives, Houghton.

⁴² Roger L. Rosentreter, Roosevelt's Tree Army: Michigan's Civilian Conservation Corps. [http://www.michigan.gov/hal/0,1607,7-160-17451_18670_18793-53515 --00.html](http://www.michigan.gov/hal/0,1607,7-160-17451_18670_18793-53515--00.html).

⁴³ Donald Smith, "Los Alamos Sparks Debate on Burn Policy," National Geographic News (May 17, 2000), http://news.nationalgeographic.com/news/2000/05/0517_alamos.html, discusses rebounding of the moose population following the fire. Laurel G. Woodruff, et al, "Landscape Geochemistry and Forest Fire," in Impact of Fire on the Geochemistry of the Forest Floor and Mineral Soils, North-Central US, United States Geological Survey, http://firescience.cr.usgs.gov/slides/woodruff_geochemsoils2.pdf. Peterson, The Wolves of Isle Royale, p.56. Peterson mentions the connection between the fire of 1936 and recovery of the moose population in Peterson, "Wolf-Moose Interaction on Isle Royale," p. 10.

⁴⁴ John A. Vucetich and Rolf O. Peterson, Chapter 3, "Wolf and Moose Dynamics on Isle Royale," in A.P. Wydeven, et al, Recovery of Gray Wolves in the Great

Lakes Region of the United States: An Endangered Species Success Story (New York: Springer, 2009). Chapter 3 offers insightful background, including a summary of the boom and bust of the moose population between the early 20th century and the 1930s and citations to key scientific studies that address that time period. Vucetich and Peterson also mention the failed attempt to introduce wolves to Isle Royale.

⁴⁵ Michael P. Nelson, Rolf O. Peterson, and John A. Vucetich, "The Isle Royale Wolf-Moose Project: Fifty Years of Challenge and Insight," The George Wright Forum, Volume 25, Number 2 (2008): 98-113, offers an overview of the history of the wolf-moose project and an excellent bibliography.

⁴⁶ Les Line, "In Long-Running Wolf-Moose Drama, Wolves Recover from Disaster," Science Times, The New York Times, Tuesday, March 19, 1996, addresses the issue of parvovirus. Les Line was an extraordinarily prolific nature writer, especially for the National Audubon Society, see a list of his Audubon Society publications at: <http://www.bookfinder.com/author/les-line/>. Peterson, "Wolf-Moose Interaction on Isle Royale," p. 12. Peterson discusses parvovirus on p. 12 as well.

⁴⁷ Cronon, "The Riddle of the Apostle Islands," p, 635.

⁴⁸ Peterson, The Wolves of Isle Royale, p. 170 and 175.

⁴⁹ National Register Bulletin 16A: How to Complete the National Register Registration Form (U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Interagency Resources Division, National Register Branch, 1991), "Preface," p. i.

⁵⁰ National Register Bulletin 15: How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation (U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Interagency Resources Division, 1990, revised 1991), discusses "Categories of Historic Properties," pp. 4-5, and Criterion A, pp. 12. Bulletin 16A examines National Register Criteria on pp. 36-37 and categories of significance on pp. 40-41.

⁵¹ National Register Bulletin 15 discusses Criterion B on pp. 14-16. Useful biographical information on Stanley Sivertson, Howard "Buddy" Sivertson, and Weston Farmer may be found in Peter Oikarinen, Island Folk: The People of Isle Royale (Isle Royale Natural History Association, 1979; University of Minnesota Press, 2008).

⁵² National Register Bulletin 15 discusses Criterion C on pp. 17-20. Useful in identifying boat builders and their surviving work: Hawk Tolson, "The Vernacular Watercraft of Isle Royale: A Western Lake Superior Boatbuilding Tradition," Masters Thesis, Anthropology, Texas A&M, 1992; Timothy Cochrane and Hawk Tolson, A Good Boat Speaks for Itself: Isle Royale Fishermen and their Boats

(University of Minnesota Press, 2002), especially Chapter 3, "Island Boats." Cochrane makes reference to the adaptation of Mackinaw boats to Lake Superior conditions in his comments on the draft version of this report, p. 9. On the work of Art and Ed Mattson and Emil Anderson and Ole Daniels, See: Kathryn E. Franks and Arnold R. Alanen, Historic Structures at Isle Royale National Park: Historic Contexts and Associated Property Types (January 1999), pp. 131-132, 150-151, and 156.

⁵³ National Register Bulletin 15 discusses Criterion D on pp. 21-24; Bulletin 16A covers Archaeology's subcategories on p.40.

⁵⁴ Patricia L. Parker and Thomas F. King, National Register Bulletin 38: Identification and Documentation of Traditional Cultural Properties (U. S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1990). Thomas F. King, Places that Count: Traditional Cultural Properties in Cultural Resource Management (Alta Mira Press, 2003). The George Wright Forum, Volume 26, Number 1 (2009) is a special issue titled, "Traditional Cultural Properties: Putting the Concept into Practice," especially helpful are articles by Charles W. Smythe, "The National Register Framework for Protecting Cultural Heritage Places," pp. 14-27; Thomas F. King, "Rethinking Traditional Cultural Properties?" pp. 28-36; Paul R. Lusignan, "Traditional Cultural Places and the National Register," pp. 37-44; and, Sherry Hutt, "The Evolution of Federal Agency Authority to Manage Native American Cultural Sites," pp. 45-56.

⁵⁵ Bulletin 38, p. 1.

⁵⁶ Ibid, p. 1.

⁵⁷ Ibid, p. 2.

⁵⁸ Cochrane, Minong: The Good Place, pp. 170-171.

⁵⁹ Rebecca S. Toupal, et al, The Isle Royale Folkefiskerisamfunn: Familiar Som Levde Av Fiske. An Ethnohistory of the Scandinavian Folk Fishermen of Isle Royale National Park (The National Park Service Midwest Regional Office and Isle Royale National Park, 2002).

⁶⁰ National Register Bulletin 15, p. 7. On the recent history of historic preservation planning and the origin and application of historic contexts, See: Scarpino, "Planning for Preservation," pp. 43-60. Much of the research for "Planning for Preservation," is based on oral history interviews with key figures in the historic preservation movement during the 1960s, 70s, and 80s.

⁶¹ National Register Bulletin 15, p.8.

⁶² Franks and Alanen, Historic Structures at Isle Royale National Park; National Park Service Cultural Landscapes Inventory (1997): Tobin Harbor, Isle Royale National Park.

⁶³ National Register Bulletin 15, pp. 44-49, quotes on pp. 44 and 45.

⁶⁴ Comments on draft of this context, by Kathryn Eckert, former Michigan State Historic Preservation Officer, July 23, 2009, files of Donald Stevens, National Park Service Regional Office, Omaha, Nebraska. Field work by the author on Apostle Islands National Lakeshore, August 2008.

⁶⁵ The Secretary of the Interior's Standards for Rehabilitation may be found at: <http://www.nps.gov/history/hps/TPS/tax/rhb/stand.htm>. For a copy of 36 CFR 67, See: <http://www.wbdg.org/pdfs/36cfr67.pdf>. The definition of Rehabilitation may be found in Section 67.2, p. 356.

⁶⁶ Cochrane, Minong: The Good Place, pp. 71-72.

⁶⁷ Clark, Archaeological Survey, pp. 173-175.

⁶⁸ Cochrane, Minong: The Good Place, pp. 75, 78-79, 96-105, quote p.97; Clark, Archaeological Survey, p. 16.

⁶⁹ Cochrane, Minong: The Good Place, pp. 96-105.

⁷⁰ Ibid, pp. 157-58, quote, p. 165.

⁷¹ Brown photo album, with annotations by Weston Farmer, Pete Edison, and Roy Olberg dated September 20, 1975, Cab 1, Drawer A, Album, Farmer, et al, NPS Archives, Houghton.

⁷² Cochrane, Minong the Good Place, p. 158. On the subject of burning, Cochrane says: "In the mid-1970s, the cabins were burned to the ground in order to create wilderness."

⁷³ Karamanski and Zeitlin, Narrative History of Isle Royale National Park, p. 19. Also useful, Rakestraw, Historic Mining on Isle Royale.

⁷⁴ Field work by author conducted in July 2007.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Transmitted with the Message of the President At the Opening of the Second Session, Twenty Eighth Congress, 1844-1845(date crossed out and hand written, 1843/44 (Washington:

C. Alexander, Printer, 1844), p. 22-24. These federal documents refer to the Native Americans as Chippewa. Digitized by Google at:
<http://books.google.com/books?id=7tYRAAAAYAAJ&pg=PA22#PPA23,M1>.

⁷⁷ Karamanski and Zeitlin, Narrative History of Isle Royale National Park.

⁷⁸ Karamanski and Zeitlin, Narrative History of Isle Royale National Park, pp. 61, 73; Rakestraw, Historic Mining on Isle Royale, p. 5.

⁷⁹ Karamanski and Zeitlin, Narrative History of Isle Royale National Park, p. 63; Rakestraw, Historic Mining on Isle Royale, pp. 6-8.

⁸⁰ Karamanski and Zeitlin, Narrative History of Isle Royale National Park, pp. 64-65; Rakestraw, Historic Mining on Isle Royale, p. 6.

⁸¹ Clark, Archaeological Survey, pp. 69-72; Karamanski and Zeitlin, Narrative History of Isle Royale National Park, p. 65-71; Rakestraw, Historic Mining on Isle Royale, pp. 6-8.

⁸² Rakestraw, Historic Mining on Isle Royale, p. 8.

⁸³ Gale and Gale, Isle Royale, pp. 22-23.

⁸⁴ Clark, Archaeological Survey, quotes on pp. 80 and 76, Daisy Farm discussed, pp. 73-80, with a picture of the field work on p. 81.

⁸⁵ Karamanski and Zeitlin, Narrative History of Isle Royale National Park, p. 71-73, 82-84; Rakestraw, Historic Mining on Isle Royale, p. 6.

⁸⁶ Field work by the author conducted in July and August 2007. Also helpful in gaining a picture of the surviving archaeological remnants of this early era of mining, as well as long-term occupation, is Clark, Archaeological Survey, pp. 69-81. Rakestraw, Historic Mining on Isle Royale, offers some insight into what remained in 1965.

⁸⁷ Karamanski and Zeitlin, Narrative History of Isle Royale National Park, pp. 86-92. See, also: Lawrence Rakestraw, Historic Mining on Isle Royale; and, Little, Island Wilderness, pp. 13-14.

⁸⁸ Clark, Archaeological Survey, pp. 53-54. Karamanski and Zeitlin, Narrative History of Isle Royale National Park, p. 95, discuss the discovery of the huge chunk of copper.

⁸⁹ Karamanski and Zeitlin, Narrative History of Isle Royale National Park, pp. 93-100. Rakestraw, Historic Mining on Isle Royale, p.11-12. See also: Little, Island Wilderness , pp. 13-14.

⁹⁰ Karamanski and Zeitlin, Narrative History of Isle Royale National Park, pp. 101-103; Rakestraw, Historic Mining on Isle Royale, p. 15. See also: Little, Island Wilderness, p. 14.

⁹¹ Clark, Archaeological Survey, p. 50.

⁹² Karamanski and Zeitlin, Narrative History of Isle Royale National Park, pp. 107-108.

⁹³ Ibid, pp. 91-93.

⁹⁴ Field work by the author conducted in July 2007.

⁹⁵ Karamanski and Zeitlin, Narrative History of Isle Royale National Park, pp. 108-117, forest fire quote, p. 113; Rakestraw, Historic Mining on Isle Royale, pp. 15-16; Gale and Gale, Isle Royale, p. 31.

⁹⁶ Field work by the author conducted in July 2007.

⁹⁷ Clark Archaeological Survey, p. 53, quote. See: Notes 85, 86, and 87 for further information on Caven Clark's examination of pre-historic and historic mining sites at Daisy Farm, Siskowit Mine, and McCargoe Cove.

⁹⁸ Margaret Beattie Bogue, Fishing the Great Lakes: An Environmental History, 1783–1933 (Madison, WI: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2000), p.116.

⁹⁹ Report of the Joint Commission (1896); International Board of Inquiry for the Great Lakes Fisheries: Report and Supplement (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1943), Record Group 23, Fisheries and Oceans, Volume 1196, file 726-1-2 [7], National Archives of Canada. Also extremely useful for interpreting the condition of the fisheries are the field notes and compiled journals of the two commissioners, which are located in Record Group 22, Entry 44, Records of the Joint Committee Relative to the Preservation of the Fisheries in Waters Contiguous to Canada and the U.S., 1893-95," Boxes 1-10 and 21-26, National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, Maryland. Hereafter, RG22, Entry 44, NARA. See: Philip V. Scarpino, "Great Lakes Fisheries: International Response to the Decline of the Fisheries and the Lamprey/Alewife Invasion," in Terje Tvedt and Richard Coopey, Editors, A History of Water, Volume II: The Political Economy of Water (I.B. Tauris, 2006); and, Bogue, Fishing the Great Lakes.

¹⁰⁰ Memorandum, "International Situation with Respect to the Husbandry of Fisheries of the United States and Adjoining Countries," November 14, 1929, RG22, Entry 42, Box 4, file U.S. Chamber of Congress [Commerce] 1929-32,

NARA, addresses the collapse of the herring in Lake Erie. Dr. Van Oosten is quoted in “John Van Oosten Fortells the Doom of the Great Lakes Fisheries,” Reprint from American Forests Magazine (March 1937), RG23, Vol. 1196, file 726-1-2, part 2, National Archives Canada. See: Scarpino, “Great Lakes Fisheries: International Response to the Decline of the Fisheries and the Lamprey/Alewife Invasion”; and, Bogue, Fishing the Great Lakes.

¹⁰¹ “Sea Lamprey: A Great Lakes Invader,” Great Lakes Fishery Commission, <http://www.seagrant.umn.edu/downloads/x106.pdf>, provides information on the spread of the lamprey throughout the Great Lakes.

¹⁰² “Sea Lamprey: A Great Lakes Invader,” Great Lakes Fishery Commission, <http://www.seagrant.umn.edu/downloads/x106.pdf>, provides figures on the commercial catch of lake trout. See also: Scarpino, “Great Lakes Fisheries”; and Bogue, Fishing the Great Lakes.

¹⁰³ Timothy Cochrane provides the figure for the number of fishermen working on Isle Royale in the 1920s in Timothy Cochrane, “Place, People, and Folklore: An Isle Royale Case Study,” Western Folklore 46 (January 1987), p.2.

¹⁰⁴ Cochrane, “Place, People, and Folklore,’ p. 2.

¹⁰⁵ Rakestraw, Commercial Fishing on Isle Royale, pp. 2-5, quote on page 2; Karamanski and Zeitlin, Narrative History of Isle Royale National Park, Chapter Four; Toupal, et al, The Isle Royale Folkefiskerisamfunn, especially Chapter 3. Karamanski and Zeitlin and Toupal et al, include significant bibliographic citations that add depth to the literature on fishing in Lake Superior and around Isle Royale. Bogue, Fishing the Great Lakes, provides a good overview of fishing on the Great Lakes, as does, Kurkpatrick Dorsey, The Dawn of Conservation Diplomacy: US–Canadian Wildlife Protection Treaties in the Progressive Era (Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press, 1998). What neither of these books does is to carry the story across the twentieth century and examine the pivotal role that the lamprey/alewife crisis played in overcoming problems posed by overlapping political jurisdictions and special interests.

¹⁰⁶ Field work by the author conducted in July and August 2007 and July 2008.

¹⁰⁷ Rakestraw, Commercial Fishing on Isle Royale, pp. 2-5.

¹⁰⁸ Rebecca S. Toupal, et al, The Isle Royale Folkefiskerisamfunn, pp. 22-23.

¹⁰⁹ Cochrane, Minong: The Good Place, p. 79; Rakestraw, Commercial Fishing on Isle Royale, pp. 2-5; Karamanski and Zeitlin, Narrative History of Isle Royale National Park, pp. 134-139; Clark, Archeological Survey, p.60.

¹¹⁰ Cochrane, Minong: The Good Place, pp. 78-79.

¹¹¹ Rakestraw, Commercial Fishing on Isle Royale, pp. 5-6.

¹¹² Rakestraw, Commercial Fishing on Isle Royale, pp. 5-6; Karamanski and Zeitlin, Narrative History of Isle Royale National Park, pp.133-134, 144-147; Gale and Gale, Isle Royale, Chapter 4. Toupal, et al, The Isle Royale Folkefiskerisamfunn, pp. 24-26, pp. 26-37 provide a detailed analysis of the development of the Scandinavian folk fishery, 1880-1940. Interview, Philip Scarpino with Stuart Sivertson, July 2008, added context and insight into the interplay between commercial fishermen and their families and Isle Royale, See: Timothy Cochrane, "Place, People, and Folklore."

¹¹³ Toupal, et al, The Isle Royale Folkefiskerisamfunn, pp.36, 60-68, 108; Gale and Gale, Isle Royale, pp. 61-63, 69. Four oral history interviews conducted by the author proved very helpful in understanding fishing on Isle Royale and the lives of fisherman and their families: Scarpino with Jim Anderson, July 2007; Scarpino with Clara Sivertson, January 2008; Scarpino with Mark Rude, July 2008; and Scarpino with Stuart Sivertson, July 2008.

¹¹⁴ Interview, Scarpino with Stuart Sivertson, July 2008.

¹¹⁵ Bogue, Fishing the Great Lakes, pp. 60-62. Chapter 5, "A. Booth and Company Bids for Great Lakes Dominance," provides an insightful analysis of the control of the Great Lakes fisheries by the Booth Company.

¹¹⁶ Bogue, Fishing the Great Lakes, pp. 58-65, 72-73.

¹¹⁷ Interview, Scarpino with Stuart Sivertson, July 2008. Bogue, Fishing the Great Lakes, p. 68-69.

¹¹⁸ Bogue, Fishing the Great Lakes, Ingeborg Holte quoted on p. 69

¹¹⁹ Toupal, et al, The Isle Royale Folkefiskerisamfunn, p.36; Karamanski and Zeitlin, Narrative History of Isle Royale National Park, pp. 158-159.

¹²⁰ Figures from the Joint Fisheries Commission quoted from RG 22, Entry 44, Box 5, Folder "Lake Superior," Section "Fisheries, General Account, Lake Superior, Field Notes, 1894, pp. 2 and 16, NARA Gale and Gale, Isle Royale, pp. 62-63. Toupal, et al, The Isle Royale Folkefiskerisamfunn, Appendix B, "Kinship Charts," offers a detailed look at the intermarriage among Scandinavian fishing families.

¹²¹ Interview, Scarpino with Stuart Sivertson, July 2008. Interview, Scarpino with Clara Sivertson, January 2008.

¹²² Gale and Gale, Isle Royale, p. 62; and, Toupal, et al, The Isle Royale Folkefiskerisamfunn, p.20, contain the historic maps of the Isle Royale fishery.

¹²³ Gale and Gale, Isle Royale, pp. 68-69, full-page image of the John's Island fishery, caption on page 69.

¹²⁴ Information on the construction and form and function of fish camps comes from a variety of sources. The author conducted field work and observation on the Island in late August and early September 2006, July and August 2007, and July 2008. In 2007 Enar and Betty Strom provided a tour and explanation of their fish house on Washington Island. That in combination with two trips to Crystal Cove, one with former fisherman, Jim Anderson, and to Edisen Fishery, and other locations with surviving material remnants of the fishery was very useful. Photographs published in Gale and Gale, Isle Royale, Chapter 4, along with images in Rakestraw, Commercial Fishing on Isle Royale offered additional insight, as did images in Brown photo album, with annotations by Weston Farmer, Pete Edison, and Roy Olberg dated September 20, 1975, Cabinet 3, Drawer C, NPS Archives, Houghton. Franks and Alanen, Historic Structures at Isle Royale National Park, pp. 40-92, also proved quite helpful.

¹²⁵ Gale and Gale, Isle Royale, pp. 71, 88-89, 91, contain the pictures of the Mattson fishery, Fishermen's Home, and Hay Bay; Brown photo album, with annotations by Weston Farmer, Pete Edison, and Roy Olberg dated September 20, 1975, Cabinet 3, Drawer C, NPS Archives, Houghton, is the source of the images of the Bangsund and Edisen fisheries. Information on Fishermen's Home and the Rude family, Interview, Scarpino with Mark Rude, July 2008.

¹²⁶ Gale and Gale, Isle Royale, pp. 54 and 65, include the images of Booth Island. The picture that Gale and Gale reproduced on p. 65 may also be found in the Brown photo album, with annotations by Weston Farmer, Pete Edison, and Roy Olberg dated September 20, 1975, Cabinet 3, Drawer C, NPS Archives, Houghton.

¹²⁷ Gale and Gale, Isle Royale, p. 65; Interview, Scarpino with Stuart Sivertson, July 2008; Field work by the author, conducted July 2007.

¹²⁸ Karamanski and Zeitlin, Narrative History of Isle Royale National Park, p.166; Toupal, et al, The Isle Royale Folkefiskerisamfunn, p. 63; Gale and Gale, Isle Royale, pp. 72-73. Interview, Scarpino with Stuart Sivertson, July 2008. Interview, Scarpino with Mark Rude, July 2008. Author's field work July/August 2007 and July 2008.

¹²⁹ On the Great Lakes fisheries in general and the lamprey in particular see: Philip V. Scarpino, "Great Lakes Fisheries." Clara Sivertson talks about fishing during WWII in Interview, Scarpino with Clara Sivertson, January 2008.

¹³⁰ Toupal, et al, The Isle Royale Folkefiskerisamfunn, pp.38-39. Page 38 references the quote from Baggley and page 39 references the quote from Hillory Tolson and refers to him as just "Acting ." Tolson had a long career in government service and the National Park Service. In 1940, he became Assistant Director a position he held until he retired in 1963. (See: "Hillory Alfred Tolson, Cornelius Armory Pugsley, Silver Medal Award 1949," <http://www.rpts.tamu.edu/pugsley/TolsonH.htm>. <http://www.nps.gov/whmi/historyculture/archeology-1941.htm> describes Tolson as Acting Director of the National Park Service in 1948. The actual citation is: Acting Director, National Park Service to Regional Director, 30 July 1948, Archives, File "H3015, Archeology 1948 - 1949," WHMI. The National Park Service Web site does not independently verify that Tolson served as Acting Director, http://www.nps.gov/history/history/online_books/olsen/adhi-e.htm. I am concluding that Tolson did serve as Acting Director for a short period, and that his long tenure as an assistant director would have put him in a position to be familiar with the situation on Isle Royale.

¹³¹ Toupal, et al, The Isle Royale Folkefiskerisamfunn, p. 39.

¹³² Ibid, pp. 42-43. For further information on the impact of the lamprey on the fishery and the fishing community see: Interview, Scarpino with Clara Sivertson January 2008; Scarpino with Stuart Sivertson July 2008, and Scarpino with Mark Rude July 2008. Rude also talks at length about the limited assessment fishing policy of the Michigan Department of Natural Resources and his father's involvement as a fisherman under that system.

¹³³ Gale and Gale, Isle Royale, p. 63; Karamanski and Zeitlin, Narrative History of Isle Royale National Park, p. 131; Field work by author July 2007.

¹³⁴ Comments by Timothy Cochrane, Superintendent, Voyageurs National Park, July 21, 2009, located in the files of Donald Stevens, National Park Service Regional Office, Omaha, Nebraska. Interview, Scarpino with Clara Sivertson, January 2008; Toupal, et al, The Isle Royale Folkefiskerisamfunn, p.38.

¹³⁵ Comments by Kathryn Eckert, July 23, 2009.

¹³⁶ United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, The Master Plan for Preservation and Use: Isle Royale National Park, Michigan," Dated inside, September 14, 1963, Map file, Drawer 1, Master Plan 63, NPS Archives, Houghton. Interview, Scarpino with Clara Sivertson, January 2008.

¹³⁷ Franks and Alanen, Historic Structures at Isle Royale National Park, pp. 67, 70-92.

¹³⁸ Field work by the author conducted late August and early September 2006.

¹³⁹ See note 138.

¹⁴⁰ Lincoln's special address to Congress on July 4, 1861, can be found printed in a number of places, find web access at Modern History Source Book, <http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/1861lincoln-special.html>.

¹⁴¹ Thomas R. Dunlap, Saving America's Wildlife: Ecology and the American Mind, 1850-1990 (Princeton University Press, 1988), p. 8.

¹⁴² On the founding and growth of the Izaak Walton League, Outdoor America, and the Upper Mississippi River Wildlife and Fish Refuge, See: Philip V. Scarpino, Great River: An Environmental History of the Upper Mississippi, 1890-1950 (University of Missouri Press, 1985), pp. 114, 122-150.

¹⁴³ Interview, Scarpino with Rude, July 2008.

¹⁴⁴ Karamanski and Zeitlin, Narrative History of Isle Royale National Park, pp. 113, 223.

¹⁴⁵ Karamanski and Zeitlin, Narrative History of Isle Royale National Park, p. 220; date; Field work conducted by the author conducted in July 2007.

¹⁴⁶ Information on Johns and Flynn found in packet labeled "Concerning Informants, Lake Superior, Field Notes – 1894, Richard Rathbun," Record Group 22, Entry 44, Box 5, file Lake Superior, NARA.

¹⁴⁷ Gale and Gale, Isle Royale, pp. 97-98, 102-103; Karamanski and Zeitlin, Narrative History of Isle Royale National Park, pp. 226-230; Franks and Alanen, Historic Structures at Isle Royale National Park, pp.92-98.

¹⁴⁸ Gale and Gale, Isle Royale, pp. 97, 107; Karamanski and Zeitlin, Narrative History of Isle Royale National Park, pp. 223-225, Franks and Alanen, Historic Structures at Isle Royale National Park, p. 101.

¹⁴⁹ Franks and Alanen, Historic Structures at Isle Royale National Park, pp. 119-120. Field work by the author conducted in July 2007. Comments by Tim Cochrane, July 21, 2009.

¹⁵⁰ Gale and Gale, Isle Royale, pp. 108-109, 118-119; Karamanski and Zeitlin, Narrative History of Isle Royale National Park, pp. 230-231; "Tobin Harbor Resort," Brochure, Cab 1, Drawer A, Tobin Book, NPS Archives, Houghton.

¹⁵¹ Gale and Gale, Isle Royale, pp. 108-109, 118-119; Karamanski and Zeitlin, Narrative History of Isle Royale National Park, pp. 230-231; Interview, Philip Scarpino with Richard Edwards, May 2008.

¹⁵² Gale and Gale, Isle Royale, pp. 120-125; Karamanski and Zeitlin, Narrative History of Isle Royale National Park, pp. 213-214, 235-238. Franks and Alanen, Historic Structures at Isle Royale National Park, pp. 125-126.

¹⁵³ National Park Service Cultural Landscapes Inventory (1997): Tobin Harbor, Isle Royale National Park, p. 37; Karamanski and Zeitlin, Narrative History of Isle Royale National Park, p. 231; Gale and Gale, Isle Royale, pp. 126-127.

¹⁵⁴ Field work by the author conducted in August/September 2006, July/August 2007, and July 2008; Gale and Gale, Isle Royale, pp. 122-123.

¹⁵⁵ Field work by the author conducted in July 2007. Joan Snell, "About Lake Superior's Isle Royale," self-published, no date. Franks and Alanen, Historic Structures at Isle Royale National Park, pp. 125-128, 145.

¹⁵⁶ Field work by author conducted in July 2007. Gale and Gale, Isle Royale, background on Herman and John Anderson, p. 94, information on Belle Isle, pp. 128-129; Karamanski and Zeitlin, Narrative History of Isle Royale National Park, pp. 232-235; Franks and Alanen, Historic Structures at Isle Royale National Park, pp. 109-110.

¹⁵⁷ Field work by author conducted in July 2007. Interview, Philip Scarpino with Sally and Jack Orsborn, July 2008.

¹⁵⁸ Field work by author conducted in August/September 2006 and July 2007. Karamanski and Zeitlin, Narrative History of Isle Royale National Park, p. 158-159; Gale and Gale, Isle Royale, p. 103.

¹⁵⁹ On Wolbrink, See: Karamanski and Zeitlin, Narrative History of Isle Royale National Park, pp. 245-246.

¹⁶⁰ Interview, Scarpino with Richard Edwards; Interview Scarpino with Sally and Jack Orsborn. Art Mattson's letter loaned to the author by the Missy and Larry Edwards.

¹⁶¹ Field work by author conducted in August/September 2006, July/August 2007, and July 2008.

¹⁶² Ibid.

¹⁶³ Information on the fishermen comes from Gale and Gale, Isle Royale, pp. 94-95, as well as interview, Scarpino with Jim Anderson and Carla Anderson, July

2007. Field work by the author conducted in August/September 2006, July/August 2007, and July 2008.

¹⁶⁴ Information on the McGrath/Nixon compound at Crystal Cove may be found in Gale and Gale, Isle Royale, pp.132-133, as well as field work conducted by the author in August/September 2006 and July 2007. For the Secretary of the Interiors Standard for Rehabilitation, See: "Illustrated Guidelines for Rehabilitating Historic Buildings," <http://www.nps.gov/history/hps/TPS/tax/rhb/>.

¹⁶⁵ Interview, Scarpino with Sally and Jack Orsborn.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid.

¹⁶⁷ Franks and Alanen, Historic Structures at Isle Royale National Park, pp.153-158.

¹⁶⁸ Interview, Scarpino with Richard Edwards. Maurice Edwards was born in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, and graduated from Auburn Theological Seminary in 1874. That same year he accepted a pastorate at the Drayton Avenue Presbyterian Church in St. Paul, Minnesota; he remained and served that congregation until 1918. Maurice Edwards married Annie Louise Deane in 1877. They had four children, including Deane Edwards, father of the current life lease holder, Richard Edwards. Interview, Scarpino with Laurie Snell, June 2008.

¹⁶⁹ United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, The Master Plan for Preservation and Use: Isle Royale National Park, Michigan," Dated inside, September 14, 1963, Map file, Drawer 1, Master Plan 63, NPS Archives, Houghton; Franks and Alanen's Historic Structures on Isle Royale National Park, pp. 130-131; Field work by the author conducted in July 2007.

¹⁷⁰ Quoted from Robert Edwards, My Moment in History, loaned to the author by the Edwards family.

¹⁷¹ Franks and Alanen, Historic Structures at Isle Royale National Park, pp.148-149 summer homes in Rock Harbor; Field work by the author conducted in August/September 2006, July/August 2007, and July 2008. Jack Orsborn mentions the burning of his family's cabin in Interview, Philip Scarpino with Sally and Jack Orsborn, July 2008.

¹⁷² Franks and Alanen, Historic Structures at Isle Royale National Park, p. 70, Edisen Fishery; Field work by the author conducted in August/September 2006, July/August 2007, and July 2008.

¹⁷³ Clark, Archaeological Survey, pp. 86-88, 90, 93-99, 134-138, quotes, pp. 97 and 98.

¹⁷⁴ Field work by the author conducted in July 2007.

¹⁷⁵ Franks and Alanen, Historic Structures at Isle Royale National Park; National Park Service Cultural Landscapes Inventory, pp. 150-151; field work by the author conducted in July 2007.

¹⁷⁶ Field work by the author July and August 2007 and July 2008; Franks and Alanen, Historic Structures at Isle Royale National Park; National Park Service Cultural Landscapes Inventory, pp. 157-189; Gale and Gale, Isle Royale, pp. 144-148; Karamanski and Zeitlin, Narrative History of Isle Royale National Park, pp. 325-336. There are a number of reports and related documents in the Archives of Isle Royale National Park that offer a detailed accounting of the work of the CCC on the Island; for example, See: "Memorandum for the Director," from Representative in Charge, December 7, 1938, for an overview of activities undertaken in 1938, illustrated with photographs, NPS Archives, Houghton, unfiled on table, "CCC 1938"; and, "Annual Report on the Status of the CCC Construction Program for 1939," again illustrated with photographs, NPS Archives, Houghton, unfiled on table, "CCC 1939."

¹⁷⁷ Field work by the author conducted in August and September 2006. On the history of Isle Royale's light houses, See: Gale and Gale, Isle Royale, Chapter 3. Karamanski and Zeitlin, Narrative History of Isle Royale National Park, provide and introduction to the hazards and challenges of navigating around Isle Royale in Chapter 7, pp. 255-288; they discuss light houses in Chapter 7, pp. 289-300. See, also: Franks and Alanen, Historic Structures at Isle Royale National Park, pp. 24-40.

¹⁷⁸ Jim Muhn, Historic Resource Study: Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore (National Park Service, 1984); Susan Olsen Haswell and Arnold R. Alanen, A Garden Apart: An Agricultural and Settlement History of Michigan's Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore Region (National Park Service Mid-West Region and Michigan State Historic Preservation Office, 1994); Marla J. McEnaney, William H. Tishler, and Arnold R. Alanen, Farming at the Water's Edge: An Assessment of Agricultural and Cultural Landscape Resources in the Proposed Port Oneida Rural Historic District at Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore, Michigan (National Park Service, Mid-West Office, 1995); and Eric MacDonald and Arnold R. Alanen, Tending a 'Comfortable Wilderness': A History of Agricultural Landscapes on North Manitou Island, Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore, Michigan (National Park Service, Mid-West Regional Office, 2000). On the Oneida Rural Historic District, See: <http://www.nps.gov/slbe/planyourvisit/portoneida.htm>. Apostle Island: A Special History Study Family-Managed Commercial Fishing in the Apostle Islands During

the 20th Century, with Background Information on Commercial Fishing on Lake Superior (National Park Service, Mid-West Regional Office, 1985), presents a useful overview of the fishery but does not tie fishing to cultural resources or the culture of the fishing families. National Register of Historic Places Registration Form, "Rocky Island Historic District, Ashland, County, Wisconsin." Barbara Wyatt, The Logging Era at Voyageurs National Park: Historic Context and Property Types (Midwest Support Office, National Park Service, Omaha, Nebraska, 1999). "Tourism and Recreational Properties in Voyageurs National Park (VOYA), 1880-1950," Multiple Property nomination, files of Donald Stevens, National Park Service Regional Office, Omaha, Nebraska. Section E provides the historic context; Section F, Associated Property Types; and, Section H, Identification and Evaluation Methods.

¹⁷⁹ For wilderness designation, Apostle Islands National Lakeshore, see: <http://www.nps.gov/apis/parkmgmt/wilderness.htm>.

¹⁸⁰ For information on the North Manitou Shoal Lighthouse, see: <http://www.lighthousefriends.com/light.asp?ID=714>; and or information on the South Manitou Lighthouse, see: <http://www.lighthousefriends.com/light.asp?ID=715>.

¹⁸¹ <http://www.nps.gov/apis/historyculture/raspberry-light.htm>. See also: <http://www.nps.gov/apis/historyculture/lighthouses.htm>.

¹⁸² MacDonald and Alanen, Tending a 'Comfortable Wilderness'; <http://www.nps.gov/slbe/parknews/newspoeacompleted092308.htm>.

¹⁸³ D.W. Meinig, The Interpretation of Ordinary Landscapes: Geographical Essays (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979); John R. Stilgoe, Common Landscape of America, 1580 to 1845 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982); John Brinckerhoff Jackson, Discovering the Vernacular Landscape (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984); Dell Upton and John Michael Vlach, editors, Common Places: Readings in American Vernacular Architecture (Athens, GA: The University of Georgia Press, 1986); Michael Conzen, editor, The Making of the American Landscape (Boston, MA: Unwin Hyman, 1990); Allen G. Noble, To Build in a New Land: Ethnic Landscapes in North America (Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992).

¹⁸⁴ Robert Z. Melnick, with Daniel Spohn and Emma Jane Saxe, Cultural Landscapes: Rural Historic Districts in the National Park Service (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, 1984). Linda Flint McClelland, National Park Service, and J. Timothy Keller, Genevieve P. Keller, and Robert Z. Melnick, Land and Community Associates, National Register Bulletin 30: Guidelines for Evaluating and Documenting Rural Historic Landscapes (1989; Revised 1999).

¹⁸⁵ Haswell and Alanen, A Garden Apart (1994); and McEnaney, et al., Farming at the Water's Edge (1995) Statements on motivation behind studies commissioned by the Midwest Regional Office based upon a phone conversation between the author and Donald Stevens, Chief, History and National Register Program, Midwest Region, National Park Service, August 30, 2010. Quote from Bulletin 30, first page of Introduction.

¹⁸⁶ Comments by Kathryn Eckert, July 23, 2009. Quotes from PHSB's web site: <http://www.phsb.org/welcome/?id=12> and <http://www.phsb.org/welcome/>.

¹⁸⁷ Field work by the author conducted in August 2008, which included a tour through the "Rocky Island Historic District." Copy of "Rocky Island Historic District: Ashland County, Wisconsin," obtained from the offices of Apostle Islands National Park, August 2008.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid.

¹⁸⁹ "Tourism and Recreational Properties in Voyageurs National Park," Section E provides the historic context; Section F, Associated Property Types; and, Section H, Identification and Evaluation Methods.

¹⁹⁰ <http://www.nps.gov/voya/index.htm>.

¹⁹¹ Cronon, "The Riddle of the Apostle Islands," p. 641; Comments by Kathryn Eckert, July 23, 2009; and, Cochrane, July 21, 2009.

¹⁹² Aldo Leopold, A Sand County Almanac and Sketches Here and There (New York: Oxford University Press, 1949) p. 205.

¹⁹³ For a copy of the National Historic Preservation Act, as amended, See: <http://www.nps.gov/history/local-law/nhpa1966.htm>

¹⁹⁴ National Historic Preservation Act, as amended. Franks and Alanen, Historic Structures at Isle Royale National Park; National Park Service Cultural Landscapes Inventory (1997): Tobin Harbor, Isle Royale National Park; Karamanski and Zeitlin, Narrative History of Isle Royale National Park.

¹⁹⁵ On the history of amending the NHPA, see: Scarpino, "Planning for Preservation."

¹⁹⁶ Interview, Scarpino with Mark Rude, July 2008.

¹⁹⁷ Comments by Timothy Cochrane, July 21, 2009.

¹⁹⁸ Wirth and Baggley quoted in Toupal, et al, The Isle Royale Folkefiskerisamfunn, pp.39-40.